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The Albert Bender Donations of Far Eastern Art to the National Museum of Ireland in the Context of his Cultural Interests in Ireland and California

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Dublin for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Audrey Whitty

2010

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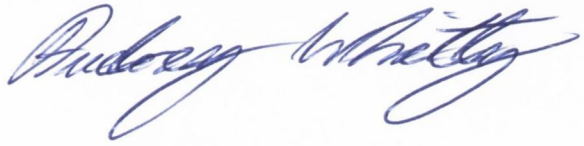

Abstract

Title: The Albert Bender Donations of Far Eastern Art to the National Museum of Ireland in the Context of his Cultural Interests in Ireland and California

Name: Audrey Whitty

The National Museum of Ireland (formerly the Dublin Science and Art Museum) was founded in 1877. During the late nineteenth/early twentieth century policy dictated that the acquisition of applied/industrial arts be nationally as well as internationally based. As a result many objects of Asian provenance came under museum control. This policy changed on Irish Independence, but one notable donor during the early years of the Irish Free State was the Irish-born, San Francisco millionaire, Albert Maurice Bender (1866-1941) who donated 260 objects of Asian art from 1931 to 1936. This collection includes twenty-one rare eighteenth century Tibetan-Buddhist Thangka paintings and over eighty Japanese woodblock prints from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bender's Jewish faith and Irish patriotism are examined in the context of his collecting activities, his generous benefaction of contemporary avant-garde art on the west coast of the United States and extensive bibliophilic activities. Bender's correspondence with the director of the National Museum, Dr. Adolf Mahr will also be discussed, as will his relationships with some of Ireland's most prominent intellectuals.

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Acknowledgements

The first time I heard the name Albert Bender being mentioned was about eleven years ago when I joined the staff of the National Museum of Ireland. The Director, Dr. Patrick Wallace told me of this artistically valuable Asian art collection that had not been exhibited for some decades. Albert Bender's story and collection intrigued me, and it was then I decided to research this topic. When I was appointed curator in the Art and Industrial Division in 2001 with the Asian collections as part of my remit I knew then that the extent of the collection warranted a doctoral thesis. Therefore, my first sincere thanks go to Dr. Wallace for planting the seed and for sanctioning the 2008 exhibition 'A Dubliner's Collection of Asian Art: The Albert Bender Exhibition'. To him I owe a great debt of gratitude.

I am also deeply indebted to Michael Kenny, Keeper, Art and Industrial Division, NMI and Raghnall O Floinn, Head of Collections, NMI for their very generous support throughout the past four years. In particular I would like to thank Michael who along with Dr. Wallace wrote my academic references for Trinity College when I initially applied to undertake the doctorate. My greatest thanks, however, goes to my supervisor, Dr. Philip McEvansoneya, TCD for his patience, academic prowess and good spirits at all times. His suggestions for the text were extremely helpful, and for that I am very grateful.

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On a personal level I would like to thank Yvonne Doherty, Graphic Designer, NMI for help with the plates in this thesis, and for her support during preparations for the Albert Bender exhibition in 2008. My close friends Maria McGuirk, Jennifer Goff, Claire Poole, Fiona Sheridan, Susan Yates, Karen Duffy, Caroline Geraghty, Andrea Clarke, Helen McGrath and Sarah Tanner deserve a special mention for having put up with me talking about the thesis and Albert Bender – without them I would have failed to see the humour in certain things!

My biggest thanks of all goes to my family, particularly to my amazing parents, Eileen and Richard Whitty who have always been there for me and are my rocks in everything I do. They have helped keep me sane throughout a time when I both worked and studied full-time. Much thanks and love also goes to my sister Aine and brother Peter who keep me balanced and firmly grounded.

I dedicate this thesis to two very important women who are sadly no longer with us – my grandmothers, Nancy Stack and Alice Whitty.

Object Number	Date	Object Name	Material	Description/Title
1932				
				Tibetan-Chinese All of the Thangka paintings (DB:1932.1 – DB:1932.21) are Tibetan Buddhist, probably from Gansu Province, China and date to the eighteenth century.
DB:1932.1	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Rahula Bhadra (Tibetan name: sGra.gcan.'dzin bzang po)
DB:1932.2	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	Lokapala Dhrtarashtra. Quarter: East (Tibetan name:Yul.'Khor.srun)
DB:1932.3	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Vanavasin (Tibetan name: Nags.na.gnas)
DB:1932.4	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Bhadra (Tibetan name: bZan.po)
DB:1932.5	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Upasaka Dharmatala (Tibetan name: dGebsnyen dhar ma ta la)
DB:1932.6	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	Lokapala Virupaksha. Quarter: West (Tibetan name: Meg.mi.bZan)
DB:1932.7	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Angaja (Tibetan name: Yan lag 'byung)
DB:1932.8	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	Lokapala Vaishravana. Quarter: North (Tibetan name: tNam.thos.svas)
DB:1932.9	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Ajita (Tibetan name: Ma pham pa)
DB:1932.10	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Cudapanthaka (Tibetan name: Lam phran brtan)
DB:1932.11	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Kanakavatsa (Tibetan name: gSer be'u)
DB:1932.12	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	Lokapala Virudhaka. Quarter: South (Tibetan name: Phyags.skyes.po)
DB:1932.13	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Kanaka Bharadvaja (Tibetan name: Bha ra dva ja gser can)
DB:1932.14	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Kalika (Tibetan name: Dus ldan)
DB:1932.15	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Hashang (Tibetan name: Hva shang)
DB:1932.16	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Nagasena (Tibetan name: Klu'i sde)
DB:1932.17	23/04/32	Cotton painting	texile	The Arhat Cudapanthaka (Tibetan name: Lam phran brtan)
DB:1932.18	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Vajriputra (Tibetan name: rDo rje mo'I bu)
DB:1932.19	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Pindola Bharadvaja (tibetan name: Bha ra dva ja bsod snyoms len)
DB:1932.20	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Abheda (Tibetan name: Mi phyed pa)

DB:1932.21	23/04/32	Cotton painting	textile	The Arhat Angaja (Tibetan name: Yan lag 'byung)
DB:1932.22	09/05/32	Bronze head	Bronze	Bronze head of the late Ming period (1600-44AD), found in a temple in Shaanxi Province. The head represents a Bodhisattva.
DB:1932.23	12/05/32	Brocade	Brocade	China – Qianlong Period (1736-95AD)
DB:1932.24	12/05/32	Brocade	Brocade	China – Qianlong Period (1736-95AD)
DB:1932.25	12/05/32	Brocade	Brocade	China – Qianlong Period (1736-95AD)
DB:1932.26	12/05/32	Furoshiki	Brocade	Japan
DB:1932.27	12/05/32	Furoshiki	Brocade	Japan
DB:1932.28	12/05/32	Furoshiki	Brocade	Japan
DB:1932.29	01/08/32	statue	Wood coated in lacquer	Japan – 18th century, Buddha
DB:1932.30.1 and .2	01/08/32	Bowl and cover	Canton Enamel	18th century.
DB:1932.31.1 and .2	01/08/32	Bowl and cover	Canton Enamel	18th Century.
DB:1932.32	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Tosa School, Japan, 1700AD.
DB:1932.33	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Tosa School, Japan, 1750AD
DB:1932.34	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Japan, Picture in colour, Japan. Brown background with green mountains, five figures in foreground with house.
DB:1932.35	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Japan. Picture shows inside of house with three figures.
DB:1932.36	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Japan.
DB:1932.37	08/08/32	Paitning	Paper	Fan Painting, Japan
DB:1932.38	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Fan, Tosa School, Japan, 1700AD
DB:1932.39	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Fan, Tosa School,1700AD
DB:1932.40	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Kano School, Japan, 1600AD
DB:1932.41	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Ming Painting, 1600, China
DB:1932.42	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Ming Painting, 1600, China
DB:1932.43	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Fan Painting, Japan
DB:1932.44	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Fan Painting, Japan
DB:1932.45	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Japan
DB:1932.46	08/08/32	Painting	Paper	Japan
DB:1932.47	25/08/32	Large Tapestry	Brocade	Oblong strip bordered with embroidery; an antique piece of K'ossu [Kesi]. China
DB:1932.48	25/08/32	Brocade	Brocade	China: "The Games of the Hundred Boys"
DB:1932.49	25/08/32	Brocade	Brocade	China: "The Games of the Hundred Boys"
DB:1932.50	25/08/32	Brocade	Brocade	Label: 'Antique Embroidery representing a scene in the Western Paradise where the Tui or fungus of immortality grows. In the

				centre the tiger, symbol of strength in China'.
DB:1932.51	25/08/32	Brocade	Brocade	
DB:1932.52	25/08/32	Brocade	Brocade	
DB:1932.53	30/08/32	Wood block print	Paper	'100 Famous Views of Edo, Grandpa's Teahouse in Meguro' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.54	30/08/32	Wood block print	Paper	'100 Famous Views of Edo, the Armor-Hanging Pine on the Hakkei Slope' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.55	30/08/32	Wood block print	Paper	'100 Famous Views of Edo, Horie, Nekozane' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.56	30/08/32	Wood block print	Paper	'100 Famous Views of Edo, The Sazaido Principal Hall of the Shrine of the 500 Disciples' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.57	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Views of the 60-Odd Provinces, Wakanoura in Kii Province' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.58	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Places of the 60-Odd Provinces, The Outer Bay at Choshi Beach in Shimosa Province' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.59	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Sketches of Famous Places of the 53 Stations of the Tokaido Road, Mishima. The Gate of the Daimyojin Temple at Mishima' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.60	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'36 Views of the Eastern Capital, Atogo Hill' by Utagawa Hiroshige II
DB:1932.61	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Fireworks at Ryogoku' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.62	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Zojo-ji Temple in Shiba' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.63	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Crowd at the New Year's Market at Asakusa Temple' by Utagawa Hiroshige
DB:1932.64	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Myojin Shrine in Kanda' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.65	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	Famous Views of the Eastern Capital, The Evening Scenery at Kasumigaseki' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.66	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Listening to Insects at Mount Dokan' by Utagawa Hiroshige
DB:1932.67	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Famous Views of Edo, Flowers in the Rain by the Sumida River' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.69	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Gatherer of Herbs' by Kunisada
DB:1932.70	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Depiction of 6 Contemporary Card Games, Hamaogi of the Bishuro House in Shin Yoshiwara' by Utagawa Kunisada II
DB:1932.71	30/08/32	Wood block	paper	'Excerpts of the Views for 100 People, 1

		print		Poem, Number 11, Sangi Takamura' by Kunisada
DB:1932.72	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'All About Fashionable Cuisine, The Horaiya Restaurant before the Kuromon Gate, Ueno' by Eisen
DB:1932.73	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Collection of Elegant Beauties of the 5 Seasons, Rain in the Fifth Month' by Eisen
DB:1932.74	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Depictions of Contemporary Beauties' by Eisen
DB:1932.75	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'The Twelve Months, The Month for Viewing Blossoming Flowers' by Kunisada
DB:1932.76	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Iwai Tojaku' by Toyokuni
DB:1932.77	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Seji Sanjuro II' by Toyokuni
DB:1932.78	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Beauty Seated at the Edge of the Engawa (Veranda)'
DB:1932.79	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'The 4 Elegant Pastimes, The Koto' by Eizan
DB:1932.80	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'The Ebi-ya in 1-Chome, Kyomachi, Yoshiwara, Sugatono of the Ebi-ya with a Chrysanthemum' by Eizan
DB:1932.81	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'8 Famous Views of Edo, Fireworks at Ryogoku' by Hiroshige II
DB:1932.82	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Watching Fireflies in the Cool of the Evening' by Kuniyoshi
DB:1932.83	30/08/32	Wood block print	paper	'Watching Fireflies in the Cool of the Evening' by Kuniyoshi
DB:1932.84	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Cinnabar lacquer	Small bottle with red overlay on black with jade stopper, Qianlong period (1736-95AD).
DB:1932.85	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Cinnabar lacquer	Red with carnelian stopper. Kuang-hsu period.
DB:1932.86	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Ivory	Ivory inlaid with black and red lacquer. China.
DB:1932.87	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Ivory	Japanese with intaglio design in figures
DB:1932.88	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Crystal	Hand painted on inside of bottle
DB:1932.89	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	Design depicts woodcutter and tree.
DB:1932.90	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Crystal	
DB:1932.91	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Crystal	
DB:1932.92	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Crystal	Carved with the ancient Tao-tieh design of the 'God of Gluttony'.
DB:1932.93	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Gold fleck	
DB:1932.94	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Glass	
DB:1932.95	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Glass	Method of blowing one colour of glass inside another.
DB:1932.96	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	
DB:1932.97	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	

DB:1932.98	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	
DB:1932.99	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	
DB:1932.100	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	
DB:1932.101	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	Water-worn agate.
DB:1932.102	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	Coloured agate
DB:1932.103	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	Discoloured agate portrays dried edge of a lotus leaf.
DB:1932.104	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Agate	Vari-coloured (not an antique).
DB:1932.105	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Crystal	Crystal bottle with line of cleavage. Design shows the dragon of intelligence and bat of happiness.
DB:1932.106	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Jade	Converted to bottle at a later date.
DB:1932.107	31/08/32	Snuff bottle	Smoked crystal	Design shows child clambering over a wall to pick a small gourd from the vine.
DB:1932.108	08/09/32	First-degree Daoist Priest's robe	Textile, silk with gold thread	China, 17th/18th century.
DB:1932.109	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'Courtesan Painting a Fan with a Brush' by Eishi
DB:1932.110	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'Beauty Holding a Lantern' by Shunsen
DB:1932.111	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'Niwaka-Kyogen at the Green House, The Farce Entitled 'Mukashi Ima Akiya manouba" by Utamaro
DB:1932.113	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'Seaside Teahouse' by Shuncho
DB:1932.114	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'36 Views of Mount Fuji, Bushu Tamagawa' by Hokusai
DB:1932.115	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'100 Famous Views of Edo, Fireworks at Ryogoku' by Hiroshige
DB:1932.116	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'The 12 Signs of the Zodiac in Elegant Play, Sign of the Monkey' by Shunzan'Niwaka-Kyogen at the Green House, The Farce Entitled 'Mawaritourou" by Utamaro
DB:1932.117	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'Niwaka-Kyogen at the Green House, The Farce Entitled 'Mawaritourou" by Utamaro
DB:1932.118	12/09/32	Woodblock prints	Paper	'Collection of Famous Beauties of Edo, Nihonbashi' by Yoshitora
1933				
DB:1933.1	30/01/33	Buckle	White jade	Chinese, Ming Period
DB:1933.2	30/01/33	Buckle	White jade	Chinese, Ming Period
DB:1933.3	30/01/33	Statue	Soapstone	Chinese stone carving. Saint statuette. Qianlong period (1736-95AD).
DB:1933.4	30/01/33	Statue	Soapstone	Chinese stone carving. Qing Dynasty.
DB:1933.5	30/01/33	Statue	Soapstone	Chinese stone carving. Qing Dynasty.
DB:1933.6	30/01/33	Snuff bottle	Ivory	Chinese, Tao Kwang period. Figure of a saint.
DB:1933.7	30/01/33	Snuff bottle	Ivory	Figure: 'Goddess of Mercy'

DB:1933.8	30/01/33	Snuff bottle	Ivory	Chinese, Tao Kwang period. Figure of a bird-shaped vehicle.
DB:1933.9	30/01/33	Snuff bottle	Peking glass	Chinese. Design – bamboo, flowers and birds.
DB:1933.10	30/01/33	Doll	Ivory and mother-of-pearl	Japanese, 1750AD.
DB:1933.11	30/01/33	Doll	Brocade	Japanese, 1750AD
DB:1933.12	30/01/33	Statue of duck	Clay	Chinese, Han Dynasty.
DB:1933.13	22/02/33	Figure of a woman	terracotta	Chinese; figure of a woman. Grave pieces of the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD).
DB:1933.14	22/02/33	Figure of a woman	terracotta	Chinese; figure of a woman. Grave pieces of the Tang Dynasty (618-907AD)
DB:1933.15	22/02/33	Figure of hunter	Ivory	Japanese carving of a hunter figure by Ueda.
DB:1933.16	22/02/33	Figure of Kong Ming	Wood	Chinese wooden figure of Kong Ming. 17th/18th century.
DB:1933.17	22/02/33	Figure of Buddha	Wood	Siamese Buddha in contemplation. Early-18th century.
DB:1933.18	22/02/33	Shrine	Ivory	Japanese. On the inside is Amida Buddha with his hands placed in the mudra of contemplation. On the inner panels of the doors are Ananda and Kashyapa, attendant-disciples of Buddha. The exterior of the shrine is illustrated with figures of the Eighteen Arhats (disciples) of Buddha.
DB:1933.19	03/04/33	Figure of dog	Stone	Stone dog of the Song and early Ming Dynasty. One of the well known Dogs of Fo.
DB:1933.20	03/04/33	Figure of turtle	Ivory	Japanese carving
DB:1933.21	03/04/33	Box	Enamelled silver	Chinese. Design on front shows birds and flowers and two sages playing Wei Qi. 18th century.
DB:1933.22	03/04/33	Pendant	Amber	Carved opaque amber pendant. Korean origin, carved in China. Represents the peach of immortality and plum blossom.
DB:1933.23	03/04/33	Snuff bottle	Hammered silver, bone, coral, gem stones	Mongolian. Panels of bone, inlay of coral, turquoise, lapis lazuli, goldstone and malachite. Qianlong period (1736-95AD).
DB:1933.24	03/04/33	Snuff bottle	Hammered silver, bone, coral, gem stones	Mongolian. Panels of bone, inlay of coral, turquoise, lapis lazuli, goldstone and malachite. Qianlong period (1736-95AD)
DB:1933.25	03/04/33	Pen – knife	Jade	Jade handle and case. Tassel with design of the endless knot, the symbol of immortality. Probably Korea.
DB:1933.26	03/04/33	netsuke	Bone, ivory	(1 of 4) 17th and 18th century examples.

				Three mounted in bronze and one in silver.
DB:1933.27	03/04/33	netsuke	Bone, ivory	(2 of 4) 17th and 18th century examples. Three mounted in bronze and one in silver.
DB:1933.28	03/04/33	netsuke	Bone, ivory	(3 of 4) 17th and 18th century examples. Three mounted in bronze and one in silver.
DB:1933.29	03/04/33	Netsuke	Bone, ivory	(4 of 4) 17th and 18th century examples. Three mounted in bronze and one in silver.
DB:1933.30	03/04/33	Ornament	jade	(1 of 5) 18th century pieces of jade. Ornaments from the tops of boxes.
DB:1933.31	03/04/33	Ornament	jade	(2 of 5) 18th century pieces of jade. Ornaments from the tops of boxes.
DB:1933.32	03/04/33	Ornament	jade	(3 of 5) 18th century pieces of jade. Ornaments from the tops of boxes.
DB:1933.33	03/04/33	Ornament	jade	(4 of 5) 18th century pieces of jade. Ornaments from the tops of boxes.
DB:1933.34	03/04/33	Ornament	jade	(5 of 5) 18th century pieces of jade. Ornaments from the tops of boxes.
DB:1933.35	03/04/33	Mask	Iron	Japanese, 16th or 17th century. Possibly used on a door.
DB:1933.36	03/04/33	Sword guard		(1 of 5) Japanese tsuba, 17th or 18th century, depicting the following symbols: Butterfly; Rabbit; God of Longevity riding a crane; 8 Happy Immortals and Flowers of Japan.
DB:1933.37	03/04/33	Sword guard		(2 of 5) Japanese tsuba, 17th or 18th century, depicting the following symbols: Butterfly; Rabbit; God of Longevity riding a crane; 8 Happy Immortals and Flowers of Japan.
DB:1933.38	03/04/33	Sword guard		(3 of 5) Japanese tsuba, 17th or 18th century, depicting the following symbols: Butterfly; Rabbit; God of Longevity riding a crane; 8 Happy Immortals and Flowers of Japan.
DB:1933.39	03/04/33	Sword guard		(4 of 5) Japanese tsuba, 17th or 18th century, depicting the following symbols: Butterfly; Rabbit; God of Longevity riding a crane; 8 Happy Immortals and Flowers of Japan.
DB:1933.40	03/04/33	Sword guard		(5 of 5) Japanese tsuba, 17th or 18th century, depicting the following symbols: Butterfly; Rabbit; God of Longevity riding a crane; 8 Happy Immortals and Flowers of Japan.
DB:1933.41	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.42	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.43	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.44	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.45	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple

DB:1933.46	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.47	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.48	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.49	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.50	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.51	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.52	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.53	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.54	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.55	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.56	28/04/33	Figure	wood	Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple
DB:1933.57	28/04/33	Cosmetic jar	Silver, antique	The character represented on each jar is shuang hsi, which means double or wedded happiness. The designs at the top and bottom are the repeated j'ui, the sceptre of good wishes. On the top sits a Dog of Fo. Wedding presents.
DB:1933.58	28/04/33	Cosmetic jar	Silver, antique	The character represented on each jar is shuang hsi, which means double or wedded happiness. The designs at the top and bottom are the repeated j'ui, the sceptre of good wishes. On the top sits a Dog of Fo. Wedding presents.
DB:1933.59	28/04/33	Figure	Gilded bronze	Tibetan, Buddha.
DB:1933.60	28/04/33	Snuff bottle	Cinnabar lacquer	Red bottle.
DB:1933.61	28/04/33	Snuff bottle	Ivory	Design represents the Daoist paradise.
DB:1933.62	28/04/33	Carving	Jade	Design depicts deer of long life
DB:1933.63	28/04/33	Carving	Ivory	Japanese
DB:1933.64	29/04/33	Box, sweetmeat	Enamel	Chinese. Cover of box is antique cut velvet. Inside the box there are trays of enamel from the early Qianlong period (1736-95AD).
DB:1933.65	04/06/33	Buddha Head	Stone	Chinese. Buddha head of the Song Dynasty and stand (968-1279AD).
DB:1933.67	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'5 Flower Matching Screens, The Courtesan

				Arihara of the Tsuru-ya' by Utamaro
DB:1933.69	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Views of Mount Fuji from Various Provinces, Sugano, Tamagawa of the Maruebi-ya' by Eisen
DB:1933.70	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'5 Women of the Green House, Matsamura of the Matsuba-ya' by Eizan
DB:1933.72	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Shiko, One of the Poet's 10 Disciples' by Kunisada
DB:1933.73	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'100 Famous Views of the Flowers in the East, The Flowers at Motohachiman, Fukugawa' by Eisen
DB:1933.74	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'About the 3 Summer Months, Blooming Moon' by Kunisada
DB:1933.75	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Famous Views of the Moon in the Eastern Capital, the Winter Moon at Matsuchiyama' by Kunisada
DB:1933.76	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Okon of the Abura-ya Teahouse' by Kunisada
DB:1933.77	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Collection of Contemporary Flowers and Birds, Rabbit Flowers and a Little Cuckoo' by Kuniyoshi
DB:1933.78	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Beauty Holding a Pipe' by Kuniyasu
DB:1933.80	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'3 Views of Famous Places in Edo, The Moon at Takanawa' by Hiroshige
DB:1933.81	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Beauty Taking a Stroll' by Yoshitora
DB:1933.82	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Writings of the Five Seasons, A Letter Written in March'
DB:1933.83	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Commander Michitsuna's Mother, Number 53' by Kunisada
DB:1933.84	21/07/33	Print	Paper	Views of Famous Bridges in Various Provinces, The Suspension Bridge on the Border of Hida and Etchu Provinces' by Hokusai
DB:1933.86	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Grasshopper in a Persimmon Tree', by Hokusai
DB:1933.87	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Japanese Grosbeak and Four O'Clocks' by Hokusai
DB:1933.91	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Famous Places in Edo, Clam Digging at the Beach at Shinagawa' by Hiroshige II
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DB:1933.96	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'100 Famous Views of Edo, Towboats Along the Yotsugi-dori Canal' by Hiroshige
DB:1933.97	21/07/33	Print	Paper	'Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Wisteria Flowers at Kameido' by Hiroshige
DB:1933.98	25/07/33	Circular Mat	Velvet brocade	Chinese
DB:1933.99	25/07/33	Circular Mat	Velvet brocade	Chinese
DB:1933.100	25/07/33	Circular Mat	Velvet brocade	Chinese
DB:1933.101	25/07/33	Circular Mat	Velvet brocade	Chinese
DB:1933.102	25/07/33	Circular Mat	Velvet brocade	Chinese
DB:1933.103	25/07/33	Circular Mat	Velvet brocade	Chinese
DB:1933.104	25/07/33	Belt	Silver buckle	Belt with closely worked beaded design.
DB:1933.105	25/07/33	Hair bars	Jade, coral, pink quartz	Woman's headdress. Hair bar is inlaid with jade, coral, pink quartz.
DB:1933.106	25/07/33	Door knocker	Bronze	Early Qing Dynasty.
DB:1933.107	25/07/33	Door knocker	Bronze	Early Qing Dynasty.
DB:1933.108	25/07/33	Door knocker	Bronze	Ming Dynasty.
DB:1933.109	25/07/33	Netsuke	Ivory	Mask. Signed by Gyokusan.
DB:1933.110	25/07/33	Netsuke	Wood	Mask. Signed by Keizan.
DB:1933.111	25/07/33	Netsuke	Ivory	Represents an old woman.
DB:1933.112	25/07/33	Netsuke figure	Ivory	Represents a Japanese wrestler. Signed by Myoichi.
DB:1933.113	25/07/33	Make-up box	Ivory compartments	Japanese. Tiny make-up box in two compartments.
DB:1933.115	25/07/33	Buckle	Jade	Set with quartz and ruby matrix.
DB:1933.116	28/07/33	Figure	Pottery	Chinese, Tang Dynasty (618-907AD)
DB:1933.117	30/07/33	Vase	Pottery	Chinese, Han Dynasty
DB:1933.118	31/07/33	Incense burner	Pewter	China, Qianlong period (1736-95AD)
DB:1933.119.1	31/07/33	vase	pewter	Pewter inlaid with figures cut from copper, brass or tin and set in flush with the pewter surface.
DB:1933.119.2	31/07/33	vase	pewter	Pewter inlaid with figures cut from copper, brass or tin and set in flush with the pewter surface.
DB:1933.120	31/07/33	Flagon	Pewter	This flagon is of a type used by the Mongols for serving wine, the form of

				which illustrates a strong Islamic influence that arrived in China via Turkestan and Gansu Province.
DB:1933.121	31/07/33	Dish	Pewter	Chinese. Large serving dish.
DB:1933.122	31/07/33	Chalice	Pewter	Japanese
1934				
DB:1934.1	07/34	Length	Silk	Green and orange silk length with foliage design. Possibly Chinese. Note with object, "presented by Dr. Albert M. Bender of San Francisco July 1934". This object was intended as a gift for Adolf Mahr's wife, Maria.
				The following artefacts came in throughout 1935 and 1936 and have been put in rough order of acquisition (this more haphazard record-keeping is due to the fact that these objects came into the NMI after the opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern in June 1934).
1935				
DB:1935.1	9/7/35	Painting	Textile	18th century Chinese Buddhist painting of Avalokiteshvara
DB:1935.2	19/9/35	Mural		(1 of 2) Ming Dynasty murals, Chinese. Depicts a pipe-player.
DB:1935.3	19/9/35	Mural		(2 of 2) Ming Dynasty murals, Chinese. Depicts a flute player.
DB:1935.4	19/9/35	Painting		(1 of 2) Chinese paintings, each depicts a woman in front profile, but wearing different headdresses.
DB:1935.5	19/9/35	painting		(2 of 2) Chinese paintings, each depicts a woman in front profile, but wearing different headdresses.
DB:1935.6	19/9/35	Painting		Korean painting illustrating three monks holding beads.
1938				
DB:1938.1	17/06/38	Tile	Ceramic	Chinese. Incised and carved. Han Dynasty. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.2	17/06/38	Screen		Japanese, bearing Tosa paintings, 18th century. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.3	17/06/38	Sculpture	Wood, lacquer finish	Saga dolls. 1750AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.4	17/06/38	Sculpture	Wood, lacquer finish	Saga dolls. 1750AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.5	17/06/38	Vase	Glazed	Song Dynasty (959 –1279AD), with cover.

			pottery	Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.6	17/06/38	Vase	Glazed pottery	Song Dynasty (959 –1279AD), with cover. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.7	17/06/38	Bowl	Porcelain	Japanese 'Kutani' ware, 1750 AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.8	17/06/38	Bowl	Porcelain	Japanese 'Kutani' ware, 1750 AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.9	17/06/38	Bowl	Porcelain	Japanese 'Kutani' ware, 1750 AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.10	17/06/38	Bowl	Porcelain	Japanese 'Kutani' ware, 1750 AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.11	17/06/38	Figure	Camphor wood	Japanese figure of Shotoku – Taishi, 1750AD. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.12	17/06/38	Figure	Wood	Japanese, Meiji period. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.13	17/06/38	Doll		Japanese, Edo period. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.14	17/06/38	Doll		Japanese, Edo period. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.15	17/06/38	Bowl	Bronze	Chinese, Han Dynasty. Museum received object on 14/12/1936. This object was damaged in Irish customs before entering the museum.
DB:1938.16	17/06/38	Bowl	Bronze	Chinese, Han Dynasty. Museum received object on 14/12/1936. This object was damaged in Irish customs before entering the museum.
DB:1938.17	17/06/38	Figure	Porcelain	Chinese, Guanyin figure, 18th century. Museum received object on 17/7/36.
DB:1938.18	17/06/38	Bowl	Bronze	Chinese, Han Dynasty. Bowl in the shape of a jar. This is possibly the bronze vessel sent as a replacement for damaged vessels DB:1938.15 and 1938.16. Museum received object on 17/7/36.

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Summary chronology of Bender's life

18 June 1866. Albert Maurice Bender born in Dublin, the second son of Rabbi Philip Bender and Augusta Bremer. His siblings are: Alfred, Montague, Isabella (later Isabella Kulp) and Gertrude (later Gertrude Cohen).

1873-79. Educated at 73 Lower Mount Street, Dublin (ages 7 to 11) and Beaufort College, Hastings, England (ages 11 to 13).

c.1879. Education continues at Barnard's Business College, San Francisco, Bender having emigrated to the USA.

15 October 1881. Beginning of professional career, working for maternal uncle, William H. Bremer, a San Francisco shipping and insurance agent, as a clerk until 1890, succeeding to the management of General Insurance Brokerage Office, 311, California Street, San Francisco.

1920s. Begins donating Asian art to the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.

1920s until 1941. Bender corresponds with his close friend, Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, the President of Mills College, Oakland. Bender develops a close relationship with the college.

1921. Begins to donate contemporary American art to Mills College.

1922-41. Corresponds with the Irish writer, Kathleen O'Brennan.

1923. Death of first cousin, Anne Bremer, the Californian avant-garde landscape painter. She lived with him at 1369, Post Street, San Francisco.

1925. Begins to donate Asian art to Mills College.

1927-41. Corresponds with the writer, Ella Young.

1928-1939. Corresponds intermittently with W.B., Elizabeth C. and Jack B. Yeats, but never meets any of them in person.

1929- [date]. Corresponds with Katherine M. Ball, the writer on Asian art.

1930s. Bender donates 495 volumes, mainly from Californian private presses, c.1920-1939, to Trinity College Dublin in honour of his father.

1930. Meets Walter Starkie, Professor of Spanish, TCD and Director of the Abbey Theatre, in San Francisco while Starkie is on a lecture tour of the United States. Starkie is instrumental in initiating Bender's donations to Dublin.

1931-1936. 260 artefacts of Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan-Buddhist art donated by Albert Bender to the National Museum of Ireland in honour of his mother.

1931-39. Corresponds with Adolf Mahr, Keeper of the Irish Antiquities Division, and from 1934 to 1939, Director, of the National Museum of Ireland.

1932-35. Bender corresponds with AE, George Russell, who had visited Bender.

1932. Begins to donate Asian art to the M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

1933. Oliver St. John Gogarty, poet, playwright and Cumann na nGaedheal senator visits Bender in San Francisco.

25 June 1934. Official opening of the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' at the National Museum of Irlenad.

October 12 to December 11, 1934. Friends of Far Eastern Art Exhibition of Chinese Art held at Mills College Art Gallery, Oakland.

4 March 1941. Bender dies at his home, 1369 Post Street, San Francisco aged 74. He is the holder of honorary titles, degrees and medals awarded: M.A. (Mills College, 1925), D.LL.(University of California, Berkeley), D. Litt.(Mills College, 1934), Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Moraga Crest from St. Mary's College; Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, France; Cavalier of the Crown of Italy.

Introduction

The donations of mostly Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan Buddhist art that the Irish-born collector Albert Bender gave the National Museum of Ireland during the 1930s amount to the most significant series of gifts to an Irish cultural institution just over a decade on after Irish Independence. Therefore, in terms of any precedence being set for future benefaction to the Irish state of Asian material, the Bender Collection should be seen as crucial to an understanding of the history of public collecting of non-Western material culture in Ireland. Albert Bender decided to donate approximately 260 artefacts of Asian art to the National Museum of Ireland between 1931 and 1936 in honour of his mother Augusta. Artistically, the collection remains one of the most valuable of all Asian material under the institution. It is renowned particularly for its Tibetan Buddhist Thangkas and Japanese prints (*ukiyo-e*). The purpose of this thesis is to explore the nature and significance of the Albert Bender donations, and the context within which they were made.

Albert Maurice Bender (18 June 1866- 4 March 1941) was born in Dublin, the son of Rabbi Philip Bender and Augusta Bremer. He went to primary school at 73 Lower Mount Street where his father was teacher and taught Jews and Christians of all denominations[1], a rare occurrence in 19th century Ireland. According to a Western Biographies form filled out in Albert Bender's own hand, the Rev. Philip Bender's first call had been Hull on the Humber, England followed by Dublin and then later he was principal of Beaufort College, Hastings, England. Albert Bender also attended this school between the ages of eleven and thirteen, when he thereafter emigrated to San Francisco and attended Barnard's Business College.[2]

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[1] *Jewish Chronicle*, Obituary for Revd. Philip Bender, 5 April, 1901, p. 14.

[2] *Biographical Notes or Who's Who in California and Nevada*, Western Biographies Inc., San Francisco. File 1.1.55, Albert M. Bender Archive, Mills College, Oakland, California.

When Albert Bender settled in San Francisco his maternal uncle, William H. Bremer, a shipping and insurance broker, gave him work. By the age of twenty he had set up as an independent insurance agent[3] and would amass great wealth. He was interested in three main areas of collecting; modern art, books and Asian art. Albert Bender had numerous interests, which included membership of such societies as the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.[4] In addition to the National Museum, Bender also donated collections to Trinity College; Mills College, Oakland, California; the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco; the M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum, San Francisco; the Louvre, Paris; the California School of Fine Arts; and the University of California, Stanford.[5] One of the greatest legacies left by Albert Bender, apart from his collecting of literature and Asian art, lies in the collection of SFMOMA, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. His series of donations to that organisation (totalling approximately eight hundred items) helped form the nucleus of what has emerged as one of the most respected modern art museums in the United States. Of particular Irish interest in the SFMOMA collection is a group of illustrations by Henri Matisse in 1935 for a New York publication of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'. Bender was also reported to be an honorary member of the Museum of Modern Art, New York[6] as well as a donor to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.[7] During the 1920s and '30s Albert Bender was the patron of several artists, amongst which were Diego Rivera, Ansel Adams, Edward Weston and Ralph Stackpole. Bender is perhaps best known for his patronage of Diego Rivera, as Rivera obtained a visa into the United States in 1930 through Albert Bender's influence at a time when American

[3] *San Francisco Chronicle*, Obituary for Albert Bender, 5 March 1941, p. 12.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] San *Francisco Chronicle*: Obituary, Albert M. Bender, 5 March 1941, p. 12.

[7] *The San Francisco Examiner*: Obituary, Albert M. Bender, 5 March 1941 (page number unavailable).

authorities were suspicious of his communist sympathies.[8] In thanks for this patronage Frida Kahlo (Rivera's wife) presented Bender with the double-portrait 'Frieda and Diego Rivera', 1931 now in SFMOMA. The 'Albert M. Bender Memorial Trust' was set up after Bender's death in 1941, which allowed for two annual monetary awards in the areas of art and literature. It was decided that the San Francisco Art Association administer the memorial fund, as it was U.S. West Coast-based artists and writers who had been helped most by Albert Bender during his lifetime.

A personal tragedy in 1923 is generally accepted as a turning point in Albert Bender's life. That year his closest friend and first cousin, the artist Anne Bremer, died. Through her influence Albert Bender had developed an appreciation for the visual arts.[9] From the 1920s until his death in 1941 he formed several important collections of both contemporary and Asian art for public institutions. The National Museum of Ireland's collection of Asian art that he donated during the 1930s is singular as being his main collection given to a European institution. Despite pressure from the Louvre to acquire the Tibetan Buddhist Thangkas of the Arhats of Buddha, Albert Bender insisted they were given to the land of his birth. Such a benevolent act in the early years of Irish Independence was unique, and later paved the way for other private collections to be donated to the State. In addition to the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' in the National Museum, he likewise established an Asian art room in the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. Apart from his renowned patronage of contemporary artists he also served as director of the San Francisco Symphony, the San Francisco Art Association and was a member of the San Francisco public library

[8] Kettenmann, Andrea: *Diego Rivera 1886-1957: A Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Art*. Taschen, 2005, p. 46.

[9] *The San Francisco Examiner*,Obituary for Albert Bender, 5 March 1941 (page number unavailable).

commission.[10] In an obituary on the death of Albert Bender in the 'San Francisco News', John D. Barry wrote: 'He didn't care what you represented, whether you were Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or Mohammedan , whether you were white, black or yellow, whether you had plenty of money or no money. As a fellow being you'd appeal to his sympathy'.[11]

This last assertion on Bender's character ties in with a report that he once 'admitted that 90 per cent of his income went back to San Francisco's charitable, educational and creative institutions'.[12] In addition one of his obituaries made reference to his belief that 'too great an emphasis on historical collections would spell the early death of contemporary art'.[13] His interest in Asian art, therefore, appears to have developed as a consequence of his collecting of contemporary visual art following Anne Bremer's death. His primary interest seems to have been the visual arts generally rather than according to any geographical provenance. The fact that Bender lived in such a multicultural city as San Francisco, goes some way towards explaining his collecting of Asian art. His overriding collections' preference remained, however, that of books. Amongst his many affiliations he was a member of the American League of Pen Women, the Book Club of California and the Ina Coolbrith Literary Circle.[14] This love of the arts of the book is evident in the following quote from the 'San Francisco News': 'Distinguished visitors in San Francisco would stay in his rooms, a philosopher like Bertrand Russell, poet like Edwin Markham, a novelist like Feuchtwanger, many another traveller who appreciated escaping from hotels, into the tranquil atmosphere of art, with book shelves crowded and with meals served at any hour by a faithful housekeeper used to

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[10] *San Francisco Chronicle*, Obituary for Albert Bender, 5 March 1941, p. 12.

[11] Barry, John D. in *San Francisco News*, Obituary for Albert Bender, 6 March 1941 (page number unavailable).

[12] *San Francisco Chronicle*, Obituary for Albert Bender, 5 March 1941, p. 12.

[13] ibid

[14] ibid

lecturers and other celebrities fond of sleeping late'.[15] Yet despite his apparent friendships and acquaintances with noted figures from the art and literary worlds, the hallmark of Bender's patronage was its democratic nature whereby at his funeral in March 1941 'Chinese and Japanese sat side by side and wept over "Mickey" Bender's passing, and for the moment were united in grief. Rich and poor sat side by side, and, for the moment, their tears made them brothers. Politicians and artists, society matrons and servants, painters and sculptors and writers and philosophers ... All were there, sitting side by side, to pay homage to Albert Bender...'.[16]

The aim of this thesis is to discuss the donations of Far Eastern Art given by Albert Bender to the National Museum between 1931 and 1936. These donations will be interpreted in the context of his cultural interests in Ireland and California. The main methodology used is that of historical documentary analysis, using such archives as that of the Art and Industrial Division, National Museum of Ireland and the Albert M. Bender Archive, Mills College, Oakland, California. The National Museum archive contains a wealth of information on the collection itself, and includes correspondence from Albert Bender and his dealers, particularly Henry H. Hart. The Albert Bender Archive, Mills College, consists of thousands of letters from artists, dealers, writers and business associates who knew Bender. In terms of most relevance to the Bender Collection in the National Museum, the correspondence of Adolf Mahr, Walter Starkie, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Jack B. Yeats, W.B. Yeats, Ella Young, Kathleen O'Brennan, George Russell and museum/college directors in northern California are the most important. No book on the life and works of Albert Bender has yet been written. Therefore, this thesis attempts to discuss for the first time Albert Bender's contribution to the National Museum of Ireland, and also his Irish and Californian links, artistic and literary. The

[15] *San Francisco News*, Obituary for Albert Bender, 6 March 1941.

[16] *San Francisco Chronicle*, Obituary for Albert Bender, 7 March 1941.

correspondence of Adolf Mahr with Albert Bender has been addressed in Gerry Mullins' 2007 biography of Mahr, but only in the context of Mahr's Nazi activity. There is no reference to the wider issues of NMI collecting policy of the 1930s and how Mahr's remarks may have adversely affected further donations by Bender.

In terms of literature on the history of the National Museum of Ireland, Elizabeth Crooke's 2000 publication[17] is the most significant. It is, however, primarily a review of the history of the archaeological/Irish Antiquities Division rather than taking a cross-divisional approach. This criticism is well made by Mairéad Dunlevy: 'She [Crooke] does not give adequate attention to other developments in the establishment of the museum. One such was when the Lord Lieutenant worked to remove the Dublin Society from involvement in official grant giving. Then the Irish Parliament encouraged the Society in specific cultural matters as in supporting them financially, 1796, to 'complete a cabinet of Irish minerals' and an initial payment for the Leskean cabinet. From this the Natural History Museum evolved. A demand for another form of museum grew out of the drawing schools of the mechanics institute. They were started in Cork, Belfast and Dublin about 1835 and like their foreign counterparts demanded an accessible museum with patterns/objects'.[18] The Nils Lithberg Report of 1927, which set down recommendations for a collections policy in the National Museum, was crucial to the acquisition of Irish material culture only. It will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis in relation to the anomaly that was the acquisition of the Bender Collection of Asian art.

The following chapters will also examine Bender's Judaism in the context of his emigration to San Francisco and later interest in Irish affairs. The most significant research on the history

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[17] Crooke, Elizabeth: *Politics, Archaeology and the Making of a National Museum of Ireland.* Irish Academic Press, 2000.

[18] Dunlevy, Mairéad in *Museum Ireland*, Vol. 12, 2002, p. 122.

of Jews in Ireland has been done by Dermot Keogh[19], and Cormac O Grada.[20] Both of these publications, however, do not address the initial mid-nineteenth century Dublin Jewish community. The Shul at that time was English-speaking and based at St. Mary's Abbey, off Capel Street. It was here that Rev. Philip Bender administered to the Jewish congregation from circa 1856-78. Albert Bender's assistance to Jewish emigrés from Europe during the 1930s will be addressed in the context of his general philanthropic activities and Jewish upbringing.

In relation to the history of Asian art collecting by American museums, Warren Cohen's 'East Asian Art and American Culture' is the most significant publication. Although Cohen mentions Avery Brundage as a highly important San Francisco collector of Asian art, the main scope of his discussion centres on the first half of the twentieth century. Therefore, he does not specifically mention San Francisco as a Pacific Coast artistic centre in this regard, but instead Seattle. In particular reference is made to Richard E. Fuller's patronage of the Art Institute of Seattle from 1931. Indeed Cohen mentions Fuller as the only authority the San Francisco Museum of Art approached in the 1930s regarding its East Asian art collection: 'So limited was expertise in East Asian art on America's Pacific coast that for many years Fuller was perceived as the area's leading authority, the man to whom even the San Francisco museum's new director looked for advice in 1936'.[21]

Before detailing the history of Bender's donations it is necessary to give an overview of the history of Asian applied arts acquisition by the National Museum. The Science and Art Museum, Dublin (now the NMI) was founded in 1877 under the Science and Art Museum

[19] Keogh, Dermot: *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, Cork University Press, 1998.

[20] O Grada, Cormac: *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History*. Princeton University Press, 2006.

[21] Cohen, Warren I.: *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations*. Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 106.

Act. Officials for the Museum began collecting based on the South Kensington model, which they were tied to administratively. As with other large metropolitan centres of these islands where museums under the Science and Art Department existed, such as Edinburgh and Liverpool, policy dictated that the acquisition of applied/industrial arts be internationally as well as nationally-based. Therefore, many objects of non-Western provenance (in the National Museum of Ireland's case, approximately 7,000 objects of Asian origin) came under museum control. Much has been made of the Great Exhibitions of the nineteenth and early twentieth century having played a leading role in this regard,[22] and the registration and archives of the National Museum of Ireland for the years 1877 to 1948 confirm Asian material having been accessioned from such sources. Yet there is a marked decrease in the rate of acquisition of Asian applied arts and design after Irish Independence in 1922 when the collections policy turned almost exclusively to the collecting of Irish manufacture, provenance and association. Therefore, the Albert Bender donations are something of an anomaly by date and type in the history of (Asian art) collecting by the National Museum. Also of significance in the archival information on acquisitions is the high instance of direct auction purchase. For instance during the years 1877 to 1889 auction houses or dealers in Dublin, Cork, London, Paris, Rotterdam, Glasgow and Munich are repeatedly mentioned.

A third category is that of donation from wealthy and well travelled Irish citizens who may have been buoyed up by the prospects of supporting their new cultural institution in days prior to political independence. With the amalgamation of the Royal Irish Academy's collection of Irish Antiquities from 1890, the emphasis of the NMI's collections policy began to change course.[23] An examination of the register entries for 1877 to 1889 reveals a so-

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[22] Burton, Anthony, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Victoria and Albert Museum Publications, 1999.

[23] Crooke, Elizabeth: *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum of Ireland*, Irish Academic Press, 2000.

called Anglo-Irish association with regards to these donors, many of whom had been part of the military abroad, e.g. the Burmese Expedition of the 1880s. By the term Asian material culture in the Art and Industrial Division of the National Museum, the countries referred to include China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, India, Burma (Myanmar), Iran, Iraq and Pakistan (areas pertaining to the Asian continent generally, whether Middle Eastern, Indian sub-continental or Far Eastern and not including Islamic material from Turkey and north Africa). Asian ethnographical material resides in the Irish Antiquities Division of the National Museum. Although significant amounts of ethnography from the Pacific Islands, Indian subcontinent, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and North America were originally accessioned under the auspices of the Art and Industrial Division not the least of which came from the University of Dublin, e.g. Cook Voyages, these collections have since been transferred to the Irish Antiquities Division.

A fourth category is duplicate material received from the 'parent' Science and Art Department, South Kensington. In many instances there exists correspondence and/or registration entries that confirm the transfer of Asian objects from London to Dublin to serve instructive purposes. Indeed close links between the Metropolitan School of Art, Dublin and the Dublin Science and Art Museum are underlined when reading through the archival evidence. The fact that the Metropolitan School and the Museum were both situated in Leinster House may have led to the impression of one of the latter's main remits: education of the native artisan/industrial artist. There are also incidences of donation by the trustees of the British Museum, the Civil Service Cooperation Society and the University of Dublin.

In relation to the great international industrial exhibitions of the late nineteenth century, the following examples in particular are worthy of note: Japanese material was purchased at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, 1878. The commercial agents Foukagama and Chozen are specifically mentioned. In addition purchases were also made of Indian and Persian objects

from the British-Indian section of the same exhibition via Caspar Purdon Clarke.[24] Purchases were also made from the Chinese Commission, Paris. Other exhibitions referred to in the register include the International Exhibition, Calcutta (1883); the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London (1886); and the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, Manchester (1887). It is worth discussing Caspar Purdon Clarke's involvement in securing Indian and Persian material for the Science and Art Museum, Dublin as an example of how the international network of museums and exhibitions helped in the accession of non-Western artefacts. The British-Indian section of the Paris Universal Exhibition was architecturally designed by Caspar Purdon Clarke. On the inside cover of the accompanying handbook to the section by George C.M. Birdwood, reference is made to Clarke's additional role as official commercial agent.[25] What makes Caspar Purdon Clarke such an interesting figure, apart from the fact that he was born in Richmond, Co. Dublin in 1846,[26] was his achievement in having one of the most illustrious museum careers ever as he became director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London in 1896 and director of the Metropolitan Museum, New York by 1905.[27] According to Anthony Burton, Clarke attended the National Art Training School, South Kensington from 1862 to 1865 where he was awarded the National Medallion for Architectural Design.[28] By 1867 he had become associated with the Bethnal Green Museum, which contained the Indian collections acquired by the Prince of Wales by way of presentations from the princes

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[24] Whitty, Audrey: 'The Caspar Purdon Clarke Indian and Persian Collection of the National Museum of Ireland, 1878-79', *Museum Ireland*, Vol. 14, 2004, p. 68-75.

[25] Birdwood, George C.M. in *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878. Handbook to the British Indian Section*, Offices of the Royal Commission, London, 1878, p. 111

[26] According to the website http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/dnb/32424.html Caspar Purdon Clarke was born in Richmond, Co. Dublin on 21 December 1846.

[27] Somers Cocks, Anna: *The Victoria and Albert Museum: The Making of the Collection*, Windward, 1980, p. 117.

[28] Burton, Anthony: *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, V. & A. publications, 1999, p. 119.

and chiefs of the subcontinent. As a result of his success at the Exposition Universelle, Clarke was initially appointed by the South Kensington Indian Museum, formerly run by the East India Company, 'to superintend arrangement of Indian Collection'.[29] This was the beginning of his museum career. On assuming the directorship in 1896, Clarke re-aligned the museum, soon to be renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum, on the scholarship of designated areas of material culture, as curatorial departments were differentiated according to medium, e.g. ceramics, metalwork, etc. rather than according to time period or place of production. This curatorial division is still in operation throughout most design and applied arts museums formerly associated with London.

With the passing of the Science and Art Museum Act in 1877 what would eventually become the National Museum of Ireland came into existence. Caspar Purdon Clarke's name occurs in one hundred and twenty-one registration entries as being the agent involved in the acquisition of Indian and Persian material for Dublin. Objects fall under the categories of ceramics, metalwork, enamels, paintings, textiles, ivories and seals. In relation to the acquisition of ceramics, they were accessioned by the Museum in the year of the Exposition, 1878. They range from Peshawar ware from modern day Pakistan, to Scinde pottery of red earthenware enamelled in white with green slip, a platter bearing Indian motifs of floral decoration in blue and white and a fire-holder of a bronzed earthenware body. The majority of the pieces acquired in 1878 and 1879 were contemporary, the primary aim of the great industrial exhibitions being their promotion of contemporary manufactures at home and abroad.

As with all great exhibitions of industrial arts during the latter half of the nineteenth century (beginning with the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations held in London in 1851), emphasis was placed on those non-Western arts which successfully adhered to

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[29] Ibid

traditional methods in contrast to the fast pace of mechanization considered by some scholars detrimental to creative fervour. Birdwood even states his unease at certain aspects of the pottery produced by the Bombay School of Art that employed 'the natives all over Western India to imitate the hardware jugs of Messrs. Doulton'.[30] This rather defensive opinion was not uncommon amongst well-meaning British Victorian writers proselytising against what they interpreted as the corruption of the more beneficial aspects of their subject 'peasantry'. The main reasoning behind the expense involved in nineteenth-century public collecting by the colonial powers was the fostering of sound native European industrial design with influences from a wide geographical range. This ethos is remarkably illustrated using the textiles from the Caspar Purdon Clarke acquisitions as an example. Amongst them is Rescht patchwork and two embroidered napkin borders. The accession of material that appears at first glance to be nothing more than representative types was deliberately executed: 'These collections of samples are calculated to afford not only a variable guide to a large class of manufactures, but also to place the study of Indian textile designs within the reach of a great number of people. Some 13 copies have been distributed in England, and the rest have been sent to India where they serve as means of ordering a particular pattern or bind of fabric to be sent either to England, or to be manufactured in England and sent out for native use'.[31]

In order to summarise the Purdon Clarke material as an illustration of nineteenth-century collecting policy, it is important to note in the words of the scholar Pushpa Sundar that when the Indian Museum was transferred to the South Kensington Museum in 1879, 'the South Kensington Museum inherited 20,000 items of applied art ... Thus the Museum, built up out of Indian revenues and donation from individuals, Indians and British, was dispersed to

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[30] Birdwood, C.M. *Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878. Handbook to the British Indian Section*, Offices of the Royal Commission, London, 1878, p. 102.

[31] Cole, H.H.: *Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art exhibited in the South Kensington Museum, South Kensington*, 1874, p. 221.

enrich the British nation's collections with no costs to it of acquisition. India benefited hardly at all from the fall out'.[32] Sundar also draws attention to the demand by J.B. Keith (Archaeological Surveyor, North Western Provinces and Central India) for the preservation of Indian art manufactures as part of a demand for the preservation of a 'traditional India', a romanticised ideal of a pre-industrial, non-materialistic society which, it was believed, had been lost by British rule itself.[33] In the late nineteenth century and in the lead up to Independence, pronouncements made by British administrators and scholars on Indian culture were resented by the educated Indian establishment who would have preferred such statements about Indian material culture to have come from them. The money being spent on exhibitions in Britain was revenue from India. Thus, it was felt, validity was being given to British scholarship on Indian heritage, to India's literal and metaphorical loss.[34]

The issue of which country would bear the financial burden of museum acquisition and display was heatedly contested in the House of Commons on the disbandment of the India Museum in 1879. Mr. Fawcett, Member of Parliament for Hackney even stated he 'considered the Museum as an unnecessary drain on Indian revenues'.[35] In any event by the following year approximately 20,000 objects from the India Museum had been transferred to the South Kensington Museum. A selection of what the British Museum did not want by way of natural history material was offered to the 'Indian Museum in Calcutta, the Indian Institute

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[32] Sundar, Pushpa: *Patrons and Philistines: Arts and the State in British India*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 105.

[33] Ibid, p. 136.

[34] Ibid, p. 261.

[35] Desmond, Ray: *The India Museum, 1801-1879*. London,1982, p. 172.

in Oxford, the Science and Art Museum in Dublin, the Philosophical Society of Scarborough, the Maidstone Museum and the South Kensington Museum'.[36]

As noted above one of the categories of acquisition of Asian art was donation from the Irish associated with British military expeditions. The British military expedition to Burma of 1885-86 involved Irish personnel, such as Colonel Sir Charles Fitzgerald, K.C.B. In January 1891 he lent some Burmese Buddhist statuary to the National Museum. One such example (registered L.220(1)), still part of the NMI collection, is a reclining Buddha statue of marble. It is in the Mandalay style (1857-86), the figure's drapery painted gold. The statue represents Buddha in the last stages of dying, awaiting Nirvana. In 2002 this statue was identified by the present writer to have been mentioned twice in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'.[37] In 'Ulysses' there are two references to the statue in the National Museum on Kildare Street. In the Lotus-Eaters episode when inspired by a poster advertising tea, Leopold Bloom thinks of the Far East: 'Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with hand under his cheek'. In the Penelope episode, Molly Bloom remarks on Leopold: 'Breathing with his hand on his nose like that Indian god he took me to show one wet Sunday in the museum in Kildare Street all yellow in a pinafore, lying on his side on his hand with his ten toes sticking out'. Joyce must have seen this Buddha on exhibition at the National Museum sometime after it came into the institution in 1891 and before he left Dublin in 1904.

Within the same category of wealthy Irish citizens are the donations and bequest made by Gerald, fifth Duke of Leinster (1851-1893). Acknowledgement of the importance of these donations (which were mostly Japanese art) was made by John Teahan, Keeper, Art and Industrial Division in the introduction to the 1985 exhibition 'Decorative Arts of Japan': 'The

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[36] Ibid, p. 179.

[37] Smurthwaite, John: 'That Indian God', *James Joyce Broadsheet*, 61, February 2002.

collection of Japanese decorative art in the National Museum is quite substantial, consisting of about 1,500 specimens. It includes lacquer, enamels, ivories, wood carvings, *netsuke*, ceramics, textiles, arms and armour and wood-block prints. Most of these were acquired by the Museum in the late 1800s or in the early years of this century – the chief donors being the Duke of Leinster and Mrs. Thom'.[38] One of the most important Duke of Leinster donations is the Dotaku or Ceremonial Bell (NMIDM:1887.360) of the Yayoi period (200B.C.– 250A.D.). It is a rare piece associated with ceremonies performed in conjunction with agricultural cycles. According to the 1985 exhibition catalogue 'the flange on one side and part of the handle are chipped. From this it can be deduced that the dotaku had been buried and that the damage had occurred in the course of its accidental discovery'.[39]

In the Leinster Papers at NUI, Maynooth there is reference to several donations to the Science and Art Museum Dublin by Gerald, the fifth Duke. They tally with the NMI registration entries for each of the listed artefacts. Interestingly, in 1888 the Duke received a copy of the 'Science and Art Museum Dublin List of Purchases and Donations from 1st January to 31st December 1887.[40] Amongst the many artefacts donated by the Duke, there are eleven items listed of Asian provenance. Unlike what followed in the Duke's bequest (registered in 1897) the majority of objects given in 1887 were not Japanese. There were even a number of objects associated not with the Far East, but with the Indian subcontinent and Persia: 'Box, sandalwood, with appliqués of pierced and engraved ivory. Indian Empire (Vizagapatam).. Box; sandalwood, veneered with horn and ivory, with appliqués of pierced ivory. Indian Empire (Vizagapatam)... Book-Slide; sandalwood and horn, with appliqués of pierced ivory. Indian Empire (Vizagapatam)... Paper-Knife; horn, with appliqués of pierced ivory. Indian

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[38] Teahan, John: *Decorative Arts of Japan*, National Museum of Ireland, 1985, Introduction.

[39] Ibid, p. 29

[40] Leinster Papers, NUI, Maynooth, Reel 13, D.3078/2/10/5/3.

Empire (Vizagapatam)... Perfume Burner; brass chased and pierced in the form of a camel, Persian'.[41] In contrast the 1897 Bequest included thirteen Japanese medicine boxes of lacquer, and it is in the medium of lacquer in relation to Japanese decorative art that the National Museum most benefitted. The Decorative Arts of Japan catalogue contained approximately twenty-six entries detailing lacquer objects that were acquired via the 1897 Leinster Bequest. Amongst them are ink-stone cases or writing boxes, food containers, boxes for letters, incense cabinets, war fans, tobacco boxes and *inro* (a miniature container consisting of a number of interlocking compartments, used to hold medicines). Other areas of collecting by the Duke of Leinster included coinage as in January 1890 a receipt signed by T.H. Longfield (Assistant Keeper, Art and Industrial Division) was received by the Duke for the loan of a 'case containing:- four gold coins, two silver coins and one brass coin, Japanese'.[42]

Another significant series of donations of Japanese decorative arts was made by Mrs. Alexander Thom. In the National Museum's register for 1905 is this inscription: 'The following objects numbered 371 to 867-05 form the Thom Collection of Japanese objects and were bequeathed to the Museum by Mrs. Thom per T.H. Longfield, F.S.A. (Keeper, Art and Industrial Collections) according to whose advice principally the Collection was formed'.[43] Therefore, approximately four hundred and ninety-seven artefacts of Japanese art were bequeathed by the Thom family. This is the same family associated with the Thom street directories. The types of objects collected by the Thoms included ivories, enamelled vessels, metalwork, lacquer, ceramics and figurative statuettes. The majority date to the Meiji period

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[41] Science and Art Museum, Dublin. List of Purchases and Donations from 1st of January to 31st December 1887'. 1887.350-353 and 1887.359.

[42] Leinster Papers, NUI, Maynooth, Reel 13, D.3078/2/10/5/3.

[43] Art and Industrial Division register, National Museum of Ireland for the year 1905.

(1868-1912 A.D.), and all are of high quality. Most of them were exhibited in the 1985 Decorative Arts of Japan exhibition, and are registered in the catalogue under either their year of accession, 1905, or with the letter 'T'.

In terms of Tibetan material the most important acquisitions prior to the Bender Collection involve approximately forty-one objects of metalwork from Lhasa. Inscribed in the Art and Industrial Division's register for 1904 is the following information: 'Collection of metalwork vessels brought from Lhasa, Tibet - £100'.[44] In the archives the information provided is not much more revealing, apart from a statement regarding the collection being purchased from an officer recently returned from the Younghusband Expedition.[45] Equivalent collections are found in the National Museums Liverpool and Victoria and Albert Museum collections, but their Tibetan material was accessioned the following year in 1905. Therefore, the acquisition of a Tibetan collection by the National Museum in the year of the Expedition itself is of huge significance, and illustrates the volume of Irish personnel involved. The fact that Captain Frederick O'Connor, an Irishman was responsible, due to his linguistic ability, for drawing up the terms of the Treaty of Lhasa also illustrates this central involvement by Irish military.[46] The majority of the metalwork is religious in association, such as butter lamps and flageolet instruments. The purchase price of £100 was a substantial amount of money for acquisition by the museum at that time. It reinforces the impression that Ireland's national museum was just as interested in this newly opened territory[47] as Sven Hedin and Gosta Montell in Sweden, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in Britain a year later.

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[44] National Museum of Ireland registration numbers 1904.374-414.

[45] 1904 acquisition papers, Art and Industrial Division Archive, National Museum of Ireland.

[46] French, Patrick: *Younghusband: The Last Great Imperial Adventurer*, Harper Perennial, 2004, p. 235.

[47] Carrington, Michael: 'Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves: The Looting of Monasteries during the 1903/4 Younghusband Mission to Tibet' in *Modern Asian Studies*, 37, 1 (2003), Cambridge University Press, p.81-p.109.

The subject of this doctoral thesis, however, is the series of donations of Asian art given by Albert Bender between 1931 and 1936. Apart from the significant amount of archival information available to the researcher, the Bender Collection is an anomaly in the history of Asian art collecting by the National Museum, as the acquisition occurred after Irish Independence. As noted above the majority of Asian art came into the organisation prior to 1922. The reason for the non-acquisition of Asian material culture after Independence is due primarily to what is commonly referred to as the Nils Lithberg Report of 1927. In May that year a Committee of Enquiry was set up by the Ministry of Education. It consisted amongst others of the Director of the National Gallery of Ireland, Thomas Bodkin; Dermod O'Brien, President of the Royal Hibernian Academy and Professor Nils Lithberg, Ph.D., Advisor to the Northern Museum, Stockholm. In his recommendation Lithberg stressed the importance of the Irish archaeological and ethnological collections as forming the main focus of collecting and display in the post-Independence National Museum. The applied art collections were viewed as secondary to the primary importance of the Irish Antiquities Division. Irish Folklife was interpreted as an extension of archaeology by which the material culture of contemporary rural life over the previous two hundred years had connections to the material culture of the Irish people from the Neolithic up to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. Nils Lithberg explained this premise: 'The study of peasant culture imparts, therefore, a wider perspective of social manifestations, but so far as these have their roots in earlier social institutions in earlier economic conditions, in the philosophy and customs of past generations, it must bring with it a wider and deeper historic appreciation ... On these two principles, that is, the knowledge of Ireland's earlier culture and of the present day life of the people should in my opinion, an Irish National Museum be based'.[48]

[48] Lithberg, Nils: *Dr. Nils Lithberg Report on the Enquiry into the National Museum of Ireland*, Dublin, 20 October 1927, p. 8.

This begs the question as to why an Asian art collection was accessioned by the National Museum in view of the fact there was no policy to collect material culture other than from Ireland. Certainly if Bender had offered to sell his Asian art objects to the NMI rather than donate them, then the collection would never have developed. Therefore, despite the lack of strategy for the collecting of non-Western material, museum authorities were prepared to acquire such objects only on the condition that they were donated. As will be discussed in the 'Conclusion', this policy of acquisition suited the prevailing political ethos of the Fianna Fail administration, as exemplified in Eamon De Valera's speech when he officially opened the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' in June 1934. De Valera's statement regarding the soliciting of further Irish-American benefaction by way of donations to Ireland's cultural institutions is evident in the speech's script (even if originally penned by the National Museum's director, Adolf Mahr): 'We welcome this gift all the more gratefully, because, in a small country like ours to make the national collections adequately representative of world culture is difficult. Our Museum cannot hope in the number and variety of its exhibits to rival Museums of great capitals abroad supported by the resources of powerful and wealthier States'.[49] Perhaps in his dealings with the Albert Bender donations, Eamon De Valera was given an excellent trial run for when he would give honorary citizenship to Alfred Chester Beatty in 1957; Ireland's other great Asian art benefactor. The following chapters outline the Bender collection, its context and Albert Bender's literary and artistic contacts in Ireland and Asia, in order to illustrate the unique position these donations hold in the history of the institution.

[49] National Archives of Ireland file S10938A.



Plate 1. Albert M. Bender. © Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley

Chapter I: The Collection

The collection of Far Eastern Art, which Bender donated to the National Museum of Ireland between 1931 and 1936, is in artistic terms one of the most valuable groups of Asian material under the Art and Industrial Division of the institution. Comprising approximately 260 objects, the most important being Tibetan-Buddhist Thangka paintings and Japanese woodblock prints, this series of donations in honour of the donor's mother, Augusta Bender (née Bremer), is remarkable in its generosity and has never been repeated in the history of the NMI. A detailed account of the history of the donation has been preserved in the archives of the Art and Industrial Division, NMI, and it is from these records that the majority of my discussions will proceed[1].

The first suggestion that Bender was interested in developing a collection of Far Eastern Art with a view to subsequent museum donation came in a letter to the NMI's Keeper of Irish Antiquities, Dr. Adolf Mahr, on 5 December 1931:

> 'My dear Mahr: I am writing you at the suggestion of my friend, Dr. Walter Starkie of Trinity College. You may remember that he spoke to you regarding the project of my presenting to the museum twenty-one Tibetan pictures, in the name of my dear mother: To Remember Augusta Bender. My parents lived in Dublin for nearly thirty years, where my brothers and sisters and I were born, and remember our family association with that city with deep emotion and gratitude.
>
> These pictures have been kept by me for this purpose for some years, but I have hesitated to send them because they might not prove to be a gift which the authorities of art in Dublin would consider suitable. I spoke to AE [George Russell], about them when he was here, and also to Dr. Starkie, both of whom

[1] Files AI/108/009-012, Art and Industrial Division files marked Bender Collection.

> expressed themselves as approving the idea and urged me to send them. They constituted, I am told, the complete decoration of one of the large rooms of an ancient temple. I don't vouch for the authenticity of this, but no doubt some of your scholars or art critics would be better able to determine this point... Today I entertained at my house one of the ex-directors of the Louvre, who was so interested in the pictures that he asked me to present them to that institution. I explained to him that I felt they should first be offered to my native city... If, after an inspection of them, you decide that they are not suitable, I will understand.... The expressage and insurance are prepaid at this end and if there is further expense kindly advise me and I will remit by return mail... Albert M. Bender'.[2]

The printed address on the letter heading is given as 'Albert M. Bender, 311 California Street, San Francisco'. By 1931 Albert Bender had become a wealthy and successful insurance broker in San Francisco, having emigrated there as an adolescent. Even though Bender never personally visited any part of the Asian continent, San Francisco by its geographical location was one of the main entry points for Asian goods into the U.S. market. As a result of increased contact between the United States and the Far East came increased emigration of Asian peoples. San Francisco was one of few American cities that had both a Chinatown and a Japantown. This fact coupled with access to Asian art objects must have encouraged Bender to begin collecting Asian art. Not only was he involved in forming his own personal collection of Asian art, but amongst his numerous interests he was a trustee of Mills College, Oakland, California (founded as the Young Ladies Seminary in

[2] File AI/108/012 - letter dated 5 Dec. 1931, Bender to Mahr.

1852 in Benicia, California, it moved to its current Oakland campus in 1871). He also helped finance the construction of the Mills Art Gallery in 1925. The Bender Collection at Mills consists of almost 5,000 books, his gifts during his lifetime and in his bequest. Included in these donations are a fifteenth-century Book of Hours, a leaf from a Gutenberg Bible (c. 1455) and the Kelmscott Press masterpiece 'The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer' (1896).[3] Albert Bender was also the patron of several artists, amongst whom were Diego Rivera, Ansel Adams, Consuela Kanaga, Roi Partridge, Joseph Raphael, Ralph Stackpole and Beniamino Benevenuto Bufano.

Returning to the offer to the NMI of the Tibetan Thangka paintings, without waiting for Mahr to reply, Bender took the liberty of dispatching all twenty-one to the National Museum on Kildare Street by 10 December 1931[4]. In Mahr's reply on 29 December 1931 he gratefully accepts the donation to the National collection in a most diplomatic and complimentary manner:

> 'Dear Mr. Bender, ... I remember that I spoke with Dr. Starkie about the matter last summer and I am sure that if you think the pictures of interest that you will be enough of an expert as to see that they are worth to be kept in a museum. People with cultured tasks are hardly liable to be mistaken to such an extent as to appreciate valueless curios and I do not think that it needs an expert to say what is beautiful'.

More noteworthy perhaps is the admission by Mahr that there was apparently no Asian material culture expert on the staff of the NMI with the following statement:

> 'It is another matter with the question of to what individual period or school of art such objects belong and I am afraid I do not know much about it myself.

[3] Braun, Janice: 'Greater Than The Sum Of His Gifts', *Mills Quarterly*, Summer 2006, Mills College Alumnae Magazine, p. 10-13.
[4] File AI/108/012 – letter dated 10 Dec. 1931, Bender to Mahr.

> But as the pictures will arrive soon ... we will see and I can get them carefully photographed and send the prints to the best experts... Unless I saw them it is difficult for me to make any suggestions as to the manner of putting them on exhibition, but I beg to propose that after consideration of all existing facilities of display I will ask Dr. Starkie on your behalf to come to the museum and to approve of the manner of display which recommends itself.[5]

Dr. Walter Starkie (1894-1976) was Professor of Spanish at Trinity College Dublin[6]. Along with other noted members of Dublin's intelligentsia, such as W.B. Yeats, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Estella Solomons and AE, he was on friendly terms with Bender. Bender's connections to some of these aforementioned writers, particularly Gogarty, Starkie and Yeats will be addressed in Chapter IV of this thesis.

In Bender's reply on 18 January 1932, he reiterates the artistic importance of the Thangkas:

> 'Dear Dr. Mahr: ... during the last three months I was requested by the authorities of one of our western museums to loan them for exhibition. This I declined to do because I feared possible injury to my gift before delivering it into your hands. Just before shipping these pictures to Ireland a director of one of the great galleries of the world was here and suggested that I present them to his country[7] Of course, I need hardly say that I have never considered the presentation of these pictures to any other city than Dublin. It happens that the dealer who discovered these pictures is here from Japan and tells me that

[5] File AI/108/012: Mahr to Bender, 29 Dec. 1931.
[6] Trinity College Dublin website: www.tcd.ie and National Archives, U.K. website http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/nra/browser/person/page/person_ST.htm
[7] Presumably the former director of the Louvre to whom he refers in his letter of 5 Dec. 1931.

during his forty-five years' experience as a merchant, this is the first time that he was able to discover such a complete collection of the paintings of a temple'.

He then goes on to hazard a guess as to the date of the Thangkas and to state that he has requested the dealer to furnish him with descriptions of the Buddhist 'priests' depicted: 'I do not know about it myself and am dependent upon expert opinion to determine such details. My own guess is that they are about two hundred to two hundred and fifty years old'. [8]

What followed on a handwritten note by Bender dated 19 January 1932 amounts to a detailed description of the twenty-one Thangka paintings and their meaning in Tibetan Buddhism. Significantly the names of the seventeen illustrated Arhats and four Regents of the Four Quarters of the World are given in both Sanskrit and Tibetan, a bilingual premise which was used in their actual exhibition labelling from the 1930s. The 19 January letter is as follows:

'Lama Paintings. The Sixteen Great Arhats, and Five Guardians. Produced in China, Sun-Sei, sometimes pronounced Sun Su Province[9]. Period – Estimated 1650-1700 A.D. Arhat means deserving, worthy. The title is applied to those members of the order who attained the fourth stage of the path towards Nirvana. Besides having obtained transcendent faculties, Arhats are no more subject to rebirth. The meaning of Arhatship is expressed in following frequently met formula: Destroyed is rebirth, lived is a chaste life, done is what had to be done, after this present life there is no beyond. The group of sixteen Arhats is unknown in India proper, but its cult has spread widely over

[8] File AI/108/012, 18 Jan. 1932: Bender to Mahr.
[9] Probably modern day Gansu Province.

Tibet and China. In Buddhist texts, translated into Chinese about the IVth century A.D.

The first mention of the group of sixteen great arhats is found in a short Mahayanist text entitled (Account of the Duration of the Law, declared by the Great Arhat Nandimitra).

It is related in this text how the Great Arhat Nandimitra assembled all the monks and nuns and told them of the existence of the sixteen Great Arhats and of their future manifestations. The duty of the great Arhats is to preserve the law after the death of the Master, the Buddha... You will find more detail about Sixteen Arhats as well as all Tibetan paintings by the book Tibetan Paintings. George Roerich

Publisher: Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob, Paris (VI)', 1925.[10]

The titles of the Thangka paintings are as follows:

1) The Arhat RAHULA (Tibetan: sGra.gcan.'dsin)
2) Lokapala DHRITARASHTRA (Tibetab: Yul.'Khor.srun). Quarter: East
3) The Arhat VANAVASA (Tibetan: Nags.na.gnas)
4) The Arhat BHADRA (Tubetan: bZan.po)
5) The Arhat DHARMATRATA (Tibetan: Chis.skyob)
6) Lokapala: VIRUPAKSHA (Tibetan: Meg.mi.bZan) Quarter: West
7) The Arhat ANGAJA (Tibetan: yan.lag.'byun)
8) Lokapala: VAISRAVANA or KUVERA (Tibetan: tNam.thos.svas) Quarter: North
9) The Arhat AJITA (Tibetan: Ma.pham.pa)
10) The Arhat CUDAPANTHAKA (Tibetan: Lam.phran.bstan)

[10] File AI/108/012, 19 Jan. 1932: Bender to Mahr.

11) The Arhat KANAKAVATSA (Tibetan: gSer.be'u)

12) Lokapala: VIRUDHAKA (Tibetan: Phyags.skyes.po) Quarter: South

13) The Arhat KANAKABHARADVAJA (Tibetan: Bharadvadsa gSer.can)

14) The Arhat KALIKA (Tibetan: Dus.ldan)

15) The Arhat HVA SHANG (no Tibetan equivalent)

16) The Arhat NAGASENA (Tibetan: Klu'i.sdé)

17) The Arhat CUDAPANTHAKA (Tibetan: Lam.phran.bstan)

18) The Arhat VAJRIPUTRA (Tibetan: rDo.rje.moi.bu)

19) The Arhat PINDOLABHARADVAJA (Tibetan: Bharadhvadsa bSod.snJoms.len)

20) The Arhat ABHEDRA (Tibetan: Mi.p'yed)

21) The Arhat ANGAJA (Tibetan: Yan.lag.'byun)

From the above list it is possible to deduce that Bender had miscalculated the number of divinities depicted. There are two illustrated versions of the Arhats ANGAJA and CUDAPANTHAKA and only four Regents/Guardians. The importance of this collection of Thangka paintings is apparent from the description given by A.K. Longfield:

> 'They come from the Sun Su Province of China, and date from the early years of the eighteenth century. The pictures of the Arhats are interesting, as, in addition to the thirteen usual ones (two of whom are represented twice), there are two extra members, Hva Shang and Dharmatrata, who belong only to the Chinese series. All are painted in tempera-colours and gold on a prepared silk ground, and although mostly Tibetan in style, show, as might be expected, a very strong Chinese influence. The Chinese brocade mounts are of a slightly later date, but all are in good condition, and they have been framed on stands



Plate 2. Thangka, The Arhat Rahula,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.1)



Plate 3. Thangka, Lokapala Dhrtarashtra,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.2)



Plate 4. Thangka, The Arhat Vanavasin,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.3)



Plate 5. Thangka, The Arhat Bhadra,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.4)



Plate 6. Thangka, The Arhat Upasaka Dharmatala,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.5)



Plate 7. Thangka, Lokapala Vaishravana,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.8)



Plate 8. Thangka, The Arhat Ajita,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.9)



Plate 9. Thangka, The Arhat Cudapanthaka,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.10)



Plate 10. Thangka, The Arhat Hashang,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.15)



Plate 11. Thangka, The Arhat Nagasena,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.16)



Plate 12. Thangka, The Arhat Pindola Bharadvaja,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.19)



Plate 13. Thangka, The Arhat Abheda,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.20)



Plate 14. Thangka, The Arhat Angaja,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1932.21)

in the centre of the room to give the best exhibition possible of pictures and mounts'.[11]

This last reference to their having been framed in mounts was crucial to their lack of surface deterioration when the Bender Memorial Room was dismantled in 1973 and will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

In order to put into context the rarity of acquiring what appears to have been a collection of Thangkas from the same temple, the only similar iconographical Thangka in the Victoria and Albert Museum was accessioned in 1914 (I.M. 409-1914). It probably dates to the 18th century and illustrates four Arhats seated in a landscape. Ajita, Angaja, Vanavasin and Kalika are all represented. Even though the Bender Collection's Thangkas depict the Arhats separately, it was also common for the series of sixteen or eighteen to be represented by a set of three or five rather than individually.[12]

The next donation was made on 9 May 1932 and unlike the previous gift to the National Museum, an insurance value was stated. It consists of a bronze head of the late Ming Dynasty (1600-1648 A.D.) from Shaanxi Province, China worth an estimated $500 U.S. dollars. Unlike the anonymous dealer in Japan who had sourced the Thangka paintings, Henry H. Hart of Oriental Arts, 328 Post Street, San Francisco

[11] Longfield, A.K.: 'Far Eastern Art at the National Museum of Ireland' in *Museums Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 5, August 1934, p. 197. Note that Longfield accurately calculated the number of Arhats illustrated. There are fifteen Arhats depicted in the Bender Collection set of Thangkas, two of whom are represented twice. The thirteen out of sixteen Arhats (sixteen being the number of Arhats found in the Indian series) are joined by Hashang and Upasaka Dharmatala, the two additional Arhats found only in the Tibetan and Chinese series.

[12] Lowry, John: *Tibetan Art*, Victoria and Albert Museum, HM Stationery Office, 1973, p. 59.

is named as the fine art merchant involved in this acquisition. The latter's letter to Mahr on 28 March 1932 reads as follows:

> 'My dear Sir: At the request of Mr. Albert M. Bender, 311 California Street, San Francisco, we have shipped by express today a bronze head which is to be placed in the Museum as a gift from Mr. Bender. This head is to be placed with the set of Tibetan paintings, which was sent to the Museum by Mr. Bender some months ago.
>
> The Bronze head... was found in a temple in a small town in Shansi Province, when the temples were destroyed at the order of Feng Yu Hsiang[13] in 1927, and brought to Peking. The head belonged to a statue, several of which stood on the altar of the temple. These statues, being too heavy for the soldiers to carry away as loot, had the heads knocked off and sold. This head represents one of the Bodhisattvas. As you know these are beings who are approaching Buddhahood, but have not yet reached the supreme heights to pass into Nirvana... Henry H. Hart'. [14]

The Bronze Head of a Bodhisattva (see plate 15) reached the British and Irish Steam Packet Co. Ltd. at the North Wall, Dublin on 27 April 1932. Mahr officially acknowledged the presentation in a letter to Bender on 9 May.[15] The artistic quality of this Bodhisattva corresponds in date to an increasing complexity in Chinese society from the end of the sixteenth century 'reflected in an enriched cultural life in which heterogeneous tastes supported a wide variety of artists and craftsmen: the presence of foreigners at court and increasing affluence which made the merchants independent of

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[13] Feng Yu-hsiang (1882-1948) was a Chinese general who held various military positions under the Qing Dynasty. Eventually he supported the Nationalists, becoming minister of war and vice chairman of the Executive Yuan at Nanjing in 1928.
[14] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 28 March 1932.
[15] AI/108/010: Mahr to Bender, 9 May 1932.



Plate 15. Head of Bodhisattva,
c. 1600AD, China. (DB:1932.22)

the court and of the official class, were only two of the many factors which nurtured artistic diversity'.[16]

The next donation was made on 12 May 1932, which prompted an acknowledgement letter from Mahr to Bender.[17] This followed a gift of three Chinese (see plates 16 and 17) and three Japanese brocades (see plates 18 and 19) with an insurance value of $500 U.S. dollars. These textiles are eloquently described by Henry H. Hart:

> 'The Japanese pieces are tapestry/furoshiki. These furoshiki were used for the wrapping of gifts during the old Japanese regime. When the gift was unwrapped the furoshiki was admired and returned to the donor. These brocades are of the so-called thumbnail tapestry. The work was done on a small handloom with a hand-thrown shuttle. Instead of using a bar to push the weft threads into place, the nails of the left hand are used. The operator allows his nails to grow very long. With constant use the nails become very thick, and pushing the weft into place cuts the nails into grooves so that the worker's nails look like narrow spatulate combs. The designs in the tapestry are made by breaking off and knotting the woof thread, then working in the pattern, and proceeding with the original woof thread. This method of weaving tapestry is practically extinct in Japan, being maintained only in a few tiny factories in the environs of Kyoto.[18] The Chinese brocades are of the Ch'ien Lung period [Qianlong Emperor: 1736-95], and are of a type, which is seldom found. They

[16] Tregear, Mary, *Chinese Art*. Thames and Hudson, 1997, p. 168.
[17] AI/108/011: Mahr to Bender, 12 May 1932.
[18] *Japanese Art and Design*. Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986, p. 96-97. Some similarity in the colour and motifs used can be seen in one of these furoshiki and a 19th century Buddhist monks mantle in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection.

are particularly remarkable for their soft blended tones, in marked contrast to the more violent shades of later Chinese needle work'. [19]

Great similarity in the motifs used in one of the Chinese brocades and those robes produced for the imperial household during Qianlong's reign are apparent in the Palace Museum, Beijing collection[20]. The latter implies that perhaps this particular brocade was manufactured under the imperial workshops' ambit. The other two Chinese brocades probably also date to the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736-95). They both exhibit motifs placed around a central circular design, thereby implying that they may have been produced for export. For the most part painted silks, along with wallpaper exported from the port of Guangzhou (Canton), were quite similar in their decorative motifs, so the same workshops could have been involved in both export trades to the West.[21] A combination of various flowers from the different seasons was an appealing decorative formula for European taste in clothing and soft furnishings. As a result some were not typically Chinese in their design, but rather produced with a particular buyer's market in mind. In addition many bedcovers and wall-hangings were manufactured in China with the specific aim of immediate export to Europe where they would eventually adorn the homes of the wealthy middle classes and aristocracy.

The next date of donation was 1 August 1932 and consists of a wooden statue finished in lacquer from Japan (see plate 20) and two small bowls with lids of Cantonese enamel, all of which were given an insurance value of $250 U.S. dollars. Bender's

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[19] AI/108/011: Hart to Mahr, 16 April 1932.
[20] Rawski, Evelyn S. and Rawson, Jessica: *China: The Three Emperors 1662-1795*. Royal Academy of Arts, 2005, p. 72 and p. 380.
[21] Wilson, Verity: *Chinese Textiles*, V & A Publications, 2005, p. 30.



Plate 16. Embroidered Textile,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1932.24)



Plate 17. Embroidered Textile,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1932.25)



Plate 18. Furoshiki, Textile,
19th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.26)



Plate 19. Furoshiki, Textile,
19th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.27)

initial offer of these artefacts to the museum was made to Mahr in a letter dated 11 July 1932:

> 'Dear Dr. Mahr: I am sending you ... a wooden statue and stand (separate packages) representing Shaka-muni Buddha in teaching position. The sculpture is finished by lacquer; - it was produced in Kyoto, Japan in the early Tokugawa period (1700 A.D.) The Buddha is directing his right hand upwards and his left to the Earth. The Third Eye – a crystal eye in centre of his forehead represents his inner mind – that's the explanation my Japanese friend makes'.[22]

The Cantonese enamel was given an approximate dating of the late 18th century. 'Shaka-muni' or Sakyamuni is the Holy One of the Sakyas; a title of the historical Buddha. Sakya was the surname of the Buddha, while 'muni' is a term used to designate a sage, holy man or monk. Together they refer to what has amounted to one of the most popular names for the Buddha. As for the Japanese method of depicting Buddha in an upright position with a 'crystal eye', a strong antecedent is found in the renowned 'Shaka Nyorai', 9th century, Murgi kondo[23].

On 8 August 1932 fifteen paintings (see plates 21 to 29) arrived in Dublin from Albert M. Bender with an insurance value of $100 U.S. dollars. Bender's list is as follows: No. 1 by Josaye, 1700 A.D., Japan; No. 2 by Moraye, 1750 A.D., Japan; No. 3 Japan; No. 4 Japan; No. 5 Japan; No. 6 Fan painting, Japan; No. 7 Fan painting, Josa School, 1700 A.D., Japan; No. 8 Fan painting, Josa School, 1700 A.D., Japan; No. 9 Kano School, 1600, Japan; No. 10 Ming painting, 1600, China; No. 11 Ming painting, 1600,

[22] AI/108/011: Bender to Mahr, 11 July 1932.
[23] Fisher, Robert E.: *Buddhist Art and Architecture*. Thames and Hudson, 1993, p. 152.



Plate 20. Amida Buddha, Wood,
18th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.29)

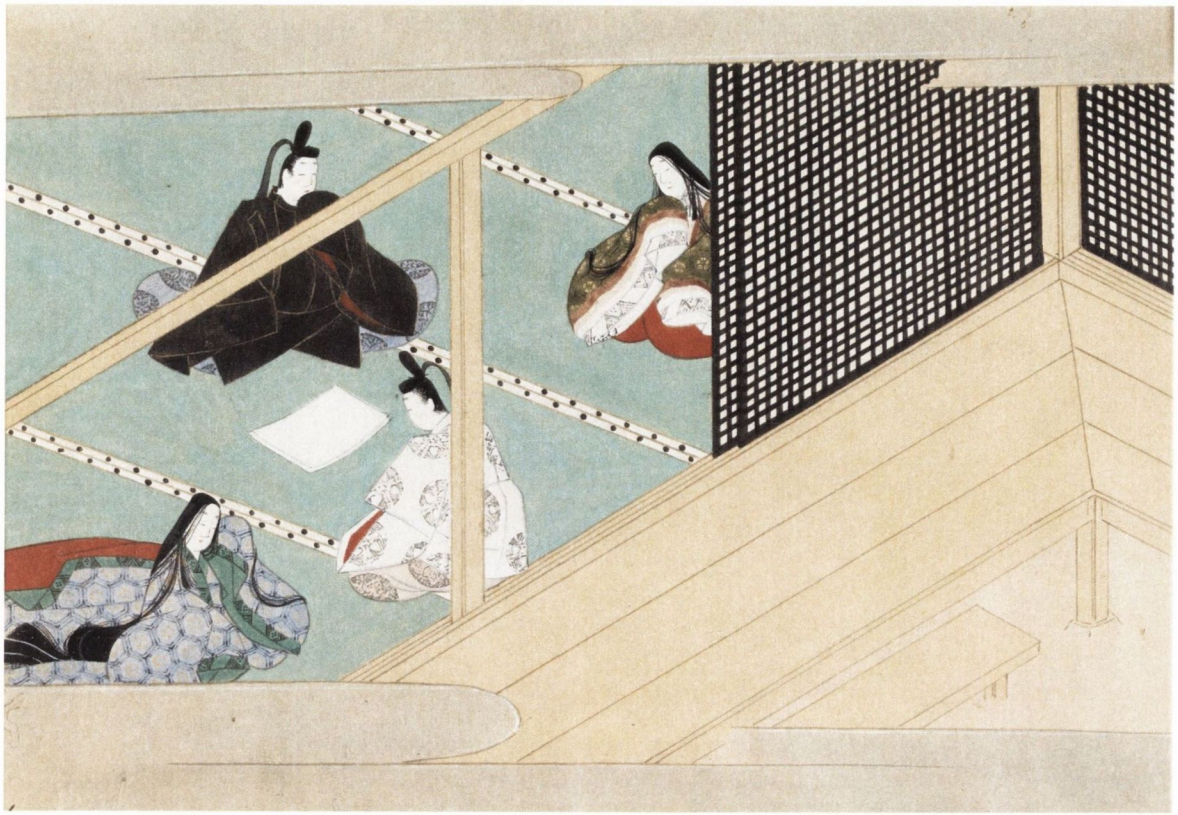

Plate 21. Tosa School Painting,
18th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.32)

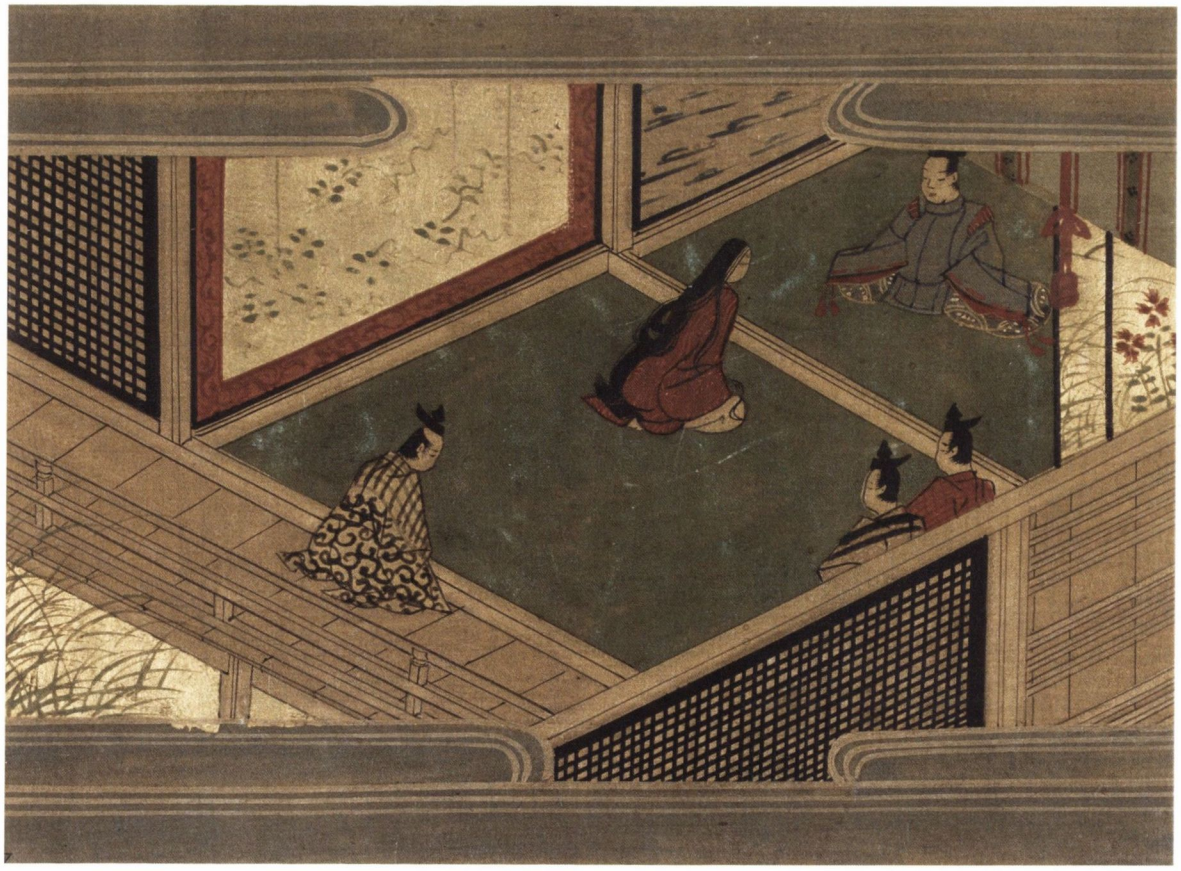

Plate 22. Tosa School Painting,
18th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.33)



Plate 23. Painting,
Edo Period (1600-1868AD), Japan. (DB: 1932.34)



Plate 24. Painting,
Edo Period (1600-1868AD), Japan. (DB: 1932.36)



Plate 25. Fan Painting, Paper, 'Tales of Ise', 'The Journey to the East',
Edo Period (1600-1868AD), Japan. (DB: 1932.37)



Plate 26. Fan Painting, Paper,
Edo Period (1600-1868AD), Japan. (DB: 1932.44)



Plate 27. Tosa School Fan Painting, Paper,
1700AD, Japan. (DB: 1932.38)



Plate 28. Kano School Painting, Paper,
c.1600AD, Japan. (DB: 1932.40)



Plate 29. Painting, Paper,
Edo Period (1600-1868AD), Japan. (DB: 1932.46)

China; No. 12 Fan painting, Japan; No. 13 Fan painting, Japan; No. 14 Japan; No. 15 Japan'[24]

Unfortunately nothing in the files refers to where Bender may have sourced these paintings. There is no mention of either Henry H. Hart's 'Oriental Arts' nor T.Z. Shiota who becomes significant in acquiring Bender's Japanese woodblock prints. The Kano School of painting was originally founded by the artist Kano Masanobu , (c. 1434-c.1530). Eventually one of his descendants, Kano Tanyu, re-interpreted the style at the turn of the 17th century. 'One of the most remarkable painters of the Edo period... Kano Tanyu produced paintings for the imperial palace and for the Shogun's castle in Nagoya... In 1636 he painted 'Legends of the Toshogu Shrine' at Nikko, handling the delicate Tosa hand scroll style with ease. Tanyu helped reinvigorate the court-favoured Tosa tradition which was then on the point of dissolution'.[25] The Kano School of painting was essentially a colours-on-gold technique exhibited in the Bender collection example from circa 1600 in which four males are endeavouring to create a giant snowball.

The next donation from Bender came under NMI control on 25 August 1932. This time the donor sent a valuable 'large tapestry & 5 smaller brocades insured for a total of $750 U.S. dollars. The uniqueness of the Chinese tapestry can be gauged from Bender's letter to Mahr on 30 July 1932: '... I am sending you through Dr. Hart some further contributions to the art collection in memory of my mother. The same consisting of a large Chinese tapestry of considerable rarity and several

[24] AI/108/011: Bender to Mahr, 25 July 1932.
[25] Stanley-Baker, Joan. *Japanese Art*. Thames and Hudson, 2000, p. 143.

embroideries'.[26] As promised Hart wrote to Mahr only three days later with full explanation as to the importance of the Chinese textiles:

> '... we are sending you by today's parcel post six pieces of Chinese brocade... The long strip of these brocades with the tan border is of the rare overcast stitch, which has not been used in China for many years. I have no hesitation in stating that it is a hundred years old. It represents one of the most famous scenes in Chinese needlework decoration, 'The Games of the Hundred Boys'. The lining of the piece is of the old Mandarin tribute silk sent to the Emperor by various guilds in lieu of money tribute'. [He then goes on to describe the other five pieces].
>
> The two squares of yellow are sides of pillows from the Imperial couches. The centre design is the conventionalised peony, the national flower of China.
>
> The white square is also antique, and represents a scene in the Western Paradise where the ju-i or Fungus of Immortality grows. The central picture is the tiger, symbol of strength.
>
> The lavender-coloured piece of K'ossu is one of the finest that the writer has ever seen. A real antique, it also represents 'the Games of the Hundred Boys', in this case the dragon festival, with its accompaniment of musicians and fire-crackers. If you desire any further information about K'ossu and its technique, I shall be very glad to send you some notes on the subject.
>
> The oblong strip bordered with embroidery is also an antique piece of K'ossu, in this case made from the robe of a mandarin of Imperial rank. Just below the neck of the robe is found a circle containing the dragon, symbol of Imperial power, and the bat, symbol of happiness. These same motifs appear

[26] AI/108/011: Bender to Mahr, 30 July 1932.

throughout the strip, interspersed with the crane of longevity, and the eight Buddhistic symbols. The strip terminates at either end in the thunder bolt motif surmounting diagonal rainbows. Particularly noteworthy in this piece are the purple, greens, and blues, which are very rare in pieces of this type.[27]

On the surviving exhibition labelling from the 1930s a date is given for the first 'Games of the Hundred Boys' as circa 1830. Indeed antique embroidery from the robe of a Mandarin under the royal household is important in the National Museum of Ireland context, as even though the organisation acquired parts of the 'Huangchao Liqi Tushi'[28] manuscript (also called the Illustrated Catalogue of the Treasures of the Yuen-Ming-Yuen, the Summer Palace at Peking), no other imperial textiles exist in the collection outside the Bender donations. Equivalents in the Victoria and Albert Museum include a 'Dragon Robe for an Emperor', 1800-50 and 'Dragon Robe for a Woman of the Imperial Family', 1800-1911.[29] A word of warning, however, was included in the 1991 V. & A. publication to mark the opening of the T.T. Tsui Gallery of Chinese Art: 'Many more imperial robes were made, however, than were ever worn, and lengths of silk from the imperial weaving establishments in the cities of south China were stored away and were made up into garments and sold after the fall of the empire in 1911'.[30]

The lavender coloured piece of K'ossu (see plate 30) referred to above illustrates a weaving technique from China that has been used from at least the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) onwards. Tapestry is weaving on a basic flat loom. Kesi, however, differs from other woven silk goods that have full warp (vertical) and weft

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[27] AI/108/011: Hart to Mahr, 2 August 1932.
[28] Accessioned by the NMI in 1897.
[29] Kerr, Rose (ed.): *Chinese Art and Design.* Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991, p. 186-189.
[30] ibid, p. 186.



Plate 30. 'Games of the Hundred Boys', Textile, 1600-1900AD, China. (DB: 1932.48)

(horizontal) threads, in that partial weft threads are attached to full warp threads. A craft worker sits at a loom plying individual colours in and out of the undyed longitudinal warp threads. It is a loom-patterning operation in which the weaving process is done entirely by hand.[31] Therefore, when closely examined the coloured threads that make up the images are independent. The 'hundred boys' theme is common in Chinese art. 'Baizitu' ('pictures of a hundred boys') originated with the story of an old Chinese legendary king Zhou Wen Wang, who supposedly adopted an abandoned baby and increased his large family of ninety-nine boys to one hundred.[32] The social imperative to produce a new male generation to conduct rites for clan ancestors made it vital that wives gave birth to sons. As a result this motif became popular on bed curtains and quilts for newly married couples. By the beginning of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) depictions of boys had become common illustrations not only on textiles, but also in paintings and prints, and on ceramics and lacquer objects.

With perhaps the exception of the Thangka paintings, the numerous examples of the woodblock art of Japanese printing, which Albert Bender donated to the NMI is without parallel in its generosity in relation to art historical importance. The first instalment of Japanese prints is dated 30 August 1932 (see plates 31 to 45) and consists of thirty-one items in total that were insured for an approximate value of $595 U.S. dollars. They appear to have been sourced by T.Z. Shiota, Importer, Oriental Objects of Art, 515 Grant Avenue, San Francisco. Today 'T.Z. Shiota Oriental Objects of Art' is still in existence with an address on Fillmore Street, San Francisco.[33] T.Z. Shiota's letter to the National Museum of Ireland is dated 6 August 1932. Its most noteworthy comments consist of the following: 'the total number of the

[31] Wilson, Verity: *Chinese Textiles*, V. & A. Publications, 2005, p. 104.
[32] ibid, p. 64.
[33] www.tzshiotagallery.com: '313 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, CA 94123, USA'.

collection is thirty-one pieces, including some of the important works of Hiroshige, Yeisen, Toyokuni, Kunisada, and Yeizan... These prints are Japan's outstanding contribution to the Art World and the selection made by Mr. Bender represents the various schools of Ukiyoye, noted for their true Japanese style and technique they are and will serve as a specimen of the merited works accomplished both in landscapes and figure studies during the late eighteenth century'.[34] The list of prints is found in Appendix A.

There are several Hiroshige prints in this round of donations. Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) is renowned as the main highly regarded *Ukiyo-e* master along with Hokusai. Hiroshige's ability to reproduce landscape scenes formed the pinnacle of Japanese woodblock printing whereby 'his effective employment of vivid, jewel-like colouring, and, above all, his romantic approach to subject and mood greatly appealed to the taste of his contemporaries'.[35] Along with '*bijin-ga*' ('pictures of beautiful women') the Albert Bender collection contains many excellent examples of prints based on the theme of landscape. Even though Hiroshige was active in producing work from 1818 onwards, it was only in 1830 that he changed his style from that of the figurative to landscape with the appearance of the 'Famous Places in the Eastern Capital' series.

Notoriety for Hiroshige, however, came slightly later with the production of the '53 Stations on the Tokaido' in 1833/34, which are seen as some of the greatest works in Japanese *ukiyo-e*. Hiroshige was highly regarded primarily for the way in which he conveyed atmospheric details, such as changing seasons through the depiction of rain,

[34] AI/108/011: Shiota to NMI, 6 August 1932.
[35] Lane, Richard (ed.): *Masterpieces of Japanese Prints – The European Collections. Ukiyo-e from the Victoria and Albert Museum.* V&A publications, 1991, p. 20.

snow or wind. His last series of prints was '100 Famous Views of Edo' (1856-58), and two excellent examples from this series in the Bender Collection are 'Fireworks at Ryogoku' and 'Grandpa's Teahouse in Meguro'. In 'Fireworks at Ryogoku' the actual texture of the wood from the woodblock involved in its printing is visible in the dark-coloured night sky. In addition the s-shaped meander of the Yotsugi-dori Canal in the print of the same name deserves particular mention due to the oblique angled-perspective employed.

Some of the most noted prints in the Albert Bender Collection are by artists renowned for their characterisations of women in print form from the late 18th up to the mid-19th century – Eisen, Eizan, Kunisada, Shigenobu, Shuncho, Shunsen and Utamaro. Kikukawa Eizan (1787-1867) along with Toyokuni was renowned for being the most important artist of '*bijin-ga*' at a time when they were actually in decline as an art form. 'The Four Elegant Pastimes: The Koto' of c. 1804-18 is a noteworthy example of Eizan's work. So too is Utagawa Kunisada's (1786-1864) 'Gatherer of Herbs' a high quality print. Kunisada became a pupil of Toyokuni when he was fifteen years old.[36] Not only was he highly regarded for his actor and courtesan portraits, but also in his '*bijin-ga*' the distinct colouration that was to become his hallmark is evident. Some of the prints in the Bender Collection by Utagawa Toyokuni (1769-1825) illustrate actors on stage, such as 'Iwai Tojaku'. It is generally accepted that this theme provided Toyokuni with an opportunity to develop his finest draughtsmanship.[37]

[36] Fahr-Becker, Gabriele: *Japanese Prints*, Tashen, 2007, p. 197.
[37] ibid, p. 199.



Plate 31. Print, 100 Famous Views of Edo, Grandpa's Teahouse in Meguro by Hiroshige, 1857, Japan. (DB: 1932.53)



Plate 32. Print, 100 Famous Views of Edo, Horie, Nekozane by Utagawa Hiroshige, 1856, Japan. (DB: 1932.55)



Plate 33. Print, 36 Views of the Eastern Capital, Atago Hill by Utagawa Hiroshige II, c.1861-62, Japan. (DB: 1932.60)



Plate 34. Print, Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Fireworks at Ryogoku by Hiroshige, 1858, Japan. (DB: 1932.115)



Plate 35. Print, Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Crowd at the New Year's Market at Asakusa Temple by Utagawa Hiroshige,
19th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.63)



Plate 36. Print, Famous Places of the Eastern Capital, Myojin Shrine in Kanda by Hiroshige,
c.1832-39, Japan. (DB: 1932.64)



Plate 37. Print, Gatherer of Herbs by Kunisada,
19th century, Japan. (DB: 1932.69)



Plate 38. Print, Depiction of 6 Contemporary Card Games, Hamaogi of the Bishuro House in Shin Yoshiwara by Utagawa Kunisada II,
1861, Japan. (DB: 1932.70)



Plate 39. Print, Excerpts of the Views for One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each, Number 11, Sangi Takamura by Kunisada,
1843-47, Japan. (DB: 1932.71)



Plate 40. Print, Depictions of Contemporary Beauties by Eisen, c.1830-44, Japan. (DB: 1932.74)



Plate 41. Print, The 4 Elegant Pastimes, The Koto by Eizan, c.1804-18, Japan. (DB: 1932.79)



Plate 42. Print, Iwai Tojaku by Toyokuni, c.1830-44, Japan. (DB: 1932.76)



Plate 43. Print, Seki Sanjuro II by Toyokuni, c.1818-30, Japan. (DB: 1932.77)



Plate 44. Print (Part of Triptych), Watching Fireflies in the Cool of the Evening by Kuniyoshi, 1847-52, Japan. (DB: 1932.82)



Plate 45. Print (Part of Triptych), Watching Fireflies in the Cool of the Evening by Kuniyoshi, 1847-52, Japan. (DB: 1932.83)

The next donation to the National Museum took place on 31 August 1932 after a letter from Henry H. Hart to Adolf Mahr on 10 August: 'I am sending by this mail twenty-four snuff bottles (see plates 46 to 50), which Mr. Albert M. Bender desires you to add to the collection of Chinese objects...'[38] The enclosed list reads:

> 'Snuff-Bottles, Chinese and Japanese. #'s 1 & 2 are very fine examples of the famous cinnabar lacquer. The small bottle with a red over-lay on black with a jade stopper is undoubtedly a Ch'ien Lung [1736-1795] piece. The red one with the carnelian stopper is of a later period, probably early Kuang Hsu [1874-1908]. # 3 is a Japanese bottle of ivory inlaid with black and red lacquer with a Chinese design.# 4 is also a Japanese bottle with intaglio design in figures. # 5 is an extraordinary piece of crystal hand painted with a rectangular brush on the inside of the bottle. It is the only piece, which the writer has seen of this type in many years of collecting in China. # 6 is a very interesting antique piece of agate wherein the artist has taken advantage of the coloured bits in the stone to bring out the design, which in this case is a wood-cutter and a tree. #'s 7 & 8 & 9 are of crystal. # 9 is carved with the ancient tao tieh design of the 'God of Gluttony'. #'s 10 & 11 are of gold-flecked glass, a type of decoration of which the art has been lost. # 12 is a piece made by the famed method of blowing one colour of glass inside another and then carving from one colour through to the second, thus producing the desired background. #'s 13, 14, 15, 16 & 17 are agate bottles which have been worn smooth by years of use in the sleeves of some Chinese noble. # 18 is of water-worn agate of a type much sought for by Chinese collectors. It is the type that the Chinese love to hold in their hands and rub when conversing together. #'s 19, 20 & 21 are

[38] AI/108/011: Hart to Mahr, 10 August 1932.

carved from vari-coloured pieces of agate, taking advantage of the colour to bring out the design. # 19 is particularly interesting because of the way in which the artist has used the tiny spots of colour for the eyes of the gold fish. # 20 is interesting for the extremely clever way in which a tiny bit of discoloured agate has been used to portray in a very naturalistic way the dried edge of a lotus leaf. # 22 is a crystal bottle with a line of cleavage throughout. The design is the dragon of intelligence and the bat of happiness. # 23 is a very old piece of jade bearing evidence of having been used for another purpose first, and later because of its age was converted into a bottle. # 24 is a smoky crystal bottle with a very unusual design of a figure of a child clambering over a wall and endeavouring to pick a small gourd from the vine. [Hart adds a note on chronology at the end:] 'All of these bottles are antique with the exception of # 21, and the two Japanese bottles.'[39]

According to Sabine Hesemann '... snuff-taking, which emerged at the end of the Kangxi period [1662-1722] was thought very beneficial. The snuff bottles produced are a wonderful example for the modern design concept of form following function. On account of climate and the perishableness of snuff when damp, a container had to be designed which had the smallest possible opening as well as a small capacity... A cork made in the same material as that of the bottle serves as a stopper, with a small matching spoon made of horn, bone or ivory. With a good bottle there was also a little plate of the same material on which to crush lumps of snuff, a stand for holding it securely, a bag for carrying it and a little box in which to store it'.[40]

Snuff bottles were well suited to gift-giving due to their compact size and, over time, motifs (as with the Bender examples) such as symbols of happiness, longevity and

[39] AI/108/011: Hart to Mahr, 10 August 1932.
[40] Hesemann, Sabine in Fahr-Becker, Gabriele (ed.); *The Art of East Asia*, Konemann, 1999, p. 234.

prosperity were incorporated into their decoration. Snuff bottles are amongst the most numerous items of Chinese applied art available to purchase at auction today with the exception perhaps of porcelain. Incidentally the twenty-four snuff bottles donated by Bender were given an insurance valuation of $1000.[41] In her 1934 'Museums Journal' article, A.K. Longfield references the snuff bottles amongst the 'objets d'art', stating that 'few of these are, perhaps, of very great individual value, but they serve further to illustrate Oriental craftsmanship and especially the skilled attention to detail in the beautifying of objects on a small scale'.[42]

One of the most significant textile donations registered 8 September 1932, is the Lama priest robe of the late seventeenth century (see plate 51). Interestingly, an Irish compatriot was involved in the selection of the robe: 'Sir Hamilton Harty, Conductor of the Manchester Symphony was with me when we selected it for the Museum. He is an Irishman and was particularly anxious that I should send this robe'.[43]Henry H. Hart Oriental Arts was again the venue from which the robe was dispatched and was described by him as follows:

> 'LAMA PRIEST ROBE examples of really fine lama priest robes, used by the priests of Tibet, are extremely difficult to find. There is but one large Lama temple in Peking, Yung Ho Kung [Yonghegong] (Palace of Eternal Harmony). This temple was the residence of the Emperor, K'ang Hsi [Kangxi: 1662-1722] before he ascended the throne. In accordance with the Manchu Dynastic law, it was forbidden for any secular person to occupy a home, which had once been the residence of the Emperor. This dwelling of K'angxi was

[41] AI/108/011: Bender to Mahr, 13 August 1932.
[42] Longfield, A.K. in *Museums Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 5, August 1934, p. 198.
[43] AI/108/011: Bender to Mahr, 17 August 1932.



Plate 46. Snuff Bottle, Lacquer,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1932.84)



Plate 47. Snuff Bottle, Lacquer,
1871-1908AD, China. (DB:1932.85)



Plate 48. Snuff Bottle, Agate,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1932.89)



Plate 49. Snuff Bottle, Agate,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1932.101)



Plate 50. Snuff Bottle, Crystal,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1932.105)

therefore given to the priests of the Lama sect, and has ever since been the most important Lama temple outside Tibet.

With the fall of the Emperor, the subsidies to the Lama priests have been withdrawn, and the monks are more like beggars than like priests of the Gospel of Buddha.

This robe is over two hundred years old, and was used by the abbot in holding services.

The tan parts of the garment are of Imperial tribute silk, which came as gifts to the temple from the Emperor. It is self-figured in the designs of the eight sacred symbols of Buddhism, interwoven with the 'shou', symbol of longevity.

The border is embroidered with the crane and cloud design. The crane is the messenger of the two deities.

The front vertical panel has as its design the dragon and the pearl of wisdom. The dragon in this case has four claws, indicating that the wearer was of the Imperial clan, of a rank once removed from the throne.

The background of the whole robe is in the wave or net design, with clouds, thunderbolts, the ch'ilin, and other magical symbols embroidered in the ordinary stitch and the famous 'Peking knot', or seed stitch.

The centre of the back of the robe bears on it the wheel of life in a modified form.

The robe is worthy of a place in any museum, and its type has not been seen for many years in the Peking markets'.[44]

[44] AI/108/011: Hart to Mahr, 17 August 1932.

Interestingly, in Ada Longfield's description of the robe in the 'Museums Journal', 1934, it is referred to as having belonged to the Abbot of the Yung Ho Kung Temple, and to date to the late seventeenth century.[45] She goes on to quote Hart's notes on the garment almost verbatim. Even though Qing Dynasty patronage of Tibetan Buddhism began in the 1620s, it was only during the Qianlong Emperor's reign [1736-1795] that the Emperor is likely to have had a personal as well as state/politically motivated reason to espouse its doctrines. Indeed 'the text of 'the 'Lama Shou', or 'On Tibetan Buddhism'[46]... in the Emperor's own hand, seems to be the same text that was carved in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan on a stele in the courtyard of the Yonghegong (Palace of Harmony) in the northeast quadrant of the Forbidden City'.[47] Considering Hart's statement that the Lama robe was worn by a priest of the Yung Ho Kung (Yonghegong) temple during the late seventeenth century this Tibetan Buddhist association almost one hundred years later underlines the importance attached by the Emperor to architectural space and religion.

As stated above when this robe was acquired by the National Museum in 1932 it was believed to be a Lama Priest robe dating to the reign of Kangxi (1662-1722), and associated with the Abbot of the main Tibetan Buddhist temple in China, the Yonghegong. It is now, however, more correctly given a first-degree Daoist priest association.[48] Unlike Buddhism, Daoism originated exclusively within China as a philosophy about 500BC. In several ways both Daoist and Buddhist temples and their artefacts, such as incense burners and statuary are similar, which can cause difficulty in identifying to what system of belief an object belongs.

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[45] Longfield, A.K.: *Museums Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 5, August 1934, p. 197-198.
[46] Handscroll on 'Tibetan Buddhism' written by the Qianlong emperor in 1792 in Chinese, Manchu and Mongolian inscription.
[47] Rawski, Evelyn S. in Rawski, Evelyn S. and Rawson, Jessica (ed.): *China: The Three Emperors 1662-1795,* Royal Academy of Arts, 2005, p. 400: catalogue entry no. 49.
[48] Vollmer, John E.: *Clothed to Rule the Universe: Ming and Qing Dynasty Textiles of the Art Institute of Chicago,* Art Institute of Chicago, 2000, p. 69.



Plate 51. Daoist Priest's Robe,
17th/18th century, China. (DB:1932.108)

The decorative motifs on Daoist vestments aimed to produce celestial order through the inclusion of astral symbols that linked the earth to the cosmos. Also seen on the back of this robe are the symbols for the sun, moon and stars surrounding Heaven, which is depicted as a multi-storied tower encircled by gold discs that represent stars.[49] Lower down are placed four gate-like structures representing the four cardinal points (directions) of the world. Among the waves at the bottom are animals related to Daoism that include deer, crane, tortoise, snake, monster fish (ao) and dragons. The priest who wore this robe would have become a central focus of ritual, believed to promote harmonious relations with heaven and stability on earth.

Returning to Japanese art, Bender next donated ten more woodblock prints (see plates 52 to 54), which were given an insurance value of $445 U.S. dollars. T. Z. Shiota writes on 18 August 1932: 'Upon inspection, you will note that this second selection composes of the more rare type of works, such as Hokusai, Shuncho, Koryusai, Yeishi and Utamaro'.[50] The list of material is in Appendix B.

Even though number 7 (in Appendix B) had the same title as a previous print donated by Bender to the National Museum on 8 August 1932, this 12th September acquisition is of a far superior quality being as it is a more complex composition with many figures on the bridge in two diagonals that seem to dip invertly at the centre of the print, leading the viewer into the river where the barges are gracefully floating by. The Hokusai print of 'Mt. Fuji from Tama River' is also worth further description. Again the viewer is given the sense of being led in on a diagonal from bottom left to top right, culminating majestically in the snow-capped top of Mount Fuji against the

[49] ibid, p. 68.
[50] AI/108/011: Shiota to NMI, 18 August 1932.

foreground blue of the ocean. It was around 1830 that Hokusai began to concentrate on producing his major print series, including the 'Splendid Views of Famous Bridges of the Provinces', and the renowned 'Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji' series'.[51] Indeed Richard Lane has justly summarised Hokusai's contribution: 'Hokusai is well known not only for the sheer mass of his work, but also for the impressive length of his artistic career: a full 72 of his 89 years of life were spent in daily, frenzied bouts of painting, book illustration and print designing. Indeed, both in style and output, Hokusai's work could well be treated as though it were the work of four or five different artists – all of first rank'.[52]

Bender's subsequent offering (see plates 55 to 61) to the National Museum was acquired on 30 January 1933 with no mention as to whether this grouping of objects had come from Henry Hart's premises. The relevant file simply states:

> '# 1 Old Chinese white jade, mandarin buckle. Ming period [1368-1644 A.D.] Prehistoric animal shape, dragon and serpent
>
> # 2 Old Chinese white jade. Mandarin buckle, Ming Dynasty. Dragon and Serpent, Animal Shaped.
>
> # 3 Old Chinese Soap Stone (Den Yo Stone) carving. Ch'ien Lung Period [1736-1795], Saint Statuette.
>
> # 4 Old Chinese Soap Stone Carving (Den Yo Stone). Ch'ien Lung Period, Saint Statuette.
>
> # 5 Old Chinese Soap Stone Carving (Den Yo Stone). Ch'ien Lung Period, Priest and Saint.

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[51] Lane, Richard (ed.): *Masterpieces of Japanese Prints – The European Collections. Ukiyo-e from the Victoria and Albert Museum*, V & A publications, 1991, p. 18.
[52] Ibid.



Plate 52. Print, Seaside Teahouse by Shuncho,
c.1781-89, Japan. (DB:1932.113)



Plate 53. Print, 36 Views of Mount Fuji, Bushu Tamagawa by Hokusai,
c.1831, Japan. (DB:1932.114)



Plate 54. Print, The 12 Signs of the Zodiac in Elegant Play, Sign of the Monkey by Shunzan, c.1781-1801, Japan. (DB:1932.116)

6 Old Chinese Ivory Snuff Bottle, Tao Kwang Period [Tao-kuang: 1821-1850 A.D.] Figure of Saint

7 Old Chinese Ivory Snuff Bottle. Tao Kwang Period. Figure of Bird-shaped – vehicle

8 Old Chinese Peking Glass Snuff Bottle, Signed by Kogetsuken, Design – bamboo, Flowers and Birds

10.10a [x 2] Old Japanese ogoya Doll. Ivory and mother of pearl inlaid work. Tokugawa Period 1750 A.D.

11.11a [x 2] Old Japanese Brocade doll (Kinchaku Doll) Tokugawa Period 1750 A.D.'[53]

Interestingly, in the Trinity College Dublin Bender Book Collection presented by Albert Bender, 1932-c. 1941 in honour of his father, Rev. Philip Bender, there is a book entitled 'Carved Jade of Ancient China' by Alfred Salmony (ref. (B) D.1.24, Early Printed Books), which was published after the NMI Bender donations in 1938. This illustrates Bender's continuing interest in such materials and probably his acquaintance with the author.

From the National Museum of Ireland's file on the 30 January 1933[54] donation, a letter from Bender to Mahr dated 5 January 1933 explains that this and a subsequent donation of a clay duck figure (see plate 62) are likely to have come directly from Bender's own private collection (rather than having been selected with a view to Museum presentation): 'I have been looking over my possessions with a view of adding a few items of value to the Oriental Room. The result of my efforts will be found in two packages mailed to you to-day by the Daibutsu

[53] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 30 January 1933 (arrival date in Dublin).
[54] Same date President Hindenburg appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany.



Plate 55. Buckle, Jade,
1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.1)



Plate 56. Buckle, Jade,
1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.2)



Plate 57. Carving, Soapstone,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1933.3)



Plate 58. Carving, Soapstone,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1933.5)



Plate 59. Snuff Bottle, Figure of a Saint, Ivory,
1821-50AD, China. (DB:1933.6)



Plate 60. Snuff Bottle, Goddess of Mercy, Ivory,
1821-50AD, China. (DB:1933.7)



Plate 61. Snuff Bottle, Peking Glass,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1933.9)

containing thirteen pieces, as per enclosed memorandum'[55]. The clay duck figure appears to have arrived on the 30 January 1933 along with the thirteen other objects and a handwritten note by Bender reiterating the fact that it had been given from his own private collection. What follows is a good display of humour by Bender: 'I hope that he or she will arrive safely. I leave the determination of sex to your more scientific mind. I am sure you will welcome he or she'.[56] Elsewhere in this file there is a photograph of the duck figure with the following description: 'WEI Northern Wei 386-535 Duck Statue'. The Northern Wei dates are technically 386-532 A.D., part of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (219-580 A.D.) in Chinese history. Toba Turkic Wei people established a state in the north, the first capital being situated at Lanzhou, near Dunhuang. The second capital was Datong, however, when the capital was eventually moved south to Chang'an, the state was re-named that of Western Wei (535-554 A.D.) According to Mary Tregear, ceramic 'maintained a useful and a decorative part of the domestic culture. During the period from the fourth to the sixth centuries, technical developments resulted in two traditions of stoneware potting. Centres in Zhejiang (Jin), in the south and in Shanxi and Hebei (Northern Wei) developed two contrasting styles: grey-bodied with a green glaze, in the south, or white with a straw-coloured glaze, in the north'.[57] However, this duck figure was given a Han Dynasty attribution in the catalogue of the National Museum of Ireland's Chinese Ceramics exhibition in 1983.[58]

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[55] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 5 January 1933.
[56] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, January 1933 (no specific date given).
[57] Tregear, Mary: *Chinese Art*, Thames and Hudson, 1997, p. 98-99.
[58] Chapman, Jan in National Museum of Ireland: *Chinese Ceramics in the National Museum*, National Museum of Ireland Publications, 1982, p. 7.



Plate 62. Figure of Duck, Ceramic,
202BC-220AD, China. (DB:1933.12)

The next round of donations registered under National Museum auspices came on 22 February 1933 and consisted of material from a wide geographical range. Henry H. Hart's postscript to Mahr from his letter dated 5 January 1933 reads:

> 'the two terracotta figures of women are grave pieces of the T'ang Dynasty [618-907 A.D.]... The Japanese ivory carving is the figure of a hunter [see plate 63]. The figure is by Ueda, one of the best-known of modern Japanese ivory-carvers.
>
> The Siamese wooden figure is the Buddha in the attitude of contemplation [see plate 64]. The base is of teak. The figure is of a much harder wood very seldom found in Siamese carvings. It is a piece of Ayuthia work of the early eighteenth century.
>
> The Chinese wooden figure is of the seventeenth or eighteenth century in polished teak. It is a figure of Kung Ming[59] [see plate 65], the great general who figures so largely in the historical romance, 'The Three Kingdoms'
>
> The flat shrine of ivory is a modern Japanese piece of the type carried by pilgrims from shrine to shrine [see plate 66]. On the inside is Amida Buddha with his hands in the mudra of contemplation. On the inner panels of the doors are Ananda and Kasypa, his two favourite apostles or arhats. The outside of the shrine is decorated with figures of the eighteen arhats. (These are called Lohan in China). The remainder of the decoration consists of both conventionalised and natural forms of the lotus, the Buddhist emblem of the human soul'.[60]

---

[59] Kong Ming, also known as Lhuge Liang was born in 181 A.D. Historically, he has been referred to as the great statesman, engineer and military strategist of the Three Kingdoms period (220-280 A.D.) He is the hero of the novel San Gao Yan Yi or 'Popular Account of the Three Kingdoms', also commonly known as 'The Romance of the Three Kingdoms.

[60] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 5 January 1933.



Plate 63. Figure of a hunter, Ivory,
early 20th century, Japan. (DB:1933.15)

The Siamese figure of Ayutthaya work refers to the capital of the Siamese kings of ancient Thailand (1351-1767 A.D.). The date suggested of the eighteenth century appears to tally with what would have been the release of much Buddhist artwork on to the market with the demise of the city: 'In 1767, after 400 years of sieges, incursions, and set battles, the final outcome was the defeat and consequently the fall of Ayutthaya, which was pillaged and destroyed to such an extent by the Burmese that there could be no hope of recovery'.[61]

3 April 1933 is the next date of donation regarding twenty-two objects of Chinese and Japanese origin. Henry H. Hart's list enclosed with his letter to Mahr on 16 February 1933 describes them as:

'1) Stone dog of the Sung or early Ming dynasty. This dog is one of the well-known dogs of Fo, sometimes called shisi. You are no doubt familiar with this type of animal.

2) Ivory turtle of Long Life. A Japanese carving by Deyichi. A nineteenth century piece.

3) Enamelled silver box. Chinese, early eighteenth century [see plate 67]. Design, birds and flowers on front; at one end dancing girls; two sages playing weichi (the game of war) at the other end on the back is one of the Immortals reclining; the cover represents an old-fashioned wine feast.

4) Carved opaque amber pendant. Korean origin, carving done in China. Carving represents the Peach of Immortality and the plum blossom.

5) Two Mongolian snuff-bottles of hammered silver with panels [see plate 68]. The panels of the larger bottle are of bone, of the smaller bottle they are of

[61] Fahr-Becker, Gabriele (ed.): *The Art of East Asia*, Konemann, 1999, p. 393.



Plate 64. Figure, Buddha, Wood,
early 18th century, Thailand. (DB:1933.16)



Plate 65. Statuette of Kong Ming, Wood,
17th/18th century, China. (DB:1933.17)



Plate 66. Shrine, Ivory,
1868-1912AD, Japan. (DB:1933.18)

ivory. The inlay is of coral, turquoise. Lapis lazuli; gold-stone and malachite. These pieces are of the Ch'ien Lung period [Qianlong Emperor: 1736-1795].

6) Pen-knife with jade handle and in jade case. Jade pierce-a-jour gold-plated mountings. Personally I consider this a Korean piece. I have found several pieces of this type in Korea, but this is the first piece for which a Chinese origin is claimed. Tassel with design of the endless knot, symbol of immortality.

7) Four netsuke of bone and ivory [see plates 69 to 70]. Three of them mounted in bronze and one in silver. These are splendid examples of seventeenth and eighteenth century work. I may suggest that you thread cords of silk through the loops of each bronze piece and carry it through the hole in the ivory thus holding the metal pieces in their proper places.

8) Five ornaments of jade [see plates 71 to 72]. Eighteenth century pieces of jade of this type were ornaments from the tops of boxes.

9) The Japanese iron mask was used on a door. Probably sixteenth or seventeenth century. It is almost impossible to place an exact date.

Five tsuba or sword guards [see plates 73 to 75]. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. These tsuba bear on them the symbols of the butterfly, the rabbit, the God of Longevity rising on a crane, the Eight Happy Immortals, and the most loved flowers of Japan'.[62]

So intent was Mahr on adhering to Hart's expertise in Asian art that on the surviving 1930s exhibition labelling in the National Museum no date is given for the pen-knife with jade handling as in Hart's list. Yet the four 'netsuke' are given a label date of the seventeenth century. 'The '*tsuba*' are, like the pen-knife, given

[62] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 16 February 1933.



Plate 67. Box of enamelled silver,
early 18th century, China. (DB:1933.21)



Plate 68. Snuff Bottle, Metal/Bone/Gemstones,
1736-95AD, Mongolia. (DB:1933.24)



Plate 69. Netsuke, Bronze mounted in ivory,
18th century, Japan. (DB:1933.28)



Plate 70. Kagamibuta-type Netsuke, Silver mounted in ivory,
18th century, Japan. (DB:1933.29)



Plate 71.Ornament, Jade,
18th century, China. (DB:1933.32)



Plate 72. Ornament, Jade,
18th century, China. (DB:1933.34)



Plate 73.Tsuba, Swordguard, Metal,
17th/18th century, Japan. (DB:1933.36)



Plate 74.Tsuba, Swordguard, Metal,
17th/18th century, Japan. (DB:1933.37)



Plate 75. Tsuba, Swordguard, Metal,
17th/18th century, Japan. (DB:1933.40)

the exact same date as that advised by Hart, i.e. seventeenth or eighteenth century. An insurance value of only $125 U. S. dollars was given for all twenty-two objects referred to above.

A similar donation of 'objets d'art' followed on 28 April 1933 with another low insurance valuation estimate from Hart at $150 dollars. His 3 April letter to Mahr describes these latest additions to the Bender collection:

> 'Included in this shipment are sixteen wooded figures of the late Sung [960-1279 A.D.] or early Ming [1368-1644 A.D.] period from a Tao temple [see plates 76 to 79]. These figures represent various gods, demi-gods and heroes. They are interesting for their fidelity of expression, for their carving and for the remarkable way in which the colour has been preserved. The two antique silver cosmetic jars [see plate 80] surmounted by the dogs of Buddha were wedding presents. The character represented on each jar is shuang hsi, which means double or wedded happiness. The designs at the top and bottom are the repeated j'ui, the sceptre of good wishes.
>
> The tiny Buddha is a Tibetan figure of gilded bronze [see plate 81]. At the base is the 'dorje' or the devil-dispersing thunder bolt. It is in this connection that the interesting similarity to the English crown is noted. The design of both has been traced to the ancestry of a cluster of thunder bolts signifying power. In the centre of the 'dorje' is the t'ai chi or combination of 'yang' and 'yin'.
>
> The red snuff bottle is an antique piece of cinnabar lacquer with which you are no doubt well acquainted.
>
> The second snuff bottle is an ivory piece [see plate 82] with a design representing the Taoist paradise.



Plate 76. Figure, Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple, 1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.43)



Plate 77. Figure, Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple, 1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.44)



Plate 78. Figure, Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple, 1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.47)



Plate 79. Figure, Part of a collection of sixteen wooden figures from a Daoist temple, 1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.50)



Plate 80. Cosmetic jar, Silver,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1933.57)



Plate 81. Figure of Buddha, Metal,
18th/19th century, Tibet. (DB:1933.59)



Plate 82. Snuff Bottle, Ivory,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1933.61)



Plate 83. Carving, Jade,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1933.62)

The jade carving is very interesting and represents a pair of the Deer of Long Life riding on the clouds [see plate 83].

The small ivory carving is an antique piece representing the dogs of Buddha. It is a Japanese piece'.[63]

The group of sixteen wooden figures from a 'Tao' temple are Daoist. In many respects the layout of both Daoist and Buddhist temples along with their associative ceremonial artefacts, such as incense burners and statuary can be quite similar, which leads to difficulties in correctly identifying what system of belief an object represents. Daoism originally started as a philosophy around 500B.C., but by 250B.C. it had developed into a religion when the original philosophical Daoism that aimed to harmonise inner spirit with nature 'amalgamated with other beliefs which had as their goals the maintenance of health and vigour and achieving immorality'.[64]

On 10 February 1933 (registered by NMI on 29 April) Henry H. Hart dispatched an eighteenth century Chinese sweetmeat box (se plate 84) to Adolf Mahr:

'This box of antique cut velvet, the design being the plantain or banana plant, the crane of long life, and the peony, the national flower of China. The lining of the box is of the cloud design interspersed with bats, the emblem of good fortune.

The inside box consists of nine trays of the very finest enamel of the early Ch'ien Lung period showing a grace of design, a fineness of line and a clearness of colour characteristic of the finest work of this period.

[63] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 3 April 1933.
[64] Kerr, Rose: *Chinese Art and Design*, V&A publications, 1991, p. 74.

> The eight small trays represent the Eight Happy Immortals with their attendants and attributes. The centre tray is a most unusual picture of Hsi Wang Mu, the Queen of the Western Paradise. She is riding on the Ho bird (feng huang), and is attended as ever by her fan-bearer and her two maids-in-waiting.[65]

In a subsequent letter from Hart to Mahr on 19 June an insurance valuation of $200 U.S. dollars is given for the sweetmeat box, but with the following qualifying statement: 'this is a conservative figure as the box could not be replaced at anywhere near that price'.[66]

According to Margaret Medley, former curator of the Percival David Foundation, Hsi Wang Mu can be defined as 'the Queen Mother of the West, usually shown as a beautiful woman accompanied by girls known as Jade maidens, carrying flowers and peaches. She was believed to guard the peaches of immortality'.[67]

Also contained within the same file is a rather interesting letter from Albert Bender to Dr. Mahr dated 14 February 1933. It highlights the carelessness with which Irish customs officials handled the incoming donations to the Museum:

> 'Am very sorry that two of the items arrived in bad condition and am glad to note that the neck of the duck can be pasted together without detection. [This is the same Northern Wei period duck donated to the NMI on 30 January 1933]. All of these old pieces arrived from China in more or less damaged condition and are subject to such expert treatment as you are applying. [This last reference seems to be implying that the clay duck figure was conserved on arrival in Dublin]. In regard to item number seven I am more concerned. I note

[65] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 10 February 1933.
[66] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 19 June 1933.
[67] Medley, Margaret: *A handbook of Chinese Art*, G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1964, p. 96.

that you will be able to put it together for exhibition purposes. I do not like to put in a claim with the insurance company for any small amount. At any rate, I have no information to warrant my doing so. The damage, as you rightly conjecture, has been done in the State Customs. The packages are so carefully packed by experts that there is little chance of anything happening in transit. I am wondering if an arrangement could be made between your department and the State Customs to allow these packages to pass unopened from the Custom House to the Museum. It does not encourage donors to present valuable gifts to the Museum if they are subject to more or less handling by the employees in such institutions. I appreciate your protest and believe that it will lead to such an understanding as I am taking the liberty to suggest'.[68]

The 'number seven' object to which Bender refers is a Shang Dynasty (eighteenth century –1028 B.C.) metal bowl which was subsequently retained by the NMI and publicly displayed as is evident from a surviving exhibition label. It is astonishing to note from the Bender Collection archive files that this appears to be one of only three out of the 230 artefacts donated, which suffered damage in transit. Interestingly, a postscript is added by Bender in his own handwriting on the 14 February letter to Mahr: 'P.S. Whenever you open the Augusta Bender room, may I ask you to include invitations to Dr. Googan, Provost of Trinity, and Dr. J. Gilbard Smyly, Librarian. My kindest remembrances to dear Walter Starkie'.[69] Albert Bender must have been the individual to request his donations of Asian art to the National Museum of Ireland be displayed in an exhibition space entitled the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art', although there is no evidence as to when this suggestion was first made.

[68] AI/108/010: Bender to Mahr, 14 February 1933.
[69] Ibid.

There were similar Bender Rooms formed in the library of Mills College, Oakland and an exhibition of Asian art in the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco.

The next offering to the National Museum is perhaps one of the most significant and amongst the earliest in date (see plate 85). It is a Buddha head of the Song period (or as referred to in the Art and Industrial Division file 'Sung' period), 960-1278 A.D. Its presentation to the NMI is dated 4 June 1933. Of even greater interest perhaps is the change of Asian art dealer from Henry H. Hart Oriental Arts to that of 'Fujita & Company, Importers of Oriental Art Goods, 461 Grant Ave., San Francisco'.[70] Their letterhead gives Peking (Beijing) and Yokohama as Fujita's ports of export to the United States.

When the next round of Japanese woodblock prints (see plates 86 to 92) were deposited in the National Museum on 21 July 1933, T.Z. Shiota of 515 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, were again called upon in helping to source the donations. Shiota's descriptive list to the NMI on 30 June is in Appendix C.
From this list it is apparent that amongst the most valuable are numbers 1 and 2 by Utamaro (1750-1806), 'the influential master [at the turn of the nineteenth century] who brought to the genre of figure prints a new and fresh vision of feminine beauty, as well as a special insight into female psychology that had hitherto been lacking'.[71] The Hokusai print of 'Tsuri Bridge (Hanging Bridge) on the Boundaries of Hida and Etchu Provinces' is taken from his justly renowned 'Splendid Views of Famous Bridges of the Provinces'. Comparing it with his more nature inspired 'Persimmon and Grasshopper' is proof enough of his diversity as well as providing evidence of

[70] AI/108/010: Fujita to Mahr, 6 June 1933.
[71] Lane, Richard (ed.): *Masterpieces of Japanese Prints – The European Collections. Ukiyo-e from the Victoria and Albert Museum*. V&A publications, 1991, p. 17.



Plate 84. Sweetmeat Box, Enamel,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1933.64)



Plate 85. Sculpture, Stone Head of Buddha,
968-1279AD, China. (DB:1933.65)

artistic taste in nineteenth century Japanese society; a society that called for images of 'theatres and restaurants, wrestling baths and houses of assignation, with their permanent population of actors, singers, story-tellers, jesters, courtesans, bathgirls and itinerant purveyors'.[72]

Bender made another July donation to the National Museum on the 25th, this time under the auspices of Dr. Henry H. Hart's Oriental Arts:

> 'Seven [in handwritten ink: crossed out, the word 'six only' inserted above] circular mats, each mat being a medallion cut from an old velvet brocade. Four of these medallions in brown have the design of the dogs of Fo playing – Two of them in blue are copied from the design used on old Han tiles. In the centre is the character 'Shou', being the character meaning long life, surrounded by six 'Jui', each fungus of happiness. The remaining blue medallion has the design 'Shou' surrounded by clouds.
>
> A belt consisting of closely worked beaded design [see plate 93] represents a row of flower pots. The belt buckle is in silver. This belt and buckle represent the work of the Babas, i.e. the Malay Chinese. I had found a number of articles of this type of bead work in my wanders through the Malay Peninsula. To the best of my knowledge, the work has never been done within the borders of China itself. It is an authentic article of considerable rarity and value.
>
> Manchu hair bars. These bars were used during the rule of the Manchus by the women of the race. As you know the Manchu women's head dress was very different from that of the Chinese. The hair is dressed on a frame of cardboard, so that it projects out from the back of the head on all sides like a fan. The hair

[72] Stanley-Baker, Joan: *Japanese Art*, Thames and Hudson, 2000, p. 188.



Plate 86. Print, Views of Mount Fuji from Various Provinces, Sugano, Tamagawa of the Maruebi-ya by Eisen,
c.1830-44, Japan. (DB:1933.69)



Plate 87. Print, 5 Women of the Green House, Matsamura of the Matsuba-ya by Eizan,
c.1804-18, Japan. (DB:1933.70)



Plate 88. Print, Famous Views of the Moon in the Eastern Capital, the Winter Moon at Matsuchiyama
by Kunisada,
c.1830-44, Japan. (DB:1933.75)



Plate 89. Print, Commander Michitsuna's Mother, Number 53 by Kunisada,
1843-47, Japan. (DB:1933.83)



Plate 90. Print, Elegant Moon-Viewing Outings in the Four Seasons, February by Kiyonaga, c.1784, Japan. (DB:1933.93)



Plate 91. Print, 100 Famous Views of Edo, Takadanobaba by Hiroshige, 1857, Japan. (DB:1933.95)



Plate 92. Print, 100 Famous Views of Edo, Towboats Along the Yotsugi-dori Canal by Hiroshige, 1857, Japan. (DB:1933.96)

bar is then thrust through the main knot or chignon. The hair bar is inlaid with jade, coral, pink quartz, and ruby matrix.

Three door knockers [see plate 94]. These bronze bosses have been used in China from great antiquity as a combination of door knocker and door knob. The small dark bronze piece is from the Ming period, the two larger pieces are early Ch'ing (Manchu) [i.e. seventeenth century]

Two Netsuke in the form of masks [see plates 95 to 96]. This ivory piece is signed by Gyokusan. The wooden mask is signed Keizan, both being noted artists. An ivory Netsuke without signature represents an old woman. An ivory figure of excellent workmanship signed Myoichi. This figure represents a Sumotori, i.e. a Japanese wrestler. I can assure you from much observation, that the likeness is remarkably good.

A tiny ivory make-up box in two compartments. This represents the finest type of Japanese miniature ivory work.

One Lohan (Apostle of Buddha) in steatite.

One jade buckle set with pink quartz and ruby matrix'.[73]

Also included in this file is a letter from Mahr to Bender regarding the arrangements and progress being made in preparing the Augusta Bender Memorial Room for its official opening: 'My staff have not been idle in the work in the Memorial Room; practically all the labels have been written, and the objects have been written on. The Office of Public Works have installed an experimental system of lighting which I inspected on my return and decided, with several small changes to adopt

[73] AI/108/009: Hart to Mahr, 24 June 1933.



Plate 93. Beaded belt, Textile,
1644-1911AD, Malay Peninsula. (DB:1933.104)



Plate 94. Door Knocker, Bronze,
1368-1644AD, China. (DB:1933.106)



Plate 95. Netsuke, Ivory, in the form of a mask,
1868-1912AD, Japan. (DB:1933.109)



Plate 96. Netsuke, Ivory,
1868-1912AD, Japan. (DB:1933.111)

permanently'.[74] It would not be until 25 June 1934 that the Augusta Bender Memorial Room was officially opened by Eamon DeValera.

The 28 July 1933 saw the next donation from Bender enter the National Museum; a Tang Dynasty (616-907 A.D.) clay tomb figure of horse with rider (see plate 97). As 'The Daibutsu' Japanese and Chinese Art Objects company dispatched it, it is tempting to assume that this object may have been selected from Bender's own personal collection. Yet the tone of his letter to Mahr on 28 June 1933 suggests differently: 'I am shipping you to-day one Chinese Pottery figure, Tang Dynasty, 617-906 A.D. representing a mortuary horse with a rider, glazed in three colours, and one teak wood case with stand in which to exhibit same. The latter will require glass to be put in it but I thought it better not to run the chance of breaking in transit...'[75] Tang Dynasty tomb figures are best described by Sabine Hesemann: 'When there was a death in the family, the choice of glazed or unglazed ceramics as grave goods must have been a financial consideration. All types of glazed ceramics had their unglazed counterparts. Funerary figures representing human beings are multicultural, like Tang society itself... A man who had accumulated riches through his position and high office could afford to have his tomb magnificently furnished, and his grave goods would include glazed, coloured figures in the three-colour '*sancai*' ornamentation, which was the latest achievement in ceramics'.[76] Hesemann continues this summary with reference to technological developments in ceramics under Emperor Xuanzong during the Kaiyuan era (713-741), which witnessed sancai pottery's three-hue lead silicate glazing reach a climax of artistic expression in blue/green and beige; blue, brown, and green or even yellow combinations.

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[74] AI/108/009: Mahr to Bender, 23 September 1933.
[75] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 28 June 1933.
[76] Hesemann, Sabine in Fahr-Becker, Gabriele (ed.); *The Art of East Asia*, Konemann, 1999, p. 129.

Only one donation from Bender to the National Museum was made on 30 July 1933, a Han Dynasty, 1st-2nd century A.D. earthenware vase, (see plate 98) 'with iron mask in relief and green lead glaze partly iridescent through burial'.[77] Along with the ceramic duck figure mentioned above, this piece dates to the Han Dynasty (206BC-220AD). During the Han Dynasty tombs of high status individuals contained grave goods, such as a general being buried with a miniature army, while a landowner's burial would contain models of his house, silos, pigsties, water wells or even servants. As a result much is known from these surviving artefacts of the everyday life of Chinese people around the first century A.D. During the Han Dynasty China officially became a Confucian state, with agriculture, crafts and commerce all thriving. At this time the Chinese also extended their cultural and political influence over many parts of Eastern Asia that included such countries as Korea, Mongolia, Vietnam and Japan.

In September 1983 a Chinese Ceramics exhibition opened at the National Museum of Ireland, which showcased NMI material alone – there were no external loans. As a result six objects from the Bender collection were put on display, which included the Han Dynasty vase and what in January 1933 had been referred to as a Northern Wei clay duck figure was now more accurately given the catalogue entry 'Duck (30.1.33) Han Dynasty, Date Uncertain. Grey earthenware with white slip, formerly with painted decoration'.[78] The two Tang Dynasty figures of ladies (22.2.33a & b), horse with female rider (28.7.33) and one funerary vase of the Song Dynasty (17.6.38) were the remaining artefacts selected for exhibition.

[77] Chapman, Jan: *Chinese Ceramics in the National Museum*, NMI, 1983, p. 7: catalogue entry no. 1.
[78] Ibid, catalogue entry no. 2.



Plate 97. Figure on horse, Ceramic,
618-907AD, China. (DB:1933.116)



Plate 98. Vase, Ceramic,
202BC-220AD, China. (DB:1933.117)

The penultimate date of donations to the NMI's Bender collection is 31 July 1933. The descriptions of these objects were sent by Henry H. Hart to Adolf Mahr on 8 May:

> '1. The high incense burner [see plate 99] is a very rare old piece dating from the time of Ch'ien Lung or before. It is one of a set of five pieces, which regularly appear on a Buddhist altar. This set is known as the Wu Kung and is used for offerings of flowers, incense and light. The decoration is of very fine etched work, which is not often found on pewter. The animal on the cover is the shishi or Dog of Fo. The handles of the incense burner are the most unusual part, being a pair of highly conventionalised dragons.
>
> 2. The pair of vases are a votive offering from a Chinese temple, and represent one of the oldest of the Chinese decorations, pewter inlaid with figures cut from copper brass or tin and set in flush with the pewter surface.
>
> 3. The flagon is the type that has been used by the Mongols for their wine. The form indicates that there is a very strong Mohammedan influence, which has worked through Chinese Turkestan and Kansu Province. The inlay work is the same as that on the vases.
>
> 4. The large serving dish with compartments [see plate 100] is the type that has been used for centuries by the Chinese for banquets. Placed in the centre of the table the various foods are kept hot by hot water, which is poured into the large space under the tray containing the bowls. The decorations of jade and carnelian are among the oldest forms of ornamentation used by the Chinese on pewter.
>
> 5. The chalice is a Japanese piece of considerable antiquity [see plate 101]. Japanese pewter is always more severe in form and decoration than the

Chinese. This shape of bowl or chalice was used for rinsing the saucers for which sake was drunk at banquets, or for rinsing the cups from which tea was drunk during the Chan-No-Yu or tea ceremony. It should be noted that for the most part the Japanese pewter contains much more tin and is therefore nearer the silver colour than the greater part of the Chinese pewter'.[79]

As is usual with correspondence from Henry Hart, an approximate valuation is given for the six objects: Incense Burner - $75, Pair of large vases - $150, flagon - $32.50, Serving dish - $75 and Chalice - $21.50. In relation to the incense burner, it is highly probably that the term 'Wu Kung' for an altar set of five objects is derived from the name of the Chinese Buddhist monk, Wu Kung, who was noted for having visited Gandhara between 759 and 764 A.D.

One of the most important discoveries to emerge from the Mills College archive is reference to the donation by Bender of two Ming murals (see plate 103), two Ming paintings (see plate 104) and a Korean painting (see plate 105) in August/September 1935.[80] No record of their deposit in the National Museum exists in the archives of the Art and Industrial Division, and it is the only instance of donation by Bender when the proper documents were not subsequently saved. This may have had much to do with the handing over of responsibility for the collection to the Art and Industrial Division by Mahr, as the latter had been meticulous in keeping account of the donations. The two Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) murals depict a flute-player in one, and a pipe-player in the other. They probably date to the end of the Ming Dynasty (sixteenth/early seventeenth century), but this requires confirmation. As these came from Bender's

[79] AI/108/009: Hart to Mahr, 8 May 1933.
[80] Mahr to Bender, 19 September 1935: Bender Archive, Mills College.



Plate 99. Incense Burner, Pewter,
1736-95AD, China. (DB:1933.118)



Plate 100. Banqueting Dish, Pewter,
1644-1911AD, China. (DB:1933.121)



Plate 101. Chalice, Vessel used in Chanoyu, Pewter, 1600-1868AD, Japan. (DB:1933.122)

own private collection, no explanation exists as to their region of manufacture, date, etc. as would have normally been provided by either Henry H. Hart or Shiota. Likewise the two Chinese Ming paintings on cloth illustrating front profile of women, each with differing headdress can be possibly dated to the 16th century, and were also part of Bender's private collection. The dispersal of the various painting techniques throughout China may have had much to do with the '16-volume book 'Shizhuzhai shu hua pu' (Painting and Handwriting Patterns of the Ten-Bamboo-Hall), published between 1619 and 1633. These pattern books, illustrated with woodcuts showed the ambitious amateur, in easy steps, how to paint every kind of picture (landscape, genre, portrait, as well as how to paint the same subject in different styles. Because of their circulation, they became influential works that set the standard for artists and craftsmen.'[81]

As for the Korean painting on textile that depicts three monks holding beads, a date of the nineteenth century is possible. It is the only example of Korean origin in the entire Bender collection, and as with the other four paintings, came from his home rather than having been deliberately chosen for the National Museum.

The evidence differentiating between what was selected for donation to Dublin from Bender's own personal collection and what was selected by dealers for immediate dispatch to the National Museum is based on the archival material in the Art and Industrial Division. Apart from the initial donations of the Thangka paintings in December 1931, the majority of material up to the official opening of the Bender Room in Kildare Street on 25 June 1934 appears to have been given by Albert Bender directly via his dealers (e.g. Henry H. Hart, T.Z. Shiota, and the Daibutsu Company).

[81] Hesemann, Sabine in Fahr-Becker, Gabriele (ed.): *The Art of Far East Asia*, Konemann, 1999, p. 183.

After June 1934 further additions to the Bender Collection appear to be from his own personal collection due to their dispatch to Dublin being unaccompanied by any dealer's description.

The remaining donations totalling eighteen objects came under the National Museum's control during 1935 and 1936. The files on these accessions are more haphazardly archived than the others, resulting perhaps from the fact that these donations were made after the opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room in June 1934. The relevant sections of correspondence between Mahr and Bender read as follows:

> 'Dear Dr. Mahr: ... I like it better than any single Lama Painting I have seen, which is the reason that I should like it as a part of the collection.
> The dealer's note on it reads: 'Lama Painting – 1750-1800 A.D. Avalokitecvana (The Great Merciful One) known as Kwannon by the Japanese and as Kuan-yin by the Chinese and Tibetans. In Tibet the Bodhisattva is considered to be the spiritual patron of the Lamaist church and the origin of the Tibetan people itself is associated with the name of Avalokitecvana. The Dalai Lama is considered to an incarnation of the Bodhisattva and bears the title of Gyl-ba-Rqya-mtsho, an appellation often given to Avalokitecvana''.[82]
> 'Dear Dr. Mahr: ... 1 – Old Chinese Pottery, Grey Tile – incised and carved – Horse rider and Symmetrical Design. Height: 13 ½ in. Han Dynasty 202 B.C. – 220 A.D. 1 – Old Japanese Screen, Gold and Tosa Paintings. 'Tale of Lady Murasaki' – 1750 A.D. Miniature Paintings'.[83]

[82] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 9 July 1935.
[83] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 18 July 1936.

'In addition to the shipment of the screen and sculpture... I am sending you by mail to-day two pieces Old Japanese Wooden Sculpture, lacquer finish, 'Saga Doll', Tokugawa Period, 1750 A.D.'[84]

'...am sending you by registered mail three packages containing two Han Dynasty Bronzes and one white porcelain Chinese figure, (Kuan-yin), about 1750 [see plate 111]'.[85]

On 'Daibutsu' headed paper the following were dispatched by Bender on 6 August 1936:

'1 pair Old Chinese Porcelain vase. Sung Dynasty (959-1278 A.D.) $250.

4 pcs. Old Japanese Porcelain Bowls. 'Kutani-ware' (1750 A.D.) $120

1 pc. Old Japanese Wooden Figure 'Shotoku-Taishi' (1750 A.D.) [See plate 108] Camphor Wood. $175

1 pc. Old Japanese Wooden Figure. 'Samurai Costume' (1700 A.D.) $75

2 pcs. Porcelain Cover for Sung Vase'.[86]

In the above correspondence mention is made of Mahr's absence from the National Museum, so that it was 14 December 1936 by the time the then Director had an opportunity to unpack Bender's donations and confirm in writing any damage that occurred during transit. The Han Dynasty tile, Japanese screen, 'two old Japanese wooden sculptures, two Chinese porcelain vases of the Song Dynasty, Japanese wooden figure of 'Shotoku-Taishe', Japanese wooden figure in samurai costume, two Japanese dolls (see plates 109 and 110), the Han Dynasty bronze bowl and Chinese porcelain figure of Kuan-yin all arrived intact. However, according to Mahr's letter to Bender there were three instances of damage:

[84] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 22 July 1936.
[85] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 25 November 1936.
[86] AI/108/009: Daibutsu to NMI, 6 August 1936.



Plate 102. Painting, Avalokiteshvara, Textile,
18th century, Tibetan-Buddhist, China. (DB:1935.1)



Plate 103. Mural,
16th/17th century, China. (DB:1935.2)



Plate 104. Painting, Textile,
16th/17th century, China. (DB:1935.4)



Plate 105. Painting, Textile,
19th century, Korea. (DB:1935.6)

'Four old Japanese porcelain bowls, 'Kutani-ware''. 1750 A.D. [See plate 107] One of these objects did not arrive intact. In spite of excellent packing a very small chip, about half of a square centimetre, got broken out. The chip is present and there will be no difficulty in its being replaced in position, but as the objects have been insured against any damage, I think it is better I let you know that one of these four bowls got slightly injured.... Chinese bronze bowl of the shape of a jar. Han dynasty. As per your letter of the 25th November, 1936. I am sorry to say this object arrived badly broken. I must say in fairness to the Daibutsu Co. that they had packed everything in a truly excellent way, but in any case when I unpacked the objects... we found that the whole rim got very badly broken. The two bronze bowls were already very much decomposited in the metal alloy, and they should have undergone some kind of preservative treatment prior to their being sent away, because it was fairly plain from the outset that they would not stand transport and the usual rough handling. The metal is in part so crumpled that even the presence of the broken-away material will not allow to make a very satisfactory repair, as the metal core left is very thin and the so-called 'wild patination' has spread out all over the thinner parts of the bowl... Needless to say we will do our best to have the object restored, at least to something of its pristine beauty'.[87]

Bender's speedy reply two weeks later suggested the following: 'The two items you describe as damaged seem to me to be total losses and you can disregard them as part of the collection if you so desire. The small amount involved will be paid by the insurance companies and will entail no loss of any importance'.[88] As no museum de-accessions policy existed in 1936 (indeed this is still the case) both bronze bowls were

[87] AI/108/009: Mahr to Bender, 14 December 1936.
[88] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr: 30 December 1936.

kept. This may have had even more to do with efforts to maintain the Bender Collection as a unit. Therefore, no objects were excluded. The survival of an exhibition label in this instance suggests that they were both publicly displayed. Nevertheless in true magnanimous spirit, Bender sent a suitable second object: 'In replacement of the bronze destroyed en route recently, I am sending you today by registered mail an old wine vessel with little handle of the Han Dynasty period between 220 B.C. and 200 A.D. The package contains a teak wood stand for it'.[89]

A pair of Song Dynasty funerary vases donated on 6 August 1936 has a direct parallel in a pair accessioned by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1912. The description of one, which was exhibited by the V&A in the T.T. Tsui Gallery of Chinese Art in 1991 is almost identical to the Bender vases: 'It bears the Green Dragon of the East, together with figures of the sun god and star gods, and cranes, the birds of long life... have a bird on the top of their lids, a depiction of the Vermilion Bird of the South'.[90] These vases would have contained grain offerings for the dead, usually rice, and were particularly common in southern China.

The Japanese screen of gold and Tosa paintings, c. 1750 A.D. (donated, 6 August 1936) is a modern screen bearing eighteenth-century paintings depicting the story of 'Genji' (see plate 106). Lady Murasaki Shikibu compiled one of the most renowned romances of Japanese court life in the late tenth century, 'The Tale of Genji'. Its series of sophisticated illustrated hand-scrolls survives in an 1120-30 A.D. version of fragments, but its artistic importance has permeated down through the centuries. As for the figure of 'Shotoku-Taishi' from the same date of acquisition, this represents

[89] AI/108/009: Bender to Mahr, 5 January 1937.
[90] Kerr, Rose (ed.): *Chinese Art and Design*. V&A publications, 1991, p. 64.

the Asuka period's (552-646 A.D.) Prince Umayado, or in the Buddhist tradition, Shotoku (Sagely and Virtuous). 'Prince Shotoku was an ardent Buddhist scholar. At court he lectured and wrote commentaries on the Vimalakirti Sutra, the shoman-gyo, and the Lotus Sutra. Contact with China was opened in 607 when he dispatched a scholar to Sui China to study Buddhism and ordered the first compilation of the history of Japan (now lost)... In 604 he had decreed the famous Seventeen Articles, aiming at social harmony, in an attempt to centralize power and to unify the various clan-chiefs whose rivalries had hitherto dominated Japanese life'.[91]

In relation to the four 'Kutani-ware' bowls, Kutani along with Kakiemon and Nabeshima were the three types of decorated porcelain produced by the Arita kilns. Kutani is noted for its distinct colours of overglaze enamel. According to Michael Dunn, 'the early Kutani kilns seemed to have gone out of business around the end of the 17th century; however, kilns making Kutani wares were revived again in the early-19th century in the Ishikawa region'.[92]

From the evidence presented here it can be seen that over a period of six years Albert Bender donated about 260 objects to the NMI. These donations consisted amongst others of prints, ceramics and metalwork and covered a time span from as early as the second century B.C. up to the nineteenth century. The material came from a wide spread of geographical locations, from Tibet in Central Asia to Korea and Japan in Eastern Asia. The donations were for the most part obtained from commercial dealers based in California although they in turn seem to have been in direct contact with suppliers in China and Japan, and to have travelled there in person. The donated

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[91] Ibid, p. 29.
[92] Dunn, Michael in Fahr-Becker, Gabriele (ed.): *The Art of East Asia*. Konemann, 1999, p. 603.

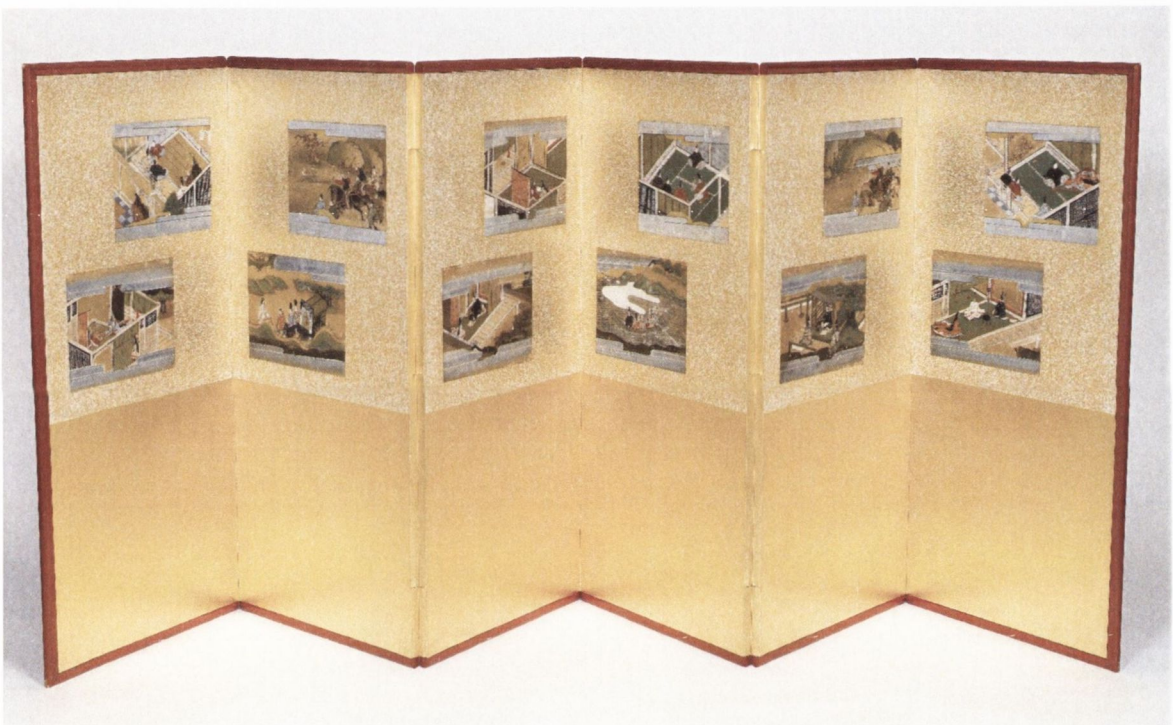

Plate 106. Screen illustrating a series of Tosa School paintings illustrating the 'Tale of Genji', 18th century, Japan. (DB:1938.2)



Plate 107. Bowl, Kutani ware, Porcelain,
18th century, Japan. (DB:1938.9)



Plate 108. Figure of Shotoku Taishi in camphor wood,
18th century, Japan. (DB:1938.11)



Plate 109. Doll in the form of the Emperor, Wood, 1600-1868AD, Japan. (DB:1938.13)



Plate 110. Doll in the form of the Empress, Wood, 1600-1868AD, Japan. (DB:1938.14)



Plate 111. Figure of Guanyin, Blanc-de-chine porcelain, 18th century, China. (DB:1938.17)

material seems to have been purchased with the intention of donating it to the NMI although Albert Bender added some items from his personal collection. The idea that the material should be exhibited together as a self-contained display of Asian material in memory of Bender's mother seems to have developed once the sequence of donations had been initiated. The donations were highly unusual when seen in the context of the NMI collecting policy in the 1930s to which they seem like a welcome, albeit accidental, alternative. Bender certainly and Mahr quite possibly, knew that East Asian material was readily available in the late 1920s and 1930s, owing to the political upheaval in China and the consolidating demand for such material which was evident in the USA, amongst private and institutional collectors.

Although Chinese material had been extensively amassed by European and American collectors from the 1870s through to the 1920s, the ready supply was soon to dwindle as a result of Chinese export regulations. The outbreak of the Second World War unsurprisingly marked a turning point in the trade in eastern Asian antiquities as soon thereafter there came the circulation by the Chinese authorities of official loan exhibitions, supplemented from private collections, of comprehensive displays of material held in prestigious venues such as the Royal Academy in London.

The 1935-36 Royal Academy of Arts exhibition held at Burlington House was at that time the largest exhibition of Chinese art ever displayed, consisting of over 240 lenders and thousands of items in total. Political developments in China over the preceeding two decades had determined that China's Executive Yuan (Council) would seek 'to benefit from the exhibition's vast international audience by publicising their

idea of China's political status'.[93] Set against the Royal Academy of Arts exhibition was a period of intense collecting by both American and European museums and institutions in the early twentieth century. Aurel Stein (1862-1943), Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) and Langdon Warner (1881-1955) all led expeditions to Chinese Central Asia[94] on behalf of the British Museum, Musée Guimet and Harvard University respectively. It is very relevant that two years after the opening of the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' in the National Museum of Ireland that such a significant exhibition was held in London. The fact that additional donations to the Bender Collection were still being given in 1936 underlines the likelihood of NMI curators, such as Adolf Mahr and Ada Longfield being aware of such an international event. The Chief organisers of the 1935 exhibition at the RA included George Eumorfopoulos (1863-1939), Sir Percival David (1892-1964) and Robert Lockhart Hobson (1872-1941).[95] The official assistance of the Chinese government's administration ensured the Burlington House exhibition was the most authoritative on the subject of Chinese art ever held in the West. For example, Chinese museums that loaned objects to the exhibition included the Palace Museum, the National Museum, the Academia Sinica, the Honan Museum and the Anhwei Provincial Library. 984 objects from these museums were exhibited in London.[96]

This official governmental Chinese support is in marked contrast to the scramble for Chinese art goods that preceeded it during the first three decades of the twentieth

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[93] Steuber, Jason: 'The exhibition of Chinese art at Burlington House, London, 1935-36', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLVIII, August 2006, p. 528-536.
[94] Hopkirk, Peter: *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road: The Search for the Lost Treasures of Central Asia*. John Murray, 1980. Stein led expeditions in 1900, 1906-8, 1913-16 and 1930; Pelliot led an expedition in 1906-9 and Warner led his expedition in 1924-25.
[95] Steuber, Jason: 'The exhibition of Chinese art at Burlington House, London, 1935-36', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLVIII, p. 532.
[96] Ibid, p. 532.

century. Albert Bender would have initially obtained the set of Thangka paintings from what is probably Gansu Province around 1920 (see page 22). This period corresponds with American officialdom's interest in acquiring Asian art. The most notorious of these collectors for public institutions was Langdon Warner. His removal of Buddhist frescoes at Dunhuang in 1925 has been regarded by Chinese authorities as nothing more than an act of vandalism. It is reasonable to suppose that Albert Bender may have been aware of such institutional collecting by Harvard's Sackler Museum.[97] Bender was one of several American collectors who became interested in the acquisition of Chinese Central Asian material. By the 1930s American collectors of Asian art found an entirely changed market due to the Great Depression. However, as with Albert Bender some continued to find unsuspecting valuable works in the midst of less affluence, e.g. Richard Fuller of Seattle stated that 'the depression was a favourable time to purchase from important dealers their 'white elephants', many of which are now Museum treasures'. Laurence Sickman bought 50 to 60 per cent of the Nelson-Atkins Gallery of Art collection in the 1930s, 1,500 pieces in 1933 alone'.[98] In this context the following chapter discusses Albert Bender's donations to museums in California, particularly San Francisco.

[97] Cohen, Warren I.: *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations*. Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 95.
[98] Ibid, p. 103-104.

Chapter II: Albert Bender and American Collections

As mentioned in the 'Introduction' Albert Bender gave a substantial modern art collection to SFMOMA, but simultaneous to his interest in contemporary art he also formed three important Asian art collections (outside of the NMI's) during the 1920s and '30s for the Mills College Art Museum, M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum and the Palace of the Legion of Honor. The last two sets of donations come under the Fine Art Museums of San Francisco, and were amalgamated in 1978. Bender began donating Asian art to the Palace of the Legion of Honor in the 1920s, whereas it was only from the 1930s that he donated Asian material to the DeYoung Museum. Therefore, it is the collection of the latter that is most relevant to a study of the NMI donations as both series of donations date to the same decade. Additionally Bender's ancillary roles in forming public Asian art collections in the San Francisco Bay Area included active participation in forming a Friends of Far Eastern Art Association, the employment of museum staff and the lending of Asian art to educational institutions such as the University of California, Berkeley, which are also discussed in this chapter.

Mills College Art Gallery:

The first instance of his museum benefaction of Asian art in the San Francisco area concerns material given to the Mills College Art Museum. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Albert Bender was a highly significant patron of Mills College, Oakland. His first cousin, the artist Anne Bremer (1868-1923) had attended the college as an undergraduate, and following her death Bender increased his donations to, and financial support of, the institution. Contained within the Aurelia Henry Reinhardt files is a submission by Mills College to the delegates of the Kyoto

Conference[1]. Mention is made in this listing of the fact that Bender's gift constituted the majority of Asian material in Mills College: 'The Mills College collection shares with his gift to the Legion of Honor in San Francisco the distinction of being note-worthy in this part of the country.'[2] The Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations warranted a thorough submission from the United States on the standard of contemporary Asian art and culture education during the inter-war period. As a result Reinhardt includes information regarding the value of Chinese and Japanese art in the possession of Mills College ($14,000[3]), as well as a breakdown of the constituent parts of the collection. In terms of Chinese art the categories of painting, screens, bronze, pewter, ceramics, enamel, lacquer, papier maché, jewellery, wood carving, clay figures, sculpture and tiles are represented. In Japanese art only the subheadings of bronzes (figures), lacquer, woodcarving and sculpture are listed.[4] Particular attention is drawn to two Chinese statuettes in bronze of the two Lohans, a Chinese brush drawing (valued at $500), and a Chinese watercolour of Guanyin (valued at $750).

Presumably, Reinhardt also made reference to the Asian art holdings of the Legion of Honor given their common benefactor, Albert Bender: 'We are sending also photographs showing an example of the Albert M. Bender collection in the Legion of Honor... Those two beautiful photographs were made by Ansel Adams and show the rare bronze statue, Amita-Nyorai, the personification of boundless light, or Amitabha, the Sanskrit term meaning Infinite Light'.[5] Appended to Reinhardt's report is an

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[1] Reinhardt to Bender, 5 August 1929: Aurelia Henry Reinhardt File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

explanation provided by Bender of Amita-Nyorai; the same explanation was sent to Dublin in order to explain the meaning and significance of the 18th century Amida Buddha in lacquered wood given to the NMI in 1936 (see Chapter I).

One of the most significant aspects of Reinhardt's report concerns the apparent integration of Asian art in the Mills College Art Museum with Mills College's curriculum on Asian art and culture. The curriculum was based on four themes; Oriental Art, the Development of Chinese Civilization up to 1900, Modern China since 1900 and the Pacific Ocean in History up to 1914. The courses were given by 'Dr. James H. Cousins – Principal of the Brahmavidya Ashrama at Adyar, Madras; Margaret E. Cousins – Honorary Secretary of the Women's Indian Association; Tarao Kawasaki – Lecturer on Japanese history and antiquities; Dr. Anna Britton, Ph.D., Stanford University, Student of Oriental antiquities in the British Museum, the Musée Guimet and other collections in Paris, in Cologne, Germany and the important American collections, Professor of Art and Archaeology at Mills College; Dr. Obed Johnson, Ph.D., University of California. Teacher and student of Chinese language, customs, and history, living and working in China for about twelve years. Special lecturer on Chinese Civilization and History at Mills College; Earle Garfield Linsley, M.S., University of California. Traveller and lecturer in the Orient. Lecturer at Mills College; Margaret Walker, M.A., Mills College. Student of geography and geology in the Orient. Assistant Professor at Mills College'.[6]

Such a broad spectrum of subject matter, provenance and chronology would have placed Mills College as one of the leading centres for the study of Asian art and culture on the West coast of the United States, and Albert Bender as a trustee of the

[6] Ibid.

college may have been instrumental in the institution's continuing development in that regard. Indeed Bender may have known some of these lecturers personally due to his close relationship with Mills College, and by consequence one can surmise the advisory role such scholars may have had to bear on Bender's collecting activities.

Specific reference to the Mills College 'Bender Room' is made by Reinhardt in a letter of September 1929 in which she encloses a list of recent gifts from Bender. Interestingly, the list is headed by the preface 'Objects of Oriental Art' from Mrs. F. E. Olmsted [7]and Miss Olmsted, the gift of Mr. Albert M. Bender to be added to the Bender collection at Mills College'.[8] This is an occasion when Bender must have felt compelled to seek donations under his name for Mills College in an area of Asian art he himself did not have wholly represented in his own collection. For example, nine out of ten donations through the Olmsteds were Japanese paintings rather than Chinese art, and mainly 18th and 19th century in date[9]. An earlier instance of donation to Mills College Art Museum under Bender's name, but by another benefactor is that of Chinese prints in 1925 by Hiram J. Halle.[10] Albert Bender had been donating contemporary art to Mills College since 1921, but it was only in 1925 that his focus turned to that of Asian material. His first donation in 1925 was a Chinese clay 'equestrian statuette'.[11] One is not certain why Albert Bender's focus turned to the collecting of Asian art, but this 1920s date tallies with his statement concerning the NMI Thangka paintings, i.e. by December 1931 Bender explains he had the set in his

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[7] The late F. E. Olmsted was one time Director Forester for California.
[8] Reinhardt to Bender, 5 Sept. 1929: Aurelia Henry Reinhardt File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland.
[9] ibid, headed 'President's Office – 9 Oct. 1929': Amongst gods represented were the following: Masugamyogin, Junishiten, Kwannon, Sanzonraikobutsu, Nijugobosatsu, Sanzonraikobutsu, Ijenmyoo, Fudomyoo and Kikudoji.
[10] Mills College Art Gallery Accession Record, Mills College Special Collections, Oakland, California.
[11] Mills College Art Gallery Accession Record: 1925.112(a). Now marked as 'missing' in Accession Record.

possession for some years. As referred to in the 'Introduction' Bender's interest in Asian art may have had much to do with the cosmopolitanism of San Francisco's different ethnic groups and the availability of Asian art objects in such a city.

There are over fifty individual registration entries under Albert Bender's name for the year 1925. His donations continued up to 1934, but the vast majority are now marked as having been either de-accessioned and sold to the 'House of Ming' by Mills College in 1946, or marked as 'missing' or 'to be sold 1975'. It appears that in 1975, the then curator of the Art Museum and /or art associate, Elizabeth Ross examined the entire register of material for an insurance audit and marked the majority of artefacts as 'deleted' or 'missing'. In addition following Albert Bender's death in 1941, some entries are marked 'Sold to Bender Estate on 8/3/'45'.[12] Initially Bender's donations consisted of both Tang and Qing Dynasty ceramics followed by sculpture and painting (mainly Chinese watercolours). In 1925 alone, Bender donated thirty-four Chinese paintings with mainly Buddhist themes to the Mills College Art Museum. It is, therefore, remarkable how his collecting preferences in Asian art had rather dramatically changed vis-à-vis the National Museum of Ireland to that of Asian textiles and Japanese *ukiyo-e* for the most part by the 1930s. Indeed when one examines the acquisitions at Mills for 1930, there is a change (begun in 1929) to also acquire a significant amount of Asian decorative applied art – Chinese ceramics, pewter, Japanese lacquer and *inro*. Yet Chinese 'fine art', i.e. painting, was also acquired and, as with the NMI donations, could sometimes be painting on silk.[13] These changes in taste may have had much to do with the availability of different objects and media in the market rather than being part of a deliberate strategy on

[12] e.g. Register entry 1925.114.
[13] e.g. Register Entry 1930.56: 'Painting, Chinese Buddhist Saints, Painting on silk. 2 genii, 32"w x 60 ½"h, $300-00'.

Bender's behalf. It may also be evidence of an increased sophistication in his choices, whereby he collected outside of fine art and textiles to include decorative art such as metalwork and lacquer. There is a preponderance of Chinese over Japanese provenance in both the Mills College and the NMI Bender collections, if one does not include the *ukiyo-e* in the National Museum. The woodblock prints, however, can be seen to be an anomaly, as they were chosen by Bender and the dealer T.Z. Shiota for specific dispatch to Dublin. Interestingly, throughout the Mills College Accession Record, and interspersed amongst Asian material, are some examples of contemporary American art collecting by Bender. This is proof again of his simultaneous acquisition of both types of art in tandem with his other great passion, that of book collecting. For example, in 1930 Bender gave to Mills College a Fay Gaer sculpture in cream marble entitled 'Growth' and a Paul Higgins painting entitled 'Folklife'.

There appears to have been a gap in Albert Bender's donations to Mills College during the years 1931 and 1932. This is not surprising as at this time initial gifts were given to the National Museum of Ireland, and from a financial viewpoint it may not have been possible for Bender to build up two Asian art collections simultaneously. From the Mills College Art Gallery Accession Record one can deduce the beginnings of Bender's memorial collection for his late cousin, the artist Anne Bremer in 1933. The first registration entry reads as follows: '1933.1, 1933.21-24, 30 Textiles. Oriental, modern and 18 and 19 C. Embroidered, woven and printed silks from China, Japan and one from Java. Varied colors and sizes. To form nucleus of the Anne Bremer collection of textiles.'.[14]Albert Bender's donations of Asian textiles in 1933

[14] Mills College Art Gallery Accession Record: 1933.1, 21-24, 30.

were prolific, the last registration entry being numbered 1933.256. In terms of comparison with the National Museum's Asian textiles there are similarities in 18th century Chinese brocades (1933.2), and Chinese mats and squares (samples) (1933.104a-109, 235-237). As all of this material has since been de-accessioned by Mills College Art Gallery, one has only the original registration entries for comparative purposes, rather than any specific objects and/or photographs. There are three acquisitions, which from their descriptions deserve particular mention 1933.143-145: They are Japanese, 17th century and 18th century (143,144) Priests' robes.[15] The Lama Priest robe in the National Museum is like 1933.145 given a seventeenth century date, but its provenance is that of Chinese Tibetan-Buddhist rather than Japanese. Nevertheless it illustrates the 'ceremonial' aspect to Bender's collecting preferences. Religious or imperial association was apparently the main priority for Bender's memorial collections. Although when these preferences are seen in the context of other contemporaneous Asian art collecting by Americans, such as Jacques Marchais (whose collection is referenced below in this chapter), it can be seen as part of a wider preference for religious art of this kind from Central and Eastern Asia.

Combined with Asian provenance Albert Bender also acquired for the Anne Bremer collection of textiles at Mills College examples of Irish lace,[16] Brussels rose point or Pointe de Gaze[17] and Italian work from Genoa, Florence and Abruzzi.[18] The last acquisition at Mills relating to a donation by Albert Bender came in 1934; an embroidered Chinese hanging illustrated with trees, flowers and birds in grey and

[15] Mills College Art Gallery Accession Record: 1933.143-145.
[16] Mills College Art Gallery Accession Record: 1933.188, 187-202.
[17] Ibid, 1933.191-205.
[18] Ibid, 1933.240-247.

green on rose-coloured silk.[19] As this acquisition came in on 26 February, it is not unreasonable to presume that from this time onwards Bender's attention was given over to the donation of Asian art collections for other institutions such as the M.H DeYoung Memorial Museum and the Palace of the Legion of Honor, as well as the National Museum and the opening of the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' four months later in June 1934.

In the Albert Bender Papers in Mills College there is archival material concerning the 'Friends of Far Eastern Art' association that was responsible in 1934 for a significant exhibition on Chinese art held at the Mills College Art Museum. The objectives of the 'Friends' is important in their attempt to align themselves with European equivalents of Asian art societies, such as the Cologne-based Freunde Ostasiatischer Kunst (Friends of East Asian Art) and the Dutch Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst in Amsterdam: 'A vivid interest of our age is mutual understanding cultural, political, and economic, among the nations and races of the Pacific area. With this in view a group of citizens of the Pacific Coast is initiating a society to increase this interest, particularly in the arts of Asia. The specific objectives of the organization are like those of the Friends of the Far East in Paris and the Association of the Friends of Asiatic Art in Holland'.[20]Therefore, as a result of the development of both the Chinese and Japanese communities in the San Francisco area, the emergence of such a society was timely, and part of a greater effort to establish the city as the leading cultural centre (in tandem with Los Angeles and Seattle[21]) on the west coast of the United States. The list of names, which made up the Foundation Committee, reads as

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[19] Ibid, 1934.5.
[20] Friends of Far Eastern Art memorandum, 1934: Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland.
[21] Cohen, Warren I.: *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations*. Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 105-106.

an excellent combination of philanthropy mixed with education and culture. For example, along with Albert Bender and the artist Roi Partridge are the following scholars: 'Dr. Walter Heil, Director of the Palace of the Legion of Honor; Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, President of Mills College; Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the University of California; Dr. Hans N. von Koerber, curator of Oriental Art, Los Angeles Museum; and Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, President of Stanford University.[22] The first year of the society's membership was to date from 1 July 1934. Of specific connection to Mills was reference to an 'initial undertaking of the society will be an exhibition of Chinese art in the Art Gallery of Mills College'.[23]

The 'Friends of Far Eastern Art Exhibition of Chinese Art' was held at the Mills College Art Gallery between 12 October and 11 December 1934. In the Addenda to the catalogue evidence of the extent of the 'Friends' contacts with French private collectors of Chinese art is apparent. The Parisian collections of L. Wannieck; C.T. Loo; Edgar Gutmann and A.C. de Frey[24] are listed as lenders to the exhibition. Thus Bender found himself in connection with an international network of collector-dealers. The Wannieck collection would have perhaps compensated for any absence of material from the prehistoric period, as many west coast-based U.S. collectors at that time would probably have been more likely to collect art dating from the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) onwards. The Wannieck collection provided material for the exhibition dating from Prehistory to the Shang Dynasty (to c. 1122B.C.), Chou Dynasty (1122B.C.-256B.C.), Han Dynasty (206B.C.-220A.D.), Sui and Tang

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Friends of Far Eastern Art Exhibition of Chinese Art. The Art Gallery Mills College. October 12 to December 11 1934. Addenda to the Catalogue. Mills College, California: Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College.

Dynasties (581-906A.D.) as well as the Song and Yuan Dynasties.[25] Pottery and metalwork were the two categories of object covered. The C.T. Loo Collection provided mostly metalwork, such as belt hooks in bronze from the Han Dynasty.[26] The Edgar Gutmann collection lent a Ming Dynasty *kesi* textile bearing a design of tree and birds, while the A.D. de Frey collection provided porcelain from the reign of Kangxi (1662-1722) and four woodblock prints of the 17th-18 century (early Qing Dynasty) by artists such as Kao Yang, Kao You and Wei K'o.[27] Considering the exposure of Bender to the latter area of Chinese art, it is surprising that no such Chinese prints were given to the National Museum in association with the Japanese *ukiyo-e*.

This first exhibition of the Friends of Far Eastern Art was reviewed by Dr. Alfred Salmony (1890-1958) in Parnassus[28], December 1934. Salmony (who will be discussed in Chapter VI) was an eminent scholar of Asian art who was joint editor of Artibus Asiae from 1924 until 1932[29]; he was forced to leave Germany in 1933. He came to the United States where he taught at Mills College, California and at the University of Washington, and in 1938 he joined the faculty of the Institute of Fine Arts Graduate Center of New York University, where he occupied the Chair of Asiatic History'.[30] In his Parnassus review of the FFEA exhibition at Mills College he makes the vaild point that the Pacific Mid-West states were now coming to the fore in their museums' interpretation and collecting of Chinese art. Salmony mentions the

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Salmony, Alfred: 'The First Exhibition of the Friends of Far Eastern Art', *Parnassus*, Vol. 6, No. 7, Dec. 1934. Published by the College Art Association,. Pp.14-16.
[29] Haskins, John F.: 'Alfred Salmony, 10 November 1890 - 29 April 1958' in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 21, No. 3/4, 1958, p. 285.
[30] Ibid, p. 285.

Mortimer Leventritt collection in San Francisco, the Mr. and Mrs. Edward Sonnenschein collection in Chicago and L.A. Lewis collection in Portland in this review in explaining where the organisers procured material pertaining to individual Chinese dynasties. For example, the Leventritt collection provided 'Buddhistic gold bronzes of the Wei and T'ang periods[31]', the Sonnenschein collection jades and L.A. Lewis collection porcelain. Salmony does not mention what Bender lent to the exhibition.

M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum:

The M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum opened in 1895 having developed out of the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894. The head of the executive committee of the exposition was M.H. DeYoung, and up until his death in 1925 his collections formed the major part of the museum's acquisitions. DeYoung collected paintings, sculpture, arms and armour, porcelain and ethnographical material from the Americas, Oceania and Africa.[32]

The collections of Asian art donated by Albert Bender to both the National Museum in Dublin and the M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum in San Francisco were given during the 1930s. The first instance of a gift by Bender to the de Young occurred in 1932. This acquisition was a covered enamel bowl of the Qianlong (1736-95) period.[33] Throughout 1933 Bender's donations to the DeYoung Museum became more numerous, and striking similarities can be seen between these and the material gifted to the NMI. For example, in August 1933 Bender gave the DeYoung a group of

[31] Salmony, Alfred: 'The First Exhibition of the Friends of Far Eastern Art', *Parnassus*, Vol. 6, No. 7, Dec. 1934. Published by the College Art Association, p. 14.
[32] www.famsf.org/deyoung/about/subpage.asp?subpagekey=79 on 4 July 2009.
[33] M.H. DeYoung Museum to Bender, 4 August 1932: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College.

items resembling the group given to the NMI in August 1932[34]. Despite the initial emphasis on paintings as donations to the DeYoung, Bender also gave Asian textiles from 1934. Many of these textiles were sample types, e.g. 'long narrow mat – Made of a pair of sleeve bands, red and yellow velvet brocade, 19th century. Chinese Metal and black band (modern)'.[35] Interestingly and linked to the Tibetan-Chinese Thangka paintings given to the National Museum is more evidence of Bender's collecting of associated religious material, as in August 1935: 'Eight pieces of Temple Rugs – China XVIIth Century, 1 almost complete Temple Rug – XVII Chinese - These rugs were originally in temples and were mutilated during the Boxer Rebellion'.[36] As with the Mills College Art Gallery, contemporary American art was also given by Bender simultaneously with the acquisition of his Asian donations by the de Young Museum. For example, in January 1936 a woodcut 'Self-Portrait' by Kathé Kollwitz (1923) and a lithograph 'Supine' by Alexander Brooks were given.[37] That same year Bender gave a pair of Song Dynasty funerary vases to the National Museum while also gifting a similar pair to the DeYoung that December: '1 pair of tall slender funeral vases with dragon, animal figures and Buddhist figures in relief and applied on upper part. Grayish Celadon glaze. Sung Dynasty...'.[38]

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[34] 1. Nara Ye, 1800A.D., 2. Kasuga, 1750A.D., 3. Kasuga Ye; 4. Kano School, 1700A.D., 5. Kasuga Ye, 1700A.D.; 6. Kano School, 1700A.D.; 7. Otsuye 1650A.D.; 8. Kasuga 1750A.D.; 9. Kasuga Ye 1700A.D.; 10. Kano School 1700 A.D...12. Kano School, 1700A.D.; 13. Nara Ye, 1800A.D.... 15. Story of Lady Genji, Tosa School 'O Shikishi' 1750A.D.; 16. Flower 'Wild Lily' Tosa School 'O Shikishi'1750A.D.; 17. Story of Lady Genji, Tosa School 'O Shikishi' 1750A.D.
M.H. de Young Museum to Bender, 17 August 1933: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College. This listing of Asian fine art is not dissimilar to the fifteen paintings from Japan and China given by Bender to the NMI in August 1932 (see Chapter I). The Kano School (c. 1600A.D.) was represented in this National Museum acquisition, and later in 1936 Bender also donated to the NMI a Tosa School screen illustrating the Tale of Genji (Lady Murasaki) a subject also found in the 1933 De Young gifts.

[35] M.H. DeYoung Museum to Bender, 22 June 1934: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College.

[36] M.H. DeYoung Museum to Bender, 20 August 1935: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.

[37] Benton, Genevieve K., Recorder [Registrar] to Bender, 22 January 1936: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College.

[38] M. H. DeYoung Museum to Bender, 1 December 1936: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.

One of the most significant facts to emerge from the Albert Bender Papers concerning the M.H. DeYoung Museum was Bender's intervention in providing funds for use as salary in the retention of curatorial staff. In June 1935 the Director of the DeYoung Museum, Walter Heil, sought assistance from Albert Bender in securing the further salary of Dr. Elisabeth Moses (1893-1957).[39] According to the website, the Dictionary of Art Historians,[40] Moses was born in Cologne, Germany and is listed as a curator of decorative arts. This concurs with a general summation by Schlievert and Steuber that prior to the Second World War 'even if women were active in curatorial and art historical dialogues, their subjects were often confined to subsidiary 'traditional female specialities': travel writing, textiles, interior design, gardening, crafts, decorative arts and prints'.[41] She may have, by close proximity to Mills College, been involved like Alfred Salmony in teaching art history there. This possibility is further reinforced by George M. Goodwin when he writes on Jewish refugee scholars: 'Of the approximately one hundred and thirty refugee art historians who sought employment in America, many found positions... at liberal arts colleges and small universities. California's Mills College, for example, sheltered the French Jewish composer Darius Milhaud and also found space for three art scholars [Moses, Salmony and Neumayer]'.[42] Heil's reasons for approaching Bender to help secure Moses' salary is outlined in his praise of her professional capabilities: 'largely through your generous assistance, we were able last winter to secure temporarily the services of Dr. Elisabeth Moses, formerly with the Cologne Museum. Thanks to her thorough training and her

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[39] Moses would go on to curate the landmark 'Designer Craftsmen of the West' exhibition for the De Young Museum in 1957.

[40] www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/mosese.htm on 4 July 2009.

[41] Schlievert, Chelsea and Steuber, Jason: 'Collecting Asian Art, Defining Gender Roles. World War II, Women Curators and the Politics of Asian Art Collections in the United States' in *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2008), p. 294.

[42] Goodwin, George M.: 'A New Jewish Elite: Curators, Directors, and Benefactors of American Art Museums' in *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 18, No. 1, February 1998, Oxford University Press, p. 65.

years of experience at one of the most modern of the European museums, she has been instrumental in arranging the new period settings in the DeYoung Museum. She has systematically gone over the large amounts of storage material, selecting many items which were hidden and have now been brought forth for exhibition. Her excellent taste in arranging exhibits has greatly improved the display of our objects...'.[43] Three days later Bender replied that he would 'enclose donation for the same amount as last year for the continuance of the services of Dr. Moses,'.[44] Therefore having provided the museum with material, Bender also supported the expertise required to ensure the best display of the museum's Asian holdings. Bender understood the necessary relationship between these two areas of expenditure.

Asian donations by Bender to the M.H. DeYoung Museum continued with three groupings of material between January and March 1937. Of significance in January was a collection of prehistoric Japanese ceramics, dating mostly to the Yayoi period (200B.C. – 250A.D.).[45] Nineteen entries in total refer to Yayoi dated-pottery. These acquisitions by the DeYoung are in marked contrast to ceramics given by Bender to the National Museum as no such material is represented there. Similarly, in relation to Japanese prints, Bender did not donate *ukiyo-e* to the DeYoung, but rather early 18th century black and white prints on the following themes: '1. Horse and waves; 2. Peacock; 3. Two cranes; 4. Birds and branches; 5. Grapevine and squirrel; 6. The God Ebsu.'.[46] As with Bender's donations to the National Museum after 1934, and during his last five years, his donations appear haphazard rather than grouped according to theme or provenance. For example, in March 1937 he gave a Tang Dynasty lion

[43] Heil, Walter to Bender, 14 June 1935: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[44] Bender to Heil, Walter, 17 June 1935: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[45] Benton, Genevieve K. to Bender, 18 January 1937: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[46] Benton, Genevieve K. to Bender, 4 February 1937: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.

figure, metal mirror, reclining figurines, standing figurine, carved tablet, clay chicken figurines and bronze vases[47] to the DeYoung Museum. Certainly after 1936 his choice of donations are more random and less selective.

Given that Bender seems to have lacked a collecting policy on the one hand and a donating policy on the other, it is not surprising to find that in 1937 Walter Heil sought to standardise the gifts made to the DeYoung and the Palace of the Legion of Honor within a coherent display. However, he failed to inform Bender of his intention and through Elisabeth Moses he learned of Bender's dissatisfaction with the removal of some of his Asian donations from the Legion of Honor to the DeYoung. As a result Heil writes apologetically:

> 'I can't tell you how very sorry I feel about this and I much regret that you did not tell me directly... I frankly admit that I most heartily wish to combine permanently the Oriental collections of the two municipal museums in one institution. The nature of the collections of the de Young as well as the arrangement of the galleries would make it the logical place to house the Oriental material... The advantage of combining the material owned by the two museums into one logical and impressive unit is so obvious that it can hardly be contested. Literally hundreds of people, who in former days criticized the fact that for studying Oriental art they had to visit two far removed places, have since complimented me or my collaborators upon the combination of all correlated objects in one institution. Incidentally the much larger attendance that we have at the de Young Museum... has caused these

[47] Benton to Bender, 24 March 1937: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.

objects to be seen and enjoyed here by a far greater number of people than have ever seen them at the Legion of Honor Palace'.[48]

This is one of the few instances when Albert Bender felt compelled to complain to a museum on the exhibition arrangements of his donations, albeit indirectly and not to Heil personally.

Considering the pivotal role Bender played in helping to obtain museum quality acquisitions (both Asian and contemporary) for San Francisco's municipal institutions it is surprising that Walter Heil did not inform Bender of his intention to combine the Asian collections. Heil stated:

> 'With many of our citizens most seriously concerned with the cultural development of San Francisco I am of the opinion that a certain coordination of purpose of the two municipal museums, and perhaps the San Francisco Museum as well, is one of the vital necessities for the growth and improvement of our museums' collections'.[49]

Heil ends his letter agreeing to acquiesce to Bender's wishes if the latter maintains the right to return his Legion of Honor donations from the de Young. There is no further archival information amongst the Bender Papers at Mills College that allows the researcher to know the outcome of this discussion between Heil and Bender on the most appropriate method of exhibiting his gifts.

This diplomatic difficulty did not deter Bender, however, from continuing to donate Asian art to the de Young from 1938 all the way up to a month before his death in February 1941. In 1939 he gave a Japanese Tosa style painting of the 18th century:

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[48] Heil, Walter to Bender, 16 July 1937: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[49] Ibid.

'Two tea screens of 4 panels each containing 18 portraits of the (36) poets. Hanka-Sen Tosa painting done in the Tokugawa period, 18th century, Contemporary landscapes on reverse.'[50] It is indeed unfortunate that Adolf Mahr discouraged more gifts of Asian art to the National Museum after 1934 and the official opening of the 'Bender Room' (see next chapter). If he had agreed to accommodate more donations even if only in a storage capacity he may have secured for Ireland such material later given by Bender to San Francisco museums. One such example of an important piece of Song Dynasty (968-1279A.D.) sculpture was given by Bender in January 1941 to the de Young: '1 Wood Sculpture, Chinese. 'Kuanyin' [Guanyin] seated; head surmounted by formal arrangement of hair and a crown; center, tiny image of Buddha; some traces of gesso. (Condition: some parts missing and some restoration). Sung Dynasty'.[51] One can only imagine how Bender would have continued to sponsor the promulgation of Asian art, as well as the work of contemporary artists, both American and international such as Jack B. Yeats if he had lived after 1941.

Palace of the Legion of Honor:

The only surviving 'catalogue' of material donated by Bender to the Palace of the Legion of Honor to be found in the Albert Bender Papers at Mills College is a student-compiled listing of Chinese objects in Room One of the museum. The sole name on this listing is that of Harriet Trumbull, one of the students. It is given the subheading: 'Including those objects found in the Han Dynasty, Six Dynasties, T'ang Dynasty, Sung Dynasty, Ming Dynasty, and two Buddhas of the 15th and 17th centuries'.[52] Fifteen objects are dated to the Han Dynasty and all are ceramic or metal in medium. Nothing appears from the descriptions to match the NMI's Han Dynasty

[50] M.H. DeYoung Museum to Bender, 4 February 1939: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[51] M.H. DeYoung Museum to Bender, 17 January 1941: File 1.4.214, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[52] Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C, Albert M. Bender Papers.

clay duck figure as the majority are vessels. Included in the students' artwork is a drawn figure of a 'carved wood Buddha blessing souls – T'ang Dynasty'[53], and it is unfortunate that there is no equivalent high-quality Chinese wooden carving in the National Museum's Bender collection. One object in the Legion of Honor collection dates to the Six Dynasty period of circa 400A.D.; - an emperor's coffin wagon. Interestingly, nothing in the NMI Bender collection dates to the Six Dynasties period. In terms of Japanese Buddhist carving, there are two excellent examples in the Legion of Honor collection, as opposed to just the Tokugawa 18th century Amida Buddha statuette in the National Museum. These Legion of Honor buddhas include a Senju Kannon from the early Edo Period (17th century), which is a 'Buddhist figure of many hands, some hands hold symbols, hands in praying attitude, hands clasped in lap; the throne is set up on a much decorated base around the center of which is a gold dragon...'.[54] The other Kamakura Period Buddha (which is wrongly dated in the catalogue as 15th rather than 14th century in date) is the artefact famously photographed by Ansel Adams; the Amida Buddha – 'The Buddha is standing on a Lotus bud, with one hand down; the drapery is long and straight falling from the arms, the inner drapery falls in symmetrical curves, long ears, bump in forehead and a Lotus flower halo, the entire statue in bronze leaf'.[55]

Returning to Chinese material the Tang Dynasty (618-907A.D.) is numerically very well represented in the Legion of Honor's Bender collection. Seventeen artefacts are listed and are in the mediums of ceramic, metal and wood. As with the National Museum there are clay figurines, i.e. court lady and court official.[56] As with the

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[53] No. 8, 30; Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Nos. 1 and 2, Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C, Albert M. Bender Papers.



Plate 112. Amida Buddha statue given by Albert Bender to the Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. Photograph taken by Ansel Adams. © Estate of Ansel Adams

remainder of this Bender collection there is a strong religious theme with a number of either Buddhist metal, stone or wooden sculptures, e.g. Buddha blessing souls, carved stone. This Buddha has a carved flame halo, long ears, the right foot turned up, the leg is bent at the knee...'[57] It is only in the National Museum's Song Dynasty head of a Buddha that carved stone Buddhist sculpture is represented. There is no such equivalent version in the NMI dating to the Tang Dynasty. As with the National Museum's collection, e.g. female rider on horse (statuette), there are ceramic animal figures listed, e.g. numbers 13 and 14, which are figures of Bactrian camels.[58]

The Legion of Honor's Song Dynasty material consists of nine artefacts, the majority of which are ceramic. A striking similarity (based on description only) between the National Museum's Song Dynasty pair of funerary vases and item number '4' in the students' catalogue can be cited: 'Two ceremonial jars, Ho Nang celadon. A tall narrow vase, with a peaked lid decorated with a bird form; the rest of the vase is decorated with volutes, dragons and small figures; it is in greyish celadon.'[59] In terms of the Legion of Honor's twenty-nine Ming Dynasty artefacts, the majority are again ceramic in medium. This is in marked contrast to the National Museum's collection, the highlight of which from this time period is a circa 1600-1648A.D. Bodhisattva head. Blanc-de-chine and celadon porcelain are the most numerous artefacts mentioned in the Legion of Honor listing. The students also comment upon the use of three-colour and five-colour pottery in several examples. The only blanc-de-chine porcelain in the National Museum's collection is the Guanyin figure dating to the Qing rather than Ming Dynasty. Overall the donations Albert Bender made to the M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum have more in common with the National

[57] No. 6, Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C.
[58] Nos. 13 and 14, Tang Dynasty; Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C.
[59] No. 4, Song Dynasty; Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C.

Museum's collection, which fits the same timescale of the 1930s, than the material given to the Legion of Honor during the previous decade.

As with the DeYoung Museum, Bender was called upon to use his influence and/or wealth in the administration of the Legion of Honor and San Francisco museums generally. For example, in September 1927 the Western Association of Art Museum Directors wrote Bender asking him to speak with Cornelia Quinton, the director of the Palace of the Legion of Honor, in order to persuade her of the importance of the institution's continuing membership of the Association: 'I fear that the organization cannot continue without the support of the two major museums on the Pacific coast and that Mrs. Quinton's attitude will cause the wreck of the whole organization. I suggest that you use your well known blarney to try to make her see the light. If it is a matter of the ten dollars, you could tell her that a well-wisher of the organization in Los Angeles will be happy to contribute that amount. If you think it will make her more mellow, tell her that you will give it to her yourself and I will send you my cheque. Anyway, drag her back into line and persuade her that the name and influence of the San Francisco Museum are essential to the continuance of the organization.'[60] Unfortunately, no documentation survives amongst the Bender Papers in Mills College that allows one to determine whether or not Bender was successful in persuading Quinton. As with providing a salary for Dr. Elisabeth Moses at the M.H. DeYoung Museum, Albert Bender took an interest and active participation in all aspects of San Francisco's museums. The last piece of correspondence from Cornelia B. Jaye-Quinton as director of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor to Bender

[60] Head of Western Association of Art Museum Directors to Bender, 28 Sept. 1927, File 1.3.126, Albert M. Bender Papers.

concerns his donation of the Kamakura Period Amida Buddha.[61] From 1930 onwards Bender wrote to the then newly appoint director, Lloyd LaPage Rollins.

As seen in Walter Heil's correspondence with Albert Bender in 1937 regarding the amalgamation of the Legion of Honor donations with those given to the DeYoung Museum, a rather similar initial undertaking occurred in 1930. Bender learns from the Japanese dealer T.Z. Shiota of the latter's donation of bronze Chou vessels being incorporated into the Albert Bender Oriental Room. In the Legion of Honor's defence on this issue Lloyd LaPage Rollins writes:

> 'I know that you are as deeply concerned as I am in making the California Palace of the Legion of Honor into a museum having the greatest Oriental collection in America.... this cannot be done unless the museum has a free hand in the arrangement of the objects. The collection must be arranged nationally and chronologically, in order to present an aspect that would be instructive to the public desirous of studying Oriental things. At the present time both the Japanese and Chinese things are grouped together and objects of widely divergent epochs are placed in the same case, with absolutely no attempt at proper classification... I wish to separate the Japanese from the Chinese things and to combine in individual rooms all objects belonging to the same period and of the same type, irrespective of who has donated them to the museum. Each individual object will be labelled as to its nature and origin and will include an acknowledgement as to the donor. In this way the public will be unmistakably certain of the provenance of each piece. In no other way can

[61] Jaye-Quinton, Cornelia B. to Bender, 21 Jan. 1928, File 1.3.126.

our Oriental collection be made into a collection comparable with the great museum collections of Oriental things in the east'.[62]

Unfortunately, no documentation exists in the Bender Archive to allow one to determine whether or not Heil was successful in convincing Albert Bender of the benefits of proper geographical and contextual display of his Asian art donations.

The failure of both the DeYoung and the Palace of the Legion of Honor to consult or even inform Bender about transfer and exhibition policy changes caused him undue stress, and in retrospect may have led him to find an alternative method of keeping his donations as separate museum entities, vis-à-vis the National Museum of Ireland's Bender Room. Rollins's policy of display by geography, chronology and type, a more scientific and educationally oriented approach than the synthetic display he objected to, brought him into unintentional but unavoidable conflict with Bender whose fervent desire that his donations remain a discrete collection within the overall display was thereby challenged. It is possible therefore that Bender gave to the NMI items such as the Thangkas he might otherwise have given to San Francisco.

Yet despite any misgivings Albert Bender may have had concerning his Asian donations to the Legion of Honor, as with Mills College Art Gallery he also gave Western works. For example, in December 1930 Lloyd LaPage Rollins wrote thanking Bender for a Bartolozzi mezzotint stating that he 'hung it in Gallery 9 with a miscellaneous collection of paintings, drawings, etc. of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century'.[63] One can surmise similar reasoning on Bender's behalf when he gave drawings by the Irish-American modern artist John O'Shea to Dublin City Gallery,

[62] LaPage Rollins, Lloyd to Bender, 28 Nov. 1930, File 1.3.216.
[63] LaPage Rollins, Lloyd to Bender, 4 Dec. 1930, File 1.3.216.

The Hugh Lane contemporaneously with his National Museum donations. His Asian and modern art collecting appear to have been consistently in tandem with each other, and are best interpreted as two complementary aspects of one activity, rather than two separate activities. For example, the remaining gifts to the Legion of Honor up to 1934 constituted 'Landscape' by Lee Hersch in 1931, an antique wooden Dog of Fo and three Han Dynasty jade pieces in 1932, followed by two modern frescoes in 1933 and 'Prune Pickers' by Jane Berlandina in October 1934.[64] In one instance only is a dealer involved with the National Museum donations also mentioned in relation to Asian material given to the Legion of Honor, i.e. the Daibutsu Company.[65]

Transfers to the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco:

In an attempt to trace Asian art donated by Albert Bender to the M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum and Palace of the Legion of Honor, it was found that during the 1970s a number of transfers of such material occurred from both museums to the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. According to Christina Lichauco, Assistant Registrar, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco 'the Asian Art Museum did in fact receive several objects from ... (collectively the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco) that had originally been donated by Mr. Bender during the 1920s and 1930s. The museum received a total of eleven objects. Ten of these were of Chinese origin. This diverse group consists of several ceramics, a jade cong tube, a Taoist ceremonial robe, a painting of the Guardian figure Weituo, and two Tibetan-Chinese thangka paintings. All of them seem to have been originally donated to FAMSF between 1927 and 1932. The eleventh object from Mr. Bender is a Balinese wooden sculpture of Garuda that

[64] File 1.3.216, Albert M. Bender Papers.
[65] Jaye-Quinton, Cornelia B. to Bender, 29 March 1928: 'The lovely little Buddha arrived safely and I thank you for it with all my heart. It will be placed with your collection as you wish. The ox and cart (Tang Dynasty re. Mills College Student Artwork, File 1.6.497C) from the Daibutsu Company has arrived safely.' File 1.3.216.

was originally donated in 1936'.[66] Therefore, a great deal of material must have been lost or deaccessioned before the 1970s.

The material referred to above of most significance when compared with Albert Bender's donations to the National Museum of Ireland are the two Thangkas and Daoist priest's robe. The registration information for both Thangkas reveals Tibetan-Buddhist association, which ties in closely with the NMI's set of eighteenth-century Thangkas from Gansu Province. The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco's thangkas, however, are nineteenth century in date: 'B78D3: The Buddhist deity Sitashamvara, 1800-1900; China, Beijing; Thangka ... This object came to us with the de Young number 4683 .... No known original donation date ... B78D4: Offerings to the guardian Pehar and his companions 1800-1900, China or Mongolia; Thangka... (de Young/Legion number 1927.18). Originally donated January 18, 1927. Transferred to AAMSF in 1978. Number may be a Legion number rather than a de Young number'.[67] This Thangka illustrating Pehar is more likely to have been originally accessioned as a Palace of the Legion of Honor donation, as Bender primarily donated to that institution during the 1920s, the de Young and NMI donations occurred in the 1930s. Another similarity between the National Museum's Bender Collection and these donations is in relation to the original attribution of Tibetan-Buddhism given to the NMI first-degree Daoist priest's robe as having been sourced from the Yonghegong temple in Beijing and the AAMSF Thangka numbered B78D3. According to their collections database this Thangka illustrating the Buddhist deity Sitashamvara 'is an example of the Beijing school of thangka painting. The style was practised in Yonghegong, a major eighteenth-century temple devoted to Tibetan

[66] Christina Lichauco to Audrey Whitty, 8 April 2008, email communication.
[67] Lichauco to Whitty, 17 April 2008, email communication.

Buddhism. The resident monks were mainly from Mongolia, and they followed the Tibetan painting tradition'.[68] Unfortunately, the name of the dealer Bender used to source this Thangka is not known, but as in the case of the Daoist priest's robe in the National Museum, one wonders if it could have been Henry H. Hart.

The most marked similarity between the Bender material in the AAMSF and the National Museum is between object number B81M29: 'Taoist ceremonial robe, 1644-1700, Medium: Silk with gold thread'[61] and the NMI's first-degree Daoist priest's robe of the seventeenth/eighteenth century. As referred to in Chapter I, the National Museum's example was accessioned into its collection in September 1932. The AAMSF equivalent was originally donated to the DeYoung Memorial Museum of Art in August of the same year.[62] The closest comparable example to the one in the NMI can be found in the Art Institute of Chicago, which is very similar; that in the AAMSF is slightly different in its symbolism. Therefore, there is a possibility that both of these first-degree Daoist priest robes may have been obtained from the same temple, but sold on to different collections separately, and at different times. Its description is as follows: 'The back is sumptuously embroidered with Taoist cosmic diagrams. The large disk in the center contains a depiction of the Palace of the Jade Emperor surrounded by the twenty-eight lunar mansions of Chinese astronomy. Above this are three disks representing the three Taoist heavens. To the left of these disks is the sun with a three-legged bird, and to the right is the moon with a hare pounding the elixir of immortality. Below the central disk are talismanic symbols of the five sacred peaks of China. On the remainder of the surface are white cranes..., phoenixes with long tails, the fungus of immortality (lingzhi), and cloud formations enclosing the symbolic

[68] Asian Art Museum of San Francisco website, www.asianart.org.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Christina Lichauco to Audrey Whitty, 17 April 2008, email communication.

implements of the Eight Taoist Immortals (fan, sword and flywhisk, crutch, basket, flute, lotus, fish drum, and a pair of boards for keeping time). Among the waves at the bottom are animals related to Taoism, including deer, crane, tortoise, snake (the ancient guardian of the north), monster fish (ao), and dragons'.[63]

Of even more significance in the AAMSF collection is a Chinese Buddhist painting illustrating the deity, Weituo. It dates to the sixteenth century, and as a result can be compared with the two Ming Dynasty murals that were given to the National Museum in September 1935. Likewise the AAMSF painting (registration number B80D3) consists of ink and colours on silk. It was transferred to the AAMSF, but was originally a Palace of the Legion of Honor acquisition (registration number 1927.14).[64] According to the AAMSF's online collection's database it is a Buddhist deity (shown as a young warrior clad in armour and holding a weapon across his hands). 'Chinese Buddhist temples sometimes feature a statue or a painting of this temple guardian and protector of books and libraries at the back section of a temple facing the main hall... Weituo is the leader among the thirty-two warriors serving the Guardians of the Four Directions, who are seen at the main entrance to Chinese temples, and he is one of the eight warriors serving the Guardian of the South in particular. It is said that Weituo is a form of Skanda, the god of war, who is the son of the Hindu deity Shiva'.[65] Links between this Buddhist painting and the National Museum donations can be made regarding the July 1935 NMI donation of the eighteenth century painting of Avalokiteshvara due to the fact that it is a painting in medium and once again religious in subject matter. According to Albert Bender this

[63] AAMSF website – object ID: B81M29. Designation: Taoist ceremoinal robe. Incorrectly assigned to Jerry Janssen as donor, it was donated by Albert Bender.
[64] Lichauco to Whitty, 17 April 2008, email communication.
[65] AAMSF website – object ID: B80D3. Designation: The guardian Weituo.

work was 'better than any single Lama Painting I have seen, which is the reason that I should like it as a part of the collection'.[66]

Another Chinese Buddhist object transferred to the AAMSF from Albert Bender's M.H. DeYoung donations is an 'oyster shell with six cultured images of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, approx. 1644-1911 A.D.; China, Oyster shell, lead and pigments'[67] (registration number B81M44). Nothing comparable exists in the National Museum's Bender collection, but it does illustrate that material given by him to the museums in San Francisco could be just as decorative art-based as material later given to Dublin rather than continuously being textiles or paintings. For example, apart from donating a Han Dynasty vase and duck figure, Tang Dynasty figures and Song Dynasty funerary vases to the National Museum, other ceramics collected by Bender were donated to the DeYoung Museum: 'B69P34; Jar, approx. 1500-1600, China, Cizhou ware, glazed stoneware.. (de Young number 9019)...Transferred to AAMSF in 1967'.[68] Likewise Bender donated two Tang Dynasty tomb guardian figures to the DeYoung Museum in July 1931, which have since been transferred to the AAMSF in 1981(registration numbers B81P53 and B81P54).[69] As for Han Dynasty-related material regarding what Bender donated to the National Museum, included in the AAMSF collection is a model of a pigsty from 206 B.C.-220 A.D. of glazed earthenware that was 'originally donated to the DeYoung July 21, 1931. Transferred to AAMSF in 1967/8 [B81P58]'.[70] The only anomaly in the Albert Bender donations to San Francisco museums is in relation to an Indonesian wooden sculpture from Bali of the Hindu god Garuda [registration number B81S3]. According

[66] File AI/108/009, Art and Industrial Division Archive, NMI: Bender to Mahr, 9 July 1935.
[67] Lichauco to Whitty, 17 April 2008, email communication.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.

to registry information it was originally donated to the DeYoung December 30, 1936'.[71] As the Hindu area of Asian art collecting had eluded Albert Bender's preferences it is interesting to find such an object. Of greater significance, however, is the date of accession having been 1936, as this would have been after his friend Katherine M. Ball's travels to Bali in 1931 (see Chapter VI). Coincidentally the year of donation to the DeYoung 1936, is also the last year Bender donated to the National Museum of Ireland.

In addition to Mills College Art Museum, the M.H. DeYoung Memorial Museum of Art and the Palace of the Legion of Honor, Albert Bender also gave financial support to the University of California, Berkeley campus. According to Ira Jacknis 'the first dedicated display space for the visual arts opened in 1934 in the former campus powerhouse. The building was renovated with funds raised by Albert M. Bender... one of the principal patrons of the decorative art collection, [who] also arranged the acquisition of the pair of Chinese guardian dogs that stood outside.. Originally intended as a museum for Asian arts its first exhibit was Asian, drawn from Bender's collections'.[72] Unfortunately, no documentation exists in the Bender Archive to determine which Asian art artefacts were actually displayed in this first exhibition. Therefore, in tandem with his collecting for Mills College and the National Museum, the opening of 'rooms' or exhibition spaces during the same decade, i.e. the 1930s in both of these institutions, and the University of California, Berkeley illustrates that the year 1934 can be interpreted as the high point of Bender's collecting and display of Asian art. Interestingly, it does not appear that Asian art material from Albert Bender was retained in the Berkeley campus art collections, but reference to Bender as one of

[71] Ibid.
[72] Jacknis, Ira: 'The Lure of the Exotic: Ethnic Arts and the Design Department At U.C. Berkeley' in *Chronicle of the University of California*, No. 6 (Spring 2004), p. 46.

Chapter III: The Jacques Marchais Collection as a Comparison

One person who most closely resembled Albert Bender in collecting preferences and time period of acquisition was the collector of Tibetan art, Jacques Marchais. Comparison between the two collectors reveals some striking similarities, particularly regarding their areas of interest and rather scholarly approach to learning about their Asian subject matter. According to Barbara Lipton it was during the early 1930s that Jacques Marchais began to purchase Tibetan art.[73] Yet differences are evident in terms of the geographical locations of both collections, one having been based in San Francisco, while the other opened the Jacques Marchais Gallery at 40 East Fifty-Fifth Street, New York City, in 1938. By 1947, however, Marchais had moved to Staten Island where she opened the Jacques Marchais Center of Tibetan Art. Born Jacques Marchais Coblentz in 1887, she was twenty-one years Bender's junior, and like him her interest in Asian art generally was quite academic: 'she collected and read many scholarly books, pencilling notes in the margins'.[74] Unlike Bender who had chosen to donate an entire collection to a cultural institution that would set about displaying it, Jacques Marchais designed both the buildings and gardens of her centre of Tibetan art, aiming to create an authentic 'Potala of the West'. Like Bender, she never actually travelled to any part of Asia, and died shortly after the opening of the Center in February 1948.

The Jacques Marchais collection consists of 1,200 objects of Tibetan Buddhist art, whereas the Albert Bender Collection of Far Eastern Art is made up of approximately 260 artefacts. Bender's patronage extended to contemporary modern art (e.g. Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Ansel Adams), but Marchais appears to have been solely

[73] Lipton, Barbara in Lipton, Barbara and Nima Dorjee Ragnubs: *Treasures of Tibetan Art: Collections of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 4.
[74] Ibid, p. 4-5.

confined to one area of Asian art, that of Tibetan Buddhism from Tibet, Mongolia and northern China. Both collectors' activities are astonishing in the context of the worsening onset of the Great Depression, as the years in which they started to acquire objects coincide with a time when 13 million Americans were unemployed.[75] Another difference rather than similarity between them lies in their use of dealers. In Bender's case Henry H. Hart, T.Z. Shiota, the Daibutsu Company and Fujita & Company are the only dealers mentioned, whereas those used by Marchais are numerous and East Coast-based: 'Kalisky and Gabey, Roland, Koscherak, Ira and J. Fox, Frank Schnitjer and Son, Dario Shindell, Gunn and Latchford, Michael M. Rosner, Paul Wasserman, Su Chen Ho, Kende Galleries, Baker's of Philadelphia, the Little-Jones Company, and Yamanaka and Company.'[76] Later she acquired items at auction from the Parke-Bernet Galleries as well as from Cathay Crafts in Peking. The owner of Cathay Crafts was George Szabo and according to Barbara Lipton, Marchais 'obtained major additions to her collections'[77] through her relationship with him.

Several reasons are postulated by Lipton in explaining how Tibetan art came on the international market during the early 20th century. The dissolution of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, when imperial patronage no longer protected the Tibetan lamas of Beijing from destitution must have been an important factor. In addition unrest in Manchuria 'from 1925 until Japanese occupation in 1931 saw soldiers and possibly local people [obtain] and [sell] religious objects from monasteries in Mukden, Jehol (Chengde) and Inner Mongolia. And in Outer Mongolia the Communists removed and

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[75] Norton, Katzman, Escott, Chudacoff, Paterson and Tuttle: *A People & A Nation: A History of the United States*, Vol. II: Since 1865, Houghton Mifflin Publishing Co., 1994, p. 753.
[76] Lipton, Barbara in Lipton and Nima Dorjee Ragnubs: *Treasures of Tibetan Art: Collections of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art*, Oxford University Press 1996, p. 13.
[77] Ibid, p. 15.

sold many objects from monasteries'.[78] More official acquisition of Tibetan art also occurred during these years by national cultural institutions, as in the establishment of the Tibetan collection by the curator Gosta Montell of Sweden's National Museum of Ethnography who was a member of Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish expedition, 1929-32. The Sino-Swedish Expedition was charged with researching the meteorological, topographic and prehistoric conditions of Mongolia, the Gobi Desert and Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang). It had taken Sven Hedin six months of negotiation with Chinese authorities in order to obtain permission to proceed with the expedition. As Peter Hopkirk explains: 'In the end the Chinese had insisted that he take with him ten of their scholars in addition to his own, that the expedition be renamed the Sino-Swedish Expedition, and finally that all archaeological material he found would remain the property of the Chinese Government'.[79] As referred to at the end of Chapter I in relation to the Royal Academy of Arts exhibition of Chinese art, 1935-36, the late 1920s and 1930s was a period in which Chinese officialdom moved to gain control over the movement of archaeological artefacts within and outside of Chinese territory: 'The day of the freebooter was over: From now on, if one dug at all one dug for China'.[80]

There were also instances of private benefactors who travelled to Tibetan spheres of influence, as in the Newark Museum's collection of Tibetan art given by the medical missionary Dr. Albert L. Shelton from his 1911 Sino-Tibetan expedition. Trained as a medical doctor, Albert L. Shelton, was first sent to China in 1903 by the Foreign Christian Missionary Society. In December 1910 while on board a steamship from Yokohama to the United States Shelton met Edward N. Crane, a trustee of The

[78] Ibid, p. 15.
[79] Hopkirk, Peter: *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road*. John Murray, 1980, p. 227.
[80] Ibid, p. 228.

Newark Museum, New Jersey. Shelton was returning from a six-year mission from western China and eastern Tibet. When Shelton and his family managed to remain in the U.S. from 1910 to 1913 (thereby escaping the Chinese Revolution), Crane arranged to have Shelton's initial collection of 150 Tibetan artefacts transferred to The Newark Museum. As Crane died in the summer of 1911 this purchase (and founding of a Tibetan collection at the museum) became known as the 'Edward N. Crane Memorial Collection'.[81] 'Included in this 1911 group are pen cases, sling shots, coins, teapots, earrings, boats, hats, guns, swords, monastic garments, rtiual vesssels, images and tangkas. Perhaps the most important pieces are a silver Wheel of the Law associated with the 6th Panchen Lama which Shelton rescued from the Jo Lama in Batang and a set of fourteen manuscript volumes of the Pranaparamita (now carbon-14 dated to the twelfth century) rescued from the destroyed royal palace in Tachienlu'.[82]

Perhaps the greatest similarity lies between the Bender Collection's Tibetan material and some aspects of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art, namely in the area of Thangka paintings of the eighteen Arhats. Although there are several Thangka paintings in the Jacques Marchais Museum, which are 18th century in date, only one is of an Arhat, Upasaka Dharmatala. It is 'in the style of woodblock prints made at Narthang Monastery in Tsang, Central Tibet... In 1732, Narthang became a great center of printing'.[83] The majority of the Jacques Marchais Thangka material is wholly Tibetan in style, whereas the Bender Thangka paintings are exemplary of Tibetan Buddhism under strong Chinese artistic influence. The remaining Thangka

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[81] Reynolds, Valrae with Janet Gyatso, Amy Heller and Dan Martin: *From the Sacred Realm: Treasures from The Newark Museum*. Prestel, 1999, p. 11-12.
[82] Ibid, p. 13
[83] Ibid, p. 59-60: Catalogue Entry 15.

paintings in the Jacques Marchais collection are of Lamas and the Six Scholarly Ornaments of the World, such as Nagarjuna, Asanga, Gunaprabha and Padmasambhava. However, it is in the collection of the Musée Guimet in Paris that the closest stylistic parallel can be found to the Bender Thangkas. It is a portrait of the First Panchen Lama (1569-1662). [84] Similar features are found in the Bender's collection of twenty-one Thangkas of the eighteenth century, particularly in relation to the landscape elements listed above, such as cloud motifs and flowers. Perhaps the atelier which executed the Musée Guimet example may have trained artists who travelled east to Gansu Province where the Bender series of Thangkas is likely to have been produced. Yet it is difficult to speak of Tibetan art in purely geographical terms, and it is worth bearing in mind the following observation by Snellgrove and Richardson from their seminal publication 'A Cultural History of Tibet':

'Monks and religious painters who were often themselves monks, were very mobile, and styles were carried rapidly from one part of the Tibetan cultural world to another, where quite different styles, e.g. the more stereotyped Indian one and far freer Chinese could continue to flourish side by side. In every case, however, the main figures in paintings and images, usually bronze were expected to follow carefully established patterns'. [85]

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[84] Heller, Amy: *Tibetan Art: Tracing the Development of Spiritual Ideals and Art in Tibet, 600-2000A.D.* Jaca Book, Antique Collectors' Club, 1999, p. 198. Distemper on cloth, Tibet, late seventeenth to early eighteenth century (MA 5241). Amy Heller gives the following description: 'It is part of a series of previous incarnations of the religious hierarchs of the Gelugpa monastic school commissioned ca. 1737 from the engraving ateliers of the Narthang monastery, not far from Shigatse. Due to the frequent representation of the Tasilhunpo prelates in this series, the renown of the seventeenth century artist Choying Gyatso of Tasilhunpo and his innovations in the Menri style in which this series is executed, Jackson has recently suggested that perhaps the original paintings from which the stencils were developed might have been work of Choying Gyatso and his atelier... Certainly this style of painting called Menri Sarma... with characteristic inclusion of landscape elements on the outer borders, flowers such as giant peonies and use of Chinese gold-print silks for bolster and robes whether of monks or deities'.

[85] Richardson, Hugh and Snellgrove, David L.: *A Cultural History of Tibet*. Orchid Press, Bangkok, 2003, p. 279-80.

On examining the archives of the Jacques Marchais Center many links can be made between her as a collector of Asian art and Albert Bender's collecting activities. Comparisons can first be made between them in terms of their libraries and shared academic interest in the subject of Tibetan art. Like Bender, Jacques Marchais had the George Roerich publication 'Tibetan Painting' in her library. This is the same book from which Bender quoted to Mahr in his interpretation of the set of Tibetan Buddhist Thangkas from Gansu Province. Other relevant publications in Marchais' library, which were probably collected and read by Albert Bender, illustrate the great influence expeditions such as those by Sven Hedin and Francis Younghusband would have had on those interested in any Western contact with Tibet.[86] According to a recent article by the current curator of the Center, Dr. Sarah Johnson, Marchais plunged into 'deep research and constant study' of Tibet in the late 1920s.[87] Overall the impression given from her surviving library and correspondence is a genuine intellectual interest in Tibetan art, and when one considers Albert Bender's myriad collecting interests it is easier to imagine Marchais' inquiry into the art of the region as being more thorough. For example, 'she became particularly inspired after viewing a beautiful structure at the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. Billed the so-called 'Chinese Lama Temple: Potala of Jehol', the construction replicated the Golden Temple at Jehol... in China, the summer retreat of the Qing Dynasty (1644-

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[86] The most noteworthy titles, which are still part of Marchais' library are the following: 'Sven Hedin – 'Central Asia and Tibet, Vols., I and II'; Francis Younghusband – 'Wonders of the Himalayas'; Sven Hedin – 'A Conquest of Tibet'; Sven Hedin – 'Jehol – City of Emperors'; Sven Hedin – 'The Silk Road'; White – 'Bone Culture of Ancient China, Chinese Jews'; Capt. W.R. O'Connor – 'Folk-Tales from Tibet'; Nicholas Roerich – 'Altai – Himalaya Heart of Asia'; Katharine Ball- 'Bamboo: Its Cult and Culture'; T. Watters – 'The Eighteen Lohans of Chinese Buddhists' Temple'; W. White – 'Chinese Jews: Part I – Historical, Part II – Inscriptional, Part III – Genealogical'; Roerich Press Museum – 'Flame and Chalice'; Nina Selivanova – 'The World of Roerich'; Charles Bell – 'Tibet, Past and Present'(1924), 'The People of Tibet'(1928), 'The Religion of Tibet' (1931); Sven Hedin – 'Trans-Himalaya, Volumes I and II' (1909), 'Overland to India, Vols. I and II' (1910),'Across the Gobi Desert' (1932), 'A Conquest of Tibet' (1934).

[87] Johnson, Sarah: 'From Staten Island to Shangri-La: The Collecting Life of Jacques Marchais' in *Orientations*, May 2007, p. 86.

1911) emperors, and was filled with objects collected by the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin (1865-1952) during expeditions to different monasteries in Mongolia and northern China in the early 20th century'.[88] Indeed in the Jacques Marchais archive there is a brochure from the New York's World's Fair 1939 of the 'Chinese Lama Temple Potala of Jehol' with selected metal figure of the Panchen Lama on the cover. Therefore, the iconography and cultural context of the Potala of Jehol (now Chengde) must have been of significant influence on Jacques Marchais.

In terms of mutual contacts and acquaintances of Albert Bender and Jacques Marchais, they appear to have been several in number and provide the basis for a comparison between the two collectors. As referred to above both Bender and Marchais owned a copy of George Roerich's 'Tibetan Painting'. Interestingly, in Marchais' case she seems to have been in close contact with the Roerich Academy of Arts, Carnegie Hall, New York City[89] as in October 1939 its director, Sina Lichtmann wrote Marchais stating that she had received her 'kind letter announcing your special Exhibition of a group of Chinese paintings. At first opportunity I shall avail myself of your kind invitation to come and visit your Exhibition'.[90] Another mutual academic acquaintance of Albert Bender and Jacques Marchais was Dr. Hans Nordewin von Koerber (1896-1979). As discussed above in relation to the Mills College Art Museum, von Koerber along with Albert Bender was on the foundation committee in 1934 of the 'Friends of Far Eastern Art' association. Von Koerber was corresponding

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[88] Ibid, p. 87.

[89] Nicholas Roerich was a Russian artist, writer, archaeologist, philosopher and traveller who in 1923 founded the Museum of Roerich in New York – the first museum of a Russian artist abroad. George Roerich (1902-60) was Nicholas' son who like his father had a massive interest in the Tibetan religion. In 1923-28 George, as orientalist, philologist and ethnographer participated in his father's Central Asian expedition. Hence his publication 'Tibetan Paintings', which Bender used in 1931 to explain the Arhats of Buddha to Adolf Mahr (see Chapter I). See http://my-opera.com/Roerich/about/, 9 July 2009.

[90] Sina Lichtmann to Jacques Marchais, 6 October 1939. File 2.21: Correspondence, General – Incoming. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

with Jacques Marchais a decade later when she writes of progress in the construction of her Tibetan Centre on Staten Island: 'A large painting of my darling Panchen Lama (the late one) adorns the wall, and Tibetan paintings hang here and there. The inside walls are also of fieldstone, and they are beautiful in contrast to the red lacquer furniture, etc. That stands in relief against them.

Now I feel sure you could help me in suggesting books for this library, if you have the time to spare, and I should like to receive any suggestions you may have to offer. I have given over my personal library of books (seven hundred in all) on subjects which interrelate with things Tibetan.. The Temple Room or 'Chanting Room,' will be started in January. In there, on either side of the golden altar, I had hoped to place the Tibetan classics and scriptures- the Kangjur and the Tangyur... I know you were notified by the secretary I had when I became ill, that your books had arrived safely and in good condition. I wish to thank you again for autographing the one for the library'.[91] There is no evidence in either the Bender Papers at Mills College or the archives of the Jacques Marchais Center that these collectors knew each other, even through such mutual associates as Hans Nordewin von Koerber. From the previously quoted letter from Marchais to von Koerber it is apparent that she would have been grateful for guidance and indeed even reassurance in her endeavours to create an authentic Tibetan-inspired construction in her Center, and acknowledgement that she was on an accurate path academically with the collection and library. In this respect Jacques Marchais was perhaps more focused than Albert Bender, as in many instances Bender was content to allow trusted dealers to choose material on his behalf (but in consultation with him) as is seen in the T.Z. Shiota selection of Japanese ukiyo-e for the National Museum. Von Koerber acknowledges Marchais' December 1944 letter

[91] Jacques Marchais to Hans Nordewin von Koerber, 11 December 1944. File 1.38, General Out-going Correspondence. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

nine months later due to illness, in addition to the 'invitation to attend the dedication of your library, and of the August copy of the Art Digest including the newspaper clipping... Now your Tibetan Library functions. My most sincere congratulations! I pray that some day I may see it'.[92]

Another noteworthy contact of both Bender and Marchais was the dealer C.T. Loo of New York – 41 East 57th Street and Paris- 48 Rue de Courcelles.[93] As discussed on page 39 the collection of C.T. Loo along with other French-based collectors of Asian art was part of the 'Friends of Far Eastern Art Exhibition of Chinese Art' at the Mills College Art Gallery between October and December 1934. As Jacques Marchais operated her own gallery on East Fifty-Fifth Street from 1938 until the official opening of her Tibetan Center on Staten Island in 1947, it is not surprising that C.T. Loo wrote her in 1946 concerning the Metropolitan Museum: 'I have been asked to make some appeals to the dealers in Art and your name has been assigned to me by the Metropolitan Museum and I am enclosing herewith a card of subscription and I hope that you will send whatever you wish, so to show to the Metropolitan Museum that we, dealers, are cooperating with them because, as you know, this Institution is the center of art and their expansion will always be for the benefit of us, dealers'.[94] This is an interesting appeal by C.T. Loo to request as many dealers as possible in New York to send subscriptions to the Metropolitan Museum, and illustrates the mutually beneficial relationship between public and commercial dealing. Indeed in Jacques Marchais' efforts to establish her own museum this appeal for support from the most important museum in New York is likely to have found favour with her own

[92] Hans Nordewin von Koerber to Jacques Marchais, 11 September 1945. File 2.21, Correspondence General Incoming. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[93] C.T. Loo to Jacques Marchais, 30 November 1946. File 2.21, Correspondence General Incoming, Jacques Marchis Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[94] Ibid.

ideology. C.T. (Ching Tsai) Loo (1880-1957) was involved in the 1933 Asian art exhibition in Cologne that was organised by the Freunde Ostasiatischer Kunst (Friends of East Asian Art).[95] This exhibition in turn led to the seminal exhibition of Chinese art held at Burlington House, London in 1935-36.

Contained within the Jacques Marchais archives is a group of acknowledgement letters to Marchais from various libraries and colleges throughout the United States and Canada. Of particular interest in drawing comparisons with Albert Bender are those acknowledgements from California, and San Francisco and the Bay Area in particular. For example, in March 1942 Genevieve Clarke, librarian of the San Francisco College for Women wrote thanking Marchais for her brochure entitled 'Treasures of Tibet', which she had recently published.[96] Likewise that same month Katharine F. Ball, the librarian of Santa Barbara State College, wrote to acknowledge receipt with thanks of the same brochure by Marchais.[97] Of more interest, however, is a personally signed acknowledgement letter from the library of Stanford University to Marchais in recognition of her publication 'Objects from the Tibetan Lamaist Collection of Jacques Marchais' (c. 1941), which was signed by the president of the university, Ray Lyman Wilbur.[98] As with Von Koerber, Lyman Wilbur was also on the foundation committee with Albert Bender in 1934 of the Friends of Far Eastern Art Association. Although Bender died in March 1941, if Lyman Wilbur knew of the existence of Jacques Marchais from the 1930s he may have informed Bender of such

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[95] Steuber, Jason: 'The Exhibition of Chinese Art at Burlington House, London, 1935-36' in *The Burlington Magazine*, August 2006, Vol. CXLVIII, p. 530.
[96] Genevieve Clarke to Jacques Marchais, 27 March 1942. File 2.29, Publication Acknowledgements, Jacques Marchis Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[97] Katharine F. Ball to Jacques Marchais, 27 March 1942. File 2.29, Publication Acknowledgements, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[98] Ray Lyman Wilbur to Jacques Marchais, 1 April 1942. File 2.31, Publication Acknowledgements, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

a collector on the American east coast. What is apparent, however, are efforts by Jacques Marchais to send brochures on her Asian art collection to the main colleges, libraries and universities in California. Other recipients of 'Objects from the Tibetan Lamaist Collection of Jacques Marchais' included Berkeley Public Library and Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science and Art.[99]

An important link between Albert Bender and Jacques Marchais to emerge from the latter's 'Museum Dedication' file is Dr. Alfred Salmony. As discussed in Chapter VI under the section detailing Bender's friendship with Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, Salmony was for a time in the 1930s visiting lecturer in Asian art at Mills College. In 1947 Jacques Marchais invited Salmony to the dedication ceremony of her Centre of Tibetan Art on Staten Island. Salmony responded with the following declining note: 'Unfortunately I arrived from Europe a few hours ago which prevents me from making use of your kind invitation. I hope to visit the museum in the very near future'.[100] The letter heading is printed 'New York University Institute of Fine Arts'.[101] There are no surviving publications by Salmony in Jacques Marchais' library, but in the Trinity College Dublin Philip Bender Book Collection of American-printed publications there is a copy of Salmony's 'Carved Jade of Ancient China' (1938).[102] Considering Salmony's close proximity to Jacques Marchais's initial gallery on East Fifty-fifth Street from 1938 before her move to Staten Island it is reasonable to presume they knew each other from that time.

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[99] Helen A. Kearney to Jacques Marchais, 6 April 1942. File 2.33 and Lenore Green to Jacques Marchais, 9 April 1942, File 2.30, Publication Acknowledgements, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[100] Alfred Salmony to Jacques Marchais, 3 October 1947. File 1.47, Museum Dedication, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Trinity College Dublin Book Collection presented by Albert Bender, 1932-c. 1941 in honour of his father, Rev. Philip Bender. Ref (B) D.1.24, Early Printed Books.

One area in which comparison cannot be made between Albert Bender and Jacques Marchais is that of their dealers. Bender as discussed in Chapter I primarily used San Francisco-based Henry H. Hart and T.Z. Shiota to source his Asian art collection for the National Museum. Jacques Marchais, however, used New York-based dealers as previously listed. Yet on examining the Jacques Marchais archive two more names emerge; Ralph M. Chait and Arthur Porter. In the case of the former there is no specific evidence to suggest that he sourced material on her behalf, but there was obviously some kind of professional relationship as he wrote to her regarding the dedication of her museum: 'I regret very much not having been able to attend the opening of your new Museum. It so happened that I was spending the week-end ... at Boston where I attended a conference of collectors and connoisseurs held at the Museum ... I do indeed regret not being able to attend the gala event and do hope that you will extend me permission to visit some time'.[103] Perhaps of greater relevance to a study of Jacques Marchais's dealers and Asian art sources is the omission by Lipton of the dealer Arthur Porter of Marco Polo Chinese Decorative Arts Ancient and Modern, 5 Rue Marco Polo, Peiping [Beijing]. Prior to the official opening of the Jacques Marchais Centre of Tibetan Art in 1947 he wrote to her regarding the general state of unease in China and his efforts to obtain goods for her collection: 'Now things are beginning to look a little brighter and there appears to be some hope of exporting, and I will get some photos taken of the various objects and send them to you with a note of the prices.

I now have a very large and beautiful shop here in the Legation Quarter and have been able to assemble a general collection of Chinese art – business is fortunately quite

[103] Ralph M. Chait to Jacques Marchais, 10 October 1947. Printed address: 'Ralph M. Chait Galleries, 24 East 58th Street, New York 22, NY.'. File 1.47, Museum Dedication, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

good, although present prices are rather horrifying to anyone who has spent a great many years in China as I have'.[104] The curator of the Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art, Sarah Johnson, does make reference to the importance of both Arthur Porter and George Szabo as contacts in the Legation Quarter of Beijing. The unrest in China referred to by Porter is evidence of the fact that 'during the early 20th century most major collections of Tibetan and Himalayan art in the U.S. were formed as a result of political activity'.[105] Four months later in 1946 Jacques Marchais replied to Arthur Porter's letter with focused requirements of what she aimed to acquire for her collection one year prior to the official opening of her museum: 'Yours of May 8th received: also the lovely little Tibetan miniature paintings ... If you can procure more of these miniatures for me I should like it. Of course, you have my lists sent some time ago ... Please do let me hear from you and keep your eye out for anything that would be of interest to me. I am especially interested in getting one or two of the yellow red Lama capes and their helmet caps to go with them. .. I am looking for the Tibet wheel of life, about three feet high and in copper, brass or bronze; this to be placed on the roof parapet. Also, the two large gazelles that should be placed on either side, roof banners made of copper, etc. Then, too, I am anxious to get the tangure and the Kangjurs classics and the scriptures of the Tibetan religion. These, I understand, being best printed from the Choni Monastery in Tibet.

I understand there is a young Lama connected with the Jehol Temple who can be of some assistance to you in this respect. This information was given to me by our late friend, Dr. G. Szabo. All other miscellaneous Tibetan manuscripts will be of interest

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[104] Arthur Porter to Jacques Marchais, 8 May 1946. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacquers Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

[105] Johnson, Sarah: 'From Staten Island to Shangri-La: The Collecting Life of Jacques Marchais' in *Orientations*, May 2007, p. 86.

to me but no Mongolian or Chinese'.[106] Marchais' mention of the 'Lama capes' is a similar interest to Bender's in textiles associated with either Tibetan-Buddhism or Chinese Daoism, as seen in the first degree Daoist Priest's robe given by him to the National Museum. Yet the main difference in the collecting preferences of Bender and Marchais is the former's apparent lack of interest in acquiring Asian religious writings, such as those of Tibetan Buddhism, which were specifically requested by Jacques Marchais. Of relevance also is Marchais' reference to a lama associated with the Jehol Temple, which raises questions as to the level of the native (rather than American, British or French) export of artefacts out of Chinese territory. Both Porter and Szabo acted as Chinese resident dealers for Jacques Marchais, as Henry H. Hart acted for Albert Bender.

An important aspect of Jacques Marchais' collecting of Tibetan art to emerge from her surviving archival papers is the many lecture notes she recorded and their art historical accuracy over sixty years later. She gave three recurrent themes of lectures on the subjects of Tibetan Painting, The Taras and the Yonghegong temple. Unlike Bender, who read scholarly works on Asian art subjects, Marchais was more academic in her appreciation of Tibetan art, and from her lecture notes demonstrated a thorough and well researched approach in understanding her collection. For example, in her notes on Thangka paintings she stated the following: 'Almost never is silk used. The cloth almost universally used is a kind of canvas which is prepared by stretching it while damp over a wooden frame... the surface is then smeared over with a paste of lime and flour, to which a little glue is added. When thoroughly dry, the surface is

[106] Jacques Marchais to Arthur Porter, 13 September 1946. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

rubbed smooth and slightly polished by a stone and the drawing is then outlined'.[107] This quote can be compared with an equivalent explanation of the techniques involved in Thangka painting by the scholar Pratapaditya Pal: 'The rough piece of cotton is stretched on a frame and is made smooth by sizing it with a mixture of chalk and glue. After it is dried, it is polished with a shell and the outline is drawn either in black or red. The pigments are derived from vegetables and minerals and the binding medium is gum resin'.[108]

This quote and that from Marchais' lecture can be contrasted with Albert Bender's incorrect description of the Thangkas he donated to the National Museum as being on silk canvas rather than that of cotton. Frustratingly, one has the names of dealers associated with the acquisition of the majority of the Bender Collection in the National Museum, but not of the twenty-one Thangka paintings (see Chapter I). Therefore, if a description of the Thangkas had been provided by Henry H. Hart it is unlikely he would have stated their backing was that of silk rather than cotton. Another link between Jacques Marchais' lecture notes and the National Museum's Bender Collection is a detailed synopsis of the history of the Yonghegong (Palace of Peace and Harmony) by Marchais and the statement by Henry H. Hart that the priest's robe for the National Museum was from the palace's temple. This late seventeenth/early eighteenth century robe has now more correctly been given a first-degree Daoist Priest's association rather than that of Tibetan-Buddhism. Yet it is worth quoting certain aspects of the Center's lecture notes on the subject as they illustrate the fascination the Yonghegong held for many collectors of Tibetan art. Marchais' interest particularly in the interior decoration of the palace, its symbolism

[107] From Jacques Marchais lecture entitled 'Tibetan Paintings'. File 1.34, Manuscripts-Lecture Notes, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[108] Pal, Pratapaditya: *Tibetan Paintings,* Ravi Sumar Sotheby Publications, 1984, p. 3.

and general upkeep before the establishment of China as a communist state are indicative of the fascination of such a space and its material culture to a western collector.[109] As with Albert Bender the primary fascination for the American collector of Tibetan art is with ritual and the deities associated with Buddhism. Reference above to the Arhats, Bodhisattvas and the Taras underlines the importance of collecting such religious material culture. In addition, and unlike Albert Bender, Marchais was also drawn to Buddhist scriptures as a collecting area. In making his donation of what he thought to be a Tibetan Buddhist lama robe, Bender would have known the importance of the Yonghegong and realised the significance of its manufactures.

Along with an interest by both Albert Bender and Jacques Marchais in the Arhats of Buddha as seen above, another apparent awareness on both their parts was of Tibetan Buddhism in the Chinese province of Gansu. Among the numerous articles collected by Jacques Marchais in her archives is one by Dr. Joseph F. Rock from the National Geographic Society Magazine of November 1928 entitled 'Life Among the Lamas of Choni: Describing the Mystery Plays and Butter Festival in the Monastery of an Almost Unknown Tibetan Principality in Kansu Province, China'. Rock was the

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[109] 'Many of the Lamaist priests actually cohabited outside of the temple grounds with Chinese women of dubious character. In the course of years the Lama Temple lost most of its former luster.... In the courtyard in front of the hall is a bronze facsimile of the Buddhist Heaven, the sacred realm of Buddhism with the Temple on top of a hill with different strata for humanity below in terraces. Things to see in this hall are the images of the Eighteen Arhats, nine on each side. These are saints of a lower grade, next to the Bodhisattvas, and other objects... See the Tancha or wall-hanging pictures (not murals) that are typical of Tibetan religious art. The one on the eastern wall is that of the Tibetan White-Faced Goddess of Salvation and the one on the western wall is that of the Tibetan Green-Faced Salvation... Each sitting priest has a volume of the books before him and the wrapping is opened and the horizontal leaves... these cardboard 'leaves' are not bound but just piled piece by piece and wrapped in cloth. In this hall [Hall of the Wheel of the Law] is displayed a relic called 'the mountain of 500 arhats' which is a miniature mountain along the roads of which there are 500 Buddhist disciples and certain other deities.. Here are also beautiful Tanchas, very elaborately painted, depicting images of Buddha and saints and other Tibetan legends'. Taken from Jacques Marchais' lecture notes on 'Yong He Gong' (Palace of Peace and Harmony), Non-Newspaper articles file, 1924-1978, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

Leader of the National Geographic Society's Yunnan Expedition, 1927-1929 and author of other National Geographic articles such as 'Through the Great River Trenches of Asia', 'The Land of the Yellow Lama' and 'Experiences of a Lone Geographer'.[110] As the National Museum's initial gift from Albert Bender was the set of twenty-one Thangkas illustrating the Arhats of Buddha and Four Lokapalas it is of some relevance that an equivalent American collector like Jacques Marchais was reading an anthropological article on Gansu Province during the 1920s. One presumes Albert Bender must have been at least aware of Rock's expedition along with those of Sven Hedin, at a time when he began collecting Asian material. Only two years after the completion of Rock's Yunnan Expedition, Albert Bender donated his Gansu Province set of Thangka paintings to the National Museum in December 1931. Due to Rock's reports from the field being contemporary to their publication it is apparent that 'National Geographic' readers like Jacques Marchais were knowledgeable early on about the loss of autonomous power by Tibetan Buddhist populations within Chinese territory. Included in a footnote on the first page of Rock's article is the following: 'A letter from Doctor Rock dated March 22, 1928, announces that the Choni Prince has been shorn of his hereditary title and military rank, and that his domain has been confiscated by Fengyu Shiang [Feng Yu-hsiang], the Red General. Thus the present article may be the closing chapter in the history of the ancient principate. The Prince is now merely commissioner of the barbarians and is subject to removal at the will of the Lanchow Government'.[111] The Chinese general Feng Yu-hsiang was mentioned in Chapter I in relation to the acquisition of the late Ming Dynasty bronze head of a Bodhisattva (NMI registration number DB:1932.22) in the National Museum's Bender Collection.

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[110] Rock, Joseph F: 'Life Among the Lamas of Choni', *The National Geographic Society Magazine*, Vol. LIV, No. 5, p. 569-619, November 1928.
[111] Ibid.

A major difference between Albert Bender and Jacques Marchais is the dealing business of the latter in that she owned a gallery in Manhattan, which sold Tibetan and other Asian art commercially. Bender as discussed was simply a collector of Asian material culture. Indeed Bender did not acquire art with any monetary appreciation in mind, and simply purchased what he and his selected dealers preferred, with in some cases immediate donation to a museum as the outcome. Jacques Marchais, however, was a shrewd businesswoman in the New York of the 1930s and '40s, and her advertisements illustrate her ability to solicit interest with their marked reference to how art objects were genuinely shipped from their find places. For example, in an undated article entitled 'Heard at the Galleries' the following describes Marchais' ability to acquire Tibetan works directly from their associated religious context, even though she is not named specifically as doing this, but only by implication: 'But even among the holy lamas of Tibet, there are some who cannot resist the tinkle of coins, and with their unholy connivance a number of these treasures fall into the hands of brigands and ultimately find their way into the art markets of India and China'.[112] As with Albert Bender there appears to have been a fascination with Tibetan painting by Marchais, and in this same advertising article the reader's attention is drawn to Marchais' stock of such works: 'Mrs. Jacques Marchais... is offering New Yorkers their first opportunity of seeing a group of miniature paintings by Tibetan artists of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The workmanship is so incredibly fine in these miniatures that one does not have to have any special interest in eastern art to enjoy them'.[113] In the bottom right hand side corner of this advertisement article is an example of such a Tibetan miniature

[112] 'Heard at the Galleries' –undated article from file marked 'Jacques Marchais Articles, 1924-1960', Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.
[113] Ibid.

painting. In another advertisement for Jacques Marchais' New York Fifty-first street gallery the attention of the potential customer is directed to a photograph of a pair of Tibetan prayer wheels, which is inscribed underneath with an interesting statement as to the geographical areas of Asia from which Marchais had made her art selection for her gallery: 'Catering to Collectors and Museum Buyers desiring the best in Tibetan, Indian, Siamese and Burmese religious objects'.[114] Just as today academic arguments exist as to whether Tibetan art should be classified under Himalayan art (as in many American museum curatorial departments) or under Far Eastern/Asian art alongside the art of China, so too was the same differentiation relevant in 1939. From their collecting preferences and statements one can argue that Albert Bender probably interpreted his Tibetan material as part of a wider Far Eastern art collection, whereas Jacques Marchais seems to have viewed her Tibetan collection as part of the artistic heritage of the Himalayan and Central and South-East Asian regions. Marchais' interest in Tibet was bound up with a passion for and knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism. For example, in another publicity article from 1945 she announced the creation of a sculpture in her likeness by the artist Waylande Gregory, in which he placed on the sculpture's shoulders 'white and green Tara goddesses, wives of a seventh-century Tibetan king, who were largely responsible for bringing Buddhism into Tibet'.[115] In addition in the same article reference is made to the classification system used in her library also having Buddhist association: 'The 2,000 books are bound in buckram according to Tibetan colour meanings: lavender for all the books dealing with color healing, incense, and perfume; purple for comparative religions;

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[114] Advertisement in *Hobbies Magazine* (2810 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, ILL), April 1, 1939, p. 96. Taken from Jacques Marchais Articles, 1924-1960, Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

[115] 'Art-Ecstasy on Staten Island' in *Newsweek*, 13 August 1945. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

black for black magic and red for Brahmanism and other Eastern religions'.[116] Despite the commercial dealings of Jacques Marchais' enterprise, she apparently remained a committed student of all aspects of Tibetan culture when she opened her library and later her museum/centre on Staten Island, stated in this publicity article is the following announcement: 'memberships, costing $10 annually, are limited to 500 subscribers. There is no admittance without a card. The purpose: to exclude the 'merely curious and nonstudious''.[117]

Despite the majority of Jacques Marchais' dealers being American (and particularly New York-based) or resident in China, such as Arthur Porter and George Szabo, she also used the services of Luzac and Company of Great Russell Street, London.[111] In the Jacques Marchais archive are several invoices from Luzac and Company for the years 1943 up to 1947. Unlike Bender who never used an European-based dealer, Marchais apparently relied on Luzac to source for her collection Tibetan objects and related publications. Interestingly, their invoices state that they were agents 'to the India Office, Asiatic Society of Bengal, School of Oriental Studies, The Royal Asiatic Society of Gt. Britain and Ireland, Siam Society Bangkok, etc., etc.'[118] Apart from some important Tibetan metalwork artefacts being acquired through their offices, Marchais also took advantage of the Oriental and foreign bookselling and publishing aspects of their business by purchasing books and society transactions not readily available in the United States. For example, in May 1944 she bought a copy of Jaschke's Tibetan English Dictionary and in December 1945 the Royal Asiatic

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[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Johnson, Sarah: 'From Staten Island to Shangri-La: The Collecting Life of Jacques Marchais', *Orientations*, May 2007, p. 86.
[119]Luzac and Company, 46 Great Russell Street, London, WC1 (invoices). Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

Society's catalogue of books.[119] In terms of comparision with Albert Bender's collecting, in March 1947 Marchais bought 'Nepalese Jewelled Thankas' for $500 from Luzac and Company. Unfortunately, no date or more information on provenance is given other than the fact these Thangkas were Nepalese, but it does illustrate again the interests of both collectors in this artform throughout the Tibetan sphere of influence, whether Himalayan or the Tibetan-Chinese territory of Gansu Province.

By contrasting these two contemporaneous collectors, one on the east coast of the United States the other on the west coast, the student of the history of Asian art collecting is afforded an opportunity to examine private collectors as a microcosm of a wider international network. The main difference between Marchais and Bender was the latter's efforts to donate institutionally in the public domain from what had been an initial private interest. In comparison Marchais aimed to turn an original commercial interest into a semi-public centre of Tibetan culture. The decades have proved that although collection focus is subject to change in museums, Bender's ideology has won out in that his donations to the National Museum safeguarded the material. Jacques Marchais' Center of Tibetan Art, however, due to its non-museum status has remained in organisational/managerial flux up until recently, which in some respects during its first five decades placed its Tibetan art artefacts at risk of damage and theft.

[120]Luzac and Company (invoices), 15 May 1944 and 31 December 1945. Jacques Marchais Archive, Jacques Marchais Museum of Tibetan Art.

Chapter IV: Albert M. Bender and Adolf Mahr

The most remarkable aspect of the series of donations given by Albert Bender to the National Museum of Ireland during the 1930s is the relationship between Bender and the Keeper of the Irish Antiquities Division, Dr. Adolf Mahr. Mahr was appointed to the position of Keeper in the same year (1927) as the Nils Lithberg Report was produced under the Cumann na nGaedheal administration. He had previously worked as an early Celtic specialist at the Natural History and Prehistoric Museum in Vienna. In the words of Patrick Wallace the appointment of Mahr to such an official public position 'may be seen with parallel positions in the sugar company, the army music school and the fledging electricity supply service as efforts on the part of the Free State to seek foreign expertise when needed from places other than the former colonial master'.[1] Very shortly after the opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art in June 1934, Mahr was promoted to the directorship of the National Museum. It is remarkable that such donations occurred at all given the fact that Albert Bender was an Irish-American Jew and Adolf Mahr was in charge of the Irish wing of the Nazi Party. According to the historian Dermot Keogh, Mahr 'was until December 1938, Gruppenleiter (group leader) of the Dublin branch of the Nazi party's Auslendsorganisation (organisation abroad). The Dublin 'club' was formed in 1934 ....'[2] Keogh makes the point that the rise in anti-Semitism in Dublin during these years ran in tandem with propaganda espoused by the Dublin branch of the Nazi Party, and 'had a direct bearing on the anti-Semitism of radical nationalist groups in Ireland, in the 1930s'.[3] In Mahr's personal asides to Bender during the course of their correspondence there is very little indication (initially) of Mahr's political opinion

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[1] Wallace, Patrick F.: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p.168-9.
[2] Keogh, Dermot: *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*. Cork University Press, 1998, p. 106.
[3] Ibid.



Plate 113. Adolf Mahr.
© National Museum of Ireland.

concerning Jews. For example, in describing a Jewish friend to Bender, Mahr writes: 'I have a very good friend in Austria, a Jew, who has a beautiful museum of antiquities, objects of art and a separate collection of Jewish articles. I had the honour of being for many years his adviser and I am sure he would be extremely pleased if I could help him to get a print of the Song of Solomon which is more familiar to him ...'[4] Bender replied on 1 April 1932, that he would send Mahr a copy of the 'Song of Songs' in addition to also sending some 'specimens of fine printing'[5] for his own use. Another instance of the growing friendship between the two men is evident in a letter to Bender from Mahr (in the latter's own hand) on 16 March 1932. It appears that Bender had sent Mahr's children some gifts, and Mahr's appreciation of the gesture reads: 'My children said they had never tasted such beautiful fruits, and my boy who is a great geographer told me all he knew about golden California. Being only 9 he knew more than I expected and your kindness therefore made also a father proud'.[6]

What appears certain from the initial correspondence between Bender and Mahr is that a growing familiarity emerged in which Mahr felt comfortable to directly ask Bender for the cheque to pay for the mounting of the Thangka paintings to be made out to him rather than to the museum: 'I may have to ask you to exchange this cheque for another one which will be made out on my name; and I beg to explain to you my reason for doing so. The Museum has not the right to an account of its own. The accounting is done in the Department of Education, subject to the control of the Accounts Branch, and furthermore subject to the control of the Department of Finance. It is a very complicated system which results in the fact that we have very

[4] Mahr to Bender, 11 March 1932: Bender Archive, Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[5] Bender to Mahr, 1 April 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[6] Mahr to Bender, 16 March 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.

little liberty to act, and must ask the permission of clerks, who know very little about museum work, for everything. We are bound to get supplies of all appliances – glass, wood fittings, & c., - through Post Office Stores, which results in the supply being (perhaps) a halfpenny cheaper, and a shilling worse in quality.... Moreover, I anticipate that there will be something left of the £130 and we would have the greatest difficulty in getting the money back once it is handed over to the official accounts.... if you entrust the money to me you may be quite sure that I shall adopt the cheapest means which at the same time give the results desired. In your letter of the 25th February you wrote: 'the whole matter is in your hands with absolute freedom to act as you think best'.[7]

What is certain from these formal and informal confidences between the two men, is that trust emerged to such an extent that Mahr felt comfortable enough to speak both politically and honestly concerning archaeology and the National Museum. By doing so, he could have jeopardised the series of Far Eastern art donations by Bender. Mahr sent an unofficial letter to Bender on 21 August 1932, which illustrates these points quite succinctly. In describing the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Mahr portrays his political ideology somewhat: 'the 'savants' have finally come together again, after many years of alienation, and let us hope that their mutual understanding is only a forerunner of a still wider mutual understanding of civilised people. It so happened that Germany lost the war, that Britain nearly lost it, that France won it and that America pays it. We Anthropologists look upon it with nearly complete detachment as we know that the present national and racial boundaries are a thing of very late origin and that the boundaries which separated

[7] Mahr to Bender, 16 April 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.

mankind in the Stone Age are probably more important than the make-shifts of our present politicians. There is a growing feeling amongst anthropologists (in the widest sense of the term) to loose all interests in what is today miscalled 'politics' and I should say that the world would be better off if also the politicians took less interest in politics'.[8] These beliefs are all the more telling in light of Mahr's involvement less than two years later with the Dublin branch of the Nazi Party. What had begun as international and pan-ethnic co-operation in his archaeological work, eventually led to what can be termed racist and anti-Semitic ideology in his personal life. This letter, which amounts to eight typed pages in length, describes Mahr's own archaeological activities with great enthusiasm, from the Harvard Expedition involving the excavation of Ballinderry Crannog to the Ancient Monuments Council. Yet professionally Mahr risked all donations by Bender with the following: 'Now dear Mr. Bender, bearing in mind what my beloved old teacher [Prof. Obermaier] said, I have got to be quite frank with you and the honest truth is that my museum is not worth such valuable gifts and such sacrifices on your part. We are not (or not yet) good enough an institution to be favoured with such magnificent gifts ... Please treat what I say as confidential; of course I don't mind Dr. Starkie. You have no idea how backward in all cultural matters we here are. We have an old museum with many fine things, but they were intermingled with worst rubbish ... I am only one of three co-equal Keepers and the others don't care about fresh life in their divisions. They are insular and grumble. They don't realise that they are years behind ..... But, dear Mr. Bender, why shall we go to the trouble to force such a fine Far East collection upon a Division of the museum and upon a country which is not yet mature for it? And why should I encourage you in an expenditure if I am perhaps the only man in Ireland who

[8] Mahr to Bender, 21 August 1932, p. 1: Bender Archive, Mills College. Published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr.* Liberties Press, 2007, p. 35.

can fully appreciate your gifts! I would act unfair towards a noble and generous benefactor if I did not tell you the truth. Please look up p. 13 of the attached new Penny Guide of our Museum. You will see that Far Eastern Art does not strictly belong to my Division. My colleague in the Art Division is a very fine old gentleman, [M.S.D. Westropp] we are the best of friends, but he is about to retire and god knows how incompetent his successor [L.S. Gogan] may be. Even the present Art Keeper does not know much about modern Museum work ... I do not want to belittle him. He is a very good connoisseur, sound, decent, an authority on Irish Glass and Silver. But one cannot grasp that from his collection. He is the victim of the neglect by his predecessor (retired in 1928) and he has not my impetus, probably because he is so much older. If you read the Guide carefully you will see that my Division fights desperately to get on a European level; - the two others more or less remain what they were for the last 20 or 30 years ... And the existing conditions are that Far Eastern Art does not belong to my Division. When the Reorganisation Commission finished its report in 1927 it was resolved that clear-cut lines of distinction must henceforward be observed by the different divisions of the museum. Quite sound.

I took the Tibetan banners because I can house them for the time being and because a museum man who refuses such a magnificent gift deserves to be dismissed. But I cannot go on building up a Far Eastern Art collection, whilst the Division to which they ought to go and which has got already some good Far Eastern stuff is hopelessly overcrowded.

To sum up: 50 years neglect and lack of vision cannot be undone in a few years. But whilst I am making progress the other divisions lag behind. Through your very great kindness we have now really obtained a nucleus for a fine Far Eastern Art Collection.

If it be united with the already existing stuff it could be made a good subdivision. But it wants a man (preferably a specialist) and room. Neither is available'.[9]

One must admire the honesty displayed when Mahr refers to the Art Division's lack of Asian applied arts expertise, but there is an ulterior motive for this rather more personal than professional outlook. As the letter progresses, Mahr seizes the opportunity to divert Bender's monetary attention to archaeological matters. It is in this area that one notes what would be a modern day breach of ethics (although in light of museum ethics of the 1930s it was probably acceptable), especially regarding the fact that Mahr had not yet been appointed Director of the National Museum. He attempts to steal the financial attention of a major museum benefactor over to his own subject of expertise, the National Museum's collection policy being Irish material culture only at this time:

'For modern Europe, Ireland means very little. It means more to America. But her real world importance is its archaeological heritage with its bearing on the formation of European civilization. Irish archaeology is the only thing, which can give us a status in European learning. It can be made the pivot stone by which to raise the whole standard of learned work in the country ... And if your heart sticks to Dublin I beg to say that you can achieve the same end with probably less expenditure and with more conspicuous results if you support the only branch of the Dublin Museum work which means something to the whole educated world, viz. Archaeology and Ethnology. We have to build up a comparative continental Celtic collection because we are the only Celtic state in which Celtic art survived. Our ethnography has barely been touched.

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[9] Mahr to Bender, 21 August 1932, p. 3-6: Bender Archive, Mills College. Partly published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No.1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Liberties Press, 2007, p. 43. Also partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 182.

Hundreds of sites have got to be excavated ... You can build up either an 'Augusta Bender Archaeological Library' or an 'Augusta Bender Room' of archaeological finds, by, say, supporting crannog excavations; you can get a little body of trustees formed, who could administer a fund, which could be called 'Augusta Bender Foundation for Irish Archaeology' and to which other supporters, Irishmen, etc. could subscribe.

It would appear to me that such a scheme would be of more direct and also of more lasting effect in view of the fact, that 'charity begins at home' and that the very problems which the Dublin museum should help to solve are in Ireland and not in China. Irish archaeology and all connected branches of learning will always be the main feature of our museum. Far Eastern Art cannot, be it for no other reason than the relative poverty of the country'.[10]

Mahr follows this plea by apologising for the lengthy and 'incongruous' nature of his letter. Bender responds 'unofficially' (see below) to Mahr's ardent questioning of his choice of patronage. As a proud Irish-American with no formal university education (like many of his compatriots at that time) he thought it best to sidestep the ramblings of an Austrian academic who implied (perhaps innocently) a certain amount of derision when describing the state of intellectual Irish life in the 1930s. This must have panicked Mahr, as in his unofficial letter to Bender on 22 October he attempts to make amends: 'I feared that you may have misunderstood the amount of appreciation which is actually felt by the people who understand art and museum work in the country (no matter now limited their number is; all pioneer work appeals in the

[10] Mahr to Bender, 21August 1932, p. 7-8: Bender Archive, Mills College. Partly published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*.Liberties Press, 2007, p. 42-43. Also partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 183.

beginnings only to a minority); and I feared that you may take my views about archaeology and its support as an ill-concealed device to drain you systematically of means, by minimising the educational importance of the class of museum material in which you are obviously foremost interested. I know from hearsay, that Ireland has in the past so frequently and thoroughly appealed for help to America, using the money for political purposes, that I did not like at all the idea that my letter may have left you under the impression that a similar campaign was intended by me, even it be for a more useful purpose than the support of political movements or short-lived newspapers ...'.[11] Therefore, Mahr does not withdraw his point about the priority of Irish archaeology, and only apologises for the initial tone of his approach to Bender.

Indeed Bender's only reference to this ongoing debate of Far Eastern art versus Irish archaeology is incorporated into one sentence regarding the positive public interest that might ensue once the exhibition itself was open: 'When you open the room, according to your intention, there will perhaps be a better understanding of the artistic values of the pictures and other gifts'.[12] Bender's own political beliefs are rarely evident in his communications with Mahr, and it is to his credit that he remained unswayed in his conviction to donate Asian material to the National Museum. This begs the question why Bender inflicted his own enthusiasm on a country which had changed enormously since he left around 1878. He assumed that the tastes which prevailed in California along with that American state's cultural interests would be much the same in Ireland. Inversely, one might also interpret Mahr's initial reluctance to accept an Asian art collection as being outside the collections remit of the NMI post-Lithberg, but also to have had something to do with then current beliefs about the

[11] Mahr to Bender, 22 October 1932, p. 1: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[12] Bender to Mahr, 10 November 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.

Celtic origins of European civilisation. During the 1930s prevailing academic theory in German-speaking countries focused on the superiority of Celtic civilisation in contrast to what was viewed as the relative primitivism of Oriental culture and society, manifest in the ideologies surrounding the 1938 Nazi-sponsored expedition into Tibet led by Ernst Schaefer and Bruno Beger and ordered by the SS chief, Heinrich Himmler.[13]

Bender, however, continued to send gifts to the Mahr family.[14] Interspersed in Mahr's correspondence with Bender are more official references to the work at hand, as in the visit of the Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Dr. Maclagan (Sir Eric Maclagan)[15] on 30 November and 1 December 1932 'who inspected the collections very carefully and who expressed high admiration for the tapestries [i.e. Thangkas]. He also approved of the form of display on stands and the final arrangement will be based on similar principles'.[16]

In an undated, handwritten letter, Bender responded to Mahr's comments of 21 August 1932: 'There can be no doubt, all things considered, that the museum is in no position to build up an Oriental Collection of magnitude, diversity and importance; in fact it is very plain that such gifts as I have made are somewhat in advance of its capacity to handle with adequate regard to their quality. I had hoped that out of my own collections I could take such specimens as would add to the attraction of the

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[13] Hale, Christopher: *Himmler's Crusade: The True Story of the 1938 Nazi Expedition Into Tibet*, Bantam Press, 2003.
[14] Mahr to Bender, 2 December 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College. Reference is made to Christmas presents for Mrs. Mahr.
[15] 'Although he did not publish a great deal, and was an assiduous committee man, it is clear that his inclination lay towards scholarship, and it was natural that the V & A should incline that way too during his directorship': Burton, Anthony: *Vision & Accident: The story of the Victoria and Albert Museum*. V & A Publications, 1999, p. 178.
[16] Mahr to Bender, 2 December 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.

exhibit. It is to be regretted that this, like many other dreams, cannot be realized under existing conditions – I would prefer if the suggestion meets with your approval, that all gifts to date should be retained in the far future something more may be done!'[17] That Bender persevered in adding to his donations to the National Collection despite such apparent misgivings as to the quality of their care is remarkable, and shows great ambition in what was in his view the most appropriate means to honour his mother's life. At one point during the course of this letter Bender also refers to the Japanese prints, which had been specifically chosen for dispatch to Dublin: 'For several reasons, chiefly ethical, it would not be right to return the Japanese prints – I had ordered them for a definite purpose & could not think of causing inconvenience & embarrassment to the dealer [T.Z. Shiota] after so much consideration & care on my behalf'.[18] Regarding Mahr's rather opportunistic appeal to Bender that he instead patronise an archaeological library in his mother's memory, the following characteristic frank and honest rebuttal is given: 'Archaeology is a study I have almost yearned for, but my lot has been cash in a different direction. The mechanics of earning a living plus many artistic, cultural and philanthropic problems have absorbed all my vitality and time .. The fact is that we in this country, like you in Europe, are in the midst of the worst financial depression in our experience ... It takes all my work & means to maintain the standards of old & I can go no further. All I can send you is a small personal contribution as evidence of appreciation & good will .... I am keeping your letter carefully for future reference & you can rely on me to count it as personal and confidential – I regret that I have shot my bolt. The Oriental gifts & c. have exhausted my treasury'.[19] It is hardly surprising that Mahr quickly wrote the above reply on 22 October, as Bender had in a professional and courteous manner

[17] Bender to Mahr, late 1932. Mahr papers, Director's Archive, National Museum of Ireland, p. 1-2.
[18] Ibid, p. 3.
[19] Ibid, p. 6-8.

lead Mahr to regret his unethical and rather personal approach in attempting to divert Bender's artistic objectives. Mahr's hasty response may have had also much to do with Bender's Dublin acquaintances who may have been appalled or at least surprised by such behaviour from a museum keeper despite the institution's collections policy favouring Irish material culture only.

The most telling piece of correspondence to emerge from Bender to Mahr concerns anti-Semitism in Germany and growing fascism in Europe. It is the first and only time Bender's own political ideology is expressed, and Mahr's subsequent reaction is reckless. Bender states in a letter dated 5 April 1933: ' ... there is something wrong with the world. These are days of chaos and the reversion of an enlightened nation like Germany to 14th Century barbarism is so atrocious that one loses confidence in the progress of the human race. Such conduct on the part of Germany is turning the hands of the clock backward for four or five hundred years'.[20] Mahr's reply (28 April) is considerable in extent and begins by thanking Bender for having sent foreign stamps as a gift for his son. It is worth quoting at length to illustrate how remarkable Bender was in continuing his series of donations to the National collection in light of such scathing anti-Semitism and a personal attack: 'I am conscious of my German nationality [even though he was Austrian] as you certainly are of your bonds of allegiance and if I look at the different territories which I know rather well, territories inhabited by some 16 million of Germans who are today subject to Czech, Polish, & c., rule under the terms of the so-called peace treaties which were announced as the final re-adjustment of the 'crimes' committed by the Central Powers, you will perhaps

[20] Bender to Mahr, 5 April 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College. Partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 172.

understand that I am thin-skinned and that we cannot well be expected to swallow contemptive terms in addition to the mistreatment which was meted out to us.

I had sincerely hoped that the quarrel between the present German government and Jewry would not have entered our correspondence. I have never alluded to the fact that, after all, there was a thing called the Balfour declaration (1916) [The Balfour Declaration was actually made in 1917] by which international Jewry was enlistened to support the anti-German cause and I have never alluded to the fact that the Germans have a very great grievance against America in the question of the 'fourteen points' which were most flagrantly turned into their very opposite without scruples of conscience.

But you are not Mr. Wilson or Mr. Trotsky and I am not Mr. Hitler, - why can we not discuss more pleasant things in which we both take a common and purely human interest?

The Irish have filled the whole world for several centuries with their grievances. Could anybody expect that a people, twenty times as numerous, would silently rot away in misery and humiliation in order as not to disturb the equanimity of the powers and people that are responsible for the 1919 'treaties' that were offered at the point of the sword after a most inhuman blockade which was carried on for half-a-year after armistice and which put hundreds of thousands of children, old people, & c., & c., to death?

If there be anything wrong in Germany the main responsibility rests with the powers which promised they would bring about the golden era and which have only

succeeded in plunging the world in a latent war, infinitely worse than the late war, not to speak of the threats of the underworld'.[21]

It is the opinion of the present writer that Mahr's behaviour towards Bender at this juncture would amount to grounds for dismissal today. By his political zeal and what he thought to be a personal affront Mahr risked all donations by Bender both prior to and after April 1933. Indeed Bender would have been completely within his rights as a museum benefactor to report Mahr to the Department of Education or to the Irish consulate in California. Little wonder that 'Mahr was closely watched by G2 [Irish military intelligence] whose head, Dan Bryan, wrote in retrospect in December 1945 that Mahr 'was an open and blatant Nazi and made every effort to convert Irish graduates and other persons with whom he had association, to Nazi doctrines and beliefs'.[22] It is indicative of what must have been skilful diplomacy on Bender's part that he apologised to Mahr rather than the reverse. He wrote to Mahr on 12 May: 'It was a great surprise to me and yet when I consider it I really concede your right to consciousness of German nationality, as well as my own right to an opinion on anything relating to Governmental affairs in this chaotic world of ours. The truth is that I was unconscious of the fact that I was writing to a gentleman of foreign origin, but it must be clear to you that I had no wish to interpolate into our friendly correspondence any subjects of controversy. There is no need for it. At the worst it was a slip of the pen, as one might say, on my part for which I wish to tender you herewith my sincere apology. It should be remembered that there is not the slightest intent to wound there can be no real grievance. You are quite right in saying that the

[21] Mahr to Bender, 28 April 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College. Partly published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Liberties Press, 2007, p. 48-49. Also partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 172-173.
[22] Keogh, Dermot: *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*. Cork University Press, 1998, p. 106.

world is full of injustices and no nation is exactly in a position to assume a spot-white mantle'.[23] Bender's accommodating approach towards Mahr may be seen as a microcosm of what would happen in world politics later, i.e. Appeasement as enshrined in the Anglo-German Declaration of 1938. Bender's magnanimous and humane nature is all the more apparent when one considers perhaps his truer feelings regarding the Irish and the Jewish people from a statement by his cousin, the artist, Anne Bremer to him in 1921: '3000 A.D. Bernard Shaw from [il.] to Milthusalah [Methuselah] ''They left for England .... no Irishman ever again confessed of being Irish and the Irish vanished from human knowledge. And the dispersed Jews did the same lest they should be sent back to Palestine – Since the world bereft of its Jews and Irish, has been a ... chill place!!! Isn't that delicious?'[24] Such communication between cousins regarding nationality and ethnicity, not to mention the fact that Bender held annual St. Patrick's Day parties for close friends (see Appendix, p. 285) illustrates how these two areas in his background (nationality and religion) were of crucial significance to his sense of identity.

Yet Mahr persisted in his reckless abandonment of correct professional rhetoric when dealing with a museum benefactor, by reiterating Nazi-like doctrine concerning Germany's treatment internationally after World War I: 'the cruelty with which the French have tried to annihilate Germany, under the connivance of most other nations; the world-wide atrocities propaganda, the political dismemberment of nearly all frontiers; the breach of the fourteen points promises; the moral humiliation crowned

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[23] Bender to Mahr, 12 May 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College. Published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Liberties Press, 2007, p. 50. Also partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 173.

[24] Anne Bremer to Albert Bender, 26 May 1921. Albert M. Bender Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington D.C. and Mills College.

by the enforced war-guilt onus; impoverishment, unemployment and the communist threats have created a frame of mind which is completely different from what Germany once was'.[25] Indeed one may even describe Mahr's writing here as somewhat marked by hysteria. However, he does return to more professional matters for the majority of the letter, adding at the end that the President of the Royal Hibernian Academy, Dermod O'Brien[26], will draw the lettering for the memorial tablet, 'which I dare say must be bronze'.[27]

The relationship between both men fully recovers, and it is quite telling how Mahr's envisaged layout of the Memorial Room actually dictates the object types donated by Bender after 10 July 1933. For example, Mahr states: 'I wish to point out to you that owing to the finality of arrangements, which I had to arrive at during the last two months with a view to getting the room in ship shape so that the workmen and other workers could proceed, big exhibits, brocades, etc., would overthrow, to a certain extent, the arrangement, and, therefore, only small articles like netsuke, etc., or wood block prints, can fit easily into the arrangement which has now reached a certain degree of stabilisation and which I cannot want to change in detail until the whole room is ready. What I mean to convey is that the arrangement of the exhibits has to be dictated by the taller objects. They have now been given their final habitats and it would be rather difficult to make any more changes. On the other hand, there are the glass cases which are not really full and into which more material can easily be put.

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[25] Mahr to Bender, 4 June 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College. Published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Liberties Press, 2007, p. 51. Also partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 173.

[26] Snoddy, Theo: *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, Wolfhound Press, Second Edition, 2002. Dermod O' Brien (1865-1945), painter, was born at Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick, grandson of William Smith O'Brien. He was elected president of the RHA in 1910, remaining in that position until his death in 1945.

[27] Mahr to Bender, 4 June 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.

The same applies to the sliding frames containing wood block prints'.[28] In response by 21 July Bender had donated a further thirty-two wood block prints, followed by the donations of 25 July of netsuke, door knockers, circular mats, belt and hair bars (all small objects). These artefacts were joined at the end of the month by the medium-sized Tang Dynasty figure on horseback, Han Dynasty vase and six objects of pewter.

In terms of display the National Museum was to gain an expansion in exhibition area via the Viceregal Lodge Scheme[29] (see Appendix). The Mills College Albert M. Bender Archive reveals a more intimate account by Mahr of his plans for what is now Aras an Uachtarain: 'The Viceregal Lodge has been given to the Museum for extension. This is a most important event in the whole history of the Museum. The Lodge, and its wonderful garden, have been earmarked as the future museum city and to it two thirds of the contents of the present building will be removed with greater or lesser speed, amongst them the Chinese, Japanese, Burmese and Indian Collections. The Lodge will afford good accommodation for this section (and many others), and I will select the best room I can find for the Memorial Room'.[30] This scheme did not come about and one can surmise that the passing by referendum in 1937 of Bunreacht na hEireann (the Irish constitution) and the subsequent election of Douglas Hyde as Ireland's first president, meant the necessary retention of the Phoenix Park building for official residential purposes by the government. Indeed it was only with the opening of Collins Barracks as the new headquarters of the National Museum in 1997 that the scheme, which Mahr had been led to believe would proceed in 1934 was finally realised.

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[28] Mahr to Bender, 10 July 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[29] National Archives of Ireland files S10938A, Dept. of the Taoiseach and 238/223, Dept. of Foreign Affairs.
[30] Mahr to Bender, 24 February 1934: Bender Archive, Mills College.

Further evidence that the 'friendship' between Bender and Mahr had reached an all-time high level of cordiality and respect is perhaps best illustrated in two instances when Mahr appears to ask for Bender's assistance concerning the employment of fellow academics. The first comes in September 1935 when Mahr mentions the anthropologists Fiocher[31] and Paul Kirchhoff: 'these two men were introduced to me by Dr. [Charles] Seligman in London, the well-known Africanist who knows me in a mild way. They came in 1933 and 1934, as political refugees to London and as they are both trained workers in Anthropological museum matters they turned to him. (Dr. Seligman is on the Committee for the help of Emigrants) [Society for the Protection of Science and Learning]. Both of them came to Ireland and produced letters of introduction'.[32] One is not sure if Mahr means to inquire of Bender as to suitable employment for Fiocher and Kirchhoff in the United States, or is merely relaying the facts of their coming to Ireland. Yet what emerges is subtle anti-Communist and anti-Semitic opinion by Mahr, which is suppressed in the greater effort of attempting to seek employment for the two men. It is an example of the rather complex personality that appears to be Adolf Mahr: 'I have, naturally, pity with them although it cannot be said that they actually lost any job. I doubt whether any of them needed actually [to] emigrate. As to Mr. Fiocher, I am not sure whether he is a jew. Dr. Kirchhoff certainly is not. They are probably only intellectual sympathisers with Communism and I did not look upon them as politicians or refugees but as poor jobless people who could do a useful piece of work, relieving thus the strain of discomfort. A scientific worker who does not find engagement gets my sympathy whoever he may be and I

[31] Despite the writer's best efforts, it has been impossible to discover the full (first) name of this anthropologist.
[32] Mahr to Bender, 18 September 1935 (on museum-headed paper): Bender Archive, Mills College.

think you will approve of my action'.[33] There is no evidence in the Mills College papers as to what was the outcome of this appeal by Mahr to Bender.

The second example of Mahr imploring Bender for help regards the employment of a fellow Austrian archaeologist who happened to be Jewish, and again is evidence of Mahr putting aside his own apparent political and ideological beliefs due to an old acquaintance. The individual in question is Dr. Alphons Barb of Eisenstadt, Burgenland and Mahr writes to Bender explaining how Barb has been left unemployed by the recent annexation of Austria within the German orbit. Perhaps surprisingly, the letter is typed on official museum-headed paper. In asking Bender to help secure Barb employment in America he provides the following background information: 'Dr. Barb started as a goldsmith's apprentice and then turned to classical and prehistoric archaeology, and took his degree finally in classical archaeology. This is now many years ago since then he has become a truly encyclopaedic worker ... He married in about 1930 (a Hungarian Jewess) and has two children. Recent developments all over Europe preclude any possibility of finding for him a position anywhere in Europe. I have tried very hard in many countries to find some position for him, and all efforts were in vain'.[34] Mahr's description of Barb's background concurs with his entry in the 'International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945' in which he is mentioned as a 'jeweller and goldsmith; concurr. studied archaeol, Univ. Vienna; 1925 Dr. phil. Assist. at Numismatics Inst.,

[33] Mahr to Bender, 18 September 1935: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[34] Mahr to Bender, 11 October 1938: Bender Archive, Mills College. Published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Liberties Press, 2007, p. 80. Also partly published in Wallace, Patrick F: 'An Error of Judgment: Rescuing Adolf Mahr's Contribution to the National Museum of Ireland' in Dungan, Myles: *Speaking Ill of the Dead*, New Island, 2007, p. 174.

Univ. Vienna. 1926-38 est. and dir., Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum, Eisenstadt'.[35] In addition to Mahr writing to Bender regarding Alphons Barb, he also contacted Dr. Redcliffe N. Salaman [who was Charles Seligman's brother-in-law], on 14 November 1938 regarding the matter. According to the Papers of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning Mahr explains to Salaman that he had helped Barb set up a completely new museum in Eisenstadt, Burgenland, a former Hungarian territory. Mahr describes how he remained in contact with Barb until pressure of work intervened. Mahr goes on in this letter to Salaman to state he has new copies of Barb's curriculum vitae and list of publications enclosed, and stresses that there 'is no scientific future for him in Germany'. Mahr ends this appeal to Salaman with the following: Barb will take anything even 'bodily work' (manual work).[36] Adolf Mahr also appealed to the general secretary of the SPSL on 16 November 1938 when he wrote that Barb is 'an excellent worker whom I would like to see in a position to make a fresh start'.[37] Accordig to the SPSL Papers Barb eventually arrived in England on 17 March 1939 having been told by the Gestapo to leave the Reich by the end of January 1939. In England Alphons Barb received various forms of financial support, but most of it came from or via ESG (Edward Stanley Gotch) Robinson of the British Museum's Coins and Medals Department. Robinson helped him undertake research work at the BM.[38] Mahr does appear to be helpful to Barb regarding employment as in September 1939, Barb wrote to Miss Searle of the SPSL stating that he was pleased to have the opportunity to earn some money in the next few weeks: 'Prof. Dr. Hugh O'Neill Hencken [who had earlier been part of the Harvard Expedition archaeological

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[35] *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945, Vol. II/Part 1:A-K: The Arts, Science, and Literature*. General Editors – Herbert Strauss, New York – Werner Roder, Munchen, K.G. Sauv, Munich. N.Y., London, Paris, 1983.
[36] Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL), 1933-87, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS 180/1, fols. 55-57.
[37] SPSL, 1933-87, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS 180/1, fol. 59.
[38] ibid, MS 180/1, memo of 27 July 1939, fol. 140.

team in Ireland], curator of European Archaeology at the Peabody Museum, Harvard ... told me, following advice given to him by the Director of the Irish National Museum in Dublin, that he would be glad if I would help him put together a bibliography about late Iron Age (Hallstattzeit) in Central and South East Euope...' for £4 a week.[39]

In addition Mahr includes in his letter to Bender the fact that Barb also carries with him references by such eminent scholars as the former Prime Minister of Poland and Prof. of Prehistory in Lwow, Kozlowski, Hawkes of the British Museum and Prof. Jacobsthal of Oxford.

A month later Mahr wrote again to Bender asking for advice regarding an affidavit in order to gain entry for Barb into the United States: 'I take it that the underwriter of an affidavit is called upon to support him (plus family). Hence, I simply beg to ask you (as you probably know all about it) what this affidavit really means in brass tacks and commitments, so that I know whether I can take the liberty to approach, say, the Harvard Mission or any other people in the United States of which there are about three or four whom I could approach with a clear conscience, provided I do not ask them to enter into any liability'.[40] Interestingly, this letter to Bender quotes a letter from Barb to Mahr, the opening paragraph of which mentions Barb having also approached the Fianna Fail T.D. and man of Jewish faith, Robert Briscoe, as someone Mahr had suggested as a point of contact in Ireland. Indeed, Dermot Keogh has described Briscoe as having been 'an unofficial emissary for the [Jewish]

[39] ibid, MS 180/1, 2 June 1939, fols. 118-9.
[40] Mahr to Bender, 22 November 1938: Bender Archive, Mills College.

community'.[41] Ironically only seven months earlier Robert Briscoe had written the following to the Minister for Justice, Patrick Ruttledge concerning the retention of an Irish visa for the Polish rabbi, Rabbi Israel Frankel, when it became obvious that the ministry would not be able to assist: 'Might I respectfully point out that ... our Director of the Museum [Adolf Mahr] is an Austrian whose allegiance is firstly to Mr. Hitler who recently honoured him in his Birthday Honours for his services not to Ireland but Germany'.[42] According to Adolf Mahr's biographer, Gerry Mullins, Barb eventually 'escaped Austria for Leeds with Bender's assistance. Mahr's family insists he helped many Jews escape the Nazis. They say his brand of Nazism was a nationalistic one and he had little interest in oppressing the Jews'.[43] This is not wholly accurate, but Mahr does appear in this instance to have helped in a minor way to save the life of a Jewish academic.

In summing up the increased warmth of friendship experienced by Bender and Mahr, there is perhaps no greater example than the gifts exchanged between them. Indeed one forms the impression that Mahr was somewhat embarrassed by these personal gifts to his family from Albert Bender when he writes in November 1933: 'But you should really not go to all this trouble. Kindly remember that I am doing nothing else but what is my most obvious duty and that you put me under an ever increasing debt of obligation which I can never reciprocate'.[44] At the end of this piece of correspondence Mahr mentions that he is enclosing a Raphael Mengs drawing by way of thanking Bender. This ever increasing familiarity between the two men culminates in 1934 (one month prior to the official opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial

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[41] Keogh, Dermot: *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, Cork University Press, 1998, p. 165.
[42] Briscoe, Robert, T.D. to Ruttledge, Patrick, 22 April 1938 in Keogh, Dermot: *Jews in Twentieth-Century Ireland*, Cork University Press, 1998, p. 126.
[43] Mullins, Gerry: *The Irish Times*, 19 September 2000, p. 13.
[44] Mahr to Bender (handwritten), 27 November 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.

Room) when Mahr explains how he cannot accept a gift from an ethical point of view: 'I also found the piece of textile which you so very kindly sent for Mrs. Mahr. Unfortunately I can't accept it. Prof. O'Brien had left it with your dedication card with my Deputy and the latter of course, opened the parcel, read the card, & c. You will understand I am sure, that I have got to be very careful. My deputy looks upon me as a usurper of what he thinks should have been his job (he was passed over when the keepership fell vacant). Dublin is a rather delicate ground to walk on and I do not like to expose myself to hostile gossip (which would inevitably be spread out) that I accept private gifts for Museum work'.[45] This is the first time that Mahr acknowledges a possible conflict of interest in his relationship with Bender, and further evidence exists that gifts persisted. For example, in a letter headed '37 Waterloo Place' (the Mahr family home), Mahr writes to Bender thanking him for the gift of a kimono.[46] This appears to have been a standard gift type from Bender as in August 1933 he sent a 'coat' to Frida Kahlo and in July 1935 a 'Chinese dressing gown' to Diego Rivera.[47]

The last letter received by Bender from Mahr in his capacity as Director of the National Museum of Ireland is dated 1 February 1939. It is a courtesy copy of an introductory letter about Bender to Séamus O Duilearga, Director of the Irish Folklore Commission: 'I hear you are going for a long tour of lecturing to the United States and I beg to draw your attention to the fact that we have a friend there whom you should not miss meeting if you happen to go also to the Pacific coast of America'.[48] The last personal rather than professional communication between Bender and Mahr

[45] Mahr to Bender (handwritten), 29 May 1934: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[46] Mahr to Bender, 19 June 1936: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[47] Frieda Kahlo to Albert Bender, 15 July 1935 and Kahlo to Bender, 30 August 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[48] Mahr to S. O'Duilearga, 1 February 1939: Bender Archive, Mills College.

occurs in December 1939. It is a postcard from Mahr postmarked 'Deutches Reich' in which he wishes Bender a 'Happy New Year' and good health. He also explains how he 'was caught on leave and could not return' to the Museum.[49] According to Gerry Mullins and David O'Donoghue: 'Mahr left to escape pressure from Irish military intelligence, and to attend a Nazi rally in Nuremburg. Mahr insisted he was in Germany to attend an international archaeology conference, and that the outbreak of war made it unsafe to return'.[50] Whatever the reality, Mahr never again returned to Ireland, and during the Second World War broadcast to Ireland a nightly propaganda series from Germany. It is truly remarkable how the most significant donations of Asian applied arts ever to be given to the National collection occurred under the circumstances and differing political ideologies outlined above. What is certain, however, is that despite the odds a cordial relationship developed between the Nazi director of a cultural institution and his Jewish benefactor. The credit for continued donations must lie with Albert Bender himself – it was his dogged determination in the midst of official discouragement, which eventually led to the instigation of the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art'. Despite attempts to redirect his collecting preferences and academic allegiance, Bender remained visionary in wanting a permanent memorial to a beloved mother. This may have been mainly due to Albert Bender's awareness of the posterity aspects to donation. That is, long after his death his collections would remain intact. At the time Bender donated his collections there was no such thing as deaccession policies in museums. Certainly in the case of Asian art donated to the NMI deaccession did not occur, but as has been seen his Asian art donations to museums in California were not quite so protected from deaccession in later decades.

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[49] Mahr to Bender, 29 December 1939: Bender Archive, Mills College. Published in Mullins, Gerry: *Dublin Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Liberties Press, 2007, p. 103.
[50] Mullins, Gerry: *The Irish Times*, 19 September 2000, p. 13.



Plate 114. Eamon DeValera opening the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art, National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, 25 June 1934. © National Museum of Ireland.



Plate 115. Eamon DeValera opening the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art, National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, 25 June 1934. © National Museum of Ireland.



Plate 116. The Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art, National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, 1934. © National Museum of Ireland.

Chapter V: Albert Bender's Irish Contacts

This chapter examines Albert Bender's contacts with Irish intellectuals from the 1920s up to his death in 1941. Figures such as W.B. Yeats, AE and Walter Starkie played central roles in the Celtic Revival and the Irish literary renaissance of the early twentieth century. The correspondence between Bender and these intellectuals meant that he was kept well informed of contemporary events in Irish politics and the arts. The Kathleen O'Brennan correspondence for instance contains important references to the ongoing Civil War. Perhaps Bender's awareness of the emerging Independent state may have helped him to decide that a donation to an Irish cultural institution was an appropriate way to acknowledge Ireland's new found political status. Both Walter Starkie and AE in particular would have known of and encouraged Bender's wish to donate the initial acquisition of the twenty-one Thangka paintings of the Arhats of Buddha. Thanks to their enthusiasm this initial donation did take place. Another individual who was in contact with Albert Bender was the artist Jack B. Yeats, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter. In his correspondence with Jack B. Yeats, Bender communicated with his only significant non-literary Irish friend.

Walter Starkie

As mentioned in Chapter I, Walter Starkie was Professor of Spanish in Trinity College Dublin. He was also a director of the Abbey Theatre, and appears from the correspondence in Mills College to have formed a friendship with Albert Bender while on a lecture tour of the United States. Starkie was the individual chosen by Bender to initiate his gift of the twenty-one Thangka paintings to the National collection. According to Clair Wills, Starkie was 'a complex character' who had met Mussolini in Italy, and was greatly impressed: 'becoming a kind of unofficial Italian

spokesperson in Ireland'.[1] Perhaps unbeknownst to Bender, Starkie's work of the 1930s drew on the economic and social parallels between Ireland, Italy and Spain. Starkie was in effect a strong supporter of fascist doctrines, and even contributed an article to the International Fascist Organisation's 'Survey of Fascism Year Book', entitled 'Whither is Ireland Heading – Is It Fascism? Thoughts on the Irish Free State'.

The first mention of Bender's intention comes in a letter from Starkie to Bender dated 14 September 1930 and addressed from 125 East 63rd Street, New York: 'I shall see the Curator of the National Gallery when I get back to Dublin'.[2] This initial decision to donate to the National Gallery was subsequently changed by 25 November and was primarily made by the Director of the National Gallery, Thomas Bodkin. Starkie writes: 'The Director of the National Gallery told me that the Gallery would not be suitable for your donation and that it would be better to have them given to the National Museum. The Curator of the National Museum [Adolf Mahr] has been away on vacation but when he comes back I shall take up the matter with him. I have also spoken to the Minister of Education for he is one of the powers in the Museum'.[3] Yet there seems to have been a delay in the delivery of Starkie's letter to Bender, and the latter appears worried when he reiterates his intention to gift the Thangkas: 'I take it for granted that you have been very busy with your own affairs and it is very likely that the mission I entrusted to you is more difficult than anticipated'.[4] Realising the transatlantic delay in communication, Starkie is quick to respond, and provides an

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[1] Wills, Clair: *That Neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War*. Faber and Faber, 2007, p. 347.
[2] Starkie to Bender, 14 September 1930: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[3] Starkie to Bender (on Abbey Theatre headed paper), 25 November 1930: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[4] Bender to Starkie, 25 November 1930: Bender Archive, Mills College.

interesting aside as to the reason why the Tibetan acquisition was not accepted by the National Gallery: 'as the Director told me, it is devoted to the pictures of countries such as Italy, France, Holland, Spain, England, etc. I think the ideal place would be the National Museum with its great traditions in the country'.[5] This unexplained remark perhaps refers to the cultural nationalistic side of the Museum's role, along with other arts bodies such as the Abbey Theatre, in the promulgation of Gaelic Irish culture as evidenced in the country's material remains. Realising Bender's patriotism, Starkie may have felt compelled to approach the Museum as being more emblematic of the national rather than international record. Interestingly, there is no mention made of the more logical argument of fine art versus applied art, into which the Thangka paintings by their actual physical make up fall.

Starkie wrote a congratulatory letter to Bender once the Thangkas arrived. It is, however, undated, but one can presume it was written in January 1932: 'I must write to you because I have just seen your wonderful Tibetan pictures and I wish to tell you that this gift you have given Ireland is a great profusion of your love for your country. I have just seen the Curator of Antiquities Dr. Mahr who is most enthusiastic. He showed me the room where your pictures will be placed. I think that room will be most suitable though you must know that no place is ideal in the Gallery because everything is so crowded together and the light is not very good. However your pictures will look very good on the walls and they take up nearly the whole room. The next acquisition will be the framing and I hope the authorities will put them in suitable cases'.[6] Therefore, from these informal comments made to a friend, it seems that Walter Starkie would have had input into the exhibition arrangement as was also

[5] Starkie to Bender, 8 December 1930: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[6] Starkie to Bender, Botanic House, Lansdowne Road (undated): Bender Archive, Mills College.

exemplified in the sheer quantity of correspondence that later passed between Mahr and Bender on the same issue.

The next reference to the Thangkas is found in a letter to Bender from Starkie: 'The collection of the beautiful Tibetan paintings looms wonderful in the Museum: the curator Dr. Mahr is very proud of it and soon will be opened to the public!'[7] Starkie obviously took the matter of their Museum accession very seriously, and was kept well informed by Mahr of developments as they unfolded. Indeed while the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art was being established through subsequent donations before the official opening in June 1934, Starkie continued to pay visits to the Museum in order to inspect progress: 'I went the other day to see your Tibetan paintings in the Museum and they look splendid'.[8] The level of trust was so great between Starkie and Bender, that Bender also requested Starkie's assistance when initiating the gift of rare American printed books to Trinity College in memory of his father, Rabbi Philip Bender: 'by to-day's mail I received a printed certificate from the University of Dublin in acknowledgement of the last three packages of books. I have not heard from them in any other way and am taking it for granted that they are pleased and would like this little gift to be developed further. I know how busy librarians and professors are and am not looking for any special thanks for doing the thing I am pleased to do, but I do want to feel sure that the gifts are not unacceptable'.[9] Starkie was in effect Bender's contact in Ireland for his two important missions regarding donations to the country's premier national cultural institution and main university, and it is evident from the surviving correspondence that Starkie kept a watchful eye on both collections' subsequent display and accessibility. Indeed

[7] Starkie to Bender, 23 March (no year given): Bender Archive, Mills College.
[8] Starkie to Bender, 2 July 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[9] Bender to Starkie, 2 September 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.

Bender also sought Starkie's advice in ascertaining the quality of the Asian material he donated to the National Museum: 'I wrote to Dr. Mahr asking him to let you know when my other gifts to the Oriental museum reached him. I think you will find quite a few things of interest to you. I have tried to send only the best. Many of these things have come from my own collections and have been bought as far back as twenty years ago. The Lama priest robe is undoubtedly the finest I have ever seen, and this seems to be the opinion of all the dealers to whom I have shown it. Dr. Henry Hart, one of our best Orientalists, who visits China every year, told me that he had not come across anything like it'.[10] Importantly, Bender refers to having acquired many objects in his collection approximately two decades previously, which is a date that tallies with the dissolution of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). When this fact is associated with his purchase of the Lama priest robe [more accurately assigned to the Daoist religion], it corroborates the explanation given by Hart of it having come from a Tibetan-Buddhist temple in Peking.

Oliver St. John Gogarty

Another Irish correspondent of Albert Bender's was Oliver St. John Gogarty who, after a lecture tour of the United States in 1933 writes to thank Bender for inviting him to stay at his home while visiting Californian universities: 'My dear Albert, this short note is but a bare acknowledgement of my great gratitude for your great hospitality. To your large heartiness I am glad to be indebted and that is something I wanted to set down'.[11] St. John Gogarty (born, 1878) became one of Ireland's leading poets during the early 20th century, as well as being a surgeon, senator, playwright and author. A close friendship developed between him and Albert Bender whereby the

[10] Bender to Starkie, 2 September 1932: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[11] Gogarty to Bender, 3 November 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.

former could write in 1936 that 'Only the other day on a visit to Dr. Mahr, I passed by 'The Bender Collection' in The National Museum, and my heart remembered your hospitality when you collected, in San Francisco, the curio which is I! {That was four years ago, but the memory of it is very green; and so is my gratitude}Now comes your gift of the Kimono'.[12] As with the Mahr family, Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera and Italia and Walter Starkie, Bender's preferred method in order to express affection was through the presentation of Asian textiles. It is therefore unsurprising to read from Gogarty's correspondence with Bender, the former's comfort and ease in communicating on more intimate political issues: 'In a few weeks I expect that my prose book, AS I WAS GOING DOWN SACKVILLE STREET will be published by Rich and Cowan of Soho Sq. London. It is a cavalcade backwards of three decades of Irish life. Little admiration is won by the 1st two decades... But I have little praise for these our days of Freedom. Candidly the tide is running out from the loutish interpretation of Irish Culture, and the general feeling falls little short of a desire for Union again. This sounds rank heresy, but wait and see I am honest and I gain nothing by being so'.[13] As Gogarty had been a senator during the Cumann na nGaedheal government of 1922-32, it is perhaps somewhat predictable that during the middle of the first Fianna Fail-led administration there would be grave doubts concerning the social state of Irish life by a member of the opposition. In addition as a supporter of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1921, Gogarty is likely to have viewed DeValera's dismantling of its terms as undemocratic, despite huge popular support. His opinion on the state of the Irish economy and Fianna Fail's imposition of economic tariffs and protectionism are expressed in the following statement: 'The idea of making us self contained by separating us from our markets abroad is a quick lapse to bankruptcy.

[12] Gogarty to Bender, 7 February 1936, p. 1-2: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[13] Gogarty to Bender, 7 February 1936, p. 7: Bender Archive, Mills College.

And owes its conception to the mind of a failure, Connolly.... But it is a losing fight in proportion to the ratio of ignoramuses to enlightened: to the Haves and the Have-Nots. This is all I gained by being an unreflecting Nationalist'.[14] It is unclear how Bender felt on these political topics and indeed how well he knew what was going on. Yet it is fair to say that whichever administration happened to be in power was of little relevance to his overall aim in presenting his Far Eastern art collection for posterity to his native country. Indeed so friendly was the letter writing between Gogarty and Bender that one of the last pieces of correspondence by Gogarty contained the compliment: 'you who are the greatest humanitarian I have ever met'.[15] In the same letter reference is also made to Gogarty's original wish to dedicate his Malahide verses to Bender rather than to the writer Lynn Doyle.[16] However, from the evidence in the Bender Archive one cannot discover why Gogarty did not dedicate this publication to Albert Bender.

W.B. Yeats

Another Irish literary figure that Bender was in contact with on a regular basis was William Butler Yeats. It appears that as early as 1928, W.B. Yeats was sending copies of his poetry to Bender on request. For example Georgie Yeats (W.B. Yeats' wife) writes: 'We sent you a copy of 'The Lament for Art O'Leary' assuming that you would probably want it. Many thanks for sending cheque so promptly'.[17] Bender also took the liberty of dispatching books from the Californian presses, some of the same examples he later donated to Trinity College in memory of his father. In April 1923 W.B. Yeats wrote the following appreciative note: 'I am greatly obliged to you for

[14] Gogarty to Bender, 7 February 1936, p. 8-9: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[15] Gogarty to Bender, 11 September 1938: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[16] Gogarty to Bender, 11 September 1938: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[17] Georgie Yeats to Bender, September 1928: Bender Archive, Mills College.

sending me those two beautiful books, I had no idea that there was such a press in California [John Henry Nash] as that which has printed the Life of Dante, I wonder where they got the type. Apart even from the fine type and paper I am very glad indeed to have this book. I am rather given to establishing certain critical and psychological canons by reference to this very life, and as I have not hitherto possessed it that has meant occasional dreary journeys to some public library. The Villon is also a very charming book and contains favourite poems of mine. I have just put your Dante beside the Vale Press edition of Sir Thomas Browne. Again thanking you....'[18] So impressed with the quality of production in Californian presses was W.B. Yeats, that it seems Bender arranged for John Henry Nash to republish 'The Lake Isle of Inisfree': 'I was greeted with the pleasant news that through the efforts of Mrs. William Butler Yeats and Miss Yeats you had obtained permission for me to reprint THE LAKE ISLE OF INISFREE. You are well aware of my love for this exquisite sonnet and will understand how deeply I appreciate the privilege ... Will you not be good enough to convey to Mrs. Yeats and Miss Yeats my sincere appreciation of their efforts on my behalf and assure them of my gratitude... Allow me to add my personal thanks to you, my good friend, without whose kindly intercession I should not have been able to obtain this privilege...'[19] Nash had printed 'The Lake Isle of Inisfree' earlier, and contained in the archives of Mills College is a note to this effect: 'Facsimiles of the poem were inserted in the edition printed by John Henry Nash and presented by him to the members of the Class of 1924 at the time of their graduation from Mills College'.[20] Therefore, it is through the munificence of Albert Bender that Nash's work was introduced to Yeats, just as

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[18] W.B. Yeats to Bender, 24 April 1923: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[19] John Henry Nash to Bender, 4 September 1930: Bender Archive, Mills College and Archives of American Art, Washington D.C.
[20] Undated letter, W.B. Yeats to Albert Bender: Bender Archive, Mills College.

Oliver St. John Gogarty's artistic output may have been first introduced to Bender by Yeats. For example, Yeats writes to Bender in 1924: 'I have just given one of my copies of your book to Oliver Gogarty, author of 'An Offering of Swans''.[21] The Mills College papers do not reveal which book this happened to be.

Even though there is no evidence that Yeats and Bender ever met unlike Bender and Gogarty, the letters between the two men were however, cordial and somewhat familiar as Yeats greatly appreciated the books, which Bender presented to him: 'you wanted something of mine autographed to you personally. It is a vague phrase, but I think it means that I am to send you a book, which I will do with great pleasure for you have sent me finer pieces of printing than anything I can offer. I send you a copy of my 'Later Poems' which I happen to have beside me'.[22] Yeats then goes on to criticise the quality of printing produced by the publisher of his 'Later Poems', MacMillan Co., being a little embarrassed by the overall production in comparison to Californian printers known to Bender: 'MacMillans sent it that I might pass it for a new edition... and you have probably got it in the vile form in which it was issued by the Macmillan Co. in New York. That firm's covers are so atrocious that I never have the heart to look after the contents, not even the misprints. I forget their volumes as soon as they arrive'.[23]

Mention of the Augusta Bender Memorial Collection of Far Eastern Art is made by W.B. Yeats in an undated letter to Bender, but one can presume that it was probably written after 1932: 'Your bequest to the Museum in Kildare Street is exciting. I spent some time there during a brief recovery after my first attack of congestion of the

[21] W.B. Yeats to Bender, 18 May 1924: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[22] W.B. Yeats to Bender, 10 March 1931: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[23] Ibid.

lungs. I am thinking of your big pictures. They are very well placed'.[24] Bender apparently placed great pride in his acquaintance with Yeats as included in the Mills College archive is an article on the poet's death, which appeared in 'The Irish Times' on 3 February 1939, and a note from Georgie Yeats thanking Bender for sending a letter of condolence. Interestingly, she enclosed a photograph of Yeats as a keepsake of her husband: 'I wonder if you know this photograph of W.B.? it was 'snapped' by F.J. McCormack (of the Abbey Theatre) during a tea party at Lennox Robinson's house – WBY had retreated into the drawing room & sat there reading & had no idea that he was being photographed'.[25]

Elizabeth C. Yeats

Bender also corresponded with W.B. Yeats' sister, Elizabeth C. Yeats of the Cuala Industries, Lwr. Baggot Street, Dublin who was responsible for the hand-press section of the business. As with Starkie, Mahr and Kahlo he sent gifts of Chinese embroidery – 'I had just written to thank you for that rare & beautiful book, the Psalms when another parcel comes – the Chinese embroideries – Thank you so very much'.[26] Indeed similar to his dealings with Walter Starkie, Bender also entrusted Elizabeth Yeats with the regular task of purchasing books of Irish interest for his use (most likely Cluna publications), thereby showing the level of friendship that existed between them. Elizabeth writes in 1933: 'Very many thanks for your cheque to pay for future books – I enclose a receipt. The next book will be 'Pilgrimage'.[27] I enclose a few cards just in case you think of some friend who might like to … have one. I

[24] W.B. Yeats to Bender, 19 June _ (1932-39): Bender Archive, Mills College.
[25] Georgie Yeats to Bender, 19 June 1939: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[26] Elizabeth C. Yeats to Bender, 3 October 1930: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[27] Hone, J.M.: *Pilgrimage in the West*, Cuala Press, 1933.

know money is desperately scarce in America now'.[28] The fact that Elizabeth Yeats felt comfortable enough to refer to the Great Depression and any associated financial hardship experienced by Bender indicates an honest relationship. Further on during the course of this same letter, she also refers to Oliver St. John Gogarty's contemporaneous visit to San Francisco and asks Bender to send him her regards. One can assume that this close network of Irish intellectuals and Celtic Revivalists would have encouraged Bender's benevolence to the national collection, and his familiarity with the likes of W.B. Yeats, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Walter Starkie and Elizabeth Yeats is all the more crucial in gaining an insight into Bender's possible reasons for choosing Ireland as the repository of an Asian collection. Perhaps in an effort to illustrate her understanding of the 1930s international economic crisis, Elizabeth Yeats includes information in her letter on the state of the Cuala Industries profits: 'our sales .. Tariffs & all ... did better in 1932 (last year) than in the previous year – our sales were £340 – more in 1932 than in 1931 & this is a small business'.[29] She may also have written to him on such a topic as she was probably aware of his involvement in the Book Club of California. Therefore, Bender's relationship with Elizabeth C. Yeats was based on equality, and of far greater ease of expression than that which is evident from his correspondence with W.B. Yeats. This is particularly apparent in a letter from Elizabeth in March 1933 when she enquires as to his safety in the aftermath of the Los Angeles earthquake: 'I know of course that San Francisco is not actually in the danger zone, but you are near enough to feel the horror of the disaster acutely – I hope all is quiet now – no more tremors ... over a large area is not so big as one might expect – but that .... injury is very great'.[30]

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[28] Elizabeth C. Yeats to Bender, 24 February 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Elizabeth C. Yeats to Bender, 13 March 1933: Bender Archive, Mills College.

Ella Young:

According to Anna MacBride White, Ella Young originally came from a 'Northern Presbyterian Unionist background'[31], but after attending the Royal University (now University College Dublin), and joining George Russell's theosophists, her political sympathies became nationalist in outlook. The correspondence between Albert Bender and Ella Young is perhaps one of the most extensive between Bender and an Irish citizen, stretching over a fourteen year-period from 1927 to 1941. They first came in contact around the time Young began lecturing in Celtic mythology at the University of California, Berkeley. Interestingly the first archival reference in the Ella Young file from the Bender Archive at Mills College is headed 'City and County of San Francisco' and 'Playground Commission', and is an introduction/advertisement of Ella Young's academic background and lecturing capabilities: 'the San Francisco Playground Department and the International Institute, who bring Ella Young to San Francisco to give a series of two lectures ... She has published numerous books of fairy tales, folklore and of her own poetry. She has been one of the favourite lecturers of Ireland because she not only has a unique and intimate knowledge of Irish peoples and their tales, but is a brilliant story-teller gifted with a convincing interpretation'.[32] Almost immediately upon introduction to Bender, Ella Young refers to his art collecting in a letter dated 14 July 1927: 'It was a very great pleasure to talk of poetry in a room so full of rare and beautiful things'.[33] It is not long also until Bender is

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[31] McBride White, Anna: 'Maud Gonne (1866-1953) and Ella Young (1867-1956)' in Londraville, Janis & Richard (eds.) *John Quinn: Selected Irish Writers from His Library*, Locust Hill Press, West Cornwall, Connecticut, 2001, p. 140.
[32] Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California: Ella Young (1927-31) File 1.10.797A.
[33] Ella Young to Albert Bender. Headed 'Casa Madrona, California', 14 July 1927. Ella Young File 1.10.797A, Albert Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

sending her tokens of affection and friendship by way of Asian gifts, one such example evoking the following statement from Young: 'I love the delicate card with the bamboo. What artists the orientals are. I shall look often at this little masterpiece'.[34] It is, however, in Ella Young's efforts to remain working in the United States that the majority of their correspondence refers, the first such mention being undated, but headed 'c/o Col. E.S. Wood – The Cats': 'Now comes that important document from Mills College – all your doing! It will help very materially with my problem of coming into America under the quota. I am asking for only one more extension. I hope to get 13 months, but may only get 6. Anyhow I must leave America to manage to be admitted in the quota. Mills College would be a great help with that and when I see you I want to talk with you about it'.[35] Due to Bender's connection to Mills College and indeed to other artistic and literary institutions throughout the Bay Area, all avenues of maintaining Young's visa status in the United States were explored. Indeed by October 1930 Bender had managed to secure lecture dates for Ella Young at Mills College.[36] While Young was staying in nearby Berkeley at this time (c/o of Mr. and Mrs. Allen G. Freeman, Ridge Road, Berkeley) the idea of her going to Canada and thereafter returning to the U.S. was first mooted as an alternative to gaining a long-term visa: 'I have sufficient money to go to Canada and maintain myself but I am very doubtful as to my chance of returning. Could you possibly get some inside information as to what proper power President Hoover's verbal plan (?) will have. I rang up the Immigration Office, but could get no definite information ... I was told that all information would be given me by an American Consul in Canada. I shall have to satisfy the Canadian Immigration authorities if I wish to reside in

[34] Young to Bender: Halcyon, California, 1 January 1930. Ella Young File 1.10.797A , Albert Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[35] Young to Bender. Undated. Ella Young File 1.10.797A.
[36] Young to Bender: Halcyon, California, 8 October 1930. EllaYoung File 1.10.797A.

Canada ... meanwhile Professor Durham has offered me an engagement to speak at a meeting of his students, University of California on 19th Nov. – it is a pity as I may be in Canada by that time'.[37] These remarks by Young are evidence of the obvious difficulties she anticipated and which actually came to pass when she entered Canadian jurisdiction. What eventually followed was a highly organised effort on behalf of the Irish-American community in San Francisco to assist Young in regaining entry into the United States.

During Young's unexpected 'exile' in Canada, she wrote another textual aside to Bender on 1 January 1931, which again reiterates how his friends viewed what interested him most, i.e. Asian art and culture: 'From my window a snow-covered mountain in the Olympic range shows like Fuji with a foreground of rugged Douglas pines. It is like a Japanese print. I wish you could see how lovely it is'.[38] By 29 March Young, still awaiting re-entry onto American soil, informs Bender of another Chinese commercial outlet that she had happened upon: 'one dealer here has two large pottery Chinese kylins or Lion Dogs of Fo. They stand more than two feet high have quaint faces & curled manes whose [which are] brown & yellow & green. They are very old-looking and the dealer says they were of the Tang Period. He has a relation in China who picks up what he can & who forwarded these. They certainly look like what one sees in museums. He is asking $18 a piece for them which shows that they are not copies of anything: 'I would not pay to make a copy & ask only that much!'[39] By this time Young was now living with the Irish couple, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell in Victoria. Due to their apparent shared interests in Asia as seen in the correspondence between Bender and Young and Bender and O'Brennan (see below) that various hints and

[37] Young to Bender. Undated but late 1930. Ella Young file 1.10.797A, Mills College.
[38] Young to Bender, 'Roccabella, Quadra Street', 1 January 1931. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[39] Young to Bender, '3024 Carrol Street, Victoria BC', 29 March 1931. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.

comments can be found, which flesh out the understanding of Bender's enthusiastic patronage of the arts of east Asia and perhaps his plans to make donations to Dublin.

By April 1931 Ella Young was still being refused entry into the U.S., and it was then the matter was made public. In the Young file from the Bender Archive at Mills College an article from the 'Oakland Tribune', 5 April 1931 entitled 'At Locked Door: Irish Poetess Barred by U.S. – Government Deaf to Pleas of Financial Sponsors of Ella Young' significant mention is made of the protests of the Irish-American community, including Albert Bender against Young's retention on the Canadian border. The most noted aides in Young's defence were given by the 'Oakland Tribune' as Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood of Los Catos – 'noted Indian fighter, lawyer, author and philosopher', Senator Samuel Shortridge and Garret W. McEnerney, 'one of the most prominent members of the California bar, who has taken the lead in a determined fight to bring Miss Young into the United States'.[40] In order to bolster Ella Young's financial self-sufficiency and academic status, mention is made of her previous lecture tour of various states and appearances at Mills College and Vassar College.[41] The list of names, which appeared on the four affidavits issued on Young's behalf read like a 'who's who' of Californian society and are worth stating in full if only to illustrate the support Bender had been able to solicit in his friend's defence: 'Noel Sullivan, nephew of the late Senator James D. Phelan; Mortimore Fleishhacker, president of the Anglo-California Trust company; Bertram E. Alanson, president of the San Francisco Stock Exchange; J.W. Millard, Jr.; vice-president of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce; C.A. Craft, general agent of the Phoenix Assurance company; J. Blumlein, president of the Sussman-Wormser

[40] *Oakland Tribune*, 5 April 1931. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[41] Ibid.

company; R.S. Shainwald, president of the Paraffine Company; Albert M. Bender, vice-president of the San Francisco public library; Col. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, attorney and author; H.R. Burke, manager of the Royal Insurance company; J.A. Johnston, vice-president of the American Trust company; Walter A. Haas, president of the Levi Strauss company; J.G. Hooper, vice-president of the Crocker First Federal Trust company, and H.F. Mills, manager of the Aetna Insurance company'.[42] Apart from some apparent Irish surnames in the aforementioned list, the inclusion of Jewish support is also highly significant and again evidence of Bender's assistance in the matter. In a similar article from the 'L.A. Times' reference is made to the onset of the Great Depression as being the main reason behind the cut in immigration: 'the policy under which Miss Young was refused entrance was recently adopted in order to serve a double purpose. It was intended to meet the requirements of the economic depression and unemployment in this country by cutting down the number of immigrants. In this respect it has served successfully, immigration having been cut approximately 90 per cent below normal'.[43] It seems from these two articles that Ella Young was somewhat of a test case for the 1927 Immigration Act, hence the hard-line tactics of the consulate in Victoria. By 11 April Ella Young was granted a visa for entry into the United States in no small part due it would seem to the efforts of Albert Bender and others. She wrote the following good news from Victoria: 'Long before you get this letter you will know that I got the visa today .... You will hear it from Col. Wood & from Mr. McEnerney who had first wired from Washington. I can't tell

[42] Ibid.
[43] *L.A. Times*, 5 April 1931: 'Ella Young Case Reopened – Consul Ordered to Consider the Application Again – Irish Writer Still Trying to Get Into Country – Issue May Decide Validity of 1927 Immigration Act'. Ella Young File 1.10.797A.

you how much I prize this knowledge which my circle has brought me of the goodness & greatness of my friends'.[44]

One of the most interesting pieces of evidence to emerge from Bender's correspondence with Ella Young is the latter's mention of AE. (George Russell). This is surprising as in the aftermath of the Anglo-Irish Treaty 'Ella had been strongly anti-Treaty and because of this her friendship with George Russell came to an end'.[45] She wrote to Bender in June 1931 enclosing a letter from George Russell (not in relevant file at Mills College), which stated: 'I wonder if you would like it for your collection. It was written at the time when he was most a poet & mystic – most AE I know that you had some pleasant talks & times with him, so perhaps you will like to have this letter - if you don't care about it I would like to have it back'.[46] In a subsequent letter written five days later Young explains to Bender that the AE letter was written when 'he had just founded 'Homeward Songs by the Way' & was editing 'The Internationalist' a short-lived journal of the Dublin Theosophical Society'.[47] These inferences about a former friend illustrate how intimate the Irish (and more specifically) the Dublin circle of intellectuals was during the Irish Revolutionary period and its aftermath. As a result Bender, like the Irish-American East Coast-based patron and collector, John Quinn, knew all main players (though not necessarily in person) in both the Irish literary and art worlds. By 11 June 1931 Ella Young followed up her offer of the Russell letter with a photograph of the poet and adds a revealing intimation of her feeling regarding AE's political affiliation: 'Photos taken at the

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[44] Young to Bender, 11 April 1931. Headed '3024 Carrol Street, Victoria B.C.' Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[45] MacBride White, Anna: 'Maud Gonne (1866-1953) and Ella Young (1867-1956) in Londraville, Janis and Richard: *John Quinn: Selected Irish Writers From His Library*, Locust Hill Press, West Cornwall, Connecticut, 2001, p. 146.
[46] Young to Bender, 2 June 1931, headed 'Halcyon, California. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[47] Young to Bender, 6 June 1931, headed 'Halcyon, California. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.

present time are photos of George Russell the journalist & man of affairs, this is a photo of AE the mystic, & as mystic & poet'.[48]

After Young's sojourn in New Mexico when she met the Irish republican Ernie O'Malley[49] she writes on her return to Berkeley apologising for having missed his birthday celebrations the previous month. What followed is a bird's eye view of Bender's collecting preferences: 'In long years to come lovers of beauty will stand in front of the lovely Chinese figures or the strange Thibetan paintings or the beautiful books you have given to gladden their eyes & feel thankful that Albert Bender was born with a heart to think of such gifts'.[50] So enthralled was Young by the idea of Bender's gift-giving to cultural institutions both in America and Ireland that by December 1933 she wishes to be informed of his donations to the National Museum and even offers some Korean material of her own: 'I want to know more about the room you have in the Irish Museum. Are you leaving any Oriental porcelain or Oriental figures in it. I have some old Korean celadon which I would give you for that room if you liked to have them – one is a very fine covered bowl with incised pattern, another is old brown-red Korean'.[51] Needless to say there are no objects of Korean ceramic in the Albert Bender donations to the National Museum of Ireland. Indeed Bender, although probably flattered by such an offer, is unlikely to have acquired Asian art unless he had followed scrupulous advice from learned and experienced merchants such as Henry H. Hart and T.Z. Shiota. Another reference Young makes to

[48] Young to Bender, 11 June 1931, headed 'Halcyon, California', Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[49] Like Bender, Ernie O'Malley also received a sketchbook from Jack B. Yeats (see Chapter V) containing illustrations from the artist's first trip to the Aran Islands in 1899. According to Mary Cosgrove, O'Malley met 'the photographer Edward Weston and the poet Robinson Jeffers. In 1929 he settled for a time in New Mexico, staying in Taos with Helen Merriam Golden ... and visiting the Irish writer Ella Young': Taken from Cosgrove, Mary 'Ernie O'Malley: Art and Modernism in Ireland' in *Eire/Ireland*, Vol. 40: 3/4, Autumn/Winter 2005, p. 92.
[50] Young to Bender, 11 July 1933. Headed '29 Mosswood Road, Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[51] Young to Bender, 23 December 1933. Headed 'c/o Mrs. Golden, Ranchos de Taos, N.M.' Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

porcelain in the Augusta Bender Memorial Room is in a subsequent, but undated letter when she asks if there are any Chinese vases included in the donations. Yet it is in the area of Dublin intellectual society's reception of such Asian material culture that perhaps one of the strongest arguments in favour of acquisition by Ireland's national museum can be found: 'How I wish I could see those wonderful Thibetan pictures. It is such good fortune for Dublin to have them. We have poets & artists in Dublin whose minds travel to Thibet & the Far East and I am sure they will often be found in the Augusta Bender Room. I remember how often I used to go to the Dublin Museum to feast my eyes on some Oriental embroideries. The Museum is poor in Egyptian and Chinese Art. I don't think that it had anything at all from Thibet, but Dublin is rich in people who will appreciate the beauty of these things, people to whom they will be an inspiration: with what joy would the young AE & the young poet Yeats have contemplated these pictures!'[52] Following this eloquent appraisal of the importance of a national museum acquiring arts outside of its immediate jurisdiction/territory, Young again offers Korean ceramics for the Memorial Room.

In relation to Bender's book collecting and donating, in 1939 Young writes to confirm that he has an entire set of her works: 'I know that you have presented some of my books to your collections but I would like you to have a complete set. Have you Poems (Tower Press), New Songs, The Coming of Lugh (small paper book), The Rose of Heaven (Dublin Poems), Weird of Fionavar, Little Princess, Celtic Wonder Tales, Wonder Smith, Tangle-Coated Horse, Unicorn with Silver Shoe, Marzilian ... I have too some of the original drawings made by Maud Gonne for some of my books. These should be interesting later as Yeats wrote his best poems to her & she is still an

[52] Young to Bender, 11 July 1934. Headed 'c/o Mrs. Barston, 3040 College Ave., Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

outstanding figure in Ireland ... My own copy of 'The Little Princess' has a Gonne verse written in it which makes it unique. I would send you that copy also'.[53] Therefore, it is in the area of book-collecting that the closest comparisons can be made between Albert Bender and John Quinn, particularly in their interests in the works of Ella Young, George Russell, James Stephens, Jack Butler Yeats and William Butler Yeats. Even though Bender's book-collecting focused mainly on West Coast-based printers such as John Henry Nash and Grabhorn, it is through his correspondence with Irish writers that evidence of his ambition to form an Irish subset within his collection can be noted. Indeed by 1940 Young could write to Bender confirming his receipt of her portrait by Maud Gonne and her remaining works for his collection: 'I am sending you a parcel containing an original decoration by Maud Gonne, & a written account of the portrait she made of me which you can paste on the back of the picture if you think well of it. I am sending also my own author's copy of 'The Little Princess' which contains an unpublished poem & will be a very interesting book. It is inscribed to you & you can put your book-plate on it. You have now a complete collection of my verse'.[54] Young was apparently eager to ascertain that Bender's collection of her material was comprehensive. In addition it seems that she was also aware of Bender's patronage of contemporary avant-garde artists when she refers to a recent visit she made to Santa Barbara in July 1940: 'I was in Santa Barbara a few days ago, and visited the Public Library and Picture Gallery, I was surprised and delighted to find your collection of Diego Rivera drawings filling one room – by far the most interesting exhibit in the Gallery'.[55] Therefore, one can deduce that the intellectuals, artists, dealers in Albert Bender's circle knew of his wide-ranging philanthropic and artistic endeavours to raise the cultural standing of

[53] Young to Bender, 21 October 1939. Headed 'Box 136, Oceano'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[54] Young to Bender, 1 October 1940. Headed 'Box 136, Oceano'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[55] Young to Bender, 12 July 1940. Headed 'Box 136, Oceano'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

California, and particularly San Francisco as a leading cultural region in the United States.

In Young's penultimate letter to Bender on 21 January 1941 she characteristically continues introducing him to Irish literary-related material not realising his death is fast approaching: 'would you like me to send to the collection in the Library of Congress a letter in the handwriting of Maud Gonne with reference to the Irish Theatre, also one from Eva Gore Booth with rough drawing of her horoscope, & the horoscope of her sister the Countess Markievicz. I will send these to you if you wish'.[56] John Quinn's collection also contained publications by Eva Gore Booth. The overall impression one is given from reading the correspondence of Ella Young to Albert Bender is the significant influence of the former on the latter's burgeoning interest in Irish literature and the generosity and friendship of Bender in not only assisting Young in sustaining her California residency, but in her integration into the academic community of the Bay Area. The numerous references to Asian arts and culture, both contemporary and historic is also indicative of the paramount importance attached by Bender to this area of his collecting activity above all others.
(See Appendix, pp. 231-239 for more information regarding the friendship between Young and Bender.)

Kathleen O'Brennan

Apart from the obvious influence of Ella Young on Albert Bender's perception of and information about Ireland, the other main female confidante in the same regard was the journalist and playwright Kathleen O'Brennan. O'Brennan and Bender

[56] Young to Bender, 21 January 1941. Headed 'Box 136, Oceano, California'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

corresponded over a nineteen year-period from 1922 to 1941. Therefore, as she wrote to him five years previous to Ella Young it may be argued that her opinion would have had an even greater bearing on his actions. O'Brennan, having just returned to Dublin from the United States where she met Albert Bender, writes in the interim between the Irish War of Independence and Civil War in March 1922. She illustrates a capital no longer at physical war and returning to some degree of normality: 'I went into 'The Sod o' Turf' to have a cup of tea with Ella Young. In the corner having his cup was James Stephens. We chatted for two hours'.[57] As with the Young letters the over-riding impression is of a close-knit circle of intellectuals in the Dublin of the first three decades of the 20th century. O'Brennan, as with all of Bender's literary friends in Ireland at the time, also sends him books:

'The two I am posting this week are specimens from the Cuala Industries and as you like good printing I thought I would send them. You may like more. The Yeats sisters bring out this edition ... One is the letters of John B. Yeats which we cannot have autographed but I can probably get you one plus letters. The other is by Professor Dowden[58] to his wife and Mrs. Dowden is writing something for me. Owing to Professor Dowden's standing in College Circles I thought it would be appropriate for Mills'.[59] As with Henry H. Hart and T.Z. Shiota, Bender was not averse to being led by others' opinions and recommendations when it came to his collecting preferences whether in Asian art or Irish literature. Later in the same letter O'Brennan also alludes to her attempts to obtain for Bender's collection works by AE, Douglas Hyde and Syerson. Apart from the earlier reference to Dublin's return to somewhat peaceful normality in the aftermath of war, O'Brennan also draws Bender's attention to the

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[57] O'Brennan to Bender, 28 March 1922. Kathleen O'Brennan File 1.7.539, Albert Bender papers, Mills College.

[58] Edward Dowden (1843-1913) was an Irish critic and poet who was elected Professor of Oratory and English Literature, Trinity College Dublin in 1867 – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Dowden

[59] Ibid.

economic reality in Ireland with the following: 'I am still looking for a studio flat- almost an improbability owing to the 'Black and Tan' prices which landladies have been receiving'.[60] This aside illustrates Bender's familiarity with the use of such terminology during the War of Independence, and in the efforts to form a sovereign independent state over the ensuing decade, he may have then first considered donating to one of Ireland's cultural institutions by way of marking this political transition.

Perhaps the greatest eyewitness account given to Albert Bender of the Irish Civil War (1922-23) is by O'Brennan in an October 1922 letter. She first thanked Bender for his gift of beads, but is obviously relieved to receive them as evident in the remark: 'I was afraid I would not get the beads as there has been so much disorganisation and looting'.[61] O'Brennan's dogged determination to pursue the Irish subset of his collection is remarkable given the worsening political situation: 'I determined to get together a few friends in spite of bombs and bullets. The first to notice them [the beads] was Mrs. Jack Yeats (who is herself an artist) so I was very proud to tell my friends that someone out on the Pacific Coast thought of me and poor Ireland. At the present time lines of communications are broken down all through Ireland. We are in direct communication with London and New York but South there are some very bad boats which leave Dublin for Cork and take passengers & mails when they are not commandeered for troops... The conditions in Dublin are terrible just now. The dependants of the Free State soldiers are looked after by the Provisional Government and the Irish Republican dependants from funds raised in America and at home by the Republicans. There is an enormous amount of poverty in non-combatant circles, chiefly people who would never go near an organisation mind and I am devoting your

[60] Ibid.
[61] O'Brennan to Bender, 25 October 1922, Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

money to sending little food (?) baskets to such people. Many of these people have suddenly been deprived of all means of existence. They suffer... that people should know of their poverty and cannot be convinced that poverty is not a disgrace'.[62] Unlike Ella Young who was virulently opposed to the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, O'Brennan is remarkable in the even-handedness of her view of the social and political situation. Indeed her reference to the extreme poverty amongst the general population can be seen as typically 'female' at this time. For example, Maud Gonne MacBride, Constance Markievicz and the command of Cumann na mBan were all involved in 'soup kitchens' and overall food welfare measures throughout the revolutionary period. One may presume, however, O'Brennan's political leanings to have been pro-Treaty due to the fact that she chose to remain in Ireland, rather than leave in the middle of a Cumann na nGaedheal-led government as had been the case with Ella Young. O'Brennan's later appointment as a sub-editor for 'The Irish Times' might also lend credence to this claim. Her grasp of the Irish Civil War in a European context is also referred to during the course of this October 1922 letter: 'I think Ireland will suffer almost as much as Austria. The civil war has broken up the whole country. We are all hoping for Peace and there are rumours in the air. I am hoping to God it will come this week but even so it will be a year or more to save the country. I have been very lucky. I got a post as 'sub' on one of our papers'.[63] The most insightful aspect of this particular letter is towards the end when O'Brennan returns to the topic at hand, i.e. the acquisition of Irish literary texts for Bender's collection: 'I suppose you think your books are never arriving. Half the authors are in jail (10,000 men in Dublin) and through the country they have evidently been afraid to post. You must be patient with us. W.B. Yeats is back for the past few weeks & living in

[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.

Merrion Sq. so I can get him at once'.[64] The analogy between the ongoing Civil War hostilities and Irish literature at that time was subtle enough information for Bender to realise how the revolutionary period permeated all socio-economic aspects of Irish life and was not simply a mass movement brought on by the general dissatisfaction of the lower classes. Bender was now aware that the entire Irish 'intelligentsia' had been brought into the struggle of the emerging nation state.

Returning to Albert Bender's interest in Far Eastern art, a very interesting letter was written by O'Brennan on the subject in January 1930. It describes in detail how she perceived the Irish appreciation of Asian culture and its sole confinement to the area of literature rather than to art and design: 'Ever so many thanks for your lovely gift which arrived this morning. What beautiful work! I do so hope the Chinese will not lose their great art in the new political upheaval. They are real colourists.
Where did you get the dainty etchings. Are they Chinese or Japanese? I am ignorant I suppose but you are more in touch with the East than we are here, except in their literature, and I fear that the Russians for the moment have over influenced some of our Irish writers. Liam O'Flaherty who wrote such lovely nature stories is now grovelling in the mire and disgusting many of his former friends.
To return to the prints. I have so many delicate little ones that you sent me from time to time that I am having them framed...'[65] O'Brennan's reference to political upheaval in China corresponds with the instigation of the Executive Yuan at Nanjing in 1928, the prior events of which directly benefited Bender's Asian art collecting, for example the late Ming Dynasty head (1600-48) of a Buddha from Shaanxi Province taken from a statue when the temples were destroyed 'at the order of Feng Yu Hsiang

[64] Ibid.
[65] O'Brennan to Bender, 8 January 1930. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

in 1927'.[66] Perhaps of even greater significance to the Irish perception of the 'East' is in her remark about Russian influence on Irish literature. O'Brennan has (maybe subconsciously) given the impression that to her the 'East' represented any country beyond East European borders. She may even be referencing such military events as the Russo-Japanese War, but also on a subconscious level. The over-riding hallmark of her statements, however, is that although the Irish public were kept abreast of Asian political events and associated literature, they were not informed in terms of Asian art.

If O'Brennan introduced Bender to the work of the Cuala Press as well as the art of Jack B. Yeats, she also appears to have instigated his meeting Walter Starkie: 'my friend Walter Starkie will be on the Pacific Coast in a few weeks and I am so anxious you shall meet. He is at present acting as exchange Professor in Roman languages in Chicago University and he had such a remarkable success in New York and the Eastern States they asked him back several times. Trinity College Hartford is conferring a degree on him this week and at the end of July he goes to California ... perhaps you might drop a line to Professor Starkie c/o the President's Office Chicago University. I have talked so much of San Francisco and its people I want him to get some of their warm welcome as I did'.[67] As seen in Chapter I, Starkie appears to have been the main player with regard to Bender's decision in 1931 to gift the initial twenty-one Tibetan-Chinese Thangka paintings to the National Museum. Therefore, it is Kathleen O'Brennan who must also be given credit in facilitating Bender and Starkie to meet in the first instance. Above all other correspondence it is in the letters of Kathleen O'Brennan and Bender that the origins of both his first significant forays

[66] AI/108/010: Hart to Mahr, 28 March 1932.
[67] O'Brennan to Bender, 11 June 1930. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

into the collection of Irish literature and the state of Dublin cultural life can be found. After his return to Dublin Walter Starkie maintained his contact with Kathleen O'Brennan whereby she wrote in October 1932 of how well known in Dublin Bender was amongst the 'élite' set: 'We have all talked so much about you lately that I feel I want to write and let you know how intimate you are in our little Dublin circle and how many friends you have that you are unaware of. Perhaps however you will come some day to see us in 'auld Dublin' and then we can all show you how we appreciate your many kind thoughts of us'.[68]

Returning to Bender's donations to the National Museum, O'Brennan was involved throughout in all arrangements, certainly more so than Walter Starkie, as is evident in these primary sources. For example, 'I suppose you heard from Dr. Mahr... I think he thought you were growing impatient as I rang up Mrs. Derry [the Minister for Education's wife] and had a chat with her when the Minister of Education was away. Then he wrote me and also to Dr. Mahr to find out progress. Dr. Mahr like all Germans is most methodical and the Board of Works which is superintending the lighting is now changing everything. You know we keep the museum open at night and lighting is very important. The room will not be opened until everything is perfect and as I see things I do not believe it will be done until January. When they did not open it this week as I had expected I prefer not until after Christmas when the House will be in session and all the Deputies back in town. They are also changing some of the settings and inserting new lights. We have some excellent lighting in Charlemont House [Municipal Gallery of Modern Art]. I believe as fine as any European

[68] O'Brennan to Bender, 14 October 1932. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

gallery'.[69] Kathleen O'Brennan can be seen as the unofficial promoter of Bender's interests when the donor himself became anxious and perhaps somewhat alarmed by the time taken to open the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art, O'Brennan stepped in to make certain that the ministry of Education invited all relevant individuals in art and political spheres to the opening: '... I am trying to 'hussle' them. The Minister asked me to go see him to talk about the matter but I am waiting for Dr. Mahr to give me a definite date, and then I shall act'.[70] The fact that O'Brennan mentioned the newly opened Charlemont House would lead one to conclude that it was important to be influenced in display from the fine art world. This emphasis probably had much to do with the Tibetan-Chinese Thangka paintings and Japanese woodblock prints rather than with the remaining decorative arts of metalwork, jade and porcelain. In finishing this letter O'Brennan returns to a favourite topic, namely Irish political affairs directing Bender's attention to the fact that Republicans were contesting elections in Northern Ireland, two of whom having been elected with DeValera's approval.[71]

The next letter (apart from the telegram announcement of the official opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room) is dated July 1934. It appears that Albert Bender on hearing of the high quality lighting design in the Municipal Gallery of Modern Art from previous correspondence decided also to donate to that institution: '...I am rushing now to try to catch the boat with the address for John's drawings. If you send them to W.J. Reynolds, Curator Municipal Art Gallery Dublin everything will be OK. I have seen some of the Committee who select the gifts and they are most anxious and

[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.

appreciative of your gift'.[72] The drawings in question were by John O'Shea [Irish-American artist, 1876-1956]. This underlines the theory that if Bender had lived after 1941 he may have begun collecting the work of Irish/Irish-American artists. Considering the 1930s was the era of the Great Depression, one might have expected that Bender may have been forced to discontinue temporarily at least one of his three chosen areas of collecting. O'Brennan, however, returns to the subject of the National Museum donations with a revealing aside as to its popularity amongst the general public: 'I hear that there have been numerous visitors especially the country people coming to Dublin and that is one of our best signs that a new section of the Museum is attracting attention'.[73] O'Brennan also refers to the chance meeting in London of an actress friend and Bender's brother, presumably Montague Bender. Following Montague Bender's death, a collection of silver that had been given to Rabbi Philip Bender by the Jewish congregation of Dublin on him leaving his ministry in 1881, was bequeathed to the National Museum in 1950. Further illustration of the closeness of the 'Dublin circle' of intellectual and artistic acquaintances is found in a letter one month later in which O'Brennan thanks Bender for a further gift of textile: 'The little scarf is quite charming and such lovely colouring. I found it quite large enough (as it is doubled to make a corsage to a black taffeta frock - designed for me by Mrs. Jack Yeats – so I'll be out of the common she says! and I'm quite proud of the creation'.[74] Reference to such artistic figures as Jack B. Yeats and his family may have encouraged Bender to continue in his correspondence with him, possibly leading to acquisition of his work (see Chapter V). It is apparent from the Kathleen O'Brennan file at Mills College how important a liaison she was in familiarising Bender with all things artistic and literary in Dublin society. This same letter also refers quite

[72] O'Brennan to Bender, 29 July 1934. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[73] Ibid.
[74] O'Brennan to Bender, 15 August 1934. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

charmingly to an old acquaintance of Bender's, Oliver St. John Gogarty: 'Gogarty has become an enthusiastic flyer and now has his pilots certificate. He is working hard now at his literary labours. He is too versatile and as he is one of our showmen he doesn't get much time. He should never have taken to politics and has the greatest capacity of anyone I know for making enemies. That's the price of a brilliant satirical gift'.[75] She ends the letter stating that AE is returning to Ireland. Therefore, O'Brennan in true journalistic style provides a concise and well-informed image of the Dublin of that time, which could only have sparked Bender's impression of himself being a welcome member of this exclusive club.

Mention of the National Museum and its associates is also made in a Christmas 1938 letter to Bender from O'Brennan when the latter acknowledges receipt of a cheque to buy both her and Mrs. Mahr Christmas presents. O'Brennan purchased a fur cape for Maria Mahr and a rug for herself.[76] This same piece of correspondence also alludes to the writer Séamus O'Sullivan and his wife the artist, Estelle Solomons. The connections of this couple to AE and all three to Bender will be discussed in the section on George Russell. Perhaps not realising that Bender knew Estelle Solomons and her husband (indeed he had invited them to the official opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art in 1934) O'Brennan provides the following information while expressing her intention to have O'Sullivan autograph his last volume of poems for Bender's collection: '...he is a very elusive person. He and his wife Estelle Solomons have left their old Seventeenth century house in the Dublin hills, and returned to town, which pleases me, as they have such a delightful circle and not having a car like all my friends I could not get out to see them as often

[75] Ibid.
[76] O'Brennan to Bender, 27 December 1938. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

as I wished'.[77] This was the last letter to contain exclusively comments on peacetime Dublin, as by the following year the Second World War had begun, and the effect this international crisis had on Ireland is briefly referenced by O'Brennan. Considering the Irish state's neutral stance at this time, the following account by O'Brennan of Ireland's experience of the War must have been mild in Bender's opinion when compared to his friends and relations in other European countries directly involved in the conflict: 'An Irish Red Cross was established recently by the government. My sister is on the council and branches have been established all along our coast so as to be in readiness for any emergency'.[78] The last relevant mention of World War II and the donations to the National Museum was made in an undated letter, but presumably from December 1939 in which O'Brennan wrote Bender informing him of the Mahr family's migration from Ireland prior to the beginning of hostilities: 'I'm afraid you did not get my letter as in it I told you Dr. Mahr had left the country with his family just before the outbreak of war. He was regarded as a prominent figure in the German colony here. I cannot obtain any information as to his whereabouts, but learnt that he was in Italy'.[79] Even in this, her last reference to one of the key players involved in the donations to the National Museum, she was quick to inform Bender about the activities of the most active members of Dublin's cultural élite. No other correspondent provided him with such accounts of Ireland at this time, and it is in this respect that Kathleen O'Brennan influenced Albert Bender more than any other individual residing in Ireland. Her relationship with Bender is therefore of huge importance in ascertaining the reasons behind his gifts to the NMI, and indeed his

[77] Ibid.
[78] O'Brenann to Bender, 24 November 1939. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[79] Undated letter from O'Brennan to Bender, but probably December 1939. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

continued donations even after the official opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room in 1934.

(See Appendix, pp. 239-247 for more information regarding the friendship between O'Brennan and Bender.)

George Russell (AE)

The first correspondence surviving in the Bender Archive at Mills College between Albert Bender and the Irish writer and artist George Russell (AE) dates to February 1932. As is customary with friends and acquaintances of Albert Bender's it concerns a note of thanks for what one presumes was a gift of Chinese textile following the death of AE's wife: 'I do not know how to thank you for your beautiful gift; my wife, alas, who would have delighted in these delicate patterns & colours, is now no longer living. She died three weeks ago, and I am a very lonely man trying to get back to myself & to write again. But I am afraid it will be some time before imagination can move as before'.[80] This last remark perhaps best summarises AE's personality, as despite the fact that he was a 'poet, essayist, editor, dramatist, painter, agricultural economist, legendary raconteur, cheerleader, benefactor, teacher, loyal friend'[81] he was primarily a man of mystic spirituality best described by David Garrett Izzo as someone 'who has an intuitive sense of unity with a divine meditation, or even as spontaneous revelations and visions... He was also a poet of visionary metaphor, and a painter of visionary visions'.[82] As with Oliver St. John Gogarty who had stated an original preference to dedicate his Malahide verses to Albert Bender, AE likewise expresses a similar intention: 'to dedicate a copy of my book 'Valé' for you and to my

[80] George Russell (AE) to Bender, 19 February 1932. File 1.8.634, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[81] Izzo, David Garrett: 'George Russell (1867-1935) AE and the Concealed Fountains' in Londraville, Janis and Richard (eds.): *John Quinn: Selected Irish Writers from His Library*. Locust Hill Press, 2001, p. 284.
[82] Ibid, p. 284-5.

disgust found that the printers Macmillans ... had bound up sheets . at the end, I send you the book which I had dedicated & never found the binders ... The book was hurried in U.S.A. and beautifully printed if the binders had only been as careful as the printers!'[83] As with Gogarty AE had also visited and spent time in Albert Bender's home, but unfortunately the Bender Archive at Mills College does not reveal when. As AE was only a year younger than Bender they must have been able to share contemporary reminiscences of Dublin from their youth. This kind of close friendship rather than cordial familiarity is shown in the following reference to Harry Sinclair (who would later accuse Oliver St. John Gogarty of slander in the latter's publication of 'As I Was Going Down Sackville Street'): 'I think you were a friend of his grandfather. He has a very fine intelligence & a great flair for discovering pictures. He discovered two Velazquez in Ireland and his greatest discovery a year ago was the discovery in Wexford of the lost Rembrandt portrait of Saskia, the one painted before he married her, a subject portrait painted of a man in love. It was seen.... by the great Rembrandt experts'.[84] Therefore, Bender did not correspond solely on issues of Ireland and the Irish literary renaissance with AE, but as outlined above on general, more international artistic developments. Perhaps in AE, who like him had so many varying interests, Bender could feel most at ease in the realisation that they were kindred spirits in terms of breadth of outlook and shared opinions.

Contained in the February 1932 letter from AE there is much discussion concerning French art, in which Bender may have been well read: 'You would have loved the French Exhibition in London, a collection of masterpieces .... down to Cézanne & the moderns .... and Corots, Millets, Poussins, Watteaus, Delacroix, Manet, Monet,

[83] AE to Bender, 19 February 1932. File 1.8.634, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[84] Ibid.

Fragonard, Boudin & what not. Lord how I wish I had the happy life of a painter & not the unhappy life of a poet. If there is another life & we are permitted to choose as Plato thought in the Republic I will choose to be a painter who paints lovely pictures but does not know how to write'.[85] This last remark is a very important insight into how George Russell viewed himself in 1932 as initially (and indeed intermittently throughout his literary career) a painter of visionary themes, discussed in a recent article by Riann Coulter: 'Russell first experienced visions when he was a boy and by the time he was studying at the Metropolitan School of Art in Dublin, he was well known among his fellow students for rejecting Academic technique in favour of spontaneous rendered visionary paintings. Russell's spurning of technical ability has been seen as a handicap to his art. Yet, examining Trinity's collections [Trinity College Dublin owns a number of AE paintings] at first hand reveals the extent to which his works have suffered in reproduction'.[86] Another significant fact to note regarding the friendship between Bender and Russell is their mutual acquaintance with contemporaries such as Gogarty, Seumas O'Sullivan and Estella Solomons, all of whom were invited to the opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art in 1934.

The next correspondence from AE to Bender comes two months later in April 1932. It opens with Russell thanking Bender for sending a copy of the 'Song of Solomon' through Miss Yeats [Elizabeth?] and 'the new volume by Robinson Jeffers for which I am most grateful, as in this out of the way island, we do not hear of such publications until it pleases some English publisher to reprint an American poet. I have a great

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Coulter, Riann: 'A Meeting of Minds: Russell, Solomons and O'Sullivan' in *Irish Arts Review*, Spring 2006, p. 101.

respect for Jeffares' talent'.[87] George Russell was an Irish confidante of Bender's to whom he sent publications by American authors, which exemplifies the closeness between the two men. Bender may have been encouraged in Russell's enthusiastic response to continue with the idea of the gift of rare American printed books to Trinity College. This determination is noteworthy in light of the conservative approach by elected representatives in both the previous Cumann na nGaedheal and recently installed Fianna Fail governments. Russell makes reference to this intellectually stultifying environment with the following revealing aside: 'I am afraid that at the Eucharistic Congress I will be outside it all, being regarded here as a spiritual heretic by my exceedingly orthodox fellow countrymen. They do not object to me as a human being but as a thinker. Yeats, James Stephens, myself & the whole tribe ... are anathema. Not that it matters. It is the business of a writer to be in conflict with the [illegible, but possibly social or elected] order'.[88] As with Gogarty, Russell also vehemently objected to the increasing influence of the Catholic Church on artistic and literary aspects of Irish life. The Eucharistic Congress was seen by the DeValera administration as the culmination of an independent (and mostly Catholic) state, which although representative of the religious beliefs of the majority of Irish citizenry would have alienated those 'outside' of the Roman Catholic faith. Russell continues in his commentary on contemporary political events: 'I am not really an anarchist, but what a world it is! With millions unemployed in your country, in England, in Germany, in France, and the more science & efficiency there is the more unemployment increases. I am too old to undertake its reconstruction. I played about in the business of reforming things for thirty years, and now I look on and try to write

[87] George Russell to Bender, 17 April 1932. File 1.8.634, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[88] Ibid.

a little & paint a little to keep the fire of intelligence burning until I go out'.[89] As in the Adolf Mahr correspondence awareness of the grave economic situation both in Europe and the United States is a recurring theme. AE's reference to his mature years is reflective perhaps of his earlier central involvement in Horace Plunkett's Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. It can be argued that AE was both culturally and more practically speaking a true patriot. He believed that the Land Question was a crucial component of the Irish Independence movement, and more than any of his contemporary intellectuals bridged the divide between the literary and artistic revival and political action. No doubt this mindset would have greatly appealed to Albert Bender. AE's mysticism underlines all of his endeavours and towards the end of this letter he writes glowingly of San Francisco: 'I have the warmest memories of my American friends, and I loved San Francisco, which is the most beautifully situated city in the world. I'll never forget the mystery & magnificence, the shine & shadow of the city seen in the sunset over the hills above the city'.[90]

The next letter between the two men and the last recorded in the Bender Archive at Mills College is typical of AE's mysticism, and is evidence of the close friendship between him and Albert Bender given its meditative nature. With a beautiful ink sketch at the top of the first page of two hills to either side of a winding river amidst the setting sun, the following explanation is given by AE to explain its inclusion: 'As it is raining ... and the skies are grey... I am going to cheer myself up [his wife had recently died, see page 172] by distinctly imagining & painting the sunniest picture I can conceive of. I used to paint the hottest sun I could imagine .... in my Christmas

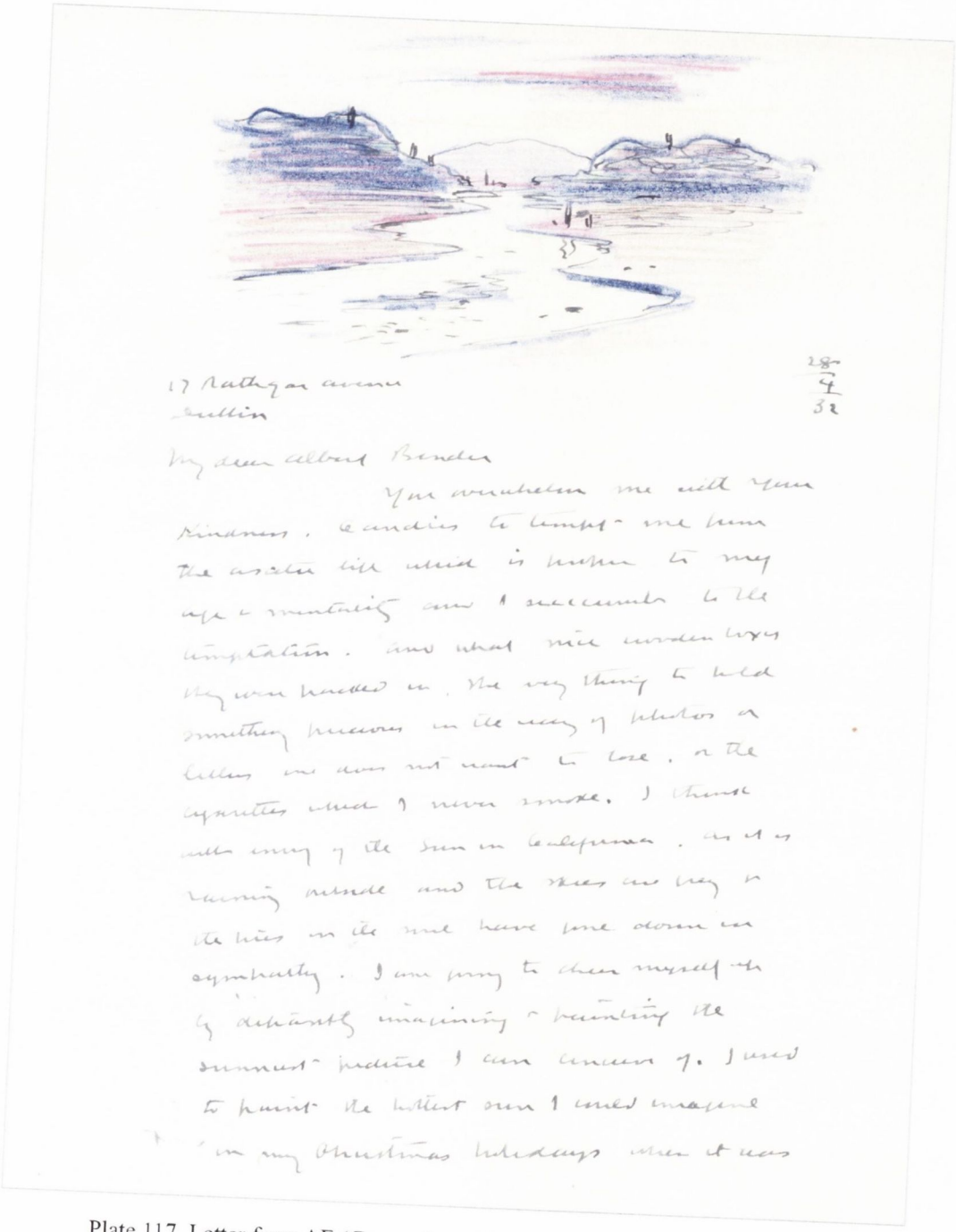
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

holidays when it was cold & damp outside'.[91] He continues in the letter to discuss his imaginary vision of Arizona, presumably a place he would have visited while also visiting San Francisco given their relatively close proximity. It is this kind of familiarity, which underlines the close relationship between him and Bender. AE's comments on Irish society may have had the greatest bearing on Bender's subsequent donations to the National Museum and contact with figures of the literary revival, as from the correspondence AE appears to have been the closest of Albert Bender's friends. AE writes: 'I think it would be pleasant to be in Arizona in the desert where the grey green cacti send up their .... fingers into the blue air and the rose amethyst coloured mountains like the hills in a child's fairy story book glow on the horizon. The only drawback I can think of are the snakes. I have an Irish horror of snakes, and I think I would not have much comfort in a place where there were snakes. Thank the Lord we are free from snakes & mosquitoes in this country, we only have them in human form and its easier to keep away from them'.[92] A good comparison of this letter's small ink sketch and mystical references to the sun is his oil on canvas entitled 'Three Women Running across a field at Sunset' in the Trinity College, Dublin collection.

(See Appendix, pp. 247-252 for more information regarding the friendship between George Russell and Albert Bender.)

Bender's efforts to keep in contact with the Irish intelligentsia can be seen as a wider interest initially in Irish literature, and then by extension Irish cultural life in general. One can ask if Albert Bender had not personally met AE, Oliver St. John Gogarty or Walter Starkie would the series of Asian art donations to the National Museum have

[91] George Russell to Bender, 28 April 1932. File 1.8.634, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[92] Ibid.



17 Rathgar avenue
Dublin

28
4
32

My dear Albert Bender

You overwhelm me with your kindness. Candies to tempt me from the austere life which is proper to my age & mentality and I succumb to the temptation. And what nice wooden boxes they were packed in. The very thing to hold something precious in the way of photos or letters one does not want to lose, or the cigarettes which I never smoke. I think with envy of the sun in California. As it is raining outside and the skies are grey & the pies in the soul have gone down in sympathy. I am going to cheer myself up by defiantly imagining & painting the sunniest picture I can conceive of. I used to paint the hottest sun I could imagine in my Christmas holidays when it was

Plate 117. Letter from AE (George Russell) to Albert Bender, 28 April 1932.

taken place? As with his original collecting of the early 1920s it is apparent that his bibliophilic activities led to the acquisition and subsequent donation of Asian art. In other words Bender's collections, whether of books or Asian art, were all interconnected. It is in this respect that there exists a similarity with the various interests of John Quinn (see page 183), who like Bender also supported modern art and other cultural concerns.

Jack B. Yeats

Even though correspondence between Jack B. Yeats and Albert Bender dates to 1934, it is apparent that both men would have known of and been knowledgeable of each other's cultural contributions. It is reasonable to presume that either W.B. Yeats or Elizabeth Yeats would have mentioned to their brother the existence on the United States' west coast of an art patron of such magnitude as Bender. It certainly appears that out of Albert Bender's wish to create an Irish subset in his book collection, he heard of the work of Jack B. Yeats. Indeed the correspondence of Kathleen O'Brennan contains references (see Chapter IV) to both Jack and his wife Cottie. Jack B. Yeats was also invited to the official opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art on 25 June 1934.

Given Bender's contact with members of the Yeats family it is not surprising to see that he was also in correspondence with Jack B. Yeats. Bender may have liked the idea of the connection with an Irish cultural dynasty, one generation of which in the 1930s had risen to prominence in numerous fields. Bender's correspondence with Jack B. Yeats has not previously been known nor has the existence of a sketchbook he obtained from the artist in 1934. This chapter sets out briefly a new departure for Bender, a direct communication with an Irish artist in pursuit of examples of his work,

and sums up the content of the newly discovered sketchbook, which is described in full in the Appendix (pages 252-267). It is worth underlining that Bender had the established reputation and prestige to enter into direct contact with Jack B. Yeats and the economic capacity to obtain an example of the artist's work. No doubt, in 1934, Jack B. Yeats was well aware of Bender and his interests, but may not have expected him to begin collecting examples of his work given the nature of the material Bender had amassed and donated.

Initial contact between Albert Bender and Jack B. Yeats dates to August 1934 when the latter acknowledges receipt of correspondence. In this letter Yeats is obviously responding to a request by Bender for some of his artwork: 'I have chosen for you a book of Aran Island sketches'.[93] This book now in the Albert Bender Archive at Mills College, Oakland, which comprises thirty-six sketches in total dates to 1899 and Yeats' first trip to the Aran Islands. It is remarkable in being previously unrecorded, and is of great significance in the artist's development particularly regarding his contemporary illustrations and later work accompanying articles by J.M. Synge in 1905 for the 'Manchester Guardian'. The sketchbook is filled with representations of local Aran people, including the most significant sketch in ink and watercolour of a man on horseback as seen from the rear, but also of antiquities, monuments and day-to-day rural activities.[94]

In another letter from Yeats to Bender later that same month Jack Yeats expresses gratitude for a cheque received for his sketchbook while making the following interesting aside: 'I am glad you liked the little book. I chose one of the Aran sketches

[93] Jack B. Yeats to Bender, 2 August 1934. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[94] Whitty, Audrey: 'Yeats and Bender: A Time of Gifts'. *Irish Arts Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Winter 2007, p. 112-115.

as Flaherty's fine 'Man of Aran' film is of great interest to many people here now'.[95] This remark perhaps illustrates the reason behind Yeats sending work to a potential patron thirty-five years after it was produced. Another explanation could be Yeats' awareness from others, such as his sister Elizabeth (Lolly) and brother William of Bender's fondness for all things and words 'Irish'. The Aran Islands being the most traditional of Irish rural settings may have appealed to any romantic notion of national identity Bender might have possessed. Correspondence between the two men continued until Bender's death in 1941. In 1935, the year of the Abbey Players' tour of the United States, Bender sent Jack Yeats an invitation to attend a party he was throwing in his San Francisco home in their honour. Yeats did not attend as he was in Ireland.[96] One of the most revealing letters, however, to emerge between them came the following year when Yeats wrote Bender sending him Christmas greetings: 'I hope you are restored to health again. Dublin has changed perhaps outwardly, but looking up the river from O'Connell Bridge the sky looks back at you much the same'.[97] In the top left hand corner of the letter there is a beautiful small ink sketch of a view of the Liffey from O'Connell Bridge with the bare outline of the quay's architecture to either side of the river, and the Ha'penny Bridge in the centre. No doubt a representation of a famous landmark from his native city would have thrilled Bender, and Yeats probably realised this.

Correspondence over the ensuing two years was infrequent, but cordial. Indeed in May 1937 Yeats wrote to thank Bender for sending him a copy of the 'Psalm of David'.[98] In February 1938 replying to a question posed by Bender in relation to the

[95] Yeats to Bender, 31 August 1934. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[96] Yeats to Bender, 4 April 1935. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[97] Yeats to Bender, 15 December 1936. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[98] Yeats to Bender, 5 February 1938. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.



18 FITZWILLIAM SQUARE DUBLIN.

Ireland

December
15 1936

Dear Mr Bender
I wish you all
happiness this Christmas
and in the New Years I
hope you are restored to
health again Dublin
has changed perhaps outwardly
but looking up the river from
O'Connell Bridge the sky looks
back at you much the same
my wife joins in these good
wishes S Jan
Yours very sincerely
Jack B Yeats

Plate 118. Letter from Jack B. Yeats to Albert Bender, 15 December 1936.

Royal Irish Academy Yeats writes: 'It is supported by the government with a grant and in other ways. Irish historical matters are I understand, left in the Academy hands. They still have their fine old building, with the broad long rooms in Dawson Street. I send now two pamphlets. One of 1936-37, the other historical...'.[99] Considering Bender's fellowship[100] of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland[101], one can surmise how he would have been interested in learning of the activities of a sister academic body such as the RIA. The next time Yeats wrote Bender followed the death of his brother, W.B. Yeats in 1939: 'I had thought that he had some years left to be here. When I saw him last autumn there seemed nothing of autumn about his high thoughts'.[102] This touching description of his brother's mental faculties illustrates how Jack Yeats must have been aware of Bender's correspondence with all of his siblings given its apparent tone of familiarity. As with Jack Yeats' American east coast-based patron, the lawyer John Quinn, to whom he would send reviews of his exhibitions[103] the same suggestion is made in a letter by Jack Yeats to Bender's friend and confidante, June Richardson Lucas, after Bender's death in 1941: 'I said to myself 'I will send Mrs. Lucas C.P. Curran's lecture and she will show it I expect to Mr. Bender who it will interest'. Five minutes later I read in the 'Irish Times' the obituary notice of Mr. Bender. I am very sorry at his death and I sympathise with all his friends in their loss. The lecture I send was delivered by Mr. C.P. Curran [who was an important figure in the Dublin art world at that time], whom I think you met in Dublin at an exhibition of my work here some months ago... I never met Mr. Bender, but I

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[99] Yeats to Bender, 5 February 1938. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[100] File 1.1.55, Albert M. Bender file (7items), 1906-1940s: *Biographical Notes for Who's Who in California and Nevada*. Bender Archive, Mills College.
[101] File 1.8.632, Bender Archive, Mills College. Dated 1 October 1937.
[102] Yeats to Bender, 1 March 1939. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[103] Potterton, Homan: 'Jack B. Yeats and John Quinn' in *Irish Arts Review*, Vol. 9, 1993, p. 102: 'In the autumn of 1901 Jack Yeats held an exhibition of his work in Dublin.... T.W. Rolleston wrote a review of Jack's exhibition in 'The Dublin Express' and this review was sent to John Quinn in New York'.

heard from him at intervals, and had always a feeling that there was gentleness and kindness about himself and his thoughts'.[104]

The previously mentioned sketchbook, which Jack Yeats gave Albert Bender in 1934 is an important find, being as it is a record of Yeats' first visit to the Aran Islands[105], part of a region that was to play a key role in the artist's output for the remainder of his life. As is typical of his sketchbooks it is pocket-book size – 'a patent ring-bound cartridge Sketchbook'. All thirty-seven sketches are watercolour and ink-based. Significantly the last page inscribed 'Co. Galway 1899 Isle of Aran' bears a hand-painted number '4', thereby implying that this was his fourth sketchbook compiled that spring. (See Appendix, pp. 252-267 for full description of this sketchbook.)

Whatever the artistic development of both Yeats' illustrations and oil paintings after his 1899 trip to the Aran Islands, the fact remains that the artist was sufficiently content to offer one of his sketchbooks to a potential Irish-American patron. Considering the enormous favourable impact John Quinn had on the support and nurturing of Yeats' work for over three decades by the time of the artist's initial correspondence with Albert Bender, it is reasonable to suppose Yeats chose an enticing (and in his own opinion) commendable example of work to send a San Francisco doyen of the arts. Bender may have seen his Yeats sketchbook as a contribution to a mini Yeats family collection. Jack B. Yeats may have seen it as potentially the beginning of a new patronage connection. Bender's chief enthusiasm in relation to Ireland was literary, but the possibility existed that painting or drawing could assume a greater prominence. In that respect, however, it might be expected that

[104] Yeats to June Richardson Lucas, 26 March 1941. File 1.10.792, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[105] Arnold, Bruce: *Jack Yeats*. Yale University Press, 1998, p. 86-88.

Albert Bender would have sourced works by other artists of the era, such as Sean Keating or Maurice MacGonigal, and there is no evidence to show that was the case. However, one wonders if Bender may have seen works by Yeats and Keating amongst the seventy-nine works of contemporary art, which were commissioned by IBM and exhibited as part of the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco in 1939. In looking at the visual and technical qualities of the work of Californian artists and photographers, such as Ansel Adams, Beniamino Benevenuto Bufano or Roi Partridge that Bender sponsored enthusiastically, it can be said that Bender was no stranger to avant garde styles; therefore the form of Jack B. Yeats' oils of the 1930s, whilst radically different to his watercolour sketches of the late 1890s, would not in itself have been a deterrent. It cannot be said why the connection of 1934 was not followed up, but the possibility exists that, had Albert Bender lived longer, it might have been.

Chapter VI: Albert Bender and his friends in America: Scholars, Writers, Dealers

Amongst the numerous files of correspondence in the Bender Archive at Mills College are letters which document his close connection with two visitors to Asia, and other material which helps to shed light on his Asian interests. Of prime importance are the letters from Henry H. Hart and the writer on Asian arts, Katherine M. Ball. Hart was a repeat visitor to Asia in the course of his commercial activity and therefore a source of reliable information. There is also some documentation regarding another writer, Stella Benson, and her husband, James Carew O'Gorman Anderson, who enjoyed close contact with Bender from about 1920. Benson travelled in China. This chapter reviews these relationships on the basis of the Bender Archive in order to illustrate some of the personal and intellectual contacts that would have informed, supported and encouraged Bender in his various interests, and Asian art in particular. Of no one is this more true than Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, the President of Mills College. In 1929-30 she visited Asia, which experience made her all the more well disposed towards Bender as a donor and enthusiast.

Aurelia Henry Reinhardt

Before proceeding with a discussion of the close professional relationship between Albert Bender and Aurelia Henry Reinhardt it is worth noting that Reinhardt (1877-1948) was one of the most noted female internationalists in the Bay Area during the interwar period. According to Epstein, Reinhardt served as National AAUW President (American Association of University Women) from 1923 to 1927, and through that became associated with the International Federation of University Women (IFUW). 'When war in Europe prevented the gathering [IFUW] from being held there [Europe] in 1939, Reinhardt hosted an IFUW conference at Mills College to coincide with San

Francisco's Golden Gate International Exposition'.[1] This underlines Reinhardt's international perspective, and how under her presidency it is no accident that Mills College became one of the leading institutions for the study of Asian cultures on the west coast of the United States. In addition Reinhardt became a member of the Executive Committee of the Institute of International Relations (IIR) in the mid-1930s. Their biannual conferences held mostly at Mills College featured 'topics that emphasised peace and world affairs, with a special focus on Pacific issues. Dr. Anna Cox Brinton , a Quaker and professor of Classical Languages at Mills College, served with Reinhardt'[2] on the IIR executive committee. Perhaps one of the most relevant aspects of Reinhardt's opinion concerning Asian art and culture curriculum at Mills College is her belief 'that Mills students should be exposed to people from various nationalities: ... One former Mills College student, Jade Snow Wong, a Chinese-American, wrote about her Mills experience in her 1950 memoirs, Fifth Chinese Daughter. Wong chose the college over the state university because of Reinhardt's fine reputation among San Francisco's Asian-American community'.[3]

As seen in Chapter II, Mills College was heavily involved in submissions to the Kyoto Conference of 1929 regarding the state of Asian art and civilisation education in the United States. The National Museum's Bender Room did not officially open until June 1934, but the Mills College's equivalent, however, opened in 1929. This illustrates the primary importance attached by Bender to Mills College and the Palace of the Legion of Honor as the two initial institutional repositories of his Asian art donations. Reinhardt writes to Albert Bender in September 1929 informing him of the

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[1] Epstein, Alexandra: *Linking a State to the World: Female Internationalists, California, and the Pacific, 1919-1939*. Ph.D. in History, University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2003, p. 223.
[2] Ibid, p. 231.
[3] Ibid, p. 248-9.

arrangements for the opening of the Bender Room: 'the opening of our new room is only about four weeks away and we want you to feel extremely vigorous on that important occasion. I am enclosing an acknowledgement of the list of gifts which came from you to the Bender collection yesterday. I am enclosing also the suggested invitation to the formal opening of the Bender room. If you have any suggestions for improving the latest wording will you inform John Henry Nash?'[4] From this aside regarding the invitations to the Mills College opening it appears that important California printers, such as Nash were involved, and underlines Bender's involvement with Californian private presses. As mentioned in Chapter II, Albert Bender secured the Olmsted collection of Japanese art for the Bender Collection at Mills College. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt took great pains in a subsequent letter to Bender in listing these donations, and the Asian art Bender gave to Mills College may have been influential in her decision to tour parts of Asia (Japan, Panang, Singapore and Hong Kong) in October 1929. The Olmsted Collection Albert Bender acquired for Mills College consisted of ten paintings of Japanese origin with mostly religious connotations. Some of the most noteworthy in terms of age are listed in the footnote below.[5] A similarity in age can be made between the Amida Buddha painting and the

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[4] Reinhardt to Bender, 5 September 1929: Aurelia Henry Reinhardt File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

[5] Perhaps the most noteworthy in terms of age are: 'No.1 – Kasugamyogin. Artists Tsunenobu, Kano School. Over 200 years old. From Matsukasa-tera, Sakamoto foot of Mount Hiyeisan, Lake Biwa. Kasugamyogin is the God of Longlife, Shinto Religion.... No. 3- Sanzonraikobutsu. Amida Buddha coming down from Heaven with two disciples. Artists Yeshisoju (Priest). Over 200 years old. From Matsusaka Temple, Ise... No. 6 – Ijenmyoo. God of good nature, disposition, etc. Babies brought to this god to obtain good disposition, pleasant countenances, etc. Artist Kokohugan. Highest style (type) of the Art. From Kochun Temple, Nara. Over 200 years old.
No. 7 – Sanzonraikobutsu. Formerly property of Oishi Kuranosuke, Tachibana family. His soldiers name Yoshio, Chief of the 47 Ronins. Genraka period. Artist unknown. From Akko, Bansher Province. Nearly 300 years.
No. 8 – Two-headed Igenmyoo. Thibetan design. Artist Heibei Taki. Painted for Myogi Temple, Ise. 203 years. Given to Temple by Gengosamen Haimi (family name) who prays to be made brave and lucky as a soldier. Remounted 170 years ago (1736)
No. 9 – Three-headed Fudomyoo. From Temple of Kongogi, Nara. Artists Takuma. 250 years'. Reinhardt to Bender, 10 September 1929. File 1.7.610A. Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

eighteenth-century lacquered wooden statuette of same period in the National Museum. Overall the impression given of Bender's collecting preference is that based on a religious theme, such as Kannon, Buddha and Shinto gods. All forms of Buddhist practice appealed to Albert Bender's aesthetic senses whether Tibetan, Chinese or Japanese. Unlike the Mills College collection, however, the National Museum's contained almost exclusively artefacts associated with Chinese and Tibetan forms of religious practice.

Apart from the dedication of an exhibition room to house Albert Bender's collection at Mills College, another important professional duty of Aurelia Henry Reinhardt's was her involvement on the art committee of the board of trustees of the college. In the minutes of a meeting of the art committee held in April 1934 reference is made to a proposal by Dr. Alfred Salmony, an authority on Chinese art, for an exhibition of Asian art to be held in October and November 1934 at the Mills College Art Museum: 'Mr. Salmony's long and successful experience as Director of the Cologne Museum is guarantee of his ability to bring together such a collection. Letters in his possession from Mr. Edward Sonnenschein, collector of jade in Chicago, Mr. Raymond A. Bidwell, collector of Springfield, Massachusetts, Mrs. William H. Moore of New York City (mirror collection[6]), Miss Florence Waterbury[7] of New York City, and Mr. Mortimer Leventritt of San Francisco (see Chapter II) are named as practical reasons for carrying forward the unique exhibition planned'.[8] Present for this meeting were

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[6] Salmony, Alfred: 'Chinese Art: The First Exhibition of the Friends of Far Eastern Art' in *Parnassus*, Vol. 6, No. 7, December 1934, p. 14.

[7] Florence Waterbury was a significant benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum, New York and she also wrote an obituary of Alfred Salmony, Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, 12 (1958), p. 97 – see Lawton, Thomas : 'Artibus Asiae Seventieth Anniversary' in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 55, No. 1/2 (1995), p. 5.

[8] Reinhardt to Bender, Minutes of the Meeting of the Art Committee of the Board of Trustees, April 9, 1934. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California

Albert Bender as chairman of the Art Committee, Dr. Hans Barkan, Mrs. Hugh Dobbins and Aurelia Henry Reinhardt as President of the college. As discussed in Chapter II a 'Friends of Far Eastern Art Association' was founded later that year, which proceeded to hold a Chinese Art exhibition at the Mills College Art Museum. Apparently the reservation given in April 1934 by the art committee was later rectified as recorded in the minutes by Reinhardt was 'that until a definite budget of the projected exhibition had been made and accepted, the committee could not unconditionally recommend such an exhibit to the board'.[9] Some of the budget of the exhibition of Chinese art was given by Albert Bender as by that August, Reinhardt wrote a note of thanks in this regard along with gratitude for his having secured a rare Chaucer from the Stratford-on-Avon Press for Mills College Library.[10] This August 1934 letter from Reinhardt is very insightful as to the closeness of their professional relationship, and it is clear that she considered Bender a counsel on all Mills College matters, but particularly in relation to Asian art collecting and education. As discussed in Chapter II Bender was kept informed about the state of Asian art education at Mills College through the report prepared for the delegates of the Kyoto Conference. Likewise when Aurelia Henry Reinhardt requested information and reassurance regarding a proposed academic appointment she wrote to Bender requesting an honest response: 'I suppose I am a stupid woman, but I do not understand why the opportunity of Mills College to bring an oriental archaeologist [Alfred Salmony] to the Pacific Coast for a limited time is by some people misunderstood. I reported to the Trustees, and to the faculty last winter that the New York Committee was giving Mills the chance to enrich its faculty as Stanford and California were, by a visiting scholar. Thanks to the work you have done for years in the Bay region and far afield,

[9] Ibid.
[10] Reinhardt to Bender, 22 August 1934. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

thanks to the humble cooperation of others of us have tried to give to the Institute of Pacific Relations - the faculty voted to invite an orientalist, while Stanford took a physicist and California an economist. The New York Committee promised to pay half the salary, the Rockefeller Foundation promised all the rest ... Was I foolish to be proud that New York was paying for an enrichment of our scholarly viewpoint in an important field of scholarship.. I know that scholars in all fields differ in their opinions ... Is there really any way in which our "exile scholar", our visting lecturer at Mills until June 1935, is harming oriental studies on the Pacific Coast? ... this summer I quietly investigated the opinion held of him by Hamilton, Hummel, March and others at the Oriental Seminar in Berkeley. All agreed about his knowledge. I did not discuss his temperment. I indirectly tried to find if the visitor was non persona grata in his field. All seemed to hold him in scholarly regard. Is it not all we ask of an academic appointment?'[11] This letter is quite revealing in how Reinhardt sought professional advice in the area of Asian civilisation curriculum at Mills College. It is interesting to read how controversial an academic appointment Alfred Salmony must have been (although there is no evidence amongst the papers in the Bender Archive to suggest the form of such opposition to Salmony's appointment), and how Reinhardt felt compelled to impress upon Bender her reasons for him taking up the post. Therefore, Albert Bender was intimately associated with all aspects of Asian art and history in the life of the college, and Reinhardt may have realised that any further donations by Bender either to the library or art museum were contingent on his involvement in the academic and professional life of Mills College.

[11] Reinhardt to Bender, 22 August 1934. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

Reference has been made to Alfred Salmony in Chapter II. It is worth mentioning here, however, that Salmony's connections in both Europe and the United States made him one of the world's prominent Asian art historians, and his employment by Mills College must be seen as a major coup for the institution. As Lawton explains regarding Salmony's editorship of Artibus Asiae: 'An able and inspiring editor, Salmony spent portions of every year in Paris, Rome and Zurich, always being concerned with the interests and development of Artibus Asiae. During summer vacations he travelled to Europe and the Far East, maintaining contacts with colleagues throughout the world. As a result of Salmony's trips and personal contacts, he succeeded in obtaining important contributions to Artibus Asiae from such distinguished scholars as Roman Ghrishman, Sergei Ivanovich Rudenko, Max Loehr, Senarat Paranavitana, and Guiseppe Tucci'.[12]

Another important fact to emerge from the correspondence between Aurelia Henry Reinhardt and Albert Bender is discussion of exhibition layouts and design in Asian art. For instance in February 1935 Reinhardt writes on 'Saint Louis Branch of the American Association of University Women' headed paper of her opportunity to view the Chinese collection of the Philadelphia Art Institution, the Freer Gallery in Washington and the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City (i.e. the Atkins Nelson Museum).[13] She appeared to have been particularly impressed with the quality of display at the Nelson Gallery: 'In Kansas City, it was thrilling to see excellently and in how brief a time, admirable things have been brought together ... in the beautiful new Nelson gallery which has been finished and dedicated since my last pedagogic

[12] Lawton, Thomas: 'Artibus Asiae Seventieth Anniversary' in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 55, No. 1/2 (1995), p. 14.
[13] Reinhardt to Bender, 7 February 1935. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

visit'.[14] The Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas was developing a very important Chinese art collection during the Great Depression. Some of this success can be seen as resulting from the Nelson Gallery curator of Asian art, Laurence Sickman. Yet Cohen notes a variety of factors: 'The singular combination of a newly opened, empty museum with a large acquisitions fund, in the midst of a severe depression that allowed for few competitors, at a time of chaos in China which allowed dealers and their networks of graverobbers and stonecutters to loot with minimal restraint – and the presence of a well-trained connoisseur [Sickman] with a superb eye to make the purchases - resulted in Kansas City becoming the repository of one of the world's finest collections of Chinese art'.[15]

Because Bender never visited anywhere in Asia – any such desire he may have had being, presumably, prevented by his commitments in the USA – he was reliant on the advice of those who had. Reinhardt's visit in 1929-30 would have been valuable in that respect and the experience of other academics and dealers was also keenly drawn on from his circle of acquaintance, given as he was introduced to such people as Henry Killam Murphy. In her last known letter to Bender, Reinhardt wrote 'yesterday Henry Killam Murphy strolled on to the campus from Peking and Nanking. He has for twenty years been advisor to the Chinese government. He had built in the midst of his plans for the capital of Nanking, the only perfect pagoda. You will enjoy him I do believe'.[16] So Reinhardt's role was supplemented by that of an intermediary, bringing together people with interests in common and experience to share.

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[14] Ibid.
[15] Cohen, Warren I.: *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations.* Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 115.
[16] Reinhardt to Bender, 5 December 1935. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

It is also worth noting the influence of Reinhardt in the literary sphere in general and on Albert Bender's book collecting in particular. As has been mentioned in Chapter IV, Bender held a reception in his San Francisco home for The Abbey Players when they visited the city on their performance tour of the United States. As in other areas of mutual interest Bender may have suggested that two of the Players call on Reinhardt at Mills College, when Reinhardt wrote: 'You will be interested to know that Miss Delaney and Miss Craig lunched with us at Mills College today. What fine women they are, and how grateful for your generosity to the Abbey Theatre Players of Dublin! ... far back in 1905 I first shook hands with Augusta Lady Gregory, and saw some of the earliest work of these players who are known and admired throughout the world'.[17] Therefore, Reinhardt must have been in Dublin around the time The Abbey Theatre was founded in 1905. This visit to the Irish capital probably induced Bender to comment to her on literary aspects of the Celtic Revival, whether novels, poems or plays, and this is evident in a July 1936 letter from Reinhardt to Bender regarding the Irish poet Frank O'Connor: 'I had never been conscious of Frank O'Connor's contributions although his name was not unknown to me. What a distinguished talent is his! Because I fear you have missed it,... I quote for your delight twelve brief lines which he calls, "Prologue and Epilogue"... If I did not fear that this psalm of gratitude would be made too long I would also quote the amazing verses he calls "A Statue of Life".[18] As seen in Chapter IV in relation to Bender's contact with both Ella Young and Kathleen O'Brennan particularly, his favourite topics of discussion were contemporary writing and/or writers and Asian art. However, contemporary modern art did have had an equal draw for him, especially in terms of benefaction and

[17] Reinhardt to Bender, 21 March 1935. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[18] Reinhardt to Bender, 25 July 1936. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

patronage. Modern art was a central component of his collecting activities. Regarding patronage of writers, in the case of Frank O'Connor discussion of another Irish poet occurs between Albert Bender and Aurelia Henry Reinhardt when in August 1935 Reinhardt's secretary, Mary Montgomery writes 'that Mrs. Jeffers [Robinson Jeffers' wife] assures us she will be present at the opening of the Yeats' exhibit in September'.[19] Even though there is no archival evidence amongst the Bender Papers stating what this exhibition entailed one can tie this in with Bender attempting to form an Irish subset of his book collection. Considering the fact he collected W.B. Yeats' complete works, and had arranged via Kathleen O'Brennan to have them autographed, one may presume that this exhibition included publications by the Nobel Laureate only. Great pains were taken by Bender in acquiring editions of W.B. Yeats' poetry and this point is reiterated in a letter to Reinhardt concerning his collection of Irish literature: 'My friend, Mr. Shearman, has kindly volunteered to deliver the Yeats books into your hands... It has taken fifteen months to gather these books, first editions and to have them autographed by the author. In a few days I hope to add the last book of Yeats, the Trembling of the Veil, in the de luxe edition, autographed by the poet, which will complete the set'.[20] The main point to be made and an overriding hallmark of the Aurelia Henry Reinhardt correspondence is the evident level of trust between the president of the college, which was the initial and chief repository of Albert Bender's benefaction in book-collecting, Asian art and modern American art, and its primary patron.

[19] Mary Montgomery to Bender, 19 August 1935. File 1.7.610A, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[20] Bender to Reinhardt, 4 January 1935. File 1.7.610B, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

Henry H. Hart

Another contact of Albert Bender's who regularly visited the Asian continent was Dr. Henry H. Hart, one of two of his main dealers involved in the acquisition of material for his Asian art collection in the National Museum. As seen in Bender's correspondence with Dr. Adolf Mahr, Hart appears to have provided explanations of Asian antiques to Bender when he collected material for Bender's own private collection. For example, in June 1932 Hart furnished Bender with meanings surrounding the word "Han" and the central importance of jade in Chinese history: 'The word "Han" in speaking of jades has two meanings. One is "Han" referring to the dynasty (200B.C.-200A.D., approx.) the other is "han", meaning to bury. Though most people look upon green jade, the so-called "jewel jade", as the most valuable, the jades sought for by collectors are the dark brown, yellowish gray and black jades. These were quarried from the deposits in the Yellow River valley before the Sung period (960-1279), at which time the quarries were exhausted. Since then jade, most of it being the greenish variety, has been brought from Burma and from Yunnan, the southernmost province of the Empire.

Jade has from the very earliest known period of Chinese history, been deemed precious above all other things by the Chinese people. We find Confucius comparing the "superior man" to jade in his purity, to its smoothness in his own conduct, to its hardness in his ability to resist temptation, etc. Even in his time (fifth century A.D.) jade had taken its place in the folklore, traditions and religion of China. Even the immortals used jade, its powder being their food.

It was considered immortal, and its use about the person could confer on the wearer some of it qualities. Hence it was much sought for religious purposes, and ancient Chinese history is filled with reference to its use in ritual and court ceremonial. One

of its uses was in the worship of Heaven and of earth. The Chinese believed that the earth was round, but flat and square on the outside, with China in the center. So in the worship of earth a jade piece called the 'tsung" was used – a cylinder with the outside square. In the worship of Shang Ti, or Heaven, which was circular, a jade circle was used, with a hole in the center, and usually engraved with symbols of clouds or of the thunderbolt, conventionalised from a very early date'.[21]

From these explanations it is possible to deduce Albert Bender's possible ignorance surrounding Asian art and history generally, in that even though his library (and publications later donated to Trinity College) contained works on Asian art, he may not have fully read them. Instead it appears that he relied upon dealers, such as Hart and Shiota to provide explanations of the Chinese and Japanese material he collected, whether artistic, ethnological, religious or historical. Hart refers in this letter to a piece of jade Bender had shown him the day before, and provides a detailed description of its symbolic significance: 'the piece of jade which you showed me yesterday is of this type called the p'i. In addition to the symbol of Heaven, it has on it the hydra, or early form of the dragon. In this case it is the dragon of the heavens who protects and guards.

This piece of jade was worn at some time during the Han dynasty, and was buried with the owner, as was the custom among the nobility of the time. It was dug up after the lapse of perhaps hundreds of years, and has been worn by generations since. This contact with the human body gives the jade a kind of smoothness and translucence which it can acquire in no other way. It is safe to say that nine out of ten Chinese from the north who can afford it, wear a piece of jade against the skin as an amulet, no

[21] Hart to Bender, 15 June 1932. File 1.5.310, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

matter how education or Westernization seems to have affected them on the surface'.[22]

The following year in February 1933 Bender donated to the NMI through Hart, jade ornaments from the tops of Chinese boxes dating to the eighteenth century. Perhaps this interest in jade material began with the explanations provided by Hart eight months earlier. Interestingly, the meaning and significance attached by the Chinese to jade in their cultural history is central to all explanations given by Hart, and this kind of cultural context must have been of huge importance in Bender's continued preference to collect Asian art.

Perhaps of even greater interest in the Henry H. Hart file from the Bender Papers at Mills College is the inclusion of an itinerary for Dr. Hart's fifth annual tour of the Far East which left San Francisco on 28 June 1940 and returned two months later on 30 August.[23] This fifth annual tour refers to a study trip to Asia, which Hart managed that was open to members of the public at a fixed price. It is important in naming cities in China and Japan where Hart may have previously (in the 1930s) acquired material for Bender's Asian art donations to the National Museum. In terms of advertising the experience and professional expertise of the tour's leader and guide, Dr. Hart, great detail is given to the potential cultural tourist about his background and experience: 'Again Dr. Henry H. Hart (F.R.G.S., Officer of the Academy of France and Lecturer on Oriental Art and Culture, University of California, Extension Division, etc.) will personally conduct a party through the fascinating lands of the Far East. His tours are known wherever Asia is mentioned, and to those who have accompanied him, they

[22] Ibid.
[23] 'To the Far East with Dr. Henry H. Hart. Fifth Annual Tour' in File 1.5.310, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

have been a never-to-be-forgotten experience. Besides offering his invaluable services as a conductor in the lands on whose peoples and cultures he has been a recognized authority for over 21 years. Dr. Hart will give a series of lectures on shipboard, laying a foundation for the fullest appreciation of each place visited. The members of the party will also have the benefit of his rich experience in buying the worth-while in the Orient'.[24] Reference to the opportunity to purchase goods, i.e. Asian art, is significant, and it is worth noting that as the entire tour was priced at $1078 only the wealthy in 1940 San Francisco would have been able to afford such a vacation. In addition to China and Japan the itinerary also included Manila in the Philippines and Honolulu in Hawaii.[25] Perhaps the most significant aspects of the itinerary are the visits to Manila and many parts of Japan. Even though Bender does not mention in his correspondence with Adolf Mahr (see Chapter I) the name of the dealer involved in the acquisition of the Tibetan-Buddhist Thangkas, he does state that 'the dealer who discovered these pictures is here from Japan and tells me that during his forty-five years' experience as a merchant, this is the first time he was able to discover such a complete collection of the paintings of a temple'.[26] It is possible that Bender is referring to Henry H. Hart,

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid: 'June 28 – Sail from San Francisco.. July 3 – Honolulu.. July 13 – Arrive, Yokohama and disembark. Continue by automobile via Kamakura to Tokyo. July 14 – Nikko.. Automobile drive in the afternoon to various temples. July 15.. mountain lake of Chuzenji stopping at Kegon Water fall. July 16 – Tokyo.. Afternoon drive by automobile to Shiba Park, Nihonbashi district and Asakusa Park. July 17...mountain resort of Miyanoshita. July 18 – Continue by motor to Nagao Toge pass for a beautiful view of Mount Fuji, thence on to Numadzu from where train is taken to Gifu. Gifu – A small town located on the Nagaragawa River where one can witness the very interesting and ancient practice of fishing with Cormorants.. July 20 to July 26 – Kyoto – The ancient capital and one of the most interesting and picturesque places in Japan. A complete program of sightseeing is included: ricksha ride around the city, motor excursion to the peaceful and beautiful town of Nara.. July 27 – Morning train to Miyajima... July 28 – Arrive Nagasaki... July 29- Arrive Shanghai... The largest and most important city on the Asiatic coninent... visting places of interest, including a drive along Nanking and Bubbling Well Road... August 3 – Hong Kong.. August 5 – August 6 – Manila. In addition to comprehensive sightseeing about the city, a full day excursion will be made to Pagsanjan Falls, one of the most unusual sights in the Far East. At Pagsanjan Falls, the trip is continued in native bancas, August 9 – Arrive Hong Kong... August 12 – Call at Shanghai. August 15 – Call at Kobe. August 16 – Yokohama – August 24 – Honolulu... August 30 – Due to arrive San Francisco'.

[26] Bender to Adolf Mahr, 18 January 1932. File AI/108/012, Art & Industrial Division Archive, National Museum of Ireland.

considering Hart's twenty-one years' experience as a recognised authority on Oriental art and culture according to the tour brochure, but Bender may be referring to another dealer entirely. For example, one of the Fujita & Company, Importers of Oriental Art Goods, 461 Grant Ave., San Francisco (whom Bender used to acquire the Song Dynasty Buddha head in the National Museum's collection) points of export to the United States was Yokohama. It is therefore not surprising to read this city mentioned on Hart's tour itinerary, although it was a major port and all sorts of goods went in and out of there. The absence of Beijing from the tour is of significance when one considers how Hart sourced several objects from the Chinese capital, the most important of which being the first degree Daoist Priest's robe of the seventeenth/eighteenth century. Yet in terms of Beijing Hart probably used a network of local agents who worked on his behalf.

Katherine M. Ball

Another important contact of Albert Bender's in Asia, and someone who must have been of major influence on his collecting of Asian art is the author Katherine M. Ball (1859-1952).[27] Her most renowned publication is "Animal Motifs in Asian Art: An Illustrated Guide to their Meanings and Aesthetics" (1927, New York). Another publication by Ball is "Decorative Motives of Oriental Art" (1927, London). She appears to have been on close terms with Albert Bender, sending him 'holiday greetings' in December 1929 when she was travelling through Cairo, quoting a line

[27] Ball was a teacher of 'drawing and writing in the public schools of Omaha for seven years from 1888 and while there was elected the first secretary of the Western Art Association. About 1895 she settled in San Francisco and for 30 years was an art supervisor in the public schools, until her retirement in 1924. Having made many trips to the Orient, she was also popular as a lecturer on Japanese prints and authored two books'. Taken from http://www.askart.com/askart/b/katherine_m_ball/katherine_m_ball.aspx on 11 July 2009.

from the Koran: 'Your great courage is the proof of your faith'.[28] The most important letter in the Katherine M. Ball file in the Bender Papers at Mills College centres on Ball's trip to Egypt, India and Sri Lanka in 1931. It is interesting from the point of view of Bender's mindset regarding his association with such intellectuals as Ball in the lead up to his initial donations to the National Museum in December that year. The letter begins with her impressions of the Asian art collections of museums on the East Coast of the United States and those of London:

'Carlton Hotel, Kandy, Ceylon.. My dear Albert Bender.. Our material interest in Oriental art quite naturally draws me toward you, and your achievements in San Francisco toward an oriental museum is of great importance to me. In my travels through Egypt and India I have so often wished I were a millionaire. So many things I could bring home to put in your museum. I had a wonderful time on the Atlantic coast seeing the Chinese & Japanese collections in Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.[29] And when I went to the British Museum, where I spent seven weeks. Mr. Binyon[30] said to me "why do you come here, when your own country is so rich in oriental art?" I did very little with Indian art anywhere for I wanted to study it in its own country although I did put in considerable time at the South Kensington Museum in London'.[31] As the South Kensington Museum contains a substantial collection of Indian applied arts this may explain the reason why she spent time examining this museum's collection in addition to that of the British Museum.

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[28] Katherine M. Ball to Bender, December 1929. File 1.1.40, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

[29] This reference to east coast museums is evidence of the growing interwar professionalism of Asian art collecting by American Museums. John Ellerton Lodge for the Freer Gallery in Washington and Langdon Warner for the Fogg/Harvard Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts exemplify this increase in museum rivalry. See Cohen, Warren I.: *East Asian Art and American Culture: A Study in International Relations.* Columbia University Press, 1992, Chapter Three, 'Professionalism in America, Chaos in China: John Lodge and Langdon Warner'.

[30] Binyon: 1869-1943, noted art historian and poet. In 1931 was in charge of the Oriental material in the Dept. of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. See www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/binyonl

[31] Ball to Bender, 4 May 1931. File 1.1.40, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

Ball's letter continues to describe the state of Indian arts and crafts during her tour of the country. She is not impressed by Indian design and the overall sentiment embodies a disdain for the decrease in quality she witnessed while on her Indian travels, and she thereby places the arts of China and Japan to be superior: 'Now I am through with India ... I have studied the museums, the civil schools and met many private collectors, seeing their collections. And I feel there are some great things in India in sculpture and painting, but I am still true to my first love, the art of the Far East .... And on the whole India has not come up to my expectations. So frequently writers exaggerate in describing the outstanding features while most of the illustrations or the advertising literature are photographic misrepresentations. I am terribly disappointed in crafts as well. I had looked forward to collecting printed and painted cottons, such as one sees in the museums, but alas! ... I have, however, collected a few interesting things in cottons. Have sent them home – they consist mainly of the upper garment, the coolie women wear thrown over their heads like a sari. I am told that the designs, which are very crude and simple – yet most attractive – have survived without any change since ancient Dravidian days. Most other designs in other things are modernized along European lines'.[32] Katherine Ball's comments on textiles is evidence of her knowledge that Bender too had an interest in this craft and, as discussed in Chapter II, his collection at Mills College Art Museum had many fine specimens of high-quality, international textile design including Irish lace. In addition Ball's preference for art and design of the Far East, rather than that of the Indian subcontinent, may have influenced Bender's collecting preferences, as although some examples of Indian art (since transferred to the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco in

[32] Ibid.

the 1970s) were collected by him (see Chapter II) it was not a region of the Asian continent that interested him much.. His focus was in the main on the arts of China, Japan and Tibetan-Buddhism.

Ball makes reference in this letter to the areas of Indian arts in which a high level of excellence was evident: 'I have bought a few paintings – but not those of the miniature type ... The most attractive I have are the crude folk-paintings of Puri – representing the god Jagannath, "The Lord of the Universe". I have never seen anything like them before. This art, also, is a survival of ancient Dravidian days. I must not make you feel that I did not see anything worthy of my praise for there are many wonderful saris of woven silks which I would have liked to procure, but they were, for my lean purse, prohibited. Then there were all the beautiful things in silver, & brass, & ivory & pottery which were also beyond my means'.[33]

Katherine Ball's interest in and description of Puri painting is timely given the posting in 1931 of the British civil servant and later noted authority on Indian art Dr. William Archer.[34] It is apparent that the same ethnological artform, Puri painting of Bihar, was as impressive to William (and Mildred) Archer as it was to Katherine Ball. More general observations of rural life were elaborated on by Ball in this letter when she writes of a baby elephant in the hotel environs at Kandy, 'having but a child as its keeper. He wanders around the hotel gardens and pokes his trunk into my window. I am staying here until the weather cools, then after a week or two in Colombo, I go to Java, when I shall have to stay some months because I cannot get into Angkor Wat

[33] Ibid.
[34] Archer, Mildred and William: *India Served and Observed*, London, 1994.

until January, the roads being impassable from the monsoon floods'.[35] The letter proceeds with her describing the limited intellectual discourse she has encountered amongst the settled Europeans of India, and her request to Bender for letters of introduction to people he knows living in India. The overriding impression of Katherine Ball later in this letter is one of loneliness and her craving of a meaningful intellectual discussion with someone of similar interests. Returning again to the subject of Puri painting she comments: 'how I miss my friends of the intellectual life of San Francisco. It just occurs to me you might enjoy one of my Puri paintings so I am enclosing one. It represents the god Jagannath – who is regarded as a reincarnation of Krishna – "The Lord of the Universe" ... No one regards them seriously as they are not to be seen in any museums or private collections. However, in visiting a Mr. O.C. Gaugerly, the editor of 'Rupan' – a magazine which should be in our library – he told me he too had quite recently discovered them and is making a collection of them'.[36]

The most interesting scholar mentioned by Ball in the course of this letter is Dr. Stella Kramrisch (1896-1993) who taught at the University of Calcutta between 1921 and 1950, and who was the author of the seminal work 'The Hindu Temple' (1956) as well as editor of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.[37] Kramrisch eventually lived and worked in the United States where she became a major Indian art benefactor of the Philadelphia Museum of Fine Arts. The Himalayan art curatorship at the Philadelphia Museum of Art is in her name, i.e. the Stella Kramrisch Curator of Himalayan art. Ball writes: 'I almost forgot to tell you that Dr. Stella Kramrisch, who lectures on Indian Art in the Calcutta University is going to America between Oct.

[35] Ball to Bender, 4 May 1931. File 1.1.40, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mill College, Oakland, California.
[36] Ibid.
[37] www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/kramrischs

and June 1932 on a lecture tour. You should do all you can to have her come to San Francisco for she is one of the most brilliant women I have ever met, and an authority in her line very highly regarded by all the Indian people. I believe a Dr. Diez of the Cleveland Museum is promoting her. There is also a Mr. Agit Ghose, a delightful man – an Indian – coming to America on a lecture tour. He also is an eminent authority, a great collector - & I do believe a very wealthy man'.[38] Therefore, in terms of Indian art the specialists Katherine Ball refers to would have been of some interest to Albert Bender, as even though his focus was on the art of the Far East, his collections and donations show his interest to have extended to the Asian continent in general. Had this contact between Ball and Albert Bender occurred prior to the onset of the Great Depression, he may have been persuaded to extend his Asian art collecting to encompass more from the Indian subcontinent and South-East Asia. The study of the material culture of Cambodia and Vietnam had also been very considerably developed by the French from the 1920s. Ball ends her May 1931 letter with reference to other countries she was about to visit: 'My address will be c/o American Express Co. Singapore S.S. From here my mail will be forwarded to Java, Bali, Burma, Siam, Cambodia – after that I expect to go to Hué, Hanoi, then Hong Kong and China in general'.[39] With this last statement Katherine M. Ball ended her correspondence with Bender from the Carlton Private Hotel on the Mahaweliganga River,[40] and unfortunately no other letters exist in the relevant file at Mills College. What is certain, however, is that despite the surviving letters being few in number Katherine Ball must have been on close friendly terms with Albert Bender given her appeal to

[38] Ball to Bender, 4 May 1931. File 1.1.40, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ball to Bender, 5 May 1931. File 1.1.40, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.

him to make the acquaintance of such a scholar as Stella Kramrisch, as well as her candid interpretation of the then contemporary state of Indian arts and crafts.

Stella Benson

Another intellectual with whom Albert Bender was on friendly terms was the British writer Stella Benson (1892-1933). Benson's diaries provide information on her time spent in America and Asia, and her friendship with Albert Bender. According to a biographical synopsis: 'By the time Stella arrived in California, she had written her third novel, 'Living Alone' (1919), a fantasy based upon her own experiences during WWI . She met Albert Bender, an émigré from Dublin who developed a successful insurance business in San Francisco and became a patron of the arts and artists – Stella included'.[41] Towards the end of 1919 Stella Benson sailed for China where she would meet her future husband, James Carew O'Gorman Anderson, an officer in the Chinese Customs Service. By the middle of 1920 Anderson takes home leave and accompanies Benson to Ireland to meet his family. They married in London in September 1921. According to the synopsis: 'In May 1922 James and Stella headed for Ireland and England before arriving in China for James' next post, Mengtsz. James was glad to move to his new assignment in Mengtsz in Yunnan Province on the Indochina border ... By spring of 1925 James is posted to Shanghai.. In July of 1925 James and Stella go to Lung Ching Tsun, Kirin Province, Manchuria.. This remote post across from Vladivostok, is where Stella was inspired to write her most important novel, Tobit Transplanted (1931) (or The Faraway Bride, its American title) ... During these years Stella also spent time with old friends and met new ones in California, particularly a lively young poet, Marie Welch, a friend of Albert Bender

[41] http://www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/collections_az/wwt-1-benson/editorial-introduction.aspx?h=stella%20benson The Diaries of Stella Benson, 1902-1933.

... James received his next CCS assignment to Nanning in Kwangsie Province in the spring of 1929. The toing and froing of the Chinese generals and their men made daily life for Westerners like Stella and James uneasy. By early December they were anticipating having to flee at any moment. She notes "I have almost nothing I value here – except the typescript of Tobit – and these diaries." (21 Dec. '29) ... and finally in 1929 she finished writing her prize-winning novel, Tobit Transplanted (1931). In appreciation for his many kindnesses, Stella sent the typed transcript to Albert Bender in San Francisco'.[42] Benson's residing in China at a time of great upheaval and nationalist wars must have been of significant interest and even appeal to Albert Bender given his preference for the collecting of Chinese art above that of other Asian countries. There is no evidence to suggest Benson and Anderson procured Asian art material for Bender or even were requested by him to acquire material on his behalf, but the presence of such a couple on the Asian continent in association with Henry H. Hart's expeditions and Katherine M. Ball's correspondence meant Bender was well informed of contemporary developments in many Asian states. Interestingly, in the obituary of Stella Benson kept by Bender, reference is made to her renowned novel 'Tobit Transplanted' as well as to 'The Poor Man' and 'Pipers and a Dancer', but perhaps most significant is the underlining of the last five lines of text: 'may it be said that her photographs do her a cruel injustice? She had the sealed look of deafness, but after five minutes in her company one's eye rejected its first impression of plainness for a delight in a kind of mingled sturdiness and subtlety that was unique and fascinating'.[43] Inscribed in Albert Bender's own handwriting beside this last sentence is the statement: 'fine & true',[44] thereby implying the intimate friendship he shared

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[42] Ibid.
[43] West, Rebecca: 'Obituary, Stella Benson: A Gallant Life'. File 1.1.65, Albert M. Bender Papers, Mills College, Oakland, California.
[44] Ibid.

with Stella Benson and the high regard in which she was placed. Considering Stella Benson's visits to Ireland with her husband, Albert Bender may have discussed with Benson the memorial to his mother Augusta through his donations of Asian art to the National Museum. Inversely, one might also presume that as she died in 1933 he may not have had the opportunity. Therefore, in terms of longevity of friendship and the fact that she had also visited Ireland, it was probably Aurelia Henry Reinhardt who had the greatest bearing on any conversations that may have taken place regarding Bender's donations to the National Museum.

Conclusion

In order to place into context the reaction of the Irish public to the Albert Bender donations at the National Museum it is worth discussing the media response to the initial exhibition in 1932. Two years prior to the official inauguration of the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art', Adolf Mahr organised a display of the twenty-one Tibetan-Buddhist Thangkas and Chinese and Japanese textiles in the Rotunda of the Museum on Kildare Street. The *Irish Independent* (see Appendix, p. 263) focused on the fact that 'this is the first time that Far Eastern painting on textiles has been shown on a considerable scale in Dublin'.[1] Likewise the *Irish Press* (see Appendix, p. 264) also drew readers' attention to the Thangkas reiterating the misconception that they were on a silk rather than on a cotton ground: 'There are twenty-one Tibetan temple banners of hanging pictures painted in tempera colours and gold on a prepared silk ground. They are specimens of 18th century Tibetan art under strong Chinese influence'.[2] Likewise there is no evidence to suggest that the tempera of the applied decoration of the Thangkas was painted with gold. This misinterpretation of the actual application of paint is following on from Ada Longfield's notes on the subject (re. page 26, Chapter I). The *Irish Times* (see Appendix, p. 268) in referring to the textile donations also misrepresented the techniques involved: 'The principal objects are twenty-one Tibetan temple banners painted in tempera colours and gold on a prepared silk ground and of the eighteenth century period. There are also some fine specimens of Japanese tapestry and embroidery of remarkable blended tones'.[3] Both the *Irish Press* and *Irish Times* mentioned the head of a Bodhisattva from the late Ming Dynasty taken from Shaanxi Province with the *Irish Times* even going so far as to explain its presence in the

[1] *Irish Independent*, 4 June 1932, p. 3.
[2] *Irish Press*, 1 June 1932, p. 5.
[3] *Irish Times*, 1 June 1932.

collection as a direct result of looting: 'A bronze of the late Ming period (1600-1648) will be noticed with pleasure. It is supposed to have been knocked off a temple figure by looting soldiers who found the whole statue too heavy to carry off'.[4] The overall impression from these first press reports is the importance attached to the set of Thangkas, their unusual (in an Irish or European context) techniques of application and the mention of the donor, Albert Bender, and his intention to honour his mother's memory through these donations. It would take a further two years for the exhibition proper to be mounted, and as early as October 1933 Mahr attempted through the Department of Education to secure money from the Department of Finance in order to acquire a bronze tablet to be mounted on the wall of the Bender Room/Exhibition bearing the name of Augusta Bender.[5]

The aforementioned letter to the Dept. of Finance (see Appendix, pp. 268-270) is significant in that it contains the first reference to the permanent exhibition of the Albert Bender donations in the National Museum as well as to an estimated value of their worth: 'The objects are being placed for permanent exhibition in the Kildare Street (main) building of the Museum, and it is intended that the room, which is to be devoted specifically to the display of these objects should be named "The Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art"... The material value of the donations received from him to date is estimated by the Keeper of the Irish Antiquities Division [Adolf Mahr] at close on 20,000 dollars, and the Keeper states that he has good reason to believe that Mr. Bender will continue his donations in which he is prompted by 'a sincere attachment to Dublin, the city in which his mother (Augusta Bender) was

[4] Ibid.
[5] From Dept. of Education to the Secretary of the Dept. of Finance, 10 Oct. 1933, File S10938A, Dept. of the Taoiseach, National Archives of Ireland.

born'.[6] Despite an initial push to open the Bender Room on St. Patrick's Day (17 March) 1934,[7] the Room was not officially opened by the President of the Executive Council Eamon DeValera until 25 June 1934. The speech delivered by DeValera that day was written by Adolf Mahr. The speech provides an informative political spin on the event and can be seen as an opportunity, early in DeValera's period in office, to set out the cultural aspects of the Fianna Fail political agenda. It provides a thorough insight into the collections' policy of the organisation at that time in promoting the Irish material cultural record, and is remarkable in its soliciting of further Irish-American benefaction by way of donations to the National Museum.

Of huge significance is the fact that Bender's donations began in December 1931 when Cumann na nGaedheal was still in power, and ended in 1936 when Fianna Fail had been the main political party in government for five years. Therefore, the Bender donations spanned a period in Irish history, one decade after Independence, which saw the testing of the democratic institutions of the country in the handover of political power in March 1932 from Cumann na nGaedheal to Fianna Fail: 'Dublin had been rife with rumour that efforts would be made to prevent him [DeValera] and his colleagues from entering the Dail. Many of the prospective ministers carried revolvers ...'.[8] Two years later when the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art was officially inaugurated (see Appendix, pp. 270-272) DeValera reiterated in the Mahr-written speech many hallmarks of Fianna Fail's policy at this time in the promotion of national self-sufficiency by way of an acquisitions policy exclusively focused on Irish materials rather than on international collecting:

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[6] Ibid.
[7] National Archives of Ireland file S10938A: Memo 22-34M: Dept. of Education to Secretary, Dept. of External Affairs, 9 March 1934.
[8] Coogan, Tim Pat: *Ireland in the Twentieth Century*. Hutchinson, London, 2003, p. 184.

'We welcome this gift all the more gratefully, because, in a small country like ours to make the national collections adequately representative of world culture is difficult. Our Museum cannot hope in the number and variety of its exhibits to rival Museums of great capitals abroad supported by the resources of powerful and wealthier States. Not that our collections are in any sense unworthy. On the contrary we have every reason to be proud of them. Here in the National Museum we have a magnificent collection of prehistoric gold ornaments which have come down from an age when the cultural influence of this little island must have been felt over large tracts of the European continent. We also have an unrivalled collection of early Christian relics belonging to the period following the collapse of the Roman Empire, when Ireland took the leading part in spreading the Christian faith and restoring civilisation in Western Europe. In the Exhibits from later periods the Museum contains beautiful specimens of Irish glass and silver work which show that centuries of invasion and war did not extinguish the tradition of arts and craftsmanship in Ireland'.[9]

These last remarks articulated by DeValera would form the foundations of collections policy for the institution up to the late twentieth century, when the decorative arts collections from the mid-sixteenth century up to the present would finally be exhibited in a modern display context at Collins Barracks. The institutional preference for material of the Irish Antiquities Division over that of the Art and Industrial Division, as had been proposed in the Lithberg Report[10], continued it can be argued into the 1970s in the decision to dismantle the Bender Room in 1973 to make way for an exhibition on Viking Dublin archaeological finds.

[9] National Archives of Ireland file S10938A.
[10] Herity, Michael and Eogan, George: *Ireland in Prehistory*, Routledge, 1996, p. 14.

Another significant aspect of the speech made by Eamon DeValera on 25 June 1934 was his reference to the 'stabilising influence' cultural appreciation has on society. In this respect the speech echoed the Fianna Fail manifesto under DeValera, which aimed to promote native Irish culture in tandem with traditional economic practices, such as agriculture. For example, in discussing the National Museum and its wider educational role he stated:

'A National Museum has a great part to play in the education of a people. It presents them with concrete evidence of the cultural development and achievements of their ancestors and of their contemporaries in other countries. It enables them to appreciate the position of their country and race in relation to the various races, nations and civilisations which have contributed to the complex phenomenon of world history. It helps to inspire a sense of the past, and appreciation of the continuity of human life and development from generation to generation, and thus is capable of exercising an important stabilising influence in society... Progress, however, has brought its own dangers. If it has given us ever increasing leisure, it has left us with the problem of using that leisure rightly. Well used, the increase of leisure may be a great boon to mankind; abused, it may very well wreck civilisation. One of the chief functions of an institution like this in our time is to enable men to employ their leisure to good purpose, to stimulate them to the cultural effort which will make them better men and better citizens'.[11]

Mahr attempted through this speech to place the National Museum at the heart of the cultural life of the nation, and was keenly aware that reports in the print media might have encouraged the population outside Dublin to visit their national cultural institution, hence reference to increased leisure time. Placed in the context of Irish

[11] Ibid.

social life during the 1930s the call by the President of the Executive Council to the public to support their National Museum may have been the first time the general rural population would have considered the museum the repository of the historical legacy of their own ancestors. In this respect the Fianna Fail party was no different from other mainstream political activism (Nationalism and Fascism) in Europe at that time whereby National Museums were interpreted as repositories of the history of a race. This belief had existed since the mid-nineteenth century, but in the 1930s there was an added element of militarised ideology. The donations can be viewed as highly important in providing general publicity for the National Museum just over a decade after the foundation of the State. That DeValera may have viewed such a speech on the role of the state institutions in the cultural life of the nation as a welcome opportunity to promote a national self-sufficiency manifesto is reinforced when one examines the text submitted by Mahr to the President of the Executive Council. Mahr made reference to the role of a national museum in the scholarly interpretation of human civilisation, which may have been considered too specific for a general population rather than for an intellectual/academic audience. For example, Mahr wrote the following in relation to museum acquisition of international material culture:

'Human civilisation is a plant of very complex growth and the achievements of one race or one country have naturally always influenced others, with beneficial results of the donor as well as the receiver of such influences. Hence a Museum, if it wants to give the proper setting to its local artistic material and to the crafts of the homeland, cannot renounce to show this material against the general background which makes it not only far more intelligible but also puts it into the proper context and proportions... And it is equally natural that a travelling scholar who is interested in a special

problem turns to the National Museum of the foreign countries which he visits in the hope to find there material, which has some relevance to his favourite problem or problems. But this is not its main duty to serve as a handy information office for such purposes and to offer as it were in a nutshell, the principal aspects of local interest. The main duty of a National Museum is to serve as an educational institution for the country itself and to enable the citizens to realise the position of their own country in the universal context, peaceful or otherwise, of races, nations and civilisations, which contribute to the complex phenomenon of world history and development'.[12]

This last sentence above was modified in the speech as delivered, but the tone of Mahr's text is focused on the scholar as the primary beneficiary of a national museum's holdings. In this respect he would have been no different from other museum directors of that era, who were more often appointed as a result of their academic abilities over any popularising ambitions they may have possessed.

Press reaction to the opening concentrated on the objects displayed (see Appendix, pp. 272-276), with the *Irish Independent* specifically mentioning Walter Starkie as instigator of the donations: 'This has been brought about largely through Prof. Walter Starkie, who was instrumental in bringing the donor, Dr. Albert Bender of San Francisco, in touch with the Museum authorities, and especially with Dr. Mahr'.[13] Both the *Irish Independent* and *Irish Press* referenced the Lama priest's robe (now assigned a first-degree Daoist priest association) with the Independent stating: 'Of outstanding importance amongst the textiles is a fine specimen of a 17th century Lama Priest robe from the Yung Ho Kung temple in Peking, the most important Lama

[12] Ibid.
[13] *Irish Independent*, 22 June 1934.

temple outside Tibet'.[14] While the *Irish Press* gave details of its decoration: 'part of the robe is made from fawn-coloured silk and self-figured with symbolisms of Buddhism, while the rest is richly embroidered in gold and coloured silks'.[15] The *Irish Press* newspaper reported on the opening of the Bender Room more so than any other Irish newspaper, and published the entire transcript of the speech delivered by DeValera along with a list of those in attendance. Of great significance is the following statement regarding the inauguration of the Bender Room: 'Tomas O Deirg, Aire Oideachas [Minister for Education], said they [the Irish government] now took over the room on behalf of the nation'.[16] This giving over of a specific space to the Albert Bender donations would lead to much discussion in 1972 on the legality of dismantling the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art. Although it was an event of primarily cultural importance, the opening also had a social, political and diplomatic role. Numerous consul-generals attended the dedication/opening of the Room along with the Board of Visitors of the National Museum and Governors of the National Gallery. Albert Bender also provided Adolf Mahr with a list of personal friends in Dublin to be invited. According to the *Irish Press* these were 'Senator O. St. John Gogarty, Prof. J.G. Smyley, Prof. W.F. Starkie, Mr. George Russell, Senator and Mrs. W.B. Yeats, Miss Kathleen O'Brennan, Miss Estelle Solomons, Dr. B. Solomons, the Misses Yeats, Mr. Jack Yeats'.[17]

In terms of the duration of the Bender donations display, the word 'permanent' appears in several government department memoranda, which will be discussed below. Of significant interest, however, is the possibility that the Bender Collection

[14] Ibid.
[15] *Irish Press*, 22 June 1934.
[16] *Irish Press*, 26 June 1934.
[17] Ibid.

would have been relocated to the Viceregal Lodge (now Aras an Uachtarain). In efforts to fund increased accommodation for the National Museum in the 1930s, and prior to the formation of Bunreacht na hEireann (the Irish constitution) when the Lodge became the residence of the president, it appears the Museum was about to transfer some of its international collections to the Phoenix Park (see Appendix, p. 276):

'In the minute at present under preparation in which the two Keepers of the Art and of the Antiquities Divisions outline their proposal in connection with the Viceregal Lodge scheme, it is recommended that the Bender Room[18], amongst others, be removed to the Park; but that has got nothing to do with the official opening of the present room. The money and labour spent on the transformation of this room into a suitable exhibition-room should have been spent in any case, no matter what goes there, and the Bender donations can be taken from the room at any time without involving any architectural change. As a matter of fact, the room is now as good as any other in the museum, and it remains to be seen which room in the Lodge would be best suited for the Bender collections'.[19]

The permanent display as a condition of acquisition is explicitly acknowledged in this same National Archives file when J.P. Walshe, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs wrote to the Irish Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington D.C. stating: 'You might also inform Mr. Bender that arrangements have been made for the permanent exhibition of his gifts in a room in the National Museum devoted specifically to the display of his donation. The room will be named 'The Augusta

[18] The area/room, which previously housed the Bender donations is now occupied by an Iron Age exhibition of material (including the Keshcarrigan bowl and Monasterevin Disc) just before entering the large room of the 'Treasury' where the Ardagh Chalice and Tara Brooch reside.
[19] National Archives of Ireland: 238/223, Dept. of Foreign Affairs: Mahr to Secretary, Dept. of Education, 27 Feb. 1934.

Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art'.[20] Reference to 'permanent exhibition' in both Dept. of Education and Dept. of External Affairs documents leads one to conclude that this was an integral component of the terms of the donation. It is reasonable to question that had Bender known his collection would be removed from exhibition in 1973 for a period of over thirty years would he have given these donations of Asian art to the National collection in the first instance? The Department of Finance file refers to the cost of erecting the bronze tablet inscribed the 'Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' at £2.11.0 as having been outside normal expenditure arrangements[21]. Thus, the display of such a munificent gift was extraordinary and deserved to be recorded on a plaque in the Bender Room.

The decision to dismantle the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art was made in September 1972 as noted in a memorandum from the Keeper of the Art and Industrial Division, John Teahan, to the Museum's director, Dr. A.T. Lucas:
'While I have no documentation on the setting up of the existing exhibition in this particular room, it has for long been common knowledge in the Division (1) that the Bender collection was accepted by the Government of the time on the condition that it would be exhibited; (2) that the room, now known as the Bender Room, was to be allocated for the exhibition and that, consequently, it has a plaque inscribed to this effect; (3) that the exhibition was opened by the then Minister.
It could, therefore, cause some public concern to interfere with the present exhibition. I would consider in the circumstances that this exhibition should not be dismantled without a directive from the Minister for Education ... Lastly, the use of the Bender Room for an exhibition of Viking art would mean, essentially, the transfer of that

[20] Ibid: Walshe to Washington D.C., 7 Dec. 1932.
[21] National Archives of Ireland file S18/41/33, Dept. of Finance: re. Memo to the Secretary, Dept. of Education, 25 Aug. 1934.

room from the Art and Industrial Division to the Antiquities Division. I would be obliged to disagree with this, since the space available for exhibition or storage is already in very short supply in this Division'.[22]

It is surprising to learn from the above that John Teahan appears to have been unaware of the fact that Eamon DeValera rather than the Minister for Education (Tomas O Deirg) had officially opened the Bender Room in 1934, making a government directive to close the space all the more necessary. Yet assurances were given to John Teahan that the decision to dismantle the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art would be a temporary arrangement. In a National Museum file is reference to a discussion on the subject between John Teahan, Joseph Raftery [Keeper, Irish Antiquities Division] and A.T. Lucas:

'Record in the Director's office on Wednesday, 20/9/1972 ... discussion ... regarding the positioning of the proposed Viking exhibition, and also regarding the possible dangers of transferring a commemorative room to another purpose without ministerial approval. I expressed concern.. (4) that the exhibition of Viking art would be a temporary one – probably from July 1973 to the end of 1973. In this connection Dr. Raftery said that the Bender Room had originally belonged to the Antiquities Division and that he would be willing to exchange the Egyptian Room for (I think) the Bender Room. Dr. Lucas and Dr. Raftery asked me if these guarantees satisfied me. I said that they did. John Teahan, 21 September, 1972'.[23]

The assurances given to the Keeper of the Art and Industrial Division were not honoured, primarily as a result of the Dublin Viking excavations, which the National Museum was involved in during the 1970s and 1980s. If the Nils Lithberg Report had

[22] Art and Industrial Division, National Museum of Ireland, file AI/78/047: Teahan to Lucas, 20 Sept. 1972.
[23] File AI/78/047, NMI: Teahan, John, 20 Sept. 1972.

affirmed the collections' policy remit of acquiring Irish or Irish-related material only, then the Dublin archaeological investigations carried out by the Irish Antiquities Division cemented this mindset within the organisation. As a result by the late 1970s not only the Bender Room, but also the Indian and Ethnographical Room were under threat of being dismantled. Yet John Teahan persevered in reiterating the necessity for the display of the Bender Collection in four separate memoranda from 1976 to 1982. In 1979 Teahan made the point to the then director of the National Museum, A.B. O Riordain that the Bender Collection consisted of 'material of considerable public interest, being the subject of many queries. Some of it is of great monetary value, and most is of prime artistic and historical importance. The fact that, in the case of the Bender presentation, 'a special room has been devoted to the purpose to be known as the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' should not be lost sight of... In a still wider setting, I believe it should be the task of the Division to provide even a glimpse into civilisations other than our own'.[24] (See Appendix, pp. 277-278) Echoing Mahr's argument of forty years earlier, Teahan claimed that high monetary value and rarity were reason enough to exhibit the collection. But his first point, that the collection had strong public appeal, ties in with DeValera's comments in 1934 regarding the educational role of the museum and the requirement that foreign material culture be exhibited alongside Irish, in order to better fulfil the aim of international context. The following month a breakthrough appears to have occurred in relation to the exhibition of parts of the Bender Collection as O Riordain requested an estimate of the amount of personnel it would take to set up the 'Treasures of Ireland' exhibition (under the Antiquities Division) and re-locate both the Indian and Tibetan exhibitions. Teahan replied that it would be necessary to recruit 'one

[24] File AI/78/047, NMI: Teahan to A.B. O Riordain, 31 July 1979.

professional officer (curatorial grade) and two technical assistants on a temporary basis in connection with (a) the vacation of the Indian Room and the removal of the Tibetan or Bender material from the Ethnographical Room to make way for the Treasures of Ireland and (b) the re-assembly of the Indian and Tibetan Exhibition in the Merrion Row building'.[25] Teahan seems to have used the titles of 'Bender' and 'Tibetan' interchangeably. This memorandum also implies that perhaps not all of the Bender Collection was on exhibition in the Ethnographical Room by 1979, but just the Tibetan-Buddhist Thangkas.

The apparent efforts to recruit temporary staff in 1979 for the re-display of certain exhibitions did not transpire, as in 1982 John Teahan wrote again to A.B. O Riordain regarding the necessity to exhibit the Bender Collection: 'As I have pointed out, much of the Bender material is of great monetary value and easily disposable and all is of great historical importance. It is relatively easy to re-mount and is much safer on exhibition.. My proposal should also be viewed in the context ... of a legal undertaking at acquisition. In addition, the fate of this presentation is not such as would encourage donors in the future and queries in this regard have been put to members of staff of this Division from time to time'.[26] Teahan's point as to the encouragement of potential donors was extremely valid, and the Albert Bender series of donations still remains the most valuable in the history of the National Museum since Irish Independence. With regard to public queries, this too was a valid response by Teahan as in 1981 Mairéad Reynolds (Dunlevy), assistant keeper of the Art and Industrial Division, wrote to her then manager, John Teahan stating that Monica and Paddy Henchy (former honorary curator of the Chester Beatty Library) were

[25] Ibid. Teahan to O Riordain, 10 Aug. 1979.
[26] Ibid, Teahan to O Riordain, 25 Jan. 1982.

pewter, statuary and some ceramics. Crucially, this display did not include the Tibetan-Buddhist Thangkas, Chinese and Japanese textiles and Japanese ukiyo-e. However, they have all been showcased in the 2008 exhibition, which is located in the South Wing of Clarke Square, Collins Barracks. Approximately, one hundred and seventy out of the two hundred and sixty artefacts in the collection are exhibited. The Japanese woodblock prints and Tibetan-Buddhist Thangkas will be rotated.

As the first major benefactor to the Irish State the story of Albert Bender is generally unknown to the general public. The 2008 exhibition will change that fact and it is hoped increase knowledge in the area of the history of Irish contact with Asia. This is particularly relevant in an educational context, where significant changes have been made in recent years in relation to the Irish primary and post-primary history curricula regarding Irish contact with Asia through colonialism. Coupled with these changes in educational curricula the growing multi-culturism of Irish society over the past decade has also made it imperative that the National Museum exhibits significant artefacts from its non-Western collections.

In summary, the Albert Bender donations of Asian art were undoubtedly the most significant series of non-Irish acquisitions made by any cultural institution in Ireland a decade after Independence. Reasons for this argument include the rarity of certain aspects of the material (particularly the set of twenty-one Tibetan Buddhist Thangkas from the same temple), and the possibility of further soliciting of donations from wealthy Irish-Americans. Coupled with this assertion is the importance of the time period under discussion in which acquisition of Asian art by Bender in San Francisco coincided with a time that also saw Richard Fuller in Seattle and Laurence Sickman at

the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City develop their Asian art collections despite the Great Depression. In addition expeditions to Gansu Province by such geographers as Joseph F. Rock during the 1920s may have also been of influence. The overriding hallmark of the start of Bender's interest in visual art, however, whether contemporary American or historical Asian, was the death of his cousin Anne Bremer in 1923. From that year onwards Bender's collecting can be said to become more concentrated, particularly in his acquisitions for the Mills College Art Museum. Therefore, Bender is rather unique compared to other American collectors of Asian art during the early twentieth century in that what was initially a private enterprise instigated as a result of personal loss developed into institutional public collecting (even on an ad hoc basis) up to the end of the 1930s. As discussed elsewhere 1934 can be interpreted as the highlight of Bender's collecting endeavours in the opening of two memorial rooms in Ireland and the United States containing his Asian art donations. Bender's aim in marking the memory of beloved dead relatives was a primary concern in addition to any obvious educational importance attached to forming public collections. The most unique aspect of the Bender donations of Asian art to the National Museum, however, is their highly unusual context on a European level in that most continental European collections of Far Eastern material were sourced by European collectors in Europe, rather than by American collectors via the United States with subsequent donation to a European institution. In this respect Albert Bender's generosity to the National Museum of Ireland places his Asian art collection in a rather distinct European context, whereby similarities can be drawn more in relation to Asian art collecting by American museums than elsewhere in the western world.



Plate 119. 'A Dubliner's Collection of Asian Art: The Albert Bender Exhibition', National Museum of Ireland, Collins Barracks, 2009.



Plate 120. 'A Dubliner's Collection of Asian Art: The Albert Bender Exhibition', National Museum of Ireland, Collins Barracks, 2009.



Plate 121. 'A Dubliner's Collection of Asian Art: The Albert Bender Exhibition', National Museum of Ireland, Collins Barracks, 2009.

Appendix

Chapter I

Appendix A: Albert Bender's donation of Japanese prints to the NMI, 30 August 1932

1) Hiroshige's Print Series: Meisho Yedo Hyakkei. Subject: Nekozane Horiye. $17.50
2) Hiroshige's Print Series: Meisho Yedo Hyakkei. Subject: Hakeizaka. $12.50
3) Hiroshige's Print Series: Toto Meisho (Views of Yedo). Subject: Evening at Benten-yama and at Kinryuzan. Temple at Asakusa. $30.00
4) Hiroshige's Print Series: Toto Meisho (Views of Yedo) Subject: Zojoji Temple in Akabane, Shiba. $28.00
5) Hiroshige's Print Series: Sixty Odd Provinces. Subject: Choshi-no-hama in Shimosa Province. $30.00
6) Hiroshige's Print Series: Sixty Odd Provinces. Subject: Stork Flying Over Kii Province, Coast of Waka. $35.00
7) Hiroshige's Print Series: Fifty-Three Post Stations on the Tokaido. Subject: Mishima. $20.00
8) Hiroshige's Print Series: Meisho Yedo Hyakkei. Subject: Jiji-ga-chaya (Old Man's Tea House) in Meguro. $17.50
9) Hiroshige's Print Series. Subject: Toto Sanju Rokkei. Subject: Kite Flying on Atago-yama. $15.00
10) Hiroshige's Print Series: Toto Meisho, (Views of Yedo). Subject: Fire-works on Ryogoku Bridge. $18.00
11) Hiroshige's Print Series: Meisho Yedo Hyakkei. Subject: Temple of Five Hundred Rakans, Sazaido. $20.00

12) Kuniyoshi's Print. Subject: Fire-fly at Night. A Diptych Print

13) Kuniyoshi's Print. Subject: Fire-fly at Night. Part of No. 12

[The latter two were complimentary presentations to Bender from T.Z. Shiota].

14) Hiroshige's Print Series: Toto Meisho (Views of Yedo). Subject: Kasumigaseki. $12.50

15) Hiroshige's Print Series: Toto Meisho (Views of Yedo) Subject: Myojin Shrine, Higashi-zaka, in Kanda District. $30.00

16) Hiroshige's Print Series: Yedo Meisho-no-Uchi. Subject: Sumida River in Rain. $20.00

17) Kunisada's Print. Subject: Hama-ogi Autographing a Fan With her Poem. $12.00

18) Yeisen's Prints Series: The Maids from Famous Restaurants in Yedo. Subject: Beauty from Horai-ya Restaurant at Ueno District (Picture portrays the Restaurant that she represents). $12.00

19) Toyokuni's Print Series: Hyaku-nin-ishu. Subject: Beauty Fishing. $10.00

20) Toyokuni's Print. Subject: Actor, Iwai Tojaku, portraying female part. $20.00

21) Kuniyasu's Print. Subject: Beauty Performing Hanadori Dance. $20.00

22) Kunisada's Print. Subject: Mother and Child Picking Young Leaves. $10.00

23) Hiroshige's Print Series: Toto Meisho (Views of Yedo). Subject: Listening to the Insects Sing on Dokwan-yama. $20.00

24) Yeisen's Print Series: Tosei Bijin (Contemporary Beauty Contest). Subject: Lady with Blue Parasol. $30.00

25) Yeizan's Print. Subject: Geisha Girl Cooling on the Outside Veranda in a Warm Summer Evening. Silhouette of Maids Inside Seen Through The Door. $30.00

26) Yeizan's Print. Subject: Winners of Beauty Contest, Sugano and Yayegiku. $20.00

27) Yeizan's Print Series: Furyu Kingosho. Subject: Hana-ogi, a koto player before her string instrument. $15.00

28) Toyokuni's Print. Subject: Actor Seki Sanjuro, Walking under Plum Tree. $30.00

29) Tokoyuni's Print Series. Subject: Twelve Months Represented by the Flowers. Subject: Hanamizuki, with Aoe Leaves' Crest. $10.00

30) Yeisen's Print Series. Furyu Gosetsu Bijin (Beauty in Month of June). Subject: Geisha in Green Striped Kimono Reading a Letter. Iris in the Background. $35.00

31) Shigenobu's Print. Subject: Geisha Holding a Samisen with a Background of Ryogoku Bridge at Fire-work. $15.00

Appendix B: Albert Bender's donation of Japanese prints to the NMI, 18 August 1932

1) Print by Yeishi, Hosoda (1746 to 1829). Subject: Poetess Writing on a Fan Before a Lady & Child. $30.00

2) Print by Shunsen, Katsukawa (about 1790 to 1830). Subject: Geisha carrying a Lantern. $30.00

3) Print by Utamaro, Kitagawa (1754 to 1806). Subject: Yamanuba and Kintaro. $45.00

4) Print by Koryusai, Isoda (1760 to 1780). Subject: Young Couple Meeting Before The Window". $40.00

5) Print by Shuncho, Koikawa (1772 to 1800). Subject: Three Girls Cooling at the Seaside Tea-House. $50.00

6) Print by Hokusai, Katsuchika (1760 to 1849). Series: Thirty-Six Views of Mt. Fuji. Subject: Mt. Fuji from Tama River. $75.00

7) Print by Hiroshige, Ando (1797 to 1858). Series: Meisho Yedo Hyakkei (100 Views of Yedo). Subject: Fire-Works on Ryogoku Bridge. $75.00

8) Print by Shunzan, Katsukawa (1776 to 1800). Subject: Three Boys Playing with Monkey. $45.00

9) Print by Utamaro, Kitagawa (1754 to 1806). Subject: Two Geishas, Kiwaka, Dancing. $45.00

10) Print by Yoshitora, Kinchoro (1855). Subject: Geisha Dressed in Black Kimono. $10.00.

Appendix C: Albert Bender's donation of Japanese prints to the NMI, 21 July 1933

'1) Utamaro's Print Series: Yedo Murasaki Some-ero. Subject: Two Girls Reading a Letter. $50.00

2) Utamaro's Print Series: Tsuruya-no-Uchi Arihara. Subject: Young Lady Doing Flower Arrangement. $30.00

3) Yeishi's Print. Subject: Playing Koto Among Three Young Ladies on the Veranda. $50.00

4) Yeisen's Print. Series: Maru-ebi-tamagawa. Subject: Girl Smoking Before Tokonoma (alcove). Dressed with Japanese Flower Arrangement. $15.00

5) Yeizan's Print Series: Matsubaya-uchi Matsumura. Subject: Woman in Ceremonial Kimono with Dragon Designed Obi (Sash). $20.00

6) Yeizan's Print Series: Furyu Bijin Kodakura Asobi. Subject: Young Mother Playing with Her Small Son. $25.00

7) Kunisada's Print Series: Haisen Jutentsu-no-Uchi. Subject: A Woman in Summer Kimono Holding a Fan. $17.50

8) Yeisen's Print Series: Hana Meisho Azuma Hyakkei. Subject: Beauty from Fukagawa Hachiman. $14.50

9) Kunisada's Print Series: Minatsu-no-Uchi. Uno Hanazuki. Subject: Lady Holding Bonsai (Dwarfed Tree). $10.00

10)Kunisada's Print Series: Toto Tsukino Meisho. Subject: Winter Moon of Matsuchiyama. $12.00

11) Toyokuni's Print Series: Aburaya Okon. Subject: Glimpse of the Dancers through the Sliding Door. $7.50

12) Kuniyoshi's Print Series: Tosie Kacho Awase. Subject: Unottana and Hotogisu (Cuckoo) with Lady Tying Green Obi (Sash). $15.00

13) Kuniyasu's Print Series: A Woman Smoking on the Porch with Large Kashi-ire (Tea-cake container) and Jubako (Sweet-Meat-Dish) in the Background. $12.50

14) Sadatora's Print Series: Nakanocho Sakura. Subject: Black Robe Geisha Walking Down the Street. $10.00

15) Hiroshige's Print Series: One of the Three Beautiful Scenes of Yedo. Subject: Takanawa Moon Night. $20.00

16) Yoshitora's Print Series: Maid Going on An Errand. $7.50

17) Shunsho's Print Series: Gosetsu Bunsho (Doll Festival) Subject: Sister playing with baby. $10.00

18) Toyokuni's Print Series: No Name. Subject: Woman Drummer in a Classical Play. $16.00

19) Hokusai's Print Series: Shokoku Meiko Kiran (Bridge). Subject: Tsuri Bashi (Hanging Bridge) on the Boundaries of Hida and Etchu Provinces. $50.00

20) Kiyomitsu's Print. Subject: Classical Dancer and Musicians with Odaiko (Large Standing Drum). $18.00

21) Hokusai's Print. Subject: Persimmon and Grasshopper. $20.00

22) Hokusai's Print. Subject: Oshiroi Flower and Ekaru Bird. $25.00

23) Hokuba's Print. Subject: Azalea and Nightingale. $25.00

24) Sugakudo's Print. Subject: Mushikui Bird, Yellow Rose, Honeysuckle and Bamboo. $15.00

25) Sadanobu's Print Series: 60 Provinces of Japan. Subject: Harunayama in Katsuke Province. $22.50

26) Shigenobu's Print Series: Yeddo Meisho. Subject: Shiboshi in Shinagawa. $12.00

27) Koryusai's Print Series: Seiro Manzai Niwaka. Subject: Manzai Playing with Two Boys. $30.00

28) Kiyonaga's Print Series: Furyu Shiki no Tsuki-mairi. Subject: Mother and Sister with Two Boys on Way to the Temple. $20.00

29) Hiroshige's Print Series: Sosho Tokaido. Subject: Otsu. $15.00

30) Hiroshige's Print Series: 100 Views of Yedo. Subject: Takado-no-Baba. $12.00

31) Hiroshige's Print Series: 100 Views of Yedo. Subject: Yotsugi Dori. $15.00

32) Hiroshige's Print Series: Famous Views of Yedo (Toto Meisho). Subject: Wistaria in Kameido. $12.50.'[1]

Chapter IV, Ella Young:

Ella Young asked Bender to dispatch letters to the relevant authorities in order to cross the border into Canada from the United States: 'I leave Seattle tomorrow Tuesday 18th & hope to have my first interview on that day with George A. Bucklin American Consul, American Consulate Victoria. Send any letters etc. direct to him'.[1] Yet by 20 November 1930 Young had still not managed to cross into the U.S. from British Columbia and wrote urgently to Bender seeking immediate help: 'We found out that the vice-consul, with consent of the Immigration authorities at Victoria and Seattle, had power to admit me without delay, but he informed us that instructions had come from Washington D.C. which practically closed America to everyone not in possession of a private income. He did not see on examining my papers that he could possibly admit me. Miss Cornish [Miss Nellie Cornish] spoke very vigorously to him and he finally consented to state in writing what would be required to satisfy him and the Immigration Officers ... All letters should be addressed to the Consulate here'.[2] Therefore, Bender was the main point of contact for Young while trying to solicit letters, affidavits, etc. for the Immigration authorities. Despite Bender's help, however, Young was stranded and resigned herself to the fact that with the approaching Christmas season and absence of the Consul (who was on a six-week holiday in Florida) that delays were to be expected. Instead she turned her mind to her surroundings and wrote to Bender regarding an Asian art commercial establishment:

[1] AI/108/009: Shiota to NMI, 30 June 1933.
[1] Young to Bender, 'The Moore Hotel, Seattle', 17 November 1930. Ella Young File 1.10.797A.
[2] Young to Bender, 'Roccabella, Quadra Street, Victoria B.C.', 20 November 1930. Ella Young File 1.10.797A.

'I have discovered a shop with really old Chinese things. It is owned by Irish folk [the Campbells, see below] who took over the stock of an old Chinese merchant who died. They let me go into their shop and feast my eyes on some wonderful embroideries & ivories. They have two of those delicate carved balls (with other balls inside them) on ivory pillar stands & a wonderful carved tusk. The ivory balls should stand in a royal palace. It seems that only about one man in China now is capable of carving these balls so it will soon be a lost art. These two were the delights of the old Chinaman. The tusk must have been carved by a genius. It is the richest & loveliest thing that you can imagine (about 3 feet long) not a mere mass of intricate carving as some tusks are but rich & bold in imagery deeply carved in places, in others carving away to low relief ... The old Chinese merchant must have loved rare things – things much too good for the tourists of Victoria. He had some very old robes with the rich all over embroideries. There is a mandarin umbrella, however, making a rich & delicate splotch of colour on the walls'.[3] Obviously it can be deduced that Young was very well acquainted with Bender's love of all things 'Oriental', and perhaps during her own previous time spent in northern California had familiarised herself with Asian arts, not least from the vibrant Chinese and Japanese communities which flourished in San Francisco during the first half of the 20th century. Young may have been informed enough to differentiate between what was high quality art as opposed to general tourist commodities/souvenirs.

By Christmas 1930 Ella Young was still 'stranded' in British Columbia, but with good cheer sent a seasonal gift to Albert Bender, which was, as expected, Asian: 'I found a quaint little elephant in a Chinese shop here, an intelligent looking little beast

[3] Young to Bender, 'Roccabella, Quadra Street, Victoria B.C.', 16 December 1930.

& I got him for you just to sit on your desk & be lucky'.[4] She then continues explaining how she will not post the figure to him for fear of customs impeding a safe arrival, and suggests instead the following noteworthy alternative: 'However Mr. Campbell an Irishman here who has a curio store, and who has helped me with advice about the Consular office here etc., is going to San Francisco early in the year (he is going to China to hunt for curios in Jan. or Feb.) and he could deliver the little package at your office for me'.[5] Perhaps Young believed that such an introduction between Albert Bender and Campbell might in fact facilitate the former in his collecting activities. One can certainly state that all in Bender's circle were aware of his Asian collecting preferences at this time as exemplified in the Young correspondence.

Ella Young was also one of his Irish friends who first introduced him to the work of Elizabeth and Lily Yeats: 'This Christmas card was sent to me from Ireland & I think I will send it to you. It is designed for the Cuala Press run by Elizabeth & Lily Yeats, sisters of the poet. Elizabeth Yeats has a hand-press & prints the very first editions of W.B. Yeats poems. But I suppose you know about the Cuala Press as its books are famous'.[6] As previously noted (page 151) in relation to Russell, Gogarty and Starkie, Irish intellectual society was small and all encompassing. Bender collected the works of many writers connected with the Celtic Revival/literary renaissance of the 1920s-30s.

[4] Young to Bender, 'Roccabella, Quadra Street', 22 December 1930. Ella Young File 1.10.797A.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Young to Bender. Undated but headed 'Halcyon, California' so previous to 1930. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.

When back in California Young returns in her correspondence with Bender to the subject of Far Eastern art, which apart from her temporary stay across the Canadian border, is a topic she addresses several times as being the main focus of his interests: 'you who are associated in my mind with so many beautiful Chinese things and who have given in your princely gifts to the Museum so many lovely and rare and old Chinese treasures to every lover of beauty who will now in years to come visit the Albert Bender rooms'.[7] It is noteworthy to contrast the latter view with that of Adolf Mahr's endeavours to persuade Bender of the notion that the Irish public were not yet intellectually sophisticated enough to appreciate the true artistic value of donations of Asian material culture as opposed to Irish archaeological artefacts. He may have done so in order to disguise the reality that such gifts of Asian artefacts were in conflict with the nationalistic collecting orientation of the National Museum. Ella Young and others may have convinced Bender that such gifts to the National Museum would be appreciated and educationally important.

Returning to Asian art, Young writes later that same month about a 'Kuan-yin' figure she had acquired during her Canadian stay.[8] She enquires as to whether he might explain the decorative motifs and symbolism of Chinese art: 'Of course I love the embroidery – a tree of life with the phoenix bird, sometime you must explain to me all the symbology'.[9] Indeed by January 1932 (a month after the Tibetan-Chinese Thangka paintings were dispatched to Dublin) specific mention is made of Bender's museum donations, namely to the Legion of Honor in San Francisco: 'We wandered from room to room till we came to that part of the Albert Bender Collection where the

[7] Young to Bender. Undated letter, but after 11 April 1931. Headed 'Halcyon, California'. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[8] Young to Bender, 19 June 1931. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.
[9] Young to Bender, 19 July 1931. Ella Young file 1.10.797A.

Sung heads are and the lovely blue Ming group, that has a colour to remember for a lifetime'.[10] This suggests that by 1932 Bender's donations to the Palace of the Legion of Honor were a self-contained display, and thus may have set the precedent for the Bender Room in the NMI. Comparison can be made between these 'Sung heads' and the Song Dynasty Buddha head from the National Museum's collection. Young even finishes this remark with the following realisation about Bender's generosity: 'And that collection is only one out of many that you have given! You have the virtue certainly that the Irish most extolled – the virtue of munificence'.[11] Such remarks may have encouraged Bender to continue donating to Dublin. In addition to his acquaintance with most Irish in San Francisco and the Bay Area, Bender also entertained visiting artists, politicians, actors, writers, etc. from Ireland on their visits to the region, which was of huge importance in him maintaining contemporary accounts of the 'homeland'. One such instance is referred to by Ella Young and concerns the staunch Republican Ernie O'Malley: 'Ernie O'Malley (Brigadier-General E.O'M.) was just leaving for New York when I arrived. We had a talk about our friends in Ireland & America. Ernie was so proud of your generous gift to the Museum. He said he was so glad to have known you. He is taking back to Ireland many gorgeous memories of mountains & deserts & memories of a few people who had something splendid in them to match the mountains!'[12] Young met O'Malley in Taos, New Mexico, which during the 1920s and 30s was highly fashionable amongst artists and writers. Individuals such as Frieda Kahlo and D.H. Lawrence stayed there. Indeed in Hignett's biography of Dora Brett, reference is made to Ella Young when Brett writes to Una Jeffers (Robinson Jeffer's wife) in 1932: 'I have done nothing all

[10] Young to Bender, 12 January 1932. Headed '29 Mosswood Road, Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Young to Bender, 5 July 1932. Headed 'c/o The Hon. Dorothy Brett, The Del Monte Ranch, San Cristobil, N.M.' Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

summer but whack this damn machine. Ella [Ella Young, an Irish visitor in California whom Brett had installed first in a wigwam, then in a minute cabin in a small clearing a little way up the mountain from the Tower Beyond Tragedy] listened patiently, corrected my awful grammar and encouraged me ...'.[13]

Leaving aside Asian art, specific mention is also made of the Abbey Players tour of the United States. Bender, as appeared to be typical of his character, entertained the actors when they performed in San Francisco. Referring to the Abbey Theatre actress Maureen Delany, Young informs Bender 'that she & the others were overwhelmed with invitations on their last week. I am glad that you were able to see so much of the plays & the players. They brought a real bit of Ireland to San Francisco, & you gave them a real Irish welcome'.[14] By August of the following year more Irish connections between Young and Bender are discussed as they return to the topic of AE's letter: 'I think it most good of you to let me see the letters, they are more than ever valuable now'.[15] Ella Young remarks a few days later that she read them with 'great sympathy & interest. I think the one in which he tells how he painted sunshine because it was raining outside gives a wonderful picture of the man and will be a great treasure in days to come even as letters of Keats and Shelley are treasures'.[16] She ends this piece of correspondence with a characteristic compliment to Bender, saying that since AE was given an honorary doctorate by Trinity College Dublin, that Bender should have allowed 'our National University' to grant him a similar degree. Yet perhaps the

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[13] Hignett, Sean: *Brett: From Bloomsbury to New Mexico – A Biography*. Hodder and Stoughton, 1984, p. 218-219.
[14] Young to Bender, some time latter half of 1934. Headed '2728 Elmwood Ave., Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[15] Young to Bender, 1 August 1935. Headed '2728 Elmwood Ave., Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B. These are letters received by and addressed to Albert Bender from George Russell that are contained in File 8.634, Bender Archive, Mills College.
[16] Young to Bender, 6 August 1935. Headed '2728 Elmwood Ave., Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

greatest insight into the shared high esteem with which Bender and Young viewed AE's poetry is in a letter of November 1935: 'Dear Albert, I am so glad that you like the little book. I agree with your estimate of AE as a poet. He has a depth and spirituality that Yeats does not possess. I think the poem 'Growth' in his last book was written out of what was, through all his years, the master-passion of his life: it expresses him as friends knew him, & would wish to remember him'.[17] Despite George Russell and Ella Young's disagreement over the terms and political implications of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, there still existed on Young's behalf respect for AE's works of literature and art as exemplified in her correspondence with Albert Bender. Young also refers to Maud Gonne in a letter to Bender from 1936: 'I have a drawing by Maud Gonne which I would like to show you: I will bring it to your office some day...'[18] In 1909 and 1910 Ella Young and Maud Gonne had collaborated in the production of 'Celtic Wonder-tales' and 'The Coming of Lugh: A Celtic Wonder-tale' Young being the author and Gonne the illustrator. According to Anna MacBride White 'Maud wrote that Ella "was always extraordinarily happy, and I loved being with her and missed her greatly when she went to America. She had the gift of making life colourful"'.[19] The fact that Young was willing to offer a drawing by Gonne to Bender is evidence again of the closeness of their friendship whereby Young felt comfortable enough to part with what was likely to have been a highly treasured possession.

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[17] Young to Bender, 23 November 1935. Headed 2728 Elmwood Ave., Berkeley'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[18] Young to Bender, 13 October 1936. Headed 2728 Elmwood Ave., Berkeley'. Ella Young File 1.10.797B.
[19] MacBride White, Anna in Londraville, Janis & Richard, Locust Hill Press, West Cornwall, Connecticut, 2001, p. 146.

Relevant to the history of the Asian acquisitions in the National Museum is a specific reference by Young in 1938 to the Fujita Company of Asian art goods: 'I am deeply grieved to learn that you have been ill. I learned it from Hikaru Tsuchrya (Scothe of Fujita Co.) who called to see me here in passing. I can see Chinatown keeps itself acquainted with your fortunate & unfortunate days. In Berkeley when I mentioned your name in a Japanese shop – at once the answer was "O we know Mr. Bender!"'.[20] Apparently Ella Young was also acquainted with the Asian community as evidenced by the above remark. Interestingly, however she seems unable to differentiate between Chinese and Japanese members of San Francisco's Asian community. The existence of both a Chinatown and Japantown in the city are not referred to separately, but rather under the umbrella term 'Chinatown'. What emerges, however, is the mixing of both Irish-Americans and Asian-Americans on at least an acquaintanceship level.

In order to put into context Bender's varied interests, and how a friend like Ella Young responded to such attributes in her friend, one particular letter embodies the three headings of Orientalism, the Irish and the Jews quite succinctly. It opens with Young thanking Bender for 'most interesting books; The Chinese Songs are a joy... I think my earliest conception of the Jewish race was modelled on the poet Isaiah. Almost as a child I read Josephus. The very noble Jews that I knew in Dublin did not come short of the ideal in my mind. It is interesting to find that from so many authors, from so many countries comes a confirmation.

[20] Young to Bender, 6 April 1938. Headed 'Oceano, California'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.

I am sending you a little Pooka to sit on your desk and wish you good-luck'.[21] Her allusion to a general literary appreciation of Jewish literature – 'from so many authors from so many countries comes a confirmation' is perhaps indicative of what can be termed a rather distilled view by Irish writers at this time of either Jewish, Islamic or Far Eastern cultures, from what one presumes originated in the Dublin Theosophical movement earlier that century.

Chapter IV, Kathleen O'Brennan:

Regardless of any marking of Ireland's new found independent status O'Brennan continued in her acquisition of literature for the Bender book collection when she wrote in April 1922 of her efforts to obtain first editions, realising Bender's wish that they go to 'a College Collection'.[1] One presumes this refers to Mills College, the first such college collection Bender set about forming. O'Brennan wrote in particular of the Yeats sisters: 'the two little books from the Cuala Industries press I thought you would like as a specimen of Irish printing done by the Yeats sisters. I enclosed Miss Yeats letters about Mrs. Dowden. Elizabeth Yeats took such trouble that I would like you to drop her a line'.[2] What emerges is the realisation that the Yeats family permeated all aspects of Dublin cultural life as later in the same letter O'Brennan states: 'When Yeats comes to town next week I shall get his books autographed and will send the others as I pick them up'.[3] It seems that Kathleen O'Brennan was the instigator of the subsequent correspondence, which later passed between Elizabeth Yeats and Bender. Much credit must be given to O'Brennan in her perseverance in sending literary works to the United States at this time as that June the more physical

[21] Young to Bender, 20 December 1940. Headed 'Box 136, Oceano, California'. Ella Young file 1.10.797B.
[1] O'Brennan to Bender, 29 April 1922. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

manifestation of the Civil War began when the Four Courts were bombarded by artillery. There is one such allusion to war's practical difficulties in this April 1922 letter: 'So many boats have been cut off ... '.[4]

The Kathleen O'Brennan file in the Bender Archive at Mills College contains correspondence from 1927 when she introduces Bender in August of that year to the work of Jack B. Yeats: 'I posted you a few days ago Jack Yeats drawings as I thought you might like them for the collection & when this edition is gone (as I believe it is now) it will not be reprinted as he has adopted a much more modern style, which you will see when this little bit of Irish landscape entices you to come over? I also enclosed one of his formal letters – just to see he's an odd fellow but one of the highest spiritual types I know. How Anne [Anne Bremer, Bender's cousin] would have loved him! He reminds me sometimes of her. He has all the aristocratic air with the simplest heart in the world'.[5] O'Brennan's sending of Cuala Studio cards, however, must have encouraged an interest by Bender in the work of Jack B. Yeats as he acquired an 1899 sketchbook by the artist in 1934. Further mention of the Yeats family follows one month later when O'Brennan in an obvious high regard for her subject wrote: 'You say that you will be glad to welcome W.B. Well I don't think he is going over this year. Last time I was talking to him he appeared to me to have aged so much although I still think him very handsome. He was very ill last year and Mrs. Yeats nursed him through. She is his right hand in everything... We have had a feast of Greek Drama in Dublin recently. W.B. has written the trilogy of Sophocles. We had Oedipus just last week and Oedipus in Collonus (?) next week. The dramers (?) were produced with great sympathy but so intense. It was wonderful'.[6] Bender must have felt that these eyewitness accounts of Dublin cultural life gave him an insider's

[4] Ibid.
[5] O'Brennan to Bender, 30 August 1927. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[6] O'Brennan to Bender, 11 September 1927. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

view. From literature to art to drama he was kept very well informed of all events on the social calendar. O'Brennan being a journalist by profession, wrote her letters to Bender in a diarist format, and to an individual as naturally curious as him they must have provided him with much pleasure. O'Brennan's view of the Yeats family was finely attuned to the fact that W.B. was at its head followed in the then contemporary importance by Jack, and Elizabeth and Lily. Whereas the Young correspondence embodied varied shared interests such as oriental art, the Irish and avant-garde art, O'Brennan's in the main refers solely to Ireland, which given the unfolding political and military events was hardly surprising.

As Kathleen O'Brennan was herself a playwright, it was by way of natural consequence that she introduced Bender not only to her own works, but the general happenings of the Abbey Theatre. Even before the Abbey Players' tour of the United States O'Brennan wrote the following overview of the running of the National Theatre: 'I am horribly nervous as the play was just sprung on me suddenly.[7] The Abbey Directors have been having a big tussle here. They have refused over 200 plays including Dunsany and O'Casey's last play [The Plough And The Stars] was the rage of the last two seasons. After big deliberations Yeats has decided to counsel me – and as I say before this reaches you I shall have to speed up to the music of the critics. I have a wonderful cast with Sara Allgood in the leading role and if I am a failure it will not be W.B. Yeats fault or Lady Gregory. I have received nothing but encouragement... the critical Dublin public will be awfully hard to please & will

[7] 'Full Measure' – 'A Play in Two Acts by Kathleen O'Brennan. Setting: The scene is laid in a small town in West Kerry. The back parlour of Betty Quinlan's shop. Nora Murtagh's Kitchen. Synopsis: The impact on a Kerry community of excessive emigration is the theme here as Nora Murtagh, a farmer's widow sees the last of her seven sons get ready for the boat to America. Date of First Production: 27 August 1928' – Irish Playography
http://www.irishplayography.com/search/play.asp?play_id=2050

expect great things. However I am now on my test so that's that!... the last play "The Draper's Letters" was received in dead silence at the close of the curtain. If the Irish public approves there is tremendous excitement and a great ovation'.[8] O'Brennan's last reference to the public's reception of plays in the Abbey is a very important, almost folkloric view of Dublin at this time, and she must have 'charmed' Bender with these insights from the 'homeland'. As evidenced in his throwing of St. Patrick's Day celebrations at his San Francisco home Bender's rather romanticised ideal of Ireland would have increased on reading such comments. It is apparent, however, that O'Brennan was genuinely part of the Yeats inner circle if she succeeded in being mentored by the great poet/playwright in the lead up to the first production of her play 'Full Measure'. As with all of Bender's female friends, Asian textile was the preferred medium he used in order to express his affection: 'I have a little cosy wrap with the beautiful Chinese embroidery you sent me as I want to be surrounded with the kindnesses of my friends!!'[9] Enclosed in this August 1928 letter was the Abbey Theatre programme for the opening performance of O'Brennan's 'Full Measure'. Apart from Sara Allgood, other noted actors performing in the play from the Abbey Players were Maureen Delany, Eileen Crowe, F.J. McCormick and Barry Fitzgerald. Lennox Robinson produced the play.[10]

In relation to the Starkies and Asian art, O'Brennan provided a revealing spectator's view of how Italia Starkie arranged Bender's gifts: 'While we were at the sea Walter's wife had their pretty house re-decorated and in the dining room she has all your pretty Chinese embroideries. The long piece is across the dining room wall and many other

[8] O'Brennan to Bender, 22 August 1928. Kathleen O'Brennan file I.7.539.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.

pieces she has had with Chinese frames. It is really an 'Albert Bender room''.[11] Such confirmation that gifts of his Asian textiles were being so appreciated may have encouraged Bender later when Mahr attempted to divert his collecting preferences to another area. The realisation that the Irish educated classes could be positively affected by such material, even if ignorant of its ultimate meaning, must have given Bender added determination to complete the series of donations to the National Museum.

One of the most significant letters regarding Asian culture, however, came at the end of 1933 when O'Brennan wrote to inform Bender of her friend and fellow author Andrée Viollis' visit to Dublin: 'She had just published a work on Japan which was awarded the prize for the best political work of the year. As the prize is international it caused a bit of a sensation. Her first book – 'Seule En Russie' was translated in America under the silly title 'A Girl Alone in Soviet Russia' but it is a very deep book. Indeed her energy makes one pale. She has written a book on Chang (?) her defense of the Chinese and telling the truth of the bombardment by the Japanese which she witnessed. She tells me ... the French friends were so eager to let the truth be known that they insisted on publication. Andrée reminds me so much of Helen Dare that if she goes to the United States I do want you to meet her. The Petite Parisian wants to send her in February. Just now she is in Ireland ... then in France. She is a real pacifist and always desired peace with Germany but hopes it will not come through Mr. Hitler's advances just now'.[12] This last reference is particularly pertinent to Bender given his cousin Gertrude Bender's German residency. In addition O'Brennan's reference to such European writing on Asian subjects must have been of

[11] Ibid.
[12] O'Brennan to Bender, 1 December 1933. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.

enormous interest to Albert Bender and one wonders if he subsequently obtained a copy of 'A Girl Alone in Soviet Russia'. Considering the book's international acclaim and American translation this would have been highly probable.

One month later O'Brennan writes to Bender, and refers specifically to the Augusta Bender Memorial Room. She mentions meeting Mahr 'at a dinner at the German Legation and instead of being grieved (?) I think he was quite relieved at my little paragraphs ... The Irish Times is the principal conservative paper (in spite of the fact that I am on staff!) and this part of the journal is widely read so I was glad the editor let it through'.[13] O'Brennan had apparently written a notice in her newspaper column of the delay in opening the Bender Room at the National Museum, and indeed its official inauguration that June may have been speeded along by the publicity generated in her writing about postponements. O'Brennan particularly refers to the inscription plaque (which generated a great deal of correspondence between Mahr and Bender) thus illustrating the importance Bender must have attached to his mother's name being formally linked to the exhibition: 'The Board of Works refused the plaque even before it went to the curator. I asked Mahr when it would definitely be ready & he said March, so I hope it will be around St. Patrick's Day.... Everyone is interested and you may be sure the general public will when I get at them'.[14] The March timeframe underlines the notion that Bender did expect the opening of the exhibition to coincide with his 'unofficial birthday' celebrations on 17 March.

[13] O'Brennan to Bender, 26 January 1934. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[14] Ibid.

In 1935 O'Brennan re-instigates book-collecting for Bender when in March she sends him 'three Gate Theatre Books'.[15] This is followed in April with the realisation that only one out of the original three posted reached Bender due to an Irish postal strike. O'Brennan returns, however, to the subject of the Abbey Theatre and its reception by Bender in San Francisco: 'you made the Abbey trip a happy memory for the whole company. Lennox Robinson gave us a party in his pretty cottage last Sunday and all the players had such lovely things to say about you and your wonderful kindness to each individual member. They only cry "Isn't it a pity we couldn't have him". Needless to say I was quite proud and claimed Albert as my particular "find" in the great continent of America!'[16] The over-riding hallmark of the O'Brennan correspondence is its rather 'gossipy' tone about Dublin society coupled with the serious matter of forming an Irish subset to Bender's book collection. In a December 1935 letter O'Brennan informs Bender of the marriage of the Republican, Ernie O'Malley to Ms. Helen Hooker and that Oliver St. John Gogarty's book 'As I Was Going Down Sackville St.' was refused publication by Putnams 'as they were afraid of libel'.[17] Later Bender was to be informed of the book's subsequent publication by Gogarty himself. Bender was also told by O'Brennan of curatorial change in Dublin's two leading public art galleries: 'Poor old Reynolds is deposed at last and a young active Director is in his place at Charlemont House. We also have a new man at the National Gallery – Dr. Furlong [Director, 1935-50]. Now that there is some peace in the country the arts are about to get a chance'.[18] One wonders if O'Brennan influenced Bender in his opinion of curatorial members of staff in Ireland's cultural institutions. So comfortable did the correspondence between O'Brennan and Bender

[15] O'Brennan to Bender, 7 March 1935. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[16] O'Brennan to Bender, 14 August 1935. Kathleen O'Brennan file1.7.539.
[17] O'Brennan to Bender, 13 December 1935. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[18] Ibid.

become that the following year she wrote of the new Irish Constitution, Bunreacht na hEireann, and the change of name for the country from Saorstát Eireann to Eire.[19] She also mentions enclosing a collection of 'Punch' magazine clippings, which in true satirical style on Dublin life would probably have pleased Bender and added to his store of information on contemporary accounts of the Irish capital.

Perhaps the most revealing letter regarding public reception of Bender's gifts to both Trinity College and the National Museum is dated June 1938: 'Well I wonder did they send you any news from the Bibliographical Society? What was my astonishment to attend a meeting one afternoon, after some absences, to hear Miss Hornsby, stand up to give a paper on Albert Bender's contribution to the Trinity Library in the California Collection ... It was good to hear the old familiar names of Nash and others recorded by Miss Hornsby ...

Another item of interest which brings you close to Dublin is the appreciation given to the Bender collection, and the lovely room in the National Museum. A young artist Miss King who has made a name with her glass pictures, was exhibiting at the Spring Show. I asked her how she worked, and she told that she owed her whole inspiration to the Bender room in the Museum. She was so pleased that I could tell her about you, and we had a great Paw waw, and I promised to go to her studio some night and tell her more. But she had a deep sense of gratitude to you for that room. "I often spend hours there", she said to me "and I come away full of all the beauty displayed". Indeed she knew most of the lovely pieces'.[20] The artist to whom O'Brennan refers is Marion King (1897-1963).[21] There is no other specific reference to an individual artist

[19] O'Brennan to Bender, 14 March 1936. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[20] O'Brennan to Bender, 13 June 1938. Kathleen O'Brennan file 1.7.539.
[21] Snoddy, Theo: *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, Wolfhound Press, 2002, p. 240-241: 'Cartoonist, illustrator and painter on glass'.

having been directly influenced by the Bender donations to the National Museum. The fact that Marion King worked using glass as her medium is evidence again of how the Thangka paintings and their textile physicality must have been of great inspiration.

Chapter IV, George Russell (AE):

The remainder of the George Russell file in the Bender Archive at Mills College contains the transcript of a broadcast on San Francisco radio by Judge Richard Campbell. It is an obituary and memoriam to AE entitled 'Farewell To AE':

'Radio Broadcast by Judge Campbell

Station W.J.Z. July 23rd, 1935

Darkness has fallen upon A.E., poet, painter, philosopher, man of letters. But darkness is perhaps not a happy word to use even in connection with his death, because A.E. hated darkness and all his long and happy and useful life hewed steadily and manfully towards the light which his clear vision beheld shining on the spires and towers of his heavenly City.

He was a huge creature with exquisite sensibilities and delicate and noble and romantic curiosities and ardors that derived more from some heroic age than from these prosaic times. There was something almost primeval in the great torso, the fine leonine head with its tumbled masses of hair and the flowing beard reaching down to his chest. When he was aroused to extraordinary conversational heights, he looked like nothing so much as some benign Vulcan of the spirit, forging out through fire and travail new and kindlier destinies for mankind.

Another better qualified than I will speak of him tonight and appraise his worth as a poet and his place as a man of letters. It is my sad privilege to consider him in the short time at my disposal in the light of a constant and affectionate friend and correspondent, who has passed into the shadow, a charming companion whose inspiring and entrancing conversation pointed the way to better worlds.

My acquaintance with A.E. goes back to those stirring days in 1920 and 1921 when the Black and Tan terror was unloosed on Ireland. We had formed a great Committee of Americans to meet the situation, resulting in the appalling devastation and destruction of life and property which these marauders left in their wake.

We had raised a million and a quarter pounds which we immediately sent to Ireland to be distributed amongst the victims of this deadly and bloody warfare through a non-sectarian and non-political body organised by Sir Horace Plunkett and known as the White Cross. It was in connection with this work that the Committee in question sent me to Ireland and when I arrived in Dublin, the very first person I interviewed was A.E. I knew I should get from him a calm and measured and impartial survey and summary of the situation and I was not disappointed. A friendship then sprang up between us which lasted to the end.

It was shortly after this time that in company with Mr. James Byrne of New York, J.S. Cullinan of Texas, Sir Horace Plunkett and others, I assisted in the formation of a syndicate of Americans to re-establish the 'Irish Statesman' with A.E. as its editor. Plunkett desired to create an atmosphere in Ireland favourable to the Treaty, by which

the Free State was established, and he thought A.E. best qualified for this work. We kept the paper in the field for eight years and the syndicate contributed an amount somewhat in excess of $100,000 toward its maintenance. During these eight years, under the direction of A.E., the paper attained to front rank among the more thoughtful publications in the English speaking world.

He loved his country with an intense and undeviating devotion and he desired above all to serve her, but in serving her he wished also to serve mankind. He thought that Ireland was intended for some destiny of her own and that God had that destiny in store for her when he placed her outside the pathway of Roman conquest and civilization. Loving his country as he did, he thought Nationality was not enough and so he accounted himself a citizen of the Cosmos. He was convinced that the tumult and confusion which characterises the world of today portended a world state in which the interest of each racial and National unit would be concern of all. His conception of the State and of society was as holy as St. Augustine's vision of the City of God. It is set out in that sublime little volume 'The National Being', which has been translated into a dozen languages and which has become for thousands a grammar of social inspiration and progress. He thought that undue racial vanity or undue exaltation or emphasis upon patriotism was unworthy of any right thinking and intelligent people, although he conceded that an era of intensive nationalism was upon us from which there was no escape. He deplored all industrial and internecine strife and believed that all civil wisdom should address itself to the creation and organisation of a State that would insure what he called 'the orderly evolution of society'.

On his visit last winter to the United States he spoke of his love of the American people because of their eternally youthful optimism but he was impressed with the complexity of the problems we were facing by reason of the extent and size of the country and he agreed with Aristotle that a Democracy should not contain more people than could be influenced by the voice of a single orator. He was greatly influenced by all the ancient Greek thinkers, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, and he frequently lauded the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas and thought it might serve as a beacon light in shaping the future course of history.

He has been blamed because he was not a professing Christian, but if frugal and simple living, moderation in all things, scrupulous regard for the obligation of neighbour and citizen, strict adherence to the highest principles of morality, unswerving fidelity to the common good and reverence for God as he conceived him – if these things constitute Christian living, surely A.E. was a great Christian. He sought wisdom in old books, in the literatures of past ages and delved deeply into the lore of the Ancient seers of India and China and he had at all times at his fingertips stray bits of forgotten legends and folk tales of Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome. Holy Writ, Shakespeare and Dante he quoted constantly and with an effortless grace which is beyond description.

Speaking of a recent conference in Washington, when the representatives of different faiths met to stimulate a return to spiritual living, he said while he himself held to a cosmic religion, he thought that belief in a guiding Deity is an absolute essential if man is in any complete sense to fulfil his destiny. He said that the Christian religion is the culture of the average man in Europe and America especially, that the intellectual

had recourse to art, to literature, to music, to philosophic speculation and to other forms of intellectual satisfactions but for the average man, and most people were average, the only approach to eternal truths and to an inner life was through religion. He thought that the Arts and handicrafts owed their inspiration to the spiritual and inner life of man. All work, therefore, should be a sort of harmony and he looked back with regret to the days when the carpenter sang at his bench, the smith at his anvil, the weaver at his loom, the farmer at the plough. These are but vagrant recollections of many hours of the most friendly and familiar and enchanting conversation or culled from memory from a correspondence extending over a dozen years.

I taxed his patience by my failure to understand or to accept his sublime theory by which he sought to account for man and the universe. It was easy to differ with A.E., but it was impossible to quarrel with him, because his approach to all questions which engender discords and, as he often said, sunder friendships so needlessly and tragically, was by way of an ineffable sweetness and grace that disarmed controversy and hushed all the jangled bells of petty strife. In very truth A.E. was

'Half of this world
And half of that.'

He was the wisest, the kindest, the gentlest, the most just, the most disinterested of men.

Farewell A.E., poet of the inner life, philosopher of the soil and of the soul, lover of humanity, affectionate friend. I cannot more fittingly close than with the haunting lines of Ambrose Bierce

'Light lie the earth

On his dear, dead heart,

May dreams disturb him never,

And may the peace of Paradise be his part

Forever and forever.''

In addition the Russell file also encloses an introductory notice of the 'AE Memorial Fund' whereby the object of the administering committee was 'to establish a public memorial in the capital of his country, and to create such endowment as may encourage Irish men and women to emulate his cultural and social activities.[1] The honorary secretaries listed are C.P. Curran and H.F. Norman. Considering the former's association with Jack B. Yeats the existence of close links between all of Dublin's intellectual society and Albert Bender is further reinforced.

Chapter V, Jack B. Yeats:

The 1899 Sketchbook by Jack B. Yeats, which the artist gave to Albert Bender in 1934:

The first sketch gives us a starting date of April 25th. It depicts a man walking to the right alongside a cow. As is usual with Yeats' style the bare outlines convey the overall impression with washes of watercolour, as in the rust-brown colour of the cow and watered pale grey of the man's clothing.

In terms of landscape the second sketch is remarkable in its accurate simplicity. It illustrates a thatched cottage in the left foreground. This is the same concise architectural shape in vernacular buildings, which would be used not only in Yeats'

[1] AE Memorial Fund, The Plunkett House, 84 Merrion Square, Dublin. November 1935. File I.8.634, Bender Archive, Mills College.

later oil paintings, but also during the 1930s in the work of artists such as Sean Keating (re. four studies by Keating of the living area of Murty Culloty's house, Kishkeam, Co. Cork, exhibited in the 2007 NMI exhibition 'Whitewash & Thatch'). A revealing title is given in attempting to capture the artist's mindset, his inscription underneath being 'Breakers on Middle Island in Distance'. This comment seems to imply an effort by Yeats to remember all aspects of the land/seascape including the minutest of details in the background. Sketch number 3 is also on the 'landscape' theme, depicting jagged rocks to the right foreground, line again being used to determine perspective and cut surface. The slightest dappling of the blue ocean behind is indicative of Yeats' ability to create the vastness of a horizon using the barest of outline.

There are a further eleven sketches of 'landscape', which range from turf-cutting to seaweed-drying foregrounds, and will be discussed individually:

i) Sketch number 12 entitled 'Turf' is formed at an oblique angle as if the viewer is being lead in on a diagonal to a t-shaped outcrop with freshly cut peat piled high on its far end. Colour is used effectively; - dark brown for the turf, pale mauve-grey for the bog's t-section. In the background, and across a watery expanse, lies a cottage with a quay full of boats in front, the colour purple being used to denote the mountainous landscape behind.

ii) Sketch number 13 is again on the subject of the peatlands. Significantly the rural agricultural man-made marks are more obvious than in the previous sketch, as there is a lattice effect in the mid-foreground where people have sourced fuel from their own locally available resource. Behind lies the barest outline of a drystone wall, Yeats using soft circular line to

denote the individual stones. The horizon is coloured in blue-wash, which includes the ocean and mountain terrain.

iii) Sketch number 14 is one of the most revealing insights into how Yeats may have used his 1899 visit to the Aran Islands as direct inspiration for his later illustrations in 1905 to accompany J.M. Synge's articles for the 'Manchester Guardian' on life in the West of Ireland. The sketch entitled 'Seaweed Drying On Road' depicts two men, one on the left physically placing the seaweed flat down, the arc of his back implying the sheer labour-intensive act that such a part of daily survival in the West entailed. The other man is overseeing the activity of his companion. The open plan of the sketch is remarkably simple yet effective, with the curved sweep of a boundary to the left of the road, and the illusion of open space with a left inward twist in the road to the right hand side boundary. The use of colour is minimal; - rust browns with a splash of red to denote the seaweed, blue shoes on the men's feet, pale grey clothing and the bareness of colour in the landscape. In terms of layout Yeats' 'Relief Works' for the 1905 Synge articles bears a great likeness to this 1899 sketch, in its curving sweep of the road to help focus the viewer's attention on the main labour activity.

iv) Sketch number 18 is an entirely different form of landscape sketch by Yeats in that most of the others involved human trace on the terrain. In this instance, however, beautifully stark and dramatic depiction is rendered in the form of rocky outcrops on the island's Atlantic coast. Indeed if the viewer was unaware of the drawing's locality, one would be forgiven for presuming the Cliffs of Moher, County Clare are being depicted. In total Yeats has drawn four rock faces, one on the far right seen in side profile,

the others from the left across to the right background, like three oil tankers gliding along in unison. Yeats, as in other sketches, illustrates the wide expanse of ocean with the barest of wash, a flock of birds outlined in ink to the middle left. In the foreground, green has been used to denote the shoreline, two lines of swirling ink conveying outline.

v) Sketch number 19 is what this writer would term 'field monuments' or 'archaeological' in categorising Yeats' landscapes. He has sketched a hill, which contains numerous architectural features, from drystone walling across the middle plane, left to right, to portal tombs (dolmens) on the hill's summit. There is no evidence to suggest that Yeats was aware of the accurate interpretation and history of the portal tombs, which date to the Neolithic period (c.4,500 B.C. to 2,200 B.C.). Nevertheless, he would have been familiar with them on a visual level, and may have encountered them as field monuments in his youth in County Sligo as there is a preponderance of megalithic court-tombs throughout the North-West region.[1] The colour green is used to demarcate the layout of the drawing, with grey used to lead the viewer to the top of the hill in almost a winding road shape – green landscape in foreground alternated by grey blocks behind, the green grass with drystone walling behind, and finally portal-tomb on summit with archaeological monument remains directly below.

vi) Sketch number 20 is a townscape of the fishing village of 'Kilronan' as seen from the quayside, the viewer looks across to an architectural mass of buildings with mountain behind. There is a suggestion of thatched roofs by splashes of rust-brown to the right hand side. Perspectively, Yeats has

[1] O Riordain, Sean P.: *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside*. Routledge, London and New York. Fifth edition, 1979, p. 107.

drawn a human figure to the extreme left of the row of buildings, his smallness of scale implying all the more, the beginnings of urban development in this most rural of settings, Aran's chief town/village the only hint of a town on Ireland's western fringe. Perhaps there is a link in terms of theme with the following year's 'Memory Harbour', a watercolour and crayon composition from 1900, which depicts Rosses Point in his beloved Sligo.

vii) Sketch number twenty-one is entitled 'A Kid of the Goats of Aran'. Rather than the landscape being of central importance, the viewer is lead into the centre of the scene to a proud and alert-looking goat, which stares straight out of the sketch. Using more shaded area than is the usual in this sketchbook, Yeats highlights the woollen coat of the central figure in black ink, the goat's horns and nose defined by darker outline. The foreground is a blue-green colour, as if the artist is trying to emphasise the barren quality of the land and its fruitless yield potential. A drystone wall is visible to centre right, and the top of a hill centre left. This is one of the few instances in the sketchbook that the main animal focus for Yeats is not that of a horse, but of a goat.

viii) Sketch number twenty-two is one of the least effective of the landscape sketches namely due to the crudeness of the cross-hatching in the bales of what one presumes is seaweed to the middle and right. A rocky surface is denoted on a diagonal line, which cuts across the lower foreground. In the distance to the left, the artist has drawn a landscape of blue-coloured mountains, the scale of which being emphasised by the sail of a boat on the shoreline in front.

ix) Sketch number twenty-five entitled 'Between the Rocks the Maiden Harps Grow' is so rough in outline that one may presume it was produced quite quickly, and perhaps for the purposes of referencing visual memory for later compositions. The main focus, which is drawn on a diagonal lead into the centre from left and right, are the limestone flags of sheer rock surfaces that are seen throughout the Aran Islands, particularly on Inis Mor. Apart from flashes of green wash in between the rock crevices in the foreground, the other colour of note is the grey-blue mountain depicted in the background. Considering three of Ireland's most spectacular stone forts, Dun Aengus, Dun Eochla and Dun Concobhair are situated on Inis Mor it is somewhat surprising that Yeats did not wholly depict these, but rather their associated chevaux de frise (which will be discussed below). He decided to concentrate instead on the natural occurrence of limestone formation, not that of its use in prehistoric construction.

x) Sketch number twenty-six: Yeats returns to a familiar setting, that of the harbour quayside. Rather than focusing on details, he prefers instead to render an impression of the steepness of height in the way in which the quay leads in behind to a row of houses. Mauve and purple are the colours used, with the latter appearing to define certain blocks of shape as in the larger building in the right background. Perspective is achieved in this sketch rather than attention to detail.

xi) Sketch number thirty is, like sketch twenty-one, on the subject of goats. Entitled 'Kids that Jump off Walls' and 'Goats' it can almost be referred to as a character study of the animal. One goat is on top of a drystone wall about to dive off into the field below, while the other goat is in mid-flight

about to land on the grassy verge. The heightened sense of dramatic action is all the more marked in Yeats' illustration of the stonewalls. The jagged outline of stone in the left foreground is larger in size than the more distantly placed wall in the middle plane where the artist has rendered the individual stones more compact and tightly packed. Green wash in the right foreground and blue watercolour in the background delineates the composition into three separate areas.

Directly linked to the theme of 'landscape', but more specific is that of field monuments, briefly alluded to in the discussion of sketch number twenty-five. In this 1899 sketchbook only three examples of this form of landscape drawing are evident – numbers five, eight and ten.

Sketch number five depicts a graveyard with four large burial monuments across the centre on an oblique line. He has illustrated them in terms of rectilinear concrete shapes with cruciform design on top of each denoting their obvious Christian association. This is a technical sketch rather than wholly aesthetic, as Yeats has inscribed notes regarding the graves' inscriptions to the right hand side of the composition. The artist appears to be taking accurate notes relating to the position of the deceased's names and dates of birth and death. These four principal grave-markers are majestic in appearance in contrast to the flat versions behind, which are barely discernible apart from the briefest of outline.

Sketch number eight is a very attractive illustration of the remains of a medieval or early modern church. The traditional gable features at either end are distinctive apart from the missing roof. It stands a ruin, but has such commanding attributes as the outline of an arched doorway to the right, and a typical ecclesiastical window to the

left. The use of locally available drystone is evident in the way in which Yeats has depicted the jagged contours of some individual parts of the construction. More colour than is typical of some of the other sketches in the book is used in this example; - green in the foreground, thatched domestic buildings behind to the right and royal blue on the horizon to the left denoting the appearance of further landscape rather than seascape.

Sketch number ten has already been briefly commented on in relation to sketch twenty-five. Entitled 'Little Monuments' it depicts what appears to be two piles of rectilinear stone of what is possibly chevaux de frise – a term 'used by archaeologists to describe this defensive technique, comes from the custom – associated particularly with the Fresians in medieval Europe – of surrounding their positions with concentrations of sharpened stakes in order to impede the movement of enemy cavalry'.[2] This assertion is made more viable by the fact that these piles of stone jutting out of the limestone landscape are on a cliff surface looking out to the Atlantic Ocean. Chevaux de frise is primarily associated with the stone fort of Dun Aengus. Grey is used to denote the stone surface of the foreground, with washed blue behind depicting the ocean. A boat sails past in the left background.

It is in the area of Yeats' ability to illustrate the people of the Aran Islands where the most aesthetic of the sketches are found. Six in particular display the brilliance of the artist in his observation of human interaction and the details of man's relationship with the horse.

i) Sketch number six is a rough, but nevertheless very effective depiction of a man on horseback mid-canter. The use of line to emphasise movement is

[2] Raftery, Barry: *Pagan Celtic Ireland: The Enigma of the Irish Iron Age*. Thames and Hudson, 1994, p. 45.

not unlike the work of the Austrian artist Egon Schiele in attempting to convey detail by the use of minimal outline. Seen from the rear the viewer is lead into the central activity of the drawing on a slight diagonal from left to right. The man sits on horseback upright with arms outstretched to hold reins. A traditional beret style cap is worn on his head with a waistcoat on his upper body. Yeats depicts the horse's flank with good use of curved line and watered down colour. Two bent lines in the middle foreground suggest movement on the road with green coloured roadside to the left middle ground. Pale blue of the coastal horizon is illustrated to the right. One of the deepest applications of colour is in dark blue on the right sock worn by the sketch's central figure. One could argue that in this 1899 sketchbook can be found the nucleus of Yeats' more developed preference for the horse, the ultimate culmination of which came during the latter half of his life in such masterpieces as 'Freedom' (1947) and 'The Sport of Kings' (1947).

ii) Sketch number nine is essentially a study of local dress, and as with other sketches referred to previously, is technical rather than artistic in execution. In the middle sits a woman in rust-brown full skirt, waistcoat and beret cap in chequered pattern of alternating red and green. Behind to the right, and as seen from the rear is a walking woman with pale brown cape with underskirt peeping out below. She wears the same shaped cap as the other female figure, but without being coloured, line only is used to denote size. Yeats' obvious interest in local attire was a visual reference for his finished work. Both in his illustrations for Synge's 1905 articles and his own 1912 'Life in the West of Ireland' one can detect aspects of

this 1899 sketchbook. For instance in 'The Ganger' (1912 – from 'Life in the West of Ireland') Yeats accurately depicts a female farm labourer in traditional dress of headscarf, woollen cardigan and long full skirt. In the words of Bruce Arnold the importance of 'Life in the West of Ireland' is that it 'represents clearly enough what the artist in his professional career had achieved. The colour prints and line drawings in the book.... contain the spirit of the country and of Irish people. They are a truthful, vibrant and dramatic representation of Irish life. Jack has gathered together, in the first and larger part of the book a lifetime's work..... They present an undoubtedly sombre view of Irish life and people'.[3]

iii) Sketch number twenty-three is in the opinion of this writer highly important in forming a direct link with later published illustrations Yeats undertook to accompany Synge's 'The Aran Islands' (1907). The scene depicted is of three people inside the door of an interior, huddled beside an open fire two men to either side of a skillet pot, the third person a woman just inside the doorframe on the right. Inscribed to the left exterior of the doorframe the words 'Welcome' and 'Beer' can be deciphered, which implies that the viewer is being presented with a scene from a public house. The wide-brimmed hats of the two men are quite sharply drawn; and there is a direct link here with the 'Porter' illustration in 'The Aran Islands' (1907). Even the same attention to detail such as the creepie stool, which the man sits on in both and in front of an open fire, is apparent. It is only in 'Porter' that Yeats has accentuated the facial features of his main male figure, the eyes of whom stare out at the viewer. In the 1899

[3] Arnold, Bruce: *Jack Yeats*. Yale University Press, 1998, p. 177.

sketchbook no such facial features are specifically illustrated, although a rather long hook-like nose is barely decipherable on the male to the right.

iv) Sketch number twenty-four is superb in its simplicity of line and colour in conveying a dramatic landscape with three central human characters in the middle and upper middle foreground. The scene in question is a country road upon which two men on either side lead a donkey carrying a load. Further up the road and marked by a deliberate blot of red is a woman wearing a traditional West of Ireland skirt, the overall effect of her shawl's line attenuating her female shape as in an apex. To either side of the road are drystone walls with a barely outlined mountain-scape in the background. The donkey with the two men is thought to be this animal rather than a horse as a result of a more slender gait to its rear.

v) Sketch number twenty-eight is by far the most successful of the entire sketchbook given its almost finished effect. It depicts a man on horseback as seen from the rear. More line is used here than in other pages particularly in the bridle harness on the horse, the shape of his flank, tail and legs – all are accurately portrayed. The rider is that of a jacket –attired man wearing a wide-brimmed hat. One cannot make out specific facial features, but the use of colour directs the viewer's attention to the horse in particular, which is coloured a royal blue. The man is given a dark hat, but beige trousers and a tan-coloured jacket. The facial features of the horse are perhaps the most haunting of the whole sketch and are more vividly depicted than its equivalent in 'The Merry-go-Round Man's Horse' (c.1900) from roughly the same time. In this watercolour and pencil study a prancing horse is shown with hind legs kicked upwards and inwards. The

Aran Island sketchbook example is an equally remarkable study of a horse in movement, but in a trot and as seen from behind rather than from the side. Other relevant examples from this period of Yeats' ability to portray the grant majesty of the horse can be seen in 'the Squireen' (c.1899) and 'Galloping Horses' (c.1899) both of which are watercolours. They illustrate the velocity of the creature, particularly the latter in which two horses are shown racing along a West of Ireland strand, the front legs inflected inwards to denote the thundering of hooves on the sandy beach. In the background a mountain that sweeps down to the coastline is visible on the left, while the slightest application of wash has been used to denote billowing clouds. All of these characteristics have their root in this 1899 sketchbook, and the same date for all three gives the hypothesis added credence. Technically, details such as the man's clothing, hat and physical dimensions were used later in 'The Aran Islands' illustrations (1907) for Synge. Specific comparison with 'An Island Horseman' in this series can be cited.

The fourth category to be described in this 1899 sketchbook is that of the boat and boating life. There are six in total, which can be placed under this theme, and are significant studies in Yeats' later development in portraying this aspect of Irish rural life.

i) Sketch number sixteen illustrates a quayside lookout. To the left stands what one presumes is a timber-built lookout post, which faces out to sea as in the right middle foreground three boats can be discerned. This sketch is quite unfinished, but Yeats' use of colour is the hallmark of his visual

referencing; - the blue blocks of shape make out the sheer rocky cliff that separates the lookout post from the sea, the brown and rust coloured sails of the boats drawing the spectator's attention inwards on an oblique line from left to right.

ii) Sketch number seventeen is of an oarsman in a small coracle boat. As with the previous sketch this is more technical than artistic in its portrayal of the central figure's traditional dress of beret-style cap. Some attempt at recording the individual wooden slots of the boat are visible, highlighted in dark grey. The oars are given a pale beige colour and are remarkable for their accurately illustrated mid-section attachment to the boat. A direct link can be made with 'The Ferryman of Dinish Island' for the J.M. Synge articles in the open view presented of the interior of the coracle and the physicality of rowing. It is tempting to suggest that Yeats would have also looked back at this 1899 sketch for inspiration for the 1907 illustration. Bruce Arnold makes specific reference in his biography of Yeats to the 'Ferryman of Dinish Island': 'Having travelled the world, serving at sea and on land, as a seaman, an interpreter for emigrants, visiting New York and Baltimore and New Orleans, working in Manchester, Birkenhead and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and sailing to every coastal port or town in Scotland or Wales, the man had returned to row the ferry across the narrow strip of sea between the two rocky islands, and to gather seaweed for kelp'.[4]

iii) Sketch number twenty-nine is entitled: 'A Big Corrach'. It portrays an eight-oared boat carrying four people and is more finished than the

[4] Ibid, p. 140.

previously referred to sketch by way of colour. As with sketch seventeen the interior wooden slots of the corrach are visible. The boat's colour is dark brown, the clothing of the four seated oarsmen blue. The Atlantic Ocean swirls to the bottom of the boat's right while the four oars presented to the viewer dip inside the ocean's surface; - the overriding impression is one of graceful speed. A comparison can be made with the later 'Aran Islands' illustration[5] of four oarsmen portrayed on an oblique line from top left to bottom right with an interior view of their corrach. It is again reasonable to suppose Yeats referencing his 1899 Aran Island sketchbook as well as his 1906 material from his visit to the West of Ireland in the company of Synge.

iv) Sketch number thirty-one is entitled 'Turf', but the main play of action centres on a loaded boat in the right foreground. It carries a pile of turf with a man placed above it adjusting the boat's sails. In the left background distance another boat can be seen, but without a sail. Yeats' affinity for boats, sailing and fishing for the majority of his life culminated in the 1909 'A Little Fleet' published by Elkin Mathews. Hilary Pyle's definition of the series is a booklet, which 'described the models devised and destroyed by Yeats and Masefield at Cashlauna Shelmiddy, illustrating each example, and quoting from Masefield's nautical verse to add colour'.[6] Therefore, even at this relatively early stage of depicting traditional Irish rural life, Yeats was drawn to things nautical.

v) Sketch number thirty-two depicts the quayside of Kilronan harbour. As with sketch thirty-one, the emphasis is on outline and technical detail

[5] Listed no. 1366 in Pyle, Hilary: *The Different Worlds of Jack B. Yeats. His Cartoons and Illustrations*. Irish Academic Press, 1994, p. 187.
[6] Ibid, p. 210 (illustrations numbered 1525-35).

rather than aesthetic effect. For example, attention is paid to the way in which a trawler bobs up and down on the sea, with four others (of smaller dimensions) to its right background. Colour is used to emphasise this difference; - navy and red on the central trawler; yellows, green and blue for the others. On the shoreline to the left is the jutting out of a pier or coastal building in an off-coloured pale beige-pink. As in the case of the previous sketch, references to 'A Little Fleet' (1909) can be cited.

vi) Sketch number thirty-five represents the coat-of-arms of the city of Galway, which consists of a medieval boat containing the city's shield, which sits amidst its sails. The sketch in ink is very finely finished, and may have been by way of title and the recording of locality rather than having been produced for any general artistic reason.

Reference has already been made to the sketchbook's importance in relation to the Synge articles and later 'Life in the West of Ireland', but specific mention of Yeats' work for 'A Broad Sheet' and 'A Broadside' must also be made in terms of similar subject matter. 'Jack B. Yeats produced and edited 'A Broad Sheet', a single sheet, with verse and illustrations monthly for two years from 1902 to 1903... The first issue was printed by Farncombe & Sons, Croydon, and distributed by Yeats and Smith, and subsequent numbers were published by Elkin Mathews, London.... A Broad Sheet is remarkable not only for the consistency of Yeats' style in a manner derived from Morris and nourished in its individuality through the Arts and Crafts movement, but for revealing Yeats' passion for the spoken word used in traditional or unconventional poetry'.[7] 'A Broadside', 1908-

[7] Ibid, p. 233.

15 is different from its predecessor in being on four pages rather than a single sheet. Its subject matter, particularly for the single illustration on full-page layout could hail from years before. The theme of the horse, which was prevalent in the 1899 sketchbook, was also used in 'A Broadside', for example 'An Old Slave' (c.1911), 'Tumblers at the Circus' (1912), 'Brennan on the Moor' (1914) and 'The Old Grey Mare' (1914). In terms of the 1899 portrayal of proud rural men links are found in 'A Broadside's 'I Will Not Sit on the Grass she Said' (1912) and 'The Old Car Driver' (1915).

Conclusion:

'Irish Independent' newspaper, 4 June 1932:

'The Arhat Abheda, at present in the temporary exhibition in the Rotunda of the National Museum of the 21 Tibetan temple banners, which have been presented to the Museum by Mr. Albert M. Bender, San Francisco, in memory of his mother, Mrs. Augusta Bender. This is the first time that Far Eastern painting on textiles has been shown on a considerable scale in Dublin. This valuable gift will remain in the Rotunda for some time, and will then be removed to the Indian Room'.[1]

'Irish Press' article, 1 June 1932:

'An exhibition of Chinese Art was opened in the Entrance Hall of the National Museum yesterday. The exhibits formed the major portion of the very welcome donation of Eastern art made by Mr. Albert M. Bender, San Francisco, U.S.A., this month in commemoration of his mother, Mrs. Augusta Bender. The collection, though small, will be of interest to students of Eastern art. There are twenty-one Tibetan

[1] *Irish Independent*, 4 June 1932, p. 3.



Plate 122. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 1.



Plate 123. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 2.



Plate 124. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 3.

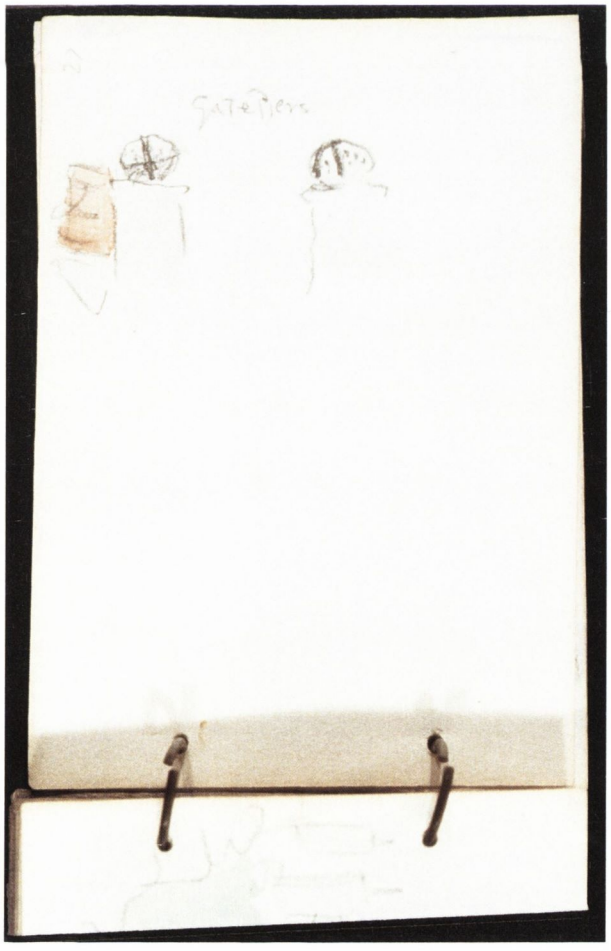

Plate 125. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 4.



Plate 126. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 5.



Plate 127. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 6.



Plate 128. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 7.

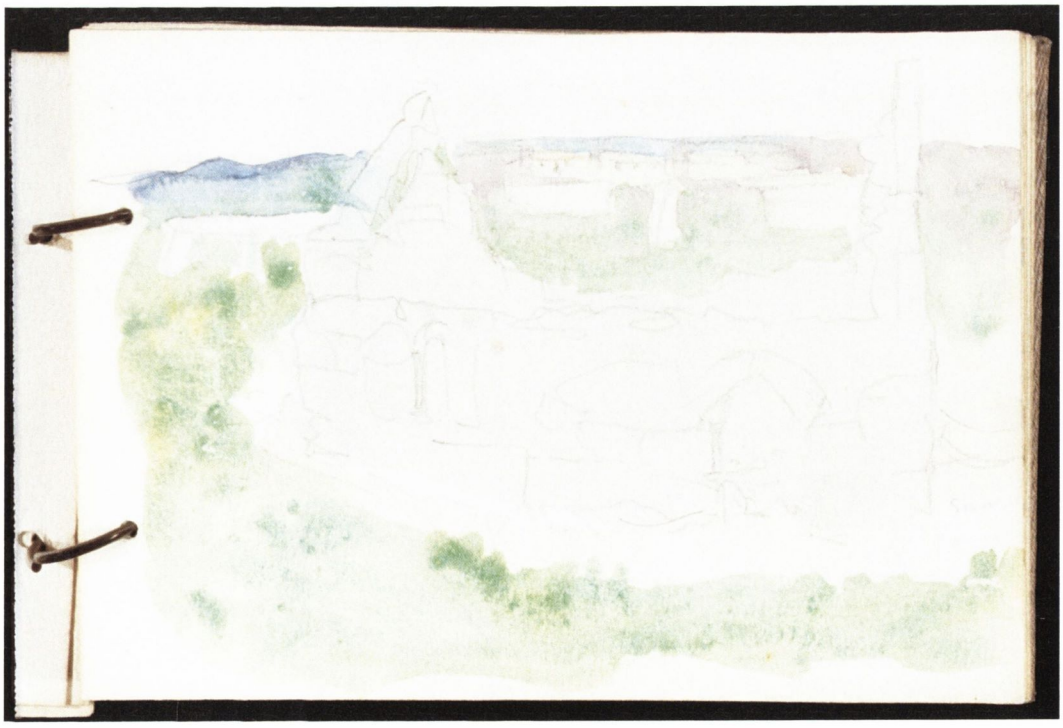

Plate 129. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 8.



Plate 130. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 9.



Plate 131. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 10.



Plate 132. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 11.



Plate 133. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 12.



Plate 134. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 13.



Plate 135. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 14.



Plate 136. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 15.



Plate 137. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 16.



Plate 138. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 17.

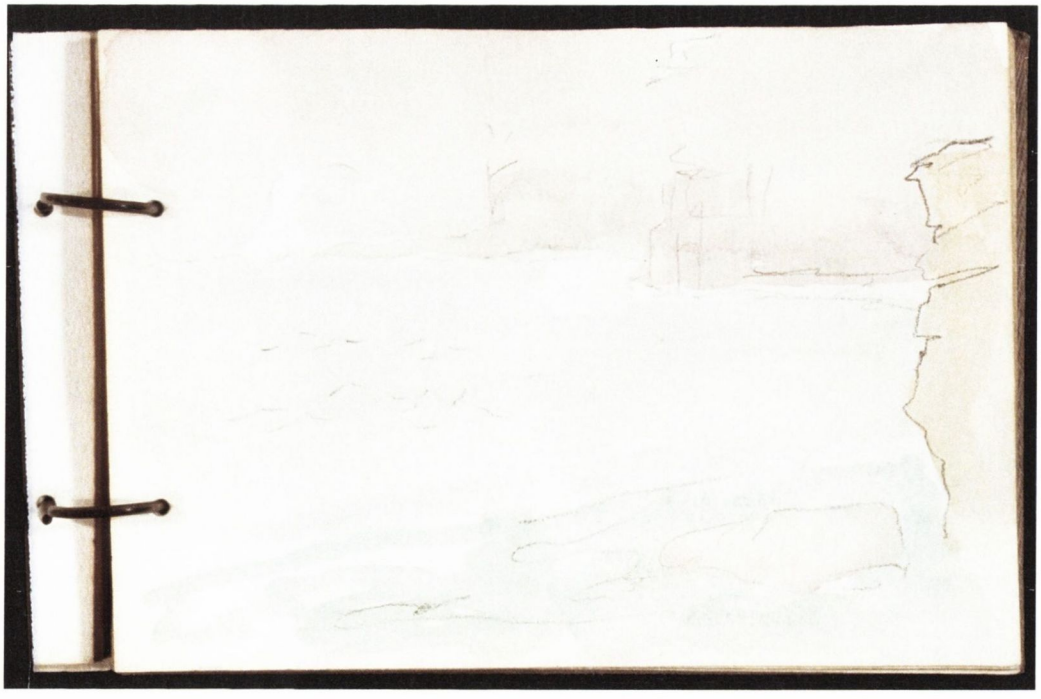

Plate 139. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 18.



Plate 140. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 19.

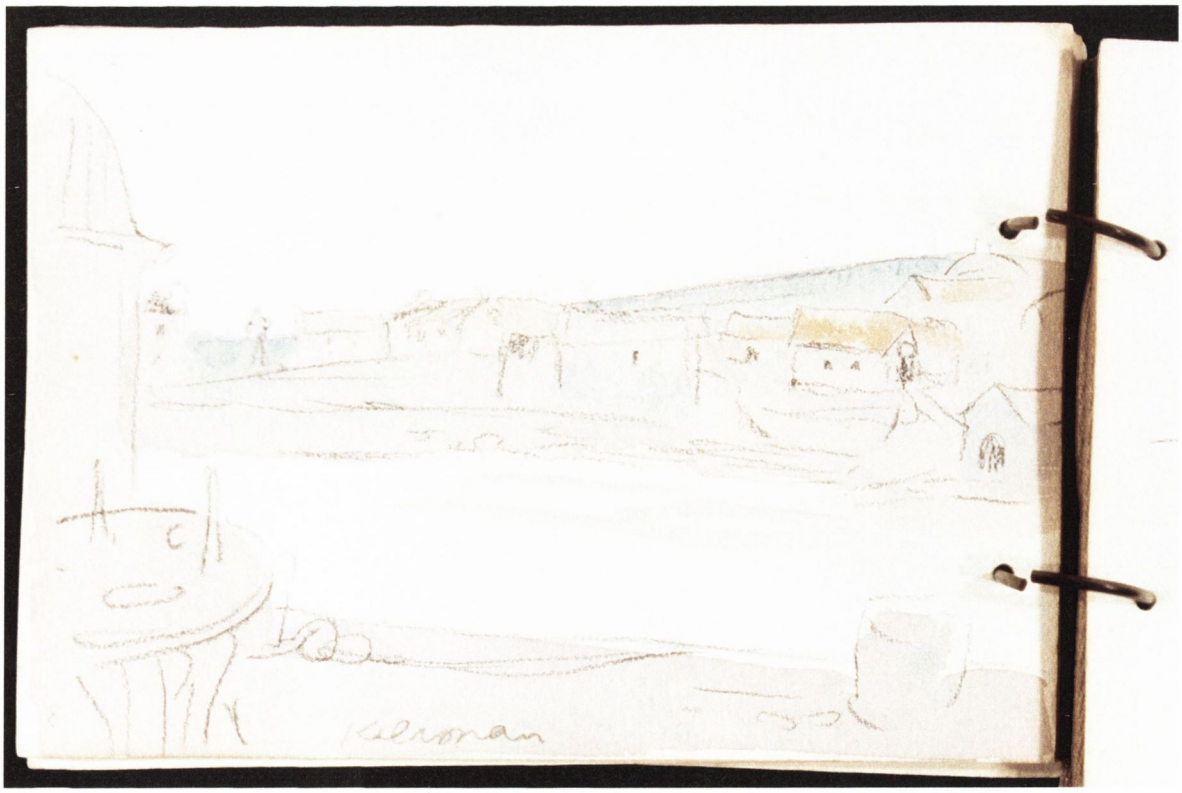

Plate 141. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 20.



Plate 142. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 21.



Plate 143. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 22.



Plate 144. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 23.

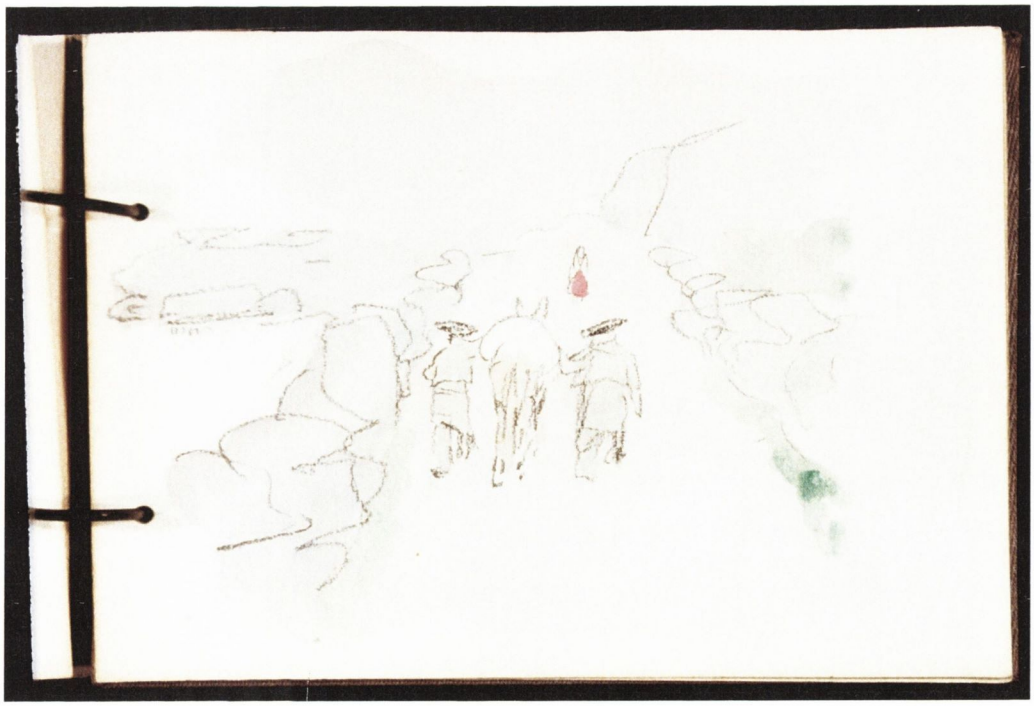

Plate 145. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 24.

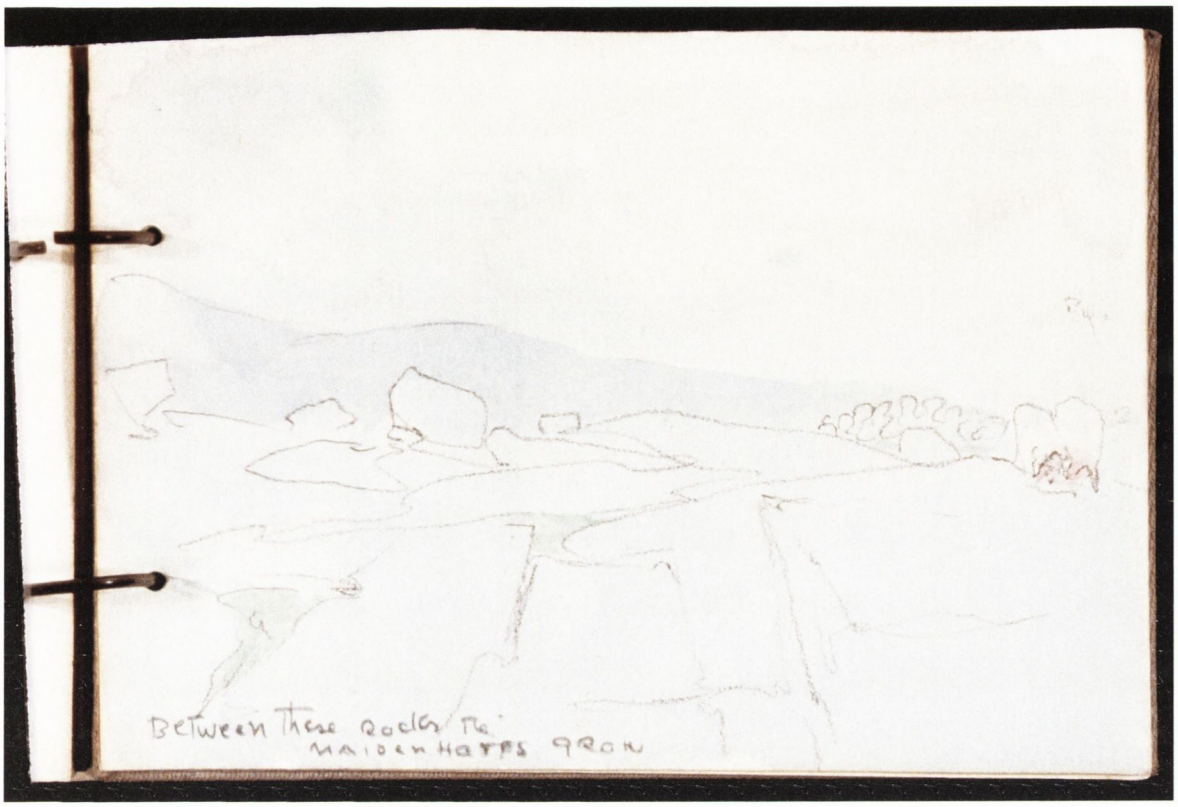

Plate 146. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 25.

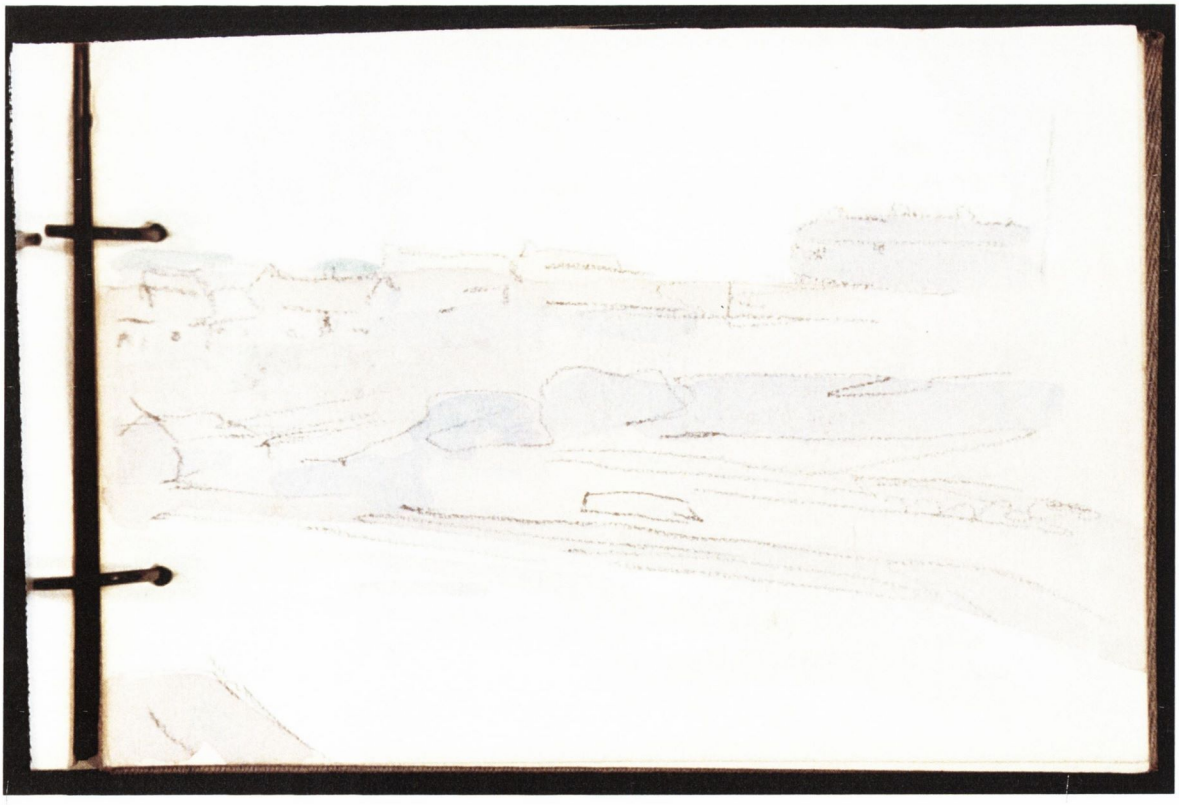

Plate 147. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 26.



Plate 148. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 27.



Plate 149. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 28.

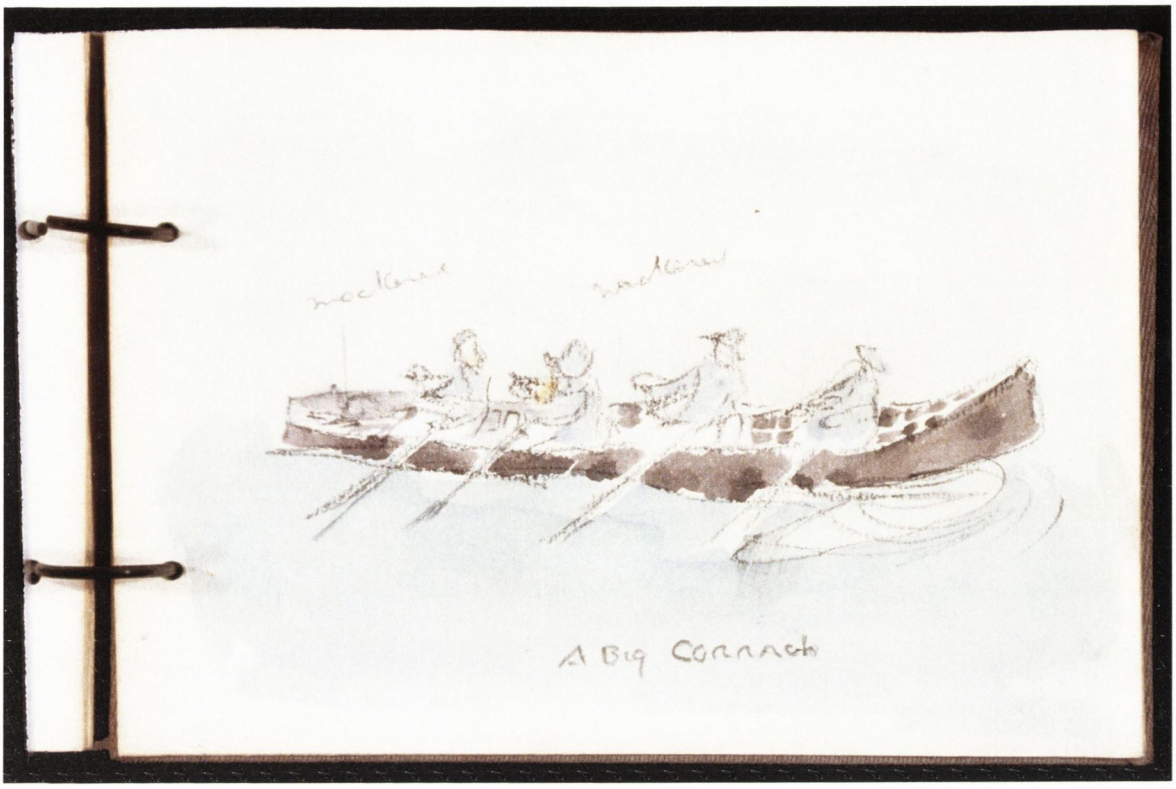

Plate 150. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 29.



Plate 151. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 30.



Plate 152. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 31.



Plate 153. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 32.

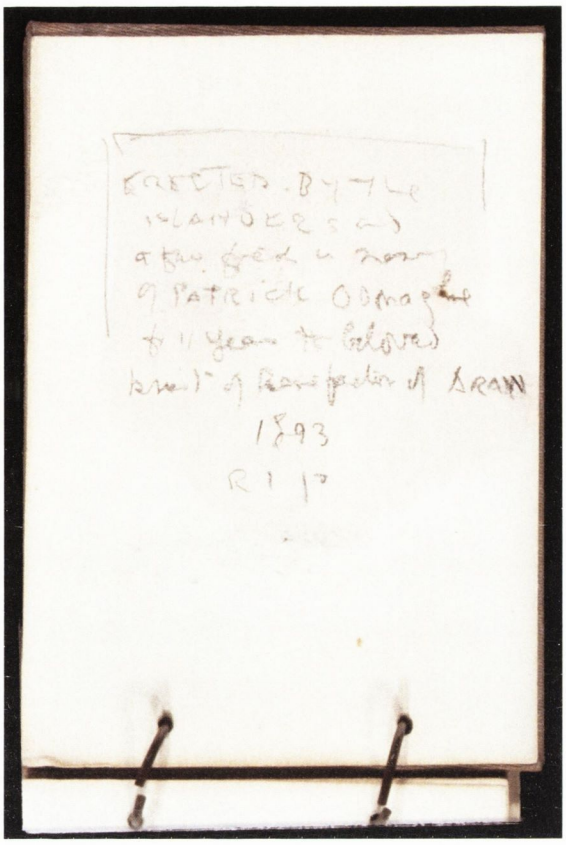

Plate 154. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 33.

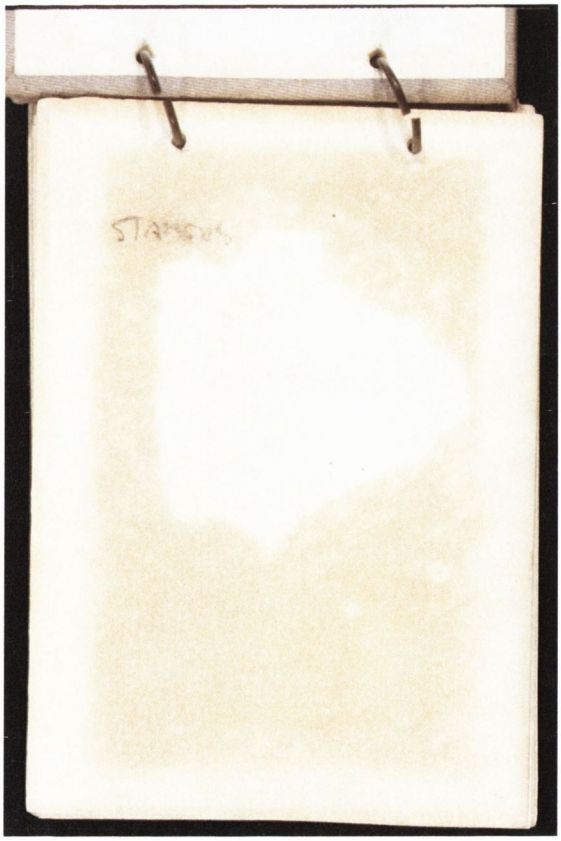

Plate 155. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 34.

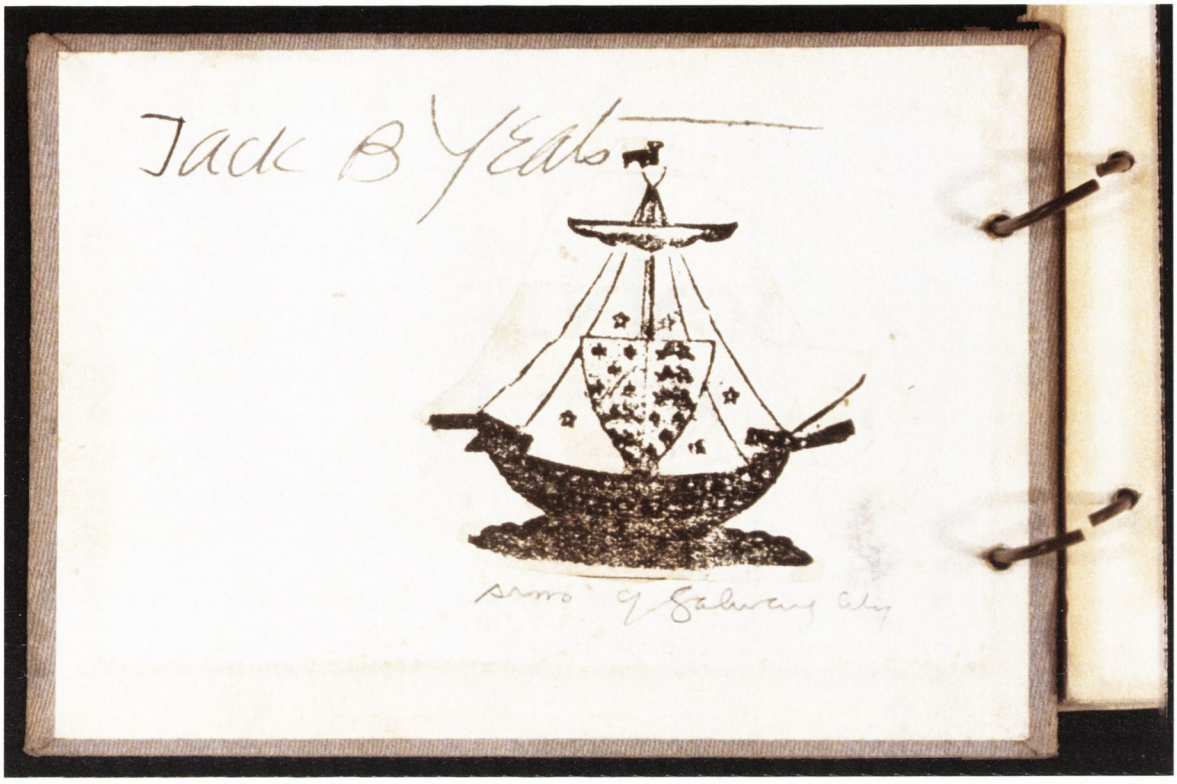

Plate 156. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 35.

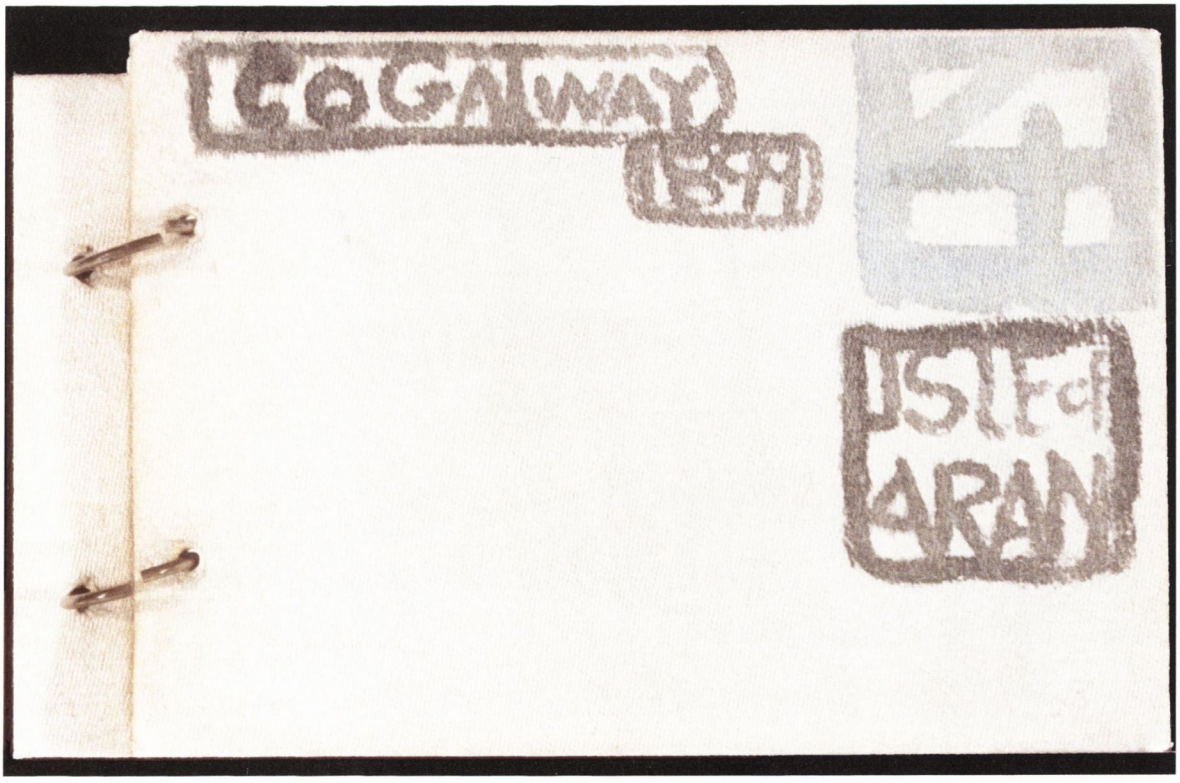

Plate 157. Jack B. Yeats sketchbook, sketch number 36.

Temple banners of hanging pictures painted in tempera colours and gold on a prepared silk ground. They are specimens of 18th century Tibetan art under strong Chinese influence. A specimen of Chinese Bronze Statuary is seen in a head taken from a temple in the Shansi province, when at the order of Feng Yu Hsiang, the temples were destroyed in 1927'.[2]

'Irish Times', 1 June 1932:

'Far Eastern Art. Dublin Exhibition of Tapestry.

In the Rotunda of the National Museum, Dublin, there is now being shown an exhibition of objects of Far Eastern art, which have been presented by Mr. Albert M. Bender, of San Francisco, U.S.A., as a memorial gift of his mother, the late Mrs. Augusta Bender. The exhibition will be especially interesting to those concerned with tapestry. The principal objects are twenty-one Tibetan temple banners, painted in tempera colours and gold on prepared silk ground, and of the eighteenth century period. There are also some fine specimens of Japanese tapestry and embroidery of remarkable blended tones. A bronze of the late Ming period (1600-1648) will be noticed with pleasure. It is supposed to have been knocked off a temple figure by looting soldiers, who found the whole statue too heavy to carry off'.[3]

Dept. of Education to Secretary of Dept. of Finance, 10 October 1933:

'Runai, Roinn Airgid [Secretary, Dept. of Finance],

I am desired by the Minister for Education to state for the information of the Minister for Finance, that in the course of the past two years a very valuable donation, comprising a considerable number of objects illustrative of Far Eastern Art has been

[2] *Irish Press*, 1 June 1932, p. 5.
[3] *Irish Times*, 1 June 1932, p. 3.

received by the National Museum of Ireland from Mr. Albert M. Bender of 311 California Street, San Francisco, U.S.A. ...

The objects are being placed for permanent exhibition in the Kildare Street (main) building of the Museum, and it is intended that the room, which is to be devoted specifically to the display of these objects should be named 'The Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art'. It is further proposed that this inscription should be placed on a bronze memorial tablet to be affixed to the walls of the room.

The cost of the tablet I estimated at £10.9.0., and I am desired by the Minister for Education to request that the Minister for Finance may be so good as to authorise the necessary expenditure for the supply of the tablet from the Vote for Public Works and Buildings .... I am requested by the Minister for Education to add that the provision of the memorial tablet would serve in a measure as a fitting recognition of the generosity of Mr. Bender's gifts. The material value of the donations received from him to date is estimated by the Keeper of the Irish Antiquities Division at close on 20,000 dollars, and the Keeper states that he has good reason to believe that Mr. Bender will continue his donations in which he is prompted by 'a sincere attachment to Dublin, the city in which his mother (Augusta Bender) was born''.[4]

Permission to obtain money from 'Subhead A6 of the Vote for Science and Art of a sum not exceeding £10.9s.0d. on the purchase of a tablet bearing the inscription ''The Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art''' was granted on 21 October 1933 by W. Doolin of the Dept. of Finance.[5] By 9 March 1934 a letter was sent from the Dept. of Education to the Dept. of External Affairs regarding the appropriate date

[4] From Dept. of Education to the Secretary of the Dept. of Finance, 10 October 1933. File S10938A, (Dept. of the Taoiseach), National Archives of Ireland.
[5] Ibid. National Archives of Ireland File S10938A: Memo number S.18/41/33, W. Doolin to Secretary of the Dept. of Education, 21 October 1933.

to officially open the Bender Room, 17 March 1934 appearing to be the preferred choice.[6]

Speech given by Eamon DeValera at the Opening of the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art, 25 June 1934:

'It gives me great pleasure to introduce you to this room filled with beautiful objects presented to our National Museum by Mr. Albert M. Bender, of San Francisco. Mr. Bender, although his life has been largely spent far from our shores, has always held Ireland, the land of his birth, in loving memory. With public spirit all too rare he has established here, in the city where he spent his youth, a collection which, while being a lasting memorial to his mother, increases the cultural possessions of his native country.

This collection will enable visitors to our Museum to familiarise themselves with the delicacy and beauty of Far Eastern art – a province of art the universal importance of which is only now being really recognised. The generosity of Mr. Bender has similarly endowed other Museums. There is a Bender Room in the Museum of San Francisco. There is also a Bender Room in Mills College, one of the Colleges of the University of California. That University has recently shown its appreciation by conferring on Mr. Bender the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws. In his benefactions to art Mr. Bender has followed a fine American tradition, which I hope will be emulated more widely by wealthy Irishmen.

We welcome this gift all the more gratefully, because, in a small country like ours, to make the national collections adequately representative of world culture is difficult. Our Museum cannot hope in the number and variety of its exhibits to rival Museums of great capitals abroad supported by the resources of powerful and wealthier States.

[6] National Archives of Ireland File S10938A: Memo 22-34M: Dept. of Education to Secretary, Dept. of External Affairs, 9 March 1934.

Not that our collections are in any sense unworthy. On the contrary we have every reason to be proud of them. Here in the National Museum we have a magnificent collection of prehistoric gold ornaments which have come down from an age when the cultural influence of this little island must have been felt over large tracts of the European continent. We have also an unrivalled collection of early Christian relics belonging to the period following the collapse of the Roman Empire, when Ireland took the leading part in spreading the Christian faith and restoring civilisation in Western Europe. In the Exhibits from later periods the Museum contains beautiful specimens of Irish glass and silver work which show that centuries of invasion and war did not extinguish the tradition of arts and craftsmanship in Ireland. This collection of Irish glass and silver is moreover, exhibited against the background of general European development in metal and ceramics. The ceramic exhibits are especially fine and include a very famous collection, not only of European glass but also of Chinese and Japanese porcelain.

A National Museum has a great part to play in the education of a people. It presents them with concrete evidence of the cultural development and achievements of their ancestors and of their contemporaries in other countries. It enables them to appreciate the position of their country and race in relation to the various races, nations and civilisations which have contributed to the complex phenomenon of world history. It helps to inspire a sense of the past, an appreciation of the continuity of human life and development from generation to generation, and thus is capable of exercising an important stabilising influence in society. That influence is particularly necessary in our day when men in a hurry to do the work of their own generation are dangerously inclined to under-rate their debt to those who went before them. We too easily forget

that we owe to the past that progress in the arts of civilisation which has made life so much easier for us than it was for our ancestors. Progress, however, has brought its own dangers. If it has given us ever increasing leisure, it has left us with the problem of using that leisure rightly. Well used, the increase of leisure may be a great boon to mankind; abused, it may very well wreck civilisation. One of the chief functions of an institution like this in our time is to enable men to employ their leisure to good purpose, to stimulate them to the cultural effort which will make them better men and better citizens. I think the National Museum is doing that. I am sure that it would be able to do it more effectively if the value and interest of its contents were more widely known. I hope that one result of Mr. Bender's gift will be to bring visitors in increasing numbers to see the splendid collections housed in this building .... June 25th, 1934'.[7]

'Irish Independent', 22 June 1934:

'Far Eastern Art. Gift to the National Museum.

Within the last few years the National Museum of Dublin has been enriched by the gradual acquisition of a collection of objects illustrative of various phases of Far Eastern Art.

This has been brought about largely through Prof. Walter Starkie, who was instrumental in bringing the donor, Dr. Albert Bender, of San Francisco, in touch with the Museum authorities, and especially with Dr. Mahr ... Of outstanding importance amongst the textiles is a fine specimen of a 17th century Lama Priest robe from the Yung Ho Kung temple in Peking, the most important Lama temple outside Tibet.

[7] National Archives of Ireland file S10938A.

For the work of Japanese artists in the 18th and 19th centuries there is a series of nearly 100 wood block prints. Dr. Bender has already given somewhat similar rooms to two separate Museum Institutions in America, but this is the first of its kind which he has presented in Europe'.[9]

'Irish Press', 22 June 1934:

'Amongst the textiles is a fine specimen of a seventeenth century Lama priest robe.... Part of the robe is made from fawn-coloured silk and self-figured with symbolisms of Buddhism, while the rest is richly embroidered in gold and coloured silks.

Oriental skill in metal work is illustrated by several pewter objects.

These include an incense burner with unusual etched decoration and dragon handles; a pair of vases for votive offerings from a temple, and inlaid with copper, set in flush with the surface; a Murgolian wine flagon; a serving dish of Chinese banquet type further embellished with jade and carnelian, and a chalice-shaped bowl, characteristic of the several Japanese pewter forms ... Smaller objects of art are Japanese, Chinese and Malayan. The arrangement of the objects has been carried out by Dr. A. Mahr, Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the Museum, and Mr. M.S.D. Westropp, M.R.I.A., Keeper of the Art Division, with the help of Miss A.K. Longfield, Assistant of the Art Division of the Museum'.[10]

'Irish Press', 26 June 1934:

'Tomas O Deirg, Aire Oideachas [Dept. of Education], said they now took over the room on behalf of the nation. He wished to echo what the President had stated and to

[9] *Irish Independent*, 22 June 1934.
[10] *Irish Press*, 22 June 1934.

express their great thanks to Dr. Bender for his magnificent donation to the Irish nation.

Dr. Mahr, Keeper of Irish Antiquities, said they were very glad to have an opportunity of adding to their Far Eastern material, which in the past was rather scanty. They were under deep obligation to Dr. Bodkin [Director of the National Gallery of Ireland] for assistance in arranging exhibit.

Mr. D. Westropp, Keeper of the Art Division, said that the donation would be a great addition to their collections. The Tibetan banners presented would be an even greater acquisition. He expressed thanks to Mr. De Valera for performing the opening ceremony.

The Attendance

Among those who were present or accepted invitations were: Mr. F. Aiken, Minister for Defence; Senator J. Connolly, Minister for Lands; Mr. C. Maguire, S.C., T.D., Attorney-General; Mr. P.J. Little, Parliamentary Secretary to Mr. De Valera; Mr. Sean Moynihan, Secretary to the Executive Council; Messrs. J.J. McElligott, Secretary, Department of Finance; J.P. Walshe, Secretary, Department of External Affairs; S.A. Roche, Secretary, Ministry for Industry and Commerce; D. Twomey, Secretary, Department of Agriculture; P.S. O'Hegarty, Secretary, Department of Posts and Telegraphs; Lt.-Gen. P. McMahon, Secretary, Department of Defence; H.E. Bradley, Secretary, Departments of Lands and Fisheries; E.P. McCarron, Secretary, L.G.D.; Chief Inspector M. Franklin, National Education Office; Chief Inspector J. Ingram, Technical Instruction Branch; General Inspector S. MacNiocaill, Secondary Education Branch.

Most Rev. Dr. Pascal Robinson, Nuncio Apostolic; Rt. Rev. Mgr. Riberi, Secretary; Herr Von Dehn, German Minister; Mr. J. Denby, Secretary, U.S. Legation; M.F.

Briere, Secretary, French Legation; Senor E. Filbey. Argentine Vice-Consul; Mr. P. Ruzicka, Czecho-Slovakian Consul; Comm. R. Lodi Fe, Italian Consul-General; Mr. I. Weenink, Netherlands Consul-General; M. W. Th. Dobrzynski, Polish Consul-General; Senor C. Costello, Consul-General for Portugal; Senor Don F. de Ranero y Rivas, Spanish Consul-General; Mr. H. Eriksson, Swedish Consul-General; Mr. H. Balch, U.S. Consul-General.

Major-General M. Brennan, Chief of Staff; Garda Commissioner E. Broy; Mr. W. Peters, Irish Trade Commissioner; Mr. J. Cormack, Canadian Trade Commissioner; Mr. M.A. Corrigan, Chief State Solicitor; Sir P. Hanson, Chairman; Messrs. P. Kent and D. O'Hegarty, Commissioners of Public Works; Mr. Justice Wylie; Messrs. S. Waddell, K. O'Sheil, J. Heavey, D.J. Brown and E. Mansfield, Land Commissioners; Messrs. W. O'Brien, Chairman; W.D. Carey and M. V. Nolan, Revenue Commissioners; Mr. G. McGrath, Comptroller and Auditor-General; Mr. J. Herlihy, Commissioner of Valuation; Prof. J. Whelehan and Mr. E. O'Friel, Tariff Commissioners; Sean O Cuiv, Director, Information Bureau, and Mrs. O Cuiv; Dr. R. Best; Dr. T. Bodkin; Dr. D.J. Coffey, President U.C.D.; Dr. E. Gwynn, Provost, T.C.D.; Mr. T.P. Le Fanu, Mr. G. Atkinson.

Board of Visitors, National Museum – Mr. D. O'Brien, P.R.H.A.; Mr. M. Caffrey, Mr. Justice Murnaghan, Mr. C. MacNeill, Prof. A.F. Dixon, Prof. R.A. Macalister, Sir. F. Moore, Prof. H. Dixon, Mr. R. Lloyd Praeger, D.Sc.; Prof. H.J. Seymour.

Governors, National Gallery – Lord Longford, Miss Purser, Mr. R.C. Orpen, Sir J. Lavery, Mr. A. Martin, Chief Justice Kennedy, Mr. O. Sheppard, R.H.A.; Mr. L. O'Callaghan.

Mr. Bender's friends – Senator O. St. John Gogarty, Prof. J.G. Smyley, Prof. W.F. Starkie, Mr. George Russell, Senator and Mrs. W.B. Yeats, Miss Kathleen

O'Brennan, Miss Estelle Solomons, Dr. B. Solomons, the Misses Yeats, Mr. Jack Yeats'.[11]

Adolf Mahr to Secretary, Dept. of Education, 27 February 1934:

'In the minute at present under preparation in which the two Keepers of the Art and of the Antiquities Divisions outline their proposals in connection with the Viceregal Lodge scheme, it is recommended that the Bender Room, amongst others, be removed to the Park; but that has got nothing to do with the official opening of the present room. The money and labour spent on the transformation of this room into a suitable exhibition-room should have been spent in any case, no matter what goes there, and the Bender donations can be taken from the room at any time without involving any architectural change. As a matter of fact, the room is now as good as any other in the museum, and it remains to be seen which room in the Lodge would be best suited for the Bender collections'.[13]

Albert Bender to Eamon DeValera, President of the Irish Free State, 12 July 1934:

'Dear Mr. President, ... I cannot allow the day to pass without expressing to you my deep sense of gratitude for all you have said and done, and to assure you that it is greatly appreciated. I realize how many demands are made upon your time in your official capacity, and recognize the sacrifice which you made in not only attending, but also personally contributing to the beauty of the ceremony, and at the risk of taxing your courtesy even further, I wish to thank, through you, the many who gave so freely of their time and thought on my behalf.

[11] *Irish Press*, 26 June 1934, p. 8.
[13] National Archives of Ireland: 238/223; Dept. of Foreign Affairs: Mahr to Secretary, Dept. of Education, 27 February 1934.

It has been a great pleasure to me to present my little gift to the Museum, and the enthusiasm with which it has been received makes me realize with considerable humility how much I have been over-rewarded by the dear city of my birth; and to hope that in the future it will be possible for me to make further gifts commensurate with the dignity and importance of the National Museum of Ireland'.[12]

John Teahan, Keeper, Art & Industrial Division to A.B. O'Riodain, Director, National Museum of Ireland, 31 July 1979:

'Director, Bender Room/Indian Room

In 1973 the Bender Room was closed and the exhibition of Tibetan and other oriental material in it dismantled. The Director at the time gave firm guarantees that the room would be returned to the Art Division within a matter of months. The guarantee unfortunately was never fulfilled.

In the present circumstances the Indian Room has also come to be closed...

I believe it is proper that the ways be found to return the material from the Bender and the Indian Rooms to exhibition.

This material is of considerable public interest, being the subject of many queries. Some of it is of great monetary value, and most is of prime artistic and historical importance. The fact that, in the case of the Bender presentation, 'a special room has been devoted to the purpose to be known as the Augusta Bender Memorial Room of Far Eastern Art' should not be lost sight of.

[12] National Archives of Ireland file S10938A: Bender to DeValera, T.D., President of the Irish Free State, Bellevue, Cross Ave., Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 12 July 1934.

In the broader context, I believe that the Division should not be allowed to shrink. In a still wider setting, I believe it should be the task of the Division to provide even a glimpse into civilizations other than our own. John Teahan, 31st July, 1979'.[14]

Obituaries:

San Francisco News, 4 March 1941:

'Albert Bender, Art Patron, Dies

City Enriched by His Many Gifts

San Francisco lost one of its outstanding patrons of the arts today when Albert M. Bender died at his home, 1369 Post-st, after a two weeks' illness. He was 74.

Mr. Bender nurtured many an artistic spirit. A genuine lover of art, he was always buying the works of living artists.

But, unlike many art collectors, he did not store them in a mansion of his own. Instead, he gave them to museums. The San Francisco Museum of Art was enriched tremendously by his donations. He was a member of the San Francisco Library Commission.

Mr. Bender was born in Dublin. His father was a rabbi. At the Dublin Art Gallery there's a room dedicated to the father's memory, filled with art treasures collected by his devoted son.

Mr. Bender came to San Francisco from Dublin in 1883 and was naturalized in 1889. He began as an errand boy in an insurance office and rose to own his own insurance agency'.

[14] File AI/78/047, NMI: John Teahan to A.B. O'Riordain, 31 July 1979.

San Francisco Chronicle, 5 March 1941, p. 12:

'Albert M. Bender

More About Death of S.F. Philanthropist

Continued from page 2

.. And always his almost legendary gifts were enriched by the greater gifts of his laughter, his wisdom, his gentle counsel.

Humanity and humility were the motivating factors in his life, and he worked ceaselessly to elevate the status of the common man.

Beauty to him, was no rich man's bonus. It belonged, he felt, to the masses, and as the years wore on he made beauty available to all who would behold it.

As was once written of him:

"Albert Bender does not await a Golden Age; he helps to bring it about."

Although most successful in his insurance business, Albert Bender's gifts were out of all proportion to his wealth. Once, under pressure, he admitted that 90 per cent of his income went back to San Francisco's charitable, educational and creative institutions. The remaining 10 per cent he gave those needy who appealed to him for aid.

It was Albert Bender's belief that the best way to further art was to support living artists. And support them he did, literally thousands who poured in an endless stream into his California street office; into his Post street studio.

Monastic in his personal tastes, Albert Bender could not be persuaded to buy a new suit, but he bought countless paintings, hundreds of bits of sculpture, untold etchings and lithographs that he promptly hid away under his bed.

A Man Looks Into The Future

"Supposing the work is bad," he chortled. "Maybe someday it will be considered good."

Yet with all his benefactions, Bender demanded no toll for his patronage. Outward manifestations of gratitude embarrassed him and any sentimentalization of his generosity sent him flying up California street, a small graying man, clutching a large black fedora hat.

Invariably coated with lipstick bestowed by feminine admirers, Bender collected celebrities as he collected human woes. Notables from all parts of the world flocked to his museum-like apartment where year after year he held court. To rich and poor, to old and young his studio always was home, and the flavor of his pungent words like old cognac – warm and authentic.

In his own words, he collected not art but human beings, and to them he always gave the best he had. He gave them himself.

Incredibly shy, Bender rarely talked of himself and his history. Of his Horatio Alger-like rise he had little to say.

Known of him are the following bare facts:

He was born to Rabbi Philip Bender and Augusta Bremer Bender in Dublin, Ireland, on June 18, 1866. He came to San Francisco at the age of 13 and for three years ran errands for his uncle, William H. Bremer, a shipping and insurance broker.

In 1881 he struck out for himself and the following year became an agent here for the Phoenix Assurance Company of London.

Before he was 20 years old he had established himself as an independent agent and before the century was done he was hailed a success.

Almost at once Bender began his serious study of art and as soon as he could afford it instituted his own "share-the-wealth" program, impelled by the belief that too great an emphasis on historical collections would spell the early death of contemporary art.

The Years Pass Swiftly

In the years that passed (swiftly for Albert Bender because he had no patience with time) he gave enormously to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor; to the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum; to the San Francisco Museum of Art. Because he loved youth and believed it should not want, he established the Albert M. Bender Room at the Mills College Museum; the Anne Bremer Memorial Library at the California School of Fine Arts; Bender collections at the University of California, Stanford and St. Mary's College.[15]

In the San Francisco Public Library he gave a collection of notable books in memory of Max J. Kuhl. To the Dublin Museum in Ireland he gave a wing in memory of his parents.

In the Mills College Library alone are 6000 rare items, first editions, priceless manuscripts, unusual examples of fine printing.

Always eager to assist ambitious young people, he financed college educations for hundreds, never under formal scholarships, but always quietly so they would not be burdened forever by a sense of obligation.

Many were the honors bestowed upon this gentle little man and always, when they were given, he was surprised and a trifle shocked.

Nevertheless France bestowed upon him its prized Legion of Honor ribbon; Italy decorated him with the Crown of Italy.

He was for ten years a trustee of Mills College and until his death an honorary trustee of the institution. This same college honored him with two degrees, a master of arts and a doctor of literature; the University of California awarded him a doctor of laws

[15] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Mary's_College_of_California: St. Mary's College was founded as a Catholic Liberal Arts college in 1863. It was initially run for the education of boys, and was handed over to the De La Salle Christian Brothers in 1868. In 1889 the campus moved to Oakland where it would remain until 1928 when it then moved to Moraga.

degree. St. Mary's College gave him its highest award, the Moraga Crest. These are just a few. Albert Bender would not admit receipt of any others.

He was a commissioner of the San Francisco Public Library, a director of the Japan Society and the Home for the Aged and Disabled; the San Francisco Symphony Association; the San Francisco Art Association; the San Francisco Opera Association and Opera Guild. He also was a director of the Community Chest; a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and the Royal Geographic Society. In addition he was an honorary member of the San Francisco Institute of Art, the American League of Pen Women, the Book Club of California, the Artists' Council, the Ina Coolbrith Literary Circle, the Modern Museum of Art of New York and the fraternity, Theta Beta Tau.

The Commercial and Commonwealth Clubs

He belonged likewise to the Commercial and Commonwealth Clubs here and to both Men's and Women's Faculty Clubs in Berkeley.

Surviving him are a brother, Montagu[e], and two sisters, Mrs. Gertrude Cohen and Mrs. Isabella Kulp, all of London, England.

Because of them and his own deep love for England, Albert Bender spent the last moments of his life planning further contributions to the British War Relief Association.

Funeral services will be conducted tomorrow morning at 10.30 o'clock at Temple Emanu-El, under the direction of N. Gray & Co., Post and Divisadero streets.'

The San Francisco Examiner, 5 March 1941:

'Albert Bender, Distinguished Art Patron, Dies in S.F. at Age of 74

Noted Philanthropist Succumbs to Heart Ailment in His Bachelor Studio

Death yesterday claimed a distinguished San Franciscan who had planted countless seeds to help in the flowering of the city's culture – seeds in the form of art gifts to public galleries, and aid to struggling artists.

Albert M. Bender, patron of the arts and philanthropist, died yesterday at his bachelor studio home, 1369 Post Street, the salon where painters, writers and actors had gathered for years. He was 74, and succumbed to a heart ailment after a brief illness.

Stored Paintings.

His taste in art was impeccable – but it never thwarted his generosity. Sometimes, the things he bought from young artists, so those young artists could continue their studies, were considerably less than masterpieces. In such cases, he simply stored paintings, drawings or portfolios under his bed, and left them there.

"So–and-so shows promise," he would say. "These things will sometime be appreciated as examples of his early work."

A personal tragedy in 1923, his friends say, was credited with partly turning his interests to fostering art.

His cousin, Anne Bremer, a San Francisco artist whom he had idolized, died then. His devotion to pictorial arts was orignally derived from her, he often said.

Vows To Aid Others

And when her life work, painting, was cut short by death, he vowed to aid others like her, in their work.

In her memory, he created the Anne Bremer Fund, to "grubstake" struggling artists; the Anne Bremer prize awards, for art work; the Anne Bremer Memorial Library, considered the finest art reference library in the West, at the California School of Fine Arts here.

Early In Life

He became the patron saint of the city's artists. He climbed into many a dingy studio to give encouragement. He financed many artists by buying their works. He helped them win recognition, by donating his purchases to local and national galleries.

Albert Bender was born in Dublin, son of Rabbi Philip Bender and Augusta Bremer Bender. He was only 13 when he came to San Francisco from Ireland. His uncle, William H. Bremer, a shipping and insurance broker, gave him work. Before he turned 20, he was an independent insurance agent, and destined for success.

Soon he was living in a world of his own making – a world of beauty, enriched by art – "without the arts, I can conceive the world only as a dark, sad place," he once said. And to impart his world of beauty to his fellow men, many a gallery was bolstered by his donations.

He gave an entire room of oriental objects to the Palace of the Legion of Honor; the number of oils, watercolours, sculptures, prints, drawings and book items he contributed to the San Francisco Museum of Art totals over 1,000.

Mills College, the University of California, the New York Metropolitan, the Huntington Library – galleries from Washington D.C., to the Paris Louvre and to Dublin – have been his beneficiaries.

Like a diminutive, shy and kindly good genii he performed his benevolent deeds, giving not only money but his time. He served as a director of the San Francisco Symphony, and the Art Association; as a trustee of Mills College; as a director of the Book Club of California, and a member of the public library commission.

Widely Honored

Many were the honors bestowed on him, honors he accepted reticently – he was a chevalier of the French Legion of Honor, a cavalier of the Crown of Italy, received

the Moraga Crest from St. Mary's College, two honorary degrees from Mills College and the LL.D. degree from the University of Califiornia.

His friends honored him in their own fashion. At any gathering of the musically minded; at any museum preview, he could be found by looking in the center of the gayest, most interested group. His home was full of people every evening.

Each year on St. Patrick's Day his friends gathered to honor him at a very special party. Opera singers, actors, writers – the most talented of all the very talented people he knew – arranged little skits, or wrote special songs or poetry for him.

So many people loved him that of late years, when they wanted to give that party they had literally to hire a hall.

Albert Bender's body will lie in his Post Street studio today and early tomorrow morning until the funeral, set for 10.30am, tomorrow, at Temple Emanu-El.

Arrangements are in charge of N. Gray & Co., Post and Divisadero Streets.

A brother, Montague, and two sisters, Mrs. Gertrude Cohen and Mrs. Isabella Kulp, all of London, England, survive'.

San Francisco News, 5 March 1941:

'Albert Bender

Art and Albert Bender have been synonymous in San Francisco for a generation. This gentle, jovial, friendly, bright-eyed little man, whose sudden passing yesterday saddened thousands who had been warmed by the sunshine of his friendship, was more than a patron of the arts; his patronage came close to sainthood.

Not only the arts but artists profited by his interest. The number of struggling young painters, sculptors, poets, prose writers and musicians he encouraged would be almost

legion if a roster of them ever could be compiled, which would be impossible, because he kept these benefactions mostly to himself.

San Francisco is and always will be a richer art center by reason of his citizenship. By his gifts of precious treasures to local galleries his footprints always will be found. But the less tangible though equally valuable gift of his heartening interest in all that is best in the artistic worlds will continue to be felt for a long time.

This city owes much to his memory. We are pretty certain, however, that Albert Bender felt fully repaid simply by the privilege he enjoyed of being so vital a part of so wonderful a community. It was his life and love, the object of his passionate devotion. He found joy in adorning it with beauty, as adoring husbands derive satisfaction from bestowing jewels upon their cherished wives.

The fairies danced for Albert Bender, the fairies and the leprechauns of his Irish childhood. But mingled with the mysticism of that background was also the deeply sentimental strain of his Jewish forbears. The combination produced a rare personality.

Many a season of opera, many an art show, many a series of symphony concerts will have to pass, we fear, before the people of San Francisco will be able to accustom themselves to the absence of Albert Bender from their advisory councils and from the brilliant first nights.

He was the symbol, the patron and, as we said in the beginning, well-nigh the saint of art in this community'.

San Francisco Chronicle, 6 March 1941:

'Albert Bender's Life Enriched San Francisco

San Francisco is a poorer place today because of Albert Bender's death. His life has enriched this city.

A unique force in the world of art, Mr. Bender believed whole-heartedly in the importance of the contemporary artist and his right to live, not by charity but by his own art.

This right Mr. Bender gave the artists of San Francisco (and, incidentally, America) through his constant and unswerving support. Whenever possible he gave tangible aid through the purchase of the artist's work. Rarely was there the humiliation of an outright gift.

Literally thousands benefited through Mr. Bender's amazing type of patronage that never demaned servile gratitude. He believed in freedom of expression, freedom of will and the right to live independently and beautifully.

Every one of the city's various institutions, whether educational, charitable or purely artistic, knew of Mr. Bender's generosity. He gave of his money, of his wisdom, of himself. No one who ever turned to him for aid or solace or inspiration was refused.

Through Albert Bender, the collecting of fine art and of fine human beings became in itself a fine art. And, because of his collection, generations to come in this city will be vastly enriched'.

San Francisco News, 6 March 1941:

'Ways of the World

Albert Bender

By John D. Barry

In spite of the shock the message gave me I felt a certain relief. No longer would my friend of many years suffer from the terrible arthritic pains in his quiet, uncomplaining way he once told me about. Besides, while those of us lived who knew him he'd continue to be alive. Thinking of him would make us feel more hopeful for human kind.

At the time of his death Albert Maurice Bender, born in Dublin, Ireland, on June 18, 1868 [incorrect: he was born in the year 1866], son of a rabbi, the Rev. Dr. Philip Bender and Augusta Bremer, was looking forward to his annual party on St. Patrick's Night. Friends of his would pour in without the formality of an invitation. We had invented the little fiction that St. Patrick's Day was his birthday and we made St. Patrick an excuse for celebrating a man any saint might have been glad to be associated with.

Always, without his knowledge, a program would be prepared in advance. Last year, for instance, Miriam Elkus presided. With her talent and with the co-operation of other gifted artists she offered a program that included a masterpiece of spontaneous Irish humor from Dudley Field Malone. The guests represented an amazingly wide social range. You couldn't be too unimportant for Albert's friendship or too important either. Like Walt Whitman, he excluded no one. In that beautiful apartment of his, fairly bursting with art treasures, we found genuine democracy. People who didn't usually have time for parties wouldn't miss that party. Even so busy a man as Dr. Leo Eloesser, darting from one service to another at the sacrifice of sleep, would be on hand. I can see him standing behind the seats in the little improvised auditorium following the entertainment with amused eyes.

Rare Qualities

You had to know Albert well to appreciate his intellectual gifts. Among all the men I've known he's conspicuous for insight and breadth of understanding. He kept learning as he went along. But it must have been the spirit he brought into the world that made him see the things that divided people were of no real account. He didn't care what you represented, whether you were Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or Mohammedan, whether you were white, black or yellow, whether you had plenty of money or no money. As a fellow being you'd appeal to his sympahy.

Traveling Celebrities

Distinguished visitors in San Francisco would stay in his rooms, a philosopher like Bertrand Russell, poet like Edwin Markham, a novelist like Feuchtwanger, many another traveler who appreciated escaping from hotels into the tranquil atmosphere of art, with book shelves crowded and with meals served at any hour by a faithful housekeeper used to lecturers and other celebriities fond of sleeping late. Though Albert would have an early breakfast before he went to his office, a guest would be entirely free, encouraged to act as if he owned the place.

Much as he liked to supply his visitors and callers abundantly with food and drink he had to practice severity on himself. He often joked about the abstemious habits that hadn't kept him from being penalized by the indulgences of his forebears.

Early Affection

Psychologists stress the influence of early associations on character. From what Albert used to tell me about his home life in Dublin I gathered that it had been marked by an almost Spartan simplicity. How could it have been anything else with a clergyman father who kept the house going on what we should consider a meager income? As some woman said of Albert, his capacity for liking people must have

been encouraged from the start. He often referred gaily to his Irish heritage and to the name given him by some of his fellow Jews in San Francisco, Mickey Bender.

From personal experience I doubt if he ever knew what it meant to meet anti-Semitism. But he did know what it meant to other Jews that he considered just as good as he was himself, just as worthy of respect and liking. Unconsciously he offered the finest possible illustration of the absurdity and the iniquity in a prejudice that had reached so ghastly a manifestation among the Nazis.

Public Appreciation

Albert, in you San Francisco has lost a great citizen. A multitude of San Franciscans and of people the world over, including myself, have lost communion with a friend endeared to us by happy memories.

You're part of our city's history, a very choice part, and I'm hoping that before long we'll set up some kind of memorial that will bear witness to our gratitude and pride'.

San Francisco Chronicle, 7 March 1941:

Obituary

Albert Bender, Who Lived For Mankind, Is Laid to Rest

By Carolyn Anspacher

The story of Albert Bender was told yesterday.

It was told simply and beautifully to thousands of San Franciscans assembled in the white, cloistered silence of Temple Emanu-El.

Sunlight drifted in through stained glass windows, and before the Ark of the Covenant another light burned bravely, a light as constant as that shed by Albert Bender during the course of his lifetime.

All manner of men were there yesterday morning to pay final honor to the little man whose 61 years in San Francisco constituted a benediction.

Chinese and Japanese sat side by side and wept over "Mickey" Bender's passing, and for the moment were united in grief. Rich and poor sat side by side, and, for the moment, their tears made them brothers. Politicians and artists, society matrons and servants, painters and sculptors and writers and philosophers ... All were there, sittting side by side, to pay homage to Albert Bender and to hear prayers for his eternal peace.

A Strange Funeral

It was a strange funeral; strange because it marked not the end but rather a brief pause in the inspiration that Albert Bender gave to all who knew him.

With Albert Bender it was no "sic transit gloriam mundi."

What was mortal of him lay beneath the stately pulpit ... lay quietly under a robe of pale green over which spring flowers reached in brilliant sprays. Hundreds of floral pieces surrounded his small bier.

What was immortal of him burned brightly in the hearts of those gathered in the synagogue; men and women whom he had delivered from acute want by his tender generosity; men and women to whom he had given rich and enduring beauty.

Rabbi's Prayer

Albert Bender's earthly career was done. And so the Psalms of David were read by Rabbi Irving F. Reichert and then the prayers of his father and his father's father.

Briefly Rabbi Reichert spoke:

"We thank Thee, O Heavenly Father, in this hour of leave taking for all that was good and true in the life of Albert Bender. We thank Thee for the many sweet and beautiful memories that he has left us; for the benevolence and kindliness of his spirit, the

charm and dignity of his personality – for his boundless love of humanity and his sacrificial and joyous service of everything that nobly reflects Thy image in man.

"On behalf of the myriad celebrated and obscure men and women whom he befriended, we offer gratitude for a life of devoted stewardship of the gifts with which Thou dist endow him. We know that his righteousness will endure beyond the grave and that his good deeds will immortalize his memory in the great heart of this community which he loved and served so well. May his example be an inspiration to others and his memory be a blessing."

Then came the eulogy delivered by Dr. Monroe E. Deutsch, vice president and provost of the University of California.

Overcome by emotion, Dr. Deutsch said:

"This gathering is a eulogy, this assemblage is a testimony ... For everything that this land of ours granted him, Albert Bender made a return to the full – and overflowing.

"On the campus of Mills College, in the museum of art is a collection bearing his name; he was responsible for the beginnings of the art gallery at the University of California. How much the several art institutions of this city owe him.

"And in many a university library you will find countless treasures of the printer's art and rare old editions given with lavish hand by Albert Bender.

"Music delighted him and few were the musical organizations in which he did not take an active part.

Infinite Generosity

"His generosity to institutions and to organizations was bounded by no wall of creed or nationality; he knew no such barriers separating man from man.

"Albert Bender was born – and remained – a liberal. Injustice and infringement of the rights of human beings cut him to the quick – and he instinctively put forth his hand to protect the wronged.

"But institutions to him were only of worth for what they did for human beings – and as made up of human beings. And to individuals he gave himself lavishly and generously. Many the men of letters, many the musicians, many the artists to whom his warm heart went out – and his helping hand.

"To the last he was full of energy, full of buoyant optimism, full of cheer. In these dark hours of the world he was far from oblivious to the moral issues involved and labored for the cause of a just and free earth. But whatever he felt, he went among men and women with a cheery face and a merry laugh.

'Live For Us'

"Civic organizations sought him for their governing boards; universities honored him; foreign governments decorated him.

"He spent himself for us – and now we realize how bereft we are in his going.

"May we not from his life take something that will in turn smooth the path for others and lighten the road amid the shadows?

"The world is a better place because Albert Bender lived – in truth, beauty and justice. And we are grateful for such a life as his."

That was all

Slowly the casket was wheeled out of the synagogue, followed by 25 pallbearers who wept unashamedly.

Outside the spring morning was crisp and clear and the crowds melted as the flowers faded.

San Francisco had paid its final respects to a gentle little man who, through unselfishness and love, through tolerance and pity, had made the city a better place in which to live'.

San Francisco News, 7 March 1941:

A Little Story of Albert Bender's Beneficence

EDITOR: Having read your news item concerning the death of Albert Bender, I am reninded of an experience I had on my Irish trip of several years ago as a fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation.

After a visit to the National Art Museum, which was enriched by Mr. Bender's many donations, and where I conveyed as proxy his best wishes to the custodians, I walked to the nearby Trinity College Library to have a look at the exhibits there. One by one those treasures, including the Book of Kells, were shown to me and other tourists that made up our conducted group, when I remarked, somewhat to my surprise, a large glass case conspicuously displayed in the hall's center, and inside a photograph of Albert Bender. The guide was particularly pleased at my recognition.

"Indeed , sir," said he with a broad smile, "we owe a number of our prizes to Mr. Bender, and he has our gratitude."

"This is a coincidence," I answered, "for just this morning I heard from him." So saying, I took out of my pocket a letter which a few hours before I had found waiting at the American Express offices. The other visitors immediately entered into the spirit; we finished our sightseeing with a pleasurable feeling that Albert Bender was somehow with us enjoying every moment of it.

As I left the guide asked whether as a special favor he might have the envelope of that letter in remembrance of a man whose esteem of things artistic and whose

beneficences were known in many of the world's places but none more characteristically than Dublin and Trinity College.

This little story, I am sure, is only one of the countless which could likewise be told about Albert Bender. – Edward Doro, Monterey, Cal.'.

Address by Mr. Matthew Murphy, Consul of Ireland, over radio station KYA, San Francisco, on the 8th March, 1941:

'When I arrived in San Francisco, 8 years ago, to establish the first Irish Consulate on the Pacific Coast, one of the first people I met was Albert Bender. I found him a loveable and cheerful character, and when we discovered that we were both natives of Dublin, we had many a long chat about the "old country".

Like most Irishmen who become adopted sons of America, he never lost his affection and interest for the land of his birth. Although he had been out of it for many years, he seemed completely informed about everything that had happened there since he left, at the age of 13. He never hesitated to help Irish scholars and lecturers who came to the Pacific Coast, and was one of the first patrons of Maurice Leahy's "Ireland-American Review", which is a publication to foster cultural relations between Ireland and America.

His generous contributions of art treasures was not confined to this country, as today we have a room in the National Museum of Dublin, Ireland, known as the "Albert Bender Room". It was opened officially by Mr. DeValera, Prime Minister of Ireland, and the Irish Government graciously accepted, and thanked Mr. Bender for his generous donation of art treasures which made the room possible.

Mrs. Murphy and I were deeply shocked when we heard of Albert's death. No musical at our home was considered complete unless our good friend Albert was one of the guests.

At the funeral services on Thursday, I was deeply touched by the tribute paid to Albert Bender by Doctor Monroe Deutsch. The services were so simple and dignified that it was no wonder that so many eyes were moist. Yes, the story of Albert's generosity seemed to be at last unfolded, and I reflected that if all of those whom he had befriended in Ireland could have been present, the beautiful Temple El Manu-El would have told a story which Albert would never tell himself.

Ireland has lost a good son, America has lost a loyal citizen, and San Francisco has lost a noble benefactor in the passing of Albert Bender'.

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