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# 'Hoarded Treasures:' an Antwerp Art Collection Shapes Belgian Cultural Identity Abroad

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines how the relocation to America of an important collection of Flemish art in the mid-1790s (and its return to Antwerp some twenty years later) helped shape the owners' identity, both in Belgium and America. Henri Joseph Stier (1743–1821), a direct descendant of Rubens, fled Antwerp with his family in June 1794, to avoid having the family's priceless art collection fall into the hands of the French, who were impounding art treasures as military levy. After the family returned to Antwerp in 1803, the collection was left to the care of the Stiers' youngest daughter, Rosalie Calvert, who had married an American plantation owner and remained in Maryland until her death in 1821. In 1816, Rosalie was finally able to send the collection back to Antwerp. Interestingly, this coincided with the return from France of many other Belgian paintings; a transfer in which Henri Stier and his son played important official roles, as art collectors and connoisseurs. The return of Belgian art treasures gave rise to a growing consciousness on the part of the Belgian people of their national culture and tradition.

## Introduction

This article examines how the relocation to America of a wealthy Belgian family's important collection of Flemish art in the mid-1790s (and its return to Belgium some twenty years later) helped shape the family's identity, both in Belgium and America. This examination explains the significance of the migration of cultural agents and artefacts to America, and brings to the fore the role of gender in the transfer of culture. After the family returned to Antwerp in 1803, the painting collection was left to the care of the Stiers' youngest daughter who had married an American plantation owner and remained in Maryland until her death in 1821. Even though she inevitably became Americanized, her original Belgian identity, which was intimately connected to her family's painting collection and the family ties with Rubens, formed a substantial symbolic capital that helped her gain entry into American society and distinguish herself from other European émigrés like the French, Dutch, German or English, with whom Washingtonians were more familiar.<sup>1</sup>

Henri Joseph Stier (1743–1821) and his family fled Antwerp in June 1794, just ahead of the invading French Revolutionary armies. Part of the reason for the Stiers' hasty departure from Antwerp had been to avoid having their family's priceless art collection fall into the hands of the French, who were impounding art treasures as military levy.

Most of the paintings the Stiers took with them to America belonged to Mathilde van den Cruyce (d. 1796), the widow of the famous art collector Jean Egide Peeters (1725–86) and mother of Henri Stier's wife, Marie Louise Peeters Stier (1748–1804).<sup>2</sup> Mathilde van den Cruyce's choice of Henri Stier as custodian of the Peeters collection was a natural one, for not only was he an art connoisseur and collector, but he was also a direct descendant of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640).<sup>3</sup>

## The Collection

The collection which Henri Stier took with him to America included at least sixty-three paintings of such masters as Rubens, Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), David Teniers (1610–90), Jan 'Velvet' Brueghel (1568–1625), Titian (1485–1576), and Rembrandt (1606–69), and was known as one of the finest collections of its kind in the world. Art collectors and painters of the period, among them Joshua Reynolds (in 1781) and Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (in 1782), made the detour through Antwerp in order to see the paintings in both this collection and that of the Stiers' close relatives, the van Havres.<sup>4</sup> Among the treasures of this collection were ten works by Rubens, including such important paintings as: *Portrait of Pecquius* (c. 1616); *Romulus and Remus* (c. 1614); *Stable Scene* or *Prodigal Son* (c. 1612); and *Roman Charity*, or *Cimon and Pero* (c. 1612).<sup>5</sup> The collection also included five works by Jan Brueghel, including: *The Animals entering Noah's Ark* (1613); *Jonah* (c. 1595); and a *Four Seasons* painted by Jan Brueghel and Joos de Momper (1564–1635). Van Dyck was well represented with seven paintings, among them the impressive full-length pair of portraits of Philippe Le Roy and Marie de Raet (1631), and the portrait of Nicolas van der Borgh (c. 1627–32); as well as an oil sketch on wood (*grisaille*) of Rinaldo and Armida (c. 1629). The Peeters collection also featured numerous landscapes, by Teniers, Jan Van der Meer III (-1656–1705), David Vinckboons (1576–1629), Franz Swagers (c. 1756–1836), and Henri Joseph Anthonissen (1737–94). Among the paintings more difficult to identify today, but which were also listed as being part of the collection, were two portraits by Titian, and paintings by Tintoretto (1518–94), Rembrandt, and Michelangelo Cerquozzi (-1602–60). The Peeters collection had the added prestige of containing works that hung in Rubens's own private collection.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to identify with certainty all of the paintings that were sent to America. The principal source is a hand-written list drawn up by Henri Stier on 26 June 1794, at the time the boxes were packed in three leaded crates. Henri Stier seems to have copied a previous document by Mathilde van den Cruyce or her husband.<sup>7</sup> Fernand Donnet, an early twentieth-century Belgian historian, conjectures that Mrs. van den Cruyce did not send all of her paintings off to America with Henri Stier, because this would have awoken the suspicion of French revolutionary authorities as to the sudden disappearance of her famous collection. Instead she kept some 'inferior' paintings (for example, some by Rubens's workshop rather than from his own hand) hanging in her house, giving the impression that the precious collection was still in place.<sup>8</sup> The table that follows this article attempts to compile the available information to identify these paintings when possible.

## The Stiers' Emigration

Henri Joseph Stier and his wife Marie Louise (*née* Peeters, 1748–1804) belonged to two of the most distinguished families in Antwerp. Their ancestors were wealthy merchants, bankers, and large estate owners.<sup>9</sup> Henri Stier had recently acquired a title of nobility; he signed his official letters as ‘Baron Stier d’Aertselaer’ (after the property the family had acquired through his wife).<sup>10</sup> He had no need to practice a profession, but fulfilled the prestigious public function of *Grand Aumônier*, the head of the main charitable organization in Antwerp, and lived from the income of his real estate and investments. Like the other members of their circle, the Stiers displayed their wealth through imposing houses, both in the city and the country.<sup>11</sup> They owned horses and carriages, collected artwork, and prided themselves on the excellent education they were able to provide for their children, girls as well as boys.<sup>12</sup> Most significantly, they distinguished themselves as descendants of the painter Rubens, and were known throughout Europe for their outstanding collection of Flemish masters. It was in large part to preserve this collection that they decided to leave Antwerp, taking the crates of paintings with them on their journey to America.

In October 1794, the Stiers arrived in Philadelphia, where they had a pre-existent Belgian business contact, the baron Beelen Bertholff (1729–1805), consular agent for the Austrian Netherlands in the United States.<sup>13</sup> Appreciated for their cultural sophistication, wealth and social standing, the family was welcomed by the city’s social and business leaders – the Penns, the Bingham, the Peters, and the Morrises.<sup>14</sup> While Charles Jean Stier (1770–1848) and his brother-in-law Jean Michel van Havre (1764–1844) set out to explore possible business ventures in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia, the elder Stiers stayed in Philadelphia with their daughters Rosalie Eugénie (1778–1821), Isabelle Marie (1768–1822) and three-year old granddaughter Louise.<sup>15</sup> However, health reasons convinced the elder Stiers not to remain in Philadelphia and in summer 1795 they moved with daughter Rosalie to a rented house in the countryside near Annapolis, Maryland, while Charles Stier and Jean Michel van Havre set up their young families in Alexandria, Virginia, which they deemed a more favourable location for their business.

Whereas life in the Maryland countryside had proved too lonely for the Stiers, their second move, to the Paca house in the centre of Annapolis in summer 1797, was a success.<sup>16</sup> In town they found better servants and were no longer chained to the household chores as they had been on the farm. It was also much easier to enjoy the pleasures of society; by this time, they knew many of the town’s prominent citizens – the Carrolls, Ogles, Lloyds, Scotts, Murrays and Keys.<sup>17</sup> To keep up with their social circle as much as to make themselves comfortable, the Stiers furnished their house in style. Henri Stier also planted a much-admired bulb garden, and he had his portrait painted by the portraitist Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860).<sup>18</sup> The family from Alexandria visited regularly, Mimi van Havre being the most frequent visitor because her husband, Charles Stier, was often travelling for business. She proved to be good company for Rosalie: they helped Rosalie’s mother with the running of the household, but mostly enjoyed going horseback riding and dancing. During their stay in Annapolis Rosalie was courted by George Calvert (1768–1838), a wealthy plantation owner and descendant of the prominent lords Baltimore who had founded the colony of Maryland. Despite Calvert’s excellent

pedigree and character, the Stiers were not keen on this relationship. Still hoping to return to Antwerp once peace and stability had returned in Europe, they dreaded the thought of a family separation caused by Rosalie remaining in America. Nevertheless, as the news from Antwerp continued to be worrisome and their return therefore unlikely, the Stiers allowed Calvert's attentions to Rosalie, and the couple was married in summer 1799. Their union consolidated the Stiers' social position among America's highest circles: through George Calvert, they were now directly related to George Washington's wife, Martha Custis Washington. George Washington himself organized a large dinner for the newlyweds, to which all the members of the Stier family were invited.<sup>19</sup> It could be expected that the Stiers would find a place in American society comparable to that which they had left behind in Antwerp.

In summer 1798 Charles Stier and Jean Michel van Havre had become American citizens, in part because Henri Stier thought that this would make it easier to acquire real estate in the United States. Jean Michel van Havre bought a house in Alexandria and Charles Stier would have followed suit if he had not been enlisted by his father to assist him in the latter's ambitious plans to build his own mansion in Maryland. Henri Stier had been looking for land on which he could build a mansion since 1798, but it was only in 1800 that, on a tip from his son-in-law George Calvert, he found and purchased what he considered a perfect tract of 729  $\frac{1}{4}$  acres of land in Bladensburg, Maryland – situated on the road between the Federal City and Baltimore. He wanted land closer to the Federal City because he sensed that Annapolis was declining in importance. With firm priorities in mind – building a beautiful home for his family, creating an art gallery for his large painting collection, and running a model farm—he immediately started with construction, partly according to plans drawn up by himself and his son Charles, and partly by relying on the services of the Federal City's most eminent architects, Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820), William Loring (British architect, worked in and around Washington 1796–1802), and Robert G. Lanphier (1765–1856). Henri Stier and his wife named the mansion 'Riversdale,' a reminder of their fourteenth-century castle, Cleydael, near Antwerp.<sup>20</sup>

For this close-knit émigré family, Riversdale was to become both their American showcase château and the emotional centre of their lives. In December 1800 the family spent a memorable Christmas together at a house in Bladensburg that the elder Stiers had rented in order to be as close as possible to the construction site. Together they envisioned what would be their future family farm. Marie-Louise Peeters Stier wrote about her fantasies for the future farm in the following letter to her son Charles:

I have once again made plans for our "colony." Since Holy Writ commands us to seek the Kingdom of Heaven first of all, I shall begin by building the chapel. Varens will come to celebrate mass every Sunday, and you will come too, and the van Havre, and all of the children. You will all spend the whole day with us, unless you have other things planned. Papa will provide the first seeds for your garden. When a sheep or a calf is butchered, he will send the quarters to the others, and they in turn will send the same to him. So we'll have fresh meat often. We'll trade poultry as we need to; dine on roast veal at each other's homes on moonlit nights. There will be the best cheeses, cream, and ice cream, because we shall all have fine dairies, and we shall have the best fruits of the area, make wonderful cider and beer which we'll brew together. We'll plant tobacco in order to trade it for wine, tea, sugar, and coffee. We'll always have a horse ready to mount, and a fine coach to take us to the city and to do our errands.<sup>21</sup>

Henri Stier purchased cattle and sheep as well as fifteen slaves, for whom Marie Louise Stier and Mimi van Havre immediately started sewing winter clothes. Henri Stier and daughter Rosalie, who shared a passion for gardening, began designing the gardens. The Stiers also decided which furniture and art should be sent from their Antwerp houses to furnish Riversdale. Henri Stier even bought new paintings to add to his collection and in January 1801 he and his wife had their miniature portraits painted by the English artist Robert Field (c. 1769–1819), presumably to send to their relatives back in Antwerp.<sup>22</sup>

In the meantime, the situation in Europe had changed again, affecting the fate of the Stier family. The rise of Napoleon and the hopes he raised for renewed stability in Europe, coupled with his lifting of sanctions against aristocratic émigrés, made Charles Stier consider a return to Antwerp in the Spring of 1801 to recover his family's substantial properties. When word came that Mimi's mother was very ill, Charles and Mimi decided not to delay their return to Antwerp any longer and sailed off in September 1801. In early November 1801 word came that Mrs. van Havre had died, and Jean Michel van Havre immediately left for Europe. His wife, Isabelle, could not go with him because she was pregnant with their fourth child and it was too risky for her to make the ocean crossing. She therefore moved to Bladensburg to be with her parents, who were supervising the construction of Riversdale.

The next eighteen months were to be a time of painful decisions for the family, now situated on both sides of the ocean. Charles Stier, increasingly enthusiastic about Napoleon, urged his parents to return to Antwerp. Jean Michel van Havre was divided about the choice, even as Isabelle pleaded with him to come and fetch them from Maryland. Henri Stier and his wife were the most torn: they could not envision leaving behind their daughter Rosalie, her growing family, and the near-finished mansion Riversdale. Nevertheless, they did, and in June 1803 they sailed off to Belgium with Isabelle and her family. Because a new war between France and England made the ocean crossing hazardous for the transportation of valuable goods, Henri Stier decided to leave his painting collection at Riversdale in the custody of Rosalie, expecting her to bring back the paintings to Belgium, as soon as peace returned to the seas. Since leaving the paintings in an unfinished and uninhabited mansion would present dangers in itself, Rosalie and Calvert accepted Henri Stier's offer to move into Riversdale and finish its construction.

## The Correspondence

Because the exiled family dispersed after only a few months together in Philadelphia, they started writing letters to each other almost right from the start of their stay in the United States. Most of the letters from 1794–1803 are held in private archives in Belgium: the Charles J. Stier Papers, Baron Henry de Witte Archives, (Antwerp, Belgium, hereafter abbreviated as CJS-A); the van Havre Papers, Château du List (Schoten, Belgium, Van Havre-S). For the period, after June 1803, when the family's correspondence became transatlantic (between Rosalie Calvert and her family in Antwerp), the Calvert-Stier papers in the van de Werve Archives (Viersel, Belgium, Cal S-V) are important since they contain the correspondence between Rosalie and her sister, Isabelle van Havre, a set of copybooks kept by H. J. Stier from 1803–21 recording (sometimes verbatim) his correspondence with Rosalie, and some letter-drafts by Isabelle van Havre of her

correspondence with Rosalie. The van Havre Papers contain approximately 130 letters from Rosalie to her father, and the few remaining letters she wrote to her mother.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the Henri J. Stier Papers held at the Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore, Stier-MHS) contain some thirty letters from Henri Stier to Rosalie Calvert dating from June 1803 through August 1807. The Maryland Historical Society also holds a 1905 typescript English translation made for John Ridgely Carter, a Calvert descendant, from originals in his possession and now lost. This translation is of letters addressed to Charles Stier from 1797 to 1828, including approx. 35 letters from Rosalie (covering the period 1797–1819, Carter Trans-MHS).

## Hoarded Treasures

In a country accustomed to looking to Europe for culture, a family like the Stiers would have drawn attention to itself because they were culture incarnate. They not only had in their possession inestimable art treasures, but they were directly related to the great Rubens himself, which made them intriguing to both members of high society and artists, alike.<sup>24</sup> The Stiers were one of the rare Belgian families of consequence to have emigrated to the mid-Atlantic states around 1800, and therefore they interacted mostly with Americans.<sup>25</sup> When the Stiers arrived in America, they immediately attracted the attention of American artists. Among the first artists they met were members of the Peale family. Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827) was a painter and art popularizer who founded one of the first American museums.<sup>26</sup> A great amateur of old European masters, Peale named his children, both sons and daughters, after his most-beloved European painters: Rembrandt, Raphael, Titian, Angelica Kauffmann, and even Rubens. Fascinated by the Stiers, he was one of the first to spread the fame of the, in his words, ‘perhaps most valuable collection of Paintings of the Ancient Masters in America,’ paintings, which were believed to have hung in the great Flemish master’s own mansion.<sup>27</sup>

Charles Peale’s son Rembrandt (1778–1860) painted Henri Stier’s portrait in Annapolis in 1799, and recounted this experience many years later.<sup>28</sup> He described the family as peculiarly protective of the paintings in their custody, referring to the collection as the Stiers’ ‘hoarded treasures.’ According to Peale, Henri Stier deigned to show him the portraits in this collection only because he thought they would be ‘objects of inspiration for the young painter,’ but Stier’s son (presumably Charles) expressly forbade him from copying these portraits. The only time that Henri Stier agreed to show Peale the entire collection was one ‘evening, by the imperfect light of a single candle, and both of us shivering with cold.’ And this ‘the old gentleman’ did only because ‘he was so well pleased with the efforts I had made [with his portrait].’ Peale later tried to entice Henri Stier to show his paintings to him again, and to other connoisseurs, but to no avail.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the only other person who was allowed to view the paintings that remained packed was the famous American portrait painter Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), who spent two weeks at Riversdale during the summer of 1804 to make twin portraits of the Calvert spouses, one of Rosalie with daughter Caroline, the other of George.<sup>30</sup> But painting family portraits was not a guarantee of continued access to the collection. By 1807, Rembrandt Peale decided he urgently needed to study Old Masters to improve his skills as a portrait painter. He was ready to travel to Riversdale to view the collection for a second time, just when he received a letter from Rosalie’s husband, Calvert, that there was no use in

making the trip because nobody was allowed to see the paintings. According to Charles Willson Peale, his son's resulting frustration at not being able to see the collection again was one of the factors that convinced him that he needed to travel to Paris the following year to study European art.<sup>31</sup>

Although Peale's experience highlights the Stiers' protective behaviour towards their collection, it should be nuanced by the information in the Stiers' correspondence. One must remember that the paintings in this collection were not the personal property of Henri Stier to do with as he saw fit. He had been named custodian of the Peeters' collection by his wife's mother, Mathilde van den Cruyce, when her husband, Jean Egide Peeters died. Stier's obligation was first and foremost to keep the paintings from harm, and sell them when this was requested to settle his mother-in-law's estate.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, when Rembrandt Peale came to paint Henri Stier's portrait, he would have found the Stiers unsettled about their personal future as well. The Paca house, which the Stiers were renting in Annapolis, had been put up for sale earlier in 1799, and they would leave it by the year's end. As so often in the first years, there was even talk that they would soon return to Antwerp. This helps explain why at that point they kept the paintings packed as 'hoarded treasures,' rather than proudly displaying them.<sup>33</sup>

## Riversdale

Shortly thereafter, however, Henri Stier made the decision to settle more permanently in America, and then one of his first priorities became finding a home where he could display the paintings. After visiting several homes in the capital city and even making an offer on one that satisfied his requirements for space and light, he decided that he would be happiest in a mansion he could design himself. He only then bought the land in Bladensburg, near Washington, and started planning the mansion Riversdale, in which he wanted to devote an entire wing to his art gallery. Because of their hasty departure from America in 1803 Henri Stier had no time to implement his plans for the west wing of Riversdale, and when Rosalie got around to finishing it around 1806, she made the unglamorous decision to use the space for a carriage house and stables, well aware that her father would be outraged.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, without that gallery, the mansion had few good places to hang the paintings.<sup>35</sup>

In the years immediately following Henri Stier's departure, his foremost concern was Rosalie's stewardship of the collection. He expected her to bring the collection back with her on a planned trip to Belgium with her family, and in the meantime to scrupulously safeguard them.<sup>36</sup> However, around 1807 it became clear that Rosalie would not be able to make the trip to Belgium for some time. Nor was it possible to safely send the paintings back because of war at sea and in Europe. At that point her father encouraged her to display the paintings in her home. Not only would *she* and her family derive pleasure from seeing the pictures, but she would attract interesting people to Riversdale, and the paintings would make a great impression on them.<sup>37</sup> Rosalie was tempted to use the paintings in this way (as she used other decorative objects and fashion from Belgium to indicate her culture and refinement to her peers), because she was convinced that it was important in America to 'differentiate herself a little from the mob in order to be respected by them.'<sup>38</sup> However, several factors contributed to her reluctance to taking the paintings out of their crates. First were emotional reasons. Her decision to keep the



paintings in the crates symbolized that she was available to bring them back to Belgium when asked and be reunited with her family (at least for a time). Moreover, when the collection came into her possession, gender and class factors made her reluctant to display the paintings. When she married George Calvert, she took on the responsibilities of an American plantation mistress, leaving her little time for the genteel lifestyle of a European *salonnière*. Despite her numerous letters detailing her time-consuming tasks, her family in Belgium never quite understood how busy the plantation kept her. She had neither the time nor the resources to welcome unexpected visitors and to show them the paintings. Moreover, expectations of proper feminine behaviour held her back from publicly exhibiting them. Collecting and exhibiting was seen as an activity proper for men, but not for women. As art historian Dianne Sachko Macleod notes ‘the few early American women who collected aesthetic objects harmoniously integrated the decorative with the fine arts in their homes.’<sup>39</sup> Rosalie was a master at this, and displayed some of the paintings in the collection amidst the furniture, porcelain, tapestries and marble mantelpieces she had imported from Antwerp. However, even this kind of limited exhibition entailed a certain opening up of her privacy to intruders, which she feared as an emotional intrusion. She had contemplated putting some more of the paintings in one of the larger bedrooms that could be kept closed and protected from the sun and opened only when she received, but thought the better of it when she realized that ‘people would find out and I fear it would bring everyone down on us if we refused to let them all see.’<sup>40</sup> Despite Rosalie’s discretion, by summer 1810, the reputation of the collection had so grown from one end of America to the other, that Rosalie declared to her father that if they were unpacked there would be droves of curious and troublesome people, who might be tempted to steal the paintings.<sup>41</sup>

Rosalie’s resistance to taking on the role of art connoisseur and collector conflicted with her father’s ambitious for her. Because Rosalie could not count on the Peeters collection always being with her, he had started his own personal art collection for her.<sup>42</sup> Rosalie wrote that she was frightened by the outlay of capital that such a collection would require, but was tempted by the offer and requested some Flemish landscapes, which would remind her of her homeland.<sup>43</sup> She explained to him what kind of paintings she preferred, insisting that, ‘like Louis XIV [she] could not admire paintings whose subjects were not agreeable. For example, I cannot admire the best [David] Teniers because his figures are all grotesque.’<sup>44</sup> Interestingly, Rosalie’s preferences reflected the opinions that would be held by nationalist Belgian art critics some thirty years later. These critics deemed the popular tavern scenes of David Teniers the Younger (1610–90) – although part of the Belgian national pictorial tradition – vulgar and unrepresentative of the true Belgian spirit.<sup>45</sup> Despite Rosalie and her father’s differences of opinion about which art best represented the tradition of Flemish painting, they were both keenly aware that this tradition almost single handedly shaped the understanding of what ‘Belgium’ meant abroad.

## Descendants of Rubens

Another dimension of the Stiers commitment to their national cultural heritage was their cultivation of the art of painting itself, partly for enjoyment, but primarily to develop connoisseurship. Rosalie’s brother Charles, himself an amateur history painter,

went so far as to enlist his young bride, Eugénie van Ertborn (1783–1834) as an apprentice to the Antwerp-trained still-life and flower painter Cornelius Van Spaendonck (1756–1840) during their extended honeymoon in Paris in 1804.<sup>46</sup> The couple took up residence in Paris for the better part of a year in 1804–1805. When Henri Stier expressed his impatience to have the couple return to Antwerp, arguing to his son that such an extended stay in Paris would corrupt his young daughter-in-law, Charles Stier answered that, far from corrupting them, Paris was offering them unique opportunities for educating themselves. Not only did they have their daily painting lessons, but they took advantage of the recently reopened Musée Napoléon at the Louvre. That museum, recently enriched by art looted during revolutionary and Napoleonic campaigns, displayed paintings by Old Masters that never before had been visible to the public. Even as sophisticated an art connoisseur as Charles Stier who had been exposed to his father's collection of Old Masters since his childhood was struck with amazement at the sight of the Louvre's Titians, Raphaels, and Corregios.<sup>47</sup> His 1804 experience in Paris probably contributed to his project later in life to turn his father's collection over to a national museum.<sup>48</sup> Although we do not know how the elder Stier would have felt about this plan, he too had shown a desire to make a public mark in American arts, particularly in arts education. In 1799, while the whole family was still in America, Henri Stier had urged Charles to found 'une école de dessin' while he was living in Alexandria.<sup>49</sup> When he was back in Antwerp and a widower, Henri Stier became the artistic mentor of a young boy, thereby attracting the ironic remarks of his daughter Isabelle, who reported to Rosalie that their father was trying that 'to make a carpenter's boy into a Rubens.'<sup>50</sup>

Ultimately, Rosalie too came to terms with her stewardship of this collection by focusing on painting as the link to her family history and national cultural heritage. She accepted her father collecting art for her personally by rationalizing it as a worthwhile investment for her children.<sup>51</sup> Although she did not follow her father's suggestion that she herself learn to paint (in order to become a connoisseur like her brother), she provided her children with that instruction.<sup>52</sup> Her eldest daughter, Caroline, proved to have a talent for this art; a talent that her grandfather encouraged by writing to her that it would most certainly attract a husband.<sup>53</sup> When Rosalie sent off her eldest son, George Henry, to private school in Pennsylvania, she called out to him as a last-minute admonition: 'Remember in your drawing lessons that you are descended from Rubens.'<sup>54</sup>

This reference to their relation to Rubens captured the essence of the identity Rosalie wanted – and succeeded – to project in America. Indeed, Rubens, with his international reputation and purported 'romantic' energy so appealing to nineteenth-century audiences, was the perfect instrument to enhance her own rich cultural heritage. When Henri Stier wrote to Rosalie in 1807 that her brother-in-law Jean Michel van Havre had inherited some of the most prized portraits by Rubens (including the famous 'Chapeau de paille,' which Henri Stier would purchase from van Havre in 1817), he insisted less on the value of these paintings than on their intimate link with their family: 'I do not know if you are aware that your brother-in-law Van Havre owns three portraits and landscapes by Rubens in which his family is featured.'<sup>55</sup> Rosalie might have allowed the American public only furtive glimpses of the paintings in the Peeters collection, but she hardly hid her connection to Rubens, according to numerous contemporary reports.<sup>56</sup>

## Rubens and Antwerp

From 1800 on, artists from the Antwerp school also appropriated Rubens' fame in an effort to raise national consciousness. The looting of paintings by Rubens by the French Revolutionary forces had made the Belgian population aware of the importance of Rubens as an integral part of their national cultural heritage. Moreover, at the occasion of the opening to the public of the Medici gallery in the Louvre in 1803, publicity for Rubens increased exponentially, as the public and artists residing in Paris (among them, many Belgians) were able to view and study these paintings for the first time.<sup>57</sup> Pride in Rubens grew further because Napoleon and his entourage so admired this master. At the occasion of their visit to Antwerp in 1803, Josephine and Napoleon were so enchanted with Rubens' art that Josephine appointed the Antwerp painter Mattias Ignatius Van Bree (1773–1839) to acquire for her collection at Saint-Cloud as many paintings of the Flemish master as could be had.<sup>58</sup> After the fall of Napoleon, arrangements were made to return the artworks taken by the French to Belgium. Not only were their great celebrations in each of the Belgian cities retrieving their artwork, but painters like Mattias Van Bree and his brother Philippe (1786–1815) idolized Rubens by representing episodes of his life in historical genre painting meant for a large popular audience.<sup>59</sup> Rubens not only represented the best of Belgian art, but also a heroic personality, worthy of emulation.<sup>60</sup> The cult of Rubens intensified after the 1830 Belgian independence, when Rubens and his school were regarded as a dowry that gave the new country the necessary dignity to take its place among the older European nations.<sup>61</sup> It was therefore seen as fitting that in 1840 he was the first to get an official statue in Antwerp.<sup>62</sup> Rosalie's son, George Henry Calvert, contributed to the cult of Rubens in America with his 1876 *Life of Rubens* which he dedicated to his mother's memory. Evidence that Antwerp still capitalizes on its link with Rubens is a 2005 full-page advertisement in major American newspapers and magazines paid for by the city of Antwerp and the government of Flanders to promote an exhibition of Rubens drawings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (15 January–3 April 2005) inviting the public to find out more about 'this Flemish genius' by visiting Antwerp, 'the living museum of Rubens.'<sup>63</sup>

## The Exhibition at Riversdale

In December 1815, Henri Stier asked Rosalie to ship the paintings back to Antwerp. He wrote with some urgency, having perceived a 'momentary peace in America and general peace in Europe.' He wanted to organize a public sale of the collection in Antwerp and proceed to the settlement of Mathilde van den Cruyce's estate.<sup>64</sup> In January 1816, he started giving Rosalie specific instructions for their packing and shipping, whereupon she discreetly enquired with two painters in Washington – Joseph Wood (c. 1778–1830) and John Vanderlyn (1775–1852) – to help her pack the paintings.<sup>65</sup> However, no sooner had she made these inquiries that she received requests from several other famous American painters – Rembrandt Peale, John Trumbull (1756–1843), and Thomas Sully (1783–1872) – all desiring to help her just so that they could have an opportunity to view the paintings.<sup>66</sup>

Rembrandt Peale wrote in his *Reminiscences* that it was upon his urging that Rosalie and Calvert agreed, despite their initial reluctance, to allow artists and amateurs to see the

collection.<sup>67</sup> George Henry Calvert, Rosalie's eldest son, claimed that the idea of a public showing of the paintings at Riversdale was entirely the idea of his parents, 'feeling that it was almost a public wrong that such a collection of pictures – the likes of which had never been in America – should pass out of the country entirely unenjoyed.'<sup>68</sup>

Whatever the final impetus for the public showing at Riversdale, it took place around the end of April and beginning of May 1816 – just before they shipped the paintings back to Antwerp on 2 June 1816.<sup>69</sup> At a time when there were no real art museums in America, and precious few individual collections of this stature, this exhibition was a unique event both in the history of American art and in the international history of exhibitions, taking place just two years after London's first Old Master exhibition and several years before the first plans for an art museum in Washington.<sup>70</sup> The exhibition was a resounding success, although there are no accounts of it in the press of the time, leading one to believe that access was by invitation only. Nevertheless, it was much commented upon by artists and high society in private correspondence and autobiographical writings. Mrs. Bagot reported generally that: 'Everybody flocked to see [the Peeters collection] ... a collection of pictures being almost unheard of in the United States.'<sup>71</sup> Rembrandt Peale gave a few more details: 'For two weeks [Calvert's] mansion at Bladensburg was the hospitable *rendez-vous* of numerous visitors of taste and education, from different cities ... It was a new and pleasant sight to witness such animated assemblage of artists and amateurs – members of Congress from the different States, merchants, lawyers, and country gentlemen – all engaged in discussing the merits of pictures and paintings.'<sup>72</sup> Sarah Gales Seaton, wife of the editor of *Washington's National Intelligencer*, wrote to her sister that she had just experienced a real treat the previous week, 'viewing some of the finest paintings ever in America.'<sup>73</sup> The Washington historian Charles Burr Todd summed the event up, as follows: 'Everybody at all known in society went. Peale from Philadelphia, King and Wood from Baltimore were transported with admiration.'<sup>74</sup>

Rosalie's own apparent silence about the exhibition to her family in Belgium may seem surprising, considering the fact that for many years they had urged her to display the paintings. No letters have survived in which she mentions the exhibit, nor do letters from her family indicate that they knew anything about it. Given what we know about Henri Stier's eagerness for Rosalie to show the paintings, Rembrandt Peale's intimation that Rosalie was afraid that Henri Stier would disinherit his daughter if she were to show the paintings publicly is almost certainly unfounded.<sup>75</sup> On the contrary, it is likely that Henri Stier would have considered the Riversdale exhibition an appropriate extension of the celebration of Flemish art that was (coincidentally) taking place in Antwerp at roughly the same time. Early in 1816, the Flemish paintings looted from Belgian churches, monasteries and *émigrés* by the French Revolutionary armies and Napoleon were being returned to their rightful owners, and the city of Antwerp had organized a public exhibition of the returned paintings that was so enthusiastically attended that it was seen as a patriotic event.<sup>76</sup> These festivities were part of a European wide phenomenon of art restitution that was taking place in the wake of the fall of Napoleon. As a result of these art restitutions, much art that had previously been in private possession was publicly displayed (first at the Louvre in Paris and, after the restitutions, back in the countries of origin). Rosalie's brother and father had been most intimately involved in the return of the Flemish art from Paris: Charles had been appointed by William I (then King of the United Provinces) as one of four commissioners to ensure the safe return of

the Belgian paintings from Paris, and Henri was part of the commission for the receipt, restoration, and public exhibition of the paintings in Antwerp.<sup>77</sup> As early as March 1816, Rosalie knew about these festivities, for she wrote that she wished she could be there to celebrate with her compatriots.<sup>78</sup>

A possible reason for Rosalie's reluctance to exhibit the paintings, and for her apparent reserve towards her family on the subject, can be found in the tensions between the activity of art collecting and the contemporary gender ideology. Only one year later, in 1817, another woman, Eliza Bowen Jumel (1775–1865) displayed her large and unusual collection of Old Master paintings at the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York. Jumel's gender was clearly a factor in the negative reception of this exhibit.<sup>79</sup> The painter John Trumbull (1756–1843), who had just returned from seven years in Europe studying Old Master paintings to become the President of the American Academy of Fine Arts, immediately recognized the importance of Jumel's paintings and persuaded her to allow him to display the finest of them at the Academy. The paintings in Jumel's collection formed only part of the exhibit, but were singled out for attack by reviewers, who contended that they were of inferior quality and reflecting the collector's poor artistic judgement. If Jumel's paintings were in fact of inferior quality (and the details of her collection have been difficult for modern scholars to authenticate), this would reflect as much on the judgement of Trumbull and some of the more influential collectors in Europe at the time as on Jumel's own. Instead, Dianne Macleod speculates that the public exhibition of Jumel's collection attracted criticism because it was unheard of that a woman could assemble (and exhibit) such a significant group of paintings. Collecting art was seen as an assertion of individualism through possessions, a fundamentally male trait. Jumel, a former prostitute and actress from Rhode Island, had married a wealthy businessman, travelled to Paris in 1815 and in a mere two years purchased 229 paintings by sixteenth and seventeenth century French, Italian, Flemish, and Dutch artists (in all likelihood purchased from Napoleon Bonaparte's art collecting uncle, Joseph, Cardinal Fesch, who was known for his extensive and valuable art collection). Moreover, Jumel's paintings by Old Masters identified her, despite her humble origins, with an aristocratic ideal, deemed contradictory to American national culture.

Jumel's experience allows us to understand the context in which Rosalie Calvert exhibited her family's collection. Rosalie was probably aware that exhibiting her paintings could have attracted similar criticism, as they were seen as her and her family's collection (not Calvert's), and like Jumel's consisted of Old Masters.<sup>80</sup> Of course, my point is that Rosalie was able to escape the kind of criticism that a woman collector/exhibitor would have attracted (and which Jumel did attract) because her collection was seen as organically linked to her and her family, and not the result of a flamboyant act of consumerism. Moreover, she displayed the collection in her own home, which could have been interpreted as a more domestic and therefore feminine space. Gender considerations, therefore, might have contributed to Rosalie's reluctance and silence with respect to exhibiting the Peeters collection at Riversdale.

Rosalie's silence with respect to the Riversdale exhibition might also be explained by her sensitivity to her father's situation at the time. On the occasion of the return of the looted Belgian art treasures to Antwerp, Henri Stier regained all of his enthusiasm for collecting, and soon his collection acquired an even greater reputation than the Peeters collection had ever had before. In May 1816, he wrote to Rosalie how impatient he was

for the return of the Peeters collection and its public sale, because he wanted to buy its most precious paintings for his own ‘cabinet de peintures.’<sup>81</sup> Perhaps it was because Rosalie understood her father’s enthusiasm and sense of urgency that she did not want to worry him by mentioning that she would show the collection publicly at Riversdale before shipping it back.

At the public sale of the Peeters collection, on 27 August 1817, Henri Stier accomplished his goal and bought ‘the best 20 of the 63 paintings [put up for sale] at a price of 12 to 13 000 dollars.’ He explained to his daughter that the paintings had been in the family since 1680, which made him particularly happy to recuperate them.<sup>82</sup> These acquisitions were followed by other spectacular purchases (among others, from the Van Havre collection), which made his daughter Isabelle report to Rosalie: ‘Papa now has the most beautiful collection in the country. I already mentioned to you that he has purchased the famous *Chapeau de paille* of Rubens for 50,000 francs. I am sure he could make a profit on it if he wanted to sell it. The landscape has been sold to a citizen of Brussels for 30,000 francs. I am sorry it has left the family. You cannot imagine what a reputation these paintings have. No foreigner of note passes through Antwerp without asking to see the famous *Chapeau de paille*.’<sup>83</sup> Even as far away as America, Rosalie shared in the reputation of her father’s collection. The purchase of the *Chapeau de paille* was much commented upon in Washington diplomatic circles, and Rosalie was proud to report to her father that Sir Charles Bagot, the English ambassador to the US, had congratulated her personally on her father’s acquisition of *Le Chapeau de paille*. In the same letter she expressed her delight about talking about the paintings to Robert Gilmore II (1773–1848), a prominent Baltimore philanthropist and art collector, who had seen her father’s collection in Antwerp.<sup>84</sup>

## Epilogue

After Rosalie’s death in March 1821, followed by her father’s a few months later (June 1821), there was talk that some of the paintings should return to the United States. Henri Stier’s collection, some eighty-nine paintings and seven sculptures, were to be divided (according to Henri Stier’s will) into three portions, one of which would go to Rosalie’s children. Because this large collection could not be divided without being sold, Charles Stier arranged for a sale in July 1822. At this occasion, he inquired from his brother-in-law Calvert ‘whether you or your children have any inclination for any of these pictures . . . some of which you have so long taken care of.’ In the same letter he suggested the possibility of selling his father’s collection to the United States, to become the nucleus of an American national collection ‘with pictures so genuine and so well known. In fact, this extraordinary collection seems to be better calculated to be the splendid ornament of a palace or a National Gallery than to be modestly hidden within the narrow bounds of a Gentleman’s dwelling.’ Charles Stier’s plan was well thought out: he added to his letter to Calvert a detailed list of the paintings, asking that Calvert publish an ‘advertisement in the U.S.A., where besides private amateurs, it might fall in the plans of the Government to begin the formation of a National Museum.’<sup>85</sup> We do not know if Calvert ever placed the advertisement or tried to interest the American government in this purchase in any way, but nothing ever came of it.

Charles Stier's proposal to Calvert exemplifies the new significance of art in early nineteenth-century Europe. Charles Stier had witnessed first-hand the French looting and return of art treasures from Antwerp and, in this process, seen how art became an emblem of national consciousness for his contemporaries, who were eager to create public museums to display national art collections. America, however, did not yet have a similar interest in the creation of a national art collection. Indeed, it would take more than another century before the National Gallery of Art as we know it today was created, and even its nineteenth-century precursor in Washington, masterminded by the collector John Varden (– 1869) opened its doors only in the late 1830s.<sup>86</sup> However untimely Charles Stier's proposal to Calvert proved to be, he had clearly singled out America as the proper home for his father's painting collection. The major cities in Belgium had just opened museums (Antwerp in 1810, Brussels in 1811), so he might have been able to interest his own countrymen in the acquisition of his father's collection. But he thought it was more fitting for the collection to return to America, where – under the care of Rosalie Calvert – its international reputation had first helped to shape ideas about what it meant to be Belgian.

## Notes

1. This article is part of a larger project that comprises two volumes of the Stier family correspondence: *L'épopée américaine de la famille Stier d'Anvers: Entre deux mondes 1794–1803* (Brussels: Editions Racine, 2011), and *La correspondance transatlantique de la famille Stier d'Anvers, 1803–1821* (forthcoming).
2. Unless otherwise stated all English translations of the Stier family correspondence are taken from Margaret Law Callcott, ed. and trans., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert 1795–1821* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991). The Peeters family is known to have lived in Antwerp since at least the latter half of the sixteenth century; they operated flour mills and were merchants. By the seventeenth century the family had become wealthy and Edouard Peeters (1612–72) was in a position to start his art collection. A daughter of Edouard Peeters married Constant de Weerd, a grandson of Peter Paul Rubens, and it is likely through him that several paintings by Rubens arrived in the Peeters collection. Although the family continued to acquire art objects and paintings, it was Jean Egide Peeters (1725–86) who was responsible for creating the world-famous Peeters collection, which Joshua Reynolds and other painters and connoisseurs came to see in Antwerp in the 1780s. Mathilde van den Cruyce (Henri Joseph Stier's mother-in-law) was the widow of Jean Egide Peeters. See Baron Jean Raymond de Terwangne, "Notice biographique: Jean Egide Peeters-Mathilde van den Cruyce" *De Schakel*, 2 (1947), 4, 127–28.
3. Henri Joseph Stier was related to Rubens through his great-great grandmother Hélène Françoise Rubens, the painter's granddaughter. Gladys Guyot, « Un milieu rubénien à Anvers: Ascendants et descendants des Peeters d'Aertselaer », *Le Parchemin* 187 (1977), 11–46, 19.
4. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland*, ed. Harry Mount (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 79, 81, 190, 213; Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, ed. Claudine Hermann (Paris: Des femmes, 1986), 1:75–76. Reynolds describes several paintings he saw in the Peeters collection, specifically: Rubens, *The Roman Charity*, *The prodigal son*, *The unbelieving priest*, and *A chancellor of Brabant [Portrait of Pecquius]*; Van Dyck, three full-length portraits and a half-length portrait of a lady gathering flowers; and Mola, *St John preaching in the wilderness*. He also mentions seeing the Rubens portrait known as *Le*

*Chapeau de paille* in the collection of the van Havre family. The latter painting is also mentioned by name by Vigée-Lebrun.

5. The painting of *Romulus and Remus* was identified in the description of the 1822 sale of the collection as by Rubens and Cornelius Huysmans (Corneille de Malines, 1648–1727).
6. There are two principal sources for our understanding of what paintings were in the Peeters collection in the period 1794–1816: first, a list of the paintings Henri Stier dated 26 June 1794 in preparation for his removal of the works to America, entitled “Liste des tableaux de la maison mortuaire de feu Monsieur Peeters” (Calvert-Stier Papers, van de Werve Family Archives, Viërsel, Belgium, hereafter referred to as Cal S-V; transcribed in Margaret Law Callcott, ed. and trans., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert 1795–1821* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 395–97); and second, the auction catalogue from the sale of the collection in Antwerp in 1817 (*Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de tableaux*, public sale, 27 August 1817; Antwerp: G. J. Binken, 1817). There are some discrepancies in the two sources, the first with sixty-three paintings and the second listing seventy-eight. The 1794 list mentions an eleventh work by Rubens, the *Judgement of Paris*, but this was probably a copy of Rubens's original by Jan Baptist Wolfaerts (1625–1687?). For a discussion of which paintings might have come from Rubens's own collection, see below, note 27.
7. The paintings' descriptions in this list are minimal, and the spelling is much more arcane than that used by Henri Stier in his correspondence, which gives the impression either of haste or more likely that Henri Stier copied the entries from an older manuscript list. For some reason, just before shipping the crates, some of the paintings were moved from one crate to another and Henri Stier rewrote the packing list indicating to which crates the paintings were moved. In 1803, one page was added to the packing list, when Henri Stier repacked some of the paintings apparently in order to be able to take at least one crate of paintings back with him to Antwerp. At the last minute he decided not to follow through with this plan and left all the paintings with his daughter Rosalie in America. It seems that the 1803 packing list did not give Rosalie complete information about which paintings were packed where. In 1811 she writes with surprise to her father that while inspecting the condition of the paintings she found his 1799 portrait by Rembrandt Peale (see below) packed in the crate with some of the less valuable paintings. Delighted to have this likeness of him at last, she writes that she wished she had known about it earlier. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 7 December 1811, Van Havre Papers, Château du List Archives, Schoten, Belgium (hereafter referred to as Van Havre-S). (For a translation of part of this letter, see Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 241–42.)
8. Donnet discovered that in 1794 seven or eight of these remaining paintings were stolen from the house of Mathilde van den Cruyce by either a French military officer billeted in her home, or by a female French wine merchant also residing in the home at the time. He speculates that Mathilde van den Cruyce did not sue for recuperation of these paintings for fear of attracting the attention of French authorities to her (missing) collection. Fernand Donnet, “Un vol de tableaux de Rubens en l'an II de la République: les collections artistiques de la famille Peeters.” *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*. 56 (1923), 29–144, 37–38.
9. Genealogist Jean Raymond de Terwangne identifies Henri Stier and his father, Albert Jan Stier (1701–1759), together with the Cogels family as the foremost bankers in Antwerp during the eighteenth century. Henri Stier's father was born in Amsterdam from a rich merchant family but had moved to Antwerp by the time of his marriage in 1736. Terwangne, “Notice biographique,” 28. The Peeters family had lived in Antwerp since the latter half of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the family acceded to the wealthy bourgeoisie and Edouard Peeters (1612–72) started an art collection that would eventually come in the hands of the Stier family. A daughter of Edouard Peeters married Constant de Weerdt, a grandson of Peter Paul Rubens, and it is likely through him that several paintings by Rubens arrived in the Peeters collection. Although the family continued to acquire art objects and paintings, it was Jean Egide Peeters (1725–86), the father-in-law of Henri Stier,



- who was responsible for creating the world-famous Peeters collection, which Joshua Reynolds and other painters and connoisseurs came to see in Antwerp in the 1780s. See Terwangne, “Notice biographique,” 4, 127–28.
10. The title of nobility was acquired in 1778 by Henri Stier’s mother, Isabelle de Labistrate (1717–1787) for her son, Jean-François Xavier Stier (1739–1792). Through him it passed to Henri Stier but when is not clear. See Guyot, “Un milieu Rubénien à Anvers,” 19.
  11. The Stiers owned three homes in Belgium: a townhouse in the Venus street in a fashionable neighbourhood of Antwerp; a recently built country home named the “Mick” in Brasschaat; and a castle, “Cleydael,” in Aartselaar.
  12. Henri Stier (along with his two brothers) had attended the University of Leuven, and so did his son Charles Jean Stier (1770–1848). Guyot, “Un milieu Rubenien,” 19. The Stier girls, Isabelle Marie (1768–1822) and Rosalie Eugénie (1778–1821), both went to a prestigious English boarding school in Liege, the English Canonesses of the Holy Sepulcher. This school attracted an international clientele, with students coming from England, Spain, Scotland, Germany, and even America. Bousse, “The European Education of Rosalie Stier,” *The Riversdale Letter*, 1991
  13. Guyot, “Un milieu Rubenien,” 34. Aside from being consul, Beelen Bertholff imported lace from Belgium, which may have inspired Henri Stier to recommend the same business to his son and son-in-law when they settle in the United States.
  14. Calcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 3. Among the Francophile Americans the Stier family might have met in Philadelphia were James Swan (c. 1744–1821) and his wife Hepzibah (1757–1825). This prominent cosmopolitan couple certainly shared the Stiers’ admiration for French culture and the arts. See Eleanor De Lorme Pearson, “The Swan Commissions: Four Portraits by Gilbert Stuart,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, 4 (1979): 361–395.
  15. Upon their arrival in America, the family consisted of: Henri Joseph Stier (61), his wife, Marie Louise (56), and their three children, Isabelle Marie (26), Charles Jean (24), and Rosalie Eugénie (16); Isabelle’s husband, Jean Michel Antoine Louis van Havre (30), and their daughter Louise (3); Charles’s new bride, Marie Joséphine A. van Havre (known as Mimi) (24), who was Jean Michel’s younger sister, and two unidentified servants. The most complete information about the Stier family, in particular their genealogy and dates, can be found in an article by the Antwerp archivist, Alfons Bousse, “Nazaten van Rubens in Amerika of de gevolgen van een overhaaste emigratie,” *Noordgouw*, 8 (1977), 1–26.
  16. The Stiers referred to this house as the “Jenkins house,” after its owner Thomas Jennings who had bought it from William Paca, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in 1780. Henri Joseph Stier to Charles J. Stier, Annapolis, 7 August 1797, CJS-A. The house, which still stands in present-day Annapolis, was notable for its elegant Georgian architecture and beautiful gardens.
  17. See Calcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 15.
  18. Rembrandt Peale recounted this experience at the end of his career. “Reminiscences,” *The Crayon*, II (19 September 1855), 175.
  19. George Washington recorded this dinner of 20 June 1799 in his diary. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville, Va., 1979), vol. 6, 352–53.
  20. Riversdale mansion still stands, in present-day Riverdale Park, Prince George’s County, Maryland.
  21. “J’ai encore fait des plans pour notre colonie. Comme il est dit dans l’Evangile, il nous faut avant tout chercher le royaume des Cieux; je commencerai par faire une Chapelle; Varent viendra y faire la messe tous les dimanches et vous y viendrez tous, M. van Havre et tous les enfants et passerez la journée avec nous . . . Papa vous fournira les premières graines pour vos jardins. Quand on tuera un veau ou un mouton il en enverra un quart aux autres qui à leur tour lui en enverront de même, ainsi nous aurons souvent du frais; avec la volaille nous ferons des échanges selon qu’on en aura besoin; quand il fait clair de lune nous irons manger des veaux rotis chez l’un et l’autre; des fromages, des crèmes et des glaces car nous serons de bonnes laitières, nous aurons les meilleurs fruits du canton, du bon cidre, de la bonne bière

- que nous brasserons en commun, nous planterons du tobacco [sic] pour avoir du vin, thé, sucre et café. Nous aurons toujours un cheval prêt à monter, et une bonne voiture ou *cauch* [sic] pour aller nous promener dans la ville et y faire nos commissions. Letter from Marie Louise Stier to Charles Jean Stier, Bladensburg, [n. d.] but after November 1800, CJS-A.
22. Charles J. Stier Daybook, January 8, 9, and 22, 1801. CJS-A. A nineteenth-century copy of the Field miniatures are in a private collection in Belgium. For a reference to one of the new art acquisitions Henri Joseph Stier made around this time see the letter from Marie Louise Stier to Charles Jean Stier, Riversdale, 17 April 1802, CJS-A: “Papa bought a small painting by Breughel representing a Duch canal with part of a village and lots of people on foot, on horseback, or in carriages, who come and go to a market. He paid 29 dollars.” [“Papa a acheté un petit tableau de Breughel représentant un canal hollandais avec la fin d’un village et tout plein de peuple à pied, à cheval, en chariot et charrette, qui va et vient du marché. Il en a donné 29 dollars.”]
  23. This correspondence (Van Havre-S), along with extensive other archival material relating to this family, was deposited at the Heemkundige Kring, Wijnegem (Belgium), in 2019 and is available online at: <https://www.heemkringwijnegem.be> Most of the correspondence of Rosalie Calvert to her family in Belgium was published in English translation in Calcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*.
  24. Articles about the life and art of Rubens in contemporary art magazines attested to Americans’ fascination with this artist during this period. See, for example, [Anonymous], “Life of Peter Paul Rubens,” *The Port-Folio* (October 1812), 390–98. A month later, the same journal published a description of a Rubens painting (with accompanying drawing), *Jesus and the Pharisees*, recently acquired by the arts patron, Joseph Samson, esq., who explained its provenance as follows: “This exquisite painting, is one of the few original pictures of the great Flemish masters, with which the revolutions of the age have unexpectedly enriched the incipient collections of America.” Joseph Samson, *The Port-Folio* (November 1812), 522–24.
  25. In my extensive research on the Stiers’ American correspondence, I have found hardly any mention by the Stiers of Belgian acquaintances or friends in America. The only exceptions are two visits before 1803: one by a Belgian priest, the other from a son of their servants in Belgium. Later, in 1819, Rosalie met the Belgian ambassador of the Netherlands when she was introducing her daughter Caroline into society. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 11 January 1819, Cal S-V. Belgian historian Armand Louant mentions a couple of contemporary Belgian émigrés in America. In the first decades of the nineteenth century Angélique de Rouillé (1756–1840), a Belgian aristocrat from the Hainaut, corresponded with her cousins Julien et Hector de Pestre, who emigrated to America after having gone bankrupt in Europe. Unfortunately Louant does not mention the exact dates and location of this correspondence, nor the place in America where the brothers De Pestre settled. Armand Louant, *Une épistolière en Hainaut, Angélique de Rouillé, Châtelaine d’Ormigny*, (Mons: Société des Bibliophiles Belges Sayant à Mons, 1970), 253 and 320 n117.
  26. Peale’s museum was both what we would call today a natural history museum (with specimens of animal, bird, and plant life, as well as relics of native American history), and a portrait gallery of America’s notables. For more on Peale, see Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Wilson Peale* (New York: Scribner, 1969) and Lilian B. Miller, *The Peale Family: Creation of a Legacy, 1770–1870* (New York: Abbeville, 1996).
  27. Letter from Charles Willson Peale to Angelica Kauffman Peale Robinson, 2 August 1807, in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his Family*, vol. 2, Part 2: *Charles Willson Peale: The Artist as Museum Keeper, 1791–1810*, eds. Lillian B. Miller, Sidney Hart, and David C. Ward (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1983), 1025. For further evidence of the Peale’s belief that the paintings in the Peeters collection had hung in Rubens’s own mansion, see Rembrandt Peale, “Reminiscences,” *The Crayon*, II (19 September 1855), 175. Identification of paintings in the Peeters collection that might also have belonged to Rubens’ own art collection is problematic due to the sketchy titles and descriptions given in both the Stier’s inventory made in 1794, and in the 1640 catalogue

- made at Rubens's death. Still, there are probable overlaps, among them Rubens's *Interior of a Barn with the Prodigal Son* (today in Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, no. 781). Wolfgang Adler, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes, vol. 1, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, part 18* (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982–86), cat. no. 26, p. 98, with image, fig. 75. Other works that might have been in the Riversdale collection and that might have originated from Rubens's own collection are: Rubens, *Portrait of a Woman with a Black Hat and Flowers in Her Hand* (today in The Hague, Mauritshuis); Rubens, *Roman Charity or Cimon and Pero* (today in Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam), Cornelis van Poelenburgh, *Landscape with Pond* (current whereabouts unknown); and Palamedes, *Scene of Battle* (current whereabouts unknown). In addition, the Peeters collection contained a version of Rubens, *Romulus and Remus* (today in the private collection of descendants of George and Rosalie Calvert in Silver Spring, Maryland). Rubens also owned one of the several versions of *Romulus and Remus*, but it cannot be determined which one it was (nor where it has ended up today). See Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 115, 120, 142.
28. Rembrandt Peale recounted this experience on the occasion of the changing of hands of Rubens' famous *Chapeau de paille*, which Henri Stier had acquired from his son-in-law van Havre's family in 1817. Rembrandt Peale, "Reminiscences," 175.
  29. "It was in vain that I afterwards tried to induce him to show his entire collection to me in company of Chancellor Hanson [Alexander Contee Hanson, 1749–1806], the only person in Annapolis of reputed taste in the Fine Arts." Rembrandt Peale, "Reminiscences," 175.
  30. Stuart would have seen, if not the entire collection, at least one box that Rosalie opened especially for him. George Henry Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston: William V. Spencer, 1866), 58. This story is corroborated by a letter from Charles Willson Peale to Angelica Kauffman Peale Robinson, 2 August 1807, in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale*, 1025; and in an account by Robert Gilmore, cited in William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, ed. Alexander Wyckoff, Frank W. Bayley, and Charles Goodspeed, 3 vols. (Boston: Benjamin Bloom, 1918), 3:271–72. Stuart's portraits of Rosalie and George Calvert remain in the private collection of Calvert descendants in the United States.
  31. See letter from Charles Willson Peale to Angelica Kauffman Peale Robinson, 2 August 1807, in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale*, 1025; and discussion in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his Family, vol. 5: The Autobiography Charles Willson Peale*, eds. Lillian B. Miller, Sidney Hart, David C. Ward, Lauren E. Brown, Sara C. Hale, and Leslie K. Reinhardt (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000), 359–60.
  32. In fact, Mathilde van den Cruyce died in 1796, two years after the Stier's arrival in America, so that this responsibility would have been on Henri Stier's mind from early on. Nevertheless, the public sale of the paintings would not happen until 1817 because this was the earliest time the paintings could be safely sent back to Antwerp.
  33. Indeed, Rembrandt Peale's portrait of Henri Stier suffered the same fate. It was packed in one of the crates and forgotten until 1811, when Rosalie Calvert discovered it by chance while inspecting the condition of the paintings in one of the crates. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 7 December 1811, Van Havre-S. Today this portrait belongs to a descendant of the Calvert family in the United States.
  34. "The second wing is still just as it was when you left, and I am somewhat afraid I can hear your exclamation and your disapproval when I tell you that we plan to make it into a carriage house and a stable for our carriage houses. Of course, that won't be as pretty as a gallery of paintings – Papa's original intention." ["la seconde aile est encore comme vous l'avez laissée et je crains, je l'avoue, votre exclamation et disculpation [sic] lorsque je vous dis que nous comptons en faire une remise et écurie pour nos chevaux . . . Cela n'est pas si joli qu'une galerie de tableaux, la première destination que papa en fit . . ."] Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, [January?] 1806, Cal S-V. Instead of displaying the pictures, she eventually designed an enclosed platform in the north part of the house (over the carriages) and stored them there still packed in their crates. Letter from Rosalie Calvert

- to Charles Jean Stier, Riversdale, [n.d.] August 1810, Carter Trans-MHS. See Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 226. Rosalie's oldest son, George Henry Calvert, would later specify that the boxes had been put on this platform because, in case of fire, they would be easily removed from there. George Henry Calvert, *First Years in Europe* (Boston: William V. Spencer, 1866), 57.
35. Riversdale was much smaller than the Mick, the mansion the Stiers owned near Antwerp and after which they had modelled Riversdale. This was the Stiers' intention because they were not confident that they could manage in a large house, having had enormous difficulty during their first years in America finding reliable house servants. For a contemporary description of Riversdale, see David Bailie Warden, *A Chronological and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1819), cited in Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 234n5. The relatively modest measurements of the house, coupled with the fact that paintings could be hung only in cool rooms away from direct sunlight, explain why Rosalie Calvert never was able to fit more than ten to twelve paintings from the collection in her living quarters. Rosalie explains in 1810 that the twelve small paintings she had selected for display at Riversdale were the same paintings that hung at Paca house in Annapolis. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Charles Jean Stier, Riversdale, [n.d.] August 1810, Carter Trans-MHS, Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 226.
  36. In summer 1806, when Rosalie thought this might be a good moment to send the paintings back, he gave her the following detailed instructions: "Open the cases, take the paintings out, see how they are packed, and number them so that you can repack them in the same way. If there are mouldy spots, take a dry muslin handkerchief, even warmed a little, and try it on each picture. Put them in a closed room where you can make a fire in damp weather. Touch them as little as possible. I strongly urge you to take good care of them – they are of great value and I have a large responsibility for them." Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 July 1806, Stier-MHS.
  37. "If you are taking an interest in the arts, you could do no better than developing your taste for collecting. It is a luxury that will remain unique in America for some centuries still. And nobody is in your position to acquire a collection with such facility and economy . . . Of course, you realize that no private individual will ever be able to assemble a collection as precious as the one you have stored in crates at your house – I recommend that you take the utmost care of it." ["Si vous avez quelque penchant pour vous occuper des arts, vous ne pourriez mieux faire que de prendre goût à la formation d'un cabinet de tableaux. C'est un luxe qui sera unique en Amérique pour plusieurs siècles encore. Personne mieux que vous n'aura occasion d'en former un avec plus d'aisance et d'économie . . . Il ne faut cependant croire que jamais un particulier ne pourra en Amérique rassembler une collection aussi valable que celle que vous avez en caisses chez vous, dont je vous recommande de prendre le plus grand soin."] Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 November 1806, Stier-MHS. See also the letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 August 1807, Stier-MHS. (Neither of these letters are included in Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*. The translations are mine).
  38. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Charles Jean Stier, n. d. January 1807, Carter Trans-MHS, Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 158–59. For an insightful analysis on how Rosalie Calvert used refinement as a method of distinction, see Steve Sarson, "'One must differentiate oneself a little': Economy, Society and Refinement in Early National Prince George's County, Maryland," *Borderlines: Studies in American Culture* 5(3) (1998), 253–73.
  39. Dianne Sachko Macleod, "Eliza Bowen Jumel: Collecting and Cultural Politics in Early America," *Journal of the History of Collections* 13 (2001), 57–75, at 59.
  40. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 7 December 1807, Van Havre-S.
  41. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, [n.d., August 1810], Van Havre-S. In 1803, at the occasion of Henri Stier's public sale of spring bulbs before his departure from Maryland, the family had seen Riversdale overrun by people. Writing to Charles Stier, already in Antwerp, Isabelle complained: "Father has advertised [his

- hyacinths] for public sale without reflecting how we should be overrun with people. Now we have to escape them by the door and window like very Harlequins. There is Mrs. Carroll of Baltimore who has written asking to see them before the sale. I am afraid we shall have to entertain her here. Doctor Scott is coming too and Heaven knows who else besides! The other day a whole carload of ladies and gentlemen came from Georgetown, but as we did not know them we were dispensed from very active politeness.” Letter from Isabelle van Havre to Charles Jean Stier, [unsigned fragment] 10 April [1803], Carter Trans-MHS.
42. “I decided some time ago to start buying for you some well-chosen, but low-priced, paintings.” [“Déjà depuis longtemps j’ai fait le projet pour vous et achète à assez bas prix quelques tableaux bien choisis.”] Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 November 1806, Stier-MHS. A year later, Henri Stier wrote: “I have been assembling some paintings for you, all of them originals and by known masters. The price should not scare you; most of them, all carefully chosen, cost only between 25 and 30 dollars; there are a few more expensive ones, and together they make up a collection that could already be shown to a London collector [with some pride].” [“Je rassemble quelques tableaux que je vous destine, tous originaux et de maîtres connus. Le prix ne doit pas vous effrayer. Le grand nombre ne coûtent que 25 ou 30 dollars et cette espèce bien choisie avec quelques uns d’un prix plus élevé vous formerait un cabinet qui pourrait être exposé à la vue d’un [connaisseur] de Londres.”] Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 August 1807, Stier-MHS. (Neither of these letters are included in Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*. The translations are mine). Some of the lower-priced paintings Henri Stier bought at an auction two weeks after writing this letter were probably meant for Rosalie. These included: two landscapes by Jan Asselyn; a painting of a young woman playing the guitar by Gonzales, Coques; and a still life by Jan Fyt and Erasmus Quellinus. *Catalogue d’une belle collection de tableaux, délaissée par feu Monsieur François Emmanuel van Ertborn* (Antwerp: Grangé, 1807).
43. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 11 December 1806, Van Havre-S. (For a translation of part of this letter, see Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 154–55.) Among the paintings Rosalie’s father would eventually give her were two landscapes by Frans Swagers (1756–1836) and Henri-Joseph Antonissen (1737–1797), which were part of the collection at Riversdale and remained there after the rest of the paintings were sent back to Antwerp. See letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, [n.p.], 20 March 1816, Van Havre-S (For a translation of part of this letter, see Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 292–93.) These landscapes remained in the possession of Rosalie’s descendants after her death. See the notations made in 1803 on Henri Stier’s packing list of 1794, and Susan G. Pearl, “Old World Master Paintings at Riversdale (Part I),” *The Riversdale Letter* 18 (Winter 2000), 2–4, 4.
44. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 26 March 1807, Van Havre-S. (For a translation of part of this letter, see Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 159–61.)
45. See Lut Pil, “Painting at the Service of the New Nation state,” in Kas Deprez and Louis Vos ed., *Nationalism in Belgium: Shifting Identities, 1780–1995* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 44.
46. « We take lessons from Van Spaendonck and his students, telling ourselves that we need to develop our talents as much in order to truly appreciate art, as to ensure that we can instil talent in our children. That is why I am a history painter for now and that Eugénie paints flowers like Van Spaendonck. We draw 3 or 4 hours each day. I can already paint the [plaster] hands and feet an academy delivered to me today; in a month I’ll paint from antique sculptures; and in three months from live models. In the meantime, I’ll pick up the paintbrush and study Raphael, Corregio and Titian to learn about *chiaroscuro* and colours. In a year I’ll be a painter and a good painter, while Eugénie will be able to paint the most beautiful hyacinths and tulips. And, so that knowledge works hand in hand with art, I have suggested that she studies the prints of Buffon, which she should compare with those van Spaendonck and his students are preparing for the Museum. » [“Nous voyons Van Spaendonck et ses élèves, nous disant qu’autant pour apprécier les tableaux que pour assurer le talent de nos enfants, il faut avoir du talent nous-mêmes. Me voilà peintre

- d'histoire et Eugénie élève de van Spaendonck. Nous dessinons chaque jour pendant 3 à 4 heures. Déjà je fais les têtes et les pieds [que] m'a apportés aujourd'hui une académie; dans un mois je dessinerai d'après l'antiquité; dans 3 d'après le modèle vivant. Entre temps je prendrai le pinceau et acquerrai le clair obscur et les coloris à la vue des Raphael, Corrège et Titien. Dans un an, je suis un peintre et bon peintre\_\_ Eugénie représentera les plus belles hyacinthes et tulipes et pour que l'instruction solide marche de pair avec les arts, je lui ai déjà suggéré de prendre un Buffon gravé dont elle doit admirer les planches à l'imitation de celles que Spaendonck et d'autres artistes font pour la bibliothèque du musée." Letter from Charles Jean Stier to Henri Joseph Stier, Paris, October 1804, CJS-A. This letter is not included in Calcott; the translation is mine. The couple's respective choice of genres conforms to gender expectations. Moreover, it is not surprising at this time of burgeoning Belgian nationalism that Charles is interested in history painting because it concentrated on the depiction of recent events of national history.
47. For more discussion on the impact of the Musée at the Louvre on foreign art connoisseurs, collectors, and artists, see Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Museum* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 30–45.
  48. See my discussion at the end of this article of Charles Stier's letter to George Calvert, Antwerp, 9 August 1822, cited in Johnson, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson*, 2:50–51.
  49. He considered this endeavour far more important than the library Charles would help create in Alexandria. Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Charles Jean Stier, February 1799, CJS-A.
  50. Isabelle van Havre to Rosalie Calvert, draft letter[n.d. but before Easter 1812], Cal S-V.
  51. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 26 March 1807, Van Havre-S.
  52. "I urge you to study painting even though this is difficult to do in America where there are so few opportunities to view paintings. At least you have this chance with the ones you have at home. Among others, you have Rubens' *Roman Charity*, which is extremely valuable because it is entirely of his hand. There are only three or four of his paintings in the world that are of an even greater value, so it is like a priceless diamant. The Van Dyck portraits are among his best, and are in excellent condition." ["Je vous conseille d'étudier [la peinture] quoique c'est une science assez difficile à acquérir surtout en Amérique où il y a si peu d'occasions d'en voir. Vous avez cette occasion par les tableaux que vous avez chez vous. Entre autres, vous avez "La charité romaine" de Rubens, qui est très précieux parce qu'entièrement de sa main. Il n'en existe dans le monde que 3 ou 4 qui le surpassent en valeur, aussi c'est un diamant qui n'a pas de prix. Les portraits de Van Dijck sont les meilleurs et les mieux préservés de ce maître."] Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 August 1807, Stier-MHS. This letter is not included in Calcott; the translation is mine. See also letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 26 March 1807, Van Havre-S. In another letter Rosalie wrote that one of the tutors she had settled for would not last long because he could not teach the children either drawing, nor French. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, 12 August 1810, Cal S-V.
  53. Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, draft in letter-book, Antwerp, 14 July 1817, Cal S-V.
  54. George Henry Calvert, *Autobiographic Study* (Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Dillingham, 1885), 59. Although George Henry did not emulate his illustrious ancestor's talents as a painter, he became a distinguished literary scholar and paid tribute to the art education he had received from his mother, by dedicating to her his respected *Life of Rubens* (Boston, New York: Lee and Shepard; C.T. Dillingham), 1876.
  55. "I do not know if you knew that your brother-in-law Van Havre owns in his collection three portraits and landscapes in which his family is represented." ["Je ne sais pas si vous saviez que votre frère van Havre a dans sa collection 3 portraits et paysages de Rubens dans laquelle sa famille est [représentée].] Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp, 1 August 1807 Stier-MHS.
  56. Among these reports are that of the painter Rembrandt Peale in his "Reminiscences" (1855); the American diplomat David Bailie Warden in his *Chronological and Statistical Description*

- of the District of Columbia (Edinburgh, 1819); Augustus John Foster, secretary to the English ambassador, in *Jeffersonian America: Notes on the United States of America, Collected in the Years 1805-6-7 and 11-12*, [n.d.] (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1954); and Mary Bagot “Exiled in Yankeeland: The Journal of Mary Bagot, 1816–1819,” ed. David Hosford, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 51 (1984), 36. To be sure, they did not always get it right, and sometimes attributed to her the Dutch nationality, or family ties with painters other than Rubens (such as Van Dyck), but they clearly associated her with painting of the Golden Age of the Southern Provinces. Warden left the following report: “The establishment of George Calvert Esq. at Bladensburg is drawing attention . . . In the saloon [i.e. the drawing room] there are some fine paintings, particularly Noah’s Ark by Velvet Breughel; the Judgement of Paris, and the portrait of Rubens by this great master, of whom Mrs. Calvert is a relation.’ Warden, *Chronological and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia*, 156 (as cited in Callcott, 234n5). According to the 1817 sale catalogue there was no self-portrait of Rubens in the Peeters collection, but there was a portrait by Rubens of his brother Philippe. Rosalie’s brother Charles had known Warden when Warden served as consul in Paris. See Lance Lee Humphries, *Robert Gilmore, Jr. (1774–1848): Baltimore Collector and American Art Patron* (Ph. D. diss., University of Virginia, 1998).
57. Denis Coekelberghs and Pierre Loze, eds., *Om en rond het Classicisme in België: 1770–1830* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1986), 227.
  58. Josephine Bonaparte thanked Van Bree for his success in acquiring six paintings by Rubens, adding that she was still hoping to also get Rubens’ *Chapeau de paille*, then in the van Havre collection. Coekelberghs and Loze, eds., *Om en rond het Classicisme in België*, 150.
  59. Lut Pil, “The Metropolis Reviewed: The Creation of a Golden Age,” in Jan Van der Stock, ed., *Antwerp: Story of a Metropolis* (Gent: Martial and Snoeck, 1993), 129–43, at 130–31.
  60. Lut Pil, “Painting at the Service of the New Nation state,” 43–44.
  61. Hendrik Conscience, “Redevoering uitgesproken bij het beeld van Rubens, op het ogenblik van de Plegtige Inhuldiging,” *Bekroonde Stukken door de Antwerpsche Rederijkamer Der Olijftak, ter gelegenheid van de plegtige inhuldiging van het standbeeld van P. P. Rubens, den 15 Augustus 1840*, (Antwerp, Jos. M. Jacobs Zoon, 1840), 53–58.
  62. The statue was by Willem Geefs (1805–1883). The 1840 Rubens festival, organized for the bicentennial of Rubens’s death was the occasion for the inauguration of this statue and the publication of numerous literary and artistic works featuring the painter. Lut Pil, “The Metropolis Reviewed: The Creation of a Golden Age,” 132. An American extension of this cult is George Henry Calvert’s 1879 *Life of Rubens*, in which, like his mother before him, he capitalized on the fact that he was one of the descendants of Rubens who had reached the new world. George Henry Calvert, *Life of Rubens*, 218–19.
  63. See for example, advertisements in *Opera News*, 69/7 (January 2005), 2; and *The New Yorker* (28 February 2005), 23.
  64. Letters from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Sier, Antwerp, 21 December 1815 and [May] 1816, draft entries in Henri Joseph Stier’s letter-book of copied correspondence, Cal S-V.
  65. Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Sier, Antwerp, 16 January 1816, draft entry in Henri Joseph Stier’s letter-book of copied correspondence, Cal S-V.
  66. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, [n.p.], 20 March 1816, Van Havre-S. Trumbull, the President of the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York, would organized an exhibition of paintings from the Old Masters collection of Eliza Bowen Jumel the following year. See Macleod, “Eliza Bowen Jumel.”
  67. Rembrandt Peale, “Reminiscences,” 175.
  68. George Henry Calvert, *First Years in Europe*, 57–58.
  69. George Henry Calvert claimed that the paintings were exhibited for two or three weeks. *First Years in Europe*, 57–58.
  70. On the absence of art museums in America at the time, see Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Museum* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 63–64. On contemporary art collections in America, see W. G. Constable, *Art Collecting in the United States of America: An Outline of History*

- (London and New York: Nelson, 1964), 11–20. Among the collectors Constable names are: Thomas Jefferson, James Bowdoin, Robert Gilmor, William Vernon, Richard Meade, Charles Russell Codman, and John Watkins Brett. Lillian Miller adds a few more names to this short list of early nineteenth-century collectors of Old Masters, including: John Murray of New York; and Thomas Perkins, Harrison Otis, Peter Brooks, and Israel Thorndike of Boston. See Lillian Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: the encouragement of the fine arts in the United States, 1790–1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 144–47.
71. Bagot, “Exiled in Yankeeland,” 36.
  72. Rembrandt Peale, “Reminiscences,” 175.
  73. Josephine Seaton, *William Winston Seaton of the National Intelligencer* (Boston: Osgood, 1871), 134–35.
  74. Charles Burr Todd, *The Story of Washington* (New York and London: Putnam, 1893), 382–83.
  75. Rembrandt Peale, “Reminiscences,” 175.
  76. Hans Vlieghe, “Het verslag over de toestand van de in 1815 uit Frankrijk naar Antwerpen teruggekeerde schilderijen,” in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp: The Museum, 1971), 273–83. For more information on the national significance of recovering the Flemish art, see G. Schmook, *Hoe Teun den Eyerboek in 1815 sprak to de Burgers van Antwerpen, of Het aandeel van de Rubens-viering in de wording van het Vlaamse bewustzijn* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1942). For a brief history of the confiscation of the Antwerp paintings by the French government and early plans to create a museum in Antwerp, see Ferdinand Boyer, “Le Directoire et les musées des départements réunis de la Belgique,” *Revue d’Histoire Diplomatique*, LXXXV (1971), 5–16, at 13–16. For an analysis of the significance of the return of the looted paintings for the birth of museums in Belgium, see Christophe Loir, *L’émergence des Beaux-Arts en Belgique: institutions, artistes, public et patrimoine (1773–1813)* (Brussels: Editions de l’Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2004), 207–14. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, [n.p.], 5 March 1816, Cal S-V.
  77. Letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Sier, Antwerp, [May] 1816, draft entry in Henri Joseph Stier’s letter-book, Cal S-V. See also the later report by Rosalie’s son George Henry Calvert: “My uncle was a connoisseur. He had fed on pictures since childhood; and his mind being in its texture and temperament sufficiently aesthetic to assimilate such food, he enjoyed an appreciation of Art above that of the mere gentlemanly amateur. In recognition hereof, he had been chosen by his native city as one of its commissioners, sent to Paris in 1815 to reclaim from the Louvre Antwerp’s share of the art treasures which the semi-barbarous hand of the Imperial spoiler had sequestered from the public galleries of the conquered continent, to adorn his gross ephemeral power.” *First Years in Europe*, 54–55.
  78. Rosalie Calvert to Isabelle van Havre, Riversdale, [n.p.], 5 March 1816, Cal S-V.)
  79. Macleod, “Eliza Bowen Jumel,” 57–75.
  80. It is clear that contemporaries viewed the collection as under the control of Rosalie (in the absence of her father), rather than of Calvert. Charles Willson Peale, for example, wrote that Calvert did not have the authority even to show his son Rembrandt any of the paintings in his wife’s collection—that authority rested solely with Rosalie and her father. Letter from Charles Willson Peale to Angelica Kauffman Peale Robinson, 2 August 1807, in *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale*, 1025.
  81. Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Sier, Antwerp, [May] 1816, draft entry in Henri Joseph Stier’s letter-book, Cal S-V.
  82. Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Sier, Antwerp, 25 September 1817, draft entry in Henri Joseph Stier’s letter-book, Cal S-V.
  83. Isabelle van Havre to Rosalie Calvert, draft [n.d. but probably March or April 1818], Cal S-V. For similar comments on the great reputation of Henri Stier’s tulip collection in Antwerp, see letter from Henri Joseph Stier to Rosalie Calvert, Antwerp. 1 July 1807, Stier-MHS.



84. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 4 August 1818, Van Havre-S. See also account by Gilmor, cited in Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 3:271–72. For an extensive study of Robert Gilmor, Jr. see Lance Lee Humphries, *Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1774–1848): Baltimore Collector and American Art Patron*, 2 vols., Ph. D. diss., University of Virginia, 1998.
85. Letter from Charles Jean Stier to George Calvert, Antwerp, 11 January 1822, cited in R. Winder Johnson, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson* ([Philadelphia]: Ferris & Leach, 1905–08), 2:49 (The original of this letter seems to be lost; see Callcott, *Mistress of Riversdale*, 372–73.) In the same letter, Charles Stier reported that at the public auction of Henri Stier’s collection, no American buyer came forth to buy any of the paintings. At the auction, Charles Stier himself bought several paintings, while Jean Michel van Havre bought only one landscape. As for Calvert, he bought back only Rubens’s *Romulus and Remus*, because the other painting for which he had put in a bid, *The Boar Hunt* by de Vos and Wildens, fetched a price that exceeded his means. King William of the Netherlands acquired Rubens’ *Roman Charity* and a portrait of Rubens’ confessor, as well as Van Dyck’s *Portrait of the Chancellor Le Roy*. The king also bid for the *Chapeau de paille*, but that painting went to an English merchant, which was a great disappointment for Charles Stier, who had hoped that this famous portrait would be bought by some great English nobleman or King George IV himself. Letter from Charles Jean Stier to George Calvert, Antwerp, 9 August 1822, cited in Johnson, *The Ancestry of Rosalie Morris Johnson*, 2:50–51.
86. Varden had opened to the public an addition to his house where they could view his collection of European masters, and a variety of historical, natural, and artistic curiosities. From 1829 to 1841 John Varden directed the Washington City Museum. Later he was associated with the National Institute, a voluntary association of collectors with interests in the natural sciences where collectors had the opportunity to centrally display their collections. This organization was granted a federal charter in 1842, and thereafter became known as the National Institute for Promotion of Science, with core collections from such individuals as John Varden. The establishment of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846 from the bequest of John Smithson eclipsed the Institute and it was finally dissolved in 1862. The collections were transferred to the Smithsonian Institution. For some of the reasons behind the Smithsonian Institution’s initial reluctance to acquire art collections, see Lance Lee Humphries, *Robert Gilmor, Jr. (1774–1848): Baltimore Collector and American Art Patron*, 2 vols., Ph. D. diss., University of Virginia, 1998, *passim* chapter 9.
87. This Van Dyck portrait of an elderly woman, meant as a companion to the previous entry, was not included in Henri Stier’s 1794 packing list. It was, however, included in the 1817 auction. The mention that the previous entry was a “pendant” leads one to believe that its companion portrait was in the collection as well. In his haste to compile the list, it may be that Henri Stier left it out. It also may be possible that the pendant stayed in Antwerp in 1794 with the widow Peeters.
88. This identification was made because both paintings are “sur cuivre” (on copper) and of similar small dimensions.
89. This identification was made on the basis of the small size of the 1817 painting.
90. See Susan G. Pearl, “Old World Master Paintings at Riversdale, Part II,” *The Riversdale Letter* 18 (Spring 2001), 2.
91. Art historian Susan Pearl identifies this entry as referring to two landscapes in the Italian style by Jan Van der Meer III (1656–1705), which now hang in the Brussels, Belgium. Royal Museum of Fine Arts. See Pearl, “Old World Master Paintings At Riversdale, Part I,” 3.
92. This basis for this identification was that the paintings by Zorg are round.
93. Although this work was not on the original packing list of 1794, Henri Stier added a notation for it in 1803, when packing to return to Antwerp. In 1816, he instructed Rosalie to keep this landscape, as well as the one by Anthonissen as a gift. Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, [n.p.], 20 March 1816, Van Havre-S)
94. See note 43 above.

95. Although this painting was not among the works on the 1794 packing list, there is reason to believe it was part of the collection at Riversdale. Rosalie was perhaps discussing this painting with her father when she referred to “La Tête de Rubens” (Letter from Rosalie Calvert to Henri Joseph Stier, Riversdale, 9 April 1818, Van Havre-S. This work was also listed in the Stier family sale catalogues of 1817 and 1822.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

## Appendix A. Provisional identification of paintings in collection at Riversdale

The following table gives a translation of the listing of paintings as they appeared in Henri Stier’s handwritten packing list of 1794, as well as in the printed auction catalogue of 1817. Not all of the Riversdale paintings were included in the 1817 auction because some of them were presumably Henri Stier’s own (as opposed to belonging to his mother-in-law’s collection that needed to be sold to settle her estate). These latter paintings were however included in the 1822 and/or 1848 sales, and information from these later catalogues is given when helpful to clarify what was at Riversdale.

### Sources:

- ‘Liste de tableaux de la maison mortuaire de feu Monsieur Peeters’ (Henri J. Stier’s packing list for transporting the painting collection to America, 26 June 1794).
- *Catalogue d’une Précieuse Collection de Tableaux*, public sale, 27 August 1817 (Antwerp: G. J. Binken, 1817).
- *Catalogue de la Collection de Tableaux*, sale, 29 July 1822 (Antwerp: G. J. Binken, 1822).
- *Tableaux des Ecoles Flamande et Hollandaise, Délaiés par feu Monsieur C. J. Stier D’Aertselaer à Anvers*, sale, 18 September 1848 (Antwerp: Imprimerie D’Ancelle, 1848).
- *Getty Provenance Index*

Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
(1) « Roman Charity by Rubens »	(1) « P.-P. Rubens, Roman Charity. – This topic painted by so many artists is treated here with all the talent of which this master is capable. The old man, bare to the waist, is lying in the straw, with his hands chained together; he hungrily sucks on the breast of his tender and brave daughter, who deceives the cruel tyrant by feeding her father, the tyrant had condemned to starve to death. Love and gratitude are painted on the honourable man's face; his daughter's face expresses both eagerness and anguish. Two soldiers spy on this touching scene through an iron fence. This painting is in the most vivid colours and displays a proud but graceful touch of the paintbrush. It is one of the masterpieces of Rubens and it is perfectly conserved. It has become extremely rare to be able to acquire productions of this quality; it would grace the most select museums, and at the same time be a precious private collector's item. Printed with a few changes by Voet.»	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. (A345)
(2) « Portrait of le roy [sic] by Vandyk »	probably (No. 4 in 1817 sale catalogue) « Ant. Vandyck, Portrait of François Vander Borgh, full-length and standing up. He is dressed in black with a Spanish coat. The painter placed his model in an ornate vestibule that looks out on a seaport full of ships, seen on the left. The model calls the viewer's attention to the ships by pointing to them. It is also a beautiful work by Vandyk. There is a print of this painting by Vermeulen.» It is also possible that this entry refers to No. 2 in the 1817 sale catalogue?	Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. (A101) as Portrait of Nicolaes van der Borgh

*(Continued)*

Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
(3) « a lady's portrait by Vandyck »	(3) « Ant. Vandyck, Portrait of his wife [the man referred to is No. 2 in 1817 sale catalogue, "L'amiral le roy "] also full-length and standing up; it is a matching piece to the preceding portrait [of "l'amiral le roy "]. The lady is seen in three-fourth profile, with her hair showing, and dressed according to ancient Spanish fashion in a black silk dress. She holds in her hand a fan with curly feathers; at her feet lies a spaniel. These two portraits are as impressive by the majesty and stature given to them by Van Dyck, as they are lovely by his beautiful execution. Both represent noble natures. The lady's physiognomy is sweet and interesting; her hands are of the greatest beauty. Van Dyck sensed these advantages and has painted them with the greatest care. Both of these portraits display the bright but delicate colouring we appreciate in so many of Van Dyck's works.'	London, Wallace Collection (P79). Portrait of Marie de Raet.
(4) « portrait of Admiral le roy by Vandyk »	(2) « Ant. Vandyck, Full-length portrait of a member of the Le Roy family. He stands up, dressed in black with a large white collar. He is bare-headed; his left hand is on the guard of his sword, and his right caresses the head of a large greyhound. These two portraits are as impressive by the majesty and stature given to them by Van Dyck, as they are lovely by his beautiful execution. Both represent noble natures. The lady's physiognomy is sweet and interesting; her hands are of the greatest beauty. Van Dyck sensed these advantages and has painted them with the greatest care. Both of these portraits display the bright but delicate colouring we appreciate in so many of Van Dyck's works." ?	?
(5) « portrait of Pekkius by Van Dyck »	(12) « P.-P. Rubens, Portrait of Peckius, former chancellor of Brabant: he is seated in an armchair and hold a sheet of paper in his hand." ?	? Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (4585) as Portrait of Pecquius, copy after Rubens
(6) « a landscape of Vinkenboom [David Vinckenboons or Vinckboons, (Dutch) (1576–1629)] by Vinkenboom »	(25) 'D. Vinkenboom, Wooded landscape: ? in the foreground a few men and women are talking; towards the middle of the scene a clearing reveals an opening in the landscape'	?
(7) « portrait of a woman with a hat by Rubens»	?	? The Hague, Mauritshuis. Portrait of a woman with a black hat and flowers in her hand.
(8) « portrait of a woman with a black cap by Rubens »	?	? The Hague, Mauritshuis. Portrait of a woman with a black hat and flowers in her hand.

(Continued)

Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
(9) « matching portrait of a man [to accompany the portrait below] by Van Dyck »	(07) 'Ant. Vandyck, Portrait of a Magistrate, to match the portrait at (06); he is seated and visible down to the knee. This portrait is of a bold and proud stroke of the brush, in the style of Titian's most beautiful work. These two portraits [(06) and (07)] belong to those on the basis which the reputation of Van Dyck has been established.'	Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (6255).
? <sup>87</sup>	(6) "Ant. Vandyck, Portrait of an elderly lady seated in an armchair; she holds her hands together, and is seen down to the knee. This work has a precious finish and a beautiful transparency. These two portraits [(06) and (07)] belong to those on the basis which the reputation of Van Dyck has been established."	Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (6256).
(10) « landscape by Rubens, known as the stable »	(5) « P.-P. Rubens, Interior of a double stable. – In the first stable, one sees several cows and a dairyman; in the second, there are harnesses and two horses being fed oats by a boy. Another boy fills the hayrack. In the foreground is the scene of the prodigal son feeding the pigs; a peasant woman fills their trough. In the background one sees a full landscape. This work has a brilliant colour and a rare transparency. Despite its careful execution, it gives the impression of an easy and carefree creation, which makes up the charm of Rubens's brush stroke. It is in a perfect state of conservation. Printed by J.-A. Bolswert."	Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (781).
(11) « Romulus & Remus by Rubens »	(11) « P.-P. Rubens, Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf: the boys are playing with a butterfly" [1822 sale catalogue attributes this jointly to ' P. P. Rubens; Huysmans de Malines']	Private collection of Calvert descendants, USA
(12) « portrait of a man holding a bag by Titian »	?	?
(13) « Madonna with child gazing at her, by Rubens»	? (53) « After Van Dyck, Madonna with child Jesus »	?
(14) « two figures holding hands, by Van Dyck »	(8) « Ant. Vandyck, Portrait of a couple holding hands»	?
(15) « portrait of a man in a black coat by Titian »	(17) «Titian, Portrait of a man dressed in black: in one hand he holds a toga, in the other a glove»	?
(16, 17, 18, 19) «four paintings of the four seasons, by Velvet Breughel [Jan Bruegel the Elder, known as Velvet Bruegel (Flemish) (1568–1628)]»	(40) 'Monper [Joos de Momper (Flemish) 1564–1635]; Breugel, Four paintings representing the four seasons in landscapes which feature numerous human figures and are of a most ingenious composition.'	?

*(Continued)*

Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
(20) «Madonna surrounded by flowers by Seegers [Hercules Seghers (Dutch, born c. 1590-died c. 1638)] and Van Bael [Hendrik Van Balen, (Flemish) (1575 ? – 1632)]»	?(21) 'Breugel; Schut [Cornelis Schut (Flemish) (1597–1655)], The virgin with the child Jesus in the middle of a garland of roses and other flowers. These figures are of the finest hand of Schut.'	?
(21, 22) «Two landscapes know as the grottos by Momper [Joos de Momper] & Bruegel »	(43) 'Momper; Breugel, Two matching paintings. One represents a group of Egyptians in a cave. The other a pilgrimage to a chapel.'	?
(23) « Noah's ark by Bruegel »	(30) 'Jean Breugel, known as Velvet, The animals ready to enter the ark.'	Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum. (92.PB.82)
(24) Diana getting out of her bath by Poelenborg [Cornelis van Poelenburgh (Dutch) (b. c. 1594, d. 1667)]	?(24) 'Dan. Vertongen, Diana's bath, many human figures painted with a beautifully soft brush stroke; several parts of this painting are worthy of Poelenbourg'	?
(25) « a church by Peeter Neef [Pieter Neeffs, the elder (Flemish) (1578–1661) or Pieter Neeffs the Younger (Flemish) (b. 1620, d. c. 1675)]»	(41) 'Pierre Neeffs, Interior of a Protestant church in the gothic style'	?
(26) « The judgement of Paris by Rubens »	(54) "Wolfert [Johan Wolfert van Brederode (Flemish) (1599–1655)]; after Rubens, The judgement of Paris »	?
(27) « A landscape by Ruysdael [Jacob van Ruysdael (Dutch) (1628–1682)]»	(20) 'Jacques Ruysdael, In the shade of a clump of trees a flock of sheep rest and feed peacefully. At the left, we see an open landscape. This painting is of a bold brush stroke and strong colours.'	?
(28) « A painting of a conversation, by Vanderlaenen Christoffel Jacobszoon Van der Lamén (Flemish) (1606/1607 – 1651/1652) »	?	?
(29) « The same [ditto] where there is also music being played, by the same artist »	(18) 'C. Van der Laenen [Christoffel Van der Lamén], In an opulent interior, some ladies and their escorts amuse themselves by playing backgammon and music together; we see a servant bringing them drinks and a tall greyhound. This is one of the best works of this master.'	?
(30) 'sketch by Van Dyck'	(14) 'Ant. Vandyck, Grisaille of the famous work by this master representing Rinaldo in the arms of Armide, painted to make the print. This sketch is so beautifully made that, except for the colour, it has all the merits of a finished work. Printed by P. de Jode'	London, Wallace Collection. (877.2)
(31) 'Moses rescued, by Breugel & Van Bael the elder [Hendrik Van Balen (Flemish) (1575 ? – 1632)]'	?	?
(32) "Woman dressed in yellow satin by Chevalier Vanderwerve"	?	?
(33) Jonas escaping from the whale, by Velvet Breugel	(44) 'The whale spewing out the prophet Jonas'	Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

(Continued)

Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
(34) "Seated Diana seen from the back by Poelenborg [Cornelis van Poelenburgh]"	?(24) "Dan. Vertongen, Diana's bath, many human figures painted with a beautifully soft brush stroke; several parts of this painting are worthy of Poelenbourg"	?
(35) 'Hunt, by Wouwermans [Philips Wouwermans (Dutch, (1619–1668))]'	(13) Philippe Wouwermans, Horsemen stop at an inn; this beautiful composition has a strong, silvery colouring. It is one of the masterworks of this skilful painter.	? The halt of a hawking party outside an inn (c.1650–68)
(36) 'Waterfall by Ruysdael [Jacob van Ruysdael (Dutch, (1628–1682))]'	(16) 'Jacques Ruysdael. Landscape. – At the right a stream descends a mountain and empties out in a river and partially divides in the foreground, at the left a high plateau is covered with thick vegetation; we see tow men seated on fallen tree trunks'	?
(37) 'portrait of Van Dyck by Rubens'	?	?
(38) 'Full face portrait of a woman by Chevalier Vanderwerwe'	?	?
(39) 'Battle scene, by Palamedes [Anthonie Palamedesz (Dutch) (Delft 1601 – Amsterdam 1673)]'	(29) Palamedes, Cavalry attack	?
(40) 'Huntsman holding his horse by Ch. Du Jardin [Karel Dujardin (Amsterdam 1622- Venice 1678)]'	(15) 'Karel Du Jardin, Rest during a falcon hunt. – We see in the foreground a bay horse held by a falconer, who speaks to a poacher who holds several dogs on leashes. This painting is in warm colours and of a mellow brush stroke.'	?
(41) 'Guitar player by Vanderheyden [Jacob Van der Heyden (Arnhem, 1636 – ?, ?)]'	(28) Ch.-Em. Biset, [Charles Emmanuel Biset (Flemish) (Malines, 1633 – Breda, vers 1691 ou vers 1710)] Portrait of a young horseman playing guitar in front of a castle or (74) Unknown, Man playing the guitar	?
(42) 'Landscape by Teniers [David Teniers (1610–1690)] & Van Uden [Lucas van Uden ((1595–1672))]'	(67) 'David Teniers; Van Heyl, Winterlandscape: the fields are covered with snow; we see a hamlet. This painting features ten human figures of Teniers's best hand.' or (33) 'David Teniers, landscape. – In the foreground gypsy women telling the future.'	? Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.
(43) 'Jacob the laugher by Otterlings'	?	?
(44) "Man and woman by Brouwer Adriaen Brouwer (Flemish) c. 1605–1638)"	?	?
(45) 'Small madonna on copper by Van Dyk'	?(48) "Henry Van Baelen, [Hendrik van Balen (Anvers, 1575 ? – 1632)] The virgin with the child Jesus" <sup>88</sup>	?
(46) 'Man's portrait (small dimensions)' -----	?(56) "Unknown, Head of a youth in full-face" <sup>89</sup>	?
(47) 'Portrait of a woman in white satin by Brounkenhorst [Johann Boeckhorst (1604–1668)]'	(34) 'Jean Bronkhorst, known as "langen Jan" [long John], Portrait of a young lady dressed in white satin. She holds a branch of roses; in the distance we see a landscape'	? Münster, Stadtmuseum. <sup>90</sup>

(Continued)

Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
(48) 'Priest celebrating mass, by the same.'	(35) 'Jean Bronkhorst, know as langen Jan, The miracle of the mass at Bolzène'	? Münster, Kirchengemeinde St. Martin. Jan Boeckhorst Die Messe des Hl. Martin, um 1662.
(49) 'Sketch of the large altar painting of St. Michael, by Rubens'	?	?
(50) 'Leaves and reptiles by Van Huysum [Jan van Huysum (Dutch) (1682–1749)]'	?	?
(51) 'A wailing figure by Tintoretto [Jacopo Robusti, known as Tintoretto (Italian), (1518–1594)]'	?	?
(52) 'Painting with two figures, by Rynbrandt [Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669)]'	?	?
(53) 'Dish of lentils by Rubens'	?	?
(54) '13 children by Goubau'	?	?
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(55) ----- who lays down his flag, the Dutch school'	?	?
(56) 'A beggar by Michelangelo [Michelangelo Cerquozzi (Italian) (c.1602–1660)]'	(32) Michel Ange Cerquozzi, know as Desbatailles, A beggar with his dog'	?
(57) 'Italian landscape, Italian school'	? [1822 sale catalogue also contains two "Italian landscapes" by Barent Graet [Barent Graet (Dutch) (1628–1709)] (Nos. 30, 31; 1848 sale catalogue lists them as Nos. 4, 5) <sup>91</sup> ; and two by J. van Huysum [Jan van Huysum (Dutch), (1682–1749)] (Nos. 38, 39)]	?
(58) 'Landscape with waterfall'	? (16) Jacques Ruysdael. Landscape – At the right a stream descends a mountain and empties out in a river, partially opening up in the foreground, at the left a high plateau is covered with thick vegetation; we see two men seated on fallen tree trunks'	
(59) 'Mary Magdalen and her counterpart by P. Beschage'	(27) 'Besche [Balthasar Beschey (Flemish) (1726–1775)], Mary Magdalen in front of a crucifix'	?
(60) '2 round paintings by Brouwer [Adriaen Brouwer]'	? (22) "Martin Zorg, Two rustic interior scenes: in each one a man and a woman talk to each other" <sup>92</sup>	?
(61) 'Woman and man with dog, Dutch school'	(42) 'In the style of Mièris [Frans van Mieris (Dutch) (1635–1681)]; in a sitting room a man converses with a woman; we see a dog'	?
(62) Diana looking at her reflection by Nicolas Brehemberg	?	?
(63) 'Small landscape with pond by Poelenborg [Cornelis van Poelenburgh]'	? (23) 'Corn. Poelenborg, A group of women bathe nude in a river undulating through a mountainous terrain; several ruins grace the landscape'	?
[landscape by Swagers] <sup>93</sup>	N/A	Private collection of Calvert descendants, USA
[landscape by Henri Joseph Anthonissen (1737–94)] <sup>94</sup>	N/A	Private collection of Calvert descendants, USA

(Continued)



Entry in 1794 Packing list (Number) title	Corresponding item in 1817 sale catalogue (Lot no.), artist, title	Present identification and location (if known)
N/A <sup>95</sup>	(10) "P.-P. Rubens, Portrait of Philip Rubens's brother, (bust), easy brushstroke and brilliant colour"	Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts (26.385)