

**Ut pictura poesis:
Edward Black Greenshields' Collection of Hague School Paintings**

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ABSTRACT

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Alena M. Buis

According to Edward Black Greenshields (1850-1917), the Hague School of artists were “all men of striking originality, [who] broke away from past traditions of art in their country, and, going directly to nature, strove, by careful study, to give a truthful view, each as he saw it...”¹ Financed by the industrial development of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, he and the rest of Montreal’s “merchant princes,” formed a new class of art collectors rapidly purchasing European paintings. Greenshields, a noted industrialist and amateur scholar orchestrated the largest and most concentrated private amassing of “modern” Dutch works. Although he was one of the most important collectors of his time, little has been written about his activity in the Montreal art milieu.

This paper investigates the nature of Greenshields’ engagement with the Hague School and how as a collector and promoter of the group’s work, he influenced the group’s reception in Canada. At the height of his collecting Greenshields published two texts, *A Subjective View of Landscape Painting* (1904) and *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* (1906). Combining art history and art criticism these works are now considered among the first of their kind produced in Canada. In this thesis I argue that Greenshields’ collection and theoretical views on art as expressed in his writing evolved simultaneously and as his taste for works by the Hague School was formed his

¹ E.B. Greenshields, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting: With Special Reference to J.H. Weissenbruch and Illustrations from His Works in Canada*. (Montreal: Desbarats, 1903) 9.

collection assumed a rhetorical function. By examining the mechanics of Greenshields' collection I provide a critical inquiry into connoisseurship during the formative stages of collecting in Canada.

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In memory of

Albert Collins

and

John Fox

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INTRODUCTION

“Middle class by birth and aristocratic in fortune,”¹ Montreal’s merchant princes were part of a new class of art collectors financed by the industrial development in North America during the late nineteenth century. By the beginning of the next century, these collectors had focused their attention to varying degrees upon paintings by a group of artists known as the Hague School.² The largest and most concentrated private amassing of these “modern” Dutch works was orchestrated by Edward Black Greenshields (1850-1917), a noted industrialist and amateur scholar. Although Greenshields was one of the most important collectors of his time, little has been written about his activity in the Montreal art milieu. This thesis is a methodological examination of his collecting process as a reflection of his social background and more importantly of his aspirations to establish his own cultural identity as an informed connoisseur during the formative stages of private collecting in Canada.

Born in Montreal in 1850 to a wealthy family of Scottish descent, Greenshields was a prominent member of the close-knit and privileged Anglo-Protestant elite that dominated Montreal economically and culturally (Figures 1, 2, 3) until the First World War. When Greenshields took over the small family shipping business in 1888, he transformed it into a successful international corporation with offices spread throughout

¹ Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920*. (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1989), 13.

² Marta H. Hurdalek, *The Hague School Collecting in Canada at the Turn of the Century*. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1983), 13.

North America and Europe. By the dawn of the twentieth century, the company had become the largest supplier of imported and domestic dry goods in Canada (Figure 4).³

During his lifetime, Greenshields was one of the nation's most influential men. He served on the board of directors of the Council of Public Instruction, the Trafalgar Institute, the Royal Trust Company and the Fraser Institute. At various times he was also president of the Standard Life Insurance Company, the Ocean Accident Assurance Company, the Pacific Pass Coal Fields, Lethbridge Collieries & Western Coal, the Mexican Northern Power Company, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and several other seminal Canadian companies. During the 1910s, he was also socially active, serving as president of the city's St. Andrew's Society, the Thistle Curling Club and most significantly the Art Association of Montreal. Due to his "distinguished position in the community, his services to the University and his interest in Art and Literature,"⁴ he received an Honorary Doctor of Laws degree from his alma mater, McGill University, in 1910.

When the Amalgamated Asbestos Corporation of Montreal announced his appointment as head of the company in 1909, *Toronto Saturday Night* dedicated its "Investor" column to Greenshields' professional and personal achievements (Figure 5). The article noted that as director of the Bank of Montreal, Greenshields had earned the "Blue Ribbon of Canadian Finance," and that he received "the highest gift in the in the commercial life of Canada" upon being appointed president of the Montreal Board of Trade (Figure 6). During his tenure, the Board celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with

³ E.B. Greenshields, Diary, vol. 1 1894-1900, 27 May, 1897, Greenshields Family Papers, McCord Museum.

⁴ Board of Governor's minute book, 1910-1919 23 April, 1917, McGill University Archives, RG 4, C 0008, File 09008.

“one of the finest and most comprehensive year books” issued and the construction of a new building.⁵ In 1911 he was rated as a millionaire by the *Montreal Star* newspaper and a year later, according to *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, he was considered one of twenty-three men at the core of Canadian finance.

At the turn of the century, after having already amassed a considerable fortune, Greenshields began to withdraw from his business pursuits to focus on cultural endeavors, most notably his collection of modern Dutch artworks. Greenshields possessed what the French art historian Louis-Antoine Prat considered the three essential components of a successful art collection:

This trilogy comes in the guise of money (allowing for the battle against other amateurs, yet also against certain temptations to acquire mediocre works solely because of their low cost); knowledge (which brings into play that mechanism one reverts to, at the core of any true collection: attribution); and time (that time one is constantly aware of, and that confers upon the collector’s activity its fundamental- though quite illusory, by the way- aspect of the battle against death).⁶

In 1904, Greenshields began to consistently collect art, purchasing works from dealers throughout North America and Europe. Over a period of almost twenty years Greenshields purchased and sold hundreds of works of art, owning from my estimation approximately sixty to eighty pieces at any given time. An inventory of insurance prices from 1923 lists the sixty paintings included in the Greenshields’ estate as having been insured for almost 210,000 dollars.⁷

According to a 1913 article in the *New York Times* on Greenshields’ collection, “The art of collecting is not one to be learned in a school. There one may formulate

⁵ “The Investor,” *Toronto Saturday Night* (21 April, 1909), n.p.

⁶ Louis-Antoine Prat, “Collecting: A Minor Art,” *Drawing 12* (November-December, 1990), 73.

⁷ “Schedule of Paintings” Greenshields Family Papers, McCord Museum.

certain rules and systematically construct around this or that object an orderly array of other objects bearing a direct or indirect relation to it. But the true collector knows as well as any other artist that '*l'art c'est la choix...*'⁸ The unidentified author continued on to praise the high quality of works assembled by Greenshields, "the value of choice" of the collection. By the time this article was written, Greenshields had become well known for his assembling of highly sought-after works by the Hague School. Although Greenshields began by acquiring French and British paintings, by 1904 his collection consisted primarily of oil and watercolor paintings by "modern" Dutch artists, a focus he perpetuated for the rest of his collecting life. He purchased a great many genre scenes of humble peasants by artists such as Jozef Israëls (1824-1911) and Matthijs Maris (1839-1917)⁹, but he favored what he called the "vigorous and boldly handled"¹⁰ landscapes by their associates Jacob Maris (1837-1899), Anton Mauve (1838-1888) and Jan Hendrik Weissenbruch (1824-1903). On occasion Greenshields did purchase work by non-Dutch artists; these were genre or landscape images and within what Greenshields considered to be the aesthetic trajectory of the Hague School. Furthermore, they could be regarded as representative of the "very actual and natural out-of-door feeling"¹¹ he valued in the Dutch works.

Although he wrote of the aesthetic contributions of "Old Masters" such as Jan Van Eyck (c. 1395-1441), Velásquez (1599-1660), Raphael (1483-1520) and others, there is no evidence that he had ambitions of acquiring any of their paintings.¹² However, Art

⁸ "Art at Home and Abroad: The Maris Brothers and Other Masters of Modern Dutch Painting in Two Montreal Collections," *New York Times* (28 September, 1913), SM 13.

⁹ The Maris brothers' names - Matthijs, Jacob and Willem - were often anglicized to Matthew, James and William in North America.

¹⁰ E.B. Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*. (Toronto: Clark, 1906), 111.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, 1-23.

Association of Montreal exhibition catalogues demonstrated that Greenshields owned prints, etchings and other works on paper by non-Dutch artists. They included *Star of Evening* and *Music and Poetry* by Henri Fantin-Latour (1836-1904), as well as others by Jean François Millet (1814-1875), James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and Rembrandt Harmenszoon Van Rijn (1606-1669). However Greenshields presumably did not highly value these works, as his prints are not included in the documentation of his painting collection but are listed instead within inventories of luxury items such as rugs, porcelain and jewelry.¹³

In a 1906 Toronto newspaper article, a comment from Greenshields explains his preference for modern painting: “It is vain to hark back to the days of Raphael or earlier. If art has no new living message to give to its children, it is a dead art and useless.”¹⁴ Over the years, Greenshields purchased several works by British landscape painters such as John Constable (1776-1837), J.W.M Turner (1775-1851) and William Wyllie (1851-1931). Similarly, the French paintings that entered his collection were by painters from the Barbizon school, a group that had greatly inspired their Dutch counterparts. However, Greenshields’ taste did not include contemporary French painters, for while celebrating what he considered to be the Hague School’s contributions to a lasting landscape tradition, he dismissed the work of the Impressionists as “an incomplete and transitional form of art.”¹⁵

Like most of his contemporaries, Greenshields’ collecting interests were specifically European and he rarely purchased works by North American artists. His only

¹³ Greenshields Family Papers, McCord Museum.

¹⁴ “Modern Dutch Art: Mr. E.B. Greenshields’ book on Landscape Painting,” *Toronto Globe* (14 April, 1906).

¹⁵ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 21-22.

Canadian pictures were two oil paintings - *Venice* (c. 1904) and *St. Malo* (c.1904) - by James Wilson Morrice (1865-1924), likely acquired because of Greenshields' friendship with Morrice's father, another avid art collector.¹⁶ Even though Canadian artistic production had greatly increased in both quantity and quality during the period when Greenshields was actively collecting, Canadian painter A.Y. Jackson (1882-1974) noted that European paintings continued to earn their owners "a reputation for cultivation, affluence, and good business sense."¹⁷ One of the founding members of the Group of Seven, Jackson was an outspoken proponent of the development of a distinctly Canadian art; one that was produced by Canadians and supported ideologically and financially by Canadian collectors and cultural institutions. The support of foreign artists, like those of the Hague School by Greenshields and other collectors, was a specific concern to nationalist art movements within Canada following the First World War. With the growth of a Canadian national artistic identity represented by the Group of Seven and others, works by the Hague School rapidly diminished in high-profile private and public collections and were removed from the writing of a Canadian art history.

Although the Hague School's significance in Canada has gone relatively unexplored by both the public and scholars, the collecting of "Modern Dutch Masters" formed an integral part of Canadian cultural life during the last several decades of the nineteenth century and up until the First World War. The height of the Hague School's popularity coincided with an era of ambitious private collecting that has been considered

¹⁶ David R. Morrice (1829-1914) was a wealthy Montreal manufacturer, merchant and financier. Also of Scottish decent, Morrice Senior and his wife Annie moved in the same social circles as Greenshields and his wife. Morrice also owned works by many of the same artists as Greenshields, including Jacob Maris and Anton Mauve.

¹⁷ A.Y. Jackson quoted in J.E.H. MacDonald, "A Whack at Dutch Art," *Rebel* 2 no. 6 (March 1918), 257.

the greatest amassing of art in Canadian history to that point.¹⁸ Despite being virtually ignored in recent Canadian scholarship, The Hague School's production was widely collected in Canada and arguably influential in the development of Canadian art and artists.

The "Hague School" was a designation given by the Dutch art critic Jacob Van Santen Kolft (n.d.) in 1875 to a group of artists active in and around The Hague in the last half of the nineteenth century. At the time, The Hague had not yet developed as a major industrial centre and the area provided an ideal environment for the artists of two generations to explore new ways of viewing and depicting their natural surroundings. The senior members - Johannes Bosboom (1817-1891), Jan Hendrik Weissenbruch, Willem Roelofs (1822-1897), Jozef Israëls and Paul Joseph Constantin Gabriel (1828-1903) - belonged to a generation heavily influenced by Dutch Romanticism. The next generation included artists such as Hendrik Willem Mesdag (1831-1915), Gerard Bilders (1838-1865), Anton Mauve, Bernard Blommers (1845-1914) and the Maris brothers - Jacob, Matthijs and Willem (1844-1910) - whose artistic practice was greatly shaped by their encounters with the Barbizon School. Other minor artists were associated with the group and participated in meetings, parties and exhibitions held at the Pulchri Studio, which functioned as the Hague School's headquarters.

During the "Grey Period," the height of production spanning from the early 1870s to the late 1880s, the Hague School of painters worked in oil and watercolours to convey their intimate knowledge of the Dutch landscape and its people. In his analysis of the group, Charles Carter suggests that Hague School painters were "romantic-realists;" realists because they truthfully employed tone and color by faithfully observing nature,

¹⁸ Hurdalek 13.

but simultaneously presented a “subjective,” emotional response to nature that was more romantic than the detached renderings typically identified with realists.¹⁹ Also called the “Grey” or “Silver” School, the Hague School artists were primarily concerned with pictorial aesthetics and mastery of medium.²⁰ In order to convey atmospheric effects and subtleties of mood, they used muted colors and expressive brushmarks to create tonal images. At the time, Greenshields effusively described the Hague School as “intensely modern, original and racy of the soil; strong, broad, vigorous, suggestive and full of deep feeling it [had] the power of enabling others to feel the spirit that moved the artist.”²¹

One of the founding members, Gerard Bilders, wrote of his artistic motivation: “I am looking for a tone we call ‘colored grey’ that is, all colors however strong, so united as to give the impression of a fragrant warm grey.”²² The Hague School’s muted palette of soft greys as well as browns and greens reflected the moist climate and northern environment of the Netherlands. Their preference for tonal color and an expression of a permanent peacefulness, instead of pure hues and fleeting moments restricted these painters from identifying with French Impressionism; instead, the group has been more closely linked to the *en plein-air* production of the Barbizon School. Sharing a similar aesthetic approach and poetic ambitions, works by the two schools were thought to “hang comfortably together” allowing them to “share the same sale-room triumphs.”²³ As the popularity of the Barbizon School began to rise, works by Hague School artists were considered to be suitable alternatives to the increasingly scarce French works.

¹⁹ Charles Carter, “Where Stands the Hague School Now? *Apollo* LXXI (June 1960), 174.

²⁰ R.H. Fuchs, *Dutch Painting*. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 165. The “mastery of medium” motivating Hague School artists was a topic that Greenshields often discussed in his writing.

²¹ E.B. Greenshields, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting: With Special Reference to J.H. Weissenbruch and Illustrations from His Works in Canada*. (Montreal: Desbarats, 1903), 57.

²² Jan Veth, *Half a Century of Picture Dealing: An Illustrated Record by E.J. Van Wisselingh & Co.* (Amsterdam: E.J. Wisselingh, 1923), n.p.

²³ Carter 173.

The Hague School is often thought to have been introduced to North America at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and then at subsequent events such as the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1892 and the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. At the height of the Hague School's popularity, however the *Montreal Gazette* made the claim in 1900 that "long before this school was brought prominently before the American public at the Chicago World's Fair, it was no novelty in Montreal."²⁴ By the 1870s Hague School paintings had been purchased by prominent Canadians and by the early 1900s had become integral to the collections of Montrealers like Sir William C. Van Horne (1843-1915), Richard Bladworth Angus (1831-1922), Sir George A. Drummond (1829-1910), James Ross (1848-1913), Dr. William Gardner (1845-1926), Dr. Francis J. Shepherd (1851-1929), William John Learmont (d. 1907) and of course Edward Black Greenshields.

Works by modern Dutch painters came to permeate Montreal collections through the city's Scottish connections. The Anglo-Protestant elite that inhabited Montreal's "Square Mile," was predominantly of Scottish decent, quickly establishing themselves during the early and mid-nineteenth century.²⁵ Since the Protestant Reformation, Scotland and the Netherlands shared similar cultural characteristics based on religious Puritanism and a strong work ethic derived from earning a living from the land and sea.²⁶ Although the Hague School became popular in many parts of Europe and North America, during the last half of the nineteenth-century, modern Dutch artists were particularly favored in

²⁴ "Something about the present Loan Exhibition: Modern Dutch School," *Montreal Gazette* (24 January, 1900): n.p.

²⁵ Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal*. (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 1987); Francois Remillard, *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile Montreal 1850-1930*. (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1987); Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895." PhD Dissertation. (McGill University: Montreal, 1997).

²⁶ Hurdalek 15.

Scotland. Wealthy Scots like James Donald (1830-1905), John Forbes White (1831-1904) and James Staats Forbes (1823-1904) were all avid collectors of works by the Hague School.

Based in London, England, Forbes in particular had an impressive collection of art with over two-thirds of his more than two thousand paintings having been created by Dutch artists. When his career with the Great Western Railway took him to the Hague, Forbes formed a close friendship with the painter Israëls and later admitted that, "I can't resist an Israëls [painting]!"²⁷ Powerful Scottish merchants, railroad builders and financiers appear to have influenced the taste of those emigrants with very similar careers who settled in Montreal, and amassed their own collections. Greenshields, like many other prominent Montreal businessmen, maintained strong trade ties with Scotland and in particular Glasgow, where his company's European offices were located. Furthermore, Greenshields most vigorous bout of collecting activity coincided with the deaths of figures such as Donald, White and Forbes and the subsequent dispersals of their collections at auctions. Greenshields acquired several works that had once been in the collection of Forbes, most notably Maris' *The Yoke of Oxen* (n.d.).

Although Hague School pictures were popular with collectors, Greenshields' fixation with the group was unique. As I will outline in the following chapters, art collections are formed in a variety of ways for different reasons, but what makes Greenshields' collection particularly fascinating is the manner in which his acquisition of paintings articulates the development of his ideological engagement with art and aesthetics. As he not only purchased works but perhaps more importantly sold works,

²⁷ Francis Fowle, "The Hague School and the Scots: A Taste for Dutch Pictures," *Apollo* 134, no. 354 (August 1991), 59.

Greenshields formed a collection that represented his belief in the power of art with a “strong subjective phase” in which the artist is subconsciously, and emotionally inspired by nature.²⁸ Unlike his Canadian contemporaries, Greenshields took an almost unprecedented scholarly interest in the artists whose work he collected by writing extensively on them, and using their paintings to illustrate his aesthetic ideals. His major texts - *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting, With Special Reference to J.H. Weissenbruch and Illustrations from his Works in Canada* (1904), and *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* (1906) - are now considered among the first art historical texts published in Canada.

The intention of this thesis is not to examine Greenshields from a purely biographic perspective but rather to map the mechanics of his collecting, to speculate on his motivations and to evaluate the implications of his activities within a cultural context. Although I recognize the importance of the works themselves, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss individual paintings in the collection or the aesthetic contributions of the Hague School in general. Traditional art historical approaches have tended to discuss the shaping of collections anecdotally and as a series of acquisitions by elite private collectors.²⁹ Recent developments in material culture studies have greatly influenced my approach and rather than focus on the character, formation and arrangement of his collection, I will address Greenshields’ act of collecting as a nuanced and dynamic social process, with a strong rhetorical function. In doing so, I call attention to the complexities of collecting in a theoretically engaged manner. By using Greenshields’ collection as a

²⁸ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 21.

²⁹ There are complex and often overlapping definitions of private and public and/or institutional collecting, but for the most part this study focuses on private collecting.

case study, this thesis contributes to art historical scholarship by proposing new methodologies for examining private art collecting.

In order to situate my investigation of Greenshields' collection within existing theoretical discourses, my first chapter consists of a review of literature on collecting. With so little written on collecting practices in Canada, it becomes necessary to look at studies from several different contexts, especially the examinations of collections in New York and the United Kingdom during the same period. Over the last several decades, collecting scholarship has changed dramatically, with the emphasis shifting away from descriptive narratives of aristocratic collecting to diverse discussions of not only collections, but also of collectors and how collections are formed. Drawing from several disciplines, the theories of collecting I have utilized include sociological, anthropological, and even psychological perspectives in addition to traditional art historical methodologies. While my approach to Greenshields' collection has been greatly informed by the contributions of material culture scholarship in general, it is specifically influenced by methodological frameworks proposed by scholars working in other fields scholars such as Pierre Bourdieu, Paul Van der Grijp and Carol Duncan.

Inspired by Susan M. Pearce's concept of collecting as a "poetic," Chapter Two investigates how Greenshields experienced the process of collecting within his life.³⁰ Central to this discussion is an exploration of the collector's motivation to accumulate artworks. Not only do I ask why Greenshields collected in general but I also expand upon the reasons why he collected works by the Hague School in particular and how the act constituted a distinct expression of individual identity. Closely linked to his collecting

³⁰ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 31.

practices, Greenshields' writing is particularly insightful for analyzing his motivation to accumulate art.

While the second chapter addresses how Greenshields discussed his collection, the third and final chapter considers Greenshields' very public role as the foremost proponent of the Hague School in North America, able "to exert considerable influence on both Canadian and U.S. collectors."³¹ By questioning how collections are valued and why valuations change, Chapter Three uses Greenshields and his position within the Art Association of Montreal to illustrate how individual and institutional power dynamics determine taste. This chapter seeks to contextualize the legacy of Greenshields collection within the changing Canadian art landscape.

To conclude, I propose how an exhibition of works once owned by Greenshields, at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) could contribute to the historiography of collecting in Canada. In light of Greenshields' role in the Art Association of Montreal (which would become the MMFA in 1947), and also the ideological connections between private collections and art institutions such as museums, an exhibition would provide an ideal vehicle for furthering the type of scholarship proposed in this thesis.

My study of Greenshields' collection serves as a case study in examining collecting during a significant era in Canadian history. Through his interaction with other collectors, dealers and critics of the time, Greenshields greatly influenced not only collecting practices but also art institutions. By producing one of the first major works of art criticism published in Canada, Greenshields also contributed to art historical literature within the developing cultural sphere of a nation. Today this influential man and his

³¹ John Sillevs and Anne Tabak, *The Hague School Book* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2004), 25. Sillevs discusses Greenshields as one of the Hague Schools most dedicated proponents outside of the Netherlands.

equally important collection of art have been all but erased from Canadian art history. By re-evaluating his contribution, this thesis seeks both to recuperate his impact on Canadian art and its institutions and more importantly to examine socially constructed ideas of taste and value that have shaped the country's art historical narrative.

CHAPTER 1

Discourses of Collecting

Little has been written on Edward Black Greenshields and his collection of nineteenth-century Dutch paintings. In recent years, there has been an explosion of academic interest in art collecting practices, but it has failed to stimulate any sort of sustained scholarship on collecting within a Canadian context.¹ Faced with an absence of literature specifically on Greenshields' activities as a collector, I begin my investigation by establishing how other art collections have been discussed. Merging aspects of material culture, biography, museology and social theory, scholars use a variety of methodologies to address what is collected, and by whom, as well as when, where and how these collections are formed. The majority of this research however, has been focused on why people collect by examining their economic, social and even psychological motivations.

In this chapter, I explore the diverse ways in which collections can be considered, in order to situate my investigation of Greenshields and his collection within both historical and theoretical discourses. Although my discussion focuses on the activities of one particular collector it is important to specify that my approach is not purely biographical but rather draws upon an assortment of methodologies to advance the literature on collecting in Canada. Arguably one of the most poetic approaches, Walter Benjamin's work on collecting as a way of thinking has greatly shaped how I speak to Greenshields and his engagement with collecting. To provide insight "into the relationship of a book collector to his possessions, into collecting rather than a

¹ Some examples include Brian J. Young's *The Making and Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord, 1921-1966* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) and Valerie Knowles *From Telegrapher to Titan: The Life of William C. Van Horne* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2004).

collection,”² Benjamin articulates a way of considering a collection as not only self-extenuating but also serving a rhetorical function. Written during the height of “traditional” collecting scholarship of the 1930s, Benjamin’s work foreshadows the type of critical dialogue concerning private art collections that would only emerge several decades later.

In “Unpacking My Library: A Talk About Book Collecting,” Benjamin reminisces on the memories evoked as he unpacks his book collection one evening. He regards the process of collecting as an act of *re-memoration*: “Every passion borders on the chaotic, but the collector’s passion borders on the chaos of memories.”³ “Unpacking My Library” is a profoundly personal reflection and one of the most commonly referenced by scholars, although Benjamin was to return to the subject of collecting on other occasions. Translated and republished several times, Benjamin’s “Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian” originally appeared as “Eduard Fuchs, der Sammler und der Historiker,” in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* in 1937. Here he discusses Fuchs (1870-1940) as the “pioneer of a materialist consideration of art,” noting the intersections between the Berlin-based writer’s work as a historian and his acquisitions as a collector. His characterization of Fuchs as possessing “the exhibitionism of a great collector”⁴ lends itself to a reading of Greenshields’ own public collecting personae; like Fuchs, Greenshields collected the culture about which he wrote and vice versa.⁵ Benjamin’s views are relevant to my study because Fuchs was an avid collector of works by Honoré

² Walter Benjamin, “Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting,” *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt, Trans. Harry Zohn. (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 59-60.

³ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁴ Walter Benjamin, trans. Knut Tarnowski, “Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian,” *New German Critique* no. 5 (Spring 1975), 47.

⁵ In “The World Collected” *Personal Views: Regarding Private Collections in San Diego* Bill Brown argues that Fuchs collected what he wrote about but I would argue that in both the case of Greenshields and Fuchs both activities developed simultaneously and inextricably dependent on each other.

Daumier (1808-1879) and political visual culture, and like Greenshields he illustrated texts with works from his own collections. While written earlier than most of the literature that has formulated my reading of Greenshields, Benjamin nonetheless posits a compelling and nuanced illustration of the characteristics and motivations of “the figure of the collector.”⁶

Negotiating shifts in academic focus from collections to collectors, in the introduction to *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in 19th Century Spain*, Oscar E. Vazquez presents a thoughtful explanation of the methodology he utilized to examine the process of collecting. Noting that what is “circulated as a ‘collection’ was most often not the artworks themselves but the listings, descriptions, reproductions, inventories, and other signs of the collection,”⁷ Vazquez includes a discussion of the role of archives in collecting research. My study of Greenshields and his art collection is based in intensive archival research and I have used Greenshields papers that include, diaries, scrapbooks, receipts, newspaper articles and other materials. My interpretation of the archival material has been guided by Vazquez’s consideration of the original document’s function – particularly the difference between legal documents and personal reflections- as well as the politics of archives, which can be viewed as “extending already extant classifications of social structures.”⁸ Vazquez’s work speaks to the ways in which archives construct identities of both collections and collectors.

Despite the attention paid to Greenshields by the popular media of his day and the wealth of archival documentation still available, subsequent art historians have not

⁶ Benjamin 46.

⁷ Oscar E. Vazquez, “Introduction: The Subject of Collecting,” *Inventing the Art Collection: Patrons, Markets and the State in 19th Century Spain*. (Pittsburg: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 10.

⁸ Vazquez 20-21.

engaged with him as an important collecting figure in any theoretical way. Since his lifetime, only two texts address Greenshields as a prominent figure in Canada's art milieu.⁹ In 1983, perhaps due to the renewed interest in Hague School artists in the Netherlands, Marta H. Hurdalek curated the exhibition "The Hague School: Collecting in Canada at the Turn of the Century." Opening at the Art Gallery of Ontario and traveling to five other art galleries in Canada,¹⁰ the show included roughly fifty works which once belonged to Canadian collectors and that are now in museums or private collections around the world. Representing the first research to trace the group's popularity in Canada, Hurdalek's accompanying catalogue essay examines the cultural climate that created an appetite for Dutch works, their overwhelming popularity and the following decline in interest.

Nearly ten years later Janet M. Brooke, then the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts' Curator of European art, assembled over sixty paintings for the exhibition "Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920." In Brooke's analysis of the "golden age" of Canadian collecting, Greenshields is only given a short mention in comparison to those Montreal industrialists actively accumulating Impressionist works. Although she notes he acquired very few works directly from the Netherlands, Brooke credits Greenshields with having amassed the strongest collection of Dutch works in Montreal. Hurdalek and Brooke's contributions to the field are extremely well researched, providing a thorough

⁹ In addition to Hurdalek and Brooke, McGill University archivist Gordon Burr produced a thoroughly researched text outlining Greenshields' involvement at McGill University. Entitled "Edward Black Greenshields: The McGill Collection" the article appeared in McGill's *Fontanus* magazine in 2003. Although it does not discuss his collection specifically, Burr's work is helpful in mapping Greenshields' philanthropic interests and social ambitions as well as philosophical views on art and aesthetics.

¹⁰ The exhibition traveled to the Rodman Hall Arts Centre (St. Catharines), the Laurentian University Museum (Sudbury), the Art Gallery of Peterborough (Peterborough), the Agnes Etherington Art Centre (Kingston) and the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia (Halifax) but interestingly enough the exhibition was never shown in Montreal, one of the main locations of Hurdalek's study.

examination of the context of particular collections. However, neither of their texts speaks to collecting in terms of the theoretical approaches to the subject that have been proposed in the last few decades.

To contextualize the dynamics of collecting in Montreal at the turn of the century, it has been worth consulting the significant amount of literature documenting the collections amassed by New York investors and business tycoons such as John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), Joseph Hodges Choate (1832-1917), Henry Gurdon Marquand (1819-1902) and others. Similar economic, religious, political and social conditions as well as geographic proximity make for a strong comparison between Anglo-Montreal and New York City.¹¹ Like Montreal, New York was filled with successful bankers, industrialists and shipping magnates, with strong Protestant beliefs and capitalist ambitions. In addition, New York collectors developed a taste for seventeenth-century Dutch art, furthering the comparison with its cosmopolitan neighbor to the south.

For over fifty years texts like *The Proud Possessors: The lives, times and tastes of some adventurous American art collectors* by Aline B. Saarinen and *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* by Calvin Tomkins have provided narratives outlining wealthy industrialists' active pursuit of European artworks. The most recent addition to this line of scholarship is Esmée Quodbach's catalogue accompanying the *Age of Rembrandt: Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. Held in 2007 at the Metropolitan Museum, the exhibition provided a uniquely reflexive look into how the museum had acquired its exquisite collection. The majority of these contributions also conform to traditional models of collecting scholarship.

¹¹ According to Greenshields' diaries he also spent some time visiting New York.

Conventional discourses on collecting tend to follow the same general narration of aristocratic collections. Some examples of traditional private collecting accounts include Douglas and Elizabeth Rigby's *Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting* and Francis Henry Taylor's *The Taste of Angels: A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon*. Published in the 1940s, these "histories of collecting" are very much of their time in the sense that they both exhibit a typically modernist desire to be all encompassing, accounting for all the important collections in Western history as shaped by economic circumstances and political events. At the outset of their volume the Rigbys laud their text as "the first attempt in any language to present a reasonably comprehensive picture of the general field."¹² Both texts follow a similar trajectory, from the collections of the "Ancient Worlds" of Mesopotamia and Egypt, then Greco-Roman acquisitions, and the lull of the "Dark Ages" to the Italian Renaissance, the Northern European boom to the English Enlightenment and collecting in the Napoleonic Age. Whereas Taylor ends with nineteenth-century France, Rigby and Rigby continue their investigation into the early twentieth-century to examine the rise of private collecting in the United States and particularly New York.

Typical of a traditional approach, the Rigbys and Taylor focus on materials considered "high culture," the significance of specific items, and what have been deemed important groups of objects.¹³ Their narratives are characteristic of conventional collecting studies that layer anecdotes of collecting activities with great moments in the collector's life to explain, "how and when a collector gained his possessions."¹⁴ Later

¹² Douglas Rigby and Elizabeth Rigby. *Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting*. (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1944), xvii.

¹³ Pearce 6.

¹⁴ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.

scholars have critiqued this method for at worst being historiographically soft and sentimental and at best continuing to reinforce traditional canonical tropes of linear events.¹⁵ Furthermore, scholarship of this traditional type creates an overly simplified sense of powerful collectors succeeding one another through history.

Many of the customary methods used to describe art collections also serve to illustrate the historical dynamics between collecting and ideas of connoisseurship. In *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, Carol Gibson-Wood indicates that by the sixteenth-century “collecting art and displaying a knowledge about art had become proper gentlemanly endeavors,” and with the popularity of such activities came an increase in concern for attribution.¹⁶ I would argue that collecting and connoisseurship have a more complex relationship. Since ancient times documentation of collections existed in the form of inventories of the nobility’s possessions. However, with the development of an open art market in the seventeenth century and foundation of institutional historiographies of art in the eighteenth century, inventories had important implications for art historical scholarship. With value being ascribed based on attribution, authenticity could be proved by tracing a works’ location as it changed hands, appearing in household inventories. This led even the most poetic accounts of collecting to include exhaustive lists detailing valuable possessions. The type of conventional collection studies that “concentrated upon typologies and taxonomies, and an interest in periods,

¹⁵ Pearce 6.

¹⁶ Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 11.

schools and studios”¹⁷ originally emerged through provenance research linked to connoisseurship.¹⁸

Recent collecting studies have helped to remove “the study of art collecting from its traditional position as a matter of aesthetics and connoisseurship,”¹⁹ to a place of social history. The work of the foremost contemporary collecting scholar, Susan M. Pearce, has been most useful in helping provide a framework for considering Greenshields’ activities in a manner that differs from traditional narratives of collecting. Edited by Pearce, *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (1994) is arguably the single most important publication on collecting produced to date. Along with Pearce’s own essays, Arjun Appadurai, Carol Duncan, Russell W. Belk and several other scholars working from different disciplines contribute a diverse array of essays, each of which reveals unique ways in which to discuss collecting. Throughout this chapter, I address how some of these methodologies are constructive for approaching Greenshields and why others proved problematic for the type of exploration I have undertaken.

In addition, Pearce’s own text, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, provides a platform for my discussion, elaborating on many of the strategies to frame the process of accumulating objects. In this book, she distinguishes her methods from traditional approaches by her investigation of collecting as “an aspect of individual and social practice which is important in public and private life as a means of constructing the way in which we relate to the material world.”²⁰ Pearce presents three approaches to examining collections: the first, “Collecting in Practice,” addresses how

¹⁷ Pearce 6.

¹⁸ In some cases provenance and ownership became more important than the works themselves.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Vassa Chew, “Female Art Patronage and Collecting in Seventeenth Century Britain.” PhD Dissertation (The University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 2000), 28.

²⁰ Pearce 4.

objects and collections are given meaning within social traditions. The second, “The Poetics of Collecting,” elaborates on individual motivations for collecting. Finally, in “The Politics of Collecting,” she examines what values are recognized and hierarchies re-enforced. By alluding to past questions and how these led to incomplete or overly simplified answers, Pearce suggests the new questions that should be asked to interpret collecting activity.

Pearce’s greatest contribution to collecting scholarship is her introduction of an approach derived from material culture studies. Because groups of objects form what we consider a “collection,” material culture theory or “the study of the meanings of objects” has been extremely influential to collecting scholarship.²¹ An initial inquiry into collecting usually begins by determining exactly what is being collected. Although most writing acknowledges the ubiquity of different types of collections (stamps, rocks, all the animals of the earth two by two²²) until the rise of material culture studies, the majority of scholarship focused on elitist definitions of “fine arts.” In *Lock, Stock and Barrel*, Rigby and Rigby explained that collecting can be imagined as a pyramid, with the broad base consisting of any type of amassing of objects – food, clothing or even ideas. Perched above the gathering of “ordinary” objects, at the apex is the amateur or true collector, pursuing “Chinese Jade, or illuminated manuscripts”²³ and other luxury items. Until recently, the literature on collecting had an inverse correlation to this pyramid with the vast majority of scholarship addressing elite collections of art and other precious objects.

²¹ Susan Pearce ed., “Introduction,” *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. (London: Routledge, 1994), 1.

²² In *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), John Elsner and Roger Cardinal even go so far as to discuss Noah as the first collector in Western consciousness.

²³ Rigby and Rigby 338.

Material culture studies undertaken by scholars such as Pearce, Arthur MacGregor, Walter Impey, and others have developed new theoretical frameworks to address collections that fall outside traditional definitions of “fine arts.” Coming mostly from the United Kingdom, these “object” studies have become helpful in discussing phenomena such as the Frog Collection owned by a woman in Walsall, England, or Robert Opie’s infamous collection of commercial packaging, now in the Museum of Advertising and Packaging, also in England and founded by Opie. The division made between elite culture and broader definitions of material culture have led to an increase in scholarship on ordinary object collections in reaction to the monopoly previously held by *objects d’art*. However as a result, I would argue that there has been little development in recent years on new and inclusive ways to think about collections that fall within traditional definitions of “high art.” Because of this, and even though Greenshields’ activities are categorized as “high art” collecting, the questions posed by material cultural theorists propose new ways of thinking about his collection.

One of the fundamental questions asked about collecting is how certain things have appeared to be more worthwhile than others to bring together in a collection.²⁴ For anthropologist Igor Kopytoff, a thing has a cultural life and responses made to the biography of a thing’s life “reveal a tangled mass of aesthetic, historical, and even political judgments, and of convictions and values that shape our attitudes to objects labeled ‘art’.”²⁵ He suggests that anything that can be purchased with money can be commodified, but the location of the object in its “life cycle” determines its ascribed

²⁴ Ronald Thomas Harvie, “The Spectre of Buckingham: Art Patronage and Collecting in Early Stuart England,” PhD. Dissertation (McGill University: Montreal, 1999), 157.

²⁵ Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Ed. Arjun Appadurai. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 67.

value. Observing a paradox in this system, he explains that as “one makes [items] more singular and worthy of being collected, one makes them valuable; and if they are valuable, they acquire a price and become a commodity and their singularity is to that extent undermined.”²⁶

Although Kopytoff’s methodology is more commonly applied to objects that had utilitarian functions before their classification as art, the politics of value are helpful when analyzing art markets. Many of the works owned by Greenshields went through a particular life cycle, for as Greenshields and other wealthy industrialists began to purchase the works, the demand increased, they became more valuable and the supply narrowed. However, when the Hague School fell from popularity, work flooded the market, bringing the prices down, making them readily available to potential consumers, and then being labeled “potboilers” within elite art circles. Not only does Kopytoff’s work on commodification and object life cycles have direct bearing on Greenshields’ collection, but by calling attention to how objects are perceived, it also provides a broader way of thinking about how value is determined and ultimately what enters collections.

Arjun Appadurai also posits a notion of value determinant on utility and demand that parallels Kopytoff’s suggestion of the cultural life of things. Extremely important for unpacking ideas surrounding definitions of “high art” is Appadurai’s essay entitled “Commodities and the Politics of Value”²⁷ in which he outlines the role of power relations in defining value in relation to exchange. Drawing heavily on the early twentieth-century economic philosopher Georg Simmel, Appadurai is helpful in creating a context to understand what becomes collected. He states that objects are invested with

²⁶ Ibid., 81.

²⁷ Arjun Appadurai, “Commodities and the politics of value,” *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. (London: Routledge, 1994).

value and that value increases based on the difficulty of obtainment, and not the reverse. He quotes Simmel, explaining that what constitutes value is the difficulty of acquisition, or what must be offered in exchange.²⁸ What Appadurai suggests indicates that a collector like Greenshields would be willing to pay greater amounts depending on the scarcity of an object. Furthermore, Appadurai proposes a way of thinking of value-laden objects as gaining symbolic meaning, suggesting “that we regard luxury goods not so much in contrast to necessities (a contrast filled with problems), but as goods whose principal use is *rhetorical* and *social*, goods that are simply *incarnated* signs.”²⁹

To collecting theory, Mieke Bal adds a semiotic approach similar to Appadurai’s suggestion that collected objects can be perceived as signs. For Bal, the discussion of collecting presents “*a true problematic*” (original emphasis).³⁰ Informed by semiotics and psychoanalysis, her poststructuralist essay “Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting” presents an approach that describes collecting as a narrative, with both the collected and the collector serving as narrative agents. Following Aristotelian narrative constructs, Bal posits that collecting has a beginning, middle and end: the beginning constituting of the discovery of a lack, the middle being the acquisition and the end being the completion of a collection. The possibility of completion for an art collection, unlike more finite collections such as stamps, makes Bal’s suggestion of an end to collecting problematic, but it is her application of collecting as “a tale of social struggle” that is more promising. Bal’s approach is more inclusive than collecting narratives as she engages “subjects on both sides of the ‘logic of narrative possibilities’, and on both sides

²⁸ Ibid., 77.

²⁹ Ibid., 83.

³⁰ Mieke Bal, “Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting,” *The Cultures of Collecting*. Ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal. (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 110.

of gender, colonialist and capitalist splits”³¹ and therefore provides ways of engaging with collections formed by women, colonized peoples and members of the lower classes often excluded from traditional discourses.

Working from a semiotic model similar to that used by Bal, theorist Krystof Pomian examines the social power structures that dictate who has access to collecting, providing more theoretical answers to an analysis of what is collected and by whom. In *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*, Pomian presents an anthropological perspective, suggesting that the act of collecting is an attempt to form a link “between the visible and the invisible”³² – the “visible” being material culture, real and tangible and the “invisible” being spatially and/or temporally distant and intangible. He highlights both the social and economic dimensions of collecting, noting that “hierarchies of power, prestige, education and wealth”³³ all determine not only what is collected, but perhaps more importantly who collects.

Pomian suggests that collected objects, bridging the gap between the visible and the invisible, are “semiophores” of “absolutely no use” but through their removal from the economic market and placement in a collection become endowed with specific meaning. Collectors, by surrounding themselves by semiophores, not only remove themselves from the mundane “thing” world, but as “semiophore-men,” also possess the ability to bestow value and instill meaning.³⁴ Instead of simply suggesting that “Greenshields had a taste for Hague School works,” Pomian’s idea of the significance of objects to a collector provides a way to use archival information such as inventories to

³¹ Bal 114.

³² Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800*. Trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Portier. (London: Polity Press, 1987), 5.

³³ Pomian 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 32.

ask questions about what an object meant to its owner, what he did with it and why it came to have such socially established importance.³⁵

Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu's work has been invaluable in establishing ways to think about the role of collectors in a "cultural field of production." Just as Kopytoff and Appaduari have presented a theoretical analysis of "value," Bourdieu's work and in particular the book *Distinction*, is crucial for providing a working definition of "taste," another word used exhaustively in collecting studies. He locates the collector among the "makers" of the work of art as they contribute to its value by materially appropriating it, just as viewers symbolically appropriate art.³⁶ Collectors therefore play a critical role in the field of production defined by Bourdieu as, "the system of objective relations between these agents or institutions and as the site of the struggles for the monopoly of the power to consecrate, in which the value of works of art and belief in that value are continuously generated."³⁷ Bourdieu notes that the "field of cultural production" lies within a "field of power" and consumption practices order these fields, ultimately creating the hierarchal structure of society.³⁸

Within these hierarchies, the symbolic and cultural capital possessed by individuals determines the ways in which taste is displayed.³⁹ According to Bourdieu, collectors not only possess the economic capital required to purchase artworks but also demonstrate and contribute to their own accumulation of "cultural capital." Serving as proof of the knowledge necessary to appreciate and understand art, cultural capital differs from "symbolic capital" or the "reputation for competence and [the] image of

³⁵ Chew 26.

³⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*. (London: Polity Press, 1993), 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

³⁹ Pearce, *On Collecting* 10.

respectability and honorability” that contribute to the owner’s social standing.”⁴⁰ Greenshields would easily fall into the category Bourdieu designates as “trendy industrialists,” contributing to the complex symbolic economy of the art world.⁴¹

Informed by Marxism, Carol Duncan presents a postcolonial model for collecting that considers how the power structures suggested by Pomian, Bourdieu and others function in the North American context. Her work is particularly important for collecting studies because “museums, collections and knowledge are intricately linked” as private collections “undergo a process of interpretation” upon their positioning within an institutional context.⁴² In her seminal museum studies text, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, Duncan explores how the process of collecting as a means to achieve social distinction and an upper-class identity, was transported from Great Britain to its colonies. Her analysis of private interests of collectors in New York at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century is particularly helpful for situating an approach to Greenshields and his collection. The powerful collectors that founded the American public art museums of Duncan’s study, solidified their economic position and were in the process of establishing their political and social prestige by making their private collections public.⁴³ Duncan’s premises are critical to deconstructing the ways in which taste and value are institutionalized. Furthermore, her designation of the museum as an “identity-defining machine”⁴⁴ contextualizes Greenshields’ own role in the Art

⁴⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 12, 291.

⁴¹ Bourdieu *The Field of Cultural Production* 103.

⁴² Marta Herrero, “Outline of a Sociology of Art Collections,” *Irish Intellectuals and Aesthetics: The Making of a Modern Art Collection*. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), 6.

⁴³ Duncan 54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

Association of Montreal as a powerful expression of cultural identity and intellectual commitment.

In her writing on Victorian collectors, Dianne Sachko Macleod notes that art collections served as signals of the owners' cultural engagement that sought to deny a reading of their accumulation as "conspicuous consumption."⁴⁵ Thorstein Veblen first developed the idea of "conspicuous consumption" nearly one hundred years ago, in his study *The Theory of a Leisure Class* (1899). According to Veblen, the leisure class "comprises the noble and the priestly classes... they have the common economic characteristic of being non-industrial."⁴⁶ Writing during Greenshields' time, Veblen's concepts apply directly to Greenshields' status as the Canadian equivalent to nobility and the ideal aristocratic activities he pursued after he had accumulated such great wealth that he was able to partially retire from the business world. For Veblen conspicuous consumption entailed the exchange, display and destruction of valued goods: "in order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess, wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence."⁴⁷ Published at the height of nineteenth-century evolutionism,⁴⁸ some of Veblen's suggestions are problematic, in their Eurocentrism, but his work provided a departure point for later consumption studies by Bourdieu and also more recently by Russell W. Belk.

⁴⁵ Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the making of cultural identity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 11.

⁴⁶ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An economic study of institutions*. (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1918), 46.

⁴⁷ Veblen 42.

⁴⁸ Paul Van der Grijp, *Passion and Profit: Towards an Anthropology of Collecting*. (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 25.

Drawing conclusions from research on consumer behavior,⁴⁹ Belk views collecting as “shaped by the same cultural processes that affect other types of consuming activities.”⁵⁰ Although critiqued for his approach as “consumption writ large,”⁵¹ Belk’s work is helpful in examining collecting in terms of self-extension, suggesting that for most collectors the process of acquiring desired objects is a powerful “means of achieving and expressing identity.”⁵² He notes the extent to which collections serve as an extension of the self, not only in terms of the collector’s judgment and taste but also that the time, money and effort involved indicate the owner literally “put a part of self into the collection.”⁵³ He also suggests that collectors have “self-enhancing motivations” that include “seeking power, knowledge, reminders of one’s childhood, prestige, mastery and control.”⁵⁴

Similarly, Bal suggests that the impulse to collect is fraught with complex motivations; “hybridic: a mixture of capitalism and individualism enmeshed with alternative modes of historical and psychological existence.”⁵⁵ In her discussion of the narrative of collecting, she asks, “What makes the collector ‘collect on,’ hence collect at all?”⁵⁶ addressing one of the fundamental questions about the phenomenon of collecting: “Why do people collect?” Perhaps one of the most complex questions, it has also inspired recent writing on collections. In *Museums, Objects and Collections* Pearce presents a list

⁴⁹ Russell W. Belk explains that his insights on collecting are derived from information collected as part of the “Consumer Behavior Odyssey,” a transcontinental, interdisciplinary research project, performed in 1986 by researchers in the United States and Canada.

⁵⁰ Russell W. Belk, “Collectors and Collecting,” *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. (London: Routledge, 1994), 317.

⁵¹ Van der Grijp quotes Belk’s term “consumption writ large” no less than 4 times in his book.

⁵² Russell W. Belk and Melanie Wallendorf, “Of mice and men: gender identity in collecting,” *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. (London: Routledge, 1994), 241.

⁵³ Belk “Collectors and Collecting” 321.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 322.

⁵⁵ Bal 110.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

of sixteen possible motivations for collecting: “leisure, aesthetics, competition, risk, fantasy, a sense of community, prestige, domination, sensual gratification, sexual foreplay, desire to reframe objects, the pleasing rhythm of sameness and difference, ambition to achieve perfection, extending the self, reaffirming the body, producing gender identity, achieving immortality.”⁵⁷

The majority of literature on the drive to collect focuses on psychological factors that as Pearce describes “tends to concentrate on the first two syllables of the word ‘analysis’.”⁵⁸ Since the late seventeenth-century when the French moralist Jean de la Bruyere described the collecting impulse as “a passion often so violent that it is no less potent than love or ambition,”⁵⁹ a *topos* of the obsessed collector has existed that has inspired the tradition for viewing collecting in general psychological terms.⁶⁰ Drawing upon a Freudian notion of the fetishized object and Lacanian linguistic structuring of the unconscious, psychoanalytic methods of examining art collecting suggest a deferral of desire that has implications for the accumulation of objects.⁶¹ First published in 1981, Frederick Baekeland’s “Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting,” uses his own experiences with collectors to classify fetishistic, exhibitionistic, voyeuristic and other various drives.⁶² Baekeland summarizes his argument on the motives of wealthy nineteenth-century collectors as follows:

For the tycoon, collecting art also extends the range of competitive activities from the boardroom and market-place to the auction gallery and drawing-room. With rare exceptions he is apt to rely on experts or dealers

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Pearce, *Interpreting Objects and Collections* 6-7.

⁵⁹ Jean de La Bruyère, *Oeuvres complètes*. (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1951), 386.

⁶⁰ Ting Chang, “Review: Models of Collecting,” *Oxford Art Journal* 19, no. 2 (1996), 95.

⁶¹ Alexandria Pierce, “Imperialist Intent, Colonial Response: The Art Collection and Cultural Milieu of Lord Strathcona in nineteenth-century Montreal.” (McGill University: Montreal, 2002), 87-88.

⁶² Frederick Baekeland, “Psychological aspects of art collecting,” *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. (London: Routledge, 1994) 214-6.

with access to famous experts not only to authenticate the expensive works of art he buys but also to suggest them... Big collectors are moneyed people who for personal or social reasons use their wealth under expert advice to bring together quickly a number of celebrated works of art and boast of their possessions: they are usually financiers... Their motives have included vanity, the pleasure of buy a work from under the nose of a rival and the need to compete with him.⁶³

Also working from a psychoanalytic perspective similar to Baekland is Werner Muensterberger. In *Collecting: An Unruly Passion*, Muensterberger uses a “psychobibliographic” approach to examine the collecting impulses of historic collectors such as Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), Emperor Rudolf II of Austria (1552-1612) and Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), as well as a friend “Mr. G”. Using psychoanalytic terminology, Muensterberger concludes that the urge to collect stems from neglect or trauma in childhood, and through their accumulation, objects serve as “inanimate substitutes for reassurance and care.”⁶⁴

In a similar argument, sociologist, Jean Baudrillard proposes a “system of collecting.” He begins by devising two mutually exclusive categories of objects: those that are utilized and those that are possessed. Not only would several theorists such as Kopytoff and Appadurai challenge this dualism, but Baudrillard’s positioning of collecting as motivated by a Freudian lack is also heavily critiqued. Baudrillard suggests that collecting first manifests itself during puberty and “resurfaces” during “critical phases” in the collector’s life, always assumed by Baudrillard to be male, sexual development.⁶⁵ He also addresses the accumulation of objects as compensation for an

⁶³ Baekland 206.

⁶⁴ Werner Muensterberger, *Collecting: An Unruly Passion, Psychological Perspectives*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 256.

⁶⁵ Jean Baudrillard, “The System of Collecting,” *The Cultures of Collecting*. Ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal. (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 9.

inability to form human relationships. According to Naomi Schor, Baudrillard's collector "is a misfit who would be at home in Freud's Vienna... unable to cope with the struggles of intersubjectivity."⁶⁶ Although she critiques Baudrillard's phallogocentric theorization that excludes women as collectors, Schor recognizes that he is helpful in illuminating, from a profoundly structuralist perspective the *seriality* of the act of collecting.⁶⁷

Psychoanalytic approaches are often dismissed for being one dimensional or reductive, with the interpreter retroactively or posthumously engaging with collectors about whom very little is known.⁶⁸ Art historian Ting Chang also suggests that working solely from a psychoanalytic perspective positions collecting as a pathology and that to consider "the desire to collect as intrinsically neurotic is to neglect the important and complex social and historical forces which overdetermine collecting practices."⁶⁹

In response to the reductive tendencies of psychoanalytic approaches, economic anthropologist Paul Van der Grijp presents four motivations for collecting that appear in various combinations or what he calls "cultural configurations:"⁷⁰ the economic, social, and psychological. Kopytoff and Appadurai's intensive discourse on the politics of value could easily be defined as economic, while Bourdieu and Duncan could be placed within cultural contexts, and the psychoanalytic constructs utilized by Munsterburger, Baudrillard and others within the psychological. However, Van der Grijp also posits a fourth (particularly helpful, in my view, for examining Greenshields' process of

⁶⁶ Naomi Schor, "Collecting Paris," *The Cultures of Collecting*. Ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal. (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), 256-7.

⁶⁷ Chang 96.

⁶⁸ Van der Grijp; Chang.

⁶⁹ Chang 96.

⁷⁰ Van der Grijp.

collecting), a cognitive motive that addresses collecting vis-à-vis “the acquisition and transmission of knowledge through the constitution of a collection.”⁷¹

Van der Grijp’s writing draws heavily on Benjamin’s notion of collecting as the “primal phenomenon of study: the student collects knowledge.”⁷² Influenced by post-modern theory and cultural studies, scholars like Van der Grijp have revisited Benjamin’s scholarship on collecting. One of the most thoughtful of such readings has been performed by Jae Emerling in her PhD dissertation entitled *The Gesture of Collecting: Walter Benjamin and Contemporary Aesthetics*. Emerling finds it curious that there has been little scholarly interest in Benjamin’s ideas on collecting given that in *The Arcades Project* he states: “Here, the Paris arcades are examined as though they were properties in the hand of the collector.”⁷³ She argues that throughout his philosophy a primary aesthetic figure emerges; that of the “genuine collector” and that it is through this figure that Benjamin presents a theory of memory based on the language of things.⁷⁴ Emerling’s writing provides an entry point into Benjamin’s philosophy that has greatly shaped the way I regard Greenshields and his collection as a means of *re-collection*. In “Collecting Paris” Schor notes that more than any of the other nineteenth-century social types studied by Benjamin in his prolific writings, it is the collector that most resembles the author, because collecting “involves the retrieval and ordering of things past; collecting provides the link.”⁷⁵

⁷¹ Ibid., 13.

⁷² Benjamin quoted in Jae Emerling, “The Gesture of Collecting: Walter Benjamin and Contemporary Aesthetics.” PhD Dissertation. (University of California, Los Angeles, 2007), viii.

⁷³ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*. Trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999), 205.

⁷⁴ Emerling viii.

⁷⁵ Schor 252.

CHAPTER 2

Ut pictura poesis: The Poetics of Edward Black Greenshields Collection

At the turn of the century Edward Black Greenshields created one of the most focused Canadian collections of Hague School painting by that group of artists he believed to have “caught a spark of the divine fire of genius.”¹ For Susan M. Pearce, understanding the collector’s motivation is central to considering collecting. What she calls the “poetics of collecting” examines how “individuals experience the process of collection in their own lives, how they report on their relationship to it and how this can be analyzed by the investigator.”² Pearce’s approach provides a framework for figuratively considering Greenshields’ impulse to collect as a creative expression of identity and literally as an investigation of the connection between his art collection and his writing.

In discussing the “poetics” of Greenshields’ collection, I begin this chapter by examining how Greenshields identified with his collection and how the very act of collecting enabled him to construct a carefully crafted public image. Contributing to his self-formed identity, Greenshields’ writing functions not only as an extension of his collecting activities but also as a “report” on his relationship to collecting. Pearce’s concept of a poetic implies that Greenshields’ motivation to collect and engage with his collection served as a powerful way for him to assimilate with but also distinguish himself from the other “merchant princes” collecting art in Montreal at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 109.

² Pearce, *On Collecting* 31.

Because of the great economic prosperity created by transcontinental railways, agricultural abundance, manufacturing increases and booming industries of the nineteenth century, a new class of Canadian consumers emerged.³ During this time of rapid industrialization, “Canadian opulence bought pictures as it bought stocks, bonds, rugs and antiques”⁴ in an ostentatious display of newfound wealth. It is estimated that at the turn of the century nearly three-quarters of Canada’s millionaires lived in Montreal’s “Golden Square Mile,” concentrating seventy percent of the entire country’s wealth within one affluent neighborhood.⁵ Greenshields and his contemporaries Sir George A. Drummond, James Ross, Sir Donald Smith and most notably Sir William Van Horne focused much of their money on the acquisition of great art collections.

Describing a similar cultural phenomenon in nineteenth-century England, Dianne Sachko Macleod notes that: “Victorian art cannot be understood independently of its relationship to money. Capital empowered the emerging middle class and made patronage of contemporary art possible. Money, to the enterprising businessman, held the symbolic promise of a new cultural identity...”⁶ Like his colleagues, Greenshields’ financial status and access to art collecting allowed him to cultivate a particular social identity. However, as I will argue in this chapter, Greenshields’ intellectual engagement with his collection nuances his practice as “conspicuous consumption,” providing him

³ Roderick MacLeod, “Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal’s Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895.” PhD Dissertation. (McGill University: Montreal, 1997), 10. In his study of the Golden Square Mile, MacLeod explains that “middle class” is in fact the correct designation for Greenshields and his peers because despite their enormous wealth they were not part of the colonial aristocracy but rather had their “origins in local commerce, transport and industry.”

⁴ Robert J. Lamb, *The Canadian Art Club 1907 – 1915*. (Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1988), 16.

⁵ Francois Remillard. *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile Montreal 1850-1930*. (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1987), 21.

⁶ Dianne Sachko MacLeod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class* 1.

with not only a elevated cultural status but perhaps more importantly a unique intellectual personal position distinct from other collectors within the Montreal milieu.

By explaining why and exploring how people collect, collecting studies ultimately examine, according to Alison Thomason, how “collections of objects serve to materialize human identities.”⁷ Pearce notes in similar terms that artworks are not passive or inert, but are a visible indication of taste, and thus shape various identities.⁸ Because collecting requires a selection process or a series of judgments that reflect social, political, cultural, educational and ideological values, a particular collection can provide an entry point into a discussion of subjective narratives of identity, formulated both intentionally and unintentionally by the person collecting.⁹ Citing several examples of how collections can symbolize the collectors’ background, Vazquez observes that “the nature and content depend on the status of the collector himself; that is, on the positions he has reached in the hierarchies of power, prestige, education and wealth.”¹⁰ The ways in which Greenshields cultivated his collection reflects a complex interplay between his career, heritage and education, revealing aspects of his identity as an investor, Scotsman and scholar.

Greenshields’ approach to collecting was highly informed by his professional experiences. In 1903, after Greenshields Co. became a publicly traded company, he became president of Greenshields Ltd. However, the role was largely symbolic, as he left much of the daily operations to his partner, Edward Charles Barry Fetherstonhaugh (1852-?), to attend to his personal interests. The success of his business allowed him to

⁷ Allison Carmel Thomason, “Theoretical Underpinnings: Towards a Definition of Collecting,” *Luxury and Legitimation: Royal Collecting in Ancient Mesopotamia*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 3.

⁸ Pearce, *On Collecting* 18.

⁹ Thomason 6.

¹⁰ Pomian 5.

focus on collecting as a leisure activity befitting his hard-earned status. At the same time, collecting provided structure to his life and allowed him to actively set goals and measure his successes.¹¹ Although he had purchased paintings since the 1880s, he only began collecting art seriously in the last few years of the nineteenth century. In the small pocket journals he kept with him to record his expenses and meetings, Greenshields also made notes on his collecting. For example on 4 January, 1904, he recorded that a “Weissenbruch (large) arrived.”¹² The last several pages of each journal were dedicated to a rough inventory of the works in his collection.¹³ Examination of the mechanics of his collecting reveals that Greenshields approached his leisure activities with the same business acumen and attention to detail that he had overseen his lucrative professional trade. Consulting art dealers throughout North America and Europe, he built strong relationships with important galleries and relied on the prudent financial management skills he had developed as one of Canada’s most successful merchants.

In their discussion of collecting Rigby and Rigby linked the characteristics often ascribed to successful business executives to that of collectors of the same era.¹⁴ The calculated risks Greenshields was used to taking as an investor were conducive to the speculative nature of purchasing modern art.¹⁵ Art historian Albert Boime notes a correlation between business and art-purchasing trends outlining that during conservative times, fortunes are more secure and greater risks can be taken in purchasing art. He also creates a timeline of collecting patterns following the development of modern corporate

¹¹ Pearce, *On Collecting* 5.

¹² Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

¹³ *Ibid.* These running inventories are very rough and do not always include titles.

¹⁴ Rigby and Rigby 326-7.

¹⁵ Dieuwertje Dekkers, “Where are the Dutchmen? Promoting the Hague School in America 1875-1900,” *Simiolus* (March 1996), 70.

structuring that describes the period of 1900-1914 (the time when Greenshields was most active) as a period where there is a “tendency toward specialization either in particular periods or schools;”¹⁶ as in Greenshields case, the Hague School.¹⁷

During the nineteenth century, many North American shipping and railroad magnates had begun collecting European “Old Master” works, “borrowing standards of excellence and taste from older and more seasoned cultures.”¹⁸ However by the early years of the next century, not only had the supply of Italian and Northern Renaissance paintings run low, but also the steadily rising prices of works by Israëls, the Maris brothers and Mauve, had increased their collecting appeal. One American collector, John Quinn (1870-1924) stated, “I prefer the art of my own time... I do not want to buy the ideals of artists 50 or 75 years ago... I prefer the more exciting and interesting and profitable (game) of buying living art.”¹⁹ Proving to be solid investments, Hague School works that had originally been sold for the equivalent of two or three hundred dollars began to sell at auction for thousands of dollars as the nineteenth century drew to a close.²⁰ Collecting works by modern Dutch artists provided a way for Greenshields and other *nouveau riche* collectors to display not only their cultural sensibilities but also their financial acumen.

Motivated by the accomplishments of the slightly older generation of collectors like Van Horne, Drummond and Angus, Greenshields began by forming an art collection that echoed those of his peers. An annotated catalogue from the 1936 exhibition of the

¹⁶ Albert Boime, “America’s Purchasing Power and the Evolution of European Art in the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Saloni, Gallerie, Musei e loro influenza sullo Sviluppo dell’arte dei secoli XIX e XX*. Ed. Francis Haskell. (Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna, 1979), 129.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 94.

¹⁹ Boime 127.

²⁰ Hurdalek; Carter.

Greenshields collection indicates that some of his earliest purchases were work by French artists. In 1882 he bought Adolphe Monticelli's *Fête Champêtre* (n.d.) and in 1891 a landscape by Jean Baptiste Camille Corot. The majority of his Hague School acquisitions occurred after 1900. At the height of his accumulation between 1902 and 1906, sales records show that Greenshields was purchasing one or two Hague School pictures per month. By 1910, his health had begun to deteriorate, and his purchases slowed but did not stop.

Despite his reputation for "the diversity of his knowledge and attainments,"²¹ Greenshields' penchant for collecting was narrowly restricted to works by modern Dutch artists. While many of Greenshields' collecting colleagues shared his interest in Hague School artists, very few collected so single-mindedly. Van Horne was noted for the breadth of his collection that included the Impressionist work in addition to international art. At the height of Greenshields' interest in the group, Van Horne only owned three Hague School works; two of which, Matthijs Maris' *View of Lausanne* (1861) and Jacob Maris' *The Industrious Child* (1862), fell outside the painter's typical stylistic conventions.²² Initially, Van Horne purchased several other works by Hague School

²¹ "The Investor," np. Greenshields was also an avid chess player, winning several competitions including 4th prize in the 1887 *Montreal Gazette* Tourney, 4th prize again in the *Ottawa Citizen* Tourney in 1886, 2nd prize in the 1885 *Toronto Week* Tourney, honorable mentions in the *Columbia Chess Chronicle* and was among Mr. A. Shinkman's Selection of Five Best Problems in the *Mirror* Tourney in 1885. In addition he seemed to be interested in the history of postage stamps. An article in the *London Philatelist* included an entry by Greenshields: "The following facts may be of interest to collectors of the stamps of British North America. Some time ago a cover was offered to me, which seemed to me to be absolutely genuine, yet I had never, up to that time, heard of such envelopes being in existence. This letter was posted in New Carlisle, Gaspé, Lower Canada, on April 7th, 1851, and was stamped "Three Pence" in two lines, inside a square, with a black border of neat design around the sides. Across this was written, "Letter R. W. Kelly Apl. 1851". The letter was addressed to Toronto, C. W., and on the other side was stamped the date the letter was received, "Apl. 16 1851". I sent the envelope to Mr. Donald A. King, of Halifax, and received the following reply from him." It is interesting to note that Greenshields addresses "collectors of stamps"! "A Postmaster's Provisional" *PostalStamps.ca* <http://www.postalstamps.ca/Articles/A-Postmasters-Provisional.html>. Accessed 21 July 2008.

²² Brooke 21.

artists, but some time after 1914 on the advice of dealer Stephen Bourgeois, he exchanged twenty-four Dutch works for increasingly valuable French Impressionist paintings.²³

In contrast to Van Home's holdings, an inventory of Richard Bladworth Angus' collection compiled by Gloria Lesser in 1992 indicates that approximately one-seventh of the roughly two hundred works he owned were by modern Dutch artists.²⁴ In 1909, William John and Agnes Learmont bequeathed their collection to the Art Association of Montreal, and of the one hundred and twenty-six paintings, donated, thirty-three were by the Hague School and their Dutch contemporaries.²⁵ Most closely resembling Greenshields' collection in percentage of Hague School works were those of Dr. William Gardner (1845-1926) and Dr. Francis Shepherd (1851-1929), which displayed a similar specialization in Hague School works.²⁶

At its zenith, Greenshields privileged what he deemed quality over quantity, appearing to prefer much sought-after works like those by Matthijs Maris (Figure 7) who, unlike his more prolific brother Jacob, was thought to have produced only a few hundred paintings in his lifetime.²⁷ Brooke considers Greenshields' greatest collecting achievement to be his acquisition of Matthijs Maris' works, *The Boy with a Hoop* (1863), *At the Well* (1872) *The Christening* (1873) *The Yoke of Oxen* (c. 1870) and *The Dreamer*

²³ Hurdalek 24.

²⁴ Gloria Lesser, "The R.B. Angus Art Collection: Paintings, Watercolours and Drawings," *The Journal of Canadian Art History* 15, no. 1 (1992), 108-123.

²⁵ Hurdalek 19.

²⁶ Brooke 29.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 120 Hague School artists were generally very prolific, working in small scale often using watercolors, so in comparison to many of his colleagues who produced hundreds of works, Matthijs Maris' oeuvre of is considered very small.

(1887).²⁸ As well as owning works by the seven leaders of the group - Bosboom, Israëls, the Maris brothers, Mauve, and Weissenbruch - Greenshields also possessed examples by lesser-known members such as Evert Pieters (1856-1932), *Mother and Girl* (n.d.), *Girl Sewing* (nd – Figure 8) and *Interior* (nd - Figure 9) and William Steelink (1856-1928) *Landscape with Sheep, After the Rain* (c. 1900).

In his pursuit of rare pictures, Greenshields displayed a keen understanding of supply and demand developed during his business career. He also applied his trade skills for he rarely purchased a painting outright, instead paying in installments, and often over several years. Extant sales receipts reveal that Greenshields was constantly buying, selling and trading works. One example seems to have been quickly re-sold is a “Framed Gainsborough;” a receipt from Scott and Sons shows he paid half of the \$2125 price tag but it never appears in any subsequent inventories, suggesting it was only in his possession for a short amount of time and could have been exchanged for a couple of the Hague School works he acquired later that year.²⁹

Greenshields’ process of collecting and also his taste for modern Dutch artists serve as another way of articulating his own identity. If, as Pierre Cabanne suggests in the *Great Collectors*, “the objects coveted by the collector express his eternal pursuit of himself,”³⁰ then what was Greenshields pursuing in collecting the Hague School? Literature on the Hague School documents the variety of ways in which paintings by these artists appealed to the tastes of merchants, industrialists and professionals in Europe

²⁸ Brooke 29. Brooke’s evaluation reflects her apparent dislike of Hague School landscape. I would imagine that Greenshields would have considered his greatest collecting achievements to include his numerous works by Weissenbruch, the artist he most frequently wrote about.

²⁹ Greenshields acquired many Hague School works in 1903 and 1905, as he was writing his two books. Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

³⁰ Pierre Cabanne, *The Great Collectors*. (London: Cassell, 1963), viii.

and North America.³¹ However, I would like to further suggest the complex manner in which the works served as powerful reminders of the possessors' wealth and status.

Just as in the seventeenth century when Dutch still life paintings with their depictions of vanitas themes reminded the viewer of the transitory nature of life and even more slippery possession of earthly wealth, Greenshields would have been quick to identify with themes present in works by Israëls, Mauve and others. Struggling farmers and fishers were presented as humble and dignified; their "unassuming solidarity and straightforwardness"³² as described at the time, was what made them so endearing to wealthy collectors. Themes of poverty were rendered picturesque, providing a type of pastoral that did not directly reference the peasants' dire circumstances and in no way would have been read as a social critique.³³ However, more politicized economic implications did exist for as scholars today suggest, the depictions of the "happy" poor reinforced the class based subjugation while simultaneously assuaged any possibility of guilt for wealthy citizens such as Greenshields.³⁴ Canadian collectors could identify with Hague School works, which at once reminded them of their roots but also allowed them to appreciate their newfound station in life (Figure 10).

With their dramatic landscapes, quiet interiors, and intimate genre scenes, the Hague School artists were credited with having created an artistic revival of Holland's historic "Golden Age." Weissenbruch, Bloomers, Israëls and their colleagues were thought to have inherited the tradition of "the epoch-making landscapes and marine

³¹ Carter; Brooke; Fowle; Dekkers etc.

³² Vivian Knight, "The Hague School and the Royal Academy," *Artscribe* (June 1983), 58

³³ John Sillevs, Ronald de Leeuw and Charles Dumas ed. *The Hague School: Dutch Masters of the Nineteenth Century*. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1983), 33.

³⁴ Thank-you to Professors Brian Foss and Sandra Paikowsky for pointing this out.

painters of Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”³⁵ During that time the Dutch Republic had become known for the “embarrassment of riches” that had resulted from a Protestant work ethic, democratic idealism and perhaps most importantly capitalist ambitions.³⁶ Many scholars have noted the similarities between the Netherlands and Scotland, one even suggesting that during the nineteenth century Scotland directly mirrored that of Holland two centuries previously.³⁷ Dominated by Scottish immigrants, these characteristics came to typify the religious, political and economic atmosphere of Anglo-Montreal, creating distinct parallels between the two spatially and temporally distant communities.

Not only did seventeenth-century Dutch artists provide a powerful legacy for their nineteenth-century followers, but also the Dutch Golden Age had created an art market that empowered the type of collecting and connoisseurship that flourished in North America during the nineteenth-century and continued into the twentieth. The very methods Greenshields employed to form his collection had emerged as a result of the open art markets of Amsterdam, and other Dutch cities. During the immense economic prosperity of the seventeenth century, a distinct lack of royal and religious patronage created ideal conditions for artistic commerce to flourish. Rather than being commissioned by the church, works of art were bought, sold and traded in the open art market that catered to a wide variety of income levels and social statuses.

³⁵ “The Modern Dutch School: Paintings by Recent and Living Masters of the Netherlands,” *New York Times* (27 October, 1904), 7.

³⁶ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. (New York: Knopf, 1997), 69.

³⁷ Carter 175.

Despite hyperbolic statements about the ubiquity of paintings in all Dutch households,³⁸ wealthy, private middle class citizens known as *burghers* purchased the majority of the pictures sold on the market.³⁹ In his study of the history of collecting, Francis Henry Taylor is just one of many scholars to recognize the Dutch burghers as the first captains of industry, foreshadowing later (North) American business tycoons.⁴⁰ Greenshields did share many political and economic beliefs with his Dutch merchant forerunners, most significantly the notion that social stability is based on low taxation, tariff protection and equitable, honest government.⁴¹ I would like to propose Greenshields' identity as a burgher based on Simon Schama's narrower definition of the term.

Schama distinguishes a *burgher* from a bourgeois, noting that it is more than an issue of translation, for "the burgher was a citizen first and *homo oeconomicus* second."⁴² *Burgher* therefore becomes an apt description for Greenshields, because he was more than just a successful entrepreneur; he was also a dedicated member of the Montreal community, involved in many of the city's religious, academic and social spheres. Maria Tippet notes that much of the philanthropic activity in Canada during Greenshields' time "was explicitly founded on feelings that recalled those of seventeenth-century Dutch burghers anxious to make their cities centers of art and culture."⁴³ Furthermore, Gombrich credits the rise in successful merchants who supported democratic processes by sitting on boards and being active in the daily life in their communities, as provoking

³⁸ Francis Henry Taylor, *The Taste of Angels: A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), 254.

³⁹ Mariet Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718*. (New Haven: Yale University Press), 33.

⁴⁰ Taylor 252.

⁴¹ Gordon Burr, "Edward Black Greenshields: The McGill Collection," *Fontanus* 11 (2003), 132.

⁴² Schama 7.

⁴³ Tippet 98.

the seventeenth-century Dutch art market to flourish.⁴⁴ Like the figures Schama and Ernst Gombrich discuss, Greenshields' public personae was shaped by a particular expectation that his successes, financial and otherwise, would be re-invested in the community.

In the only biographical text written on Greenshields, Gordon Burr outlines his active participation in the administration of McGill University as a member of the Board of Governors and Honorary Treasurer. In keeping with Anglo-Protestant tradition in Montreal, he was also deeply involved in numerous patronage organizations, most significantly the Art Association of Montreal. Through not only his community involvement, but also his intellectual engagement, Greenshields' constant striving to be recognized as an enlightened member of society as opposed to only a wealthy merchant solidifies his identity as a *burgher*.

The way Greenshields presented himself publicly shows at the very least a solid understanding of Dutch history and at most an identification with the Dutch burghers, with whom he came to share many political, religious, economic and philosophic attributes. He kept extensive journals during his travels and while in the Netherlands during a trip to Europe in 1895 he recounted his interpretation of Dutch history. One particular entry describes a town square in which "after forty years of service to the state" John of Barnnenhof [sp] had been executed nearly three hundred years earlier.⁴⁵ In a letter to fellow collector and friend, Van Horne, Greenshields expressed his own admiration for the Dutch, writing: "I have great regard for Holland. That little country has produced in the past the greatest statesmen, soldiers, sailors, thinkers and artists."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ernst Hans Gombrich, *The Story of Art*. (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 325.

⁴⁵ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Through his business pursuits, community involvement and intellectual aspirations it is possible that Greenshields wished to affect his country in a similar manner.

Many of the values that were often ascribed to Dutch art in both the seventeenth and nineteenth century also appeared in the way Greenshields hoped to portray himself. A review of a special loan exhibition of works by the Maris brothers in 1900 at the AAM, passionately declared, Dutch “portrait painters in the past depicted the faces of men who had done something in the world. Truth, simplicity, dignity were and are the golden rules in Dutch art...”⁴⁷ The popular Dutch saying “The Lord has made the world but the Dutch have made their own country,”⁴⁸ would have resonated with someone like Greenshields. As an influential citizen, dramatically shaping the Canadian landscape physically, economically and culturally through his involvement in railways, industrial development and philanthropic work, Greenshields could have easily identified with having “done something in the world.”

An interest in Dutch cultural values was not unique to Greenshields or even Montreal. During the late nineteenth century a pronounced fascination with Holland emerged, particularly in the United States and Canada but also to a lesser extent in Great Britain, Germany and France. Now described as “Holland Mania,” the cultural phenomenon permeated many aspects of everyday life including travel, advertisements, fashion and interior design. In *Holland Mania: The Unknown Dutch Period in American Art and Culture* Annette Stott outlines the ways in which “visual images helped shape and disseminate the new historical view,”⁴⁹ of the Netherlands as the model for American

⁴⁷ “Something about the Present Loan Exhibition: Modern Dutch School,” *Gazette* (24 January, 1900): 6.

⁴⁸ Veth np.

⁴⁹ Annette Stott, *Holland Mania: The Unknown Dutch Period in American Art and Culture*. (New York: Overlook Press, 1998) 12.

civilization. While Stott's focus is on the United States, her analysis of Dutch art brought to America by collectors is particularly interesting in relation to Greenshields' own activity.

Rembrandt Van Rijn was viewed as typifying the democratic ideals valued by collectors consumed by "Holland Mania." One nineteenth-century critic observed "Rembrandt, the greatest of them all, studied with incessant assiduity the common people," while another noted "especially in America Rembrandt is honored with love and sympathy, his work is the main attraction in every gallery, and that the holy secret of his art is understood and admired by the staunch and sturdy sons of liberty and democracy."⁵⁰ Although Greenshields never purchased any of Rembrandt's paintings he did own several prints and Greenshields' writing indicates an interest in his works. In a speech delivered to the Art Association of Montreal (c.1904) Greenshields discusses not only Rembrandt but also Rembrandt's relationship to the people buying his paintings. He describes the patronage of Rembrandt by the Burgomaster Jan Six as paralleling his own collection of Israëls' paintings. Similarly, his description of Six as "a man of refinement and means, fond of literature and a poet"⁵¹ closely resembles the self-fashioned image Greenshields projected of himself.

As an activity of the wealthy class, buying art allowed Greenshields to interact with his peers but the specialization of his collection and the means by which he made it public, allowed him to distinguish himself.⁵² What made Greenshields unique among his peers was his education, and in particular, the influence it had on his collecting activities. A newspaper article from 1910 describes the divide between the "college graduate and

⁵⁰ Quoted in Stott 26.

⁵¹ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

⁵² Burr 129.

the unschooled businessman,” noting Greenshields was a rare mix of both “town and gown.”⁵³ Unlike many of his colleagues, who had “left school at the legal age of fourteen, apprenticed [themselves] to a business house, and rose to the top largely through Calvinistic determination,”⁵⁴ Greenshields was well educated for the period.⁵⁵ In 1869, he graduated from McGill University, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree and earning the Prince of Wales Gold medal for first rank honors in Mental and Moral Philosophy.

Greenshields’ education was greatly influenced by his Scottish background. The High School Department of McGill College, better known as the High School of Montreal, was modeled after schools in Edinburgh.⁵⁶ Similarly, his chief tutor while undertaking a Bachelor of Arts Degree at McGill University was the University of Edinburgh graduate and Anglican rector of St. George’s Church, William Turnbull Leach (1805 -1886), who was dean of McGill University’s Faculty of Arts and one of the founders of the Art Association of Montreal. While the exact curriculum of Greenshields studies is unknown, Burr speculates that he would have been well versed in both ancient and modern philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, Kant and Descartes. It is also highly likely that his studies would have included the works of David Hume (1711-1776), Thomas Brown (1778-1820), Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) and other figures of the Scottish Enlightenment. A well respected member of Montreal’s Scottish community, Greenshields’ sophistication became an important aspect of his public personae. His interest in the “other side of life” garnered him a reputation as having “cultivated the arts

⁵³ “Canada’s Big Business Men,” *The Canadian Century* (2 April, 1910).

⁵⁴ Donald MacKay *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal*. (Vancouver: Douglas and MacIntyre, 1987) 7.

⁵⁵ Greenshields fellow collector William Van Horne was more typical of the standard level of education of the time. The oldest of five children, Van Horne’s father died when he was eleven, leaving him to support the family. With little formal education he began his career as a telegraph operator, steadily moving up the ranks to become one of North America’s most powerful railroad barons.

⁵⁶ Burr 130.

to such an extent as to excel in them.”⁵⁷ Newspaper articles from the turn of the century note Greenshields’ refinements in the arts as unique to such a successful entrepreneur marveling at the “diversity of his knowledge and attainments.”⁵⁸

Despite an interest in European artworks in Montreal, at the turn of the century many believed Canada to be a rural backwater lacking cultivation.⁵⁹ In 1908 critic Harold Mortimer Lamb wrote, “Culture is born of leisure and the refinements of existence, the love of the beautiful, or taste in literature or art usually require for their development a more congenial and peaceful environment than that engendered by the pioneer’s hard struggle.”⁶⁰ In her discussion of Canadian cultural institutions at the turn of the century, Tippett argues that the “preoccupation with building railroads, with ploughing fields, and with establishing financial institutions”⁶¹ that Lamb describes, had left little room for more “civilized” pursuits. For Greenshields to step away from his business responsibilities in order to attend to leisure activities such as collecting art is indicative of a shift in values at the time among his class.

Greenshields’ aspiration to be respected not only as a successful businessman but also as serious scholar is evocative of Kopytoff’s assertion that art is viewed as “superior to the world of commerce.”⁶² In a speech made at McGill’s Faculty of Arts dinner in 1909, Greenshields noted the relationship between the academic and the business worlds suggesting that the “winged words” of poets and writers could inspire merchants to greater intellectual heights. Greenshields’ reinforcement of his interest in art for reasons

⁵⁷ “The Investor,” np.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ This belief is supported by the fact that during the time many Canadian collectors were interested in “modern” works like those of the Hague School, vastly more avant garde artists such as Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque (1882-1963) were revolutionizing art in France.

⁶⁰ Lamb quoted in Tippett 92.

⁶¹ Tippett 92.

⁶² Kopytoff 82.

beyond investment purposes emphasized what critic Francis Palgrave has described as “the higher education of the soul,”⁶³ a common aspiration of the time.

One of the most prolific ways Greenshields articulated his intellectual attainments was through writing. Considered by Burr to be the “literary Renaissance man of the Montreal world of commerce,”⁶⁴ Greenshields contributed poetry and articles to McGill’s *University Magazine*.⁶⁵ According to one contemporary source he was “a lover of poetry and has more than once proved himself a poet finder... responsible for their introduction to the Canadian reading public.”⁶⁶ His article “Charles Heavyside, A Forgotten Poet,” was included in the October 1908 edition of the *University Magazine*.⁶⁷ In 1910, he published a small collection of his own poetry. Entitled *Poems*, the collection included meditations on life, religion, emotions and - most frequently - art:

Art is the Expression of the inner thought
In outward beauty of unspoken word,
And man in patient labour must be taught
The means by which its spirit may be heard.⁶⁸

If, as Pearce claims, motivation can be revealed through the ways individuals report on their relationship to collecting, then Greenshields’ writing provides significant insight. Throughout his life Greenshields had written poetry and prose but at the height of his collecting activities he focused with scholarly attention on writing about art and art history. While traveling in Europe, he kept extensive diaries thoroughly annotating his visits to museums and galleries. Of Rembrandt’s *Night Watch* (1642) in the Rijksmuseum

⁶³ Quoted in MacLeod 272.

⁶⁴ Burr 130.

⁶⁵ “The Fields of Canada,” *The University Magazine* 8 no. 1, (1909) and “The Forgotten Canadian Poet,” *The University Magazine* 7 no. 3 (October 1908).

⁶⁶ “Canada’s Big Business Men,” *The Canadian Century* 2 April 1910, np.

⁶⁷ Greenshields along with John Cox and Henry Taylor Bovey had initiated publication of *The University Magazine*’s predecessor the *McGill University Magazine* published from 1901-1906.

⁶⁸ E.B. Greenshields, *Poems*. Montreal: S.I., 1910.

in Amsterdam he wrote, “A piece of masterly grouping, light and shade and color, his largest work and many considered to be his masterpiece. When we look at larger pictures in this room, remember also that all their figures are portraits and had to be satisfactory ones, we marvel at the genius that could compose such a group.”⁶⁹ In his journals Greenshields discusses art at length, and I would argue these comments served not only as a record of his daily activities but also the initial working through of ideas that would later appear in his writing on art.

In 1904, Greenshields published a small pamphlet entitled *The Subjective View of Landscape in Painting, with Special Reference to JH Weissenbruch from Works of his in Canada*. The sixty-page leaflet was published by Desbarats & Co. Engravers and Printers of Montreal, and financed by Greenshields himself. With the “hopes that this little pamphlet may prove of some interest to lovers of art,”⁷⁰ Greenshields outlined his own views on “subjective landscape painting” explaining:

Thus there are two ways of painting a landscape, and there are two points of view from which the painting may be studied. The artists, in the first place, may give us merely and exact likeness of the external view, well and carefully painted as to technique; or secondly, if endowed with the capacity to do so, the same view, but after passing through and being influenced by his own personality, the accuracy of detail and the carefulness of the drawing subordinated to matters of more importance... These are the two points of view, the objective and the subjective.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Greenshields Diaries, Dec 1894-July 1900. McCord Museum. Also known as *The Company of Frans Banning Cocq and Willem Van Ruytenburch*, depicts a gathering of an Amsterdam civic militia guard. As a student Greenshields had joined the 3rd Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles and had participated in the Fenian raids of 1866. The following year he attended militia school. When he left the militia in 1875 with the rank of captain.

⁷⁰ Greenshields, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting* 5.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 24 -25.

Using the poetry of Emerson, Tennyson, Burns and others, as well as the art criticism of Henry R. Poore,⁷² John Ruskin, and Robert MacDougall, Greenshields argues the achievements of the seven founders of the Hague School, Bosboom, Israëls, Mauve, the Maris brothers and in particular Weissenbruch. Greenshields distributed the pamphlet widely, sending copies to his friends, colleagues and his international dealers. Frans Buffa en Zonen in Amsterdam, C.W. Kraushaar, Cottier & Co., Knoedler & Co. and Thomas B. Clarke all in New York, responded with high praise for Greenshields publication. F.W. Gunsaulus (1856-1921), the influential President of the Armour Institute of Technology in Chicago even wrote back asking for more copies for his friends.⁷³

Three large scrapbooks in the Greenshields Fonds document the impact of Greenshields' collecting and writing throughout North America. Newspaper reviews from cities all over the United States described Greenshields as a "gentleman who is known in art circles as a collector almost as well as he is known as one of Montreal's leading wholesale merchants."⁷⁴ The scrapbooks also include all of Greenshields' personal correspondence regarding his publications, allowing a glimpse into his peers' reaction to his writing. The letters range from polite notes congratulating him on his literary achievement and thanking him for sending a new book, to lengthy commentaries and philosophical debates. During the writing of his texts, Greenshields was in regular

⁷² Poore's *Pictorial Composition and the Critical Judgment of Pictures* was also published by the Baker & Taylor Company.

⁷³ A prominent figure in Chicago's social, educational and civic development, Gunsaulus was president of the Armour Institute of Technology for twenty-seven years. In 1890 he delivered "The Million Dollar Sermon" which led Philip Danforth Armour to donate the money required to found the Institute. Gunsaulus was well known for his work as a pastor, educator, author and humanitarian.

⁷⁴ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

correspondence with the Classics professor John MacNaughton (1858-1943)⁷⁵ and F.W. Gunsaulus, president of the Armour Institute of Technology in Chicago. Also included are newspaper reviews of Greenshields' writing gathered through a newspaper clipping service he hired to collect the articles from newspapers across the continent. Over the years Greenshields accumulated dozens of reviews, from papers as far away as Los Angeles and Salt Lake City, as many major American papers reviewed his publications. One or two negative reviews appear in the scrapbooks indicating that Greenshields kept not only his accolades, nevertheless the overall the response to his work and that of the Hague School was positive.

Greenshields' first attempt at art criticism received rave reviews, and E.F.B. Johnston, a lawyer and author of an important early book on Canadian art from Toronto even suggested, "If you ever have time, and the inclination, you certainly ought to amplify and extend your subject."⁷⁶ Two years later, perhaps prompted by Johnston, Greenshields wrote a longer⁷⁷ and more thorough work, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*.⁷⁸ Expanding on what he had proposed in *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting*, he provided a more in-depth history of landscape painting in the European tradition, and seven individual chapters, each devoted to one of the seven most prominent members of the Hague School (Figure 11). With what a *Burlington Magazine* reviewer of the time described as "an interest which borders on obsession and an

⁷⁵ MacNaughton, an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church, was born in Scotland and came to Canada to teach Greek and Latin at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. In 1908 he accepted a position at McGill University in Montreal.

⁷⁶ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

⁷⁷ *The Subjective View* was sixty pages, while *Landscape Painting* was over two hundred.

⁷⁸ In the late eighteenth century new genres of writing that included descriptions of contents of private collections alongside discussions of aesthetics and connoisseurship began to emerge. For more on this see Vazquez 15.

enthusiasm that might well be mistaken for frenzy,”⁷⁹ Greenshields outlined the development of landscape painting from the Renaissance to the achievements of the Hague School, frequently discussing and including images of works from his own collection. Today his book is considered the first book-length art criticism produced in Canada engaging with European art.⁸⁰

Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Art was an extension of what Greenshields had begun to consider in *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting*. In the preface he asks, “What is a picture?” before moving on to outline his intentions for the book. From the outset Greenshields states his interest in landscape painting, reiterating its “subjective” qualities, “It cannot imitate nature. If it tries to do this it must fail, and give but a weak reflection of nature’s inimitable pictures. But it can give, and does give in a very direct and sympathetic way, the effect produced on the artist by nature.”⁸¹ In the first chapter he sketches “A Brief History” of landscape painting in the European tradition. Greenshields suggests that the Venetian school of the fifteenth century, “makes the nearest approach to modern ideas. The little vistas of country in Bellini’s work are beautiful, and Giorgione painted a lovely piece of nature in which the ‘Sleeping Venus’ reposes... Titian and Tintoretto continue the work of Giorgione and reach the highest point up to their time, in depicting nature.”⁸² He also praises Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) and Claude Lorrain (1660-1682) as having been

⁷⁹ G.A.W., “Art Books of the Month,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 10 no. 43 (October 1906) 60. In general this reviewer is not very favorable of Greenshields writing and does not appear to share Greenshields’ interest in the Hague School.

⁸⁰ Dennis Reid, *A Concise History of Canadian Painting*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988) 119.

⁸¹ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 2.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 9.

present as “the modern spirit awoke, and for the first time in the history of art the study of nature for the its own sake began.”⁸³

The following chapter, “Revival of Dutch Art,” describes the conditions that allowed for nineteenth-century painters in and around the Hague to recapture the glory of their seventeenth-century predecessors. Greenshields credits Bosboom as the first to “break with the old order” of eighteenth-century academicism to “give a new interpretation... his vitalizing genius, and instead he gives us what he felt rather than what he saw.”⁸⁴

In Chapter Three Greenshields compiles a variety of opinions on art, quoting at length from writings by John Addington Symonds (1840-1893), William J. Stillman (1828-1901), John Ruskin (1819-1900), John Lafarge (1835-1910), Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893)⁸⁵ as well as artists such as Eugene Fromentin (1820-1876), the Canadian William Brymner (1855-1925)⁸⁶ and Albert Pinkham Ryder (1847-1917).⁸⁷ In Chapter Four, “Nature and the Poets,” he undertakes a survey of how significant poets have treated nature. Using passages by Sir Walter Scott, Milton, Tennyson, Cowper, and Coleridge to name a few, Greenshields introduces his belief in a “subjective” view of nature shared by both literary and visual artists. In Chapter Five, Greenshields discusses Modern Dutch art in general before devoting the following seven chapters to Johannes

⁸³ Ibid., 12.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁵ A French critic and historian, Taine was one of several nineteenth century writers to praise seventeenth-century Dutch painting as the height of Northern European artistic production. Along with others such as Theophile Thore and Charles Caffin, Taine contributed to “Holland Mania” by glorifying the civic values of the Dutch Republic.

⁸⁶ He would have known Brymner through his work at the where he was director from 1886-1921.

⁸⁷ A.P. Ryder’s work *Moonlight Journey* was one of the very few works by American artists. Although he did not purchase the picture directly from Ryder, it also appears that Greenshields and Ryder were in correspondence as early as 1889. See *Albert Pinkham Ryder: Painter of Dreams* by William Innes Homer (New York: Abrams, 1989).

Bosboom, Josef Israëls, James Maris, Matthew Maris, William Maris, Anton Mauve and J.H. Weissenbruch respectively.

The main premise of the book is that the Hague School of artists had mastered a “subjective view,” of painting or what Greenshields described as “the vision, realistic or imaginative according to the man’s temperament, that is always painted; not the thing as it is itself, but as it appears to the mind.”⁸⁸ Throughout his poetry, art criticism, public presentations and personal correspondence, there is the sense of an intense romanticism and a compelling recognition of the sublime.⁸⁹ Greenshields also firmly believed that poets and artists had a similar task as “the painter in words and the painter in colours [work] toward the same end, both seeking to inspire the thoughts and move the feelings of people they appeal to in their different ways.” (Figure 12)⁹⁰

The Latin phrase *ut pictura poesis*, translated literally as “as in painting so is poetry,” was an analogy used by the Roman lyric poet Horace (65 BCE-8 BCE) to compare the art of painting (and sometimes sculpture) with poetry. During the Renaissance, the term was often used as painting and poetry were considered to be equally noble arts. In the nineteenth century John Ruskin reintroduced the notion asserting that “Painting is properly to be opposed to *speaking* or *writing* but not to poetry. Both painting and speaking are modes of expression. Poetry is the employment of either for the noblest purposes.”⁹¹ Greenshields appears to have agreed with Ruskin’s views, and espoused the expressive powers of painting. In one particular lecture he gave at the Art Association of Montreal (c. 1904), he discusses “Two Speaking Portraits,” in which

⁸⁸ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* x.

⁸⁹ Burr 140.

⁹⁰ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 107.

⁹¹ John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*. (London: 1960), 31.

he declares “It is not what an artist in any division of the Fine Arts can do that is the really important matter. It is what he has to say.”⁹²

Not only did Greenshields use a poetic style to express his views on art, he wrote poetry about art and was inspired both by the idea of art in general, and also specific paintings. Greenshields approached poetry with the “same sense of romanticism, which guided his analysis of paintings.”⁹³ Included in his 1910 publication *Poems*, is “A Painting by Matthew Maris:”

With down-dropt eyes that gaze far, far away,
She pauses in the old cathedral aisle,
And just the shadow of a lingering smile
Turns onto troubled thought and will not stay.

The peaceful christening memories lie enshrined
Where glowing colours fret the chapel floor,
And from the world beyond the deep-arched door
Dreams of the future haunt her anxious mind.

Aloof from all she stands, in wonder lost,
This girlish mother, with the burdened years
First pressing on her brow their weight of fears;
While from her niche, apart from earthly strife,
The calm saint tells a world by passion toast,
Of rest that crowns the mystery of life.⁹⁴

Purchased from the dealer Daniel Cottier of New York in February of 1906, Maris’ *The Christening* from 1873 (Figure 13), depicting a young mother holding a baby in front of a typically Northern Gothic cathedral was one of Greenshields’ most coveted works.

Burr explains that because the artists of the Hague School appealed to his core intellectual beliefs, Greenshields had formed a “deep and profound aesthetic attachment”

⁹² Undated notes for speech. Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

⁹³ Burr 137.

⁹⁴ E.B. Greenshields, *Poems*. Montreal: S.I., 1910.

to their works.⁹⁵ He justified his interest in works by the Maris brothers, Mauve, Weissenbruch, Bosboom and Israëls explaining:

In looking at the work of these seven Dutch artists, we are struck by their unaffected simplicity and straightforwardness, and also by their perfect tone quality and beautiful harmony of contrasted color. Showing how much can be gained by emphasizing this simplicity and tone quality, proving the importance of generalizing and exhibiting the strongly subjective side of painting, are their additions to the art knowledge of the world. For these things they have given up much, but they held them to be all-important and well worth what they cost.⁹⁶

However it was not only Greenshields who found these themes attractive; it is well documented in the literature on the Hague School that as “romantic-realists,” the group appealed to “merchants, industrialists and professionals” for the realism spoke to their pragmatic natures while simultaneously alluding to a higher nature of the sublime.⁹⁷ While profiting greatly from the industrial revolution, Macleod argues that many successful Victorian businessmen during Greenshields’ time had become disillusioned with progress.⁹⁸ In *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, Peter Gay notes that “in the midst of material progress and political successes, the middle classes were apprehensive over social status, moral imperatives, religious traditions, familial conflicts, and by summing them all up, cultural change.”⁹⁹ Faced with personal and professional anxiety, art collections filled with “subjective” landscapes provoking, according to Greenshields, a “feeling of pleasure and content by its beautiful color and form,”¹⁰⁰ provided a contemplative retreat for industrialists such as Greenshields.

⁹⁵ Burr 143.

⁹⁶ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 117-118.

⁹⁷ Carter 174.

⁹⁸ Macleod 273.

⁹⁹ Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 459.

¹⁰⁰ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* xi.

Writing of Willem Maris' work, Greenshields alludes to the painter's ability to evoke a setting that allowed him to escape the pressures of daily life. In a note to Van Horne, Greenshields explained, "such sun lit meadows and rivers, and such bright sunshine streaming on the cattle... I am not able to see what he saw, though with his assistance I occasionally do catch a far off glimpse."¹⁰¹ It is possible that Greenshields had Maris' *Milking Time at Abcoude* specifically in mind when making this comment. Acquired from Scott and Sons in November of 1903, the painting appeared in *Landscape Painting*, as representative of Maris' handling of atmospheric effects and the skillful representation of animals, characteristic of his rural farm scenes.

All of the works illustrating the "subjective nature" of modern Dutch art in Greenshields' book were part of his collection. In *Landscape Painting* (Figure 14), he was not only promoting the work of the Hague School but also his own taste and ability to form a superb collection of art works. In order to support his views he also had to assert his attitudes within the art historical and critical discourses of the time. Throughout the text he refers heavily to the writing of other art historians, poets and philosophers, and even includes entire chapters by Ruskin, Stillman, LaFarge and Symonds at the end of the book. By appending these works, he is bringing together and organizing this literature much like a collection- a collection of modern art criticism.

One of the figures Greenshields admired greatly was John Ruskin. Ruskin's *Modern Painters* was first published in 1843 and Greenshields still considered him to have an unequalled talent for "poetic expression" and to be a "writer of magnificent English prose" without equal.¹⁰² An 1892 article in the Canadian periodical *Arcadia*

¹⁰¹ Van Horne letter McCord.

¹⁰² Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 37.

featured Ruskin prominently as an example of a “painter-poet.”¹⁰³ It is easy to see Ruskin’s appeal given Greenshields’ views on the intersections between visual and literary expression. Known as “a minor Ruskin,” Philip Gilbert Hamerton’s (1834-1984) writing also appeared in Greenshields’ text.¹⁰⁴

Another writer Greenshields quoted heavily was John LaFarge. An American artist and theorist, LaFarge, along with August F. Jaccaci, published *Noteworthy Paintings in American Private Collections* in 1907. Conceived as a comprehensive study of the major private collections in America, the two authors arranged for collections to be photographed and commissioned leading European scholars to write texts to accompany the images.¹⁰⁵ After only two volumes covering five collections, the publication was cancelled due to lack of funds. Although no Montreal collectors were included, by 1904 Jaccaci had been in contact with Drummond and Angus, and along with Roger Fry visited Van Horne’s collection in December of 1906. As well Jaccaci had researched Ross’s collection and it is probable that Greenshields would have had contact with him during his time in Montreal.¹⁰⁶

Like Jaccaci and LaFarge, Greenshields was attempting to raise interest in art collecting and promote those collections already in place. In reviews of the time Greenshields’ text is lauded as providing a layman’s approach to arts appreciation. According to Greenshields, he hoped his book would, “encourage a taste for [art] by trying to show what should be looked for and what should be found in pictures.”¹⁰⁷ In

¹⁰³ Anita Grants, “Selectivity, Interpretation and Application: The Influence of John Ruskin in Canada.” PhD Dissertation. (Concordia University, Montreal, 2006), 2.

¹⁰⁴ James Kissane, “Art Historians and Art Critics- IX: P.G. Hamerton, Victorian Art Critic,” *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no.826 (January 1972) 22.

¹⁰⁵ Brooke 18.

¹⁰⁶ Brooke 18-19.

¹⁰⁷ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* xi.

this sense Greenshields' writing functions as a "ready-made collection" of literature produced for a "new class of novice connoisseurs,"¹⁰⁸ and reflects a desire to stimulate the market for art in Canada.

Despite Greenshields' own interests, there was little enthusiasm for publishing art books in North America at the time and initially his second book was rejected for publication. In correspondence from the Baker and Taylor Publishing Company in New York, the publisher very courteously notes that while they found the manuscript delightful, they were concerned that the demand for such material was small in North America and unsure the book would ever sell enough copies to recoup the publishing fees. Greenshields responded by offering to pay all the expenses personally, which, according to his meticulously kept records, amounted to thousands of dollars for the first edition. After the publication of the book, Greenshields purchased a majority of the texts and strategically distributed them to collectors, curators and dealers throughout North America and Europe. Despite the publishers initial concerns about the demand for such a text, *Landscape Painting*, sold over a thousand copies in 1906 and was reprinted by the Copp, Clark Company of Toronto in 1909.

By publishing texts and circulating them in North America and Europe, Greenshields was able to make his private collection available to a wider public. On display in his home, his paintings would have only been viewed by a select group of people within his social circle, so his writing provides a means to publicly display his taste. Just as Greenshields inserts himself into the canon of noted critics and art historians, he places his works within a larger tradition of landscape painting. Discussing

¹⁰⁸ Marc Gotlieb, "How Canons Disappear: The Case of Henri Regnault," *Art History and Its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline*. Ed. Elizabeth Mansfield. (London: Routledge, 2002), 164.

and including images of works from his own collection, he situates artists like Israëls, Matthijs Maris, and Weissenbruch (Figure 15) alongside Raphael, Titian, Poussin and Constable. By doing so Greenshields not only asserts the quality of his collection but also his own status as an informed connoisseur and influential collector. Although the extent to which Greenshields wrote about his collection is unique, his knowledge about his works is not. When an informed collector is driven to possess but cannot ever really complete a collection he or she adapts by selecting, ordering, and classifying works. As James Clifford suggests, a “good” collector must be able to label works, know their provenance, be able to “tell ‘interesting’ things about them [and] to distinguish copies from originals.”¹⁰⁹ According to Clifford, a “good” collector is not only an arbiter of taste but perhaps more important reflexive about their collection.¹¹⁰

In line with Clifford’s assertion that a successful collector must become knowledgeable about his or her collection, Walter Benjamin would argue, in a manner pertinent to Greenshields, that collecting is the material result of a quest for knowledge. In her thorough and articulate discussion of the “gesture of collecting” in Benjamin’s oeuvre, Jae Emerling unpacks his notion of a “genuine collector” as an aesthetic figure, existing between humanity and things.¹¹¹ Using Deleuze and Guattari’s concept of the “aesthetic figure” as one who assists philosophy, philosophy being “the art of forming, inventing, and fabricating concepts,”¹¹² Emerling outlines of the relationship between collecting and the acquisition and production of knowledge. In Greenshields’ case his

¹⁰⁹ James Clifford, “Collecting Ourselves,” *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. Ed. Susan M. Pearce. (London: Routledge, 1994), 260.

¹¹⁰ Clifford 260.

¹¹¹ Emerling 12.

¹¹² Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Deleuze and Guattari: Critical Assessments of Leading Philosophers*. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 33-4.

writing was not only inspired by his collection but also more significantly his collection represented his own material articulation of his personal philosophy and aesthetic ideals, becoming the “thing of [his] thinking.”¹¹³

Greenshields’ literary activity is an example of how “individuals wrote about and employed collections and their related documents to construct varied social or personal positionings.”¹¹⁴ It was not enough for Greenshields to collect, but as his writing shows, it was important to articulate himself as a collector. I would suggest that Greenshields’ collection and his views on art developed simultaneously; as he collected the works he acquired came to serve a more specific and powerful rhetorical function. Through his writing, Greenshields reveals his motivation to collect as a desire for what Ruth Formanek describes as “contact and engagement with other minds.”¹¹⁵ His collection can be viewed as a material manifestation of his own values and beliefs, for in the preface to *Landscape Painting*, Greenshields tellingly informs the reader, “It must be remembered that as we look at pictures we learn, and that all through life we are learning.”¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Emerling 17.

¹¹⁴ Vazquez 29.

¹¹⁵ Ruth Formanek, *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. Ed. Susan M. Pearce. (London: Routledge, 1994), 327-335.

¹¹⁶ Greenshields, *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* xi.

CHAPTER 3

Ars Longa, Vita Brevis: The Politics of the Greenshields Collection

“Ars Longa, Vita Brevis”

The years are fading fast,
But we will not complain,
While you and I out last
The past,
And love and hope remain.

So let us just keep still,
While time flies far away,
And loiter on the hill,
At will,
Forever and a day.

Playing at life and art,
Wandering to and fro,
Forgetting we must part,
Dear Heart,
Some day, and all forego.

Though Art be long, yet we
Have little time to spend
Amid its witchery;
Ah me!
The years quickly end.

Still when the leaves fall sere,
Foretelling wintry weather,
We will travel on, nor fear,
My Dear,
If we but go together.¹

Edward Black Greenshields (c. 1905)

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Greenshields’ writing and collecting activities were closely intertwined and representative of his ambitious pursuit of an intellectual

¹ Greenshields *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*, vii.

identity. Written specifically for its publication, Greenshields prefaces *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*, with a poem entitled “Ars Longa, Vita Brevis.” Symbolic of Greenshields’ views on art, this poem makes an important entry point for a discussion of his aspirations as a collector and provides insight as to how he viewed his collection’s legacy.

Attributed to the ancient Greek scholar Hippocrates (ca. 460 BCE – 370 BCE), the phrase “Ars longa, vita brevis,” comes from the longer quotation, “Ars longa, vita brevis, occasio praeceps, experimentum periculosum, iudicium difficile,” loosely translating as “life is short, the art (craft/skill) long, opportunity fleeting, experiment treacherous, judgment difficult.”² The phrase has been associated with the idealistic aspirations of both artists and collectors that their art works will continue to live on long after their own deaths. During the 1930s, the British journalist and art critic Newton MacTavish (1875-1941) titled his account of art in Canada *Ars Longa* (1938). In it, he lists Greenshields along with Sir George Drummond, James Ross, Lord Strathcona, David Morrice and Lord Mount Stephen, as being among Van Horne’s only collecting competitors in Canada.

In examining the “politics of collecting” Pearce asks, “By whom and how are collecting values recognized? What is the ideal career of a collection? And how does our judgment of material change?”³ By directing these questions at Greenshields’ collection this chapter explores how works by the Hague School, like those that formed the bulk of his holdings, were initially valued and how as power structures within the Canadian field of cultural production shifted, modern Dutch art was excluded from the writing of

² “Ars Longa,” *Phrases*. Online: <http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/ars-longa-vita-brevis.html> Accessed 21 February 2008.

³ Pearce 33.

Canadian art history. Viewed as a paradigm of culture, for centuries the collecting of certain objects, particularly artworks has been a privileged activity.⁴ It was thought to be “one among other attributes of noble status,”⁵ and Montreal’s merchant princes were quick to form art collections as evidence of their freshly acquired high social standing. According to Pomian, collections communicated “a certain prestige... since they serve as proofs of their [owner’s] good taste, of their considerable intellectual curiosity, or even of their wealth and generosity.”⁶ By the late nineteenth century, wealthy citizens of Montreal “were not considered as having become socially established unless [they] had at least two good grey Dutch pictures hanging on [their] walls.”⁷ Forming the dominant class of English Canada’s cultural consumers, some of the members of the Scottish émigré community established a “taste” for Dutch pictures. Supported by collectors, dealers, and institutions, a distinctive “field of cultural production” was established in which works by Weissenbruch, Mauve, the Maris brothers and others held a privileged position.

As a prominent member of the Montreal community, Greenshields had the means necessary to secure the place of Hague School works within Montreal collections, playing a powerful role in consecrating the status of the Hague School within Montreal’s field of cultural production. As a collector, Greenshields performed a specific role in defining art and consecrating value. However, as a writer he gained further “symbolic capital” as he gained prestige for his publication and “cultural capital” in the form of cultural knowledge. In the previous chapter, discussion of Greenshields’ scholarship

⁴ Vazquez 6-13; Harvie 157.

⁵ Brown 24.

⁶ Pomian 10.

⁷ Anne Savage, “J.W. Morrice,” *The Development of Art in Canada*. (Concordia University Archives) 1.

indicated how he contributed to the “symbolic production” of the works; by educating his audience he joined a class of agents “whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such.”⁸ While he was writing, the Hague School was at the height of its popularity and he had a stake in how works were received by audiences in North America and Europe.⁹ Not only had he invested financially, but also Greenshields’ reputation as a purveyor of taste was advanced each time he purchased a painting. He was taking calculated risks at a time when one’s “own education, social condition and even moral character”¹⁰ were viewed as reflected in one’s collection.

With so much riding on his artistic preferences, Greenshields carefully articulated his reasons for investing so heavily in the Hague School. In one letter, Greenshields argues the merits of the Hague School with fellow collector, Van Horne, who preferred the work of the Impressionists. Although the two ultimately agreed to disagree, the correspondence between them reveals Greenshields’ passionate defense of the works of his favored artists. For him the Hague School were “all men of striking originality, [who] broke away from past traditions of art in their country, and, going directly to nature, strove, by careful study, to give a truthful view, each as he saw it...”¹¹

Greenshields was reflective of his of his agency as a collector. He was aware of the potential conflict of interest when a collector writes about works from his own collection: “it is known I have a good many of their paintings, and people will say I wrote not from love of Art, but from other reasons.” Although he defends himself by saying,

⁸ Bourdieu 37.

⁹ Burr 143.

¹⁰ Vazquez 15.

¹¹ E.B. Greenshields, *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting: With Special Reference to J.H. Weissenbruch and Illustrations from His Works in Canada*. (Montreal: Desbarats, 1903) 9.

“No poor word of mine can make or mar the reputation of a great artist,”¹² it is apparent how his connections within North America and Europe temporarily contributed to the favored positioning of the Hague School in Montreal.

Greenshields’ collection, like many others at the time, entered into the public consciousness not because the actual works were continuously available to the public but rather through the widely circulated documentation in the form of listings, descriptions, reproductions, inventories and other easily circulated incarnations of the collection.¹³ Greenshields deftly utilized various forms of “documentation” to publicize his collection. As Vazquez notes, at the end of the nineteenth century relatively new technologies contributed to an increase in periodicals and documentation methods, which promoted circulation and introduced collections to new audiences. By Greenshields’ era, the rapid rise in illustrated magazines and journals directed at collectors and connoisseurs provided a network to reach audiences around the world.¹⁴

Integral to new forms of publicizing collections, photography allowed collectors to document their collections in ways previously unavailable. In preparation for his publications, Greenshields had the well-known Montreal Notman Studio take well over one hundred photographs of works in his holdings (Figure 15).¹⁵ Like all of the Notman photographs, these images are now part of the McCord Museum collection and serve as some of the only definitive evidence for determining which works formed Greenshields’ collection. In general, the abundance of landscapes and seascapes, with ambiguous titles

¹² Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

¹³ Vazquez 10.

¹⁴ *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* first appeared in 1903.

¹⁵ It is also possible that Greenshields was documenting his works for insurance purposes.

or without titles at all, has often made attribution of Hague School works difficult, and photography has helped to identify pictures and define collections.

One work Greenshields had photographed was *The Christening* by Matthijs Maris. Although it was not included in *Landscape Painting* (Greenshields acquired it from Cottier in February of 1906 after the book had gone to press), it circulated in other venues, rapidly becoming one of Greenshields' most publicized works. Previously it had been exhibited by the artist in the Paris Salon of 1873, and Greenshields loaned it to AAM exhibitions in 1908 and 1912. It was also well known through several publications of the time including D. Croal Thomson's *The Brothers Maris (James-Matthew-William)* written in 1907 and Elizabeth Luther Carey's article in *Art in America* entitled "A Comment on Matthew Maris" (1914).¹⁶ Furthermore, it was reproduced alongside an article entitled "The Maris Brothers and Other Masters of Modern Dutch Painting in Two Montreal Collections," in the "Art at Home and Abroad" section of the *New York Times*, 28 September 1913. Carey commented that Maris was an "idol of the Canadians," with "the best of his early work and the best of his latest [can] be consulted in the collections of Mr. Greenshields."¹⁷ Arguably the publicity the painting received contributed to its value, for in 1923 it was listed as having been insured for \$30,000, the highest amount of all the works remaining in the Greenshields estate.

Greenshields' promotion of the Hague School came at a time when increased circulation of texts and expanding art markets created the figure of the art critic, who as Brooke notes, "enjoyed new importance as an arbiter of taste."¹⁸ However, by the first few decades of the twentieth century, there was concern as to whether collectors could

¹⁶ An advertisement for *Landscape Painting* also appeared in this issue.

¹⁷ Elisabeth Luther Cary, "A comment on Matthew Maris," *Art in America* 2, (1914), 134-147.

¹⁸ Brooke 13.

successfully enter into critical dialogue within the Canadian art community. In 1917, J.D. Logan published *Aesthetic Criticism in Canada: Its Aims, Methods and Status*, challenging the ability of collectors and connoisseurs to engage in any useful way with pictures in their possession. He says while there is nothing wrong with the delight they find in art, one must “not regard such writing as genuine pictorial criticism: it is not criticism, but polite, entertaining literary conversation about the more obviously objective, immediately appealing and expressive equalities of paintings.” It is clear that Logan is aware of Greenshields publications, for he practically describes the way in which Greenshields approached writing on art. He comments, “while it would show distinct knowledge of the history and technique of modern painting, [it] would on the whole be a revelation of private preferences as for example predilections for the works of the painters of certain ‘school’ the Dutch school.” Logan goes on to suggest that if such collectors attempted to engage with painting native to Canada, it would not only be an extension of private preferences but also “conform to the manner of literary appreciations – aesthetic descriptions - of the immediately objective and technical qualities of Canadian painting.”¹⁹

However Greenshields never did write about Canadian art,²⁰ and even though initially he collected works by British and French artists, his scholarship was focused on the Hague School. By writing about, or “charting” his unique collection, Greenshields was marking how it differed from other collections.²¹ As demonstrated earlier, by moving toward collecting almost exclusively Hague School works Greenshields proves to

¹⁹ J.D. Logan, *Aesthetic Criticism in Canada: Its Aims, Methods and Status*. (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1917) 16-17.

²⁰ He did however quote an unidentified lecture given by Brymner on the “idea of what a work of art is” in *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*.

²¹ Vazquez 24.

have identified with the social values they reflected. He positioned himself in a particular way, for according to Bourdieu, “taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make.”²² As a well-known collector Greenshields reinforced his position within a distinct social class, but his choice to focus on the Hague School also implied particular values.

Assuming a role in the field of cultural production equally powerful to that of the collector, dealers according to Bourdieu are “cultural bankers” investing art with symbolic capital.²³ During the second half of the nineteenth century a rapid globalization of the art market allowed collectors such as Greenshields greater access to art works.²⁴ Brooke notes that during this time of expansion in the market, artists were becoming more reliant on the “increasingly influential private art dealer” to promote their work,²⁵ rather than gaining exposure through public exhibitions. Eager to supply a growing demand, dealers were active facilitators between artists and collectors in a manner that developed out of the open markets established in Northern Europe during the seventeenth century and were further shaped by the capitalist development of the nineteenth century. Some painters such as Jacob Maris and Blommers had firm contracts with dealers that resulted in many pictures being paid for even before they were painted.²⁶ In his memoirs, the prominent Montreal dealer, William R. Watson (1887-1973) notes that his business “needed the Dutch pictures which were in constant demand in Montreal. Weissenbruch,

²² Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁴ Dekkers 54.

²⁵ Brooke 13.

²⁶ Hurdalek 22.

Bosboom, Anton Mauve, William Maris and Josef Israëls were [dealers'] 'bread and butter'.²⁷

Based in London, the French Gallery, with offices in Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa promoted Hague School artists by sending a representative to Canada to organize a special exhibition coinciding with the publication of Greenshields' book in 1906. Goupil and Co., a highly influential gallery in Paris with branches in London and New York, established a branch in The Hague to increase the export of Dutch works, particularly to Montreal. In many cases small, inexpensive works were purchased in large quantities and sent back to Paris, where they then were shipped to dealers such as Knoedler and Durand-Ruel in North America.²⁸ Smaller Montreal dealers like the Watson Art Galleries worked closely with other larger companies in Europe, like E.J. Van Wisseling and Company in Amsterdam. William Scott and Sons,²⁹ the gallery used most often by Greenshields to broker deals³⁰ was extremely active in publicly promoting the Hague School, often contributing works to the Art Association of Montreal's loan exhibitions.

Although the majority of his purchases were through Scott and Sons (their address was written in the front cover of each of his pocket journals), like other collectors Greenshields utilized a variety of art dealers to meet specific needs and developed relationships with many different agents throughout North America and Europe.³¹ Sometimes Scott and Sons found works for him through other dealers but he also

²⁷ William R. Watson, *Retrospective: Recollections of a Montreal Art Dealer*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974) 41.

²⁸ Dekkers 58.

²⁹ Hélène Sicotte. "L'implantation de la galerie d'art a Montreal: Bourquiner le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914. Comment la revision du concept d'oeuvre d'art autorisa la specialization du commerce d'art." PhD Dissertation (Univeriste du Quebec a Montreal, 2000).

³⁰ See Appendix.

³¹ There is no evidence to suggest that any of Greenshields' paintings were purchased at auction.

purchased works directly from larger firms such as Arthur Tooth & Sons in London (*Low Tide Zeeland* by Weissenbruch in 1902), E.J. Van Wisseling in Amsterdam (*Boy in Grey Costume* by Jacob Maris in 1902), and Knoedler in New York (two works in 1904), among others (Figure 16).

Greenshields' interactions with dealers and other figures in the art market are documented in the meticulously organized scrapbooks he kept to memorialize his collecting practices. Correspondence between Greenshields and many of these dealers reveal that he forged close professional bonds that extended beyond the typical dealer client exchanges. In October of 1904, C.W. Kraushaar, of the Kraushaar Art Galleries of New York, thanked Greenshields for the "rare treat" of seeing his collection, and Kraushaar congratulated him "on possessing the best selected collection of Dutch art" he had ever seen, "the artists represented in their happiest and best works."³² In the letters that followed, Kraushaar seems to have offered other artworks like *Evening after Rain*, *Tangiers* and *A Moonlight Visit in Tangiers*, by the British artist Sir John Lavery for Greenshields to purchase (Figure 17 & Figure 18).³³ Greenshields also regularly corresponded with several dealers including Thomas B. Clark, in New York and a Mr. Pettee of M. Knoedler & Company also in New York, both of whom highly praised his publications.

The collecting values represented by those purchasing works by Hague School artists at the turn of the century were also supported by what Bourdieu terms the "conditions of production" in the field - the museums, galleries, academies and other

³² Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

³³ Ibid.

supporting institutions.³⁴ While only figures such as Greenshields possessed the financial resources required to form collections, during the Victorian era a belief that anyone could understand and experience art began to rise. Unlike humanist theorists of the previous century, who “assumed that only gentlemen were privy to the subtleties of taste,”³⁵ Greenshields and his contemporaries considered art as a powerful means of educating and inspiring all people. Typical of the time, many collectors believed that art served a higher purpose, with the potential to improve society.³⁶ This faith in the social power of art combined with the philanthropic drive of the time created an impetus for members of the powerful industrial middle class to try to share their collections with the greater public.

The most powerful way in which collecting values of the time were recognized was through Greenshields and his peers’ involvement in the Art Association of Montreal.³⁷ “Possessed of fortune, power or knowledge (essential assets in creating a museum),” Greenshields predecessors, the founders of the Association “wanted for various reasons to instill a taste for art in their fellow citizens.”³⁸ In Carol Duncan’s discussion of the “civilizing rituals” of museums, she outlines the various private interests that motivated private citizens to establish public institutions, particularly in the United States. Although the Art Association of Montreal had begun as a private organization at the time of Greenshields involvement many of the events were open to the public. Like the New York financiers of Duncan’s study, Greenshields and his colleagues were driven by *noblesse oblige* to support an art institution that that they believed would

³⁴ Bourdieu *The Field of Cultural Production* 37.

³⁵ Macleod 11.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Jean Trudel, “L’Art Association of Montreal: Les années d’incertitude: 1863-1877,” *The Journal of Canadian Art History* XXIX, (2008), 116-145.

³⁸ Georges-Hebert Germain, *A City’s Museum: A History of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*. (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2007), 17.

lift the souls of the lower classes, civilize their city and bring culture to their young nation.³⁹

Formed by the city's leading men in 1860, the goal of the Art Association of Montreal was to "promote a taste for the arts among the people of Montreal."⁴⁰ (Figure 19) From 1860 to 1878 the organizations activities included sporadic exhibitions and drawing classes. Made possible by a donation by Montreal resident Beniah Gibb (1755-1826), in 1879 the art gallery was built in the city's business district becoming the country's first building specifically designed to house an art collection (Figure 20).⁴¹

Before establishing a permanent collection, loan exhibitions were the most frequent types of events organized by the association. Modeled on those of British institutions such as the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) and the Royal Academy of Arts, loan exhibitions provided visitors the opportunity to see Old Master works as well as paintings by more contemporary artists such as those from the Hague and Barbizon Schools. The first Hague School work to appear was Matthijs Maris' *Girl (with Goat)* at the Association's Ninth Loan Exhibition in 1879, from George Drummond's collection. In 1888, twenty-two of the one hundred and thirty-six works on display in the annual exhibition were by Dutch artists, and just nine years later almost half of the works on paper in the loan exhibition were by Weissenbruch, Bosboom, Tholen, Israëls and Roelofs. Hurdalek estimates that by 1914 one quarter of all works publicly exhibited in Montreal were by modern Dutch artists.⁴²

³⁹ Duncan.

⁴⁰ The Museum: From the Art Association of Montreal to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts," *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*. Online: <http://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/musee/historique.html> Accessed 30 April 2008.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Hurdalek 15.

Loan exhibitions become valuable indicators of collectors' taste at the time, for they "presented to the public the hierarchy of power that determines what knowledge is presented as symbolic of the aspirations of a culture."⁴³ Because the works were selected from what were considered to be reputable collections, their arrangements were thought to develop the tastes of Montrealers and foster their ability to discern quality.⁴⁴ During his involvement in the Association, many of Greenshields' works appeared in loan exhibitions.

In her study of collecting in Montreal during his time, Brooke notes that one Loan Exhibition in particular reflected Greenshields' influence. When Jacob Maris, "a painter with many Montreal admirers," died in 1899, an article in the *Montreal Daily Witness* proposed that a loan exhibition would be an appreciated tribute to his memory. The article also commented that an exhibition of Maris' work would "be an education to all lovers of art, leading to knowledge and appreciation of his genius... [and] it would reflect the greatest credit upon the connoisseurship of the picture buyers of this city."⁴⁵ Following the public demand represented in the press, the 1900 loan exhibition was devoted to works by Jacob Maris and his brothers Matthijs and Willem as well as the Canadian artist Horatio Walker (1858-1938). During the 1880s Walker had spent some time in Europe, where he became acquainted with the Maris brothers and Mauve. Although the show included forty-nine oil and watercolour paintings by only the four, it would not have been difficult to assemble enough works by Jacob from Montreal collections alone. Almost half of the total works shown were from Greenshields and

⁴³ Pierce 101.

⁴⁴ Germain 25.

⁴⁵ "Jacob Maris: A Painter with many Montreal Admirers," *The Montreal Daily Witness* (23 September 1899).

William Gardner's private collections. The exhibition received high praise; one review in the *Montreal Gazette* declared it an event no other city on the continent could duplicate.⁴⁶

At the time of this significant Hague School exhibition, Gardner, Francis Shepherd and Greenshields all served on the exhibitions committee of the AAM. The role collectors such as Greenshields played in the Association illustrates Duncan's assertion that. "To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and some of its highest most authoritative truths. It also means the power to define and rank people, to declare some as having a greater share than others in the community's common heritage—in its very identity."⁴⁷ Over the years Greenshields held prominent positions within what Duncan would consider the "powerful identity-defining machine"⁴⁸ that was the Association. In 1883, Greenshields became a member of the organization and four years later he sat on the Art Gallery and Finance committees. As treasurer for several years in the 1890s, Greenshields controlled the organization's finances. From 1891 to 1893, he served as Vice-President and from 1894 to 96 was President (Figure 21). Not only did Greenshields' donate his time, he was also generous financially by supporting the Association with annual donations of five hundred dollars during the 1880s and 1890s and increasing his contributions to one thousand dollars each year during the last two decades of his life.⁴⁹ Greenshields' work with the association fulfilled the philanthropic moral obligation he shared with other members of the Anglo-Protestant

⁴⁶ "Something about the Present Loan Exhibition: Modern Dutch School," *Gazette* (24 January, 1900): 6.

⁴⁷ Duncan 54.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁴⁹ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

community to give back, but also supported his own belief in art serving a higher purpose: “to refine and elevate the mind.”⁵⁰

Unlike many collectors who bequeathed their collections to institutions after their deaths, Greenshields donated works during his lifetime. It appears that he sometimes purchased works from dealers to be given immediately to the Association. A sales receipt from Wallis and Son, indicates that in 1910 a small oil painting by Johan Hendrik Van Mastenbroek (1875-1945), purchased by Greenshields was to be framed and sent directly to the gallery. The MMFA’s archives show that his wife Eliza Greenshields donated another work in 1908 and Greenshields correspondence suggests that he may have given several other works over the years.⁵¹ Not only did Greenshields contribute to the Association’s art collection, but, ever the academic, he also supported the library by purchasing several art historical texts and works of criticism.⁵²

Greenshields’ involvement at the AAM coincided with a time in the late nineteenth century in which Vazquez identifies an increased link between individual collectors choices and cultural definitions.⁵³ Much in the same way his writing made his art public, Greenshields’ role in the AAM brought his personal tastes into the public sphere, making him a purveyor of high culture. Through his involvement with the Association, Greenshields influenced the organization’s collections and exhibitions with

⁵⁰ Germain 36.

⁵¹ “The Annual Report of the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art” in New York also indicates Mrs. E.B. Greenshields as a donor. Further research must be undertaken to determine what the sort of involvement the Greenshields had at the Met. In 1904 they lent two paintings by Weissenbruch to the New York Society of Art Collectors exhibition. Also it is fascinating that “Mrs. Greenshields” often lent works as Greenshields diaries and papers do not indicate or allude to the role she had in his collecting activities. Perhaps his process of collecting was more influence by his wife than the surviving records suggest.

⁵² “Library Donations,” *Art Association of Montreal Annual General Meeting Minutes (1900-1909)*. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Archives.

⁵³ Vazquez 13.

his own taste for Dutch paintings. Greenshields is an excellent example of how private collectors came to shape public art collections.

Beginning in 1913, the AAM had organized what would now be called thematic exhibitions with works of the same genre or from a single collection brought together. Developed for the sake of creating a more cohesive curatorial premise, this policy is interesting because of what it suggests about the unified nature of private collections.⁵⁴ The Association's practice of holding Loan Exhibitions of collectors' works after their deaths is also significant because of what it reveals about the role of institutions and the powerful private figures that control them. Loan exhibitions created publicity that helped drive prices of works at the following auctions. An article in the *Gazette* entitled "Gardner Pictures Brought More than \$50, 000 at Auction," notes that many of the potential buyers that had attended the public sale of Gardner's holdings had "viewed the memorial exhibition on at the Art Gallery."⁵⁵

In 1936, the AAM loan exhibition was dedicated to works from Greenshields' collection (Figure 22). Held from November 5th to 22nd, the show included fifty-eight pictures that were still part of the Greenshields estate.⁵⁶ This would have been an important exhibition for viewers who associated Greenshields with the Hague School, because unlike his very focused writings, it included some of the more diverse works that had remained in the collection, including paintings by the American artists, Albert Pinkham Ryder and Frederick Stuart Church, and the sole Canadian, James Wilson Morrice. Perhaps this variety also reflected changes in exhibition taste for by the 1930s

⁵⁴ Germain 62.

⁵⁵ "Gardner Pictures Brought More Than \$50,000 at Auction," *Gazette* (Montreal) (14 January, 1927), 6.

⁵⁶ One work *Green Motor Bonnet* by Sir John Lavery was lent by a Mrs. J.W. Cook. It is not known when or how she acquired it, however it is possible that she was related to Greenshields' wife, as her maiden name was Cook.

the appeal of the Hague School had certainly begun to wane. However, despite these shifts Greenshields' reputation remained, and as a collector his achievements still warranted a "solo" show of pictures he had at the time of his death. As with the case of Van Horne's collection, the Association held this type of posthumous exhibitions before the collections were dispersed. Although Hurdalek suggests there is no apparent reason why an exhibition of Greenshields works was held as late as 1936, I would like to point out that the show was held shortly after the death of Greenshields' widow Eliza Eleanor Brodie Cook, in 1935, and prior to the collection being dismantled.

Accumulations of art are regularly discussed as creating a sense of immortality for the collector. In *Lock, Stock and Barrel: The Story of Collecting*, Rigby and Rigby note that "because the collector has identified his creation so closely with himself (a very strengthening bond for some men), he sometimes feels that, like a strong boat, it will bear him through the centuries after his body has gone to the earth again."⁵⁷ Furthermore, exhibitions, museums, art history and other institutions of art often indicate what is considered an ideal legacy of a collection: to be donated to a museum.

Unlike other collectors who endeavored to keep their collections together after their deaths, there is no evidence to suggest that Greenshields intended his collection to be maintained as a whole in a public venue, in order to immortalize him in Canadian art history. Instead, after his death in 1917 the works remained in the family home. Repair and reframing receipts indicate that while his wife Eliza cared for the pictures, she did not sell any or purchase more. Following her death in 1935, the collection passed on to their daughter Muriel Drinkwater, who appears to have shared her father's passion for art as records show that Greenshields purchased works for her, most notably a Bosboom

⁵⁷ Rigby and Rigby 27.

watercolor in 1908 and a “framed Israëls” in 1910.⁵⁸ It was only during the 1960s that Greenshields’ daughter began to disperse the works, donating some to Montreal institutions and selling others back to museums in the Netherlands.⁵⁹

In a poignant critique of historical approaches to collecting, Vazquez notes that value is often placed on “pure” or “unbroken” collections, implying that the unity of a collection suggests quality or strength of character.⁶⁰ Greenshields’ collection was constantly changing during the period when it was formed but also was slowly disassembled over the course of the twentieth century. Greenshields’ drawn out process of collecting reflects a predicament within art historical approaches to the amassing of art. Collecting discourses rarely account for the dynamic nature of collections, describing the contents as a complete finished product without recognizing that works are often removed or deaccessioned during the lifetime of a collector. Recently, scholars such as Pearce and Vazquez have faulted previous writing on collecting for treating collections as a finite whole, ignoring the act of collecting as a fluid, active process. Even with the relatively detailed information provided by archival material in the Greenshields Fonds, it is nearly impossible to create a definitive catalogue of works in Greenshields’ collection.

Despite meticulous research, Brooke’s inventory of nineteenth-century paintings in Montreal’s private collections is inconclusive. Similarly, my own attempt to map the contents of Greenshields’ collections (See Appendix) is incomplete. In response to how problematic it often is to identify an entire collection, recent scholarship questions the need to “fix” the identity of a collection. This is not to say that collecting scholars have

⁵⁸ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

⁵⁹ Willem Maris’ *Milking Time at Abcoude* was given to McGill University, and Weissenbruch’s *A Storm, Coast of Zeeland* went to the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and the Central Museum in Utrecht acquired Matthijs Maris’ *The Christening*.

⁶⁰ Vazquez 21.

abandoned intensive archival research, but rather they are more concerned with the ways in which collections develop and change, or as in the case of Greenshields, are rapidly exchanged. Definitive inventories of collections can be problematic as collecting has come to be understood as a dynamic practice, a continuous negotiation of relationships to the material world.⁶¹ Vazquez's description of art collections as being rarely static, continuing "to grow and diminish, alter in size and content, until their ultimate dispersal on the auction block"⁶² helps to emphasize the constant evolution of Greenshields' collection, while at the same time it reinforces his identity as a cultural producer.

The sporadic inventories of Greenshields' collection provide only snapshots of the artworks in Greenshields' possession at any particular time. Even the insurance documents cataloguing the works in his collection at the time of his death are misleading, because for over a period of nearly twenty years, he was constantly buying, selling, and trading works with other collectors and dealers. Easily mistaken for a preoccupation with prices and value typical of the "Age of Unbridled Capitalism,"⁶³ Greenshields' activities are indicative of a pattern of investment but also more significantly a move toward an aesthetic ideal. As he collected, his tastes were discursively formed and his holdings evolved along with his tastes. Initially he purchased works in keeping with the tastes of his colleagues, such as those by the Barbizon School and English landscape painters but as he grew more knowledgeable, he began choosing works that were in keeping with his own philosophic vision, epitomized by the Hague School and more specifically the "subjective" nature of works by Weissenbruch.

⁶¹ Pearce 33.

⁶² Vazquez 3.

⁶³ Remillard 20.

As his vision of his collection became sharper, Greenshields' praise for the group grew. He considered the Hague School to be some of the greatest artists of all time and assumed their works would merit them a place in art history and their popularity a role in the development of Canadian art. As stated in the preface to the *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*, Greenshields believed that "seldom in the world's history has such a great group of individual artists appeared." He further suggests that his view of the Hague School "will be the ultimate opinion of the public" as well.⁶⁴ I would like to argue that rather than considering his collection to be his legacy, Greenshields intended his writing to contribute to the consecration of artists such as Bosboom, Mauve, Israëls, Weissenbruch and the Maris brothers. Greenshields aspired for the Hague School as a group to become permanent figures in the canon of art history and his collecting of their work and his writing on them would support what he viewed as their rightful place in art history. Similarly, the reception of Greenshields' writing reveals that at the time many people shared his views on the merits of Dutch art.

Despite Greenshields' best efforts, the Hague School was not to become immortalized within a Canadian art historical context. He believed that Weissenbruch's "work will live, his fame increase, and his name take rank among the masters,"⁶⁵ but by the 1920s the popularity of the Hague School had diminished significantly. Initially Greenshields' taste for Hague School works was supported by others, particularly those possessing the "cultural capital" required to instill value. In 1911, cultural critic E.F.B Johnston wrote a lengthy article for the *Canadian Magazine*, entitled "Canadian Collectors and Modern Dutch Art," extolling the merits of the Hague School, while

⁶⁴ Greenshields *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 204.

noting that many Canadians were becoming very wealthy and were “increasing in their desire to possess fine examples of the ‘Art of all the Arts’.”⁶⁶ The press of the time also indicated the popular reaction to the Hague School in Montreal stating, “It is the opinion of many competent art connoisseurs that of all the modern schools of painting the best art investment is the modern Dutch school.... This opinion is held by largely by many of Montreal’s art patrons... neither a fad nor a passing fashion.”⁶⁷

However, around the time of Greenshields’ death in 1917, perceptions of the Hague School began to change. Illustrating collecting theorist Pomian’s suggestion that the power of prominent individuals to influence taste declines in relation to their own status within cultural hierarchies,⁶⁸ after the end of World War I Canadians’ infatuation with Hague School paintings ended. Its supporters lost its foremost proponent in Canada and with it went his collection’s ability to communicate, reflecting Benjamin’s belief that, “the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner.”⁶⁹

Greenshields’ death in 1917 also coincided with a major turning point in Canadian social, political and cultural history that ushered the Hague School out and welcomed in a new type of art. This shift in taste demonstrates Harvie’s assertion that although “art patronage and collecting may be necessary to maintaining status and power, patrons and collectors through the choices they make about art, continuously change the way that power looks.”⁷⁰

⁶⁶ E.F.B. Johnson, “Canadian Collectors and Modern Dutch Art,” *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature*, XXXVI (November 1910- April 1911), 431.

⁶⁷ “Something about the Present Loan Exhibition: Modern Dutch School,” *Gazette* (24 January, 1900): 6.

⁶⁸ Pierce 7.

⁶⁹ Benjamin, *Unpacking My Library* 67.

⁷⁰ Harvie 160.

One of the most straightforward explanations for the decline in popularity of the Hague School rests on the country's economic development. The introduction of personal income and corporate profits taxes in 1914 curtailed the wealth being generated by Canadian industrialists that had enabled the importation of European pictures. This affected all types of art collections, but had devastating implications for Dutch paintings in particular. Between 1895 and 1910 the prices that collectors were willing to pay for works by Israëls, Mauve, Matthijs Maris and Weissenbruch steadily rose until buyers were unwilling to pay thousands of dollars for small watercolour works.⁷¹ Such high prices could not be maintained and not long after the market collapsed. In 1938 a marine scene by Israëls that had once been sold for \$24,000, was only able to fetch \$650 at auction.⁷²

By the 1920s Hague School paintings were no longer viewed as status symbols. A combination of factors including Greenshields' writing on the group and the public exhibitions by the Art Association of Montreal had filtered the taste for Dutch works down through to the general public. Attempting to cash in on the successes of Weissenbruch, Mauve and others, minor members of the school as well as other artists in Holland had begun in the late nineteenth-century to churn out sentimental genre scenes or "potboilers" as Matthijs Maris referred to them.⁷³ When Dutch landscape and genre pictures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century became easily available to the general public, elite collectors were no longer interested. The increased availability of the works also changed the way the works were regarded as objects. No longer rare and luxurious, the easy accessibility of the paintings to a variety of classes led them to be

⁷¹ Carter; Dekkers; Knight.

⁷² Dekkers 73. Dekkers does not identify the work nor its size.

⁷³ Sillevs 73.

viewed as commodities and not valuable fine art. Furthermore, as Dutch works flooded the Montreal art market, North America entered the Depression, and there was little interest in the picturesque depictions of poverty for which the group had become so famous.⁷⁴

In many ways the uniting of Canadian artists to form professional associations in the late nineteenth century and into the next, was in response to the presence of the Hague School in the collections of wealthy Canadians like Greenshields. In his telling of the story of Canadian art, J. Russell Harper notes that the Canadian Art Club (CAC) had been founded in order to counter the popularity of foreign paintings by creating a market for domestic artistic production.⁷⁵ According to their 1910 catalogue, the objective of the CAC was to “make known more intimately to the Canadian public than heretofore the work of several distinguished Canadian artists.”⁷⁶ Formed in 1907 by seceding members of the Ontario Society of Artists, the CAC had several members who were influenced by the Hague School to varying degrees. The group’s first exhibition included works by W.E. Atkinson (1862-1926), Archibald Browne (1862-1948), Edmund Morris (1871-1913), Horatio Walker (1858-1938), Homer Watson (1855-1936) and Albert Curtis Williamson (1867-1944) along with guest submissions by William Brymner (1855-1925), Maurice Cullen (1866-1934) and Robert Harris (1849-1919), all of whom were “artistic moderates, working within the Barbizon and Hague School traditions.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Hurdalek 23.

⁷⁵ Harper 207.

⁷⁶ Canadian Art Club, *Catalogue of the Canadian Art Club Third Annual Exhibition*. (Toronto: Canadian Art Club, 1910) n.p.

⁷⁷ Robert J. Lamb, *The Canadian Art Club 1907-1915*. (Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1988) 36.

However, it was not the CAC “that was to meet the challenge” of developing a particularly Canadian national artistic aesthetic, but rather the Group of Seven.⁷⁸ First exhibiting together in Toronto in 1920, the Group of Seven –Lawren Harris (1885-1970), Franklin Carmichael (1890-1945), Frank Johnston (1888-1949), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), J.E.H. MacDonald (1873-1932), Frederick Varley (1881-1969), and A.Y. Jackson along with work by Tom Thomson (1877-1917) – had been developing a mode of painting that would come to be viewed as distinctly Canadian. One of their most outspoken members, Jackson, although initially having been influenced by the Hague School later abandoned their subjects and style for a more “Canadian approach.” Painters such as Mauve, Israëls and the Maris brothers were emotionally invested in their own country’s landscape not in foreign vistas. Jackson felt uncomfortable appropriating elements of their national identity, and only matured as an artist when he was able to articulate himself as a Canadian painter, not as an imitator of Dutch art. He would become “as artistically faithful to the Canadian landscape as the Hague School had been to their native countryside.”⁷⁹ Both the Hague School painters and Canadian painters at the turn of the century were nationalistically motivated, recognizing landscape and genre scenes as an ideological and psychological vehicle for defining a nation.⁸⁰

The decline in interest in the Hague School helped paved the way for the rise of the Group of Seven, and their rebellion against European dominance of the Canadian arts as symbolized by the Hague School. After the First World War, “many of the men who had left Canada as proud British subjects returned with a sense of Canadian identity and a

⁷⁸ Barry Lord, *The History of Painting in Canada: Towards a People’s Art*. (Toronto: NC Press, 1974) 115.

⁷⁹ Hurdalek 23.

⁸⁰ Michael Tobey, *The True North: Canadian Landscape Painting 1896-1939*. (London: Humphries, 1991).

desire to develop a Canadian nation.”⁸¹ With the deaths of over sixty thousand Canadian soldiers in the Great War, a discernable focus was placed on the positive outcomes of Canada’s first participation in a major world event.⁸² The glorification of a national identity emerging from the devastation allowed Canadians to believe their loss was not in vain.

Canada’s involvement in the Great War produced a compelling new drive for a national identity, one that inspired Canadian painters to represent their own landscapes and also for Canadian collectors to support domestic artistic production. The “nationalization of violent death,” was followed by what Benedict Anderson has described as a “nationalization of culture” and exemplified by new patterns of public patronage of the arts.⁸³ As part of the military implications, the First World War also suspended travel for tourists, artists, and dealers between Canada and Europe, hampering the flow of artworks across the Atlantic. Slowly Canadian collectors began investing in the painters of their own country. An article in the *Gazette* asked: “Apart from the sense of freshness and light inspired by the notable pictures shown, should not a certain feeling of patriotism come over one, a feeling that the cry of “Canada for the Canadians,” which so stirs the commercial and political world, should make itself heard in favor of the art world?”⁸⁴

When Hague School paintings had long fallen from favour in Canadian collections, Jackson noted that, “though the prices had been marked down to a third of

⁸¹ Romanow 106.

⁸² Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory Meaning and the First World War*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997) 11.

⁸³ Benedict Anderson, “Staging Antimodernism in the Age of High Capitalist Nationalism,” *Beyond Wilderness: The Group of Seven, Canadian Identity, and Contemporary Art*. Ed. John O’Brian and Peter White. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007), 245.

⁸⁴ “Notable Art Exhibition. Most of the Subjects Chosen are Essentially Canadian,” *The Gazette* (28 March 1905).

what had been paid for them, there were no sales... the Montreal investors would have done better to put their money into the canvases of their fellow townsmen, Morrice and Cullen.”⁸⁵ While Greenshields had purchased works by Morrice, the rest of his collection was soon dismissed as unfashionable. Illustrating Bourdieu’s notion of the artistic community as a field of forces defined by struggle, as the Group of Seven fought for recognition as Canada’s leading artists, the Hague School was relegated to an outmoded status, viewed as *déclassé*.⁸⁶ With collections and collecting as a “consummate sign of taste,” Vazquez notes that collectors’ moral character and social positioning were often called into question when collections were to be deemed of poor quality.⁸⁷ In the face of the drive for a new nationalistic artistic identity, Greenshields and his collection of expensive foreign works became synonymous with the ambitious capitalism and conspicuous consumption of Canada’s “robber barons.”⁸⁸

Much of the impetus for Canadian painters lay in the struggle against the dominance of European painting in Canada. It was noted that Greenshields along with others like James Reid Wilson and Gardner, had preferred to “spend \$5000 on an inferior Dutch painter than \$700 on a Canadian masterpiece.”⁸⁹ At the height of Greenshields collecting a variety of Canadian artists had begun to receive attention but private dealers only hesitantly took up representing “blue-chip moderns” such as David B. Milne (1882-1953) and Robert Harris (1849-1919).⁹⁰ However, now purchasing art was viewed as just one way in which Canadians could support the emerging nationalistic art movements.

⁸⁵ A.Y. Jackson, *A Painter’s Country*. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1958), 14 -15.

⁸⁶ Bourdieu *The Field of Cultural Production* 32.

⁸⁷ Vazquez 14.

⁸⁸ Brooke 13.

⁸⁹ Duncan Campbell Scott quoted in Tippet 93.

⁹⁰ Hill 13.

Despite Greenshields' desire to contribute to the cultural status of Montreal and by extension Canada, it is important to define him as a collector and not as a patron. In *Kings and Connoisseurs*, Christopher Brown notes the difference, asserting, "A collector buys existing pictures while a patron supports the artist while they are producing or orders works made to specification."⁹¹ Part of Greenshields personae as an educated connoisseur was established through his relationships with artists. There is no evidence to suggest that he communicated extensively with any Canadian artists but he did develop relationships with Mesdag and Weissenbruch, visiting them both on his trips to the Netherlands.⁹² Despite these connections Greenshields never felt compelled to support artists, by buying directly from them.⁹³ Only on two occasions one with the American artist Frederick Stuart Church in 1887 and the other with the Canadian painter James Wilson Morrice in 1905, did he ever purchase works directly from the artist.⁹⁴ Instead, Greenshields as a collector occupied a particular position in relation to the art market and appears to have preferred to support artists through his intellectual engagements rather than through directly financing them.

During the nationalistic movements of the 1920s and 1930s, public museums that had been founded by private collectors and filled with works from private collections began to take on a more overt nationalistic message with their holdings "appropriated as public, national properties."⁹⁵ Because Greenshields collection as a whole did not support the visual identity the country wished to put forth, it was not made a priority to be kept

⁹¹ Brown 7.

⁹² Mesdag was the son of a wealthy merchant and an avid collector of Barbizon works. He took painting lessons from Willem Roelofs but it took years for him to lose his reputation as a "Sunday painter." His collection is now housed in the Rijksmuseum Hendrik Willem Mesdag in The Hague. Greenshields commented on Mesdag's collection during a trip to Europe in 1906. See Sillevs and Tabak for more.

⁹³ Greenshields Fonds, McCord Museum.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Vazquez 17.

together and donated as a whole to the Art Association of Montreal or another museum. Although only a few of the works once owned by Greenshields were to enter the MMFA's permanent collection, many from other noted Montreal collections did. With the great depreciation in value of Hague School works after the 1920s, many collectors "preferred 'immortality' to embarrassment at the auction block"⁹⁶ and chose to donate to public institutions.

Along with changes in policies of display and accumulation associated with museum practices, another way in which the place of the Hague School in Canada was marginalized was through the written histories of art. In "How Canons Disappear," Marc Gotlieb notes that nineteenth-century French academic painting "seemed almost to vanish from the horizon of cultural accomplishment"⁹⁷ in twentieth-century discourse. Similarly in the face of Modernism, subsequent Canadian art histories have ignored Hague School paintings and their role in Canadian connoisseurship. Much has been written on how canons are formed but considerably less discussion has surrounded how canons change, and the art historical treatment of the Hague School in Canada allows for a discussion of the promotional forces of collecting, as "the social instruments of canonicity."⁹⁸

Knight notes that in a more international sense the achievements of the Hague School have been ignored internationally because in "the teaching of art history the pre-eminence of the French school forced less important tributaries underground."⁹⁹ However, the implications for the place of the Hague School in Canadian art history are more complex. By the 1930s influential art critic Graham McInnes was writing articles

⁹⁶ Lord 115.

⁹⁷ Gotlieb 163.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Knight 59.

such as “Art and Philistia” in which he commented that at the turn of the century “as much bad taste as was ever concentrated in so short a period among so small a population”¹⁰⁰ in Montreal.

During the 1950s and 1960s, just as new forms of distinctly “Canadian” art were being firmly established, the story of Canadian art was being written. First published in 1966, J. Russell Harper’s *Painting in Canada* still serves as the standard Canadian art survey text. Harper dismisses the contributions of the Hague School in mentioning that “Mauve and other Dutch artists whose imported canvases are now deservedly forgotten.”¹⁰¹ He, like the artists at the time of his writing was intent on supporting art of a “true Canadian character.” Similarly, when R.H. Hubbard, Chief Curator of the National Gallery of Canada, published *European Paintings in Canadian Collections* in 1962, not a single Hague School work was included. In the accompanying essay, Hubbard alludes to the presence of modern Dutch art in Montreal, mentioning the collections of Learmont and Drummond, but only to criticize their lack of more innovative French works.¹⁰² Published over twenty years later, Denis Reid’s *A Concise History of Canadian Painting* (1988) was far more receptive to the influence of the Hague School on Canadian painters, noting that during the 1890s many young painters sought serious instruction in Holland and also commenting on the “magnificent” collections assembled by Greenshields and his contemporaries.¹⁰³ In a very different time and with very different results, Harper, Hubbard and Reid mirror Greenshields’ role

¹⁰⁰ G. Campbell McInnes, “Art and Philistia: Some Sidelights on Aesthetic Taste in Montreal and Toronto, 1880-1910,” *University of Toronto, Quarterly*, VI (1936-1937), 518.

¹⁰¹ Harper 225.

¹⁰² R.H. Hubbard, *European Paintings in Canadian Collections: Modern Schools*. Vol. 2 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962), xviii-xx.

¹⁰³ Reid 120.

in promoting a particular artistic ideology, reinforcing the notion of the art historian or art critic in establishing canons.

The drastic shift in the role of the Hague School in Canada is an excellent example of how collecting values are recognized and how judgments of those values change. Before his death, Greenshields' collection of modern Dutch paintings was one of the most celebrated in Montreal, and known throughout North America. Over the last century, the works he once owned have scattered to museums and private collections throughout the world, most returning to public and private collections in the Netherlands. An examination of his role as a collector and art historian in relation to value determining forces reveals the complexities of the politics of Greenshields' collecting.

CONCLUSION

Edward Black Greenshields at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts

Edward Black Greenshields' collection demonstrates E.V. Thaw's claim that, "Each true collection achieves a personality beyond and apart from the sum of objects. This personality is definable and has a value in itself."¹ With this thesis I have attempted to articulate the ever-changing biography of Greenshields' collection of Hague School paintings and also to investigate the fluctuating notions of its value. As a case study, my exploration of a particularly fascinating collector combines several approaches in order to propose new ways of thinking about art collections.

Perhaps one of the most relevant ways of considering the implications of collecting has been to explore how private collections have been re-framed by public institutions such as museums. Pearce notes "reflexive museum exhibitions" as one of the incarnations of contemporary studies of collecting practice. As a conclusion to my investigation of Greenshields and his collection I would like to speculate on the ways an institution such as the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts could construct and present an exhibition of works once belonging to Greenshields that are representative of the greater class ambitions of the time.

In 2007, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts presented *All for Art! Our Great Private Collectors Share their Works*. From 5 December 2007 to 2 March 2008, over two hundred and fifty works from more than seventy private Montreal collections were displayed. Reflecting the "encyclopedic nature" of the museum's own collection, the

¹ E.V. Thaw, "The Art of Collecting," *New Criterion* 21 (December 2002), 13.

exhibition included a wide array of works by European masters such as Rembrandt, Renoir, Van Gogh, Matisse, Picasso, Canadian artists like Kane, Cullen, Savage, Borduas, Molinari, as well as contemporary pieces and other *objects d'art*. The design of the show reinforced a unique curatorial premise, “more to do with aesthetics and feelings than art history” as the works were “to give the impression of a private visit to the collector’s home rather than a conventional museum.”² The exhibition was conceived to serve as “an eloquent testimony to the collectors’ cosmopolitan origins, evolving tastes and the development of Montreal’s history and culture,”³ and emphasized just how much collecting practices have changed within the city, in the century that has passed.

Even though *All for Art!* reflects a current interest in collecting practices, the show did not engage in the type of “reflexive museum exhibition” practices that Pearce believes is integral to contemporary studies of collecting scholarship. In contrast, an exhibition of seventeenth century Dutch art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, demonstrated a certain transparency that complies with Pearce’s intentions. Held from 18 September, 2007 through 6 January, 2008, *The Age of Rembrandt: Dutch Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* showcased the Met’s entire collection of seventeenth century Dutch paintings, including over two hundred works by artists such as Rembrandt, Hals, Vermeer, Van Ruisdaels, ter Borch and others.

What made this exhibition unique was that unlike others organized by artist, chronology, or subject matter, the paintings were sorted by collector and arranged according to their entrance into the museum’s holdings. In doing so, the exhibition

² “The Museum: From the Art Association of Montreal to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts,” *The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts*. Online: <http://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/musee/historique.html> Accessed 30 April 2008.

³ Ibid.

addressed the works from a position of collecting scholarship and opened viewers' eyes to how the Met formed its public collection from that of private holdings. One reviewer of the exhibition noted that it previously had never occurred to him to ask, "who once owned these pictures, or when the Met acquired them, or their dollar value."⁴ The show's theme, bluntly described in a *New York Times* article as "Dutch art seen through American money and taste," arguably spoke to the types of economic conditions and power structures that determine public art collections.

Currently, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts display of works from the permanent collection does not accurately reflect the once ubiquitous presence of the Hague School in Montreal collections. Despite having one of the largest collections of Hague School works outside of the Netherlands,⁵ the MMFA generally only ever displays only one or two works by members of the group. I would like to suggest that an exhibition following the lead of *The Age of Rembrandt* would serve as an interesting way to revisit the contributions to the Montreal art milieu by collectors such as Greenshields. Since Brooke's attempt to map the collections during the "golden age" of collecting in Montreal, material culture and museum studies along with scholars from other disciplines have proposed new ways of thinking about collections that could present a collection like that formed by Greenshields in a new light. Furthermore, Brooke's approach to the installation followed more traditional exhibition practices in grouping works thematically and by artist. An exhibition of works once owned by Greenshields could present the works of various artists alongside one another, allowing visitors to see how the works would have interacted as Greenshields selected them.

⁴ Holland Cotter, "A Golden Age, Gobbled Up by the Gilded Age" *New York Times* (18 September 2007).

⁵ Lord 115.

The curatorial premise of a “Greenshields” exhibition could be reinforced by creative exhibition design. I have been unable to find any images of how his works were displayed in his home on Peel Street but if visual records of this type could be found, a suggestion of the ways they were hung could be attempted. In a similar manner by arranging the works chronologically in the order in which Greenshields purchased them, a narrative of his collecting could be developed. This would be an effective way to illustrate how Greenshields developed his taste for Dutch art and moved towards an aesthetic ideal as he was not only collecting but also writing about the group.

Another way in which a section of the exhibition could be arranged would be to place the paintings according to how they appeared in Greenshields’ texts. Given the inextricable connection between his writing and collecting activities, such a presentation would serve to integrate his writing activity into the exhibition. Greenshields’ own descriptions could be used for panel texts accompanying works. Next to Johannes Bosboom’s *Interior of a Church* (Figure 23), Greenshields’ analysis would be apt: “He gives us interiors of churches and other buildings without any hard lines and filled with diffused light and air. All the shadows in them are full of light in deeper tones, and the more brilliant parts, that receive the direct rays of the sun, sparkle with a brilliancy that rivals the older masters.”⁶ Similarly, it might also be interesting to pair a work like Turner’s *Lake Geneva*, acquired by Greenshields from Wallis & Son in February of 1910 to some of the passages by John Ruskin that Greenshields used to augment his arguments in *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*.

In order to emphasize his role in the Art Association of Montreal, a display of Greenshields’ works could be paired with a recreation of a “Loan Exhibition.”

⁶ Greenshields *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*, 129.

Positioning of his personally selected paintings adjacent to a selection of works from other private collections could provide the opportunity to highlight interesting comparisons. This could also provide an opportunity to further explore Greenshields influence within the AAM, and the parallels in the development of his collection to greater tastes in Montreal.

To hold an exhibition of Greenshields' works, the location of many of the works he once owned would have to first be determined. Although the whereabouts of some works are known, the majority were lost after the collection was dispersed to family members after his daughters death in the 1960s. Other aspects of Greenshields collecting practices could be explored as well. While accumulating paintings, he also purchased prints and other works on paper. It has been difficult to map Greenshields collecting of prints because in his personal diaries he includes them with inventories of luxury items such as rugs, porcelain and jewelry, nevertheless such an investigation could flesh out how the prints that Greenshields lent to "Black and White" exhibitions at the AAM functioned in relation to his process of collecting paintings.

However, the most important way an exhibition of works in Greenshields collection could contribute to Canadian art historical scholarship would be to further investigate the influence of the Hague School on Canadian artists. Both Hurdalek in *The Hague School: Collecting in Canada* and Brooke in *Discerning Tastes* catalogues addressed the role of the Hague School in the history of Canadian collecting but to date there has not been an exhibition addressing how the Hague School shaped Canadian artists.

One of the most important juxtapositions would be to see how the canvases of a Canadian painter like Morrice fit alongside the Dutch works in Greenshields collection. John Ogilvy, one of the first exclusive art dealers in Montreal was cautious of most Canadian paintings, thinking them “too noisy to mix with quiet Dutch pictures.”⁷ Morrice had spent some time in Holland while studying in Europe. After working with the painter Henri Harpignies (1819-1916), an original member of the Barbizon School, Morrice discovered the work of James McNeil Whistler and joined him in Dordrecht, Holland in 1892. While there Morrice combined elements of Hague School aesthetics and subjects with the large, straightforward color planes of Whistler to create several unique canvases.⁸ During this time he painted *Dordrecht*, a carefully composed and subtly executed landscape and then slightly later, returned to Dutch subjects in *Flour Mill at Old Dordrecht, Holland* a more spontaneous expression of tone and texture. Expanding on how Morrice, and other Canadian painters of the time internalized the ideology of the Hague School in a complex manner, an exhibition would illustrate the influence Greenshields and his collection had on Canadian art.

The type of investigation I have undertaken reveals many of the issues associated with collecting scholarship. In looking at Greenshields’ collection many more questions have been raised about how collections can be interpreted and discussed. Ever the astute businessman, Greenshields invested heavily in works by the Hague School. During his lifetime he worked diligently, writing, and collecting to promote the group. A truly multifaceted character, Greenshields as the foremost proponent of the Hague School in Canada, actively contributed to Montreal’s art milieu. Although his collection has been

⁷ Watson 5-6.

⁸ Harper 229.

scattered, his beloved works remain together in his true collection within the pages of his books. An exhibition of the Hague School works collected by Greenshields would not only provide a valuable contribution to the historiography of collecting in Canada but also more importantly bring together again the paintings that Greenshields choose as representative of his own vision of a “subjective view” of art.

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FIGURES



Figure 1

Master Greenshields on pony at Notman's studio, Bleury Street, Montreal, QC, 1862,
William Notman (1826-1891), I-4277.1 McCord Museum



Figure 2

E.B. Greenshields, Montreal, 1863, William Notman (1826-1891), silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, I-6221.1. McCord Museum



Figure 3

*Master E. B. Greenshields, Montreal, QC, 1863, William Notman (1826-1891), silver salts on paper mounted on paper, albumen process, 8.5 x 5.6 cm, I-6222.1.
McCord Museum*

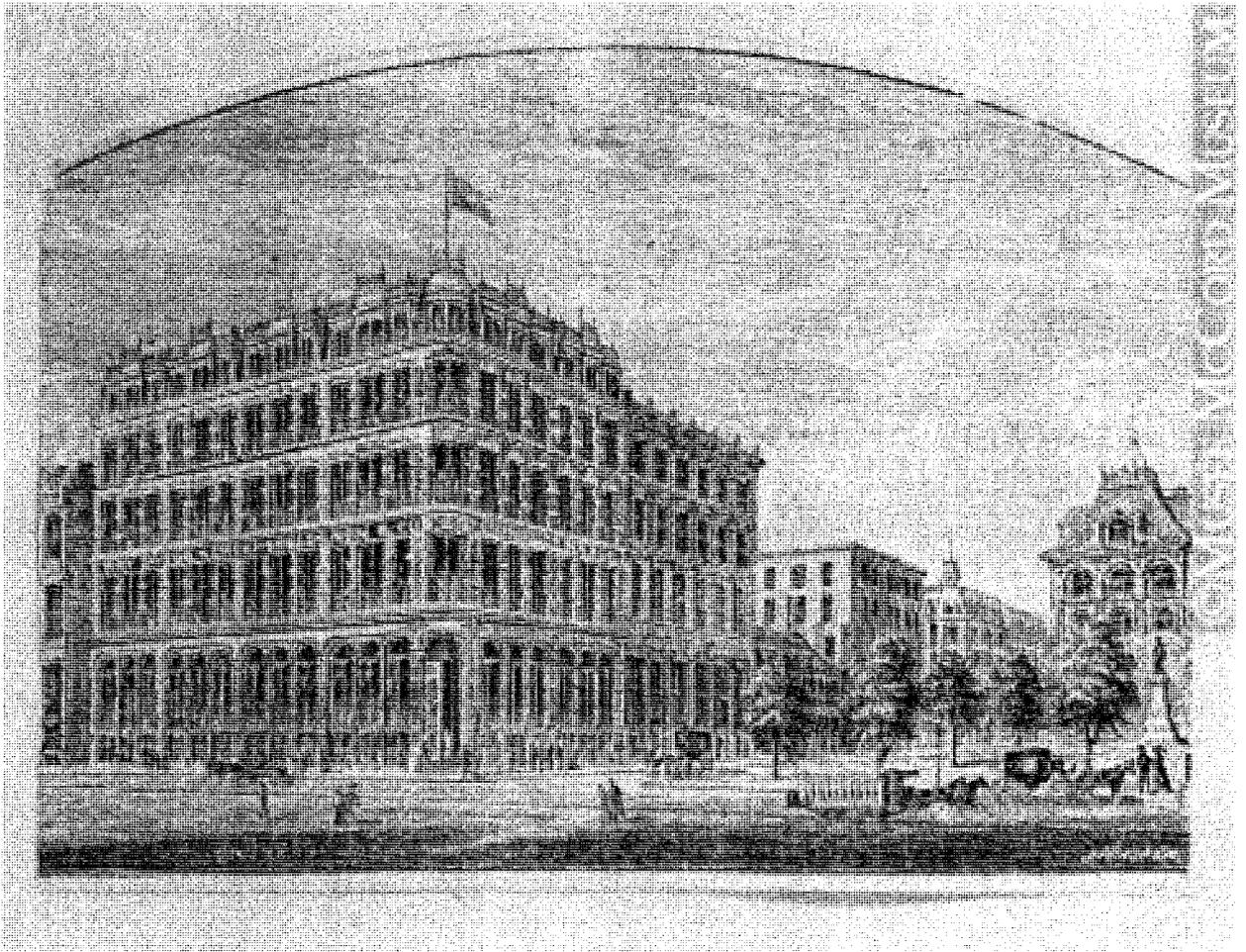


Figure 4

*S. Greenshields Son & Co., Dry Goods 1850-1885, John Henry Walker (1831-1899),
M930.50.5.566. McCord Museum*

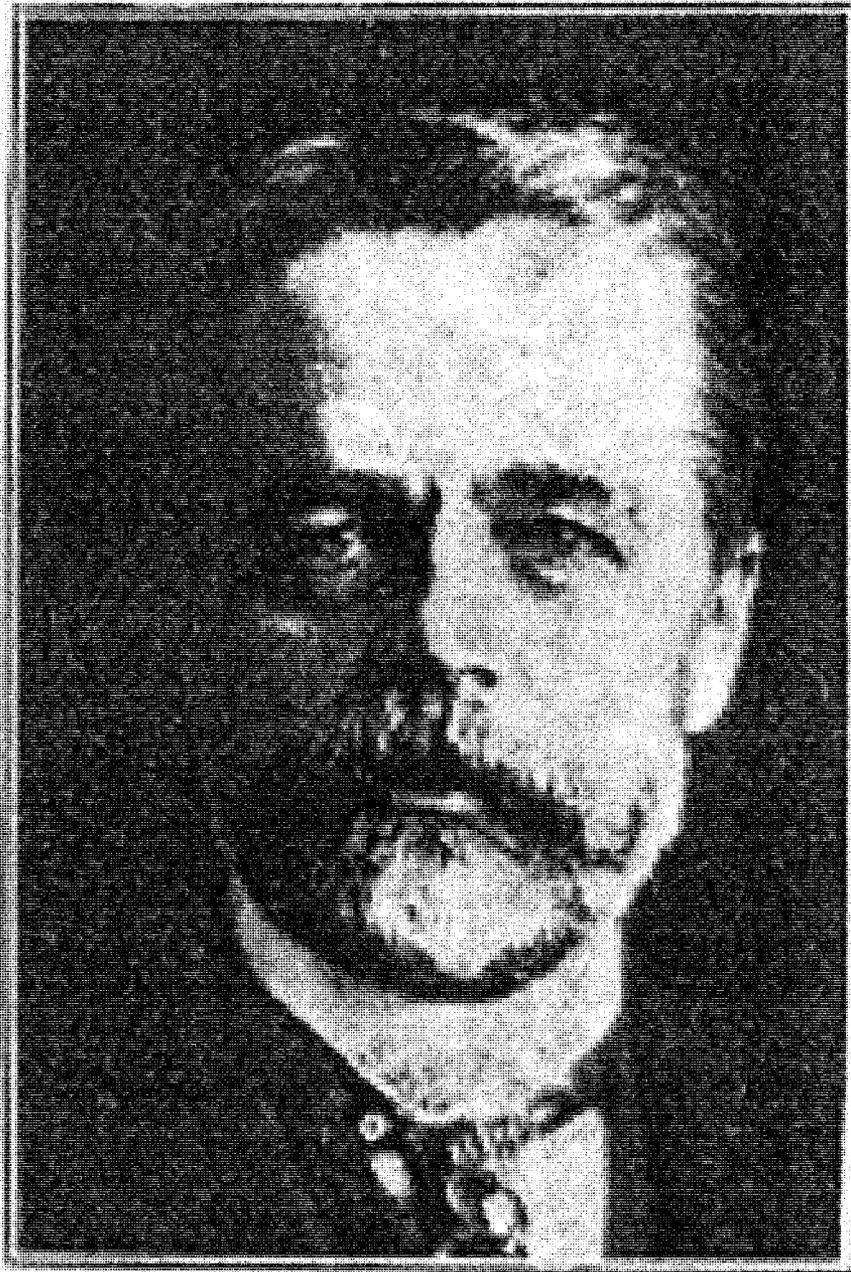


Figure 5

Edward Black Greenshields (c. 1900) *Toronto Saturday Night* 21 April, 1909.

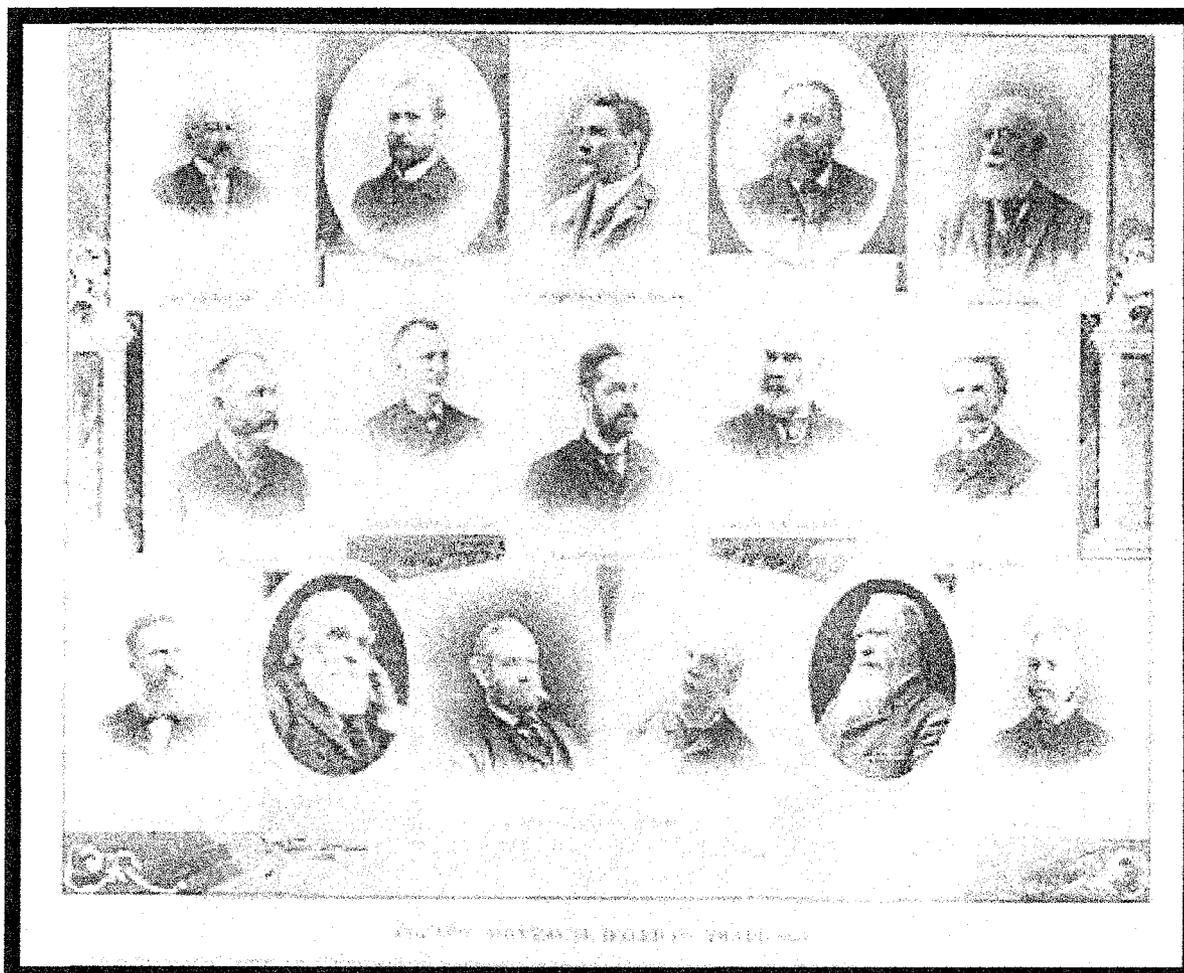


Figure 6

Montreal Board of Trade, Edward Black Greenshields, centre (1892)



Figure 7

The Boy with a Hoop, 1863, Matthijs Maris (1839-1917), Oil on canvas,
47.3 x 31.6 cm, Cincinnati, The Taft Museum

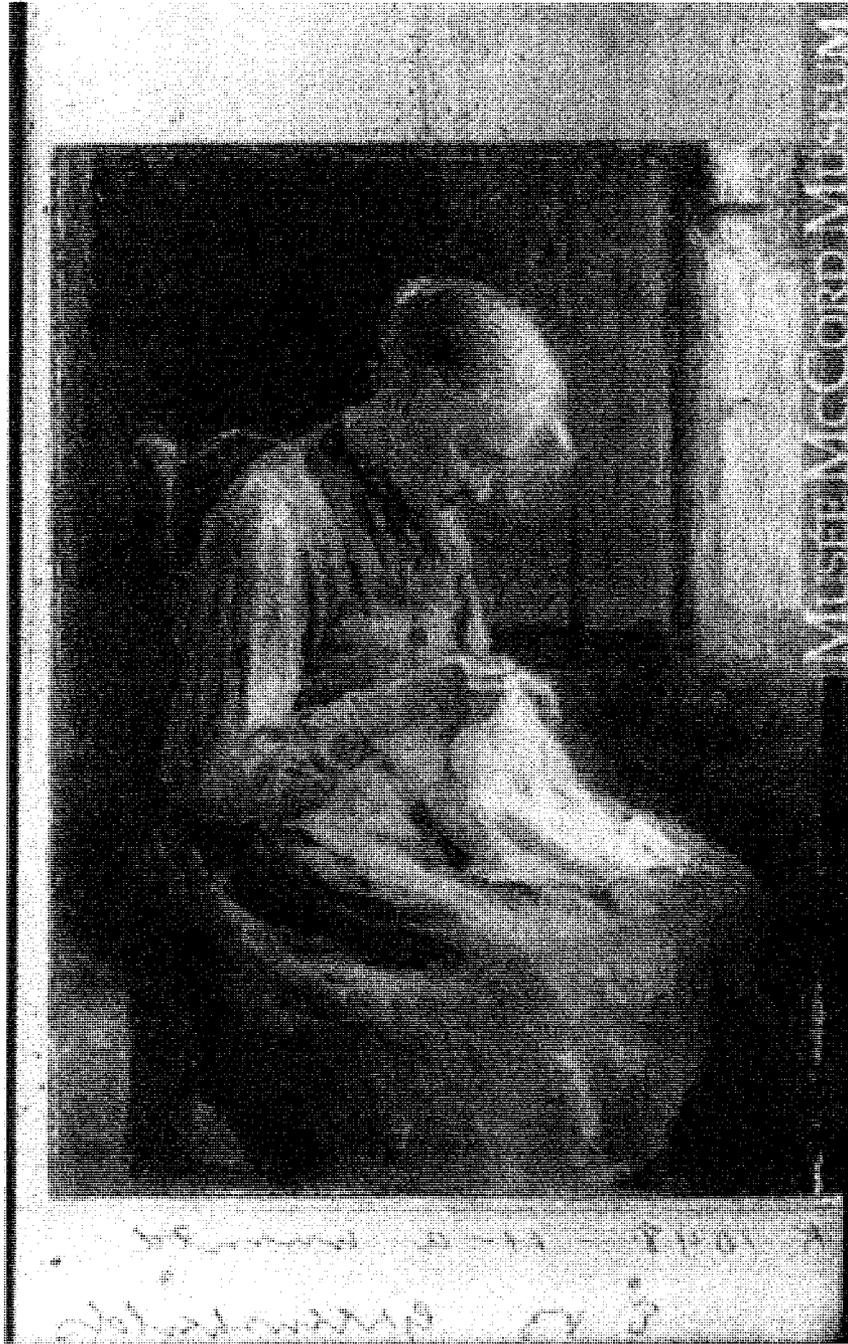


Figure 8

Girl Sewing, painting by K. Pietors? [sp] copied for E. B. Greenshields 1911, Wm. Notman & Son, silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 12 cm, VIEW-11048. McCord Museum

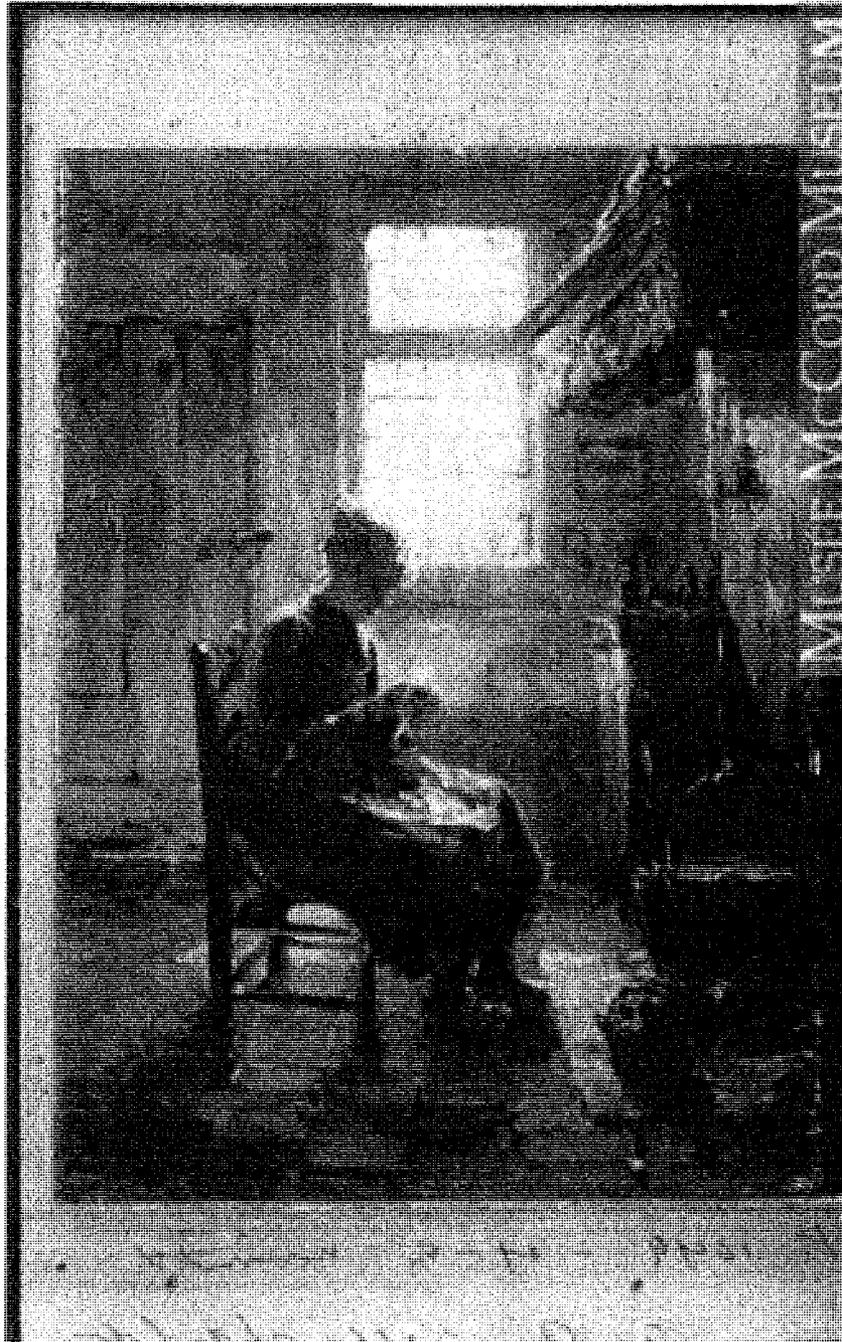


Figure 9

Woman Sewing, painting by K. Pietors? [sp] copied for E. B. Greenshields 1911, Wm. Notman & Son, silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 12 cm, VIEW-11049. McCord Museum

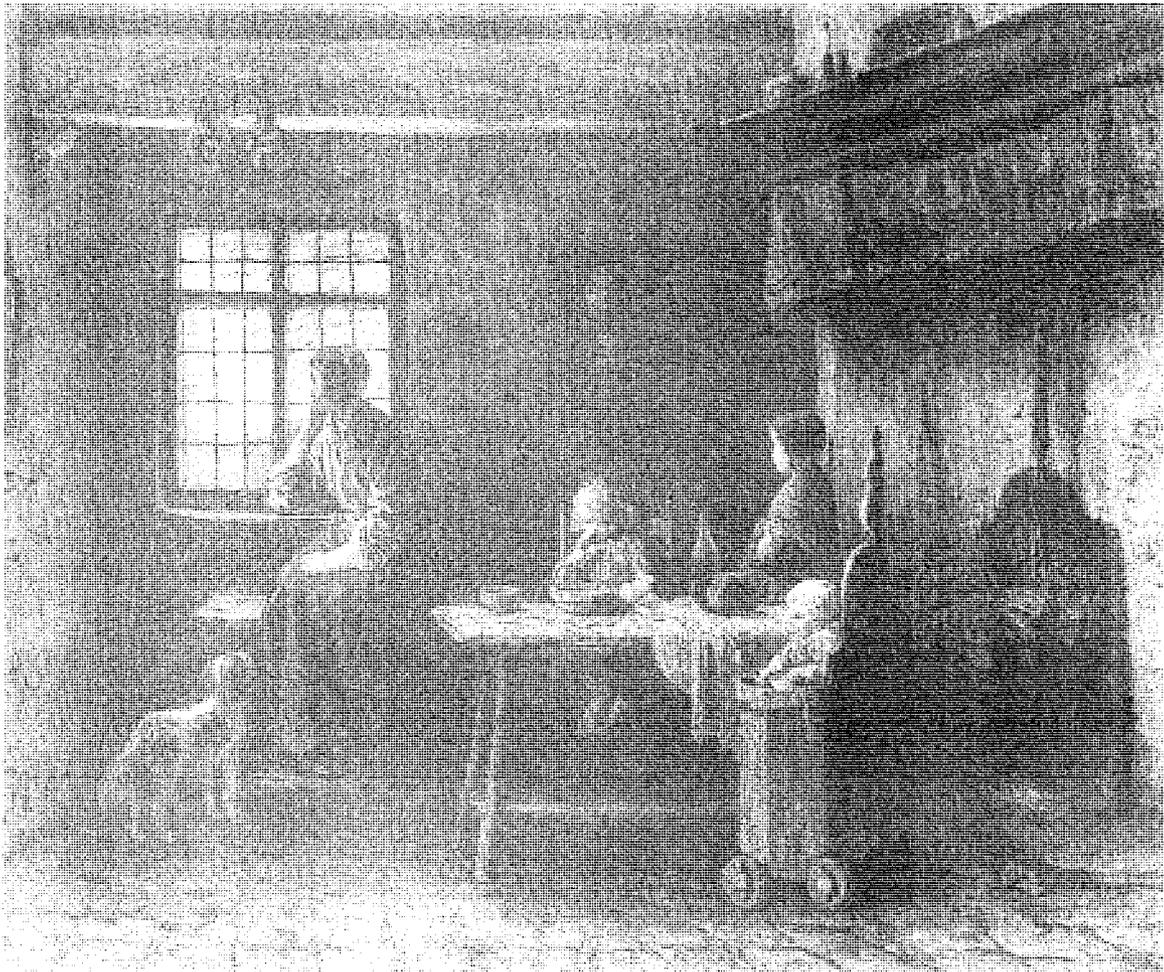
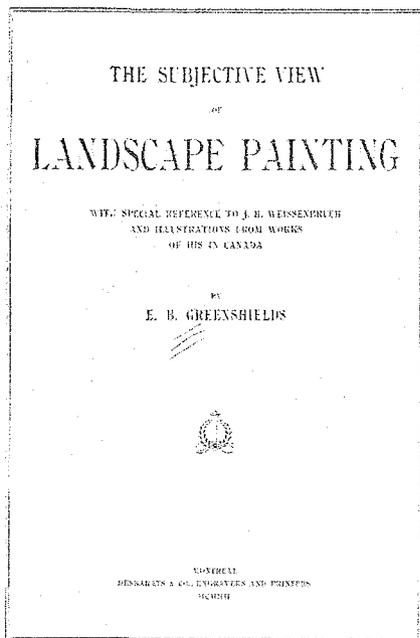


Figure 10

The Anxious Family, 1885, Jozef Israëls (1824-1911), oil on Canvas, 55.8 x71.1 cm,
Worcester , Worcester Art Museum

with Emily's compliments
of 10/1/1904



LANDSCAPE
PAINTING
AND MODERN
DUTCH ARTISTS
BY
E. B. GREENSHIELDS



PLATE XXVII. *The Anxious Family. Jozef Israels.*

FORTY-SIX ILLUSTRATIONS 6s. 6d. NET
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Figure 11

Frontispieces for *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting* (1904) and *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists* (1906) by E.B. Greenshields

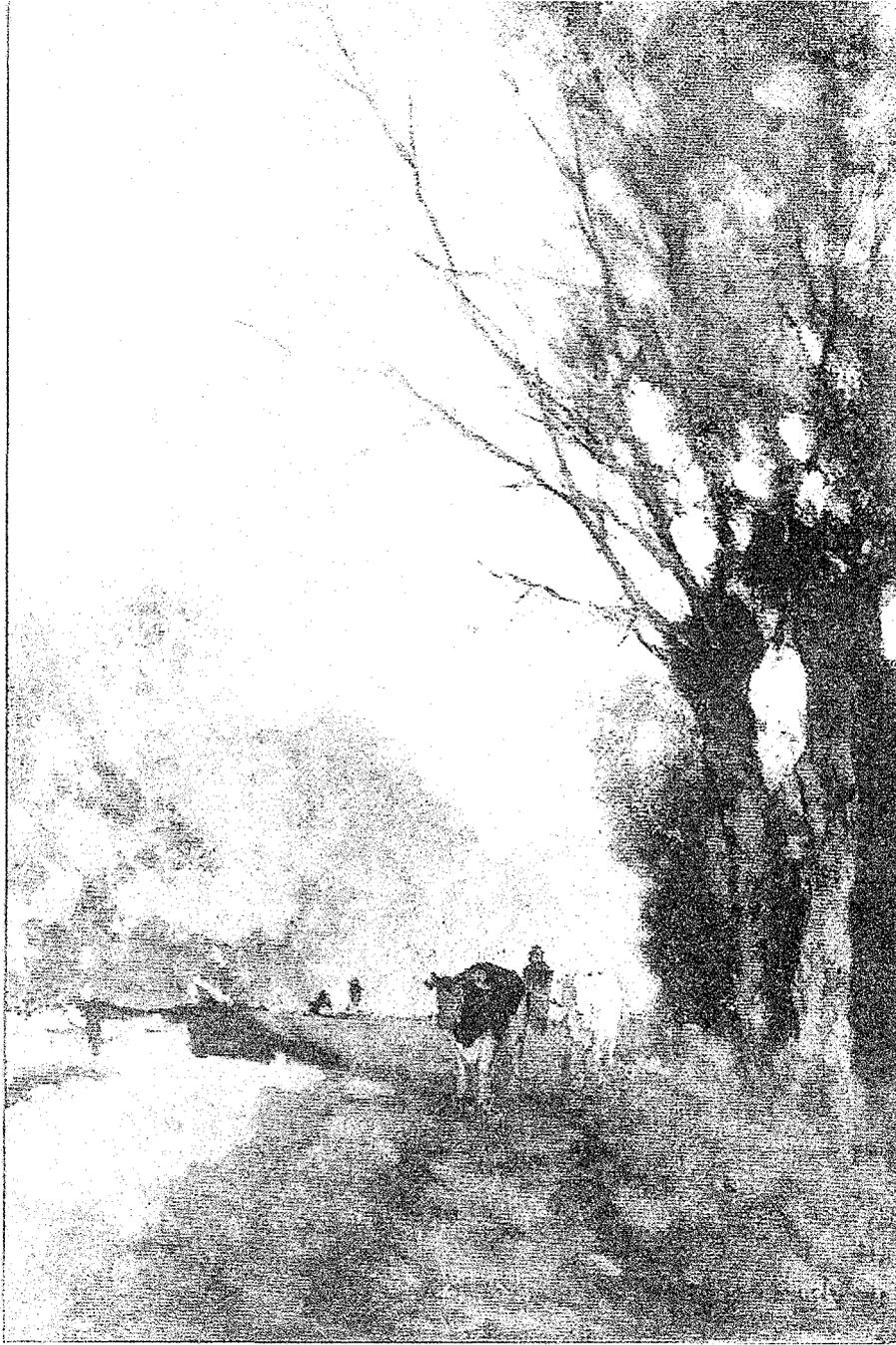


Figure 12

Autumn Near the Hague, n.d., Jan Hendrik Weissenbruch (1824-1903),
oil on canvas, dimensions and location unknown



Figure 13

The Christening, 1873, Matthijs Maris, oil on canvas, 20 x 26 inches,
Utrecht, Centraal Museum



Figure 14

At the Cottage Door, n.d., Anton Mauve (1838-1888), Watercolour on paper, 21 x 27 inches, location unknown

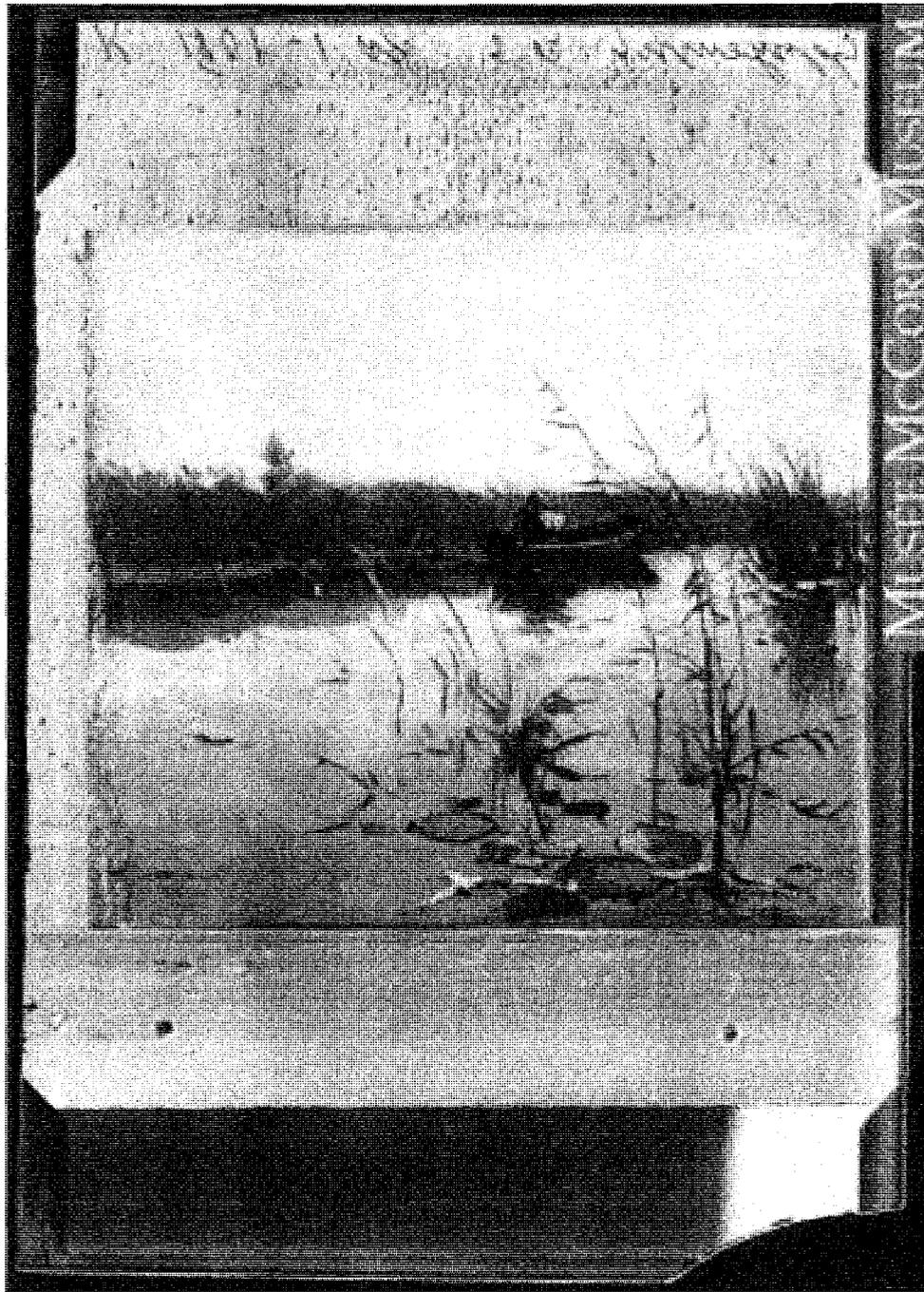


Figure 15

*Pond Scene, painting by J. H. Weissenbruch, copied for E. B. Greenshields 1911-12,
Wm. Notman & Son, silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process, 17 x 12 cm, VIEW-
11801. McCord Museum*

THE FRENCH GALLERY
 131 PRINCE STREET
 EDINBURGH

Account of Greenfield's & Co.
 To Mr. Lawson Purves

Sum of £225/-

Account paid by
 Mr. Purves
 (Harriet Purves) £225/-
 agreed by cheque
 Mr. Constable No. and Cheque
 dated 21/1/1904

Sum for Centre [unclear] 5/11

Edw. Greenfield's & Co. London, W.

To E. J. VAN WISSELINGH & Co.
 Picture Dealers
 14, BRICK STREET
 HANOVER SQUARE

AND AT
 27, SPIEGEL, AMSTERDAM

Watercolor drawing by
 'ance' 'boy in grey costume'
 1/1600

Received by Cheque
 E. J. van Wisselingh, Co.

Figure 16
 Sales receipts from the French Gallery in Edinburgh (1904)
 and E.J. Van Wisselingh in Amsterdam (1902)



Figure 17

Woman on a Donkey, by Sir John Lavery, copied for E. B. Greenshields, 1911-12, Wm. Notman & Son, silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 25 cm, VIEW-11802.
McCord Museum

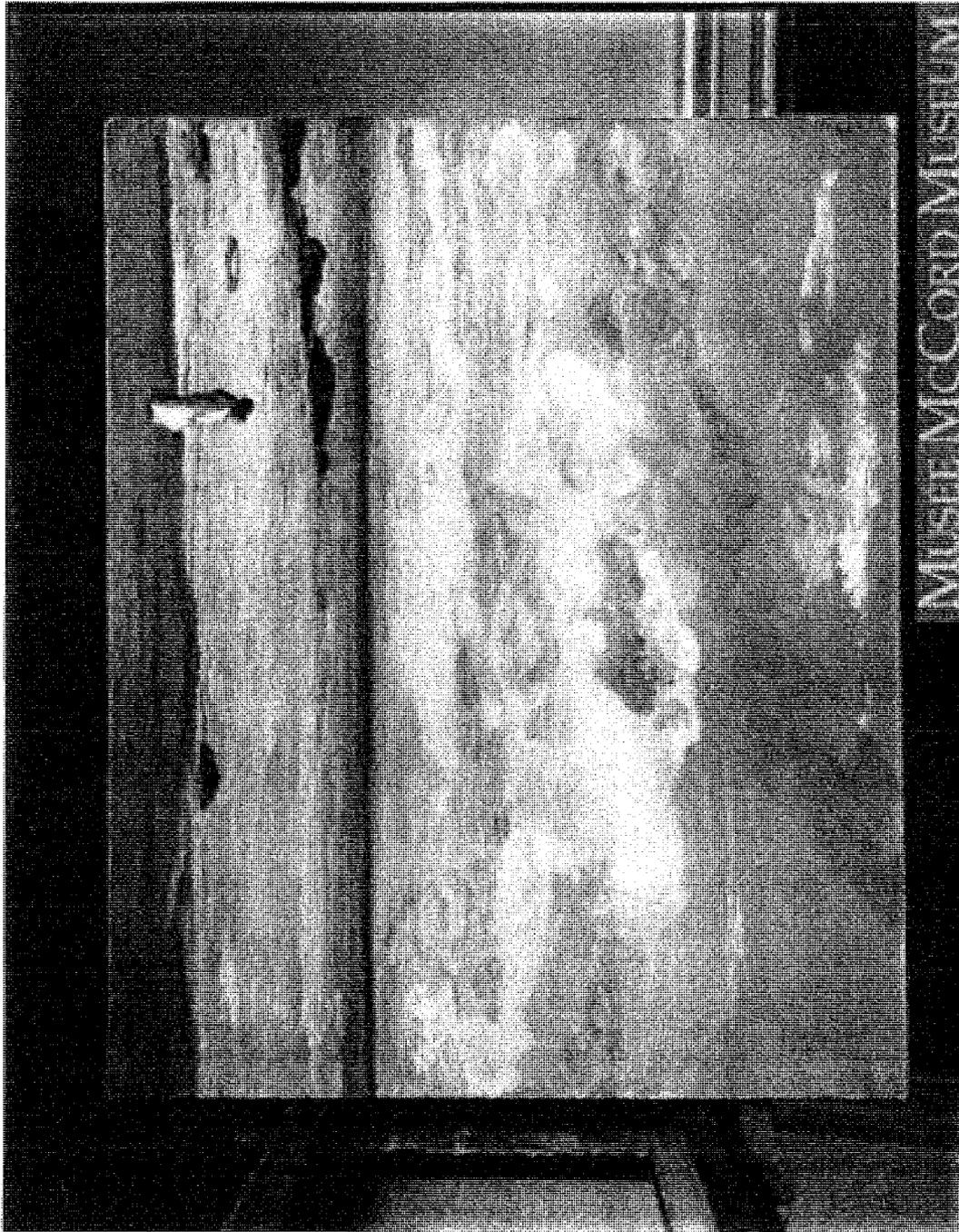


Figure 18

Seascape, painting by Sir John Lavery, copied for E. B. Greenshields, 1911-12, Wm. Notman & Son, silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process, 20 x 25 cm, VIEW-11803. McCord Museum

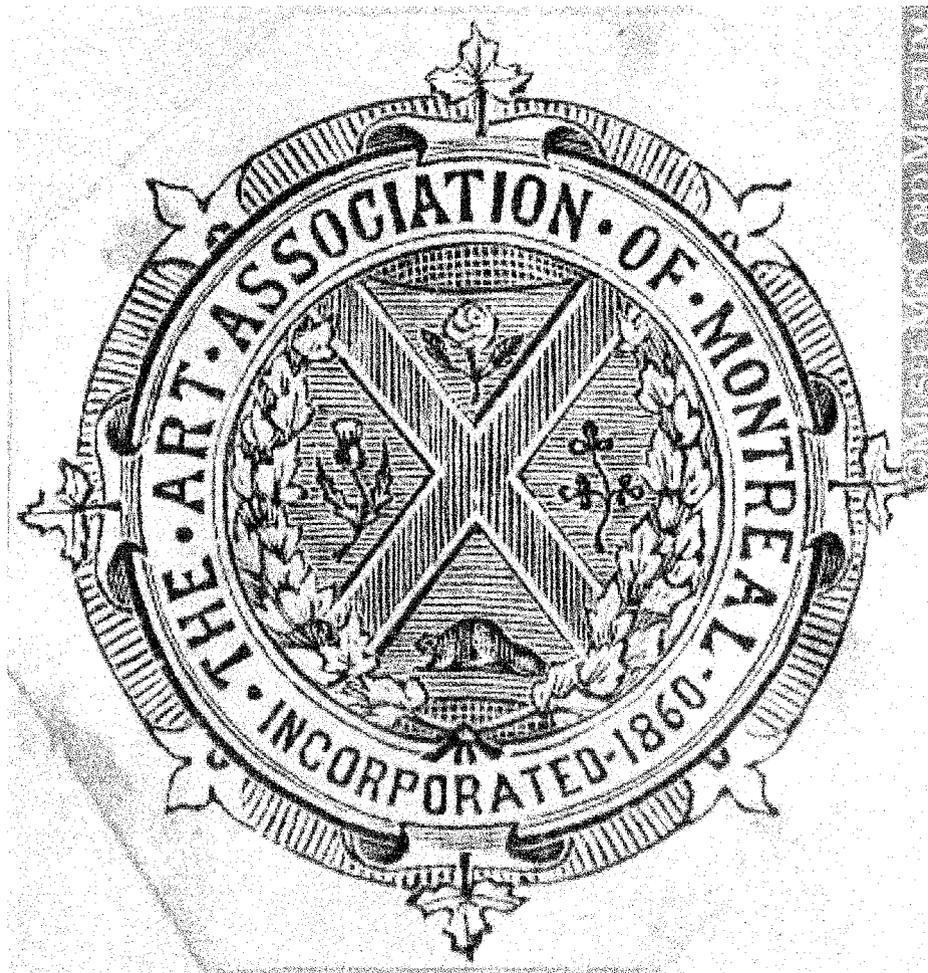


Figure 19

Art Association of Montreal Crest (c. 1900)

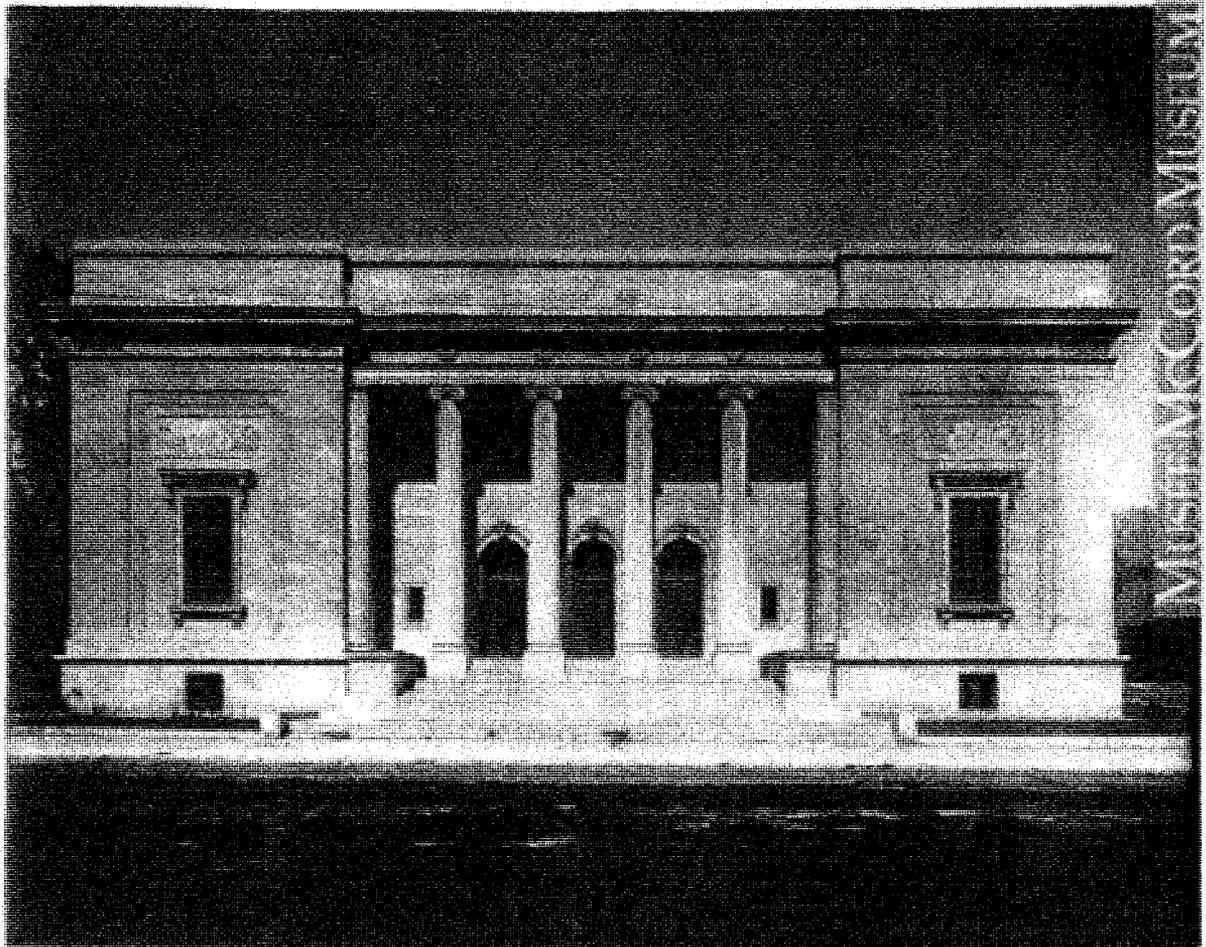
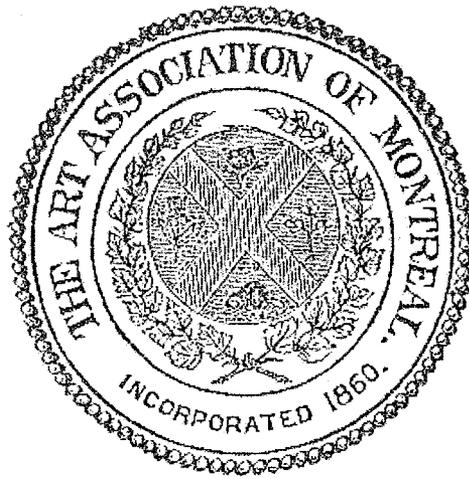


Figure 20

Art Association of Montreal (c. 1913) Sherbrooke Street,
Edward and William S. Maxwell, architects



COMMITTEE.

The President.

Mr. E. B. Greenshields.

The Secretary.

Figure 21

Art Association of Montreal (c. 1894)

ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

EXHIBITION
OF
PAINTINGS
from the Collection of
EDWARD BLACK GREENSHIELDS
NOVEMBER 5TH TO 22ND



MONTREAL
1936

Figure 22

Exhibition Catalogue of the 1930 loan exhibition of works from E.B. Greenshields collection

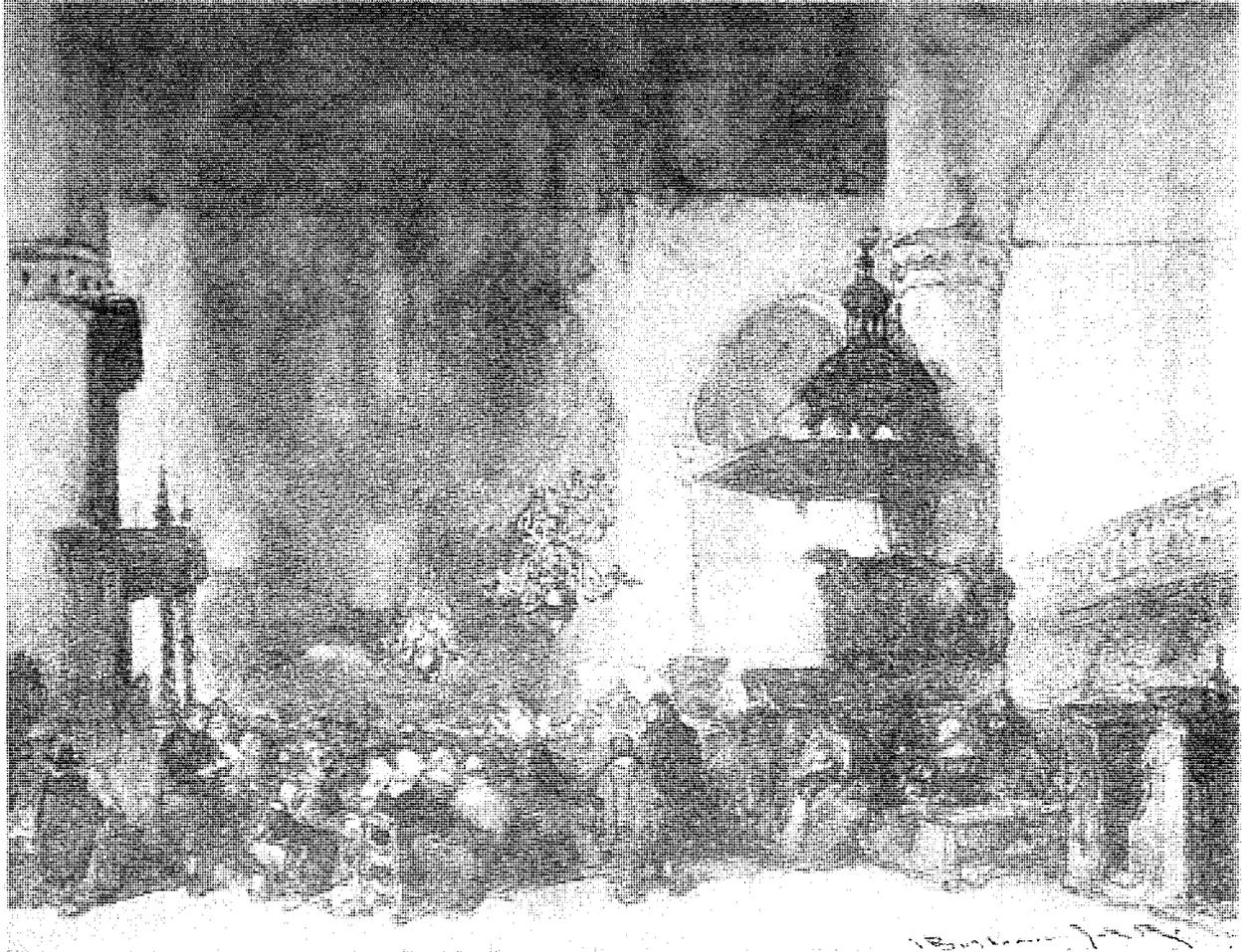


Figure 23

Interior of a Church, n.d., Johannes Bosboom (1817-1891), oil on canvas,
7 ¼ x 10 inches, location unknown

APPENDIX

Works in the Edward Black Greenshields Collection

I have compiled this list of works thought to be in the Greenshields collection using the inventory (roughly 50 works) from Brooke's *Discerning Tastes* as well as the diaries, receipts and notes found in the Greenshields Fonds at the McCord Museum in Montreal. All dimensions are in inches unless centimeters where specified. Selected exhibitions are noted as well as the amounts works were insured for according to an inventory of the Greenshields Estate done in 1923. Also indicated are works photographed by the Notman Studio in Montreal.

De Bock, Théophile – Dutch (1851-1904)

Evening (1902)

14 x 21 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons 1902)

AMM 1904 no. 2; AMM 1936 no. 1 (as *Landscape*)

Estate (as *Landscape*) \$850

Landscape with Trees (or Edge of the Wood)

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons December 1905 bought for \$1000 sold back for \$1250)

Notman 1906

Two Skiffs in a Creek

Montreal, Greenshields

Notman 1905

Rising Storm

Watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons by 1907)

Unknown

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons for \$93.75 n.d.)

Inlet to the Maas

Montreal, Greenshields (before 1904 sold to Knoedler for \$450)

Bosboom, Johannes – Dutch (1817-1891)

Interior of a Church

7 ¼ x 10 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons 1909)

AAM 1893 no. 2; AAM 1936 no. 3

Estate \$2500

The Geertekerk, Utrecht (or Church at Oosthuisen) (1848)

20 ¾ x 15 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons 1902)

AAM 1904 no. 3 (as *Communion, Oosthuisen*); AMM 1936 no. 2 (as *Communion service in church of Oosterhuisen*)

LPMDA plate XXIII (as *Church at Oosthuisen*)

Estate \$6400

Pulpit, Mechlin Cathedral

12 ½ x 10 ½ inches Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

AAM 1904 no. 4

LPAMDA plate XXIV

Estate \$1100

Coast Scene

Watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1906)

LPAMDA plate XXV (as *Scheveningen*)

Notman 1905

Boudin, Eugene – French (1824-1898)

Dunes de Tourgeville

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Notman 1904

Woman Washing Clothes (or Washerwoman)

16 x 18 inches

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904, returned to Scott & Sons in December 1904)

Notman 1904

Ship in Harbour

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Notman 1904

Beached Sailboat

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Notman 1904

Brown, John-Lewis – French (1829-1890)

Soldiers

Oil on Canvas

Montreal, Greenshields (before 1907 from Scott & Sons)

Chintruil, Antoine – French (1814-1873)

Le pont du Moulin a La Tournelle
15 ½ x 10 ¾ inches, Oil
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1907)
Notman 1907
AAM 1891 no. 17
Estate (As *Landscape*) \$250

Church, Frederick Stuart – American (1842-1924)

Idlers
28 x 12 inches Oil
Montreal, Greenshields (1887 from artist)
AAM 1936 no. 4
Estate \$425

Constable, John – British (1776-1837)

A Coming Storm
30 x 20 inches
AAM 1891, no. 12
Montreal, Greenshields (from French Gallery for \$1750 and later exchanged for an unknown work by LHermitte)
LPAMDA plate XI (as *Landscape with Stormy Sky?*)

Corot, Jean-Baptiste Camille – French (1796-1875)

La Rochelle (Environs de la Rochelle or In the Woods) (1860-1870)
15x20 inches, Oil
London J. Staats Forbes (1891), London, Thomas Agnew; Hill Bond; Montreal, Scott and Sons (by 1906) Montreal, Greenshields; Montreal, E.M. Drinkwater (by descent); Amsterdam, E.J. Van Wisselingh; Groningen, R.J. Veendorp (1960)
AAM 1912, no. 22; AAM 1936 no. 6
Notman 1906 (as *Woman and Tree*)
Estate \$8000

Landscape (or The Dawn)
23x19 inches Oil
T. Mclean; Sully; Glasgow, Lawrie & Co.; Montreal, Greenshields (October 1891)
AAM 1936 no. 5
LPAMDA plate XIII (as *Paysage?*)
Estate \$4200

Daubigny, Charles François – French (1817-1878)

Landscape

Montreal, Greenshields by 1888

AAM 1888, no. 15

Diaz de la Peña, Narcisse Virgile – French (1807-1876)

Les Gorges d'Apremont, Forest of Fontainebleau

16 x 13 inches

Limoges, Allnand; New York, Knoedler; Montreal, Greenshields (March 1889)

AAM 1890 no. 8 (*As In the Forest of Fontainebleau*); AAM 1936 no. 7

Dupre, Jules – French (1811-1889)

Early Morning at Sea

Montreal, Greenshields

AAM 1891 no. 33

Fantin-Latour, Henri – French (1836-1904)

An Idyll

14 ½ x 17 ½ inches, Oil

Guyzanne, Sir John D. Milburn (1909 sold Christie's to Wallis); London, French Gallery; Montreal, Greenshields (October 1909)

Three Women around Table

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Notman 1904

Hagborg, August – Swedish (1852-1925)

An Interesting Conversation

Montreal, Greenshields

AAM 1888, no. 29

Henner, Jean-Jacques – French (1829-1905)

La Madeleine

8 ½ x 10 ½ inches, Oil

London, Wallis & Son (French Gallery); Paris, T.C. Noes (by 1902); Montreal, Greenshields (October 1902)

AAM 1936 no. 8

Estate \$850

De Hoog, Bernard – Dutch (1866-1943)

Interior

16 x 24 inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (October 1910)

AAM 1936 no. 9

Estate \$450

Israëls, Jozef – Dutch (1824-1911)

The Anxious Family (1885)

Dundee, Sheriff White; London, Agnew & Sons; London, Tooth & Sons;

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905); Boston; R.C. and N.M. Vose (1917)

55.8 x 71.1 cm, Oil on Canvas

AAM 1908 no. 17

Notman 1905 (as *Family in Cottage*)

LPAMDA plate XXVII

Girl Sewing (At Needlework)

31 ½ x 23 ½ inches, Oil

New York, Knoedler and Co.; Montreal, Greenshields (by 1906); London, Ernest Ruffer (1924; sold London, Christie's as At Needlework, £588 to Gooden & Fox)

Seated Woman (Notman 1906)?

LPMDA plate XXVI

The Lovers

23 ½ x 29 inches, Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons April 1904)

AAM 1936 no. 10

Estate \$4200

Girl at Window

18 ¾ x 22 ½ inches, Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

AAM 1936 no. 11

Notman 1904

Estate \$4200

Interior of a Cottage

25 x 17 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

LPMDA plate XXVII

Notman 1904 (as *Old Lady at the Fire*)

The Arrival

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons 1906, paid \$2000, sold back for \$3500)

Life's Daily Toil

Montreal, Greenshields
AAM 1888 no. 41

Children of the Sea

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1906)
LPAMDA plate XXI

A Signal of Danger

23 ½ x 29 inches
Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons for \$4200 in July 1902)

Jongkind, Johan Barthold – Dutch (1819-1891)

Moonlight (1869)

9 ¼ x 13 inches, Oil
London, Wallis & Son (by 1906); Montreal, Greenshields (November 1906)
AAM 1936 no. 12
Estate \$650

Square rigged vessel in Harbour

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905)
Notman 1905

Jurres, Johannes Hendricus – Dutch (1875- active 1920s)

Rebekah and Eliezer

15 ½ x 19 ½ inches, Oil
Montreal, Greenshields (Scott & Sons June 1904)
AAM 1936 no. 13
Estate \$350
Notman 1904

Lavery, Sir John A – British (1856-1941)

Evening after Rain, Tangiers

29 ½ x 24 ½ inches, Oil
Montreal, Greenshields (G.W. Kraushaar, New York December 1911)
AAM 1936 no. 14
Estate \$750

A Moonlight Visit in Tangiers

24 ½ x 14 inches, Oil
Montreal, Greenshields
AAM 1936 no. 15

Green Motor Bonnet

24 x 29 inches, Oil
Montreal, Greenshields; Montreal, Mrs. J.W. Cook
AAM 1936 no. 16
Estate \$900

Woman on Donkey

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1907)
Notman 1907

Seascape

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1907)
Notman 1907

Lhermitte, Léon Augustin – French (1844-1925)

End of the Day

39 x 28 inches, Oil
Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons August 1909)
AAM 1936 no. 17; AAM 1939 no. 79
Estate \$7500

Harvest (The Gleaners)

Pastel
London, Wallis & Son; Montreal, Greenshields (April 1909 from the French
Gallery \$1750)

Maris, Jacob – Dutch (1837-1899)

The Canal Bridge (1872)

20 ½ x 30 ½ inches, Oil on Canvas
Amsterdam, Van Wisselingh; Glasgow, Andrew Maxwell (by 1886); London,
Agnew (1903); Glasgow, Mark Bannatyne (1903); Montreal, Greenshields (by
1906); Montreal, E.M. Drinkwater (by descent- before 1936); Ottawa, private.
LPAMDA plate XXX
Notman 1904 (as *Bridge over Canal Tours*)

Italian Girl

Montreal, Pease, E.L. Pease; Montreal, Greenshields (returned to Scott & Sons for
\$3000)

Landscape in Winter

8 x 6 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons March 1910)

AAM 1936 no. 20

Estate \$1300

The Peacock Feather

14 ½ x 23 ¾ inches, Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons April 1902 for \$4750)

AAM 1904 no. 13

LPAMDA plate XXIX

The Tow-Path (1890)

39 x 59.5cm, Oil on Canvas

London, Tooth & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (October 1901); Wassenaar, J.H.

Van Shaik (by 1974)

AAM 1936 no. 19, AAM 1939 no. 104

LPAMDA plate XVI

Estate \$5100

Amsterdam

AAM 1888 no. 55; AAM 1939 no. 107

The Sea at Scheveningen (or Marine)

33 x 30 inches

London, W.L. Peacock (commissioned artist); Edinburgh, Robert Pallerton

(1900); London, Wallis & Son; Montreal Greenshields (November 1900)

AAM 1903 no. 29; AAM 1936 no. 18 (as *Seashore and Boat*); AMM 1939 no.

103 (as *Boats on Shore*)

LPAMDA plate XVII (as *The Sea Shore?*)

Estate (as *Seashore and Boat*) \$9500

Boy in Grey Costume

Watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields; (from Van Wisselingh, February 3, 1902 for \$1600)

Dordrecht

24 x 19 ½ inches, Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (November 1892)

LPAMDA plate XXXI

Estate \$3400

Boy Blowing Horn

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Notman 1904

Old Canal Dordrecht

Montreal, Greenshields (January 1907 for \$16, 250)

Maris, Matthijs – Dutch (1839-1917)

The Boy with a Hoop

47.3 x 31.6 cm, Oil on canvas

New York, Daniel Cottier; New York, Sarah B. Conkling (to 1905; sold New York, American Art Galleries February 1905; then to Scott and Fowles for \$4800); Montreal, Greenshields 1905; Montreal, Scott & Sons \$5280, noted a profit of \$768.34)

LPAMDA plate XXXV

The Yoke of Oxen (c. 1870)

6 x 5 ½ inches, Oil on panel

The Hague, M.J. Heemskerk Van Best (by 1875); London, J. Staats Forbes (by 1894); Amsterdam, Van Wisseling; Cleveland, Alfred A. Pope; Glasgow, Laurie & Co.; London, Groupil (1899); London, Wallis & Son; Montreal, Greenshields (from Wallis & Son October 1901); Montreal, E.M. Drinkwater (by descent); Private collection (February 1970)

AAM 1936 no. 22

Estate \$2150

LPAMDA plate XXXVI (as *The Ox Cart*)

At the Well (1872)

34 x 26.5 cm, Oil on Canvas

The Hague, F.H.M. Post (by 1875); Montreal, Greenshields (by 1888); London, George McCulloch (by 1901); Montreal, Sir Edward Clouston (1909); England, J. Todd Read; Amsterdam, Van Wisseling; Groningen, R.J. Veendorp (from Van Wisseling 1965)

Le Baptême (1873)

20 x 26 inches, Oil on canvas

Paris, Groupil; New York, C.L. Wolfe; Newport, Miss Lorillard; New York, Cottier (1906); Montreal, Greenshields (February 1906); Montreal, E.M. Drinkwater (by 1956); Amsterdam, Van Wisseling; Utrecht, Centraal Museum Paris, Salon de 1873 no. 1007; Paris, Groupil 1888; AAM 1908 no. 29; AAM 1912 no. 98; AAM 1936 no. 23 (as *The Christening*)

Estate \$30,000

The Dreamer (1887)

54.6 x 39.4 cm, Oil on canvas

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1906); Glasgow, Dr. Leonard Gow (before 1923 to 1937); London, Christie's (sold to Lockett Thomson); Glasgow, Sir William Burrell (1937); Glasgow, Glasgow Museums & Art Galleries

LPAMDA plate XXXVII

Maris, Simon – Dutch (1873-1935)

Unknown

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons July 1903 for \$300)

Maris, Willem – Dutch (1844-1910)

The River, Near Gorcum, Holland (or Marine)

48 x 32 inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons January 1900)

AAM 1903, no. 35; AAM 1936 no. 25 (as *River Merwerde, Holland*)

LPAMDA plate XXXIX

Estate (as *River Merwerde*) \$6800

Ducks

Montreal, Greenshields (after 1906 but before 1908)

AAM 1908 no. 30

A Happy Family

Montreal, Greenshields

AAM 1912, no. 105

Milking Time at Abcoude

48 x 32 inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons November 1903)

AAM 1936 no. 24

LPAMDA plate XXXVIII

Estate \$10,600

Landscape with Cattle

16 ½ x 22 inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons October 1906)

AAM 1936 no. 26

Estate \$3400

Notman 1906

A Cool Retreat

10 x 14 inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons September 1902 for \$1350)

Estate \$1300

LPAMDA plate XL

A Shady Pool

14 x 10 inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons December 1905)

AAM 1936 no. 28

Estate \$1900

Shady Pool (or Swans)

21 x 16 inches

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Cows Under Willows

10 ½ x 14 inches, Oil

P.F. Zurcher; Montreal, Greenshields (from Zurcher October 1910)

AAM 1936 no. 29

Estate \$3000

Canal and Ducks

10 x 14 inches, Oil

London, French Gallery; Montreal, Greenshields (from French Gallery November 1911)

AAM 1936 no. 30

Estate \$1700

The Duck Pond

37 x 26 ¾ inches, oil on canvas

Montreal, Greenshields; Montreal, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (donated by Mrs. E.B. Greenshields in 1919)

Mauve, Anton – Dutch (1838-1888)

Entering the Village

23 x 27 inches, Oil on canvas

Montreal, Scott & Sons (from the artist's studio); Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons by 1887); The Hague, P.A. Scheen (by 1956)

AAM 1888 no. 60; AAM 1898 no. 31; AAM 1936 no. 31 (as *Entering the Village of Larew*);

Estate \$12,800

LPMDA plate XXXIII (as *Entering the Villiage of Laren*)

Shepherd and Sheep

5 ¾ x 11 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Scott & Sons; Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons May 1905)

AAM 1936 no. 33

Estate \$1300

Ploughing
Montreal, Greenshields
AAM 1891 no. 60

Shepherd and Flock
22 x 14 inches, Watercolour
The Hague, Preger; London, Wallis & Sons; Montreal, Scott & Sons;
Greenshields (from Scott & Sons January 1908)
AAM 1935 no. 36
Estate \$4200

The Sand Dunes
57 x 101.5 cm, Oil on canvas
New York, Scott and Fowles; Montreal, Greenshields
LPMDA plate XXXII

Evening- Horses Drinking (1871)
21 x 12 ¾ inches, Oil on panel
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905); Netherlands, private collection
Estate \$6000
LPAMDA plate XXII

At the Cottage Door
21 x 27 inches, Watercolour
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905)
Estate \$4200
LPAMDA plate XIX

Crossing the Moor
27 ½ x 18 ½ inches, watercolour
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1906)
Estate \$12,000
LPAMDA plate XXXIV

Women Harvesting Potatoes
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905)
LPAMDA plate XIV (as *Potato Gatherers?*)
Notman 1905

Horse and Rider
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905)
Notman 1905

Return of the Flock
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905)
Notman 1905

Shepherdess

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons by 1905)

Notman 1905

Mettling, Louis – French (1847-1901)

An Aged Scholar

Oil on canvas

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons by 1907)

AAM 1891 no. 69

Michel, Georges – French (1763-1843)

Landscape

Montreal, Greenshields, (returned to Scott & Sons September 1902 for \$400)

AAM 1895 no. 50

Millet, Jean-François – (1814-1875)

Unknown

Montreal, Greenshields (returned to Scott & Sons c. 1905)

Monticelli, Adolphe – French (1824-1886)

Causerie

21 x 25 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1895)

AAM 1895 no. 52; AAM 1936 no. 37 (as *Fête Champêtre*)

Estate \$3000

Fête champêtre

22 x 13 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1901)

AAM 1936 no. 38

Estate \$850

Morrice, James Wilson – Canadian (1865-1924)

Venice

31 ½ x 23 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from the artist c. 1904)

AAM 1936 no. 39 (as *The Public Gardens, Venice*)

Estate \$800

St. Malo

30 x 24 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from the artist c. 1904)

AAM 1936 no.40 (as *St. Malo - La Plage*)

Notman (as *Boats at Anchor*)

Neuhuys, Albert – Dutch (1844-1914)

Interior

14 x 17 inches, Watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Son January 1887)

AAM 1936 no. 41 (as *Sunshine*)

Estate \$1100

Pelouse, Leon Germain – French (1838-1891)

Effet du matin

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1887)

AAM 1887 no. 60

Pieters, Evert – Dutch (1856-1932)

Mother and Girl

24 ½ x 30 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons March 1906)

AAM 1936 no. 42

Estate \$850

Girl Sewing

10 ¼ x 14 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1907)

AAM 1936 no. 43

Estate \$300

Notman 1907

Interior

10 ¼ x 14 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from C.W. Kraushaar in December 1910)

Estate \$350

AAM 1936 no. 44

Woman Sewing

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1907)

Notman 1907

Ribot, Théodule – French (1823-1891)

Child

Unframed

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons by 1907)

Ryder, Albert Pinkham – American (1847-1917)

Moonlight Journey

10 x 12 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields

AAM 1936 no. 45

Estate \$750

Scherrewitz, Johan – Dutch (1868-1951)

Coast Scene

14 ½ x 18 ½ inches, Oil

London, French Gallery (from artist); Montreal, Greenshields (November 1909, \$150)

AAM 1936 no. 46

Estate \$200

Unknown

Montreal, Greenshields (before 1904) sold to Scott & Sons for \$350

Steelink, Willem – Dutch (1856-1928)

Landscape with Sheep, after the Rain

31 x 22 inches, Oil

New York, C.W. Kraushaar; Montreal, Greenshields (by 1903)

Estate \$500

AAM 1936 no. 47

Notman 1905

Unknown

Watercolour

London, W.L. Peacock; Montreal, Greenshields, (from Scott & Sons December 1902 for \$175)

Troupeau de Moutins

Watercolour

London, W.L. Peacock; Montreal, Greenshields, (from Scott & Sons December 1902 for \$125)

Sheep on Hillside

Watercolour

London, W.L. Peacock; Montreal, Greenshields, (from Scott & Sons December 1902 for \$125)

Ter Meulen, Francois Pieter – Dutch (1843-1927)

Landscape with Sheep

34 x 25 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1905)

Estate \$1300

Notman 1905

Landscape with Sheep

25 x 16 ¾ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1906)

Estate \$650

Notman 1906

Sheep Grazing (Landscape with Shepherd and Sheep)

Montreal, Greenshields, (before 1907, returned to French Gallery in 1908 for \$600 and \$750 credit)

Notman 1906

Flock of Sheep in Pasture

39 ½ x 28 inches

Montreal, Greenshields (before 1906, sold to Knoedler for \$1200 in 1906)

Tholen, Willem Bastien – Dutch (1860-1931)

Landscape

23 x 17 inches, Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (from Wallis & Son May 1892)

AAM 1936 no. 50

Estate \$425

Turner, J.W.M. – British (1775-1851)

Lake Geneva

14 x 9 ¾ inches, Watercolor

Montreal, Greenshields (February 1910 from Wallis & Son- \$900)

AAM 1936 no. 51

Estate \$700

Van der Weele, Herman Johannes - Dutch (1852-1930)

Landscape with Sheep

33 x 23 inches, watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott and Sons May 1903 for \$175)

AAM 1936 no. 52

Voerman, Jan – Dutch (1857-1941)

Milking Time

20 x 11 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (from Buffa & Fils, Amsterdam March 1906)

AAM 1936 no. 53

Estate (as *Landscape with Cattle*) \$350

De Weele, H.J.,

Landscape with Sheep

Montreal, Greenshields

33 x 23 inches, Oil

Estate \$350

Weissenbruch, Jan Hendrik- Dutch (1824-1903)

Evening on the Canal (1898)

25 x 16 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (January 1904)

AAM 1936 no. 55

SVLP; LPMDA plate XX (as *Sand Boat Evening*)

Estate \$2150

A Storm, Coast of Zeeland

113 x 157.5 cm, Oil on canvas

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1903); Montreal, E.M. Drinkwater (by descent to

1956); Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum

AAM 1903 no. 57; New York, Society of Art Collectors 1904; AAM 1912 no.

191 (as *The Storm*); AAM 1936 no. 54; AAM 1939 no. 112

LPAMDA frontispiece

Estate (as *The Storm*) \$25,000

The Seashore (or Low Tide)

20 x 15 inches

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1896)

New York Society of Art Collectors 1904; AAM 1908 no. 39; AAM 1936 no. 57

Estate \$1700

The Mill

26 x 21 ½ inches, Watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields

AAM 1936 no. 58

Estate \$1300

Mill Near Scheveningen

24 x 16 inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

AAM 1936 no. 56 (as *Early Morning in Holland*)

SVLP; LPAMDA plate XLIV (as *Early Morning Holland*)

Estate \$2150

Canal

8 ½ x 7 ½ inches, Oil

Montreal, Greenshields

Estate \$425

Landscape with Boat

12 ½ x 8 inches, Watercolour

Montreal, Greenshields

Estate \$225

A Windmill by the Sand Dunes (1896)

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP

Notman 1904 (as *Field with Windmill*)

Skiff in a Stream

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP; LPAMDA plate XV (as *The Fisherman*)

Notman 1904

Low tide Zeeland

Montreal, Greenshields (from Arthur Tooth & Sons October 1902 for \$1750, re-sold for \$3000 after 1906)

SVLP

Dutch Pasturage

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP

Notman 1904 (as *Cattle Grazing*)

Woman in Field

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

Notman 1904

Reaper in a field
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)
Notman 1904

Carts on a Shore
Watercolour
Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons March 1902)
Notman 1904

Pond Scene
Notman 1907

Village of Nieuwkoop
28 x 22 inches
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)
SVLP

A Sandy Bay (1902)
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)
SVLP

Low tide Zeeland
Montreal, Greenshields (from Arthur Tooth & Sons October 1902 for \$1750, re-sold for \$3000 after 1906 possibly back to Tooth?)
SVLP

3 Mills
Watercolour
Montreal, Greenshields (December 1909 for \$550)

Boatman Returning Home
Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Son for \$750)
LPAMDA plate XLV (as *Nearly Home*)

Autumn Near the Hague
Montreal, Greenshields (from Scott & Sons September 1902 \$1250 and later sold)
SVLP; LPAMDA plate XLI

A Bright Day
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)
SVLP
Notman 1904 (as *Cattle at River*)

A Bend of the Canal
Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)
SVLP; LPAMDA plate XLII

Low tide Zeeland

Montreal, Greenshields (from Arthur Tooth & Sons October 1902 for \$1750, re-sold for \$3000 after 1906)

SVLP

Notman 1904 (as *Sailing Vessel Underway?*)

Canal and Bridge at Nieukoop

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP; LPAMDA plate XLIII (as *Nieuwkoop*)

Among the Reeds

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP

Evening Reflections

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP

Harbour Scene

Montreal, Greenshields (by 1904)

SVLP

Wyllie, William Lionel – British (1851-1931)

On the Medway

Montreal, Scott & Sons (by 1887); Montreal, Greenshields (by 1889)

AAM 1887 no. 86; AAM 1889 no. 34