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Abstract

Graf Harry Kessler's diary mentions a dinner in 1929 at an art collector's house on Pariser Platz in Berlin: "Eight to ten people, intimate party, extreme luxury... Four priceless masterpieces by Manet, Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Monet respectively on the walls." This collector, born Marie-Anne von Friedlander-Füld, was known as Marianne de Goldschmidt-Rothschild by then. She also owned paintings by Renoir, Lautrec, Gauguin, Cézanne, Picasso, Rousseau, and others. In her correspondence with Rainer Maria Rilke during WWI, she already mentioned her painting by Van Gogh, *L'Arlésienne* (Musée d'Orsay), which she acquired when she was barely 22.

By the late 1920s she mostly lived in Paris, until the Nazi threat forced her into exile in the US. Soon after the declaration of war, in October 1939 she entrusted three paintings to the Direction des Musées nationaux de France, to be hidden together with the artworks of the Louvre. She hoped to ship these paintings to New York through an established art dealer. When this failed to occur on her own terms, she decided to transport her art collection to New York herself. Against all odds, in May 1940, she left Paris with her paintings on the roof of her car, and from Lisbon she was eventually able to embark on the cargo ship *Quanza*, bound for Veracruz, with her two teenaged children and roughly fifteen rolled-up canvases. They reached New York via Texas five months later.

In this case study, I reconstruct the contents of this little-known but major collection, and the unusual manner in which it was brought to the US for the duration of the war, exemplifying the notion of canvases as movable assets, as well as symbols of the collectors' values and identity.

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If the eventful life of Marianne von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (January 17, 1892 – November 30, 1973) conjures up Jazz-Age glitz and glamour, the story of how she saved herself, her children, and her collection of paintings during the Second World War is sobering. Born Marie-Anne von Friedländer-Fuld in Berlin, a spectacularly wealthy heiress known to friends as “Baby,” she owed her fortune to her father and her various names to three consecutive husbands.¹ Her story and her collection, however, were very much her own. The fact that she collected French modern art from 1914 through the interwar years, as a woman, is notable enough. The way in which, as a Jewish collector—Jewish according to the Nuremberg Laws of 1935—she transported and safeguarded her paintings during the Nazi era, is a story for the ages. This article outlines the contents and history of her little-known yet major art collection: how it originated in Berlin, was transferred to Paris, accompanied her to New York and Los Angeles during her wartime exile, and most of it returned to the French capital postwar. Aside from its human dimension, this narrative contributes to the history of collecting, as well as the fields of exile studies and Holocaust-era provenance.

This case study apprehends artworks as movable assets, known as “flight assets” in the context of the Holocaust. Atypically, among the material possessions this collector was able to bring along during the 1940 exodus, aside from what she could carry in her pockets and luggage, were canvases she rolled up and took from one country to another by car, then by ship and plane to the USA. She brought them because she valued and wanted to safeguard them, but also because they represented a valuable, reliable currency. It also points to the fact that artworks typically travel far and wide, but in perilous times more than ever and generally without the required precautions and documentation (such as proper crates, war-risk insurance, and customs clearance), often obscuring or compromising their provenance. Moreover, it underlines the fact that if the Louvre helped some Jewish collectors in hiding their collections during the war, albeit not successfully, the recourse to art dealers to transport artworks—without selling them—was typically not an option, as traders, wearied by the Great Depression, primarily considered the profitability of any substantial investment of capital, and needed to save themselves and their stock. Art shipments were a complex, time-consuming, risky, and costly proposition. And yet, in a fundamental way, this collector availed herself of a characteristic of oil paintings that goes back to the Renaissance. Since the sixteenth century, canvases have largely replaced frescoes and wood panels because, being light and easy to roll up, they could easily be moved, whether their owners elected to transfer their household from one residence to another or were forced to temporarily relocate due to the plague or other calamities. Interestingly the emergence of paintings on canvas also coincided with the shift from craftsmanship to artistry, and their increase in value.

The following story follows one woman’s narrow escape just prior to the Nazi occupation of France, while also evading the systematic looting of Jewish art collections in France during the war by rolling up her canvases and bringing them along as she fled, thereby preserving that valuable, movable portion of her considerable possessions, while she was dispossessed of the rest.

Auspicious Beginnings in Berlin

Marianne was of Polish and Dutch descent. Her parents were the Upper-Silesian mining industry tycoon Friedrich Victor (Fritz) von Friedländer-Fuld (1858-1917) and his Amsterdam-born wife Milly Antonie Fuld (1866-1943).² They lived between the grandiose Palais Friedländer (built by Ernst von Ihne in 1895-6) at Pariser Platz 5a, Berlin—next to the French Embassy, to the east of the Brandenburg Gate—and Lanke Castle on Hellsee. On the occasion of Marianne’s wedding, on January 6, 1914, to the Hon. John Freeman-Mitford (1885-1963), a British nobleman (fig. 1),³ the international press reported that she was “the daughter of the Coal King,”⁴ “Germany’s wealthiest heiress,”⁵ and “the \$30,000,000 heiress.”⁶ The marriage was soon annulled,⁷ but for the next few years she was known as Marianne Mitford.



Figure 1. Marie-Anne von Friedlander-Fuld and John Freeman-Mitford, 4th son of Lord Redesdale, in 1914. Press photography, Agence Rol - Gallica. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et Photographie.

In Berlin, with Alfred Walter Heymel and Julius Meier-Graefe as mentors, she developed an interest for French modernism, which was deemed controversial at the time for being not only innovative but foreign.⁸ Her outlook was transnational and transgressive from the start. During the Great War she exchanged correspondence with the poet and modern-art proponent Rainer Maria Rilke,⁹ which she published under a pseudonym in 1956.¹⁰ She acquired Van Gogh’s *L’Arlésienne* (fig. 2) in 1914¹¹ (despite her father’s strong objections) from the Berlin collector Carl Sternheim, then living in Brussels, upon seeing the canvas in an exhibition at Galerie Cassirer in Berlin.¹² (This was not long after the Dutch collector Cornelis Hoogendijk was committed for collecting works by Van Gogh and Cézanne.) It hung in her room at Pariser Platz (contrasting with her parents’ eighteenth-century fine and decorative arts), against a fashionable gold-colored Paul Poiret wallpaper.¹³



Figure 2. Vincent Van Gogh, *L'Arlésienne*, 1888, oil on canvas, 117 x 99 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris (RF 1952-6).

Rilke, who had been Auguste Rodin's secretary in Paris and felt exiled in Germany during the war, corresponded with various collectors whom he advised.¹⁴ In a letter to Marianne dated July 28, 1915, he recommended a Rose-Period Picasso gouache he saw at Galerie Caspari, *The Death of Harlequin* (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC), which might interest her.¹⁵ Later Rilke planned her trip to Munich, including a visit to Caspari's (where he saw several Picassos and a Cézanne), and to Hertha Koenig's house, to see her Picasso, *Family of Saltimbanques* (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC).¹⁶ In letters dated August 26 and September 28, 1916, Rilke mentioned a Picasso (with a "strange blue painting on the back") Marianne was selling through Caspari, much to his dismay.¹⁷ Her friendship with Rilke offers a glimpse of her advanced taste and her independent, resolute personality, and suggests that she favored Picasso, although the extent of her collection at that time is unknown.

Upon her father's death in July 1917 Marianne inherited his estate, but the subsequent decade was rather turbulent. In 1920, she married the German diplomat Richard von Kühlmann (1873-1948). They had a daughter, Antoinette (Nina) von Kühlmann (Berlin, 1923-New York, 2017), but divorced on April 13, 1923 in Munich (fig. 3).¹⁸ On June 23, 1923, Marianne married her third and last husband, Baron Rudolph von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1881-1962), from the Frankfurt bank family, who was a painter. Two years later they had a son, Gilbert Victor von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (Berlin, 1925-Paris, 2010).¹⁹ They divorced in 1926 but she was henceforth known as the Baroness Marianne de Goldschmidt-Rothschild, substituting "von" for "de" to better assimilate in French society.



Figure 3. Photo of Marianne in 1921. Photo geni.com

From Pariser Platz to Paris

From the early 1920s, Marianne and her mother often stayed in Paris, at the Ritz hotel, and in 1923 Marianne acquired a house called *Le Vaisseau* at Le Pradet, near Toulon (Var).²⁰ She lived between Berlin and Paris, as the diary of Count Harry Kessler attests.²¹ Kessler called on her on February 9, 1926, at Pariser Platz where Marianne performed in a Hofmannsthal play, “*Gestern*,” then a parody of “*Heute*” —as women of her social standing occasionally did to support charitable causes—with the actor Curt Bois (fig. 4). Kessler and Bois called on Marianne in Paris on June 1, where she received them in sky-blue pajamas, lying on a Chinese bed, and the three of them, Misia Sert, and others went to the Ballets Russes.

After her divorce, she spent increasingly more time in France. She bought a house at 33 rue de la Faisanderie in Paris (16e)—the *hôtel particulier* Goldschmidt-Rothschild—where she and her children resided by 1927, until May 1940 (fig. 5).²² She progressively moved her art collection to Paris in those years, which turned out to be a blessing in view of the events unfolding in Germany.²³

Marianne was a patron of Galerie Paul Rosenberg, 21 rue la Boétie. In May 1924, she sent a painting by Renoir, *Femme nue couchée* (fig. 6), from Amsterdam (where her widowed mother now lived) on consignment to Rosenberg, for which she wanted 60,000 gulden.²⁴ She later informed Rosenberg that the Berlin art dealer Hugo Perls was coming to see the Renoir.²⁵ In 1927, Marianne bought the painting by Rousseau, *Le Pont de Grenelle* (fig. 7), from Rosenberg.²⁶



Figure 4. Left to right, Hans Wassmann, Marianne von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Curt Bois and Elisabeth Grube in a performance of the play 'Bücherball' in the baroness's house, Berlin, January 1927. Photo by Zander & Labisch. Reproduced in Alfred Flechtheim's journal, *Der Querschnitt* 7, no. 4 (April 1927): 294.



Figure 5. Ignacio Zuluaga, *Portrait of Marianne de Goldschmidt-Rothschild*, oil on canvas, 1927, as reproduced in *Der Querschnitt* 7, no. 4 (April 1927): 254.



Figure 6. Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Femme nue couchée (Reclining Nude)*, 1903, oil on canvas, private collection.



Figure 7. Henri Rousseau, *Le Pont de Grenelle*, 1892, oil on canvas, 21 x 75 cm, Musées de Laval.

In his diary, Kessler described a dinner at her Pariser-Platz house near the end of 1929, suggesting that part of her collection was still in Berlin (fig. 8). It included a disturbing remark:

Eight to ten people, intimate party, extreme luxury ... Four priceless masterpieces by Manet, Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Monet respectively on the walls.²⁷ After dinner thirty van Gogh letters, in an excessively ornate, ugly binding, were passed around with cigarettes and coffee. Poor Van Gogh! I feel like instituting a pogrom. These people should be slaughtered. Not out of jealousy, but disgust at the falsification and leveling of intellectual and artistic values to mere baubles, articles of 'luxury.'²⁸

Such comments would soon shift from condemnations of taste to denunciations of race. As a Jewish collector, having artworks in Germany, especially modern art, became untenable as soon as Adolph Hitler became chancellor in January 1933. As a Jewish person, owning real estate or any property in Germany could no longer be taken for granted; moving around freely became increasingly difficult, and pogroms became a reality.²⁹

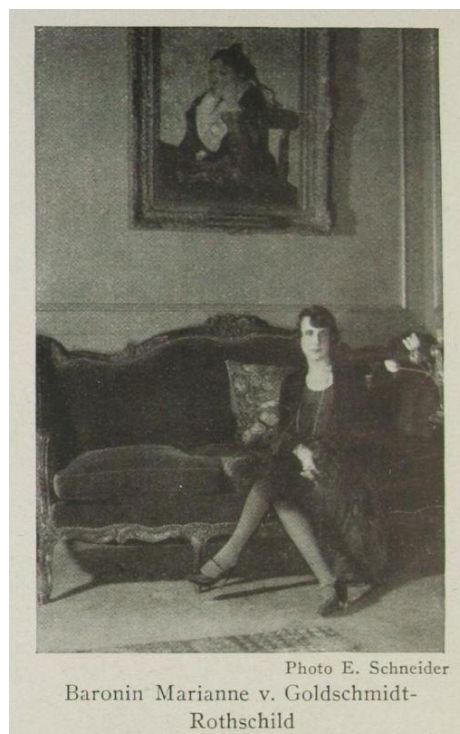


Figure 8. Photo by Ernst Schneider of Marianne under her Van Gogh, *L'Arlésienne*, published in *Der Querschnitt* 9, no. 5 (1929): 356-7.

Mounting Dread

The alarming situation in Germany was unmistakable. One author writes about Sanary, merely 20 km away from Le Pradet, where Marianne owned a house: “After the Nazi takeover in 1933, Sanary became a home away from home for countless German writers and artists. [...] Baby Goldschmidt-Rothschild was present in 1936 when Feuchtwanger threw a party about which Schickele said, ‘Half the German emigration has gathered in Sanary’.”³⁰ That year she invited the Jewish painter Eugen Spiro (from Silesia like her father) to stay at her house in Paris.³¹

By 1936 her collection was said to be located in Paris in Lionello Venturi’s Cézanne catalogue raisonné: she is listed in the index under Paris—not Berlin—with three paintings by Cézanne (whose respective provenances list Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Berlin), namely no. 161, *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan* (fig. 9), no. 219, *Nature morte* (fig. 10), and no. 629, *Bords de la Marne* (fig. 11).³²



Figure 9. Paul Cézanne, *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan*, a.k.a. *Bosquet au Jas de Bouffan* (*Trees at the Jas de Bouffan*), c. 1874, oil on canvas, 54 x 73 cm, private collection.



Figure 10. Paul Cézanne, *Boîte à lait et citron I* (*Still Life in Blue with Lemon*), ca. 1879, oil on canvas, 19 x 30 cm, Cincinnati Art Museum.



Figure 11. Paul Cézanne, *Bords de la Marne*, 1888-94, oil on canvas, 50 x 61 cm, whereabouts unknown.



Figure 12. Cézanne, *Parklandschaft (Les Reflets)*, as reproduced in Waldmann 1913.



Figure 13. Edouard Manet, *L'Enfant au chien (Boy with a Dog)*, 1862, oil on canvas, 92 x 72 cm, private collection.



Figure 14. Edouard Manet, *Combat de taureaux (Bull Fight)*, 1866, oil on canvas, 90 x 120 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris (RF 1976-8).



Figure 15. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Le Baiser (In Bed – The Kiss)*, 1892, essence on board, 42 x 56 cm, private collection.

Likely unnerved by the Nuremberg laws, she appears to have endeavored to get her paintings out of continental Europe, as indicated by the loan of three canvases to the “Exhibition of Masters of French 19th Century Painting” at the New Burlington Galleries, London, October 1-31, 1936, namely Manet’s *Boy with a Dog*³³ (fig. 13) and *Bullfight* (fig. 14), as well as Van Gogh’s *L’Arlésienne* (fig. 2).³⁴

In November 1936 she appealed to Winston Churchill in the hope of acquiring British nationality and of transferring assets from Germany and Poland to Britain, to no avail.³⁵ Shortly after the Anschluss, in March-April 1938 Marianne and Gilbert traveled to the US and the Caribbean (without Nina, who was probably at school) with their German passports – likely an exploration trip in case it became necessary to relocate.³⁶ Ultimately, on June 23, 1938, thanks to the French Ambassador to Germany, André François-Poncet, Marianne and her children acquired French citizenship.³⁷ Germany was behind her once and for all, but the sense of security would not last.

The situation escalated: Having deferred for as long as she could, in August 1939 Marianne was forced to sell her house and her mother’s adjacent pavilion at 5a-6 Pariser Platz to the city of Berlin, in addition to land she owned, to pay the exorbitant Reich flight tax, which totaled 3,189,972 Reichsmarks.³⁸ The contents of these residences were dispersed at the Ferdinand Knapp and Hans W. Lange auction houses, among others, and the rest was transported to Amsterdam and stored there at De Gruyter (where they were looted by the Germans in 1941 and auctioned at Van Marle & Bignell, The Hague, in 1941-42.)

Before that, on January 16, 1939, the Paris agent of the gallery Jacques Seligmann & Co. in New York, Georges E. Seligmann, visited Marianne at rue de la Faisanderie and wrote a memo listing five paintings he saw, which he thought she might be willing to sell,³⁹ namely:

Rousseau, “horizontal canvas, small, very pretty, high quality, quite sellable, representing a bridge” (fig. 7)

Lautrec, “picture of the highest quality, two women kissing on the mouth; one couldn’t find more beautiful”⁴⁰ (fig. 15)

Cézanne, “landscape, honest painting, pleasing, finished, second-rate; Carroll loved it but I don’t like it.”⁴¹ [possibly *Le Lac d’Annecy*]⁴²

Manet, “Boy with a dog, see Jamot”⁴³ (fig. 13)

Manet, “Bullfight, see Jamot; wonderful painting, very large”⁴⁴ (fig. 14)

Seligmann did not include her Van Gogh, *L’Arlésienne*, possibly because it was on loan.⁴⁵ She would not have considered selling it, but neither was she willing to sell the other paintings, as we shall see.

War-Time Displacement: Lisbon, Veracruz, New York

When Britain and France declared war on Germany, on September 3, 1939, Marianne and her children were summering at Le Vaisseau. Soon after, she returned to Paris.⁴⁶ Her uncle recommended that they take refuge in the US and her cousin, Michel Calmann (1880-1974), helped her.⁴⁷

On October 21, she entrusted three of her paintings to the *Direction des Musées nationaux de France*, to be hidden together with the artworks of the Louvre.⁴⁸ This consisted in one crate containing three paintings: Manet’s *La Course de taureaux*; Manet’s *L’enfant au chien*; and Cézanne’s *Le Lac d’Annecy*,⁴⁹ hidden at the Château de Chambord that same month.

Between fall 1939 and spring 1940, she attempted to have these three paintings sent to the US through Jacques Seligmann & Co. The plan was for Seligmann to send her two Manets to the Art Associates Inc.’s exhibition “Masterpieces of Art” (May-October 1940) as part of the World’s Fair in New York, together with paintings from the Louvre, which explains why three of her paintings were separated from the rest.⁵⁰ Indeed, when Georges Seligmann visited Marianne in January 1939 he was prospecting for loans to the Worlds-Fair, as the firm head, Germain Seligmann, served on its Exhibition Committee. She evidently entertained the idea seriously by the fall, if the conditions were right.

The crating, shipping (via Genoa), storage, duties and steep war-risk insurance on her paintings—totaling a staggering \$16,320⁵¹—were to be covered by Seligmann in exchange for the gallery being able to exhibit them for a year, renewable for as long as the war would last. More importantly, the firm expected to sell the Manets and deduct these expenses from the sale price. Michel Calmann drafted a contract, the details of which were changed a few times in a back and forth between Calmann, Georges and Germain Seligmann. Each painting would be insured for 20,000£, or \$80,000.

By February 13, 1940, Georges was pressing Germain to make a decision about the “Goldrot” affair and wrote, “We are starting to give these people, who are spoiled children, the impression that taking care of them is the most important business at hand, yet we are letting them down. They do not understand.”⁵²

Sensing Marianne's reluctance, Germain made clear that he would only agree to cover the shipping expenses provided that she would be willing to sell at least one painting. On March 13, he cabled Georges:

Two Manets will not be invited nor shipped unless suggested Goldrot contract fundamentally altered. We must have definitive purchase option for two years for one of the two paintings at twenty thousand pounds. Further we ourselves will insure painting beginning October for one year. Later years at Goldrot expense. Paintings won't be shipped back while war lasting. Remaining New York in vault. Extremely bad business conditions prevent insuring expense and responsibility however small unless definite commercial incentive.⁵³

Understandably, he had his own concerns and priorities. However, Marianne did not want to guarantee the loan over an extended period and had no intention to sell the Manets. By April 5, Georges Seligmann wrote: "Latest news: The paintings are not for sale; therefore Mrs. de G.R. is not interested in the Worlds-Fair exhibition proposition."⁵⁴ Germain thus rescinded the agreement, as it "put all the advantages in their [her and Calmann's] camp."⁵⁵ Consequently, Marianne decided to retrieve her crate, determined to forge ahead and seek refuge in the US despite this setback.

It is no small irony that, whereas the Seligmann firm could not ship three of her paintings across the Atlantic under acceptable conditions, she herself valiantly took "all her paintings"⁵⁶ to New York. She transported her artworks under the radar, without crates or war-risk insurance, let alone any assurance of success.

Thanks to her own account of what transpired,⁵⁷ as well as extant records, we have some idea of the tribulations she experienced during the exodus, during which she not only had to find a way to transport herself and her children to the US, like thousands of other refugees, but was also determined to singlehandedly bring along roughly sixteen valuable paintings.

She transported her canvases on the roof of her Citroën from Paris, in the midst of a civilian evacuation that caused generalized mayhem, to Hossegor (Landes), where she left them temporarily in the small house of her trusted *maître d'hôtel*. She cabled from the Hotel du Palais in Biarritz on May 22, 1940, that she wanted to retrieve the paintings she entrusted to the Musées nationaux the previous fall. Jacques Jaujard replied from Paris that he could not cable her their location, but somehow communicated the secret information. On May 31, at Chambord, Marianne signed a receipt for a crate marked "Goldschmidt Rothschild." This was a wise move, as the Jewish property hidden at Chambord was looted by the Nazis in July 1941.⁵⁸

The Chambord paintings joined the others at Hossegor, then she drove on from Biarritz through Spain via San Sebastian, all the way to Lisbon, Portugal.⁵⁹ From Estoril, where she stayed with Nina, 17, and Gilbert, 14, she traveled daily to the US, Mexican and other consulates in Lisbon.⁶⁰ They awaited their papers for weeks in anxious anticipation, and with increased urgency after the German occupation of Paris on June 14, and France's surrender on the 25th.

L'Arlésienne, which she had lent to an exhibition in Amsterdam, was shipped straight to Lisbon by plane, together with the paintings of a Dutch collector. She retrieved it with the help of the embassy as the Dutch collector suffered a mental breakdown.⁶¹ In August, after many difficulties, the paintings she left at

Hossegor were shipped in one crate, on a small train, unaccompanied, under the Germans' nose, from Bayonne to Estoril, reaching her safely on the day of their departure.

She had a large wooden cylinder made—"like a tree trunk, but hollow"—with stops at both ends. In the few hours before their ship was scheduled to depart, the canvases were taken off their stretchers, separated with oiled-paper sheets and rolled up, *L'Arlésienne* added last, and the bundle was fitted into the tube.⁶² In Lisbon, on August 9, 1940, they boarded the SS *Quanza*, a Portuguese cargo ship carrying 317 passengers—mostly Jewish refugees—bound for Veracruz via New York. Marianne kept the cylinder by her cabin bed.

On August 19, the *Quanza* arrived in New York. Only 130 passengers were admitted with proper US immigration visas, plus 66 Americans. Marianne, her children and a friend were admitted temporarily for twenty-four hours,⁶³ then boarded the ship again for the next leg of the trip. After a lengthy, trying journey, they were among the 35 passengers allowed to disembark in Veracruz on August 30,⁶⁴ where the canvases were mishandled by customs officers looking for weapons.

While awaiting their US visas in Mexico, she pinned the unstretched *L'Arlésienne* on the wall of her room with pushpins, deriving comfort and a semblance of normalcy from its familiar presence.⁶⁵ When they finally were about to leave for New York, the customs officials would not let the paintings leave Mexico. However, as she recounts it, an ingenious friend who spoke Spanish—undoubtedly their fellow *Quanza* passenger, Illan Alvarez de Toledo⁶⁶—pretended that Marianne was a crazy artist and these were her own productions, which she carried everywhere she went, and he pleaded their indulgence. They took one look at *L'Arlésienne*, laughed, and let her go with her canvases.⁶⁷

This setback may explain why Nina and Gilbert reached the US through Laredo (Texas) on September 27, 1940;⁶⁸ whereas Marianne and Illan landed at the Brownsville Municipal Airport (Texas) three weeks later, on October 17, roughly five months after having left Paris.⁶⁹ Marianne spent the next couple of years in New York, moving around quite a bit: by November 1940 she resided at 85 East 93rd Street;⁷⁰ by November 1941 at Hotel Volney, 23 East 74 Street;⁷¹ by April-May 1942 her address was Old Westbury, Post Box 11, Wheatly Hills, Long Island; and by June 1942, Hotel Dorset, 30 west 54th street.

Soon she lent her artworks to various exhibitions, such as Cézanne's *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan* (fig. 9) to the Metropolitan Museum of Art on August 4, 1941.⁷² Paul Rosenberg—having himself fled Paris for New York via Lisbon in 1940—soon became her primary agent. She lent *L'Arlésienne* to "Masterpieces by Van Gogh, 1852-1890, for the benefit of the American Red Cross" at Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, January 5 - 31, 1942.⁷³ *L'Arlésienne* and Manet's *L'enfant au chien* were then lent via Rosenberg to the Art Association of Montreal for the "Loan exhibition of masterpieces of painting, for the benefit of the men of the allied merchant navies" at the Museum of Fine Arts in Montreal, February 5 - March 8, 1942.⁷⁴ She lent her Rousseau, *Le Pont de Grenelle* (acquired from Rosenberg in 1927), to the Rousseau exhibition at MoMA in March-May 1942.⁷⁵ She lent her Manet, *Course de taureaux*, to "Great French masters of the nineteenth century, Corot to Van Gogh: for the benefit of the Navy Relief Society" at Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, May 4 - 29, 1942,⁷⁶ and made other arrangements besides.⁷⁷

Beverly Hills and San Francisco

Soon after, Marianne moved to California. By March 26, 1943, she resided in Beverly Hills, most consistently at 1140 Benedict Canyon,⁷⁸ although in April-May 1943 she was temporarily at 1126 San Ysidro.⁷⁹ Marianne's brother-in-law Erich von Goldschmidt-Rothschild and his wife were in Los Angeles as well,⁸⁰ as were her friends the author and collector Thea Sternheim,⁸¹ the composer Alma Mahler Werfel and her husband (refugees in Sanary in 1938-40),⁸² and the actor Curt Bois mentioned above. Bois played a pickpocket in the 1942 film *Casablanca*. Incidentally, the French actress Madeleine Lebeau, who also traveled on the Quanza in August 1940, played in *Casablanca* as well: in a moving sequence, in response to Nazi songs, a group of refugees defiantly starts signing *La Marseillaise* and Lebeau shouts «Vive la France!»

In April 1943, Marianne's daughter Nina got engaged and soon after married Irwin Miness, settling in New York.⁸³ Around that time, Georges Seligmann asked Marianne about “a Picasso painting of the Blue Period representing a mountebank” she owned⁸⁴—likely *Boy Holding a Vase* (fig. 16)—which he had not seen when he called on her in Paris and New York. Seligmann asked whether it was reproduced anywhere and whether she'd be willing to sell it.⁸⁵ Marianne must have agreed, as Seligmann asked whether Nina could bring the Picasso to the gallery for a potential client. On May 1st, Seligmann sent Marianne \$4,500 in full payment for the Picasso.⁸⁶ She evidently did not hold a grudge after the Worlds-Fair fiasco.

This picture is not shown due to copy right reasons.

Figure 16. Picasso, *Garçon au vase bleu* (*Boy Holding a Blue Vase*), 1905, oil on canvas, 54 x 34 cm, Hyde Museum, Glens Falls, N.Y. [Blacked out for copyright reasons.]



Figure 17. Paul Gauguin, *Mau Taporu – La cueillette des citrons (The Lemon Picker)*, 1892, oil on canvas, 89 x 66 cm, private collection.



Figure 18. Edouard Manet, *Sous les arbres (Under the Trees)*, 1878, oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm, private collection.

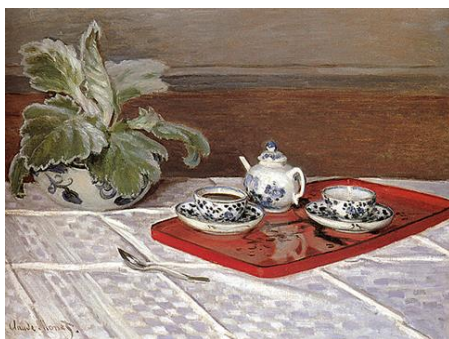


Figure 19. Claude Monet, *Le Service à thé (Still Life – The Tea Set)*, 1872, oil on canvas, 53 x 72 cm, private collection.

Managing her collection kept her busy: after the two paintings she lent to the Montreal exhibition via Rosenberg were returned to her, she retrieved them in New York, and from there traveled back to Beverly Hills via Chicago by train in June 1943 with the Manet and the Van Gogh in tow.⁸⁷ She appears to have sought out new art dealers too. Indeed, in March 1944, Rosenberg complained: “I do not understand your silence, especially since I have been a good friend to you on several occasions, and I am all the more surprised that I heard that you recently sold a painting for a rather high price and you even forgot to ask me if I was interested.”⁸⁸ In April, Georges Seligmann protested as well: “as a while ago we were able to buy from you the Picasso and having since heard that you had disposed of your Boudin and Gauguin (fig. 17), I thought to inquire whether you would care to part with any of your other paintings. I hope you will not mind my writing to you about this.”⁸⁹ The correspondence reveals a resolute, fiercely independent woman.

The US being at war since December 1941, all alien residents were soon required to declare their foreign assets. In accordance with the 1943 Census of Property in Foreign Countries mandated by the Foreign Funds Control—established by the Office of the Secretary, U.S. Treasury Department—Marianne filed the required TFR 500 form.⁹⁰ It is stamped “Received at Federal Reserve Bank San Francisco” and dated 12-6-43, was “sworn to” on July 10, 1944, and signed Marianne Goldschmidt-Rothschild, 10050 Cielo Drive, Beverly Hills.

Although it does not list her paintings, which were with her in the US, this form is quite interesting. Her assets in Canada were estimated to be worth \$17,160 (bonds and shares), in addition to, under “land and buildings” said to be of unknown value, in France, a block of houses at 33-35 Rue de la Faisanderie, Paris, and her estate, Le Vaisseau, at Le Pradet; and in Germany, the house at Pariser Platz 5A and 6, Berlin – whose forced sale she evidently considered null.⁹¹ Also of unknown value: in Holland, under “bullion, currency and deposits,” a banking account at Lippmann Rosenthal, Spiegelstraat 8, Amsterdam; and in Poland, under “interests in allied foreign organizations / partnerships,” a partnership in Robur in the Coal Business, Katowicze, and under “land and buildings for personal use,” a coal mine at Rybnik.

Marianne may have been safe in Beverly Hills, and Nina in New York, but the war years were lonely and emotionally taxing. In a letter to Rosenberg dated May 5, 1944, she bemoaned the death of her mother—in Cannes, in the Free Zone of France, on September 28, 1943, which she learned five months later⁹²—and expressed her anguish about her nineteen-year-old son, among the American troops in France. Rosenberg shared her distress as his own son, Alexandre, served in the Free French Forces. She longed to reminisce about “the olden times” with him.

Soon after, when Germany surrendered Paris to the Allied forces, Marianne expressed her elation by writing to the French ambassador in Washington, D.C., on August 26, 1944, to say that she would gift her most prized possession, Van Gogh’s *L’Arlésienne* (fig. 2), to the Louvre to celebrate her love for the French capital. She amended her will to that effect, the life-interest gift was formalized and accepted in 1952, and the painting came to the *Musées nationaux* after her death, in 1974.⁹³

Before Marianne returned to France—where she resided for the rest of her life—she entrusted eleven of her paintings with Walter Heil, Director of the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco, where they were displayed—as an anonymous loan valued at nearly one million dollars—in an exhibition titled “A Famous Paris Collection.” Lent for an undetermined period, presumably until Marianne

found her bearings in Paris, her collection remained on view in San Francisco for eight months, from March 16 to November 30, 1946.⁹⁴

She flew back to the US in early November 1946 and signed a receipt dated December 17 upon retrieving nine of her paintings. Paul Rosenberg signed a receipt for two of them on her behalf—Manet’s *Bullfight* and *Boy with Dog*, sent to New York by train—on December 10, 1946. Interestingly, one year later, Marianne’s binder of Van Gogh letters (22) and sketches (2)—which Kessler mentioned in 1929—was returned to her by the de Young via Rosenberg on December 21, 1947. She either carried the binder in her luggage in 1940 or brought it to the US in 1946, although it is unlikely that this single item would have survived the systematic looting of her property in Europe.

Back to Paris at Last

These eleven paintings were shipped back to Paris according to an affidavit by Georges Salles stating that they were in her mansion at 33 rue de la Faisanderie before the war.⁹⁵ This document matches the list of paintings shown in San Francisco (including those in Seligmann’s 1939 memo, asterisked here), namely portraits of Martin Luther and his wife by Lucas Cranach⁹⁶; Franz Hals, *Tête d’enfant*⁹⁷ [*Enfant riant*]; Manet, *Course de taureaux** [retrieved from Chambord]; Manet, *L’enfant au chien** [retrieved from Chambord]; Manet, *Esquisse du Déjeuner sur l’herbe* (fig. 18),⁹⁸ Van Gogh, *L’Arlésienne*; Monet, *Nature morte* (fig. 19);⁹⁹ Rousseau, *Le Pont de Grenelle**; Lautrec, *Le baiser**,¹⁰⁰ and Cézanne, *Le Lac d’Annecy** [retrieved from Chambord]. On July 24, 1947, she temporarily entrusted them with the *Direction des Musées nationaux*, whose receipt matches the 1946 lists.¹⁰¹

One cannot help but ponder the complex arrangements that the return of these works to France predictably required (including crating, shipping, stopovers, and insurance)—involving two museum administrations and a seasoned art dealer—in stark contrast with the way she heroically transported them all surreptitiously by herself in 1940. And this was not even the whole lot: extant records show that she sold some artworks in New York, such as the aforementioned Picasso (fig. 16) to Jacques Seligman & Co,¹⁰² possibly a Boudin,¹⁰³ and a Gauguin to Rosenberg and Stiebel.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Marianne sold the Cézanne *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan* (fig. 9, which she had lent to the Metropolitan Museum in August 1941) through the dealer Alexander Ball.¹⁰⁵ Likewise the Cézannes *Bords de la Marne* (fig. 11, said to be hers in 1936¹⁰⁶) and *Reflets d’eau* (fig. 12, which was discussed in the 1941 correspondence between Rosenberg and the Art Association of Montreal,¹⁰⁷ albeit not lent to Montreal in the end) do not appear to have made it back to France.¹⁰⁸

Movable assets sold by Jewish refugees while exiled, also known as “flight assets” (*fluchtgut*), are typically understood as having been sold under duress and often subject to restitution claims, although various considerations prevent any blanket statement regarding the validity, or invalidity, of such transactions, which are not as clear-cut as Nazi art looting as far as the law is concerned. Some might argue that Marianne had other assets and that she already sold paintings before the war, thus her wartime sales were not necessarily ascribable to financial strain.¹⁰⁹ As mentioned above, she sold a Picasso work (with a “strange blue painting on the back”) through Galerie Caspari in Munich in 1916; she sold Renoir’s *Femme nue couchée* through Rosenberg in 1924;¹¹⁰ and a Cézanne still life to Vollard before July 1939, for instance.¹¹¹ More importantly, the sale of these movable assets in the US may not be understood as sale

under duress according to US law because these were arm's length transactions; sales at current market value of which she could freely use the proceedings. There was no direct threat in the US, no coercion, no bad faith on the buyers' part, which is key in the eyes of the law.¹¹² Conversely, all Jewish transfers of property that occurred in Germany and in Nazi-occupied territories have long been legally considered null and void.¹¹³

No comprehensive list of Marianne's paintings exists to my knowledge—the present article is the first attempt at a reconstruction of her erstwhile collection—so it should be pointed out that she owned other paintings besides those listed above, some of which she might have brought to the US as well, and others that remained in Europe. For instance, she had her portrait painted by Ignacio Zuloaga in 1927, which presumably still belonged to her by 1940 (fig. 5).¹¹⁴ In an affidavit dated April 24, 1947, the director of the *Musées de France* testified to having seen three old-master paintings of the Flemish school at rue de la Faisanderie before the war, namely the portrait of a man holding an orange; a snowy landscape; and a triptych depicting the virgin Mary holding the Christ child, with saints; as well as an eighteenth-century clock with an elephant. These had been stored for her in a museum in Amsterdam but were looted by the Nazis and later restituted pending on evidence of ownership, which this affidavit provided.¹¹⁵

In Paris after the war Marianne tried to piece together what was left of her former life and recover the considerable assets she and her mother lost at the hands of the Nazis in Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam, which took decades. Her name does not appear in the principal paintings-related volumes of the *Répertoire des biens spoliés*, although it does for other objects.¹¹⁶ Among the ERR index cards of Nazi-looted objects that went through the Jeu de Paume are a large Eugen Spiro canvas and two paintings by Marie Laurencin, in addition to porcelain tableware. The postwar restitution claims she filed with the *Commission de Récupération Artistique* include the abundant contents of her houses and a storage facility in Amsterdam, including drawings by Laurencin, Rodin and Segonzac, and paintings by Daumier, Vlaminck, and Dufy.¹¹⁷ The detailed compensation claims she filed in Germany in the 1950s include artworks, but they are not itemized.¹¹⁸

The paintings she traveled with on the Quanza, which eventually reached the US via Mexico and Texas, and subsequently spent the war years in New York, Beverly Hills, and San Francisco, were thus saved from systematic Nazi looting. These canvases were valued and valuable possessions; they brought her comfort like familiar faces, as well as reassurance as movable assets. Once the customary options for transportation (through a museum or a gallery) had been ruled out, she opted for a desperate, risky, and ultimately successful alternative. It was risky not only during her travels through France, Spain, Portugal, and Mexico, but during her stay in the US as well. Indeed, the paintings of many refugees were seized and their other assets were blocked in the US as the property of nationals from Axis powers, as were those of nationals from Nazi-occupied territories, pursuant to the Trading with the Enemy Act. This was the case of Thea Sternheim's Gauguin, *Still Life with Three Puppies* (MoMA 48.52), for instance – although it was ultimately restituted to her postwar.¹¹⁹ How Marianne managed to lend and sell artworks during the war, even after this law came into effect in June 1941, and was largely enforced by 1942, is another question, for another paper.

Marianne's paintings came to represent a vital and symbolic thread connecting her life before and after the war. Today, two works on public view represent a fitting albeit not explicit testimony to this

erstwhile collection, namely her iconic Van Gogh (fig. 2) and her large Manet (fig. 14), both at the Musée d'Orsay in Paris,¹²⁰ while most of her other artworks are dispersed in private collections.¹²¹ Yet most museum visitors are unaware of the long, perilous journeys of these canvases during the war, and that of many other artworks with similarly tumultuous histories.

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¹ She was known under various names, namely Marie-Anne von Friedländer-Fuld, Baby Friedlander, Marianne Mitford (1914-20), Frau Richard von Kühlmann (1920-23), Baroness Rudolph von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1923-26), Marianne de Goldschmidt Rothschild, and used the *nom-de-plume* Marianne Gilbert. (Marianne or MdG-R below.) Distinct from her sisters-in-law, Miriam Caroline Alexandrine de Rothschild (1884–1965) and Marion Hélène Schuster (1902-1982), consecutive wives of Rudolph's brother Albert Maximilian Freiherr von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1879-1941).

² In 1891 Fritz married Milly Antonie Fuld, daughter of an Amsterdam banker (Becker & Fuld). Once widowed, Milly returned to the Netherlands and regained her Dutch citizenship in 1921.

³ *The Times* (London), October 22, 1913, and January 5, 1914.

⁴ *The Times*, July 30, 1914. *Washington Post*, October 23, 1913.

⁵ *The Times*, October 22, 1913. *Washington Post*, October 23, 1913.

⁶ *Washington Post*, January 9, 1914. Equivalent of \$500,000,000 today; but in terms of comparative status, \$4 billion.

⁷ *The Times*, July 30, 1914. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 25, 1916.

⁸ Anna-Carolin Augustin, *Berliner Kunstmatronage: Sammlerinnen und Förderinnen bildender Kunst um 1900* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2018): 259-263.

⁹ Marianne lent her villa on Bendlerstrasse 6 (Berlin) to Rilke for a time. Augustin 2018: 267.

¹⁰ Marianne Gilbert, *Le tiroir entr'ouvert, précédé d'une introduction de Marcel Brion, avec trente et une lettres inédites de R.M. Rilke traduites par Blaise Briod et huit dessins de l'auteur*. Paris: Bernard Grasset 1956.

¹¹ Listed in James Laver, *French Painting and the Nineteenth Century* (New York and London, 1937), no. 124.

¹² *Vincent van Gogh: Zehnte Ausstellung*, Galerie Paul Cassirer, Berlin, May–June 1914, where the other version of *L'Arlésienne* (The Met), was also exhibited, no. 80, coll. Bernt Grönvold, Berlin. Gilbert 1956: 114-5.

¹³ Gilbert 1956: 18, 114-116.

¹⁴ In a letter dated February 18, 1915, Rilke asked whether she received a new Picasso drawing (Gilbert 1956: 31). On her relationship with Rilke, see: Christiane Berg, "Rilkes Berliner Begegnung mit Marianne von Friedländer-Fuld," *Aus dem Antiquariat* (Frankfurt) 31, no. 9 (1975). Joachim W. Storck, "Zeitgenosse dieser Weltschande: Briefe Rilkes an Marianne Mitford geb. Friedlaender-Fuld aus dem Kriegsjahr 1915," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 26 (1982): 40-80. Ursula Voss, ed., *An encounter in Val-Mont: Rainer-Maria Rilke, Lally Horstmann* (Frankfurt-a.M.: Insel, 1996). Ingeborg Schnack. *Rainer Maria Rilke: Chronik seines Lebens und seines Werkes 1875-1926* (Frankfurt-a.M.: Insel, 2009). Augustin 2018: 259-271.

¹⁵ Rainer Maria Rilke, *Über moderne Malerei*. Martina Kriessbach-Thomasberger, ed. (Frankfurt-a.M.: Insel, 2000): 81-83 (hereafter Rilke 2000). Gilbert 1956: 44-46. Hertha Koenig (1884-1976) bought *La mort d'arlequin* from Caspari ca. 1915 (Zervos I: 302) and *La Famille de Saltimbanques* from Thannhauser ca. 1914-15.

¹⁶ Rilke 2000. Gilbert 1956: 59-60.

¹⁷ Gilbert 1956: 60-63. Augustin 2018: 269 n.282. Likely the gouache *Mother and Son*, 1905, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

¹⁸ She was at the helm of Friedlaender-Fuld'sches Kohlenforschungsinstitut, a.k.a. KWG Coal Research Institute.

¹⁹ Gilbert changed his name to Goldsmith from 1944 as part of his US naturalization, joined the US Army, and was known postwar as Gilbert de Goldschmidt, a film producer and novelist in Paris.

²⁰ She purchased the house shortly after Nina's birth, around the time of her honeymoon in South Africa with Rudolph in July 1923. Gilbert 1956: 87, 110.

²¹ Laird M. Easton, ed., *Journey to the Abyss: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler, 1880-1918* (New York: Knopf, 2011): 813. Charles Kessler, ed., *Berlin in Lights: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler, 1918-1937* (New York: Grove Press, 2000): 198-99, 279-80, 298-99, 301-2.

²² Affidavit by A. Brocadet, concierge, September 24, 1946, certifying that Gilbert Goldsmith and Antoinette Kuhlmann-Miness resided at 33 rue de la Faisanderie from 1927 to May 1940, stamped by the Paris Police. Archives des Musées nationaux de France, Paris (4AA1, carton 23) .

²³ See letters stating that her collection was in her house in Paris prewar and authorizing re-entry of the ten paintings in France: Exchanges between MdG-R, Georges Salles, Director of the Musées de France, and Directeur général du Service des Douanes, October 24 and November 6, 1946. Archives des Musées nationaux, Paris.

²⁴ Letter from Paul May (Amsterdam) to Paul Rosenberg, May 13, 1924. All correspondence between Rosenberg and MdG-R cited here is from the Paul Rosenberg & Co records; The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. (Hereafter Rosenberg archives.)

²⁵ Undated letter filed with documents dating from 1925, likely about the same Renoir shipped from Amsterdam in 1924 (price quoted in gulden).

²⁶ Index card, Rosenberg archives. Certigny, catalogue of Rousseau's oeuvre (Tokyo, 1984), vol. 1: 50-51, no. 26. This painting was in the collection of Robert Delaunay by 1914, at which time it was reproduced in the catalogue of Flechtheim's Rousseau exhibition.

²⁷ See Julius Meier-Graefe's Renoir monograph (1929): 168, fig. 150, *Young Woman in Blue Dress*, ca. 1882, 31 x 41 cm, Sammlung Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Berlin. The Manet catalogue raisonné by Paul Jamot, Georges Wildenstein, and M-L Bataille (Paris, 1932), under Mme la Baronne de Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Berlin, lists no. 73, *Le Gamin*, fig. 116; no. 120, *Combat de taureaux*, fig. 354; no. 287, *Sous les arbres*, fig. 367.

²⁸ Modris Eksteins, *Solar Dance: Genius, Forgery, and the Crisis of Truth in the Modern Age* (Knopff, 2012): 155-156.

²⁹ On the collections of Rudolph's brothers, Albert and Erich von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, see Martha Huth (edited by Jan Thomas Köhler, Jan Maruhn, and Nina Senger), *Berliner Lebenswelten der zwanziger Jahre: Bilder einer untergegangenen Kultur* (Frankfurt-a.M.: Eichborn, 1996): 62-67, 154-56, 173; on Richard von Kuhlmann, *ibid.*: 162, 174-5. Erich's collection was sold at auction in Berlin in February 1931.

³⁰ Eksteins 2012: 244-245. When Marianne emigrated to the USA, her mother decided to stay in Southern France, where she died in 1944.

Of the vast literature on exiled Jewish collectors I can only cite a few examples, such as:

Esther Tisa Francini et al., *Fluchtgut-Raubgut: Der Transfer von Kulturgütern in und über die Schweiz 1933-1945 und die Frage der Restitution*. Zurich: Chronos, 2001.

Anne Grynberg, and Johanna Linsler, *L'Irréparable. Itinéraires d'artistes et d'amateurs d'art juifs, réfugiés du Troisième Reich en France / Irreparabel. Lebenswege jüdischer Künstlerinnen, Künstler und Kunstkenner auf der Flucht aus dem „Dritten Reich“ in Frankreich*. Veröffentlichungen der Koordinierungsstelle Magdeburg, vol. 9, bearb. v. Andrea Baresel-Brand, Magdeburg 2012.

Ines Rotermond-Reynard, ed., *Echoes of Exile: Moscow Archives and the Arts in Paris 1933-1945*. Boston: De Gruyter, 2014.

³¹ Spiro reached New York in 1941 thanks to Varian Fry's Emergency Rescue Committee.

³² The three Cézannes she owned according to Venturi are: *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan*, 1875-76 (Venturi 1936, no. 161; Rewald 1996, no. 267; FWN 88); *Nature morte, Boite à lait et citron*, 1873-77 (Venturi 1936, no. 219; Rewald 1996 no. 428; FWN 767 -- the Cincinnati Art Museum still-life, which she sold to Vollard by 1939); and *Bords de la Marne*, 1888 (Venturi 1936, no. 629; Rewald 1996, no. 624; FWN 250-FA -- lent to Rosenberg in 1939 for a Cézanne exhibition in Paris, February 21-April 1 [no. 23] and at Rosenberg & Helft, London, April 19-May 20 [no. 15]). Perhaps she did not yet own *Le Lac d'Annecy* (likely a watercolor; see below, note 49) by 1936, although by 1939 she entrusted it to the Direction des Musées nationaux, and she lent it to the FAMSF in 1946, from whence it returned to France. Two paintings by this title are listed in Rewald 1996, nos. 722 and 805, but neither has a MdG-R provenance.

³³ Manet's *Boy with a Dog* had previously belonged to Gottfried Friedrich Reber; see Emil Waldmann. "Die Sammlung Reber," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 9, no. 11 (1913): 443 (ill.), 446-7. See also below, note 107.

³⁴ No. 33, Manet, *Le Gamin au chien*, 1862, pl. VI; Jamot-Wildenstein-Bataille 1932, no. 116; Laver 1937, no. 62; Rouart-Wildenstein 1975, no. 47.

No. 34, Manet, *Course de taureaux*, 1866, pl. VIII; Jamot-Wildenstein-Bataille 1932, no. 120; Laver 1937, no. 60; Rouart-Wildenstein 1975, no. 107.

No. 105, Van Gogh, *L'Arlésienne (Mme Ginoux)*, 1888, pl. XV; Exhibitions: Sonderbund, Cologne, 1912, no. 82, ill.; Flechtheim Gallery, Dusseldorf, 1913; Cassirer Gallery, Berlin, May 1914, no. 82; National Gallery, Berlin, 1921; Flechtheim Gallery, Berlin, 1928.

Laver 1937 reproduces no. 60, Manet, *A Bullfight*; no. 62, Manet, *A Boy with a Dog*; no. 124, Van Gogh, *L'Arlésienne*, with provenance.

³⁵ Letter from Churchill to Sir Richard V.N. Hopkins, November 20, 1936: “The Baroness Goldschmidt Rothschild is a very able and agreeable woman who is still possessed of an enormous fortune. Being a Jewess she is under the Nazi ban. As she is so wealthy she is not interfered with at all herself, but her children have no future whatever in Germany. Both she and her husband are anxious to acquire British nationality. They could then live here on the proceeds of their great estates in Poland, which would in fact become the property of British subjects. They would of course pay very substantial taxes in this country, and also maintain a large and beneficial expenditure. I am of opinion that the public interest and the revenue would be served if they could be naturalized. But there appear to be complications. It would be kind of you to let me know how the financial aspect could be arranged and I would then myself approach the Home Secretary.” Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, The Papers of Sir Winston Churchill, CHAR 2/260/131-132.

Hopkins’ response, November 27, 1936: “I think it is clear that the difficulty of transferring money from Germany and Poland ... arises out of the exchange restrictions in Germany and in Poland and not out of any regulations in this country. The German exchange regulations are of course very drastic ... you might care to raise the question with the Polish Ambassador here ...” CHAR/2/260/165.

Response from John Simon, Home Secretary, January 8, 1937: “Dear Churchill, I am afraid there is nothing I can do to help in the case of the Baron and Baroness Rudolph de Goldschmidt-Rothschild ... The statute precludes the grant of a certificate of naturalization to anyone who has not resided five years in the British dominions.” CHAR 2/294/p. 14. (Also CHAR 1/300/89, 2/260/129, 133, 153, CHAR 2/261/67, 2/294/page66-67).

³⁶ Marianne and her 12-year-old son Gilbert (schooled in Gstaad, Switzerland) crossed the Atlantic from Le Havre to New York aboard the *SS Normandie* on March 23-29, 1938 (with her German maid, Rosa Muller, mentioned in Gilbert 1956: 113, 120) with visas issued in Berlin on August 5, 1937 and Paris on March 22, 1938, respectively. On the passenger list Marianne’s “nearest relative or friend” in France is “Cousin, Michel Calmann, Avenue Foch, Paris;” and “Friend, Mrs Skelheimer, 300 Park Avenue, New York.” They intended to stay eight weeks and traveled to Miami and Havana in early April aboard the *New Northland*, and on April 12 they flew from Mexico to Brownsville Municipal Airport (Texas). Border Crossings from Mexico to U.S., 1895-1964 (ancestry.com).

³⁷ Landesverwaltungsamt Berlin, Entschädigungsbehörde, Reg. Nr. 58.168.

³⁸ Entschädigungsamt Berlin, Reg. 58 168.

³⁹ Memo dated 17/1/39, Jacques Seligmann & Co records, Archives of American Art, B182, F4. (My translation from French.) Also B29, F16.

⁴⁰ M. G. Dortu, *Toulouse-Lautrec et son œuvre* (New York, Collectors Editions, 1971), no. P438. Marianne Gilbert, *Un Musée sur la lune* (Paris: Olivier Perrin, 1962): 36, ill. Sold at Christie’s, New York, November 9, 2015, no. 16A for \$12,485,000.

⁴¹ Likely Carroll Carstairs.

⁴² *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan*, or *Les bords de la Marne*, or */Reflets d’eau*, or more likely *Le Lac d’Annecy*.

⁴³ Paul Jamot and Georges Wildenstein, *Manet* (Paris: Beaux-Arts, 1932), no. 73, coll. MdG-R. (The 1975 Manet catalogue raisonné by Denis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, no. 47 does not list MdG-R in its provenance.)

⁴⁴ Jamot-Wildenstein 1932, no. 120. (Rouart-Wildenstein 1975, no. 107 does not list MdG-R in its provenance.)

⁴⁵ See Gilbert 1956: 116.

Note also that in June 1939 her ex-husband, Baron Rudolph von Goldschmidt-Rothschild, lent a Renoir, *Portrait de Mademoiselle Fournaise* (1878; private collection), which at one point had belonged to her (1929 Renoir monograph by Julius Meier-Graefe: 168, fig. 150; 1971 Renoir catalogue raisonné by François Daulte, index: 424, no. 278), to the exhibition “Milestones in French Painting” at the gallery Alex. Reid & Lefèvre in London (no. 28, illustrated, lent by Baron Rudolph as per Reid & Lefevre records.), from whence it went to a Bignou-Gallery exhibition in New York in November, with an asking price of \$30,000. On the Bignou gallery, see Christel H. Force, ed., *Pioneers of the*

Global Art Market: Paris-Based Dealers Networks, 1850-1950 (London: Bloomsbury, 2020): 185-229. The May 25, 1940, issue of *Art News* featured an ad for the Bignou Gallery reproducing *Mademoiselle Fournaise*.

⁴⁶ Gilbert 1956: 88-92.

⁴⁷ Calmann was an Asian-art collector who gave his collection to the Musée Guimet in 1969. His Dutch mother, Dorothee (spouse of Paul Aaron of the Calmann-Lévy publishers, Paris), was a sister of Marianne's mother. In an interview, Nina stated that Calmann was "a father figure in our lives" who helped Marianne leave for the US. (Interview by Nicolas Oulman, April 16, 2015, US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2020.96.10.) See also above, note 36. Gilbert 1956: 92 states that Marianne's uncle in Amsterdam (who committed suicide at the start of the war) told her to seek refuge in the US.

⁴⁸ Receipt from the Directeur des Musées nationaux [J. Jaujard] to MdG-R, Octobre 21, 1939. Archives des Musées nationaux, Paris.

⁴⁹ Letter from MdG-R to the Directeur général du Service des Douanes, October 24, 1946. Archives des Musées nationaux, Paris. *Le Lac d'Annecy* was probably a watercolor – see the 2015 Cézanne catalogue raisonné by Walter Feilchenfeldt, Jayne Warman and David Nash (abbreviated FWN below) 1412 / Rewald W470; or FWN 1416 / Rewald W485.

⁵⁰ By April 1940, the Louvre was still considering sending paintings on an American battleship.

⁵¹ "Estimated cost, G.R. Pictures, January 6, 1940: Packing, \$25; insurance Paris-Genoa, \$15; freight Genoa-NY, \$60; expenses NY, \$20; ad valorem freight charge on \$10,000, \$150; marine insurance at 2% of \$300,000, \$600; war risk insurance at 5% of \$300,000, \$15,000; insurance NY 1 year warehouse, \$450; total: \$16,320." Seligmann records, B246, F12 ("affaire Goldrot").

⁵² Seligmann records, B246, F12. My translation.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ In a letter to the Art Association of Montreal dated November 15, 1941, Rosenberg wrote that MdG-R brought her entire collection of paintings to the US (Rosenberg archives). She brought many, but not all; see below, note 115. The eleven paintings she returned to France after the war, plus about five she sold during the war, amount to sixteen although there may have been a few more (or less if she bought some in New York).

⁵⁷ Published under a pseudonym: Gilbert 1956.

⁵⁸ Including from the collections of Calmann-Levy, Claude Roger-Marx, Léon Reinach, and Jean Zay.

⁵⁹ Gilbert 1956: 94, 116.

⁶⁰ Gilbert 1956: 95. Nina stated in a 2015 interview (see above, note 47) that her mother had planned to fly from Lisbon to New York, however their US visa had expired. By the time they got their new visas, no flights were available; the Quanza was their only option. Nina also stated that Marianne obtained visas for China, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico (not the US), so she took the first transportation bound for one of these places.

⁶¹ Gilbert 1956: 115-116.

⁶² Gilbert 1956: 117. This does not explain how she carried the Lautrec, which is a panel. See also Boudin below, note 103. She did not mention carrying a few paintings in a suitcase in her memoirs, although this was likely the case.

⁶³ According to the first-class passenger list of the *Quanza* arriving in New York on August 19 (ancestry.com), MdG-R (43) and her children, listed as Antoinette de Kuhlman (17) and Viktor Rothschild (15)—accompanied by a friend (58), Illan Pierre Alvarez de Toledo (XI Marqués de Casa Fuerte, 1882-1962, a French author of Spanish descent, born in Naples, Italy)—presented visas obtained in Paris on May 17, 1940, but they were invalidated and their names crossed out. However they were marked as admitted for 24 hours on an addendum, before re-embarking for Veracruz. It's unclear whether Marianne met Illan on the *Quanza* or knew him before. See Gilbert 1956: 98; Nina's 2015 interview (see note 47); and Cara Buckley, "Fleeing Hitler and Meeting a Reluctant Miss Liberty," *New York Times*, July 8, 2007.

⁶⁴ About eighty of the *Quanza*'s passengers were denied entry and sent back to Lisbon. However, after the steamship stopped in Norfolk (Virginia) in September to take on coal, they were eventually admitted thanks to the interventions of the lawyer Jacob Morewitz and first lady Eleanor Roosevelt.

⁶⁵ Gilbert 1956: 117.

⁶⁶ See above, note 63.

⁶⁷ Gilbert 1956: 117.

⁶⁸ Border Crossings from Mexico to U.S., 1895-1964 (ancestry.com). Marianne and Gilbert had made this trip before; see above, note 36.

⁶⁹ Border Crossings from Mexico to U.S., 1895-1964 (ancestry.com). MdG-R (born: Berlin; race: Hebrew; nationality: French) landed at the Brownsville Municipal Airport (Texas) on October 17, 1940, accompanied by her friend Illan Pierre Joseph Alvarez de Toledo. Illan was undoubtedly the friend who helped her in Veracruz (see above, note 63).

⁷⁰ Letter from Georges Seligmann to MdG-R dated November 28, 1940; Seligmann records.

⁷¹ Correspondence with Paul Rosenberg.

⁷² Metropolitan-Museum Registrar loan receipt, August 4, 1941, for Cézanne, *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan*, collection MdG-R, lent through Paul Rosenberg (Rosenberg archives). She acquired this painting from Rosenberg in Paris according to Venturi 1936, no. 161.

⁷³ Letter from Rosenberg to MdG-R, December 15, 1941 (Rosenberg archives).

⁷⁴ In November 1941, the Art Association of Montreal asked Rosenberg's help in securing the loan of some of MdG-R's paintings. Rosenberg answered that she was ready to lend Van Gogh, *L'Arlésienne*; Manet, *L'enfant au chien*; Manet, *Course de Taureaux*; and Cézanne, *Reflets d'eau*; but only two were shown in the end. Correspondence of November 6, 12, 15, 26, December 2, 3, 1941, and June-October 1943 (Rosenberg archives).

⁷⁵ Daniel Catton Rich, *Henri Rousseau*, MoMA, March 18–May 3, 1942, p. 20, ill.

⁷⁶ Letters from Rosenberg to MdG-R, April 17, 29, 1942; notes from shipping company Budworth to Rosenberg, April 30, 1942 (pickup May 1, return June 2). She requested a \$1,000 guarantee deposit, returned on June 2 upon reception of the canvas; correspondence between Rosenberg and MdG-R, May 7, 1942; June 2, 3; receipt, May 12. Rosenberg archives.

⁷⁷ In March 1943, Rosenberg asked for the loan of Manet, *Boy with Dog*, for an exhibition of 19th c painting, but it fell through. Cables dated March 26 and April 9, 1943. Rosenberg archives.

⁷⁸ As per correspondence in Rosenberg archives and Seligmann records.

⁷⁹ Correspondence in the records of the art-dealing firm Jacques Seligman & Co. at the Archives of American Art, Washington DC, B29, F16. Cited below as Seligman Records.

⁸⁰ See Sheila Graham, “Refugees from Europe Hold Spotlight in Film Capital,” *Miami Daily News* (June 27, 1943): 5B.

⁸¹ Wife of Carl Sternheim, from whom MdG-R bought *L’Arlésienne* in 1914. Thea Sternheim lived in Paris from 1933 and in Hollywood by 1941. One of the artworks she brought to the US was Gauguin, *Still Life with Three Puppies* (MoMA, 48.52); discussed below.

⁸² See Alma-Mahler Werfel, *Mein Leben* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2005): 348.

⁸³ Letter from Georges Seligmann to MdG-R, April 2, 27, 1943; Seligman records.

⁸⁴ A Rose-Period painting, although MdG-R does not appear in the provenance of any Picasso in the Daix-Boudaille catalogue raisonné. Zervos I: 272; Daix-Boudaille XIII.17; Sutton 1955: 48. Exhibited in Sonderbund Cologne 1912, no. 215, lent by Flechtheim; Schaefer 2012: 360-361. See below, note 102.

⁸⁵ Correspondence between Georges Seligmann and MdG-R, April 2 and 27, 1943; Seligmann records, B29, F16.

⁸⁶ Letters dated April 29 and May 1, 1943, asking MdG-R to wire her daughter urgently. On May 1st, Seligmann sent a “check for \$4,500 in full payment for Picasso.” Also wire dated July 8, 1943. Seligmann records, B29, F16.

⁸⁷ Rosenberg informed Frederick A. Sweet, Assistant Curator at the Art Institute of Chicago, 22 June 1943, that MdG-R would require assistance with her crates. Rosenberg archives.

⁸⁸ Letter from Rosenberg to MdG-R, March 2, 1944; Rosenberg archives (my translation.) Regarding sales to other dealers, see below, notes 104-105.

⁸⁹ Letter from Georges Seligmann to MdG-R, April 12, 1944; Seligmann records, B29, F16. Regarding sales to other dealers, see below, notes 104-105.

⁹⁰ National Archives and Records Administration, RG 265; Records of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, TFR 500. Report prepared for her by Hermon S. Hatch, 9163 Sunset Blvd.

⁹¹ Her Berlin house was looted by the Nazis as Jewish property; its most valuable contents sold at auction in 1940-41, and the rest through antiquarians. Her mothers’ possession in Holland were looted as well when the Germans invaded, and auctioned off (they were reportedly bought by Marguerite Frank and Reich Minister Albert Speer). There was a catalogue for the latter sale: Collectie Mevr. Milly A. von Friedländer Fuld, at Van Marle & Bignell, Lange Voohout 58, ‘s-Gravenhage, October 20^{ff.}, 1941. Account of interview with Mrs. Friedlander-Fuld’s housekeeper, Mrs. Emma Stanitz, in Berlin, dated January 27, 1953, and letter dated January 31, 1953. MdG-R’s Paris home was also looted (estimated at 20 million francs). La Courneuve, Archives diplomatiques, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Services français de récupération artistique, 209SUP/RA50/46-1475 ; 209SUP/RA72/160; 209SUP/RA616/32-608.

⁹² Gilbert 1956: 102.

⁹³ Musée d’Orsay document regarding her life-interest gift to the Musées nationaux de France, April 3, 1952, including a transcript of MdG-R’s letter of August 26, 1944 (from 602 N. Bedford Drive, Beverly Hills). The other version of *L’Arlésienne* was given to the Metropolitan museum of Art in 1951, and in Gilbert 1956: 118, MdG-R stated: “One day, the two ladies will thus be, one in New York, and the other in Paris, forever, in the tabernacles of art, for future generations to admire.”

⁹⁴ Note that the Lautrec pastel was included towards the end of April. The exhibition is described in the archives of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco as "French and Dutch paintings, three 16th and 17th century portraits and eight 19th century works. The collection was lent anonymously by Baroness Marie-Anne Goldschmidt-Rothschild for a period of eight months and was hung in the permanent collection galleries with the Museum's own collection of European paintings." I thank Mary Pedraza, Archivist, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, for her help in locating the relevant records, including the press release dated April 1st, press clippings, registration receipts, and some correspondence.

⁹⁵ "Attestation" by the Director of the Musées de France, October 22, 1946. Letter from the Director of the Musées de France (Georges Salles) to the Directeur general du Service des Douanes, October 24, 1946, stating that MdG-R was flying to the USA on November 5, presumably to retrieve her artworks. Letter from MdG-R to the Service des Douanes, October 24, 1946, stipulating the three paintings that were hidden in Chambord: Manet, *La Course de taureaux*, Manet, *L'enfant au chien*, and Cézanne, *Le Lac d'Annecy*. (See above, notes 48-49.) Letter from the Service des Douanes to Georges Salles, November 6, 1946, authorizing re-entry of the ten paintings in France. Archives des Musees nationaux 20144792/270, 272. I thank Alain Prévét for his precious help while I conducted this research.

⁹⁶ Illustrated in the San Francisco Chronicle, March 17, 1946. See reference to her two Cranachs in a letter from Rilke to MdG-R dated March 12, 1918: « Je serais heureux de connaitre ... l'emplacement que vous avez trouvé pour vos deux Cranach. » Gilbert 1956: 77.

⁹⁷ Illustrated in *San Francisco Examiner*, March 24, 1946. Also Gilbert 1962: 57, ill.

⁹⁸ Manet catalogue raisonné by Jamot-Wildenstein 1932, no. 287; Rouart-Wildenstein 1975, no. 274. (Possibly acquired when it was exhibited at Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin, February 6-March 18, 1928, no. 90.) Related to the large 1863 painting at the Musée d'Orsay and the smaller one at the Courtauld, London.

⁹⁹ Monet catalogue raisonné by Daniel Wildenstein (Taschen, 1997), no. 244. It looks like MdG-R acquired this Monet from A. Reid more or less at the time as she acquired the Renoir, *Alphonsine Fournaise* (see note 45).

¹⁰⁰ Gilbert 1962: 36, ill. Sold at Christie's, New York, November 9, 2015, no. 16A, for \$12,485,000.

¹⁰¹ Receipt from Georges Salles to MdG-R, July 24, 1947. Rousseau, "Le Four," on the 1947 list is an erroneous transcription of "Le Pont."

¹⁰² "Picasso painting of the Blue Period representing a mountebank" sold to Georges Seligmann for \$4,500, May 1, 1943. Letters/cables to MdG-R, April 2, 27, 29, and May 1, 1943; Seligman records. Among Picassos acquired in 1943 is the following match in the Seligmann records, B282, F6: *Boy Holding a Vase*, 1905, oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 10 5/8 in.; collections: A. Vollard – G.R. (See above, note 84.) Sold by Seligmann in 1943 to Mrs. Charlotte P. Hyde.

¹⁰³ MdG-R sold a painting by Boudin according to the Seligmann records (letter of April 12, 1944). The Boudin catalogue raisonné by Robert Schmit (1973) lists only one Boudin under "Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Baronne," namely no. 1303, *Trouville, Scène de plage*, panel, 14,5 x 27,5 cm.

Parenthetically, among the Boudin photos in the Frick Research Library Photo Archive are two paintings associated with the Baroness Alexandrine de Rothschild, Paris, and the gallery Rosenberg & Stiebel, New York, namely *Plage de Trouville* (Schmit 1973, no. 403); and *Courses à Deauville* (Schmit 1973, no. 3133). Miriam Alexandrine, married earlier to Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (see above, note 1), appears also in the provenance of the Cézanne still life at the Cincinnati Art Museum (fig. 10), although this is a misidentification: see Jamot 1932 and Rewald 1996, no. 428, which point to Marianne. Regarding Alexandrine's paintings, see *Répertoire des biens spoliés en France: Cézanne, Paysage*; Van Gogh, *Coin du parc de l'hôpital*; Van Gogh, *Paysage au soleil couchant*; Van Gogh, *Paysage*; Gauguin, *Noa*. She gifted two Gauguins to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem in 1966.

¹⁰⁴ The Seligmann records, B29, F16, include a photo of the Gauguin painting *Mau Taporo* (fig. 17), inscribed: “Goldschmidt-Rothschild / returned to her / later went to Lurcy.” An annotated reproduction of this Gauguin in the Frick Photo Archive indicates that MdG-R sold it to Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York; it then went to Jacques Helft, then Georges Lurcy, New York (by 1946 until his sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, NY, November 7, 1957, no. 49). It was acquired in 1957 by Alex Goulandris; see Sanka Knox, “Modern Art Brings Record \$1,708,550,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1957. See Georges Wildenstein, *Gauguin: I. Catalogue* (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1964), no. 475. Gabriele Mandel Sugana, *L'opera completa di Gauguin* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1972), no. 295. MdG-R acquired this painting from an auction at Cassirer's, October 20, 1932, no. 122, pl. 33.

¹⁰⁵ See the 1996 Cézanne catalogue raisonné by John Rewald, no. 267. See also John Langeloth Loeb and Frances Lehman Loeb, *All in a lifetime: A Personal Memoir* (New York: Loeb, 1996): 215: “Right after WWII, various works of art appeared in New York from abroad, many from Germany. Alexander Ball, a Berlin dealer, had some paintings from the Goldschmidt-Rothschild collection and of those we bought a Cézanne landscape, *Arbres au Jas de Bouffan*, for \$22,000.” Alexander and Richard Ball, known to have traded with Karl Haberstock in France, established showrooms at the Dorset Hotel (30 West 54 St.) by 1942 – where Marianne herself resided at the time. Their firm, A. & R. Ball, formerly known as Hermann Ball, had showrooms in Dresden, Berlin and Paris. Loeb continued, pp. 215-216: “When any painting once owned by Adolph Lewisohn, Peter's grandfather, came on the market, Carman Messmore, chairman of M. Knoedler & Co., made a point of showing it to us first. Some years later, Carman showed us another beautiful Cézanne landscape ... Knoedler's was asking a million and a half for it. ... We finally received a credit of \$1 million for the Cézanne we bought from Alec Ball [*Le Jas de Bouffan*, ex coll. Goldschmidt-Rothschild] and paid the balance of half a million dollars in cash. It was like having a long lost friend back in the family.” (Peter was the nickname of John L. Loeb's wife, Frances, a granddaughter of Sam Lewisohn's.)

¹⁰⁶ See above, note 32.

¹⁰⁷ *Reflets d'eau* (fig. 12) might have previously been in the Reber collection (see Waldmann 1913: 444 (ill.), 450) like Manet's *Boy with a Dog* (see above, notes 33, 74)

¹⁰⁸ *Bords de la Marne* might have been sold before WWII, and “Reflets d'eau” could possibly be *Le lac d'Annecy*, stored in Chambord in 1939-40, exhibited in S.F. in 1946, and returned to France postwar (see above, notes 32, 49, 94-95), or not (see note 107). Rewald 1996, nos. 722 and 805, do not have a Goldschmidt-Rothschild provenance.

¹⁰⁹ She had assets in Canada, and she might have opened a bank account in the US during her 1938 trip and transferred funds from Paris before the war.

¹¹⁰ Renoir, *Femme nue couchée* (1903), consigned by MdG-R with Paul Rosenberg in 1924-25 – Jos Hessel, Paris – Durand-Ruel, Paris (August 1926) – M. Knoedler & Co., New York – Christie's, NY, May 16, 1977, no. 32 – private collection – Christie's, New York, May 4, 2010, no. 34.

She may have bought and sold more artworks through Paul Rosenberg in the 1930s, but the Rosenberg records for the 1930s were lost during the war and are still missing.

¹¹¹ The Cincinnati Art Museum's Cézanne, *Still Life in Blue with Lemon*, fig. 10 (Venturi 1936, no. 219), which MdG-R acquired from Matthiesen in Berlin (ca. 1928) and sold to Ambroise Vollard in Paris (by 1939). See above, notes 32 and 103.

¹¹² It should be noted that Rosenberg and Seligman were art dealers she had known for years, who were Jewish refugees themselves, whose galleries in Paris were “Aryanized” and all their possessions looted by the Germans. Marianne's correspondence in extant dealer records, as cited above, shows that she was conversant and deliberate about her (regular) transactions with art galleries, regarding loans and sales.

¹¹³ By the London Declaration (Inter-Allied Declaration Against Acts of Dispossession Committed in Territories Under Enemy Occupation or Control) of January 5, 1943, and by the French Ordonnance n 45-770 of April 21, 1945.

¹¹⁴ Zuluaga, *Portrait of Marianne de Goldschmidt-Rothschild*, oil on canvas, 1927, reproduced in *Der Querschnitt* 7, no. 4 (April 1927): 254-5.

¹¹⁵ La Courneuve, Services français de récupération artistique, RA50/46-1475.

¹¹⁶ Rare books in Tome 7; furniture in Supplément 3; one painting by Spirido [sic] in Supplément 3 (likely Eugen Spiro). See Gilbert 1956: 92 about the Evacuation in May 1940: “Just yesterday I welcomed refugees coming from Germany [like Spiro, whom she housed in Paris]. Today I am myself part of the convoy heading to the Porte d’Oléans.”

¹¹⁷ La Courneuve, 209SUP/971 (photo album, restitution claims); 209SUP/RA50/46-1475 (contents of houses in Berlin, Amsterdam and Paris, including 5,000 books with leather bindings, sold as Jewish property in Amsterdam to a Mr. R. A. Mumm; 300 pieces of sterling silverware; furniture, including antiques; the contents of various closets; a tapestry by Boucher, “Forge de Vulcain”; a valuable Savonnerie tapestry commissioned in 1905, MCCC36.754; four paintings by Pietro Longhi; a Daumier painting, *Wagon de 3e classe* [restituted in 1952]; six XVIth century chairs [restituted in 1953]; three old-master paintings and a clock, which had been stored in a museum in Amsterdam; etc. A list stamped-dated July 27, 1946, includes drawings by Laurencin, Rodin and Segonzac, paintings by Vlaminck, Dufy and Bodley, and an African head in ebony. MdG-R’s lawyers in Paris and Frankfurt were Mr. Strauss, then Mr. Grünwald; her lawyer in Berlin was Dr. Alfred Karpen; 209SUP/RA72/160 (containing the Dutch auction catalogue); 209SUP/RA616/32-608 (containing information about Marguerite Frank and an inventory of objects missing from rue de la Faisanderie); 209SUP/RA503/108-70 (re. outstanding claims from the 1960s); and 209SUP/RA730/1107.

¹¹⁸ State Archive, Berlin. She claimed compensation for the loss of her property on Schwanenwerder, the houses at Pariser Platz 5a and 6 (then in the Soviet sector); furnishings and household items; her participation in Emanuel Friedlaender & Co.; five wagons of art treasures; bank accounts and securities.

¹¹⁹ Sternheim left it on extended loan at the Museum of Modern Art on April 4, 1939, where it was then seized by the Office of Alien Property Custodian in July 1944, but eventually returned to Sternheim in May 1951. She sold it through Paul Rosenberg & Co., New York, to the Museum of Modern Art in May 1952.

The Office of Alien Property Custodian was created in 1917 under the Trading with the Enemy Act to sequester and liquidate enemy-owned property during WWI, and did so during World War II as well, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s direct authority, regardless of whether the “enemies” were Jewish refugees.

Sternheim’s Gauguin was first sent to MoMA for “Art in Our Time” (May 10 – September 30, 1939; pl. 64, “Lent by Mme Sternheim, Paris, courtesy Paul Rosenberg”), then stored at MoMA until October 21, 1941, and from February 15, 1943 to June 19, 1944. In between, the painting was shipped to Mrs. Sternheim via the Perls Galleries (8634 Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood), who had it with her from October 1941 to February 1943, during her exile in California. The painting was then returned to MoMA in February 1943. The following exchange indicates why:

A letter from the MoMA Registrar to the Perls Galleries in Hollywood, dated December 2, 1942, and forwarded to Frank R. Perls in Texas on January 25, 1942, notified him that “the Federal Reserve Bank now requires that we file a confirmation in writing from you that this property was forwarded to you and that it is now held by you as blocked property, not to be withdrawn or disposed of except under specific Treasury Department license. ... If the painting is no longer in your custody, would you please give us an account of its transfer?” A reply from Klaus G. Perls of Perls Galleries, New York, dated February 11, 1943, informs the Museum that “Mrs. Carl (Thea) Sternheim’s painting by Gauguin is now at the French Art Galleries [51 E 57th Street, NYC],” and that “ownership in the painting has never changed, and that therefore all you will have to do to satisfy the government authorities is to take the painting back to your premises.” (Perls records, Archives of American Art, Washington DC; and Extended Loan Files, Registrar, MoMA, New York.) Once the painting was back at MoMA, the vesting order ensued:

On the back of the MoMA loan card the following note appears: “Vesting order No. 1767, dated July 9, 1943, received from Office of Alien Property Custodian, Mr. Z. G. McGee, Assistant Chief, Division of Liquidation, 120 Broadway, NYC, designated as Supervisor ... Released to Office of Alien Property Custodian (Mr. Charles T. Cronan and Joseph Rannazzisi), June 19, 1944. Collected by Manhattan Warehouse.” (Registrar files, MoMA, New York. See also National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 131, vesting order # 1767, box 362.) An article titled “Alien Property Sale” in *Art Digest* 18, no. 18 (July 1, 1944): 20, which includes a reproduction of Sternheim’s Gauguin, reads: “An art sale that is ‘different’ will take place on July 20 at the Office of the Alien

Property Custodian (120 Broadway). At 11 a m., written bids received from American citizens or organizations controlled by American citizens will be publicly opened on art property formerly owned by foreign nationals and now vested by the Custodian. This strange assemblage includes, among other things, a painting by Gauguin much exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art. ... Gauguin's *Three Dogs, Three Wineglasses, Three Apples*, painted in 1888, and presumably sent here for sale by its Berlin owner, Mme Thea Sternheim, was included in the Tenth Anniversary exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art in 1939, and has been shown there from time to time since." See also William Harvey Reeves, "The Control of Foreign Funds by the United States Treasury," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 11, no. 1 (Winter - Spring 1945): 17-60; <https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/lcp/vol11/iss1/3> And William Harvey Reeves, "Is Confiscation of Enemy Assets in the National Interest of the United States?" *Virginia Law Review* 40, no. 8 (December 1954): 1029-1060.

¹²⁰ In 1975 the Manet was gifted by her heirs to the Musées-nationaux in lieu of inheritance taxes, as its credit line attests: "Accepté par l'Etat à titre de dation en paiement de droits de succession, avec la participation de la Société des Amis du Louvre, pour les Musées nationaux (comité du 11/12/1975, conseil du 17/12/1975, arrêté du 18/03/1976)." It was at the Jeu de Paume in 1976-86, then transferred to the Musée d'Orsay in 1986.

¹²¹ A few are in less-frequented museums, and MdG-R is not acknowledged in their ownership history.