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*America's Lost Russian Paintings:
Frank C. Havens and the Russian Collection
of the 1904 St. Louis Exposition*

The saddest side of art—the material side—is the cult of the exhibit.
N. K. Roerich, November, 1904

If any case since my connection with the Treasury
Department has had more exhaustive, patient, or re-
spected attention than this case, I am not aware of it.

Franklin MacVeagh
Secretary of the Treasury
23 March 1912

In late June, 1904, the liners "Hellig Olaf" and the "United States" arrived
in New York from Copenhagen.¹ On board was an unusual cargo: seventy

1. A number of people helped make this study possible. From the outset, Mrs. Peggy Cole Ives has been most helpful in providing me with access to the papers of her grandfather, Halsey Coolidge Ives, at the St. Louis Art Museum. Mr. Charles E. Buckley, Director of the St. Louis Art Museum, allowed me to utilize those papers during a sabbatical year made possible by Washington University in 1973-74. The Missouri Historical Society provided me with useful materials from the papers of David R. Francis and the files of the *World's Fair Bulletin*. Mr. Douglas A. Bakken, Archivist of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, Inc., kindly gave me information about the painting which initiated my search, Denisov-Uralskii's "Forest Fire," and a photograph of it.

In New York Ms. Sina Fosdick of the Roerich Museum not only guided me through the collection of Nikolai Roerich's paintings, many from the St. Louis Exposition, but also gave me useful information about the artist. Mr. Alexis Coudert of Coudert Brothers, Attorneys at Law, would have given me more help had the firm's file on "Grunwaldt Paintings versus the Russian Government" not been destroyed. Finally, Mr. Charles McGee, Public Information Officer of the U.S. Customs Service in New York, was most helpful in directing me to the Bureau of Customs records in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. Here Ms. Janet L. Hargett was able to reproduce the complete case files concerning the paintings from 1905 to 1913. In addition, I am indebted to Mr. John C. Broderick, Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, for references to some additional correspondence in the William Howard Taft Papers not contained in the Bureau of Customs files.

As my search turned to California, I received considerable aid from Ms. Marjorie Arkelin of the Oakland Museum of Art, Ms. Terry Alexander, Assistant Director of the Mills College Art Gallery, and Mr. Frederick Snowden, Registrar of the M. H. De Young Museum in San Francisco. In addition, I was able to obtain rare biographical material on Frank C. Havens with the help of Ms. Mary Ashe of the San Francisco Public Library and on

wooden cases of Russian paintings, photographs, sculptures, and other art objects to be exhibited at the great Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. Their sponsor, Edward Mikhailovich Grunwaldt, Councillor of Commerce at the Ministry of Finance, guaranteed the collection's security while in the United States by procuring warehouse bonds Nos. 67863 and 67864 at the Port of New York, good for three years' insurance. The Russian government had allowed Grunwaldt to organize the exhibit after it became clear that the Russo-Japanese War would prevent full Russian participation in the Exposition. Instead, Grunwaldt drew up his own private contracts with artists as their paintings arrived at his fur company on the Nevskii Prospekt in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1904. Each artist sending a work would receive 70 percent of the purchase price for any item sold; Grunwaldt himself would receive a 30 percent commission to cover his expenses. Most important, Grunwaldt in each contract promised that "in case the products of _____ should not be sold, I agree to return them to St. Petersburg at my expense; in case any or some of the art products be lost, I agree to pay the whole sum for it or them."²

Thus began one of the most bizarre and little-known incidents in twentieth-century Russo-American relations and art history. For the complete collection of Grunwaldt's Russian art works never returned to Russia again. The artists themselves, along with more recent Soviet historians, believed that the paintings were shipped to New York again in 1905, then to Canada by Grunwaldt's lawyer, and most probably on to Argentina, where they were assumed to have been sold off to private buyers on the eve of World War I.³

Henry Kowalsky from Mr. Jay Williar, Reference Librarian of the California Historical Society.

Special thanks go to Mr. William Chiego, Associate Curator of the Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art for providing me with superb photographs of their Russian paintings from the Exposition, and for agreeing with me that they had eight such paintings, and not six, as they had previously thought. Locally I am indebted to my colleague Professor Glen Holt who not only tolerated but encouraged the intrusion of a strayed Russian historian into the archivally greener pastures of American history.

2. M. Fedorov, Ministry of Finance, to E. M. Grunwaldt, 28 February 1904; found in the Bureau of Customs Case Files 25634 and 25892, Record Group 36, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hereafter abbreviated to Customs.

3. In 1910 the painter Il'ia Repin knew only that his "Portrait of Madame Korevo" had disappeared, and assumed that the Russian collection had been sold in St. Louis "for some sort of duties and sold . . . for nothing." The Congress of Russian Artists which met in St. Petersburg in the winter of 1911-12 believed that Grunwaldt had sold off a number of paintings in New York for an estimated 100,000 rubles, and then shipped the unsold ones on to Canada and Argentina. More recently, a note in the collected letters of Repin (1969) reveals that Grunwaldt "sold some of the paintings in St. Louis and took the unsold ones to New York from where they were taken to Canada by an agent, and then to Argentina, where they were ultimately sold. Russian artist' protests to Baron Rosen, the ambassador in America and two to the tsar, brought no results." See I. Repin, *Izbrannye pis'ma v dvukh tomakh 1867-1930*, 2 vols. (Moscow: "Iskusstvo," 1969), II, 274-75; N. A. Koshelev, "Chto nuzhno nastoiatel'no khudozhnikam, v sluchae neschast'ia

They knew only that Grunwaldt "did not know how to pay some kind of duty and all the works of the Russian section were confiscated and designated to be sold to pay the tariff."⁴ In fact, the ultimate destination of the collection was not Argentina, but San Francisco, where an Oakland businessman, Frank C. Havens, bought the entire collection at public auction in February, 1912, as "unclaimed merchandise" from U.S. Customs and then sold most of them off to other private buyers. Based on the case files of the U.S. Bureau of Customs, it is now possible to tell the full story of the Russian collection—a story which actually leads to the White House in 1912—and to identify the present location of a number of the "lost" paintings.

I

For the affluent in America before World War I art was a natural object of conspicuous consumption. The age knew great incomes but no income tax. Already in the 1880s rich Americans began to buy European art in sizeable quantities, primarily as a sign of culture and status. The enthusiasm for European art reached a peak in the years 1910-14, and the great Expositions of the day often provided a fruitful market for artists and buyers. Prices rarely reflected aesthetic merit. In 1896 a Rembrandt sold for \$18,600 while a Barbizon landscape by Theodore Rousseau brought nearly \$25,000. Prices rose along with the incomes and purchasing power of the rich. By the time of Charles T. Yerkes auction in New York in April, 1910, a single sale could bring two million dollars, and a single Franz Hals \$137,000.⁵ Only World War I would deflate the expanded American market for European art.

The American government provided little incentive for art collectors in these years. One collected art only if one could afford to pay in addition to the market price a 20 percent duty on each and every work of art imported to this country. In an age of protectionism, this duty was generally lower than that on other imported goods, but still high when added to an already considerable purchase price. In 1883 the duty on paintings entering the United States increased from 10 percent to 30 percent; in 1890 it dropped back to 15 percent, was put on the free list briefly in 1894, and then raised to 20 percent again by the Dingley Tariff of 1897.⁶ Not surprisingly, the greatest art collector in the world, James Pierpont Morgan, Sr., kept his

kak naprimere, poteria 108-iu khudozhnikami na vystavke v Amerike, v San Lui, bolee 600 proizvedenii," *Trudy vserossiiskago s"ezda khudozhnikov*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1914-14), II, 59-62.

4. P. Belikov and V. Kniazeva, *Rerikh* (Moscow: "Mol. gvardiia," 1972), p. 70.

5. W. Towner, *The Elegant Auctioneers* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1970), pp. 145, 239, 241.

6. *The Brief of the American Art League in favor of the Removal of the Duties on Works of Art* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1908), p. 12.

private collection in London rather than pay the tariff and move it to the United States.⁷ By 1908 the tariff on art objects had become a major issue among American art dealers, museums, and buyers; in 1909 their lobbying for repeal through the America Free Art League had succeeded in Congress, and it was possible to bring in works of art without fear of duties on top of already high prices.

Russian art was not well known in America at the turn of the century. In 1889 the American Art Association sponsored a one-man show by the Russian painter V. V. Vereshchagin (1842-1904), then working in Paris. Vereshchagin was already well known in Europe as a painter of huge battle scenes and the world of the Near East: Central Asia, Turkestan, and India. Although his entire exhibit was finally sold for \$84,300, Vereshchagin attracted little attention except from West Point cadets fascinated with the visual details of battle.⁸ Four years later the Russians made a larger contribution to the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. As expected, the painters represented were mainly from the school known as the Wanderers (*Perevizhniki*) and their canvases depicted various folk themes and scenes from the Russian national past; G. G. Miasoedov's "Harvest Time" and Vladimir Makovskii's "The Moscow Rag Fair" were illustrative of the style.⁹ More important, Exposition officials encountered Russian art for the first time, and were impressed. Among them was Halsey Cooley Ives, Chief of the Art Department at Chicago who would also be the moving force behind the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 as Chief of the Fine Arts Section.¹⁰

The Russian collection which entered the Port of New York in the early summer of 1904 was the greatest exhibit of Russian paintings ever sent abroad. There were in all some six hundred individual works of art, mainly paintings, two hundred more than had been shown in Paris in 1900. The dominant tradition was still that of the Wanderers: realistic, nationalist, and folk-oriented. There were a few masters—the great portraitist Il'ia Repin sent his "Portrait of Madame Korevo" and Vereshchagin two of his smaller works, "Monk" and "The Golden Cloud." But most of the painters were relative unknowns, students of the original Wanderers, men and women in their

7. G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, 2 vols. (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961), II, 233.

8. Towner. *Elegant Auctioneers*, pp. 129-31.

9. Some of the Russian paintings are listed and reproduced in Charles M. Kurtz, ed., *Illustrations from the Art Gallery of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Philadelphia: G. Barrie, 1893).

10. Halsey Cooley Ives (1847-1911) was director of the St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts and the main organizer of the art exhibits at expositions in Chicago (1893), Paris (1900), and St. Louis (1904). He also taught art at Washington University. See his brief autobiography in the "Halsey Cooley Ives Papers," Missouri Historical Society, and the *World's Fair Bulletin*, September 1901, p. 16.

thirties and forties who had barely begun to establish a reputation, such as Mary Pedashenko-Tretiakova and A. K. Denisov-Uralskii of the newly founded (1903) Siberian Society of Wanderers, or S. M. Seidenberg, forty-two, an imitator of the earlier work of K. S. Savitskii. Landscapes, portraits, and folk themes predominated.

The exhibit in general reflected the transition from nineteenth-century realism to the more stylized and curving lines of Art Nouveau. I. A. Deneev's "Laying the Kremlin Foundations" provides an example of nationalist motifs in "ancient Russia": a group of young men are dragging a reluctant virgin in the general direction of a foundation ditch, presumably to be buried there as part of some hoary ritual; the material is oil on canvas, the theme nationalist, the style a crude realism. Much more impressive were two series of paintings: Denisov-Uralskii's several dozen scenes of the rushing rivers, mines, and forests of Siberia, such as "Forest Fire"; and the group of seventy paintings of the architecture of "ancient Russia" by N. K. Roerich, the future librettist of Igor Stravinskii's *Rite of Spring*.¹¹ Roerich was one of the few painters representing the Petersburg aestheticism of Sergei Diaghilev's World of Art (*Mir iskusstva*) society. But an emerging modernism is also visible in the elegant stylization of P. D. Shmarov's "Lady in a Carriage," where the woman's figure emerges as visually realistic in the middle of a freely daubed background, or in B. N. Popov's "The Weaver," where there is an impressionist attention to light and sunshine. In general, the Russian paintings sent to St. Louis represented neither the established Wanderers nor the future *avant-garde* but a transitional generation in search of a style and a vanishing world of nineteenth-century landscape and portrait painting.

From the moment they reached St. Louis the Russian paintings stirred controversy. The Russian government had abandoned any plans for full participation in the Exposition, and only Grunwaldt's money made the painting and sculpture exhibit possible. The collection only arrived in late July, Russian packing cases cluttered up the courtyard of the Fine Arts Building, and the paintings were hung barely in time to qualify for the awards competition. The Russians were given exhibit space too small for the number of art objects and next door to, of all nations, Japan, toward whom American public opinion was far more sympathetic. The Japanese received a total of thirty-five gold, silver, and bronze medals, the Russians only thirty—one for every three

11. Nikolai Konstantinovich Roerich (b. 1874) was a member of the World of Art and Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Fine Art in St. Petersburg by 1904. In 1903-04 he traveled throughout Russia as archaeologist and painter, producing a series of nearly ninety paintings titled "Monuments of Artistic Antiquity." The Russian government was considering purchasing the entire series for the Pushkin Museum when the war made this impossible. Roerich agreed to exhibit the bulk of the series in St. Louis. See Belikov and Kniazeva, *Rerikh*, pp. 41, 54, 70.

Japanese exhibits, and only one for every eighteen Russian ones.¹² Only one-third of the Russian artists even had their works examined and judged: Repin's magnificent "Portrait" received no award at all. There was continual confusion and ill feeling in relations between Ives and Grunwaldt. No Russian paintings were sold in St. Louis and few seemed interested in buying. Disappointed in the St. Louis exhibition, Grunwaldt visited Washington, D.C. in the spring of 1905 and obtained permission from Treasury Department officials to show his art works in New York that autumn. With that visit began the real saga of the Russian collection, an eight-year conflict over art and money which would involve not only Grunwaldt but both the American and Russian governments and other interested parties. The great attraction of the Russian collection quickly became its assumed monetary, rather than aesthetic, value.

II

By early December, 1905, Grunwaldt had established himself at 236 Fifth Avenue in New York and was using a letterhead proclaiming "Russia's First Fine Arts Exposition in America." Besides continuing to pester Halsey Ives about awards for Russian artists, he asked him to "give me all the assistance in your power to dispose of the pictures of this Exposition, as the Russian artists desire to sell as much as possible."¹³ Had he sold the paintings in St. Louis, Grunwaldt would have had to pay a commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, along with the customs duties of 20 percent on each art object. In New York he could avoid the first but not the second. His mistake was that he tried to avoid both.

At first neither the U.S. Collector of Customs for the Port of New York, N. N. Stranahan, nor the Treasury Department objected to Grunwaldt's plan to enter the Russian paintings "for consumption" in New York after examination and appraisal. They assumed naturally that duties would be paid on any art object sold by Grunwaldt.¹⁴ At the moment, however, they thought that Grunwaldt only wished to exhibit his collection, and not to sell it. Theodore Roosevelt's Treasury Secretary, Leslie Martier Shaw, therefore wired Stranahan permission on 29 March 1905 to exhibit his collection "under

12. *Illustrations of Selected Works in the Various National Sections of the Department of Art* (St. Louis: 1904), pp. x, lxxvii, lxx. A complete list of the Russian paintings is given in *Russian Section: Fine Arts Catalogue* (St. Louis: 1904). On the story of the Russian collection at St. Louis, see my "The Russians are Coming!": Art and Politics at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, 31, No. 3 (April 1975), 159-73, based mainly on the archives of Halsey Ives at the St. Louis Art Museum.

13. Grunwaldt to Ives, 4 Dec. 1905; Ives Archives.

14. Customs: Bernard and Co. to L. M. Shaw, 31 Jan. 1905; Stranahan to Shaw, 7 Feb. 1905; Assistant Treasury Secretary C. H. Keep to Louis Bernard and Co., 9 Feb. 1905.

bond and customs supervision."¹⁵ On 27 June the ill fated Russian collection arrived by train from St. Louis and was reentered at the Port of New York under its original warehouse bonds, an insurance precaution guaranteeing the safety and payment of storage charges for imported goods.

Grunwaldt's exhibit went well enough until he attempted to sell the paintings. The Russian ambassador in Washington, Baron Rosen, attended the gala opening at the auction rooms of William B. Norman in September, 1905, and the exhibit remained open through the winter of 1905-06. Then the financially impecunious Grunwaldt held an auction of the entire collection in March, 1906, without paying the tariff and at prices far below those expected by the Russian artists themselves. On Wednesday, 7 March 1906 Grunwaldt sold off seventy works for only \$6,158, the highest individual price being \$420 for P. D. Shmarov's "Two Peasant Women." On Thursday, 8 March he sold off sixty more paintings for \$7,767. On Friday, 9 March Treasury Secretary Shaw, acting at the request of the Russian government and in the interests of U.S. Customs, telegraphed Stranahan in New York that "you are authorized and in fact it is your duty to forbid sale of pictures and to remove them to a bonded warehouse for safekeeping pending payment of duty or reexport not withstanding."¹⁶ The U.S. government promptly stopped the sale of any of the paintings (see Table I) and placed them in storage in a bonded warehouse in New York, until duties were paid. The only buyer able to procure paintings was the Toledo Art Museum in Toledo, Ohio, which managed to pay packing and storage charges of \$845 for its eight paintings and to get Shaw's permission to clear customs.¹⁷ (See Table II) Otherwise, the St. Louis Russian collection now remained intact but invisible, listed as "unclaimed merchandise" by the Bureau of Customs.

In the spring of 1906 the unlucky Grunwaldt had neither money nor paintings. Having brought Russian art to America, he had fallen deeply into debt in its behalf and had seen the entire collection taken into custody by the U.S. government. He had tried and failed to sell the paintings. He could hardly return home and face the artists with neither money nor art in hand. Although the American government accepted his claim to be the legal owner of the paintings in the United States, he could not get them back without paying a bewildering succession of duties, tariffs, freight charges, storage fees, and bonds. In the summer of 1906 he therefore sailed for Europe to confer with his brother Paul, another Russian fur merchant who ran his business in Paris.

15. Customs: Shaw to Stranahan (telegram), 29 March 1905.

16. Customs: Shaw to Stranahan (telegram), 9 March 1905.

17. Customs: George W. Stevens, Director, Toledo Art Museum, to Shaw, 12 March 1906; Stranahan to Shaw, 12 March 1906; Stevens to Shaw, 13 March 1906; J. B. Reynolds (Assistant Treasury Secretary) to Collector of Customs, Toledo, Ohio, 22 Oct. 1906.

He also left his legal affairs in the hands of a probate lawyer from California, Henry I. Kowalsky, whom Grunwaldt had known from the Friedman Estate litigation, a San Francisco probate case in which Grunwaldt was a presumed heir and Kowalsky his lawyer. Persuaded by Kowalsky that he could handle the legal and financial complications of the Russian paintings better than Grunwaldt, an alien, Grunwaldt on 17 March 1906 agreed in writing to "assign, sell, transfer and deliver" the entire collection to Kowalsky for \$1.00, an agreement he had notarized on 27 July the day before leaving for Europe,¹⁸ and reconfirmed two years later.¹⁹ This was a mistake. For Grunwaldt had given control of the Russian collection to a California lawyer who can only be described as a professional rogue.

At forty-seven, Colonel Henry I. Kowalsky was a colorful and controversial figure. Born in Buffalo, N.Y., in 1859, he was raised in San Francisco where he completed law school and made a name for himself as a probate specialist. A staunch Republican, Kowalsky in the 1880s served as Judge Advocate General under California Governor R. W. Waterman, where he acquired the rank of "Colonel," a title he sported long after he left the post. Kowalsky also adopted the habit of napping while on his feet—some said while arguing a case. Around 1903 Kowalsky became an agent of King Leopold II of Belgium and head of his secret press bureau intended to silence or buy off critics of his administration in the Congo Free State. In this capacity Kowalsky in 1904 conveyed a letter from Leopold to President Roosevelt urging him to keep Congress from passing a resolution condemning his Congo operations. By the time Grunwaldt knew him, Kowalsky was well known as someone who could always be found in the near vicinity of sizeable amounts of money.²⁰ In 1907 the press uncovered Kowalsky's lucrative relationship with Leopold, and Kowalsky became interested in the Russian collection.

The real struggle for control of the paintings began in 1907. In June, 1907, the original warehouse bonds were due to expire, and the new Treasury Secretary, George B. Courtelyou, planned to sell the paintings at auction as "unclaimed merchandise." But at Kowalsky's request, Courtelyou agreed to extend the bonds until 1 September.²¹ Since Grunwaldt was out of the country and unable to pay the duties and other charges, the Treasury Department on

18. Customs: Agreement between E. M. Grunwaldt and H. I. Kowalsky, 17 March 1906.

19. Customs: Notarized affidavit by Grunwaldt concerning his assignment to Kowalsky; 16 April 1908.

20. On Kowalsky, see Alley, Bowen, and Co., *History of Marin County* (San Francisco: B. F. Alley, 1880), pp. 500-01; *The Bay of San Francisco*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892); N. Ascherson, *The King Incorporated; Leopold II in the Age of Trusts* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 255; A. J. Wauters, *Histoire Politique du Congo* (Brussels: 1911).

21. Customs: Kowalsky to Courtelyou (telegram), 1 July 1907.

24 June notified the Russian ambassador, Baron Rosen, that the paintings could be removed before 1 September. But by whom? Kowalsky represented Grunwaldt's claim to ownership by American law: the Russian consul general in New York, Nikolai Ladyzhenskii, also engaged the law firm of Coudert Brothers that summer to argue the case of ownership for the Russian government. When Grunwaldt returned from Paris in late June, however, Collector of Customs Stranahan would not agree to sell the paintings to the Russian government until Ladyzhenskii would furnish an indemnity bond that would guarantee Stranahan would not be sued by Grunwaldt as the rightful owner. This the Russian government was unwilling to do. Thus in the summer of 1907 it probably missed its last opportunity to recover the paintings, and forfeited control to Kowalsky.²²

Kowalsky now initiated his plan to remove the paintings to Canada. In July, 1907, he obtained a \$1400 loan from Grunwaldt, who had acquired the money from his more solvent brother Paul in Paris, and promptly booked passage for himself to Europe. Until October, 1907, Kowalsky was out of the country; when he returned he found that Ambassador Rosen had not recovered the paintings, and that Collector Stranahan planned to sell them at public auction in April, 1908.²³ He also discovered that Grunwaldt had engaged a new law firm of Keiley and Haviland and a new lawyer, Thomas W. Cridler, whom Grunwaldt had known as Commissioner for Europe at the St. Louis Exposition. In October, 1907, Keiley and Haviland petitioned the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs asking them to pay off Grunwaldt's mounting debts (now nearly \$100,000), arguing that he had incurred these in the artistic service of his country. But they were no more successful than Grunwaldt was in getting back his \$1400 from Kowalsky. All of this obvious insolvency (Grunwaldt had also been declared bankrupt in St. Petersburg) only reinforced the American government's decision to proceed with the sale. There the matter rested.²⁴

Kowalsky's plan to obtain the paintings was ingenious. First, he contracted with the U.S. Express Company for a loan, in effect: the Company would provide New York customs authorities with an indemnity bond of \$50,000, pay all the customs and freight charges, and ship the paintings out of the

22. Customs: Reynolds to Rosen, 27 June 1907; Rosen to Reynolds, 1 July 1907; Kowalsky to Courtelyou (telegram), 1 July 1907; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, St. Petersburg, to Ladyzhenskii (cable), 2 July 1907; Kowalsky to Stranahan, 2 July 1907; Stranahan to Courtelyou, 3 July 1907.

23. Customs: Rosen to Reynolds, 5 July 1907; Kowalsky to Courtelyou, 12 July 1907; Courtelyou to Rosen, 13 July 1907; Rosen to Courtelyou, 16 July 1907; Stranahan to Courtelyou, 4 Sept. 1907.

24. Customs: Grunwaldt to Courtelyou, 10 Sept. 1907; Stranahan to Courtelyou, 21 Sept. 1907; Keiley and Haviland to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, St. Petersburg, 9 Oct. 1907.

country to Toronto, Canada, where they could be stored at much lower cost, and where import duties were only on frames and not on paintings. The Company agreed to this because Kowalsky promised to repay all charges together with 6 percent annual interest. To do this, Kowalsky took out another loan of \$4500 from a Toronto friend and businessman named William Mitchell, whom he visited in Toronto in late April, 1908, with the entire Russian collection put up as collateral.²⁵ He then used Mitchell's money to pay the U.S. Express Company its costs—freight charges of \$775 and Customs charges of \$1,952.75—and retained a tidy \$1,772.25 for himself. He did not pay back Grunwaldt.²⁶

In April, 1908, the Russian paintings arrived in Toronto in forty-six cases and were placed in a warehouse of the Shedden Forwarding Company, Ltd. The American government apparently had rid itself of a customs problem, and Grunwaldt apparently had recovered his paintings. Yet neither succeeded. For by shipping the paintings to Toronto, Kowalsky had now obtained ownership for himself, and not Grunwaldt. The very paintings which left New York registered in the name of E. M. Grunwaldt, with Henry I. Kowalsky as attorney, were entered at the Toronto Customs House in the name of Henry I. Kowalsky, owner. On this interesting sleight of hand rested Kowalsky's future claims of ownership and Grunwaldt's ultimate financial demise. But at the moment Kowalsky faced a suit by William Mitchell for not repaying his loan on time, a suit in which Mitchell won the right to collect the full \$4500 plus 10 percent interest. Once again Kowalsky needed money to avoid jail; he obtained it by chance from the man who would ultimately obtain the paintings, Frank C. Havens.

III

In 1910, at the age of sixty-two, Frank Colton Havens was one of the most powerful men in Oakland and the San Francisco Bay area.²⁷ Among other things he owned a Realty Syndicate which engaged in land development, three streetcar companies merged as the Oakland Traction Company, the 300-room Claremont Hotel, a ferry service from Oakland to San Francisco which com-

25. Customs: Agreement between Henry I. Kowalsky and William A. Mitchell, 30 April 1908.

26. Customs: San Francisco Collector of Customs F. S. Stratton to Treasury Secretary MacVeagh, 14 March 1912.

27. On Havens, see *Notables of the Southwest* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1912), p. 352; F. C. Merritt, *History of Alameda County, California*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1928), II, 531-33. On George Sterling, Jack London, and their friends, see J. Noel, *Footloose in Arcadia* (New York: Carrick and Evans, 1940); F. Walker, *The Seacoast of Bohemia* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1973); Charmian London, *The Book of Jack London*, 2 vols. (New York: Century Co., 1921).

peted with the omnipresent Southern Pacific Railroad, and the People's Water Company that dominated precious water resources in Oakland. He also had a fine collection of paintings purchased in Europe and the Far East and displayed in his private gallery in Piedmont Park, near Oakland. To run the gallery Havens hired a young San Francisco painter named Richard Partington, a Bohemian friend of Havens' nephew George Sterling, a poet, and of Oakland's leading *enfant terrible*, the socialist writer Jack London. Havens thus moved between the world of money and the world of art with ease, frequenting the fashionable Bohemian Club of San Francisco and hiring a train each summer to take his family and friends east to his original home at Sag Harbor, Long Island. On one of these trips, probably in 1909, Frank Havens first heard about the Russian collection from a fellow member of a riding club, Baron Schlippenbach, the Russian consul in Chicago.

In 1909 Havens was in New York on vacation, the paintings were in a Toronto warehouse, and Kowalsky was still attempting to settle his debt to William Mitchell. This he began to do in the winter of 1909-10 with the aid of yet another loan of \$1,000 from Paul Grunwaldt's partner, L. A. R. Robinson, in Paris. On 4 January 1910 Robinson cabled this sum to Mitchell's bank in Toronto, in exchange for which Kowalsky wrote Robinson a check which bounced. In the meantime Schlippenbach had told Grunwaldt's lawyers, Keiley and Haviland, that "certain persons" wished to see the Russian collection in Toronto, and had assured them that they were in no way connected with Kowalsky. He also visited Toronto in January, 1910, and reported to Grunwaldt that the paintings were now in rather poor condition as a result of their travels and re-packings. At this point Kowalsky left for San Francisco to make his own arrangements with Frank Havens.²⁸

Tariff negotiations between the United States and Canada were then at a critical point. The 1909 Payne-Aldrich Tariff had actually raised the rates on many items, while reducing them on art objects, and this affected Canadian-American relations. Canada often applied minimum rates to goods coming from France; if this were considered discriminatory against the United States, then by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff maximum retaliatory rates would go into effect on 31 March 1910.²⁹ Talks were already under way in Albany and Washington which would lay the groundwork for reciprocity in Canadian-American trade. But reciprocity lay months ahead; only in June, 1911, would President Taft succeed in getting H.R. 32216 through a stubbornly protectionist Congress. In early 1910 there was widespread fear of a tariff war, and anyone wishing to import goods from Canada to the United States would have wanted

28. Customs: H. I. Kowalsky affidavit to the High Court of Toronto, October 1909; Keiley and Haviland to the Secretary of the Treasury, 27 April 1911.

29. L. E. Ellis, *Reciprocity, 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven and Toronto: Yale Univ. Press; Ryerson Press, 1939), p. 36.

to move quickly.

On 16 March 1910 Kowalsky signed an agreement with Frank Havens in San Francisco which seemed to offer an ideal solution to his financial problems.³⁰ Havens wished to buy the Russian paintings, some for himself and others to be sold from his Piedmont Gallery. Kowalsky, claiming ownership, needed money. The agreement between Kowalsky and Havens' proxy, Richard Partington, provided just that. Havens would pay Kowalsky \$2,020 with which Kowalsky could begin settling accounts with Mitchell and arrange to ship the paintings; Kowalsky agreed on his part to send the paintings from Toronto to Oakland, to be exhibited in the Piedmont Gallery. Partington, as consignee acting for Havens, would then take possession of the paintings after they cleared U.S. Customs, clean them, frame them, and make other "reasonable repairs," and paying Kowalsky another \$1,000 for his services. The paintings would remain on exhibit for two years, and be available for sale. Profits would be divided equally between Havens and Kowalsky, but would be credited toward Kowalsky's debt of \$3,020 until it was paid off. Partington also agreed to pay all "shipping, boxing, freight and other charges." In addition to the money, Kowalsky probably thought that he could ultimately claim ownership because of his standing in Toronto, and take the paintings away from Havens; Havens in turn thought that he might well get the paintings away from Kowalsky by having them consigned to Partington and controlling the bill of lading which would have to be presented to Customs before collecting the paintings.

Grunwaldt was understandably upset. He revoked Kowalsky's power of attorney and had his lawyers serve Kowalsky with that revocation in a San Francisco courtroom on 9 June 1910.³¹ But this was to no avail. On 15 April 1910 the Customs Collector in Detroit, Michigan, reported that consignment I.T. 615 consisting of forty-six cases of "oil paintings and other merchandise" had been entered at U.S. Customs in Port Huron consigned to Mr. Richard Partington of Oakland, California. Once again, the Russian collection was a problem for the U.S. Treasury Department.

IV

In the spring of 1910 the case of the Russian paintings devolved on Taft's new Treasury Secretary, Franklin MacVeagh, a former Democrat considered liberal in the context of the Cabinet. It became the immediate problem of the

30. Customs: Agreement between Henry I. Kowalsky and Richard L. Partington, 16 March 1910.

31. Customs: Grunwaldt to Kowalsky, 5 April 1910 (telegram); Grunwaldt to Keiley and Haviland, 9 April 1910; Grunwaldt to Kowalsky, 9 April 1910; U.S. Collector of Customs in Detroit to Treasury Secretary, 15 April 1910.

San Francisco Collector of Customs, Frederick Smith Stratton. In April, 1910, Stratton wrote MacVeagh that Grunwaldt wanted him to refuse entry when the paintings arrived, but that he had no instructions from Washington to that effect, and that he knew nothing about Kowalsky. On 26 April 1910 the paintings arrived in Oakland. Two days later Stratton received instructions from Washington that he was *not* to refuse entry, but should pass the paintings through customs "only upon the production of a bill of lading properly endorsed by the consignor of said merchandise," that is, Kowalsky, or by the consignee, Partington. He also discovered that Kowalsky had listed the value of the paintings at \$15,000, when they had been appraised by Canadian Customs officials at \$76,193, thus using a favorite trick of art importers at the time: undervaluation to reduce the tariff.³² Stratton therefore refused entry to Kowalsky and Partington and the paintings languished once again in a Southern Pacific warehouse in Oakland.

For the next several months Stratton began appraisal of the paintings. Neither Havens nor Kowalsky could lay hands on them, since Kowalsky claimed ownership but Havens had the bill of lading, and Stratton was refusing entry to both of them. In March, 1911, Partington asked Stratton to re-export the paintings to Canada, but he refused. Instead, he decided to sell the paintings as unclaimed merchandise at the next public auction in April, 1911.³³ In this he would be, for a time, as unsuccessful as his predecessors in New York.

The tariff on art objects was a general problem for Frank MacVeagh in the spring of 1911. Although the Payne-Aldrich bill had lowered the tariff, it still left a complex system of maximum and minimum rates which was yet to be worked out in practice. On 1 February 1911 MacVeagh defined "works of art free of duty" as being those more than one hundred years old; more recent works along with such objects as tapestries, ornaments, and antique clocks would still be dutiable. There was therefore a growing number of illegal attempts to avoid any tariff, or to reduce it through undervaluation. In January, 1911, a New York art dealer named Julius Oehme sold off eighty-nine paintings at auction which he had undervalued when importing them; the Treasury Department settled out of court for an \$18,000 penalty. Lady Duff Gordon's manager was arrested in May for undervaluing imported gowns. Then there was the case of the Duveen brothers, Fifth Avenue art dealers who

32. Customs: Stratton to Treasury Secretary, 19 April 1910; Stratton to Keiley and Haviland, 19 April 1912; Assistant Treasury Secretary J. F. Curtis to Keiley and Haviland, 28 April 1912; Curtis to Stratton, 28 April 1912; Special Agent L. W. Bean to Treasury Secretary, 9 May 1910.

33. Customs: Assistant Treasury Secretary C. P. Montgomery to Stratton, 2 June 1910; Stratton to Treasury Secretary, 6 June 1910; Montgomery to Stratton, 2 July 1910; Stratton to Treasury Secretary 17 March 1911 (telegram); Stratton to Treasury Secretary, 22 March 1911; Assistant Treasury Secretary A. P. Andrew to Congressman Julius Kahn, 22 March 1911.

had cost the U.S. government some five million dollars in lost duties over several years by smuggling and undervaluing imported art objects. In one case alone, they had imported tapestries and cabinets valued at \$200,000 and declared them at \$5,800 on the invoice.³⁴ Kowalsky, Havens, and the Russian collection, in other words, were an economically minor part of a major problem for the government involving art imports in 1911.

In April, 1911, the sale of the Russian paintings was postponed on orders from Washington because they had not yet been in public storage for a full year. Grunwaldt's lawyer, Thomas Cridler, now wrote MacVeagh arguing that Grunwaldt was the real owner of the collection and that Kowalsky was engaged in a fraud "of the worst possible type." If the Treasury Department authorized the sale, wrote Cridler, it would only "become party to aiding Kowalsky in the consummation of his swindle." He charged that Havens and Kowalsky were conspiring to steal Grunwaldt's paintings. If the sale were to be held, the paintings could then be acquired by someone like Havens "for a song; the matter can be arranged between them outside and a new method of art trafficking introduced that will make mere undervaluation simple child's play."³⁵ In other words, Havens could swindle both Grunwaldt and Kowalsky by obtaining through government auction what he could not obtain directly through Customs. This is precisely what would happen.

In June, 1911, Stratton postponed the sale a second time, after determining the appraised value of the collection at \$99,133 and therefore dutiable at a far higher rate than Kowalsky's false invoice would have indicated. Washington agreed, perhaps because Grunwaldt had now promised to put up bond to pay for any further storage and freight charges that might accrue as a result of postponement. When no such bond appeared, the Treasury Department in late July, 1911, finally authorized Stratton to sell the paintings in six months, that is, in February, 1912.³⁶ By January Stratton had printed a catalogue and hired an auctioneer for a sale to begin on 5 February 1912. Despite protestations from Grunwaldt's lawyers, MacVeagh decided to proceed with the sale.³⁷

34. *New York Times*, 2 Feb. 1911, p. 5; 6 April 1911, p. 1; 23 May 1911, p. 6; 24 May 1911, p. 5; 25 May 1911, p. 3; 26 May 1911, p. 1; 7 Feb. 1912, p. 12; 9 Feb. 1912, p. 4.

35. Customs: Cridler to Macveagh, 31 May 1911; also his letter of 27 April 1911 and 24 May 1911.

36. Customs: Curtis to Stratton, 3 June 1911 (telegram); Stratton to Curtis, 6 June 1911 (telegram); Montgomery to Stratton, 7 June 1911 (telegram); Curtis to Stratton, 24 June 1911; Stratton to Treasury Secretary, 28 June 1911; Grunwaldt to Treasury Secretary, 17 July 1911; Curtis to Grunwaldt, 3 Aug. 1911; Grunwaldt to Treasury Secretary, 4 Aug. 1911.

37. Customs: Keiley and Haviland to MacVeagh, 29 Jan. 1912; also theirs of 13 and 15 Jan. and Stratton to Treasury Secretary, 16 Jan. 1912; MacVeagh to Keiley and Haviland, 19 Jan. 1912 and 1 Feb. 1912.

The sale gave Frank Havens his opportunity to acquire the paintings without entanglements with Kowalsky. Should the paintings be entered prior to the sale, Kowalsky could claim title on the basis of the customs entry from Canada; but Partington, acting for Havens, had the bill of lading, without which Kowalsky could not collect the paintings. Why should Havens arrange for entry of the paintings in Kowalsky's name when, by buying them at auction, he could acquire them outright? Kowalsky wired MacVeagh that such an auction would break up the collection; Grunwaldt said it would mean "my financial ruin and perhaps disgrace in the eyes of Russia and my countrymen to whom these paintings and other objects belong."³⁸ But on Monday, 5 February 1912, at 10:00 A.M. the long postponed sale of the Russian collection began at the U.S. Appraiser's Store on the corner of Sansome and Washington Streets in San Francisco.

V

The Treasury Department's interest in the sale of the Russian collection was simply to rid itself of an eight year-old customs problem and to collect all duties and charges related to it. With this in mind, the auction was to proceed first by individual items and then offered as a whole; the government would take the best price.³⁹ It would approve any sale which yielded a total of at least \$17,722.55, that is, \$15,968.75 to cover the duties and another \$1754 to cover shipping and storage charges. "It is only after two years of waiting," wrote a newspaper reporter, Helen Dare, "diversified with much legal contention and indignant vociferation, that the famous and mysterious collection has at last come under the hammer." She went on: "In the big bare room, under the raw morning light, with the Colonel's—or are they the Russian government's or the Russian artists' or King Leopold's—art treasures piled about promiscuously and hung askew on the walls, the much-disputed-over pictures were sold like any other junk that the government finds on its hands and wants to break even on."⁴⁰ Some paintings went for two or three dollars. Jack London's doctor, William S. Porter, acquired the entire "Ancient Russia" series of Roerich for \$138, compared with the already low appraised value of \$1300. But in the end the entire collection went to none other than Frank Havens for a total of \$39,000.⁴¹

38. Customs: Grunwaldt to MacVeagh, 3 Feb. 1912; also Kowalsky to T. L. Bley in Washington, 1 Feb. 1912 (telegram); Kowalsky to MacVeagh, 2 Feb. 1912 (telegram).

39. Customs: Assistant Treasury Secretary R. O. Bailey to Stratton, 3 Feb. 1912 (telegram).

40. H. Dare, "Kowalsky's Russian Paintings put under the Hammer at Last," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 Feb. 1912, pp. 7-8.

41. *Ibid.*, 11 Feb. 1912, pp. 1-2.

The auction only precipitated further controversy. On 13 February, Kowalsky appeared in San Francisco Superior Court to file a formal complaint against Havens, Partington, and Stratton asking for a temporary restraining order to keep Stratton from delivering the paintings to Havens: the judge gave him a week. In his complaint Kowalsky claimed title to the paintings and charged the defendants with "overt acts of fraudulent combination, collusion and conspiracy;" he demanded immediate possession as "sole owner."⁴² In Washington Grunwaldt's lawyers were in the meantime pressuring MacVeagh not to confirm the sale, as requested by Stratton, while Havens had his own influential friends, California Senator George C. Perkins and Congressman Joseph R. Knowland, vouch for him to MacVeagh. Havens also discussed the matter with Assistant Treasury Secretary Curtis, and agreed to postpone confirmation two weeks. On 20 February 1912 Kowalsky's complaint was heard in Superior Court and refused; finally, on 13 March, Curtis wired Stratton that "the sale of the Russian Art Exhibit as reported by you is hereby confirmed."⁴³

At this point the case reached the White House, where Taft was undoubtedly more concerned with the 24 February announcement by Roosevelt that he would accept the G.O.P. nomination for President. Grunwaldt's case was now presented not only by Cridler but by his influential friend, Senator Charles W. F. Dick (Rep., Ohio), a powerful ally of the President.⁴⁴ On 11 March they personally argued Grunwaldt's case to MacVeagh, leaving with the assumption that they had achieved at least further delay and possibly a \$20,000 auction surplus for Grunwaldt. They were furious when they discovered that MacVeagh had confirmed the sale. On 26 March Cridler wrote the President a long letter reviewing the case and asking Taft to "disapprove the act of his subordinate," Treasury Secretary MacVeagh.⁴⁵ This he was not about to do.

In the end Frank Havens had his paintings. The sale surplus of \$19,000

42. Customs: sworn deposition of "Henry I. Kowalsky, Plaintiff, vs. Frank C. Havens, R. L. Partington and H. P. Travers (auctioneer) and Frederick S. Stratton, Defendants," 13 Feb. 1912, California State Superior Court, San Francisco; see also the report of Kowalsky's complaint in *ibid.*, 14 Feb. 1912.

43. Customs: "Affidavit of R. L. Partington," filed in Superior Court, 19 Feb. 1912, Perkins to Curtis, 20 Feb. 1912; Cong. J. R. Knowland to MacVeagh, 20 Feb. 1912; Curtis to Stratton, 13 March 1912 (telegram); see also Stratton to MacVeagh, 20 Feb. 1912; Curtis to Stratton, 23 Feb. 1912 (telegram); Keiley and Haviland to MacVeagh, 24 Feb. 1912; Lande to MacVeagh, 5 March 1912.

44. Customs: Cridler to MacVeagh, 14 Feb. 1912; Curtis to MacVeagh (memo), 15 Feb. 1912; Curtis to Stratton, 17 Feb. 1912 (telegram); Stratton to Treasury Secretary, 17 Feb. 1912. On Senator Dick, see H. L. Warner, *Progressivism in Ohio, 1897-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 161, 252, 256-257, 358.

45. Cridler to President Taft, 26 March 1912; a twenty-two-page letter contained in the William Howard Taft Papers, Reel 440, Series 6, Case File 3200. Not in "Customs."

went to Partington as consignee for the paintings, that is, to Havens himself. Kowalsky had withdrawn his suit and waived any right to the surplus, probably because Havens had bought him off; in the words of Curtis, a "compromise" was effected "as to the disposition of the surplus after the same has been received by Partington."⁴⁶ In late April MacVeagh wrote the President that he would stand by his decision to sell the paintings. "This art collection," he concluded, "has been before the Department in its varying phases for about eight years, and there is no question but that it has been given more serious consideration and careful thought than any other case of equal importance."⁴⁷ In an election year Taft was not about to override his Treasury Secretary on the matter of a few hundred well travelled Russian paintings from the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. From the point of view of the United States government, the case was at an end.

VI

The virtually forgotten case of the lost Russian collection constitutes an intriguing episode in early twentieth-century Russo-American relations. Yet its memory faded quickly. The U.S. government did not want to broadcast a rather sensitive story of friction with Russia. The Russian artists themselves never really knew what had happened to their art works. The principals in the case had generally died by the end of World War I: Ives in 1911; Cridler in 1914; Stratton in 1915 along with Grunwaldt himself, a bachelor with no heirs and undoubtedly no inheritance; Havens in 1918. Finally, the paintings themselves disappeared into the hands of collectors and museums after Havens sold most of them off by 1916 (Table III); William S. Porter gave his Roerich series to the Oakland Art Museum which in turn gave it to the Roerich Museum in New York around 1957 (Table IV) and many others ended up in California museums (Table V). Many may have been destroyed in transit, and we will probably never learn the disposition of each and every painting.

There was apparently no great market for Russian art in America before 1914. A \$300,000 collection which entered the country in 1904 brought few serious bids either in New York in 1906 or in San Francisco in 1912: it ultimately sold for about one-tenth its appraised value. Yet its main attraction was monetary, at a time when protectionist tariffs on art objects only served to stimulate the ingenuity of men like Kowalsky and the Duveen brothers. Russian artists sent their works to St. Louis to sell them; Grunwaldt in turn tried to sell them for his own gain; Kowalsky swindled Grunwaldt for money;

46. Customs: Stratton to MacVeagh, 26 March 1912; Curtis to Stratton, 5 April 1912 (telegram).

47. Customs: MacVeagh to Charles Hilles, Presidential Secretary, 29 April 1912, p. 4.

Havens ultimately bought the Russian paintings because he was wealthy and enjoyed art when accumulated. The men who sought the paintings were, respectively, a fur merchant, a lawyer-politician, and a realtor-businessman. For Grunwaldt, the paintings were really an avocation; his real economic interests involved the sale of sable, blue fox, ermine, and sealskin products in the United States, using the expositions at Chicago and St. Louis.⁴⁸ It was very much a businessman's world.

Ties on the diplomatic level between Russia and the United States were very tenuous in these years. The Russian government apparently cared little about the recovery of the paintings, even when it might have. The American government was more concerned with collecting its duties on a migratory art collection. In the end the story of the Russian art collection constitutes a tragic but exemplary fraud in an era when private enterprise too often defined public well being.

Washington University

48. *World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, Chicago; Catalogue of the Russian Section* (St. Petersburg: 1893), pp. 265-66. I could find little on Grunwaldt himself, except that his father had probably established a fur company in 1843 based on the seal trade with Kamchatka, Siberia, Australia, and California; in 1892 Edward Mikhailovich left his brother Paul to form his own company, and both brothers showed their furs at Chicago in 1893 and St. Louis in 1904.

TABLE I

PAINTINGS AUCTIONED BY GRUNWALDT
IN NEW YORK: MARCH, 1906

Painter	Work	St. Louis Cat. No.	Price
P. D. Shmarov	"Two Peasant Women"	162	\$420
N. A. Koshelev	"Leaving Church"	68	295
Mary Pedoshenko- Tretiakov	"The Sayan Mountains"	483	240
A. F. Gausch	"Light Night in Finland"	304	200
M. P. Latree	"Garden of Meditation"	221	210
F. P. Risnichenko	(several paintings)	125- 32	\$40-70
Julia Stankevich	"Life and Death"	137	55
E. C. VonLiphart	"Education of Cupid: Vision"	292	670
E. C. VonLiphart	"Education of Cupid: Sound"	293	600
I. L. Goryushkin- Sorokopudov	"Boyars on the Road"	185	300
T. S. Kazachinskii	"Return of the Prodigal"	214	275
S. A. Sorin	"Portrait of the Russian Popular Writer Maxim Gorky"	260	300
S. A. Sorin	"Peasant Woman from the Province of Smolensk"	259	180
V. T. Zarubin	"Crowd of Pilgrims"	271	350
V. P. Vereshchagin	"Monk"	398	200

Source: *New York Times*, 7 March 1906, p. 9; 8 March 1906, p. 3; 10 March 1906, p. 6.

TABLE II

PAINTINGS PURCHASED BY THE TOLEDO ART MUSEUM;
TOLEDO, OHIO, 1906

Painter	Work	St. Louis Cat. No.
N. A. Koshelev	"Hay Stacking"	67
P. D. Shmarov	"Lady in a Carriage"	161
S. M. Seidenberg	"The Plowers: Episode in the Reign of Roman of Galicia"	167
I. A. Deneev	"Laying the Kremlin Foundations"	176
K. N. Kahl	"The Old Mill"	196
K. N. Kahl	"End of a Summer Day"	197
B. N. Popov	"The Weaver"	229
A. V. Kudriavtsev	"Fishermen"	314

Note: here and elsewhere I have given titles currently used by museums; these often differ from the 1904 titles in the St. Louis catalogue of the Russian Section.

TABLE III

PAINTINGS SOLD BY FRANK C. HAVENS
IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA: OCTOBER, 1916

Painter	Work	St. Louis Cat. No.
N. N. Dubovskii	"Outside the Monastery"	2
V. E. Makovskii	"Towing Barges on the Volga"	9
P. I. Petrovichev	"Twilight"	34
P. T. Heller	"Tsar Ivan IV and the Hermit Nikolai Salos"	60
I. A. Pass	"Peddler"	84
V. P. Baturin	"Breaking up the Ice"	98
F. F. Buchholtz	"Boyar Morozov discovers his Wife Elena's Secret Affection for Prince Serebriannyi"	100
E. Hubner-Simons	"Hermit"	112
P. K. Medem	"Coast on the Gulf of Finland"	124
F. P. Risnichenko	"Early Winter in a Country Village"	127
V. B. Beringer	"White Night—Northern Night"	142
I. A. Deneev	"Deep Water"	175
K. N. Kahl	"Dull Day"	201
	"White Cottage"	204
	"Evening in the Park"	206
A. M. Prokof'ev	"Eventide"	233
	"Beginning of Winter"	240
N. A. Shabunin	"Women and Swans"	254
S. A. Sorin	"Peasant Woman from Smolensk"	259
V. T. Zarubin	"Crowd of Pilgrims"	271
C. K. Wroblewski	"Evening"	278
A. F. Gausch	"Twilight"	354
H. M. Maniser	"Boyarina"	369

Source: Auction catalogue for "Frank C. Havens' World Famed Collection of Valuable paintings"; California Historical Society, San Francisco.

TABLE IV

PAINTINGS IN THE NICHOLAS ROERICH MUSEUM, NEW YORK

Work by Roerich	St. Louis Cat. No.
Iaroslavl:	
"Church of Nikola Mokry (17th c.)"	410
"Church Door"	411
"Church of St. Vlasy (17th c.)"	412
"Church of the Advent"	413
Rostov:	
"Church of the Saviour"	416
"Church of the Saviour"	417
"Interior of the Church"	418
"Entrance to Kremlin"	419
"Small Courtyard in Kremlin"	420
"Small Prince's Palace"	421
"Bishop's Palace"	422
"Old Russian Church, River Ishna"	423
"Inner Door"	424
"Portal of a Church"	426
Suzdal':	
"Spas-Efimevsky Monastery"	427
Nizhnii-Novgorod	
"Kremlin Wall"	430
"Kremlin Tower"	431
"Old Tower"	432
Smolensk	
"General View of Kremlin Walls"	435
"Tower"	436
"Watch Tower"	437
"Tower"	438
"Entrance to a Monastery"	439
"View of the Kremlin"	441
Vilna	
"Ruins of the Castle of Prince Gedeminas"	442
Riga	
"Interior, Ancient Cathedral"	445
Wenden	
"Ruins of the Chapel"	446
Iurev-Pol'skii	
"Section of the Cathedral"	453
"Section of the Cathedral"	454
"Palace of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich"	458
Izborsk	
"Tower"	461
"Cemetery Cross"	463
Pecherskii Monastery	
"Monastery Vestry"	464
"The Big Belfry"	467
"Walls and Towers"	468
"Walls and Towers"	469
Pskov	
"General View of the Kremlin"	472
"Peasant Girl"	475
"Crusader Castle 'Heilgut'"	477
"Church of the Nativity of Our Lady"	478

Source: Nicholas Roerich Museum, *Nicholas Roerich* (New York: 1974).

TABLE V

PAINTINGS IN OTHER MUSEUMS: CURRENT LOCATION

Museum	Painter	Work	St. Louis Cat. No.
Mills College Art Gallery (Oakland)	A. B. Eberling	"In the Mountains of Tuscany"	148
	N. S. Roerich	"Suzdal': Church SS. Kozma and Demian"	428
Busch Brewery (St. Louis)	A. K. Denisov- Uralskii	"Forest Fire"	548
DeYoung Museum (San Francisco)	N. A. Kasatkin	"Portrait of a Miner"	4
	V. E. Makovskii	"The Vagabond"	11
	K. V. Makovskii	"The Russian Bride's Attire"	12
	A. I. Alekseev	"Two Friends"	54
	N. N. Bunin	"Morning after the Battle"	57
	P. T. Heller	"Ivan the Terrible and the Hermit"	60
		"Return from the Tsar's Coro- nation of the local Leader of the Russian Peasantry"	61
	N. A. Koshelev	"The Plunder of Vladimir by the Tatars"	70
	I. A. Pass	"The Piano Lesson"	86
	T. T. Buchholtz	"Boyarina Morozov"	100
	I. K. Fedorov	"Napoleon's Last Day: The Burning of Moscow"	106
	I. A. Deneev	"Deep Water"	175
	N. A. Shabunin	"After Reaping"	252
	S. A. Sorin	"Portrait of Maxim Gorky"	260
	I. I. Zembulat- Popov	"Evening Rays"	282
	E. C. Von Liphart	"Education of Cupid: Vision"	292
		"Education of Cupid: Sound"	293
	Elsa Baklund	"Old Lady"	298
	N. P. Pirogov	"The Bridal Procession"	316
	F. I. Rerberg	"Geese"	324

Source: Information supplied by Mr. Frederick P. Snowden, Registrar, M. H. DeYoung Museum, San Francisco, and by Edithe B. Heda, Research Coordinator, Mills College Art Gallery. Several other paintings were in the DeYoung Museum at one time, but have since been sold.



Fig. 1: View of the Russian Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, 1904; in the center is Repin's "Portrait of Madame Korevo."



Fig. 2: P. D. Shmarov, "Lady in a Carriage"; Toledo Art Museum, Toledo, Ohio.



Fig. 3: Sergei Aleksandrovskii, Russia's Commissioner General for the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition, 1904.

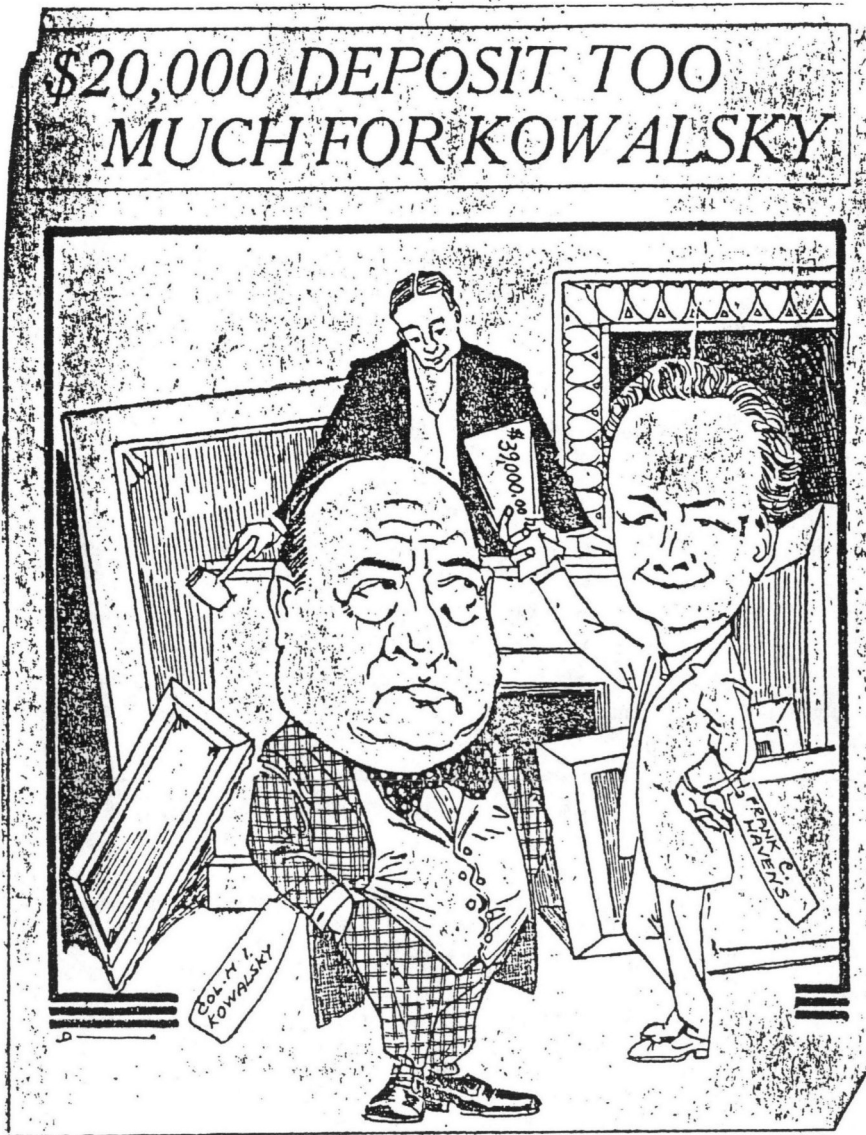


Fig. 4: Cartoon of Frank C. Havens and Col. Henry Kowalsky at the auction; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 February 1912.