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Robert Goodnough (1917-2010): An Artist's Insider View of Abstract Expressionism in The United States

Volume 1

Thesis submitted by Ruth Ringer

in fulfilment of the requirements of the PhD Degree in History, History of Art, and Archaeology
Academic year 2019-2020

Supervisor: Professor Thierry Lenain

ROBERT GOODNOUGH (1917-2010)

***Self-portrait* (1944)**

Robert Goodnough (1917-2010), *Self-portrait.* 1944, work on paper. (Location unknown.)

Source: https://www.liveauctioneers.com/en-gb/item/63200734_robert-goodnough-signed-original-self-portrait [last accessed November 28, 2019].

In memory of my grandparents who did not survive the Holocaust and my parents who did.

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I am grateful to the staff of the library of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels, in particular Madame Ingrid Goddeeris and her reading room team, for their assistance and resourcefulness in finding material not easily traceable. My thanks also extend to the staff of the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels. Special thanks go to the staff of the National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C., and the research section of the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

Last but not least I wish to express my gratitude to my family and friends, young and not so young, for their support and infinite patience.

INFORMATION NOTE

This thesis includes references to numerous American artists, who are less known outside the United States. We have therefore provided brief biographical details for these artists, who are listed in alphabetical order in Appendix 1. American artists, such as Thomas Hart Benton, Thomas Eakins, John Marin, Edward Hopper, Louise Nevelson, Georgia O'Keefe, Man Ray, Grant Wood, and others, known to the wider public have not been included. The purpose of the entries is to provide the reader with the possibility of placing the artists in the context of the time period covered by the thesis. The entries therefore do not include any commentary on the works or style of the artists. The main sources of information are Jane Turner's 1996 edition of *The Dictionary of Art,* the 6th edition of Paul Cumming's *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, Ann Lee Morgan's *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, Joan Marter's *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, and when accessible Grove Art Online. The sources are indicated for each entry. The names of these artists are marked in the text with an asterisk. We have followed the same process in Appendix 2 for institutions, both American and European, not commonly known or no longer in existence, and have used the indicator ° for that purpose.

All italics in quotations are original, as are capitalisations and underlining. Non-English terms have been put in italics. The accepted names for artistic movements and schools, such as Impressionism, Cubism and Surrealism, have been capitalised.

We have used throughout the text of the thesis the U. K. English spelling, but have not changed the U.S. spelling in citations, reference works, or exhibition titles. We have resorted to the English-style capitalisation of the names of French art establishments. We have also maintained the capitalisation of Willem de Kooning's surname where it occurs in quotations and titles.

In all the writings dating from the period under scrutiny and even beyond, the authors refer to the artist in the masculine, unless the reference is to a specific female artist. Although this would not be considered politically correct today, we have maintained the

references and texts unchanged, as they are indicative of the views of artists and critics alike.

The title of the art magazine to which Robert Goodnough contributed as an Editorial Associate took on many forms in the course of its history. We have opted for the format *ARTnews* throughout the body of the text. However, in quotations we have used the format used by the author.

In so far as possible we have checked the titles and dates of the works of art mentioned in the thesis, where available with the *Catalogue Raisonné* of the artist. Otherwise we have used exhibition catalogues and pamphlets, or the databases of museums and foundations. When not available or in doubt, we have omitted the date. The dimensions of the works of art by American artists are given in inches.

The titles and dates of exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum of American Art have been sourced from the databases of the two museums. The exhibitions held at Peggy Guggenheim's gallery Art of This Century have been checked in *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century*, edited by Susan Davidson, and Philip Rylands.

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[1] Robert M. Coates, The Art Galleries: At Home and Abroad. (*The New Yorker*, 30 March 1946), 75.

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INTRODUCTION

The subject

The subject of this thesis is the critical and artistic view of one artist—Robert Goodnough—of post-World War II "advanced"[1] painting in the United States. Of particular interest is the contribution of his insight into the subject matter of the "advanced" painter to our understanding and perception of what came to be known as Abstract Expressionism.

Goodnough, a painter and sculptor as well as a writer, was part of the new American talent heralded by art critics in the United States during the 1950s. He had settled in New York City in 1946 and was considered to belong to the successors of the "first generation" of Abstract Expressionist painters, who included, amongst others, William Baziotes, Willem de Kooning, Adolph Gottlieb, Franz Kline, Robert Motherwell, Barnett Newman, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, and Clyfford Still.

The younger artists, as much as their older contemporaries, were concerned about the essence and process of their creative work, and enriched their understanding of their own artistic activity from the reflections of their elders. Goodnough was actively involved in these reflections: he was one of the in-crowd of "Studio 35" and initiated, as well as organised, its three-day closing seminar in April 1950. He was a regular at the Cedar Tavern in University Place in downtown Manhattan, where the artistic innovators congregated.

At the end of the 1940s, Goodnough was enrolled as a graduate student at the University of New York for a Master of Arts degree and researched an issue regarded as fundamental to "advanced" contemporary painting in America at the time—"the subject matter of the artist"—for which he "interviewed" seven leading "advanced" painters. In the early 1950s, he joined the editorial team of *ARTnews*, at the time one of the most influential art periodicals in America. Goodnough was thus a genuine "insider" of one of the most emblematic moments in the development of twentieth-

[1] "Advanced" was a widely used term at the time to designate the American "avant-garde."

century painting in America, living through and contributing to its full emergence on the art scene and its international recognition.

This emblematic moment became known as Abstract Expressionism. Robert Coates coined the term in *The New Yorker* in 1946, although Clement Greenberg, the chronicler of American "advanced" painting, only began to use it reluctantly in the mid-1950s. It is often described as the "dominant" movement in post-World War II American painting. David Anfam, for example, mentions it "as a landmark in the general history of art and of modern art in particular."[2]

Most definitions of Abstract Expressionism refer to the group of artists who were regarded, by outsiders, to practise it and to the period during which it came to the fore. Yet the insiders, the artists themselves, as we shall see, shied away from the label and were reluctant to be designated as a school, a movement, or even a group. The Abstract Expressionist label was considered unfortunate by the founder of "The Club," the sculptor Philip Pavia, who said it was definitely not a "style." And the art critic Thomas Hess, in 1954, referred to the pioneers as those who did most to create "that mixed style … unhappily known as Abstract-Expressionism [*sic*]."[3] We have therefore not endeavoured to define or describe Abstract Expressionism, and have used it sparingly, preferring the term "advanced" to qualify the art and artists, who in the 1940s and 1950s were considered avant-garde in America, and in particular the "trailblazers," who brought about the radical break in twentieth-century American pictorial expression.

This break came about through the work of a number of "advanced" artists, of which Goodnough's seven interviewees were in the forefront. They were pioneers who paved the way for younger artists. We occasionally mention that they belong to the "first generation"[4] or "first wave" Abstract Expressionists in order to distinguish them from

[2] David Anfam, *Abstract Expressionism*, repr., World of Art (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 7.
[3] Thomas B. Hess, "The New York Salon," *ARTnews*, February 1954, 56.
[4] In 1978 the art historian Irving Sandler listed as "first generation" painters William Baziotes, James *Brooks, John *Ferren, Arshile Gorky, Adolph Gottlieb, Philip *Guston, Hans Hofmann, Franz Kline, Willem de Kooning, George *McNeil, Robert Motherwell, Barnett Newman, Jackson Pollock, Richard *Pousette-Dart, Ad *Reinhardt, Mark Rothko, Theodoros *Stamos, Clyfford *Still, Bradly Walker *Tomlin, Jack *Tworkov, and Esteban *Vincente. His list of "second generation" artists was much longer (in total fifty-three artists), including, besides Robert Goodnough, Elaine *de Kooning, Robert

their successors. The distinction, readily adopted in the 1960s, is in our view primarily chronological and not fundamental for the purpose of understanding what the artists, in particular the seven painters interviewed by Goodnough, perceived as the subject matter of their work.[5] According to Alfred *Leslie, the "second generation" moniker was double-edged, as it was a form of categorisation as well as a negative qualifier.[6]

The objective

The objective of the thesis is to consider Robert Goodnough's view of "advanced" American painting and ascertain whether his insight, as an "insider," may contribute to our own understanding and perception of post-World War II "advanced" American pictorial expression. Thus, the focus of the research is two-fold. Firstly, we seek to identify Robert Goodnough's critical and artistic insight into post-war "advanced" painting in the United States. Secondly we seek to ascertain its relevance to the general perception and understanding of "advanced" American painting.

As a result, the thesis covers, in addition to Goodnough's development as an artist, two areas of interest. Firstly, it deals with the background and context into which Goodnough emerged and developed as a painter. Secondly, it examines Goodnough's concern with the issue of the "subject matter of the artist" in the context of the on-going debate on the meaning and significance of "advanced" painting during the immediate post-World War II years in the United States.

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*De Niro, Helen *Frankenthaler, Grace *Hartigan, Alfred *Leslie, and Larry *Rivers. (See Irving Sandler, "Appendix A: First-Generation Painters, Dates and Places of Birth," and "Appendix B: Second-Generation Artists, Dates and Places of Birth, Art Education, and One-person Shows in New York, 1950-1960," in *The New York School: The Painters and Sculptors of the Fifties* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 321-325.)

[5] The distinction gained public recognition in 1957 with the exhibition "Artists of the New York School: Second Generation," which was organised by Meyer Schapiro and took place at the Museum of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York from 10 March to 28 April 1957. Robert Goodnough was included amongst the twenty-three artists exhibited. For the background to the "second generation" of Abstract Expressionists see Irving Sandler, "The Recognition of the Second Generation," in *The New York School: The Painters and Sculptors of the Fifties* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 256-277.

[6] Alfred Leslie contended that the moniker was "a sales ploy begun by a dealer then codified and encouraged by the worst side of irving [*sic*] sandler [*sic*] and others." (Alfred Leslie, June 15, 2012, e-mail message to R. Ringer.)

The scope

The scope of the thesis is delineated in time, geography and matter. The focus in time is the immediate post-World-War II period as the emergence of a new approach in American painting became evident. These are the years when the apparent shift of the art scene from Europe to America became obvious, New York being seen by many Americans as having supplanted Paris as the centre of the Western art world. We consequently restrict the research to New York City, where the "advanced" artists were congregating at the time, at least until the beginning of the 1950s. Our cut-off year is 1949, since Goodnough's "interviews" took place at the end of the second half of 1949, providing a snapshot of the situation at the start of the new decade. The scope, for the reasons explained, does not include a definition of Abstract Expressionism.

Where relevant and necessary, we look beyond these boundaries, both in time and space. In order to obtain a clear insight into the American political, social, and cultural context in which Abstract Expressionism came to fruition, and in particular the prevailing mood of 1945, it is necessary to look back in time—to cover the war years as well as events preceding the war.

We adopt as our starting point the 1913 Armory Show and its impact on the American art world. Since there is general consensus on the evolution of American painting in the first half of the twentieth century and its chronological development is well documented, we restrict our analysis to the trends and patterns generated by the Armory Show and subsequent key events, such as the First World War, the 1929 Crash, and the Great Depression, which significantly affected the artistic vision of twentieth-century America. Our aim is to trace the evolution of "the subject matter of the artist" in twentieth-century American painting in parallel to the emergence of "advanced" painting. The seven painters interviewed by Goodnough did not take part in any war action or activity, but remained in the United States throughout the whole war period. The years 1940 to 1945 are, therefore, of interest, since they were crucial to the artistic evolution of the seven interviewees.

In order to apprehend the process of emergence firsthand, we limit our focus to writings and commentary made in the period under scrutiny, in which the signs of the advance and a breakthrough in American art were acknowledged. The 1934 broadcasts of Edgar Holger Cahill are an example. We only resort to post-1949 material if it sheds light retrospectively on a particular issue. We, therefore, occasionally include writings and commentary of art critics and historians produced after 1950, to the extent that they help clarify an earlier viewpoint or position of the writer. We thus look at Alfred Barr's writings about modern art in the early 1940s and, when necessary, crosscheck the contents with his writings of the mid-1950s. We do not, however, resort to the writings of later art historians and commentators such as, amongst others, Michael Fried, Rosalind Krauss, Michael Leja, Éric de Chassey, however insightful they might be. This is reflected in the selective nature of the bibliography. Exceptionally we refer to writings by Irving Sandler[7] and Dore Ashton[8], since as younger contemporaries they witnessed the emergence of Abstract Expressionism and were fully acquainted with its practitioners.

We pay special attention to the writings of Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg for the period under review, since Goodnough knew them personally at the time and considered them amongst the very few who were excited about the new trend and encouraged it. Only where relevant do we resort to material, in particular interviews, subsequent to the early 1950s. The aim is to identify the thinking at the time of Goodnough's research in order to ascertain to what extent his "hypothesis," findings, and conclusions add to what was already perceived as the "subject matter of the artist" of "advanced" painting in America, and in particular of the works of "advanced" painters.

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[7] Irving Sandler (1925-2018) was an American art critic and historian, who managed the Tanager Gallery in downtown Manhattan in the 1950s. He ran "The Club" from 1955 till its demise in 1962. He was a regular at the Cedar Tavern and frequented many of the "first" and "second" generation Abstract Expressionists. His contacts with the Abstract Expressionist artists are documented in his 1970 publication *Abstract Expressionism: The Triumph of American Painting*. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Sandler, Irving," http://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/sandleri.htm [accessed January 25, 2019].)

[8] Dore Ashton (1928-2017) was an art critic and historian, a scholar of the New York School, who was acquainted with many of the artists referred to as the Abstract Expressionists. As was the case of Harold Rosenberg, and Thomas B. Hess, she had an intimate knowledge of the artists she championed. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Ashton, Dore," http://arthistorians.info/ashtond [accessed February 4, 2019].)

In terms of artistic matter, we limit the scope to pictorial representation, excluding sculpture. Although Abstract Expressionism was not restricted to painting, as it counts a fair number of sculptors amongst its adherents, we feel that painting is more relevant to our objective. Goodnough himself expressly limited the scope of his dissertation to the input of seven painters.

The presentation

The results of our research are presented in ten chapters, of which the last contains our conclusions.

In Chapter 1, "Robert Goodnough: The 'Insider'," we deal with Robert Goodnough, the artist, his life story, his development as a painter, and his early pictorial output. We cover Goodnough's training as a young artist and subsequently as a mature painter. Of relevance to his development was the input of two teachers, who influenced and inspired Goodnough as well as a large number of his contemporaries. As a result, the artistic vision and pedagogical theories of these two men—Amédée Ozenfant and Hans Hofmann—are given special treatment. We touch on Goodnough's time as a post-war graduate at New York University and the influence of his teacher and mentor, Tony Smith. We also focus on Goodnough's artistic output between 1946 and the late 1950s, since this period comprises his formative years as a mature artist. The chapter includes a descriptive analysis of his most salient works of the late 1940s and of the 1950s, spanning his early development as an "advanced" painter and his progression towards his own personal language of expression.

In Chapters 2 and 3 we deal with the artistic and historical background of "advanced" painting, and the evolution of "subject matter" in American pictorial representation. In Chapter 2, "The Antecedents," we trace the emergence of what would later become known as Abstract Expressionism, its roots and its antecedents, with as starting point the 1913 Armory Show and its impact on the general public and the American art world. In this chapter we cover the artistic innovations which took place in America shortly before and after 1913, the effects of the First World War on the attitude of

American artists, the artistic "standstill" of the 1920s, the upheaval engendered by the 1929 Crash, the effects of the Great Depression in the 1930s, and the prelude to World War II.

We also look at the impact of the wartime arrival of European émigrés and their contribution to the development of the American artistic vision in general and the New York art scene in particular, and the effects of the ensuing omnipresence of Surrealism. We also follow the progression of abstraction as practised by American painters during the first half of the twentieth century and in particular its presence in the 1930s. We highlight the immediate post-World War II years, when the shift of the artistic centre of gravity from Paris to New York became apparent and American painters start "breaking" barriers, as reflected in the works of the "Intrasubjectives."

In Chapter 3, "Distinctive Americanism," we deal with the call for "a distinctive note of Americanism," as echoed by Edgar Holger Cahill in 1934, which became louder in the course of the 1930s and received a response in the 1940s. We seek to provide an insight into the views of those closely following and supporting "advanced" art and artists in the 1940s, and we therefore focus our attention on the commentary and writings of four key actors: Holger Cahill, the Federal Art Project Director, Alfred H. Barr Jr., the Director of the Museum of Modern Art, and the art collectors and gallery owners, Samuel Kootz and Sidney Janis. We end the chapter with the state of American art as perceived in 1949 by the new American art establishment.

In Chapter 4, "An Emblematic Moment," we seek to clarify what, at the time, was perceived by non-artists as the essence of "advanced" painting. The writings of Clement Greenberg, starting with his 1939 seminal article "Avant-garde and Kitsch" and his essays published between 1940 and 1949, are of particular relevance. They provide a chronicle of "advanced" painting in America leading up to the emblematic moment itself. Of importance was Goodnough's acknowledgement of Greenberg's insightfulness. We also seek pointers in the writings of the art theoretician Harold Rosenberg, who was an intimate friend of many of the "trailblazers" during the 1940s and 1950s. In addition, the chapter covers the enduring influence of Hans Hofmann and the full breakthrough of Abstract Expressionism by the mid-1950s.

Chapter 5, “The ‘Magnificent Seven’,” serves as an introduction to Goodnough’s dissertation, as we attempt to elucidate Goodnough’s choice of interviewees. The seven artists are dealt with individually with a view to identifying their “individuality” as well as their “commonality.” Highly individual personalities, the “chosen” seven nevertheless seemed to strive towards a shared purpose in their artistic expression. We look into their backgrounds up to the time of the interviews at the end of 1949, and in some instances slightly beyond, to ascertain their evolution towards that artistic purpose.

In Chapters 6, 7, and 8 we deal with different aspects of the issue of the “subject matter of the artist”—the theme of Goodnough’s dissertation. As such these chapters represent the core of the thesis. We seek to place Goodnough’s “hypothesis” in the more general context of the ongoing debates, and have therefore included in our research the debate of the closing seminar of “Studio 35” in April 1950, an initiative of Goodnough, the proceedings of “The Western Round Table” in 1949, and the activities of “The Club,” three meeting venues where artists and their peers confronted their ideas and “thrashed out” their differences.

In Chapter 6, “The ‘Subject Matter of the Artist’,” we seek to identify the elusive nature of the “subject matter of the artist” and related issues, as perceived by the “advanced” artists. To that effect we rely on the concepts and theories explicated by John Graham, a mentor to several of the interviewees, in his 1937 seminal work *System and Dialectics of Art*. His views on art, modern and abstract painting, as well as subject matter, became to a large extent part of the thinking of “advanced” artists in America in the 1940s. His vision and theoretical conception would, in varying degrees, have played a part in the reflections of the seven interviewees and probably served as a benchmark for their own views prior to the interview with Goodnough. We seek to clarify these views on the basis of their writings, interviews, statements, presentations, and lectures on core issues, such as modern and abstract art, painting, subject matter, and the creative process.

In Chapter 7, "Goodnough's 'Hypothesis'," we provide an in-depth examination of Goodnough's analysis of contemporary subject matter, the results of his interviews and his conclusions. We examine in particular the intellectual framework of Goodnough's dissertation, José Ortega y Gasset's 1949 essay, "On Point of View of the Arts," Samuel Kootz's introductory commentary to his show "The Intrasubjectives," and Harold Rosenberg's contribution to the exhibition catalogue. We include Goodnough's conclusions as well as an assessment of the "commonality" revealed through the interviews.

In Chapter 8, "The Debate," we cover the general on-going debate on the work of "advanced" artists. Our point of departure is the short-lived school "Subjects of the Artist," founded by Robert Motherwell, Mark Rothko, William Baziotes, and David Hare in 1948, and later joined by Barnett Newman. This chapter includes an in-depth analysis of the three-day seminar organised by Robert Goodnough, which took place in April 1950 as the closing event of "Studio 35," the successor to the school.

We also draw on "The Western Round Table," which took place in April 1949, a year before the closing seminar of "Studio 35," and whose scope was wider both in the topics discussed and in the background of the participants. The event provides an insight into the issues broached by the intelligentsia in post-World War II America. In addition, we highlight the activities of "The Club," founded by Philip Pavia in the autumn of 1948 and which he referred to as a "marketplace of ideas."[9] Pavia was instrumental in fostering the debate amongst the artists leading the breakthrough in "advanced" art in America, which prompted him to express his personal reflection on the content and meaning of Abstract Expressionism and its purveyors.

In Chapter 9, "The 'Insider' as Writer," we cover Goodnough's output as a writer. Robert Goodnough wrote poetry, critical reviews and essays, as well as a dissertation, which are relevant to his insight into the "subject matter of the artist" and his perception of the essence of "advanced" painting. We cover in detail Goodnough's association with the periodical *ARTnews*, which he joined as an Associate Editor in the summer of

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[9] Philip Pavia, *Club Without Walls: Selections of the Journals of Philip Pavia,* ed. Nathalie Edgar (New York: Midmarch Art Press, 2007), 65.

1950. During his four-year association with the art periodical he contributed over 500 reviews and five in-depth articles on contemporary artists, amongst them Jackson Pollock.

The Conclusion

By way of general conclusion we endeavour to answer two questions.

Firstly, what insight does Robert Goodnough, as an "insider," provide into the subject matter of post-World War II "advanced" painting? And secondly, to what extent does his view as an artist contribute to our understanding of what became known as Abstract Expressionism?

Our answers to these questions are contained in Chapter 10, "Conclusions and Epilogue." This chapter also includes a "Post Scriptum" in which an instance of a recent corroboration of Goodnough's insight is highlighted.

Chapter 10 is followed by a short "Afterword," a brief summary of the *dénouement* of the "magnificent seven" and their interviewer.

"He's one of the better painters of his time—which comes to saying he's one of the best. … To appreciate him rightly, you have to like painting as painting, as art."[1]

Clement Greenberg

CHAPTER 1. - ROBERT GOODNOUGH: THE "INSIDER"

In May 1951 *ARTnews* published an article entitled "Pollock Paints a Picture,"[2] a detailed description of how Jackson Pollock painted *Number 4, 1950*.[3] The author of the article was an Editorial Associate by the name of Robert Goodnough.

Goodnough, at the time not yet thirty-four, was himself an artist, whose work had been included in the "Talent 1950"[4] show at the Samuel Kootz Gallery a year earlier. He had settled in New York City in 1946 and since then had been active both as a painter and a writer. In 1950 he submitted a dissertation for a Master of Arts degree, for which he had interviewed seven emerging "advanced" painters on the "subject matter of the artist." In so doing he had sought to clarify an issue at the centre of discussions in the art world in America since the advent of modern art and the abandonment of recognisable subject matter in pictorial representation. It was a matter of particular relevance to the work of those artists who became known as the pioneers of Abstract Expressionism.

An artist himself, Goodnough broached the matter as an "insider." However, the dissertation went unnoticed and, until recently, it was virtually unknown, mentioned only in 1992, in a footnote by April Kingsley in *The Turning Point: The Abstract Expressionists and the Transformation of American Art*.[5] Since then the manuscript, transcribed and edited by Helen A. Harrison, was published in 2013 by Soberscove

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[1] Clement Greenberg, foreword to *Goodnough*, by Martin Bush (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 8.
[2] A detailed analysis of the article is provided in Chapter 9.5.
[3] There is some confusion about the exact picture Goodnough witnessed Pollock painting for the article. According to Helen A. Harrison, *Number 4, 1950* was not the painting confronting Goodnough when he visited Pollock's studio on assignment in June 1950. (See Chapter 9.5.1.)
[4] The exhibition, sometimes also referred to as "New Talent" or "Talent" took place in the spring (April - May) of 1950.
[5] April Kingsley, *The Turning Point: The Abstract Expressionists and the Transformation of American Art* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 405n4.

Press under the title *Subject Matter of the Artist: Writings by Robert Goodnough, 1950-1965*.

Goodnough's dissertation has served as a basis for this thesis in order, through the perception of an insider, to gain understanding of the elusive nature of the subject matter of Abstract Expressionist painters as well as further insight into the essence of Abstract Expressionism. In this chapter we introduce Goodnough, three of the teachers who influenced his way of "reading" and understanding pictorial art, and examine some of the works he produced between 1947 and the end of the 1950s.[6]

There is very little on record about Robert Goodnough's childhood and youth, with the exception of his university background. Although he became a prolific artist, upon his return to the United States after World War II, and lived until three weeks short of his ninety-third birthday, not much is known about his personal life and ambitions. Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, who both knew him personally—Guest as a fellow-artist and colleague at *ARTnews*, and Friedman as a collector—drew a picture of his artistic background and early work in a joint publication, *Goodnough*, in 1962. Their insight will be discussed in the course of this chapter. John Myers, the director of the Tibor de Nagy Gallery, knew Goodnough at close quarters from the early 1950s onwards, and he too brushed a picture of the artist and represents a source of information as to his apparent interests.

In 1973 Martin H. Bush and Kenworth Moffett published a monograph, entitled *Goodnough*, which written ten years after Guest and Friedman's joint publication provides us with slightly more detail. Bush and Moffett, in 1973, were of the view that Goodnough had never belonged to any particular school of painting, although he was generally referred to as a "second generation" Abstract Expressionist. They believed his evolution, as an artist, had been a gradual process. At times it had been an agonising one, since he constantly sought to avoid repetition or cliché in his work. Kenneth Moffett claimed that Goodnough was recognised as a gifted and accomplished artist although not a major one. By the beginning of the 1970s his work had overcome the latter view.

[6] Also included are two works of the 1960s and one of 1975.

In 1982 Martin Bush published a further monograph of the artist, also entitled *Goodnough*, which included a foreword by Clement Greenberg, and an interview the author had with Goodnough on 27 May 1981. Greenberg believed that the artist's diffidence was much to blame for the lack of "relative" recognition of his work, but was convinced of his worth. Greenberg believed that if Goodnough had stopped painting then, in 1982, he would already have achieved a lot. "After all, and no matter what, he remains a master-painter."[7] By the early 1980s Bush maintained Goodnough had the reputation of one of the finest contemporary painters in America, and described him "as a maverick who has really never belonged to any school of painting."[8] He considered him "a refiner, not a revolutionary, a technically superb craftsman as well as a conceptionally solid artist, whose most cherished gifts—an extraordinary composition eye, a knowing appreciation for the value of color, and a sophisticated capacity for infusing each painting with own personal calligraphy—… . "[9]

In the interview Goodnough singled out Tony Smith and Clement Greenberg as highly intelligent and knowledgeable about art. "Actually, people like Tony Smith and Greenberg helped my education more than the schools did, I believe."[10] He described Greenberg's influence as strong and encouraging. He thought Greenberg had very decisive and clear views about art. "He doesn't fool around. If he likes an artist's work, he likes it. And, if he doesn't like it, he says so. He doesn't put an artist's things down, especially. It's just that a person is well aware of what he likes."[11] He believed Greenberg was tough, but took art on its own terms, never in terms of the artist. "He looks at a painting in terms of its quality and whether or not it is a good painting. He will take a painting by Pollock or someone else and say it's terrible if he thinks it is terrible."[12] Goodnough considered him a very courageous critic, with a sure and rare aesthetic sense. "The art world owes a great debt to him."[13]

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[7] Clement Greenberg, foreword to *Goodnough*, 10.
[8] Martin Bush, *Goodnough* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 12.
[9] Ibid., 11.
[10] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," in *Goodnough*, 207.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

> "I first studied painting in an academic way from copying models and casts, and learning to paint portraits." [14]
>
> Robert Goodnough

1.1. The "insider" as artist

Robert Arthur[15] Goodnough was born on 23 October 1917 in Cortland in New York State, in the scenic Finger Lakes region. His parents were Harriet, née Summers, and Leo Goodnough, who was a machinist. He was the eldest of four children: he had two brothers, Paul and Philip and one sister, Joyce. The family moved to a house on Skinner Hill Road, above the town of Moravia, also in New York State, when Goodnough was four years old.

According to Martin Bush, Goodnough developed an early interest in the visual arts and was encouraged in this interest by Reverend George Brow, whom he accompanied on Saturday mornings to drawing classes at Walter Long's school in Auburn. Goodnough's first drawing dates from first grade in school. It was called *Skunk in Trap*. Bernard Friedman claimed that "[i]t was the allegorical forerunner of every picture Goodnough has painted since: the 'skunk' being the emotional content, the stink and rough edges of life, even the materials of the artist (the paint, the oil, the turpentine) and the 'trap' being the form, the discipline, the frame."[16]

Goodnough's formative years as a painter divide into two periods, separated by his military service in World War II. Walter Long, who recognised his talent at an early stage and guided him to formal art education, was his first teacher, followed by George Hess at the University of Syracuse. The two men initiated Goodnough into the world of drawing and painting, and by the time he was discharged from the army in 1945 he knowingly made art his career choice.

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[14] Robert Goodnough, "Statement," *It Is*, Spring 1958, 46.

[15] The middle name "Arthur" is mentioned in Sauer's *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, s.v. "Goodnough, Robert (Robert Arthur)."

[16] Bernard H. Friedman, "Background," in *Goodnough*, by Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Georges Fall, 1962), 7.

Walter K. Long (1904-1986) was a graduate of the College of Fine Arts and Director of the Cayuga Museum of History and Art at Auburn, New York. Amongst other things he was fully acquainted with mural art on a large scale. He is best known for the two life-size murals inaugurated in 1940 at the Furnham Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Syracuse, New York. The project, commissioned by the Young Couples Class, involved two murals—a scene from the Sermon on the Mount and Christ driving the moneychangers from the temple. According to newspaper cuttings, "[e]very effort has been made to have the characters, costumes and settings as authentic as possible."[17] The oil paintings, which took four years to complete and were intended as an integral fixture of the church, required major structural changes of the building. Professor Long was also hired as a "pointer" in sculpting the four presidential faces on Mount Rushmore in South Dakota. His work consisted in pointing out where the distinctive facial features of the four Presidents[18] should be sculpted out of the granite rock.[19]

It was Long, who prompted Goodnough to apply to Syracuse University to study art. Goodnough did so successfully and was able to benefit from a half-tuition scholarship, with the help of George Hess, an instructor in the Art Department at Syracuse University. Hess became Goodnough's second mentor.

George Hess (1886-1966) was himself a graduate of Syracuse University, where he obtained a Bachelor of Painting degree in 1909, and was awarded a fellowship for study abroad. The award enabled him to travel to Europe and study in Paris, from 1909 to 1912, at the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière and the °Académie Colarossi, both of which at the time were frequented by a number of artists of the School of Paris. Upon his return to America in 1912, he became an Art Instructor in the Department of Painting of the College of Fine Arts at Syracuse University, and was promoted to full Professor in 1922. From 1920 to 1943 Hess served as Director and Instructor of the Extension School in Art and from 1925 to 1945 as Director and Instructor of the Summer Session in Art sponsored by the College of Fine Arts. At Syracuse University

[17] These biographical details were taken from newspaper cuttings of November 1939 and February 1940, from the Syracuse University Archives, provided by Syracuse University.
[18] George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln.
[19] The project, initiated by the American artist and sculptor John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum (1867-1941), who was also its chief fundraiser, lasted from 1927 to 1941 due to the short summers in South Dakota, and employed twenty-five people, including Professor Long. (The information was taken from documents from the Syracuse University Archives, supplied by Syracuse University.)

George Hess was known for his wise counsel and sound technical knowledge as well as his devotion to teaching.[20]

According to Goodnough, "Hess tried to get us to break up our canvas surfaces. No one knew what he was talking about, but there was an atmosphere of experimentation in his classes that made us feel an interest beyond the appearance of the model."[21] He explained how Hess "would turn a student's canvas around and draw on the back of it in heavy black lines and quickly paint in empty areas in an almost abstract way, and I envied his freedom."[22] What struck Goodnough was that Hess "cared little for surface technique, and there was a certain messiness about things. He seemed to have a sense of the importance of the two-dimensional surface. "Now I can appreciate what he was trying to pound into our heads, but then I could only understand it emotionally."[23] One of Goodnough's later teachers, Hans Hofmann, would further emphasise the relevance of the two-dimensionality of the surface.

Goodnough's talent did not go unnoticed at Syracuse, and he was allowed by the faculty to pursue an independent study programme during his junior and senior years. "I studied at Syracuse for four years, starting with drawing and charcoal drawing during the first year, and mainly painting the second year. The third and fourth years were devoted almost entirely to painting—primarily portraits and traditional realism."[24] While at Syracuse, Goodnough supplemented his scholarship by painting signs for shops. He graduated from the Syracuse University School of Art with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1940[25], completing at the age of twenty-three his formal education as an artist. The outbreak of World War II and America's participation constituted the dividing period in Goodnough's artistic formation, creating a hiatus between his formal education and what became his "apprenticeship" as a contemporary painter.

According to Bush, at the age of twenty-four Goodnough was drafted into the army following the U.S. Declaration of War on 8 December 1941. He was assigned to a field

[20] George Hess retired in 1952, having been associated with Syracuse University for over forty years. He died at the age of seventy-nine on 14 March 1966. (Syracuse University Archives.)
[21] Robert Goodnough, quoted in *Goodnough*, by Martin Bush, 19.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 206-207.
[25] Syracuse University Archives.

artillery unit at Fort Bragg in North Carolina. During his time in the army Goodnough was much in demand as an artist. He spent three years at Fort Bragg, where he "remembered doing many 'official' portraits and at least fifteen murals of field artillery and patriotic subjects."[26] He produced portraits of officers, amongst others of the base commander and his father, as well as of the then Governor of North Carolina, J. Melville Broughton. He also completed murals to brighten up stark temporary military buildings. According to Friedman, the portraits were better than the murals. "Leadenly, Goodnough's eagles fly and flags wave."[27]

During his stay at Fort Bragg Goodnough was made a radio sergeant and in 1944 his unit was ordered to the South Pacific. His artistic talent was further put to the test on board a tank landing ship (LST), which was headed for the invasion of New Guinea in the Dutch East Indies and Luzon in the Philippines, and he produced a mural of Neptune in the officers' mess. In New Guinea, Goodnough was assigned to an information and education unit, which was part of the occupation force. This did not entail heavy work: some artwork for training manuals and pamphlets, and producing the daily island newssheet "*Cebu News*." During his time in New Guinea, according to Bush, Goodnough discovered reproductions of works by Henri Matisse (1869-1954), Piet Mondrian (1872-1944) and Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) in old copies of *Time* magazine.[28] These images had a major impact on his artistic sense and were to guide him in his choice of style and imagery as an artist in the years after the war.

The mundane wartime art experience had an effect on Goodnough. "*I was tired of painting people that looked like people, with eyes, nose and mouth in just the right places. This looked like the time to make some changes and free up a bit. It seemed that in order to grasp the real energy of a person more was needed than to show features, arms and legs. People moved and did things; they didn't just sit and pose; and what they did came from underlying energies and drives*."[29] This underlying energy would become noticeable in his paintings and commented on by Barbara Guest in her analysis of his work.

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[26] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Background," 10. (All quotations of Robert Goodnough in *Goodnough* by Barbara Guest and B. H. Friedman were taken directly from the artist, according to the authors.)
[27] Bernard H. Friedman, "Robert Goodnough" in *Robert Goodnough*, exhibition catalogue, Dwan Gallery,1091 Broxton Avenue, Westwood Village, Los Angeles, May 2-28, 1960, n.p.
[28] According to Bernard Friedman, it was in "various magazines."
[29] Goodnough, quoted in "Background," 12. (Italics in the original text.)

By the end of the war Goodnough had accumulated a large number of “service points,” and was amongst the first American soldiers to be discharged. According to Friedman, he returned to his hometown Moravia, but did not stay long. He chose to launch his career as an artist in New York City and headed there in 1946.

New York was not a haphazard choice—it was rapidly becoming the art centre of the Western world. And as Goodnough told Friedman, “I always wanted to come to New York.”[30] American artists had been steadily finding their own feet since the beginning of the 1940s, having soaked up the artistic know-how of the European émigrés of the late 1930s, who at the end of the war were now finding their way back to Europe. As the number of European émigrés dwindled, the city’s art scene began to give prominence to American painters, who had not been drafted and had remained in the United States during the war years. Encouraged by a small number of museum directors, writers, reviewers, collectors, and gallery owners, they had, as we shall see, been working assiduously on developing their own pictorial expression.

According to Friedman, Goodnough settled in New York City in 1946, having decided to start a career as an artist. He moved into Sloane House, the YMCA living quarters on West 34th Street, where he had his first job as a night switchboard operator. Many former G.I.s were living at the YMCA on veterans’ benefit checks of $20 a week.[31] During those early months in New York, according to Friedman, Goodnough spent time visiting museums and galleries, but mainly waiting in line to collect his benefit check. Goodnough, like other budding artists back from the front, took advantage of the opportunity provided by the G.I. Bill to build further on his art education.

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[30] Ibid.

[31] The G.I. Bill, formally the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, provided a range of benefits for returning World War II veterans (commonly referred to as G.I.s). These benefits included cash payments of tuition and living expenses to attend university, high school or vocational education, available to veterans, who complied with the active duty requirements and had not been dishonorably discharged. (*The Oxford Companion to United States History*, s.v. “Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (1944).” Goodnough was able to take advantage of these benefits, when he enrolled as a graduate student at the University of New York at the end of the 1940s.

"The first person I studied with was Amédée Ozenfant in New York. I stayed with him for about one year and I studied with Hans Hofmann during a summer in Provincetown."[32]

Robert Goodnough

1.2. The pupil's teachers

Two European artists, Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1966) and Hans Hofmann (1880-1966), were amongst those offering art classes in New York since the end of the 1930s. Both had lived through the most revolutionary art period of the twentieth century. In time they had developed their own artistic vision and method of teaching. Both artists had a clear outlook on post-Cubist pictorial representation and were aware of the obstacles with which contemporary painters were struggling. In the teaching of art, the two men sought to extend the horizon of their students beyond that of art as such.

Goodnough's interest in the "subject matter of the artist" may well have been nourished by Ozenfant's and Hofmann's emphasis on what lies beyond artistic creation. According to Friedman, upon the suggestion of Hy *Koppelman, an artist friend, Goodnough enrolled at the Amédée Ozenfant School of Fine Arts in 1946, soon after his arrival in the city. He studied with Ozenfant for about a year.

"*I consider 'Art' as a preface. All our acts are the preface of what we shall never realise: our Ideal.*"[33]

Amédée Ozenfant

1.2.1. Amédée Ozenfant[34]

The French painter Amédée Ozenfant settled in America in 1939, and that same year had set up the Ozenfant School of Fine Arts in New York, at 208 East 20th Street near

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[32] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 207.

[33] Amédée Ozenfant, *Foundations of Modern Art*, tranl. John Rodker (New York: Brewer, Warren and Putnam, 1931), vii. (Italics and capitalisation in the original text.)

[34] Biographical source: Françoise Ducros, *Amédée Ozenfant*.

Gramercy Park. The school was inaugurated on 2 October, seven months after the artist took up residence in the city. He lived on the school premises.

Ozenfant arrived in the United States with a long and varied artistic background. He was a French painter, who together with the Swiss architect and painter, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (1887-1965), later known as Le Corbusier, became the founder of the French movement Purism, which lasted from 1918 till 1926. The two founders set out the foundation and objectives of the movement in a manifesto, dated 15 October 1918 and entitled "Après le cubisme," followed in 1921 by their essay "Le Purisme."

According to Purist[35] theory, conception was fundamental to art, whereas technique was merely a tool at the service of conception. Jackson Pollock, as we shall see, would make the same point in 1944. Clarity above all was an intrinsic component of conception. The movement had a major impact during the 1920s through the teachings of Fernand Léger (1881-1955) and Ozenfant at the °Académie Moderne in Paris, as well as through the writings of Ozenfant and Le Corbusier, who co-published from 1920 till 1925 the journal *L'Esprit nouveau*. In 1925 they wrote *La Peinture moderne*, and in 1928 Ozenfant published *Art*, which appeared in English in 1931 as *The Foundations of Modern Art*.

By 1928 Ozenfant had developed a very distinctive method of teaching art, based to a large extent on his theory of Purism. But his pedagogical theory was also influenced by his own experience as a pupil. Ozenfant early on had a judgmental approach to teaching and several times during his years of training had abruptly left teachers he deemed unsatisfactory.[36] He appeared to be as sensitive to his teachers and their teachings as Goodnough would prove to Ozenfant's pedagogical method. The only school where Ozenfant appeared to be content was the °Académie de La Palette, which he joined on the advice of the painter Charles Cottet.[37]

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[35] For an overview of Ozenfant's Purist theory see Susan L. Ball, *Ozenfant and Purism: The Evolution of a Style, 1915–1930*.

[36] Françoise Ducros in *Amédée Ozenfant* notes that Ozenfant left the decorative art classes of Maurice Verneuil in Paris, shortly after he had started attending them in 1906. He subsequently frequented the atelier Guichard and Lesage in preparation for the École des Beaux-Arts, but left the École because he was dissatisfied with the teaching.

[37] Charles Cottet (1863–1925) was a Post-Impressionist painter and leader of a group of painters known as "La Bande noire" (also known as the Nubians). Their palette was sombre in contrast to that of

Ozenfant's teaching method, which was stark and authoritarian, was published in the periodical *L'Intransigeant* of 5 November 1927. According to Françoise Ducros, his programme, which comprised a strict daily routine, was founded on his artistic vision and was totally innovative at the time. It went against the method based on acquiring practical experience in a studio, and in 1928 represented a radical change. In 1939 Ozenfant put his 1928 theory fully into practice in New York, where not the slightest deviation was allowed.[38] The theory was based on the association of aesthetics and ethics and aimed to combine the teaching of art with the acquisition of literary and scientific knowledge in order to educate the mind.[39] For Ozenfant vision was not the only attribute of a painter and the teaching of the moral, intellectual, and spiritual context of art was as important as the teaching of art itself. Thus, his method, holistic in its approach, included guided visits to museums, exhibitions, and art collections as well as attendance at concerts and conferences. Ozenfant through this programme sought to give the art student an all-round education. This approach reflected Ozenfant's own learning, which had covered many disciplines in addition to art. Another principle of his approach was the requirement of excellence and, according to Dororthy Seckler, his "relentless campaign against chance effects and the exploitation of facility."[40]

Within those parameters Ozenfant developed a method, based on the study of drawing and painting, which integrated the rules governing colour, its combinations and its chemistry. A comprehensive knowledge of the different techniques and the structure of objects, whether found in nature or man-made, would make it possible to establish the parallelism between painting and music. An integral part of his teaching was the study of the face and the human anatomy. Equally relevant was the development of memory. According to Ozenfant, painting could thus evolve to pure abstraction.

Ozenfant practised what he preached. As he explained in *Mémoires, 1886-1962*, he adhered rigorously to what he viewed as the fundamentals of art and the process of

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mainstream Post-Impressionists. Cottet studied at the École des Beaux-Arts and the °Académie Julian. (*The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Cottet, Charles.")

[38] Ozenfant had had the opportunity to first put his method to the test in 1932 in Paris at the Académie Ozenfant, avenue de Reille, and subsequently in London, where he opened the Ozenfant Academy of Fine Arts in 1936. Both schools were short-lived due to external circumstances.

[39] For a description of Ozenfant's pedagogical approach see Françoise Ducros, *Amédée Ozenfant* (Paris: Cercle d'art), 198-199.

[40] Dorothy Seckler, "Can Painting Be Taught? Ozenfant," *ARTnews*, October 1950, 45.

artistic creation, and was able to transmit his views through his schools and teaching—the school in New York was probably the most important and certainly the longest lasting. In addition to running his school, he also taught at the °New School (for Social Research), which became a haven for exiled German intellectuals at the end of the 1930s and during World War II.

Ozenfant's school was successful from the start, with a surge in student numbers after the end of the war. He attributed this success in part to the rising numbers of amateur "painters" in America. This growing interest in practising the art of painting led to wide-ranging discussions about the definition of a professional painter, an issue that also featured in the discussions at the seminar organised by Robert Goodnough at "Studio 35"[41] in 1950. The other determining factor was the G.I. Bill, which enabled thousands of World War II veterans to opt for higher education, of which a fair number turned to the arts. Thus, according to Ozenfant, over a period of four years, around 3,000 students attended the school. In *Mémoires, 1886-1962*, Ozenfant mentioned some of his former students. Robert Goodnough, however, was not included amongst them.

Ozenfant emphasised the importance of drawing and, in particular, of mastering the process of copying the mental image in one's mind. The students' work was corrected assiduously until it was deemed finished by Ozenfant, in keeping with his insistence on excellence. As a result students only completed a small number of drawings over the period of an academic year. The focus on drawing highlighted its importance as part of the creative process, but also as a means of gaining in self-confidence, which Ozenfant considered essential for an artist.

Ozenfant was opposed to the element of chance in art: art was not a matter of chance or what he called "*le hazard*." In his teaching he fought against two approaches, which were fashionable at the time. He vehemently opposed Jackson Pollock's approach to painting, whereby, according to Ozenfant, everything was left to chance and chaos. However, as we shall see, Pollock too was opposed to the accidental. Ozenfant was

[41] The seminar debate is covered in detail in Chapter 8.1.

equally opposed to the mystique of the "*section d'or*," which allowed art to be dominated by mathematical theory, as adopted by the group "Section d'Or."[42]

Ozenfant was also of the view that painting required a minimal element of illusion, in order to distinguish it from ornamental art. A painting was perceived as something different from the actual elements it included: the viewer did not perceive it as a canvas covered by shapes and colours, but as something which revealed a different reality. For Ozenfant this illusion was an essential part of the art of painting, which he found lacking in non-figurative representation.

In 1950, *ARTnews*[43] introduced its readership to a series of articles, under the title "Can painting be taught?" The purpose was to obtain insight into the methods and ideals, which were forming young American artists. The author of the articles was Dorothy Seckler (1910-1993) and the first in the series concerned Ozenfant. Seckler visited his school and her article confirmed that the practices he was following were those he set out in 1927. What struck her in the first instance was "the European formality of the student-master relationship ... a striking quality in the conduct of the school, contrasting as it does with the casual atmosphere of most American classrooms."[44] Goodnough confirmed this aspect in 1981. "In Ozenfant's class everyone was quiet – nobody talked. It was a disciplined atmosphere."[45]

Seckler observed that "the novice learns that art is purposeful and a matter of strict disciplines."[46] In addition, she highlighted that the concept of art and life as inseparable was basic to the philosophy of the school. In her commentary Seckler underscored Ozenfant's "relentless campaign against chance effects and the exploitation of facility."[47] However, she also noted that "[i]n all of this struggle with the spaces of a composition, the student has not been indoctrinated with any one formula for

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[42] The "Section d'Or," also known as the "Groupe de Puteaux," included Robert Delaunay (1885-1941), Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), Albert Gleizes (1881-1953), Juan Gris (1887-1927), Fernand Léger, Francis Picabia (1879-1953), and Jacques Villon (1875-1963), amongst others. Jacques Villon was the principal inspiration of the group. The group remained active from 1912 until 1914, when the First World War brought its activities to an end. (*The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd edition, s.v. "Section d'Or.")
[43] The art magazine *ARTnews* is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.1.
[44] Seckler, "Can painting be taught? Ozenfant," 45.
[45] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 223.
[46] Seckler, "Can painting be taught? Ozenfant," 45.
[47] Ibid.

representing the third dimension, either by perspective, cubist or other devices."[48] It struck her as unusual that students had to turn their back on the live model, but Ozenfant demanded that the figure be drawn from memory with the model referred to only at brief intervals. This practice reflected Ozenfant's insistence on the importance of memory. "Memory keeps only the causes of emotion, forgets the accidental and always acts as a sieve which retains only what is our own. Memory creates an architecture of essentials."[49] He explained that it was important to create a mental image of what the vision of a phenomenon evoked.

Ozenfant was the first artist of international renown with whom Goodnough came into contact; he was the first person he studied with in New York. His art world was bigger than Goodnough's had been until then. Not only had he lived through the artistic upheavals of the beginning of the century, his wide-ranging interests had given him an extensive cultural base. At the same time, he reduced the freedom of his students by the discipline he imposed. Goodnough—already thirty years old, with a University degree and a wartime military record—found it difficult to thrive under Ozenfant's authoritarian teaching and his belief in "discipline, precision and care"[50] above all. "*He was an ego. He was the boss. We were always painting to a fine edge—and painting with three coats, at that*."[51] In 1981 Goodnough explained Ozenfant's principle of three coats: "First, you'd paint one coat, let it dry, put on a second coat, let that dry, and then put on a third coat."[52]

Ozenfant's discipline, Purist approach, and "tight" style, led Goodnough to stop frequenting the school within a year. Ozenfant's methodology nevertheless had a lasting impact on Goodnough's approach to painting. In 1979 Goodnough confirmed that Ozenfant required great discipline from his students, but that the discipline had been good for him, although he felt it led to a too "tight" style, a view he had expressed in the early 1960s. "*Ozenfant did inspire us to work, and he was an important influence, a strong contrast to Hofmann*."[53] Also, according to Martin Bush, it was

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[48] Ibid.
[49] Amédée Ozenfant, quoted in "Can painting be taught? Ozenfant," 61.
[50] Goodnough, quoted in "Background," 14.
[51] Ibid., 15. (Italics in the original text.)
[52] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 218.
[53] Goodnough, quoted in "Background," 15.

through Ozenfant that Goodnough met Joan Miró (1893-1983), who became a source of inspiration to the young American painter.

In addition, some of the issues discussed by Goodnough and his contemporaries at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s had already been raised and recognised as relevant to contemporary painting by Ozenfant. In all probability Ozenfant during his daily lectures broached these issues, which will be discussed in Chapter 8. Nevertheless, despite the benefits of Ozenfant's teaching, Goodnough left within a year and sought out Hoffman's free style of artistic instruction.

> "It is generally accepted that one cannot make an artist, but that one can teach art; … ."[54]
>
> Hans Hofmann

1.2.2. Hans Hofmann[55]

After leaving the Ozenfant School of Fine Arts, Goodnough started occasionally to attend art classes given by Hans Hofmann at his 8th Street studio. These classes consisted mainly of drawing from a live model or a still life. According to Friedman, Goodnough attended Hofmann's summer school in Provincetown, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1947. He shared a small house there on the dock with his friend Don Haagen, and Sam Prager[56], whom he knew from Ozenfant's classes. All three men attended Hofmann's summer classes. Two of Goodnough's works, as we shall see in section 4 of this chapter, date from this time and are titled *Provincetown Landscape*.

At Hofmann's summer school Goodnough struck up friendships with other young artists, amongst them Paul *Georges, Wolf *Kahn, Alfred Leslie, Larry *Rivers, and Clement Greenberg. He became acquainted with Hofmann's "push-and-pull" method

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[54] Hans Hofmann, *Search for the Real and Other Essays by Hans Hofmann*, ed. Sarah T. Weeks and Bartlett H. Hayes, Jr. (Andover, Massachusetts: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1948), 60.

[55] Biographical source: "Chronology" in *Hans Hofmann: Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings*, ed. Suzi Villiger (Farnham, Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2014), 1: 62-73.

[56] Donald Haagen and Samuel Prager are included in the list of Hofmann's students, under the heading "1946 onward," in Appendix A, "Partial List of Hofmann Students," in *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann*, by Tina Dickey (Canada: Trillistar Books, 2011), 380-383. Don Haagen features as Donald Haagens. Goodnough is also included in the list.

of painting and perhaps more important felt himself "freeing up."[57] According to Friedman, Goodnough never forgot the first words Hofmann addressed to him. "*I see you're already an experienced painter*."[58] This must have impressed Goodnough as it made for a totally different welcome to that of Ozenfant, although the latter had probably contributed to the "experience" recognised by Hofmann. During the summer Goodnough also wrote poetry about his war experience. Friedman viewed the poetry as "visual and painterly," virtually an "aesthetic dialogue."[59] Friedman claimed "Even in his poetry, Goodnough's image is beginning to emerge: an image emanating from the tension between rigid form and moving emotional content, between the methods and insights of Ozenfant and those of Hofmann—both essential to Goodnough's work."[60]

Hans Hofmann was an exceptional teacher, who as an artist, like Ozenfant, had lived through a number of artistic movements in his early life. Born in Weißenburg in Bavaria in 1880 and raised in Munich, he came to painting relatively late. Peter Morrin dates his first interest in the visual arts as a profession to August 1899. Hofmann was nineteen years old and had moved to an address[61] in the artists' quarter of Schwabing in Munich. Before then, between 1898 and 1899, Hofmann had enrolled at the art school of Moritz Heymann[62] in Munich, where he was introduced to Impressionism, and became aware of contemporary art movements, such as the Secession.

Unlike Ozenfant, Hofmann did not come from a comfortable background and his art studies were therefore a part-time undertaking. Throughout his studies in Germany he was employed as a government worker. Whereas Ozenfant was extremely demanding of his own teachers and easily rejected their teaching methods, Hofmann appears to have benefited from whatever his teachers were able and ready to contribute, and subsequently integrated the experience into his own pedagogy. To understand the method taught by Hofmann, embraced by so many young American painters, amongst

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[57] Goodnough, quoted in "Background," 15.
[58] Hans Hofmann, quoted in "Background," 15. (Italics in the original text.)
[59] Friedman, "Background," 16.
[60] Ibid., 16-17.
[61] Hofmann moved to 47 Georgenstrasse, where, in 1900, Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) lived at number 35, and where at number 40 the Slovenian artist Anton Ažbe (1862-1905) had his studio. For further details see Peter Morrin, "The Education of Hans Hofmann," in *Hans Hofmann: Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings*, ed. Suzi Villiger (Farnham, Surrey: Lund Humphries, 2014), 1:28-33.
[62] Moritz Heymann (1870-1937) was a German painter, graphic artist and art teacher, of Jewish origin, who taught drawing and printmaking. (*Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon,* s.v. "Heymann, Moritz.")

them Goodnough, it is useful to have an insight into the methods applied by his own teachers.

According to the *Catalogue Raisonné*, Hofmann studied in Munich, from 1902 to 1904, with the Slovenian artist Anton Ažbe[63], whose teaching legacy would reach indirectly to the American shores. According to Morrin, Ažbe's teaching method was founded on two basic principles—the "main line" and the "ball principle." The "main line" principle consisted of building the image around one bold "main line" and avoiding minor details. The "ball principle" consisted of using the sphere as a basic building block: anyone who could draw a sphere with its proper shading could draw any form found in nature, including a human head.[64] Ažbe also put great emphasis on anatomical knowledge and the importance of colour. He believed modelling and colouring were of prime importance, and insisted on the use of pure colours in painting and vigorous impasto brushwork. More importantly, he also believed in a spontaneous approach and freedom to develop one's gifts. In the summer of 1902 Hofmann studied at the art colony of Nagybánya[65] in Hungary, with Károly Ferenczy[66] and Béla Iványi-Grünwald[67], whose use of short brushstrokes influenced Hofmann. According to Morrin, "the goals of his new teachers were a direct and unadulterated transcription of nature in full sunlight, and an emotional response to the subject."[68]

Around 1904 or 1905 Hofmann was introduced to the owner of the departmental store Kaufhaus Gerson in Berlin, Philippe Freudenberg, who became Hofmann's patron for

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[63] Anton Ažbe (1862-1905) was a Slovenian painter, who had been taught at the Academies of Fine Arts in Vienna and Munich, where in 1891, not quite thirty, he founded his own school. (*The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Ažbe, Anton.") According to Peter Morrin, Ažbe's school was the largest, best known and most internationally diverse of the private art schools in Munich. The school was popular and frequented by many students of varying backgrounds, Wassily Kandinsky amongst them.

[64] Peter Morrin believes that Hofmann transposed this principle to his own principle of the "plane."

[65] According to Peter Morrin, Hofmann was inspired by the tradition of summer art colonies and the experience of the art school at Nagybánya. Hofmann replicated this tradition in his own school by organising school trips to Bavarian resorts in 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, and 1923, and overseas trips to Dubrovnik in 1924, to Capri from 1925 through 1927, and to St. Tropez in 1928 and 1929.

[66] Károly Ferenczy (1862-1917) was a Hungarian painter, who studied at the Accademia di Belli Arti in Naples. He was a leading member of the Nagybánya artists' colony. (*The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Ferenczy, Károly.")

[67] Béla Iványi-Grünwald (1867-1940) was a Hungarian painter, who studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest, then in Munich, and finally at the °Académie Julian in Paris. He was a leading member of the Nagybánya artists' colony and founder of the Kecskemét artists' colony. (*The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Iványi-Grünwald, Béla.")

[68] Peter Morrin, "The Education of Hans Hofmann," in *Hans Hofmann: Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings*, 1: 29.

the following decade, allowing him to be a full-time artist. With the financial assistance of Freudenberg, Hofmann went to Paris in 1905 to make progress in depicting the action of light and colour. He arrived in Paris just in time to witness the emergence of Fauvism and its use of colour, and the Cubist breakthrough in 1907. In Paris he became acquainted with, amongst others, the artists Jules Pascin (1885-1930), Robert (1885-1941) and Sonia (1885-1979) Delaunay, and the German art collector and dealer Wilhelm Uhde (1874-1947). What artistic knowledge Hofmann acquired in Paris remains unclear. He produced little, although he exhibited on at least three occasions between 1908 and 1910 in Berlin.

At the outbreak of the First World War Hoffman was back in Germany. Disqualified from military service due to a lung condition, he opened his own art school[69] in Munich in 1915, in the building where he had studied with Ažbe. Although attendance was small—mainly women—during the war period, it attracted foreign students after 1918, amongst them Worth *Ryder, Louise Nevelson (1899-1988), and Vaclav *Vytlacyl. From then on Hofmann spent most of his time teaching, in Munich during the school year, and, starting in 1919, in different locations during the summer, first in Germany, later in Austria, Italy, and France. He did little painting, but continued to draw.

Hofmann's strongest artistic affiliation was with Cézanne, according to Morrin, and his biggest concern was with "the dynamics of interaction on the picture plane."[70] Morrin believes that in the 1920s "Hofmann's quest was to have his students activate their entire pictorial field with a system of forces and counter-forces that he designated as 'push and pull,' based on two contrasting dialectics: planarity and the illusion of motion."[71] Hofmann developed his pedagogical approach and art theory between 1915 and 1930. In this he had been most influenced and inspired by Anton Ažbe, even though he had ceased studying with him in 1904.

When in 1930, aged fifty, he visited the United States for the first time, Hofmann was an artist, who had spent the last fifteen years teaching, but was neither an academic success nor a prolific painter. However, more relevant, according to Morrin, was that

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[69] Schule für Bildende Kunst, located at 40 Georgenstrasse in Schwabing, the Bohemian district of Munich.
[70] Morrin, "The Education of Hans Hofmann," 1: 32.
[71] Ibid.

Hofmann had established "a framework for his later teaching and art through his own art education and absorption of the new visual language he encountered in Paris."[72] His years in Paris had enabled him to assimilate the knowledge he required to produce his groundbreaking work in the United States. Thus, like Ozenfant, Hofmann had spent many years absorbing and assimilating knowledge, which would contribute as much to the artistic creation of his many pupils and disciples as to his own. In 1931 Hofmann wrote *Creation in Form and Color: A Textbook for Instruction in Art*, an unpublished treatise on art.[73]

Hofmann started visiting the United States in 1930[74], returning in 1932 for the third time. In September of that year he moved to New York, where he began teaching at the °Art Students League. His first students included Bourgoyne *Diller, Ray *Kaiser (later Eames), and Lillian *Kiesler. In the winter he started giving private art classes at 444 Madison Avenue, and decided to stay in the United States. In the summers of 1933 and 1934 he was a guest instructor at the Thurn School of Art in Gloucester, Massachusetts. He did not return to Germany and after the summer of 1934 he started teaching full time in New York at his newly established Hofmann School of Fine Arts at 137 East 57th Street, moving the school downtown to 52 West 9th Street in 1936. Hofmann organised painting, life drawing, and composition classes (mornings and afternoons) as well as life drawing evening classes during the week and additional classes on Saturday. He also started giving lectures at the school, which were advertised in the *New York Times*[75], and which gave him the opportunity to expound his theories on art.

As part of his School of Fine Arts, in the summer of 1935, Hofmann started summer classes in Provincetown, Massachusetts. During the previous summer Arthur *Carles and his daughter, Mercedes Carles (later *Matter) had encouraged him to start painting again, which he did. As the situation in Europe darkened, Hofmann applied in March

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[72] Ibid., 33.

[73] The original title is *Farbe in der Gestaltung: Ein Lehrbuch für Kunstunterricht* by Hans Hofmann and was translated by his assistant Glenn Wessels.

[74] In 1930 he was invited to teach the summer session at the University of California at Berkeley by a former student, Worth *Ryder. He returned the following year to teach at the °Chouinard School of Art in Los Angeles in the spring and a second summer term at Berkeley.

[75] The lectures were advertised as "Historical—Aesthetic Constants" (*New York Times*, November 9, 1934), "Elements of Plastic Creation" (*New York Times*, November 23, 1934), and "Social Significance of Modern Art" (*New York Times*, December 7, 1934).

1938 for U.S. citizenship. In July he moved the Hofmann School once more, this time to 52 West 8th Street, which became its permanent location, while he himself lived at 177 West 4th Street. The following year, after being apart for six years, Hofmann's wife Maria (or Miz) joined him in America.

As Morrin emphasises, Hofmann spent the first fifty years of his life absorbing all he needed to develop his artistic vision and pedagogical approach. By the time he established his school in New York, he had a clear insight into what the current key pictorial issue was and how to solve it. What is more he had the technique to transmit the solution to his many students, amongst them Robert Goodnough. Numerous pupils assimilated his approach and integrated it into their own pictorial expression. Others absorbed it and took it further. In Chapter 4 we discuss Hofmann's enduring influence.

Goodnough viewed both teachers as strong personalities. Ozenfant's teaching was one of discipline, to the extent of being able to instil fear in his students, whereas Hofmann "worked toward freeing you up."[76] Hofmann's classes were much freer than Ozenfant's. On the whole Goodnough thought they balanced each other. He believed that the influence of both teachers was apparent in his work. Hofmann taught Goodnough that art was not precious, something Jackson Pollock would later reinforce and was reflected in the apparent carelessness of the drips in Pollock's work. Putting four coats of paint on shapes reflected Ozenfant's discipline and quality standards.

Despite their differences in style, the content of Hofmann's and Ozenfant's teaching was not dissimilar. For Hofmann nature was the source of all inspiration and art was a reflection of the spirit and a profound expression of feeling. For Ozenfant feeling was the foundation, without which there could be no true art. Both emphasized that the depth of artistic creation was a function of the artist's all-round culture; both taught that the more the artist could translate that culture into the artwork, the more profound the result. Conception was fundamental for Ozenfant, the idea for Hofmann.

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[76] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 218.

> "I met Tony Smith at NYU while he was teaching there. … Tony Smith was an extremely intelligent man, one of the few individuals I know who could talk about art—he and Clem Greenberg."[77]
>
> Robert Goodnough

1.2.3. Tony Smith[78]

According to Martin Bush, Goodnough returned from Provincetown to New York City in the autumn of 1947, and straightaway enrolled in the graduate art education programme at New York University. Two years later he would begin work on the artist interviews that would form the basis of his Master of Arts dissertation. He shared what was then called a cold-water flat at 639 ½ Hudson Street, in Lower Manhattan, with his friend Don Haagen, with whom he had shared a house in Provincetown. As a former G.I. he lived off the monthly $75 benefit cheque, granted under the G.I. Bill, and to which he was entitled since he was enrolled in a course of study. This was his only means of financial support at the time, since there was no demand for artwork by young American artists. According to Friedman, however, a representative of the Seligman [*sic*] Gallery selected one of Goodnough's paintings in Provincetown to be exhibited in a group show the following winter (1948). It sold for $75.

As a student at the Department of Education at New York University, Goodnough came into contact with Tony Smith, Robert Iglehart[79] and Hale *Woodruff, who were teaching there at the time. The three men were supportive of the activities of young artists searching for new creative outlets in post-war American painting. Tony Smith, in particular, had an important impact on his students. In 1979 Goodnough recounted that he met Smith while working on his Master's degree and became good friends. In

[77] Ibid., 207.

[78] Biographical sources: *Tony Smith: A Drawing Perspective; Essays by Klaus Kertess and Joan Pachner*, exhibition catalogue, Matthew Marks Gallery, New York, November 1, 1995 - January 13, 1996; "Chronology," in *Tony Smith: Architect, Painter,* Sculptor (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1998), 184-186; Tony Smith Estate, http://www.tonysmithestate.com/about/chronology [last accessed April 7, 2019]; *Oral History Interview with Tony Smith,* August 22-30, 1978, conducted by Paul Cummings, Oral History Interviews, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-tony-smith-12890 [last accessed November 18, 2019].

[79] Robert Iglehart (1912-2008) was an educator, who taught at New York University.

1981 Goodnough re-affirmed that he met Smith when Smith was teaching at NYU. He and a group of friends would meet after class with Smith. Goodnough spoke of Smith as "a great conversationalist and philosopher about art."[80] He spent much time with him. "We probably spent too much time talking. But we did learn a lot."[81] Goodnough considered Smith an extremely intelligent man, one of the few individuals[82] whose talk about art he appreciated.

Anthony Peter Smith was born to a well-to-do family on 23 December 1912, in South Orange, New Jersey. At the age of four he was diagnosed with tuberculosis. Rather than send him away for recovery, his parents moved him to a room that his father built in their backyard, an experience often cited for being highly influential throughout Smith's life. He studied briefly at Fordham University in the Bronx before enrolling at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. from 1931 to 1932. In 1932 Smith returned home to work at the family's factory and took night classes in painting, drawing, and anatomy at the Art Students League.

Five years later, pursuing his interest in architecture he moved to Chicago, where he studied for one semester at the °New Bauhaus School of Design, with amongst his teachers the Hungarian painter and photographer Lásló Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946), the Hungarian artist and educator Gyorgy Kepes (1906-2001), and the Russian avant-garde sculptor and graphic artist Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964), before working as an assistant to Frank Lloyd Wright (1890-1978) on the architect's Usonian houses. By 1940 Smith had set up his own architectural firm while continuing to paint and draw—mostly geometric abstractions. Through the 1940s and 1950s, Smith worked as an architect and taught at the School of Education of New York University from 1945 to 1950, at °Cooper Union from 1950 to 1952, at the °Pratt Institute in Brooklyn from 1951 to 1952, while also travelling. During this time, he met the painters Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Theodoros *Stamos, Clyfford *Still, and Bradley Walker *Tomlin, and the sculptor Herbert Ferber[83]. He formed influential relationships with Newman and Pollock, and was an early purchaser of work by Rothko.[84] He died in

[80] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 207.
[81] Ibid.
[82] The other was Clement Greenberg.
[83] Herbert Ferber is discussed in Chapter 9.5.
[84] See Chapter 5.2.

1980.

Although his main interests were architecture and sculpture, Smith produced many drawings. Drawing was an integral part of the curriculum at the Art Students League, where Smith received instruction from George Grosz[85], Vaclav Vytlacil, who had studied under Hofmann in Munich, and George Bridgman (1865–1943). A large number of these drawings were architectural studies or sculptural exercises.

According to Klaus Kertess, Smith had an "acute understanding of human scale derived from his architectural practice. … In all his guises, Smith was a seeker of unifying order."[86] Smith "treated the plane and shape of the paper support as a dynamic participant in the forming of the drawing. This forming always grows from one or more of the edges of the hosting support, and adjusts its configuration to the support's rectangularity."[87] Early on he was "pioneering the use of the support as a generator of the image."[88] In his earliest drawings we notice sharp profiles and flat stylisation as well as the use of vivid colours, the whole reminiscent of Matisse's cut-out collages of the early 1940s. According to Kertess, Smith's interest lay with the underlying process of creation rather than with the outcome, an interest, as we shall see, indicative of his closeness to the Abstract Expressionists, in particular Goodnough's seven interviewees.

One work, which stands out in this respect, is an ink-on-paper drawing of 1946, entitled *May 14, 1946* (fig. 1) and completed before Goodnough became his student. Although, the origin of the conception may have lain in the real world (green splotches of paint create the impression of flying birds), the image is abstract. Organic shapes of flat colours punctuate a semi-translucent background of different layers of pale hues of pink, orange and yellow. The picture is crisscrossed by two red curvilinear brush strokes, pushing the other elements into the background and thus introducing depth into the composition. The red lines are themselves put into perspective by dotted green curved strips spread randomly in appearance over the image. Further depth is provided

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[85] George Grosz (1893-1959), who had been a prominent member of the Berlin Dada and New Objectivity group during the Weimar Republic, had emigrated to the United States in 1933, shortly before Adolf Hitler's seizure of power, and become a naturalised U.S. citizen in 1938. (*The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Grosz, George.")

[86] Klaus Kertess, "Paging Form," in *Tony Smith: A drawing retrospective; Essays by Klaus Kertess and Joan Pachner*, 11.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid.

by three rounded flat shapes of blue, two of which are cut off by the edge of the rectangular support. The work is evocative of Kandinsky's early abstractions and Hofmann's "drip" painting, *Spring*, of 1940.

In 1945 Smith moved to Provincetown in order to build a studio for Fritz *Bultman, a close friend of Hofmann, whom Smith apparently already knew.

As with many of his Abstract Expressionist contemporaries, Smith was affected by Surrealism. His drawings and pastels of the late 1940s and early 1950s clearly reflected the influence of Joan Miró. Examples include drawings inspired by the forces of nature, in particular the drawings he did between 1953 and 1955 while in Germany, when he accompanied his wife, the opera singer Jane Lawrence (1915-2005), on tour.

Smith's views were similar to those of Hofmann. According to the art historian Joan Pachner, "Smith saw painting not as an extension of our world but as a parallel universe. To avoid any sense that he was replicating the natural world, he filled his surfaces with flat shapes and colors; their resolute abstraction corresponds to his belief that painting should call attention to its two-dimensionality as a medium."[89] Emphasizing the two-dimensionality of the pictorial support, was a way of avoiding a naturalistic or a decorative style, according to Pachner, and in Smith's own words creating "something intangible, something universal, something significant, something moving ... ."[90] Smith also believed forms generated by the unconscious were accessible to all, but that it was the artist who had the ability to convert these forms into an "objective expression."[91] Pachner notes that Smith assimilated some of the Abstract Expressionist formal aspects, such as the "all-over" painting, which has no central focus or dominant area of interest. His " 'allover'[*sic*] compositions … often became very dense and graphically interlocked. His drawings also became increasingly populated by lines with a sense of inner life, echoing the sensibility of Pollock's dripped lines."[92]

At the end of the 1940s—about the time that Goodnough finalised and submitted his

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[89] Joan Pachner, "Tony Smith's Drawings," in *Tony Smith: A Drawing Retrospective; Essays by Klaus Kertess and Joan Pachner*, 80.
[90] Tony Smith, quoted in "Tony Smith's Drawings," 81.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Pachner, "Tony Smith's Drawings," 82.

dissertation—Smith started to explore new ways of constructing his images. "Around 1950, Smith began to vary his compositional approach: instead of working across the surface of the paper and then adding forms to the edge, he began to work from the edge toward the inside. Clear contours were replaced by more tremulous edges. Both of these changes emulated the manner of Still, … ."[93] Pachner believes that by the beginning of the 1950s "Smith had developed two seemingly contradictory manners—one physically, gesturally, and emotionally tied to Abstract Expressionism, the other purified and emblematic, and defined by clean, geometric, Platonic conceptions."[94] Smith's purified style was probably linked to his architectural influences—the Bauhaus and Le Corbusier. His geometric conceptions would probably have been influenced by Ozenfant's Purist principles and rules.

According to Friedman, artists such as Goodnough and Alfred Leslie, were profoundly influenced by the enthusiasm and vitality of Smith's lectures. Goodnough became more intimately acquainted with Smith while he was working on his dissertation, and the two artists became good friends. Goodnough viewed Smith as the philosopher of art. According to Friedman, as Smith became interested in the "all-over" and the "large" scale, so did Goodnough. James Joyce became Goodnough's favourite author, as he was Smith's, and Goodnough "found that the creative problems of the architect (the tension between structural necessity and organic form) confirmed his own problems in painting."[95] In 1979 Goodnough confirmed Smith's influence. "Tony had a great deal of influence on my work because he took an interest in me, and I think he helped me to go into abstract art by giving me ideas."[96] Goodnough admitted that at one stage Smith felt he (Goodnough) should have gone into abstraction more deeply.

1.3. The teacher's pupil

In 1949 Goodnough started work on his dissertation on the "subject matter of the artist." The interviews, which formed the basis of his work, took place in the latter part of

[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 83.
[95] Friedman, 'Background," in *Goodnough*, 23.
[96] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "An Interview with Robert Goodnough," by Martin Bush, *Arts Magazine*, February 1979, 139.

1949, probably towards the end of the year, according to Helen Harrison. Goodnough submitted his dissertation in 1950. According to Friedman, having obtained his Master of Arts degree at New York University, Goodnough became an accredited teacher. Goodnough confirmed his teaching activities at New York University[97] in 1981 in "Talking with Robert Goodnough." He taught mainly portraiture. His attendance at New York University ensured proximity to what was happening in and around 8th Street. Not surprisingly, as we shall see in Chapter 8, he became involved in the activities of "The Subjects of the Artist" School, and its successor "Studio 35" before the end of the decade, and the events leading to the establishment of "The Club."

According to Friedman, Goodnough attended the events of "The Club" for several years[98]; he was included in the 1950 group show "Talent 1950," organised by Clement Greenberg and Meyer Schapiro[99] for the Kootz Gallery, followed by the "Ninth Street Shows"[100] and the "Stable Annuals." His first solo show, featuring ink and watercolour sketches, took place at the Wittenborn Gallery in November 1950 and was reviewed in the November issue of *ARTnews* by Henri La Farge, who described the works as little compositions showing "a variety of entertaining and provocative motifs."[101] In 1950 he was invited to participate in a group show at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery, set up in November 1950 with John Bernard Myers as its director.[102] Friedman described the

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[97] He also taught one summer at Cornell University.

[98] It was not possible to actually establish Goodnough's membership of "The Club" on the basis of "The Club records kept by Philip Pavia, 1948-1965," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

[99] Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) was a Lithuanian-born American art historian, who with his family joined his father in the United States in 1907. Schapiro was encouraged to pursue his interests by his socialist freethinking parents. He graduated from Columbia University with honours in art and philosophy at the age of nineteen, and then specialised in Medieval and modernist art. He lectured at both Columbia and New York University, and from 1936 to 1952 taught at the °New School (for Social Research). His lectures inspired many artists and writers (Motherwell was one of his students). His ideology was left-leaning and he contributed numerous articles to the *Marxist Quarterly*, *New Masses*, *The Nation*, and *Partisan Review.* (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. Schapiro, Meyer," http://arthistorians.info/schapirer [accessed April 7, 2019].)

[100] The "9th Street Exhibition of Paintings and Sculptures," referred to henceforth as the "Ninth Street Show," took place in 1951 and 1953; a "Stable Annual" was held in 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957. (See Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists; A Complete Documentation of the New York Painting and Sculpture Annuals, 1951-1957*.)

[101] H[enri]. L[a]. F[arge]., "Robert Goodnough," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Annual Christmas Edition, Part 1, November 1950, 47.

[102] Tibor de Nagy (1908-1993) and John Myers (1920-1987)—de Nagy, a Hungarian refugee who arrived in the United States after the war, and Myers an American born in Buffalo, New York—had met in 1948 and decided to start a marionette theatre company with de Nagy as business manager. The puppet shows, according to de Nagy, were appreciated in artistic circles and put them in touch with artists, such as Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, and Jackson Pollock. After Peggy Guggenheim's departure from New York in 1947, de Nagy believed there was a need for a gallery supporting young "advanced" artists. This led to the foundation of the gallery, at 219 East 53rd Street, with the financial assistance of Dwight Ripley,

gallery as the only one at the time exhibiting the work of the youngest American artists. "For them, Myers was Sam Kootz and Betty Parsons and Charles Egan and Sidney Janis and even Peggy Guggenheim … all rolled into one."[103]

The gallery took off in November 1950, after the Kootz "Talent 1950" show, and sponsored young artists, who in addition to Alfred Leslie and Larry Rivers, included Nell *Blaine, Helen *Frankenthaler, Jane *Freilicher, Grace *Hartigan, and Fairfield *Porter. Fritz Bultman and Goodnough joined later. These artists succeeded the "trailblazers" and became known as the "second generation" or "second wave" Abstract Expressionists.

In a 1976 interview with Paul Cummings, Tibor de Nagy explained that the gallery was not a money-spinner, which compelled him to take on a job in a bank, devoting himself to the gallery during weekends and lunch hours. The situation led eventually to the break up of his partnership with Myers. He also explained that in the course of the 1950s, the number of "advanced" galleries began to increase: Eleanor Ward started the Stable Gallery, then came Hansa, Tanager, and Poindexter, amongst others. In the early 1950s there was no sense of competition, there was little money around, and galleries did not steal artists from each other. The change happened after Martha Jackson appeared on the scene. According to Myers, she would buy directly from the artists, cash in hand, which few artists[104] could resist, and opened her own gallery at East 65th Street, later on 69th Street. Gradually the Tibor de Nagy Gallery lost its early recruits: Harry *Jackson, Rivers, Hartigan, Frankenthaler, followed by Kenneth *Noland. Artists left the gallery because, according to de Nagy, they thought their work could sell better elsewhere, and mainly because they were lured away. Goodnough, however, stayed. In the 1960s the atmosphere changed as "[t]hings became kind of more and more phony. There were new trends. Opportunism became involved."[105]

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a wealthy polyglot poet and botany scientist, who had many contacts (he was acquainted with Peggy Guggenheim) in the art world, and according to Tibor de Nagy, paid the rent on the premises for about six years. Myers was the gallery director and de Nagy its business manager.

[103] Friedman, "Background," 24.

[104] According to John Myers, Martha Jackson purchased a work directly for $1,200 cash from Alfred Leslie, which led him to "excommunicate" the artist.

[105] *Oral History Interview with Tibor de Nagy*, March 29, 1976 conducted by Paul Cummings, page 13 of the transcript, Oral History Interviews, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, www.aaa.si.edu/askus [last accessed November 18, 2019].

Tibor de Nagy believed that *ARTnews* under the management of Thomas Hess contributed to opening up the "advanced" art scene. He credited Hess with a major role in the success of the Tibor de Nagy Gallery. Artists, poets (Frank O'Hara, John Ashbery)[106], and collectors frequented the gallery, as did regularly museum representatives Alfred Barr and Dorothy Miller. The gallery also had a close connection with the °Whitney Museum and the Friends of the Whitney.[107] The gallery moved to 24 East 67th Street in 1953 and continued to promote young artists. Myers and de Nagy were both members of "The Club," where they further built up their network of artists. The partnership broke up at the end of the 1960s, with Myers leaving the gallery in 1970 and opening the John Bernard Myers Gallery at 50 West 57th Street, which he closed in 1975 to become a private dealer. During his management of the Tibor de Nagy Gallery, Myers, who had edited a number of art magazines[108] prior to running the gallery, continued his editorial activities: from 1953 to 1956 he was editor of *Semi-Colon*, a poet's newsletter; he was editor, from 1959 to 1970, of *Gallery Editions*, a series of poetry pamphlets in which poets and painters were paired. One such pair was made up of Barbara Guest[109] and Robert Goodnough. Myers also continued to be involved in the theatre as "Producer and Artistic Advisor" of The Artists' Theater[110] from 1954 to 1970, and in 1968 organised the Southampton Artists' Theatre Festival at Long Island University.

After his retirement Myers continued as Editor of *Parenthèse*, a little magazine of words and pictures, from 1975 to 1979, and in 1981 he became Editor of *Parenthèse Signatures*, deluxe limited edition portfolios pairing an artist and a poet. That same year he organised the exhibition "Tracking the Marvelous" at the Grey Gallery of New York University. Shortly afterwards his autobiography *Tracking the Marvelous: A Life in the New York Art World* was published, in which he covered his involvement in the

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[106] Frank O'Hara (1926-1966) and John Lawrence Ashbery (1927-2017) were two of several poets associated with the °New York School of Poetry.
[107] See entry for the Whitney Studio Club in Appendix 2.
[108] He assisted in the editing of the avant-garde literary magazine *Upstate* in the early 1940s. He became Managing Editor of *View* from 1944 to 1947, Editor of *Prospero Pamphlets* from 1946 to 1948, and was Editor of *Brunidor Editions* in 1948.
[109] Barbara Guest (1920-2006) was an American poet, a member of the first generation of the °New York School of Poetry. She joined *ARTnews* as an Editorial Associate in May 1952 and left at the same time as Goodnough after the Summer issue of 1954. She was later paired with Goodnough in one of John Myer's poet and painter pamphlets. (See John Bernard Myers, Chapter 14, in *Tracking the Marvelous: A Life in the New York Art World* (New York: Random House, 1983), 146-151.)
[110] John Myers started the Artists' Theater in 1943 together with Herbert Machiz.

American art world from 1939 to 1981, and devoted a chapter to Robert Goodnough. He died in 1987. Tibor de Nagy died in 1993.

Goodnough had his first solo show at the Wittenborn Gallery in 1950, and featured in a group show at Tibor de Nagy the following year, with his first and second solo shows at Tibor de Nagy in 1952[111], followed by one every year until 1970. Goodnough stayed loyal to the gallery for nearly twenty years. According to de Nagy, Goodnough was "a very, very difficult artist to handle."[112] Myers, on the other hand, regarded Goodnough as one of the best painters of the gallery. He believed Goodnough was immensely talented and on an equal footing with the "first generation." "His peers are Pollock, Rothko, de Kooning, Kline[113], Still, Reinhardt, not the painters of the Second Generation with whom he has always been identified. Goodnough … is the same age as Motherwell, slightly older than Stamos, far more prolific than Baziotes or Newman, far more inventive than Guston or Gottlieb, and he is possessed of a painterly intelligence rivaled by no one."[114] But Goodnough had difficulty in projecting this to the public and the critics, and Myers attributed this to his remoteness, his quietness, his reclusive attitude and taciturn nature. In 1982 Clement Greenberg maintained that Goodnough was one of the best painters of his time, but blamed the artist in part for not being recognised to his true value.

Myers also revealed that Goodnough was a "conservative" Republican and an old-fashioned individualist. He found out that Goodnough liked to work at night in a studio with a single light bulb. In a 1979 interview with Martin Bush the artist confirmed his tendency to be more at ease working when the outside world was not dominant. Goodnough, according to Myers, was unpredictable in his choice of themes or images. Over the years these themes included allegories, figures, landscapes, and formal compositions, but for Myers his style remained recognisable. According to Myers, Goodnough was obsessed with space. He believed Goodnough was a major abstract painter. Myer's judgment of the artist concurred, as we shall see**,** with that of Barbara Guest.

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[111] By 1952, according to Friedman, Goodnough, for reasons he never explained, had lost interest in the activities of "The Club." He also left New York University and began teaching art and shop (crafts) at the °Fieldston School, where he taught part-time until 1962.
[112] *Oral History Interview with Tibor de Nagy*, March 29, 1976, 12.
[113] Franz Kline is discussed in Chapter 9.5.
[114] John Bernard Myers, *Tracking the Marvelous*, 157.

"There is something of the surprise element in a work of art. It leads one to think, perhaps, in a way one has not thought before."[115]

Robert Goodnough

1.4. The painter's brush

Robert Goodnough's breakaway from the traditional into abstract art came after World War II, following his discovery of Picasso's work while in service in New Guinea during the war. Until then everything he did had been figurative and realistic. At art school he had learned the conventional things, such as "drawing from casts, working from models, painting portraits."[116] In 1958 he explained that he became bored with portraits when he discovered Picasso's early Cubist work. About ten years later he became interested in Mondrian. "I think all this can be seen in my work now, in the colors and structure of my most recent pictures."[117]

As he explained in 1979 in an interview with Martin Bush published in the February issue of *Arts Magazine*, it was only when he started his career in New York[118] that he gradually began to move towards abstraction. The process was apparently slow at first.[119]

Barbara Guest, who had been a colleague of Goodnough's at *ARTnews,* believed Goodnough was an "anomaly." He was not an Abstract Expressionist nor was he a Non-Objective painter, according to Guest. He belonged to no group. His communication through painting was non-verbal. At most his painting contained an inner dialogue. Many of his images conceal a figure, which appears suddenly without warning to the viewer, as in *The Centaur* (1958) and *The Chair* (1957). Guest

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[115] Robert Goodnough, "Statement," *It Is,* Spring 1958, 46.
[116] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Is Today's Artist With or Against the Past?" Interview with Robert Goodnough, by F[airfield]. P[orter]., *ARTnews*, Summer 1958, 42.
[117] Ibid.
[118] In the interview Goodnough mistakenly mentioned the year 1951 as his date of arrival, which does not correspond to other biographical sources, nor to the activities he took part in from 1946 onwards.
[119] We were not been able to trace any of Goodnough's early works produced prior to his arrival in New York. The earliest works we were able to find are dated 1947, a year after his arrival in the city.

described it as follows: “The figure is waiting in controlled inactivity to announce the meaning of the painting.”[120]

Art critics and historians have found it difficult to label Goodnough’s work. “Cubist” is one label that has been attached to it. Barbara Guest found the label surprising, in the sense that “a painter brought up on the New York scene which is a corridor stretching from the studio of Hans Hofmann to the Club, whose walls were constructed and decorated by the Action Painters, should so little appear to be one of the group.”[121] According to Friedman, in relation to his peers Goodnough’s work was seen as “unfashionable” and remained so in the eye of most of his viewers. Goodnough himself has been described as difficult to get to and, according to Friedman, it was mainly through his work that it was possible to approach him. Myers and de Nagy corroborated this view. Guest believed that Goodnough wished to remove all evidence of his own activity in his work, thus making the viewer lose interest in the painter and focus on the painting.

Goodnough never denied the influence of Cubism on his work. He never rejected the past, on the contrary. He believed, as he explained in 1958, that there was “a continuity between the past and the present; ….”[122] The past provided “examples of high accomplishment, but not models to copy.”[123] He never actually “copied.” His interest lay in “solving the conflict between the painting’s two-dimensional plane and the effect of depth: the illusory third dimension.”[124] With respect to his own work he explained: “I always start with the figure in the round and flatten it instead of going into the distance beyond it; I try, …, to ‘uncube the cube’ ”[125]

In 1981 Goodnough explained that the Abstract Expressionists had had a major influence on his work, although the greatest influence in the first instance came from Picasso. Pollock stood out at the time. Goodnough thought de Kooning was influential with the younger generation of painters, but Pollock, Still, Rothko, and Newman were

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[120] Barbara Guest, *Reflexions on Art: Dürer in the Window* (New York: Hoof Books, 2003), 14.
[121] Barbara Guest, “The Work,” in *Goodnough*, by Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Georges Fall, 1962), 32.
[122] Goodnough, quoted in “Is Today’s Artist With or Against the Past?” 42.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.

the most influential with the "abstract movement." Pollock was nice, but difficult to talk to; his answers were vague. He did not think his job was to discuss his work: that was the critics' job. Also, according to Goodnough, Pollock believed that commenting on a work prevented the viewers from seeing it with their own eyes, a view he shared. On the other hand, de Kooning was talkative as well as good-natured. Newman and Tony Smith became good friends and were willing to discuss art and trends. Still was more distant, and Goodnough did not get to know Rothko all that well. Goodnough, in 1981, considered himself to be in the mainstream of contemporary art. He believed art had gone abstract, but was not sure about the future. "It seems to me art has gone abstract: the gradual elimination of subject matter (realistic matter) in a kind of painting in which abstract qualities rather than subject matter are dominant. And this, to me, has been the main direction of art during the past fifty years. What's going to happen in the future? I don't know."[126]

In 1959 Friedman published a small anthology, *School of New York: Some Younger Artists*, which included eleven "younger" American artists, who chronologically belonged to the "second generation" of Abstract Expressionist painters. Among them featured Robert Goodnough, Grace Hartigan, Alfred Leslie, and Larry Rivers. The commentary for each artist was written by an art critic, reviewer, or writer, who had been, and was still, following the New York art scene closely. Barbara Guest wrote the commentary for Goodnough. In the introduction Friedman mentioned that the heroes of these younger painters were Pollock, de Kooning, and Still. Although influenced by them, they did not copy them blindly. Friedman also pointed out that the difference between these younger painters and their predecessors lay in that "they were less provincial, less aggressively anti-European, anti-cultural, and anti-intellectual, and less involved with the glorification of inarticulateness."[127] This description neatly fitted Goodnough as much as any of the other artists covered.

In 1979 Goodnough explained how he experienced the "freedom" of the Abstract Expressionists. "I liked what they were doing. I liked the freedom of their work. They had gotten away from just looking at a model, or copying one, and went off in a

[126] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 180.
[127] Bernard H. Friedman, ed., *School of New York: Some Younger Artists* (New York: Grove Press, 1959), 11.

completely different direction."[128] He felt the approach in abstract painting was much freer emotionally. It was no longer a question of a colour fitting a form, but using the colour to fit one's intention. In the 1979 interview Goodnough affirmed that the "first generation" of Abstract Expressionists had influenced his direction. "I think it was the freedom of the way they worked—people like Franz Kline, Jackson Pollock, and Bill de Kooning. I love the way they used big free areas of paint."[129] He believed that Pollock, Kline, de Kooning, and perhaps Rothko were the strongest influences he experienced. Pollock helped him understand that painting should not necessarily be thought of as precious. "He didn't think of his work in a precious way. And I think that was a good lesson for me."[130] Goodnough was of the view that the important thing was the idea one was trying to express, which for Hofmann, as we have seen, was fundamental. "You express your feelings, but they should not be thought of as precious, and you don't worry about them."[131] Goodnough indicated that Rothko's influence principally came from his use of the large canvas. Kline and Motherwell contributed to his letting go and getting away from Ozenfant. However, Goodnough made it clear in 1979 that just letting loose was not the only thing to aspire to. "I think there has to be a discipline too. But there is such a thing as being too tight or being too disciplined. And if you're too disciplined, or too loose, the creative act sometimes get lost."[132]

In the late 1950s Goodnough was still painting figuratively, but "the figure was gradually disappearing into abstraction."[133] In 1981, he explained that he slowly began to abstract the figure, but that it remained in his work for a long time. "You can actually pick out a figure in most of my early abstract work."[134] He believed that at the time he was combining the Cubist idea with the freedom of the "first generation" Abstract Expressionists. In the 1960s his style changed, when abstract shapes in colour started appearing in his work. At this stage Goodnough had started thinking in terms of space, and moving away from having a centre of concentration in his paintings, clearly

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[128] Goodnough, quoted in "An Interview with Robert Goodnough," 136.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid., 139.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., 140.
[133] Ibid., 137.
[134] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough,"166.

influenced by the Abstract Expressionists. "I was thinking of creating an all-over effect on the canvas without a strong center of interest."[135]

At some stage at the end of the decade Goodnough put down twelve points[136], which summed up his view about the essence of his work as an artist. Firstly, he pointed out the conflict between the two-dimensional surface of the canvas upon which the artist must express a visual experience, and the three-dimensionality of the daily experience. Secondly, he viewed this conflict essential to painting. He himself thought in terms of objects and figures, but sought to keep the picture plane flat, avoiding a third dimension. Thirdly, he started each picture in a different way and did not have a clear idea of what he was going to paint at the outset. He may have had a "feeling" or perhaps a "desire" to paint. As he put something down on the canvas, gradually ideas began to form. In order to keep the idea flexible, he kept the colours and shapes flexible. The image gradually emerged as he added shapes of colour independently of each other. The flexibility diminished when the painting set its own "direction" or "laws," and finally disappeared altogether.

In these first three points Goodnough revealed his closeness to Hofmann's views: the respect of the flatness of the picture plane, the feeling or desire to paint, the interaction of the elements on the canvas, the emergence of ideas. The gradual loss of flexibility when the painting set its own direction, as we shall see, is similar to the view of some of his interviewees. Its total disappearance would be equivalent to de Kooning painting "himself" out of the picture.

His fourth point concerned his living environment: he wished to be surrounded by objects, which individually meant something to him. He felt it was important to relate to each object emotionally, independently of the others. Each object would fulfil a different function, but together they would form a unit. This was what he was seeking to achieve on canvas: each shape should have "a clear and independent emotional

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[135] Goodnough, quoted in "An Interview with Robert Goodnough," 137.

[136] Typewritten manuscript, in Robert Goodnough Papers, circa 1960-1979, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The manuscript is not dated, but indicates his name and address (189 W. 10th St. New York City).

meaning."[137] As we shall see, de Kooning too needed familiar surroundings, which in his case consisted of his artwork.

Fifthly, he was of the view that both the animal and the rational qualities of the painter should go into a painting in order to trigger a response in another person. Goodnough saw the work of art as a means of communication, whereby the picture as a unit initiated a response in the viewer. The painter, according to him, made laws to give emotions form. He viewed emotions as an essential component of painting.

Sixthly, he stated that he did not have one way of painting. His feelings were not always the same and he wanted to allow these feelings to be expressed as far as possible. Some unity in their expression was likely, since these emotions were painted by one and the same person.

His seventh point concerned the reason for his painting: he painted because of the satisfaction he derived from doing a satisfactory picture. His own satisfaction was experienced in the process of painting. He sought to interest others once the work was completed. His eighth point concerned the meaning of paintings, which according to him appeared in the emotional impact of the work and was the result of capturing the different feelings that occurred during the process of painting.

In point nine he mentioned his interest in different ideas and images. Some of these images or ideas, of which cowboys and centaurs, might be symbolic, but what was important was the overall feeling. In point ten he broached the relevance of "color-shapes," which suggest forms, in turn implying the idea, and may take the form of a figure. Goodnough indicated that the figure was built through the painting process. In point eleven he stated that the figures in his paintings were not just impressions of how a figure would look. They were the result of impressions received and processed by the subconscious. And finally, he believed that a painting was the sum of parts, which were individually important and created a totality.

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[137] Typewritten manuscript.

These twelve points were subsequently included as a statement by the artist in a catalogue of a solo exhibition, “Robert Goodnough,” at the Ellison Gallery in Fort Worth, Texas, which ran from 3 May to 3 June 1960.

In 1965 Goodnough explained his creative process, not dissimilar as we shall see to Pollock’s way of working. “Usually when I work I start without a clear idea of what the result will be, preferring to let the idea commence with the first shapes and proceed through a process of development on the canvas.”[138] In 2002 he affirmed Pollock’s influence on his work at the end of the 1940s and in the early 1950s. But he was adamant that he never painted on the floor. He also revealed Hofmann’s influence. “I try to deal with the shapes so that they speak for themselves as individual things but having a relation to the entire painting.”[139] He further imbued the shapes with emotional meaning. “They have an emotional meaning that has to do with how one might *feel* about a subject or an idea rather than how it would *look*.”[140]

He was explicit as to his objective. “I want the end result to be clear and decided and I try to proceed to this end.”[141] The search for clarity denoted Rothko’s influence, which was confirmed when he stated that the satisfaction of coming through with a solution was a joyous moment, particularly when “the artist feels he has separated an idea from himself that now awaits the participation of those with whom he can communicate.”[142] For Rothko, as we shall see, the purpose of clarity was one of communication.

Goodnough also stated that the subconscious played an important part in his work. In the process of working on a painting the decisions were intuitive, which led him to create shapes in a spontaneous manner. “There’s a direction in your work which comes from our subconscious or from intuition. You find that a certain direction is going on almost independently of your conscious thinking. But that seems to be the important part of it. That’s what appears to be good in one’s work.”[143] In this he appears close to

[138] Robert Goodnough, “About Painting,” *Art and Literature: An International Review*, Autumn 1965, 120.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 120, 127. (Italics in the original text.)
[141] Ibid., 127.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Goodnough, quoted in “An Interview with Robert Goodnough,” 141.

Pollock's approach, and John Graham's view about the function of the subconscious, as we shall see in Chapter 6.

Goodnough also thought of the surface in terms of two-dimensionality, revealing again Hofmann's influence. His process involved working on several paintings at the same time, like Pollock and Kline, amongst others. Moving from one canvas to another provided freedom and enabled the subconscious to come to the fore, allowing a fresh approach to the work. He accepted that viewers would find it difficult to look at something in terms of form only, but like the "trailblazers" he wished that viewers would look at his paintings without trying to read anything into them. He compared the experience to that of listening to the sounds of music, which could be enjoyed without reading anything into them. "Here you're listening to shapes, or, I should say, seeing shapes."[144]

Commenting on his work in 1972, Goodnough contended that painting "proceed[ed] in the individual from a kind of spontaneous self-expression to a more analytical process."[145] He believed that the individual over time developed the necessary controls to capture "his feelings and ideas in permanent form through the use of his materials."[146] He explained that he usually started working without a clear idea of what the result would be. He would allow the idea to emerge and develop with the shapes on the canvas. "I try to deal with the shapes so that they speak for themselves as individual things but having a relation to the entire painting."[147] In 1972 he confirmed that his work depended on flatness, ignoring the third dimension in his paintings and that he was only concerned with the shapes on the two-dimensional surface of the canvas. The canvas for him did not have depth.

In the 1979 interview Goodnough explained that he needed to be by himself in order to paint. He needed to feel separated from the rest of the world, which is why he worked mainly at night, because in the dark the outside world was not dominant. But he did not want to feel isolated from his surroundings. He therefore was not keen on working in a

[144] Ibid., 137.
[145] Robert Goodnough, "The Artist," in *Robert Goodnough: Recent Paintings*, exhibition catalogue, Syracuse University Lubin House, 11 East 61st Street, New York, October 24 - November 17, 1972, n.p.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

loft, but preferred a ground floor studio, which enabled him to be aware of the activity in Greenwich Village. This tallied with what John Myers had discovered a quarter of a century earlier when he visited the artist's studio in Greenwich Village, and what Goodnough explained in 1965—that having his studio in a Greenwich store gave him the feeling of being close to people, an awareness of what was going on outside.

Guest believed that underlying all Goodnough's work was his draughtsmanship, and that colour had been subordinate for a long time. But she felt that in his "centrifugal" images he drew on his skills as a colourist, concentrating the colour at the centre of the picture, while his colours contributed to the movement of the brushstrokes. Guest summed up Goodnough's painting as follows. "To find the picture, the animus, both physical and metaphysical. To be directed and to direct. To clarify and to intensify; to be absorbed and yet free. To allow thought to enter passion, as silence interrupts movement, these are at the urgencies of a Goodnough painting."[148]

In 1981 Goodnough reflected on his early work. "In the 1940s and 1950s … I was trying many different approaches, many different directions, and numerous new ideas. … it was a progression toward quality, which is really the important thing for an artist."[149] His work was a constant striving towards improvement, although not "in a repetitive sense."[150] He thought that a kind of "life-force" was necessary to give life to a picture. He believed that an artist developed his own "language" and that by 1981 he had found a language, which allowed him to say something different in each picture. "Quality deals not only with that language, but with what you're saying with your language."[151]

In 1981 Goodnough explained that his later paintings visibly developed out of the early ones. "You can see that the shapes I use are inherent in the things I did before. They have been isolated and separated, and the figures have disappeared, but the shapes that made up the figures still remain the same."[152] In the course of time he had also replaced the three-dimensionality of his pictures with a two-dimensional "expression." Although

[148] Guest, *Reflexions on Art: Dürer in the Window*, 15.
[149] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 231.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., 235.
[152] Ibid.

viewers still perceived a background, Goodnough qualified his paintings as flat. "I just see my paintings as flat surfaces with shapes on them. I see flat shapes and flat colors on a flat canvas."[153]

Beauty, or for that matter the grotesque, was not an objective as such for Goodnough. He viewed his painting as "more of an intellectual exercise designed to attain as much emotion as possible, but not the kind of emotion that relates to grotesque ideas or beautiful ideas."[154] He viewed the world of painting as a world in itself. "It is an entirely different world."[155]

> "My great problem remains subject-matter. … I don't 'copy' but have to paint *something*, start with some theme, some object to 'transpose'."[156]
>
> Robert Goodnough

1.5. The painter's pictures

Goodnough spent the summer of 1947 in Provincetown, a New England town located at the tip of Cape Cod in Massachusetts. It is surrounded by water and the waterfront has therefore always been part of its focus. Provincetown became a pole of attraction for "advanced" artists in the 1940s and 1950s. Hofmann had started his summer classes there, in 1935, in the Miller Hill studio of Charles Webster *Hawthorne, founder of the Cape Cod School of Arts in 1899.

Goodnough produced at least two pictures of the Provincetown landscape in 1947. One is a watercolour on paper, titled *Provincetown Landscape* (1947), measuring 14 by 18 inches, originally the property of Mrs. Theresa Parker, who subsequently donated it to the Snite Museum of Art of the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana.

[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid., 240.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Goodnough, quoted in "Is Today's Artist With or Against the Past?" 42. (Italics in the original text.)

The other picture, also titled *Provincetown Landscape* (1947) (fig. 2), is an oil painting on Masonite[157], measuring 35½ by 47 inches, in which Goodnough has fixed his impression of Provincetown. The image reveals a background, geometrically patterned by short horizontal and longer vertical lines, and crossed by upward diagonal lines forming acute angled triangular shapes. Geometrical patches of colour are spread over the picture, according to an underlying grid. Some are light blue, whereas others are vivid purple. The picture includes a scattering of geometrically shaped green patches. Touches of different hues of rust are scattered along the patterned background with a bigger oblong patch at the base in the right hand corner of the picture. In the upper left hand part of the background a vertical stroke of yellow is visible, indicating the presence of sunlight. The image seems to sum up the features of the Provincetown landscape with boat sails in the harbour. In working with inter-related colour forms, Goodnough reveals the influence of Hofmann. Although the image initially appears abstract, the colour forms convey the artist's source of inspiration signified in the title. This work already reveals Hofmann's influence, as Goodnough's image appears to have a "loose" edge to it and is not predominantly figurative.

A work, which reveals a Cubist influence, is *Two Figures* (1947) (fig. 3), oil on Masonite, measuring 20 by 24 inches. As indicated by the title it represents two figures against a background of different hues of blue and purple, with light, almost imperceptible, touches of yellow, green, and pink, criss-crossed by dark strokes. At first glance it is not immediately obvious whether the figures are male or female. They appear side by side, although the figure on the right-hand side, from the viewer's standpoint, seems to be set further back, its right leg set behind the other figure's left leg. The right-hand figure also appears to have its head covered by a (cowboy?) hat, whereas the other figure's head appears bare. Both figures have their head turned leftwards. The shapes of the figures create the impression of strength and power. The legs and arms exude muscular force, particularly in the case of the figure on the right, whose shoulders are powerfully rounded.

The two figures do not appear static: their legs are widely set, as if caught in full motion. The right-hand figure may well be pursuing the other figure. Its head,

[157] Masonite is a type of hardboard.

positioned slightly higher, is turned towards the other figure and appears to be looking at the back of its head. The forms of the figures are outlined by dark contours and their bodies are shaped by strokes creating loose geometrical shapes in a "Cubist" manner. A closer look at the left-hand figure reveals what appear to be two conically shaped breasts, making this figure a woman. Also, although the head appears denuded, closer observation of the shape indicates what could be waist-length hair. The hands of the figure, although not depicted, appear to be crossed behind the waist. The hands of the other figure are not depicted either, but may be thrust into the pockets of its jacket or trousers. Could the male figure be pursuing the female figure or could they be dancing?

The background is crisscrossed by darker strokes, some of which intersect the figures. A horizontal line is drawn at about halfway up the bottom half of the painting. The line does not cross the figures, and could thus represent the horizon against which the two figures are playing out their game of pursuit. Of interest is the straight line, which crosses the figures diagonally upwards from left to right, and the curved line which appears to encircle their legs in a downward movement first from left to right and then upwards behind the right-hand figure's left leg to cross it at thigh level, and thus appears to (metaphorically) link the two figures, while providing depth to the image.

This work was completed in 1947. Goodnough had probably already left Ozenfant's school and started frequenting Hofmann's art classes. It is nevertheless possible to detect some of Ozenfant's influence, albeit it minor at first sight. The use of the thickset line to induce movement is present in Ozenfant's work around this period, of which *After Storm (Hudson)* dated 1946 is an example. The intertwining of two figures—male and female—is also reminiscent of Ozenfant's painting *Amour* of 1931 (fig. 4).

As Goodnough explained in 1979, his progression to abstraction was slow. An early example of his pure abstract work is *Abstract in blue* (1950) (fig. 5), measuring ca.35 by 41 inches, which dates from 1950, and shows the influence of Hans Hofmann's technique of "push-and-pull." It is composed of bold areas of colour set against an apparently remote background structure of black lines upon which random strokes of light blue and white are superimposed. The picture, which covers the whole canvas, consists of several layers of depth, of which the areas of bright red seem furthest away

from the surface of the canvas plane. Nearer to the viewer are dabs of yellow and strokes of bright and light blue scattered over the composition. The painting appears to "suck in" the viewer and at the same time puts up an invisible barrier preventing the viewer from reaching the depths of the picture.

At the beginning of the 1950s Goodnough completed a number of totally abstract works, which he numbered. Examples include *No. 2* (1951), *No. 4* (1951), *No. 5* (1951), and *No. 8* (1952). Although all are abstract, they are not similar. Thus, *No. 5* (1951) (fig. 6) is a display of organic shapes of different sizes against a light background, without any apparent underlying structure. The amoebic shapes appear to have formed themselves over time. They seem on the move, some fleeing the centre of the canvas and escaping at the edges of the picture. One lighter shape on the upper right hand side of the image gives the impression of disappearing into the background of the picture, creating the illusion of depth. The image is centrifugal, although it is difficult to pinpoint its core, and appears to be inspired by some "Untitled" ink drawings on paperboard, which Tony Smith produced in 1949-1950. They also show a similarity with some of Smith's later charcoal drawings, completed in Germany between 1953 and 1955. Although in most of Smith's drawings the shapes appear to adhere to a regular pattern, there is at least one, *Untitled* (1953-1955) (fig. 7), which is evocative of Goodnough's 1951 abstraction *No. 5*, a case of the master inspired by the pupil.

Wild brushstrokes, unevenly covering the canvas, without any reference to recognisable objects or features from the real world make up *No. 2* (1951) (fig. 8), which exudes an energetic pulse emanating form the centre and shows the influence of Pollock's technique. *No. 4* (1951) (fig. 9) contains no references to the world of reality, and consists of loosely placed brushstrokes of different colours against a light coloured background. The strokes appear to emanate from the centre of the image, spreading out to the edges of the canvas, where they are less dense in number. Again the image is one of energy and movement. According to Friedman, by 1953 Goodnough's work had opened up into swirling images, the swirls creating a "whirlpool" effect, already visible in *No. 4*. (1951). Goodnough brought the technique to new heights in *Pegasus* (1952) and *Clock Counter Clock* (1952).

The "whirlpool" effect is also noticeable in *No. 8* (1952) (fig. 10), a small (12 by 12 inches) square format, consisting mainly of bold curvilinear intertwined strokes, of which some form proper swirls and circles, while others are simply curved lines crossing the picture. Two such sets of horizontally placed strokes virtually mirror each other, introducing an element of stability into the dynamic arrangement. The density of strokes is concentrated in the middle of the canvas, the highest density situated just below the halfway division, petering out towards the corners and edges. The picture features a highly energised image of pure abstraction. There is no figurative reference in the title, and no figure appears to emerge from the vortex of strokes. Barbara Guest reviewed the painting in the 1952 Summer issue of *ARTnews*. "In *Number 8* Robert Goodnough uses color as separate from emotion, or better, dissected from it. He has a metaphysical idea of space and an intellectual awareness which relegates form to the brush stroke. The picture moves centrifugally out into space and back into the picture again. Thus one is aware with his painting that the raw canvas, which is a prominent feature, might be even more enormous, that these strokes so carefully placed might take any direction into infinity."[158] This description caught the essence of Goodnough's work from the early 1950s onwards.

According to Guest, Goodnough was "an eccentric artist in each of whose paintings can be found elements of the previous ones and those to come."[159] Guest discerned four ways of painting in Goodnough's works: shapes outlined with lines as in *The Centaur* (1958) and *Calamity Jane* (1958); figures made almost completely with line as in *No. 11* (1955); outlined shapes as in *Movement of Horses* (1959); and brush strokes as in *Pegasus* (1952) and *Abstract* (1959). In some of his works the image is composed of shapes, which are basically colour areas and give the painting its form. Guest concluded that Goodnough saw colour and form, or shape, as the same thing. For her these "color-shapes" are the key to the composition of a Goodnough painting, within which there are many tonal gradations.

Pegasus (1952), also known as *No. 4 (Pegasus)* (1952) (fig. 11), shows much in common with *No. 4* (1951), consisting of a tangle of coloured brushstrokes against a

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[158] B[arbara]. G[uest]., "Five pictures," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Summer 1952, 98.
[159] Barbara Guest, "The Work," in *Goodnough*, by Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman (Paris: The Pocket Museum, Georges Fall, 1962), 56.

pale pink hue of grey. The strokes are white, yellow, ochre, orange, grey, red, brown, and black. The tangle of strokes is placed at the centre of the image and is most dense at its core. Occasional swirls of colour seem to escape from the bundle, creating the impression of a vibrating force. The image is that of a bundle of coloured wriggles on the move. The image is abstract, without any reference to the world of recognisable objects and does not itself provide a clue as to its content. The title, however, is rich in its references. Pegasus, a figure of Greek mythology, was the winged horse, son of Poseidon and the Gorgon Medusa, on which Bellerophon, the hero of Greek mythology, rode, or flew, into battle. Pegasus is also the name of a constellation and over time has symbolised wisdom and fame, poetry and more importantly the creator of sources of inspiration for poets. More recently Pegasus and Bellerophon were used as a symbol during World War II both by the United Kingdom and the United States. We may wonder whether Goodnough intended Pegasus as a reference to the creator of his source of inspiration or the war he had not long ago experienced, or possibly both.

Guest pointed out that there was an intermediary period in Goodnough's development in the 1950s, when he vacillated between figurative and two-dimensional abstraction. She included the "Counter-Clockwise" paintings in that period. These pictures reveal the artist working "centrifugally" from the centre to the edges, infusing in this way his pictures with movement. According to Guest, Goodnough was an innovator in the early 1950s, and was later followed by Kenneth Noland, for example, in progressing from the centre to the edge. Goodnough worked in short brush strokes using, according to Guest, the "expressive" elements of Cubism, but he did not construct his painting in a Cubist manner. In these paintings the influence of Picasso, Matisse, and early works of Mondrian is noticeable.

Clock Counter Clock (1952) (fig. 12), a square painting of 54 by 54 inches, denotes a style similar to that of *Pegasus* (1952), with a neutral light ochre background of varying intensity upon which the artist has "thrown" coloured brushstrokes forming a mass of animated swirls. Yellow, red, blue and black are dominant, with a scattering of white strokes. The strokes are concentrated in the centre, from which they appear to originate. Some have managed to escape beyond the limits of the picture, enhancing the impression of intense movement emanating from the centre. The whole appears to create a combined centrifugal-centripetal whirlpool effect, signified in the title of the

painting. In 1952 Goodnough had already written his article 'Pollock Paints a Picture' for *ARTnews* and was acquainted with Pollock's work process. He may have been inspired by Pollock's technique, which he confirmed in 1979, although he does not appear to have let the paint drip onto the canvas, but has applied it in brushstrokes. Also Goodnough had not relinquished the easel, as he confirmed in the 1979 interview.

Goodnough's progression moved between abstraction and figuration in the course of the 1950s**.** *Abstraction* (1953) (fig. 13), a square canvas of 66 by 66 inches, densely covered with wild brushstrokes of white, light and dark grey, and black paint is an example of pure abstraction. The coloured strokes are concentrated in the centre of the painting, leaving the corners on the right hand side of the canvas less crowded, where a yellow hue background transpires as it does in a small number of spots in the overall picture. The image provides no indication of its origin in the world of real objects, yet creates for the viewer a sense of vibrant motion.

In some of Goodnough's works of the mid-1950s figures began to emerge from the apparently abstract composition, of which *No. 11* (1955)[160] (fig. 14) is an example. The picture consists of dark, mainly straight, lines against a light background. The lines create a structure of indeterminate nature, with two circles placed on either side of two vertical lines. Several parallel horizontal lines appear to form the base of the structure, which is supported by a number of upward lines. The base is covered by random brushstrokes and curved lines. Although purely abstract on first impression, two figures emerge from the background as if seated on a bench, staring at the view in front of them, with their backs turned to the viewer. Barbara Guest described this phenomenon in her analysis of *Two Seated Figures* (1955) (fig. 15), whereby the artist "permits the figure to lay its just claims on the picture."[161] And, as Guest put it, the artist urges the figure to "force [its] … way into the open space of the painting."[162]

Unlike the preceding example, *Two Seated Figures* (1955) has a title indicating a figurative subject matter. The work, which measures 60 by 60 inches, was in 1962 part of the private collection of John Bernard Myers. The image consists of straight (black)

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[160] This work features as *Composition*, 1955, in *Goodnough*, by Martin Bush.
[161] Guest, *Reflexions on Art: Dürer in the Window*, 14.
[162] Ibid.

lines, which divide up the whole surface, forming a network of geometrical shapes—triangles and parallelograms—of varying size, with the smaller shapes concentrated in the centre of the picture, the larger ones spreading towards the edges. This geometrical network of lines serves as a support for the coloured areas. The colours—red, blue, yellow, green—have been applied in broad brushstrokes, several filling the geometrical forms of the structure. A number of these forms include white patches, providing roundness and giving the shapes a more organic aspect. For the viewer it is not immediately obvious where the two figures are seated. They emerge only gradually from the crowded background into the line of sight of the viewer, and even then they are not easily located, seeming to come and go within the image.

Guest described how the picture came into being: Goodnough first put down the square geometrical base, which he subsequently supplemented with outlined shapes, independent of the original structure and then converted into flat areas. Only when this stage of pure abstraction was completed, did he allow the figure to emerge. According to Guest, the figure was a symbol, whose presence served to "clarify," since Goodnough was intent to ensure that the viewer would see everything. Goodnough had sidestepped the "action painting" by what Guest called his "literalness," his intent to tell "all" in the painting—"Not the mysterious ALL, but all he knows about that particular painting engaging him."[163] As early as 1952 Fairfield Porter, a fellow Editorial Associate at *ARTnews*, when reviewing a Goodnough show at Tibor de Nagy, had pointed out that "[h]e makes paintings about paintings."[164]

Friedman described Goodnough's work in the mid-1950s as "all movement *and* frozen movement,"[165] as evidenced in *Cha-cha-cha* (1956) (fig. 16) and *Mambo* (1956) (fig. 17). *Cha-cha-cha* (1956), a square painting of 96 by 96 inches, part of the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Ben Heller in 1962, is an unusual departure from the previous ones. The picture has no visible structural background, but consists of aligned dotted dabs of colour, creating upwardly driven coloured strips, which seem to grow out of the white background. The predominant colour appears to be greenish, with intermittent pink and light red strips pushing through, and grey strips doubling as

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[163] Ibid., 15. (Capitalisation in the original text.)

[164] F[airfield]. P[orter]., "Robert Goodnough," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Part 1, November 1952, 45.

[165] Friedman, "Background," 26. (Italics in the original text.)

shadow. Towards the centre of the picture some of the strips are darker and the dotted dabs are less spaced out. Interspersed are blue strips. The image appears inspired by the technique of the Post-Impressionists and has a Fauvist aura about it. The viewer could imagine it to be a bed of wild flowers, but the title indicates otherwise. We are in the realm of movement, more particularly that of a 1950s fashionable dance—the cha-cha-cha! The title reminds the viewer of Mondrian's *Broadway Boogie-Woogie* (1942), in which the rhythm of the metropolis is contained in a composition of small squares of primary colours, yellow dominating, fitted into a right-angled configuration, representing the Manhattan street grid. In contrast to Mondrian's straight lines and right angles, Goodnough's painting is all bends and wispy movement.

In the same spirit is *Mambo* (1956), which dates from the same year as *Cha-cha-cha*. In this picture the viewer can discern the supporting structure, which consists of dark lines moving from the centre towards the edges of the picture. The central part of the structure is dabbed with bright red splotches of paint. Towards the edges, the splotches become lighter in tone and appear to form an impasto against a pale background. Scattered amongst the red dabs are touches of blue, yellow, and light green. The painting appears abstract in construction. However, out of this construction seem to emerge two intertwined figures (one wearing a red dress, perhaps?), involved in frantic movement, which is enhanced by the dabs of red concentrated at the centre of the image. The energy of the painting is centred in its core and appears to dissipate itself towards the edges. Mambo, with its Latino-American rhythms, was another dance fashionable in New York in the mid-1950s. The work featured, according to Friedman in the "Younger Americans" exhibition at the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1956.[166]

According to Guest, Goodnough in the early 1950s was painting pure abstractions, which he titled by number. They did not appear to be about anything at all. "He had discovered a moment within time and was going to paint 'it'."[167] Tony Smith, according to Guest, believed that Goodnough had the talent to forge ahead more deeply into abstraction, but that he backed away and decided to explore painting differently, not having to rely almost completely on the "unknown." This, according to Guest, led

[166] Ibid., 26.
[167] Guest, "The Work," 34.

him to express ideas, which he felt should be undisturbed by any "extraneous expression of the artist himself."[168]

In 1958 Goodnough explained his understanding of "representationalism." He believed "an object … [did] not exist as such in art but rather as part of an experience you have *with the object.*"[169] This "experience" did not "transform" the object but "transposed" it, according to Goodnough. "I try to make a union between space and body so that they tend to *merge*. … The whole surface comes to have the same kind of body as the object; the 'figure' does not exist independently but as part of the whole surface."[170] This is how he "transpose[d] the object."[171] He further clarified that "the 'meaning' of an object becomes part of you; that's what you try to show in painting."[172] He did not believe there would be a return to "old-fashioned representationalism, to the illusion of the three-dimensional world in painting."[173]

In the second half of the 1950s Goodnough no longer numbered his works, but gave them titles—a clue for the viewer. These works usually have a figurative content, sometimes obvious, at other times concealed. *Seated Figure With Grey* (1956) (fig. 18), a figurative painting, an anonymous gift to the Whitney Museum of American Art, is one such example. Its composition consists of an intricate arrangement of black lines, originating in the centre of the composition and directed towards the corners. The lines are set against patches of grey horizontal dabs imposed on a light background, which becomes more visible near the edges with the largest area in the upper left hand corner. Emerging from the black lines is a head, slightly inclined Madonna-like to the left. The rest of the figure is less discernible, as only the neck and shoulders are outlined in black. Again the figure appears to struggle in order to extricate itself from the background structure and make itself perceptible to the viewer.

Another example is *The Chair* (1957) (fig. 19), measuring 48 by 32 inches, which was completed the following year. The painting presents a composition of bold black lines set against a structure of finer black lines against a lighter backdrop. The geometric

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[168] Ibid., 36.
[169] Goodnough, quoted in "Is Today's Artist With or Against the Past?" 42. (Italics in the original text.)
[170] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

background configuration provides an angle of depth on the left hand side of the picture, which enhances the emergence of the object. The lines of the background structure are cut off at the edges of the canvas. The title refers to an object of the world of reality. A closer look at the image reveals a tangle of chairs placed one on top of the other. This is yet another example where the figurative object only gradually appears to impose itself upon the painting.

Subsequently Goodnough moved on to the myth of Antiquity or of the old American West. *Centaur* (1958), *Laocoon* [*sic*][174] (1958), *The Frontiersman* (1958), and *Calamity Jane* (1958) are early illustrations of this transition. However, in 1958 he explained that he had been attracted to Michelangelo's *Lapith and Centaur* relief, the reason being the tension between the surface plane and depth. "That's why I chose it for my work, not because it was a myth or a Michelangelo."[175]

Laocoon (1958) (fig. 20), measuring 66 by 54 inches, belongs to the period when Goodnough introduced, for whatever reason, mythical figures into his paintings. The work presents a multi-coloured image, consisting of flat areas of bright hues of blue, red, yellow, orange, and areas of darker or lighter hues of green, brown, and off-white. Black patches are interspersed amongst the coloured areas, of which smaller ones are concentrated at the centre of the picture, where they create a denser patchwork. The figure of the title is not discernible, but at the centre of the image a struggle emerges from the denseness of the coloured areas. The image exudes tension and movement, reflecting the struggle of Laocoön, a figure of both Greek and Roman mythology. Laocoön, a Trojan priest attacked with his two sons by giant serpents sent by the Gods, is the symbol of suffering and man's struggle against the gods and fate. This struggle manifests itself in Goodnough's painting, but is not perceived as negative or pessimistic. The multi-coloured image creates the impression of a two-fold struggle—one literal and the other metaphorical. This is presumably what Barbara Guest referred to as "the animus, both physical and metaphysical"[176] of the picture. Martin Bush describes the picture as a "pyramidal composition,"[177] brought together by a painted

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[174] Spelling used in the original title.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Guest, *Reflexions on Art: Dürer in the Window*, 15.
[177] Bush, *Goodnough*, 94.

assemblage of colours supported by an underlying drawing, which does not detract from the surface image.

The Frontiersman (1958) (fig. 21) is a multi-coloured picture, measuring 68 x 60½ inches, which presents an array of straight lines crossing each other at more or less right angles. The lines are dark, but not bold, creating geometrical space areas, which the artist has filled with bright colours—yellow, red, orange, blue—but also paler hues of ochre, green, grey and blue. The areas are not all completely filled with colour. The whole presents a colourful image, from which it is difficult to discern the figure of the title. The figure does not impose itself on the picture, but instead appears overwhelmed by it.

Guest saw "energy" as the most important constant in Goodnough's work. Goodnough's puritanical mindset meant that the amount of energy spent on good works was as important as the works themselves. She believed many American painters shared this attitude. Pollock was an obvious example. Guest viewed this as an important factor in distinguishing American from European painting. The American painter must labour and also feel. "At the same time his painting must show stroke by stroke how much labor has gone into it."[178] Dealers and collectors expected steady "productivity" from the artist, according to Guest. "The American artist is allowed few periods of quiescence. It doesn't often matter whether the work is good or bad. Just so the artist is *hard at work.*"[179] Guest believed that energy for Goodnough was defined in terms of dynamic equilibrium. "You throw the painting off balance and then bring it back. The energy then surfaces."[180] Goodnough explained it as follows: "*That's what life is. Take a canvas which is not life and bring it to life. Sometimes it is quieter, more controlled, but always something is going on.*"[181]

Movement became a significant factor in his works at the end of the 1950s, as illustrated in *Charging Bull* (1958) (fig. 22). Small but of monumental appearance, *Charging Bull* (1958), measuring 8 by 10 inches, is a figurative work as indicated by the title. The image consists of a faint background outline of spatial areas, some of

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[178] Guest, "The Work," 37.
[179] Ibid., 38. (Italics in the original text.)
[180] Ibid., 39.
[181] Goodnough, quoted in "The Work," 39. (Italics in the original text.)

which are coloured. The background itself is white. The coloured areas bring to life the figure of a "charging" bull, which imposes itself on the picture without struggle, leaving in its wake its constitutive outline. This image was completed in 1958, when Goodnough was turning to mythology. We may therefore ask ourselves whether there is more significance to the figure than its representation. After all, the bull[182] is a figure of strength and a symbol of creative energy. In Greek mythology he is the Minotaur, guardian of the Labyrinth. According to Jungian symbolic analysis, the bull represents an uncontrolled force, which civilized man seeks to master. Goodnough represented him as a "charging" force, colourful and playful rather than aggressive.

Another example is *Rearing Horses* (1959) (fig. 23), measuring 66 by 76 inches, inspired by a Rubens copy of Leonardo da Vinci's *Battle of Anghiari* (1505). According to Guest, what attracted Goodnough in the Rubens picture was its "movement." The title of the painting provides us with a clue to the image, which consists of multiple colours applied in mostly vigorous brush strokes. The density of colour is concentrated in the lower half of the picture, in a downward movement towards the right hand corner. Superimposed on the multi-coloured strokes are adjacent black and white lines drawn downwards from left to right, with the white ones mostly above the black ones. The concentration of strokes is set against a lighter background of blue and blue tinted pink in the top half of the picture, where the paint appears thinner and applied in more lightly in dabs. The horses of the title are not recognisable as such, but their rearing movement is easily perceptible. It is the movement, as opposed to the figures, which emerges from the canvas and imposes itself on the image. The same year Goodnough completed another painting—*Movement of Horses* (1959) (fig. 24)—on the same theme. The two pictures show great similarity but are achieved in different ways. Whereas the movement in *Rearing Horses* is rendered through bold brush strokes, in *Movement of Horses* it is accomplished by means of lightly coloured flat areas.

Goodnough devoted several paintings to the "horse" theme. Another theme, which became recurrent in his paintings and sculptures, and in particular his collages, was the dinosaur. *Dinosaurs* (1953) (fig. 25), measuring 25 by 34 inches, is an early collage on

[182] See *Dictionnaire des symbols*, s.v. "taureau."

the theme, one of Goodnough's figurative works during his period of transition. Guest considered Goodnough a virtuoso in collage, as illustrated in *The Dinosaurs* series of the 1950s. According to Martin Bush, the dinosaur became an obsession for Goodnough.

Collage for Goodnough was another means of painting. According to Bush, a reconstructed skeleton of an ancient brontosaurus at the New York Museum of Natural History was the inspiration for his interest in collage. And at the end of the 1950s "collage" became a new "language" for him, which he developed into a highly personal means of expression in the 1960s and beyond. The "collage" was no longer literal, in the sense that he did not apply paper or wood cut-outs to the canvas, but created a "collage" directly onto the canvas with paint (acrylic or oil, or both). Examples, amongst many, include *Tattered and Torn* (1965), *Color Development* (1968), *Abstraction* (1975), and *Color Mass on Blue* (1979). These pictures present clusters of colour shapes on a flat surface, often perceived as "floating" in space. For Goodnough these shapes were just shapes; they did not represent anything else. "The shapes are simply not fish or birds or anything else. They are just shapes on a canvas—nothing more."[183]

Tattered and Torn (1965) (fig. 26), measuring 29¾ by 36 inches, and in 1982 part of the Sidney and Frances Lewis Collection in Richmond, Virginia, represents a prime example of a "colour" collage. Against a neutral light grey background the painter has deposited what look like cut-out shapes of irregular geometrical format, but which are in reality pure colour shapes painted on to the canvas. The colours are mainly primary—blue, yellow, and red—in addition to one green shape and two shapes of a lighter hue of red, and several black ones, which overlap with some of the colour shapes. The whole is painted in oil, but the effect is one of "collage."

A later example is *Color Development* (1968) (fig. 27), acrylic and oil on canvas, measuring 60 by 180 inches, in 1982 part of the Collection The Central Bank in Jefferson City, Missouri. The effect again is one of "collage," achieved with colour shapes painted onto a neutral background. The irregular shapes are painted mostly in

[183] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 235.

hues of primary colours, interspersed with shapes of green, brown, white, and black. They do not overlap, but have points of contact. The stretched-out layout of the shapes, spanning the length of the canvas, creates the impression of movement ("development"). An example of the mid-1970s is *Abstraction* (1975) (fig. 28), acrylic and oil on canvas, measuring 44 by 58 inches. Against a neutral background of an indefinite "greyish" hue is posited a cluster of irregular geometrical shapes of multiple colours in the upper left-hand part of the picture. The cluster gives the impression of a "collage" of a bird with spread wings flying downwards.

Goodnough denied any figurative intention in his "collage" paintings. He referred to the shapes in his paintings as musical notes. "It's almost as if the color shapes were sounds. They appeal to you in the same sense that musical sounds do. You don't relate the sounds to something you've heard before, and the same way, the shapes in my paintings should not be related to anything outside themselves. They are just part of a composition on a canvas. It's the same as a musical composition; so it does relate to music."[184] The titles of his "collage" paintings refer mainly to the colour of the shapes and their background—*Brick Red with Yellow* (1972), *Red, Yellow, Green Gray* (1973), or indicating "movement"—*Motion Form* (1966), *Development with Red* (1972), or a geometrical configuration—*Rectangular 3* (1965), *V-Shapes* (1965), *Chevrons* (1965), hardly ever figuration. Exceptions are few: *Vietnam* (1967), *Anghiari II* (1968), and *Struggle* (1968). These later "collage" paintings often indicated the "political" mood of mid-1960s America.

What Guest admired most in Goodnough was that he remained calm during the latest art wave, whatever it was, and remained immaculate in his field. "No current craze has tempted him."[185] He remained immune to new directions and adhered to the laws that ruled his canvas. Frank O'Hara had earlier expressed a similar view when reviewing Goodnough's show at Tibor de Nagy in 1954. He believed the artist showed complete indifference to academic considerations, which set him apart from other abstract painters. "His pictures have a peculiarly witty seriousness and they have the superiority of indifference—all of which implies subject matter (and there is none) and an

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[184] Ibid., 235, 237.
[185] Guest, "The Work," 60.

individuality which seems eccentric … .[186] At the same time "change" was always an element in Goodnough's painting, even when the themes did not change. "I start with something familiar but deal with it in a vastly different way. It is a little like playing a piano; the notes are the same but the music is different."[187] In *Blue Mass* (1979) he introduced the "wet look" by using a thinner paint for the layers of the shapes, the whole resulting in a vibrating effect.

During the 1970s and beyond Goodnough honed the language of expression he had adopted at the end of the 1950s. He used it in his paintings, his sculptures, and his murals. The mural *Form in Motion* (1967) installed in the lobby of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company in New York is an example. Goodnough explained that he had intended to create "a feeling of vitality through the tension and interplay of strong primary colors and quieter rest areas."[188] The work, acrylic and oil on canvas, measures 108 by 384 inches and was hung up against a black granite wall above a service counter. It consists of bright coloured overlapping shapes against a light greyish background. Goodnough saw the work as a painting, "a thing in itself," rather than a mural. "Forms and colors in dynamic relationship are the subject of the painting, and it is therefore meant to be seen in terms of its formal development."[189] These words are a reminder of Hofmann's enduring influence. In 1979 Goodnough used this language of expression for the mosaics of an indoor swimming pool and a Jacuzzi in the home of William F. Buckley Jr.

Martin Bush explains that although Goodnough adopted an experimental approach to his painting, he was meticulous about achieving the two-dimensional flatness of his paintings and injecting the surface with energy and vitality, while controlling the shapes through his sense of space and form. The result, according to Bush, is "a clear awareness of the painting as a two-dimensional, self-contained flat surface, whose fragile images glide in a subtle understated contrast across large areas of empty canvas."[190] Bush explains that Goodnough originally used the off-white colour of the canvas as background, but gradually turned to pale colours. He had no set rules for the

[186] Frank O'Hara, "Goodnough Gazed on Euclid Bare," *ARTnews*, March 1954, 18,
[187] Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Goodnough," 151-152.
[188] Ibid., 123.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Bush, *Goodnough*, 140.

use of colours, and was often guided by the shapes as they originated. Sometimes he used a colour for his shapes that was lighter than the canvas.

Goodnough drew the hard-edged shapes on the painted surface of the canvas with a lead pencil or a ballpoint and the aid of a ruler. During the process he might allow his intuition to guide him. He may apply up to four coats of acrylic paint—echoes of Ozenfant's teaching—for his shapes, giving them thickness and introducing relief with regard to the canvas surface. The shapes were completed with a final flat coat of oil paint. If the result was unsatisfactory, the artist made the necessary corrections. But if the desired result was not achieved, the work was destroyed, which according to Bush sometimes came as a relief to the artist. The shapes are often presented in clusters off-centre, which gives life to the picture as in *Abstraction* (1975). Goodnough called this process "etherealization."[191]

The paintings of that period have been perceived as "impersonal" and "mechanical" as well as lacking in subject matter, and judged as not allowing for communication with the viewer. Goodnough responded by saying that he did not mind the qualifier "impersonal," as his work was not intended to express a strong mood. "The paintings were not intended to be what I would call romantic, in the sense of portraying a strong mood."[192] In 1982 Bush maintained that the paintings projected Goodnough's inner feelings about a subject matter, and that they originated "in the depths of the artist's mind and grew from the general realm of his subconscious feelings and emotions; because of this, they symbolize a profound engagement of the self in his work."[193] Bush qualified Goodnough's art as "a lyric art not an epic art. The successful Goodnough painting is a quiet, gentle canvas on which form complements form and color meets color in a simple poetry of balance."[194]

Towards the very end of the 1950s, Goodnough tried his hand at filming. Together with a friend Marta Fabry, he made a short 8 mm home-movie called *Le Pauvre Artiste* [*sic*].

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[191] Goodnough, quoted in *Goodnough*, 140.
[192] Ibid.,114.
[193] Bush, *Goodnough,* 117, 119.
[194] Ibid., 156.

According to Friedman, it was a spoof of Kerouac's *Pull My Daisy*[195], made in 1959, and Henry Murger's[196] *La Vie de Bohème* [*sic*]. The venture, according to Friedman, turned out to be prophetic as his paintings started to sell better after making the film.

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[195] Jack Kerouac (1922-1969) wrote and narrated a beat movie titled *Pull My Daisy* in 1959, which was directed by the Swiss photographer and documentary filmmaker Robert Frank (1924-2019) and Alfred Leslie.

[196] Louis-Henri Murger, also known as Henri Murger and Henry Murger (1822-1861) was a French novelist and poet. He was the author of *Scènes de la vie de bohème*, which served as a basis for Puccini's opera *La Bohème*. (*The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Murger, Louis-Henri.")

"In 1913 the immortal Armory show brought to this country the full revolutionary impact of modern art abroad, and thereafter such foreign movements as abstraction and expressionism found recruits among some of the best American painters."[1]

James Thrall Soby[2]

CHAPTER 2. - THE ANTECEDENTS

2.1. The setting

Abstract Expressionism has never actually been "defined" other than through the artists who "practised" it during the 1940s and 1950s. The so-called Abstract Expressionists were labelled without their consent and were at a loss to signify the so-called movement or group they supposedly belonged to. As "advanced" artists they did, however, at times attempt to clarify and explain the purpose and objective of their art, albeit often reluctantly. Their viewers were at a loss to comprehend their subject matter, which was perceived as non-existent, or elusive at best, and multiple debates and discussions did not make most of them any wiser. To many the subject matter of "advanced" art, if at all present was and remained an undecipherable enigma. Consequently the art of "advanced" artists in America remained mostly unrecognised during its emergence. As we shall see, the perception of modern art in general by the American public had been fraught from the start with misunderstandings and misconceptions, which a small number of actors—art historians, museum curators and directors, dealers and gallery owners—tried to correct, not always successfully. It was only through the efforts of modern art lovers, such as Peggy Guggenheim, Betty Parsons, Samuel Kootz and Sidney Janis, that the American public gradually softened its approach to modern art and the works of "advanced" artists. Goodnough's interest, as an "advanced" artist

[1] James Thrall Soby, "Does Our Art Impress Europe?" *Saturday Review*, August 6, 1949, 142. (*Saturday Review*, http://www.unz.com/print/SaturdayRev-1949aug06-00142/ [last accessed April 27, 2019].)

[2] James Thrall Soby (1906–1979) was an American art historian, administrator, and collector, who in 1943 began a long association with the Museum of Modern Art. He was briefly Director of Painting and Sculpture (1943–1944) and until his death was a trustee of the museum. (*A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Art*, s.v. "Soby, James Thrall.")

himself, in the issue of the "subject matter of the artist" was evidence of the need for clarification in order to "understand" the work of "advanced" painters.

The many artists associated with Abstract Expressionism were in the end given the umbrella designation of the New York School, only "identified" in 1950, when first mentioned by Robert Motherwell[3]. The school was never properly delineated or very cohesive. Most "advanced" American painters, who produced abstract work during the 1940s and 1950s were, subsequently, slotted into the New York School by the art critics and historians, without the genuine willingness of the artists themselves.

Robert Goodnough began the interviews and work on his dissertation in 1949, when "advanced" painting was reaching its "emblematic moment" in the evolution of pictorial art in America. In this chapter we trace its antecedents—its roots, and the cultural, political, and social setting into which it emerged. As our starting point we have taken the Armory Show, which took place in New York in 1913, and have attempted to pinpoint the key junctures in the evolution of the "subject matter of the artist" in American painting up to the year of Goodnough's interviews.

2.2. 1913: the turning point

At the beginning of the twentieth century American painting did not have the longstanding domestic heritage of its counterpart in Europe, where the rules of pictorial representation had already been radicalised several decades earlier and were once again about to go through a profound mutation. In 1900 American art[4] had achieved academic status and for the first time in American history was subject to the judgment of a newly acquired art "establishment," embodied by the °National Academy of Design and the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

[3] Robert Motherwell mentioned the New York School in a paper, entitled "The New York School," which he prepared for the Mid-Western Conference of the College Art Association, Louisville, Kentucky, on October 27, 1950. (See Robert Motherwell, *The Writings of Robert Motherwell*, ed. Dore Ashton with Joan Banach (Berkeley: University Press of California, 2007), 93-98.)
[4] For an overview of early twentieth-century American art see Matthew Baigell, "Early Modernism," in *A Concise History of American Painting and Sculpture*, rev. ed. (New York: Icon Editions, 1996), 192-241.

The turning point for American artists as much as for the American public occurred in 1913 with the Armory Show, which was organised by the °Association of American Painters and Sculptors and brought Americans face to face with European "modernism." The original intention of its President, Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928), was to showcase progressive American artists. The idea of including European artists was the result of the organisers' visit to the °Sonderbund exhibition in Cologne, after which they decided to borrow as many of the works displayed as possible for their own show. What Davies did not expect was that the European works, representing the then current modernist trends[5] in Europe, would overshadow the American exhibits.

The Armory Show[6] opened on 17 February 1913 at 26th Street and Lexington Avenue in New York City. The exhibition included 1600 works, of which a third came from Europe. The European contingent, which included works by Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Constantin Brancusi (1876-1957) as well as by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867), Francisco de Goya (1746-1828), and Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painters, baffled the art critics as much as the American public. The work with the biggest impact was *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* (1912) by Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), which, singled out by the press for special abuse according to Barbara Haskell, became the main attraction of the show.[7]

Artists had much to look at, learn from, and be inspired by—Cubism, Fauvism, and Orphism for a start, as well as abstraction and the provocative fallout from Duchamp's work. The show created an outcry. The reaction to the "modern" art, by both the general public and art connoisseurs, was overwhelmingly negative, mainly due to their lack of knowledge and understanding of the different modernist trends on display. That modernism against all odds finally triumphed in America was mainly due to the perseverance of the artists themselves, and some knowledgeable supporters, such as Alfred H. Barr Jr.[8], who in the course of time were able to "educate" the American public in how to "read" and enjoy modern art.

[5] Only the Italian Futurists refused to be included.
[6] For the history of the Armory Show see Milton W. Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show*.
[7] See Barbara Haskell, *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, in association with W.W. Norton, 1999), 104-108.
[8] Alfred Hamilton Barr Jr. is discussed in Chapter 3.5.

Although the Armory Show represented a turning point, early twentieth-century American art had not been without artistic innovation, according to the American curator Edgar Holger Cahill[9], who in 1934 contended that the Henri group was at the origin of the tendencies prevalent in American art at the beginning of the century. The Henri group, also known as the Ashcan School, was an innovative school of realism, which emerged during the 1890s under the leadership of Robert *Henri in Philadelphia and moved to New York at the beginning of the twentieth century. Henri had studied at the °Académie Julian in Paris and had been influenced by Édouard Manet's (1832-1883) use of palpable brushstrokes as a means of expression. The Ashcan artists fought against traditional and "established" art. In some circles they were considered avant-garde, while in others they were derided.[10] Henri's followers included William *Glackens, George *Luks, Everett *Shinn, and John *Sloan, who had all been newspaper sketch artists and were taught by Henri to apply their draughtsmanship to oil painting[11], to work quickly and not to focus on detail. Their subject matter was mainly urban decay**,** represented by tenement rooftops, low class restaurants, racetracks, and backstage scenes at theatres and music halls in contrast to the genteel depiction offered by their predecessors[12]. They practiced sociological realism, but were not social reformers, and provided the pictorial counterpart of the naturalist vein of American literature, represented at the time by Theodore Dreiser[13].

Cahill was of the view that modernism[14], following its introduction in America through the Armory Show, had given his country "a wider range of knowledge and a firmer basis in tradition."[15] It had "vitalized" contemporary art in America and encouraged

[9] Edgar Holger Cahill is discussed in Chapter 3.2.
[10] Slighted by the art establishment, Henri boycotted the Academy's show in 1908 and organised his own exhibition entitled "The Eight," based on the number of participating artists. The exhibition caused a sensation. Two younger artists who associated themselves with the Ashcan School were Edward Hopper (1882-1967) and George Bellows (1882-1925).
[11] For a detailed history of the Henri group see Barbara Haskell, "Modernity and Urban America," in *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950*, 43-92.
[12] For a detailed history of American painting at the turn of the twentieth century see Barbara Haskell, "The Last Flourish of the Gilded Age," in *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950*, 11-46.
[13] Theodore Herman Albert Dreiser (1871-1945) was an Indiana-born American novelist and journalist of the naturalist school. *Sister Carrie* (1900) was his first and best-known novel. (*The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 6th rev. ed., s.v. "Dreiser, Theodore Herman Albert.")
[14] Modernism for Cahill comprised Post-Impressionism, Cubism, Futurism and Expressionism. It did not include Dada or Surrealism.
[15] Holger Cahill, "American Painting 1865-1934," in *Art in America in Modern Times*, ed. Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, ca. 1934), 35.

younger artists to reach beyond the present. The Armory Show resulted in the demise of the Ashcan School.

However innovative the work of the Ashcan School, its artists had still produced works with recognisable subject matter. The first fully abstract painters in America, according to Cahill, were the Synchromists. Stanton *MacDonald-Wright and Morgan *Russell, who founded the Synchromist movement, had both studied in Paris and created an abstract style of painting based only on colour, which did not resort to lines and did not include objects of the real world. Colour was the content of the picture; theirs was a genuinely non-objective art.[16] Developed in the early 1910s, in MacDonald-Wright's words, "Synchromism was the first movement to adumbrate the use of formal color in abstract design."[17] The Synchromists exhibited in Munich and Paris in 1913, and in New York in 1914. Besides the founders, the group included Patrick Henry *Bruce, Morton *Schamberg, and Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975). The movement was, however, short-lived: its range of expression was restricted and critics were not enthusiastic. In addition, the First World War disrupted the movement and by 1916, three years after the Armory Show, Synchromism, the first genuinely non-objective art in America, had lost its vigour.

Although the Armory Show introduced the wider American public to "modernism" in 1913, the European avant-garde had already gained a small toehold in New York as early as 1905, when the photographers Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) and Edward Jean Steichen (1879-1973) opened a modest art gallery, Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, at 291 Fifth Avenue. Known after 1908 as 291, the gallery became the showroom for the European avant-garde as Stieglitz and Steichen pioneered European modernism through their annual shows, of which "Pierre Matisse" in 1908, "Paul Cézanne" in 1911, and "Constantin Brancusi" in 1914. The gallery 291, in effect the forerunner of Peggy Guggenheim's gallery, Art of this Century, also supported American artists, such as Charles Demuth (1883-1935), Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), John Marin (1870-1953), Max *Weber, and Georgia O'Keefe (1887-1986). These artists, considered modernists as opposed to the realists of the Henri group, adopted the

[16] For a summary of Synchromism see Barbara Haskell, "Early American Modernism," in *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950*, 93-129.
[17] Stanton MacDonald-Wright, statement, in *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, by Sydney Janis (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944), 39.

American landscape as their most recurrent subject matter. They looked beyond faithful rendition, seeking to imbue matter with "spirit" and turned to the art of Native American cultures as a source of inspiration. The shows at 291[18], however pioneering, attracted only a select group of visitors, while the general public took little notice. One person, who did, was the future art dealer Samuel M. Kootz, whose views are discussed in Chapter 3. With hindsight the relevance of Arthur Stieglitz's circle in the evolution of American art became more evident.[19]

Following the Armory Show American artists were inspired to experiment with the newly found styles, but according to Cahill did not take them any further. Max Weber, for example, had already adopted a Cubist technique as early as 1910 in *Composition with Three Figures* (1910). After the Armory show he took his cue from Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase No. 2* (1912) with *Rush Hour, New York* (1915). He also produced Cubist collages as illustrated in *Chinese Restaurant* (1915), but he never relinquished the world of nature as a starting point. At the time of the Armory Show many of these American artists were already established painters, who had a sound academic grounding and were not entirely ready or willing to forsake recognisable subject matter, such as nature or the urban landscape. If they did endeavour to adopt a modernist trend, they applied the modern technique to tangible subject matter. Arthur Dove (1880-1946) exemplifies this, as his abstractions were never far removed from nature as illustrated in *Nature Symbolized No. 2* (1911-12) or *Foghorns* (1929). American abstraction in general did not relinquish the real world, but used it as a starting point. By the same token not all European abstract painters discarded the world of reality either. Whereas the improvisations of Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) had no identifiable subject matter as was the case of the Neo-Plastic compositions of Piet Mondrian, artists such as Bart van der Leck (1876-1958), who was one of the initiators of *De Stijl*, made a point of not abandoning the real world.

[18] Stieglitz and Steichen quarrelled in 1910. Stieglitz subsequently ran the gallery on his own with input from Marius de Zayas (1880-1961), a Mexican caricaturist, who discovered Cubism and Picasso while in Paris on a reconnoitring trip for Stieglitz, and from Max Weber. (*The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "De Zayas, Marius.")

[19] According to art historian Dore Ashton, the seeds of American artistic thinking in 1945 went back as far as 1910 and were to be found in the avant-garde pages of *Camera Work*, the brainchild of Alfred Stieglitz, and to which Max Weber was a regular contributor. (See Dora Ashton, *The Unknown Shore: A View of Contemporary Art*.)

2.3. 1919: the standstill

The First World War muted the impact of the Armory Show[20]. During the war years[21], several European avant-garde artists, including Duchamp, Albert Gleizes (1881-1953), and Francis Picabia (1879-1953) sojourned in America. Duchamp and Picabia were both innovative and drew the attention of Stieglitz's circle. Traces of their influence became noticeable in Schamberg's work, such as *Telephone* (1916), and in *Vocalization* (1919) by John *Covert. Duchamp became a mentor to Man Ray (1890-1976), and his influence became evident in Ray's paintings and sculptures of 1916-1917, and somewhat later in his photographic work. But the presence of Duchamp, Gleizes, and Picabia only created a minor avant-garde indent, in the guise of New York Dada, or Neo-Dada, which was far removed from its European begetter. It had mischief and humour as its main focus, and disappeared when the European protagonists, Duchamp and Picabia, and its American practitioner, Man Ray, left the United States.

The European aesthetic movement, which had a longer lasting impact on American art after the war, was Purism, launched in 1918 by Ozenfant and Jeanneret. It had a significant influence on American painting in the guise of Precisionism.[22] Noted earlier as a Synchromist, Patrick Henry Bruce, according to Haskell, probably came closest to European Purism, depicting his shapes in clear delineation and using contrasting colour areas, as evidenced in *Painting* (ca.1921-1922). Precisionism became the leading school of American Realism in the 1920s. Artists, such as Benton, Demuth, and O'Keefe, who had been abstract painters in the early 1910s, reverted to recognisable subject matter, representing industrial scenes and architectural motifs in a simple crisp clean-cut manner. Modern buildings now became prime subject matter in the works of Demuth, O'Keefe, Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), Niles Spencer (1893–1952), and Joseph Stella (1877-1946). Their pictures did not in general contain direct human references, but were impregnated with the spirit of modern technology. Edward Hopper (1882-1967), who had earlier been part of the Ashcan School and had also

[20] For an overview of art in America after the Armory Show see Milton W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*.
[21] For an overview of artistic activity in America during the First World War see Barbara Haskell, "Early American Modernism," in *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950*, 93-129.
[22] For an overview of Precisionism see Diana Murphy, ed., *Precisionism in America, 1915-1941: Reordering Reality*, and Barbara Haskell, "Precisionism and the Machine Age," in *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950*, 145-165.

adopted Precisionism, did include a human presence in his pictures, but the figures appeared overwhelmed in their isolation and totally alienated from their physical environment, as typified in *Sunday* (1926), *The City* (1927), or *Automat* (1927).[23]

An artistic novelty at the time in America was the free flow of inspiration between painting, photography and film. The interaction between the three mediums led to astonishing results. For one, Precisionist painting prompted photographers to sharpen their focus. Edges became razor sharp, and photographers, such as Edward Weston (1886-1958) and his followers, Ansel Adams (1902-1984), Imogen Cunningham (1883-1976), and Willard Van Dyke (1906-1986)[24], began to explore the abstract properties of their subject matter.[25]

The First World War and its impact signified a parting of the ways for European and American modernism: in Europe it had triggered radical movements—Futurism, Dadaism, Surrealism—whereas in America it drove art back to realism. Americans began to focus on the technological progress, which had started transforming their lives at the beginning of the century, most notably as consumers. The 1920s was a time of economic growth and wellbeing in the United States, a time of fun and leisure activities provided by films, musicals, comic books, and jazz. The automobile symbolised the speed with which American society was overtaking Europe, technically, economically, and socially. The decade was carefree, as embodied in Scott Fitzgerald's "Jazz Age," but was also characterised by rampant nationalism. America was in search of its own identity, politically, ideologically as well as culturally. As a result America became the object of its own attention and the subject of artistic expression. American artists had no cause to adopt a radical stance or focus on existential issues of survival. According to Cahill, the war acted as a "damper" on American modernism. As a consequence American painting in the 1920s experienced a return to realism and figurative painting.

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[23] For an overview of the works by Precisionist painters see Matthew Baigell, "Between the World Wars," in *A Concise History of American Painting and Sculpture*, 242-296.

[24] These photographers formed the f/64 group and practised "pure" photography in reaction to soft-focus Pictorialism. (*The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, s.v. "f/64.")

[25] Until the 1920s the primary aesthetic standard of photography had been Pictorialism, championed by Alfred Stieglitz and others as the highest form of photographic art. This approach began to change in the early 1920s with a new generation of photographers, such as Paul Strand (1890-1976) and Imogen Cunningham. However, by the end of the 1920s there was no clear successor to Pictorialism. (*The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, s.v. "pictorialism.")

Although they still relied on European styles, American painters once more sought to represent American subject matter. In the previous century this approach would have exalted the American landscape and nature, but in the 1920s the realists resorted to depicting objects characteristic of the American consumer's everyday experience, such as advertising signs, household gadgets, cigarette packets. The *Eggbeater* series of Stuart Davis (1894-1964), produced in 1927-28, an illustration of Davis's synthesis of Cubism and Precisionism, is a telling example of this development. This more independent standing of American artists after the First World War opened the way to the call for a distinctive note of Americanism, which became louder during the 1930s and obtained an overwhelming response in the 1940s.

2.4. 1929: the upheaval

The "fun" of the 1920s came to an abrupt end with "Black Thursday" on 24 October 1929.[26] The stock exchange crash signified the end of the "Roaring Twenties" and the beginning of the economic decline of the 1930s—the Great Depression.[27] For artists it was a period of disillusionment, a regression to the national, the conventional, and the traditional. Their environment continued to be their subject matter, but unlike the Precisionists, they did not exclude the human element. The American public was able to relate to the content of their images and, in most instances, empathise with it.

The fall-out of the "Crash" led most artists in America to shun modernism, and abstraction in particular, and turn once again to realism and figurative painting as they had after the First World War.[28] Realism in America in the 1930s split into two factions: the Regionalists and the Social Realists. Both factions resorted to the real world for their subject matter. Both were anti-capitalist and represented two versions of the same content: both factions expressed their utter disdain for the failed economic system. The two groups, however, stood poles apart on other aspects.

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[26] The day of the "Crash" is also referred to as "Black Tuesday" on 29 October 1929.

[27] For an overview of the causes and consequences of the Great Depression see John A. Garraty, *The Great Depression: An Inquiry Into the Causes, Course, and Consequences of the Worldwide Depression of the Nineteen-thirties, as Seen by Contemporaries and in the Light of History*.

[28] For an overview of artistic activity in America in the 1930s see Michael J. Lewis, "The Rise of Formalism," in *American Art and Architecture*, World of Art (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006), 229-254.

Geographically the Regionalists, whose work was subsequently qualified as "Provincialism," did not form a centralised group. The main artists, Benton, Grant Wood (1892-1942), and John Steuart Curry (1897-1946), had roots dispersed across the Midwest.[29] Their social backgrounds differed widely as did their training. Benton, probably the Regionalist with the most varied artistic background, came from a well-to-do family and had studied with modernist teachers in Paris between 1908 and 1911; he had befriended the Synchromists and had painted in Synchromist style; he had exhibited at 291 and at this time was teaching at the Art Students League. Wood was from a rural background, and between 1922 and 1928 made several trips to Europe, where he became acquainted with Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, although the enduring and visible influence on his work was of Jan van Eyck (ca.1390-1441). Curry was born and bred in the Kansas countryside, but also spent a year in Paris in 1926. The subject matter of the Regionalists was in the main rural America: they portrayed the American landscape as affected by the Depression and were moved by the humanitarian aspects of the times. Although generally apolitical, they were nationalistically minded. Their photographic equivalent was Walker Evans (1903-1974), who documented the effects of the Great Depression on rural America in his work for the Farm Security Administration (FSA).[30]

The Social Realists constituted the urban counterpart of the Regionalists. They were politically engaged and left-leaning; they congregated in cities, with New York as their hub; they focused on depressed urban centres with a high density of immigrants, wide-spread unemployment, poor living conditions, and concentrated their attention on the political content rather than the aesthetic aspect of their work. They resorted to conventional pictorial representation and contributed little or nothing to artistic technique. Their message was clear, as illustrated by the works of Raphael and Isaac *Soyer, William *Gropper, and Ben *Shahn, who depicted their subject matter in a realistic style. Aaron Siskind (1903-1991) told the same story through the lens of his camera. The Social Realists were inspired by the Mexican mural art of Diego Rivera

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[29] Thomas Benton hailed from Missouri, Grant Wood was active in Iowa, and John Steuart Curry in Kansas.

[30] The Farm Security Administration (FSA) was originally created as the Resettlement Administration (RA) in 1935 and was set up under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in order to alleviate rural poverty in the United States. (*The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*, "s.v. "FSA and OWI.")

(1886-1957), José Orozco (1883-1949), and David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974), who were not afraid to produce "big" art, in size as well as content, and whose influence would come to fruition a decade later.

The Great Depression was, however, not totally without benefits to the development of American painting. During the 1930s American artists were able to survive thanks to the patronage initiative of the Federal Government. As part of his New Deal strategy against unemployment, President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched the Public Works of Art Project in 1933.[31] Under the project nearly 4,000 artists, paid a monthly stipend, were hired to produce works of art for the Federal Government. In 1935 the project was reorganised and became the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP), commonly known as the WPA. The works produced were in the main realistic with a strong Precisionist heritage and with "the physical and psychological ordeal of the Depression"[32] as their subject matter. Looking back in 1975 on the role of the WPA, Harold Rosenberg explained that it was a very elaborate structure, further complicated by the fact that it could not decide upon its essential function: was it a relief project designed to literally keep artists alive or was it a project intended to elevate American standards of creation and appreciation? The dilemma was never resolved, according to Rosenberg, which was the cause of its collapse. One of its main benefits was, however, to allow artists to work in relative freedom.

The subject matter during the decade was "America" first and foremost, whatever the medium, with a strong emphasis on the environmental aesthetics. The federal sponsorship, however, engendered, for the first time in American art, a "togetherness" and "commonality" of artists, who started developing their own American "style." For much of the mural work carried out under the WPA Federal Art Project, the artists took their cue from the Mexican muralists and later assimilated a number of the characteristics of Mexican mural art into their own work. The subject matter of these works was Social Realism. The WPA employed over 5,000 artists, who were required to work 96 hours a month for a monthly stipend of $95. Painters employed in the Easel

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[31] There were four Federal Government sponsored projects of the kind: the Public Works of Art Project (1933-1935), the Section of Painting and Sculpture in the Treasury Department (1934-1943), the Treasury Relief Art Project (1935-1939), and the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (1935-1943). For further details see Martin R. Kalfatovic, *The New Deal Fine Arts Projects: A Bibliography, 1933-1992*.

[32] Michael J. Lewis, *American Art and Architecture*, 238.

Division were required to submit their completed paintings periodically but were free to paint in any style. This provided them with a window of opportunity to escape the traditional subject matter. Many of the future "trailblazers" worked on WPA sponsored public projects, William Baziotes, Willem de Kooning[33], Jackson Pollock, and Mark Rothko, amongst them.

In spite of the dominance of realism and figurative representation in the 1930s, there were still artists in America who were beholden to modernism. These artists turned inward for inspiration, while realising that they had to break out of the "domestic" mould of pictorial representation. By the mid-1930s abstract painters seemed to be gaining in numbers, but recognition was still not forthcoming. This was in spite of the Whitney Museum's show "Abstract Painting in America"[34] in 1935. However, two initiatives were evidence of their growing presence.

First, in 1935, a group of artists[35], amongst them Rothko and Gottlieb, formed "The Ten," which consisted of nine permanent and one temporary member. The group, often referred to as "The Ten Who Are Nine," was founded out of necessity, since none of the dealers, collectors or gallery owners were interested in their work, considered too adventurous. The group's vision was based on the principles of realist painting and the exploration of expressionism and abstraction. The members, who met once a month, with Rothko as their secretary, opposed the conservatism of the artistic landscape of the period. Their common front was directed against the predominant trends of American Provincialism, Regionalism and Social Realism.

"The Ten" had their first group show[36] at the Montross Gallery in New York in 1935[37], and in 1936 opened the Municipal Art Gallery[38], where they organised their own shows.

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[33] In 1936 Willem de Kooning's employment with WPA came to an end as the American Congress had passed a law banning the recruitment of aliens.

[34] The exhibition, which took place in 1935, from 22 February to 22 March, was influenced by participants of the Armory show and did not entirely consist of non-representational works.

[35] The group included, *Ben-Zion, Ilya *Bolotovski, Adolph Gottlieb, Louis *Harris, Jack Kufeld (1907-1990), Mark Rothko, Louis *Schanker, Joseph *Solmon, and Nahum *Tschacbasov.

[36] For the full list of "The Ten" shows see Diane Waldman, ed., *Mark Rothko* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 280.

[37] December 16, 1935 - January 4, 1936. Rothko showed four works, of which *Subway* (1935).

[38] Rothko showed *The Sea* and *Portrait* at the first exhibition of "The Ten" held at the Municipal Art Galleries, New York, January 7-18, 1936.

"The Ten" went on to exhibit regularly as a group until 1940.[39] They had their one and only exhibition in Paris, at the Galerie Bonaparte in 1936.[40] That same year Rothko and seven other members of the group began working for the Easel Division of the WPA.[41] In 1938 the "The Ten" organized an exhibition at the Mercury Galleries in New York, entitled "The Ten: Whitney Dissenters"[42] in protest against American Regionalism, favoured by the Whitney Museum of American Art. The exhibition leaflet made clear what the group had in mind: "The title of this exhibition is designed to call attention to a significant section of art being produced in America. Its implications are intended to go beyond one museum and beyond one particular group of dissenters. It is a protest against the reputed equivalence of American painting and literal painting."[43]

The second initiative took place in 1936, when a group of artists set themselves up as the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), inspired by the examples of "Cercle et Carré" set up in Paris in 1930 and "Abstraction-Création" founded in 1931. The founding members largely represented a new generation of artists and included Josef Albers[44], Jeanne Matter, Borgoyne Diller, Balcomb *Greene, Carl *Holty, Ibram *Lassaw, George *McNeil, George L. K. *Morris, and Vytlacil. Their first exhibition took place in 1937 at the Squibb Gallery on 57th Street and Fifth Avenue. The show drew a substantial attendance, but was not reviewed favourably in the press. The attendance nevertheless was evidence of public interest in this type of modernism. According to the AAA chronology, the 1937 exhibition was followed by annual shows and a rapid growth in membership.[45]

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[39] "The Ten" showed at the Georgette Passedoit Gallery in New York in 1937 (April 26 - May 8), and in 1938, (May 9-21). In 1939, (October 23 - November 4) "The Ten" had their last group show at the Bonestell Gallery in New York.

[40] November 10-24, 1936. Rothko showed *Subway Scene*, *Crucifixion* (pre-1936) and *Woman Sewing (*pre-1936).

[41] Other artists working for the WPA at the time included William Baziotes, Arshile Gorky (1904-1948), Philip Guston, Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, Ad Reinhardt, and Jack Tworkov. Rothko worked for the WPA until 1939. He stayed at the Easel Division from 11 September 1936 till 15 May 1937.

[42] November 5-26, 1938. Rothko showed *Interior Music*.

[43] The text of the exhibition leaflet did not bear Rothko's signature. James Breslin believes Rothko (as Rothkowitz) co-authored it with Bernard Braddon and Sidney Schechtman. (See James E. Breslin, *Mark Rothko: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 582n75.) The exhibition text is reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, by Mark Rothko, ed. Miguel López-Remiro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 17.

[44] Josef Albers (1888-1976) had left Germany in 1933 for the United States, and was made head of the new art school Black Mountain College in North Carolina.

[45] See American Abstract Artists, http://americanabstractartists.org/history.

The AAA artists had lengthy debates about "pure" as opposed to "subject matter" abstraction, which by introducing imagery or objects of reality, some argued, detracted from the painting as object. The AAA had strict rules of admission. As style, the spokesmen of the group, Greene, Holty, and Morris, advocated geometric Cubism, clean edged forms, flat colours, the whole organised within the picture limits. For them the picture was a self-contained entity: the organisation of its component elements was an end in itself. They rejected Impressionism and Expressionism, while Surrealism was their main target of contempt. They were influenced by Mondrian's Neo-Plasticism, but did not subject themselves to his strict constraints of verticals and horizontals, and primary colours. They accepted the introduction of organic forms inspired by the works of Jean (Hans) Arp (1887-1966), Paul Klee (1879-1940) and Joan Miró. They were also inspired by Kandinsky's geometric symbolism. The artists made clear in the preface to the catalogue of their second annual exhibition in 1938[46] what the AAA stood for. "Our purpose is to unite abstract artists residing in the United States, to bring before the public their individual works, and in every possible way foster public appreciation for this direction in painting and sculpture. We believe that a new art form has been established which is definite enough in character to demand this united effort. This art is to be distinguished from those efforts characterised by expressionism, realistic representation, surrealism, etc."[47]

The AAA was close to being a genuine school with a manifesto or at least a declaration of intent. The artists through their vision had a "commonality." Some viewed the AAA as the predecessor to Abstract Expressionism and the New York School. What made the AAA stand out is that its members provided an intellectual basis for abstraction as practised by them. They drew attention to non-representational art at a time when realism and figuration were heralded by the American art establishment and appreciated by the American public. They prepared the ground for the American "trailblazers" to break the rules and conventions of American pictorial representation. According to Serge Guilbaut, the AAA members intended to transcend nationalism and regionalism, and aimed to raise their art to the level of international painting. They, therefore, relinquished the American specificity in their work, and consequently suffered much

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[46] "American Abstract Artists" at the American Fine Arts Galleries, New York (February 14-28, 1938). Abstract American Artists, http://americanabstractartists.org [last accessed October 2, 2019].

[47] Preface, 1938 catalogue, "Second Annual Exhibition of American Abstract Artists," reprinted in *American Abstract Artists: Three Yearbooks*, *1938, 1939, 1946* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), n.p.

criticism. In effect, they anticipated, as we shall see, Samuel Kootz's 1943 call for "internationalism."

During the 1930s the emergence of Fascism in Europe, in particular the rising power of Nazism in Germany and its virulent anti-Semitism, made the United States a refuge for many European intellectuals, artists, writers, and scientists. For many their first port of call was New York, where most settled down. This influx nurtured the breeding ground of the future radical phase in American painting. Amongst the early arrivals, two artists stood out: Hans Hofmann and Amédée Ozenfant, who both imparted their visions to their students, amongst them, as we have seen, Robert Goodnough. The European "émigrés" brought with them the European avant-garde trends and movements, of which, in particular, Surrealism. André Breton (1896-1966), who had formally established the movement in France in 1924, himself sought refuge in New York as did the Surrealist artists, Max Ernst (1891-1976), Roberto *Matta, Joan Miró, and Yves Tanguy (1900-1955). They did not initially acquire many followers, but they did introduce a novel way of approaching art and painting in particular. Although gradually Surrealism began making surreptitious inroads, Cubism was not abandoned. In America the two movements lived side-by-side and tended to interact. Arshile Gorky (1904-1948)[48] became a master at blending both by applying Cubist language to Surrealist forms, as illustrated in *The Liver is the Cock's Comb* (1944). The dilemma posed by the two movements became a major issue in America for painters such as de Kooning and Pollock during the war years.

In the second half of the 1930s artists were being assisted in their explorations by the modern art available and displayed in American museums, with the Museum of Modern Art in the vanguard. Under the leadership of Alfred Barr the Museum of Modern Art organised a string of exhibitions, which reflected the trends across the Atlantic. "Cubism and Abstract Art" in 1936[49] and "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism" in 1936-37[50] were the most prominent of these shows. Albert *Gallatin's collection, housed in the library of New York University, featured works of Georges Braque (1882-1963), Paul Cézanne (1839-1906), Juan Gris (1887-1927), Fernand Léger, Picasso, Georges

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[48] For the biographical details of Arshile Gorky see Matthew Spender, *From a High Place: A Life of Arshile Gorky*.
[49] March 2 - April 19, 1936.
[50] December 7, 1936 - January 17, 1937.

Seurat (1859-1891) as well as works by the abstractionists Piet Mondrian, Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931), Georges Vantongerloo (1886-1965), the Surrealists Jean Arp, Jean Hélion (1904-1987), André Masson (1896-1987), Joan Miró, and the constructivists Naum Gabo (1890-1977) and El Lissitzky (1890-1941).[51] Gallatin gradually replaced the figurative works in his collection with non-objective and abstract paintings, and in 1936 changed the name of the gallery to the Museum of Living Art.[52] Other channels of avant-garde art included the °Société Anonyme, Inc., founded in 1920 in order to promote modern art and ideas in America; the °Whitney Museum of American Art, founded in 1931 by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875-1942); and the °Museum of Non-Objective Painting, the predecessor to the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, which opened at the end of the decade.

Inevitably during the 1930s art and politics became intertwined. The decade was one of political and ideological tension, increasingly tangible after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. American artists felt the need to engage and did so in different ways, although perhaps less in the visual arts than in literature and drama. Political ideology infiltrated the arts at a national collective level in the form of the °American Artists' Congress against War and Fascism, set up in 1936, which at its peak numbered over 400 members. The anti-Fascist stance of the organisation attracted many leftist followers and it quickly became Communist-dominated. The Moscow show trials of 1937-38, followed by the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact and the Soviet invasion of Finland in 1939 forced many of its members, amongst them Gottlieb, Newman, and Rothko, to rethink their position.

2.5. 1939: prelude to war

At the end of the 1930s there was a distinct underlying dissatisfaction with the existing political, social, and economic system in America, as evidenced by the increase in membership of the American Communist Party. According to Serge Guilbaut, between

[51] Albert *Gallatin, himself an artist, opened his Gallery of Living Art on the premises of New York University at the end of 1927. It was in effect a small museum dedicated to modern art, which was open to all, free of charge, and hence much visited by artists, in particular Robert Motherwell.
[52] The Museum of Living Art was closed in 1943 due to wartime economy measures and Gallatin accepted to have his collection moved to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

1929 and 1939, its members grew from a mere 12,000 to 100,000. Towards the end of the decade, according to Francis V. O'Connor, the Works Progress Administration had initiated thousands of artworks.[53] Musa Mayer claims that "by 1939, over a million works of art had been placed in public institutions in more than forty states."[54] But in January 1939 the WPA began to lay off artists and in addition the initiative to create a permanent Bureau of Fine Arts was defeated in Congress and the idea buried. In July 1939 the Federal Art Project was reorganized as the WPA Art Programme and, in August, Rothko's employment with the WPA Federal Art Project was terminated.

Other events on the art front were, however, more encouraging. The World's Fair opened on 19 April 1939 in New York City. Fair visitors voted Philip *Guston's mural, under the assigned theme "Maintaining American Skills," best outdoor mural at the exhibition.[55] In May the Museum of Modern Art celebrated its tenth anniversary with the exhibition "Art in Our Time: 10th Anniversary Exhibition,"[56] which was held in the museum's new premises, the Goodwin-Stone building at 11 West 53rd Street. The inauguration of the new building was accompanied by a radio-speech given by President Roosevelt on 10 May, in which he extolled the American tradition of art. The same month saw the opening, at 24 East 54th Street, of the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, which was financed by Solomon R. Guggenheim and housed his collection. Its Director, Baroness Hilla von Rebay (1880-1967), favoured such modernists as Arp, Marc Chagall (1887-1985), Maurice de Vlaminck (1876-1958), Robert Delaunay, Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and László Moholy-Nagy, but was no fan of Surrealism.

The year 1939 witnessed the laying of the intellectual foundations of Abstract Expressionism. Clement Greenberg's seminal article "Avant-garde and Kitsch" appeared in the Fall issue of *Partisan Review*, which had become the mouthpiece of "advanced" ideas in literature and art. Wolfgang *Paalen, a Viennese philosopher and Surrealist artist, left Europe and in September settled in Mexico, where he later met

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[53] See Francis V. O'Connor, ed., *Art for the Millions: Essays from the 1930s by Artists and Administrators of the WPA Federal Art Project*.
[54] Musa Mayer, *Night Studio: A Memoir of Philip Guston by his Daughter* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 27.
[55] Ibid., 31.
[56] May 10 - September 30, 1939.

Motherwell, leading to the creation of Paalen's magazine *Dyn* in 1942.[57] Arshile Gorky became a U.S. citizen on 20 May, which made him eligible to work for the WPA. In the summer, Peggy Guggenheim (1898-1979) closed her London gallery—Guggenheim Jeune[58], and a group of Surrealist artists[59] congregated at a chateau in Chemillieu in France to plan their immigration to the United States. The host was the British Surrealist artist Gordon *Onslow Ford, whose 1941 New York lectures on Surrealism would have a key impact on American avant-garde artists.[60] The Museum of Modern Art on 15 November inaugurated a Picasso retrospective "Picasso: Forty Years of His Art,"[61] which featured 362 of his works. *Guernica* was on display, as was Picasso's seminal Cubist work *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907).

On 3 September France and Great Britain declared war on Germany. Shortly afterwards a number of European and foreign artists and intellectuals started arriving in the United States, Roberto Matta, Kurt *Seligmann, and Yves Tanguy, amongst them.

"The Ten," who had been exhibiting their work since 1935, held their last exhibition in the autumn of 1939[62], at the Bonestell Gallery at 106 East 57th Street.

2.6. 1940: Surrealism invades New York

With the beginning of war in Europe, America became host to numerous European émigrés—intellectuals, authors, poets, musicians and composers, philosophers, scientists, painters and sculptors. Of the European artists setting foot in the United States, according to Irving Sandler, the most active at the time were the French

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[57] For a detailed overview of Wolfgang Paalen's activities in Mexico see Martica Sawin, "The Mexican Connection," in *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1995), 248-287.

[58] For a detailed history of Peggy Guggenheim's activities as a collector and art dealer see Mary V. Dearborn, *Peggy Guggenheim: Mistress of Modernism*.

[59] The group included the Chilean Surrealist Roberto Matta and his wife, the Spanish painter Esteban *Francés, the French Surrealist painter Yves Tanguy (1900-1955), and the French Surrealist leader André Breton.

[60] For a detailed overview of Gordon Onslow Ford's activities in New York see Martica Sawin, *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School*, 61-62.

[61] November 15, 1939 - January 7, 1940.

[62] October 23 - November 4, 1939. The show included works by Ben-Zion, Ilya Bolotowsky, David *Burliuk, Earl *Kerkam, Ralph *Rosenborg, Marcus Rothkowitz, Louis Schanker, and Joseph Solman. Karl *Knaths, and Jean *Liberte featured as "guest" exhibitors.

Surrealists. "Possessing a highly developed sense of group identity, a flair for promotion, a knack for generating excitement and for attracting patrons, they made their presence strongly felt on the New York art scene, particularly after Breton arrived from Paris in 1941."[63]

Works by the official Surrealist group had already been exhibited in New York in 1932 on Madison Avenue at the Julien Levy Gallery, including paintings by Salvador Dali (1904-1989), Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978), Max Ernst, Man Ray, and Yves Tanguy. After moving his gallery to 57th Street, Levy included works by Matta, René Magritte (1898-1967), Paalen, and several others. Levy's was not the only gallery to welcome Surrealism: the Valentine, Pierre Matisse, Becker, and Buchholz galleries had shown works by European Surrealists before the influx of the early 1940s[64], when Surrealists and Surrealism became omnipresent in New York.[65]

The year 1940 heralded the "proper" arrival of Surrealism in America. Joan Miró had a show at Pierre Matisse in 1940; Nicolas Calas[66], art critic and Surrealist poet, arrived in New York at the beginning of the year; Wolfgang Paalen exhibited at Julien Levy in April; Stanley William *Hayter arrived on 31 May and Gordon Onslow Ford followed in June; in the spring Baziotes met Roberto Matta, who had his first show in New York at Julien Levy with Pavel *Tchelitchew; Matta's first solo show followed in 1942 at Pierre Matisse; Arshile Gorky met Roberto Matta at the beginning of the 1940s.[67]

With the arrival of the Surrealist refugees, American artists came face-to-face with the Surrealist movement. According to Martica Sawin, Surrealism infiltrated the psyche of American artists mainly through two channels. The first was Atelier 17, the workshop of the British graphic artist Stanley William Hayter. Under the auspices of the New

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[63] Irving Sandler, *Abstract Expressionism: The Triumph of American Painting* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970), 33.

[64] American "Surrealists" were exhibited in New York at Willard, Pinecotheca, the Artists' Gallery, Norlyst, Durlacher, and Art of This Century. The exhibition *Art, Dada, Surrealism* at the Museum of Modern Art in 1936 made the most comprehensive range of Surrealist works available to the American public.

[65] For an overview of the arrival of European émigrés and related cultural events see "Chronology" in *Exiles + Emigrés: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler*, ed. Stephanie Barron with Sabine Eckmann (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 386-400.

[66] Nicolas Calas (1907-1988) was a member of André Breton's Surrealist group and a contributor to *View* magazine.

[67] There is no consensus on the exact date or even the year of their first encounter.

School (for Social Research), Hayter ran an experimental printmaking workshop, where the New York avant-garde found a place to exchange views and ideas.[68] According to Sawin, one of the techniques practised by Hayter was to drip "guck"[69] from a drip can. The second channel was a series of four lectures given by Gordon Onslow Ford in January and February of 1941. Lecturing under the auspices of the New School, Onslow Ford urged listeners to explore their dreams in search of the "marvellous." The lectures *inter alia* brought American artists in closer touch with Jung's collective subconscious and influenced Motherwell and Pollock. Attendees included, besides Motherwell and Baziotes, Nicolas Calas, Jimmy *Ernst, David Hare[70], Frederick *Kiesler, Matta, and Tanguy.[71] Small exhibitions were organised at the New School in support of the lectures. Howard Putzel[72] assisted with the shows, which started off with de Chirico on 22 January, followed by a joint Max Ernst and Miró show on 5 February; a Magritte–Tanguy exhibition followed on 19 February; the fourth and last exhibition, on 5 March, was a group show, featuring works by Paul Delvaux (1897-1994), Jimmy Ernst, Gordon Onslow Ford, Esteban *Francés, Matta, Paalen, and Seligmann.[73]

At the end of 1941 the Museum of Modern Art organised two concurrent exhibitions of Surrealist painters—Miró and Dali.[74] By 1942 the émigrés were a recognised community with a cultural input into the New York art scene. Pierre Matisse organized the exhibition "Artists in Exile"[75] in March. Fourteen artists were represented by one work each: Eugene Berman (1899-1972), Breton, Chagall, Max Ernst, Léger, Jacques

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[68] Pollock started working at Atelier 17 intermittently in the autumn of 1944. Gottlieb worked there in 1945.
[69] Sawin, *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School*, 155.
[70] David Hare is discussed in Chapter 9.5.
[71] According to Martica Sawin, there is evidence that Gorky, Pollock, and Rothko might have attended one or several of the lectures.
[72] Howard Putzel (1898-1945) was a writer and art dealer, who came to know Marcel Duchamp and the collectors Walter (1878-1954) and Louise (1879-1953) Arensberg in the early 1930s. He moved to Paris ca.1938-1939 and befriended Peggy Guggenheim, and later became her advisor on purchases for her collection. In 1940 he returned to New York and in 1943 succeeded Jimmy Ernst as secretary at Art of This Century. Putzel was instrumental in directing Guggenheim's interest towards "advanced" American artists. He left Art of This Century in 1944 to open his own gallery, 67 Gallery, at 67 East 57th Street. In 1945 he organized a controversial show "A Problem for Critics." He died suddenly in 1945. (Peggy Guggenheim Collection, http://www.guggenheim-venice.it/inglese/collections/artisti/dettagli/opere_dett.php?id_art=194&id_opera=470 [last accessed September 23, 2019].)
[73] For a detailed overview of the Gordon Onslow Ford's lectures see Martica Sawin, "New York, 1941: In a Land without Myth," in *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School*, 148-193.
[74] The exhibitions ran from November 19, 1941 to January 11, 1942.
[75] March 3-28, 1942.

Lipchitz (1891-1973), Masson, Matta, Mondrian, Ozenfant, Seligmann, Tanguy, Tchelitchev, and Ossip Zadkine (1890-1967). In March André Breton started working for the newly established U.S. federal broadcaster, Voice of America, which employed a number of émigrés, including the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009), the authors Julien Green (1900-1998), Klaus Mann (1906-1949), and André Maurois (1885-1967), and the artist Ozenfant. Also in March, Matta had his first solo exhibition in the United States at Pierre Matisse. The works on show included *The Earth is a Man* (1942), for which Matta used a new technique of "sponging" colours on the canvas.

Besides the lectures and exhibitions, the New York art world experienced the Surrealists' presence through writings. The first issue of the "Surrealist" periodical *View* appeared in September 1940. The magazine's foundation was based on the *Surrealist Manifesto*, to which it strictly adhered.[76] As a result, Dali after his excommunication from the Surrealist fraternity did not appear in it. From a modest newspaper format it went on to become a slick magazine with eight issues per year. Its success was entirely due to the arrival of the European Surrealists in America.

The first issue of *VVV*, the product of leading Surrealists devoted to the dissemination of Surrealism in New York, appeared at the end of the spring of 1942. David Hare edited the magazine, experimental in format and content, in collaboration with André Breton, Marcel Duchamp, and Max Ernst. It ran for four[77] issues from 1942 through 1944. The reviews of the first issue were not without criticism. The April 1942 issue of *View*, devoted to Max Ernst, included "Brief Discussion on the Need for a New Myth," in which Breton outlined his views. In April Paalen launched yet another magazine, *Dyn*, written in French and English. Published in Mexico, it was aimed at a New York readership. The first issue included an article by Paalen, entitled "Farewell to Surrealism," in which he announced his resignation from André Breton's group. This was probably the writing on the wall for the Surrealists. *Dyn* had six issues[78] in all, the last one appearing in 1944.

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[76] The 1941 October-November issue was devoted exclusively to Surrealism.
[77] The second and third issues were printed as a single volume.
[78] The fourth and fifth issues were released together.

The presence of the Surrealists was further evidenced by the auction *cum* exhibition "First Papers of Surrealism" held at the Whitelaw Reid Mansion on Madison Avenue in October 1942.[79] The exhibition was organised by Breton and Duchamp, and included works by Arp, Max Ernst, Onslow Ford, Masson, Matta, Miró, Picasso, Kay *Sage, Seligmann, and Hedda *Sterne. Baziotes and Motherwell were the only two "Americans" to exhibit; Pollock had been invited to participate but declined.

Breton's New York presence in 1942 was both upfront and backstage. Thus, when on 20 October 1942 Peggy Guggenheim, then married to Surrealist artist, Max Ernst[80], opened her gallery Art of this Century, designed by Frederick Kiesler, Breton helped select the works for the opening exhibition. Guggenheim's second show, an exhibition of works by women artists, opened on 5 January 1943. Entitled "Exhibition by 31 Women," it featured works amongst others by Djuna Barnes (1892-1982), Frida Kahlo (1907-1954), Louise Nevelson (1900-1988), Meret Oppenheim (1913-1985), Hedda Sterne, Dorothea Tanning (1910-2012), Kay Sage, and Sophie Taeuber-Arp (1889-1943).

Although overshadowed by the Surrealist omnipresence, young American talent was progressively being given opportunities to feature on the New York scene. At the beginning of 1942 John Graham's show "American and French Paintings"[81] opened at McMillen, featuring works by Stuart Davis, Willem de Kooning, Lee *Krasner, Walt *Kuhn, and Pollock on the American side.[82] Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century, a stone's throw from Fifth Avenue and only four blocks to the north of the Museum of Modern Art, introduced a new approach to the showcasing[83] of art in America. The gallery, whose design was innovative and avant-garde in style, provided the setting for the works of European avant-garde artists as well as of emerging new American talent. The emphasis at the beginning was on Surrealism, but Guggenheim's gallery soon

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[79] October 16 - November 14, 1942.

[80] They married at the end of 1941, after their arrival in the United States.

[81] January 20 - February 6, 1942.

[82] Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947), Georges Braque, Henri Matisse, Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920), and Pablo Picasso represented the French side.

[83] The gallery, designed by Frederick Kiesler, consisted of four spaces, of which three were dedicated to Cubist and abstract art, Surrealism, and Kinetic art, respectively. The fourth space, at the front of the premises, provided the commercial gallery. (See "Peggy and Frederick, The collector and The Visionary," in *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century*, ed. Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 34-89.)

became known for the young American artists she exhibited, amongst them her prize discoveries, Baziotes, de Kooning, Motherwell, Pollock, Rothko, as well as Richard *Pousette-Dart, Ad *Reinhardt, and Clyfford Still. She also included Hans Hofmann amongst her new talent.

In 1943 Guggenheim started scouting for young talent by placing an advertisement in the April issue of *Art Digest*, and inviting any American artist under the age of thirty-five to submit their work.[84] "This Century's Spring Salon of Younger Artists" took place from 18 May to 26 June. Philip Pavia commented that the show was "the first melting pot of Surrealism and of abstraction."[85] He thought it was "the birth of New York as an art center, even with all those foreigners around."[86] Pollock was one of the young artists under consideration, backed by Guggenheim's advisor, Howard Putzel, and recommended by Matta. Initially not convinced by Pollock's work, Guggenheim nevertheless gave him a solo show at the end of the year, and commissioned him to do a mural for her house on East 61st Street. Hofmann had his first solo show "First Exhibition: Hans Hofmann"[87] at Art of This Century in 1944. Baziotes, Hofmann, Motherwell, and Rothko were all given solo shows at "Art of This Century" between 1943 and 1945.

In 1944 The Museum of Modern Art purchased Motherwell's *Pancho Villa, Dead and Alive* (1943), and Pollock's *The She-Wolf* (ca.1943). In the spring Guggenheim organised "First Exhibition in America of,"[88] which on the American side featured works by David Hare (*The Frog is a Heart*, 1944), Motherwell (*Personage (Autoportrait)*, 1943), Pollock (*Pasiphaë*, ca.1943), and Rothko (*Entombment*, 1944). At the end of 1944, Howard Putzel's exhibition "40 American Moderns"[89] at 67 Gallery, which included works by Baziotes, Gottlieb, Motherwell, Pollock, and Rothko, signalled the growing breakthrough of the American "avant-garde," and paved the way to one of the most eventful years in the New York art world.

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[84] A jury, including Alfred Barr, Marcel Duchamp, Piet Mondrian, James Thrall Soby, and the curator James Johnson Sweeney (1900-1986), with Peggy Guggenheim and Howard Putzel representing the gallery, selected the artists on the basis of the submitted works.
[85] Philip Pavia, quoted in *de Kooning: An American Master*, by Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2006), 204.
[86] Ibid.
[87] March 7-31, 1944.
[88] April 11-30, 1944.
[89] December 4-30, 1944.

Discontent on the Surrealist front was, however, spreading: Breton had excommunicated Masson and Seligmann. Following Paalen's 1942 article, Klaus Mann attacked Surrealism in a critical essay, "Surrealist Circus," in the monthly magazine *The American Mercury* of February 1943. In 1943 Guggenheim broke up with Breton[90] and took on Howard Putzel as her advisor. As a result Guggenheim cancelled an exhibition intended to showcase Breton's magazine *VVV* and replaced it with the show, "15 Early / 15 Late,"[91] of works by Surrealist artists, and to make a point included the work of excommunicated Dali. The last issue of *VVV* magazine appeared in February 1944. In August 1944 Clement Greenberg produced two articles, in which he aimed criticism at the Surrealists. His articles were published in *The Nation* on 12 and 19 August and, according to Sawin, discredited the last existing avant-garde movement, thus preparing the way for a legitimate successor, which would become apparent in his reviews of the autumn of 1944.

Although the Surrealists were beginning to outlive their welcome, Surrealism was not yet relinquished in the American art world: the San Francisco Museum of Art organised the exhibition "Abstract and Surrealist Art in the United States"[92] at the Cincinnati Art Museum. Sidney Janis selected the works, which included paintings by de Kooning, Gorky, Hofmann, and Pollock. The exhibition travelled from Cincinnati to the Denver Art Museum, and subsequently to the Seattle Art Museum, the Santa Barbara Museum of Art, the San Francisco Museum of Art, and, finally, to the Mortimer Brandt Gallery in New York in November 1944. The exhibition was linked to Janis's book *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, published in November 1944, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

[90] There was, however, no split between André Breton and Roberto Matta, who continued to contribute to *VVV* magazine.
[91] March 13 - April 10, 1943 (extended to April 17).
[92] February 8 - March 12, 1944.

2.7. 1945: New York takes over!

The year 1945 saw the end of World War II and in effect signified the prelude to the second half of the twentieth century, and a major, not immediately noticeable, shift in power relations took hold of the Western world.

In the art world, the power shift had already begun and 1945 set the tone for the rest of the decade and beyond. By the end of the war art sales in the United States were up by 45%[93], but art by American artists still represented only a small part. Nevertheless "advanced" artists were being noticed: Willem de Kooning, if he is to be considered an "American" artist, in January 1945 won a competition organised by the Container Corporation of America[94] for his painting *The Netherlands* (1945); the Museum of Non-Objective Painting acquired for its permanent collection eleven paintings and one gouache by Gottlieb. The number of exhibitions and shows, featuring "advanced" artists, began to increase noticeably. Rothko was included in the "Whitney Annual" of 1945[95]; Philip Guston had his first solo exhibition at the Midtown Galleries, which was well received by the critics; Franz Kline[96] painted *The Synagogue*, commissioned by David Orr; Motherwell signed a five-year exclusive contract with the Samuel Kootz Gallery. Pollock had a solo show at The Arts Club of Chicago[97] and his second solo show at Art of This Century.[98] Gottlieb had a one-man show at Howard Putzel's 67 Gallery; Matta had a solo show at Pierre Matisse; Gorky had his first solo show at Julien Levy.

The 1945 "American Abstract Artists' 9th Annual Exhibition"[99] exhibition was held at the Riverside Museum in New York. The Whitney Museum organized an exhibition entitled "European Artists in America,"[100] which included the works of forty-one artists

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[93] Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University Press of Chicago, 1983), 91.

[94] The Container Corporation had been establishing an art collection since 1937 and by 1945 had acquired works by Fernand Léger, Henry Moore (1898-1986), and Ben *Shahn. In 1944 they launched a competition to select works for the collection.

[95] "1945 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting" at the Whitney Museum of American Art (November 27, 1945 - January 10, 1946).

[96] Franz Kline (1910-1965) is discussed in Chapter 9.5.

[97] March 5-31, 1945.

[98] March 19 - April 14, 1945.

[99] March 11 - April 15, 1945.

[100] March 13 - April 11, 1945.

(painters and sculptors), who had arrived in the United States since 1938. The most well known were Chagall, Dali, Duchamp, Max Ernst, Léger, Mondrian, Ozenfant, and Zadkine. Although the Surrealists were well represented, many of the works were abstract. In the spring the Museum of Modern Art organised "Piet Mondrian," a Mondrian retrospective.[101]

Two exhibitions—one in Washington, D.C., the other in New York—were of particular relevance. The Washington, D.C. exhibition took place in February at the David Porter Gallery and was entitled "Personal Statement: Painting Prophecy, 1950."[102] It was an attempt at anticipating the future art trend, at least for the next five years and probably the most important show of the year. The organiser, David Porter[103], a friend of both Peggy Guggenheim and Howard Putzel**,** intended to showcase his personal choice of contemporary artists in a new light, and highlighted the nature of the show with the words "Personal Statement" in the title. "Most of the artists represented in this exhibition do not work in representational realism; they are seeking to express their personal verities in a manner which is beyond realism. ... It is the feeling of this Gallery that these painters will become increasingly important as time allows for a greater appreciation of this art."[104] The exhibited artists included Baziotes, de Kooning, Jimmy Ernst, Gottlieb, Gorky, Motherwell, Pollock, and Rothko. Many of the artists had already been exhibited at Art of This Century or at Howard Putzel's 67 Gallery.

The other important show of the year took place in May at Putzel's 67 Gallery in New York. Entitled "A Problem for Critics,"[105] the show was intended as a challenge for the art critics to define and name the emerging art movement. Putzel himself suggested "metamorphism" or "new morphism," whose real forerunners, he believed, were Arp

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[101] March 21 - May 13, 1945.

[102] The exhibition started in February 1945 in Washington, D.C. It then moved to the Smith Art Gallery in Springfield (March 28 - May 18, 1945); the City Art Museum in St. Louis (May 1 - June 4, 1945); the San Francisco Museum of Art (August 1-30, 1945); Portland, Oregon [no location, no dates]; Seattle in Washington [no location, no dates]; the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery [no dates]; the Illinois State Normal University (February 1946).

[103] David Porter (1912-2005), born Edwin David Porter, was a native of Chicago, who moved to Washington, D.C. in 1942, where, although an economist by training, he founded his own gallery. In 1946 he moved to New York City and took up painting. In 1951 he was invited to take part in the "Ninth Street Show" and had his first solo show in 1952. (RoGallery, https://rogallery.com/Porter_David/Porter-biography.htm [accessed March 8, 2019].)

[104] David Porter, quoted in *Jackson Pollock*, by Francis V. O'Connor (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1967), 35-36.

[105] May 14 - July 7, 1945.

and Miró. In referring to the American artists he had selected, he remarked: "I believe we see real American painting beginning now."[106] The show featured the "American" artists Gorky, Gottlieb, Hofmann, Krasner, Pousette-Dart**,** Rothko, Charles *Seliger, and Rufino *Tamayo as well as Arp, Masson, Miró, and Picasso, and presented food for thought for the critics. Clement Greenberg praised Putzel's initiative in *The Nation* of 9 June, but disagreed with his view on the sources of inspiration of the new American avant-garde painting. Barnett Newman commented on the event in "The Plasmic Image."[107] Unfortunately, the momentum it created came to a sudden halt in the summer upon Putzel's unexpected death on 7 August.

New galleries began to appear. Samuel Kootz inaugurated his gallery in April 1945. He had prior to its official opening already started supporting young artists, such as Baziotes and Motherwell, in 1944. The first show held in the gallery in 1945 was a Fernand Léger exhibition. According to some sources, Betty Parsons began running the Mortimer Brandt Gallery, at 15 East 57th Street, in 1945. Parsons herself dated her involvement in the gallery after the end of the war.[108] She had until then run the gallery in the Wakefield Bookshop since 1940. She opened her own gallery in 1946. "It was 1946, and I opened my gallery intent on showing all those people nobody had really wanted up to then."[109] In the spring of 1945 Newman noted that there had been a spurt of new activity on 57th Street and on the part of the museums, an indication that the public was becoming aware of something new in the air.[110]

As the art scene became more congenial to American artists, a number of them, who had been working in New York City since the mid-thirties and for most of the war years, started a slow exodus to the countryside. The first to move permanently to East

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[106] Howard Putzel, quoted in *Jackson Pollock*, 37.

[107] Barnett Newman, "The Plasmic Image," reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, by Barnett Newman, ed. John P. O'Neill (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 138-155.

[108] See "Betty Parsons" in *The Art Dealers: The Powers Behind the Scene Tell How the Art World Works*, ed. Laura de Coppet and Alan Jones (New York: Cooper Square Press, 1984), 20-31. Serge Guilbaut places her move to the Mortimer Brandt Gallery in March 1943. Malcolm Goldstein places her move following the closure of the Wakefield Bookshop at the end of 1944.

[109] Betty Parsons, quoted in *The Art Dealers: The Powers Behind the Scene Tell How the Art World Works*, 22.

[110] See Barnett Newman, "The Plasmic Image," reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, 138-155.

Hampton on Long Island were Jackson Pollock and Lee Krasner.[111] Motherwell, de Kooning, Conrad *Marca-Relli, and Ibram Lassaw followed. The empty studios and apartments left behind were soon filled by newcomers, amongst them Robert Goodnough.

It became evident in 1945 that the centre of the art world had moved during the war years from occupied Europe to the United States. Dealers and gallery owners had ostensibly moved the art trade from Paris and London to New York. The first and most impressive to do so, of course, had been Peggy Guggenheim. Her arrival in New York in 1941 ignited interest in the collection she had acquired during her wanderings in Europe. Peggy Guggenheim's gallery, Art of This Century, opened on 20 October 1942 at 30 West 57th Street, a few blocks north of the Museum of Modern Art. The gallery provided the setting for the works of European avant-garde artists as well as of emerging new American talent. As noted earlier, the emphasis at the beginning was on Surrealism, but Guggenheim's gallery soon became known for the young American artists she exhibited, amongst them Baziotes, de Kooning, Motherwell, Pollock, Rothko, as well as Hofmann, Pousette-Dart, Reinhardt, and Still.

By 1946 Miss Guggenheim had organised one-man shows for Baziotes, Hofmann, Pollock, Rothko, and Still. Her gallery in many ways set the example and tone for what was to follow after the end of World War II. For example, the Charles Egan Gallery at 63 East 57th Street, which opened in February 1946, gave de Kooning his first solo exhibition in 1948 and Franz Kline his in 1950. The Betty Parsons Gallery was another example. Peggy Guggenheim's gallery remained open for another year before closing in 1947, when she left to settle in Venice.

2.8. 1946: "the spatter-and-daub school of painting"[112]

The high level of activity continued in 1946, a year characterized by a major growth in the number of art galleries in New York. According to Serge Guilbaut, by 1946 there

[111] They were married on 25 October 1945 and on 5 November they moved to East Hampton on Long Island. They settled in a farmhouse at 830 Fireplace Road in (The) Springs. For a detailed chronology see Gail Levin, *Lee Krasner: A Biography*.
[112] Robert M. Coates, The Art Galleries: Abroad and at Home, *The New Yorker*, March 30, 1946, 75.

were 140 galleries compared to forty at the beginning of the war.[113] Sales at the 57th Street galleries had increased dramatically since the beginning of the 1940s. *ARTnews* confirmed the picture boom in its editorial of July 1946. More importantly, 1946 was the year, "advanced" painting, or what some people called "the spatter-and-daub school of painting," was politely christened "abstract Expressionism"[114] by Robert Coates in *The New Yorker* of 30 March.

Motherwell had a solo exhibition (his second in New York) at Samuel Kootz at the beginning of 1946. In February Clyfford Still had a solo exhibition at Art of This Century, and the exhibition catalogue contained an essay by Rothko. In March Pollock signed a new contract with Peggy Guggenheim, which guaranteed him a two-year monthly stipend of $300 and Miss Guggenheim his total output (less one painting) for the same period; Guggenheim asked Pollock to design the dust jacket for her autobiography, *Out of This Century*.[115] In April Pollock had his third solo show at Art of This Century, which featured eleven oil paintings and eight temperas, and a painting entitled *Once Upon a Time*, and received mixed reviews.[116] In the spring Rothko's watercolours were exhibited at Mortimer Brandt, in a show organised by Betty Parsons; and Gorky had his second solo exhibition at Julien Levy[117], by which stage, according to Matthew Spender, he had already been diagnosed with cancer of the rectum.

In August Rothko had a successful solo exhibition at the San Francisco Museum of Art[118], "Oils and Watercolors by Mark Rothko," with nineteen oil paintings and ten watercolours[119], with works[120] later being exhibited at the Santa Barbara Museum in the autumn.[121] In September the exhibition "Fourteen Americans"[122] opened, the third in a series of group shows at the Museum of Modern Art, featuring works by "American"

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[113] Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, 91.
[114] Coates, 75.
[115] *Out of This Century: The Informal Memoirs of Peggy Guggenheim* by Peggy Guggenheim was published by Dial Press in 1946.
[116] For the reviews in *Art Digest* and *ARTnews*, see Pepe Karmel, ed., *Jackson Pollock: Interviews, Articles and Reviews* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1999), 55.
[117] The show ran from 16 April to 4 May 1946, although there appears to be some confusion about the starting date of the exhibition. Julien Levy gives 9 April whereas Matthew Spender mentions 16 April.
[118] The San Francisco Museum of Art became the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in 1975.
[119] The show impressed Clyfford Still, who was living in San Francisco and started teaching there at the California School of Fine Arts in the autumn of 1946.
[120] Rothko's watercolours and eleven of the oil paintings were selected.
[121] October 1-15, 1946.
[122] September 10 - December 8, 1946.

artists. The show was a tangible indication of the commitment of the museum to avant-garde American art. Motherwell was included as one of the fourteen.[123] Betty Parsons held her debut exhibition "Northwest Coast Indian Painting,"[124] which was organised by Barnett Newman and Tony Smith, with Newman writing an essay for the catalogue.[125] In December the "1946 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary Painting,"[126] at the Whitney Museum of American Art included a painting[127] by Pollock, and works by Gottlieb, Motherwell, and Rothko; Betty Parsons's 1946 "Christmas Group Show"[128] featured a new work by Newman.

While the art scene in New York was beginning to boom and attract new talent, the European expatriates were returning home. They left behind them a trail upon which the new arrivals were able to feed themselves in varying degrees. Meanwhile, more of the American artists and their friends moved away from the city: Harold and May Rosenberg joined Jackson Pollock and Lee Krasner at (The) Springs on Long Island in the summer of 1946. The Pollocks had many visitors that summer, including Clement Greenberg and John Bernard Myers. Motherwell spent time in East Hampton, where that summer he and Rothko became acquainted.

The year 1946 was not altogether without controversy. On the political front Winston Churchill set the tone for the Cold War on 5 March, when in his acceptance speech of the honorary degree awarded him by Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, he spoke of an "iron curtain" that had descended across the European continent. Equally disturbing, but in a different context was a controversial article by Edward Alden Jewell, published on 1 September 1946 in the *New York Times*, on the merits of "universal" as opposed to "international" art. The qualifier "international" had political connotations and implied that the art was derived from foreign influences. "Universal" art on the other hand had its roots in the individual and could therefore appeal to all.

[123] The other thirteen artists were David Aronson (1923-2015), Ben L. Culwell (1918-1992), Arshile Gorky, David Hare, Loren MacIver (1909–1998), Isamu Noguchi (1904-1988), I. Rice Pereira (1902-1971), Alton Pickens (1917-1991), C.S. Price (1874-1950), Theodore J. *Roszak, Honoré Sharrer (1920-2009), Saul *Steinberg, and Mark *Tobey.
[124] September 30 - October 19, 1946.
[125] In the essay Newman underlined the analogy between the abstract element in "Indian" art and the abstract work of contemporary American painters.
[126] December 10, 1946 - January 16, 1947.
[127] *Two* (ca.1943).
[128] December 2-30, 1946.

Jewell saw American art as "universal." Samuel Kootz, as we shall see, in 1943 highlighted the international aspect of the evolution of art in America.

In 1946 de Kooning started painting black and white abstractions[129] and Goodnough enrolled at the Amédée Ozenfant School of Fine Arts.

2.9. 1947: a vintage year for "advanced" American art

The year 1947 was a continuation of 1946 on many levels. The exodus of artists continued: Gordon Onslow Ford moved to the San Francisco Bay Area, where Wolfgang Paalen joined him. Max Ernst and Dorothea Tanning left New York for Sedona in Arizona[130], Philip Guston settled in Woodstock, New York, where visitors included de Kooning, Gottlieb, Newman, and Pollock.

Gallery owners were keen to sign on the new American talent. Samuel Kootz had already signed several "advanced" artists for his gallery: Gottlieb and Hofmann had signed with him in 1945, Baziotes and Motherwell after the closure of Art of This Century. Gottlieb had a solo show at the gallery at the beginning of 1947 and a second one at the end of the year, drawing praise from Greenberg in the December issue of *Horizon*. In the spring of 1947 Kootz organized a group show of his artists, which comprised works by Baziotes, Romare *Bearden, Byron *Browne, Gottlieb, Holty, and Motherwell, entitled "Introduction à la peinture moderne américaine," which under the patronage of the United States Information Service was sent to the Maeght Gallery[131] in Paris.[132] This was the first exposure of the "new" American painting in Europe. The critics were not impressed, and the poor reception was a disappointment for the artists and Kootz.

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[129] See Thomas B. Hess, "Chronology," in *Willem de Kooning* (New York: George Braziller, 1959), 113-117.

[130] According to Martica Sawin, they stayed in Arizona until 1952.

[131] The first Gallery Maeght was opened in 1936 in Cannes, followed by the gallery in Paris in 1946. The gallery exhibited the most important international artists of the twentieth century, including Braque, Alexander Calder (1898-1976), Chagall, Giacometti, Kandinsky, Leger, Matisse, Miró, and Antonio Tàpies (1923-2012).

[132] Harold Rosenberg wrote an introduction to the catalogue, reprinted as "Introduction to Six American Artists," in *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, winter, 1947/8, 75. The text is discussed in Chapter 4.4.

The "advanced" American artists appeared to be given the tacit encouragement to forge ahead. In 1947 de Kooning continued painting black and white abstractions, considered by some his greatest works. Franz Kline started work on his white paintings and began regularly frequenting the Cedar Tavern on University Place between 8th and 9th Streets, where other artists were hanging out.

In the summer of 1947 Pollock started his "drip" technique and working on larger canvases. The drip technique, as noted, had already been used as early as 1940 by Hofmann, but had gone unnoticed. During the winter of 1947-48 Guston completed his virtually abstract painting *The Tormentors* (1947-48), a clear break with his previous figurative work. Meanwhile, Rothko spent his first summer on the West Coast, teaching at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco[133], where Still was a faculty member. The two artists embarked on a genuine friendship that summer. Baziotes was awarded the $1,000 Campana Prize of the °Art Institute of Chicago in November 1947 for his painting *Cyclops* (1947).[134]

As galleries started to fill their shows with "advanced" works, new art periodicals began to appear. These publishing ventures sought to enlighten the American public about the emerging art scene, and in so doing enhanced the credibility of the new talent. They also provided an opportunity for artists to explain their work and state their views. Some of these journals were short-lived, while others survived for several years.

In the autumn of 1947 Motherwell, Pierre Chareau (1883-1950), Rosenberg, and John Cage (1912-1992) worked on a new magazine, *Possibilities*, of which the first, and only, issue appeared in the winter of 1947-48. October 1947 saw the first issue of *The Tiger's Eye*, an art magazine edited by Ruth Stephan and her husband John *Stephan, a painter affiliated to the Betty Parsons Gallery. The magazine had nine issues between October 1947 and October 1949. Many artists contributed writings to the magazine, amongst them Baziotes, Gottlieb, Motherwell, Newman, Pollock, and Rothko as well as Cage, Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985), Max Ernst, Reinhardt, Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948), and Still. Established journals and magazines were publishing articles in which art critics were proclaiming the advent of the American "take over." The literary London

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[133] He returned to teach in the summer of 1949.
[134] The work was reviewed with contempt in the *Art Digest* issue of November 15, 1947.

magazine *Horizon* published Clement Greenberg's article "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture" in its October 1947 issue.[135] Pollock appeared in the December issue of *Time* magazine. The article, entitled "The Best?" included illustrations of works by Hofmann, Pollock, and David *Smith.

Goodnough quit the Amédée Ozenfant School of Fine Arts in 1947, and started attending classes at Hofmann's school. He enrolled at New York University for a Master's degree.

Greenberg repeatedly proclaimed 1947 a vintage year for "advanced" American art and artists. "Nineteen forty-seven seems to have been one of the best of recent years for American painting."[136] But, while the "advanced" artists were being given the scope and opportunity to emerge into the open and reach a wider public, political forces were creating a less hospitable environment. The Cold War, initiated the previous year, took on a new—domestic—turn. On 12 March President Harry Truman made his "Truman Doctrine" speech, which exacerbated the Cold War rhetoric and anti-Communist fervour; on 21 March came the announcement of the "Employment Loyalty Program," which, according to Serge Guilbaut, was introduced in order to keep Communists out of federal jobs; the U.S. Senate approved the "Truman Doctrine" on 22 April; at the end of the year the Attorney General issued the first list of subversive organisations. The anti-Communism surge took on the allure of a crusade, which was to gather full momentum at the end of the decade.

2.10. 1948: breaking barriers

The year 1948 heralded the breakthrough of the Abstract Expressionists. The private galleries put on successive solo shows of the "trailblazer" artists who would constitute the core group of Abstract Expressionism: January saw Pollock's first solo show at Betty Parsons, revealing sixteen "drip" paintings in addition to an earlier work, *Gothic*

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[135] Robert Goodnough quoted from Greenberg's article in his introduction to his Master of Arts dissertation.

[136] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Worden Day, Carl Holty, and Jackson Pollock," *The Nation*, January 24, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2: Arrogant Purpose, 1945-1949*, by Clement Greenberg, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 200.

(1944); Rothko had his second solo show at Betty Parsons in March; April saw de Kooning's first solo show at Charles Egan; in May Motherwell had a solo show at Samuel Kootz. The major New York museums put on relevant exhibitions: in January Gorky's *Betrothal* (crayon)[137] was included in the Whitney "Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculptures, Watercolors, and Drawings;"[138] in the autumn de Kooning's *Mailbox* (1948)[139] was included in the Whitney "1948 Annual Exhibition of American Contemporary Painting;"[140] in May the Museum of Modern Art held its forum "The Modern Artist Speaks," and Gottlieb, Pollock, Stuart Davis, and L.K. Morris were amongst the thirty-six artists who attended. Overseas, at the "XXIV Venice Biennale,"[141] American participation included the works of seventy-nine painters, amongst them Rothko, Stamos, and Tobey; in her own pavilion Peggy Guggenheim showed her private collection, featuring six works by Pollock, including *The Moon Woman* (1942), and *Two* (ca.1943).

Pollock's solo show at Betty Parsons was not a commercial success, with only one painting sold to a friend of Peggy Guggenheim. Critically, there was no major acclaim for the new "drip" paintings or for *Gothic* (1944), and the reviews were lukewarm at best. Robert Coates, in *The New Yorker*, referred to Pollock as a "symbolic Expressionist," and commented on "the impression of tremendous energy, expressed in huge blobs of color alternating with lacings and interlacings of fine lines."[142] He contended there were hardly any recognisable symbols, and warned that such a style risked breaking the threads of communication between the artist and the spectator. Pollock, as part of the deal with Parsons, kept one painting, *Lucifer* (1947), the largest in the show. The remaining paintings went to Guggenheim under Pollock's contractual obligations, which came to an end the following month.[143] Herbert Ferber exchanged one of his sculptures for *Vortex* (ca.1947), a sign of recognition of an "advanced" painter by another "advanced" artist. Pollock's financial situation was difficult, but in

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[137] See Nouritza Matossian, "Chronology," in *Black Angel: A Life of Arshile Gorky* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998), 543-552.
[138] January 31 - March 21, 1948.
[139] Thomas B. Hess, *Willem de Kooning* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1968), 63.
[140] November 13, 1948 - January 2, 1949.
[141] May 29 - September 30, 1948.
[142] Robert Coates, "Edward Hopper and Jackson Pollock," The Art Galleries, *The New Yorker*, January 17, 1948, 44.
[143] Guggenheim eventually kept two paintings in her collection.

June he was awarded a $1,500 grant from the °Eben Demarest Trust Fund, thanks to the efforts of James Johnson Sweeney.[144]

Rothko had his second solo show at Betty Parsons in March, but, according to James Breslin, again the show was not a commercial success and no works sold. The same was true for de Kooning's solo show[145] at Charles Egan: although reviews were on the whole favourable, no paintings sold in spite of the show being prolonged.

The "advanced" artists continued to extend their individual pictorial explorations. Newman began his "zip" paintings, of which *Onement I* (1948) was the first. Rothko started work on his "multiforms," which he showed to Rosenberg during the summer, and, according to James Breslin, impressed Rosenberg. De Kooning spent July and August teaching at °Black Mountain College, where he stood in for Mark Tobey. He went accompanied by his wife, Elaine *de Kooning. During the summer de Kooning started work on *Asheville*, which he finished in 1949, according to Thomas Hess.

Earlier, on 16 February, Stuart Davis had criticised the decision of the Boston Institute of Modern Art to rename itself "The Institute of Contemporary Art." The intention had been to distinguish between "meaningful" and "experimental" art. The work of Pollock was considered experimental. The decision led several artists to protest.

The death of Arshile Gorky on 21 July represented a major loss for the "advanced" artists' community. Gorky's artistic reputation had been on the rise. He had negotiated an agreement with Julien Levy and what proved to be Gorky's last show took place at Julien Levy in March[146]. Greenberg reviewed it favourably in *The Nation* of 20 March, but only one work was sold, *Soft Night* (1947). Julien Levy held a memorial exhibition of Gorky's work at the end of the year, reviewed in *ARTnews* in December. The review prompted a reaction from de Kooning, whose letter was published in the January 1949 issue. Willem de Kooning explicitly extolled the influence of Gorky on his own spirit

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[144] James Johnson Sweeney (1900-1986) was a curator and a writer about modern art. From 1935 till 1946 he was curator for the Museum of Modern Art, and from 1952 to 1960 he succeeded Hilla von Rebay as Director of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Sweeney, James Johnson," http://www.arthistorians.info/sweeneyj [accessed March 20, 2019].)

[145] April 12 - May 12, 1948.

[146] February 29 - March 20, 1948.

and work and categorically denied any influence he might have had on Gorky. "In a piece on Arshile Gorky's memorial show … it was mentioned that I was one of his influences. Now that is plain silly."[147]

One short-lived, but important, initiative taken by Motherwell and a small group of fellow artists in 1948 was the foundation of the "Subjects of the Artist" School in Greenwich Village, at 35 East 8th Street. The school, which advocated an alternative way of teaching art, lasted only three terms, closing at the end of the following year. Its approach, however, would stand out and not be without effect.[148]

On the surface, the American political context appeared conducive to the breakthrough of Abstract Expressionism. The American Administration was intent that the United States should gain cultural power to match the power it had acquired in the military, political, and economic spheres. The U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, known as the Smith-Mundt Act, became the legislative frame for marketing the cultural image of the United States abroad. Critics and artists, in particular painters, became part of the endeavour. Articles and essays appeared in the press and specialised periodicals, extolling the supremacy of American artists and art. Pollock was projected as America's new cultural hero. Greenberg was at the forefront of the endeavour. His approach was sometimes direct and at other times subtle. Thus, in his article "The Situation at the Moment," published in *Partisan Review* in January 1948, Greenberg highlighted the need for the large canvases used by the Abstract Expressionist painters. In "The Decline of Cubism," published in March 1948 in *Partisan Review*, he underscored the lasting impact of Cubism while depicting its decline and paving the way for a new trend.

The American political context was not all supportive. The year 1948 represented a further heightening of the antagonism towards the Communist bloc. On 6 April the Soviet Union signed a so-called "friendship treaty" with Finland. The same month the American Congress adopted the Marshall Plan. On 2 November Harry Truman was re-elected President of the United States, and the "Truman doctrine" was confirmed.

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[147] Willem de Kooning, letter to the editor, *ARTnews*, January 1949, 6.
[148] The initiative is discussed in Chapter 8.1.

In October *Life magazine* organized "A Life Round Table on Modern Art," a discussion of fifteen "distinguished critics and connoisseurs,"[149] including Sir Leigh Ashton[150], Georges Duthuit[151], Aldous Huxley[152], Meyer Schapiro, James Johnson Sweeney, James Thrall Soby, Francis Henry Taylor[153], and Clement Greenberg. The aim was to clarify the art of the times, and the discussion focused on the question "*Is modern art, considered as a whole, a good or a bad development? That is to say, is it something that responsible people can support or may they neglect it as a minor and impermanent phase of culture?*"[154] The discussion was subsequently published as a sixteen-page article. The debate principally covered European art and its protagonists—Picasso, Matisse, Miró, Dali, and Georges Rouault (1871-1958). But it also referred to the works of five "young extremists"—Baziotes (*The Dwarf*, 1947), de Kooning (*Painting*, 1948), Gottlieb (*Vigil*, 1948), Pollock (*Cathedral*, 1947), and Stamos (*Sounds in the Rock*, 1946). The comments on the works of the "extremists" appeared derogatory, showing a lack of understanding for what these artists were trying to achieve. Four of the "young extremists," Baziotes, de Kooning, Gottlieb, and Pollock, would be interviewed by Robert Goodnough at the end of the following year.

2.11. 1949: "The Intrasubjectives"

The last year of the decade saw the "trailblazers" continue their explorations, pushing against the edges of what was accessible and acceptable to the general public. In

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[149] Russell W. Davenport, "A Life Round Table on Modern Art: Fifteen Distinguished Critics and Connoisseurs Undertake to Clarify the Strange Art of Today," *Life*, October 11, 1948, 55, https://books.google.be/books?id=dEoEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA29&dq=1948+october+11&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwizkqHJnKDhAhUBalAKHc8yAiUQ6AEIKDAA [last accessed March 25, 2019].

[150] Sir Arthur Leigh Bolland Ashton (1897-1983) was a British art historian and Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. Ashton, Sir Arthur Leigh Bolland," http://arthistorians.info/ashtonl [accessed March 20, 2019].)

[151] Georges Duthuit (1891-1973) was a French writer, art critic and historian. He was a key commentator on Henri Matisse, Nicolas de Staël (1914-1955), Jean-Paul Riopelle (1923-2002), and Bram van Velde (1895-1981). He was closely associated with the Surrealists, in particular André Masson. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Duthuit, Georges," http://arthistorians.info/duthuitg [accessed March 20, 2019].)

[152] Aldous Leonard Huxley (1894-1963) was an English writer, novelist, and philosopher. He was best known for his novels, of which *Brave New World*. (*The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 6th rev., s.v. "Huxley, Aldous Leonard.")

[153] Francis Henry Taylor (1903–1957) was a distinguished American museum director and curator, who headed the Metropolitan Museum of Art for fifteen years. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Taylor, Francis Henry," *Historians* http://arthistorians.info/taylorf [accessed March 20, 2019].)

[154] Russell W. Davenport, "A Life Round Table on Modern Art: Fifteen Distinguished Critics and Connoisseurs Undertake to Clarify the Strange Art of Today," 55. (Italics in the original text.)

January Pollock had his second solo show at Betty Parsons, in June he signed a contract with Betty Parsons (extending to 1 January 1952), and at the end of the year had his third solo exhibition at the gallery. Rothko began painting vertically[155]; he exhibited his "multiforms" in his third solo show at Betty Parson in March, of which five were reproduced, accompanied by a statement of the artist in the October issue of *The Tiger's Eye*. Newman completed seventeen paintings, and on a trip to Ohio visited Native American mounds, inspiring his essay "Prologue for a New Aesthetic," which, however, was not published during his lifetime. Motherwell painted *Granada* (1948-1949)[156], the first of the series *Elegy to the Spanish Republic*, and in October had a solo exhibition at Samuel Kootz. Gottlieb showed at Jacques Seligmann in New York and helped start °Forum 49 in Provincetown in the summer. Willem de Kooning painted *Sailcloth* (1949) and *Two Women on a Wharf*[157], and made his first public statement about art, "A Desperate View," in a talk at the "Subjects of the Artist" School. In October the Sidney Janis Gallery innovated with the show "Artists: Man and Wife," which featured works by artist couples and included Jackson Pollock and Lee Krasner and Willem and Elaine de Kooning. In March *Magazine of Art*[158] published "A Symposium: The State of American Art,"[159] the results of a survey of a group of writers and critics on the state of American art. By the year-end it became apparent that de Kooning, Gottlieb, Kline, Motherwell, Newman, Pollock, and Rothko were evolving "signature styles" reflecting their individuality.

For Pollock the last year of the decade had its ups and downs. Peggy Guggenheim tried but failed to obtain a solo exhibition for him in Paris. This did not preclude, as already mentioned, a second show at the beginning of the year at Betty Parsons, consisting of twenty-six works[160] painted in 1948, followed by a third solo show at Parsons at the end of the year. On 8 August 1949, *Life* magazine published an article, entitled "Jackson

[155] According to his biographer, James E.B. Breslin, he continued to do so until 1956.

[156] *Granada* was the first large painting in the *Elegy to the Spanish Republic* series and originated from a drawing done for *Possibilities*. Since Abstract Expressionists rarely did sketches or preliminary drawings in preparation for the final work, this may have been a one-off occurrence on the part of Motherwell.

[157] This work, started in 1949, was probably completed in 1949, according to Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan.

[158] *Magazine of Art* was the successor to *Art and Progress*. Under its new title it was published until 1953. The art historian Robert Goldwater was the editor at the end of the 1940s.

[159] The symposium is discussed in Chapter 3.6.

[160] The show featured amongst others *Number 1A*, *Number 5*,*The Wooden Horse: Number 10A*, *Number 13A: Arabesque*, *White Cockatoo: Number 24A*, and *Number 26A: Black and White*. Works on paper included *Number 4: Gray and Red*, *Number 12A: Yellow, Gray and Black*, *Number 14*, *Number 15: Red, Gray, White, Yellow*, *Number 20*, *Number 22A* and *Number 23*.

Pollock: Is He the Greatest Living Painter in the United States?" As a result his third show attracted both "eager" buyers and favourable press reaction.

In Provincetown, Gottlieb helped start the discussion collective °Forum 49, initiated by Weldon *Kees, the poet Cecil Hemley (1914-1966), who was a relative of Gottlieb, and Fritz Bultman. The weekly seminars were held on Thursdays at Gallery 200. Participants included Knaths, Hofmann, and Motherwell. The concept was similar to that of "Studio 35," which had succeeded the "Subjects of the Artist" School, and preceded "The Club," which opened in October 1948.[161] These initiatives indicated a need for artists to congregate around issues relevant to their work and artistic context.

Finally in September, Samuel Kootz launched his exhibition "The Intrasubjectives."[162] The show is of special significance, since it represented a new insight into the pictorial language of "advanced" artists, and served as a basis for Goodnough's dissertation. The show, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7, featured works by Baziotes, de Kooning, Gorky, Gottlieb, Morris *Graves, Hofmann, Motherwell, Pollock, Reinhardt, Rothko, Mark *Tobey, and Bradley Walker Tomlin. Newman was not represented.

While the American press became enamoured with Pollock and the new American talent, it was also setting the scene for the future witch-hunt of "reds." In April *Life* magazine published a two-page spread under the heading "Dupes and Fellow Travelers Dress Up Communist Fronts," in which the Kremlin and its American "dupes" were attacked. It featured fifty passport-sized photographs of so-called American "dupes." The writers Lillian Hellman (1905-1984), Norman Mailer (1923-2007), Thomas Mann (1875-1955), and Dorothy Parker (1893-1967), the composers Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990) and Aaron Copland (1900-1990), the poet Langston Hughes (1902-1967), the playwrights Arthur Miller (1915-2005) and Clifford Odets (1906-1963), the actor and cinematographer Charlie Chaplin (1889-1977), and the physicist Albert Einstein (1879-1955), amongst others, were all accused of toying with Communism.[163] On 16 August the Republican Congressman George A. Dondero (1883-1968) labelled artists

[161] "Studio 35" and "The Club" are detailed in Chapter 8.
[162] September 14 - October 3, 1949.
[163] "Red Rumpus: Dupes and Fellow Travelers Dress Up Communist Fronts," *Life*, April 4, 1949, 42-43, https://books.google.be/books?id=U04EAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA42&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false [last accessed September 23, 2019].

as Communists in a speech to Congress, which did not go unnoticed or uncommented by the editor of *ARTnews***.**[164] According to Frances Stonor Saunders, the *Life* magazine feature had been personally overseen and thus "approved" by Henry Luce, the owner-editor of the Time-Life Empire. The photographs were in effect the visual forerunner of Senator McCarthy's unofficial blacklists. Never mind that in 1943 *Life* magazine had devoted its entire issue of 29 March to the USSR, featuring Stalin on the cover and praising the Russian people and the Red Army. It was also *Life* magazine, which had turned the fortunes of the artistic "renegade" Jackson Pollock in the summer of 1949.

And so ended the decade. The work of "advanced" American painters was presenting problems for art critics and bemusing art lovers, but it was being given its due recognition by the most "advanced" elements of the American press and the establishment. Meanwhile, the same establishment and press were spreading the infectious scaremongering initiated by the Cold War. It is against this background that Robert Goodnough set out to interview his "chosen seven."

[164] For an insight into the Cold War impact on Abstract Expressionism and "advanced" artists see Frances Stonor Saunders, "Yanqui Doodles," in *Who Paid the Pied Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 252-278; Fred Orton, "Footnote One: The idea of the Cold War," in *American Abstract Expressionism*, ed. David Thistlewood, Tate Gallery Critical Forum, Volume 1 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press and Tate Gallery Liverpool, 1993), 179-192.

"In any event, there is a demand in this country for a distinctive note of Americanism."[1]

Edgar Holger Cahill

CHAPTER 3 - "DISTINCTIVE AMERICANISM"

3.1. Four "views"

The emergence of modernism and modern art in America was a slow process fraught with obstacles, in the first instance mainly due to the lack of acceptance from the so-called art "establishment." That modern art in America was able to evolve into its own distinctive brand was largely attributable to the perseverance of the artists, and in no small measure to the support of a number of authoritative figures in the American art world. In the course of the 1930s and the 1940s these supportive authorities were able to slowly enlighten the general public of the merits of the new "advanced" art, while seeking themselves to acquire further understanding and insight into the work of the "advanced" artists. They encouraged and closely followed the artists' progression towards a distinctive stage in the evolution of twentieth-century American art. Instrumental through their persistent commentary in making the art of the "advanced" artists acceptable to the American public were the Director of the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration, Edgar Holger Cahill, the art collectors and connoisseurs, Samuel M. Kootz and Sidney Janis, and the Director of the Museum of Modern Art, Alfred H. Barr Jr. By the end of the first half of the twentieth century it was no longer possible to ignore the emergence of a radical change in American art. And by 1949 the participants (amongst them Holger Cahill, Alfred Barr and Clement Greenberg) to the written survey "A Symposium: The State of American Art" were convinced that American art could hold its own.

In this chapter we seek to identify the views of the four authorities, who contributed to the understanding and recognition of "advanced" art in America, and supported the "advanced" artists in their search for new boundaries in their visual expression.

[1] Holger Cahill, "American Painting 1865-1954," in *Art in America in Modern* Times, ed. Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, ca. 1934), 43.

3.2. Cahill's insight

Since the Armory Show, Edgar Holger Cahill[2] was the first to publicly echo the demand for a distinctive note in American art. Towards the end of 1934 Cahill broadcast a series of lectures[3] on modern art. The second in the series, "The Impact of Modern Art" broadcast on 8 December 1934, represented an authoritative view at that time on the effects of modern art on American painting. Cahill, in 1934, sensed a change coming to American art. He acknowledged the European influence on American pictorial representation, in particular that of the French School, but pointed out that more recently there had been signs of rebellion and a demand that American art become independent. He believed trends were changing and that, in spite of the obstacles, modern art was making its way in America: museums such as the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum of American Art, as noted in Chapter 2, were opening their doors to the new trends and artists.

American modernism, according to Cahill, fully surfaced in America in 1920, after the damper of the First World War. Amongst the pioneers of modernism in America, Cahill included Max Weber (Mark Rothko's mentor in the 1920s), Alfred *Maurer, John Marin, Thomas Hart Benton (Jackson Pollock's teacher and mentor at the Art Students League in the 1930s), and Walt Kuhn. Most of these artists had studied in Paris before 1912. American painting in the 1920s and 1930s, however, was not all modernism, as Cahill believed that a number of artists practised highly "selective" realism, almost formal purism. As examples, he gave Peter *Blume, Charles Sheeler, Stefan *Hirsch, Stuart Davis, and Edward Hopper. Others, such as Alexander *Brook, Franklin C. *Watkins, and Morris *Kantor, produced more lyrical work. Others still, such as Louis *Eilshemius, were totally original.

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[2] Edgar Holger Cahill (1887-1960), born Sveinn Kirstján Bjarnarson in Iceland, was an American curator, writer, and arts administrator. He started his museum career in 1922 at the Newark Museum, where he focused on American folk art. In 1932-1933 he served as acting Director of the Museum of Modern Art during Alfred Barr's leave of absence. In 1935 he was called upon to serve as the National Director of the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FPA) under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, which he did from August 1935 until April 1943.
(Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Cahill, Holger," http://www.arthistorians.info/cahillh [last accessed April 18, 2019].)

[3] The lectures were broadcast over station WJZ and a coast-to-coast network through the facilities of the National Broadcasting Company. The broadcasts took place on Sunday nights from 6 October 1934 to 26 January 1935, at 8:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time, 7:00 p.m. Central Standard Time, 6:00 p.m. Mountain Time, and 5:00 p.m. Pacific Standard Time.

In his (third) broadcast, on 15 December 1934, Cahill broached the situation of "Americanism" and predicted with some accuracy the future evolution of American art, echoed by Clement Greenberg twenty years later. His view captured the mid-1930s context: following the First World War American artists had gained in self-confidence and shown a more independent attitude towards their European peers. Distinctive Americanism at the time, as we noted, translated itself into "American" subject matter.

According to Cahill, American painters responded to the demand for a distinctive Americanism in different ways. Painters, such as Davis, Karl *Knaths, Arshile Gorky, and John Graham, were still dealing with the problems of abstraction, while the so-called "American School" focused on painting their own country as subject matter. Cahill referred to the importance of regional developments in the United States, with groups of artists sprouting up in different parts of the country, exploring the local aspects of the American scene. Such groups could be found in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, and Seattle. He also noted a focus on social and collective expression, with man as its subject matter, present both in easel and mural painting. In 1934 Cahill was describing the two faces of Realism, Regionalism and Social Realism.

Cahill also mentioned the relevance of mural painting, a clear-sighted anticipation on his part of its future importance. He indicated the importance of works by the Mexican painters, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, Jean Charlot (1898-1979) and David Alfaro Siqueiros. Mural painting seemed well suited to the demand for social and collective expression and was being adopted for public art projects in the United States. But it introduced new problems for painters, such as colour, scale, composition, carrying power, and rhythmic order, which required special attention for a successful outcome. Benton, one of Cahill's pioneers of modernism, was able to overcome these problems in the murals he produced for the New School (for Social Research), the Whitney Museum of American Art, and the Indiana State Building at the "Century of Progress" exhibition in Chicago. In his broadcast Cahill made a plea to the government to make walls available to artists. His view was that this type of artwork could bring artist and public together, something he felt was

much needed in America at the time. The mural played an important part in providing "advanced" artists with work under President Roosevelt's New Deal, and many of these artists would later incorporate the scale and size of the mural into their easel and canvas work.

In his 1934 list of American painters producing works of value, Cahill, with much foresight, included Milton *Avery, Mark Tobey, and Bradley Walker Tomlin. All three artists would make their mark on the New York art scene after World War II.

> "An American art will come into being when our painters become not Americans but individuals who see America and themselves with fresh eyes, who think in untrodden paths, and who will be craftsmen who use their materials only to express the primary thing they have to say."[4]
>
> Samuel M. Kootz

3.3. Kootz's predictions

Although it represented a landmark in the history of American art, the Armory show did not, according to American-born art dealer Samuel Kootz, give rise to a renewal of American painting. His views about the state of American pictorial art in 1930 were incisive, pinpointing why artists were failing to break new ground. His views in 1943 were no less to the point.

Samuel Melvin Kootz, born in 1898 in Portsmouth, Virginia, studied law at the University of Virginia, but was more interested in art, and in the 1920s sought out the art galleries in New York City showing the most "advanced" art, amongst them Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291. He rapidly became acquainted with the works of Peter Blume, Charles Demuth, William Preston *Dickinson, Carl Holty, Yasuo

[4] Samuel M. Kootz, *Modern American Painters* (New York: Brewer &Warren, 1930), 23.

*Kuniyoshi, John Marin, and Max Weber, and began collecting paintings by these artists after he moved to New York in 1923. In 1930 he published *Modern American Painters*, in which he offered critiques of amongst others Blume, Demuth, Dickinson, Arthur Dove (1880-1946), Kuniyoshi, Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, Charles Sheeler, Maurice *Sterne, and Weber. To publicise the book, Kootz organised his first exhibition, "Twenty Modern American Pictures"[5] at the Demotte Galleries, at 25 East 78th Street, in March 1931. Kootz opened his first gallery in 1945 in temporary premises, where his first show consisted of works by Fernand Léger. The formal opening of the Samuel M. Kootz Gallery, located at 15 East 57th Street, took place in July 1945. Kootz closed the gallery in 1948 in order to devote himself to being Picasso's exclusive dealer in the United States, but subsequently reopened his gallery at 600 Madison Avenue, where in the autumn of 1949 he showed "The Intrasubjectives."

In 1930 Kootz was scathing about the state of American painting. He attacked in particular the prevalent Puritan attitude against sensuality, claiming that it had hindered self-expression. "More than any other agent it has barred American painters from any attempt at individual expression, and kept them grooved in delineations of acceptable scenes and subjects."[6] He criticised the eclecticism in American painting, and in 1930 was of the view that it had little to offer. "Present-day American painting in general offers nothing more substantial than office-memoranda, which have not as yet been converted into complete essays."[7]

Kootz, in 1930, pointed a finger at the domination of technique over content: American artists had become experts in "Cubist style" representation, but had lost touch with their surroundings. He qualified this as a state of "spiritual bankruptcy," and had no praise for the so-called giants of American painting—Winslow Homer 1836-1910), Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), and Albert Ryder (1847-1917). With much foresight he forewarned that American artists should look beyond their national horizon, deploring the lack of originality and the contentment with existing forms and designs. Thirteen years later, in 1943, Kootz summed up the art situation

[5] Kootz wrote the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition, which comprised many, but not all, of the painters in his book.
[6] Samuel M. Kootz, *Modern American Painters*, 16
[7] Ibid., 20.

in America. "The meek, academic follower of tradition has nothing important to give his own time, still less to give to the future."[8] Evidence of this was the post-Armory Show output of its numerous participants. The result, according to Kootz, was meagre. Hartley, Marin, Sheeler, and Weber were still alive and painting. "But how many others who exhibited in that show, or were painting at the time, can you recall whose sustained performances entitle them to a place in the honest history of America's great accomplishment?"[9]

Kootz, whose learning ground had been the gallery 291, viewed modernism as the way forward for twentieth-century American art. Describing the state of American painting thirty years after the Armory Show, he identified what he called "moulds"—Realism, Expressionism, Abstraction, Romanticism, each with its own "formidable adherents."[10] For each of these schools or "styles" Kootz had a critical commentary, the gist of which was that these artists had acquired the techniques and means developed by the rule breakers, such as Cézanne, Seurat, and in particular Picasso, but had not been able to put their own individual imprint on the means. In other words the content of their work did not reveal itself. In this his views were in line with those of Cahill. However, his predictions in 1930 for a number of artists were less accurate than Cahill's, a matter he readily admitted in 1943. In 1930 he had considered Max Weber, included amongst Cahill's pioneers of modernism, as well as John Marin and Maurice Sterne, important. He mentioned "Seven Modern Americans," Bernard *Karfiol, Kuhn, Niles Spencer, Benjamin *Kopman, Vincent *Canadé, Kantor, and Elsie *Driggs, whom he felt were doing "yeoman service in the field of modern art."[11] But in 1943 he believed Weber had not progressed: Weber had "never contributed a great invention of his own to his brilliant understanding of Cézanne."[12] He felt the same about Karfiol, and did not hail Marin as a pioneer.

In 1930, Kootz had foretold that American art would come into its own when American artists expressed themselves as individuals, "who use their materials only

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[8] Samuel M. Kootz, *New Frontiers in American Painting* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1943), 27.
[9] Ibid., 28.
[10] Ibid., 26.
[11] Kootz, *Modern American Painters*, 63.
[12] Kootz, *New Frontiers in American Painting*, 54.

to express the primary thing they have to say."[13] By 1943 Kootz believed his prediction was coming true. There was no American art as such. "What we have is an *international* art, developing not as evolutionary logic from our immediate American ancestors, but abruptly from Cézanne, the Fauves and Cubists, and from German expressionism of the early Twentieth Century."[14] He was, however, adamant that the new "styles" were not in themselves sufficient for American painters to make a valid contribution to twentieth-century art. Expressionism, abstraction, and non-objective painting, according to Kootz, were only the method or manner for presenting ideas, emotions and sensations, which for him represented the essence of painting.

In 1943 Kootz looked to the abstract painters and Expressionists for a breakthrough in American painting. He made a clear distinction between abstract and non-objective painting. The abstract artist had no desire to copy nature. The abstract artist had a valid interest in the forms and colors of nature, but was opposed to nature's chaos, and preferred his own equilibrium. He aspired to invent a new order, a new disposition of forms in space. "Abstraction shies away from these 'truths,'[15] denies them, and seeks the internal rightness of form itself and the emotional significance of that form."[16] Davis, Morris, Byron Browne, Holty, Graham, and Jan *Matulka, amongst others, were all American artists practising abstraction. They had progressed to abstraction directly from Cubism: they still used the world of reality as their point of departure for their abstractions and were still closely attached to "life-impulses." In this group Kootz also included Gorky, although the artist appeared confused as to which source to feed off—Cézanne, Picasso, Miró, or Léger.

The non-objective painters, on the other hand, attempted "to find perfection in geometry alone, with no recognition of humanity."[17] They appeared to sever their attachment to the world of reality and life-impulses. A case in point for Kootz was Mondrian's "ascetic monism," dependent upon the single solution of the relation

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[13] Kootz, *Modern American Painters*, 23.
[14] Kootz, *New Frontiers in American Painting*, 57. (Italics in the original text.)
[15] These "truths" were the ones the camera and the representational artist sought to render in their images.
[16] Kootz, *New Frontiers in American Painting*, 48.
[17] Ibid., 50.

between the vertical and horizontal line. Kootz qualified it as "an exquisite estheticism that devours itself because it builds only upon its own private rules."[18] Thus, for Kootz aesthetics without content were of little value. "The non-objective men concern themselves exclusively with esthetics, which is the *textile* of art intended to clothe a spiritual statement, never *itself* to *be* that statement."[19] Such a statement could be emotional or intellectual, according to Kootz.

In contrast to the abstractionists, according to Kootz, the Expressionists made use of the psychology of colour in order to convey their *Weltschmerz*, their statements being primarily emotional rather than intellectual. The origin of American Expressionism lay with the German Expressionists of the early twentieth century, such as Max Beckmann (1884-1950), Emil Nolde (1867-1956), Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980), Franz Marc (1880-1916), and Max Pechstein (1881-1955).

In 1943 Kootz included amongst the most talented American Expressionists, Weber, although he had criticised him for not having progressed, Milton Avery, Paul *Burlin, Hyman *Bloom, Benjamin Kopman, whom he had earlier described as a "yeoman," Mark Rothko, Adolph Gottlieb, Joseph *Solman, Louis *Schanker, and Ben-Zion. Of Gottlieb, whom he had not mentioned in 1930, he predicted that he was evolving a new approach, which might grow into something worthwhile. He considered his work at the time "a compromise between abstract geometry and expressionist freedom of emotion."[20] His analysis was not far short of what would three years later be called Abstract Expressionism. Apart from mentioning Rothko amongst the most talented Expressionists, his work, surprisingly enough, did not warrant any further description or assessment by Kootz.

In 1949 Kootz provided an insightful analysis of the works of the "intrasubjective" artists he had selected for his show "The Intrasubjectives," which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 53. (Italics in the original text.)
[20] Ibid., 56.

When asked in 1964 what quality the artists he showed in his gallery shared, Kootz replied that his choice had been motivated by "the highly subjective expression that the men were giving, the sort of thing that led to the, oh, introspection and almost automatism, in a way, of a number of the better abstract expressionist painters."[21] He had "wanted men who were more on their own, more subjective, more personal."[22]

Kootz died in 1982, having given "advanced" artists the much-needed exposure in an environment sufficiently congenial to encourage the American public's interest in their art.

> "The appreciation of progressive ideas in painting is of basic importance to the morale of the vanguard artist."[23]
>
> Sidney Janis

3.4. Janis's perception

No less perceptive of the emerging art trends in America was Sidney Janis, born in Buffalo, New York, in 1896 and two years older than Kootz. He was a wealthy clothing manufacturer and art collector. In 1925 he married Harriet Grossman, a writer passionate about music and the visual arts, who introduced him to the visual experience of art. The couple made annual trips to Paris, where they met Mondrian, Picasso, Léger, Brancusi, and other avant-garde artists. By the early 1930s, they had acquired a number of major avant-garde works, and had become friends with Gorky, Kiesler, and Duchamp. In 1934 Janis was invited to join the Advisory Board of the Museum of Modern Art. He closed his shirt business in 1939 in order to devote himself to writing on art, producing in 1944, in collaboration with his wife, *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, and organised the travelling exhibition "Abstract and

[21] *Oral History Interview with Samuel M. Kootz,* April 13, 1964 conducted by Dorothy Seckler (page 2 of the transcript), Oral History Interviews, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. www.aaa.si.edu/askus [last accessed April 16, 2019].
[22] Ibid.
[23] Sidney Janis, *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944), 30.

Surrealist Art in the United States."[24] He opened the Sidney Janis Gallery[25] in 1948 in New York at 15 East 57th Street[26], sharing the fourth floor with the Betty Parsons Gallery.

In 1944 Janis regarded Surrealism and abstraction as two antithetic directions, rooted in two opposing traditions—the romantic and the rational. Surrealism was clearly part of the romantic undercurrent—emotional, spontaneous, subjective, and unconscious. It was linked to Fauvism and Expressionism. Abstraction on the other hand was part of the rational undercurrent—intellectual, disciplined, objective and conscious. It was linked to Cubism and Futurism. Janis held the view that Surrealist art was the more readable, more accessible for the general public, and hence had a wider appeal. He highlighted how the meaning of the concept of reality had changed in the course of the twentieth century and therefore required new imagery and symbolism, what he called "modern iconography." This situation was reflected in the evolution of twentieth-century pictorial representation. "Realities in painting as differentiated from those in nature are progressively defined. The reality of the object is broken down in order to penetrate other aspects of its nature and identity—its meanings and implications."[27] The human form too was subjected to a new analysis. According to Janis, both Surrealism and abstraction were evidence of the expanded concept of reality.[28]

In *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America* Janis offered a "photograph" of the state of abstraction and Surrealism in America in 1944, a description of how that state had

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[24] The exhibition, circulated by the San Francisco Museum of Art, opened at the Cincinnati Art Museum (February 8 - March 12, 1944), and via the Denver Art Museum (March 26 - April 3, 1944), the Santa Barbara Museum of Art (June-July, 1944), the San Francisco Museum of Art (July 1944), arrived at the end of 1944 in New York at the Mortimer Brandt Gallery (November 29 - December 30, 1944).

[25] For background details see "Sidney Janis" in *The Art Dealers: The Powers Behind the Scene Tell How the Art World Works*, ed. Laura de Coppet and Alan Jones (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1984), 32-41.

[26] Until the late 1940s, apart from a few exceptions, the main New York art galleries were located almost exclusively on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, in and around 57th Street. The galleries were so numerous that *Art Digest* devoted an entire section, under the heading "57th Street," to reviews of shows at 57th street galleries.

[27] Janis, *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, 9.

[28] As twentieth-century sources of Surrealism and abstraction Janis listed Pablo Picasso, Georges Bracque, Fernand Léger, Juan Gris, Wassily Kandinsky, Joan Miró, Giacomo Balla (1871-1958), Kasimir Malevich (1878-1935), Piet Mondrian, Marcel Duchamp, Francis Picabia, Hans Arp, Georgio de Chirico, Paul Klee, Max Ernst, and Salvador Dali.

been achieved, and a judgement, often with their own comments, of the role of particular artists. Of interest is his classification of artists under five headings—"Sources in Twentieth-Century European Painting," "American Pioneers in Twentieth Century Painting," "American Abstract Painters," "American Surrealist Painters," and "American Paintings by Artists in Exile." He listed twenty-eight artists under the heading "American Abstract Painters" and twenty-nine under the heading "American Surrealist Painters." As "American Pioneers in Twentieth-Century Painting" he listed Joseph Stella, Lyonel *Feininger, Sheeler, Marin, MacDonald-Wright, Weber, O'Keefe, Arthur Carles, Abraham *Walkowitz, and Man Ray. For the American avant-garde at the beginning of the century, Janis believed the appreciation of progressive ideas in painting was of basic importance to their morale.

In his list of "American Surrealist Painters" Janis included artists who "consciously or otherwise ... have the surrealist approach."[29] The examples that stood out were Mark Tobey with *Threading Light* (1942), Baziotes with *The Balcony* (1944), Rothko with *The Omen of the Eagle* (1942), Gottlieb with *Pictograph # 4* (1943), and Gorky with *The Liver is the Coxcomb* [*sic*] (1944). Commenting on the American painters' approach to Surrealism, Janis noted the conjunction between Surrealism and abstraction. "Though abstraction and surrealism are considered countermovements [*sic*] in twentieth-century painting, there is in certain painters a fusion of elements of each."[30] Janis believed that abstract painters were able to bridge the gap to Surrealism, as evidenced in the works of Rothko, Gottlieb, and Gorky. He also believed that the opposite took place in the case of Motherwell, who still retained Surrealist ideas while approaching pure abstraction.

As "American Abstract Painters" Janis listed Stuart Davis, Graham, Lenore Krassner[31], Mercedes Carles (Matter), Motherwell, Knaths, John *Ferren, Jean Hélion, Holty, Hofmann, Alexander Calder (1898-1976), Albers, Greene, Ad Reinhardt, Solman, and Willem de Kooning.[32] The list was long and many were

[29] Janis, *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, 87.
[30] Ibid., 89.
[31] Lenore Krassner was better known as Lee *Krasner.
[32] The list further included Byron Browne, Lt. Robert J. Wolff, U.S.N. (1905-1978), Abraham Rattner (1895-1978), Johannes Molzahn (1892-1965), Gyorgy Kepes, M/Sgt. *Ralston Crawford, C.S. Price

hardly known then and did not gain much recognition with time. Many were not American-born, but lived and worked in the United States. However, some of the younger painters, such as Motherwell and de Kooning, did become pioneers. Janis pointed out that these abstract artists had a preference for taking nature as their point of departure for abstractions derived from the representational. For Janis, Stuart Davis was the leader of American abstraction in the 1920s, whose followers included Vytlacil, Graham, Gorky and Jan Matulka. He maintained that the dominant personalities in American abstraction had emerged from a wide range of evolving tendencies. Under the heading "American Abstract Painters" he included works ranging from figurative to completely non-figurative. At one end were the identifiable representations of Solman and Ralston *Crawford, and, at the other end, he included the non-figurative works of, amongst others, Holty, Greene, Ferren, and Albers. He placed Kurt *Roesch, Graham, Krasner, Hofmann, de Kooning, and Motherwell, amongst others, in between the two extremes.[33] He distinguished between those abstract artists, whose point of departure was still rooted in nature or the world of reality, and therefore to some degree remained representational, and those who had completely discarded the real world. He placed Davis and Graham in the first group.

For Janis the coexistence of "abstract" and "expressionist" styles was apparent in the work of Hofmann and Pollock. He maintained that the two artists painted with a similar technique, but that there was a difference of degree. Hofmann's work was one of "spontaneity" as opposed to the "obsessiveness" of Pollock. He identified what he referred to as the "merging of abstract and expressionist streams"[34] in such works as *The Spanish Prison* (1943-44) by Motherwell and in Pollock's *The She-Wolf* (ca.1943) as well as *Moonlight, Harbourtown* (1940) by Karl Knaths and *Midtown Manhattan* (1939) by Kurt Roesch.

Abstract painters, according to Janis, had found it difficult to have their work exhibited in the 1920s, with the exception of such galleries as the Stieglitz Gallery,

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(1874-1950), Kurt *Roesch, I. Rice Pereira (1902-1971), Harry Bertoia (1915-1978), Ray Eames, and Charles Howard (1899-1978).

[33] According to Sidney Janis, none of the pure abstraction painters approached the logic of Malevich, as found in *White on White* (1918), or Mondrian's ascetic tenets of rectilinear arrangement, primary colours, smooth texture, and absence of light and shade.

[34] Janis, *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, 50.

the Little Review Gallery[35], and the Daniel Gallery[36]. There was little interest in their work from collectors and, as a result, abstraction remained in the undergrowth and survival for abstract artists was a struggle. However, after the financial crisis, according to Janis, a number of factors combined to promote and raise interest in abstraction. Collectors found it easier to purchase native rather than European art; from 1927 the New York University Library housed and displayed the modernist collection of A.E. Gallatin; the Museum of Modern Art opened in 1929, and staged "Cubism and Abstract Art" in 1936, followed by "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism" in 1936-1937; the Whitney Museum of American Art opened in 1931 and organised "Abstract Painting in America" in 1935; the °Federal Art Project**,** launched in 1935, allowed numerous young artists to work in the style of their own choice; the American Abstract Artists (AAA) was established in 1936; the Museum of Non-Objective Painting was inaugurated in 1939 as "the largest single effort toward the promulgation of nonfigurative art in America."[37] Thus, according to Janis, over two decades abstract art had become more acceptable to the public and more readily explored by artists.

In summing up the situation Janis underlined "the international character of the art of our time,"[38] which Kootz was convinced was essential to the evolution of modern art.

Janis died in 1989, seven years after Kootz, having clarified his perception of "advanced" art to the American public.

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[35] The Little Review Gallery was a small "Modern Art" gallery associated with the American literary magazine *The Little Review*. It was owned and operated from 1924 to 1927 by Jane Heap (1883-1964), the Acting Editor of *The Little Review* at the time. The gallery was primarily devoted to Constructivism, Dadaism, and machine-inspired art. It featured Man Ray's "Rayographs." (See Nancy Kuhl, "City of Wind and Like," in *Intimate Circles: American Women in the Arts* (New Haven, Connecticut: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 2003), 126-167.)

[36] The Daniel Gallery was an art gallery located at 2 West 47th Street in New York. It opened in December 1913 and was run by Charles Daniel. It closed in 1932. (Charles Daniel Papers, 1950-1967, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/charles-daniel-papers-7316 [last accessed October 30, 2019].)

[37] Janis, *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, 48.

[38] Ibid., 127.

"For in the end what makes a great work of art great is something of a mystery."[39]

Alfred H. Barr Jr.

3.5. Barr's knowledge

Prominent amongst the supporters of modernism was the Director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Alfred H. Barr Jr., born in 1902 in Detroit, Michigan. Barr obtained a Bachelor of Arts and a Master of Arts degree in the history of art at Princeton University. His knowledge as an art historian and his experience as the first director of the museum stood him he in good stead to acquire an insight into the happenings in the American art world and provide him with an insider's perception of the emergence of American modern art.

Barr was appointed Director of the Museum of Modern Art in 1929 at the age of twenty-seven. According to Amy Newman, although young for the job, Barr had all the right attributes. He insisted on sound methodology[40], he was keen on tidy classification, he was prepared to overcome ignorance and prejudice, he had a sincere belief in the relevance of the historical approach and did not stray from principle. In addition, Newman claimed he "also had an intuitive understanding of the power of effective presentation—of both physical objects and ideas."[41] He "revolutionized" the way paintings were hung and in addition he was an articulate communicator.

In 1943 the Museum of Modern Art published a booklet by Barr, entitled *What is Modern Painting?* The title denoted the general mistrust of contemporary art and the existing need to explain "modern" art to the American public. The purpose of the booklet, according to Barr, was to help people with little experience of looking at

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[39] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *What is Modern Painting?* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943), 37.

[40] This had been drummed into him at the courses given by the American art historian Charles Rufus Morey (1877-1955), Professor and Chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University from 1924 to 1945. Morey was best known for his expertise in Medieval and Christian Art. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Morey, Charles Rufus," http://arthistorians.info/moreyc [accessed March 20, 2019].)

[41] Amy Newman, "The Visionary," in *Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.*, by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., ed. Irving Sandler and Amy Newman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 49-50.

paintings, particularly modern paintings, to achieve greater understanding of modern art and as a result enable them to enjoy it. Barr adopted a simple pedagogical approach: he sought to teach his audience how to "read" present day art. He equated the art of painting with a language that one needed to learn to read. For Barr the work of art was a symbol, "a visible symbol of the human spirit in its search for truth, freedom and perfection."[42] Starting at the beginning of the century, Barr explained the progress from realistic representation to a greater freedom of expression and a wider scope of subject matter. In so doing he raised the issue that was becoming a major topic of debate—the "subject matter of the artist."

In his approach to modern art Barr distinguished between "realists" and "impressionists" on the one hand and "expressionists" on the other. In the former category belonged the paintings which were a record of the world outside ourselves, and which Barr referred to as the "outer world of the senses."[43] The "expressionists" were concerned with expressing the transformation of inner feelings upon the images and forms of the outer world, which Barr referred to as the "inner world of emotion."[44] Although their paintings were no longer realistic, Barr believed that subject matter was important in much of the best "expressionist" painting. He explained how "expressionist" artists used line and colour to express emotion, but more important was the fact that "*how* they paint can be separated from *what* they paint. ... the colors, shapes and lines of the expressionists have a life of their own which can survive without any subject at all."[45] He distinguished further between "expressionist" artists, such as Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) and Wassily Kandinsky who referred to painting in terms of music and colour "harmonies," and other "expressionists," such as Cézanne and Seurat, who referred to painting in terms of geometry, structure or architecture. This distinction would become significant in understanding the ways of working and thinking of the Abstract Expressionists.

Barr explained Cubism as a process of transforming a fragment of the visual world until it was "completely conquered and reconstructed according to the heart's desire

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[42] Barr, *What is Modern Painting?* 3.
[43] Ibid., 18
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 22. (Italics in the original text.)

of the artist."[46] However, he pointed out that if no trace was left of the original subject, the key to the transformation would be lost. The elimination of all trace of nature led to abstract art, as in the case of Piet Mondrian.

As he covered the time line of twentieth-century painting, Barr paid special attention to those works of art, whose "appearance is confusing because many techniques are used, from almost abstract to photographically realistic."[47] These works had in common that they were born of "the poetic imagination"[48] of the artist. As examples he mentioned Henri Rousseau (1844-1910) and the American artist Morris Graves, in addition to Giorgio de Chirico and Salvador Dali. By way of conclusion Barr sought to answer the question as to why the greatest paintings were not necessarily the ones favoured by the public. This was an oblique reference to the poor reception of contemporary art and the lack of recognition of contemporary painters. For Barr two factors were at play: firstly the factor of time and the time-induced change of opinion, and secondly the factor of quality. Quality was relative, and could not be measured, proven, or even analysed with any logical satisfaction. "For in the end what makes a great work of art great is something of a mystery."[49] "Mystery," sometimes referred to as the "marvellous," became a recurrent element in the debates of the "advanced" painters in the 1940s and 1950s.

For Barr, three component elements were relevant to producing great art: truth, freedom, and perfection. Freedom, however, brought with it the responsibility of self-discipline. "The greater the artist's freedom the greater must be his self-discipline. Only through the most severe self-discipline can he approach that excellence for which all good artists strive. And in approaching that goal he makes his work of art a symbol not only of truth and freedom but also of perfection."[50] And it was the artist himself, according to Barr, who as his own judge produced in his work of art "a symbol of that striving for perfection which in ordinary life we cannot satisfy, just as we cannot enjoy complete freedom or tell the entire truth."[51]

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[46] Ibid., 27.
[47] Ibid., 30.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid., 37.
[50] Ibid., 39.
[51] Ibid.

Barr's pronouncements on the fundamentals of great art may at the time have been affected by the fact that in the 1940s, matters in general were changing for the museum and its director. In 1943 he was dismissed although allowed to stay on in an advisory capacity.[52] The museum had become a target for critics, a situation forcing Barr to resort to a more defensive attitude. Barr was not alone. The mid-1940s were a trying period for many involved in and with contemporary art in the United States. While more present and more readily accepted, modern art became the focus of subversive accusations by conservative intellectuals and academics, encouraged, as we have noted, by members of Congress in their hunt for Communists as part of the Cold War. Barr had already given a slight indication of the looming atmosphere in his 1943 booklet, which he confirmed in the revised edition of 1956.

According to Amy Newman, throughout his reign Barr insisted that good art was "difficult" art.[53] It fell upon him to make "good" art readable and enjoyable to those who found it difficult to understand and hence to enjoy. In 1956, the Museum of Modern Art published a sixth revised edition of Barr's original 1943 booklet. In it he provided insight into mid-century abstraction as he claimed that it was "clear that abstract painting is the dominant, characteristic art[54] of the mid-century."[55] He distinguished two strands: that of "pleasure and pain" as illustrated by the work of Matisse and Gorky and that of "activity and serenity" as illustrated by Pollock and Rothko. Barr qualified Pollock's *Number 7* (1950) as a painting of movement, one which was "a direct visual recording of movement, the very motion of the artist's hand and arm"[56] as opposed to Balla's *Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash* (1912) and Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* (1912). By contrast, Rothko's work,

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[52] From 1944 till 1949 the Chairman of the Coordination Committee of the Museum of Modern Art and the Director of the Curatorial Department handled Barr's job. In 1949 René d'Harnoncourt (1901-1968) took over as Director until 1967. Barr's absence did not last long as he was immediately reinstated, initially as Director of Research in Painting and Sculpture, and in 1947 he was appointed Director of the Museum Collections. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "d'Harnoncourt, René," *http://arthistorians.info/dharnoncourtr* [accessed April 13, 2019].)

[53] Amy Newman, introduction to "The Statesman," in *Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.*, 204.

[54] Barr added that this was the case in the free world as opposed to painters under a Communist regime, who were forced to paint in a "realistic" style. Barr also added that this did not imply that "realistic" painters in America were *per se* Communist sympathizers.

[55] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *What is Modern Painting?* 6th rev. ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1956), 42.

[56] Ibid., 43.

Number 10 (1950), a mid-century abstraction, was of a totally different nature, according to Barr. The picture was a combination of a large size canvas covered, with horizontals, muted colours, immaterial surfaces and subtle edges. It had "an effect of immanence, serenity and silence."[57] These were two examples of mid-century abstraction, which, according to Barr, were rooted in the same time period and context but were the result of different means of creative expression.

In his 1956 conclusion Barr reaffirmed his contention of the treble component of truth, freedom and perfection. Barr died in 1981, having introduced the American public to modern art and contributed to a better understanding of it.

> "American painting 'stacks up against the Old World' very well indeed."[58]
>
> Alfred H. Barr Jr.

3.6. What is the state of American art?

Cahill's mention, in 1934, of the existence of a demand for a "distinctive note of Americanism" was affirmed fifteen years later. In 1949, Robert Goldwater,[59] the editor of *Magazine of Art* carried out a survey of a group of writers and critics, which included amongst others Cahill and Barr[60], on three sets of questions concerning the state of American art. The questions were revelatory of the new thinking of the American art establishment.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," *Magazine of Art*, March 1949, 85.

[59] Robert Goldwater (1907-1973) was an American art historian and scholar of African arts. He was the first Director of the Museum of Primitive Art in New York from 1957 to 1973. He had a Bachelor of Arts degree, obtained in 1929 from Columbia University, where he studied with Meyer Schapiro, and a Master of Arts degree obtained from Harvard University in 1931. He was Editor of *Magazine of Art* at the end of the 1940s. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Goldwater, Robert," http://arthistorians.info/goldwaterr [accessed March 20, 2019].)

[60] Apart from Alfred Barr and Holger Cahill, the group included Walter Abell (1897-1956), Jacques Barzun (1907-2012), John I.H. Bauer (1909-1987), Alfred Frankenstein (1906-1981), Lloyd Goodrich (1897-1987), Clement Greenberg, George Heard Hamilton (1910-2004), Douglas MacAgy (1916-1973), H.W. Janson (1913-1982), Daniel Catton Rich (1904-1976), James Thrall Soby, Lionel Trilling (1905-1975), John Devoluy (dates unknown), and Patrick Heron (1920-1999).

The most relevant in terms of a "distinctive note of Americanism" was the first set: "Is there a well-marked trend or direction of style in American painting and sculpture today? … is what is being done in the United States today of sufficiently marked character to warrant being called 'American'? And how does it appear to you that American art today … stacks up against the Old World in quality of individual accomplishment and vigor of general activity?"[61]

The second set of questions, based on the lectures given by Sir Herbert Read[62] the previous year, concerned the actual creative process of the artist. Read had suggested "the extremes of 'abstraction' and 'naturalism' no longer appl[ied] to current creativity."[63] And that "these two tendencies are equally strong within the individual and correspond to divergent emotional directions—so that they can be practiced simultaneously by the same artist, his (unconscious) choice of style depending upon his mood of the moment."[64] Goldwater asked: "Do you think this is true at present?"[65] He viewed this problem as an intensification of the broader problem of an "eclecticism of styles" in artists' practice and public taste. "Would you say that all 'styles' of art can be equally well carried out by different artists, success depending only on the quality of the individual work?"[66] The third set of questions concerned the divide between literature and the visual arts in America.

Cahill was of the view that the strongest trend in 1949 was towards abstraction, but that there were many others in American art. Barr too did not think that at the time there was a single "well-marked trend or direction."[67] He believed there was "a strong, broad and diversified movement towards abstraction, ..."[68] According to

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[61] Robert Goldwater, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," *Magazine of Art*, March 1949, 83.
[62] Sir Herbert Read (1893-1968) was an English art historian, poet, literary critic and philosopher. He was co-founder of the London Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA), founded in 1947 amongst others with the English artist and historian Sir Roland Penrose (1900-1984) and the British poet and editor Geoffrey Grigson (1905-1985). The intention of the founders was to establish a space where artists, writers and scientists could debate ideas outside the traditional confines of the Royal Academy. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Read, Sir Herbert," http://arthistorians.info/readh [accessed March 20, 2019], and s.v. "Penrose, Sir Roland," http://arthistorians.info/penroser [accessed March 20, 2019].)
[63] Goldwater, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 83.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Barr, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 85.
[68] Ibid.

Barr, American art was seeing its third wave of abstraction since the beginning of the First World War. In addition there were several other trends: one such trend was towards minutely rendered detail, whether realistic, neo-classic or fantastic, in subject matter; another was towards a revival of traditional romanticism. According to Barr, "Expressionism" appeared to be the most common style of the 1940s.

On the American nature of art Cahill pointed out that the important thing was "to discover what experience a work of art expresses and if that experience is American to recognize it."[69] His view was that American art did express American experience, irrespective of whether that experience was liked or not. The fact that critics intensely "disliked" certain phases of contemporary art was revelatory of the critics rather than the art. He argued that art "does not become American through artists who reflect back to us a casually observed American scene."[70] In addition, it was virtually impossible to define the limits of American experience, which made it difficult to understand its full range. On whether there was a "distinctive note of Americanism," Barr maintained that American artists produced American art, when the subject matter was American. "[W]hatever is produced by American painters ... is American; but almost all Americans work within the varied traditions of the Western World, so that their art, except when obviously American subject matter is used, is usually not distinguishably American."[71] Thus, for him subject matter determined geographical distinctiveness not the place of production or the place of birth or nationality of the artists. This is interesting, having in mind that many of the Abstract Expressionist painters were not originally American. Willem de Kooning and Gorky were just two examples of artists, who arrived in America as young adults.

In 1949 Cahill was adamant about the vitality and the high technical skill of American art, which compared well to the art of the Old World. He felt that many artists had chosen abstraction as the vehicle for their visual expression, but this did not exclude other modes of expression. Eclecticism was, according to him, still prevalent in the twentieth century. Barr believed that the quality of American art

[69] Holger Cahill, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 88.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Barr, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 85.

was on a par with European art. "American painting 'stacks up against the Old World' very well indeed."[72] He also thought that American painting was "more vigorous and original than that of any single European country."[73] But he admitted that the best painters selected from the "Old World" as a whole would surpass the Americans. He held the view that abstraction and realism were ambiguous terms but could be used as indications of "polarity." A battle between the two "directions" was not considered desirable, as he believed that both contributed to art. Forever the museum director, he viewed freedom of choice not only important for the artist, but equally so for the public.

The third set of questions, concerning the interaction, or rather the lack of it, between the visual arts and literature, led Cahill to state that the situation in 1949 was worse than in the 1920s and 1930s. "The blindness of American writers to the visual arts appears to be getting worse."[74] His hope lay with the future generation of American writers and the more widely spread teaching of art. Barr too indicated that progress in this area was poor. He felt that most American writers and editors remained blind towards the visual arts, especially in their more modern forms. The absence of interest lay with American novelists and poets, whereas most American painters had a genuine interest in modern literature. "Most artists can read—but few writers can see—and thus the blind continue to mislead the blind."[75] Barr found fault with magazine editors and columnists, whose interest appeared profit-motivated, and seemed "less concerned with enlightening their readers about modern art than with the easy and profitable confirmation of popular prejudice."[76]

Clement Greenberg, whose contribution is discussed in Chapter 4, thought there was "a definitely American trend in contemporary art, one that promises to become an original contribution to the mainstream and not merely a local inflection of something developed abroad."[77]

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Cahill, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 88.
[75] Barr, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 85.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Clement Greenberg, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," 92.

Thus, in 1949 amongst those who were following art trends in America it appeared that at last artists—in particular painters—were sufficiently forging ahead in their mode of pictorial expression to stand out on their own as equals of their European counterparts. These artists were "advancing" towards a distinctive visual language independent of that of their predecessors.

"Whether or not the public acknowledges it, the status of American art vis-à-vis that of the rest of the world has radically changed in the last ten years. No longer in tutelage to Europe, it now radiates influence and no longer receives it."[1]

Clement Greenberg

CHAPTER 4 – AN EMBLEMATIC MOMENT

4.1. Champions of the American avant-garde

As we have seen, the innovative output of "advanced" artists in America was at best ignored, and in most instances vilified. U.S. House Representative George Dondero attacked "advanced" art and artists in Congress and the art critic Edward Jewell did the same in the *New York Times.* This did not stop the painters and sculptors from persevering in their explorations and producing work that challenged the American art establishment as much as the general public.

A small number of supporters perceived the work of these "advanced" artists as a break with the past and a promising stage in the development of American art. Two young writers with a vision of the future stood out: Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg.[2] Both were New Yorkers who became intimately involved with the protagonists of what came to be known as Abstract Expressionism. They looked at the "advanced" art from the standpoint of the artists and were as such able to convey their perception of the essence of "advanced" art to the world at large. In doing so, they provided the artists with much needed encouragement and in time with much valued recognition. The process, slow at first, gained momentum after the end of World War II, culminating in widespread acknowledgment by the mid-1950s, both by the American art establishment and the international art world. In 1981 Goodnough recalled that at

[1] Clement Greenberg, foreword to "Ten Years," exhibition catalogue, Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, December 1955 - January 1956, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3: Affirmations and Refusals, 1950-1956*, by Clement Greenberg, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 256.
[2] Harold Rosenberg is discussed in section 4.4. of this chapter.

the time "most people couldn't see any future in what was going on."[3] Greenberg and Rosenberg were the exception. Goodnough highlighted Greenberg's influence in particular, when he maintained that the art critic had helped his education more than the "schools" had done.

Both Greenberg and Rosenberg championed the American avant-garde, albeit from different standpoints: Greenberg as a critic and Rosenberg as a theoretician. Their writings reached beyond the works of the "advanced" artists, as they both endeavoured to give outsiders an insight into the artists' language of expression. Greenberg was the voice of "advanced" artists in America and the chronicler of their emergence. Rosenberg was their intimate and spiritual "insider," who sought to explain the intricacies of their minds and creativity. The two champions were, however, often at loggerheads, according to Irving Sandler.

In this chapter, we have attempted to present the contribution made by Greenberg and Rosenberg to the understanding of what the Abstract Expressionists adopted as their subject matter and what they may have viewed as the essence of their work. We have also included a brief appraisal of Hofmann's artistic vision, since it served as guidance for Greenberg's perception of the American avant-garde. In addition we have chronicled the culmination of "advanced" painting in what became an emblematic moment in twentieth-century American painting during the first half of the 1950s.

4.2. Clement Greenberg[4]: the critic's chronicle

4.2.1. Art critic in the making

In 1939 Clement Greenberg initiated a new openness towards the evolution of modern art in general and "advanced" art in particular. He underscored the importance of

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[3] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," in *Goodnough*, by Martin Bush (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 166.

[4] Biographical sources: John O'Brien, "Chronology to 1949," in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1: Perceptions and Judgments, 1939-1944*, by Clement Greenberg, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 253-256; John O'Brien, "Chronology 1950-1969," in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2: Arrogant Purpose, 1945-1949*, by Clement Greenberg, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), 321-326.

abstract art as the only way forward, anchoring his views in the socio-political context of the time—the industrialised West and its capitalist system. His heart and mind were open to the works of his own generation of artists and their efforts to find a new expression in pictorial representation. During the 1940s and early 1950s he searched for an understanding of this new expression in the traditions of the past and the artists' will to move beyond those traditions. He chronicled it in his reviews and articles. As we shall see, for Greenberg, art, particularly modern art, was a dynamic concept, with a life of its own and a law unto itself. In this he joined the views of John Graham[5] and Hans Hofmann, and conveyed the significance of the works of Pollock and others. He valued in particular the influence of the teachings of Hofmann, whom he regarded as one of the most important figures in twentieth-century American art.

Born on 16 January 1909, Clement Greenberg was the eldest of three sons and one daughter of Jewish immigrants, who had both arrived in the United States from Eastern Europe at the turn of the century. Greenberg's parents were free-speaking socialists, who spoke Yiddish at home. His childhood and adolescence had much in common with that of Adolph Gottlieb and Barnett Newman: immigrant parents from Eastern Europe and a traditional Jewish affiliation. As the first American-born generation, all three men had assimilated American values without relinquishing their Jewish roots. Greenberg made this clear in February 1944. "I believe that a quality of Jewishness is present in every word I write, as it is in almost every word of every other contemporary American Jewish writer."[6] He also thought that there was a Jewish bias towards the abstract and a tendency to conceptualise life, as well as a certain "*Schwärmerei*,"[7] a state of exalted surprise at the condition of human existence. If at the time this was the view of a Jewish American art critic, then it was probably shared to some extent by his Jewish American artist contemporaries.

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[5] John D. Graham's views are detailed in Chapter 6.1.

[6] Clement Greenberg, in "Under Forty: A Symposium on American Literature and the Younger Generation of American Jews," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, February 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 177. Greenberg's piece was in response to a number of questions the editors of *Contemporary Jewish Record* had submitted to the participants.

[7] Ibid.

By 1920 the family was living in Brooklyn, where Greenberg attended high school.[8] In 1925, aged sixteen, Greenberg enrolled in a drawing class at the Art Students League, showing more than a passing interest in the arts. The following year he entered his freshman's year at Syracuse University in New York State, where he studied languages—German and Italian—and literature. Through the most severe years of the Great Depression Greenberg worked in the family dry goods business, leaving it to become a government clerk[9] in 1936.[10] About a year later he began to frequent life drawing classes with Igor *Pantuhoff, a close friend of Lee Krasner, at a WPA studio. More important, during the 1938-1939 academic year, he attended three lectures by Hofmann at his school in Manhattan, and came to realise the importance of Hofmann's impact on American art. Towards the end of the decade Greenberg became acquainted with Harold Rosenberg and the Jewish playwright and theatre critic, Lionel Abel (1910-2001), who introduced him to the circle of writers around *Partisan Review*[11] and one of its editors, Dwight MacDonald.

In the spring of 1939 Greenberg travelled to Europe, visiting England, France, Italy, and Switzerland, and saw at close quarters what was happening politically and culturally. In France he was introduced[12] to Paul Eluard (1895-1952), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), Virgil Thomson[13], Jean Arp, Sophie Tauber, and Hans Bellmer **(**1902-1975). He also interviewed Ignazio Silone[14] in Zurich for the autumn edition of *Partisan Review*. His journey helps to explain the political slant of his seminal article

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[8] He attended Erasmus Hall at Marquand School, where he studied French and Latin. French would stand him in good stead as an art critic as would his knowledge of German.

[9] In 1936 Greenberg was employed in the United States Civil Service Commission, in New York City. This was followed by a job with the Veterans Administration. In 1937 he worked for the United States Customs Service, Appraiser's Division, in the Port of New York, Department of Wines and Liquors, where he remained till late 1942.

[10] By 1936 Greenberg had been married and was divorced with a son. He married Edwina Ewing in 1934 and his son was born in 1935.

[11] By the end of the decade, the publication of the quarterly magazine had restarted, following a break from autumn 1936 to end 1937 due to internal ideological dissension. The new editorial leadership was still affiliated to the left but critical of Stalin's policies.

[12] Sherry Mangan, *Time* magazine's correspondent in Paris, made the introductions.

[13] Virgil Thomson (1896-1989) was a Kansas City-born American composer and critic, who studied at Harvard and in Paris. He was instrumental in the development of the "American Sound" in classical music, and was described as a "modernist." (*The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Thomson, Virgil."

[14] Ignazio Silone (1900-1978) was the pseudonym of Secondino Tranquilli, an Italian author and controversial left-wing politician. (*The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Silone, Ignazio.")

“Avant-garde and Kitsch,” published in *Partisan Review* in the autumn of 1939, and its follow-up “An American View,” published in *Horizon* in September 1940.

Soon after the publication of “Avant-garde and Kitsch,” Greenberg, in January 1940, joined the editorial staff of *Partisan Review*. During the first few years he wrote mainly on literature[15] before moving on to art. In 1942 he became the regular art critic of *The Nation*[16], and resigned both from the United States Customs Service, where he had been employed since 1937, and from the editorial board of *Partisan Review*. About this time Lee Krasner introduced him to Jackson Pollock. In the autumn of 1944 he became managing editor of *Contemporary Jewish Record*, published by the American Jewish Committee. The journal was incorporated into *Commentary* in 1945 and as a result Greenberg became an associate editor of *Commentary.*[17]

Honourably discharged from the U.S. Army Air Force for medical reasons in September 1943, Greenberg spent the war years at home. The New York art world in the 1940s became Greenberg’s realm of interest and action. He sought out “advanced” painters and sculptors, reviewed their shows, and praised the galleries that displayed their works. He expressed critical concern about the staid approach of the conventional style-setters on 57th Street and the directors and curators of the established art institutions. He brought a critical eye to the museum exhibitions of so-called modern art, in particular those of the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, without sparing the Museum of Modern Art. In 1942, when reviewing the “Tenth Whitney Annual”[18] and the Metropolitan’s “Artists for Victory”[19] exhibition, he expressed his disappointment. “The important question is whether contemporary American art is as unenterprising as these two shows make it out to be. I

[15] Greenberg’s translation of Franz Kafka’s “Josefine, die Sängerin oder Das Volk der Mäuse” (1924) appeared under the English title “Josephine, The Songstress: Or, the Mice Nation” in *Partisan Review*, May-June 1942, 213-228. He continued to translate Kafka’s short stories and essays for publication until 1948.
[16] His first review was published in the March 7, 1942 issue. He remained the art critic at *The Nation* until end 1949.
[17] He held the position until his dismissal in 1957.
[18] “1942-43 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Art: Sculpture, Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings and Prints” (November 24, 1942 - January 6, 1943).
[19] “Exhibition Artists for Victory: An Exhibition of Contemporary America Art: Paintings, Sculptures, Prints” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (December 7, 1942 - February 22, 1943).

think not."[20] In 1943 he criticised the Museum of Modern Art on its new acquisitions, commenting on "the extreme sensitivity of the museum to trade winds on Fifty-seventh Street."[21] This criticism was repeated a year later in his article, "The Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors and the Museum of Modern Art," in which he admonished the Museum of Modern Art about its purpose and role. "The function of the museum of *modern* art is to discriminate and support those tendencies in art which are specifically and validly modern, regardless of general appeal or vogue."[22]

His criticism was part of the frame within which he sought to "educate" the American public, or at least his readers, about the evolution of art since the end of the nineteenth century. He was convinced that there was more to contemporary art than met the eye at the Whitney or the Metropolitan. He lambasted the organisers of the "Whitney Annuals" for their mediocre choices when a vibrant new art was emerging on their doorstep. He recognised the worth of such avant-garde connoisseurs as Peggy Guggenheim, Samuel Kootz, Betty Parsons, and Howard Putzel, praising their courage in advancing the works of unknown talent.

When reviewing the "Peggy Guggenheim Collection" in 1943, he praised her selection of works and pointed the spectator towards a new perception of modern art. "A tendency dominant in painting since cubism is that which … tries almost literally to disembowel the painting. Its pictorial content no less than the physical fact of the canvas itself is to enter the actual presence of the spectator on the same terms, and as completely, as do the wall, the furniture, and the people."[23] A year later he gave credit to her acumen for presenting young and unrecognised artists. "Two of the abstract painters she has recently introduced—Jackson Pollock and William Baziotes—reveal

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[20] Clement Greenberg, "Review of the 'Whitney Annual' and the Exhibition 'Artists for Victory,'" *The Nation*, January 2, 1943, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 135.
[21] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Mondrian's *New York Boogie Woogie* and Other New Acquisitions at the Museum of Modern Art," *The Nation*, October 9, 1943, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 154.
[22] Clement Greenberg, "The Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors and the Museum of Modern Art," *The Nation*, February 12, 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 183. (Italics in the original text.)
[23] Clement Greenberg, "Review of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection," *The Nation*, January 30, 1943, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 140.

more than promise: on the strength of their first one-man shows they have already placed themselves among the six or seven best young painters we possess."[24]

Greenberg was as much Guggenheim's champion as he was of her favourites. When she decided to close her gallery and depart for Europe, he was dismayed. "Her departure is in my opinion a serious loss to living American art. ... in the three or four years of her career as a New York gallery director she gave first showings to more serious new artists than anyone else in the country (Pollock, Hare, Baziotes, Motherwell, Rothko, Ray, *De Niro, *Admiral, *McKee, and others)."[25] His view of Betty Parsons, who took over the torch from Peggy Guggenheim, was equally positive, as evidenced on the occasion of the tenth anniversary exhibition "Ten Years"[26] of the Betty Parsons Gallery. "Mrs. Parsons' is an artist's—and critic's—gallery; a place where art goes on and is not just shown and sold."[27] Howard Putzel, who had been Guggenheim's advisor, was also recognised as a promoter of new art and new talent. In his June 1945 review of Putzel's show "A Problem for Critics" he acknowledged the importance of the event and of Putzel's attempt to signify and define a new tendency in American avant-garde painting, although he did not agree with Putzel on its source of inspiration.

From his first encounter with the works of Jackson Pollock, Greenberg perceived the novelty of the artist's use of the means of pictorial expression and became his champion, but not without judgment. He did as much for other future "trailblazers," amongst them de Kooning, Gorky, Gottlieb, and Motherwell. In reviewing Motherwell's work in 1946 he pinpointed what he believed to be the essence of the contemporary artist: "the essential is to decide what one is, not what one wants."[28] This

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[24] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of William Baziotes and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, January 11, 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 239.
[25] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Theo Van Doesburg and Robert Motherwell." *The Nation*, May 31, 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 151.
[26] December 19, 1955 - January 14, 1956.
[27] Clement Greenberg, foreword to "Ten Years," exhibition catalogue, Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, December 1955 - January 1956, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 256.
[28] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Hyman Bloom, David Smith, and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, January 26, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 55.

viewpoint resurfaced later in the year in a review of Arshile Gorky's work in the May issue of *The Nation*.

Greenberg's support for Pollock started with his review of Pollock's first one-man show at Art of This Century at the end of 1943. He praised the work of the young painter without sparing him. "Pollock has gone through the influences of Miró, Picasso, Mexican paintings, and what not, and has come out on the other side at the age of thirty-one, painting mostly with his own brush."[29] This was the first of many insightful commentaries on Pollock's work. Greenberg was aware of the painter's potential, and made his work the benchmark for his contemporaries. In his 1945 review of an exhibition of Richard Pousette-Dart at the Willard Gallery[30] he noted Pollock's influence, pinpointing three qualities—boldness, breadth, and the monumental—the artist was aiming for. "American painting is much in need of all three qualities, and it is significant that Pollock, who manifests all three, has already begun to exert an influence, though he has been before the public hardly more than a year."[31] Pollock's second show at Art of This Century earned him Greenberg's accolade of "the strongest painter of his generation and perhaps the greatest one to appear since Miró."[32]

Yet Greenberg showed himself to be a modest viewer and a "humble" reviewer when confronted with Pollock's work, as evidenced in his review of the artist's third solo show at Art of This Century in 1946. "One has to learn Pollock's idiom to realize its flexibility. And it is precisely because I am, in general, still learning from Pollock that I hesitate to attempt a more thorough analysis of his art."[33] He never missed an opportunity to pick out a Pollock painting, even in a mediocre show. In his 1946 review of the "Whitney Annual," in which he deplored the general level of the works, he isolated Pollock's *Two* (ca.1943). "The best painting at the present show is Jackson

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[29] Clement Greenberg, "Jackson Pollock. Oils, Gouaches, and Drawings, at Art of This Century Gallery," *The Nation*, 27 November 1943, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 166.
[30] January 3-27, 1945.
[31] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Edgar Degas and Richard Pousette-Dart," *The Nation*, January 20, 1945, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 6-7.
[32] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Mondrian, Kandinsky, and Pollock; of the Annual Exhibition of the American Abstract Artists; and of the Exhibition *European Artists in America*," *The Nation*, April 7, 1945, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 16.
[33] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of the American Abstract Artists, Jacques Lipchitz, and Jackson Pollock," *The Nation*, April 13, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 75.

Pollock's *Two*. Those who think that I exaggerate Pollock's merit are invited to compare this large vertical canvas with everything else in the Annual."[34] That Pollock was the leader of the pack was not in doubt for Greenberg. The artist was ahead of his American contemporaries and, if anything, probably of his French peers also. "Pollock has gone beyond the stage where he needs to make his poetry explicit in ideographs. What he invents instead has perhaps, in its very abstractness and absence of assignable definition, a more reverberating meaning. ... Pollock points a way beyond the easel, beyond the mobile, framed picture, to the mural, perhaps—or perhaps not. I cannot tell."[35]

When judging the work of American artists in 1947, Greenberg was of the view that there was reason for hope, but that most of the artists with promise had not yet reached their point of destination. "The tentatives are promising, seven or eight people make them; but still, aside from Jackson Pollock, nothing has really been accomplished as yet."[36] Greenberg continued to be impressed with Pollock's work in 1948, as witnessed by his review of Pollock's show at Betty Parsons. "As before, his new work offers a puzzle to all those not sincerely in touch with contemporary painting."[37] In a letter, dated 15 January 1948, to the Editor of *The Nation* Greenberg pointed out that ultimately his only criterion in judging a work of art was the enjoyment it provided. "If I happen to enjoy Pollock more than any other contemporary American painter, it is not because I have an appetite for violent emotion but because Pollock seems to me to paint better than his contemporaries."[38] He continued to believe in the merit of Pollock "as one of the major painters of our time."[39] He reaffirmed his judgment in 1952, especially in his article "Jackson Pollock's New Style," which appeared in *Harper's Bazaar* in February 1952. He noted a new phase in Pollock's latest paintings, in which

[34] Clement Greenberg, "Review of the Whitney Annual," *The Nation*, December 28, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 118.
[35] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Jean Dubuffet and Jackson Pollock," *The Nation*, February 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 125.
[36] Clement Greenberg, "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture," *Horizon*, October 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 170.
[37] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Worden Day, Carl Holty, and Jackson Pollock," *The Nation*, January 24, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 201.
[38] Clement Greenberg, letter to the editor, *The Nation*, January 31, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 205.
[39] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Adolph Gottlieb, Jackson Pollock, and Josef Albers," *The Nation*, February 19, 1949, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 286.

unity of the canvas was more traditional, and therefore more open to imagery. Greenberg believed Pollock developed according to "a double rhythm in which each beat harks back to the one before the last."[40] At the end of 1952, "A Retrospective Show of the Paintings of Jackson Pollock,"[41] was held at Bennington College, Vermont, and later at the Lawrence Museum, Williams College, in Massachusetts. Greenberg in the foreword to the exhibition catalogue stated: "[t]his is Jackson Pollock's first retrospective show[42], and I think it furnishes telling evidence of the magnitude of his achievement over the past decade."[43] From the foreword it is possible to deduce that, for Greenberg, Pollock's evolution was revelatory of the development of American art since World War II. And in addition, that this development was being watched by the Europeans with apprehension.

Pollock was not alone. In his review of Gottlieb's show at Samuel Kootz in 1947, Greenberg praised him as "perhaps the leading exponent of a new indigenous school of symbolism which includes among others Mark Rothko, Clyfford Still, and Barnett Benedict Newman."[44] He repeated his belief in the artist's relevance in 1954 in the catalogue foreword to the Gottlieb retrospective at Bennington College in Vermont. He was equally enthusiastic about Gorky, mindful of the progress still to be made by the artist. "Gorky's art does not yet constitute an eruption into the mainstream of contemporary painting, as I think Jackson Pollock's does. … Yet the chances are, now that he has discovered what he is and is willing to admit it, that Gorky will soon acquire the integral arrogance that his talent entitles him to."[45] Gorky's death in 1948 represented for Greenberg a major loss. "American art cannot afford Gorky's death, and it is doubly unfortunate that it came at a time when he was beginning effectively to

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[40] Clement Greenberg, "Jackson's Pollock's New Style," *Harper's Bazaar*, February 1952, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 106.

[41] November - December 1952.

[42] According to John O'Brian, Greenberg selected eight paintings for the exhibition: *Pasiphaë* (ca.1943) was the earliest and *No. 25, 1951* was the latest.

[43] Clement Greenberg, foreword to "A Retrospective Show of the Paintings of Jackson Pollock," exhibition catalogue, Bennington College, Vermont, and Lawrence Museum, Williams College, Massachusetts, November - December 1952, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 119.

[44] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Hedda Sterne and Adolph Gottlieb," *The Nation*, December 6, 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 188. (Newman responded to this article in a letter, which *The Nation* did not print.)

[45] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Paul Gauguin and Arshile Gorky," *The Nation*, May 4, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 79-80.

realize the fullness of his gifts, … ."[46] Apparently discarding the fact that Gorky was born in Armenia and arrived in America, already a teenager, in 1920, he was convinced that he was "one of the few, very few, artists qualified to represent American art to the world."[47]

Though Greenberg heralded the new generation of American painters, he did not cast aside the relevance of the School of Paris, which for him remained "the creative fountainhead of modern art, and its every move is decisive for advanced artists everywhere else—… ."[48]

4.2.2. "Avant-garde and Kitsch" and the 1940s chronicle

In the autumn of 1939 *Partisan Review* published "Avant-garde and Kitsch." The essay presented a radical change in the perception of Western culture and in particular art in the United States. Its author sought to explain the emergence of the "avant-garde" in America, to identify its content and significance, and subsequently to oppose it to its antithesis—kitsch.

While, according to Greenberg, the avant-garde was the only living culture in existence in the West, whose social base, however, was rapidly shrinking and therefore under threat, "kitsch" was only a phenomenon. Kitsch was "the imitation of imitating,"[49] containing "within itself some of the very Alexandrianism[50] it seeks to overcome."[51] Avant-garde differed from Alexandrianism, in that it did not stand still, was on the move, but had become a specialisation of itself, and in the process had estranged many who enjoyed ambitious art, as they were not willing to be initiated into the craft secrets of the artists. Greenberg viewed kitsch as the product of the industrial revolution, which had urbanised the masses of Western Europe and established universal literacy. Kitsch filled the new market demand: it was ersatz culture, it used "for raw material the

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[46] Clement Greenberg, "Review of the Whitney Annual," *The Nation*, December 11, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 267.
[47] Ibid., 268.
[48] Clement Greenberg, "Review of an Exhibition of School of Paris Painters," *The Nation*, June 29, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 87.
[49] Clement Greenberg, "Avant-garde and Kitsch." *Partisan Review*, Fall 1939, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 10.
[50] Greenberg used "Alexandrianism" in the Aristotelian sense of academicism.
[51] Ibid., 10.

debased and academicized simulacra of genuine culture."[52] It cultivated "insensibility," was mechanical and operated by formulas. Kitsch was a vicarious experience, based on faked sensations, and never changed. It was also a source of profits. "Kitsch pretends to demand nothing of its customers except their money—not even their time."[53] The phenomenon was intimately linked to the capitalist system, but equally present in and exploited by the totalitarian system, with the Soviet-Union as prize example. The essay was a direct attack on academicism and kitsch as its offshoot, and was viewed as a criticism of the cultural values of the American establishment. Greenberg's political views, in particular his attack on capitalism, were further expressed in "An American View" published a year later in *Horizon*.

In "Towards a Newer Laocoon [*sic*][54]," which appeared in the July-August 1940 issue of *Partisan Review*, Greenberg sought to explain the ascendency of abstract art to a dominant position in painting and sculpture. The explanation lay in the gradual surrender of avant-garde painting to the resistance of the flat picture plane, thus relinquishing the objective of realistic perspective space, and with it "literature" (the narrative, or anecdotal), which had dominated the arts since the seventeenth century. In the process the picture plane became indistinguishable from the actual surface of the canvas. The historical justification of the superiority of abstract art in mid-twentieth century meant that those who were dissatisfied with it could not escape it by simple-minded evasion or by negation. "We can only dispose of abstract art by assimilating it, by fighting our way through it."[55] Greenberg was nevertheless not sure what the future held. "Where to? I do not know."[56]

After "The Newer Laocoon" Greenberg kept quiet for a while, focusing on what the museums and galleries in New York had to offer. However, in 1944 disheartened by what was put on show, in particular at the Whitney Museum of American Art, he appeared convinced that abstract art was the only "mode" forward for painters and sculptors. His conviction gave rise to an essay on abstract art and motivated him to make public, at regular intervals, his perceptions and views on art. Thus, between 1944

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[52] Ibid., 12.
[53] Ibid.
[54] The spelling used in the original title has been retained.
[55] Clement Greenberg, "Towards a Newer Laocoon," *Partisan Review*, July - August 1940, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 37.
[56] Ibid., 38.

and 1949, he published a series of key essays on different aspects of contemporary art, providing a chronicle of the post-World War II American art scene, and a gradual insight into what he viewed as the essence of "advanced" American art.

"Abstract Art," published in *The Nation* of April 1944, was the first such article, and in it Greenberg sought to put abstract art in its historical perspective, reaffirming what he had said in "Towards a Newer Laocoon" four years earlier. He traced the pictorial evolution back to the Renaissance, when the previous great revolution had taken place in Western painting and three-dimensionality was introduced leaving behind hieratic flatness. According to Greenberg, flatness began to creep in again with the Impressionists, who discovered that "the most direct interpretation of visual experience must be two-dimensional."[57] And thus the canvas no longer functioned as a windowpane for the picture, but became the actual locus of the picture. Cubism "annihilated" the third dimension, resulting in "paintings that were flat—and thus accomplished the counter-revolution in principle."[58] However, the Cubists had stopped short of abstraction. Those who did draw the experimentation to its logical conclusion "became outright abstractionists, resigning themselves to the nonrepresentational and the inviolability, more or less, of the plane surface."[59] This, according to Greenberg, represented an "epochal transformation."[60] Painting became confined simply to the disposition of colour and line without any relation to the real world. Consequently pictorial representation was at a loss to convey the outside world and resorted to the expression of the internal self, similar to what Alfred Barr in 1943 described as the "inner world of emotion."

The next essay, "Surrealist Painting," appeared in *The Nation* in two instalments on 12 and 19 August 1944. In it Greenberg provided an analysis of Surrealism and underscored its weakness, in that Surrealist painting did not provide new subject matter. The Surrealist artists, amongst them Miró, Arp, Masson, and Klee, for whom automatism was a primary factor, demonstrated "a new way of seeing as well as new

[57] Clement Greenberg, "Abstract Art," *The Nation*, April 15, 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 201.
[58] Ibid., 202.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

things to be seen."[61] The others, amongst them Max Ernst, Tanguy, Magritte, and Dali, saw new things but saw them no differently than painters in the past would have seen them, if the latter had accepted the Surrealist notion of subject matter. In their case the picture reflected merely a new anecdote. "The Surrealist image provides painting with new anecdotes to illustrate …, but of itself it does not charge painting with a new subject matter."[62] He concluded that these Surrealist painters were merely "revivers of the literal past and advance agents of a new conformist, and best-selling art."[63]

"The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture" appeared in *Horizon* in October 1947 and was in essence an indictment of the American public, in particular the American art establishment. Greenberg believed that American culture had not and did not support painters and sculptors as it had, and continued to do so, novelists and poets, and that the American public had little if any judgment in art, as compared to literature. "In our advanced circles there is an amazing disjunction between literature and art."[64] He found it amazing that in a country where pictorial communication had encroached on the printed word, painting was given such meagre stimulus and support. The danger, however, lay in the improvement of the general middlebrow taste, as the emergence of a new mass culture market was leading writers and artists to meet the demands of this market—an echo of his contention in "Avant-garde and Kitsch."

Greenberg drew attention to the fact that "a society as completely capitalized and industrialized as our American one, seeks relentlessly to organize every possible field of activity and consumption in the direction of profit, regardless of whatever immunity from commercialization any particular activity may have once enjoyed."[65] He claimed that this rationalisation created emptiness and boredom. He mentioned Morris Graves and Mark Tobey as the two most original American painters of the day, who had, however, become uninteresting. The only other American artist, beside Pollock, that he deemed to merit the accolade "major" was the sculptor David Smith. What was missing from present day American art, according to Greenberg, was "[b]alance,

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[61] Clement Greenberg, "Surrealist Painting," *The Nation*, August 12 and 19, 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 230.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Clement Greenberg, "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture," *Horizon*, October 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 161.
[65] Ibid., 163.

largeness, precision, enlightenment, contempt for nature in all its particularity—... ."[66] The essay gave Greenberg yet another opportunity to point a finger at the Museum of Modern Art, although he mitigated his accusation. "But it cannot be blamed too much, since it reflects rather accurately the prevailing taste in American art circles."[67] However, he was convinced that neither the major dealers nor the Museum of Modern Art could stand in the way of the new momentum, which, according to him, prevailed below 34th Street.

In his next essay, "The Situation at the Moment," published in the January 1948 issue of *Partisan Review*, he predicted a central role for America in the development of Western art. "One has the impression—but only the impression—that the immediate future of Western art, if it is to have any immediate future, depends on what is done in this country."[68] In this he appeared to heed Cahill's 1934 call for a distinctive note of Americanism. He believed that the output of the most "advanced"[69] painters in recent years was not being matched elsewhere, but more was still required "in the way of exertion, tenacity, and independence in order to make an important contribution."[70] The American artist would be able to achieve this goal by embracing and contenting himself with isolation, as for Greenberg isolation, or rather alienation, was almost a prerequisite for outstanding art, a view, as we shall see, he shared with John Graham, who believed that suffering was a condition of great art.

Greenberg also defined what he perceived as the paradoxical "master-current" in the painting of the epoch—a persistent, largely unconscious, urge to move beyond the traditional format of the cabinet picture to "a kind of picture that, without actually becoming identified with the wall like a mural, would *spread* over it and acknowledge its physical reality."[71] This tendency was the result of abstract painting shying away from the small frame-enclosed format, as the flatness of abstract painting required a greater expanse of surface on which to develop its ideas. "Thus, while the painter's relation to his art has become more private than ever before because of a shrinking

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[66] Ibid., 168.
[67] Ibid., 169.
[68] Clement Greenberg, "The Situation at the Moment," *Partisan Review*, January 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 193.
[69] By "advanced" Greenberg meant American abstract painting.
[70] Ibid., 193.
[71] Ibid., 195. (Italics in the original text.)

appreciation on the public's part, the architectural and, presumably, social location for which he destines his product has become, in inverse ratio, more public."[72] This represented "the paradox," or contradiction, in the master-current of painting. And, according to Greenberg, it was this contradiction that defined the crisis of painting. The solution resided in the public acceptance of "advanced" painting and at the same time in its rejection of all other kinds of painting.

In "The Decline of Cubism," which appeared in *Partisan Review* in March 1948, Greenberg traced the evolution of Cubism, which he qualified as "the epoch-making feat of twentieth-century art, a style that has changed and determined the complexion of Western art as radically as Renaissance naturalism once did."[73] He attributed the decline of art in Europe to the disorientation of Cubism, which for him was still the only vital "style" of the day, one able to survive into the future and form new artists. However, after 1939 the Cubist heritage appeared to have reached the final stage of its decline in Europe. The analysis of the decline of Cubism provided Greenberg with the opportunity to highlight the fact that "the main premises of Western art have at last migrated to the United States, along with the center of gravity of industrial production and political power."[74] The migration was not complete, but had reached a sufficient stage to "permit us to abandon our chronic, and hitherto justified, pessimism about the prospects of American art, and hope for much more than we dared hope for in the past."[75] Thus, for the first time Greenberg appeared to promote the idea of a shift in the artistic centre of gravity from Europe to America.

In April 1948 *Partisan Review* published "The Crisis of the Easel Picture," in which Greenberg explained the evolution of the easel picture and its emergence as a unique product of Western culture with few counterparts elsewhere. The salient characteristic of the easel, or cabinet, picture was that it was movable and hung on a wall, as part of its social function. Hung on a wall the picture created the illusion of a cavity in the wall behind it. Within the cavity were forms, light, a space, organised according to rules of verisimilitude. When the artist flattened out this cavity the nature of the easel picture

[72] Ibid.
[73] Clement Greenberg, "The Decline of Cubism," *Partisan Review*, March 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 212.
[74] Ibid., 215.
[75] Ibid.

became compromised. Since the end of the nineteenth century, successive artists, starting with Édouard Manet, had "subjected the traditional cabinet picture to an uninterrupted process of attrition."[76] The most radical attack on the easel painting had come from Mondrian, whose pictures constituted the flattest of all easel painting, although his canvas still presented itself as "the *scene* of forms rather than as one single, indivisible piece of texture."[77]

In contrast, Greenberg described the work of some "advanced" painters as "the 'decentralized,' 'polyphonic' all-over picture which, with a surface knit together of a multiplicity of identical or similar elements, repeats itself without strong variation from one end of the canvas to the other and dispenses, apparently, with beginning, middle, and ending."[78] The painting as a result "comes closest of all to decoration—to wallpaper patterns capable of being extended indefinitely—and in so far as it still remains easel painting it infects the whole notion of this form with ambiguity."[79] He believed that different tendencies in modern art converged towards this new kind of painting, which represented an important phase in the history of pictorial representation and, as he put it, was not "an eccentric phenomenon."[80] He mentioned the "polyphonic" tendency in the larger works of Jean Dubuffet, and the works of American artists Tobey, Pollock, the late Arnold *Friedman, Rudolph *Ray, Ralph *Rosenborg, and Janet *Sobel. He explained that "these painters render every element, every part of the canvas equivalent; and they likewise weave the work of art into a tight mesh whose principle of formal unity is contained and recapitulated in each thread, so that we find the essence of the whole work in every one of its parts."[81] Greenberg compared their work on canvas to the compositions of Arnold Schönberg[82], who made every element, voice, and note different but equivalent. The painters, however, made their variations upon equivalence so subtle that they were no longer discernible,

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[76] Clement Greenberg, "The Crisis of the Easel Picture," *Partisan Review*, April 1948, 481.
[77] Ibid., 482. (Italics in the original text.)
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., 483.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Arnold Franz Walter Schoenberg, or Schönberg, (1874-1951) was associated with the Expressionist movement in German poetry and art, and leader of the Second Viennese School, which included his pupils, Alban Berg (1885-1935) and Anton Webern (1883-1945), and close associates. With the rise of the Nazi Party, Schoenberg's works were labelled degenerate music. He emigrated to the United States of America in 1934. (*The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Schoenberg, Arnold.")

resulting in “an hallucinated uniformity.”[83] This uniformity—dissolution—of the picture appeared to be a response to the feeling that there were no longer any hierarchical distinctions. He concluded that this approach put the easel picture in a new situation, in which it was under threat of destruction. Greenberg’s view about the evolution of the easel picture, in particular the “polyphonic” phase, was revelatory of the technique the “advanced” painters were toying with, thereby possibly uncovering an aspect of the essence of their work.

In May 1948 *Partisan Review* published “Irrelevance Versus Irresponsibility,” in which Greenberg refuted the questioning of the validity of modern painting and the contention that “the contemporary advanced artist had reduced himself to a technician, performer, virtuoso, at best a mere exponent of his own sensibility, whose work must lack real ‘human’ import.”[84] He believed that modern painting found itself in a precarious situation, “that of a familiar phenomenon whose familiarity has not made it any less baffling, a phenomenon moreover that continues to resist the literary approach.”[85] He contended that the content of modern art was to be found in its means. “The message of modern art, abstract or not, …, is precisely that means are content.”[86] Putting the means and the content of the painted canvas on an equal footing led to the conclusion that “[t]he inability to perceive ‘human’ content in modern art means ultimately the inability to perceive the point of painting and sculpture in general.”[87] He further argued that abstract art was as effective as all previous art and that its content was equally important or equally unimportant. In principle there was no difference.

In 1949 Greenberg returned to Cubism, in an attempt to ascertain how it had arrived at its characteristic form of purity and unity. “The decisive difference between cubism and the other movements appears to lie in its relation to nature.”[88] The Cubists had come to the conclusion that “flatness became the final, all-powerful premise of the art of painting, and the experience of nature could be transposed into it only by analogy, not by imitative reproduction. … Nature no longer offered appearances to imitate, but

[83] Ibid.
[84] Clement Greenberg, “Irrelevance Versus Irresponsibility,” *Partisan Review*, May 1948, 573.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 577.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Clement Greenberg, “The Role of Nature in Modern Painting,” *Partisan Review*, January 1949, 78.

principles to parallel."[89] Greenberg was convinced that without the guidance of nature it would have been doubtful that the Cubist painter would have been able to create such superlative art, and that modern painting never severed its link to the natural world. Even abstract painting remained naturalistic in its core. "It refers to the structure of the given world both outside and inside human beings. The artist who … tries to refer to anything else walks in a void."[90] In this he joined, as we shall see, the views of Hofmann, Graham, Rothko, and others, who did not deny the existence or relevance of nature or the world of reality.

In his contribution to the 1949 survey "A Symposium: The State of American Art," organised by Robert Goldwater, the Editor of *Magazine of Art*, Greenberg made the case for contemporary American art. "There is in my opinion, a definitely American trend in contemporary art, one that promises to become an original contribution to the mainstream and not merely a local inflection of something developed abroad."[91] The trend was such that it embraced artists as divergent in feeling and means as the late Gorky, Pollock, de Kooning, David Smith, Theodore *Roszak, Gottlieb, Motherwell, Robert De Niro and Seymour *Lipton, who were all under forty-five. Greenberg believed that these young American artists could match their peers anywhere in the world. He was even inclined to venture that they were actually ahead of their French contemporaries. His view was that the public did not match the level of the artists and that it aggressively defended its own bad taste. This bad taste was engendered by the inadequacy of those who had a say in art—critics, journalists, dealers, curators, collectors, amongst others—and communicated their views to the public through vessels of expression, such as *Life*, *Art News*[92], *Art Digest*, *Harper's* and *Atlantic Monthly*. "The philistinism that feels itself confirmed by this sort of art journalism is, I am afraid, more dangerous to culture than is generally realized."[93] This again was an echo of "The Avant-garde and Kitsch."

At the close of the decade, in June 1949, in "The New York Market for American Art," which appeared in *The Nation*, Greenberg deplored the lack of overt encouragement of

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[89] Ibid., 80.
[90] Ibid., 81.
[91] Clement Greenberg, in "A Symposium: The State of American Art," *Magazine of Art*, March 1949, 92.
[92] Greenberg's spelling.
[93] Ibid.

contemporary American art and the manifest discouragement of it. An increase in interest in "advanced" art had not been accompanied by a growth of the market for "advanced" art, and by withholding its money society was in effect discouraging it. He felt that "the present efflorescence of American art … cannot continue for long without a good deal more financial support than it now receives."[94] Only a few galleries were interested in "advanced" American painting. The Samuel Kootz Gallery, which had closed at the end of the 1947-1948 season, had left a big gap. During its four years of existence the gallery had provided young American artists, amongst them Motherwell and Gottlieb, with a framework within which to develop their talent. With the exception of Betty Parsons, the other galleries, such as Sidney Janis, Peridot, Jane Street, Charles Egan, and Jacques Seligmann, according to Greenberg, did not fill the vacuum left by Kootz. This situation made it difficult for young artists practising "advanced" art to be recognised and valued in New York. However, these artists were now bold enough to publicly voice their discontent and did so in an open letter addressed to Roland L. Redmond, President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on 20 May 1950. The letter, an initiative of Adolph Gottlieb, represented an attack on the selection of works for a forthcoming "monster national exhibition" and stated the refusal of the signatories[95] to submit their works to the jury designated by the museum. The twenty-eight signatories—eighteen painters and ten sculptors—decried the "known" hostile attitude of the jury members towards "advanced" art. The eighteen painters became known as "The Irascible Eighteen" after posing for a photo published in *Life* magazine in January 1951.

4.3. Hofmann's enduring influence

Hans Hofmann was for Greenberg a beacon for the new outlook in American art. In a 1945 review of a Hofmann show at 67 Gallery, Greenberg remarked: "Hans Hofmann is in all probability the most important teacher of our time. Not only has his school sent out good painters; the insights into modern art of the man himself have gone deeper

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[94] Clement Greenberg, "The New York Market for American Art," *The Nation*, June 11, 1949, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 320.

[95] Goodnough's seven interviewees signed the letter as did, amongst others, the sculptors Herbert Ferber, David Hare, David Smith, Ibram Lassaw, and Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010).

than those of any other contemporary."[96] Hofmann had not yet published his theories and views on art, but Greenberg was convinced they had "already directly and indirectly influenced many, including this writer—who owes more to the initial illumination received from Hofmann's lectures than to any other source."[97] In addition he was impressed with Hofmann's work. In 1947, in "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture," Greenberg in assessing the future of American painting and sculpture identified the influence of Hofmann, whom he believed was leading this younger generation in the right direction. "Most of the young artists in question have either been students of Hans Hofmann or come in close contact with his students and ideas. ... Hofmann will in the future … be considered the most important figure in American art of the period since 1935 and one of the most influential forces in its entire history, not for his own work, but for the influence, enlightening and uncompromising, he exerts."[98]

Hofmann presented his artistic vision and theory in his seminal work, *Search for the Real*, in 1948. For him "the rich flavor of life…[was] the basis for all inspirational work."[99] He viewed the spiritual element of an artistic creation as all-important. "Art is a reflection of the spirit, a result of introspection, which finds expression in the nature of the art medium."[100] For Hofmann, through its medium of expression, art blended the sensory and material into a spiritual unity. But he acknowledged the limitations imposed by the choice of medium of expression, in particular the picture plane. "The structure of a picture depends on the limitations of the picture plane. … The physical limitations of a picture become the start and the finish of the spirit's communication."[101]

Form, colour and texture were inherent to any real object and the relationship between them was specific to the object. It was the external expression of an experience

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[96] Clement Greenberg, "Review of an Exhibition of Hans Hofmann and a Reconsideration of Mondrian's Theories," *The Nation*, April 21, 1945, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 18.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Clement Greenberg, "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture," *Horizon*, October 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 169.
[99] Hans Hofmann, *Search for the Real and Other Essays by Hans Hofmann*, ed. Sarah T. Weeks and Bartlett H. Hayes, Jr. (Andover, Massachusetts: Addison Gallery of American Art, 1948), 63.
[100] Ibid., 65.
[101] Ibid.

translated into a medium of expression, whose inherent (but limited) qualities controlled the plastic act**.** The effect of pictorial depth was of fundamental importance. "Inner greatness, pictorially, is determined and limited by the relative degree to which the pictorial effect of depth, in contrast to the illusion of depth, serves the artist's purpose."[102] For Hofmann the emotional and sensory values of a work of art made it great art, the pictorial quality of a painting revealing its spiritual and mental content. "The general misunderstanding of a work of art is often due to the fact that the key to its spiritual content and technical means is missed." [103]

Hofmann's view was that although one could not make an artist, one could teach art. He taught many students[104], both in New York and at his summer school in Provincetown. Although his teaching method was, according to some, sometimes hard-handed and aggressive, he managed to encourage most to lean over the edge and discover new boundaries. Fritz Bultman remembered him as "a marvellous teacher because he was so human. ... he was hard but he was kind. He based a great deal on observation, ... What I learned most ... was how to see, how to live, and a real sense of values."[105] Lee Krasner, who enrolled as a Hofmann student in 1937 and attended painting classes for the next three years, recalled that twice a week he would judge every student's work. "He would come up to each easel and say what he had to say, or do what he chose to do with the work in front of him."[106] She explained that his public lectures reflected his teachings. "The lecture would be part of what he was teaching: the two-dimensional surface had to be punctured and then brought back to two-dimensionality again."[107] In the course of the academic school year 1938-1939 she introduced Greenberg to Hofmann.

According to Hofmann, the plastic artist was always concerned with the plastic values of reality, whether as presentation or representation. The essential was "an

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[102] Ibid., 66.
[103] Ibid., 62.
[104] For a detailed list of Hofmann's students see Tina Dickey, "Appendix A: Partial List Of Hofmann Students," in *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann* (Canada: Trillistar Books, 2011), 378-383. Goodnough is included in the list under the heading "1946 onward."
[105] Fritz Bultman, quoted in *The Provocative Years, 1935-1945: The Hans Hofmann School and Its Students in Provincetown*, exhibition catalogue, Provincetown Art Association & Museum, Provincetown, August 3 - October 28, 1990, 6.
[106] Lee Krasner, quoted in *The Provocative Years, 1935-1945*, 16.
[107] Ibid.

understanding of the limitations, qualities, and possibilities of variation of these presentational elements."[108] And the teacher was someone "who, by enforced discipline, shorten[s] the road to understanding, but … can work only by developing natural endowment."[109] Since art was a profound expression of feeling, it led to a more profound concept of life as compared to science.

For Hofmann, it was an artist's personal interpretative insight for which he was valued, not his conformity to traditional patterns. There were no boundaries for the encompassing creative mind. "Every deep artistic expression is the product of a conscious feeling for reality. This concerns both the reality of nature and the reality of the intrinsic life of the medium of expression."[110] As for the process of creation, he believed it was based on two metaphysical factors: the power to experience through the faculty of empathy, and the spiritual interpretation of the expression-medium resulting from such powers. "Concept and execution condition each other equally."[111] In creative painting, Hofmann distinguished two technical factors: first, the symphonic animation of the picture plane, which is to be found in the so-called art of easel painting or print making, etching, engraving, and other forms of drawing, which may suggest colour; and second, the decorative animation of the picture plane, to be found in so-called mural painting.[112] "Philosophically, every work which possesses intrinsic greatness is at once decorative and symphonically focused and integrated."[113]

The formal elements of painting, according to Hofmann, were the line, the plane, volume and what he called "the resulting formal complexes."[114] The aim of art was to "vitalize" form, which was the result of organic relationships between formal elements—simply "colour and light integrated into planes."[115] Hofmann believed all art was ruled by a conception of order—"a harmony and counterpoint, which has in practice arisen out of the nature of the art itself."[116] Three-dimensional nature was experienced through various sensory approaches. The picture plane, however, was two-

[108] Hans Hofmann, *Search for the Real and Other Essays*, 64.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 66.
[111] Ibid.
[112] For Hofmann the terms "easel picture" and "mural picture" expressed purely external differences.
[113] Ibid., 67.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid., 60.
[116] Ibid.

dimensional[117] and was perceived by means of a visual impression on its own. It appealed to the eye only, but might trigger associations with qualities experienced through other senses and stored in the subconscious. If memory was to assist the visual perception, then the picture must present "elements more definitely adapted and ordered than the visual appearance of nature alone."[118] In other words, "the process of re-creating reality is not based upon a simple reproduction of nature."[119] The creative process did not consist in imitating, but in "paralleling" nature—"translating the impulse received from nature into the medium of expression, thus vitalizing this medium."[120] For Hofmann the picture should be alive and the artist's active role was to produce a creation that could be shared passively by the viewer.

By providing an answer to the dilemma posed by the two-dimensionality of the picture plane, Hofmann enabled his students to uncover a new enigma, that of the unrecognisable "subject matter of the artist." The problem generated a lengthy debate amongst artists and critics while remaining largely unresolved.

4.4. Harold Rosenberg[121]: the theoretician of art history

4.4.1. Theoretician of the American avant-garde

No less a champion of the American avant-garde than Clement Greenberg was the writer and theoretician Harold Rosenberg. Born in Brooklyn in 1906, into a Jewish scholarly family, he attended, as did Barnett Newman, °City College of New York and gained a law degree at St. Lawrence University, Brooklyn, in 1927. By his own admission his education was augmented by reading at the New York Public Library. As a young adult Rosenberg contracted a serious bone infection, which incapacitated him for the rest of his life. The trauma of the disease and its effects represented a

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[117] For Hofmann it was possible to separate the picture plane into visual planes.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., 61.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Biographical sources: Harold Rosenberg Papers, Getty Research Institute, http://archives2.getty.edu:8082/xtf/view?docId=ead/980048/980048.xml;chunk.id=aspace_4e9b1053a8cf2905eb980b680288add9;brand=default [last accessed October 2, 2019]; Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Rosenberg, Harold," http://www.arthistorians.info/ rosenbergh. [last accessed April 19, 2019].

turning point in his life and led him to adopt a bohemian lifestyle and to devote himself to writing poetry.[122] He married May Natalie Tabak (1910-1993), a teacher and social worker, and later novelist, in 1932.

The Great Depression had a major impact on Rosenberg intellectually: he became a student of Marxism in the 1930s, and started contributing to the leftwing journals *Partisan Review* and the *New Masses*[123]. Under President Roosevelt's New Deal Rosenberg was assigned to the Works Progress Administration for art and started working in the Mural Division of the Federal Art Project, where he met Willem de Kooning. His acquaintance with de Kooning opened a window onto the world of the modern artist, the avant-garde and the theories of abstraction. Rosenberg's Marxism was at odds with his fundamental belief in an intellectual approach to aesthetics. As a result his views came under close scrutiny from the left and, in 1936, he was expelled as editor of *Art Front*, the short-lived art magazine published by the °Artists' Union. Gradually Rosenberg relinquished his leftwing views and converted to an anti-Communist and "democratic" position on art, underscoring individual creativity and the independence of the artist.

In 1938 Rosenberg moved to Washington, D.C., where he became national art editor for the WPA *American Guide Series*, published from 1937 to 1941 under the auspices of the Federal Writers' Project (FWP).[124] Due to his disability Rosenberg took no part in the war, but instead worked in the Office of War Information in 1942. He published a book of poems, *Trance Above the Streets*, in 1943, and wrote radio plays. After the end of the war he continued working for the War Advertising Council, renamed °Advertising Council, where he remained as Program Consultant for most of his career.

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[122] In 1931 he started writing for the Chicago literary magazine *Poetry*.
[123] *New Masses***,** the successor to *The Masses*, was an American Marxist magazine closely associated with the American Communist Party. The magazine was launched in New York City in 1926 as part of the Workers (Communist) Party of America's publishing stable, but also made use of the work of an array of independent writers, such as Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos (1896-1970), Upton Sinclair (1878-1968), Richard Wright (1908-1960), Ralph Ellison (1913-1994), Dorothy Parker (1893-1967), Langston Hughes (1902-1967), Eugene O'Neill (1888-1953), and Ernest Hemingway (1899-1961). During the Great Depression *New Masses* became highly influential in intellectual circles, and in the 1930s the magazine became the mouthpiece of leftwing political comment. (*The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "*Masses, The*.")
[124] The books were compiled by the FWP, but printed by the individual states, and contained detailed histories of each of the then forty-eight states of the Union.

Rosenberg's breakthrough article on art, "On the Fall of Paris," in which he anticipated the shift of the world art centre from Paris to New York, appeared in the November-December issue of *Partisan Review* in 1940, a year after Greenberg's essay "Avant-garde and Kitsch." After the war Rosenberg became more intimately involved with the activities of the "advanced" artists in Greenwich Village and East Hampton. He became friendly with Rothko, Krasner, Pollock, and Newman, amongst others. In 1947, he co-edited with Motherwell *Possibilities 1*. His groundbreaking essay "The American Action Painters" appeared in *Artnews* in 1952. Prior to that, in 1949, he had already explained what he believed to be the essence of "advanced" painting produced by the artists chosen for Kootz's show "The Intrasubjectives."[125] Throughout the 1950s he contributed articles and essays to *Artnews* and other literary and political periodicals, such as the post-war French journal *Les Temps Modernes,* and the left-wing New York magazine *Dissent*. During all this time he had an ongoing ideological battle on aesthetics with Clement Greenberg, which, apparently had started as a rivalry over a staff position at *Partisan Review.* He was art critic for *The New Yorker* from 1967 till his death in 1978.

4.4.2. The theoretician's foresight

In "On the Fall of Paris" Rosenberg traced the decline of the magnetism of Paris, which, according to him, had been "the Holy Place of our time."[126] Paris had attracted artists of every nation, and it was there that "blendings" took place. "Paris represented the International of culture."[127] As a consequence, twentieth-century art in Paris was not Parisian, but international. Thus, according to Rosenberg, the centre of the art world owed its status largely, if not wholly, to the input of other nations. In line with this reasoning, he anticipated that the next centre would be New York, towards which the currents of other nations had been flowing since the end of the 1930s.

Rosenberg's foresight was not restricted to the art world. In 1948 he described the plight of the author in the context of mass culture. In his article "The Herd of

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[125] A full commentary of his contribution to the exhibition catalogue is included in Chapter 7.
[126] Harold Rosenberg, "On the Fall of Paris," *Partisan Review*, November - December 1940, reprinted as "The Fall of Paris," in *The Tradition of the New*, by Harold Rosenberg (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 210.
[127] Ibid.

Independent Minds: Has the Avant-Garde its Own Mass Culture?" published in *Commentary* in September 1948, he argued that "mass-culture making" presented the artist with a choice: he could accept the common experience, the substance of mass culture, as point of departure and embrace mass culture, or he could break through mass culture and "begin with the tension of what most agitates, and conceals itself from him."[128] Both choices could be valid, but if he opted for the second, he would have to accept that it was only through the creative process of art that he would discover what was central to his experience. "Creating his art is then part of his very experiencing; it is his way of revealing his existence to his consciousness and of bringing his consciousness into play upon his existence."[129] Here, Rosenberg came close to describing what, as we shall see, John Graham referred to as the "process of abstraction," and what Goodnough's seven interviewees attempted to clarify as their process of creation. Art created in this way communicated itself to the viewer as an experience. This view was based on the premise that experience could only be communicated individual-to-individual as opposed to the author of "mass-culture," who fed off the experience of others. "The mass-culture maker, who takes his start from the experience of others, is essentially a reflector of myths, … . To him man is an object seen from the outside."[130]

In the autumn of 1947 Rosenberg became joint editor, with Motherwell, of *Possibilities*. While Motherwell was responsible for the art, Rosenberg dealt with literature. The first, and only, issue of the magazine included an article by Rosenberg "Introduction to Six American Artists,"[131] which he had written for the catalogue of the exhibition "Introduction à la peinture moderne américaine" at the Galerie Maeght in Paris in the spring of 1947. In it Rosenberg made the point that art for these six artists was a means of individual revolt against their materialist tradition. They did not form a school nor did they have a common objective. "Attached neither to a community nor to one another, these painters experience a unique loneliness of a depth that is reached perhaps

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[128] Harold Rosenberg, "The Herd of Independent Minds: Has the Avant-Garde its Own Mass Culture?" *Commentary*, September 1, 1948, 11, https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-herd-of-independent-mindshas-the-avant-garde-its-own-mass-culture/ [last accessed June 12, 2019].
[129] Ibid., 12.
[130] Ibid.
[131] The six artists were William Baziotes, Romare Bearden, Byron Browne, Adolph Gottlieb, Carl Holty, and Robert Motherwell.

nowhere else in the world."[132] They were "aesthetic Légionnaires,"[133] who had plunged themselves into the anonymity of New York, annihilated their past and become estranged from American objects. "It accounts for certain harsh tonalities, spareness of composition, aggressiveness of statement."[134] As such, Rosenberg's view was in line with Greenberg's pre-requisite of "isolation or alienation," and as we shall see Graham's idea of "suffering." He concluded that this did not prevent them from showing some form of optimism, "an impulse to believe in their ability to dissociate some personal essence of their experience and rescue it as the beginning of a new world. For each is fatally aware that only what he constructs himself will ever be real to him."[135] Rosenberg had thus described what he perceived as the essence of the work of young American artists at the end of 1947.

4.4.3. Insight into the artist's realm

In his seminal article, "The American Action[136] Painters," published in *Artnews* at the end of 1952, Rosenberg further developed his ideas and used them to lead the outsider into the mind of the modern American artist. He did so by gradually moving aside the layers of misconception produced by the critics surrounding the "advanced" artist and his work, starting with the misconception that they constituted an art movement. Defining an art movement, according to Rosenberg, was a dubious exercise, since it rarely fitted the so-called "deepest" artists.

For Rosenberg, American "advanced" art resided in the individuality expressed by each artist. "In the American vanguard the words ... belong not to the art but to the individual artists. What they think in common is represented only by what they do separately."[137] For the "advanced" artist, it was a matter of getting inside the canvas, as "the canvas began to appear to one American painter after another as an arena in which

[132] Harold Rosenberg, "Introduction to Six American Artists," *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review, Problems of Contemporary Art,* winter 1947/8, 75.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Philip Pavia claimed that Rosenberg's descriptive "action painting" was "a socialization of abstract expressionism. … Which gives it a social point a view, not an artistic point of view." (Philip Pavia, trancript of *Oral History Interview with Philip Pavia*, January 19, 1956, conducted by Bruce Hooton, 23, The Club records kept by Philip Pavia, 1948-1965, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
[137] Harold Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," *ARTnews*, December 1952, 22.

to act—rather than as a space in which to reproduce, re-design, analyze or 'express' an object, actual or imagined."[138] Thus the canvas was no longer intended as the material support for a picture. "What was to go on the canvas was not a picture but an event."[139] Rosenberg's analysis was not far removed from Greenberg's, in the sense that for both the treatment of the canvas was no longer conventional.

Rosenberg believed the "advanced" painter had a totally different approach to creation: the creative process was in effect a physical encounter between the artist and the canvas. "The painter no longer approached his easel with an image in his mind; he went up to it with material in his hand to do something to that other piece of material in front of him. The image would be the result of this encounter."[140] It turned a painting into an action, and if the artist resorted to sketches, these sketches were as much actions as the painting itself. Thus, for Rosenberg each time the painter put something onto a support it acquired its own existence and individuality. Furthermore, this "advanced" painting distinguished itself by focusing on the special motive for extinguishing the object. The reason for discarding the object was not aesthetic. Its extrusion was necessary in order to allow the painting to take place without hindrance. Thus, the aesthetic was subordinated in the same way that pictorial elements, such as form, colour, composition, and drawing, were auxiliaries. "What matters always is the revelation contained in the act. It is to be taken for granted that in the final effect, the image, whatever be or be not in it, will be a *tension*."[141]

For Rosenberg a painting was an integral part of the painter. "A painting that is an act is inseparable from the biography of the artist. The painting itself is a 'moment' in the adulterated mixture of his life—whether 'moment' means, in one case, the actual minutes taken up with spotting the canvas or, in another, the entire duration of a lucid drama conducted in sign language. The act-painting is of the same metaphysical substance as the artist's existence."[142] In other words, art and life became indistinguishable during the artistic process, and as a result "anything" that had to do with action was relevant to it. By "anything" Rosenberg meant psychology,

[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid., 23. (Italics in the original text.)
[142] Ibid.

philosophy, history, mythology, hero worship. “Anything but art criticism.”[143] As a consequence it was necessary to set aside the traditional aesthetic frame for viewing a painting, and to approach it from a different vantage point. “With traditional aesthetic references discarded as irrelevant, what gives the canvas its meaning is not psychological data but *role*, the way the artist organizes his emotional and intellectual energy as if he were in a living situation. The interest lies in the kind of act taking place in the four-sided arena, a dramatic interest.”[144] It followed that if the painter had become an “actor,” the outsider, be it the critic or the viewer, had to think in terms of action. The break with the past occurred with the decision to paint. “The gesture on the canvas was a gesture of liberation, from Value—political, aesthetic, moral.”[145] The refusal of “Value” meant liberation from the object, which in turn meant liberation from "nature," from society and from existing art.

Rosenberg explained that American vanguard painting was now the result of the creation of private myths of past and future self-recognition. In some cases the painters formulated their myths verbally. “With others, usually deeper, the painting itself is the exclusive formulation, it is a Sign.”[146] He believed the revolution against the given, in the self and in the world, had in America taken the form of personal revolts. “Art as action rests on the enormous assumption that the artist accepts as real only that which he is in the process of creating.”[147]

Rosenberg also pointed out that the vanguard painters had not yet found the language to describe what they were doing. He believed that the test ultimately lay in the seriousness of the artist’s effort to convey his experience. “The test of any of the new paintings is its seriousness—and the test of its seriousness is the degree to which the act on the canvas is an extension of the artist's total effort to make over his experience.”[148] He was in no doubt as to what constituted a “good” painting. “A good painting in this mode leaves no doubt concerning its reality as an action and its relation to a transforming process in the artist.”[149] The process was a dialogue between the painter

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[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[145] Ibid. (Capitalisation in the original text.)
[146] Ibid., 48. (Capitalisation in the original text.)
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid., 48.

and the canvas. Rosenberg also indicated that an "action" was not a matter of taste. "You don't let taste decide the firing of a pistol or the building of a maze."[150] He concluded that American vanguard art needed a genuine audience, not just a market. "It needed understanding—not just publicity."[151] The audience so far had been a small coterie of poets, musicians, theoreticians, men of letters, "who have sensed in their own work the presence of the new creative principle."[152] His view was that the silence of American literature on the new painting was just short of a scandal, a view also held by Greenberg.

4.4.4. The "professional" art critic

Rosenberg was as much an art critic as a theoretician, often combining the two disciplines. When in competition, it was the theoretician who impinged on the art critic.

Thus, in 1975 Rosenberg took part in a question-and-answer session at a New York University series of art-critics-in-residence seminars. The questions were put by Howard Conant[153], Chairman of the Department of Art and Art Education, at New York University, and by the audience. The theme of the session was "All about Everything," and one of the key questions put to Rosenberg was "What is your role as an art critic, as you see it?"[154] In his response Rosenberg explained that he considered his activity as an art critic as an extension of "what artists keep talking about among themselves."[155] The key function of the art critic, accordingly, was to enrich the environment of ideas in which artists worked, "to improve the intellectual environment in which the creation of art takes place."[156] He distinguished this function from that of the reviewer, which he

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[150] Ibid., 50.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Howard Somers Conant (1921-2011) was a painter and art educator, who served as Chair of the Department of Art Education of the School of Education at New York University from 1955 to 1976, and was Head of the Department of Art at the University of Arizona until his retirement in 1987. (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, http://aaa.si.edu [last accessed April 27, 2019].)
[154] Howard Conant, quoted in "All about Everything," edited interview first published in *Craft Horizons*, August 1975, reprinted in *The Case of the Baffled Radical*, by Harold Rosenberg (New York: University of Chicago Press: 1985), 213.
[155] Harold Rosenberg, quoted in "All about Everything," 213.
[156] Ibid.

believed was "to see as many shows as possible in order to judge how good or bad the work on display was."[157]

In 1975, nearly a quarter of a century after the publication of "The American Action Painters," Rosenberg believed that the basic issue in twentieth-century art was "the relation between doing and thinking, between the ideas in art and the practice of art."[158] This issue was, since World War II, still at the heart of all developments in art. He thought that some artists, without mentioning any names, had been able to reach a balance between thinking and action. In response to a question about "Action Painting," Rosenberg stated that he had not been its spokesman. In fact, there had not been a spokesman. "Practically all the Action Painters, with one or two very important exceptions, denied that there was such a thing. ... whenever you give a name to what a lot of artists are doing—a so-called art movement—the definition never fits the best artists. ... The best artists escape the formula."[159] He also believed that there was always continuity in art. "Nothing comes from nothing. What we have to be wary about is establishing fake continuities, ... One cannot make continuity into a value in itself. Each phenomenon must be thought about in terms of its own reality, what it is connected with, and just what is the connection."[160]

In 1978, the year of his death[161], Rosenberg gave an interview, "What is Art?" on 10 January to the sociologist Melvin M. Tumin (1919-1994), which was published in the 1978 Fall issue of *Partisan Review.* In the interview he tried to explain what art meant to him. When looking at a work of art, he believed it was necessary to have in mind the aim or intention of the artist, the idea at the basis of the work. He referred to Barnett Newman's view that the subject matter of the artist was the most important thing to consider about his work. "And if the subject matter could be conceived as having a relation to the experience of the absolute, I would regard that as more important than ... insights into the relations of blue and pink."[162] He believed that a great painting could

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[157] Ibid., 214.
[158] Ibid., 218.
[159] Ibid., 223.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Rosenberg died on 11 July 1978.
[162] Harold Rosenberg, quoted in "What is Art? An Interview by Melvin M. Tumin with Harold Rosenberg," conducted on 10 January 1978, published in *Partisan Review*, Fall 1978, reprinted in *The Case of the Baffled Radical*, 243.

not be about a trivial subject. If the subject appeared trivial, for example a bowl of apples, it meant there was more to the painting than met the eye initially.

In the course of the interview, Rosenberg referred to the view of the medium of painting having a life of its own and "therefore capable of stimulating the kind of thought which in no other way could be achieved."[163] He referred to Hofmann's view that the basic function of the painter was to animate paint, the paint itself having a certain life, which induced an imagery not otherwise achieved. In other words, at one point the artist became the tool of the medium. "This is a mysterious thought which has no place in rational thinking."[164] He described it as "an externalization of the mind into the medium."[165] Another formulation was the idea that the subject matter had become the act of painting itself, which however, according to Rosenberg did not fully clarify the matter.[166]

Rosenberg stated that he did not view a work of art with a set of rules or criteria or ideas in mind, which explained why often he had no opinion about a work of art. The idea about a work of art was founded on one's basic experience of the work, which was different for every spectator. As a consequence, he did not think it was possible to reach a consensus on a set of criteria for judging a work as superior to another. Feelings were personal. In addition, a work of art was "an amalgam of so many cultural elements, psychological elements, elements of invention, elements of arbitrary decision."[167] This view, as we shall see, echoed the gist of Greenberg's 1952 essay "Feeling is All."

Rosenberg further contended that the concept of skill was related to craft and that presently nobody cared about skill. Each painter had to make up his own skill. "Newman made up his own skill. His skill isn't the skill of any other painter, anymore than Pollock's skill was the skill of any other painter. … This is the period of the one-man culture, and each artist attempts ... to capture the whole culture and stimulate unity

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[163] Ibid., 248.
[164] Ibid., 249.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid. Rosenberg had earlier explored this idea in his article "The American Action Painters."
[167] Ibid., 256.

which in the future will provide a consensus based on his invention."[168] When asked whether thirty years earlier Rosenberg could tell that Pollock was an important artist, he replied that it had not been difficult.

The main question for the artist, according to Rosenberg, was to decide what to paint. "When you decide that question, you decide all the other questions that go with it. ... It has always been a great mystery of modern times as to what to paint. The modern world broke the academic certainty about what to paint. Choosing the subject became a kind of definition of the modern. The modern is that you paint reality, whatever it means. Every new movement has come up as a new form of realism."[169]

4.4.5. Newman and Rothko

Rosenberg was friends with both Newman and Rothko and had an intimate's insight into the work of both artists. According to Rosenberg, Newman's art was not concerned with sensual effects but with emptiness. Newman "worked with emptiness as if it were a substance. He measured it, divided it, shaped it, colored it. He might even be said to have had a proprietary interest in it; ... ."[170] He believed Newman was in search of the absolute. "His program was to induce emptiness to exclaim its secret. In short, he wished to paint the absolute, and he knew that the absolute is neither red nor blue."[171] According to Rosenberg, Newman wanted to exclude nature, "not to insert into it a field of color. For him, color effaced itself and became the hue of undifferentiated substance."[172] Newman's objectives generated misinterpretations of his art by both critics and art historians, which led him, according to Rosenberg, to entitle three of his paintings, *Who's Afraid of Red, Yellow, and Blue?* "Newman was confident that his metaphysical matter would prevail against his means."[173] For this to happen, according to Rosenberg, the expressive quality of the means had to be reduced to a minimum.

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[168] Ibid., 257.
[169] Ibid., 283.
[170] Harold Rosenberg, *The De-definition of Art: Action Art to Pop to Earthworks* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), 91.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

Rosenberg explained that Newman put forward the concept of an art without visual appeal, claiming that a group of American painters were creating a "truly abstract world." The group included, in addition to himself, Gottlieb, Rothko, and Still. This art was entirely free of the residues of visual experience. According to Rosenberg, Newman believed that the American painter had to create everything from scratch, out of nothing. "Merely nonrepresentational art was a meaningless disguise for the old naturalism. Art had to achieve the idea that could make new *being* possible."[174] Rosenberg believed that Newman's concept of creation was modelled on the Book of Genesis, as evidenced by the titles of his works, such as *Genetic Moment*, *Genesis*, *Onement*, *Abraham*, and *The Name*, confirmation, according to Rosenberg of Newman's rabbinical heritage. He maintained that Newman had found a format through which to convert his metaphysical conception of art. Forms for Newman were living things, carriers of feelings. His paintings did not feature figures of any kind, as the canvas was itself an "object," according to Rosenberg. Newman's work verged on the absence of painting. "Painting based on the 'pure idea' and rigorously purged of sensibility comes close to not being painting at all."[175] Newman pushed painting towards extinction, but showed how it could survive as an act of faith. For Rosenberg it was "the extreme to which he pursued this metaphysical purpose that makes his work difficult for the spectator. Not anti-art but metaphysics makes Newman's paintings ambiguous."[176]

Rosenberg contended that Mark Rothko's art was based on the concept of "one-idea." Rothko, according to Rosenberg, was part of a group of Abstract Expressionists who sought to attain an aesthetic essence by calculating what was irreducible in painting. "The one-idea painters excluded both nature and self, as manifested in the randomness, induced accidents, and associationism of Gorky, de Kooning, and Pollock."[177] These artists were in search of a universal principle, as Mondrian had been. "One might say that Rothko and his friends constituted the theological sector of Abstract Expressionism. Together with Still, Newman, Reinhardt, Gottlieb ... Rothko sought to arrive at an ultimate sign."[178] Rosenberg believed that these painters were practising

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[174] Ibid., 93. (Italics in the original text.)
[175] Ibid., 97.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., 100.
[178] Ibid.

different kinds of deletions: colour, texture, drawing, etc. In Rothko's case the subject matter was scraped or washed away, and what remained corresponded to Gottlieb's pictographs and Newman's spheres of the same period. "Pictorial content had been reduced to vague psychic reverberations."[179]

Subsequently Rothko obliterated subject matter completely through a series of subtractions, although this was not yet the final destination. "Even simplifications so extreme as to make their models unrecognizable violated the ideal of an absolute art."[180] Rosenberg compared the format required by the concept of "one-idea" to Mondrian's "unchangeable right angle." The objective was reached after an intensive five-year search. "By 1950, Rothko had conceived his conclusive insigne of a disembodied absolute. The icon consisted of the rectangle of the canvas as a one-color ground visible along the edge of—and occasionally through an opening between—three or four horizontal blocks of color with brushed surfaces and furry borders."[181]

Rosenberg observed that "Rothko had reduced painting to volume, tone, and color, with color as the vital element."[182] And, in so doing he had perhaps emulated the objective of the Synchromists. In effect, Rothko had stayed true to what he announced in 1943 in the joint communiqué with Gottlieb, that of making his art "an adventure into an unknown world."[183] Rosenberg related that Rothko had once told him that he did not express himself in his painting but expressed his "not-self." He concluded that the artist had evicted himself from his art. "His purged paintings affirmed the purged ego—or, rather, the act of purging."[184] Rosenberg qualified it as "nullifying" himself and self-annihilation.

Of interest is that Rosenberg viewed Rothko's painting as a ritual of self-purification. He also noted that the concept of "one-idea" led to a one-man cult, with its creator as its sole communicant. "The absolute images of Rothko, Newman, Gottlieb, Still,

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[179] Ibid., 101.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid., 103.
[183] Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, letter to Mr. Edward Alden Jewel, Art Editor, *New York Times*, June 7, 1943, reprinted in *Mark Rothko: Writings on Art*, by Mark Rothko, ed. Miguel Lopez-Remiro (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2006), 36. The content of the letter is discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.
[184] Harold Rosenberg, *The De-definition of Art: Action Art to Pop to Earthworks*, 106.

Reinhardt can coexist in a picture collection but could not coexist in the minds of their originators. Each was the proprietor of a sacred enigma, whose authority had to exceed that of all the others."[185] This explained, according to Rosenberg, the dispersal of Rothko's group of artist-companions and their at times mutual hostility.

4.5. 1950: a new status for American art

At the beginning of the decade the new half-century appeared full of hope and success for American supremacy. The United States dominated on several fronts: military, political, technological, and economic. On the cultural front the nation was still lagging behind. Without the centuries of tradition and heritage, America was still a poor second in the Western world. The intent was to change the situation. Since the end of the war the New York art world had begun to prosper: galleries were plentiful, dealers were omnipresent, collectors were buying, and museums were thriving. The focus, however, was still mainly on imported modern European art, safe investments, both aesthetically and financially. If America were to take over from Europe on the cultural front, a mere shift of the market place from Paris or London to New York would not suffice. Home-grown art and artists were a pre-requisite. The search had already begun unobtrusively in the 1940s on the part of a minority, with Peggy Guggenheim, Howard Putzel, Samuel Kootz, and Betty Parsons in the lead. Their motivation was mainly aesthetic rather than financial or commercial. Greenberg had supplemented this search with his reviews and articles. In the new decade the search began in earnest. The contemporary art by American artists was theirs for the picking, as it had been flourishing, mainly out of sight in cold-water studios below 34th Street, as Greenberg had pointed out.

By 1950, although he was still writing about the American art scene, Greenberg had long resigned from the editorial staff of *Partisan Review* and was no longer the regular art critic of *The Nation*. In the spring of 1950 Samuel Kootz organised a group exhibition, "Talent 1950,"[186] of works by young "American" artists. Clement

[185] Ibid.
[186] The exhibition is also referred to as "New Talent."

Greenberg and Meyer Schapiro were set the task of spotting the young talent.[187] "To the proposal that he open his gallery to a group exhibition of work by unknown or little known 'Young Artists' of promise and others whose accomplishment has not been sufficiently recognized, Sam Kootz responded most generously by inviting us to arrange such a show."[188] The two men found it "an exhilarating experience,"[189] as they made the rounds of the studios and galleries in order to discover the pictorial culture of "Young American Art."[190] They found that two-thirds of the painters were under thirty[191] and that, although they had been limited to New York, they had probably missed out on many eligible artists.

The Kootz show sparked off a breakaway initiative on the part of the artists themselves. In 1951 a group of young American artists organized a show at a vacated store on 9th Street, which became known as the "Ninth Street Show." The show provided a blueprint for the organisation of annual group exhibitions at another venue, the Stable Gallery.[192] The shows were organised by artists, who themselves selected and invited the participants.[193] This initiative enabled the general public to become acquainted with the art that was being produced below 34th Street. Greenberg thought that this was invaluable to the artists themselves. "Exhibitions like these serve to bring art alive as a current issue, as something fluid and moving, still on the way to fulfilment and decision, not yet pinned down and fixed by verdicts of critics or museums or 'safe'

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[187] According to John O'Brian, Greenberg and Schapiro were described in the exhibition pamphlet as "two writers on art who have contributed greatly to the encouragement of creative work in America." (Reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 28n1.) They visited studios together, and selected works by twenty-three artists. All the works in the show were for sale. (It was not possible to locate and hence consult the original exhibition pamphlet.)

[188] Clement Greenberg and Meyer Schapiro, foreword to "Talent 1950," exhibition pamphlet, Kootz Gallery, New York, April-May 1950, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 28-29.

[189] Ibid., 28-29.

[190] Ibid., 28.

[191] Robert Goodnough was included amongst the twenty-three young talents, as were Jackson Pollock and Hans Hofmann. Irving Sandler further listed amongst the twenty-three talents Elaine de Kooning, Robert De Niro, Friedel *Dzubas, Grace Hartigan, Alfred Leslie, and Larry Rivers.

[192] The "Ninth Street Show" was held in 1951 and 1953. The "Stable Annual" took place yearly from 1954 to 1957. The Stable Gallery was located on West 58th Street in an old livery stable. Eleanor Ward (1911-1984), who was noted for her controversial shows, ran the gallery. (*The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Stable Gallery.")

[193] For a comprehensive overview of the "Ninth Street Show" and "Stable Annual" see Marika Herskovic, ed. *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists*; *A Complete Documentation of the New York Painting and Sculpture Annuals, 1951 – 1957* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 11-39.

collectors."[194] Robert Goodnough took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" from 1954 to 1957.

Greenberg attributed the new status of American art to the artists who had developed what he now referred to as Abstract Expressionism. In the first half of the 1950s Greenberg wrote a number of articles reflecting the further evolution of American art. They included "Feeling is All," published in *Partisan Review* in February 1952, "The Plight of Our Culture," published in two parts[195] in *Commentary*, in June and July 1953, "Abstract and Representational" published in *Arts Digest* on 1 November 1954, and "'American-Type' Painting" published in the Spring issue of *Partisan Review* in 1955.[196]

In "Feeling is All" Greenberg broached the issue of honesty in art. Art required both talent and honesty, and although honesty was a decisive factor, it could not be separated from talent, as without talent it remained incomplete and without honesty talent was "left in a void."[197] He believed that truth and authenticity were also important characteristics in art, and both were evident in the work of Newman and Pollock. Newman's one-man shows in 1950 and 1951, as we shall see, had met with massive rejection, but Greenberg believed Newman was both important and original as an artist. "Newman simply aimed at and attained the maximum of his truth within the tacit and evolving limits of our Western tradition of painting."[198] His paintings did not fit into the accepted category of either easel pictures or murals, but they had a genuine impact on the viewer, "an effect that makes one know immediately that he is in the presence of art."[199] Greenberg refuted the public's negative reaction to Newman's work, claiming that it said nothing about its intrinsic value. In 1955 he went so far as to think that

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[194] Clement Greenberg, foreword to the "Second Annual Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture," exhibition catalogue, Stable Gallery, New York, January-February, 1953, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 120-121.

[195] They were subtitled, respectively, "Industrialism and Class Mobility" and "Work and Leisure Under Industrialism."

[196] These writings were substantially changed at a later date, but we have focused on the original publications for the reasons explained in the introduction.

[197] Clement Greenberg, "Feeling is All," *Partisan Review*, February 1952, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 99.

[198] Ibid., 104.

[199] Ibid.

Newman had replaced "Pollock as the *enfant terrible* of abstract expressionism."[200] He thought that the easel picture would hardly survive Newman's approach, his huge, calmly and evenly burning canvases amounting to the most direct attack upon it so far. "And it is all the more effective an attack because the art behind it is deep and honest, and carries a feeling for color without its like in recent painting."[201] Pollock was always authentic. "Jackson Pollock's problem is never authenticity, but finding his means and bending it as far as possible toward the literalness of his emotion. Sometimes he overpowers the means but he rarely succumbs to it."[202] He was adamant about Pollock's importance. "What counts, however, is not that he has different things to say in different ways, but that he has a lot to say."[203]

In 1953 Greenberg wrote the foreword to the **"**Willem de Kooning Retrospective"[204] at the Workshop Center for the Arts in Washington, D.C., which had transferred from the School of the Museum of Fine Arts,[205] in Boston. According to Greenberg, de Kooning's painting exemplified his view that modern art had emerged from the past. "De Kooning strives for synthesis, … He wants to re-charge advanced painting, which has largely abandoned the illusion of depth and volume, with something of the old power of the sculptural contour. … de Kooning's ambition is perhaps the largest, or indeed the most profoundly sophisticated, ever to be seen in a painter domiciled in this country."[206] Thus recognising the artist's foreign origin, he observed that de Kooning had paved the way forward, away from "provincialism." "He is one of the important reasons, moreover, why that painting has ceased to be a provincial one and become a factor in the mainstream of Western art today."[207] As we shall see, abandoning "provincialism," according to Greenberg, had enabled the breakthrough of Abstract Expressionism. He paid tribute again to de Kooning two years later in " 'American-Type' Painting," reminding his readers that he had considered him a gifted and inventive draughtsman, and a mature artist, long before his first solo show at Charles

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[200] Clement Greenberg, "'American-Type' Painting," *Partisan Review*, Spring 1955, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 231. (Italics in the original text.)
[201] Ibid., 232.
[202] Greenberg, "Feeling is All," 104.
[203] Ibid., 105.
[204] June 13 - July 3, 1953.
[205] April 21 - May 8, 1953.
[206] Clement Greenberg, foreword to "Willem de Kooning Retrospective," exhibition catalogue, Workshop Center for the Arts, Washington, D.C., and School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1953, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 121-122.
[207] Ibid., 122.

Egan in 1948. His work had found greater acceptance than that of other Abstract Expressionists, just because he included the past as he forestalled the future.

In 1955 Greenberg claimed that Hofmann was "the most remarkable phenomenon in the abstract expressionist 'school' (it is not really a school) and one of its few members who can already be referred to as a 'master.'"[208] Hofmann's art was very much easel painting "with the concentration and the relative abundance of incident and relation that belong classically to that genre."[209] He described Gottlieb as "one of the least tired of all the abstract expressionists."[210] Rothko was a brilliant colourist, achieving a dyer's effect by soaking his pigment into the canvas. "Rothko's big vertical pictures, with their incandescent color and their bold and simple sensuousness—or rather their firm sensuousness—are among the largest gems of abstract expressionism."[211] Incidental to the suppression of value contrasts in favour of warm hues was the emphatic flatness of the paintings. With Newman and Rothko, Greenberg raised the issue of defining the border between the pictorial and decorative. "In effect, their art asserts decorative elements and ideas in a pictorial context."[212]

Greenberg considered American Abstract Expressionism the most radical development in painting since the late 1930s. He did not think it had a counterpart in Paris, perhaps with the exception only of André Masson and Pierre Tal Coat (1905-1985). In his contribution to the 1953 symposium "Is the French Avant Garde [*sic*] Overrated?" published in *Art Digest* in September 1953[213], he pointed out the crucial difference between the French and American versions of Abstract Expressionism. He claimed that the American version was "characterized, in failure as well as in success, by a fresher, opener, more immediate surface. … The canvas is treated less as a given receptacle than as an open field whose unity must be permitted to emerge without being forced or imposed in prescribed terms."[214] As a result "the American article [was] harder to

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[208] Greenberg, "'American-Type' Painting," 222.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid., 224.
[211] Ibid., 232.
[212] Ibid.
[213] The editors of *Art Digest* had asked Ralston Crawford, Robert Motherwell, Jack Tworkov, and Greenberg for their opinions about the success of "advanced" Parisian art.
[214] Clement Greenberg, in "Symposium: Is the French Avant Garde [*sic*] Overrated?" *Art Digest*, September 15, 1953, 12.

take."[215] He concluded that American abstract painting had supplanted French painting. "Do I mean that the new American abstract painting is superior on the whole to the French? I do."[216]

In 1954, in "Abstract and Representational," Greenberg discussed the state of abstract art with respect to its representational counterpart. It did not much matter for him whether the art was representational or not. "What counts first and last in art is whether it is good or bad. Everything else is secondary."[217] Whether a work was representational or not did not add anything to its aesthetic value. "No single element or aspect of a work of art autonomously determine [*sic*] its value as a whole. How much any part is worth aesthetically is decided solely by its relation to every other part or aspect of the given work."[218] The experience of "feeling" the art was the determining factor in judging it. A recognisable image did not signify aesthetic meaning. The determining criterion was "how intensely and largely we feel the *art*."[219] It was not possible to define this criterion with any real precision. "Until it is actually experienced, a work of art remains a law unto itself. … To hold that one kind of art is invariably superior or inferior to another kind is to judge before experiencing."[220] That the work of art was a law unto itself had been voiced earlier, as we shall see, by John Graham as well as by some of the artists. In the same article Greenberg focused on the abstract art with which he was acquainted, and was ready to concede that by renouncing image and object abstract art might risk impoverishment, leaving the viewer somewhat dissatisfied. Nevertheless the best art of the time was increasingly abstract. "If the abstract, then, tends to impoverish art as regards the kind of satisfaction we have traditionally looked for, it is apparently a necessary impoverishment—necessary to the excellences of contemporary art."[221] Greenberg surmised that the dissatisfaction might not have been due to the absence of the representational but to the decline of art in general. He concluded that the dissatisfaction might be due to the public's inability to understand the new pictorial language, something Alfred Barr had tried to remedy much earlier.

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[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Clement Greenberg, "Abstract and Representational," *Arts Digest*, November 1, 1954, 6.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., 7

This lack of understanding had a historical explanation. As pictorial representation moved away from an illusion of three-dimensional space the picture became an object, which had “lost its ‘inside’ and become almost all ‘outside,’ all plane surface.”[222] The literal space had replaced the fictitious space, and the spectator could no longer escape into it. The perplexed viewer could no longer distinguish centres of interest, as had been the case before, since the abstract picture presented itself as one single centre of interest. “It is the language, then, the space, of abstract painting that causes most of the dissatisfaction we feel with it—not the absence *per se* of recognizable images.”[223] However, abstract art was not all that far removed from traditional representational painting. It did not constitute a historical break with traditional Western art, since its point of departure was firmly rooted in it. Its “filiation” with the Renaissance tradition remained visible to those who looked hard enough. Greenberg was convinced that once the new format was achieved and made stable, abstract art would no longer be the target of misunderstanding and ill judgment.

“‘American-Type’ Painting,” which appeared in *Partisan Review* in 1955, was Greenberg’s summing up of the Abstract Expressionist phenomenon. In it he traced the origins of post-World War II American painting and identified its innovatory nature and the elements that set it apart from American painting hitherto and its European counterpart. “Abstract expressionism is the first phenomenon in American art to draw a standing protest, and the first to be deplored seriously, and frequently abroad. But it is also the first on its scale to win serious attention, then the respect, and finally the emulation of a considerable section of the Parisian avant-garde, which admires in abstract expressionism precisely what causes it to be deplored elsewhere.”[224] The paintings of the Abstract Expressionists startled the viewer, as they appeared to rely on accident and haphazard effects, but Greenberg explained that good Abstract Expressionism owed its realisation to an inner discipline, whereby it made “factors explicit that previous disciplines left implicit, and leaves implicit many that they did not.”[225]

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[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid., 8. (Italics in the original text.)
[224] Greenberg, “‘American-Type’ Painting,” reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 218.
[225] Ibid.

According to Greenberg's theory important art as a rule had digested the major art of the preceding period or periods, and American Abstract Expressionism was no exception. He identified several factors conducive to the emergence of the Abstract Expressionists. First, they were able to digest the works of Klee and Miró early on; they were kept in touch in New York with the work of Matisse through Hofmann and Milton Avery; the examples of Picasso, Léger, and Mondrian were in the foreground, as were Kandinsky's early abstract paintings. Second, the WPA Federal Art Project provided the opportunity for these artists to work in an unconstrained manner. Third, the presence of Hofmann and his students contributed to their artistic vision. Fourth, the geographical distance from the war raging in Europe enabled them to work in a relatively serene political context. And finally, the presence in New York of European refugees—artists, collectors and dealers—added to the favourable conditions.

Greenberg was keen to point out that the Abstract Expressionists had not broken with the past and were firmly anchored in the art that preceded theirs. In advancing their art they introduced a number of changes with respect to the immediate past, in particular Picasso's influence. They had to free themselves from the illusion of shallow depth as well as the simple lines and curves of Picasso's Cubism. They achieved this not through a programme, as Abstract Expressionism was not programmatic, but turned to an alternative precedent. In the case of Arshile Gorky this alternative was Miró. The Abstract Expressionists had blazed a trail by breaking away from the prevailing "provincialism" in American painting. "The abstract expressionists started out in the '40s with a diffidence they could not help feeling as American artists. They were very much aware of the provincial fate around them. This country has had good painters in the past, but none with enough sustained originality or power to enter the mainstream of Western art."[226] Greenberg affirmed that the Abstract Expressionists did not endeavour to become a school or a movement, but that their commonality resided in their breakaway from so-called American subject matter. "The aims of abstract expressionism were diverse within a certain range, and they do not feel, that they constitute a school or movement with enough unity to be covered by a single term—like 'abstract expressionist,' for instance."[227] Important for Greenberg was their

[226] Ibid., 234.
[227] Ibid.

common ambition to break out of “provinciality.” “I think most of them have done so by now, whether in success or failure.”[228] Breaking away from “provinciality” was, as we shall see, exemplified by Pollock’s struggle to break free from his mentor Thomas Benton.

At the end of 1955 Greenberg was convinced that American art had gained its independence. “Whether or not the public acknowledges it, the status of American art vis-à-vis that of the rest of the world has radically changed in the last ten years. No longer in tutelage to Europe, it now radiates influence and no longer receives it.”[229]

[228] Ibid.

[229] Clement Greenberg, foreword to “Ten Years,” exhibition catalogue, Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, December 1955 - January 1956, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 3*, 256.

> "What if de Kooning had not met Gorky or Pollock? What if Still, Rothko, Gottlieb, Newman, and Reinhardt had not become friends?"[1]
>
> Irving Sandler

CHAPTER 5 - THE "MAGNIFICENT SEVEN"

5.1. Goodnough's choice

In the latter part of 1949, Robert Goodnough interviewed seven painters for the purpose of his Master's dissertation, *"Subject Matter of the Artist: An Analysis of Contemporary Subject Matter as Derived from Interviews with those Artists Referred to as the Intrasubjectivists."*[2]

The seven artists in question were William Baziotes, Mark Rothko, Jackson Pollock, Robert Motherwell, Barnett Newman, Adolph Gottlieb and Willem de Kooning. They were primarily painters and, with the exception of Newman, they all took part in Samuel Kootz's exhibition "The Intrasubjectives" in September-October 1949. According to the exhibition catalogue[3] the artists were chosen because they were amongst the first to paint within what Samuel Kootz qualified as a new realm of ideas, whereby the artist invented from personal experience, dealt with inward emotions, and thus created from an internal rather than an external world. According to Kootz, the works of these artists were "dramatically personal,"[4] since part of the artist's self was contained in each painting.

All seven artists were born before the end of the First World War, between 1903 and 1915, and had been active as painters since the late 1930s. They had spent the World War II years in New York City, and since the end of the war were beginning to show their paintings to a wider New York public. Goodnough's choice of these artists was

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[1] Irving Sandler, *A Sweeper-Up After Artists: A Memoir* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 23.
[2] A comprehensive analysis of the dissertation is provided in Chapter 7.
[3] The exhibition catalogue was a fold-up catalogue, which contained coloured sketches by William Baziotes, Adolph Gottlieb, and Hans Hofmann. The cover was designed by Adolph Gottlieb.
[4] Samuel M. Kootz, "The Intrasubjectives," exhibition catalogue, Samuel M. Kootz Gallery, 600 Madison Avenue, New York 22, September 14 - October 3, 1949, n.p.

perspicacious, as time would herald them as "trailblazers" of twentieth-century American painting and they would be referred to as "first generation" or "first wave" Abstract Expressionists.[5] His selection of painters from amongst the "Intrasubjectives" would have been based on the contacts he had established through the art classes—the Amédée Ozenfant School of Fine Arts and Hans Hofmann's summer classes in Provincetown and evening classes in New York—he had been frequenting since his arrival in New York City in 1946. Tony Smith, one of his teachers at New York University, is likely to have helped or at least advised him, as Samuel Kootz, the gallery owner, would probably have done. In 1979 Goodnough recalled that he became friends with Smith, who helped arrange for him to interview "prominent" artists—Motherwell, Gottlieb, Baziotes, Rothko, and de Kooning—for his dissertation. Many years later Goodnough recalled that Smith had showed him around and introduced him to several artists, "who were emerging as prominent players on the new art scene."[6]

In 1949 Goodnough's seven interviewees were no longer totally unknown artists. They had started gaining some notoriety since the mid-1940s as their works were being shown in galleries that opened during and immediately after the war. The most famous was Peggy Guggenheim's gallery, Art of This Century, on Fifth Avenue. Guggenheim had already closed her gallery and left New York for Europe by the time Goodnough started his interviews. However, the young artists she had sponsored were being shown at new venues, such as the Betty Parsons Gallery, which had acquired the most interesting of Guggenheim's *protégés* since her departure in 1947. Although the interviewees were not much older than Goodnough, born in 1917, their artistic careers had started much before his. Goodnough's own work had not been exhibited in public before 1949, but was "spotted" by Clement Greenberg and Meyer Schapiro in 1950, when they went looking for young talent for Samuel Kootz's show "Talent 1950."

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[5] They would later be said to belong to the loosely termed "New York School" of painting, of which the first mention was made in October 1950 by Robert Motherwell in a paper, "The New York School." (See Robert Motherwell, "The New York School, 1950," in *The Writings of Robert Motherwell*, ed. Dore Ashton with Joan Banach (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 93-98. See also Maurice Tuchman, foreword to *The New York School: Abstract Expressionism in the 40s and 50s* (London: Thames and Hudson, [1971?]), 7-8.

[6] Robert Goodnough, "Goodnough Paints a Word Picture: Recollections of Pollock and the New York School," in *Goodnough Paints a Picture*, exhibition catalogue, Pollock-Krasner House and Study Center, East Hampton, New York, May 2 - July 28, 2002, n.p.

According to Martin Bush and Kenworth Moffett, Goodnough probably became acquainted with his interviewees through "The Club"[7] at 39 East 8th Street[8], which was a meeting place of the new wave of painters.[9] Most likely he had become acquainted with them, at least some of them, earlier. "The Subjects of the Artist" School had been set up in 1948[10] by three of the interviewees—Motherwell, Rothko, and Baziotes[11]—and joined by Barnett Newman in 1949. Goodnough had assisted Newman in the organisation of Friday evening sessions at the school and after its closure at "Studio 35," which started running in May 1949.[12]

The seven artists were highly independent individualists. They came from different backgrounds: Baziotes, Gottlieb, and Newman had immigrant parents; Rothko and de Kooning were born in Europe; Pollock and Motherwell were born and bred in America. Although they all ended up in New York City, only Gottlieb and Newman were locals. Motherwell and Pollock hailed from the West coast, Rothko from Oregon, Baziotes from Pennsylvania, and de Kooning from the Netherlands. All seven artists, as we shall see in Chapter 6, had, in varying degrees, definite views about art and painting, in particular about their own work and creative process. Rothko, Gottlieb, and Newman stand out as the most politically engaged and active. All three also happened to have Jewish backgrounds. Baziotes, although part of a wide circle of artists, believed himself to be an outsider. Pollock stood out as a loner, rejecting membership of a group, however informal. Motherwell, from the most comfortable financial background, was considered an intellectual, a qualification he readily rejected. Willem de Kooning was perhaps, with his Dutch roots, the most individualistic and eccentric of them all.

As we shall see these seven individuals did, however, have in common their overriding desire to become artists. Pollock knew from an early age that it was his calling,

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[7] As mentioned in Chapter 1, it was not possible to actually establish Goodnough's membership of "The Club" on the basis of "The Club records kept by Philip Pavia, 1948-1965," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
[8] "The Club" is discussed in detail in Chapter 8.3.
[9] If not at "The Club" Goodnough would have met these artists after "The Club" events at the Cedar Tavern in University Place.
[10] "The Subjects of the Artists" School only remained active for three terms from October 1948 till May 1949. It is discussed in Chapter 8.1.
[11] The fourth founding member was David Hare.
[12] "Studio 35" is discussed in Chapter 8.1.

although he was not sure he had the talent. Baziotes, Gottlieb, and Newman as adolescents were drawn to the world of art. Willem de Kooning's talent was recognised early on and he never seemed to hesitate about his vocation. This was also the case of Robert Goodnough. Motherwell and Rothko took longer to become aware of their calling. By the time of the interviews Gottlieb, Newman, Pollock, and Rothko had each spent time at the Art Students League, where they were taught by an older generation of American painters and came into contact with their contemporaries. Apart from Motherwell and Newman, they had all been employed at some stage at the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration. Six of the interviewees had shown at Art of This Century: Baziotes, Motherwell, Pollock, and Rothko had been given solo shows and been included in group shows, while works of Gottlieb and de Kooning had featured in the "Autumn Salon" of 1945. Newman had organised shows for and taken part in group exhibitions at Betty Parsons, while Pollock, and Rothko had started showing at Betty Parsons in 1947. By 1949 Baziotes and Motherwell had already shown at Samuel Kootz for several years. Only Pollock and de Kooning had not been involved in the "Subjects of the Artist" School. By 1949 Baziotes, Pollock, and Rothko had contributed to Motherwell's *Possibilities*. As Sandler pointed out they had met and become friends with one another as well as with Avery, Jimmy Ernst, Gorky, Kline, Matta, Onslow Ford, David Smith, and Still, amongst others. They undeniably constituted the core of the "first generation."

We may wonder why these seven artists, some of whom led at times almost reclusive lifestyles, were prepared to reveal their private views about art in general and theirs in particular to a "younger" artist with as yet little artistic pedigree, who had taken part in World War II and had settled in New York City only three years before. Perhaps they sensed the time had come to clarify certain aspects of their work and put an end to the many misunderstandings surrounding post-war American painting, and possibly they felt more at ease with a younger fellow artist than with an art critic or historian. They may simply have felt an "insider" would be more receptive and less judgmental of their views, and would instinctively understand the challenges of their creative process.

5.2. The activists: Mark Rothko, Adolph Gottlieb, and Barnett Newman

Of the seven artists, Rothko, Gottlieb and Newman had been closely acquainted since the 1930s. Rothko and Gottlieb had both been founding members of the group "The Ten" and had maintained a close working relationship during the war years. Rothko, Gottlieb, and Newman—all three Jewish and of immigrant origin—were the most overtly politically aware and engaged of the seven interviewees.[13] They appeared committed to clarifying in public any misunderstandings about their art and that of their fellow artists; they were prepared to protest against misleading criticisms, and take on, if necessary, the "establishment" on issues beyond the realm of the arts. Rothko, together with Gottlieb, was a founding member[14] of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors, which split off formally from the American Artists' Congress in 1940. Although not practising Jews, their thinking was inspired by their Judaic origins.

All three artists were also later described as "myth-makers," in that they turned to ancient myths and primitive symbols to express universal meaning. Irving Sandler included amongst the "myth-makers," Gorky, Pollock, and Baziotes, but not Motherwell.[15]

5.2.1. Mark Rothko[16]

Markus Yakovlevich Rothkowitz[17] was born in 1903, in Dvinsk in the Vitebsk Governorate of the then Russian Empire, the youngest of four siblings. His father, Jacob (Yakov) Rothkowitz, was a pharmacist and an intellectual, who originally provided his children with a secular upbringing. Mark, in contrast to his elder siblings

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[13] As it turned out later Rothko and Gottlieb were both under FBI surveillance during the 1960s for their critical stance with regard to the Vietnam war. (See David Craven, "New Documents: The Unpublished F.B.I. Files on Ad Reinhardt, Mark Rothko, and Adolph Gottlieb," in *American Abstract Expressionism*, ed. David Thistlewood, Tate Gallery Critical Forum, Volume 1 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press and Tate Gallery Liverpool, 1993), 41-52.

[14] The other founding members were Ilya Bolotowski and Balcomb Greene.

[15] See Irving Sandler, "The Myth-Makers," in *Abstract Expressionism: The Triumph of American Painting* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970), 62-71.

[16] Biographical sources: Dore Ashton, *About Rothko*; James E. Breslin, *Mark Rothko: A Biography*; Miguel López-Remiro, "Chronology," in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, by Mark Rothko, ed. Miguel López-Remiro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 159-168; Clair Zamoiski, "Chronology," in *Mark Rothko*, ed. Diane Waldman (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 265-279.

[17] Markus Rothkowitz changed his name to Mark Rothko. Although he only registered it legally in 1959, he used his shortened name as an artist for the first time in 1940. For ease of reading the shortened name will be used throughout this thesis.

was sent to "cheder"[18] at the age of five, where he studied the Talmud.[19] He arrived, with his mother and elder sister in the United States in 1913, at the age of ten, joining his father in Portland, Oregon. Jacob died the following year[20], leaving the family in financial difficulty. Rothko was a bright pupil: he spoke Russian, Yiddish, and Hebrew, quickly acquired English, and in 1921 won a scholarship to Yale University.[21] The scholarship was not renewed at the end of his first year, and he left in 1923 at the end of his sophomore year without a degree.

Rothko's life as an artist began in 1923, after he had moved to New York City, where he enrolled at the Art Students League during January and February of 1924. That same year he briefly went back to Portland, where he studied drama. Upon his return to New York in 1925, he enrolled at the °Parsons New School for Design[22], where one of his instructors was the artist Arshile Gorky. This was probably his first encounter with a member of the American avant-garde. The two men never became close. Rothko referred to Gorky's leadership in the class as "overcharged with supervision."[23] In the autumn of 1925, Rothko attended classes at the Art Students League taught by Max Weber, a fellow Russian Jew. He remained for only three months[24], but under Weber's tutelage, according to Breslin, Rothko began to view art as a tool of emotional and religious expression, and his paintings from this era reveal the influence of his instructor. Rothko became an official member of the Art Students League in 1926.[25]

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[18] A "cheder" or "heder" was a traditional Jewish elementary school, where the basics of Judaism and the Hebrew language were taught. The schools date back to the end of the eighteenth century. (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "cheder.")

[19] The Talmud is the compilation of rabbinical writings dating back to before the Common Era. The writings touch upon a wide range of subjects, from Jewish law and practice to ethics and history. (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Talmud.")

[20] Rothko arrived in New York with his mother and sister on 17 August 1913. His father, who had arrived three years earlier, died on 27 March 1914.

[21] He studied English, French, mathematics (at which he excelled), physics, biology, economics and philosophy.

[22] Rothko's enrolment at Parsons New School for Design is not mentioned in Clair Zamoiski's "Chronology," but is mentioned in James E. Breslin's biography.

[23] Mark Rothko, quoted in *Arshile Gorky: His Life and Work*, by Hayden Herrera (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 2003), 130.

[24] There seem to be divergent views about the duration of Rothko's training period with Max Weber. The source for the three-month time-span is Mark Rothko's "Brief Autobiography, ca.1945," reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 42. (According to Miguel Lopez-Remiro, the autobiographical presentation, found in Rothko's papers, appears to have been written for his show at Art of This Century, from 9 January to 4 February 1945.)

[25] He remained a member till ca.1929-30.

Before the end of the decade Rothko exhibited works with a group of other young artists at the Opportunity Gallery[26] in New York. According to Sally Avery (Milton Avery's wife) the gallery was the starting point for the friendship between Rothko, Gottlieb and Avery.[27] At the time Rothko's paintings presented dark, moody, expressionist interiors, as well as urban scenes, and were generally well received by critics and peers. Despite his success, he needed to supplement his income, and at the end of 1929 he began giving classes in painting and clay sculpture at the Center Academy of the °Brooklyn Jewish Center.[28] At the beginning of the new decade he became acquainted with Gottlieb, who, along with Newman, Joseph Solman, Louis Schanker, and John Graham, was part of a group of young artists around the painter Milton Avery. According to Elaine de Kooning, Avery "gave Rothko the idea that [the life of a professional artist] was a possibility."[29] Rothko's early subject matter and colour, according to Ashton, were inspired by Avery, as seen in *Bathers* of the early 1930s.[30]

The 1930s[31] were for Rothko a decade of artistic evolution and gradual recognition.[32] He also became politically motivated and active.[33] His work was included in the "Surrealist Group Show" at Julien Levy in 1932.[34] Still going under the name of Rothkowitz, he had his first one-man show at the Museum of Art in Portland, Oregon, in the summer of 1933, followed in November by his first one-man show, "An

[26] November 15 - December 12, 1928. Dates of Rothko's solo and group shows are taken from Diane Waldman, ed. *Mark Rothko* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978), 280-291.
[27] See *Oral History Interview with Sally Avery*, February 19, 1982, conducted by Tom Wolf, Oral History Interviews, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, www.aaa.si.edu/askus [accessed June 18, 2011].
[28] Rothko stayed with the Brooklyn Jewish Center till 1952.
[29] Elaine de Kooning, quoted in *Mark Rothko: A Biography*, by James E. Breslin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 91.
[30] Dore Ashton refers to a work titled *The Bathers* (ca.1930), which is not included in David Anfam's *Catalogue Raisonné*. Two similar works, both titled *Bathers* (or *Beach Scene*), dating from 1933-1934, are included and show great similarity with the 1930 version, although the bathers in the later versions are nude. See Dore Ashton, *About Rothko* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 21-25.
[31] Rothko married his first wife, Edith Sachar, a jewellery designer, on 10 November 1932. They divorced in 1944. In March 1945 Rothko married his second wife, Mary Alice (Mell) Beistle, a children's book illustrator at McFadden Publications.
[32] In 1934 Rothko had his first article, "New Training for Future Artists and Art Lovers," published in the February - March issue of the *Brooklyn Center Review*.
[33] According to Dora Ashton, Rothko became involved with the protest against the demolition of the Diego Rivera mural *Man at the Crossroads*, commissioned by Nelson Rockefeller for the Rockefeller Center. The figure of Lenin in the mural led Rockefeller to dismiss the project. (See Dora Ashton, *About Rothko*, 21-25.)
[34] January 9-29, 1932.

Exhibition of Paintings by Marcus Rothkowitz,"[35] in New York at the Contemporary Art Gallery. In the summer of 1934 he participated in three group shows at the Uptown Gallery,[36] and at the end of the year he became a member of the Gallery Secession[37]. The gallery was initially run as an informal cooperative, some of whose members, amongst them Rothko and Solman, became dissatisfied with its management and in 1935 formed "The Ten." Rothko took part in all the shows of "The Ten" and acted as secretary of the group. In 1936 Rothko, as did Gottlieb, joined the Easel Division of the WPA Federal Art Project.

In 1938 Rothko became an American citizen after residing in the United States for 25 years. This, and the shortening of his family name to Rothko in 1940, may have been partly motivated by the rise of Nazism in Europe and growing anti-Semitism in America. During this period Rothko was also a member of the American Artists' Congress (AAC). In 1939 Rothko, together with, amongst others, Gottlieb, Bolotovski, and Avery, left the organisation.[38] The breakaway group subsequently founded the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors in 1940.[39] As a founding member, Rothko was active on the Federation's Cultural Committee, which concerned itself with politics as well as culture.

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[35] November 21 - December 9, 1933. The show featured fifteen oil paintings, four watercolours and three charcoal sketches.

[36] "Paintings by Selected Young Americans" at the Uptown Gallery, New York (May 22 - June 12, 1934), which featured *Sculptress* (1934-1935), *Woman and Cat* (1933), and *Lesson*; "Group Exhibition" at the Uptown Gallery (June 12 - July 2, 1934), which featured *The Pugilist* (1933); "Group Exhibition," at the Uptown Gallery (August 14 - September 17, 1934), which featured *Mother and Child* 1934).

[37] Gallery Secession was the successor to the Uptown Gallery. Robert Godsoe, the director, had moved the gallery downtown to West 12th Street as an act of dissidence. (See Isabelle Dervaux, "City Boys: Avery, Gottlieb, Rothko and the Culture of the Depression," in *Against the Stream: Milton Avery, Adolph, and Mark Rothko in the 1930s*, exhibition catalogue, Katonah Museum of Art, Katonah, New York, June 12 - September 4, 1994, 16-23.) Rothko showed *Duet* at the "Group Exhibition" at Gallery Secession (December 15, 1934 - January 15, 1935), and *Nude* at the "Group Exhibition" at Gallery Secession (January 15 - February 5, 1935).

[38] In April 1940 Rothko, Avery, Bolotowsky, Gottlieb, and others signed a statement declaring secession from the American Artists' Congress. The ideological dissension within the AAC eventually led to its dissolution during World War II. For a detailed run-down of events see Serge Guilbaut, "New York, 1935-1941: The De-Marxization of the Intelligentsia," in *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 17-47.

[39] The Federation held its first annual exhibition at the Riverside Museum, New York (March 9-23, 1941). Rothko showed *Portrait of Mary*, *Craftsman*, *Underground Fantasy*, *Subway*. At the "Second Annual Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors Exhibition" (May 21 - June 10, 1942) Rothko showed *Mother and Child* (ca.1938-1939).

"The Ten" was dissolved as a group in 1940, after which several members began to show individually. Rothko showed at Neumann Willard in "New Work by Marcel Gromaire[40], Mark Rothko, Joseph Solman."[41] For this show he shortened his name to "Rothko," and used it thereafter. During his time with "The Ten" Rothko started writing about art, creativity and its evolution, drawing in particular on his experience as a children's art teacher.

In the second half of the 1930s Rothko's paintings depicted in the main illustrations of city life, as in *Street Scene* (ca.1936-1937) and *Subway Scene*[42] (1938). At the time Rothko and his peers encountered the work of contemporary European artists through two significant exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art, "Cubism and Abstract Art" and "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," an encounter with a major impact on their work.

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During the war years Rothko's pictorial work underwent a major break with the past. In 1941 he began a close working relationship with Adolph Gottlieb, with whom he devoted time and thought to the evolution of American art, and in particular to the subject matter of American painting.[43] They both turned to Greek mythology and started integrating into their work mythological subjects and themes, which for them was a means of expressing universal issues on canvas at a time when the "civilised" world was in turmoil and the scene of violence and suffering. An example of this approach was reflected in *The Omen of the Eagle* (1942), which Rothko explained represented the combat between civilization and non-civilization through the myth of Orestes by Aeschylus. His first mythological paintings—*Antigone* (1939-1940) and *Oedipus* (1940)—were shown in 1942 at a group exhibition organised by Samuel Kootz at Macy's Department Store[44] in mid-town New York, and in 1943 at Wildenstein and Company in the "Third Annual Exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors."[45]

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[40] Marcel Gromaire (1892-1971) was a French painter.
[41] January 8-27, 1940.
[42] Also referred to as *Entrance to the Subway* or *Subway Station*.
[43] See James E. Breslin, "All-Out War," in *Mark Rothko: A Biography*, 151-178.
[44] January 5-26, 1942.
[45] June 3-26, 1943. The show also included Rothko's *The Syrian Bull* (1943) and Gottlieb's *Rape of Persephone* (1943).

The year 1943 became for Rothko and Gottlieb one of polemics on modern art with *New York Times* art critic, Edward Alden Jewell (1888-1947). In response to Jewell's negative review of the "Third Annual Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors Exhibition," Rothko and Gottlieb wrote a letter of protest, which led to an ongoing debate conducted through the *New York Times*. In their letter of 7 June, Rothko and Gottlieb refused to explain their paintings and art. Eventually they had a five-point "manifesto" published in the *New York Times*, in which they explicitly stated their opposition to art as decoration and attacked American Regionalism and Social Realism as well as the art institutions, such as the National Academy and the Whitney Museum. Barnett Newman was closely aligned with Rothko and Gottlieb in this debate, as he helped draft the letter, but did not sign it. On 13 October 1943 the two artists publicly discussed their aesthetic principles and theories on a WNYC radio broadcast, "The Portrait and the Modern Artist," which is discussed in Chapter 6. Both artists participated in "As We See Them," at the 460 Park Avenue Galleries[46], and were included in the travelling exhibition "Abstract and Surrealist Art in the United States" organised by Sidney Janis.

From the beginning of the 1940s Rothko's work evolved towards a more abstract representation through the elimination of the figurative content of his images. His work at this stage became inspired by Miró, Jean-Baptiste Corot (1796-1875), and in particular Matisse.[47] Probably at this stage Rothko began writing on art.[48] Around this time, in 1943, he became acquainted through Howard Putzel[49] with Peggy Guggenheim and her then husband, the Surrealist painter Max Ernst. Upon Putzel's advice Guggenheim became Rothko's agent in 1944. At the end of 1944, Rothko was included in Howard Putzel's show "40 American Moderns."[50]

[46] October 11 - November 3, 1943. Rothko exhibited *Leda* (1943) and Gottlieb *Oedipus* (1941).
[47] According to James Breslin, Rothko became fascinated by Matisse's *L'Atelier rouge* (1911) on display at the Museum of Modern Art. The painting became an important source of inspiration for Rothko, who expressed his gratitude in *Homage to Matisse* (1954). According to Dore Ashton, Rothko had initially observed Matisse's works through Milton Avery in the 1930s.
[48] Rothko's manuscript was discovered in 1988, eighteen years after his death. It was transcribed and published in 2006.
[49] Howard Putzel was Peggy Guggenheim's assistant from 1942 to 1944.
[50] December 4-30, 1944.

At the beginning of 1945 Peggy Guggenheim organised a solo show for Rothko at Art of This Century[51], which featured fifteen oil paintings and a few gouaches. *Gyrations on Four Planes* (1944)[52], *Birth of the Cephalopods* (1944), *The Syrian Bull* (1943), *The Sacrifice of Iphegenia* (1942), *Slow Swirl at the Edge of the Sea* (1944), and *Gethsemane* (1944) were included.[53] Only a few works were sold, and the press reviews were few and at best succinct. The art critics Edward Alden Jewell (*New York Times*) and Emily Genauer (*New York World-Telegram*) found the works confusing. In February Rothko, together with Baziotes, Gottlieb, and Pollock, was included in "Personal Statement: A Painting Prophesy, 1950,"[54] at the David Porter Gallery in Washington, D.C. Rothko also participated with *Hierophant* (1945) in the "Fifth Annual Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors Exhibition"[55] at Wildenstein and Company. In May Howard Putzel opened his controversial show "A Problem for Critics."[56] Rothko, together with Gottlieb and Pollock, was amongst the many artists included in the exhibition. Putzel's sudden death, on 7 August, affected Rothko, as well as Gottlieb, as the gallery owner was intending to give them each a solo show that same year.

On 1 July 1945 the *New York Times* in its Sunday edition published "Towards Abstract or Away," in which Edward Alden Jewell incited "abstract" artists to respond to the spectator's lack of understanding of their works. Rothko's response was published the following week in the *New York Times* Sunday edition of 8 July. He refuted the basis of Jewell's contention, pointing out that it was irrelevant whether the artists worked from reality to abstraction or vice-versa.

Rothko's work was included in Peggy Guggenheim's "Autumn Salon" at Art of This Century in October 1945[57], along with that of Gottlieb, Motherwell, Pollock, and de Kooning. In spite of his public antagonism to the institution, Rothko's *Primeval*

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[51] January 9 - February 4, 1945.
[52] Full title: *Gyrations on Four Planes (Horizontal Procession)*.
[53] Also included were *Entombment I* and *Entombment II*, which according to David Anfam were different to later works with the same titles. (See David Anfam, "II. The Years of Transition: 1940-1950" and "III. The Classic Years: 1951-1970," in *Mark Rothko: The Works on Canvas; Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1998), 26-106.)
[54] The exhibition catalogue contained a personal statement by Rothko, which is discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[55] September 12-29, 1945.
[56] May 14 - July 7, 1945.
[57] October 6-29, 1945.

Landscape (1945) was on display at the Whitney "1945 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting 1945-1946."[58]

Rothko's visibility was now reaching beyond the New York art scene: in 1946 Rothko's *Landscape* featured in "The One Hundred and Forty-First Annual Exhibition"[59] at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia; in the summer he had a solo show at the San Francisco Museum of Art, "Oils and Watercolors by Mark Rothko,"[60] which included *Slow Swirl by the Edge of Sea* (1944). In New York he exhibited, amongst other works, *Gethsemane* (1944) at the show "Mark Rothko: Watercolors" at the Mortimer Gallery.[61] *Room in Karnak* (1946) was included in the "1946 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting 1945-1947"[62] at the Whitney Museum.

In the course of 1946 Rothko became friendly with Robert Motherwell, and started work on his "multiforms." The following two years would witness Rothko expressing himself both on canvas and in writing. In 1947 he had a solo show "Mark Rothko: Recent Paintings"[63] at Betty Parsons; during the summer he was guest instructor at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco; at the end of the year he showed *Archaic Fantasy* (1945) at the "1947 Whitney Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting 1947-1948"[64]. He had two articles published: he contributed a statement to "The Ides of Art: The Attitudes of Ten Artists on Their Art and Contemporaneousness" in *The Tiger's Eye*, and "The Romantics Were Prompted" in *Possibilities*, making public his artistic vision and thinking.[65] The following year Rothko exhibited a work[66] at the Whitney "1948 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculpture, Watercolors and Drawings,"[67] and had his second solo show, "Mark Rothko: Recent Paintings," at Betty Parsons.[68]

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[58] November 27, 1945 - January 10, 1946.
[59] January 26 - March 3, 1946.
[60] August 13 - September 8, 1946.
[61] April 22 - May 4, 1946.
[62] December 10, 1946 - January 16, 1947.
[63] March 3-22, 1947.
[64] December 6, 1947 - January 25, 1948.
[65] The articles are discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[66] It appears to be *Fantasy* (1945), according to the *Catalogue Raisonné*.
[67] January 31 - March 21, 1948.
[68] March 8-27, 1948.

Together with William Baziotes, David Hare, and Robert Motherwell, Rothko set up the art school, "The Subjects of the Artist," in 1948. Although he was making a breakthrough in his painting, Rothko was seemingly in a state of emotional turmoil, as in December 1948 he wrote to Clyfford Still that he was on the eve of a nervous breakdown and was pulling out of the school. During this time his canvases increased in size and he simplified his configurations while his colours intensified. His mature style was beginning to emerge.

Rothko had started working on his "multiforms" in 1946, but only made them public in 1949. They were exhibited for the first time at Betty Parsons in March, his third solo exhibition at the gallery.[69] The show, "Mark Rothko: Recent Paintings,"[70] featured eleven paintings, with several reflecting the move to larger canvases[71]. The "multiform" paintings were non-figurative and numbered, including *Numbers 1* to *10,* and *23*. These works represented a break with the past as well as a transition towards Rothko's final style. Before the end of the year, he introduced a final act of simplification in his work, by reducing the number of rectangles on the canvas from three to two and expanding their size. According to Breslin, "Rothko found in his empty, floating rectangles an image that created the elusive yet recognizable presence he was after."[72] The reviews were mixed. According to Breslin, Rosenberg was disappointed with the exhibition. He felt that the paintings at the Betty Parsons show had lost out in variety and surprise, and amounted to "simplified versions"[73] of what he had been shown the previous summer. According to Breslin, Rothko told Rosenberg that "he had talked to a friend and they had decided ... that he should do something more identifiable."[74] If this is confirmed, then Rothko was still to some extent uncertain of the public's insight into his work. Five of the "multiforms" were subsequently reproduced in the October 1949 issue of *The Tiger's Eye*, together with a statement by Rothko, entitled "Statement on His Attitude in Painting," in which he explained that his intention in eliminating recognisable objects was to remove the

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[69] According to James Breslin, the artist signed a contract with Betty Parsons on 28 November 1947, lasting till 30 June 1949.
[70] March 28 - April 16, 1949.
[71] *Number 1, 1949*, for example, measured 5½ feet by 4½ feet.
[72] Breslin, *Mark Rothko: A Biography*, 248.
[73] Harold Rosenberg, quoted in *Mark Rothko: A Biography*, 248.
[74] Mark Rothko, quoted in *Mark Rothko: A Biography*, 248.

obstacles between the painter and the viewer, thus allowing for better communication between them.

At the beginning of 1949, the first journal essay on Rothko's work appeared. Written by Douglas MacAgy, it was published in the January issue of *Magazine of Art*[75]. Further public recognition came when Mrs. Rockefeller went to Rothko's apartment at 1288 Sixth Avenue, accompanied by Dorothy Miller[76] and Alfred Barr, and chose *Number 1, 1949* for the Rockefeller guesthouse on East 52nd Street. In the spring Rothko once again participated in the Whitney "1949 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculpture, Watercolors and Drawings 1948-1949."[77] And in the summer he was invited for the third time as a guest lecturer at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco. In the autumn he took part in Samuel Kootz's show "The Intrasubjectives." He participated in the "Studio 35" discussion with "My Point of View"[78] on 18 November. At the end of the year Rothko showed *Number 19* (1949) at the "1949 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting 1948-1949"[79] at the Whitney Museum.

By the end of the decade Rothko's painting had reached maturity: his images consisted of rectangles of varying sizes, aligned one above the other, filling most of the canvas; thin washes of pigment saturated the canvas; the colours were luminous and intense. He numbered his works, sometimes supplementing the numbers with a descriptive title added later. *Magenta, Black, Green on Orange* (1949)[80], *Violet, Black, Orange, Yellow on White and Red* (1949)[81] are examples of this new imagery.

[75] Douglas MacAgey, "Mark Rothko," *Magazine of Art,* January 1949, 20-21.
[76] Dorothy Miller (1904-2003), née Canning, was one of the first professionally trained curators at the Museum of Modern Art, where she started work as Alfred Barr's assistant. She was appointed curator in 1934 and remained until 1969. She organised the highly contentious show "Americans 1942," followed by "American Realists and Magic Realists" in 1943, "Fourteen Americans" in 1946, "15 Americans" in 1952, "Twelve Americans" in 1956, and "16 Americans" in 1959, concluding her "Americans" series in 1963. She was married to Edgar Holger Cahill. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Miller, Dorothy," http://www.arthistorians.info/millerd [last accessed April 19, 2019].)
[77] April 2 - May 8, 1949.
[78] See Breslin, *Mark Rothko: A Biography*, 263n82.
[79] December 16, 1949 - February 5, 1950.
[80] Also known as *Number 3* or *Number 13.*
[81] This work was originally untitled.

5.2.2. Adolph Gottlieb[82]

Adolf Gottlieb was born the same year as Rothko, on 14 March 1903, but on American soil, in New York. He was the eldest of three and the only son of Emil and Elsie Gottlieb. He started life in New York on East 10th Street, where the family lived till 1921, when they moved to the Bronx. In 1920, at the age of seventeen Gottlieb became dissatisfied with high school and began working for his father's stationary business. That same year he enrolled at the Art Students League, where he attended evening classes, studied under John Sloan and attended lectures by Robert Henri.

In 1921 Gottlieb and a high school friend, with no passports and little money, managed to work their way across to Europe. For six months Gottlieb lived in Paris, where he attended sketch classes at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière and paid daily visits to the Louvre, a routine similar, as we shall see, to Barnett Newman's daily visits to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. During his second year in Europe, Gottlieb travelled to Berlin, Munich, Vienna, and Prague, returning to New York in 1923. Upon his return his parents urged him to finish high school, but he decided instead to attend evening classes while working for his father during the day. Convinced that he wanted to become an artist, he started studying at the Parsons School of Design and the Art Students League, where he met John Graham in 1923. He also studied at Cooper Union and the °Educational Alliance Art School, where he met Raphael Soyer and Chaim *Gross. Towards the end of the 1920s Gottlieb began showing his work at the Opportunity Gallery in New York on 56th Street. Through the gallery he met Milton Avery and Rothko, who both became life-long friends. To survive financially Gottlieb took on odd jobs.

Gottlieb's work was exhibited early on, starting in 1925 at the "Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists"[83] at The Waldorf Astoria in New York. This was followed by two group shows: "Group Exhibition" at the Bezalel

[82] Biographical sources: Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, http://www.gottliebfoundation.org [last accessed October 2, 2019]; *Adolph Gottlieb*, exhibition catalogue, Walker Art Center, April 28 - June 9, 1963; "Chronology," in *Adolph Gottlieb: A Retrospective*, exhibition catalogue, Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venice, September 4, 2010 - January 9, 2011, 153-157; *The Pictographs of Adolph Gottlieb*.
[83] March 6-29, 1925.

School of Arts and Crafts in March 1926, and the “Alamac Hotel’s Free Art Exhibit”[84] at the Alamac Hotel in New York. In 1929 his work was included in three group shows: “Group Exhibition” at the Opportunity Gallery in New York (works selected by Max Weber) in January; another “Group Exhibition” in February again at the Opportunity Gallery (works selected this time by Yasuo Kuniyoshi), followed in the summer by the “Open Competition Exhibition” at the Dudensing Gallery in New York.

Recognition came quickly, as in 1929 Gottlieb was awarded, along with Konrad *Cramer, the first prize in the Dudensing National Competition. The prize consisted of a solo exhibition at the Dudensing Galleries on East 57th Street. The exhibition took place in May 1930, by which time Gottlieb had moved into his own studio on East Broadway. In April 1931 Gottlieb was part of another “Group Exhibition” at the Opportunity Gallery, and in the same month his work also featured in “Group Exhibition”[85] at the Independents Gallery in New York. Thus, at the beginning of the 1930s Gottlieb’s work had already been made public and the pattern of annual solo shows and group show participation was set for the future.

On 12 June 1932 Gottlieb married Esther Dick. After spending the summer in Rockport, Massachusetts, the couple moved into an apartment at 14 Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. Gottlieb and his wife would spend most of their summers outside the city.[86] When Adolf Hitler became German Chancellor in 1933, Gottlieb changed his name from Adolf to Adolph. This politico-ideological gesture did not remain an isolated event, as Gottlieb regularly took a public stand on issues of both private and public concern. At the end of the year he and his wife moved to Brooklyn and became neighbours of the sculptor David Smith. The two men became friends and saw each other daily until Smith and his wife, Dorothy *Dehner, moved to Bolton Landing in New York State, in 1940. At around 1933 Gottlieb began printmaking, which he continued to do till 1947.

Gottlieb had two solo exhibitions in New York in 1934: “Watercolors by Adolph

[84] The exact date is not known. It may have been 1926 or 1927.
[85] Listed under the year 1933, as April 1931, in the Adolph and Esther Foundation list of exhibitions.
[86] The couple spent the summer of 1933 in East Gloucester, Massachusetts, with Milton Avery and his wife. In the summer of 1937 Gottlieb and his wife visited Milton Avery and his wife in Bondeville, Vermont. They spent the summer of 1938 in Provincetown, Massachusetts, and in 1939 they rented a cabin in Woodstock, New York.

Gottlieb" at the Uptown Gallery in February, and "Adolph Gottlieb: Watercolors," at Theodore A. Kohn in May. He took part in the "The Brooklyn Invitational Exhibition: Paintings and Sculpture by Brooklyn and Long Island Artists"[87] at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, and in the "Annual Exhibition of Brooklyn Painters and Sculptors"[88] at the Artists Gallery in the Towers Hotel, Brooklyn. His work featured in four group shows at the Uptown Gallery and in one at the Gallery Secession.[89] The following year Gottlieb, again took part in several "Group Exhibitions"[90] at the Gallery Secession, and in "The Eighth Biennial Exhibition of Water Colors, Pastels and Drawings by American and Foreign Artists"[91] at the Brooklyn Museum. Together with Rothko, he became a founding member of "The Ten," and participated in the group's first exhibition at the Montross Gallery. In July he travelled to Europe and visited Amsterdam, Brussels, Tervueren, and Paris.

In 1936 Gottlieb's work was displayed in only four group shows, of which "The Ten"[92] at Galerie Bonaparte in Paris, and "The Ten"[93] at the Montross Gallery. Like Rothko, Gottlieb joined the Easel Division of the WPA Federal Art Project in 1936, although he resigned the following year, as his wife was advised to spend time in a dry climate. The couple spent eight months in the Arizona desert in 1937, during which time, separated from his fellow artists in New York, Gottlieb completed about fifty paintings and fifty drawings, his pictorial work taking a new turn. Despite his absence, Gottlieb's work was included in three group shows in New York in 1937, of which "Group Exhibition," organised by the American Artists' Congress in April, and "The Ten," at Georgette Passedoit in May.

Upon his return to New York in 1938 Gottlieb participated in three group shows of "The Ten," of which two were politically engaged—"The Ten: Whitney Dissenters,"[94] which also included work by Rothko, at the Mercury Galleries, and "The Ten: Art

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[87] January 29 - February 26, 1934.
[88] April 1934.
[89] "Group Exhibition" (June 12 - July 2, 1934), "Group Exhibition" (August 14 - September 17, 1934), "American Moderns" (September 18 - October 8, 1934), and "Expressionists" (October 9-30, 1934) took place at the Uptown Gallery; "Group Exhibition" (December 15, 1934 - January 15, 1935) took place at the Gallery Secession.
[90] January 15 - February 5, 1935; February 11 - March 10, 1935; March 12 - April 1, 1935.
[91] February 1-28, 1935.
[92] November 10-24, 1936.
[93] December 14, 1936 - January 2, 1937.
[94] November 5-26, 1938.

Auction Benefit of Spanish Children"[95] at the Brooklyn Heights Branch of the American League Against War and Fascism. Gottlieb's work continued to impress: in 1939 he won a U.S. Treasury sponsored nationwide mural competition and was commissioned to paint a mural for the post office in Yerrington, Nevada.[96] He took part in "The Ten" at the Bonestell Gallery in October and in "Exhibition: Painting and Sculpture Designed for Federal Buildings," organised by the Section of Fine Arts, Public Buildings Administration, Federal Works Agency, at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.[97]

The decade ended with protest as Gottlieb, in line with his name change in 1933, resigned in 1939 with eleven other artists from the American Artists' Congress. In April 1940 he signed the secession declaration from AAC and became a founding member of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors.

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The early 1940s again were productive. Gottlieb had a solo exhibition in 1940 "Adolph Gottlieb"[98] at the Artists Gallery in New York, where he exhibited the paintings he completed in Arizona. He took part in two group exhibitions at the Whitney Museum: "114 Mural Exhibition"[99], and the "1940-41 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting."[100] In 1941 he took part in three group exhibitions, of which the "First Annual Exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors"[101] at the Riverside Museum, and "Paintings By Artists Under 40"[102] at the Whitney.

Gottlieb began his "pictograph" paintings in 1941, and exhibited his first "pictograph" the following year in the "Second Annual Exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors"[103] at the Wildenstein Galleries. His first solo show of

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[95] December 3-5, 1938.
[96] The mural was installed in 1941.
[97] The exhibition ran in Washington, D.C. (November 2-21, 1939), then moved to the Whitney Museum of American Art (February 1 - March 17, 1940), and then to The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (no dates).
[98] April 16-30, 1940.
[99] February 27 - March 17, 1940.
[100] November 27, 1940 - January 8, 1941.
[101] March 9-23, 1941.
[102] November 12 - December 30, 1941.
[103] May 21 - June 10, 1942.

"pictographs," "Adolph Gottlieb: Paintings"[104] opened at the end of the year at the Artists Gallery. As noted, Gottlieb was then spending time with Rothko, discussing the future of American painting and its subject matter, which led them to resort to mythological subject matter in the early 1940s.

In 1943 Gottlieb became a founding member of the "New York Artists Painters," a group of abstract painters, which included Rothko, Graham, and George *Constant. That same year he co-authored with Rothko the letter published in the *New York Times* on 13 June 1943, in effect the first formal statement expressing the concerns of "advanced" artists. In October 1943, he and Rothko presented their views in the WNYC radio broadcast "Art in New York."[105] Gottlieb's work was included in seven group exhibitions, of which the "First Exhibition of the New York Artists Painters,"[106] the "Third Annual Exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors,"[107] and "The Fifty-Fourth Annual Exhibition of American Paintings and Sculpture"[108] at the °Art Institute of Chicago.

The following year Gottlieb won first prize at the "Brooklyn Society of Artists Annual Exhibition." He became President of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. Sidney Janis included him in his book *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, and two of his pictographs were shown in the Sidney Janis touring exhibition "Abstract and Surrealist Art in the United States." He also had a first solo show "Adolph Gottlieb: Drawings"[109] at the Wakefield Gallery in New York. He participated in twelve group exhibitions, including the "Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors"[110] at Wildenstein, the "1944 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting"[111] at the Whitney, "Abstract and Surrealist Art in America: Fifty Paintings by Outstanding Artists"[112] at Mortimer Brandt, and "40 Americans Moderns"[113] at 67 Gallery in December.

[104] December 28, 1942 - January 11, 1943.
[105] The broadcast is discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[106] February 13 - March 7, 1943.
[107] June 3-26, 1943.
[108] October 28 - December 12, 1943.
[109] February 7-19, 1944.
[110] June 7 - July 1, 1944.
[111] November 14 - December 12, 1944.
[112] November 29 - December 30, 1944.
[113] December 4-30, 1944.

Next came a solo exhibition “Adolph Gottlieb”[114] in 1945 at Putzel’s 67 Gallery, followed by “Pictographs of Adolph Gottlieb” at Nierendorf in December. He took part in the two emblematic group shows of the year: “A Painting Prophecy” and “A Problem for Critics.” His work featured in several other group shows, of which “Space”[115] and “Preview Season 1945 - 1946,”[116] both at 67 Gallery, the “Autumn Salon”[117] at Art of This Century in October, the “Fifth Anniversary Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture by Members of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors”[118] at Wildenstein, and the “1945 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting”[119] at the Whitney.

In April 1946 Gottlieb joined Samuel Kootz. That same year, the Museum of Modern Art acquired his work *Voyager’s Return* (1946). He had one solo show, “Adolph Gottlieb: Prints,”[120] at Rose Fried, and participated in the international exhibition “International Exhibition of Modern Art”[121] at the Musée d’Art Moderne in Paris. He also showed in a further sixteen group exhibitions, including the “1946 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculpture, Watercolors and Drawings”[122] at the Whitney, the “Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors”[123] at Wildenstein, the “1946 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting”[124] at the Whitney, and “Advancing American Art”[125] at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gottlieb also participated in the Forum “Problems of Art and Artists Today and Tomorrow,” sponsored by the Art Students League and the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors, and chaired the discussion “Contemporary Art Criticism: What is its Function?”

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[114] March 12-31, 1945.
[115] February 12 - March 10, 1945.
[116] July 1945.
[117] October 6-29, 1945.
[118] September 11-29, 1945.
[119] November 27, 1945 - January 10, 1946.
[120] Exact dates unknown.
[121] “Exposition internationale d’art moderne,” Musée d’Art Moderne (November 18 - December 28, 1946).
[122] February 5 - March 13, 1946.
[123] The exhibition ran from 17 September to 5 October 1946, and then travelled to Rochester, New York, St. Paul, Minnesota, the De Young Museum in San Francisco, the Museum of Fine Arts of Texas, and the Rockhill Nelson Gallery, in Kansas City.
[124] December 10 - January 16, 1947.
[125] The exhibition ran from October 4 to October 18, 1946; it was organised to travel to Europe and South America.

In 1947 Gottlieb became a founding member of "The Graphic Circle," a group of contemporary printmakers who exhibited at the Seligmann Gallery in New York. His work was shown in thirteen group exhibitions, of which "The Graphic Circle"[126] at Jacques Seligmann, "Introduction à la peinture moderne americaine"[127] at the Galerie Maeght in Paris, the "1947 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculpture, Watercolors and Drawings"[128] and the "1947 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting,"[129] both at the Whitney, and the "Seventh Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture by The Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors"[130] in New York.

In 1947 he had two solo shows at Samuel Kootz: "Adolph Gottlieb: New Paintings"[131] and "Adolph Gottlieb: Pictographs."[132] Greenberg reviewed the latter in *The Nation* of 6 December 1947 and, as mentioned in Chapter 4, praised Gottlieb's work. He was bewildered by the fact that Gottlieb was able to introduce so much variety within the self-imposed structure of his images. "Adolph Gottlieb, though still confining himself to his formula—a set of juxtaposed rectangles on which hieroglyphic forms are inscribed—increases in strength as well as felicity with every new show."[133] He believed Gottlieb was possibly the leading exponent of a new "indigenous" school of symbolism, in which he included the likes of Rothko, Still, and Newman.[134] Greenberg thought that the "symbols" Gottlieb put into his canvases had no explicit meaning but derived from the artist's unconscious and spoke to the same faculty in the spectator. Despite the praise, Greenberg indicated that the public had the right to ask more of the artist. "We have the right to ask of Gottlieb that he tax himself to say more."[135]

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[126] January 23 - February 8, 1947.
[127] March - April 1947
[128] March 11 - April 17, 1947.
[129] December 6, 1947 - January 25, 1948.
[130] No exact dates available.
[131] January 6-25, 1947.
[132] November 3-24, 1947.
[133] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Hedda Sterne and Adolph Gottlieb," *The Nation*, December 6, 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 187-189.
[134] According to John O'Brian, as mentioned in Chapter 4.2., Newman responded to this article in a letter, which *The Nation* did not print.
[135] Ibid.

At the end of the year Gottlieb contributed a statement to “The Ides of Art: The Attitudes of Ten Artists on Their Art and Contemporaneousness” in the December issue of *The Tiger’s Eye*, in which he discussed the role of the artist.[136]

In 1948 the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation acquired several works by Gottlieb when it purchased the Estate of Karl Nierendorf[137]. In addition, his works were included in fourteen group exhibitions, in museums and galleries, of which “New Acquisitions”[138] at the Museum of Modern Art, “The Graphic Circle”[139] at Jacques Seligmann, the “Eighth Annual Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture by Members of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors”[140] at Wildenstein, and the “1948 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting”[141] at the Whitney at the end of the year. Towards the end of the decade Gottlieb became more vociferous: he participated in the “The Modern Artist Speaks” at the Museum of Modern Art with a presentation entitled “Unintelligibility,” in which he attacked the critics for their intolerance of non-conformism.[142] In 1948 he also began a series of paintings, which he called “Unstill Life” paintings and continued to work on in 1949.

At the beginning of 1949 Gottlieb had a solo show “Adolph Gottlieb”[143] at Jacques Seligmann, which Greenberg reviewed in *The Nation* of 19 February 1949. He gave Gottlieb’s work a favourable notice, but was convinced that the artist had not yet reached his zenith. Gottlieb also took part in fourteen group shows, including the “Competitive Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting”[144] at the University of Illinois, “The Graphic Circle: 3rd Print Annual”[145] at Jacques Seligmann, the “1949 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Sculpture, Watercolors and Drawings”[146] and the “1949 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American

[136] His contribution is discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[137] “Adolph Gottlieb: Chronology,” The Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, http://gottliebfoundation.org/the-artist/biography/ [accessed July 29, 2016]. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, established in 1937, acquired the works for the then °Museum of Non-Objective Painting.
[138] January 13 - March 21, 1948.
[139] February 2-21, 1948.
[140] September 14 - October 2, 1948.
[141] November 13, 1948 - January 2, 1949.
[142] His presentation is discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[143] January 24 - February 12, 1949.
[144] February 29 - March 25, 1949.
[145] March 1-12, 1949.
[146] April 2 - May 8, 1949.

Painting,"[147] both at the Whitney, and most importantly "The Intrasubjectives" at Samuel Kootz.

In the spring of 1949 Gottlieb chaired the forum "The Schism between Artist and Public" at the Art Students League. In the summer he helped start and participated in Forum 49, a series of seminars by and for artists, in Provincetown and New York City, in which Motherwell also participated. He also organised a newsworthy protest against the exhibition jury at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in the form of an open letter addressed to Roland L. Redmond, President of the Metropolitan Museum. The protestors, amongst them Baziotes, Rothko, Pollock, Motherwell, Newman, and de Kooning, gained notoriety and became known as "The Irascibles."

The year 1949 was for Gottlieb a prelude to a busy time in 1950 and 1951, which continued through the rest of the 1950s.

5.2.3. Barnett Newman[148]

Barnett Newman was born in New York on 29 January 1905, the eldest of four children. His parents, Anna and Abraham Newman, were Jewish Russian-Polish émigrés, who arrived in America in 1900. His father was not a religious Jew, but a fervent Zionist. Newman grew up in the rural part of the Bronx, where he attended local public elementary schools. He attended Hebrew classes and started piano lessons at the age of six. He insisted on attending high school in Manhattan[149], where he discovered a whole new world, in particular that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1922, in his senior year of high school, he obtained his mother's permission to attend classes at the Art Students League, where he enrolled in a beginners' class in antique drawing. Thus, as with Gottlieb, whom he met at the Art Students League, he was attracted to art early in his youth. He continued attending classes at the Art Students League when at City College, where he majored in philosophy.

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[147] December 16, 1949 - February 5, 1950.

[148] Biographical sources: Thomas B. Hess, *Barnett Newman*; Melissa Ho, "Chronology," The Barnett Newman Foundation, http://www.barnettnewman.org/artist/chronology [last accessed April 15, 2019]; Barnett Newman, *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, ed. John P. O'Neill; Harold Rosenberg, *Barnett Newman*; Richard Shiff, Carol C. Mancusi-Ungaro, and Heidi Colsman-Freyberger, eds., *Barnett Newman: A Catalogue Raisonné*.

[149] He enrolled at De Witt Clinton High School, Freshman Annex, on 88th Street.

Of the three activists, Newman was probably the most politically engaged at an early age. While at City College he wrote his first "manifesto," protesting against the restrictive access conditions to the collection of the °Barnes Foundation in Merrion, Pennsylvania. This was one of many instances of political action on Newman's part. During his young adulthood Newman spent his weekends exploring the Metropolitan Museum and absorbing the paintings on display. He also wrote art and music reviews for the City College newspapers[150] and became a member of the college literary society. He graduated in 1927.

As with Gottlieb, Newman's father was concerned about his son making a living as an artist and convinced him to join the family's menswear manufacturing business for two years in order to build up his savings. The 1929 Crash upset the family prospects and Newman's plans were set aside. The 1930s nevertheless became the decade in which Newman overcame the obstacles on his chosen path. He returned to the Art Students League, where he worked, amongst others with John Sloan. Newman was determined to be an artist, and in order to achieve his objective he took the examination to become a New York City high school substitute art teacher in 1931, and started working as a teacher to support himself. That same year he met Milton Avery and Rothko.

In 1933 Newman moved to Horatio Street in Greenwich Village and became active on the local political scene. He went so far as to present himself as a mayoral candidate of New York City, submitting a manifesto entitled "On the Need for Political Action by Men of Culture." In 1935 he moved to a studio on West 13th street. He continued to work as a teacher, but the outlook was bleak. The following year he published *The Answer—America's Civil Service Magazine*, which was well received by the press and the public, but was brought to an end for lack of funds. That same year he submitted the project, "Civil Service—The American Way Out," for the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship. He was selected for consideration, but decided not to pursue the project. On 30 June 1936 Newman married Annalee Greenhouse, also a substitute

[150] *The Lavender* and *The Campus*.

teacher. The couple spent the summer in Maine, and would thereafter spend most of their summers outside the city.[151]

Newman continued to teach until the end of the decade, but became frustrated with the academic standards of the Board of Education of the City of New York. This led him, in 1938, to organise a group of substitute teachers who had failed the drawing part of the regular examination. They exhibited their work at the A.C.A Gallery in an exhibition entitled "Can We Draw? The Board of Examiners Says—No!"[152] This was Newman's first group show, for which he wrote the foreword to the catalogue. Max Weber, who had also been failed by the Board in his youth, took part in the exhibition. The Board withdrew the examination results and for the first time ever allowed students to sit the exam again. The results, however, remained unchanged.

Newman took part in a second group show in 1940: "Art Teachers Association: First Membership Association"[153] at the Uptown Gallery in New York. In addition to art Newman pursued other interests with diligence. In 1940 he gave up full-time teaching in order to teach evening classes in silk-screen printing at the Washington Irving Adult Center; he became interested in botany, spending time at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden; he joined the Museum of Natural History to study bird life and attended the summer session at Cornell University in Ithaca to study botany and ornithology.[154]

Newman's political "integrity" led him to declare himself a conscientious objector in 1942, although already disqualified from military service for physical reasons. He spent August 1942 and 1943 at the Reed Studios in East Gloucester[155] in Massachusetts. According to Rosenberg, in 1943 Newman met Betty Parsons, who at the time was in charge of a small art gallery in a bookshop, called Wakefield Gallery[156]. He began a

[151] They spent August 1937 on Martha's Vineyard, off the Massachusetts coast, and the summers of 1942, 1943, and 1944 in East Gloucester, Massachusetts. In 1945 and 1946 they spent the summer in Provincetown, Massachusetts.
[152] November 28 - December 11, 1938.
[153] March 11 - April 4, 1940. He showed a watercolour, *Country Studio* (1940 or earlier).
[154] His interest led him to be elected an Associate of the American Ornithologists' Union.
[155] Gloucester is a small fishing town, renowned for its scenic beauty. Since the early nineteenth-century it has attracted painters. Newman as well as Milton Avery and Rothko spent time in Gloucester.
[156] Betty Parsons ran the Wakefield Bookshop Gallery from 1940 till 1944. Towards the end of 1944 she left the Wakefield Gallery and became the Director of modern art for the Mortimer Brandt Gallery at 15 East 57th Street. In 1946 she opened her own gallery, Betty Parsons Gallery, at 11 East 57th Street, later moving to 24 West 57th Street. (See "Biographical/Historical Note," Archives of American Art,

close working relationship with Parsons, and in 1944 wrote the catalogue foreword for Gottlieb's first solo show at Wakefield. The same year he organised an exhibition of pre-Columbian stone sculpture at Wakefield and wrote the foreword to the catalogue. As a result Newman became involved with *La Revista Belga* and wrote several articles for the periodical, some of which, such as "The Plasmic Image," remained unpublished. He returned to East Gloucester for the summer holidays in 1944. He spent the following summer in Provincetown, where he frequented Hans Hofmann and through him met Tony Smith, who became a close friend.

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After four years of inactivity, Newman started painting again in the mid-1940s. The first year after the end of World War II saw activity on the New York art scene take on a new dimension and Newman was part of it, not so much with a display of his artwork as with his writings. He wrote the foreword for the exhibition catalogue of Teresa *Zarnower at Art of This Century.[157] For *Ambos Mundos*, a new magazine issued by the publisher of *La Revista Belga*, he wrote "Art of the South Seas," an article based on an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. He spent the summer in Provincetown; he met Clyfford Still in New York; and about the same time he also met Pollock and Lee Krasner. Pollock and Newman became close friends.

Although he did not participate in many exhibitions, the mid-1940s were productive for Newman. In September 1946 Betty Parsons opened her own gallery in Mortimer Brandt's old space. Newman organised the opening exhibition "Northwest Coast Indian Painting"[158] and wrote the foreword to the catalogue, while Tony Smith assisted with the installation and the photographer Aaron Siskind was in charge of the photography. Newman was involved in the organisation of several shows, and the writing of catalogue forewords. In December he joined the Betty Parsons Gallery and

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Smithsonian Institution, http://www.aaa.si.edu [accessed December 25, 2018]. See also Laura de Coppet and Alan Jones, eds., *The Art Dealers: The Powers Behind the Scene Tell How the Art World Really Works*.)

[157] The show was a joint exhibition of Robert *De Niro's paintings and Teresa Zarnower's gouaches, which ran from 23 April till 11 May 1946.

[158] September 30 - October 19, 1946.

began exhibiting in the gallery's group shows, including the end-of-year "Christmas Group Show."[159]

In 1947 Newman organised a group exhibition of the gallery artists for the Betty Parsons Gallery, "The Ideographic Picture."[160] He wrote the catalogue foreword, in which he defined the new abstract painting. He also wrote the article "The First Man was an Artist" for *The Tiger's Eye,* and was invited to take part in the exhibition "Abstract and Surrealist American Art"[161] at the Art Institute of Chicago. He sold his first painting, *Euclidian Abyss* (1946-1947), featured as *Black and White*, in the exhibition, to art collectors Burton and Emily Tremaine. In 1947 Newman gave up his teaching job and his wife Annalee became the sole breadwinner.

A key year for Newman was 1948: he produced his breakthrough work *Onement 1* (1948); he wrote "The Sublime is Now," which appeared in the December issue of *The Tiger's Eye*, and shed new light on his artistic vision; he took part in the group show "Survey Of the Season"[162] at Betty Parsons in June. He also became involved in the conception of the cooperative art school "The Subjects of the Artist." Newman had suggested the name "Subjects of the Artist" in order to highlight the importance of subject matter in abstract art, but only joined the staff in January 1949. He initiated a series of Friday night talks at the school, where affiliated artists were able to express their ideas, an initiative which later served as a model for "Studio 35" and the gatherings of "The Club." Robert Goodnough assisted him in this activity.

"Fate" struck in the spring of 1949: while visiting the prehistoric Native American mounds in the South Western part of Ohio with his wife, Newman experienced an epiphany, which inspired him to write an essay, entitled "Prologue for a New Aesthetic." In the essay, which was not published during his lifetime, he described how in the presence of the Indian mounds he had experienced the manifestation of "self

[159] December 2-30, 1946.
[160] January 20 - February 8, 1947. Lee Hall refers to the show as "Ideographic Painters" in *Betty Parsons: Artist, Dealer, Collector*, but it is mentioned as "The Ideographic Picture" in *Barnett Newman: A Catalogue Raisonné*.
[161] "The Fifty-Eighth Annual Exhibition of American painting and Sculpture: Abstract and Surrealist American Art" (November 6, 1947 - January 11, 1948).
[162] June 1-21, 1948.

against undefined space … ."[163] He explained that the art of the mounds had no subjects, that it could not be seen, and that it had to be experienced there on the spot. The experience, which affected his artistic outlook and creative output, led him to distinguish between space, which was common property, and time, which was "personal, a private experience."[164] In the autumn Newman participated in "Group Show"[165] at Betty Parsons. On 14 October 1949, the conservative New York newspaper, the *Sun* commented on Newman's painting: "Barnett Newman's mural-size canvas painted an unrelieved tomato with a perfectly straight narrow band of deeper red cleaving the canvas neatly in two is something else again. It's as pointless as a yard rule, which at least has the advantage of being functional. Is Newman trying to write finis to the art of abstraction?"[166] Newman's review of Trigant Burrow's book *The Neurosis of Man* appeared in *The Tiger's Eye* issue of 15 October 1949.

The year 1949 was Barnett Newman's most artistically productive: he completed eighteen paintings in all, the largest number he would complete in a single year.[167] By the time of his interview with Goodnough Newman had not yet had a solo show, and his work had not yet reached the level of public visibility of the other interviewees. He had, however, given art and in particular painting, a great deal of thought, and reflected intensely on the subject matter of the artist. Newman never showed at Art of This Century, either solo or as part of a group. He had his first one-man show in 1950 at Betty Parsons, followed by a second one in 1951. The response to the shows, which were reviewed negatively by the critics and criticised by his peers, led him to withdraw his works from the public domain. His next one-man show would be in 1958, at the New Gallery at Bennington College in Vermont.[168]

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[163] John P. O'Neill, ed., introductory note to Barnett Newman, "Prologue for a New Aesthetic" reprinted as "Ohio, 1949," in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, by Barnett Newman, ed. John P. O'Neill (New York: Alfred H. Knopf, 1990), 174.

[164] Newman, "Ohio, 1949," 175.

[165] October 10-29, 1949.

[166] The *Sun*, October 14, 1949, reprinted in *Barnett Newman*, by Harold Rosenberg (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1978), 235.

[167] The works included *End of Silence* (1949), *Onement III* (1949), *Concord* (1949), *By Twos* (1949), *Onement IV* (1949), *Abraham* (1949), *Galaxy* (1949), *Covenant* (1949), *The Promise* (1949), *Yellow Painting* (1949), *Untitled 1, 1949* (1949), *The Name I* (1949), *Untitled 2, 1949* (1949), *Horizon Light* (1949), *Argos* (1949), *Dionysius* (1949), *Be I* (1949), *Untitled 3, 1949* (1949). (The titles were supplied by The Barnett Newman Foundation, at 654 Madison Avenue Suite 1900 New York, NY.)

[168] "Barnett Newman: First Retrospective Exhibition" at the New Gallery, Bennington College, Bennington, Vermont (May 4-24, 1958.)

5.3. The outsider: William Baziotes[169]

William Baziotes was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 11 June 1912, the eldest of four children of a middleclass family. His father Frank Angelus Baziotes, of Greek origin, ran a restaurant. A year after William's birth the family moved to Reading, Pennsylvania. Six years later the father's restaurant burnt down, affecting the family's fortunes, but by 1925 the family was once again financially comfortable. William was then in the process of acquiring his formal high school education, which lasted until about 1928, when he was suspended in his sophomore year at the age of sixteen.

Little is known about Baziotes's ambitions as an adolescent or young man, other than that as a teenager he had considered boxing as a profession. Little is also known about the family expectations for him. According to Barbara Cavaliere, Baziotes spent most of his childhood in relative financial security. Nevertheless, already as a youngster he appeared an "outsider." "At an early age Baziotes felt alone, 'different' from most of his classmates in the small Pennsylvania town."[170] Following the family misfortune, Cavaliere believes Baziotes became acquainted with the seedier part of city life. Baziotes worked at odd jobs as an errand boy in the local joints, where he came across unusual characters—prostitutes, pimps, and gamblers. Cavaliere believes that this aspect of his life incited his later interest in boxing and crime.

The early 1930s were a period of "apprenticeship" for Baziotes. At the beginning of the decade he worked at the glass manufacturer J.M. Kase & Company in Reading, antiquing glass and running errands, mixing with "semi-professional artists." It is likely that his interest in art was awakened there and that art became a personal goal, leading him to attend evening sketch classes. During this period, from 1931 to 1933, he met and became friendly with the poet Byron Vazakas[171], who became a major

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[169] Biographical sources: Barbara Cavaliere, "William Baziotes: The Subtlety of Life for the Artist," in *William Baziotes: A Retrospective Exhibition*, ed. Michael Preble (Newport Beach, California: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1978), 27-58; Tatiana Cuevas Guevara, "William Baziotes: Chronology," in *William Baziotes: Paintings and Drawings, 1934-1962* (Milan: Skira Editore, 2004), 119-130; typewritten biographical details, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[170] Barbara Cavaliere, "William Baziotes: The Subtlety of Life for the Artist," 31.

[171] Byron Vazakas (1905-1987) was an American poet born in New York City. After the death of his father, a Greek-born linguist, the family in 1922 moved to Reading, Pennsylvania, where he became

influence. In 1931 he visited New York for the first time to view the retrospective exhibition "Henri Matisse"[172] at the Museum of Modern Art.

According to Cavaliere, Baziotes had a great interest in literature, both American and European, and was an avid reader of detective stories. Literature was a topic of discussion with Vazakas, who introduced Baziotes to poetry, in particular the French Symbolists, Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), Paul Verlaine (1844-1896), and Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898). The writings of Baudelaire, *Journaux intimes* (1851-1862) and *Mon Coeur mis à nu* (1864)[173] apparently fascinated Baziotes. This fascination was one of several points of interest, he later discovered, he shared with Motherwell.

In 1933 Baziotes moved to New York and enrolled at the National Academy of Design. He was by then fully committed to becoming an artist, and helped organise the Saturday morning quick sketch class at the Academy. According to Cavaliere, Baziotes felt alienated from the social and cultural milieu during those early years in New York. The feeling was such that in the spring of 1934 he returned to Reading for six months. But back in New York in the autumn of 1936, Baziotes started working for the WPA Federal Art Project as an "Art Teacher." Two years later he was placed on the WPA Easel Project, which enabled him to paint. From 1938 onwards till he received his termination notice on 7 December 1944, Baziotes worked both on the WPA Easel Project and as a teacher for the WPA. According to Vazakas, Baziotes "was bored with much of the social militancy of that era under the Public Works Project."[174]

Although by nature a loner, Baziotes had a circle of friends in New York, which he started to widen towards the end of the decade. He met Kurt Seligmann, who in 1939 invited Baziotes to exhibit a series of gouaches at his gallery, after which his artistic career started to progress rapidly. The early 1940s were propitious: in 1940 he met Roberto Matta, with whom he became friendly; he became acquainted with Jimmy Ernst, with whom he would spend time working the following year; and he met Gordon

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acquainted and struck up a lasting friendship with Baziotes. According to Cavaliere, Vazakas came from an aristocratic background.

[172] November 3 - December 6, 1931.

[173] This was revealed in a conversation Byron Vazakas had with Barbara Cavaliere on 13 July 1975.

[174] Byron Vazakas, letter to B. Cavaliere, June 12, 1975, reprinted in "William Baziotes: The Subtlety of Life for the Artist," 35.

Onslow Ford. He also met his future wife, Ethel Copstein, whom he married in April 1941.

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Baziotes's meetings with Matta, Ernst, and Onslow Ford, had a major impact on his artistic life. In 1941, he exhibited with the Surrealists in a group show at the New School (for Social Research), organised in conjunction with a lecture given by Gordon Onslow Ford. At the end of 1941 Matta introduced Baziotes to Motherwell, who also became a lifelong friend. Both artists were keen on nineteenth-century French poetry, in particular Baudelaire, and were drawn to the Surrealist means of expression, in particular psychic automatism.

In 1942 Baziotes participated in the show "First Papers of Surrealism,"[175] organised by André Breton and Marcel Duchamp, at the Whitelaw Reid Mansion in New York, with other American artists, including Motherwell, Jimmy Ernst, and Hare. In the autumn, he started meeting regularly with Motherwell, Pollock, Gerome *Kamrowski, and Peter *Busa at Matta's home to discuss "painting." Baziotes remembered this period as one when the talk was mostly of ideas in painting. "There was an unconscious collaboration between artists. Whether you agreed or disagreed was of no consequence. It was exciting and you were compelled to paint over your head. You had to stay on a high level or drown. If your painting was criticized adversely, you either imitated someone to give it importance, or you simply suffered and painted harder to make your feelings on canvas convincing."[176] In the winter of 1942, according to Cavaliere, Matta, Baziotes, and Motherwell made an attempt to form a group based on psychic automatism "as a means to create a truer surrealism which would be more painterly, abstract, and subjective than the dogmatic Surrealist variety."[177] They approached a group of American painters[178], who mostly appeared interested but the initiative never took off.

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[175] October 16 - November 14, 1942.
[176] William Baziotes, in "Symposium: The Creative Process," *Art Digest*, January 15, 1954, 33.
[177] Cavaliere, "William Baziotes: The Subtlety of Life for the Artist," 37.
[178] The group included Jackson Pollock, Lee Krasner, Peter Busa, Gerome Kamrowski, Willem de Kooning, and Arshile Gorky. Busa (probably) and de Kooning (definitely) were not interested in their theory.

In 1943 Baziotes submitted a collage for Peggy Guggenheim's collage show at Art of This Century[179], which also featured works by Motherwell and Pollock. In October of the following year, still only thirty-two, Baziotes had his first one-man show, "Paintings and Drawings by Baziotes"[180] at Art of This Century. Greenberg reviewed the show in *The Nation* of 11 November 1944, and appeared impressed by Baziotes, whom he considered an "unadulterated" talent, believing that two or three of his larger oils might become masterpieces in the future. "Baziotes will become an emphatically good painter when he forces himself to let his pictures 'cook' untouched for months before finishing them."[181] At the end of 1944, Baziotes contributed a watercolour to the November issue of *Dyn* magazine.

There was no looking back after the end of war. By the mid-forties Baziotes had made visual art his central goal, according to Cavaliere. "He sought the regions where conciliation of the oppositions between life and art take place, where sight/imagination, flesh/spirit, past/present/future, I/they live together as one in a state of tension somewhere between stability and flux, in a netherworld which exists beyond the known."[182]

Although Samuel Kootz only opened his gallery, at 15 East 57th Street, officially in 1945, he told Dorothy Seckler in a 1964 interview that he already began to "subsidize" Robert Motherwell and William Baziotes in 1944, and later took on, amongst others, Gottlieb. All three artists featured in the Kootz group shows "In the Sun" and "Homage to Jazz" in 1946.[183] According to Kootz, Baziotes was the most "Surrealist" of the artists of his gallery. "Bill, of course, existed almost in a dream world as far as his painting was concerned. And all his paintings exercised a kind of fantasy of objects, of

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[179] April 16 - May 15, 1943. His work *The Drugged Balloonist* (1943) sold almost immediately.
[180] October 3-21, 1944. Both Guggenheim and Putzel were attracted by Baziotes's work. Despite the artist's apprehension, the show was well received by critics and collectors, according to Jasper Sharp. (See Jasper Sharp, "Serving the Future: The Exhibitions at Art of This Century 1942 -1947," in *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century*, ed. Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 288-362.)
[181] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of William Baziotes and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, November 11, 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism. Volume 1*, 240.
[182] Cavaliere, "William Baziotes: The Subtlety of Life for the Artist," 41.
[183] September 4-28 and December 3-21, 1946.

animals, of people that had no real existence."[184] The other artists in the gallery, according to Kootz, had a more intellectual approach. Gottlieb, Rothko, and Newman were "intellectualizing,"[185] although in their thinking about the myth and primitivism the depiction of the unconscious was a key element.

Baziotes's talent was publicly recognized in 1947, when he was awarded the Walter M. Campana Memorial Purchase Prize at the "38th Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Art Institute,"[186] for his painting *Cyclops* (1947). His 1947 one-man exhibition at Samuel Kootz[187] received praise from avant-garde circles, according to Cavaliere. Harold Rosenberg commented in the catalogue. "The shapes in a Baziotes canvas are covers of hidden spaces, rather than spatial forms themselves. Something is going on behind what one sees."[188] Baziotes took part in the 1947 show, "Introduction à la peinture moderne américaine," organised by Samuel Kootz at the Galerie Maeght in Paris.

In the winter of 1947-1948 Motherwell, Harold Rosenberg, the French architect Pierre Chareau (1883-1950), and John Cage produced the first and only issue of the periodical *Possibilities*. Motherwell and Rosenberg made clear in their introductory statement that the magazine was intended to go against the political grain of the time. It was to be "a magazine of artists and writers who 'practice' in their work their own experience without seeking to transcend it in academic, group or political formulas."[189] Baziotes was a prime illustration of this philosophy and was given the opportunity to make a statement[190] for the magazine. Rosenberg reiterated his 1947 comments about the shapes in a Baziotes canvas.[191] Baziotes's friendship with Motherwell also led him to become a founding member of the school "Subjects of the Artist." Teaching art was nothing new to Baziotes, but this venture was based on a new approach to teaching art,

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[184] *Oral History Interview with Samuel M. Kootz*, April 13, 1964, conducted by Dorothy Seckler, page 3 of the transcript, Oral History Interviews, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-samuel-m-kootz-12837 [accessed October 10, 2013].
[185] Ibid.
[186] November 6, 1947 - January 11, 1948.
[187] April 7-26, 1947.
[188] Harold Rosenberg, quoted in *Baziotes: New Paintings*, exhibition catalogue, Samuel Kootz Gallery, New York, April 7-26, 1947, n.p.
[189] Robert Motherwell and Harold Rosenberg, editorial preface, *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, Winter 1947/8, 1.
[190] His statement is discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[191] Harold Rosenberg, "The Shapes in a Baziotes Canvas," *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, Winter 1947/8, 2.

the result of long drawn-out discussions with peer artists. After the closure of the school, Baziotes ran "Studio 35" with Tony Smith.

By 1949, however, Baziotes had distanced himself somewhat from the centre of the New York art world activity. He was evolving towards a more secluded existence and was gradually again becoming an "outsider." He took part in several group exhibitions, of which the most significant was Samuel Kootz's "The Intrasubjectives." When Goodnough interviewed him, Baziotes was teaching painting at the Brooklyn Museum of Art as well as at New York University.[192]

5.4. The intellectual: Robert Motherwell[193]

Robert Burns Motherwell III was born on 24 January 1915 in Aberdeen, in the State of Washington, the elder of two children from a comfortable background. He attended some of the finest schools[194] on the West Coast before enrolling at Harvard University in the Department of Philosophy of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences in 1937. He became well versed in Western philosophy, with a particular interest in Sören Kierkegaard (1813-1855) and the twentieth-century Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955). At Harvard his interest in aesthetics led him to research Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863) and become acquainted with the work of Delacroix's critic, Charles Baudelaire. Baudelaire's writings in turn fuelled his interest in French poetry, which he shared with Baziotes.

Towards the end of the 1930s, Motherwell travelled to Europe[195], where he spent most of his time in France, researching Delacroix's *Journals*. He attended lectures at the University of Grenoble during the summer, and in the autumn of 1938 settled in a

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[192] Baziotes taught at these two institutions from 1949 until 1952. From 1952 to 1962 he taught, as Associate Professor of Art, at Hunter College, New York.

[193] Biographical sources: Robert Motherwell, *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, ed. Stephanie Terenzio; Robert Motherwell, *The Writings of Robert Motherwell*, ed. Dore Ashton with Joan Banach; Dedalus Foundation, http://www.dedalusfoundation.org/motherwell [last accessed October 3, 2019].

[194] Motherwell attended Moran Preparatory School at Atascadero, California. He also received a fellowship to the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. He briefly studied at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco and attended Stanford University at Palo Alto, California, where he studied the history of philosophy and gained a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1936.

[195] This was not his first visit, since during his University education, between 1932 and 1937, Motherwell had travelled in Europe with his father and sister.

studio in Paris till the following July. In Paris, Motherwell briefly frequented the Académie Julian and started painting.[196] He also translated into English the treatise by Paul Signac (1863-1935), *D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionisme*.[197] Upon his return to the United States in 1939 Motherwell started teaching art at the University of Oregon in Eugene, one of a long list of institutions of higher education where he would teach. Thus, by the end of the decade, at the age of twenty-five, Motherwell was endowed with a top-notch education, had spent time in Europe, and was well acquainted with nineteenth-century French painting and poetry. He had also tentatively, with some success, tried his hand at painting.

In the autumn of 1940 Motherwell moved to New York City, where he enrolled in Columbia University's graduate programme at the Department of Art History and Archaeology, and studied with the art historian Meyer Schapiro. He settled in Greenwich Village at West 11th Street. He became acquainted with the Swiss Surrealist Kurt Seligmann and through him met other Surrealists, with whom he remained closely affiliated for several years. Perhaps the most important meeting of that period was his encounter with Roberto Matta in the spring of 1941. Motherwell abandoned his academic studies, having probably around this time made the decision to become a painter. Motherwell and Matta became fellow travellers and journeyed together to Mexico, where Motherwell met his first wife, the Mexican actress Mariá Emilia Ferreira y Moyers.[198] During his stay in Coyoacán, he frequented the Surrealist artist Wolfgang Paalen, with whom he collaborated on the periodical *Dyn*, the first of many inputs he would make to art journals. In May 1941 he was called before his draft board, but was classified 4-F (physically unfit for service), because of his history of chronic asthma.

Upon his return from Mexico in December 1941, Motherwell again settled in Greenwich Village, on Perry Street, and began to move in a circle of Surrealist artists. Through Matta he met Baziotes, with whom he developed a life-long friendship. Baziotes in turn introduced Motherwell to several American artists, amongst others Pollock, who participated in discussion meetings at Matta's apartment on 9th Street.

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[196] His work was exhibited at the Raymond Duncan Gallery in Paris.

[197] Paul Signac, *D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionisme* (1899), translated into English as *From Eugène Delacroix to Neo-Impressionism.*

[198] They married in 1942 in Provincetown, Massachusetts. The couple divorced in 1949.

Around this time Motherwell started experimenting with automatic writing. In 1942 he was included in the exhibition "The First Papers of Surrealism,"[199] at the Whitelaw Reid Mansion, his first exhibition in New York.

Although Motherwell had put an end to his academic studies in order to devote himself to painting, he never abandoned his writing. In 1942 he wrote "Notes on Mondrian and Chirico" for the first issue of the Surrealist magazine *VVV*. He briefly worked with André Breton and Max Ernst on *VVV*.

Whereas Gottlieb and Newman fed their artistic interest by visiting museums and galleries, and Pollock, as we shall see, was drawn to mural art, Motherwell was attracted by the masterpieces of the A. E. Gallatin Collection at the New York University Library.

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The year 1943 was one of intense artistic activity for Motherwell as he focused on developing his painting. He experimented with his first collages as a result of being invited to show in Peggy Guggenheim's **"**Exhibition of Collage;"[200] he produced the highly original *Pancho Villa, Dead and Alive* (1943), which the Museum of Modern Art purchased in 1944; he settled in Greenwich Village on West 8th Street; he began making etchings and engravings at Atelier 17; he took part in the "Spring Salon for Young Artists"[201] at Art of This Century. He spent the summer of 1943 in San Francisco, and upon his return to New York, he rented a cottage in the Hampton area on Long Island, which would become his summer retreat.

While 1943 appeared lost in terms of Motherwell's writing, 1944 started off with a bang when "Painters' Objects" was published in the winter issue of *Partisan Review*. By that stage Motherwell had already acquired some renown in literary circles, both as an artist and an intellectual. Personally he would always view his writing as secondary to his painting, and would regularly in public reject the qualification of "intellectual."

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[199] October 16 - November 14, 1942.
[200] April 16 - May 15, 1943.
[201] May 18 - June 26, 1943.

Written in 1943, "Painters' Objects" was an analysis of abstraction, based on the exhibition of the works of Mondrian, Alexander Calder, and more importantly perhaps, those of an artist of his own generation, Jackson Pollock. He noted, what he termed an extraordinary phenomenon of the twentieth century, that many artists totally rejected the external world as model. He also stressed the poverty of modern life, a theme he would regularly return to, and a view shared by Greenberg.

In 1944 Motherwell presented a paper, "The Place of the Spiritual in a World of Property" at a symposium[202] at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, in Massachusetts. This paper was later published in the November issue of *Dyn* under the title "The Modern Painter's World." The 1944 lecture was followed by a period of intensive creativity for Motherwell, both in writing and painting. He had a review, "Calder's 'Three Young Rats'," of a book by Alexander Calder published in the December issue of the politically and culturally influential magazine, *The New Republic*. In the spring he took part in the second "Spring Salon for Young Artists"[203] at Art of This Century.

Two events highlighted 1944 for Motherwell. The first was the invitation of the European booksellers George Wittenborn (1905-1974) and Heinz Schultz (ca.1903-1954) to be the director and editor of *The Documents of Modern Art* series.[204] The publication was intended to draw attention to modern writings, little known in the English-speaking world, of modern art and literature. As editor Motherwell was given a fairly free hand in the choice of works, which indirectly gave him a say in what the American intelligentsia would be reading and looking at. He wrote the introductions to the first two titles: *The Cubist Painters: Aesthetic Meditations 1913* by Guillaume Apollinaire and *Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art* by Piet Mondrian. The second highlight came at the end of the year: Motherwell had his first one-man show, "Robert Motherwell: Paintings, Papiers Collés, Drawings," at Art of This Century.[205]

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[202] The symposium was part of the "Pontigny en Amérique" programmes, which took place at Mount Holyoke College in August 1944. Motherwell was invited through his association with the Surrealists. The *entretiens* for 1944 addressed the theme "L'art et la crise" and were divided into four week-long sessions. Motherwell contributed on 10 August 1944 to the third session, entitled "Arts plastiques" headed by André Masson. The other participants in Motherwell's session were Robert Goldwater, Stanley William Hayter, Jean Hélion, José Luis Sert (1902-1983), and Ossip Zadkine.

[203] May 9 - June 3, 1944.

[204] Motherwell produced the first ten numbers in the series and stayed until asked to leave in 1951.

[205] October 24 - November 11, 1944.

Greenberg reviewed the show positively in *The Nation* of 11 November 1944. "Robert Motherwell's first one-man show … makes Miss Guggenheim's gallery almost too much of a good thing. Motherwell is a more finished but less intense painter than Baziotes, less upsetting because more traditional and easier to take."[206] He also became acquainted with the French architect Pierre Chareau, with whom he became friends and who later joined him in the launching of *Possibilities.*

Early in 1945 Motherwell signed a contract with Samuel Kootz. He was given an annual stipend in exchange of a quota of works, which gave him financial freedom but put him under pressure, and as a result his writing activity at times became a bone of contention between him and Kootz. Motherwell remained with Samuel Kootz for ten years, from 1945 to early 1955, with the exception of one year when Kootz closed the gallery in 1948-1949. In the summer of 1945 he was invited by Josef Albers to teach for a month at Black Mountain College, in North Carolina, an indication of his growing reputation as an "advanced" painter.[207] He was subsequently invited to write an essay about the College for *Design* magazine.[208] He had a review of *Henry Moore's Sculpture and Drawings* published in the October issue of *The New Republic*. The year 1945 was again marked by important encounters for Motherwell: he met Rothko, with whom he became and remained friends until the latter's death. And through Rothko, he met Gottlieb, Newman, Bradley Walker Tomlin, and the sculptor Herbert Ferber. This group of artists became his new breeding ground following on Baziotes and the Surrealists.

Motherwell had his second one-man show, "Robert Motherwell: Paintings, Collages, Drawings,"[209] at Samuel Kootz in January 1946. Greenberg in *The Nation* of 26 January pointed out the artist's weaknesses, but was keen to encourage him. "Motherwell's gifts—and he has shown that he possesses them—deserve better

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[206] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of William Baziotes and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, January 11, 1944, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 240.

[207] Of Goodnough's seven interviewees, Motherwell and de Kooning were the only ones to have spent time at Black Mountain College. Motherwell would teach there again during the summer of 1951.

[208] In his essay, "Beyond the Aesthetic," published in the April 1946 issue, rather than address his teaching experience of the previous summer Motherwell revealed his thinking about the aesthetic value and the content of art.

[209] January 2-19, 1946.

exploitation than this."[210] Greenberg thought that Motherwell had produced much better work in the past. He believed that Motherwell suffered from a "radical unevenness,"[211] revealed by too many sudden changes of direction, motivated perhaps by an inability to decide what he wanted and by conflicting influences. As we have noted, his advice was: "the essential is to decide what one is, not what one wants."[212] This was perhaps the most pointed remark about what Greenberg viewed as the essence of an artist's work. Motherwell spent the summer of 1946 in the Hampton area and remained on Long Island during the winter, distancing himself and his work from the city. In the autumn his work was included in the exhibition "Fourteen Americans,"[213] at the Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition featured thirteen works[214] by Motherwell, exhibited in one room. The display was thus not far short of a solo show within the group exhibition. The fourteen artists were asked to write a statement[215] for the exhibition catalogue, which included illustrations of six of Motherwell's displayed works.

Around this time tension arose between Kootz and Motherwell. Kootz had become critical of Motherwell's writing activity, which Motherwell had no intention of abandoning or slowing down. Writing was and would remain an integral part of Motherwell's artistic life, albeit subordinate to his painting. This was made clear in a letter of 21 January 1947 to Kootz. "My editing is my hobby, a way of dealing with minds that interest me, in the same way that Baziotes likes to talk with people in bars, and I don't see why that should bother you. If I were by nature a painter who would really rather edit, I would be a much better editor and a much worse painter than I am in fact."[216] He did, however, express his gratitude to Kootz for organising his one-man exhibition: "the important thing you've done is back a young movement in painting ...

[210] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Hyman Bloom, David Smith, and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, January 26, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 55.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid.
[213] September 10 - December 8, 1946.
[214] Two of the works, *Pancho Villa, Dead and Alive* (1943) and *In Beige with Sand* (1945), were already part of the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art.
[215] Motherwell's statement is discussed in Chapter 6.2.
[216] Robert Motherwell, letter to Samuel Kootz, January 21, 1947, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, by Robert Motherwell, ed. Stephanie Terenzio (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 41.

."[217] He finished off by encouraging Kootz to take an interest in Pollock. This was yet again evidence of Motherwell's generous judgment of Pollock's work, even though in the letter he told him he did not get on particularly well with Pollock. Kootz was fair enough to praise Motherwell's progress upon receiving the artist's delivery of works. On 21 March 1947 he wrote to Motherwell. "I opened up your paintings today and I'm bowled over at the advances you've made this year. Something like this is heartening and makes me feel the gallery is worth doing."[218]

In April 1947 Motherwell had his second one-man show, "Motherwell,"[219] at Samuel Kootz. The exhibition featured sixteen works. The unpaginated catalogue comprised a statement by the artist, in which he outlined his method of working and explained that each painting was the result of corrected mistakes. Greenberg reviewed the show in *The Nation* of 31 May. He pointed to the artist's progress over the last three years. He believed that Motherwell's ambition to simplify and to convert the results of the simplification into expression placed him at the forefront of American contemporary painting. In the spring Motherwell was included in Samuel Kootz's Paris group show "Introduction à la peinture moderne américaine." Although the reviews were not favourable, Motherwell received less negativity than the other participants.

In addition to *The Documents of Modern Art* series, Motherwell edited Wittenborn and Schultz's *Problems of Contemporary Art* series. The publication was of a somewhat more ephemeral nature, since it was intended as "*an open forum for twentieth-century artists, scholars, and writers, the word 'art' being taken in the broadest sense. A medium for exchanging work and ideas, it* [was] *to be controversial in nature.*"[220]

In the winter of 1947-1948 the first issue of *Possibilities*[221] appeared. Intended as a periodical, it was published, in approximately two thousand copies, as the fourth title in the *Problems of Contemporary Art* series. It had taken Motherwell, together with Harold Rosenberg, two years to prepare. The intention was to extend the focus on art in

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[217] Ibid., 42.
[218] Samuel Kootz, passage of letter to Robert Motherwell, March 21, 1947, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 42n5.
[219] April 28 - May 17, 1947**.**
[220] Robert Motherwell, letter to Christian Zervos, June 13, 1947, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 43. (Italics in the original text.)
[221] Originally the title was intended as *possibilities*, but was changed to *Possibilities*.

order to include the wider scope of modern culture, which was not entirely in line with Wittenborn's vision. The aim was to produce the first magazine in the United States to be devoted exclusively to modern art and culture, but the publication was discontinued after the first issue.

As general editor Motherwell had selected Rosenberg as co-editor for literature. John Cage was responsible for the music section, and the French architect Pierre Chareau for architecture. Rosenberg was responsible for the name of the magazine as well as the format, which was modelled on that of *Commentary*. Motherwell and Rosenberg co-signed the editorial preface.[222] In the introductory sentences the co-editors set out the objective of the magazine. "This is a magazine of artists and writers who 'practice' in their work their own experience without seeking to transcend it in academic, group or political formulas. Such practice implies the belief that through conversion of energy something valid may come of whatever situation one is forced to begin with. The question of what will emerge is left open."[223] The thrust was that of unfettered artistic "practice." The two editors also emphasised the pressures of the political environment, in which the artist had to survive.

The issue included a statement and a text chosen by William Baziotes. It also featured an article by Rosenberg, "Introduction to Six American Artists," written for the catalogue of the Kootz exhibition at the Galerie Maeght in Paris in the spring of 1947, and in which, as noted in Chapter 4, he clarified the plight of the American painter and outlined his perception of the essence of the young American artist's work. The issue also contained a statement by Pollock, "My Painting,"[224] in which he described his process of working, as well as a contribution by Rothko.[225]

The year 1948 was again one of frenetic activity. In the spring Motherwell had another one-man show, "Paintings and Collages by Motherwell,"[226] at Samuel Kootz. Greenberg noted in *The Nation* of 29 May 1948 the "monumentality" of his works.

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[222] According to Stephanie Terenzio, it is highly likely, in view of the content, that the thrust of the editorial preface was Rosenberg's, and that only the first three sentences were Motherwell's.
[223] Robert Motherwell and Harold Rosenberg, editorial preface, *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, Winter 1947/48, 1.
[224] Jackson Pollock, "My Painting," *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review,* Winter 1947/8, 79.
[225] According to Stephanie Terenzio, Motherwell, to Rothko's displeasure, altered the contribution. Motherwell was also criticised for omissions in the material submitted by Baziotes.
[226] May 10-29, 1948.

"Robert Motherwell's current show at Kootz's … makes his inclusion among our more important contemporary painters obligatory. Large and middle-sized canvases … realize a monumentality such as is rare in the art of the moment."[227] Greenberg mentioned the "studiousness" of the works, but what drew his attention were the collages, which revealed the most surprising advance. He praised *Elegy* and *Gray Woman*, and thought *Painter* was evidence of how well Motherwell worked in a large format.

In June 1948 Motherwell wrote the prefatory note to *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting and Other Writings by the Artist and His Friends*," published in *The Documents of Modern Art* series. Motherwell had met Ernst in 1942 when working on the first issue of *VVV* and had a special interest in Ernst's works and writings, as he represented a channel to Surrealism and Dada. He also wrote the prefatory note to Jean Arp's *On My Way: Poetry and Essays 1912-1947*," also published in *The Documents of Modern Art* series. According to Terenzio, Ernst's book together with Arp's[228] "were steps to the realization of [Motherwell's] *The Dada Painters and Poets*, which was already in progress."[229] In the summer Rothko and Still visited Motherwell on Long Island. The three artists started discussing the possibility of setting up a new type of art school. Motherwell moved back to New York City in the autumn, and during the last quarter of the year wrote "A Tour of the Sublime" for the sixth number of *The Tiger's Eye*. The essay was solicited for the magazine's forum "Ides of Art," which focused on "What Is Sublime in Art?" The other contributors included the Greek-American poet and critic Nicholas Calas, Kurt Seligmann, John Stephan, and Barnett Newman. With Baziotes, David Hare, and Rothko,[230] Motherwell established the new "collective" art school "Subjects of the Artist,"[231] which opened on 11 October for its first semester.

By 1949 Motherwell had behind him five years of intense creativity, both pictorial and literary, during which he had established, according to Terenzio, his "artistic credo." This was no small feat, considering he had only "formally" decided to commit himself

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[227] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Le Corbusier and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, May 29, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 241.

[228] Jean Arp (1886-1966) was an artist as well as a poet, writer and a theorist, who had been active in Dada, and was therefore of particular interest to Motherwell. Motherwell later invited Arp to speak at a Friday evening session at the "Subjects of the Artist" School.

[229] Stephanie Terenzio, ed., *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 47.

[230] By then Clyfford Still had withdrawn from the project and returned to California.

[231] The school is discussed in Chapter 8.1.

to painting in 1941. The year 1949 again proved to be frenetic, particularly on the personal front.[232]

At the beginning of the year Motherwell wrote the preliminary notice to the publication of *The Rise of Cubism* (1949), the first English translation of *Der Weg zum Kubismus*[233] by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (1884-1979), published in the fifth volume of *The Documents of Modern Art*. Written in New York and dated 22 February 1949, it provided Motherwell with the opportunity to dwell on the importance of Cubism in the development of modern art. According to Motherwell, the Cubists accepted the subjects—the landscape and still life—of their predecessors and transformed them into their own objects. They "stumbled over the leading insight of the twentieth century, all thought and feeling is relative to man, he does not reflect the world but invents it. Man is his own invention; every artist's problem is to invent himself."[234] Motherwell also wrote an introduction to writings by Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918), and to *From Baudelaire to Surrealism* by Marcel Raymond (1897-1981), for *The Documents of Modern Art* series in 1949. He introduced several contemporary artists to the Friday evening lectures at the "Subjects of the Artist" School before it closed in May.

Lecturing was part of Motherwell's many activities. On 19 March 1949, he presented "A Personal Expression" at the Seventh Annual Conference of the Committee on Art Education, sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art.[235] The title of the conference session was "The Artist's Point of View," and in addition to Motherwell, included Balcomb Greene and Ben Shahn. This was the first of many lectures Motherwell presented as part of the museum's educational programme. On 11 August 1949 he presented "Reflections on Painting Now" at a Forum 49 symposium, "French Art vs. U.S. Art Today," in Provincetown, at which Gottlieb was a moderator and panellist.

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[232] Motherwell's wife had left him and he had started drinking heavily. He obtained a divorce from Mariá Fereira y Moyers and met Betty Little, who would become his second wife. He started psychoanalysis sessions with Dr. Montague A. Ullman in September and would continue to see his psychiatrist periodically until shortly before his death in 1991.

[233] *Der Weg zum Kubismus* was written in 1915, but only published in 1920. Motherwell selected the English translation for publication in The Documents of Modern Art series.

[234] Robert Motherwell, preliminary notice to *The Rise of Cubism*, by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *The Documents of Modern Art*, no. 9, reprinted in *The Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 70.

[235] The event, which was part of the art educational programme of the museum, took place in the auditorium of the Central High School of Needle Trades in New York City.

On the artistic front, Robert Motherwell completed *Granada* (1948-1949), the first large painting in the *Elegy to the Spanish Republic* series. According to the artist, the series grew out of a drawing he did for a planned second issue of *Possibilities* magazine, which never appeared.

In the autumn Motherwell's work featured in "The Intrasubjectives," and in October he had a solo exhibition at Samuel Kootz.[236] At the end of the year he was back in Greenwich Village and opening the "Robert Motherwell School of Fine Art: Painting, Drawing, Theory" in a loft at 61 Fourth Avenue, between 9th and 10th Streets. Some of his former students at the "Subjects of the Artist" School frequented his twice-weekly classes.

5.5. The loner: Jackson Pollock[237]

Paul[238] Jackson Pollock was born on 28 January 1912, the fifth and youngest son of Stella May McClure and LeRoy Pollock, on the Watkins Ranch at Cody, Wyoming. Pollock experienced a peripatetic childhood and early adolescence: between 1912 and 1924, the Pollock family moved abodes seven times, between Arizona and California and within California.[239] Early on Pollock appeared to have no other choice than to become an artist. He was intent on following in the footsteps of his eldest brother Charles[240], who by 1926 had moved to New York and enrolled at the Art Students League as a student of Thomas Hart Benton, a recent faculty addition.

In the summer of 1928 the family moved to Los Angeles and in the autumn Pollock enrolled at the Manual Arts High School, where he came under the influence of his art

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[236] October 4-22, 1949.

[237] Biographical sources: Bernard H. Friedman, *Jackson Pollock: Energy Made Visible*; Pepe Karmel, ed., *Jackson Pollock: Interviews, Articles, and Reviews*; Francis V. O'Connor, *Jackson Pollock*; Francis V. O'Connor and Eugene Victor Thaw, eds., *Jackson Pollock: A Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings, Drawings, and Other Works*; Sam Hunter, *Jackson Pollock*; Kirk Varnedoe with Pepe Karmel, eds., *Jackson Pollock*.

[238] Jackson dropped his first name (Paul) upon his arrival in New York City in 1930.

[239] At the end of 1912 the family moved to San Diego in California and in 1913 to Phoenix, Arizona. In 1917 they moved back to California, to a farm in a place called Chico, where Pollock started grade school. The family moved again in 1922, to a farm at Orland, California. That same year the family went back to a farm outside Phoenix, Arizona. In 1924 the family returned to California, to Chico first and somewhat later to Riverside, outside Los Angeles.

[240] Charles Cecil Pollock (1902-1988) was Jackson's eldest brother and an artist in his own right.

teacher, Frederick John de St. Vrain *Schwankovsky. Schwankovsky introduced Pollock to theosophy and the teachings of the Indian-born philosopher and theosophist Krishnamurti (1895-1986), which, according to Francis V. O'Connor, was probably his first "religious"[241] experience. Pollock began to frequent other artistically motivated youngsters, amongst them Philip Guston, Reuben *Kadish, Jules Langsner[242], and Manuel *Tolegian. In 1928 he participated in the publication and distribution of two broadsides attacking the Manual Arts faculty and the school's "overemphasis" on sports, and as a result was expelled for the remainder of the academic year. In a letter of 1929 addressed to his brothers, Charles and Frank[243], both in New York, Pollock described his troubles at school. He also revealed his interest in the arts and his wish to become an artist, but expressed doubts about his talent. Most of Pollock's intentions, doubts as well as emotional needs were exposed in the correspondence with his brothers. In a letter dated 31 January 1930 Pollock told Charles, he was having new experiences, which left his "mind in an unsettled state."[244] He thought of becoming an artist but felt he was not sure he had it in him.

Pollock embraced his artistic calling at the start of the 1930s. After the summer of 1930 he accompanied Charles and Frank to New York, where he enrolled at the Art Students League in Thomas Benton's class and started attending the evening classes in Life Drawing, Painting, and Composition.[245] Pollock spent three years at the Art Students League, during which he attended Benton's class of mural painting. He became a member of the Art Students League in December 1932[246], when Benton left the League to take up a major mural commission offered by the State of Indiana. By this stage Benton had become a mentor to Pollock, but upon his return in the autumn of 1933, Pollock did not resume studying with him[247]. Benton had become more than a teacher to Pollock. He was a constant source of encouragement, as illustrated by an undated

[241] Pollock's parents were nominally Presbyterian but did not raise their sons in any church.
[242] Jules Langsner (1911-1967) was an American art critic, who wrote for *ARTnews* after Word War II.
[243] Frank Pollock was studying literature at Columbia University In New York.
[244] Jackson Pollock, letter to Charles Pollock, January 31, 1930, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock,* by Francis V. O'Connor (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1967), 15.
[245] At the time Pollock gave his address as 240 West 14th Street, according to Francis V. O'Connor.
[246] According to Francis V. O'Connor, he let his membership expire in December 1935.
[247] In January 1933 Pollock enrolled in John Sloan's class of Life Drawing, Painting, and Composition, and in February and March he enrolled in the sculpture class of the French-born American sculptor Robert Laurent (1890-1970).

letter[248] in which he praised Pollock's work, in particular his use of colour. Christmas 1937 was the last occasion on which Pollock spent time with his mentor who all along remained convinced of Pollock's artistic ability, as revealed in a letter of October 1938. "I am very strongly for you as an artist. You're a damn fool if you don't cut out the monkey business and get to work."[249] The paintings Pollock completed during the first half of the 1930s were very much inspired by Benton, both in subject matter and style, as evidenced in *Night Pasture* (ca.1934-1938), *Cotton Pickers* (ca.1934-38), and *Going West* (ca.1934-38).

Whereas Gottlieb and Newman fed their artistic interest by visiting museums and galleries, and Motherwell was attracted by masterpieces of the Gallatin Collection, Pollock was drawn to mural art. In 1929 he revealed that he had become acquainted with Diego Rivera's work. "I certainly admire his work."[250] In the summer of 1930 he was able to admire the newly completed fresco *Prometheus* by José Clemente Orozco. In the summer of 1932 he went to see David Alfaro Siqueiros's exterior murals at the °Chouinard Art School, and the following summer he watched Diego Rivera paint murals on moveable wall planks at the New Workers' School on West 14th Street. Siqueiros established an "experimental workshop" off Union Square, at 5 West 14th Street, in the spring of 1936, and both Pollock and his brother Sanford worked on the project. This gave Pollock an insight into the working method of Sequeiros, who was exploring new techniques and mediums for mural painting, such as the use of spray guns and airbrushes, and the latest synthetic paints and lacquers.

All through his youth and early adulthood, Pollock relied heavily on his brother Charles for emotional and often financial support. In 1933 he moved into an apartment[251] with Charles and his wife.[252] In the summer of 1934 the two brothers went on an American journey, visiting the coal mining regions of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Harlan County, Kentucky, and travelled to California via Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. On the return journey they visited an aunt's farm in

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248 Thomas Benton, letter to Jackson Pollock, undated, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 18. O'Conner places the letter before the spring of 1935.
249 Thomas Benton, letter to Jackson Pollock, October 3, 1938, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 23.
250 Jackson Pollock, letter to Charles Pollock, October 22, 1929, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 14.
251 At 46 East 8th Street.
252 Charles Pollock married in June 1931. He was now employed part-time as a teacher and had occasional free-lance art jobs.

Iowa and were horrified at the abject poverty caused by the Depression. Upon his return Pollock moved into a small apartment at 76 West Houston Street, where another brother, Sanford, joined him.

The second half of the decade brought about a number of changes in Pollock's life. In February 1935 he was employed as a "stonecutter" by the New York City Emergency Relief Bureau to restore public monuments[253], and on 1 August 1935 he signed up with the WPA Federal Art Project, and joined the Easel Division.[254] As a result, Pollock's financial situation became more secure, which enabled him to experiment and find his own personal style. This became apparent after 1938, in works such as *Composition with Cubic Forms* (ca.1934-38), *Square Composition with Horse* (ca.1934-38), and *Woman with Skeleton* (ca.1938-41).

In September 1935 Charles Pollock moved to Washington, D.C.[255] and Pollock moved with Sanford into an apartment at 46 East 8th Street.[256] According to O'Connor, Sanford played an important role in Pollock's life, making many sacrifices to help his troubled younger brother, whose drinking problem had become evident by the mid-1930s. Pollock and Sanford worked on the Federal Art Project all through 1936.[257] In 1937 Pollock started psychiatric treatment for his alcoholism, and in 1938 Sanford[258] wrote to Charles, who by then had moved[259] to Detroit, to say how worried he was about the mental state of their younger brother.

On 9 June 1938 Pollock's employment at the WPA Federal Art Project came to an end for "continued absence." Fully aware of his dependency on alcohol, Pollock on his

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[253] He was paid $1.75 per hour. He later became a "stonecutter's assistant" at 85 cents/hour.
[254] The initial salary was $103.40 per month, later changed to $95.44 per four-week fiscal period. Under the employment contract Pollock was required to submit one painting every eight weeks, depending on the size of the painting and his normal rate of production. Pollock complied with this requirement, with several interruptions, until the end of the Project in early 1943.
[255] After Charles Pollock's move to Washington, D.C., contact between the two brothers became sporadic, according to Francis O'Connor.
[256] This address remained Pollock's home and studio until he moved to East Hampton in 1945 with Lee Krasner.
[257] According to Francis O'Connor, government records indicated that two works, *White Horse Grazing*, a gouache, and *Construction*, an oil painting, by Pollock were allocated for 1936. In all Pollock submitted about fifty paintings for allocation between 1935 and 1943.
[258] Sanford Pollock married Arloie Conaway at the beginning of 1936. In September 1937 Sanford provided Pollock with a studio by closing off a room in his apartment on 8th Street.
[259] The purpose was to take up a job as layout editor and political cartoonist for United Automobile Workers.

own initiative in 1938 entered the Westchester Division of New York Hospital for treatment of acute alcoholism, and remained there until September 1938. He then returned to the WPA, where on 23 November 1938 he was reassigned to the Easel Division, albeit at a lower stipend.[260] In 1939 he went back into psychoanalysis[261]. That same year the WPA, under pressure from Congress, laid off many artists, which put an increasing burden on the Pollock household.[262] In July the Federal Art Project was reorganised as the WPA Art Program. The new provisions led to the dismissal of all artists employed for more than eighteen months. Pollock was dismissed on 22 May 1940 under the eighteen-month clause, but re-hired on 10 October.

The 1930s had been, with the emotional support of Charles and the artistic guidance of Benton, a decade of apprenticeship for Pollock. The 1940s saw his emergence as an artist following his own will, although not without the support and encouragement of others. At the beginning of the new decade things appeared to be looking up for him, as witnessed in a letter of May 1940 from Sanford to Charles. "Jack is doing very good work. After years of trying to work along lines completely unsympathetic to his nature, he has finally dropped the Benton nonsense and is coming out with an honest creative art."[263] His break with Benton was viewed by Sanford as a release for Pollock's creative output, and as Greenberg later noted a break with "provincialism." Pollock registered for the draft with Local Board No. 17 on 16 October 1940 and the following April was classified as 4-F. He went into therapy with another Jungian analyst.[264] In a letter of July 1941 to Charles, Sanford provided insight into Pollock's artistic development. "Jackson's art … if he allows [*sic*] to grow, will, I am convinced, come to great importance. … he has thrown off the yoke of Benton completely and is doing work which is creative in the most genuine sense of the word."[265] He described his brother's painting as "abstract, intense, evocative in quality."[266]

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[260] The stipend was reduced to $91 per four-week fiscal period.
[261] His therapist used his drawings in his treatment. Pollock continued the therapy sessions until the summer of 1940.
[262] Sanford Pollock mentioned this in a letter to Charles in March 1939.
[263] Sanford Pollock, letter to Charles Pollock, May 1940, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 24.
[264] This therapist also used his drawings as a therapeutic tool.
[265] Sanford Pollock, letter to Charles Pollock, July 1941, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 25.
[266] Ibid.

In November 1941 John Graham, whom Pollock had met in 1937 and who had been impressed with his work[267], invited him to exhibit in the show he was organizing at the McMillen Gallery. Lee Krasner, who had recently become a student of Hans Hofmann and had briefly encountered Pollock in 1936, was also invited to participate. Thus, began a relationship, tempestuous at times but overall productive for Pollock, which was to last until his death in 1956. McMillen held Graham's show "American and French Paintings"[268] at the beginning of 1942. The show featured one painting by Pollock, *Birth* (ca.1941).

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Gradually Pollock was beginning to find his place on the New York art scene. Krasner introduced him in 1942 to Herbert and Mercedes Matter, who became lifelong friends. In 1942 Pollock met Motherwell through Baziotes, and Motherwell invited him to participate in an exhibition planned by the Surrealists. Pollock refused: he was not keen on "group activity" and never would be. Motherwell explained the principles of psychic automatism, only to find, according to O'Connor, that Pollock was already convinced of the role of the unconscious in art. Krasner introduced Pollock to Hans Hofmann, who suggested that he could profit from enrolling in his school and working from nature, to which Pollock replied: "I am nature."[269] Pollock never studied with Hofmann. Sanford left New York that year to take up a job in a defence plant in Connecticut.[270] Pollock was now without the direct support from his two brothers, but was able to lean emotionally on Krasner.

Pollock's WPA employment was terminated on 29 January 1943, forcing him to take on work decorating ties and lipsticks as well as a custodial job at the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, but 1943 nevertheless turned out to be a felicitous year. He met Peggy Guggenheim, who invited Pollock and Motherwell to submit collages for her "Exhibition of Collage."[271] Together the two artists produced work that impressed

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[267] According to Francis O'Connor, John Graham probably met Pollock in 1937 and had intended to add Pollock's name to his list of promising young artists in the second edition of *System and Dialectics of Art*.
[268] January 20 - February 6, 1942.
[269] Jackson Pollock, quoted in *Jackson Pollock*, 26.
[270] Pollock remained in Sanford's apartment at 46 East 8th Street, where Lee Krasner joined him.
[271] April 16 - May 15, 1943

Guggenheim. She was also impressed with Pollock's *Stenographic Figure* (ca.1942), an oil painting, which she exhibited in the "Spring Salon For Young Artists."[272] Guggenheim gave Pollock a one-year contract[273], which enabled him to return to painting full-time. She scheduled a one-man show for him in November, and commissioned a mural-sized painting for the entrance hall of her town house on 61st Street, which he apparently painted in one session of frenzied activity. The "Spring Salon For Young Artists," which included Pollock's *Stenographic Figure* (ca.1942), received positive reviews. Robert Coates in *The New Yorker* of 29 May heralded Pollock's *Stenographic Figure* as a discovery. Pollock conveyed his excitement to Charles in a letter on 29 July.

Pollock's first one-man show at Art of This Century took place in November[274]. The exhibition catalogue contained an essay by James Johnson Sweeney, the first critical evaluation of Pollock's work. "Pollock's talent is volcanic. It has fire. It is unpredictable. It is undisciplined. It spills itself out in a mineral prodigality not yet crystallized. It is lavish, explosive, untidy."[275] Sweeney was convinced of Pollock's quality and future promise. "Among young painters, Jackson Pollock offers unusual promise in his exuberance, independence, and native sensibility. If he continues to exploit these qualities with the courage and conscience he has shown so far, he will fulfill that promise."[276] Edward Alden Jewell, in the *New York Times* of 14 November 1943, wrote a tepid review, but Coates in *The New Yorker* of 20 November, appeared impressed, reaffirming the discovery value of Pollock. "Mr. Pollock's style, which is a curious mixture of the abstract and the symbolic, … is almost wholly individual, … ."[277] Greenberg also praised the work in *The Nation* of 27 November. "There are both surprise and fulfilment in Jackson Pollock's not so abstract abstractions."[278] The smaller works, such as *Conflict* and *Wounded Animal*, appealed to him in particular, and were amongst the strongest abstract paintings by an American he had seen so far.

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[272] May 18 - June 26, 1943.
[273] The contract provided him with a stipend of $150 per month and a settlement at the end of the year if more than $2,700 worth of paintings was sold, of which a third went to the gallery.
[274] November 9-27, 1943.
[275] James Johnson Sweeney, introduction, "Jackson Pollock," exhibition catalogue, Art of This Century, New York, November 9-27, 1943, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 30.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Robert M. Coates, *The New Yorker*, November 20, 1943, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 30.
[278] Clement Greenberg, "Jackson Pollock. Oils, Gouaches, and Drawings, at Art of This Century Gallery," *The Nation*, November 27, 1943, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 1*, 165.

Pollock's work did not go unnoticed by his peers. As we have noted, Motherwell commented on it in his 1944 essay "Painters' Objects."

The year 1944 launched Pollock on the path to recognition. In February *Arts & Architecture* published a questionnaire formulated by Pollock with the assistance of Howard Putzel[279], whom the artist trusted sufficiently as a collaborator in revealing his life as a painter. Pollock talked about his background, his likes and dislikes, his influences, his inspirations, his views about art, and his method of working. Thus, we learn that Pollock believed that the problems of contemporary painting could be solved in America as well as anywhere else. He recounted his time at the Art Students League with Thomas Benton. "My work with Benton was important as something against which to react very strongly later on; … ."[280] He mentioned the relevance of American "space" and the vast horizontality of the land. He believed Native American art was a valid source of inspiration, but he fully recognised the influence of European art. "Good" European modern artists brought with them an understanding of the problems of modern painting. The painters he most admired were Picasso and Miró.

In the spring of 1944 Pollock was included in "First Exhibition in America of,"[281] at Art of This Century alongside Braque, Dali, Max Ernst, Kandinsky, Léger, Masson, Matta, Miró, Motherwell, Picasso, Rothko, and Tanguy. On 2 May 1944 the Museum of Modern Art purchased[282] *The She-Wolf* (1943), the first Pollock painting acquired by a museum. In the autumn he started experimenting with graphic art and began working intermittently at Stanley William Hayter's Atelier 17. The November publication of *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America* by Sidney Janis included a statement by Pollock about *The She-Wolf*, and for the travelling show "Abstract and Surrealist Art in the United States" Janis had selected Pollock's *The Guardians of the Secret* (1943) for the group "American Surrealist Painters."

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[279] A letter from Howard Putzel to Pollock in May 1944 revealed Putzel's insight into Pollock's personality and the care he took with the artist. He thought that Pollock might be properly launched at the beginning of 1945. Putzel was also aware of the "loner" side of the artist. (See Howard Putzel, letter to Jackson Pollock, May 1944, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 33.)

[280] Jackson Pollock, "Answers to a Questionnaire," *Arts & Architecture*, February 1944, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 32.

[281] The exhibition (April 11 - May 6, 1944) included a group of abstract paintings never shown in America before. It featured one painting by Pollock—*Pasiphaë* (1943).

[282] According to Francis V. O'Connor, this happened after some months of deliberation by the Acquisitions Committee of the museum, following a recommendation by Alfred H. Barr Jr.

Pollock's work was being displayed in most shows of contemporary art in New York. Two of his works—*The Moon Woman Cuts the Circle* (ca.1943) and *The She-Wolf*—featured in "Twelve Contemporary Painters,"[283] organised by the Department of Circulating Exhibitions of the Museum of Modern Art. *Male and Female* (ca.1942) was included in the "Group Exhibition" at The Pinacotheca.[284] *The Mad Moon-Woman* (1941) was shown at Mortimer Brandt in "Abstract and Surrealist Art in the United States."[285] Pollock's work also became visible in print. James Johnson Sweeney, in his article "Five American Painters" published in the April 1944 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, included Pollock with Matta, Gorky, Graves, and Avery. *The She-Wolf* was reproduced in colour. Compared to past experience the success was overwhelming.

In 1945 Pollock's work was included in "Personal Statement: A Painting Prophecy, 1950" at David Porter in Washington, D.C. The Arts Club of Chicago organised a one-man Pollock show in March 1945[286], which featured seventeen paintings and eight drawings.[287] The reviews were mixed. Pollock's *Gothic* (1944) featured in "The Critics' Choice of Contemporary American Painting, 49th Annual" at the Cincinnati Art Museum[288]. Pollock had a second solo show[289] at Art of This Century, featuring gouaches, drawings and thirteen paintings. The opening-day visitors were "invited to view a Mural ... from 3 to 6, at 155 East 61st Street. 1st Floor."[290] The reviews were not all ecstatic[291], but his work did not leave the critics indifferent. Greenberg had no doubts about Pollock's independent talent, and as mentioned in Chapter 4, qualified him as "as the strongest painter of his generation and perhaps the greatest one to appear since Miró."[292] Parker Tyler in the May issue of *View* expressed a different opinion. "Pollack [*sic*] does not seem to be especially talented, there being too much of an air of

283 February 1944 - May 1945.
284 May 9-27, 1944.
285 November 29 - December 30, 1944.
286 March 5-31, 1945.
287 The catalogue essay was a reprint of James Johnson Sweeney's text in the November 1943 Art of This Century catalogue.
288 March 10 - April 8, 1945.
289 March 19 - April 14, 1945.
290 Invitation, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 36.
291 Howard Devree in the *New York Times* of March 25, 1945 wrote: "These big, sprawling coloramas impress me as being surcharged with violent emotional reaction which never is clarified enough in the expression to establish true communication with the observer. Only 'The Night Dancer' of the current crop conveys to me any intended message." (Reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 36.)
292 Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Mondrian, Kandinsky, and Pollock," *The Nation*, April 7, 1945, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 16.

baked-macaroni about some of his patterns, ..."[293] Manny Farber in the *New Republic* of 25 June begged to differ with Parker Tyler. He appeared overwhelmed by Pollock's mural. "The mural is ... an almost incredible success."[294] He considered Pollock's style very personal, and thought that the individuality resided in the way the medium was used rather than in the peculiarities of the subject matter.

Pollock's work also featured in Putzel's "A Problem for Critics"[295] in the spring of 1945. The public display of his work was not limited to the East Coast: *The Magic Mirror* (1941) was included in the "Contemporary American Painting Exhibition"[296] at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco. And his work was also to be seen in a one-man show at the San Francisco Museum of Art.[297] The reviews were positive. Alfred Frankenstein in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 12 August thought him a brilliant young painter. "He is one of the most vibrant and exciting, nervous, flaming and brilliant painters now at work in this country."[298]

On 25 October 1945 Pollock and Krasner were married in New York[299], and in November they moved to (The) Springs on Long Island into a farmhouse with a large barn on about five acres of land. Guggenheim, who had lent the couple $2,000 for the down payment of the property, signed a new two-year contract[300] with Pollock. Thus a hectic but promising and rewarding year came to an end. Pollock seemed fully launched as an artist. His work no longer went unnoticed, even if the perception of it was still not unanimously favourable.

In 1946 Pollock started working on his next one-man show for Art of This Century[301], which consisted of nineteen paintings—eleven oils and eight temperas. The critics' perception of the works yet again differed widely. Greenberg re-affirmed his

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[293] Parker Tyler, "Nature and Madness Among the Younger Painters," *View*, May 1945, 30.
[294] Manny Farber, "Jackson Pollock," *The New Republic*, June 25, 1945, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 37.
[295] May 14 - July 7, 1945.
[296] May 17 - June 17, 1945.
[297] August 7-26, 1945. The content of the exhibition was approximately the same as that of the earlier solo show at the Arts Club of Chicago in March 1945.
[298] Alfred Frankenstein, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, August 12, 1945, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 38.
[299] The marriage took place at the Marble Collegiate Church on Fifth Avenue. Mrs Harold Rosenberg (Natalie Tak) was a witness.
[300] The monthly stipend was $300, minus a deduction towards the repayment of the loan, and Pollock's total output.
[301] April 2-20, 1946.

enthusiasm in *The Nation*. He was convinced of Pollock's talent and superiority, and that this superiority with regard to his American peers resided in his ability to create "a genuinely violent and extravagant art without losing stylistic control."[302] As noted in Chapter 4, Greenberg's insight into the artist's creation went beyond the canvas surface and acknowledged the depth of Pollock's engagement in his work. The end of 1946 witnessed Pollock's first participation with *Two* (ca.1943) in the Whitney "1946 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting."[303] As noted in Chapter 4, Greenberg gave Pollock's entry high marks in *The Nation*.

Pollock spent most of 1947 at (The) Springs, painting. Peggy Guggenheim, who closed her gallery at the end of the year, had trouble finding a dealer to take over Pollock's contract. Eventually in May, Betty Parsons signed an agreement[304] with Guggenheim to handle Pollock's works until the end of his contract with Guggenheim in early 1948, and was committed to organising a one-man show for him the following winter. At the beginning of the year, Pollock had his fourth and last one-man show[305] at Art of This Century, which consisted of sixteen paintings. In the catalogue N.M. Davis stated: "in Jackson Pollock's work there is a quality that challenges. With Pollock, one is constantly learning. In the past four years he has been showing pictures that cannot be considered as less than the best in current American painting."[306] This view was echoed in Greenberg's review in *The Nation*. "Jackson Pollock's fourth one-man show in so many years ... is his best since his first one and signals what may be a major step in his development—which I regard as the most important so far of the younger generation of American painters."[307] He believed that Pollock had gone beyond the stage where he needed to make his poetry explicit in ideographs. Sensing Pollock's

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[302] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of the American Abstract Artists, Jacques Lipchitz, and Jackson Pollock," *The Nation*, April 13, 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 72-75.

[303] December 10, 1946 - January 16, 1947.

[304] Guggenheim continued to pay Pollock the agreed monthly stipend. All new paintings by Pollock were to be Guggenheim's property until the contract expired; Pollock was allowed to retain one of his paintings every year.

[305] January 14 - February 1, 1947.

[306] N.M. Davis, foreword to "Jackson Pollock," exhibition catalogue, Art of This Century, New York, January 14 - February 1, 1947, reprinted in *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century*, ed. Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 342.

[307] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Jean Dubuffet and Jackson Pollock," *The Nation*, February 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 124.

gradual rejection of conventional painting, Greenberg felt that the painter was pointing beyond the easel, beyond the mobile, framed picture, perhaps to the mural.

In the course of 1947 Pollock applied for a Guggenheim Fellowship. In his application he appeared to echo Greenberg's perception. "I intend to paint large movable pictures which will function between the easel and the mural. I have set a precedent in this genre in a large painting for Miss Peggy Guggenheim, … ."[308] He believed that the modern trend was towards the wall picture or mural. "I believe the time is not yet ripe for a *full* transition from easel to mural. The pictures I contemplate painting would constitute a halfway state, and an attempt to point out the direction of the future, without arriving there completely."[309] Pollock started his "drip" technique in the summer of 1947 as well as working on larger canvases.

In 1947 Pollock also contributed one of his rare writings to *Possibilities*, in which he revealed his working method and creative process, explaining that he had almost completely relinquished the conventional tools of pictorial representation and in so doing he was able to "be" in the process. According to Francis O'Connor, in his draft statement he also mentioned the unconscious as his source of creation.

In spite of the growing recognition, Pollock's financial situation was still far from comfortable. But in December 1947 he signed a contract with Betty Parsons, effective till June 1949, which provided him and Lee Krasner with financial support for the following eighteen months.

The hectic schedule of 1947 spilled over into 1948. In January Betty Parsons organised a one-man show[310] for Pollock, which featured seventeen paintings. The exhibition revealed Pollock's "drip" paintings, of which there were sixteen[311], in addition to an earlier work, *Gothic* (1944). Again, the reviews expressed varied appreciation. In *The New Yorker* Robert Coates contended that Pollock's work was not easily decipherable,

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[308] Jackson Pollock, Guggenheim Fellowship application, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 39.
[309] Ibid., 40. (Italics in the original text.)
[310] January 5-23, 1948.
[311] Only one painting sold. The reaction to the "drip" paintings was underwhelming. Pollock, as part of the deal with Parsons, kept one painting, *Lucifer* (1947), the largest in the show. The remaining paintings went to Peggy Guggenheim as part of Pollock's contractual obligations. The sculptor Herbert Ferber exchanged one of his sculptures for *Vortex* (ca.1947).

and concluded that in some instances it lacked meaning. “Pollock is much harder to understand than most of his confreres. The main thing one gets from his work is an impression of tremendous energy, ...”[312] He noted that recognisable symbols were almost nonexistent in Pollock’s images, and that he appeared to create the mood or atmosphere he wanted to convey by sheer colour and movement. Coates felt that such a style had its dangers, in that the communication between artist and spectator ran the risk of breaking down altogether. In *The Nation* Greenberg confirmed his enthusiasm. “Jackson Pollock’s most recent show, at Betty Parsons’s, signals another step forward on his part.”[313] He thought that the artist was emotionally more positive. “Pollock’s mood has become more cheerful these past two years, if the general higher key of his color can be taken as a criterion in this respect. ... It is indeed a mark of Pollock’s powerful originality that he should present problems in judgment that must await the digestion of each new phase of his development before they can be solved.”[314]

In June Pollock was notified that he had been selected as a beneficiary of the °Eben Demarest Trust Fund, and was to receive an income of $1,500 to be paid quarterly between July 1948 and July 1949. The grant eased Pollock’s financial situation, but did not diminish Pollock’s drinking problem, and in the autumn of 1948 the artist started treatment with a general practitioner in East Hampton.[315]

By the time of his interview with Goodnough, Pollock was no longer unknown on the New York avant-garde art scene. He had already had four solo shows[316] at Art of This Century, and had kicked off the year 1949 with a solo exhibition, “Jackson Pollock: Recent Paintings”[317] at Betty Parsons. The show featured twenty-six works completed

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[312] Robert M. Coates, “Edward Hopper and Jackson Pollock,” The Art Galleries, *The New Yorker*, January 17, 1948, 44.
[313] Clement Greenberg, “Review of Exhibitions of Worden Day, Carl Holty, and Jackson Pollock,” *The Nation*, January 24, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 201.
[314] Ibid., 202-203.
[315] He would remain on the wagon till the autumn of 1950, according to Francis O’Connor.
[316] “Jackson Pollock: Paintings and Drawings,” Art of This Century, New York (November 9-27, 1943); “Jackson Pollock,” Art of This Century (March 29 - April 14, 1945); “Jackson Pollock,” Art of This Century (April 2-20, 1946); “Jackson Pollock”, Art of This Century (January 14 - February 1, 1947).
[317] “Jackson Pollock: Recent Paintings,” Betty Parsons Gallery, New York (January 24 - February 12, 1949). This was his second show at Betty Parsons. His first solo show at Betty Parsons, “Jackson Pollock: Recent Paintings,” took place in 1948, from 5 to 23 January.

in 1948[318], numbered 1 to 26. Some of the paintings had in addition to the number a descriptive title. Lee Krasner later explained why Pollock used numerical titles. "Numbers are neutral. They make people look at a painting for what it is—pure painting."[319] The reviews were mixed, but the show did not go unnoticed, according to Bernard Friedman.[320]

Greenberg wrote in the February 1949 issue of *The Nation*: "Jackson Pollock's show this year at Betty Parsons's continued his astounding progress. His confidence in his gift appears to be almost enough of itself to cancel out or suppress his limitations—which, especially in regard to color, are certainly there."[321] He compared Pollock's *Number One* (1948) to that of the work of "a Quattrocento master," and believed there were a sufficient number of paintings to "justify the claim that Pollock is one of the major painters of our time."[322] Sam Hunter wrote that the show reflected "an advanced stage of the disintegration of modern painting. But it is the disintegration with a possibly liberating and cathartic effect and informed by a highly individual rhythm."[323] About a week later, *Time* magazine of 7 February, reprinted Hunter's comments with a large reproduction of *Number 11, 1948*, captioned "Cathartic disintegration," referring to Pollock as "the darling of a highbrow cult."[324] In June, according to Kirk Varnedoe, Pollock signed a new contract[325], valid until 1 January 1952, with Betty Parsons, joining Rothko, Newman, and Still.

In 1949 Pollock became public property. The process was triggered by James Thrall Soby's August article "Does Our Art Impress Europe?" in the weekly magazine *Saturday Review*, in which the author contended that America in painting or sculpture had not produced a "figure big enough to hold the eyes of the world on himself and

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318 The year 1948 had been a very productive year for Pollock: he completed over thirty paintings in that one single year.
319 Lee Krasner, quoted in "Unframed Space," The Talk of the Town, *The New Yorker*, August 5, 1950, 16.
320 See Bernard H. Friedman, *Jackson Pollock: Energy Made Visible* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), 127-8.
321 Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Adolph Gottlieb, Jackson Pollock, and Josef Albers," *The Nation*, February 19, 1949, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 285.
322 Ibid., 286.
323 Sam Hunter, *New York Times*, January 30, 1949**,** reprinted in *Jackson Pollock: Energy Made Visible*, 128.
324 *Time*, February 7, 1948, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 46.
325 The terms were similar to Pollock's previous contract with Peggy Guggenheim.

also, inevitably, on those of lesser stature around him."[326] Mr. Soby had to wait only two days for a response, the time it took *Life* magazine to publish its article, "Jackson Pollock: Is he the greatest living painter in the United States?" on 8 August 1949. The text was accompanied by photographs of Pollock at work, taken by Martha Holmes, and by Arnold Newman's famous photograph of Pollock standing in front of *Summertime: Number 9A, 1948*. The article put Pollock on the American art map and into the homes of "middle" America, as *Life* magazine at the time had a circulation of about five million. The article brought fame and as a result income.

As a consequence Pollock's third solo show[327] (and second show in 1949) at Betty Parsons in November 1949 attracted both many buyers and favourable reviews. The show comprised thirty-four oils (on paper and canvas); all works were numbered, 1 to 35[328]. The show also featured a model of a museum for Pollock's paintings designed by Peter Blake (a friend), which was referred to in the exhibition announcement as "Murals in Modern Architecture. A Theatrical Exercise Using Jackson Pollock's Paintings and Sculpture. By Peter Blake?" According to Bernard Friedman, eighteen paintings were sold.[329] Amongst the buyers, according to Deborah Solomon[330], figured Harold Rosenberg and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III. The reviews were again mixed. However, the critics were prepared to acknowledge that understanding the artist's work required an effort on the part of the viewer. In *ARTnews* the review read: "Jackson Pollock ... expresses a more intense emotion than ever in his newest pictures—tightly woven webs of paint applied in heavy streaks by weighted strings and sticks. …, it is apparent that there is a definite pattern and feeling in each canvas, and forms emerge and recede from the criss-crossing calligraphies."[331] Robert Coates in *The New Yorker* indicated he was impressed, although still convinced the pictures had no content.

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[326] James Thrall Soby, "Does Our Art Impress Europe?" *Saturday Review*, August 6, 1949, 143, http://www.unz.com/print/SaturdayRev-1949aug06- 00142/ [last accessed April 27, 2019].
In the article James Soby also made the point for a federal "Secretary of Fine Arts," who would be responsible for the elevation of the status of American art, both past and present.
[327] "Jackson Pollock: Paintings" (November 21 - December 10, 1949).
[328] The thirty-fifth item might have been a mural, according to Francis V. O'Connor. (See *Jackson Pollock*, 48.)
[329] Bernard H. Friedman, *Jackson Pollock: Energy Made Visible*, 132. The number is confirmed by Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan in *de Kooning: An American Master*.
[330] See Deborah Solomon, *Jackson Pollock: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 198.
[331] A[my]. R[obinson]., "Jackson Pollock," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, December 1949, 43

The paintings had numerical titles, which, amongst others, encouraged the viewer to focus on what was on the canvas and not be distracted by the meaning of a verbal title. The numbers also had a practical identification function. To differentiate newly created paintings from ones that had failed to sell at the 1948 exhibition, according to Varnedoe, Betty Parsons added the letter "A" to the previously unsold works. Thus, *Number 1, 1948* became *Number 1A, 1948*, and was purchased as such by the Museum of Modern Art in 1950, the museum's second Pollock painting.

In 1949 Pollock's work featured in seven group exhibitions, most importantly in Kootz's show "The Intrasubjectives." His work also featured in "La Collezione Guggenheim. February,"[332] at La Strozzina, Strozzi Palace in Florence. The "1949 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting"[333] at the Whitney featured *Number 14, 1949*. The critics seemed to show more understanding of Pollock's art. Henry Mc Bride claimed: "For the first time I looked with respect and sustained interest upon one of his pictures."[334]

Pollock produced very few large-scale works in 1949. He introduced only one technical variant that year: he cut the paint from the surface of the Masonite support in *Out of the Web: Number 7, 1949*. The work Pollock accomplished in 1949 seems to have been a prelude to his output of 1950, which was his most prolific year.[335]

The year 1949 ended successfully for Pollock. His work was exhibited and given its full recognition. Clement Greenberg, the up-and-coming connoisseur of "advanced" art in America, was supportive and in praise of Pollock's talent and the quality of his work. He had a fresh contract with Betty Parsons, providing him and Krasner with financial stability. He was able to escape the pressures of the city at his home on Long Island. The context for his "conversations" with Robert Goodnough could not have been more conducive to discussing his work and artistic vision.

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[332] February19 - March 10, 1949.

[333] December 16, 1949 - February 5, 1950.

[334] Henry Mc Bride, *New York Sun*, December 23, 1949, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 49.

[335] According to the *Catalogue Raisonné*, Pollock completed over fifty paintings in 1950. His 1950 output included three of his largest and most famous works, *Number 32, 1950*, *One: Number 31, 1950*, and *Autumn Rhythm: Number 30*, *1950*. He also produced a number of unusually small square paintings on Masonite.

5.6. The maverick: Willem de Kooning[336]

Willem de Kooning was born in Rotterdam, in the Netherlands, on 24 April 1904, the second child and only son of Leendert de Kooning and Cornelia Nobel de Kooning. In 1907, when he was three years old, his parents divorced, and he became the object of a custodial battle. He left school at the age of twelve in 1916[337] and was apprenticed to the commercial art and decorating firm of Jan and Jaap Gidding. According to Thomas Hess, the young de Kooning displayed exceptional artistic aptitude and was encouraged by his employers to enrol in evening classes at the Academie voor Beeldende Kunsten en Technische Wetenschappen in Rotterdam[338], which he attended until 1924.[339]

In 1920 de Kooning left Gidding and started working at a Rotterdam department store under an aspiring artist, Bernard Romein (1894-1957), with whom he worked on display designs. Through Romein, de Kooning started visiting galleries and museums, and became acquainted with the work of avant-garde Dutch and Belgian painters, such as Piet Mondrian, Bart van der Leck, Theo van Doesburg, and Georges Vantongerloo.

In 1926, after six attempts, de Kooning entered the United States illegally as a stowaway on the Argentina-bound British freighter *S.S. Shelley*. He landed in Newport News, Virginia, on 15 August.[340] He then travelled to New Jersey, where he found lodging at a Dutch Seaman's Home and work as a house painter in Hoboken at $9 per

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[336] Biographical sources: Thomas B. Hess, *Willem de Kooning* (1959); Thomas B. Hess, *Willem de Kooning* (1968); Edvard Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*; Mark Stevens and Annalyn Swan, *de Kooning: An American Master*; Willem de Kooning Foundation, http://www.dekooning.org [last accessed October 3, 2019].

[337] According to Edvard Lieber, "On graduation day, a grammar-school teacher told Bill's mother that he was very talented and should be sent to the Rotterdam Academy to study painting and drawing. ... He had entered public school at the age of eight, completed six years in four, and graduated at the age of twelve." (Edvard Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 12.)

[338] The Rotterdam Academy of Fine Arts and Techniques.

[339] According to Thomas Hess, de Kooning remained at the Academy until 1924 (aged twenty). But Elaine de Kooning maintained Bill studied at the Academy until 1921 (aged seventeen), and only attended classes sporadically during the following three years. According to Elaine, "Bill's stories had occasional variations ... ." (Elaine de Kooning, quoted in *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, by Edvard Lieber (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 115n10.)

[340] According to Edvard Lieber, "On the morning of August 16, they arrived in Newport News, Virginia, and Bill stole off the ship while the crew disembarked. Leo [Cohan] showed him a circuitous way to obtain official entry papers via Boston, and within two weeks Bill arrived in Hoboken, where there was a thriving colony of sailors and Dutch merchants." (Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 13.)

day. The following year, he moved to a studio in Manhattan on West 42nd Street, where he worked as a commercial artist, house painter, and carpenter, while painting in his spare time. In the late 1920s de Kooning started visiting galleries and artists' studios, and in 1928 he spent the summer at an artists' colony in Woodstock, New York. He met John Graham and Stuart Davis in 1929[341], and met David Smith and Arshile Gorky[342] in 1930. Gorky and de Kooning remained close friends until Gorky took his own life in 1948.

In 1934 de Kooning joined the Artists' Union and became a full-time artist. Until then he had divided his time between working as a craftsman carpenter and house painter, and being a designer and portrait painter. The following year he was assigned to the Easel Division of the WPA Federal Art Project, which provided him with a salary of $23.86 per week, enough to survive on as a full-time painter. He spent the year working for the Mural Division on several jobs, including the Williamsburg Federal Housing Project in Brooklyn.[343] He also worked on a mural for the French Line pier.[344] But in 1936 he had to leave the Federal Art Project because of his "alien" status. Despite his financial woes, he decided to paint full time, supporting himself through commissions and art tutoring.

At the end of 1936, according to Lieber, de Kooning moved to a new studio at 156 West 22nd Street, and became acquainted with his neighbours, the poet Edwin Orr Denby (1903-1983)[345] and the painter-photographer Rudolph Burckhardt (1914-1999).[346] Through Denby he was commissioned to design costumes for the ballet *Les*

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[341] According to Thomas Hess, de Kooning met John Graham in 1927 and Gorky the same year.

[342] According to Edvard Lieber, several chronologies have stated that Bill and Gorky shared a studio in the late 1930s. The earliest reference seems to have been by Thomas B. Hess in *Willem de Kooning* (1959). However, according to Elaine de Kooning, Bill and Gorky never shared a studio. Hess could not recall his source, when questioned by Elaine. (See Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 119n32.)

[343] A small study for the Williamsburg mural (not completed) was included in his first group exhibition, "New Horizons in American Art," at the Museum of Modern Art (September 14 - October 12, 1936).

[344] According to Edvard Lieber, "Bill and a group of painters were invited to work on a mural for the French Line pier with Fernand Léger, who was visiting America and had been chosen to oversee the project." (Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 15.)

[345] Thomas Hess dates the start of the acquaintance between de Kooning and Edwin Denby at around 1934.

[346] Rudolph Burckhardt would later accompany Robert Goodnough to (The) Springs for his 1951 article "Pollock Paints a Picture."

Nuages by Nini Theilade.[347] Several other commissions followed: in 1937 he designed a ninety-foot section of the three-part mural *Medecine* for the 1939 World's Fair Hall of Pharmacy; around 1940 he created a four-part mural, titled *Legend and Fact*, for the library of the SS *President Jackson* of American President Lines.

Around 1938[348] de Kooning met his future wife, Elaine Fried, a young art student. She took private art lessons from him for a year, eventually sharing his studio on West 22nd Street.[349] Towards the end of the decade de Kooning started to paint his first series of "women." Observing de Kooning at close quarters, Elaine de Kooning acquired a genuine insight into his working methods. "Bill scooped off the paint and sanded large areas, leaving barely a skeleton of the shapes and colors, eradicating the contour edges. He kept his colors thin on the surface, often scraping the canvas at the end of the day, then sanding with turpentine the following morning before starting to paint again."[350] His method appeared to show much in common with Motherwell's "corrections." One of the characteristics of his process was that he did not let his paintings dry. He told Elaine: "I feel that I have to keep my paintings wet for months at a time in order to keep them alive."[351] He worked so to speak "wet-on-wet."[352]

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In the early 1940s, de Kooning's circle of acquaintances in the New York art world began to widen. He became friendly with Pollock after they were both included in John Graham's 1942 exhibition "American and French Paintings" at McMillen. A year later at Conrad Marca-Relli's studio, he met Franz Kline, with whom he would sometimes work. In 1943 George Keller included de Kooning in a group exhibition "Twentieth

[347] Nini Theilade (ca.1916-2018) was a Danish dancer and choreographer, who joined the Ballet Russe de Montecarlo. She created several roles in ballets by Leonid Massine. In the early 1940s she moved to South America, where she taught in Brazil. In 1970 she returned to Denmark, where she opened a dance school. (*Biographical Dictionary of Dance*, s.v. "Theilade, Nini.")
[348] According to Edvard Lieber, Elaine met Willem de Kooning in 1937 "at Stewart's cafeteria on a cold autumn night." (Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 16.)
[349] They married on 9 December 1943, and the following year moved to 63 Carmine Street in Greenwich Village.
[350] Elaine de Kooning, quoted in *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 19.
[351] Willem de Kooning, quoted in *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 17.
[352] For a detailed description of de Kooning's working method, see Edvard Lieber, *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 17.

Century Painting"[353] at the Bignou Gallery, where he showed a drawing of Elaine (ca.1940-41), *Pink Landscape* (ca.1938), and *Elegy* (ca.1939). Helena Rubinstein (1872-1965), the cosmetics entrepreneur and philanthropist, purchased *Elegy*. He was included in Guggenheim's "Autumn Salon" of 1945. And although he was asked in 1945 to show at Art of This Century, he did not exhibit again until his first solo show at Charles Egan in 1948.

Despite the sale of *Elegy*, de Kooning's financial situation did not improve, and he continued to support himself through commissions rather than sales. In January 1944 the Container Corporation of America commissioned *The Netherlands*, an abstracted cityscape picturing traditional street and waterway traffic in a small town in Holland, for a "United Nations" advertising series in support of Allied war efforts. In 1946, with Milton *Resnick, he designed a backdrop for the *Labyrinth*, a ballet by Maria Marchowsky[354] performed at New York Times Hall on 5 April.

Between 1946 and 1949 de Kooning created a series of black and white paintings, a technique used by other contemporaries, such as Kline, Motherwell, and (later) Pollock. According to Hess, one of the reasons de Kooning turned to monochrome paintings was that he could not afford a sufficient supply of tube colours. Willem de Kooning varied his surface textures by mixing materials like pumice with ordinary commercial enamel. The black and white works dominated his first solo exhibition, held in April 1948[355] at Charles Egan[356] at 63 East 57th Street. Egan had already approached de Kooning in 1946 about having a show at his gallery. George Keller of the Bignou Gallery too had approached[357] de Kooning, but the artist's preference went to Egan because he did not want to have "a reputation based on a gallery's reputation."[358] "Collectors are beginning to collect dealers rather than artists,"[359] he noted. None of the works sold

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[353] February 8 - March 20, 1943.

[354] Maria Marchowsky (1919-1997) was an American dancer and choreographer, born in New York City, who studied at the Martha Graham studio and joined the company in 1934. (*Biographical Dictionary of Dance*, s.v. "Marchowsky, Marie.")

[355] April 12 - May 12, 1948.

[356] Charles Egan (1911-1993) held one other de Kooning exhibition at his gallery, "Willem de Kooning" (April 1-30, 1951).

[357] Howard Putzel in 1945 also expressed an interest in organising a de Kooning exhibition, but died on 7 August 1945.

[358] Willem de Kooning, quoted in *Willem de Kooning: Reflections in the Studio*, 30.

[359] Ibid.

and Charles Egan twice extended the show, which went generally unnoticed in the press.

Greenberg reviewed the show in *The Nation* of 24 April 1948, providing a lengthy analysis of the works, and qualifying de Kooning as one of the most important painters in America, and a genuine abstractionist. "De Kooning is an outright 'abstract' painter, and there does not seem to be an identifiable image in any of the ten pictures in his show—all of which, incidentally, were done within the last year."[360] He explained how de Kooning and some of his peers were modifying the Cubist structure in order to incorporate contemporary feeling. "For de Kooning black becomes a color—not the indifferent schema of drawing, but a hue with all the resonance, ambiguity, and variability of the prismatic scale. … de Kooning, along with Gorky, Gottlieb, Pollock, and several other contemporaries, has refined himself down to black in an effort to change the composition and design of post-cubist painting and introduce more open forms, now that the closed-form canon … seems less and less able to incorporate contemporary feeling."[361] He further pinpointed that the indeterminateness or ambiguity characteristic of some of de Kooning's pictures was caused by his effort to suppress his painterly facility. "I have never seen it exposed as clearly as in de Kooning's case. Without the force of Pollock or the sensuousness of Gorky, more enmeshed in contradictions than either, de Kooning has it in him to attain to a more clarified art and to provide more viable solutions to the current problems of painting. As it is, these very contradictions are the source of the largeness and seriousness we recognize in this magnificent first show."[362]

One short favourable review by the critic Renée Arb appeared in *ARTnews*. Arb spoke of de Kooning's virtuosity and elegant and concise "draughtsmanship"[363] and with insight identified "the crucial intensity of the creative process itself"[364] as the subject of the pictorial idiom of the artist. The review drew the attention of Josef Albers, who invited de Kooning to teach at Black Mountain College in North Carolina for the summer. According to Elaine de Kooning, this invitation appeared to solve the

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[360] Clement Greenberg, "Review of an Exhibition of Willem de Kooning," *The Nation*, April 24, 1948, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2*, 228.
[361] Ibid., 229.
[362] Ibid., 230.
[363] R[enée]. A[rb]., "De Kooning," Spotlight on, *ARTnews*, April 1948, 33.
[364] Ibid.

couple's financial problems. In the spring of 1948 de Kooning for the first time went to East Hampton, Long Island[365], where he visited Kline, Charles Egan, and Pollock and Krasner. During the summer he taught at Black Mountain College, under the direction of Josef Albers, where he and Elaine met, amongst others, the composer John Cage, the dancer-choreographer Merce Cunningham (1919-2009), and the visionary structural designer Buckminster Fuller.[366] They attended evening lectures, of which the most spectacular, according to Elaine de Kooning, was the introductory lecture given by Buckminster Fuller.

Elaine de Kooning attended Albers' colour theory lectures and became fascinated by both the content and Albers' teaching style. Albers clearly belonged to the same pedagogical school as Amédée Ozenfant. "I've never seen an instructor more involved with teaching as a military performance. However, all of us learned a tremendous amount from him that summer. He began by demonstrating what we didn't know that we thought we knew."[367] Albers and de Kooning had diametrically opposed teaching methods, but this did not prevent the students from fully benefiting from the two approaches, which "proved to be stimulating rather than mutually exclusive."[368] They also had different artistic temperaments, but this in no way affected Albers's appreciation of de Kooning's work.[369] Elaine acquired further insight into de Kooning's working method, when they were at Black Mountain College. She noted that de Kooning found it difficult to work outside his own "personal" work environment. Only when he had filled the vacuum of his new studio by covering the walls with his pastels, was he able to start work in earnest.

In October the Museum of Modern Art acquired *Painting* (1948), which was considered one of de Kooning's most abstract works at that point in his career. The image combined calligraphic black lines with patches of pink, orange, and turquoise on a

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[365] Willem De Kooning would spend summers there between 1951 and 1953 at the art dealer Leo Castelli's house.
[366] Richard Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller (1895-1983) was an American architect, systems theorist, author, designer, and inventor. He published more than thirty books, and developed numerous inventions, mainly architectural designs, and popularized the geodesic dome. (*The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Fuller, R. Buckminster.")
[367] Elaine de Kooning, *Elaine de Kooning: The Spirit of Abstract Expressionism. Selected Writings*, ed. Rose Slivka and Marjorie Luyckx (New York: George Braziller, 1994), 211-212.
[368] Ibid., 212.
[369] When Albers was appointed chairman of the Art Department at Yale University in 1950, de Kooning was the first artist he hired to teach there.

white background. The year 1948 was to the end an important year in de Kooning's career. He was included in the “1948 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting”[370] at the Whitney.[371] He also met the critic Thomas Hess, a champion of “advanced” painting and abstract painters, and then an associate editor at *ARTnews*, who became an early supporter of his work.[372]

By 1949 de Kooning's black and white works had shifted from primarily black to mostly white. These new canvases led to two of what were considered his most important works: a black and white abstraction titled *Attic* (1949)[373], which was included in “The Intrasubjectives” at Samuel Kootz, and *Excavation* (1950)[374], an abstraction in color. At roughly 80 x 101 inches, *Excavation* was one of de Kooning's largest and most successful works.[375]

In 1949 de Kooning made his first public statement about art, entitled "A Desperate View"[376] presented at the “Subjects of the Artist” School. The presentation revealed much of de Kooning’s vision about art in general and abstract painting in particular. In the summer de Kooning painted *Sailcloth* and *Two Women on a Wharf*. Works by Willem and Elaine de Kooning were included in the autumn 1949 show “Artists: Man and Wife” exhibition at Sidney Janis, alongside those of Pollock and Krasner.

At midcentury, although his exposure had been minimal, de Kooning was recognised as a leading “American” artist.

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[370] November 13, 1948 - January 2, 1949.
[371] De Kooning was included again in 1949, 1950, 1963, 1967, and 1972, and subsequently in the Whitney “Biennials” of 1981 and 1987.
[372] Thomas Hess wrote the first major monograph on the artist in 1959 and organised a major exhibition of his work at the Museum of Modern Art in 1968.
[373] The work was acquired, as a gift, by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1982.
[374] The work was acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago.
[375] In 1950 it was exhibited at the “XXV Venice Biennale” (June 3 - October 15, 1950), which was de Kooning's first group exhibition abroad, and in 1951 it was awarded the Logan Medal and Purchase Prize in the “Sixtieth Annual American Exhibition” of the Art Institute of Chicago.
[376] The statement is discussed in Chapter 6.2.

> "Subject matter is the literary content, which, along with nature, has served in the past as a point of departure for creative work in art."[1]
>
> John D. Graham

CHAPTER 6 - THE "SUBJECT MATTER OF THE ARTIST"

6.1. John Graham[2]: the mentor's view

John Graham published in 1937 *System and Dialectics of Art*[3], a seminal work on art and art-related concepts, in which he presented his personal views on numerous aspects of art. The views were presented in the form of one hundred and twenty-nine questions and answers. This approach made it possible for Graham to cover in depth a wide range of issues in a quasi-scientific manner. In his answers Graham provided definitions and expanded on theories, in many instances adding his own personal standpoint and judgment. Thus, in his final note Graham indicated that "intellect" was not sufficient for those seeking to understand art. Intellectuals had been responsible for the appreciation of art and its functions, but also for misunderstanding art. In his opinion their insight fell short of that of the "insider," the artist.

Graham amended his original 1937 text in the course of time, often deleting the names of artists given as examples, and thus revealing his changing likes and dislikes. Picasso was a case in point. We have based our analysis on the original 1937 text, occasionally, where deemed warranted for clarification purposes, mentioning the changes in the subsequent annotated copies.[4]

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[1] John D. Graham, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art: Annotated from Unpublished Writings and With a Critical Introduction by Marcia Epstein Allentuck*, ed. Marcia Epstein Allentuck (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1971), 142.

[2] Biographical sources: Marcia Epstein Allentuck, introduction to John D. Graham, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art: Annotated from Unpublished Writings and With a Critical Introduction by Marcia Epstein Allentuck*, 1-84; Megan McShea, "A Finding Aid to the John Graham Papers, 1799-1988, bulk 1890-1961, in the Archives of American Art," June 26, 2007, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, http://www.aaa.si.edu/askus [accessed January 12, 2017].

[3] According to Megan McShea, *System and Dialectics of Art* was first printed in February 1937 by Imprimerie Crozatier in Paris under the supervision of Jacques Povolsky. The first edition consisted of 1,000 copies. It was published the same year in New York City by Delphic Studios, an eclectic art gallery and small press run by Alma Reed.

[4] For a fully annotated text see John Graham, *Graham's System and Dialectics of Art: Annotated from Unpublished Writings and With a Critical Introduction by Marcia Epstein Allentuck*.

6.1.1. John Graham: artist and "outsider"

John Graham was himself both an "insider" and "outsider" of the post-First World War American art world. As an insider, he was a painter, who intellectually led the way for young "advanced" artists in America, and was intimately acquainted with at least five of the seven interviewees. He was an intimate friend of Willem de Kooning and a trusted acquaintance of Jackson Pollock. As we shall see in the analysis of the April 1950 closing seminar of "Studio 35," many of the participating artists shared facets of his views. Clement Greenberg acknowledged his importance in 1957. "Graham I did not even know by sight, and only met in the middle forties ... , but I was aware of him as an important presence, both as painter and connoisseur."[5] As an outsider, he was a connoisseur, collector, dealer, and organiser of exhibitions. There is no evidence that Robert Goodnough frequented John Graham or even knew him personally, but through his dealings with the seven interviewees he would have absorbed his views and ideas that were widely discussed amongst "advanced" artists in the 1940s.

Little is known about Graham's interests prior to his arrival in the United States in 1920. He was born Ivan Gratianovitch Dambrowsky[6] in 1886[7] in Kiev, then still part of the Russian Empire, where he attended the Imperial Lyceum and studied law at the University of Kiev. As a young man he served in the Czar's army as a cavalry officer during the First World War, earning the St George's Cross. According to Marcia Epstein Allentuck, there are no written records of what Graham might have read and observed during his pre-war years. Knowledge of the authors and artists of interest to him are deduced from his later writings, mainly *System and Dialectics of Art*. Thus, it is assumed that he was interested in the Neo-Primitivists Mikhail Larionov (1881-1964), and David *Burliuk, the Constructivists Naum Gabo, El Lissitzky, and Vladimir Tatlin (1885-1953), while being influenced mostly by Wassily Kandinsky and Kasimir

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[5] Clement Greenberg, "New York Painting Only Yesterday," *ARTnews*, Summer 1957, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 4: Modernism with a Vengeance 1957-1969*, by Clement Greenberg, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 19.

[6] According to Marcia Epstein Allentuck, Graham retained the 'D' of Dabrowsky as middle initial in his anglicised name.

[7] Some sources quote the year 1881 as date of birth, but 1886 is, according to Megan McShea, more accurate, although 1887 and 1888 are also possible dates. All three dates are found in various official papers, according to Megan McShea.

Malevich (1878-1937)[8]. There is no knowledge either as to Graham's formal artistic training before his arrival in America. According to Allentuck, the painter Larionov was probably his greatest inspiration. Kandinsky influenced Graham both as an artist and critic, and as a disciple of the occult. Many of the concepts and ideas in Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1912)[9] recur in Graham's writings.

Graham arrived in America in 1920[10] and settled in New York City. At the beginning of the 1920s he enrolled at the Art Students League, where he is thought to have received his first formal training as an artist. At the League he studied under and briefly assisted John Sloan. Amongst his fellow students were Dorothy Dehner, David Smith, Adolph Gottlieb, Alexander Calder, and Elinor Gibson.[11] In 1927 he became a U.S. citizen and formally anglicised his name.

Graham's early work showed the influence of Cézanne, Braque, André Derain (1880-1954), and de Chirico. He later evolved towards abstraction. His paintings were exhibited in various group shows in New York, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Paris, in the late 1920s and early 1930s.[12] During this period Graham intermittently lived in Paris, New York City, New Jersey, and upstate New York.[13] Graham's friendships with other artists at this stage included Arshile Gorky, Stuart Davis, and de Kooning.[14] While settled in America, Graham still travelled regularly to Europe, which enabled him to remain in touch with the Paris art world and transmit new artistic developments to his art circle in New York. In the 1930s Graham became a mentor

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[8] According to Marcia Epstein Allentuck, Kasimir Malevich's *Die gegenstandlose Welt* (published in Munich in 1927) may have provided support for the basic dialectic in *System and Dialectics of Art*, in particular for the distinction between the non-objective and the spiritual.

[9] *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* was published in Russian in 1914.

[10] After the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917, Graham was briefly imprisoned as a counter-revolutionary, but was able to escape to Poland and later flee to France.

[11] Graham married Elinor Gibson (dates unknown) in 1924. She was his third wife. He divorced her in 1934. In 1936 he married Constance Wellman, whom he divorced in 1945. He later married, for the fifth time, Marianne Strate Schapira, the mother of Ileana Sonnebend, the wife of art dealer Leo Castelli (1907-1999).

[12] According to Megan McShea, his works featured in shows at the °Society of Independent Artists in New York in 1925, at the Modernist Galleries in Baltimore in 1926, the Galerie Zaborowski in Paris in 1928 and 1929, the Dudensing Galleries in New York and the Phillips Memorial Gallery in Washington, D.C. in 1929, the "First Biennial Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting," at the Whitney Museum in 1932, and at the 8th Street Gallery in New York in 1933.

[13] He spent a year teaching at Wells College in Aurora, New York, where he also executed a series of wall panels in 1932.

[14] According to Megan MacShea, Willem de Kooning considered Graham one of the three "smartest" men on the New York art scene, the other two being Stuart Davis and Arshile Gorky.

figure for the budding Abstract Expressionist generation, with notable influence on Dorothy Dehner, Willem de Kooning, Gorky, Gottlieb, Krasner, Pollock, Rothko, and David Smith. Gottlieb met Graham in 1923, de Kooning knew him in 1927, the others around the turn of the decade. Pollock's year of meeting Graham is somewhat uncertain, but by 1937 the two men were clearly acquainted.

Graham's importance with respect to the evolution of twentieth-century American painting resides principally in two key contributions. The first was the publication of *System and Dialectics of Art* in 1937, which had a major influence on the up-and-coming generation of American painters, in particular Pollock, Krasner, and de Kooning. His second contribution was the organisation in 1942 of the exhibition "French and American Painters"[15] at the McMillen Gallery in New York. The show included works by Braque, Matisse, Amedeo Modigliani (1884-1920), Picasso, and Georges Rouault (1871-1958), alongside, amongst others, works by Burliuk, Stuart Davis, de Kooning, Krasner, Pollock, and Walt Kuhn. The show, which was well received, was Pollock's first public exhibition.[16] Graham established a special relationship with Pollock, for which the artist was forever grateful. According to de Kooning, Graham discovered Pollock. "Who the hell picked him out? The other critics came later—much later. Graham was a painter as well as a critic. It was hard for other artists to see what Pollock was doing—their work was so different from his [Jackson Pollock]. But Graham could see it."[17]

According to Marcia Allentuck, Graham's impact was not limited to artists. He established a friendly relationship with the collector and art critic Duncan Phillips[18], who began collecting Graham's work in the 1920s. Graham was perceived as a potentially dominant artistic force as early as the beginning of the 1930s. His final years were spent in Europe. He died in London in 1961.

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[15] January 20 - February 6, 1942.
[16] The exhibition was also the occasion of Pollock and Krasner's second meeting.
[17] Willem de Kooning, quoted in "de Kooning on Pollock: An Interview by James T. Valliere," by James T. Valliere, *Partisan Review*, Fall 1967, 603.
[18] Duncan Phillips (1886-1966) was a collector and art critic, who founded the first public gallery in America specialising in modern art. Graham mentioned him in *System and Dialectics of Art* amongst the distinguished art collectors.

6.1.2. *System and Dialectics of Art*: theory and concepts

Graham explained his theories and views in meticulous detail in *System and Dialectics of Art*. Of major relevance are his views on modern and abstract art as well as subject matter and American art.

Graham viewed modern art as a response to the new conditions of life, which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1937, he concluded that modern art was the logical development of all preceding successive schools, and that abstract art was the final logical conclusion of the development of art. Graham had a simple explanation as to why modern art was unacceptable to the public. He explained that the process for the artist was two-directional: the artist proceeded backwards when he investigated a phenomenon or observed an object and proceeded forwards in determining the form of the object. The average viewer was not aware of this process and hence found it difficult to understand the outcome. Graham, however, did not put the blame totally on the viewer, as in his opinion ninety percent of modern art was bad.

By way of objectives Graham believed that modern art sought "*a*) to express the intensive through the extensive; *b*) to revaluate the values; *c*) to establish new bases of departure and *d*) to discover new lands."[19] Modern art was abstract and free from conventional associations. He claimed that Cézanne's influence was omnipresent in modern art as was Picasso's. "Everything painted after Cezanne [*sic*] bears Cezanne's [*sic*] influence. ... All paintings painted after Cezanne [*sic*] are after Cezanne [*sic*] and not before. All paintings painted after Picasso[20] are after and not before."[21] Cézanne and Picasso were, of course, themselves products of preceding influences.

For Graham abstract art, at least in its best examples, was based on a profound knowledge of reality, which served as its point of departure. He explicated this view further. "Pure abstract art is a superior kind of art because the artist has a *double* task before him: *a*) to take stock of reality, and *b*) to make departure from reality at the same

[19] Graham, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art*, 123.
[20] In the original edition Picasso was considered on an equal footing with Cézanne. Subsequently Graham deleted his name.
[21] Graham, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art*, 169.

time."[22] This double task made abstract painting the highest and the most difficult form of painting yet. Thus, for Graham nature was only a point of departure for the creative process and the final result might be far removed from it. He concluded that abstract painting was "the most realistic, materialistic and idealistic in the end."[23] When comparing "representative"[24] and abstract art, he contended that "representative" art depended entirely on outward appearances while abstract art used them only as a point of departure for further argumentation. This reflected the stance of many abstract painters, Mondrian being the notable exception.

On subject matter in modern art Graham was less forthcoming. He provided a detailed history of "subject matter," which he defined as "the literary content, which along with nature has served in the past as a point of departure for creative work in art."[25] He felt subject matter, or plot, or anecdote, was of little relevance to a work of art. "Form itself expresses fully all elements of subject matter, character, tragedy and psychology. Subject matter has no educational value."[26] He viewed the interest in subject matter as "a degenerate desire to get results quickly without the tedious process of legitimate creation."[27] It was Picasso and the later movements, which, according to Graham, freed art from subject matter completely. Only then did art become self-sufficient.

Thus, we can see that for Graham subject matter (or plot) was the least important of the elements in art. He believed that "great art," however revolutionary, was part of the unbroken chain of the development of tradition, a view, as we shall see, also voiced during the "Studio 35" closing seminar. Change of method[28], not change of subject matter, was the revolutionary element in art. In addition, revolution was possible only with respect to tradition, since it was the repudiation of outgrown traditional forms. He held the view that subject matter was an intricate part of the social development of the Western world and its civilisation. Western civilisation was based "on *speculative thought* and *assumptions* (or beliefs) proceeding scientifically, using facts *only as*

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[22] Ibid., 117. (Italics in the original text.)
[23] Ibid., 106.
[24] Graham used "representative" instead of "representational."
[25] Ibid., 142.
[26] Ibid., 143.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Graham defined method as the "procedure organized," stating there were two methods, one of creation, and one of expression.

points of departure for the sake of argumentation or dialectics."[29] In this context Graham made a clear-cut distinction between factualism and materialism. Factualism focused on facts, which he defined as isolated portions of space. Materialism, on the other hand, based its discoveries on exhaustive and coordinated study of matter in space.

Furthermore, subject matter was irrelevant in relation to the nationality of art, which according to Graham was determined by two factors—the place where the art was produced, and the national background of the artist. "No matter what the nationality of the artist, the spirit of the place is imprinted on his work; … no matter where the artist paints, his nationality is reflected in his work."[30] For him "nationality" was a fusion of both elements, present and apparent. As a consequence American art was art produced by American artists in America. He highlighted two aspects of American art: first, the art practiced in America at the time was of the French Impressionist tendencies of fifty years before; second, art produced in America was characterised by speed and precision, which did not favour oil painting. His list of young outstanding American painters included Milton Avery, Stuart Davis, Max Weber, and Willem de Kooning. Suffice it to point out that these artists did not all produce "American" art according to his criteria.

Graham founded his views on modern and abstract art, subject matter and the "nationality" of art on what he considered to be the tenets of art in general. We have therefore considered it worthwhile to analyse the detail of the concepts and notions underlying his outlook on art.

6.1.2.1. Art, the artist, and the work of art

Graham was clear about what he believed to be the constituent elements of "art," its origin, its scope, its manifestation, its purpose and function, and its relevance. He defined art as a creative process of "abstracting"[31] and abstraction as "*the evaluation of*

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[29] Ibid., 148. (Italics in the original text.)
[30] Ibid., 153.
[31] In the specific case of painting, it meant that the "painter abstracts three-dimensional phenomena on a two-dimensional plane." (Ibid., 93.)

form perfectly understood."[32] He distinguished two forms of "abstracting"—objective and subjective. Objective abstracting was "the transposition (transmutation) of the phenomenon observed into simpler, clearer, more evocative and organically final terms."[33] Subjective abstracting, on the other hand, was an ability to evaluate observed events and fit them into a new order. The manifestation of art, for Graham, was therefore two-pronged: its objective content was "space"—the basis of all arts (be it music, painting, dancing, boxing or poetry); its subjective element was the thought and emotion it contained. Art was "*a subjective point of view expressed in objective terms*."[34] In the wider sense, he viewed "art" as material evidence of a civilisation and a social manifestation, while in the particular he viewed it as a systematic confession of personality.

Graham believed that the purpose of art in general was "to reveal the truth and to reveal the given object or event; to establish a link between humanity and the unknown; to create new values; to put humanity face to face with a new event, a new marvel."[35] In the particular, its purpose was to re-establish a lost contact with the unconscious and maintain and develop this contact in order to bring to the conscious mind the "throbbing events"[36] of the unconscious mind. The conscious mind was not capable of creation: it was simply a "clearing house for the powers of the unconscious"[37] (or a controlling agent). The unconscious was the source of all power, what he termed the "power house."[38] Graham was adamant that art used nature merely as a starting point, and that its purpose was not to portray it. The concept of nature as starting point was one adopted in varying degrees by the seven interviewees and also at the forefront of Hofmann's views.

For Graham art was rooted in a deep-seated human longing. "The origin of art lies in human longing for *enigma*, for the miraculous, for expansion, for social communication … for continuity and consequently—life eternal."[39] It was this longing for life eternal, for perpetuity, which engendered the artist's desire to arrest the eternal motion. "The

[32] Ibid., 94. (Italics in the original text.)
[33] Ibid.,
[34] Ibid., 131. (Italics in the original text.)
[35] Ibid., 95.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 102.
[39] Ibid., 101. (Italics in the original text.)

abstract purpose of art is to arrest the eternal motion and thus establish personal contact with static eternity."[40] The artist created because it was a joy. More important the artist created for society, which, however, did not mean that he submitted to the public's taste.[41] Nor did it imply that if his efforts were not understood, he would trade his ideals for success. Thus, for Graham the artist had an important social function. Art as a social phenomenon, as we shall see, was a prominent feature of Newman's outlook, and the social function of art was also part of Rothko's view as well as Goodnough's. The "joy" of creation was an important element for Motherwell, although it was not always readily achievable. Goodnough referred to it as "satisfaction."

Graham defined a work of art as "a phenomenon or event only as far as it is perceived by human consciousness."[42] It comprised six prerequisites: it had to have a point of view; it had to be materialised (expressed); it had to be "creative" (produce a new value); it had to be significant (have a message); it had to be unique; and it had to function.[43] A work of art had to combine all six characteristics, and was produced by going through the stages of "*a*) analysis or penetration; *b*) discovery or revelation; *c*) organization."[44] In other words, a work of art was a creative, significant and unique expression of an individual's point of view and had no existence in a vacuum.

According to Graham, as we have noted, art was static as opposed to dynamic, which was the natural state of things. The challenge for the artist was to arrest motion and to contemplate. A great work of art was always "*affirmative*"[45] and implicit, never merely suggestive and not explicit. Graham defined "greatness" in art as a phenomenon, a state, which persisted regardless. "*Greatness is never explicit but always implicit*."[46] Success, however, was not the same as greatness. He gave Gustave Courbet (1819-1877) as an example of greatness. Graham contended that the greatness of a living man

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[40] Ibid., 95.
[41] Arnold Schoenberg expressed a similar view in 1949 at "The Western Round Table on Modern Art."
[42] Ibid., 96.
[43] Graham's full definition was as follows: "*a*) it must have a point of view—conscious or unconscious; *b*) it must be materialized—expressed; *c*) it must be creative—produce a *new* value; *d*) it must be significant, have a message to humanity as a result of a certain ideology—message deliberate or not deliberate, great or small; *e*) it must be unique, it cannot be produced in series, even the artist himself cannot duplicate his work of art; *f*) it must be an organism and to be an organism it must function." (Ibid., 96. Italics in the original text.)
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 102. (Italics in the original text.)
[46] Ibid., 177. (Italics in the original text.)

could only be judged by juxtaposing his work against his personality. "The interesting thing about the artist is not what he produces but what he is himself."[47] Echoes of this contention can be found in Greenberg's admonition to Motherwell in 1946, as mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5. As we shall see this view was also shared by several participants at the "Studio 35" closing seminar.

A work of art, according to Graham, had to be "creative," by producing new authentic values, achieved by delving into memories of the immemorial past and expressing them in terms of pure form (in space and matter). The source of creation was sorrow, as the capacity of perception was a function of the capacity to suffer. Graham viewed "suffering" as the measure of genius. It stretched the limits of consciousness. This view was shared by Greenberg and Rosenberg, and, as we shall see, anticipated Rothko's own *vécu* of the creative process of painting.

Whereas creation was a fundamental ingredient of art, talent was merely an animal ability, according to Graham, and in itself had no merit. Talent[48] was an intuitive ability to attack and solve problems better than others, whereas genius was "*talent brought to consciousness*."[49] For Graham, a genius was universal, but few understood the effort of genius. "Without genius all the cultural activities of humanity would soon degenerate into clichés."[50]

6.1.2.2. Painting

Graham defined painting as "*a creative exploitation of the potential value of a plain surface. Painting is the Space articulating.*"[51] He viewed painting as a two-dimensional proposition, defined by the very nature of the operating space, a view also shared by Hofmann. Painting was, for Graham, the most difficult art of all, since it operated primarily and exclusively in space. "It requires continuous practice, unlimited supply of materials, undisturbed silence and space."[52] He also believed that a work of

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[47] Ibid., 178.
[48] As examples of talent, Graham originally cited Édouard Manet and Tchaikovsky (1840-1893), later adding Claude Monet (1840-1926).
[49] Ibid., 97. (Italics in the original text.)
[50] Ibid., 99.
[51] Ibid., 103. (Italics and capitalisation in the original text.)
[52] Ibid.

art depended on a slightest accident, which could determine its greatness or its failure. This, as we have seen, was contrary to Ozenfant's view that nothing in painting should be left to accident and, as we shall see, to Pollock's statement that nothing in his work was accidental. According to Graham oil painting, although the most difficult to handle, allowed for the widest scope of pictorial expression. To paint well required perfect knowledge amongst others of the substance of the medium, the flow of paint, the colour, the saturation of paint, and its application.

Graham listed three methods of approach in painting: literary or story-telling painting, psychological and naturalistic painting, and "planimetric" painting. Literary painting was narrative. Psychological and naturalistic painting was based on psychology, emotions, and feeling. It operated at a perpendicular angle to the canvas and was mainly three-dimensional. Planimetric painting operated with the canvas and was essentially two-dimensional, as it remained within the plane. For Graham two-dimensional painting was the most accomplished, and at the same time the most difficult since it had to combine vision, exactitude and freedom. Completing the picture constituted the end of the process. Choosing the frame was of key importance, as were the quality of the wall, the hanging of the painting, and the lighting. By the same token Graham attached great importance to signing the picture, which he qualified in itself as a difficult art. "Spontaneous faultless placing of signature, attuned to the pattern of the painting, injects life into a dead corpse. Therefore—magic."[53] We shall see that for some "advanced" artists signature was of lesser or no importance.

In addition to being the most difficult art to perform, Graham believed painting was also the most difficult to understand. The key to understanding painting was space, since it was an integral part of painting. All art forms were concerned with space, but only painting operated in space alone. "In painting, Space is the content and the form, beginning and end, the aim and the means."[54] Graham explained that in painting, the understanding of "space" was the understanding of the given space-plane-canvas and the understanding of the object to be painted in relation to the given space-plane-canvas. The first gesture on the canvas predetermined the solution of that particular problem, which had only one unique solution. "The rest is predetermined. … a first dot

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[53] Ibid., 191.
[54] Ibid., 182. (Capitalisation and underlining in the original text.)

already predetermines the fate of the painting."[55] This last point would appear to undermine his view of the "accidental," unless the placing of the first dot was in itself accidental. "Space" was the core element of painting, whereas "time" for Graham was of secondary importance. It did not exist as an independent element, but as a characteristic of space. "*Time is a modus to measure and record changes taking place in space.*"[56] Newman too, as we shall see, had an unconventional view of time.

Of the principal elements of artistic creation, the most fundamental for Graham was form, which he defined as "*a confined, final and self-sufficient portion of space*."[57] Form was the building block of beauty, for which there were two prerequisites—perfection of form and surprise or rarity. He believed that form, both in nature and art, had a language accessible to those prepared to read it. However difficult to understand, the language of plastic form was as definite as the language of music. Form spoke more clearly than subject matter and pure form spoke of subject matter by means of transposition or transmutation. For Graham, form was "self-sufficient and a law unto itself."[58] Thus, a painting need not look like a house or a cow. As we shall discover, several participants at the "Studio 35" seminar echoed this contention. While form was a self-sufficient portion of space, Graham defined shape as *"a specified portion of space.*"[59] Volume was form that curved into the third dimension. Interestingly, he believed that shape was something unique—once lost, it was lost forever and could never be recaptured.

Graham viewed colour as an attribute of form, which acquired "*significance only after it occupies a definite portion of space*."[60] The brushstroke, on the other hand, was all-important: it was an authentic record of the personal and emotional response of the artist to what he observed. Of major importance was the moment of contact between brush and canvas, as that contact provided the evidence of the artist's emotional and intellectual being. We may ask ourselves how the transfer of emotion occurred in the case of Pollock's drip painting technique.

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[55] Ibid., 182.
[56] Ibid., 183. (Italics in the original text.)
[57] Ibid., 132.(Italics in the original text.)
[58] Ibid., 122.
[59] Ibid., 132. (Italics in the original text.)
[60] Ibid., 133. (Italics in the original text.)

Style, which Graham defined as an "*artist's personal manner of executing and presenting his work,*"[61] was a minor asset and less important than form. Technique was less important than style and was of minor importance in the creative process. Graham believed that technique, if it became an aim in itself, was an impediment to the artist and a dishonest camouflage. It bound the unconscious and if the messages of the unconscious were weak, technique would kill them. As we shall see, Pollock had a similar approach to technique, but did not discard it since for him it was a means to an end.

For Graham, the most significant faculty of a human being as an individual was the power of vision, which he believed was the highest power humanity had ever developed. He ranked it higher than physical force and willpower, and superior to the power of the unconscious and the power of reasoning, which he considered limited. He defined vision as "a capacity to see, to retain and to deliver directly without going through the tedious processes of petty calculations. ... *a highly potent condition of consciousness not unlike the condition of matter when it is dynamite or radium.*"[62] Equally important was "understanding," which, according to Graham, was perhaps an even greater virtue than creation, as the latter required an atmosphere of understanding, however casual or sporadic.

In 1937 Graham argued that the problems of pictorial form had all been solved and easel painting for private patronage was dead. "The generation which has seen this take place is as usual not fully conscious of it."[63] In this statement he appeared to have summed up the situation of the American art establishment in the first half of the twentieth century.

[61] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[62] Ibid., 185-186. (Italics in the original text.)
[63] Ibid., 196.

"There really is no such thing as Art.
There are only artists."[64]

Ernst H. Gombrich

6.2. The painters' point of view

In this section we have attempted to trace the views of the seven artists in the run-up to the interview, and where relevant, subsequent to the interview. Motherwell, Newman, and Rothko made their views explicit in their writings during the 1940s and beyond. Gottlieb expressed his views at seminars and in open letters. Willem de Kooning only started making his views public in 1949. Baziotes was less forthcoming about his vision, as was Pollock, whose deep-felt beliefs were often to be found in private correspondence or interviews.

The seven artists broached issues, such as subject matter, process, space, colour, beauty, modern art, the role of the viewer, and Americanism, in different contexts and from different angles. Their views, therefore, provide pointers to the essence of their work (and Abstract Expressionism) from their individual standpoint.

6.2.1. Mark Rothko: "subject and subject matter"

At least until the early 1950s, Mark Rothko was one of the most explicit of the seven interviewees about his views, which he expressed mainly in writing.

In a joint letter to Edward Alden Jewell, the Art Editor of the *New York Times*, Rothko, joined by Gottlieb, said he believed there was no need to defend their pictures or explain them. "We do not intend to defend our pictures. They make their own defence. We consider them clear statements."[65] The letter was a riposte to Jewell's "befuddlement" with respect to the works featured at the "Third Annual Exhibition of the Federation of American Painters and Sculptors."[66] The two artists included in the

[64] Ernst H. Gombrich, *The History of Art,* Pocket Edition (London: Phaidon Press, 2006), 21.
[65] Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, letter to Mr. Edward Alden Jewell, Art Editor of the *New York Times*, June 7, 1943, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, by Mark Rothko, ed. Miguel López-Remiro (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2006), 35.
[66] June 3-26, 1943.

letter a five-point “manifesto” about their art, which they subsequently explained in a joint radio interview on 13 October 1943, when answering, each in turn, four questions.

In the joint letter they were adamant that their pictures were clear statements of their aesthetic beliefs, which required the viewer to experience them. “No possible set of notes can explain our paintings. Their explanation must come out of a consummated experience between picture and onlooker.”[67] For them art was an adventure into an unknown world, which was “fancy-free” and opposed to common sense. The artists’ function was to make the viewer see the world their way. Rothko and Gottlieb favoured the simple expression of the complex thought and as a consequence favoured the large shape, as its impact was unequivocal. They also reasserted the picture plane, and favoured flat forms, since they did away with illusion and were revealing of the truth. They rejected the essence of academicism, which put technique above content. In the course of the interview Rothko stated that in order to be valid the subject matter must be tragic and timeless. Subject matter was not in his mind limited to the tangible world, as it also comprised the intellectual and the spiritual. The whole of man’s experience became the artist’s model, “and in that sense it can be said that all of art is a portrait of an idea.”[68]

In response to the question whether his pictures were abstract paintings with literary titles Rothko made the point that neither his nor Gottlieb’s paintings should be considered abstract paintings.[69] The titles recalled myths of antiquity because they were symbols of basic psychological ideas, of man’s primitive fears and motivations, irrespective of time and place, never changing in substance. Almost two years later, in July 1945, he returned to the point, rejecting the idea that the symbols in his paintings were consciously derived from archaic forms. Any resemblances were the result of his concern with “the similar states of consciousness and relationship to the world.”[70]

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[67] Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, letter to Mr. Edward Alden Jewell, 35.
[68] Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, “The Portrait and the Modern Artist,” October 13, 1943, broadcast on Radio WYNC, *Art in New York* program, October 13, 1943, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 38.
[69] Both Rothko and Gottlieb at the time had adopted a mythological form of pictorial expression.
[70] Mark Rothko, letter to the editor, *New York Times*, July 8, 1945, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 46.

In the same year in a statement in the exhibition catalogue of "Personal Statement, Painting Prophecy, 1950," Rothko asserted his adherence to the real world, both tangible and immaterial. "I adhere to the reality of things and their substance."[71] Rothko qualified this statement with "I insist upon the equal existence of the world engendered in the mind and the world engendered by God outside of it."[72] For him the only source book for art was "the exhilarated tragic experience."[73] He repudiated the denial of the anecdote and of the material existence of the whole of reality. "For art to me is anecdote of the spirit, and the only means of making concrete the purpose of its varied quickness and stillness."[74] Thus, Rothko was bound to the "real" world, both tangible and immaterial, and did not disdain the anecdotal.

Rothko apparently had earlier outlined his views about "subject" and "subject matter" in an unpublished manuscript, which cannot be precisely dated but is thought to date from the early 1940s and to predate his public pronouncements. In his manuscript, published eventually in 2004 as *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality; Philosophies of Art*, Rothko made the distinction between the concepts of "subject" and "subject matter." "Subject matter" represented the recognisable elements in a picture, "the objects we know, an anecdote we can recognize, a mood that is familiar to us, or even a more remote association with our experience,"[75] whereas "subject" implied the objective of the picture, was equivalent to the design of a painting and contained the intention of the artist. A work of art combined both "subject" and "subject matter," and represented a marriage between the plastic message, or the "subject matter," and the "subject," which was absolute. The viewer perceived a work of art as a whole—as a unity between these two elements. The picture itself was the vehicle for the manifestation of the plastic continuity, the subject matter being merely a manifestation of the plasticity. This led Rothko to posit that the subject of a painting was the painting itself. The painting was "a corporeal manifestation of the artist's notion of reality, made manifest through the production on the canvas of objects, or qualities, or both, recognizable or created, which

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[71] Mark Rothko, personal statement, "Personal Statement, Painting Prophecy, 1950," exhibition catalogue, David Porter Gallery, Washington, D.C., 1945, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 45.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Mark Rothko, *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality; Philosophies of Art*, ed. Christopher Rothko (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 76.

are referable to our experience, either directly or through reasoning."[76] According to Rothko, "subject matter" was not constant, and an artist's plastic existence was not "subservient"[77] to "subject matter."

For Rothko art could not exist without subject matter and therefore to claim that abstract painting did not possess a subject matter was unfounded, even if it was not obvious or recognisable. Subject matter and subject were both present in abstract art, for which the artist used abstracted notions of shapes and emotions to establish unity. "The only time an abstraction can be said not to have employed subject matter is when it had nothing to say about anything at all."[78] In such a case both subject and subject matter were absent. Rothko thought that more often abstract art had subject matter but no subject, because the artist was unable "to produce a unified objective for his subject matter."[79] Subject matter, whether recognisable or not, was apparently for Rothko an integral element of twentieth-century art. Thus, Rothko put abstract and representational art on an equal footing and made this clear, in 1947, in "The Romantics were Prompted." "I do not believe that there was ever a question of being abstract or representational."[80] Both the representational and the abstract emerged from the same need.

Rothko believed there was an "intangible"[81] ingredient in the creative process. In "The Romantics were Prompted" he dwelt on his own creative process, using a comparison from his first interest—the theatre. "I think of my pictures as dramas; the shapes in the pictures are the performers. … They begin an unknown adventure in an unknown space. It is at the moment of completion that in a flash of recognition, they are seen to have the quantity and function which was intended."[82] He believed the artist needed to have faith in his ability to produce miracles when they were needed. He also believed that the artist's relationship with his work was not static or immutable. "Pictures must be miraculous: the instant one is completed, the intimacy between the creation and the

[76] Ibid., 79.
[77] By "subservient" Rothko meant the relationship of the constant factor to the variable.
[78] Ibid., 80.
[79] Ibid., 80-81.
[80] Mark Rothko, "The Romantics were Prompted," *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, Winter 1947/48, 84.
[81] This was similar to "spirit" and "psychic intuition," which William Baziotes viewed as integral to the creative process.
[82] Rothko, "The Romantics were Prompted," 84.

creator is ended. He is an outsider."[83] Thus, for Rothko the creative process sprang from a "need" and resulted in a "revelation," which Pollock in 1951, as we shall see, referred to as an "urge" resulting in the "unknowable." The miraculous nature of the picture was close to Graham's prerequisite for "beauty."

Painting was not an easy process for Rothko: it involved an internal struggle, as disclosed in a letter to Clay Spohn[84] in May 1948. He revealed the inner turmoil the act of painting caused him personally in a description of his creative process. "I am beginning to hate the life of a painter. One begins by sparring with his insides with one leg still in the normal world. Then you are caught up in a frenzy that brings you to the edge of madness, as far as you can go without ever coming back."[85]

In 1949, in a statement published in *The Tiger's Eye*, Rothko further expounded on the creative process and its objective—clarity. To achieve clarity was to be understood, and this objective could only be achieved by eliminating the obstacles between the painter and the idea, and between the idea and the observer. As examples of obstacles he mentioned "memory, history, or geometry,"[86] which could only give rise to "parodies of ideas,"[87] but could never give rise to an idea as such. Thus, Rothko attached importance to the idea and its simplification of expression: clarity was all-important in order to establish the "unequivocal" relationship between the picture and the outsider, in other words for the painting (and its creator) to be understood.

In his manuscript Rothko touched upon many aspects of art and the creative process, including painting, space, sensuality, style, skill, and beauty. He defined painting as "a statement of the artist's notions of reality in terms of plastic speech."[88] He explained art as a process, which for him was biological and inevitable, and involved "procreation." Art was a form of social action, a mode of communication, not a form of escapism. He viewed art as a species of nature, with definite properties and proceeding according to definite laws of its own. As a result the artist fulfilled a dual function:

[83] Ibid.
[84] Clay Spohn was a professor at the California School of Fine Arts, with whom Rothko developed a close friendship.
[85] Mark Rothko, letter to Clay Spohn, May 11, 1948, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, by Mark Rothko, ed. Miguel López-Remiro (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2006), 62.
[86] Mark Rothko, "Statement on His Attitude in Painting," *The Tiger's Eye*, October 1949, 114.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Rothko, *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality: Philosophies of Art*, 22.

"first, furthering the integrity of the process of self-expression in the language of art; and secondly, protecting the organic continuity of art in relation to its own laws."[89] The evolution of art, according to Rothko, was similar to that of any species on earth. Art would not be able to survive on inbreeding, but needed "the rejuvenation of new experiences and new blood."[90] As with Graham, the key function of the artist was one of communication. He also imputed a role to the viewer, without whose reception of the plastic message the artist's work would not be able to survive. "A picture lives by companionship, expanding and quickening in the eyes of the sensitive observer. It dies by the same token."[91]

As early as 1934 Rothko underscored the analogy between painting and music. "Painting is just as natural a language as singing or speaking. It is a method of making a visible record of our experience, visual or imaginative, colored by our own feelings and reactions and indicated with the same simplicity and directness as singing or speaking."[92]

Rothko was convinced that abstract art was not devoid of subject matter, even though the viewer was not familiar with it, and therefore functioned at another level. "It appeals to our abstract experience pertaining to the familiar relationships between space and shapes. And it has its own anecdote, for every relationship implies an anecdote, ... in the sense of a philosophical narration of bringing all the related elements together to some unified end."[93]

For Rothko form was a fundamental element, which must be balanced by space, an echo of Hofmann's view. "Space" was an integral part of pictorial representation, without which the picture had no meaning, and was key to the meaning of the artist's picture. Space, and here Rothko was in full agreement with Graham, was all-important. "Space … is the chief plastic manifestation of the artist's concept of reality. … It constitutes a statement of faith, an a priori unity, to which all the plastic elements are in

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[89] Rothko, *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality; Philosophies of Art*, 14.
[90] Ibid.,18.
[91] Mark Rothko, in "The Ides of Art: The Attitudes of Ten Artists on Their Art and Contemporaneousness," *The Tiger's Eye,* December 1947, 44.
[92] Markus Rothkowitz, "New Training for Future Artists and Art Lovers," *Brooklyn Jewish Center Review*, February - March 1934, 10,
Brooklyn Jewish Center, http://www.brooklynjewishcenter.org/cr1934.php [accessed January 20, 2018].
[93] Rothko, *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality; Philosophies of Art*, 80.

a state of subservience."[94] He perceived sensuality as the "index" to reality. "Feeling" the world or reality was expressed in the work of the artist, a view also held by Motherwell.

Style for Rothko consisted of those uniform characteristics displayed in the painter's work; they remained constant. The subject matter was not the constant, but rather it was the artist's way of looking at things that remained unchanged. Artists, at a given moment in time, might share a similarity of style, which was basically a similarity of "subject matter," in other words they were sharing a similar notion of reality. Skill was not, according to Rothko, an "index" to beauty, a view similar to that of Graham. The perception of beauty was an emotional experience, which involved exaltation, communicated through the emotional system. "The experience of beauty may also be a sign of the reception of the creative impulse."[95] Thus, Rothko perceived an active role for the viewer in a two-way relationship between the viewer and the canvas that required on the part of the viewer an impulse similar to Duchamp's concept of "aesthetic echo."[96] Rothko dwelt on beauty and "its apperception,"[97] by which he meant the recognition of an ideal of perfection by the viewer, irrespective of whether the artist had achieved it, once again underlining the interaction between the artist and the viewer through the medium of the work of art, in particular the image on the canvas.

Rothko contended that the modern artist had travelled through all of man's plastic experience, and that modern artists had taken pictorial representation from the illusory painting to that of expressing the subconscious. "They have definitely provided for us of this age … the language for our re-apprehension of the whole world of art, in language and terms commensurate with our present knowledge and understanding."[98] Modern artists had travelled the full journey up to the present, and had in other words reached the stage of the "intrasubjective," as described by Ortega y Gasset.[99]

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[94] Ibid., 59.
[95] Ibid., 62.
[96] Duchamp's concept is explained in Chapter 8.2.
[97] Rothko, *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality; Philosophies of Art*, 70.
[98] Ibid., 110.
[99] The "intrasubjective" is discussed in Chapter 7.

Rothko was not much concerned by the call for "Americanism," although he believed that there was a wish for an American art. "Everyone wants an American art."[100] However, there was no agreement as to what would constitute "indigenous" art.

In the summer of 1950, Rothko refused to write any further statements for *The Tiger's Eye* and *Magazine of Art*, and made it clear in a letter to Newman that he would not in future comment on his work. "I have nothing to say in words which I would stand for. I am heartily ashamed of the things I have written in the past. The self-statement business has become a fad this season, … ."[101] The fact that he allowed himself to be interviewed by Goodnough at the end of 1949 is all the more interesting for it.

6.2.2. Adolph Gottlieb: "thought and feeling"

Adolph Gottlieb shared many aspects of Rothko's artistic vision. As a joint founding member of "The Ten" both men espoused the principles of realist painting and, in the 1930s, the exploration of expressionism and abstraction. The two artists had a close working relationship in the early 1940s, incorporating mythological subjects and themes into their work. Gottlieb was the co-author of their "five-point manifesto" published in the *New York Times* of 13 June 1943, and publicly, together with Rothko, spoke of his aesthetic beliefs in the radio broadcast of 13 October 1943. Questioned about their use as modern artists of mythological characters, Gottlieb expressed astonishment about the need to have to explain their subject matter. For those acquainted with the global language of art, the images they used should easily be apprehended. He professed a kinship to the art of "primitive" man, in which the expressed feelings were of particular relevance to the modern artist. "Primitive" expression revealed an awareness of powerful forces, the presence of terror and fear, the acceptance of the brutality of nature and the insecurity of life. "That these feelings are being experienced by many people throughout the world today is an unfortunate fact, and to us an art that glosses over or evades these feelings, is superficial or

[100] Rothko, *Mark Rothko: The Artist's Reality; Philosophies of Art*, 117.
[101] Mark Rothko, letter to Barnett Newman, August 1950, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 72.

meaningless. That is why we insist on subject matter, a subject matter that embraces these feelings and permits them to be expressed."[102]

In 1944 Gottlieb explained *Pictograph # 4* (1943) as having its own logic. "I disinterred some relics from the secret crypt of Melpomene to untie them through the pictograph, which has its own internal logic. Like those early painters, who placed their images on the grounds of rectangular compartments, I juxtaposed my pictographic images, each self-contained within the painter's rectangle, to be ultimately fused within the mind of the beholder."[103] Thus Gottlieb's "intent" included the viewer.

Gottlieb did not broach the issue of subject matter directly, nor did he address the creative process explicitly, although it appeared to be intimately linked to his artistic vision, which he explained in 1945. "When I say I am reaching for a totality of vision, I mean that I take the things I know—hand, nose, art—and use them in my paintings after separating them from their associations as anatomy. I use them as a totality of what they mean to me. It's a primitive method, and a primitive necessity of expressing, without learning how to do so by conventional ways ... ."[104] Gottlieb's "primitive necessity of expressing,"[105] was not far removed from Rothko's "need" or, as we shall see, Pollock's "urge" at the origin of the creative process. In 1947 Gottlieb expressed the view that the role of the artist was that of image-maker. Art was determined by evolution, and the work of art, as the result of the artist's creative process, was the image or expression of its time. Thus, abstraction in certain instances was "the realism of our time."[106] For him the pictures of the 1940s were the "expression of the neurosis which [was] … our reality."[107]

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[102] Mark Rothko and Adolph Gottlieb, "The Portrait and the Modern Artist," October 13, 1943, broadcast on Radio WYNC, *Art in New York* program, October 13, 1943, reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 40.

[103] Adolph Gottlieb, statement, in *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, Sidney Janis (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944), 119.

[104] Adolph Gottlieb, statement, *Limited Edition*, December 1945, Selected Artist Statements, The Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, http://www.gottliebfoundation.org/the-artist/selected-artists-writings/ [last accessed November 2, 2019].

[105] Ibid.

[106] Adolph Gottlieb, in "The Ides of Art: The Attitudes of Ten Artists on Their Art and Contemporaneousness," *The Tiger's Eye*, December 1947, 43.

[107] Ibid.

In 1948 Gottlieb presented the talk "Unintelligiblity" at the symposium "The Modern Artist Speaks" at the Museum of Modern Art, and pointed out the dangers of the reactionary trend to the freedom of expression prevalent in the art world. This trend, according to Gottlieb, sought to stifle the new forms of expression on the grounds of "unintelligibility" of the new ideas. The attacks, according to Gottlieb, both from the right and the left, targeted in the main painting that was different, unconventional, non-conformist, and unique. "With the cry of unintelligibility the critics attack whatever is out of line with the status quo of art."[108] He viewed this intolerance as an attempt to impose conformity, in particular on those artists who refused to conform to any standards but their own. This intolerance concerned him personally as well as Rothko, Baziotes, and Pollock. He felt it was difficult to "explain" the meaning of painting, but the fact that ideas and forms were new, as was the case in modern painting, did not mean they had no validity. These new ideas and forms were likely to stay and be developed whether or not they were opposed. He argued that the critics would have to face this state of affairs. In addition, the public was becoming aware of the validity of these new forms and ideas. He therefore recommended that the critics investigate the ideas upon which the new painting was based. "Let the critics discuss these ideas on their merits and then criticize the work in relation to the ideas. This would be honest criticism and would also be a constructive effort."[109]

Gottlieb left the critics with six questions the consideration of which he believed would to some extent clarify matters. The questions covered a wide range of issues at the forefront of discussions at the time: subject matter, the unconscious, the essence of the painter, the need for fixed standards, the solving of artistic problems, and the difference in appraisal of American and European art.[110] Gottlieb "answered" each question with

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[108] Adolph Gottlieb, "Unintelligibility," a talk presented at the symposium "The Modern Artist Speaks" at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, May 5, 1948, Selected Artist Statements, The Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, http://gottliebfoundation.org/the-artist/selected-artists-writings/2 [accessed July 29, 2016].

[109] Ibid.

[110] The six questions were as follows: "If it is true that it does not matter what the artist paints, why are so many attacks made on subject matter, i.e. totemic themes, race memories, etc.? If it was right for Delacroix and Matisse to travel to far and strange places like Tunis and Tahiti for subjects, what is wrong with traveling to the catacombs of the unconscious, or the dim recollections of a prehistoric past? If the origin of painting was the making of marks or poetic signs should we consider the painter an artisan-poet or is he the artisan-architect of a formal structure? Or both? Can qualitative standards for art be fixed like in dairy products or should standards be fluid in accordance with our situation? If our political and economic problems cannot be solved by past wisdom, can artistic problems be solved by the solutions of our predecessors? Finally, is it necessary to have a double standard, one standard for American art and

a "question" in the form of an argument (i.e. intended as a rebuttal of the original question in order to determine its degree of truth). This format of reasoning is reminiscent of Talmudic learning and interpretation.[111] On first view the "questions" contained the answers about the subject matter and value of art. On second view they support a conclusion that the "subject matter of the artist" is the business of the artist alone and cannot be made to conform to "standards" like dairy products. Gottlieb did not manifestly provide "answers" but left the "questions and their rebuttals" with his audience to reflect upon, and as revelation of the issues with which artists at the time had to contend.

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For Gottlieb "feeling" was integral to his own working method, which he explained in 1955. "Now in 1955 as in the early 40's [*sic*] and before, I am still concerned with the problem of projecting intangible and elusive images that seem to me to have meaning in terms of feeling."[112] It was important to transfer the image to the canvas as it appeared to him, undistorted. In an interview of 1962 Gottlieb expanded on the notion of "feeling," which, for him, consisted of everything he had experienced and thought. "It's really, as I see it, an attempt to express abstractly almost all my experience which is emotional. And, at the same time, I attach a great deal of importance to the thought process and a kind of intellectual approach to painting; and I can't separate them."[113] Thought was a part of his creative process. "And there's a thing called an intellectual approach to painting …, and I've always felt that this is an important element in my own work."[114] Gottlieb sought to achieve a synthesis of both thought and feeling in order to present a totality of his experience, which was emotional, irrational, as well as thoughtful. This "synthesis" appears similar to Rothko's unity between "subject" and "subject matter."

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another for European art, or should we have a reciprocal exchange of ideas on an international level, as scientists do?" (Ibid.)

[111] The method of reasoning is described in Adin Steinsaltz's *The Essential Talmud* (1976).

[112] Adolph Gottlieb, statement, in *The New Decade: 35 American Painters and Sculptors*, ed. John I.H. Bauer (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1955), 36.

[113] Adolph Gottlieb, quoted in an excerpt from an interview by Martin Friedman, August 1962, 1, Selected Artist Statements, The Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation http://gottliebfoundation.org/the-artist/selected-artists-writings/4/ [accessed July 29, 2016].

[114] Ibid.

For Gottlieb colour had an emotional quality, and was therefore a means to express feeling. Having eliminated almost everything from his painting except for a few colours and perhaps two or three shapes, he felt it necessary for them to carry the burden of what he wanted to express. In the same 1962 interview Gottlieb also appeared to refute the "accidental." "I am interested in the immediacy and the directness of a statement, but I think the fact that I keep returning, and there is a similar theme which keeps recurring over and over in my work, would indicate that this is not impetuous that it's a carefully considered attitude toward painting."[115] He explained that he had a tendency to oversimplify. "I'm inclined to think that this is one of the points of the kind of painting I'm involved in—that the very nature of abstraction, the very nature of abstract thought is to reduce the complexity of all of life and to bring it down to something very simple which embodies all this complexity."[116] This confirmed the joint statement he made with Rothko in 1943 as to why they favoured the unequivocal nature of the large shape. Gottlieb's "tendency to oversimplify" was similar to Rothko's objective of clarity.

In 1962 Gottlieb also discussed the concept of "pictorial space" as opposed to scientific space. Scientific space was measurable, but he was not sure whether pictorial space could be measured. "I think that the whole notion of measurement is irrelevant. It perhaps is more a matter of scale and that's why I think the question of the size of a painting comes up in relation to a discussion of space."[117]

These ideas and thoughts, although expressed much after his interview with Goodnough, are confirmation of the vision Gottlieb had in the 1940s and his original approach to his work. Gottlieb viewed modern art as part of the revolutionary development of art, and believed that pictorial evolution consisted of breaks and revolts. When referring to the Abstract Expressionists, he explained: "We felt that we were living in an underground; we felt that we were a bit outside of society and, in a sense, outcasts."[118]

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[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., 2
[117] Ibid., 1.
[118] Adolph Gottlieb, quoted in an excerpt from an interview with Andrew Hudson, "Gottlieb finds Today's Shock-Proof Audience Dangerous," *Washington Post*, July 31, 1966, 1, Selected Artist Statements, The Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, http://gottliebfoundation.org/the-artist/selected-artists-writings/5/ [accessed July 29, 2016].

6.2.3. Barnett Newman: "time and space"

Barnett Newman did not sign the 1943 protest letter of Rothko and Gottlieb, but helped draft it. We may therefore assume that he largely shared the views of the two signatories.

Around 1944-1945, he expressed his views about subject matter in "The Problem of Subject Matter," which, however, remained unpublished until 1990. In the essay he summed up the situation of art at the beginning of the twentieth century as "the search for something to paint."[119] According to Newman, the Impressionists in exploring the technical problem of colour freed the painter's palette. In tackling the problem of the colour of light, drawing was no longer relevant and subject matter became "automatic." The motto became "Paint what you see—anything."[120] Newman believed that the Impressionists came to realize that in order to arrive at the true nature of painting, it was necessary to have an understanding of its purpose rather than its mechanics. The consequence of freeing the palette was to enslave the artist to nature; the real problem then was to free art from nature, which was solved by the Impressionists' successors through the discovery and use of distortion.

In 1945 Newman explained what he believed to be authentic American art in a "Memorial Letter for Howard Putzel"[121] for the art dealer Howard Putzel. Putzel, he wrote, had believed in the new art and was instrumental in ensuring that "this unorganized, spontaneous, unnamed movement became a historic fact."[122] By providing the space to display the works of Gottlieb, Hofmann, Pollock, Rothko, and Tamayo, Putzel had let the world know that in New York an authentic art was coming out of America. This is what the establishment had been craving for, but these artists and their works were not necessarily the ones the establishment had in mind. Newman explained that the present movement in American painting transcended nature, and

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[119] Barnett Newman, "The Problem of Subject Matter," unpublished, ca.1944-45, reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, by Barnett Newman, ed. John P. O'Neill (Alfred H. Knopf: New York, 1990), 80.

[120] Ibid., 82.

[121] Newman's letter was addressed to Edward Alden Jewell, the art critic of the *New York Times*, who was far from enamoured with the work of the so-called "advanced" artists.

[122] Barnett Newman, memorial letter for Howard Putzel to Edward Alden Jewell, 1945, reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, 97.

instead was concerned with metaphysical implications and divine mysteries. "These new painters have brought the artist back to his original, primitive role—the maker of gods."[123] These artists had created new symbols and new images, and used a new plastic language, which in order to express abstract thought had to be abstract.

Newman's first public views on art appeared in the foreword of the catalogues of the shows at Betty Parsons, "Northwest Coast Painting"[124] in 1946, and "The Ideographic Picture"[125] in 1947. In the foreword to "Northwest Coast Painting" Newman underscored the authenticity of Native American art, which had developed independently. He made the point that "many primitive art traditions stand apart as authentic aesthetic accomplishments that flourished without the benefit of European history."[126] He believed that the answer to understanding modern abstract art lay in the predominantly abstract aesthetic of the art of Native Americans.

In 1947 Newman expressed the view that the artist was rooted in the "creative impulse," which he analysed in "The First Man was an Artist," written for the first issue of *The Tiger's Eye*. Based on Rashi's[127] interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, he asked: "What is the raison d'être, what is the explanation of the seemingly insane drive of man to be painter and poet if it is not an act of defiance against man's fall and an assertion that he return to the Adam of the Garden of Eden? For the artists are the first men."[128] It was this defiance of man's fall that led the artist to strive towards the truth. In 1959 Newman described his own artistic impulse. "Painting, like passion, is a living voice, which, when I hear it, I must let speak, unfettered."[129]

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[123] Ibid., 98.

[124] September 30 - October 19, 1946.

[125] January 20 - February 8, 1947. Lee Hall refers to "The Ideographic Painters" in *Betty Parsons: Artist, Dealer, Collector*.

[126] Barnett Newman, foreword to "Northwest Coast Painting," exhibition brochure, Betty Parsons Gallery, New York, January 1947, reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, 105-106.

[127] Rashi (1040-1105) was the acronym for Solomon b. Isaac, a French-born medieval commentator of the Torah, whose writings are considered fundamental to the understanding of Judaic law and the Hebrew Bible. (Norman Roth, ed., *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), s.v. "Rashi.")

[128] Barnett Newman, "The First Man Was an Artist," *The Tiger's Eye*, October 1947, 60. The format of the question follows a similar pattern to the questions enunciated by Gottlieb in "Unintelligibility."

[129] Barnett Newman, statement, in "The New American Painting: As Shown in Eight European Countries, 1958-1959," exhibition catalogue, New York, Museum of Modern Art/The International Council, 1959, reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, 179. The exhibition "The New American Painting," over a period of twelve months toured eight European countries, closing at the Museum of Modern Art in September 1959. This sentence of the preface was literally retained in the

At the end of 1947 Newman was asked about the subject of his own art and times for "The Ides of Art: The Attitudes of Ten Artists on Their Art and Contemporaneousness," which appeared in the second issue of *The Tiger's Eye*. His comment, however, revealed little of himself and his art. "An artist paints so that he will have something to look at; at times he must write so that he will also have something to read."[130] But in a letter to the editor John Stephan he elaborated on his view about the situation in American art, stating that he failed to see any crisis in art, but if crisis there was it was the crisis of artists as men, as human beings.

A year later, in 1948 Newman wrote an essay for the third issue of *The Tiger's Eye*, entitled "The New Sense of Fate,"[131] on the consequences (psychic and cultural) of World War II and the way in which the experience was treated through art. Because of its length the original essay was not published. Instead a condensed version, "The Object and the Image,"[132] appeared in which he contended that the artist in America lacked sensibility towards the object present in European feeling and that this state provided an opportunity for the American artist to search out new objects for their images.

In the same year, in the December issue of *The Tiger's Eye*, Newman contributed "The Sublime Is Now." He sought to clarify the confusion between beauty and the sublime[133] and its transfer to the plastic arts. In response to the question "What is sublime in art?"[134] Newman wrote: "I believe that here in America, some of us, free from the weight of European culture, are finding the answer, by completely denying

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statement, which appeared in the catalogue. The published statement was much shorter and concentrated on Newman rejecting any link his paintings might have with the principles of geometry as enshrined in the art of the First World War.

[130] Barnett Newman, in "The Ides of Art: The Attitudes of Ten Artists on their Art and Contemporaneousness," *The Tiger's Eye*, December 1947, 43.

[131] The article, written in 1947-1948, intended as a contribution to the third issue (March 1948) of *The Tiger's Eye*, remained unpublished because of its length. It was reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, 164-169.

[132] Barnett Newman, "The Object and the Image," *The Tiger's Eye*, March 1948, 111.

[133] The "sublime" in the article referred to the ancient Greek aesthetic concept denoting a quality of greatness, physical, moral, intellectual, metaphysical, aesthetic, spiritual, or artistic, but distinct from the "beautiful" and the "picturesque." As such the term referred to "greatness" beyond all possibility of calculation, measurement, or imitation. (*The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Sublime.")

[134] Newman's opinion was one of six in the feature article "The Ides of Art." The other contributors were Kurt Seligmann, A.D.B. Sylvester, Nicolas Calas, John Stephan, and Robert Motherwell ("A Tour of the Sublime").

that art has any concern with the problem of beauty and where to find it."[135] Newman wondered whether, without the sublime legend or myth, it would be possible to create art that was sublime. "We are reasserting man's natural desire for the exalted, for a concern with our relationship to the absolute emotions."[136] He believed that artists were creating images "devoid of the props and crutches that evoke associations with outmoded images, both sublime and beautiful."[137] Artists were freeing themselves from the impediments of memory, association, nostalgia, legend, myth, the devices of Western European painting. "Instead of making *cathedrals* out of Christ, man, or 'life,' we are making [them] out of ourselves, out of our own feelings."[138] Newman in asserting the need to abandon impediments joined Rothko's view that to achieve clarity it was necessary to eliminate all obstacles between the painter and the idea, and between the idea and the observer. "The image we produce is the self-evident one of revelation, real and concrete, that can be understood by anyone who will look at it without the nostalgic glasses of history."[139]

Following his epiphany in Ohio in 1949, Newman wrote "Prologue for a New Aesthetic,"[140] in which he elaborated on his experience, explaining that the art of the mounds had no subjects, that it could not be seen, and that it had to be experienced there on the spot. "Suddenly one realizes that the sensation is not one of space or [of] an object in space. … The sensation is the sensation of time—and all other feelings vanish like the outside landscape."[141] This led him to distinguish between space, which was common property, and time, which was personal and an individual's private experience. The personal experience of time, "not the *sense* of time but the physical *sensation* of time,"[142] was the more relevant.

Revelatory was that for Newman the "self" was his subject matter. "The self, terrible and constant, is for me the subject matter of painting."[143]

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[135] Barnett Newman, "The Sublime is Now," *The Tiger's Eye*, December 1948, 53.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[139] Ibid.
[140] The essay, probably written in 1949, remained unpublished during his lifetime.
[141] Barnett Newman, "Ohio, 1949," reprinted in *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*, 175.
[142] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[143] Barnett Newman, quoted in *Barnett Newman*, by Harold Rosenberg (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1978), 21.

6.2.4. William Baziotes: "process and spirit"

William Baziotes viewed the creative process as the essence of his work as an artist, but rarely put his views in writing. In 1944 Sidney Janis included in *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, an explanation by Baziotes of how subject matter revealed itself to him in the course of his work. Baziotes explained there was always a subject in his mind, of which he was only sometimes aware. "I keep working on my canvas until I think it is finished. The subject matter may be revealed to me in the middle of the work, or I may not recognize it until a long time afterword."[144] In this he revealed the general approach of the Abstract Expressionists towards the content of their work, which left the viewer, in most instances, helpless when confronted with their paintings. Much later, he added in an interview that his paintings contained an emotional involvement. "The things in my paintings are intended to strike something that is an emotional involvement—that has to do with the human personality and all the mysteries of life, not simply abstract balances."[145] Emotion was a recurring notion in Baziotes's pronouncements as was "spirit."

At the end of 1947 Baziotes contributed a statement to *Possibilities*, in which he explained that he could not evolve any concrete theory about painting. He had no set system, each painting evolved along its own particular way. "As I work or when the painting is finished the subject reveals itself. As for the subject-matter [*sic*] in my painting when I am observing something that may be the theme for a painting, it is very often an incidental thing in the background, elusive and unclear, that really stirred me, rather than the thing before me."[146] He too appeared to distinguish between subject and subject matter, but did not elaborate on it. Evidently for Baziotes subject matter was not premeditated nor did it pre-empt the painting, but emerged spontaneously.

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[144] William Baziotes, statement, in *Abstract and Surrealist Art in America*, by Sidney Janis (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1944), 101.

[145] William Baziotes, quoted in "An Interview with William Baziotes," ed. Paula Franks and Marion White, *Perspective*, 1956-57, excerpt reprinted in *William Baziotes: A Retrospective Exhibition*, ed. Michael Preble (Newport Beach, California: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1978), 95.

[146] William Baziotes, "I Cannot Evolve any Concrete Theory," *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, Winter 1947/8, 2.

The whole process for Baziotes was, in his own words, totally intuitive: the beginning as much as the finish. The process dominated the exercise of creation: it integrated the inspiration, the subject, and the subject matter; the act of painting itself was the experience, which fed the process. The subject matter was often “incidental,” something that “stirred” him. “I don’t make any attempt to find subject matter. Certain images that go around me make very strong impressions on me; impressions I might not be completely aware of at first.”[147] He re-affirmed this point in 1954. “Inspiration comes to me unexpectedly, never by virtue of direct stimulation, never by sitting in a chair; it always happens in front of the easel.”[148] What happened on the canvas was unpredictable and came to him as a surprise. Although he regularly proclaimed the unpredictability of what happened on the canvas, he did not imply that it was accidental**.** As part of the process, Baziotes was clear about knowing when a painting was finished. “It is then very remote from me. It is strange to me if I see it again.”[149] At that stage the artist was an outsider, as explained by Rothko.

In his contribution to the symposium “The Creative Process” in *Art Digest* in 1954 Baziotes explained that he worked every day and kept fixed hours, worked well in the city, but even better in the country, which to him meant a small city in America with a beautiful landscape nearby. He worked on several paintings at the same time. He observed nature, but never worked from it directly. Neither music nor literature was a source of inspiration. He did not regard subject matter as a universal objective in pictorial representation, but viewed it as intimately linked to the individual artist. In 1959 in “Notes on Painting,” published in *It Is*, Baziotes stated that it was the “mysterious”[150] that attracted him in painting. “It is the stillness and the silence. I want my pictures to take effect very slowly, to obsess and to haunt.”[151] Stillness and silence, as we shall see, were equally important to some of the participants of the “Studio 35” closing seminar. He also indicated that the old masters were dear to him, and growing dearer with time. They represented his conscience.

[147] Ibid.
[148] William Baziotes, in “Symposium: The Creative Process,” *Art Digest*, January 15, 1954, 16.
[149] William Baziotes, quoted in “An Interview with William Baziotes,” 29.
[150] William Baziotes, “Notes on Painting,” *It Is*, Autumn 1959, 11.
[151] Ibid.

In 1963 Baziotes explained that in the creative process the artist, in particular his spirit, was the determining factor. The creative process was immutable, since the painter looked at nature, consciously or subconsciously, was inspired by it, and painted it as he saw it, but the quality of the work was wholly dependent on the artist. "The quality of the painting depends on the man. In other words, how great is the artist's spirit? It is the greatness of spirit in a painting that compels us to return to it, time after time. We go back again and again, not for new discoveries but for the renewal of a great *experience*."[152] He was adamant that the spirit of the artist determined the quality of the painting, but was at a loss to explain what made a painting great. The effect of a great painting on the viewer was for Baziotes as mysterious as the spirit of the artist that created the effect. He spoke of a psychic intuition. "Some mysterious force, some strange energy occurs as soon as brush touches canvas."[153]

In an undated note, Baziotes explained his insight into how the likes of Picasso, Mondrian, Miró, Braque, and others worked. It was inspiration, which enabled them to reach their objective in their pictures. "With Picasso, Mondrian, Miro, Braque, etc. … *inspiration* is the system by which they reach form—color—subject matter—everything in the picture. ... They see no short cuts—only a certain high pitch that must be reached by continually drawing at the truth within one's self."[154] He described their procedure as "life fever,"[155] which evolved from storm to calm. He believed it was a matter of courage for the artist to knock down the last walls that stood between himself and his soul, of which an imitator was not capable.

6.2.5. Robert Motherwell: "content and feeling"

Robert Motherwell was a prolific writer who expressed his views in articles and lectures. In 1944 in "Painters' Objects," he revealed the importance he attached to the process of painting through his appraisal of Jackson Pollock's work. "His principal

[152] William Baziotes, untitled text, 1963, reprinted in *William Baziotes: A Retrospective Exhibition*, 26. (Italics in the original text.)
[153] Ibid.
[154] William Baziotes, undated note, reprinted in *William Baziotes: A Retrospective Exhibition*, 28-29. (Italics in the original text.)
[155] Ibid., 28.

problem is to discover what his true *subject* is. And since painting is his thought's medium, the resolution must grow out of the process of his painting itself."[156]

In "The Modern Painter's World," published in *Dyn* in 1944, Motherwell expressed the belief that the artist's function was one of communication, a view that concurred with Rothko's. The artist's function was "to express reality as felt."[157] And by feeling he understood "the response of the 'body-and-mind' *as a whole* to the events of reality. It is the whole man who feels in artistic experience, … ."[158] Thus, for Motherwell the function of the modern artist was by definition "the felt expression of modern reality."[159] And reality had a historical character. "It is because reality has a historical character that we need new art."[160] In addition, the social context in which the artist operated was all-important. He equated the plight of the modern artist to an ideological conflict, or at least to the socio-political environment in which the artist operated. "The social condition of the modern world … has led to the isolation of the artist from the rest of society. The modern artist's social history is that of a spiritual being in a property-loving world."[161] Motherwell explained abstract art as "formalism," the modern artist's tendency to objectify his ego. "In the modern world, the way open to the objectivization of the ego is through form. This is the tendency of what we call, not quite accurately, abstract art."[162] As did Graham he identified "form" as a fundamental element of the artistic creation.

Motherwell emphasised that the aesthetician was wrong in supposing that beauty was the artist's main concern. "To express the felt nature of reality is the artist's principal concern."[163] "Feeling" the real environment and expressing that feeling represented for Motherwell the essence of the artist's function. He viewed painting as the artist's medium of thought, since painting was a medium, in which the mind could actualise

[156] Robert Motherwell, "Painters' Objects," *Partisan Review*, Winter, 1944, 93-97, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, by Robert Motherwell, ed. Stephanie Terenzio (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 27. (Italics in the original)
[157] Robert Motherwell, "The Modern Painter's World," *Dyn: The Review of Modern Art*, November 1944, 9
[158] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid., 10.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid. 11.

itself and tended to become its own content, as was the case with music, and as others making the comparison with the more accepted non-verbal expression artistic mode.

In 1946, in "Beyond the Aesthetic," published in *Design*, Motherwell was more precise about the relationship of aesthetics to the content of art. He argued that aesthetic value was not the object of art but a prerequisite. "The aesthetic is the sine qua non for art: if a work is not aesthetic, it is not art by definition."[164] The content of art was feeling. "The function of the aesthetic becomes that of a medium, a means of getting at the infinite background of feeling in order to condense it into an object of perception."[165] The artist's task was the creation of an object for sensing, whose qualities constituted its "felt content."[166] The "aesthetic" and "feeling" thus constituted the two fundamental elements of art for Motherwell.

Still in 1946, in a statement, which appeared in the exhibition catalogue of the show "Fourteen Americans"[167] at the Museum of Modern Art, Motherwell explained that although modern artists remained silent in order to avoid being misleading, their silence did not mean that they had nothing to say or did not know what they were doing. This was an insider's standpoint as much as Rothko and Gottlieb's 1943 refusal to explain their paintings. He also dismissed the idea of nationalism in modern art. "One is to know that art is not national, that to be merely an American or a French artist is to be nothing; to fail to overcome one's initial environment is never to reach the human."[168] In 1949 he stated that new experiences in art were "neither French nor American in origin, but universal among sensitive painters."[169]

A year later, in 1947, Motherwell revealed his views about the creative process by explaining his own method of working in a statement included in the catalogue for his first one-man show at Samuel Kootz. "I begin a painting with a series of mistakes. The

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[164] Robert Motherwell, "Beyond the Aesthetic," *Design*, April 1946, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 36.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] September 10 - December 8, 1946.
[168] Robert Motherwell, statement, in *Fourteen Americans*, ed. Dorothy C. Miller (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1946), 34, 36.
[169] Robert Motherwell, "Reflections on Painting Now," lecture given at a Forum 49 symposium, titled "French Art vs. U.S. Art Today," August 11, 1949, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 66.

painting comes out of the correction of mistakes by feeling. I begin with shapes and colors which are not related internally nor to the external world: I work without images. Ultimate unifications come about through modulation of the surface by innumerable trials and errors."[170] He indicated that his "pictures have layers of mistakes buried in them ... layers of consciousness, of willing."[171] The end of the process occurred when the picture itself seemed to determine the conclusion. "The final picture is the process arrested at the moment when what I was looking for flashes into view."[172] He also referred to the revelation of the elusive element, the "unknown" in the process. His mention of the "freedom of conscious notions"[173] appeared to indicate that for him too the "unconscious" was the source of creativity, in line with Graham's view. He also indicated that technique and subject matter were a function of the artist's human circumstances. "A shift in one's human situation entails a shift in one's technique and subject-matter."[174]

6.2.6. Jackson Pollock: "space, time, and feeling"

In a 1950 interview[175] Pollock presented a straightforward view about modern art: new times provided new ways and new means of expression for artists. "And the modern artists have found new ways and new means of making their statements."[176] He also indicated that subject matter lay within the artist as much as it did outside. "The thing that interests me is that today painters do not have to go to a subject matter outside of themselves. Most modern painters work from a different source. They work from within."[177] He was reiterating his thoughts of 1947 when, according to Francis O'Connor, he had already mentioned in his draft statement for *Possibilities*, that the unconscious was the source of his painting. The viewer needed to take this on board. "The unconscious is a very important side of modern art and I think the unconscious

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[170] Robert Motherwell, statement, in *Motherwell*, exhibition catalogue, Samuel Kootz Gallery, New York, 1947, n.p., reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Robert Motherwell*, 42-43.
[171] Ibid. 43.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Jackson Pollock discussed modern art and his method of painting with William Wright, an East Hampton neighbour. The interview was taped in the summer of 1950 for the Sag Harbor radio station and broadcast only once on the radio station WER1 in Westerly, Rhode Island, in 1951.
[176] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Interview with William Wright," East Hampton, summer 1950, transcript reprinted in Jackson *Pollock: A Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings and Drawings, and Other Works*, ed. Francis Valentine O'Connor and Eugene Victor Thaw (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 4: 249.
[177] Ibid., 248.

drives do mean a lot in looking at paintings."[178] His views concurred with Graham's approach to the unconscious, without being as descriptive of its mechanics.

In 1950 he was adamant about how the public should approach his work. "I think they should not look for, but look passively—and try to receive what the painting has to offer and not bring a subject matter or preconceived idea of what they are to be looking for."[179] This was perhaps another way of describing what Duchamp called the "aesthetic echo." Like other painters Pollock made the comparison with music. "I think it should be enjoyed just as music is enjoyed—after a while you may like it or you may not. … I think at least give it a chance."[180] He also explained that there were modern mechanical means—the camera and photography—to represent objects in nature and that therefore the modern artist was "working and expressing an inner world … ."[181] The modern artist was "working with space and time."[182] It was not a matter of illustrating his feelings, but expressing them on canvas.

In his 1947 statement "My Painting" in *Possibilities*, Pollock had publicly proclaimed his abandonment of the easel.[183] "My painting does not come from the easel. … On the floor I am more at ease. I feel nearer, more a part of the painting, since this way I can walk around it, work from the four sides and literally be *in* the painting."[184] He also explained his need to distance himself from the traditional painter's tools, which meant he lost direct contact with the canvas, a matter of importance for Graham. He also described his creative process, appearing to indicate that he was part of the painting while in full execution of it. "When I am *in* my painting, I'm not aware of what I'm doing. It is only after a sort of 'get acquainted' period that I see what I have been about. I have no fears about making changes, destroying the image, etc., because the painting has a life of its own. I try to let it come through."[185]

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[178] Ibid., 249.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid., 250.
[182] Ibid.
[183] He had already revealed his intention to move on from easel painting earlier in 1947 in his application for a Guggenheim Fellowship, as mentioned in Chapter 5.5. There was at the time much tension between the followers of easel painting and those of mural painting, as indicated by Clement Greenberg in his 1948 essay "The Situation at the Moment."
[184] Jackson Pollock, "My Painting," *Possibilities 1: An Occasional Review*, Winter 1947/8, 79. (Italics in the original text.)
[185] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)

Pollock described his method of working again in his 1950 interview, explaining that his creative process stemmed from a "need," as was the case with Rothko. "[M]ethod is, it seems to me, a natural growth out of a need, and from a need the modern artist has found new ways of expressing the world about him."[186] He pointed out that his tools—a liquid flowing kind of paint, brushes used as sticks—allowed him to work with fewer constraints. "… I'm able to be more free and to have greater freedom and move about the canvas, with greater ease."[187] Pollock's tools as much as the canvas, or any other support were evidently an integral part of the creative process, not merely a means to an end. He was also clear about not espousing the accidental. "I don't use the accident—[be]cause I deny the accident."[188] He also explained that he had no preconceived image of what he was going to paint, because it wasn't created yet. He confirmed working without sketches or preliminary drawings, although he did have "a general notion of what I'm about and what the results will be."[189] His painting was "direct" (just like drawing) and "direct" painting made it possible to make a statement. In the interview he confirmed his earlier view[190] that technique was just a means of arriving at a statement. Although his view concurred with that of Graham, for whom technique played only a minor part in the creation of a work of art, Pollock was ambivalent about how essential technique was. He believed craftsmanship was essential to the artist. "He needs it just as he needs brushes, pigments, and a surface to paint on."[191]

Pollock perceived space, time, and feeling as fundamentals of the art of his time. He also affirmed that he saw modern art as a product of evolution. "It didn't drop out of the blue; it's a part of a long tradition dating back with Cézanne, up through the cubists, the post-cubists, to the painting being done today."[192] In his 1950 interview Pollock qualified contemporary painting as vibrant, alive, and exciting, and indicated that it was

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[186] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Interview with William Wright," reprinted in Jackson *Pollock: A Catalogue Raisonné of Paintings and Drawings, and Other Works*, 4:250.
[187] Ibid., 251.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Ibid.
[190] In answer to a questionnaire, published in *Arts & Architecture* in 1944, Pollock had made clear that technique was essential but not over-riding.
[191] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Answers to a Questionnaire," *Arts & Architecture*, 1944, reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, by Francis V. O'Connor (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1967), 32.
[192] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Interview with William Wright," 4:250.

evolving towards wall painting. He explained he was more at ease with painting in "a big area," hence the unusual dimensions of his canvases.[193]

Pollock fully acknowledged the influence of European art, admiring especially Picasso and Miró. "I accept the fact that the important painting of the last hundred years was done in France. American painters[194] have generally missed the point of modern painting from beginning to end."[195] He believed that "good" European modern artists brought with them an understanding of the problems of modern painting, and was impressed with their concept of the unconscious being the source of art. He argued that the problems of painting were universal and therefore required universal solutions. Consequently, they could be solved in America as well as anywhere else. The idea of an isolated art was absurd. "An American is an American and his painting would naturally be qualified by that fact, whether he will it or not. But the basic problems of contemporary painting are independent of any country."[196] Native American art for Pollock was as much a source of inspiration as any other, a view shared by Rothko, Gottlieb, and Newman. "The Indians have the true painter's approach in their capacity to get hold of appropriate images, and in their understanding of what constitutes painterly subject-matter [*sic*]."[197]

In 1956 Pollock appeared to sum up his art in an interview with Selden Rodman[198]. "I'm very representational some of the time, and a little all of the time. But when you're painting out of your unconscious, figures are bound to emerge."[199]

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[193] He thought they were of an impractical size, i.e. 9 x 18 feet.

[194] The only American master of interest to Pollock was the painter Albert Pinkham Ryder (1847-1917), best known for his poetic and moody allegorical works and seascapes, as well as his eccentric personality and solitary existence. (*The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Ryder, Albert Pinkham.")

[195] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Answers to a Questionnaire," reprinted in *Jackson Pollock*, 32.

[196] Ibid., 33

[197] Ibid., 32.

[198] Selden Rodman (1909-2002) was an American writer of poetry, plays and prose, political commentary, and art criticism. Several of his books were collections of conversations he had with literary and art figures of his time, such as Frank Lloyd Wright, Jackson Pollock, Adolph Gottlieb, Mark Rothko, Franz Kline, and Willem de Kooning in *Conversations with Artists* (1957), which followed his publication on art, *The Eye of Man: Form and Content in Western Painting* (1955). Rodman interviewed Pollock eight weeks before the artist was killed in a road accident. (*The Reader's Encyclopedia of American Literature*, s.v. "Rodman, Selden.")

[199] Selden Rodman, *Conversations with Artists*, 6th repr. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), 82.

6.2.7. Willem de Kooning: "a glimpse"

Willem de Kooning said little in public before 1949, when he expressed his views, amongst others on subject matter, space, and style in "A Desperate View," a talk he delivered at the "Subjects of the Artist" School**.** Subject matter for him in the abstract was space, which the artist filled with his attitude. "The idea of space is given him to change if he can. The subject matter in the abstract is *space*. He fills it with an attitude. The attitude never comes from himself alone."[200] Although a free agent, the artist was nevertheless imposed upon by the outside world. "An artist is forced by others to paint out of his own free will. If you take the attitude that it is not possible to do something, you have to prove it by doing it."[201] De Kooning argued that art should not have to be done in a particular way, which led him to conclude that "[s]tyle is a fraud."[202] In line with this view he criticised van Doesburg and Mondrian in trying to force a style. He thought it was not possible to find out how a style came to be. "I think it is the most bourgeois idea to think one can make a style before hand [*sic*]. … I think innovators come at the end of a period."[203] His view about a group or movement appeared ambivalent. "You are with a group or movement because you cannot help it."[204]

Two years later, in 1951, de Kooning made his views public in "The Renaissance and Order," a lecture he wrote to be given at "Studio 35," published in *trans/formation*. He proclaimed that in the Renaissance the subject matter was the painting itself. "What we call subject-matter [*sic*] now, was then painting itself."[205] Subject matter emerged at a later stage, according to de Kooning. Unlike others, he believed that perspective for the competent Renaissance painter was not an "illusionary trick,"[206] since the Renaissance painter measured things subjectively, from the inside. He stated his dislike of Suprematism, Purism and Non-Objectivity, but at the same time abhorred pots and pans and genre paintings, maintaining they had no soul.

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[200] Willem de Kooning, "A Desperate View," reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Willem de Kooning*, by Willem de Kooning, ed. George Scrivani *(*Madras, New York: Hanuman Books, 1988), 13. (Italics in the original text.)

[201] Ibid., 11.

[202] Ibid., 10.

[203] Ibid., 12.

[204] Ibid., 13-14.

[205] Willem de Kooning, "The Renaissance and Order," *Trans/formation: Art, Communication, Environment; A World Review,* 1951, 85

[206] Ibid., 86.

The same year de Kooning also contributed to the symposium “What Abstract Art Means to Me” at the Museum of Modern Art on 5 February 1951. In his attempt to clarify what he viewed as the essence of abstraction, de Kooning explained that “abstraction” was originally a philosophical concept that found its way only later into painting. He explained that some people viewed it as a means to “free art from itself.”[207] This view led to the emergence of groups intent on each freeing art according to prescribed ideas. “The question as they saw it, was not so much what you *could* paint but rather what you could *not* paint. … It was then that subject matter came into existence as something you *ought not* to have.”[208] This led artists to replace things with ideas and use things—“pure plastic phenomena”[209]—to illustrate their convictions. They set out to identify the “nothing” part in a painting, which was not measurable, and turned it into something measurable and in so doing lost it, according to de Kooning. As an example he gave Kandinsky, who disapproved of “form” as it represented a narrative. Another example was the emphasis on movement to the exclusion of space by the Futurists. The ultimate case in point was the moral view of the Neo-Plasticists, who wanted to eliminate all.

De Kooning believed there was no longer a style of painting. For some painting was a way of living, a style of living. Such painters did not want to conform, but only wanted to be inspired. “There *is* no style of painting now. There are as many naturalists among the abstract painters as there are abstract painters in the so-called subject-matter [*sic*] school.”[210] He asserted that he personally did not need a movement. He preferred Cubism, which became a movement although it did not set out to be one. His preference went to the one-man movement—Marcel Duchamp. Such a movement allowed the artist to be free. He ended the contribution by stating his failure to understand the question posed by the symposium—“What Abstract Art means to Me.” He said: “If I *do* paint abstract art, that’s what abstract art means to me. I frankly do not understand the question.”[211]

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[207] Willem de Kooning, in “What Abstract Art Means to Me: Statements by Six American Artists,” *The Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, Spring 1951, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Willem de Kooning*, 41.
[208] Ibid., 45-46. (Italics in the original text.)
[209] Ibid., 48.
[210] Ibid., 58. (Italics in the original text.)
[211] Ibid., 62. (Italics in the original text.)

Seven years later, in 1958, long after his interview with Goodnough, de Kooning described art indirectly through its history and related topics. He proclaimed: "There's nothing impossible for art."[212] He believed that the history of art was separate from all history, but at the same time connected. "It meets with everything else, but it has its own constants. For instance, every period has its group of important artists, but over five or six hundred years, only a few will seem outstanding."[213] Having been nurtured on the "past" in his homeland, de Kooning did not reject it. "The idea that art can come from nowhere is typically American—… ."[214]

In 1960 de Kooning explained what he often referred to as a "glimpse," an elusive "something" that came into his vision. The glimpse appeared to be a key element of his creative process. He spoke of it as a happening, something that involved an emotion and inspired him, similar to what Baziotes described when the subject matter revealed itself while he was painting. "*Maybe I paint fast—to keep that glimpse. It's my way of doing it. ... Just a glimpse of something—and then in the end, if I have a picture, I want to give somebody else something of that glimpse*."[215] He talked about slipping into that glimpse. "*I'm like a slipping glimpser.*"[216] In this statement de Kooning appeared to indicate that the origin of his work lay in the world outside, and that it was triggered by his emotion towards the elusive "outside" element, which he then wanted to paint as frozen, a view that corresponded to Graham's notion that the artist's challenge was to arrest eternal motion.

Still later, in a 1963 BBC interview, of which excerpts were published in *Location*, de Kooning returned to his creative process, this time focusing on the difficulty in finishing a painting. "As to the painting being finished, I always have a miserable time over that. I just stop. I sometimes get rather hysterical and because of that I find sometimes a terrific picture. … I set out keeping in mind that this thing will be a flop in

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[212] Willem de Kooning, quoted in "Is Today's Artist With or Against the Past?" an interview with T[homas]. H[ess], *ARTnews*, Summer, 1958, 27.
[213] Ibid. 56.
[214] Ibid., 27.
[215] Willem de Kooning, quoted in *Sketchbook No. 1: Three Americans*, a film produced and directed by Robert Snyder, 1960, reprinted as "From a *Film Script*" in *The Collected Writings of Willem de Kooning*, 171. (Italics in the original text.)
[216] Ibid., 177 (Italics in the original text.)

all probability, and it sometimes turns out very good."[217] He also explained that his approach to colour was haphazard. Often his colours derived from a previous painting, which he illustrated through a comparison with the world of music. "Since I have no preference or so-called sense of color, I could take almost anything that could be some accident of a previous painting. Or I set out to make a series. … It is probably like a composer does a variation on a certain theme. But it isn't technical."[218] In the same interview he indicated that qualifying art "nationally" was of little if no importance to him. He had his doubts about being an "American" artist. "It's not so much that I'm an American: I'm a New Yorker."[219] He felt that "Americanism" was a burden, which was anathema to him. "If you come from a small nation, you don't have that. When I went to the Academy and I was drawing from the nude, *I* was making the drawing, not Holland. I feel sometimes an American artist must feel like a baseball player ... a member of a team writing American history ... ."[220]

In 1951 de Kooning had said he did not understand the question "What Abstract Art Means to Me." Yet in 1969 he was still answering it when discussing his creative process and the act of painting. "Painting isn't the first visual thing that reaches your retina, ... it's what is behind it. I'm not interested in 'abstracting', or taking things out, or reducing painting to design, form, line and color."[221] His own process involved adding things in order to communicate something—an emotion or an idea—to the viewer through the painting, which was self-sufficient. "I paint the way I do because I can keep putting more and more things in—like drama, pain, anger, love, a figure, a horse, my ideas of space. Through your eyes it becomes an emotion or an idea. It doesn't matter if it differs from mine, as long as it comes from the painting, which has its own integrity and intensity.[222]

[217] Willem de Kooning, "Content is a Glimpse … ," *Location*, Spring 1963, 48.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid., 46.
[220] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[221] Willem de Kooning, quoted in "Conversation with Bert Schierbeek," 1969, *Willem de Kooning*, Stedelijk Museum Catalogue no. 445, 1969, reprinted in *The Collected Writings of Willem de Kooning*, 167.
[222] Ibid.

In 1972 de Kooning affirmed that from his own standpoint, art was his life and way of living. “The main thing is that art is a way of living—it’s the way I live.”[223]

[223] Willem de Kooning, quoted in “Interview with Willem de Kooning,” by Harold Rosenberg, *ARTnews*, September 1972, 56.

"It may be expected that there will be agreement among the artists as to the source of ideas they use in painting, since their paintings are generally characterized by the elimination of recognizable objects." [1]

Robert Goodnough

CHAPTER 7 - GOODNOUGH'S HYPOTHESIS

7.1. Introduction

In 1950 Robert Goodnough submitted a dissertation on the "subject matter of the artist" for his Master of Arts degree in Research in Design at the School of Education of New York University. The subject of the research was a recurrent topic of discussion in New York art circles of the post-war 1940s. This chapter provides an analysis of Robert Goodnough's dissertation and an assessment of its relevance to understanding what Abstract Expressionist painters considered to be the subject matter of their art and the essence of their work.

The interest in and the concern about the "subject matter of the artist" were closely related to the emergence of the new way American artists, actively pushing the barriers of pictorial representation during the 1940s, were treating the canvas. The topic was used as a critical weapon against "advanced" artists. It had initially concerned Clyfford Still, Robert Motherwell, Mark Rothko, William Baziotes, and Barnett Newman, to the extent that three of them (Motherwell, Rothko, and Baziotes) joined by the sculptor David Hare, and later by Newman, set up a small cooperative school in downtown New York City in 1948, calling it "The Subjects of the Artist" School.[2]

Until the end of the 1930s, American painters—even those who were considered part of the avant-garde—mostly treated the canvas as a two-dimensional surface, which served as a support for images of a more or less figurative nature, representing objects or forms

[1] Robert Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist: Writings by Robert Goodnough, 1950-1965*, ed. Helen A. Harrison (Chicago: Soberscove Press, 2013), 28.
[2] The foundation and objectives of the school are presented in Chapter 8.1.

originating in the real world, or at the least related to reality. Gradually, during the early 1940s, for a number of "advanced" American painters the link between the image and the world of reality became more tenuous and eventually the images appeared to be no longer rooted in it, and hence hardly recognisable. In 1947 Robert Coates, as we noted in Chapter 5, felt that Pollock's work was not easily decipherable and concluded that it might lack meaning. Critics labelled the work "non-objective" art, but the new denomination did not appeal to the artists, who were more concerned with the results of their creative activity and in general were wary of denominations. The subject matter of their art, which they often found difficult to clarify and put into words, progressively became an "obsession" for them as much as for the general public.

It comes as no surprise therefore that Goodnough, who was finding his feet as a painter in New York City in the late 1940s, should wish to research the issue and seek to bring clarity to it through his degree work.

7.2. The dissertation

The dissertation, whose full title reads "Subject Matter of the Artist: An Analysis of Contemporary Subject Matter as Derived from Interviews with those Artists Referred to as the Intrasubjectivists," was submitted in 1950. The analysis of the dissertation is based on the text edited by Helen A. Harrison and published, in 2013, by Suberscove Press, Chicago. The text is a reproduction of the surviving transcript carried out by Julia Klein of Goodnough's research paper, which was made available from the Special Collections and Visual Resources Division of the Getty Research Institute Library in Los Angeles.

Helen Harrison points out that the dissertation was never acknowledged by Goodnough's contemporaries nor referred to by art historians or critics at the time nor later. April Kinglsey mentions it in *The Turning Point: The Abstract Expressionists and the Transformation of American Art*, published by Simon & Schuster in 1992, and refers to it as a "potentially invaluable document."[3]

[3] April Kinglsey, *The Turning Point: The Abstract Expressionists and the Transformation of American Art* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 405n5.

In her introduction Helen Harrison points out that Robert Motherwell omitted to mention Goodnough's work in his foreword to the publication of the doctoral thesis of William Seitz (1914-1974). Seitz's thesis *Abstract Expressionist Painting in America* for Princeton University was completed in 1955, but not published until 1983. Motherwell's omission, for whatever reason, meant "Goodnough [was] written out of the record by a principal theorist of the movement, who moreover had participated in both research projects."[4] According to Harrison, "Motherwell's failure to acknowledge Goodnough's prior contribution—narrower in scope, but no less perceptive—to the study of Abstract Expressionism is all the more baffling in that the two men were far from passing acquaintances."[5]

Goodnough's dissertation was completed much before Seitz's work, when the emblematic moment in American painting had not yet been fully recognised by the American public. Telltale is the omission of the label "Abstract Expressionist" in Goodnough's title and the body of his text. His dissertation is indeed "narrower in scope" and less detailed than Seitz's work, and focuses on the apparent absence of content in the pictorial representation of "intrasubjectivist" painters. His dissertation, however, was carried out with a view to obtaining a Master of Arts degree, whereas Seitz's research was aimed at a doctoral thesis for the award of a PhD.

7.2.1. The background

Robert Goodnough submitted his dissertation in 1950 as part of the requirements for the course in Research in Design, directed by Doctor George Ross at the School of Education of New York University. In pursuing the subject of his research, Goodnough was assisted by three members of the New York University teaching staff—Robert Iglehart, Tony Smith, and George Ross himself. The fact that Goodnough was himself an artist, primarily a painter, and therefore as concerned with the problem of subject matter in art as his contemporaries would certainly have been relevant to his choice of research topic.

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[4] Helen A. Harrison, introduction to *Subject Matter of the Artist: Writings by Robert Goodnough, 1950-1965*, 14.
[5] Ibid.

In the preface to his dissertation Goodnough made clear the need to clarify the controversy resulting from the absence of recognisable subjects, which characterised the painting produced by his contemporaries at the time. For him the question was "what … is [the artist] doing when he finds it necessary to eliminate objects which may be identified as derived from things already in existence … [?]"[6]

The answer, according to Goodnough, could only be found through the artists themselves. The novelty in Goodnough's approach consisted in his belief that what was being put on canvas could only be clarified by the artists themselves. In this respect Goodnough was fortunate—as he himself pointed out—to have interviewed artists "unusually willing to be as honest in the matter as possible and [who] talked earnestly of the problems which were of evident concern to them."[7] Goodnough was himself an artist struggling with problems similar to the ones encountered by his interviewees, which probably made them less inhibited in expressing their views. He also indicated that his interest in the matter was further motivated by the contact he had with numerous "competent" artists, who were practicing this type of painting. He explained that he interviewed only those artists, who were concerned with the "intrasubjective," and were available for interviewing. The interviews took place in New York City in the latter part of 1949.

Goodnough believed that a personal interview was the most appropriate way of obtaining a valid picture of what each artist was seeking to achieve and of the issues of concern to them and the group. Thus, Goodnough set out to interview seven artists—William Baziotes, Mark Rothko, Jackson Pollock, Robert Motherwell, Barnett Newman, Adolph Gottlieb, and Willem de Kooning—the purpose of which was "to deal with new attitudes toward subject matter as evidenced in the work of certain contemporary artists who have eliminated recognizable objects as a means for expression in painting."[8]

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[6] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 26.
[7] Ibid., 27.
[8] Ibid.

The artists, apart from Newman, were chosen because their work had been included in the 1949 Samuel Kootz exhibition "The Intrasubjectives," which took place at the Samuel M. Kootz Gallery at 600 Madison Avenue, from 14 September to 3 October. Newman's work, however, did not feature in the show. With the exception of Pollock and Rothko, the interviewees[9] also took part in the closing seminar of "Studio 35" in April 1950, which is covered in detail in Chapter 8.

The choice of interviewees was largely dictated by the wish to clarify the controversy created by the artists who were doing away with "recognizable objects and [made] little attempt to deal with space in three dimensions."[10] This approach to pictorial representation was the key motif in the 1949 Kootz exhibition. Hence, Goodnough decided to limit his choice to participants of the exhibition, except for Newman. He further limited his choice to artists only concerned with the "intrasubjective," which he defined as "that which is within the subjective mind, where perception and awareness takes place, and as a realm of experience common to all human beings. It is believed that there is here a meeting ground of common understanding."[11]

Goodnough sought to establish clarity in his dissertation by defining where necessary his use of terms. For him, "consciousness" meant critical awareness, "content" was synonymous with subject matter, and "content of consciousness" was considered synonymous with "intrasubjective."[12] "Subjective," however, was "that belonging to reality as perceived or known, as opposed to reality independent of the mind, and resulting from conditions within the brain and sense organs."[13] He used "subconscious" "as having to do with mental operations which are not present in the consciousness."[14]

"Subject matter" referred to what in a painting "causes emotional reaction in the observer."[15] He included in the term, forms which referred to existing objects and

[9] All seven artists were signatories to the open letter of protest addressed to the President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in May 1950, who featured in the *Life* magazine photograph and became known as "The Irascible Eighteen." The protest, as noted in Chapter 5, was an initiative of Adolph Gottlieb.
[10] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 27.
[11] Ibid., 29.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.

forms derived from the subconscious. "Objects" were "things existing outside the sense organs but to which the sense organs may react."[16] A "form" was "any discernable shape which may, or may not, have associative meaning or be recognizable."[17] "Symbol" was "that which suggests something else by reason of relationship."[18]

Goodnough did not equate abstract art with "intrasubjective" art. He defined "abstract art" as "works in which the forms are abstracted, or selected, from objects already in existence, and the term should not refer to works not having reference to existing objects."[19] This definition implied a link, however frail, with the real world, even if the link was no longer visible or recognisable. For the purpose of the dissertation, he used the term "abstract" in "its general acceptance in identifying pictures containing forms not recognizable or nearly indiscernible."[20]

"Non-objective" art for Goodnough consisted of "works containing no object."[21] According to him non-objective "usually does not take subject matter into account."[22] He indicated that "painting material" was sometimes used as "ideas to deal with in painting."[23] He applied "automatic" to "actions performed without conscious or willed directions, as related to painting."[24] An "automatic image" was therefore "an image or form which develops without conscious direction."[25]

Goodnough accepted "art" as "meaning those creations of men which arouse emotions pertaining to the beautiful, especially as distinguished from the useful."[26] Revelatory is the fact that he never used, let alone sought to define, the terms "Abstract Expressionism" or "Abstract Expressionist."

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[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 28.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 29.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., 28.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.

7.2.2. The "intrasubjective" in pictorial art

The term "intrasubjective" first appeared in an article by the Spanish philosopher and essayist José Ortega y Gasset[27], whose thinking was influenced by the American philosopher William James (1842-1910) and the German phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), published in the August 1949 issue of *Partisan Review*. In the article, "On the Point of View of the Arts," which Goodnough relied on to clarify the problem of "subject matter of the artist," Ortega y Gasset traced the history of the object in painting. In his analysis Ortega y Gasset made a distinction between proximate and distant vision in the perception of objects. He described the shift of the painter's point of view from proximate to distant vision, whereby the painting of bulk, which was initiated by Giotto (ca.1266-1337), turned into the "painting of hollow space."[28] For Ortega y Gasset, "the journey of the pictorial gaze is a retrogression from the distant—although close by—toward what is contiguous to the eye."[29] As a result, "the evolution of Western painting would consist in a retraction from the object toward the subject, the painter."[30]

Ortega y Gasset retraced this evolution from the *Quattrocento*, when objects appeared solid and the picture planes were distinguished by geometrical perspective. All the component parts of the picture were painted from close up and the picture included as many points of view as there were objects. "The canvas is not painted as a unity, but as a plurality. No part is related to any other; … ."[31]

In the Renaissance, he claimed close-up vision apprehended each object in itself and separated it from the rest. The Renaissance painter introduced "the geometrical idea of unity."[32] The Venetians, in particular Tintoretto (1518-1594) and El Greco (1541-

[27] As a social theorist, cultural and aesthetic critic, educator, politician and editor of the influential journal, *Revista de Occidente*, José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) covered a broad range of themes and issues in his writings. (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philososphy, s.v. "Ortega y Gasset, José," https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/gasset/ [last accessed May 1, 2019].)
[28] José Ortega y Gasset, "On the Point of View of the Arts," trans. Paul Snodgress and Joseph Frank, *Partisan Review*, August 1949, 826.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 827.
[32] Ibid.

1614), provided a stage of "transition," as they still painted in bulk but were aware of the challenge of painting in hollow space.

A radical breakthrough came with the *chiaroscuro*, when light became the principle of unity in the composition. This principle of unity was no longer abstract. "The painter must now see his entire work as immersed in the ample element of light."[33] At this stage, according to Ortega y Gasset, the role of the object was reduced to that of support and background to light. The painter no longer fixed his attention upon the object as such but upon its surface, which reflected the light. This stage signified a retraction of vision, when objects were no longer of primary importance "and begin to be only a pretext for something else."[34] Ortega y Gasset observed that at this point the painting of bulk was definitively transformed into the painting of hollow space.

The painting of hollow space denoted a key innovation in pictorial representation, but according to Ortega y Gasset it was not until the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists that a new phase was reached, whereby "[i]nstead of painting objects as they are seen, one paints the experience of seeing."[35] At this juncture, according to Ortega y Gasset, art "begins to concern itself with the activity of the subject."[36] From there, "the point of view crosses the last frontier and penetrates into vision itself, into the subject himself."[37] This represented a further stage in the process of internalising painting, which led to the representation of ideas. Ideas, just as sensations, were realities, which were present in the individual. They were "subjective realities that contain virtual objects, a whole specific world of a new sort, distinct from the world revealed by the eye, and which emerges miraculously from the psychic depths."[38] Thus, the objects in a Cézanne painting were non-existent volumes, which originated in the painter's psyche. They were an invention of the painter and were only metaphorically linked to the world of reality.

For Ortega y Gasset, Cézanne's painting signified a genuine break with the past. "After Cézanne, painting only paints ideas—which, certainly, are also objects, but ideal

[33] Ibid., 829.
[34] Ibid., 830.
[35] Ibid., 832.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., 833.
[38] Ibid.

objects, immanent to the subject or intrasubjective."[39] He summed up the evolution in painting as follows: "First things are painted; then, sensations; finally, ideas. This means that in the beginning the artist's attention was fixed on external reality; then on the subjective; finally, on the intrasubjective."[40]

In his summary of Ortega y Gasset's analysis Goodnough noted that there was a tendency towards inward exploration and that the "artist now often attempts to create paintings which are self-existent, without associations, value or illusion, without relation to the walls on which they might hang, as free as billboards."[41] He indicated that writers were "often concerned with subjective processes and with the 'stream of consciousness.'"[42]

In addition to Ortega y Gasset's article, Goodnough also referred to the problems encountered by contemporary American painters, as sketched out by Clement Greenberg in his 1947 essay "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture," and noted that Gottlieb in his interview upheld Greenberg's analysis. He related that Greenberg and Gottlieb explained that little work had been available from Europe when the new painting started in America. The artists had no access to what was happening across the Atlantic and were unhappy with the distinctive American subject matter in American painting. As a result artists turned inwards for new developments. In so doing they did not discard subject matter, as they were convinced art depended on it and that "the source of the subject was important, and, since landscape and figure painting was no longer interesting or meaningful for contemporary expression, they … [turned] to the subconscious mind."[43] These artists also believed in the "universal" as opposed to the "nationalistic."

7.2.3. "The Intrasubjectives" exhibition

Ortega y Gasset's analysis and conclusion provided the theoretical support for post-Cézanne painting, which Samuel Kootz adopted as the starting point for his show "The

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 834.
[41] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 31.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.

Intrasubjectives." The exhibition opened a month after the publication of Ortega y Gasset's article, featuring works by Baziotes, de Kooning, Gorky, Gottlieb, Graves, Hofmann, Motherwell, Pollock, Reinhardt, Rothko, Tobey, and Tomlin.

As noted in Chapter 3, Samuel Kootz was no newcomer on the American art scene of the late 1940s. He was an art collector and dealer, with a special interest in the works of contemporary American art and artists. In the 1930s he had already advocated that American artists should become independent of European art. Following the publication of *Modern American Painters* in 1930, Kootz organised his first exhibition "Twenty Modern American Pictures" in March 1931. In his second publication, *New Frontiers in American Painting*, in 1943, Kootz presented a historical analysis and critique of contemporary American art. He expanded on ideas, he had previously presented in a letter addressed to the *New York Times* on 10 August 1941, in which he had exhorted American artists to experiment and innovate, to free themselves from their dependence on Paris as well as from their home grown nationalistic art. He had anticipated that "the future of painting lies in America."[44] The letter caused a furore, as much for its content as the timing—on the eve of American participation in World War II.

As part of the introduction to the exhibition, Kootz clarified his views about what the art of the selected artists represented for him. "The intrasubjective artist invents from personal experience, creates from an internal world rather than an external one. … he deals instead, with inward emotions and experiences. Dramatically personal, each painting contains part of the artist's self, this revelation of himself in paint being a conscious revolt from our puritan heritage. This attitude has also led him to abandon the curious custom of painting within the current knowledge of the spectator, attempting instead, through self-experience, to enlarge the spectator's horizon."[45] Thus, the "intrasubjective" painter no longer relied on the outside world, but drew his creation solely from within himself. His work was therefore unusually personal and self-revelatory and provided little if anything by way of recognisable indices to the

[44] Samuel M. Kootz, in "The Problem of Seeing," by Edward Alden Jewell, *New York Times*, August 10, 1941, reprinted in *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art. Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, by Serge Guilbaut, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 65.

[45] Samuel M. Kootz, "The Intrasubjectives," exhibition catalogue, Samuel M. Kootz Gallery, 600 Madison Avenue, New York 22, September 14 - October 3, 1949, n.p.

spectator. As a result, the "intrasubjective" painter required spectators to reach beyond their own experience in order to comprehend the painter's self-revelation on canvas.

For Kootz "intrasubjectivism" was a point of view in painting, rather than a painting style. This was reflected by the variety in representation in the works of the artists exhibited, who according to Kootz "have been among the first to paint within this new realm of ideas."[46] By way of individualism and variety Kootz mentioned "the lyricism of Pollock, the sensitive calligraphy of Tobey and Graves, the poetry of Baziotes (quiet and understated, as opposed to the optimism and fury of Hofmann), Motherwell's felt images, Gottlieb's inventive recall of ancient and modern myth, de Kooning's love of paint; … ."[47]

In addition to Kootz's clarification, the catalogue also included a contribution by Harold Rosenberg, in which he asserted that the modern painter was not inspired by anything visible, "but only by something he hasn't yet seen."[48] In other words, Rosenberg joined Ortega y Gasset in his analysis of what the painter put on canvas, but broached it from the angle of space rather than that of the volume or bulk of the object. He contended that the modern painter began with nothingness. "That is the only thing he copies. The rest he invents. The nothing the painter begins with is known as Space. Space is simple: it is merely the canvas before it has been painted."[49] But for Rosenberg "space" was also complex. "Space is very complex: it is nothing wrapped around every object in the world, soothing or strangling it. It is the growing darkness in a coil of trees or the trunk of an elephant held at eye level. It is the mental habit of a man with a ruler or a ball of string—or of one who suspects to see something delightful crop up out of nowhere. Everyone knows it is the way things keep getting larger and smaller. All this is space or nothingness, and that is what the modern painter begins by copying."[50]

As for the spectator, Rosenberg believed that "when the spectator recognizes the nothingness copied by the modern painter, the latter's work becomes just as intelligible

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Harold Rosenberg, "The Intrasubjectives," n.p.
[49] Ibid. (Capitalisation in the original text.)
[50] Ibid.

as the earlier painting."[51] In line with Kootz, Rosenberg believed that the viewer must make the effort to enter the world revealed by the painter on canvas, however unintelligible it may appear initially.

7.3. Goodnough's "hypothesis"

Goodnough adopted the Samuel Kootz exhibition as supporting structure for his dissertation, by using it as the "field" from which to select his interviewees. The field consisted of the "intrasubjective" artists shown in the exhibition. They included (together with their works)[52]: William Baziotes (*Sleepwalker*), Willem de Kooning (*The Attic*), Arshile Gorky (*Hugging*), Adolph Gottlieb (*Pictograph*), Morris Graves (*Joyous Young Pine*), Hans Hofmann (*The Red Table*), Robert Motherwell (*The Voyage*), Jackson Pollock (*Untitled*), Ad Reinhardt (*Number II*), Mark Rothko (*Untitled*), Mark Tobey (*Geography of Fantasy*), and Bradley Walker Tomlin (*Death Cry*). Goodnough interviewed six of the twelve artists: Baziotes, Rothko, Pollock, Motherwell, Gottlieb, and de Kooning. Gorky had died in 1948 and was therefore not available. For reasons he did not explain, he did not select Graves, Hofmann, Reinhardt, Tobey, and Tomlin. We can only surmise as to why he left these artists out of his selection. Perhaps they were not amenable to be interviewed, or not available, or Goodnough may have run out of time. There may, of course, have been considerations of an aesthetic nature or of artistic vision. He did, however, interview Newman, who was not part of the Kootz show.

Goodnough believed that insight into the problem of subject matter could only be achieved through personal interviews with the artists concerned. In that respect he went beyond the approach of Kootz and Rosenberg. Motivated by their chosen roles as intermediaries (gallery owner, art theoretician) between the artist and the viewer they felt able to explain the subject matter of the "intrasubjective" painters. Goodnough, on the other hand, believed that only the "intrasubjective" artist himself could clarify "intrasubjective" art.

[51] Ibid.
[52] In the order of their appearance in the fold-up exhibition catalogue.

He explained that "[t]here does not seem to be a clear understanding of what is involved in approaching painting with no reference to existing objects."[53] This justified the need to ask these artists "why existing objects were not referred to as painting material, and … to clarify their ideas about subject matter in painting and the source of this subject matter."[54] This question, which Goodnough put to the artists, underpinned his hypothesis. "It may be expected that there will be agreement among the artists as to the source of ideas they use in painting, since their paintings are generally characterized by the elimination of recognizable objects. While there is similarity in approach to painting within the group, the work of the individual artists differs widely, and they may also stress the importance of variation in painting to personalities."[55]

The "hypothesis" may be viewed as the logical follow-up to Goodnough's contention that "[t]he artist now often attempts to create paintings which are self-existent, without associations, value or illusion, without relation even to the walls on which they might hang, as free billboards."[56] Goodnough equated the "tendency toward inward exploration"[57] of painters with writers' concern with the "stream of consciousness."

In addition to Ortega y Gasset's article, Goodnough referred to Clement Greenberg's 1947 essay "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture." As we noted in Chapter 4, Greenberg provided an analysis of the problems with which contemporary American artists were confronted at the time. One such problem was the dependence of the American artist on European art and the School of Paris, in particular. At the time Greenberg thought that Jackson Pollock was the only American painter who had the promise in him to become a major artist.

In 1947 Greenberg believed that the future of American art lay downtown, below 34th Street. For him "the fate of American art [was] being decided—by young people, few of them over forty, who live in cold-water flats and exist from hand to mouth. Now they all paint in the abstract vein, show rarely on 57th Street, and have no reputations that extend beyond a small circle of fanatics, art-fixated misfits who are isolated in the

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[53] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 42.
[54] Ibid., 41.
[55] Ibid., 28.
[56] Ibid., 31.
[57] Ibid., 30.

United States as if they were living in Paleolithic Europe."[58] The "commonality" of these artists, according to Greenberg, lay in the fact that they had all had contact with Hofmann and his ideas—either directly as students or by frequenting his students. These were the artists, amongst them Robert Goodnough, that Greenberg and the art historian Meyer Schapiro, would seek out to furnish Kootz's show "Talent 1950" in the spring of 1950.

Goodnough pointed out that José Ortega y Gasset had anticipated the need for the study of the subject matter of the artist in twentieth-century art, but had not clarified the scope of the "intrasubjective." For Goodnough it was important to find out how the artists dealt with the problem. "There does not seem to be a clear understanding of what is involved in approaching painting with no clear reference to existing objects."[59] Goodnough felt that clarifying the matter would avoid confusion on the part of art teachers when dealing with the significance of "intrasubjective" painting, and would benefit teachers and students alike. His primary concern did not appear to reside with the general public or the individual viewer.

7.4. The interviews

Goodnough interviewed the "chosen" artists in New York City during the latter part of 1949. The interviews, which provided the primary source material for his dissertation, focused on matters related to the attitude of the artists towards their work or that of their peers in the group. In the case of Jackson Pollock Goodnough's analysis did not result from an "interview" but "[f]rom conversations with the artist."[60]

The principle question put to the interviewees concerned the reason for not referring to existing objects as "painting material," a term Goodnough used in a wide sense, sometimes referring to ideas dealt with in painting. In addition the artists were asked to explain their ideas about subject matter and its source. As we have seen in Chapter 6,

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[58] Clement Greenberg, "The Present Prospects of American Painting and Sculpture," *Horizon,* October 1947, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism; Volume 2: Arrogant Purpose 1945-1949*, 169.
[59] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 42.
[60] Ibid., 48.

the seven interviewees had by 1949 already to a large extent conceived of their artistic vision and in varying degrees made their views public. The analysis of the interviews should enable us to ascertain whether they held on to these views and if so to what extent.

7.4.1. William Baziotes[61]

In the reported interview Goodnough explained that Baziotes sought to awaken a response through his paintings "which is outside the prosaic or banal experience of daily life."[62] Baziotes explained how his painting gradually evolved from landscapes and figures to abstraction, whereby direct contact with the subject matter ceased. He sought to create more imaginative effects and thus came to eliminate all reference to objects. The painter had encountered a difficult period in his work, when he was unable to complete a canvas, despite working on one for a whole year. This state of affairs led to a change in his work. Painting for him became a continuous fight. As a result Baziotes started working without sketches or any other preparation. He put his impressions directly on to the canvas, which began "to speak to him."[63] In this process the canvas took on a life of its own and the shapes on the canvas as images took on their own meanings.

Baziotes was related to the group of non-representational painters, but for him this group did not constitute a school of painting, since the group did not have a leading painter and followers. He emphasised the importance of the individuality of the painters of the group; hence its wide diversity.

Baziotes did not think that reference to existing objects was particularly helpful in contemporary painting. He believed contemporary painters were not concerned with existing objects but with subjective feelings. This situation was coherent with the "logical" development of painting. For Baziotes there appeared to be no break with tradition, "only the logical development of painting, which is keeping with times."[64]

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[61] We have presented the artists in the order of the interviews as they appear in the text edited by Helen Harrison.
[62] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 43.
[63] William Baziotes, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 43.
[64] Ibid., 44.

The interview led Goodnough to conclude that for Baziotes the elimination of objects, which was in line with tradition, did not eliminate content, but provided a better insight into its substance. He also noted that Baziotes waited for the canvas to "'speak' to him,"[65] which he interpreted as the artist allowing the "subconscious" to determine the subject. For Baziotes, according to Goodnough, the present tendency was part of the gradual evolution towards abstraction or what he called "a broader view of content."[66]

7.4.2. Mark Rothko

In the reported interview, there was mention of Rothko's late start—at the age of twenty-four—as an artist. Rothko only became interested in painting after frequenting a sculptor friend. He explained he was not in the beginning as moved by painting as he was by music. However, according to Goodnough, he felt "that something akin to the emotional intensity of great music might be achieved in painting."[67] This led him to study painting with Max Weber for two months.[68] The figures he painted became increasingly distorted and eventually were eliminated from his canvases. He subsequently became interested in symbols and myths, which appeared on his canvases as forms interlinked by dark lines.

Rothko sought clarity of idea as exemplified by Mozart in his compositions, where nostalgia and past experience were not present. Rothko's objective thus became the search for "complete clarity of idea, in which there is no doubt as to intention."[69] All factors, which interfered with the experience at hand (Rothko called this "newness" of experience) should be eliminated, including anything "which might deal with association or remind one of previous attachments."[70] Rothko thus moved on to a field of experience devoid of nostalgia and the past. Space was not relevant to Rothko,

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[65] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 44.
[66] Ibid., 44.
[67] Ibid., 45.
[68] This is one month shorter than the time-span mentioned in Mark Rothko's "Brief Autobiography, ca.1945," reprinted in *Writings on Art: Mark Rothko*, 42. (See Chapter 5.2.)
[69] Ibid., 45-46.
[70] Ibid., 45.

except as a way in which he could achieve a "more comprehensive content."[71] He sought to eliminate any reference to an illusion of space.

Goodnough drew attention to a number of relevant points in the interview. For Rothko content was of interest, but did not depend on the presence of objects. Clarity of idea and emotional impact were linked to content not association—nostalgic or other—and content was essential for a painting to have emotional impact, which should not depend on association. He left behind "all familiar ground, to face the wilderness of ideas … ."[72] Rothko also realised that giving way to a longing for "a place of security"[73] could only stand in the way of a transcendental experience. Goodnough also noted that Rothko did not consider himself an abstract painter.

In his analysis of the interview Goodnough pointed out that Rothko was interested in content, but did not consider the content of the painting dependent on the presence of objects. Clarity of idea and emotional impact made content essential and association unnecessary. For Rothko the image should present itself as a totality and a new experience, which is why he sought to eliminate any distracting awareness of paint. Rothko wanted the work of art to have an immediate impact; he wanted it to "hit one in the belly."[74] According to Goodnough, structure was not an objective for Rothko. It was part of the picture; it made the picture possible.

Goodnough also noted that Rothko wished the viewer to be totally involved, excluding everything else. He noted: "His painting exists."[75] Goodnough concluded that for Rothko the reality of a painting did not depend on forms that referred to the real world. The absence of objects did not exclude reality, but presented a different way of viewing reality.

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[71] Ibid., 46.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Mark Rothko, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 47.
[75] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist,* 47.

7.4.3. Jackson Pollock

Goodnough's report of the "conversations" with Pollock was much shorter than the two previous ones. During the conversations there was mention of Pollock painting in a barn; living in the village (The) Springs on Long Island; being a native of Wyoming; and studying with Thomas Benton. Pollock discarded the influence of Benton and subsequently "went through periods of intense struggle with his canvases."[76] His ideas changed gradually leading to the elimination of recognisable objects. Pollock indicated that his earlier work had the feeling of the "Inferno."[77] Hence, his suggestive titles "Lucifer" and "The She-Wolf." He pointed out that he depended on "forces and tensions produced through the use of paint; the physical energy of the painting process itself becoming of great importance."[78]

Pollock needed to "get into the painting"[79] and did so by laying the canvas on the floor and pouring paint directly from cans on to the surface, which was not stretched nor sized. After starting the painting, he put it up against the wall in order to get "acquainted with it."[80] In the course of the "conversations" Pollock stressed the need for the artist to remain free in the choice of his materials and their use. It was important for the artist to find his own way of using paint or any other material. Goodnough noted that Pollock did not believe it necessary "for the painter to verbalize much about his work."[81] The artist's painting was what was relevant, not what he said about it.

Goodnough concluded from the "conversations" that Pollock was directed to the subject by forces and tensions and by the physical act of painting, and that he became acquainted with the canvas by setting it up and then becoming aware of the subject. It was the subject that directed his painting to completion.

[76] Ibid., 48.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Jackson Pollock, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 48.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 49.

7.4.4. Robert Motherwell

In the interview Motherwell contended that painting came from looking at other paintings rather than at nature. Goodnough noted that for Motherwell painting was "a transformation of the desire to paint human beings, the desire of painters to produce independent objects … ."[82] This desire often forced "a change in attitude toward the figure as material for painting."[83] Motherwell explained that he acquired his understanding of the nature of painting by copying old masters. He claimed not to have a problem of representation. Goodnough noted that "[h]is painting came from the imagination and memory."[84] However, if in order to put his ideas on canvas he needed to use forms, which suggested recognisable objects or symbols, he would resort to their use. For Motherwell, whether a form was recognisable or not was not important.

According to Goodnough, Motherwell explained that if he had difficulty when painting he could withdraw "without becoming emotionally upset."[85] This attitude set him apart from the three previous interviewees. His interest lay with the urban environment rather than nature. According to Motherwell, the city provided better insight into man than nature did. He explained that a certain feeling of flatness was characteristic of his work.

Motherwell believed that painters in America had not yet reached the stature of the older artists in Europe. He thought some of the younger painters in America were promising. Goodnough noted that Motherwell believed that American painters were not afraid "to paint as they feel."[86] They were independent, but recognised the importance of European art. They sought their own identity.

Motherwell stressed the individualism of American painters, who may at times form a group for a particular purpose. However, when the purpose was fulfilled the group ceased to exist. Individuality was important. Motherwell believed American painters had a common understanding of the relational structure of painting. They rejected a

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[82] Ibid.,50.
[83] Robert Motherwell, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 50.
[84] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 50.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 51.

"carpenter construction"[87]—a three-dimensional construction. For Motherwell structure was an integral part of the idea, of which it was inseparable. He explained that their work sometimes became "a lyrical cry, a shriek, at times a form of humor, but there is no concern with outside incidents or events."[88] He was adamant that there was "no intention to manufacture what people want."[89]

The "intrasubjectivists" were not concerned with extraneous matters—Motherwell, according to Goodnough, referred to them as a group of fanatics. Despite their financial difficulties, they continued to be absorbed in their work. It was the fanatical attitude towards an idea that enabled the painter to succeed. The painter should make no concessions to the public. Motherwell referred to the intelligence of the "intrasubjective" painters, who were able to explain what they were doing, orally and in writing.

From the interview Goodnough concluded that for Motherwell imagination and memory were key factors, and that recognisable objects did not determine subject matter, but might contribute to making the subject more evident. For Motherwell subject matter originated from the imagination and the subconscious, and therefore drawing from nature was no longer relevant. In this, Motherwell was expressing a similar view to Baziotes. Furthermore, he believed the development of painting should not be determined by the presence or absence of recognisable forms.

7.4.5. Barnett Newman

In the interview[90] Newman emphasised the artist's status as self-imposed exile. "As I, as artist, am separate from the world, so a picture is separate from the world of things."[91] Painting and creating an object of art were part of the same process, according to him. Unlike the composer, the painter was not a "maker of diagrams."[92] Shakespeare, as an actor, was able to produce words, knowing what they would sound

[87] Motherwell, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 51
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Helen Harrison indicates that a page might have been missing in the manuscript or that the page numbering was incorrect for Newman's interview.
[91] Barnett Newman, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 53.
[92] Ibid.

like when "acted." For Newman, however, according to Goodnough, the painter had "to make an instrument and play it at the same time."[93] Thus, the act of painting and the creation of the work of art were part of the same process.

Newman's painting had evolved to a simplification of the means of expression, using one flat colour with a line down the middle. Goodnough reported that Newman explained that painting should go beyond improvisation, and for him, an "automatic image" often became improvisation. As the picture was separate from the world of reality, painting was not concerned with things in the real world. Newman's subject matter did not come from visible objects or specific events. These objects and events were eliminated in the process of creating and playing an instrument. What was important was the artist struggling with the canvas. This struggle did not require the intervention of a third element or the representation of objects. In expressing this view, Newman was putting himself in line with Baziotes, Pollock and Rothko.

From the interview Goodnough drew the conclusion that Newman did "not believe in automatic painting in which the process becomes a matter of improvisation."[94] According to him, Newman appeared to imply that painting was not concerned with things as they exist. For Newman it was the artist's struggle with his canvas that mattered, and this struggle did not require the intervention of a third element or objects.

7.4.6. Adolph Gottlieb

The interview with Gottlieb was the longest and most detailed of the seven interviews. Goodnough, however, provided no "Analysis" as he did for the other six.

Goodnough reported that Gottlieb explained how he evolved from painting from the model to working from imagination and memory. Following a period of imaginative painting he went back to the model, handling it more interestingly. Finally, he deliberately broke with the reference to model and nature in order "to satisfy an

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[93] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 53.
[94] Ibid., 54.

unconscious need."[95] In the process he discovered that he was using images that came from a subconscious source and that their use was inevitable.

When young, Gottlieb had felt confident about being an artist. Now—he was forty-six years old at the time of the interview—he would like to make something, which he was not sure would qualify as art. He explained that if as a painter one relinquished tradition, it was necessary to develop "a new kind of assurance which depends on your own capacities."[96]

Gottlieb described how he started with an idea for a painting, which in the process of painting might be modified but not discarded. He worked from sketches, which he sought to forget while painting. He mentioned the effect of surprising himself. He encountered periods of difficulty, which were then often followed by major progress, which, according to Goodnough, he described as "a 'jump' ahead."[97] Gottlieb mentioned that he felt his work was influenced by Assyrian art.

Gottlieb explained his views about American art. He viewed painters of the American Scene (Wood, Curry, Benton) as inferior. He believed that one should react against bad art, but that an artist should not disqualify good art, although he might try to evade its influence. According to Gottlieb, social painters—such as William Gropper, Philip Evergood (1901-1973), Ben Shahn, and Robert Gwathmey (1903-1988)—introduced social ideas, in other words a "scenic subject with a social slant."[98] Marin, Hartley and Weber, according to Gottlieb, accepted "the whole conception of modern painting, but never becoming free enough."[99] Goodnough noted that Gottlieb felt that American painters were affected by European domination, which meant that American artists either copied or tried to disqualify European art. This resulted in "reactionary" art in America as well as American prejudice against American art. When European art was no longer readily available during World War II, there was "a definite attempt at a new universal painting depending on the merit of individual artists."[100]

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[95] Ibid, 55.
[96] Adolph Gottlieb, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 55.
[97] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 56.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.

Gottlieb referred to the emergence of the American Abstract Artists as a small group of active painters, who were influenced by Mondrian and produced non-objective work. He felt that to follow the non-objective trend was a mistake. He believed that association—related to inward experience as well as experience outside of human beings—was part of all painting and was important. Gottlieb rejected the non-objective point of view in his own work, as did Pollock (in his early paintings) and Rothko, according to Gottlieb.

He explained how he used "free association"[101]—by putting down circles—as a way of reaching his subconscious and allowing these circles to suggest other things, which then became his subject matter. He considered the subject matter resulting from this process as very important.

Goodnough reported that Gottlieb explained the process whereby a new subject matter was coming into being through free association and automatism, used as a "direct way of 'tapping' the unconscious for new ideas."[102] It was a way of going to an "inner nature,"[103] which was not necessarily visual. The fact that symbols, which resembled primitive art, appeared in modern art implied that they were not dependent on the conscious mind.

For Gottlieb, painting had an autonomous development, which in turn might determine what the artist did. By way of example, he explained that Impressionism was determined not only by a change of technique but also by a change of subject matter. In the case of Cubism, the subject returned to the studio. He explained that the appearance of the same symbols in various places after long intervals pointed towards a relationship independent of the conscious mind. The Surrealists had not been very successful in trying to deal with unconscious symbolism. Surrealism had given subject matter a "new twist."[104] According to Goodnough, Gottlieb did not view the work of the "intrasubjective" painters as an elimination of the subject, but simply a new way of dealing with it. For him none of the "intrasubjective" painters valued the object as such, nor did they try to imitate the subject matter of the French. He felt they were

[101] Gottlieb, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 55.
[102] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 55.
[103] Gottlieb, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 58.
[104] Ibid.

inward looking instead of adopting an outward approach. He stressed the individuality of the artist. Since the artist was unique (no one like himself ever existed before), he must assert himself, which implied an element of violence. Goodnough noted that Gottlieb underlined the lack of focal point as one characteristic of the "intrasubjective" group. Their interest was "distributed throughout the surface of the canvas."[105]

Gottlieb explained that for him painting was more than colours and shapes on canvas. Colour, form, and subject constituted an integral part of the picture and these elements could therefore not be separated.

For Gottlieb, American artists were exploring new ideas and had found new frontiers. In this respect they were doing what French artists had done in the past, but were no longer doing. According to him, the artist who broke away from academia found it necessary to constantly "discard." It was a matter of "throwing away excess baggage."[106] He pointed out the difficulty of being an explorer. His parting shot in the interview was: "If one chooses to be an explorer, he should not complain if he has to eat K rations [*sic*]."[107]

Goodnough drew no conclusions from his interview with Gottlieb. Had he done so, he might have pointed out, amongst others, the painter's reliance on the subconscious for his subject matter, tapping the unconscious for new ideas, the fact that he sometimes encountered difficulty during the painting process, that he believed there was prejudice in America against American art, and that to follow the non-objective trend had been a mistake.

7.4.7. Willem de Kooning

In the interview de Kooning made clear that the presence or absence of recognisable objects was not important. He revealed his admiration for the work of old masters, such as Velasquez, Michelangelo, and included amongst them Cézanne, who in his view handled their subjects so as to present a new experience, although many thought that

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[105] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 59.
[106] Gottlieb, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 58.
[107] Ibid., 59.

they merely handled recognisable subjects professionally. He explained that a sky in a landscape by Corot was actually an experience belonging typically to Corot.

Paintings for de Kooning were "independent and self-sufficient,"[108] and must exist independently. Goodnough reported that de Kooning did not paint from a social responsibility position but tried to "express those values most meaningful to himself and to satisfy himself only."[109] Hence, he was not concerned with the reaction to his paintings. For him the artist today was in a fortunate position as there was no one to limit his freedom. De Kooning believed the artist should not be asked to conform. What would he conform to? He noted the biographical aspect of current painting as well as the fact that the time of great innovators had passed. He did not view himself as an innovator and pointed out that innovation today was not valid. His parting shot was: "This is the end of a period of painting, but within this period are the beginnings of a new one."[110]

Goodnough deduced from the interview that de Kooning's view that presence or absence of recognisable objects was not important might imply that objects or representation might not be a primary concern of the subject matter. Goodnough's "Analysis" appeared unclear and, according to Helen Harrison, may have been incomplete in the manuscript.

7.5. Conclusions

7.5.1. The views of the artists

On the basis of the interviews, Goodnough identified a number of relevant points revealed by the interviewees with respect to the core issue, the problem of subject matter in painting, and the ancillary matter of the development of the arts. In his "Summary" Goodnough highlighted four key points.

[108] Willem de Kooning, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 61.
[109] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 61.
[110] de Kooning, quoted in *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 61.

First, the validity of a painting was not determined by the presence or absence of recognisable forms or objects. “The presence or absence of recognizable forms in painting is irrelevant to its validity.”[111] Second, the interviewees indicated that, notwithstanding the break with the real and symbolic world, the means of expression in art were not confined in any way. “While these artists deal with forms that do not come from existing objects, or work with subjective symbols that may suggest objects, they at the same time believe that art is not limited to any one means of expression.”[112] Third, the interviewees felt that the source of current painting was different to the past. “They feel that today … the most valid painting comes from a different source than painting of the past.”[113] And fourth, the subconscious provided a new wide-ranging source for art. “By turning to the subconscious a vast, new field is opened up in which exploration is possible, and, …, the discovery of a new source from which to derive subject will add life blood to art.”[114]

There was “commonality” of the interviewees’ views on four aspects of the core issue. They appeared to agree that the search for a new subject matter had led them to reject the past as a source of painting; as a result their paintings no longer contained recognisable forms and the presence of such forms was no longer relevant to the validity of their paintings; their means of expression were in no way limited; and the subconscious constituted a new source of “inspiration.”

In addition, the interviewees highlighted the relevance of individuality, the personalities of the painters determining the number of subjects. They stressed the universal, rather than nationalistic, character of subject matter. They were of the view that there was a shift away from Paris to America in terms of art interest and believed this shift was linked to the awareness of new sources of painting material on the part of American artists. Some, but not all, of the interviewees rejected all associational experience, in particular where symbols originating in the subconscious may become associated with existing objects.

[111] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist*, 63.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

The interviewees did not consider that the term "intrasubjectivist" adequately described them and their peers. They considered it a term of identification rather than a descriptive term. They appeared uneasy with the group aspect of the term, since for them the individuality of the artists was of greater importance. This is a theme that, as we shall see in Chapter 8, appeared to weigh heavily with these painters and their fellow-artists.

7.5.2. Goodnough's conclusions

Goodnough's main conclusions were succinct and to the point, and may be summed up as follows: the internal world of the "intrasubjective" artists was their main source of creation and this source allowed for a wider range of subjects; the "intrasubjective" artists had relinquished the means of expression of the past, and in so doing, they had introduced a new vitality into pictorial representation; Ortega y Gasset's analysis and conclusion[115] as to current painting had been confirmed; and the presence or absence of recognisable forms had no bearing on the content of a work of art.

He also drew a number of wider conclusions as to the use to be made of the clarification of attitudes towards subject matter provided by the interviewees. He believed that this clarification might assist art teachers and students. Students should be made aware of the changes that were taking place in painting. It was not important whether they accepted the validity of the issues or not, but they should be made to understand the content of and reason for abstract painting. He also believed that psychological research might provide insight into the subjects derived from the subconscious and the processes involved. Such research would benefit both the arts and psychology. Goodnough did not express any view as to the benefit the viewer or general public might draw from the clarification.

Finally, he stressed the importance of carrying out analytical research of the paintings and relevant written material on "the subject matter of the artist" before the movement should become history.

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[115] "After Cézanne, painting only paints ideas—which, certainly, are objects also, but ideal objects, immanent to subject or intrasubjective." (José Ortega y Gasset, "On point of view of the Arts," 834.)

7.5.3. *Sequitur*

The analysis of Goodnough's dissertation and his findings based on the interviews and "conversations" with the seven artists reveal in the first instance the complexity of the issue of subject matter for the artists themselves. Although the artists were concerned with their own work and expressed views about their personal creative process and the subject matter of their own painting, the interviews and "conversations" nevertheless revealed points of "commonality." They may be summed up as follows.

First, tension between the artist and the canvas seemed common. Baziotes, Newman, and in particular Pollock appeared in varying degrees to have experienced such moments, which often constituted the triggers of a work of art. In some instances this tension became a continuous struggle, as in the case of Baziotes and Pollock. In addition, for Newman, it was the artist's struggle that was all-important.

Second, the elimination of (recognisable) objects was not the result of an abrupt break with reality, but appeared to have been the result of a gradual process, as explained by both Baziotes and Pollock.

Third, objects did not determine content nor was subject matter determined by the presence of recognisable objects. This was explicitly the case for Rothko and Baziotes. The absence of recognisable objects did not eliminate content for Rothko and de Kooning. In the case of Rothko, the absence of objects furthermore did not exclude reality.

Fourth, subject matter originated in the imagination and the subconscious for Baziotes, Motherwell, Newman, and Gottlieb.

And fifth, individuality was an important element for Baziotes, Motherwell, and Gottlieb. Individualism superseded "collectivity" and the group for Motherwell. He viewed the group as a temporary phenomenon, which served a particular purpose. For Pollock individuality was definitely a key factor in his approach to painting.

Despite the complex nature of the problem of subject matter, the findings appeared to confirm Goodnough's "hypothesis," which had raised two issues: firstly, the source of ideas used in painting by the artists concerned, and secondly the variation in painting, resulting from the individual personalities of the artists.

To a large degree the seven artists appeared to agree on the source of their ideas: they had all more or less gradually excluded the outside world of reality and in its place used the inward world of the subconscious and in some instances improvisation. The presence or absence of recognisable objects on the canvas appeared irrelevant to them and did not purport to be a determining factor for the content of the image.

The individual approach to painting appeared—in varying degrees—important to all seven artists. This individuality might express itself in the relationship the painter had with the canvas, which for some turned into a state of tension or even a struggle. If the sources of subject matter no longer resided in the world of real objects, then the personality of the individual artist would be a determining factor in the act of painting and the ensuing result on canvas.

The two parts of Goodnough's hypothesis were thus to a large extent confirmed by the seven artists.

Of interest will be to confront Goodnough's "hypothesis" and his conclusions with the closing debate of "Studio 35," which, upon his initiative, took place the year following the interviews.

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In 1965 Goodnough was asked by *Artforum* to comment on the New York art scene of the late 1940s and early 1950s. He did so by referring to his Master's dissertation. He explained the difficulties attached to the use of the term "subject matter" and its misleading effect when related to abstract painting. According to Goodnough, it was then used "to convey the meaning that the artist may have a subject even if it does not refer directly to recognizable objects or incidents; that his attempts to deal with more

subjective feelings and ideas constitute subjects."[116] Having arrived recently in New York, Goodnough found the artists enthusiastic, as they were trying to find their own direction independent of the Paris influence. He believed this was giving impetus to their work. Commenting on the results of his interviews with his chosen artists he thought they all seemed to feel optimistic and enthusiastic. His view was that a good feeling seemed to pervade the art world at the time. He referred to the individualistic nature of the artists, each following his own direction, but nevertheless showing a strong group spirit, resulting from a feeling of independence from the European art scene. Shortly afterwards he felt the group gradually began to disperse, each artist going his own separate way. Since then he had never been aware of the same strong direction.

Goodnough re-affirmed this view in 1981, stating that all the energy was located in New York. "This is where the new ideas were being generated; somehow, the New York School just took over. You sensed it. … You felt it at the time. Most of the artists then were certain that something important was happening."[117] However, by the late 1950s "the intensity of Abstract Expressionism was diminishing."[118] At that time, his feeling was that the artists had reached an almost "academic" stage in their evolution, which he qualified as "more 'classical,'"[119] as it was no longer dependent on a lot of activity. "The paintings were less hectic. I think Barney Newman had a lot to do with that because his paintings were rather calm. They didn't have the excitement that Pollock's had. And 'color field' painting had begun to evolve from the movement. Greenberg called it a large, bland Apollonian art. And I guess you could say that it was a kind of move from Dionysian to Apollonian art."[120] He further indicated that during the Pollock years "the abstract movement really got going strong."[121] He believed that there … [wasn't] quite as much electricity in the air"[122] in 1981. "I guess what I'm trying to say is that painting doesn't have the drama attached to it that it did in the 1950s."[123]

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[116] Robert Goodnough, "Two Postcripts," *Artforum*, September 1965, 32.
[117] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Goodbough," in *Goodnough*, by Martin Bush (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 173.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., 179.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., 191.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 195.

> "What are we really doing? The question is how to name what as yet has been unnamed."[1]
>
> Robert Motherwell

CHAPTER 8 - THE DEBATE

8.1. The "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35 (1950)"

At the end of the 1940s, keeping their views to themselves no longer appeared an option to the "advanced" artists in America. They evidently felt the need to discuss, at least amongst themselves, the issues "plaguing" their recognition. A first attempt at exploring matters was initiated by the foundation of "The Subjects of the Artist" School and its replacement, "Studio 35," which held its closing seminar in April 1950. The debate reached beyond the realm of the "advanced" artists as illustrated by "The Western Round Table on Modern Art," which had taken place a year earlier, and the activities of Forum 49, which took place during the summer of 1949. Meanwhile the discussions were being formalised by the initiators of "The Club." The importance of the debates did not lie in the conclusions, but in the exchange of ideas and of the, in some instances strongly held, views of the participants. In effect it was for the artists a struggle to come to terms with the essence of their work in an environment, which doubted the validity of their art.

8.1.1. The run-up

In May 1949 "The Subjects of the Artist" School, which had opened in 1948 at 35 East 8th Street, was closed for lack of funds. The idea of a new school for young artists, taught by contemporary artists, had been mooted by Clyfford Still, who suggested it to Douglas MacAgy[2] and Rothko in April 1947. Still participated in the initial plan, but did not take part in its foundation and returned to his teaching position at the California

[1] Robert Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35 (1950)," ed. Robert Goodnough, in *Modern Artists in America: First Series*, ed. Robert Motherwell and Ad Reinhardt (New York: Wittenborn Schulz, 1951), 14.

[2] Douglas MacAgy (1913-1973) was an art historian, curator, and museum director. He was chosen to revitalise the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco after World War II, and subsequently became a consultant to the Director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/douglas-macagy-papers-9030 [last accessed April 20, 2019].)

School of Fine Arts. The founders—William Baziotes, David Hare, Robert Motherwell, and Mark Rothko—had set out to provide a new approach to the teaching of art. According to the poster announcing the academic year 1948-1949 of the school[3], there were no formally scheduled courses from a single teacher. Students were meant to learn through association with working artists and develop variations on the artistic process through drawing, painting, and sculpting. If they felt the need, students could choose to work exclusively with one artist on the faculty. But the view was that there was more to be gained by exposure to the different subjects of all the artists and learn what they painted about and how they painted. Afternoon and evening sessions, conducted by one artist, consisted of investigations into the subjects of the modern artist. Friday afternoons were kept clear of instruction, so that students could do independent work. The school was closed on Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays.

The students were not treated as "students" in the conventional manner, but as "collaborators" of the artists in the investigation of the overall artistic process through discussions and practice. According to Irving Sandler, "[t]he purpose of the school was not to teach techniques or the components of styles but to focus on varieties of content."[4] There were no initial requirements: beginners as well as amateurs were welcome. The school was open to anyone who was interested in searching beyond the traditional modes of expression. However, anyone who did not fit in the school would be asked to leave. The terms, as scheduled in the catalogue, were 11 October to 17 December 1948, 3 January to 11 March 1949, and 21 March to 27 May 1949. The annual fee was $433. In addition to full-time tuition, it was possible to attend evening classes only or five afternoon classes per week.

From the catalogue it is clear that the pedagogical approach was totally different to that of Amédée Ozenfant and that it went beyond that of Hans Hofmann. The focus was on the process of expression as practiced by the modern artist, which was not "taught" by the working artists, but was "investigated" and "explored" together with the students, or rather collaborators.

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[3] See "Subjects of the Artists School, Catalogue 1948-1949," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/subjects-artist-school-catalog-18111 [last accessed September 2, 2019].
[4] Irving Sandler, *A Sweeper-Up After Artists: A Memoir* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 25.

In January 1949 Barnett Newman, who had been instrumental in finding a name for the school, joined the staff. The school remained active during the 1949 spring term, which saw the introduction of a series of twelve Friday evening seminars, at which Motherwell served as master of ceremonies. An "advanced" artist or intellectual conducted each session. The film maker Joseph Cornell (1903-1972) covered three programmes of rare films; John Cage made a presentation on "Indian"[5] sand painting; the art dealer and gallery owner Julien Levy (1906–1981) introduced Surrealism; Jean Arp presented his work; Willem de Kooning presented "A Desperate View;" Adolph Gottlieb spoke about the "Abstract Image;" and Ad Reinhardt led on "Abstraction." According to Irving Sandler, Motherwell invited the speakers for the first four sessions, and then handed the organisation over to Newman. According to Stephanie Terenzio, Motherwell introduced, amongst others, Joseph Cornell on 21 January 1949, John Cage, who performed on 28 January 1949, Dr. Charles R. Hulbeck (1892-1974), who presented "Dada Days" on 4 February 1949, and Harry Holtzman (1912-1987), who delivered "Every Man His Own Hero" on 1 April 1949. Subsequently Newman set up the remaining programmes with the assistance of Robert Goodnough.[6]

According to Sandler, Motherwell in a conversation with him summed up his three goals for the school. "One, to make a little money for the teachers; two, to enable students to interact with a variety of avant-garde artists; and three, to provide a meeting place for the avant-garde and its audience."[7] Motherwell admitted that the school only succeeded in its third objective—the setting up of a modern art forum. "A modern art school was turned into a modern art forum."[8]

According to Philip Pavia[9], founder of "The Club," the lectures were interesting but there was no student enrolment. The school closed after the spring term of 1949. Its activities were taken over by Robert Iglehart, Tony Smith, and Hale Woodruff, of the New York University School of Continuing Education[10], as were the premises. The

[5] At the time "Indian" was the accepted term for "Native American."
[6] For an overview of New York downtown artistic activity at the end of the 1940s and the early 1950s see Irving Sandler, "The Art World of the 1950s," in *A Sweeper-Up After Artists: A Memoir*, 21-44.
[7] Robert Motherwell, quoted in *A Sweeper-Up After Artists: A Memoir*, 27.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Philip Pavia (1911-2005) was a pioneering sculptor, who became an empowering force on the "advanced" New York art scene. His impact will be discussed in section 3 of this chapter as will the origins and activities of "The Club."
[10] Also referred to as the New York University School of Art Education.

school reopened as "Studio 35" at the same address—35 East 8th Street—with William Baziotes and Tony Smith in charge.[11] "Studio 35" remained active from May 1949 till April 1950. The new set-up took over the formula of Friday evening discussions from "The Subjects of the Artist" School. The public remained the same, as did the questions and issues. As a result the meetings became repetitious and boring, and it was decided to close "Studio 35." Meanwhile "The Club" had reared its head next door at number 39 on 8th Street under the stewardship of Philip Pavia, who was intent, as we shall see, on making it a winning successor, albeit a more formal one, to the "Waldorf Cafeteria" group.[12]

At the suggestion of Robert Goodnough, at the time a graduate student at the New York University School of Art Education, who had assisted in organising "Studio 35" activities, a three-day "in camera" closing seminar took place in April 1950. The date for the event was set at 21, 22 and 23 April 1950.[13] With the exception of Alfred Barr, participation was restricted to the "advanced" artists themselves. The seminar consisted of three sessions: Richard *Lippold took on the principal burden of moderating the group on the first day, assisted by Motherwell; Alfred Barr[14] was the principal moderator on the second day, but was not present on the first day and the first half of the final day; Motherwell was the principal moderator on the third and final day. Goodnough was in charge of organising the event. Discussions were taken down by a stenographer, and Goodnough was responsible for the editing of the transcripts of the meetings, which were published under the title "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35 (1950)"[15] in *Modern Artists of America: First Series*.

Modern Artists of America was published by Wittenborn Schulz[16], Motherwell and Ad Reinhardt were the Editorial Associates, and Aaron Siskind was responsible for the photography. Bernard Karpel (1911-1986), Librarian of the Museum of Modern Art, was in charge of the documentation. In "A Statement," dated 1951, Motherwell,

[11] Philip Pavia believed New York University wanted to maintain the association with Robert Motherwell.
[12] The "Waldorf Cafeteria" group will be discussed in section 3 of this chapter.
[13] The discussions were scheduled for the afternoons of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday from 4.00 to 7.00 p.m.
[14] Alfred H. Barr Jr. was the only non-artist participant, but was recognised as "one of the most noted modern art scholars." (Robert Goodnough, introduction to "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35 (1950)," 9.)
[15] The seminar will henceforth be referred to as the "Artists' Sessions."
[16] Wittenborn Schultz also published *The Documents of Modern Art* series.

Reinhardt, and Karpel set out the programme of the publication. They contended that "the more radical innovations and variations of Modern American Art rarely obtain recognition based on real accomplishment and in terms of its specific problem: the reality of the work of art."[17] They purported to come to grips with this situation and set out the aims of *Modern Artists of America*. "Through works and documents of its own making the scope and nature of that struggle will be self-revealed. By impartial documentation of the event as it happens, the society in which the artist exists responsibly and the world of imagery in which he must exist creatively, stands manifest."[18] Thus, the artist was placed in his own creative realm within the wider social context.

The introduction to the edited transcripts pointed out that although Robert Goodnough had "drastically" edited up to half of the original transcript of the proceedings, the text retained the spontaneity and intensity of the meetings. It was also noted that the text sometimes gave way to "a certain pathos and loneliness,"[19] which was not apparent during the meetings. Thus, in the transcripts we have no statement or pronouncement on the part of Theodoros Stamos, who according to the records was listed as a full participant, had submitted a written question, and was unlikely to have remained silent during the duration of the seminar. Some of the participants were quoted more often than others in the report, and we must therefore assume that they were more vociferous. Barr, Baziotes, de Kooning, Herbert Ferber (who two years later featured in Goodnough's article "Ferber Makes a Sculpture"), Gottlieb, David Hare (who featured in Goodnough's article "Hare Makes a Sculpture" in 1956), Lippold, Motherwell, Newman, and Reinhardt appear to have made the biggest input into the debate. Surprisingly, Hofmann seemed to have intervened little. Although it is likely that a discussion took place on "subject matter," the report revealed little information about it.

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[17] Robert Karpel, Robert Motherwell, and Ad Reinhardt, "A Statement," in *Modern Artists of America: First Series*, ed. Robert Motherwell and Ad Reinhardt (New York: Wittenborn Schultz, 1951), 7.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Robert Goodnough, introduction to "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35 (1950)," in *Modern Artists of America: First Series*, 9.

The full list of participants[20] totalled twenty-six, who attended one or more sessions. As noted, Alfred Barr[21] was the only non-artist. Baziotes, de Kooning, Gottlieb, Motherwell, and Newman were on the list, but Rothko and Pollock were not and did not participate. Of the twenty-five artists, eight[22] were fully dedicated sculptors, some of whom also painted in the course of their careers. The discussions took place with the participants seated around an oblong table, as shown in the double photo included with the edited transcripts. The seminar initiative on the part of Goodnough brought together in a closed environment the "advanced" artists of the day in order to dwell on their work, which for a large part of the outside world was "unintelligible." It proved to be a cathartic event for "advanced" American art.

8.1.2. The "issues"

The debate spanned a wide spectrum of issues over the three days. Some issues, although raised by the moderators, were totally ignored, skimpily addressed, or referred to only indirectly by the participants. The idea of forming a community or group, or "naming" their movement were matters dealt with (apparently) in haste, as were the issues of abstraction, subject matter and beauty. The participants touched only briefly on truth and validity, and the status of the straight line. They spent much time debating the issue of "finishing" a work of art, which led them to talk about their working method and creative process. Titles and "titling" were problems they came back to regularly during the three days.

Lippold on the first day steered the group away from a number of issues, in particular that of the artist's relationship with the public, in order to concentrate on the problems of the artists' creativity, their working methods, the titles and the completion of their works. Lippold's direction of the discussions did not stop the participants from

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[20] 1. Alfred H. Barr Jr. , 2. William Baziotes, 3. Janice *Biala, 4. Louise Bourgeois, 5. James *Brooks, 6. Willem de Kooning, 7. Jimmy Ernst, 8. Herbert Ferber, 9. Adolph Gottlieb, 10. Peter *Grippe, 11. David Hare, 12. Hans Hofmann, 13. Weldon *Kees, 14. Ibram Lassaw, 15. Norman *Lewis, 16. Richard Lippold, 17. Seymour Lipton, 18. Robert Motherwell, 19. Barney Newman, 20. Richard Pousette-Dart, 21. Ad Reinhardt, 22. Ralph Rosenborg, 23. Theodoros Stamos, 24. Hedda Sterne, 25. David Smith, 26. Bradley Walker Tomlin.

[21] Alfred H. Barr Jr. at the time was still involved with the Museum of Modern Art, but no longer the Director.

[22] Louise Bourgeois, Hebert Ferber, Peter Grippe, David Hare, Ibram Lassaw, Richard Lippold, Seymour Lipton, and David Smith focused primarily, if not exclusively, on sculpting.

broaching subsidiary matters, such as the traditional heritage of American painting and the group or community relevance of the artists. During the second day, Barr as moderator tried to steer the debate towards issues relevant to the public, but it quickly became clear that the participants were not keen to discuss their relations with the public. He successfully guided the debate on the matter of "titling." However, his interest in the emotions involved in the creative process appeared less appealing to the participants. Barr's question—"What is the most acceptable name for our direction or movement?"[23]—gave rise to only a moderate response.

Motherwell was responsible for the third session. On the third and last day of the seminar the discussions were conducted on the basis of written questions submitted by the participants, which Motherwell had broken down into three categories. These were: (1) questions related to history[24], (2) questions of a strictly aesthetic focus: the process of creation, and the quality of creative works[25], and (3) a question on community[26]—"what is it that binds us together (if there is anything that binds us together)?"[27] As demanded by the participants, Motherwell read out the questions, as signed, to the assembly, making their authorship public. The questions in themselves were revelatory of the concerns of the participants. Of the three categories the "aesthetic" questions were of the greatest interest to the majority of participants.

In the presentation of our analysis of the debate we have opted to forego a chronological structure in favour of a breakdown according to the key topics, which emerged from the discussions over the three days of the seminar. The most discussed topic was the creative process. Its ambit extended beyond the actual working method of the artist and covered "finishing" and "titling" the work of art, and included its origin. Of lesser relevance to the participants were matters, such as public recognition, beauty, abstraction, and surprisingly subject matter, which they appeared to ignore completely. A topic they eschewed was naming the movement.

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[23] Alfred H. Barr Jr., quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 21.
[24] These questions were submitted by Grippe, Ernst, Hare, Reinhardt, Barr, and Gottlieb.
[25] These questions were submitted by Ferber, Hare, Baziotes, Lippold, Smith, Sterne, Hofmann, Biala, Lassaw, and Bourgeois.
[26] This issue was of interest to Pousette-Dart, Lipton, Tomlin, Newman, and Brooks.
[27] Robert Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 17.

8.1.2.1. "Process"

On the first day Lippold was intent on focusing the group's attention on the problems of the artists' creativity, their working method, the titles and the completion of their works. His questions to the participants were: "Why [does] each person think ... he should paint? Do we do it to be a success, to make money, understand ourselves, or what is the purpose: to describe our own creative nature? Why do we use titles? Where do we pick such titles? Where do we begin?"[28] These questions led the debate onto process, but only succinctly, during the first session.

Different artists described the creative process in different ways. In some instances their explanations concurred with John Graham's views. Hedda Sterne's description of painting being simultaneously a problem of understanding and explaining came close to Graham's view about the two-way process of abstract painting. Seymour Lipton clarified the context of the process, stating that the artist required "time and intimacy and aloneness,"[29] echoing the view expressed by Graham in 1937, that the painter needed "undisturbed silence and space."[30]

For Ibram Lassaw, who had been instrumental in establishing the American Abstract Artists[31], process was fundamental. "It would be better to consider a work of art as a process that is started by the artist. In that way of thinking a sculpture or a painting is never finished, but only begun."[32] He believed that if the work were successful, it would start to live a life of its own, which reflected Graham's contention that "form," the most fundamental element of artistic creation, became self-sufficient and a law unto itself.

Barr, moderating the second session, was intent on exploring the input into the creative process, which led him to enquire about its emotional content. This was a matter of interest to the public and Barr was forever keen to enlighten the public with a view to making modern art more readable and accessible. He wanted to know how important

[28] Richard Lippold, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[29] Seymour Lipton, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.
[30] Graham, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art*, 103.
[31] As we shall see Lassaw was also instrumental in founding "The Club."
[32] Ibram Lassaw, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.

conscious emotion, such as pleasure, grief or fear, was in making a work of art, and whether the work was an act of confidence or pleasure.

James *Brooks found it difficult to clarify the emotions that went into a painting. For him it was a highly complex, and sometimes ambiguous, matter. "We are in some cases identifying ourselves through our painting and that means everything we are and a great many things we would like to be."[33] Peter *Grippe, like Lassaw, claimed that a work of art was never really "finished." "There is a feeling of trying to express the labyrinth of one's mind—its feelings and emotions, and to fulfil one's personality. Each work is trying to complete the expression of that personality."[34] The work was thus intimately linked to the artist, similar to the "identification" process of Brooks**.**

Willem de Kooning was adamant about the core issue in the creative process. Happiness, or any other such emotion, was irrelevant. "If you are an artist, the problem is to make a picture work whether you are happy or not."[35] In 1937 Graham had already pointed out that the interesting thing about the artist was not what he produced "but what he is himself."[36] And Greenberg, as we have seen, had pointed out to Motherwell that "the essential is to decide what one is, not what one wants."[37] Ad Reinhardt was of a similar view. "What kind of love or grief is there in it? I don't understand, in a painting, the love of anything, except the love of painting itself. If there is agony, other than the agony of painting, I don't know exactly what kind of agony that would be."[38]

Baziotes affirmed his view about the relevance of the process, and explained the difference between the past and the present, whereby currently the artist felt like a gambler taking a chance. "He does something on the canvas and takes a chance in the hope that something important will be revealed."[39]

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[33] James Brooks, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[34] Peter Grippe, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.
[35] Willem de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[36] Graham, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art*, 178.
[37] Clement Greenberg, "Review of Exhibitions of Hyman Bloom, David Smith, and Robert Motherwell," *The Nation*, 26 January 1946, reprinted in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism. Volume 2*, 55.
[38] Ad Reinhardt, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[39] William Baziotes, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.

Barr indicated his wish to explore further the creative process. "Is there anyone here who works for himself alone—that is, purely for his own satisfaction—for himself as the sole judge?"[40] Goodnough noted by way of response "a *scattered showing of hands*."[41] Willem de Kooning thought that every man worked for himself and stated he made full use of the freedom. "I force my attitude upon this world and I have this right—particularly in this country—and I think it is wonderful, … ."[42] The question led Motherwell to ask: "Is the artist his own audience?"[43]

As part of the creative process "finishing" a work of art was a problem to which the participants devoted a substantial amount of time. Motherwell simplified the issue to "*How do you know when a work is finished?*"[44]

On the whole the discussions revealed a question mark about "finishing" a work of art, be it a painting or a sculpture. Most participants were at a loss to affirm the exact moment of completion. For some a work was never "finished." A difference in approach between the sculptors and the painters was not noticeable. A few artists appeared to make a difference between "stopping work" and "finishing." This was the case of Newman, Jimmy Ernst, and Janice *Biala, for example. Some artists seemed to indicate that they were not in control, at least not directly, and that the decision was imposed by the work itself, indicating that the work took on a life of its own, as explained by Lassaw, Ralph Rosenborg, and Baziotes. In some instances the outside world was the determining factor. Biala explained that she never knew when a work was finished. "I only know there comes a time when I have to stop."[45] She also believed that a work was not finished until it had found its audience, thus placing this part of the process in the social context.

For others, such as the sculptor David Hare, a work was never finished, as the energies involved in a particular work were transferred at some stage to the next work. Ferber, also a sculptor, did not think any of his pieces were really finished. "There is a stream of consciousness out of which these things pop like waves, and fall back. Therefore

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[40] Barr, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[41] Goodnough, "Artists' Sessions," 15. (Italics in the original text.)
[42] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[43] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[44] Ibid., 11. (Italics in the original text.)
[45] Janice Biala, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.

works aren't really complete in themselves."[46] He thought the sense of "finishing" a particular work was meaningless. Gottlieb did not recognise when a work was finished, as he usually asked his wife to enlighten him on the matter! He turned the question around. "Why does anyone start a painting instead of finishing it?"[47] Reinhardt admitted that "finishing" a painting had always been a problem.

Other participants were more explicit about completing a picture or sculpture. Hofmann explained that a work was finished when the component parts no longer required his input. In effect, "finishing" for him meant the work had taken over from the artist and no longer needed its creator. Lassaw echoed this view when he explained that for him the work was finished when he sensed "togetherness." "I would consider a work finished when I sense a 'togetherness,' a participation of all parts as in an organism."[48] Both artists seemed to share Rothko's belief that a work was finished when the artist had become an outsider. This belief also seemed to concur with de Kooning's feeling that the work was finished when he no longer was in the picture. "I refrain from 'finishing' it. I paint myself out of the picture, … . I am not really very much interested in the question."[49] Thus, de Kooning aligned himself with Pollock, in believing that during its creation he was "in" the painting, as much as with Rothko's view and that of Walden *Kees of being an outsider to the finished product. Kees explained that his work was usually finished "when it defies me to do anything more with it."[50]

Newman thought the idea of a "finished" picture was a fiction, and that the question of stopping was really a decision of moral considerations. "To what extent are you intoxicated by the actual act, so that you are beguiled by it? … The decision is always made when the piece has something in it that you wanted."[51] Brooks was not always sure when a work was finished, as he did not have a definite intent when working on a painting. Often the work evolved in the course of the process. "But the 'end' is a very difficult thing, something that is determined, not by the form that is 'finished,' but by

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[46] Herbert Ferber, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.
[47] Adolph Gottlieb, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.
[48] Lassaw, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[49] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.
[50] Walden Kees, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.
[51] Barnett Newman, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.

the fact that I have worked on it. It satisfies a need of some kind."[52] This was similar to Rothko's contention that the creation fulfilled a "need" and, as we shall see, Pollock's contention that it satisfied an "urge." In 1959 Newman explained it as the "passion" to which he had to submit, and in his interview with Goodnough Gottlieb had spoken of "an unconscious need" which had to be satisfied.

Baziotes had a more practical explanation for deciding when a work was finished. "I consider my painting finished when my eye goes to a particular spot on the canvas. But if I put the picture away about thirty feet on the wall and the movements keep returning to me and the eye seems to be responding to something living, then it is finished."[53] He too seemed to imply that the work was alive when finished. Rosenborg echoed the idea of the work having a life of its own. "When it stops, why does it stop? While the hands do, the picture moves, having a life (objective, emotional and intellectual) of its own. When I can do no more on it, it is done."[54] Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010) viewed completion of a work from a different angle: the work was "finished" when there was no longer anything to eliminate. This in effect mirrored the remarks of de Kooning and Hofmann (and Rothko) that the artist became an outsider and the work had become self-sufficient. Jimmy Ernst considered a painting almost "finished" when he had reached what seemed to be the greatest measure of surprise. "When I see that I am beginning to destroy the surprise—the basic element of that surprise—then it is time for me to stop."[55] The "surprise" element appeared to concur with one of Graham's two pre-requisites to achieving "beauty."

For many of the artists the moment of completion seemed to occur when they were no longer "in" the work, the phenomenon de Kooning described as having painted himself out of the picture. Hofmann, Kees, Rosenborg, Bourgeois, Lassaw, Baziotes, and perhaps Brooks seemed to belong to that group. Others, such as Biala and Ernst appeared to be saying that they knew when to stop working without necessarily being certain that they had finished the work. For Grippe, Reinhardt, Newman, Gottlieb, Ferber, and Hare the work was part of a bigger undertaking.

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[52] Brooks, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.
[53] Baziotes, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.
[54] Ralph Rosenborg, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.
[55] Jimmy Ernst, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 12.

Lippold concluded: “There are those here who feel that the things which they make are simply moments of a continuity and, therefore, in themselves, are not objects for their own sakes, but just moments in the continuity.”[56] He followed his conclusion with a question: “Is there an irreconcilability in making an object in itself which, at the same time, reflects continuity? This, so far, has been spoken of as incompatible.”[57] The question remained unanswered.

8.1.2.2. Titles and “titling”

Although Lippold had raised the issue of title in the first session, it was only on day two that discussions focused on “titling.” None of the participants left their works untitled, but there was much hesitation about the usefulness of titles beyond the purpose of identification. Some artists, such as Sterne, Reinhardt, and Brooks, felt titles could mislead the viewer. Others were sceptical about their use, while others still felt that titles stood in the way of the work of art itself, feeling that spectators might be encouraged to find their own experience in title-free works. For some, Baziotes, Lippold, and Reinhardt, the essence lay in the “process,” of which “titling” was a part.

Indirectly the issue raised the relationship of the artist and the viewer. Was the title an integral part of both the work of art and the process, and therefore part of the intent of the artist, or was the title intended for the viewer as a means of accessibility to the work of art? For Barr, it was important to know the significance the artist attached to “titling,” since such knowledge could contribute to the readability of the work. Hence, his question, “Does anyone think that titles have real usefulness in supplementing the object?”[58] He also wished to know whether the participants thought that it was possible to enrich the painting by words.

For some artists “titling” was a moot point. Sterne thought “titling” paintings was a problem and not giving a title could lead to misunderstandings. She also objected to anyone having “a right” to know what she as an artist felt about her paintings, and therefore thought giving them a subjective title was too intimate a matter. Reinhardt

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[56] Lippold, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 12.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Barr, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 14.

too felt a title could create misunderstanding, particularly if it did not mean anything, and therefore queried the need for a title. For Brooks, who conceded having difficulty with finding an adequate title for his work, the title was merely a means of identification. He also felt that a suggestive title could be a fraud, as it would mislead the viewer. Numbers were also viewed as inadequate. Gottlieb, as did Sterne, believed that putting a title on a painting implied an interpretation about his attitude as an artist. He thought titles were necessary when everybody used them. He realised there was a need to refer to a picture and there must be some way of doing this. The ultimate responsibility of a title lay with the artist, who must decide what he was prepared to reveal about his attitude. Hare believed titles were a minor problem, but a number to him seemed a refusal to accept responsibility.

Some artists expressed the need for the viewer to find their own way into the work of art, without the guidance of the artist. Rosenborg thought a title was always arbitrary and expressed the hope that "the onlooker will make up his own title!"[59] Pousette-Dart thought that agreeing to numbers would be right, since it would force the viewer to look at the painting and try to experience it. For Jimmy Ernst the title was the artist's prerogative. "I don't particularly care what people classify me as, or whether people understand the title or not. It suggests something to me, or something may pop into my head—so I give it that title."[60] His attitude appeared to dismiss the viewer altogether. On the other hand David Smith viewed titles as a positive means of identification. "I never objected to any work of art because of its title."[61]

The discussion revealed that the purpose of titles had evolved in the course of the twentieth century. Reinhardt was sceptical about the use of titles. He thought many modern painters did not use titles because they had little to do with the work of art itself. Barr, however, believed that there were some painters for whom titles were important. Ferber thought the designation of a work of art had become more important as a problem. "I think that numbering pieces is really begging the question. … numbering the piece is an admission or a statement or a manifesto that this is pure

[59] Rosenborg, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.
[60] Ernst, quoted in "Artists' Sessions,"14.
[61] David Smith, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.

painting or sculpture—that it stands by itself without relation to any other discipline."[62] Lippold shared Ferber's view that the issue was one particular to the times, as previously the idea of what to paint was predetermined. Motherwell "summed up" in the form of a query. "What are we really doing? The question is how to name what as yet has been unnamed."[63] We may venture that this query conveyed on the part of the "advanced" artist the elusive nature of the subject matter of "advanced" art if not the essence of the artwork.

In the course of the discussions Barr, aware of the importance of titles for the public, made an attempt to obtain further insight into the issue by putting three questions to the participants.[64] He wished to know who named their pictures and sculptures[65], how many merely numbered their pictures[66], and how many did not title their pictures at all.[67] The response made clear that most of the artists present named their works. They all titled their pictures, and only three artists confirmed that they merely numbered their pictures.

Baziotes affirmed his previously stated views that process was the core of a work of art. For him "titling" was part of the process, but on the periphery. "Whereas some people start with a recollection or an experience and paint that experience, to some of us the act of doing it becomes the experience; so that we are not quite clear why we are engaged on a particular work. And because we are more interested in plastic matters than we are in a matter of words, one can begin a picture and carry it through and stop it and do nothing about the title at all."[68] Although Reinhardt was of the view that titles were important in Surrealist work, he too felt the essence lay in the process. "But the emphasis with us is upon a painting experience, and not on any other experience. The only objection I have to a title is when it is false or tricky, or is something added that the painting itself does not have."[69]

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[62] Ferber, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.
[63] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.
[64] According to the report, there were some objections to this way of proceeding.
[65] Most participants raised their hands, according to the report.
[66] Three people raised their hands, according to the report.
[67] No one raised their hand, according to the report.
[68] Baziotes, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.
[69] Reinhardt, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.

For Lippold the title was present from the beginning till the conclusion of the work and thus represented an integral part of the creative process. "The only thing I am interested in resolving is that intent with which I begin, because I feel in our time there is very little else with which to begin."[70] He added: "The job of the artist is only the job of a craftsman."[71] For de Kooning "titling" and clarity were linked. "I think that if an artist can always title his pictures, that means he is not always very clear."[72] For Lassaw the titles he used were just names, they did not symbolise or represent anything. A title did not add anything to the work. "A work of art 'is' like a work of nature."[73] This statement again concurred with his view that the work of art was self-sufficient and independent.

Alfred Barr summed up. He believed there were three levels of titles: "(1) Simply as a matter of convenience. (2) Questions of titles as explanation or as a kind of finger-point and which do not work particularly well. (3) The surrealist [*sic*] title in which the words are a positive part of the work of art, and there is an attraction or conflict set up between the words and the picture."[74] To shed more light on the process, Barr asked the participants how many named their works of art after they were completed. Thirteen people raised their hand according to the report. Six participants acknowledged that they named their works when they were halfway through. And only one person acknowledged that they named their work before they started.

Clearly finishing a work of art, "titling" or not "titling" a work of art, for the participants, fell within the wider scope of "process," and for a number of artists, Baziotes in particular, process represented the core of the creative action, and probably as such the essence of the work.

8.1.2.3. Origin: *how or what?*

Intimately linked to the "process" was the "origin" of a work of art. According to Motherwell, there were two approaches to the question of origin. "One is a notion that

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[70] Lippold, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[71] Ibid., 15.
[72] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.
[73] Lassaw, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.
[74] Barr, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.

a work in its beginning has its conclusion implied. The conclusion follows the original line of thought and that the process is to cut out anything that is irrelevant to that line of thought. The other … is a notion of improvising—that one begins like a blind swimmer and what one finds en route often alters the original intent. The people who work like that are involved in the problem of inspiration."[75] Motherwell thus appeared to contrast the self-contained creative process, self-sufficient in its origin and not subject to external variables, with the process of improvisation, where the outside world acted as a source of inspiration, affecting the original intent of the artist. He did not at this stage indicate which approach was his or whether both might be at the origin of his work. For either approach, the process was an integral part of the work of art.

Lippold boiled the question down to "what?" and "how?"—"is it a question of wanting to say a specific thing, or how one says it? And where do the two meet? Do we begin with the necessity to convey a message, or do we become intrigued with the way it is to be said?"[76] Ferber referred to process as a way in which a kaleidoscope is handled. "If you turn the kaleidoscope you stop at an image which takes form in a satisfactory way; and the painting becomes the realization of that image—which is only a moment in the whole process—then you turn the kaleidoscope and make another image."[77] Motherwell responded by asking: "Are the elements in the kaleidoscope essentially "hownesses" or "whatnesses"?"[78] Sterne was the first to ask "Is art a problem of *how* or *what*?"[79] We may reflect on whether the problem of "how or what?" revealed the dilemma of the "advanced" artist, and as such whether it touched upon the essence of their work.

Brooks explained his method of working. "My work is improvisation to start with. My purpose is to get as much unknown on the canvas as I can. Then I can start digesting or changing. … There are shapes suggested that start improvising themselves, which I then start developing. Sometimes there is a terrible confusion, and a retreat into tradition. If … I rely on cubism [*sic*], my painting loses its newness to me."[80] Brooks

[75] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 18.
[76] Lippold, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 18.
[77] Ferber, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 18.
[78] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 18.
[79] Hedda Sterne, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 17. (Italics in the original text.)
[80] Brooks, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 18.

did not think the words “automatic” and “improvise” were interchangeable. He did not consider them synonymous, but felt unable to clarify the point.

Motherwell made the distinction between two separate experiences in the painting process: the “mode of discovery and invention” and the “mode of joy and variation”.[81] The “mode of discovery and invention” represented his deepest painting problem, since it led him to reject everything he did not feel and believe. The “mode of joy and variation” occurred when he wanted to paint for the sheer joy of painting, which did not happen often. “These moments are few. The strain of dealing with the unknown, the absolute, is gone. When I need joy, I find it only in making free variations on what I have already discovered, what I know to be mine.”[82] He further explained that since modern artists had no accepted subject matter, painting for joy was rare. “We modern artists have no generally accepted subject matter, no inherited iconography. But to re-invent painting, its subject matter and its means, is a task so difficult that one must reduce it to a very simple concept in order to paint for the sheer joy of painting, … An existing subject matter for me … gives me moments of joy… .”[83] On the other hand the mode of discovery and invention was for Motherwell “a voyage into the night, one knows not where, on an unknown vessel, an absolute struggle with the elements of the real.”[84]

8.1.2.4. Social context and public recognition

The discussions at times ventured beyond “process” and its many facets. Reinhardt put to the group the question “What is our relationship to the social world?”[85] Views were at variance on this issue. For Reinhardt all was contained in the work of art. For some artists, the public and the outside world were not relevant. The discussion led to the significance of signing a work of art, which, as we have seen, John Graham viewed as an important stage.

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[81] Motherwell, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 20.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Reinhardt, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 15.

Brooks claimed "When we paint pictures, we assume other people feel the way we do."[86] Pousette-Dart maintained that a painter could paint for "the satisfaction of his soul,"[87] but at the same time could intend it for everyone. He asked: "Why does the modern artist feel the need to sign his work?"[88] In certain cultures works were not signed and remained anonymous. In this context Newman queried Lippold's earlier contention that the job of the artist was only the job of a craftsman. His question was "are we involved in self-expression or in the world? It seems to Lippold you cannot be involved in the world if you are a craftsman; but if you are involved in the world, you cannot be an artist. We are in the process of making the world, to a certain extent, in our own image. This removes us from the craft level."[89] Newman believed that the artist started from a subjective attitude, which, in the process of the artist's endeavour became related to the world. He thus viewed the artist's work as a social phenomenon. Willem de Kooning had a more down to earth approach. "This difficulty of titling or not titling a picture—we ought to have more faith in the world. If you really express the world, those things eventually will turn out more or less good."[90] He explained his view further: "I think there are different experiences or emotions. I feel certain parts you ought to leave up to the world."[91] Ferber believed it was not possible to escape the world. He wanted to introduce into the discussion a more universal aspect, that is "the artist, not as a being, but as a man, and not as a practitioner or craftsman, because if we have any integrity at all, it is as men and women."[92]

Baziotes touched upon the evolving context of the artist. "When we make a work of art we must get our praise after it is finished."[93] He explained this claim from a historical standpoint. "If you were commissioned to do a picture of the Madonna in the middle ages [*sic*] that was praise to begin with."[94] Again the absence of pre-set subject matter made the creative process more complicated, although it left the artist with greater freedom. Gottlieb was of the view that "the work that really has something to say

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[86] Brooks, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15.
[87] Richard Pousette-Dart, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 15-16.
[88] Ibid., 16.
[89] Newman, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
[90] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ferber, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
[93] Baziotes, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
[94] Ibid.

constitutes its own signature."[95] To which de Kooning added: "There is no such thing as being anonymous."[96] Hare agreed. "A man's work is his signature. In this sense art has never been anonymous."[97] For these artists the work of art was so intimately linked with the artist that it could not remain anonymous. The view underscored the uniqueness of the work of art and the individuality of the creative process.

The discussions revealed that the importance of the signature appeared to rank lower than the "titling" of a work. It did not appear to import the idea of "finishing" a work, nor did "titling" for that matter. Rosenborg held the view that signing was for the purpose of identity, and queried whether it was possible to maintain an identity without signing. "Who wants to sign a work?"[98] Norman *Lewis was concerned about making this clear to the public. "People no longer have this intimacy with the artists, so that the public does not know actually what is going on, what is being done by the painter."[99] He also wanted to know whether art was a way of analysing the world.

Forever aware of the needs of the public, Barr put to the assembly the problem of how to get a painting to the public, which led the participants to query the importance of being known by the public. Reinhardt took a more general view of the issue. "Exactly what is our involvement, our relation to the outside world?"[100] Barr felt that not many participants were keen to answer his question. For de Kooning the artist had no position in the world. "I think we are craftsmen, but we really don't know exactly what we are ourselves, but we have no position in the world—… ."[101] Bradley Walker Tomlin felt that they should examine their position in relation to each other before tackling their position in relation to the world. "I understood that to be the point of this discussion and why we came together."[102]

Newman was of the view that they were faced with two problems. "(1) The problem of existing as men. (2) The problem of growth in our work."[103] Ferber had earlier

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95 Gottlieb, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
96 de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
97 Hare, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
98 Rosenborg, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
99 Norman Lewis, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
100 Reinhardt, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
101 de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
102 Bradley Walker Tomlin, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.
103 Newman, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 16.

expressed a similar view of the universality of the artist as a human being. For Reinhardt the reality of the everyday world and the reality of painting were not the same realities. He asked: “What is this creative thing that you have struggled to get and where did it come from? What reference or value does it have, outside of the painting itself?”[104] Reinhardt appeared to express the self-containment and self-sufficiency of the work of art, which for him may have been part of its essence.

8.1.2.5. Ancillary matters

On the periphery of the discussions on “process,” the participants touched upon several ancillary concepts. Thus, the notion of “beauty” was broached indirectly at different stages of the debate. It did not appear to raise much concern, as most participants who mentioned it viewed it as a matter outside the ambit of their creative process. This was definitely the case of Sterne, for whom “beauty” was “a matter of conception.”[105] She believed “beauty” could not be pursued directly. Motherwell believed that Sterne thought that “beauty” was discovered en route. David Smith was adamant that “beauty” did not inspire the artist. Beauty was arbitrary and belonged to the outsider. Barr asked whether the “preoccupation with the idea of beauty was a bad thing?”[106] Newman explained that “[a] concern with ‘beauty’ is a concern with what is ‘known’.”[107] He believed that it was the artist’s intention, which gave a specific work form. Pousette-Dart believed “beauty” was “unattainable, yet it is what gives art its significance, it *is* the *unknown*.”[108] He thought that the word “beauty” had become discredited in the art world. David Smith thought that the question of “beauty” did not inspire the creator, but was the result of recognition.

Participants briefly touched upon the concepts of geometry and clarity as well as the existence (or not) of a straight line and its function. Underlying the discussion was the relevance of geometric forms, which were recognisable to the outsider and thus allowed for clarity. Hofmann laboured the point of relationships, without which shapes had no meaning. This in turn led the discussion onto truth and validity.

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[104] Reinhardt, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 20.
[105] Sterne, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 18.
[106] Barr, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 18.
[107] Newman, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 18.
[108] Pousette-Dart, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 18. (Italics in the original text.)

Willem de Kooning considered all painting free. "When things are circumspect or physically clear, it is purely an optical phenomenon. It is a form of uncertainty; … ."[109] Reinhardt believed that an emphasis on geometry was an emphasis on the "known," in other words on order and knowledge. Ferber asked why was geometry clearer than the use of swirling shapes. Motherwell explained that Lippold disliked the implication that a geometric form was not "clear" and that de Kooning felt resentful that one mode of expression should be considered more clear, precise, rational, finished, than another.

Tomlin asked: "Would you say that the automatic structure is in the process of becoming, and that 'geometry' has already been shown and terminated?"[110] A categorical "yes"[111] was de Kooning's answer. Baziotes added "A geometric shape—we know why we like it; and an unreasonable shape, it has a certain mystery that we recognise as real; but it is difficult to put these things in an objective way."[112] Newman viewed the question of clarity as one of intention. Sterne thought that the use of geometrical forms was related to Western thinking, that it came from logical thinking. She explained that her work was only partly preconceived. "'Because as I go, the painting begins to function by rules of its own, often preventing me from achieving my original vision."[113] In spite of this, Reinhardt told Sterne that her work looked generally planned and preconceived. Sterne joined Graham's view, and that of others, in stating that her work was no longer under her control as it had a life of its own.

Walden Kees raised the issue of clarity in painting. David Smith said he was not involved with clarity. A straight line was the most abstract form, but he did not consider it an element, but a support. Hofmann believed that "in an art every expression is relative, not absolutely defined as long as it is not the expression of a relationship. … We speak here about means, but the application of the means is the point."[114] He believed that a shape on its own did not create meaning. "One shape in relation to other shapes makes the 'expression'; not one shape or another, but the

[109] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[110] Tomlin, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[111] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[112] Baziotes, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[113] Sterne, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[114] Hans Hofmann, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.

relationship between the two makes the 'meaning'. As long as a means is only used for itself, it cannot lead to anything."[115] Hofmann was of the view that without such relationships it was not possible to express higher art. Ferber took the argument further, stating that what they were concerned with was expressing a relationship to the world. "Truth and validity cannot be determined by the shape of the elements of the picture."[116] Thus, for Ferber the work of art was part of a bigger whole.

Willem de Kooning was adamant that a straight line did not exist. "There is no such thing as a straight line in painting."[117] Newman refuted this view. "Geometry *can* be organic. Straight lines do exist in nature. When I draw a straight line, it does exist. It exists optically. … A straight line is an organic thing that can contain feeling."[118]

Reinhardt wondered whether there was another criterion of truth and validity, apart from the relationships in a work of art. "I want to know the outside truth. I think I know the internal one."[119] To which Motherwell responded, "I cannot imagine any structure being defined as though it only has internal meaning."[120] He also reworded Reinhardt's question: "the question is … whether these internal relations also relate externally to the world, or better, as to what this external relation is."[121]

Gottlieb queried the view that the nature of a work of art was merely an arrangement of shapes or forms of colour, which expressed the artist's sense of reality or corresponded with some outer reality. "I don't agree—that some expression of reality can be expressed in a painting purely in terms of line, color and form, and that those are the essential elements in painting and anything else is irrelevant and can contribute nothing to the painting."[122]

In the course of the discussion the status of the artist was raised several times. Did artists consider themselves craftsmen or professionals? The participants were not really forthcoming on the matter, and none of the speakers appeared to have a clear definition

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[115] Ibid.
[116] Ferber, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[117] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[118] Newman, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 20. (Italics in the original text.)
[119] Reinhardt, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[120] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 19.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Gottlieb, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 20-21.

for either craftsman or professional. The discussion petered out without any conclusions, making it evident the matter was hardly relevant to the essence of their work and merely of relevance to the outside world.

Subject matter would have been expected to be a core issue for the participants, but it seems to have been virtually ignored, according to the report. Newman referred to the issue of subject matter, which must have given rise to some discussion. "We are raising the question of subject matter and what its nature is."[123] Motherwell, as we have seen, raised subject matter indirectly in the context of the origin of a work of art. If it did take place the discussion on subject matter was not deemed worth reporting by Goodnough.

A similar fate may have befallen the issue of "abstraction," which appeared to have been hardly broached in the course of the seminar. From the report it would seem that no conclusions were drawn on the matter. Gottlieb raised it and expressed the view that they were approaching an academic version of abstract painting. Hofmann asked "What is abstract art in the 'good' sense?"[124] For the purpose of clarification Motherwell explained "abstract" as a method whereby one element is selected for the purpose of emphasis, a high degree of abstraction resulting in a low degree of complexity.

8.1.2.6. Naming the movement

An important matter for Barr was what to call the "movement." "What is the most acceptable name for our direction or movement? (It has been called Abstract-Expressionist, Abstract-Symbolist, Intra-subjectivist, etc.)"[125] Barr felt it was important to put a label on the group, even more so on the movement. He was keen for the artists to name themselves, because it would possibly carry more weight with the outside world. The artists, however, had different views about the need for a label. Most believed they did not belong to a movement. Several names were suggested without

[123] Newman, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 21.
[124] Hofmann, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[125] Barr, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 21.

much support. Willem de Kooning went so far as to voice the idea that it would be disastrous to name themselves.

Smith believed they did not have unity on the name. “Names are usually given to groups by people who don’t understand them or don’t like them.”[126] Rosenborg thought they would acquire a name through the years. Barr felt that the artists themselves should choose the name. “We should have a name for which we can blame the artists – for once in history!”[127] Motherwell felt that even if they gave themselves a name, they would still be called abstract artists. He nevertheless mentioned three possibilities: “Abstract-Expressionist; Abstract Symbolist, Abstract-Objectionist.”[128] Brooks thought “direct” art would be more accurate as it involved abstraction. Tomlin thought “concrete” was meaningful. Newman offered “‘Self-evident’ because the image is concrete.”[129] But de Kooning was adamant. “It is disastrous to name ourselves.”[130] The discussion was apparently left without a conclusion.

Linked to the naming of the movement was the recognition of a “community,” which was discussed in the context of tradition during the first session and was broached again in the final session. Hofmann believed that their “commonality” was the urge to create. Knowledge of tradition was deemed essential, if one had in mind to reject it. He believed that everyone should be different. “There is nothing that is common to all of us except our creative urge. It just means one thing to me; to discover myself as well as I can. But everyone of us has the urge to be creative in relation to our time—the time to which we belong may work out to be our thing in common.”[131] He felt the American painter approached things without a basis, as opposed to the French artist, who did so on the basis of cultural heritage.

Hare focused on whether or not there was a need for a “community,” contending there was no such need. “An artist is always lonely. The artist is a man who functions beyond or ahead of his society. ... As soon as we are accepted, we are no longer artists

[126] Smith, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 21.
[127] Barr, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 21.
[128] Motherwell, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 22.
[129] Newman, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 22.
[130] de Kooning, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 22.
[131] Hofmann, quoted in “Artists’ Sessions,” 10.

but decorators."[132] He thought that museums were involved with "art as décor,"[133] while the artist was involved with "art as a way of life."[134] The latter was also a view expressed by de Kooning. Ferber believed that the group should try to identify their relationship with the public. He also raised the issue of whether there was any difference in what was happening and had happened in America and what was happening in Europe. He believed the question was one of origin or ancestry. The group had in common that it was "modern, advanced and non-academic."[135] The issue of community, according to Ferber, involved "the question of difference—between us and other artists. In that way we may have a feeling of community."[136]

Gottlieb expressed his view about tradition. "It is a mistaken assumption in some quarters that any departure from tradition stems from ignorance."[137] To reject tradition required knowledge of tradition and familiarity with the past. "I think we have this familiarity, and if we depart from tradition, it is out of knowledge, not innocence."[138] Lippold was upfront about building on the past. "We cannot pretend to sit down with no idea as to what happened before, and to create something entirely new which has never happened before. ... all I am doing is synthesizing something which has happened in the past."[139]

Motherwell put the question: "What then exactly constitutes the basis of our community?"[140] He believed that contemporary French painters assumed traditional criteria in finishing a picture to a greater degree than their American peers. "They have a real 'finish' in that the picture is a real object, a beautifully made object. We are involved in the 'process' and what is a 'finished' object is not so certain."[141] He seemed to indicate that the creative process for American painters ranked higher than the finished work in comparison with their French counterparts. De Kooning agreed

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[132] Hare, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ferber, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 11.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Gottlieb, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 13.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Lippold, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 20.
[140] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[141] Ibid., 12.

that French artists had some "touch" in making an object. "They have a touch which I am glad not to have."[142]

Newman asked whether they, as artists, really had a community? "If so, what makes it a community?"[143] Reinhardt followed up on Newman's question with "Why can't we find out what our community is and what our differences are, and what each artist thinks of them?"[144] He found it worthwhile to find out about their differences. And if they had the same problems, he believed it would be worthwhile to know what they were.

8.1.3. The fall-out

The three-day seminar was one of intense discussion on issues of concern to the participants and of subsequent interest to the outside world, represented at the seminar by Barr. The issue that received most recurrent attention during the three sessions, albeit from different angles, was the process of creation. As its scope was given a wide interpretation, the discussions included such matters as "finishing" an artwork, "titling" it, its origin, beauty and other ancillary aspects. The participants apparently hardly touched on truth and validity, which as we have seen were fundamental matters for Graham and Greenberg. Nor, perhaps understandably, was the status of the straight line given much attention. The participants spent much time debating the issue of "finishing" a work of art, which indirectly led them to talk about their working method and creative process. Titles and "titling" were problems they came back to regularly during the three days of debate. Motherwell perhaps put his finger on the crux of the matter when he put the question: "What are we really doing? The question is how to name what as yet has been unnamed."[145]

For many participants the essence of a painting lay in the artist's intent and the process of painting. Whereas for Sterne painting was a problem of understanding and explaining, for Brooks and Grippe identification of the artist in the work of art was at the core of the creative process. Most of the artists were unable to pinpoint clearly to

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[142] de Kooning, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 13.
[143] Newman, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[144] Reinhardt, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 10.
[145] Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 14.

the actual origin of a painting or sculpture and how the work had evolved. The issue of origin was reduced to a matter of "how or what?" As a logical consequence we may venture whether the problem of "how or what?" revealed the dilemma of the "advanced" artist. And as such, did it touch upon the essence of their work and by extrapolation to Abstract Expressionism? This in turn led some artists to express the belief that a work of art was organic and self-defining, a law unto itself, thus concurring with Graham's view. Others saw it as a social phenomenon. Most viewed the work of art as self-contained, without the need for public recognition. For a number of artists, Baziotes in particular, process represented the core of the creative action, probably the essence of the work as such. Barr was eager to explore the emotional input into the creative process, into which the artists appeared reluctant to delve.

For many of the artists the moment of completion occurred when they were no longer "in" the work, the phenomenon de Kooning described as having painted himself out of the picture. Hofmann, Kees, Rosenborg, Bourgeois, Lassaw, Baziotes, and perhaps Brooks seemed to belong to that group. Others, such as Biala and Ernst, appeared to be saying that they knew when to stop working without necessarily being certain that they had finished the work. For Grippe, Reinhardt, Newman, Gottlieb, Ferber and Hare the work was part of a bigger undertaking. The importance of the signature appeared to rank lower than the "titling" of a work. It did not appear to import the idea of "finishing" a work.

Views were at variance on the issue of the artist's relationship with the world. For Reinhardt all was contained in the work of art. For many participants, the public and the outside world were not relevant, which of course it was for Barr. For him it was important to put a label on the group, even more so on the movement. The artists, however, found it difficult (and perhaps unnecessary) to identify their "commonality" and project it to the outside world. They were not convinced they had any "commonality" other than that of being artists. As a consequence, they were apprehensive about finding a name for their group. They did not see the need to name themselves. Most believed they did not belong to a movement. Several names were suggested without much support, while de Kooning claimed it would be disastrous to name themselves. Barr, who had raised the issue of naming their group or qualifying their movement or direction, was quickly left out on a limb.

Five of Goodnough's seven interviewees (only Rothko and Pollock were absent) took part in the discussions, during which they did not stray from previous pronouncements. A point in case was the importance of process for Baziotes. Two of Kootz's "Intrasubjectives" that Goodnough had not interviewed were present—Hans Hofmann, his former teacher, and Bradley Walker Tomlin.

The objective of the seminar was to bring together like-minded artists, making it possible for them as artists to unearth intrinsic qualities of their work. What they did reveal was their inability to pinpoint the direction of their art in terms of the outside world. The origin of their works, their inspiration, finishing their works, giving them a title, and ultimately signing them, were matters taken in their stride during the creative process. They were part of the process, but subservient to it.

In many ways the "closed" discussions of the "Artists' Sessions" confirmed the individualism of the participants as a characteristic of their work. A quality they did not appear ready to sacrifice for recognition as a group or a movement, however much Barr viewed it essential for the future place and status of their art in the timeline of the history of art. In this they remained true to themselves and their art.

At the time of the seminar, a number of the participants were beginning to be well known and valued on the New York art scene and beyond. Many had already been given one if not several shows at up-and-coming art galleries. Some already had works in the permanent collections of the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum of American Art. Yet they did not appear to view these achievements as important to their creative process. On the contrary, several artists, such as Hare and Pousette-Dart, thought it had a negative impact on the artist as much as on the intrinsic quality of the work of art. Hare believed public recognition turned artists into decorators and that museums treated art as "décor," whereas for the artist art was a way of life, a view unequivocally corroborated by de Kooning, and shared by others in less explicit terms. Again Barr was left short of a number of answers.

None of the participants denied the relevance of tradition, if only for them to be able to reject it. As American painters they seemed aware of their lack of the heritage with

which their French peers were endowed. This did not, however, appear to present them with any self-doubt. Whereas a decade earlier, these same artists would have been concerned about the public's lack of insight into their work, this did not seem to worry them in 1950. The issue was the subject of a number of questions, but hardly touched upon. Similarly when asked to focus on the status of their work, the artists were at odds to view themselves as "professionals" and when referring to the act of painting were in some instances not troubled about calling it craftsmanship.

Hare submitted an interesting written question: "Do you paint your subject or is painting your subject (subject in the sense of content, not in the sense of realism versus abstraction)?"[146] According to the report the question was not broached, in spite of it identifying what was at the heart of "advanced" art, and hence of Abstract Expressionism—the "subject matter of the artist."

As a final note it should be remembered that the presentation of the transcripts are to be viewed from the angle of the editorial objective of the journal, which was to place the artist in his own creative realm within the wider social context. This does not, of course, detract from the wider importance of the event and its relevance with respect to the understanding of the work of "advanced" and as a consequence Abstract Expressionist artists. On the part of Robert Goodnough the initiative was a major feat; for the artists it turned out to be a cathartic moment of mutual revelation and understanding.

[146] Hare, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 17.

> "There in that room, were a bunch of guys trying to think. ... we were trying to think aloud and trying to communicate with each other—trying to get things clear which have never been gotten clear."[147]
>
> A participant

8.2. "The Western Round Table on Modern Art"

A year prior to the "Artists' Sessions," "The Western Round Table on Modern Art" took place at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art on 8, 9 and 10 April 1949. The conference totalled nine hours over three days: three sessions were scheduled for the first two days and a fourth session was added on the third day at the request of the participants. The second session was open by invitation to the public and to the members of the °San Francisco Art Association; the other three sessions were closed. The discussions were transcribed by two court reporters, and the typed transcripts, subsequently corrected and approved by the contributors, were published by Wittenborn Schulz under the title "The Western Round Table on Modern Art (1949)" in the same series as the "Artists' Sessions" report, for which the formula may have served as a blueprint.

8.2.1. The proceedings

Douglas MacAgy, at the time the Director of the California School of Fine Arts, was in charge of the event. A special exhibition of modern art was held concurrently at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition included works by Baziotes (*The Dwarf*), de Kooning (*Painting, 1948*), Pollock (*Guardians of the Secret*), Rothko (*Slow Swirl at the Edge of the Sea*), an untitled work by Still, as well as works by Duchamp, Kandinsky, Magritte, Matisse, Matta, Mondrian, Paalen, Picasso, Tobey, and others.[148] The participants were given sets of photographic reproductions of the

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[147] A participant, quoted in "The Western Round Table on Modern Art (1949)," ed. Douglas MacAgy, *Modern Artists in America: First Series* (New York: Wittenborn Schulz, 1951), 26.

[148] The works of Baziotes and de Kooning were part of the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art; the works by Pollock and Rothko belonged to the San Francisco Museum of Art; Clyfford Still's work was lent from his personal collection.

exhibited works for preparatory reference, although lengthy analysis of individual works was averted in order to further the discussion on broader and further-reaching ideas. Both the exhibition and the symposium were sponsored and financed by the San Francisco Art Association, a non-profit corporation, with the assistance of the Art Commission of the City and County of San Francisco.

The objective of "The Round Table" was "to bring a representation of the best informed opinion of the time to bear on questions about art today."[149] There was no expectation of or demand for a set of conclusions. "Rather, it was hoped that progress would be made in the exposure of hidden assumptions, in the uprooting of obsolete ideas, and in the framing of new questions."[150]

"The Round Table" consisted of eleven participants, of varied backgrounds. George Boas (1891-1980), Professor of History of Philosophy at the John Hopkins University and a Trustee of the Baltimore Museum of Art, moderated the sessions. The other participants were the cultural anthropologist Gregory Bateson[151], the literary critic Kenneth Burke[152], the artist Marcel Duchamp, the critic Alfred Frankenstein[153], the critic and art historian Robert Goldwater, the composers Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) and Arnold Schoenberg, the art historian Andrew C. Ritchie[154], the artist Mark Tobey, and the architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Schoenberg was prevented by illness from attending, but contributed to the debate through a recording and a typescript. The discussions were organised under five headings: "The Cultural Setting, "Art and

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[149] Douglas MacAgy, ed., introduction to "The Western Round Table," 26.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Gregory Bateson (1904-1980) was a British anthropologist, social scientist, linguist, semiotician, and cyberneticist, and an authority on Bali and New Guinea. At the time of "The Round Table" he was a lecturer at the Langley Porter Clinic of the University of California Medical School. (*The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Bateson, Gregory.")
[152] Kenneth Duva Burke (1897-1993) was a Pittsburgh-born American literary theorist and critic, philosopher, novelist, and professor at Bennington College, Vermont. (*The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 6th rev. ed., s.v. "Burke, Kenneth Duva.")
[153] Alfred Frankenstein (1906-1981) was an art and music critic, and at the time Music and Art Editor at the *San Francisco Chronicle*.
[154] Andrew C. Ritchie (1907-1978) was Director of the Department of Painting and Sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art. He was born in Scotland and at the age of fifteen emigrated with his family to the United States. He obtained a fellowship to study at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London, where he completed a PhD in English Medieval Art in 1935. Upon his return to the United States, he began work as a research assistant and lecturer at the Frick Collection in New York. During World War II Ritchie served as one of the Monuments Men, who sought to save cultural treasures from the destructiveness of war and theft by the Nazis. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. " Ritchie, Andrew C.," http://arthistorians.info/ritchiea [accessed March 28, 2019].)

Artist," "The Critic," "The Collector, and "The Museum." The structure of the proceedings provided for a broad spectrum of topics, allowing the participants, with their wide-ranging backgrounds and interests, to contribute multi-sided views.

At the start of the discussions Duchamp made the distinction between "taste" and "aesthetic echo," explaining that taste gave rise to a sensuous feeling, not an aesthetic emotion. "Taste presupposes a domineering onlooker who dictates what he likes and dislikes, and translates it into 'beautiful' and 'ugly' … ."[155] On the other hand, "the 'victim' of an 'aesthetic echo' is in a position comparable to a man in love or a believer who dismisses automatically his demanding ego and helplessly submits to a pleasurable and mysterious constraint … ."[156] He concluded that in his opinion very few people were capable of aesthetic emotion or an "aesthetic echo." While many people had taste, only a few were equipped with "aesthetic receptivity,"[157] according to Duchamp.

8.2.2. The non-conclusions

As stated at the outset of the event, no conclusions were drawn nor was there any summing up by the moderator or any other participant. One of the participants "summed up" the proceedings as "trying to get things clear which have never been gotten clear."[158] During the whole debate the participants were able to present their views from their respective professional angles and interests. Although their standpoints differed, their ideas about fundamentals, such as communication, the work of art, the role of the critic, the ideal collector, and the responsibility of the museum, were more convergent than anticipated. Duchamp's notion of "aesthetic echo" was referred to under several headings, but not actually further elucidated. It did, however, provide a pointer to what was required in order to perceive the essence of art in general, and that of modern art in particular.

Communication between the artist, through the medium of the work of art, and the viewer, was perceived from different angles. Burke was of the view that if the public did not understand the special language of the artist, then the artist's "*act* of

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[155] Marcel Duchamp, quoted in "The Western Round Table on Modern Art (1949)," 27.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] A participant, quoted in "The Western Round Table," 26.

communication"[159] was ineffective. He was convinced that communication took place as soon as the painting was done, but Tobey—one of Kootz's "Intrasubjectives," not interviewed by Goodnough and not present at the "Artists' Sessions"—was adamant that communication was not at the forefront of the artist's mind during the creative process, which did not mean that the artist was not interested in communication "through" his work. It was accepted that there was a problem of "intelligibility" of the modern work of art. Accessibility to modern art at the end of the 1940s was not yet a *fait accompli*.

Bateson thought the pictures in the exhibition revealed "a culture in a state of change—changing its very deep premises."[160] He believed all the artists were making statements about process, movement and dynamics, "with a common theme that we are not going to be coerced in certain forms."[161]

Duchamp raised the self-sufficiency aspect of the work of art, its independence of the artist, and the fact that it had a life of its own. "The work of art lives by itself, and the artist who happened to make it is like an irresponsible medium."[162] The artist was thus only a medium, implying that the work of art existed before it appeared on canvas. Milhaud corroborated this view through his own experience as a composer, while Schoenberg was adamant that nothing should interfere with the idea in the creation of a work of art. This last point concurred with Rothko's view that nothing should stand between the artist and his creation.

Wright thought the reaction of the public to a work of art did not really matter as far as the artist was concerned, with which Schoenberg agreed. According to Schoenberg, the only principle to which an artist should pay obedience was never to bow to the taste of the mediocre.

The role of the critic was perceived in different ways. Goldwater thought the critic made it easier to understand the work of art and thus contributed to the "aesthetic receptivity." Wright on the other hand felt that the critic was of no benefit to the artist

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[159] Kenneth Burke, quoted in "The Western Round Table," 27. (Italics in the original text.)
[160] Gregory Bateson, quoted in "The Western Round Table," 31.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Duchamp, quoted in "The Western Round Table," 33.

and that the viewer should be allowed to react “naturally.” Ritchie contended that critics accepted scientific advances, irrespective of their understanding of them, but took a different view when it came to modern art. They hardly tolerated the artist’s right to extend the scope of emotional exploration. Duchamp perceived “criticism” from the angle of the artist’s freedom to express his “individualistic” view. He viewed “the barometer of opposition a healthy indication of the depth of individual expression. The more hostile the criticism, the more encouraged the artist should be.”[163] Milhaud was convinced that criticism did not contribute to the perception of art. As he had never been influenced by criticism he did not know the point of view of the artist who was.

On the role of the collector Duchamp, with foresight, raised the issue of quantity versus quality. Paintings were perceived as investments, since the quantitative evaluation had superseded the qualitative assessment, to which Goldwater agreed. The real collector for Duchamp “selects paintings and puts them on his wall; in other words, ‘he paints himself a collection.’”[164] On the role of the museum some participants took a highly judgmental view. Wright compared them to morgues, where art came to die. He believed that modern art (non-objective art) required a different setting to remain alive. Some posited the right and the privilege of full expression of the artist, and that it was the responsibility of the museum director or critic to preserve that right and privilege.

As we have noted, some of these points were broached at the “Artists’ Sessions,” and a number of these views were echoed by the participants, possibly from the more constricted angle of the artist, but nevertheless in line with the general approach of “The Round Table” participants.

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[163] Ibid., 36.
[164] Ibid.

"No strings were attached to the Club. ... It was ... a market place for ideas."[165]

Philip Pavia

8.3. "The Club"

In the second half of the 1940s, New York City was abuzz with artistic activity, not all of it above ground. Artists—young and not so young—were congregating in informal as well as formal settings in order to exchange ideas. These settings were instrumental in focusing the attention of artists, and subsequently that of the outsiders, on the emergence of an emblematic moment in American twentieth-century art. In some instances the exchanges turned into more than heated debates, setting one group of artists against another in genuine "battles." Philip Pavia referred to these confrontations as "wars." One such "formal" setting with a major impact, according to Pavia, was "The Club," which stood alongside others, such as "Studio 35." Characteristic of the times was a constant tension about issues, which in the end defined what the artists viewed as the essence of their work and came to be known as Abstract Expressionism. One such issue was the presence of images rooted in dreams, which became the battleground first against the European and then against the American Surrealists. The subsequent battle between the "abstractionists" and the "expressionists" remained without a victor, but cleared the air between the two factions, and came closest to identifying the essence of the art practised by Abstract Expressionists.

8.3.1. Genesis

"The Club" was a post-World War II phenomenon on the New York art scene, which played a major part in bringing together artists and intellectuals, American and European. It was the venue where artists and intellectuals exchanged ideas, discussed and debated issues of current concern and argued their points of view in a "formal" setting. It became the hub of artistic happenings in New York City at the end of the 1940s, where the participants had a voice as well as an audience. With hindsight, many art critics have traced the emergence of Abstract Expressionism back to the heyday of

[165] Philip Pavia, *Club Without Walls: Selections from the Journals of Phillip Pavia*, ed. Natalie Edgar (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 2007), 65.

"The Club." Undoubtedly the forerunners of what became an emblematic moment in American painting frequented "The Club" and fuelled many of its debates. In addition to a debating chamber, "The Club" fulfilled a social role as much as anything else, where friendships were made and undone.

The inception of "The Club" took place at a gathering in the loft of the sculptor Ibram Lassaw at 487 Sixth Avenue[166]. The initiator and founder was Philip Pavia, who was an American sculptor of Italian parentage, born in 1911 in Stratford, Connecticut. After a short spell at Yale University, he enrolled at the Art Students League, where he met and became friendly with Pollock and Gorky. In 1934 his father sent him to the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Florence to study art. He regularly spent time in Paris, where he met John Ferren, John Graham, and Landes *Lewitin. He also met the author Henry Miller (1891-1980), who had a major influence on him. In 1946, back in New York, Pavia organised the show "Five Americans: Sculpture Heads" at the Wildenstein Gallery.[167] His biggest impact came through the foundation of "The Club."

According to Pavia, "The Club" had its beginnings in the Waldorf Cafeteria, at the corner of the Avenue of the Americas and 8th Street, where artists started meeting at the beginning of World War II. The group of painters and sculptors, according to Pavia, was led by two overwhelming personalities, Aristodomos *Kaldis and Landes Lewitin, both painters and always at opposite ends in any polemic discussion on art. The Waldorf Cafeteria set was informal, with an "immediate" group of regulars, which included de Kooning and Kline, and "outsiders" (occasional participants), such as John Graham and Meyer Schapiro. Gorky, according to Pavia, never frequented the cafeteria, although he had a major impact on those who did. Issues such as symbolism and abstraction were at the centre of discussions.

With the arrival of the European Surrealists at the end of the 1930s began what Pavia referred to as the "War of the Roses," between "the artists holding a white flower [who] were pure, and those holding a red flower [who] were said to be ambitious."[168] The Surrealists, who according to Pavia found their source of image-making in three so-

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[166] In 1936 Ibram Lassaw's studio, at 232 Wooster Street, had been the venue where the American Abstract Artists (AAA) was set up and organised.
[167] Exact dates are not known.
[168] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 22.

called "doctors"—Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), Carl Jung (1875-1961), and André Breton—held the white flower. The Waldorf Cafeteria group held the red flower, dissociating themselves from dreams as inspiration. The "fight" took place on 8th Street, where Hofmann's school, which Pavia referred to as "the gem of the street,"[169] was located. "It was not only an art school, but a citadel against the French and American Surrealist art network. … Hofmann was the unnamed hero of the emerging Abstract Expressionists."[170]

The arrival of Piet Mondrian in New York in 1940 was greatly welcomed by the Waldorf Cafeteria group. For Pavia Mondrian's theory was opposition to the Surrealists, and his presence in New York, on 34th Street, was a turning point on the New York art scene. The next turning point, according to Pavia, occurred in 1947, when Peggy Guggenheim announced the closure of her gallery and her return to Europe. The refugee artists had started going back to Europe, leaving a power vacuum, which the American Surrealists filled. Pavia included amongst the local Surrealist activists David Hare and Johnny Myers through *VVV*, Parker Tyler[171] through *View* magazine, and Motherwell through *Possibilities*. At last, according to Pavia, the New York Surrealists were able to distance themselves from their French counterparts and gain recognition as a separate entity.

For Pavia Hofmann's influence was more than enduring. Hofmann was viewed as the "high priest of Eighth Street,"[172] who pulled his followers away from the Surrealist dream space and the Jungian symbol. "He gave us words like 'color has an echo inside.' He made life drawing and painting part of abstract art. Hofmann also loosened the tight plane of Mondrian. This was the famous Hofmann push-pull plane, … It was also the opposite of Miró's surrealist [*sic*] idea of a gas-filled plane."[173]

The battle did not lessen with the departure of the European refugees. The "War of the Roses" became that of the "redcoats," a name coined by Harold Rosenberg, versus the "coonskins." The "redcoats" were the more conservative establishment artists feared

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[169] Ibid., 38.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Harrison Parker Tyler (1904-1974), known as Parker Tyler, was an American author, poet, and film critic.
[172] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 45.
[173] Ibid.

by the Waldorf Cafeteria group, but no threat to Hofmann's status and popularity. The "coonskins" consisted of the Waldorf Cafeteria group and the Hofmann School, and the "8th Street bunch,"[174] viewed as the "American frontiersmen."[175] Their group grew in numbers, forcing them to look for bigger premises. For Pavia, the "native Eighth Streeters"[176] won the war with the Surrealists, the New York Surrealists acknowledging their defeat when they started calling themselves the New York School. "They proudly called themselves the New York School and even more proudly the 'First Wave.' It was, however, after 1948, when they shook the ball and chain of Surrealism, that they really could be proud."[177]

In 1948 Pavia found a permanent place for the "coonskins" at number 39 on 8th Street, between Stanley Hayter's print shop and "The Subjects of the Artist" School. The official start of "The Club" was in the autumn of 1948.[178] "The Club" had a strict and complex organisation. There were nineteen original "charter" members, who were allowed to bring guests, the idea being to keep "The Club's" attendance within reason. At Christmas 1948, another eighteen members were added. They were "voting" members and were the continuous guests of "charter" members. The two lists of members changed from time to time, due to dropouts and substitutions, but the number of "voting" members never exceeded eighteen, one less than the nineteen "charter" members. Pavia, Resnick, de Kooning, Lewitin, Marca-Relli, Kline, Reinhardt, and Lassaw were the movers behind "The Club" and attended activities five nights a week on average.[179]

In the spring of 1949 the "Subjects of the Artist" School, which Pavia put in the camp of the "redcoats," disappeared and "Studio 35," owned by New York University, took its place. Goodnough by virtue of his adherence to Hofmann would have been part of the "8th Street bunch." He was certainly a supporter of "Studio 35" in 1949 after the closure of the "Subjects of the Artist" School and tried to help it hold out against "The Club." One of his tactics, according to Pavia, was to keep "the rumor alive that

[174] Ibid., 47.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Some sources give 1949 as the starting date, but this is erroneous.
[179] They ate at the Waldorf Cafeteria, later substituted by the Greenwich Village restaurant, San Remo's, and then went off to "The Club." According to Pavia, they had no particular programme in mind for the evening sessions.

Motherwell[180] was still involved."[181] The question was whether "Studio 35" could "survive without the Motherwell touch?"[182] At first, according to Pavia, Goodnough and Baziotes would come to "The Club" and take part in the special evenings. The "Studio 35" people would then invite a "Club" member to talk to the student body. The first invitation went out to de Kooning, who after some hesitation accepted to speak.[183] But "The Club" put an end to the "cooperative venture,"[184] and in the end won out, since Motherwell joined, as did Newman and Baziotes. "Studio 35" closed with the flourish of the closing seminar, suggested and organised by Goodnough, in April 1950. After the seminar, Goodnough joined the editorial staff of *ARTnews* in the summer.

The popularity of "The Club" led to a membership rush. The membership conditions, however, were strict: students were not accepted, only working artists; architects were not accepted as they were considered colour blind; apart from painters and sculptors, there was a move to accept musicians; Surrealists and figurative painters were accepted in small numbers, as a way of letting some outsiders in; landscape painters were avoided, as landscape painting did not give rise to problems; strict geometricians did not belong; art writers were ostracised, as they were viewed as a potential risk.[185] The acceptance rules were verbal, open to change and subject to exceptions. They concerned in the main the artist's work and the artist's dedication to art. When the clubroom was full, the doors were shut and no new members were admitted. Lewitin ruled on admittance, but despite his iron rule, non-eligible candidates managed to have access.

The activities of "The Club" took place on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday nights. On Wednesday nights there were interesting conversations: Kline spoke on portraits, de Kooning on colour, Guston on brushstrokes, and Rosenberg on the artist and the collectivity. Spontaneous talks were initiated on topics such as "When is a blank canvas pure painting or when is it pure energy?"[186] The panel discussions took place on

[180] Motherwell had been spending time in Boston since 1948.
[181] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 55.
[182] Ibid.
[183] He agreed on condition that Motherwell would read his paper, which Motherwell did.
[184] Pavia, *Club without Walls*, 55.
[185] One key rule was the rejection of out-of-towners, which according to Pavia, was a remnant of the lingering hate for regional art after the WPA Federal Art Project.
[186] Ibid., 58.

Friday nights.[187] The panel selection was done by Pavia together with Reinhardt, Emanuel Navaretta[188], de Kooning, and Milton Resnick.

The panel debates were restricted to aesthetics and philosophy; personal history was of no interest; politics were banned, as were cameras. A distinction was made between "panelists" and "floor panelists," the latter speaking only from the floor and attacking the panelists. After the panel sessions, scheduled on average almost twice a week, the participants spilled over into the Cedar Tavern and 10th Street.[189] The activists of "The Club" were also involved in fierce and sharp exchanges between painters and sculptors, who appeared to be even greater individualists than the painters.[190] In addition to panels on philosophy and on aesthetics, "The Club" sometimes organised musical evenings, including mini-jazz concerts and music by John Cage.[191] The °New York School of Poetry had its first readings there, and occasionally "The Club" organised dealers' or architects' panels.

Pavia summed up the general purpose of the venture. "No strings were attached to the Club. It really didn't have secrecy: it was open to dedicated artists and their selected guests. No students, no innocent collegiate atmosphere, no stupid questions from unripe grapes, and no college or university behind it all. It was ... a market place for ideas."[192] The founders wanted to recreate the atmosphere of the Waldorf. "It was the lost-and-found department of the art world."[193]

8.3.2. 1948: the turning point

For Pavia 1948 was a turning point, as events brought about a break with the immediate past and the art world was thrust into the future. Perhaps it was this break that led

[187] The invitation postcards for the Friday panel discussions were sent out on Thursday.
[188] Emanuel Navaretta (1914-1977) was a writer, poet, and painter, who was a regular at the Waldorf Cafeteria, and later joined "The Club." (See Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 140.)
[189] The panel sessions went on for the whole of Pavia's seven-year tenure and ran into the hundreds. Willem de Kooning had the highest number of panel appearances, followed by Franz Kline. Elaine de Kooning came fourteenth, followed by Grace Hartigan.
[190] According to Pavia, the colourists were the happiest artists.
[191] According to Pavia, it was at "The Club" that John Cage developed the concept of the interval of silence.
[192] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 65.
[193] Ibid.

Goodnough to collect the views of his seven “trailblazers” in 1949.[194] According to Pavia, 1948 was “a key year, full of disagreements at the Waldorf Cafeteria, on Eighth Street, in our Tenth Street enclave where we had our studios, and at the new Club.”[195]

It was the year of Gorky’s suicide, which Pavia qualified as “a blow to the Eighth Street gang.”[196] It was also the year, as we noted, that Pollock and de Kooning had breakthrough solo exhibitions—Pollock at Betty Parsons and de Kooning at Charles Egan. For Pavia it was also the year that they met the homecoming veterans, amongst whom he included Resnick, Reinhardt, Leo Castelli[197], Ferren, and Guston. Eighth Street became the artists’ hub, while 10th Street became a hive of artistic activity.[198] “Thirty to Forty artists were living and working there. This was the American avant-garde. We were moving away from Surrealism, towards Abstract Expressionism.”[199] The works of these artists were shown at seven or eight co-op art galleries, such as the Tanager Gallery. For the “redcoats,” also referred to as the “First Wave” group, 1948 was a pivotal year. The choice was between Surrealism and change, and, according to Pavia, they chose change. “The dream content of Jung and Freud metamorphosed into a new psychic content derived from divine sources—Hebrew, Zen, Theosophical, American or Mexican beliefs. This new content was congruent with the flat formalist plane—a presence, without monster images within the plane, hence the psychic plane.”[200]

It is at “The Club” that the concept of “sense impressions”[201] was given recognition. According to Pavia, Rothko produced a show of beautiful sense impression paintings. Newman was part of the “First Wave” group but an “oddball.” He became “a sense

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[194] Goodnough may perhaps also have been encouraged by Tony Smith for that particular reason.
[195] Ibid., 67.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Leo Castelli (1907-1999), born Leo Krausz in Trieste, was an American art dealer of Austro-Hungarian Jewish origin, who arrived in the United States in 1941. He opened his own gallery in 1947, where he showcased contemporary art for five decades. Castelli and his wife were two of only three non-artist members (the other was the dealer Charles Egan) of “The Club.” His first American curatorial effort was the “Ninth Street Show” of 1951. For a detailed biography of Leo Castelli see Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo Castelli et les siens*.
[198] Ad Reinhardt, Alfred Leslie, Mercedes Matter, Perle *Fine, and Joan *Mitchell were only some of the many artists living and working in and around 10th Street, according to Pavia.
[199] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 69.
[200] Ibid., 72.
[201] Philip Pavia described a “sense impression” as “the impression on the mind made by the stimulus of a sensory organ. It differs from sensory which refers to the faculty of seeing, or hearing, or feeling, etc.” (Ibid., 72.)

impressionist" in 1950, according to Pavia. Reinhardt, Georgio *Cavallon, Michael *Loew were the first to make Mondrian's taped lines into "sense impression colors that were fresh from the workshop of the sensibilities."[202] They did so before Newman. "It was at the Club that the sense impression was valued higher than style."[203]

Clyfford Still came to "The Club" after "The Subjects of the Artist" School closed and, according to Pavia, he too started his paintings with a "sense impression." "Clyfford Still and Ad Reinhardt were the two greatest psychic plane artists around. Rothko, Gottlieb and later Newman, joined the fray."[204] For Pavia, Baziotes, Rothko and Still were the three leaders of the "First Wave;" Newman was not around yet, as he was just a writer then. Motherwell viewed himself as part of the "First Wave," but Pavia was not convinced. The genuine "First Wave" artists, including, amongst others, de Kooning, Kline, Guston, Jack *Tworkov, Esteban *Vincente, and Resnick, were not patronised by collectors. According to Natalie Edgar, Pavia was adamant that "The Club" was never patronised until about 1955. Greenberg became the king of critics, according to Pavia, at the end of the 1940s. Pavia thought his beliefs, but not his choices, were remarkable, and that he became a traitor to artists when he took over as the leader of the art establishment. Greenberg's prescription for American art was "style" above all else, according to Pavia. And "style" was of no interest to artists of "The Club." It did not figure as part of the essence of their work.

"The Club" was more than just a venue for discussions on topics of an aesthetic nature. It was a breeding ground for new ideas, a place where antagonisms collided and were fought out. Despite its strict structure it had an organic life. The hard core was surrounded by sub-groups, which were living within the realm of the core and feeding off it, as well as enhancing it. It was the pattern of confrontation on the numerous fronts of interest that brought out the truths as well as the fallacies. According to Pavia, "The Club" had its heroes: Picasso was crowned the king; the Abstractionists revered Kandinsky, while the Expressionists worshipped Chaim Soutine (1894-1943). Kandinsky and Soutine supplanted Miró, Max Ernst, Arp and Breton, who were all but

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[202] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 72.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., 73.

extinct in "The Club." The "hard-core *purist* group"[205] revered Mondrian. "It was an unending war: panels, special evenings, informal evenings. Nothing would quiet the war down." [206]

Pavia explained that the momentum was with "The Club," whose membership was increasing daily, including some unusual fellow travellers. After 1950, the intellectuals converged on "The Club." The poet Frank O'Hara[207], the art historian William Seitz[208], and many others[209] all found their way to its premises. The new intellectuals added new life to its activities, and the new arrivals kept the panellists on their toes from the floor.

"The Club" members were beginning to make inroads on the art scene—exhibitions of their works were on the rise. The period, according to Pavia, was one characterised by the outright antagonism between the "abstractionists" and the "expressionists." Kline led the "expressionists," although he was popular with the straight-line painters, the so-called "religious T-square fanatics."[210] He was no geometrician or T-square painter, but, as we shall see in Goodnough's article, created his images with calligraphy-like brushstrokes, using the two-way format of horizontal and vertical thrusts adopted by de Kooning. This resulted in paintings of pure abstraction, free of dreams and Jungian monsters. Pavia considered Kline an "abstractionist without geometry and order,"[211] as opposed to de Kooning "an expressionist without storytelling."[212] The two artists were different painters but close to the same source in that both adopted the two-way format, consisting of horizontal and vertical, in addition to corner, forces, which together through their participation in the art space created a new space, appearing to harbour a life of its own. Pavia considered it "a breakthrough in formal invention,"[213] and called it

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[205] Ibid., 78. (Italics in the original text.)
[206] Ibid., 80.
[207] Francis Russell "Frank" O'Hara (1926-1966) was an American writer, poet and art critic. As a curator at the Museum of Modern Art, O'Hara became prominent on the New York City art scene. (*The Cambridge Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. "O'Hara, Frank Russell.")
[208] William Seitz (1914-1974) was voted in as a member.
[209] The playwright Lionel Abel (1910-2001), the German philosophy Professor Heinrich Blücher (1899-1970), the puppeteer and art gallery director John Myers, the art historian Robert Goldwater, amongst others, were all attracted to "The Club."
[210] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 91.
[211] Ibid..
[212] Ibid.
[213] Ibid., 92.

a "*Second Space*."[214] It had "the feeling of authorship or a persona within the space."[215] For him it was more an experience than a style. Pavia was convinced that Hofmann's approach to space, which focused on the flatness of the canvas, was having an impact on young painters. Hofmann's impact had not gone unnoticed, as Greenberg fully recognised.

The antagonism between "abstractionists" and "expressionists" at "The Club" led to the "*point of pressure*,"[216] which Pavia described as the meeting, or more accurately, the almost touching point of "expressionism" and "abstraction." This strict "abstractionist" art did not allow for the rebirth of colour, which Pavia maintained came out later in Abstract Expressionism. In the early 1950s the internecine wars between "abstractionists" and "expressionists" held full swing at "The Club," while the painters were being given recognition via a succession of one-man shows.

8.3.3. 1950: the defining moment

The year 1950 was another key year, according to Pavia, as the centre of gravity shifted from the Betty Parsons Gallery[217] to the Charles Egan Gallery. Charles Egan was a dealer, born and bred in the Waldorf Cafeteria, exceptionally a "charter" member of "The Club," who had been exposed to the "abstractionist-expressionist" civil war and was no friend of the "First Wave" and their Jungian roots. The shows at the Egan Gallery opened the floodgates to all, allowing artists to follow their own inclination.

New definitions emerged in the process: figure and ground, where ground was passive and figure was all important; frame and field, where frame was the boundary and field was the passive area contained within the frame; plane differed from field, in that plane was monolithic and field was passive; and finally the two-way format, which consisted of horizontal and vertical as well as corner forces, all participating in space.

In 1951 "The Club" was three years old and the idea for a grand exhibition of the core members was mooted. This led to the "Ninth Street Show," the first collective show

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[214] Ibid. (Italics in the original text.)
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid., 93. (Italics in the original text.)
[217] Parsons was representing the "First Wave," according to Pavia.

featuring the works of young Abstract Expressionist artists, which signified a new departure. The prime movers were Resnick, Kline, Marca-Relli, and Frederick Kiesler. The organisation of the show occurred at "The Club," where all the selection meetings took place in private. According to Pavia, the show, on the opening night with artists arguing and defending their corner, reflected all the infighting at "The Club." Also, the show was evidence that the "expressionists" and the "abstractionists," and the other factions within "The Club," were coming together. Pavia explained the thread that linked the artists of the show. "Each painting or sculpture embodied the personal sensibilities of an individual, without too much subject matter. It was this panorama of the individual sensibilities that was the theme of the "Ninth Street Show."[218] The uptown dealers were hostile to the show and forbade their artists to join. One who did join was Motherwell. The "Ninth Street Show" put the focus on "sensibilities." The elements of the new art included the three primary colours and movement, horizontal movement across the landscape and vertical movement "piercing the horizontals." The show attracted numerous reactions, of which most were critical. The critics, with the exception of Thomas Hess[219] and Harold Rosenberg, perceived the paintings as "unfinished." Hess and Rosenberg defended the new realm of sensibilities, in contrast, according to Pavia, to the "over-inflated critic," Greenberg.[220]

Hess, according to Pavia, made the new art clearer. He focused his response on format, which was not for him another element of style; he was not a great admirer of the "First Wave" painters; he made no comparisons. According to Nathalie Edgar[221], Hess did not use art history jargon, did not do any name-dropping, but made the artist the star. It was thanks to Hess that "The Club" became independent of the uptown establishment and gained respect.[222] According to Pavia, Rosenberg called "The Club" the "*arena*;"[223] he attended "The Club" events from beginning to end; he identified the relevance of the social content in the process of painting, which the artists rejected as to

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[218] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 100.
[219] Thomas B. Hess is discussed in Chapter 9.1.
[220] According to Nathalie Edgar, "*Clement Greenberg was the opposite of Hess and Rosenberg. He was the leader-critic. He told the artist what kind of art would have validity in the future. Style is necessary and the critic is the king of the style.*" (Natalie Edgar, ed., *Club Without Walls*, 107. Italics in the original.)
[221] Nathalie Edgar (1932-), who was married to Philip Pavia, worked for Thomas Hess at *ARTnews*.
[222] The "success" of the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 led "The Club" members to follow it up with the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" in 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957. "The Club" set up a committee to select the shows.
[223] Pavia, *Club Without Walls*, 104. (Italics in the original.)

them expressionism was self-expression. This was in opposition to the Jungian approach, whereby the social content was revealed through the objects and symbols represented in the images of Surrealism and Dada.

November 1951 saw the publication of *Abstract Painting: Background and American Phase* by Hess, in which he provided an analysis of the situation. Hess believed that "abstract" painting and "expressionism" constituted two poles at opposite ends of the same aesthetic, and predicted the split between the "abstractionists" and "expressionists." Many "Club" members, however, did not go along with this analysis. Pavia feared that the split would be the loss of "The Club," and in order to avoid the risk he organized a confrontation between the different factions. He set up seven panels, whose subject would be the two poles of Hess's analysis. The "abstractionists" were fans of Mondrian, Malevich, and Kandinsky: they formed the largest and most aggressive group. The "expressionists" favoured the likes of Picasso, Soutine, Rouault, Giacometti, and Dubuffet. They represented the smaller group but were dubbed the "stubborn diehards."[224] On the side were smaller groups of undecided voters. The objective of the exercise was "to reach an entente between the two poles."[225] The series of panels became the prologue to the confrontation of the factions within "The Club." The debating during the panel sessions became fierce. According to Pavia, following the panels the protagonists on both sides started using the term "Abstract Expressionism," although nobody really liked or wanted the name. "It was always half wrong."[226]

According to Pavia, the result of the discussions, after all the years of aesthetic antagonism and warfare, was "unexpected unity."[227] "Finally there was something that joined abstractionists and expressionists: it was the belief that under the theories and concepts and geometry and styles of art there was a sea of energy called the sensibilities. … this sea was guided by authorship of the artist."[228]

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[224] Ibid., 109.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid., 110.
[227] Ibid., 120.
[228] Ibid.

What the warfare avoided at all cost was "group style." This was considered a major victory over the French approach, for which style and handwriting were fundamental in seeing art. "In fact, there was no style. … Finally, we had undressed style and grabbed a pure, naked experience."[229] Obliterating style is what made it difficult to agree to a name for this new painting. Hence, the hybrid label of Abstract Expressionism. When the question was raised whether Abstract Expressionism could be described in terms of a style, the answer was "no." For Pavia the one thing it was not was a style.

Pavia explained what was at stake during the warfare. "In us is a secret box where all our artists' tools are stored—these are the sensibilities [by which the raw senses are refined and sharpened to make a work of fine art]. If we excavate deeper, we hit the bottom of the box. It is about this box that the Club artists fought in all their panels, their café nights, and their comradeships—to bring everything out of the box."[230] He further clarified that the sensibilities emerged from the box in different stages. Thus, for a colour to emerge from the box, a dedicated personality was needed to exert the necessary pull of gravity.

The objective of "The Club" was to ensure that the personality and the sensibilities interacted and became like one. This represented a major change in the theory of art, whereby the personality of the artist was the dominant element of a work of art and determined all other the elements. Pavia referred to it as the "lives" theory. "An art which is truly alive is built on the rock-bottom, natural endowments[231] of the personality."[232] Pavia believed that the "lives" theory of art kept the group together. The talk was about the personal investigations taking place in the studios. "Slowly the premise became clearer and clearer that personality was the prime mover in the workshop of the sensibilities."[233]

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[229] Ibid., 127.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Natural endowments are specific to each person.
[232] Ibid., 128.
[233] Ibid., 129.

The story of “The Club” in its original format lasted until 1955, when Pavia resigned and a committee was selected to run it.[234] The torch was passed on to a new generation, but the “charter” and “voting” members were still active on the panels. The list of new names was long.[235] After leaving “The Club” Pavia started a new venture: he founded and published *It Is* magazine, which for him represented an extension of “The Club.”

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[234] According to Nathalie Edgar, the committee members included, amongst others, Leo Castelli, Herman Cherry, Kenneth Campbell, and Nicolas Marsicano. John Ferren was the president and Irving Sandler organised the panels.

[235] The list included, amongst others, Merce Cunningham, Friedl Dzubas, Herbert Ferber, Helen Frankenthaler, Jane Freilicher, Alfred Leslie, and Richard *Stankewicz. Artists from California, such as Ruben Kadish, joined “The Club” as did some expatriates who had returned from post-war Paris.

> "As I see it, the critic is valuable insofar as he enriches the environment of ideas in which artists work. ... This is quite different from the function of reviewers, which is to get around as many shows as they can to make judgment as to how good or bad the work is."[1]
>
> Harold Rosenberg

CHAPTER 9. - THE "INSIDER" AS WRITER

9.1. The "reviewer's" pen

In 1950 Robert Goodnough's name appeared in the Summer issue of *ARTnews* as one of seven Editorial Associates. The other six Editorial Associates were Larry Campbell, who had joined the team as the sixth member in April 1950, Irvin Haas, Priscilla MacKenzie, Gretchen T. Munson, Dorothy Seckler, and Ruthven Todd.

Goodnough in the early 1950s could not afford to paint full-time. The job at *ARTnews* was part-time and enabled him to paint in between visits to museums and galleries and writing reviews. "But seeing so many shows got a little depressing, and sometimes it made me feel that it was no use painting more pictures when there were so many around, although that was not exactly the right way to look at it. Seeing a good show would do a lot for me, but seeing a lot of bad paintings was awfully depressing."[2] Goodnough clarified that out of hundreds of shows he would see one or two "good" shows a month.

ARTnews, founded in 1902 by James Clarence Hyde and then called *Hyde's Weekly Art News*, was considered in the 1950s one of the leading American art journals. It was first published as a weekly broadsheet on newsprint, printed on one side only. Its original purpose was to provide factual information about artists, art exhibitions and art

[1] Harold Rosenberg, quoted in "All about Everything," interview by Howard Conant, published in *Craft Horizons*, August 1975, reprinted in *The Case of the Baffled Radical*, by Harold Rosenberg (The University of Chicago Press: New York, Chicago, 1985), 213-214.
[2] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," in *Goodnough*, by Martin Bush (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 198.

sales for "the guidance of art editors and collectors."[3] The emphasis was on trustworthiness and reliability.[4] In the first forty years of its foundation the periodical underwent numerous changes and appeared in different incarnations. Already in November 1904 it had acquired a new publisher, James Bliss Townsend, an art critic for the large-distribution newspaper *New York Herald*. Its name was changed to *American Art News*.[5] It was still published as a weekly, but on four pages and on better quality paper, allowing for printing of fine-screen engravings. It also began advertising art galleries, art schools, and art suppliers. Its contents became more gossipy. It became a firm supporter of living American art. In 1907 Townsend gave up his job at the *New York Herald* in order to devote himself entirely to the periodical, combining the positions of editor and publisher. The review thrived under his leadership, which lasted until his death on 10 March 1921. By that stage the periodical comprised weekly issues of twenty to thirty pages and its advertising had become international.

Upon Townsend's death, the periodical was sold to Peyton Boswell, who was art critic for the *New York American*.[6] Boswell took over as editor, while Samuel W. Frankel, who was responsible for art and theatre advertising at the *New York Herald*, became its publisher. Under the stewardship of Boswell and Frankel the editorial became livelier and the typographical arrangement more attractive. In February 1923 its name was again changed. It became *ARTnews* and acquired the subtitle *An International Newspaper of Art*. In addition, the volume of advertising increased significantly, reaching a peak around 1929. At the end of 1925 Samuel Frankel acquired full control of the paper.[7] The periodical continued to prosper and in 1928 it changed from a weekly newspaper to a weekly magazine. The cover was now printed on heavy paper and carried a single illustration. The magazine did not, however, survive the Depression unscathed. Its income from advertising dropped drastically between 1931

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[3] A[lfred]. M. F[rankfurter]., 50 Years of *ARTnews*," *ARTnews*, Summer 1952, 116.

[4] The initial announcement stated: "The purpose of *Hyde's Weekly Art News* is to supply plain statements of fact for the guidance of art editors and collectors concerning artists, art exhibitions and sales of art objects. The endeavour will be to make the news interesting, up to date and absolutely reliable. Appreciating that the value of this paper to art editors and collectors will be its bona fide news of art matters, the publisher will print only that which he believes to be trustworthy … ." (Ibid.)

[5] The title remained *American Art News* from 5 November 1904 till 10 February 1923.

[6] The *New York American* was founded in 1902 and ran until 1937. On Sundays it was published as the *New York American and Journal*. (Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030023/ [last accessed June 19, 2019].)

[7] Peyton Boswell, who was replaced by Deoch Fulton as Editor, founded *Art Digest* in 1926, which ran till 1954.

and 1935, as did its readership. The periodical avoided going under by downsizing its editorial staff. Samuel Frankel died in 1935, and by that stage its circulation had dropped to 1,400 copies. Frankel's widow took over the running of the magazine as publisher with the assistance of her son Robert S. Frankel, as advertising manager, a post he was still holding in 1952. The paper switched to a monthly publication in 1946.

Under the leadership of Alfred M. Frankfurter[8], appointed editor in 1936, *ARTnews* became a seminal source for art information and criticism. When Robert Goodnough first arrived in New York City in 1946, the periodical had been going for forty-four years and had undergone most of its major changes. Frankfurter's contribution to *ARTnews* turned it into an art magazine of international standing. He consistently took position in favour of freedom of expression, and in particular of modern art, when certain members of Congress qualified its creators as left-wing subversives and Communists during the Cold War in the 1950s. Frankfurter did not shy away from contentious issues, openly voicing his liberal opinions in the editorial.[9] Frankfurter widened the scope of the magazine by recruiting major art writers, both American and foreign.[10] American writers included the art critic Henry McBride[11], whom he rescued after McBride's dismissal from *The Sun*[12], Agnes Mongan[13], Walter *Pach, John

[8] Alfred M. Frankfurter (1906-1965), born in Chicago, studied in Europe at the Humboldt University in Berlin and obtained a graduate degree from the Institut für Kunstgeschichte (Institute for Art History), which helps to explain his European outlook on the American art scene. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians,* s.v. "Frankfurter Alfred M.," http://arthistorians.info/frankfurtera [accessed April 15, 2019].)

[9] In 1953, in the Summer issue editorial, Alfred Frankfurter, under the title "The New Iconoclasts," denounced the opposition of certain groups in society to so-called public art with a pro-Communist or anti-capitalist content.

[10] Foreign contributors under Alfred Frankfurter's watch included Jean Cassou (1897-1986), Director of the Musée national d'art moderne, Kenneth Clark (1903-1983) and Philip Hendy (1900-1980), Directors of the National Gallery in London, John Pope-Hennessy (1913-1994), Victoria and Albert Museum Curator, André Malraux (1901-1976), and Cyril Connolly (1903-1974), editor of *Horizon*.

[11] Henry McBride (1867-1962) was an American art critic, who joined the *New York Sun* in 1913. At *ARTnews* he was made responsible for covering all major art exhibitions at museums and main galleries in New York City.

[12] *The Sun* was a New York newspaper, published from 1833 until 1950. In 1920 it briefly merged with the *New York Herald* for a few months. It was considered a serious paper, like the city's two more successful broadsheets, the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. *The Sun* was the most politically conservative of the three. (Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/ [accessed June 19, 2019].)

[13] Agnes Mongan (1905-1996) was an American art historian, who served as a curator and director for the Harvard Art Museums. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Mongan, Agnes," http://arthistorians.info/mongana [accessed April 2, 2019].)

Rewald[14], and Aline Saarinen.[15] Frankfurter's importance lay in his editorship of an art journal developing in parallel to the New York art scene itself.

Although Frankfurter was to remain a steady presence as editor and publisher through the 1940s and 1950s[16], the editorial team under his leadership underwent numerous changes between 1946 and 1955. One of the key changes was the appointment of Thomas B. Hess[17], an Editorial Associate since 1946, as Managing Editor in 1948. Born in 1920 in Rye, New York, Hess was educated both in the United States and Switzerland before enrolling at Yale University, where he graduated *magna cum laude* in 1942. His focus had been on French art and literature. In the summer of 1942 he worked at the Museum of Modern Art under Alfred Barr and Dorothy Miller before joining the American Air Force to serve in World War II as a pilot. Following his discharge he joined *ARTnews*. Hess embraced the emerging "advanced" artists and became a vocal supporter of their work. In 1951 he published *Abstract Painting: Background and American Phase*, the first serious book-length treatment of "advanced" American painting, which triggered, as we noted in Chapter 8, a battle of

[14] John Rewald (1912-1994) was an academic, author and art historian, known as a scholar of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism. He was born in Berlin, of a Jewish background. He studied art history at various universities, including at Hamburg University under Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968). He entered the Sorbonne in 1932, ostensibly for a year's study, but after Hitler's rise to power in 1933, he was compelled to remain as an exile in France, where he was interned as an enemy alien. In 1941, sponsored by Alfred Barr Jr., he emigrated to America, where in 1943 he became a consultant for the Museum of Modern Art. In 1946 his work on Impressionism, *The History of Impressionism*, was published to universal acclaim. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Rewald, John," http:// www.arthistorians.info [accessed January 21, 2019].)

[15] Aline Bernstein Saarinen (1914-1972) was an American-born critic of art and architecture, of Jewish origin. She obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree at Vassar College in 1935, and was awarded a Master of Arts degree in the history of architecture at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in 1941. She joined *ARTnews* in 1944 and was Managing Editor from 1946 to 1948. She wrote under the surname Louchheim (the name of her first husband). From 1948 to 1953 she was associate art editor and critic at the *New York Times*. Her second husband was the architect Eero Saarinen. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Saarinen Bernstein, Aline," http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Saarinen-aline-bernstein [accessed January 21, 2019].)

[16] Frankfurter remained in charge until his death in 1965.

[17] According to the *ARTnews* editorial management information, Thomas B. Hess (1920-1978) joined the periodical, as one of four Editorial Associates in February 1946, when the periodical switched from a fortnightly to a monthly publication. In the course of 1947 he was promoted to Associate Editor. In the January 1948 issue Hess was listed as Managing Editor. He remained Managing Editor till the Summer issue of 1954, when he was replaced by Kermit I. Lasner, who had been an Associate Editor since January 1954, but only remained Managing Editor till October 1954, when Betty Chamberlain took over. Hess took on the function of Executive Editor. He was Managing Editor during the whole period of Robert Goodnough's presence at *ARTnews*.

sorts at "The Club." Amongst the artists he particularly championed were Willem de Kooning and Barnett Newman.[18]

His views on the arts in general and his vision on plastic arts in America had a major impact on the presentation and content of *ARTnews*, and as a consequence on the response of the American public to modern and contemporary art. Prior to 1949 *ARTnews* had already singled out young "advanced" talent in its reviews. In its May 1946 issue Jackson Pollock was mentioned as "one of the most influential young American abstractionists"[19] in a review of his one-man show at Art of This Century. There was mention of his use of "an automatic technique, pushing totemic and metaphorical shapes into swirling webs of pigment."[20] Although the content of *ARTnews* still focused on the reliable and conventional, the editorial of May 1946 seemed to announce a shift in interest with Hess's article "Veterans: Now and Then," in which the author traced the changes effected by the war experience in the paintings of six artists.

A change in favour of contemporary artists became noticeable in 1949 with the publication of "Meanings in Modern Sculpture," an article on modern sculpture by Isamu Noguchi (1904-1988), giving an innovatory insight into the creation of a sculpture by a living artist. Reviews by young artists represented another novelty and became a trend. In the March 1949 issue Elaine de Kooning, an Editorial Associate, signed off the review of Jackson Pollock's show at the Betty Parsons Gallery. She described the new abstractions as "violent in drawing and in application of paint, ... paradoxically tranquil in expression."[21] Her succinct analysis showed the insightfulness of a fellow artist. The interest in younger artists was illustrated in the Summer issue of the same year by a review of the show "Young artists" at the Laurel Gallery, New York. The show featured works of 105 young artists, none of them older than thirty-two. The reviewer—Elaine de Kooning again, herself aged thirty-one—noted that the works were in the majority abstract, mostly derived from nature. Robert Goodnough

[18] Thomas Hess had monographs published on both Willem de Kooning and Barnett Newman—*Willem de Kooning* in 1959 and 1968, and *Barnett Newman* in 1969.
[19] "Jackson Pollock," Reviews & Previews, *ARTnews*, May 1946, 63. At the time the reviews were not attributed, so we do not know who authored the Jackson Pollock review.
[20] Ibid.
[21] E[laine de]. K[ooning]., "Jackson Pollock," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, March 1949, 44.

was mentioned for the first time. His work—*Forest*—was singled out as "less derivative and more boldly painted."[22]

Hess's approach was reflected in the editorial appointments upon his promotion to Managing Editor in 1948. All seven Editorial Associates listed in the Summer 1950 issue [23] had joined under Hess's editorial watch, some as Priscilla MacKenzie, as early as February 1948. Of Goodnough's colleagues, Larry Campbell (1914-1998) was perhaps one of the most representative of the recruitment policy at the time. Lawrence Campbell was born in Paris in 1914 and had a cosmopolitan education: he attended Westminster School in London, the °London Central School of Arts and Crafts and the Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris—Goodnough's teacher George Hess had studied there before the First World War—before settling down in the United States. In 1941 he enlisted in the United States Army and served in the Counter-Intelligence Corps, his knowledge of several languages standing him in good stead. After the war he went to study painting at the Art Students League in 1946, and remained associated with the institution for the rest of his life. According to his obituary in the *New York Times* of 4 July 1998, he was known as the school's "resident intellectual."[24] He wrote reviews and articles on art and artists for a number of art journals, of which *ARTnews* was probably the most important.

Dorothy Seckler (1910-1994) was another example of the typical post-World War II *ARTnews* reviewer. She was born in 1910 in Baltimore, Maryland, and attended the Maryland Institute, where she graduated. She was awarded a travelling scholarship, which enabled her to journey through Europe in the early 1930s and become directly acquainted with the prevailing art trends and movements across the Atlantic. She returned to America at the height of the Depression and settled in New York, where she earned a living as an illustrator and a window designer for department stores. She

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[22] E[laine de]. K[ooning]., "Young Artists," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Summer 1949, 55.

[23] The editorial principals since January 1950 consisted of Alfred M. Frankfurter, Editor and Publisher, Thomas B. Hess, Managing Editor, Henry A. La Farge and Amy Robinson, Associate Editors, and Bradbury Thompson, Typographical-Design Consultant.

[24] Obituary, *New York Times*, July 4, 1998. (https://www.nytimes.com /1998/07/04/arts/lawrence-campbell-critic-painter-and-art-instructor-84.html [accessed January 21, 2019].) He had his first exhibition, in New York, at the Contemporary Arts Gallery in 1951.

obtained a Master of Arts degree in Art History and Art Education at Columbia University and joined *ARTnews* at the end of 1949.[25]

Unlike Campbell and Seckler, Robert Goodnough had not enjoyed a cosmopolitan upbringing, nor had he travelled outside the United States before the war, and had never set foot in Europe. What he did have in common with his colleagues were his artistic aspirations and interest in contemporary art. Robert Goodnough's first contribution to *ARTnews* consisted of eight reviews to the Summer issue of 1950. They included Clyfford Still's one-man show at the Betty Parsons Gallery and seven shows of lesser-known artists. His reviews were succinct, probably in compliance with editorial requirements.

Goodnough contributed reviews to every issue, with the exception of the September 1953 issue, until his departure in 1954. He was part of the editorial team for four full years and was included as such for the last time in the Summer issue of 1954. During his time with *ARTnews*, Goodnough reviewed over 500 shows, both solo and group shows as well as museum exhibitions.[26] The reviews took him to numerous downtown and midtown galleries, where he had ample opportunity to see the work of American artists. His reviews were concise and to the point, rarely omitting a brief background of the artist on show. However brief the review, he generally furnished an artist's insight into the works on display.

His most prolific annual output occurred in 1951, when he contributed 153 reviews spread over ten issues, followed by 1952, when he produced 138 reviews also spread over ten issues, and then 1953 with 129 reviews spread over nine issues. The years 1950 and 1954 were not complete years: in 1950, he contributed fifty-nine reviews spread over five issues, and in 1954 he contributed seventy-nine reviews spread over six issues. During his stay at *ARTnews* Goodnough was given several opportunities to contribute a more in-depth analysis of the working method and creative process of a number of artists, of which Jackson Pollock was the most renowned at the time. In

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[25] Megan McShea, "A Finding aid to the Dorothy Gees Seckler Collection of Sound Recordings Relating to Art and Artists, 1962-1976, in the Archives of American Art," May 27, 2015, 2-3, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://sirismm.si.edu/EADpdfs/AAA.seckdoro.pdf [last accessed October 10, 2019].)

[26] A comprehensive list of his reviews is included in Appendix 3.

addition to Pollock, the list included the painter Franz Kline and the sculptors Saul Baizerman and Herbert Ferber. After leaving *ARTnews*, Goodnough contributed one more analysis, “Hare makes a sculpture” in March 1956.[27]

The Summer issue of 1950, which covered the months of June, July, and August, was a good illustration of how *ARTnews* reflected changes on the American art scene. In the editorial Alfred Frankfurter reported on the open letter to Roland L. Redmond, President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, signed by twenty-eight artists, who objected to the members of the jury designated for the all-American national competition for American painters organised by the Metropolitan. The signatories claimed that the members, although mainly artists themselves, would not be amenable to “advanced” art, which would therefore not be fairly represented in their selection. The twenty-eight signatories[28] rejected the “monster national exhibition”[29] and refused to submit work to the jury. Baziotes, Gottlieb, de Kooning, Motherwell, Newman, Pollock, and Rothko were amongst the signatories. Frankfurter expressed his misgivings about the signatories’ public refusal to submit their works on the grounds that this would deny the public the opportunity to judge their work. He urged the protestors to revise their stand on refusing to enter the competition. The editorial revealed the antagonism between the old “established” art world and the breed of younger “advanced” artists, who were no longer prepared to play according to the rules of the old art “establishment.”

The same issue of *ARTnews* included an article by Alfred Barr, entitled “7 Americans Open in Venice,” on the selection of artists for the American participation in the Venice Biennale. In the article he indicated that the American art world was beginning to take note of the younger artists. The American Pavilion was organized under the auspices of

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[27] A detailed commentary of these analyses follows in section 5 of this chapter.

[28] The names of the artists are listed in the order of appearance in the letter. Jimmy Ernst, Adolph Gottlieb, Robert Motherwell, William Baziotes, Hans Hofmann, Barnett Newman, Clyfford Still, Richard Pousette-Dart, Theodoros Stamos, Ad Reinhardt, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, Bradley Walker Tomlin, Willem de Kooning, Hedda Sterne, James Brooks, Weldon Kees, and Fritz Bultman. The painters were supported in their stand by a number of sculptors: Herbert Ferber, David Smith, Ibram Lassaw, Mary Callery (1903-1977), Day Schnabel (1905-1991), Seymour Lipton, Peter Grippe, Theodore Roszak, David Hare, and Louise Bourgeois. (Open Letter to Roland L. Redmond, May 20, 1950, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/open-letter-to-roland-l-redmond-president-metropolitan-museum-art-9959 [last accessed June 19, 2019].)

[29] Ibid.

the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art and The Art Foundation.[30] Eighty pictures by John Marin were displayed in four galleries as a one-man retrospective in honour of the artist. The American Pavilion also included a group show of twenty-seven works by six painters, representing new trends in America. Barr presented three of these artists—Gorky, de Kooning and Pollock—whom he referred to as "three of the younger leaders"[31] in the United States. In actual fact of the three artists, only Pollock was born and bred in the United States.[32]

9.2. The start of things: summer of 1950

Goodnough's first initialled review in *ARTnews* appeared in the Summer issue of 1950, and covered Clyfford Still's one-man show at the Betty Parsons Gallery. By that stage the gallery regularly exhibited twelve shows a season, from September to May, with each show lasting only two to three weeks. At the time there was little interest in avant-garde American art, but Parsons was bold enough to show the works of "advanced" artists, such as Pollock. When Peggy Guggenheim closed Art of This Century in 1947, Pollock, Rothko, and Still joined Betty Parsons, which already had on its list Newman and a growing number of contemporaries. Still together with Pollock, Rothko and Newman came to dominate the gallery's shows during the years through to 1951. Newman had become a close friend of Parsons and was given much leeway in curating the shows. Parsons allowed her artists freedom in planning and designing their exhibitions, but she was not an aggressive salesperson. It therefore took the gallery several years to become profitable. The year 1951 marked the end of a fruitful collaboration between the gallery and the four dominant artists, who had been putting pressure on Parsons to abandon some of the other artists in order to concentrate on their work. This went against her inclination to discover new artists. As a consequence, 1951 was the last year that Parsons had the opportunity to show Pollock's drip paintings and the monumental works of Newman, Rothko, and Still.

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[30] Alfred M. Frankfurter was the U.S. Commissioner, the Grand Central Art Galleries lent their building, and the American Export Lines took care of the transport to and from Italy.

[31] Alfred H. Barr, Jr., "Gorky, De Kooning, Pollock," *ARTnews*, Summer 1950, 60.

[32] Arshile Gorky was Armenian and born in Vilavet of Van, which at the time of his birth, 1904, was part of the Ottoman Empire. Willem de Kooning was born in Rotterdam in the Netherlands in 1904.

Still had been given his first solo show in New York by Peggy Guggenheim in 1946 and had subsequently joined the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1947. By the summer of 1950 he had established his reputation as an "advanced"[33] artist. Goodnough's analysis of his 1950 show was clear and to the point. He focused on painting *Number 2*, which according to him illustrated Still's world "where death and life themselves merge."[34] It was also, according to Goodnough, the work that entered farthest into the area of the subjective. Goodnough described the paintings as "enormous and roughly handled with palette-knifed shapes ... strangely sensitive ... ."[35] He indicated the artist's use of colors: mainly black, red, yellow, blue and white as well as browns and ochres.

Goodnough displayed a similar insight into the work of the late Eugenie Baizerman, wife of the sculptor Saul Baizerman, in his review of October 1950 of her memorial show at the Artists' Gallery[36], in which he pinpointed the means the painter had used to achieve a particular effect. Goodnough did not refrain from putting a value judgment on an artist's work as illustrated by his review of the Louise Bourgeois show at Peridot, where he qualified two sculptures—*Winged Figure* and *Caryatid*—as "outstanding."[37] In his review of the "Non-Objective" exhibition at the Museum of Non-Objective Painting he selected the work of three artists—Josef Albers, Ilya Bolotowsky, and Georges Vantongerloo—to cover the spectrum of abstract painting displayed in the exhibition organized by the Museum's Director Hilla von Rebay.

In the November 1950 issue Goodnough reviewed the show "Young U.S. and French Painters" at Sidney Janis, in which the works of contemporary American and French painters were paired off—Pollock-Lanskoy, de Kooning-Dubuffet, and Rothko-de Stael. Goodnough drew the conclusion that "art can be created anywhere."[38] He also noted that most of the works were abstract, some invoking "subjective all-over picture images,"[39] while others had more structure. Goodnough observed that the picture plane was invariably respected. This last remark indicated the influence of Hofmann on

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[33] Clyfford Still's shift from representational to abstract painting occurred between 1938 and 1942, earlier than with his contemporaries Pollock and Rothko.
[34] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Clifford Still," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Summer 1950, 49.
[35] Ibid.
[36] October 14 - November 9, 1950.
[37] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Louise Bourgeois," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, October 1950, 48.
[38] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Young U.S. and French Painters," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Annual Christmas Edition, Part 1, November 1950, 47.
[39] Ibid.

Goodnough's perception of images. In his review of the "Spiral Group" exhibition at the Riverside Museum, he concluded that the "whole show seems too concerned with picture-making rather than with a journey to those areas where painting discoveries occur."[40]

In December 1950 Goodnough reviewed the Pollock one-man show at Betty Parsons. He wrote of Pollock as "the most highly publicized of the younger American abstractionists whose controversial reputation is beginning to grow abroad … ."[41] He also commented on his working process. "His strength and understanding of the painter's means allow for rich experience that projects a highly individualized … sense of vision that carries as well through to the smaller paintings in which convergences of tensions rule."[42] He also commented on the result of the artist's creative action: a release of "tremendous emotive energy"[43] combined with "a sensitive statement."[44] He acknowledged that to some viewers the result might seem "overpowering,"[45] in which case he advised them to return to the show for a second viewing. It is worth noting that in December 1950, Goodnough had already "conversed" with Pollock for his Master's dissertation and was therefore probably well acquainted with his working method and artistic aspirations. Nevertheless, Goodnough was able to reveal all this knowledge in less than 150 words. Prices quoted for Pollock's works ranged from $350 to $4,500, well above average for a young artist at the time.

Another visit to Betty Parsons in 1950 led Goodnough to review Hedda Sterne's ninth solo show for the December issue, which also included his review of the solo show of Mark Tobey—one of the "Intrasubjectives" he had not interviewed—at Willard. He also covered a show of new paintings at Peridot, which included works by Philip Guston, Esteban Vicente, James Brooks, and Weldon Kees. He reviewed the work of Hale Woodruff, one of his teachers at New York University.

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[40] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Spiral Group," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Annual Christmas Edition, Part 1, November 1950, 66.
[41] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Jackson Pollock," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, December 1950, 47.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

By the end of the year Goodnough had contributed fifty-nine reviews to the periodical, for which purpose he had visited over thirty different venues[46] in Manhattan, some more than once. He had covered fifty-three solo shows and written up the work of more than seventy artists. He contributed eight reviews to the Summer issue, of which seven covered solo shows and one a double billing; in September he reviewed only five shows, of which four solo shows; in October his reviews totalled twelve, of which only one covered a group show; in November he contributed seventeen reviews, covering sixteen solos shows; and in December he reviewed a total of seventeen shows, of which fifteen solo shows and one double billing.

Meanwhile, in November, Henry La Farge, an Associate Editor, reviewed Goodnough's own one-man show of ink and watercolour sketches at Wittenborn, and remarked on Goodnough's ability to "make images which are almost entirely determined by the spontaneous action of his mediums."[47]

Goodnough was not included in the editorial team of the Annual Christmas Edition[48] of November 1950, which included a groundbreaking article, "Introduction to Abstract," by Hess. Under the heading "problems in the abstract" Hess introduced the concept of the abstract in art: "only the twentieth century has heard schools of artists insist that a painting *is* the painting, and whatever symbolic or literary charge it may be given must come from the paint alone. Two problems of unrecognizability immediately face the spectator: the unrecognizability of shapes ('what is this supposed to be?')—and of purpose—('what is it supposed to mean?')"[49] Hess broke down the analysis into eleven sections in chronological order ending with "Is There a Twentieth-Century Style?"[50] Under this last heading he expressed the view that most painters at the time had been influenced, positively or negatively, by abstract art. He also believed that fundamental

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[46] Parsons (eight times); A.C.A. (twice); Artists' Gallery (five times); Creative (five times); Washington Square; New School (twice); Hacker (twice); Arthur Brown; Milch; Peridot (twice); French Embassy; Museum of Non-Objective Painting; RoKo (three times); Janis; Bertha Schaefer (twice); Modreal (twice); Peter Cooper; Regional Arts; Riverside Museum; Grand Central (four times); Tribune; Eighth Street (twice); Charles Fourth; New York University; Willard; Carlebach; Free Forms; Viviano; Binet; Ganso; Newcomb-Macklin; Friedman.

[47] H[enry]. L[a]. F[arge]., "Robert Goodnough," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Annual Christmas Edition, Part 1, November 1950, 47.

[48] The editorial team consisted of Alfred M. Frankfurter, Thomas B. Hess, Henry A. La Farge, and only one Editorial Associate (Priscilla Mackenzie).

[49] Thomas B. Hess, "Introduction to Abstract," *ARTnews*, Annual Christmas Edition, Part II, November 1950, 128.

[50] Ibid., 187.

to the aesthetics of the abstractionists was the modern concern with the ethics of human expression, implicit in all the best "abstractionist" paintings. And for those who had started an ideological war on abstract art, he had little tolerance. "And are not the attackers, those who hate and seem to fear all abstract painting, the attackers of our century?"[51]

9.3. In the thick of it: 1951-1952

The year 1951 was Goodnough's most prolific year at *ARTnews*: he wrote one hundred and fifty-three reviews over twelve months, which appeared in the year's ten issues. Many of the shows he covered were of artists little known and of minor importance with respect to the growing relevance of American "advanced" art. The shows nevertheless required Goodnough to apply his sensitivity to the works of contemporaries who were given viewing time in Manhattan.

In January Goodnough wrote up fourteen shows, of which eleven solo shows. None of the artists covered qualified as innovators. The January issue also included a review by Hess of Gottlieb's show at Samuel Kootz. Hess reviewed the show favourably, commenting on Gottlieb's "fancy,"[52] which appeared to him freer than ever. Hess also reviewed the Nicolas de Stael show at Theodore Schempp, claiming him to be "one of the most brilliant of the tiny handful of Parisian painters not interested in eclectic echoings of Picasso, Matisse, Bonnard and Braque."[53]

In February Goodnough contributed eighteen reviews, thirteen of which covered solo shows. The most important show was probably Arshile Gorky's at Samuel Kootz, for which he insightfully noted that "Gorky seems to have felt clearly the meeting point of man's desire for permanence and his fearful realization that change and the insistence of the beyond cannot be refuted."[54] He also reviewed the Weldon Kees show at Peridot, noting the artist's "new vitality and a release from the more limiting figure

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[51] Ibid.
[52] T[homas]. B. H[ess]., "Adolph Gottlieb," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, January 1951, 47.
[53] T[homas]. B. H[ess]., "Nicholas de Stael," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, January 1951, 49.
[54] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Arshile Gorky," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, February 1951, 46.

symbols of his two previous shows."[55] Hess reviewed the Mondrian show at Sidney Janis and the Robert De Niro show at Charles Egan. Hess noted an important development in the work of De Niro, placing him amongst the promising young painters of his time.

In March Goodnough contributed twenty reviews, nineteen of which covered solo shows. The most important were the shows of James Brooks at Peridot and Perle *Fine at Betty Parsons. Thomas Hess reviewed several shows for the March 1951 issue, including the Joan Miró show at Matisse and the Theo van Doesburg show at Rose Fried. Betty Holliday reviewed the Baziotes show at Samuel Kootz, judging that "while much of Baziotes' [*sic*] effectiveness is due to his mastery of textures, it does not eclipse the lyricism of his special brand of imagery, which creates shapes that are not only interesting in themselves but suggest as well a world of self-confident creatures controlled by their own laws."[56] She also reviewed the group show "Male and Female," at Samuel Kootz, which included paintings by Baziotes, Gottlieb, and Motherwell.

In April Goodnough contributed eleven reviews, nine of which covered solo shows. Of the solo shows, David Hare's at Samuel Kootz was probably the most important. Goodnough would be writing an article on the sculptor's creative process in 1956.

In May Goodnough reviewed eleven shows, of which nine solo shows. The most interesting was the review of the show "Intimate Mediums" at Samuel Kootz, in which he underscored the "superb intensity"[57] of a gouache by Hofmann, the pastel drawings by Baziotes, and "the expert results"[58] of two black and white drawings by Motherwell. In addition, Goodnough contributed an analysis of a work of art in the making, "Pollock Paints a Picture,"[59] his first article in the series of the formula set by Thomas Hess.

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[55] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "Weldon Kees," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, February 1951, 48.
[56] B[etty]. H[olliday]., "William Baziotes," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, March 1951, 45.
[57] R[obert] G[oodnough], "Intimate Mediums," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, May 1951, 56.
[58] Ibid.
[59] The article is analysed in detail in section 5 of this chapter.

The Summer issue contained seventeen reviews by Goodnough, of which fourteen covered solo shows. In September, however, he only reviewed seven, of which three were solo shows.

The October issue included nineteen reviews by Goodnough. Twelve of the reviews covered solo shows, six reviews covered group showings, and one a double show. The Editor's Letters section contained a number of letters with corrections. One such letter signed Wm. Pillin of Sun Valley, California, took issue with a review by Robert Goodnough in the Summer issue, in which he had implied that the painter Polia Pillin had given up painting in order to decorate ceramic plaques. The writer commented: "If R. G. was less anxious to return to the tavern, he might have noted at least twenty paintings and prints at the Willow exhibit."[60] Goodnough's apparent oversight was blamed on his presence at the tavern—an indication of the public's view about young New York artists.

In November Goodnough contributed twenty-two reviews. Eighteen reviews covered solo shows, which included the Richard Pousette-Dart and the Lee Krasner shows, both at Betty Parsons, and the Picasso show of drawings and ceramics at Delius.

In December Alfred Frankfurter in the editorial, "Vernissage," related an incident, which took place in Los Angeles and would become symptomatic of the times, both in America and Europe, albeit with a different political slant. Frankfurter decried the interference of politicians in the art world. In the case of America he decried the fact that anything remotely "expressionist" or "abstract distortion" was targeted as "Communist." Frankfurter thus provided another illustration of the ongoing ideological attack on abstraction and the avant-garde. Henry McBride, in his article "All quiet on the Whitney Front," reported on the "Whitney Annual," which in his view included "nine provocateurs, a preponderance of abstraction but no revolutions."[61] The nine "provocateurs," who jolted the author out of his complacency were Pollock, Raymond *Mintz, Louis *Bunce, Andrew *Wyeth, Ozenfant, John *Beauchamp, Stuart Davis, and John *Anderson. The group included "six … out and out abstract, two … almost

[60] Wm. Pillin, letter to the editor, *ARTnews*, October 1951, 6.
[61] Henry McBride, "All Quiet on the Whitney Front," *ARTnews*, December 1951, 19.

abstract, and only one, Wyeth, faces you with facts."[62] McBride gave special attention to the Jackson Pollock painting, *No. 2, 1951*, and referred to him as the "*chef-d'école*."[63]

Goodnough's contribution in December 1951 to the Reviews and Previews section numbered fourteen reviews, of which eleven covered solo shows. Fairfield Porter reviewed the Jackson Pollock show at Betty Parsons, his colleague, Lawrence Campbell's first exhibition at Contemporary Arts, and the Franz Kline show at Charles Egan. Of Pollock, Fairfield thought the artist let himself be led by the medium into spontaneity. He commented that the artist was not ambitious, "he does not try to solve difficult problems."[64]

The year 1952 started off with a contribution of fifteen reviews by Goodnough to the January issue. Of these fifteen reviews ten covered solo shows. None of the artists belonged to the "advanced" American trend. In several reviews Goodnough highlighted and explained the weaknesses in the artist's works.

The January issue included its now traditional "The year's best: ... ." In spite of political events—the Cold War and the war in Korea—Frankfurter qualified 1951 as a "prosperous" year for art. The year was summed up as one of "high averages rather than of breathless moments of masterpieces."[65] On the list of "best one-man shows" eight of the ten artists were American. The list included three sculptors, the largest number since its institution. Willem de Kooning's show at Charles Egan figured on the list.

Noteworthy of the shows reviewed was the group show "American Vanguard" at Sidney Janis, written up by Dorothy Seckler. The show consisted of works by twenty artists, selected by Leo Castelli and the Sidney Janis Gallery, which included Robert Goodnough and Alfred *Russell as comparative newcomers, and works by Albers, Baziotes, Brooks, de Kooning, Gorky, Guston, Hofmann, Kline, Matta, Motherwell, Pollock, Reinhardt, Tomlin, Tworkov, Tobey, and Vicente.

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid. 20. (Italics in the original text.)
[64] F[airfield]. P[orter]., "Jackson Pollock," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, December 1951, 48.
[65] A[lfred]. M. F[rankfurter]., "The Year's Best: 1951," *ARTnews*, January 1952, 38.

In 1952—about six years since his arrival in the city—Goodnough had his first one-man show in New York at Tibor de Nagy, which ran until 10 February, and was reviewed by Fairfield Porter in the February issue. Porter described the works as "abstractions from abstractions."[66] He observed that the paint did not usually cover all the canvas, but that the empty spaces left by the artist "counted."[67] Porter noted that the pictures "gave no illusion of interfering with the plane."[68] The review included a reproduction of *Number 10*. As part of the "American Vanguard" group exhibition, Goodnough was also showing in Paris at the time.

Goodnough contributed fifteen reviews, eleven of which covered solo shows[69] to the February issue. None of the shows included any artists of renown.

In March Goodnough contributed fifteen reviews, of which ten covered solo shows. The March issue also included the second of Goodnough's articles in the series of creative portraits, "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture." Goodnough described the process of producing a work of art, in this instance a sculpture by the artist Saul Baizerman.[70] The issue also included reviews of the Jack Tworkov show at Charles Egan by Fairfield Porter, the Baziotes show at Samuel Kootz by Betty Holliday, and the "Sixteenth Annual Abstract Artists" show at the New Gallery by Larry Campbell. The issue included an outspoken editorial by Alfred Frankfurter, in which he welcomed the lawsuit against the Barnes Foundation, compelling it as a tax-exempt educational institution to make its collection accessible to the general public and not only to a favoured few.

Equally noteworthy was the invitation of the Wildenstein Gallery to seven New York publications[71], of which *ARTnews*, to have their critics choose "their favorite"

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[66] F[airfield]. P[orter]., "Robert Goodnough," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, February 1952, 42.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] The February 1952 Reviews and Previews section included a review bearing the initials R.C., which do not correspond to anyone listed in the editorial team. This may have been an error or misprint, in which case the review could be attributed to R.G. or L.C. The review on page 52 covered the show "Varied Group" [Barzansky; to Feb. 15] in *ARTnews*, February 1952. We have decided not to include it in the list.
[70] A full analysis of the article is given in section 5 of this chapter.
[71] They included *Art Digest*, *ARTnews*, *Life*, *Magazine of Art*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Times*, and *Time*.

American paintings (ten paintings per publication) since 1900. The critics for *ARTnews* were Frankfurter, Hess, La Farge, McBride and Seckler. They picked Hyman Bloom's *Harpies*, Arnold Friedman's *Quarry*, Lee *Gatch's *Flame*, Hartley's *Portrait of Ryder*, Franz Kline's *Painting 1951*, Kuhn's *Dragoon*, Maurer's *Abstract Heads*, Pollock's *Number 25*, Florine *Stettheimer's *Sun* (1931), and Tobey's *1951*.

In April Goodnough contributed fifteen reviews, of which fourteen covered solo shows. The artists were not totally unknown: some were on to their second and following shows. With the exception of the sculptor David Smith and the abstract painter A.E. Gallatin, none of them were relevant to "advanced" American art. Many had other occupations or professions, such as medicine or teaching, and painting or sculpting were leisure time activities for them; some were prize winners; most were figurative painters. Goodnough reviewed the "Myrl Ephrim" show at the RoKo Gallery. The Editor's Letters section of the following October issue included a letter from Myrl Efrem, the artist, asking to have his name corrected. Hess reviewed the Motherwell show, at Samuel Kootz. Fairfield Porter reviewed "New talent" at Heller. Barbara Guest[72] reviewed the Weldon Kees show at Peridot. Noticeable was the number of reviewed shows at Tibor de Nagy, where Goodnough had had his first one-man show at the beginning of the year.

The April issue included a main article entitled "The Modern Museum's Fifteen: Where U.S. Extremes Meet," in which Thomas Hess commented on the exhibition "15 Americans"[73] at the Museum of Modern Art, and broached the issue of extremes in art. The fifteen "American" artists were Baziotes, Edward *Corbett, Edwin *Dickinson, Herbert Ferber[74], Joseph *Glasco, Herbert *Katzman, Frederick Kiesler, Irving *Kriesberg, Lippold, Pollock, Herman *Rose, Rothko, Clyfford Still, Bradley Walker Tomlin, and Thomas *Wilfred. Several of the artists were not American-born. Hess mentioned two painters—Herman Rose and Clyfford Still—falling within his definition of extremes. He qualified Rose's work as "backward extremism."[75] In the case of

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[72] B.G. were the initials of Barbara Guest, who was included in the editorial team as an Editorial Associate in the Summer issue of 1952.
[73] April 9 - July 27, 1952.
[74] Ferber exhibited his sculpture *And the Bush Was Not Consumed*, the making of which Goodnough describes in "Ferber Makes a Sculpture," published in the November 1952 issue.
[75] Thomas B. Hess, "The Modern Museum's Fifteen: Where U.S. Extremes Meet," *ARTnews*, April 1952, 19.

Still's pictures he noted "the object is almost all idea."[76] He also mentioned Newman, who as a "barrier-breaking theorist," was one of "those who demand something that will look new and whose search at the outer edges of modern perception involves an enthusiastic jettisoning and breaking of past paraphernalia … ."[77] According to McBride, who referred to the exhibition in the Summer issue, the press underrated the show because of the very large canvases by Pollock, Rothko, Tomlin and Still. "Tomlin, Pollock and Rothko use size as a weapon, and this is especially the case with Rothko, who unites it to simplicity to suggest the serenities and possibilities in vast regions on earth where people are not. Or, perhaps he merely looks at us from another planet."[78] McBride was of the view that big sizes and largish styles were justified if they had something to say. "And Pollock, Rothko, Tomlin, Still, Lippold, Kiesler and Baziotes, in their various ways, say plenty."[79]

In May Goodnough contributed nineteen reviews, of which eleven covered solo shows. A number of the artists had won prizes and had shown before, but were not relevant to "advanced" American art. In the same issue, Hess himself wrote the article "Dubuffet Paints a Picture" on the French artist Jean Dubuffet. Hess considered the French painter as one of the few emerging artists in post-war Europe, revealing the view, held even by someone in the know and open to wide-ranging information and differing opinions, that nothing or very little was happening in the art world outside America.

The Summer issue commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the periodical, founded in 1902. Goodnough contributed only eight reviews to the Reviews and Previews section, which was shorter than usual. Of these eight reviews six covered solo shows. The artists were little known and not part of the emerging American avant-garde. Frankfurter's editorial entitled "Taking Stock at Fifty" covered the evolution of the publication, explaining that for the first thirty-nine years *ARTnews* was an art newspaper, which developed after 1941 into a "journal of ideas built upon the functional foundation of a news magazine."[80] The objective of the anniversary issue was to "bring together as many authentic points of view as the multiplex basic

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.,18.
[78] Henry McBride, "Half-century or Whole Cycle?" *ARTnews*, Summer 1952, 125.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Alfred M. Frankfurter, "Taking Stock at Fifty," *ARTnews*, Summer 1952, 35.

philosophies of our day can assume in the arts."[81] The issue thus contained special articles by leading figures in the arts, amongst them Herbert Read, Arnold Hauser[82], Bernard Berenson[83], Henry McBride, Clement Greenberg, and Dorothy Seckler. The issue also announced the change in the title of the editorial opinion page from "Vernissage"[84] to "Editorial."

It also included a revue by Barbara Guest of the group show "Five pictures"[85] at Tibor de Nagy, which featured large-scale canvases by René *Bouché (*Requiem*), Helen Frankenthaler (*Mountain King*), Goodnough (*Number 8*), Larry Rivers (*The Agony in the Garden*), and Pennerton *West (*Wood Winds and Brass*). As noted in Chapter 1, Guest's description caught the gist of Goodnough's work from the early 1950s onwards.

In September Goodnough contributed only six reviews, of which four covered solo shows. The artists were little known, with perhaps the exception of Hazel McKinley (1903-1995), who was Peggy Guggenheim's sister. Goodnough was now one of five instead of seven Editorial Associates.[86] In October he contributed nineteen reviews, of which twelve covered solo shows. Again, none of the artists were well known and most had other than artistic backgrounds. Nevertheless Goodnough provided in most instances a brief but insightful description of the work, and in several cases he gave an explanation for the weaknesses he perceived in the works. He showed himself at his most perceptive in the case of abstract paintings.

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[81] Ibid.

[82] Arnold Hauser (1892-1978) was a Hungarian art historian, who was considered the leading Marxist in the field of art history. He joined the *Sonntagskreis* in 1916 and obtained his doctorate in 1918 at the University of Budapest. He wrote on the influence of change in social structures on art. In his major work, *The Social History of Art* (1951), he argued that art became more realistic and naturalistic as societies became less hierarchical and authoritarian and more mercantile and bourgeois. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Hauser, Arnold," http://arthistorians.info/hauser [accessed January 22, 2019].)

[83] Bernard Berenson (1865-1959), born Bernhard Valvrojenski in the Vilnius Governorate of the Russian Empire to a Lithuanian family, was an American art historian specialising in the Renaissance. The family emigrated to Boston in 1875, and upon arrival in the United States changed their name to Berenson. Jewish by birth, Berenson converted to Christianity and was baptised in 1885. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1887 from Harvard University. (Lee Sorensen, ed., *Dictionary of Art Historians*, s.v. "Berenson, Bernard," http://arthistorians.info/berensonb [accessed January 22, 2019].)

[84] The title "Vernissage" first appeared eleven years prior to the change.

[85] May 27 - June 14, 1952.

[86] Irvin Haas and Marilyn Silverstone no longer appeared on the list of Editorial Associates of the September 1952 issue.

In November Goodnough contributed eighteen reviews, of which thirteen covered solo shows. Noteworthy among the artists reviewed was Saul Baizerman, about whom Goodnough had written "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture" in the March issue. Goodnough also contributed the article "Ferber Makes a Sculpture."[87] Fairfield Porter, in his review of Goodnough's own show at Tibor de Nagy, perceived "a better sense of color"[88] in Goodnough's work. He pointed out that the compositional elements in his collages inter-related on numerous interlocking levels. He believed that Goodnough used "broken texture and color to make no image of any object, but an image that stands by itself."[89] And concluded "He makes paintings about paintings."[90]

The issue also included a review by Thomas Hess of the thirty-ninth Pittsburgh International Exhibition (Carnegie International) at Schenley Park, entitled "Miracle at Schenley Park." Of the 305 paintings exhibited, Hess felt fifty "repay[ed]"[91] careful study. He thought American artists dominated the exhibition (the French were not well represented) and highlighted in particular the textured abstractions by New York artists Esteban Vicente and Bradley Walker Tomlin, and how well they compared to the works of French artists, such as Jean René Bazaine (1904-2001), André Lanskoy (1902-1976), Raoul Ubac (1910–1985), and Alfred Manessier (1911-1993). In addition, he drew attention to works by Gottlieb, Kline, Tobey, Tworkov, and de Kooning. He also mentioned amongst the American artists that were missing from the show Rothko, Still, Newman, Reinhardt, as well as younger painters such as Rivers, De Niro, Goodnough, and Jane Freilicher. Hess was clearly not impressed, least of all with the subsequent awards. "No miracle disturbed *its* [the Jury's] deliberations, which evidently followed the prescribed formula of rewarding fashionable mediocrities."[92]

The December issue contained Goodnough's article "Kline Paints a Picture" as well as eight reviews by him. All the reviews covered solo shows. He reviewed Pollock's show at Sidney Janis. Pollock's show featured works, which represented a move away from the previous year's black and white pictures. "Underlying black movements are

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[87] A detailed analysis of both articles is provided in section 5 of this chapter.
[88] F[airfield]. P[orter]., "Robert Goodnough," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, Part 1, November 1952, 45.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Thomas B. Hess, "Miracle at Schenley Park," *ARTnews*, Part 1, November, 1952, 28.
[92] Ibid., 67. (Italics in the original text.)

destroyed as glowing colors, creating new movements, melt and merge into a massive over-all effect that is both intimate and elusive."[93] Goodnough described the large paintings as creating an environment of energy while expressing stillness. He perceived several levels of appeal: "the pure sensuousness of the paint used in gobs, masses and spots sensitively felt in relation to the quality of the canvas; the interest of separate areas in themselves; the controlled energy through which the paintings are realized; the transcendence of the materials into what at times reaches the ecstatic."[94] But Goodnough was quick to note that the passion contained in the painting was held in check where needed, as illustrated in *No. 11*.

The most important contribution to the issue was Rosenberg's seminal essay on the new American style of painting—"The American Action painters." As we noted in Chapter 4, the essay became the theoretical foundation for the post-World War II emblematic American "style" of painting—Abstract Expressionism. Rosenberg remarked that despite the fact that more people saw and heard about works of art than ever before, the vanguard artist had little or no audience, pointing a finger in particular at the literati, who themselves were undergoing creative change. As mentioned in Chapter 4, he expressed his view in no unclear terms. "So far, the silence of American literature on the new painting all but amounts to a scandal."[95]

9.4. The end of it: 1953-1954

The year 1953 started off with a contribution of seventeen reviews by Goodnough to the January issue, of which twelve covered solo shows. With the exception of Stuart Davis none of the artists were of any renown. Goodnough also reviewed the "Second Annual"[96] at the Stable Gallery, at which his own work was on view. This may explain why his review was descriptive rather than analytical and judgmental. Of the long list of participants he mentioned Hofmann, Joan *Mitchell, Motherwell, de Kooning, Kline, Bultman, Gottlieb, Grace Hartigan, Leslie, and Pousette-Dart. He thought it might be of interest to compare these artists' approaches to painting.

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[93] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., " Jackson Pollock," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, December 1952, 42.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Harold Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," *ARTnews*, December 1952, 50.
[96] January 7 - February 7, 1953.

The January issue also included for the sixteenth time the traditional annual feature "The year's best: 1952."[97] Noteworthy were the choices of the editorial staff in the section "*best one man shows*"[98] of the year in the New York galleries. Top of the list was the Miró show at Pierre Matisse in May, followed in second position by the Pollock exhibition at Sidney Janis in December, and, in third position, by the Larry Rivers show at Tibor de Nagy, also in December. Motherwell's show at Samuel Kootz in April came ninth. Worthy of mention in the next top ten was Gottlieb's show at Samuel Kootz in second position and Hofmann's, also at Samuel Kootz, in fourth. Of the "*most important modern painting acquired by an American public collection*,"[99] Willem de Kooning's *Excavation* (1950), acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago, was runner-up to Picasso's *Night Fishing at Antibes* (1939), acquired by the Museum of Modern Art. For all to see, Goodnough's "chosen" artists were now in the top league.

Fairlfield Porter reviewed the Gottlieb show "Imaginary Landscapes and Seascapes"[100] at Samuel Kootz, arguing that, although the works had come out of the previous year's *Frozen Sounds*[101], they did not match the previous pictures in their aesthetics.

Goodnough contributed fifteen reviews to the February issue, of which nine covered solo shows. The most important was David Smith's show at Samuel Kootz. In the same issue Fairfield Porter reviewed shows, amongst others, of Philip Guston at Charles Egan, Helen Frankenthaler at Tibor de Nagy, Jane Freilicher also at Tibor de Nagy, François Kupka (1871-1957) at Rose Fried, André Masson at Rosenberg, Peter Busa at B. Schaefer and Roy Lichtenstein (1923-1997) at Heller. Larry Campbell reviewed Dorothea Tanning's show at Iolas, Hedda Sterne's show at Betty Parsons, Kurt Seligmann's show at Iolas, and Jimmy Ernst's show at Borgenicht. In the editorial Frankfurter broached, under the title "Amateur Joy or Professional Agony?" the issue of

[97] The rules of eligibility required exhibitions to be of chiefly new work by living artists; no distinction of nationality; members of *ARTnews* staff were *hors concours* (Goodnough and Fairfield Porter were accordingly excluded); artists selected three times in the last ten years were not eligible (excluding Picasso, Matisse, and Braque); the entire editorial staff participated on an equal footing (i.e. no veto right); and the point system was of "best baseball player." (As explained in "The year's best: 1952," *ARTnews*, January 1953, 43.)
[98] The year's best: 1952," *ARTnews*, January 1953, 43. (Italics in the original text.)
[99] Ibid., 42. (Italics in the original text.)
[100] January 5-25, 1953.
[101] Fairfield Porter was referring to a work in a show held at Samuel Kootz the previous year (January 7 or 8-26, 1952), which he also reviewed for *ARTnews*.

amateur painters and the fact that these "amateur" painters were invading 57th Street galleries with solo shows. This was not a new issue, and Frankfurter's position on the matter was straightforward: amateurs should stick to their painting as a hobby and not cross the line of professional art.

Goodnough contributed seventeen reviews to the March issue. Twelve reviews covered solo shows, of which the most relevant were the Baziotes show at Samuel Kootz and Marca-Relli at the Stable Gallery. Of the Baziotes show Goodnough noted a new departure from former work. "Forms are somewhat different and there is even greater simplification ... ."[102] On closer inspection Goodnough found "the same subtle masterly touch carried to even finer perfection."[103] This manner of painting, according to Goodnough, created luminous colour and poetic shapes, and was basic to Baziotes's presentation of mystery moods.

Thomas Hess contributed the article "De Kooning Paints a Picture" to the March issue. Hess described how de Kooning worked on his painting *Woman* (1950-1952), starting at the beginning of June 1950 and persevering until it was finished to his satisfaction, in 1952. "Finally, after a year and a half of continuous struggle, it was almost completed; then followed a few hours of violent disaffection; the canvas was pulled off the frame and discarded."[104] In the end the work survived thanks to the intervention of Meyer Schapiro and was exhibited at the Sidney Janis Gallery. As Hess explained, "its emergence was long, difficult and (to use one of the artist's favorite adjectives) mysterious."[105]

In his column, Art News from San Francisco, Erle Loran[106] noted: "Painting around San Francisco continues to look advanced, although the free-form Abstract-Expressionism [*sic*] so boldly developed through the influence of Clyfford Still and Mark Rothko has subsided to some degree. For one thing, the Museum has limited sizes to a mere 5 feet!"[107] He remarked on Hofmann's influence on West coast artists.

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[102] R[obert]. G[oodnough]., "William Baziotes," Review and Previews, *ARTnews*, March 1953, 35.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Thomas B. Hess, "*De Kooning Paints a Picture*," *ARTnews*, March 1953, 30.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Erle Loran wrote a regular column in *ARTnews* with news from San Francisco.
[107] Erle Loran, Art News from San Francisco, *ARTnews*, March 1953, 41.

Goodnough contributed thirteen reviews to the April issue, twelve of which covered solo shows, including the Joan Mitchell show at the Stable Gallery.

Henry McBride in his column, By Henry McBride, under the title "Success at last" reviewed the Gorky show at Sidney Janis. He reported that the show was very successful, as according to Mr. Janis half the pictures had already been sold and he would advise the Gorky Estate to close the sale for the time being. McBride concluded that both professional esteem and selling success had been achieved for Gorky. The approval had been slow in coming, following the artist's suicide and the events[108] preceding it, and McBride echoed the view held by many that "our great, careless wonderful public generally has to be shocked into actually looking at an artist's work."[109]

Goodnough contributed nineteen reviews to the May issue, including twelve solo shows of little-known artists. Larry Campbell contributed a review of the Hofmann show at Samuel Kootz and a review of Motherwell's show, also at Samuel Kootz. When referring to Motherwell's use of colour, Campbell made the point that "Motherwell is one of the few artists in America to realize that each additional color weakens the whole."[110] Fairfield Porter contributed a review of the Herbert Ferber show at Betty Parsons.

In the editorial of the Summer 1953 issue Frankfurter broached, under the title "The New Iconoclasts," the opposition of certain groups in society to so-called public art with a pro-Communist or anti-capitalist content. Thirteen members of the American section of the °International Association of Art Critics signed the statement[111], in which they objected to "the subjection of art to changing political doctrines."[112] One of the examples Frankfurter gave of the new iconoclasm were the murals of Orozco in the school cafeteria of the New School (for Social Research) in New York, which had been

[108] Gorky's studio burnt down and he had been diagnosed with incurable cancer of the rectum.
[109] Henry McBride, "Success at Last," By Henry McBride, *ARTnews*, April 1953, 66.
[110] L[arry]. C[ampbell]., "Robert Motherwell," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, May 1953, 52.
[111] The Editor and Managing Editor of *ARTnews* were amongst the signatories of the statement.
[112] A[lfred]. M. F[rankfurter]., "The New Iconoclasts," Editorial, *ARTnew*, Summer 1953, 17.

covered "indefinitely" by a yellow cotton curtain since 22 May on the grounds that the panel *Mankind's Struggle* represented Lenin and Stalin.[113]

Goodnough contributed only nine reviews to this issue, of which eight covered solo shows of little-known artists. Henry MacBride in his monthly column made mention of a "younger hero"—Robert De Niro—showing at Charles Egan. He was of the view that De Niro was already a hero to the younger set in view of the number of young people who turned up to view his work. McBride mentioned De Niro's "overwhelming technique."[114] He also stated: "De Niro, …, has not been impeded by subject matter, and really seems to be going somewhere."[115]

The September issue revealed a number of editorial changes: the number of Editorial Associates went from six to five. Eleanor C. Munro became one of two Associate Editors, the other being Henry La Farge. Goodnough was still one of the five remaining Editorial Associates. Dorothy Gees Seckler (now re-married), previously one of two Associate Editors, became one of two Contributing Editors, the other being Henry McBride. The issue also contained articles by Elaine de Kooning, Clement Greenberg, and Harold Rosenberg.[116] It did not include any reviews by Goodnough, but one by Larry Campbell of the Rauschenberg and Twombly show at the Stable Gallery.

No further editorial changes were revealed in the October issue. Goodnough contributed twelve reviews, of which eight covered solo shows of little-known artists. Of interest was the mention of an exhibition of a selection of contemporary American art at the Museum of Cranbrook Academy in Detroit. The show featured fifty paintings and twenty sculptures by contemporary American artists, such as de Kooning, Gottlieb, Knaths, and Motherwell. In the editorial Hess wrote of the coming season 1953-1954, which he anticipated as dull. He deplored "the same packaged shows travelling from institution to institution—the same ideas, the same slowly deteriorating objects. … Unpleasant conclusion: … the creative thought emanating from U.S. museums is

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[113] The murals were painted in 1930 when Herbert Hoover was President of the United States. Nobody viewed them as subversive then.
[114] Henry McBride, "Younger Hero," By Henry McBride, *ARTnews*, Summer 1953, 71.
[115] Ibid.
[116] "Vicente Paints a Collage" by Elaine de Kooning, "Independence of Folk Art" by Clement Greenberg, and "Virtual Revolution" by Harold Rosenberg.

dwindling alarmingly from atrophy via mobility."[117] New York galleries, on the other hand according to Hess, "have to think in order to exist"[118] and thus their lively pace continued.

In November Goodnough was still one of the five Editorial Associates. He contributed fourteen reviews, of which twelve covered solo shows. The Reviews and Previews section included reviews of a fair number of shows of European artists—Mondrian at Sidney Janis, Francis Bacon (1909-1992) at Durlacher, Jacques Villon (1875-1963) at the New Gallery, and Antonio Tapiès at Jackson.

Goodnough contributed thirteen reviews to the December issue, nine of which covered solo shows, including the Eugenie Baizerman show at the New Gallery. Hess reviewed the "21st Whitney Annual" in the same issue. This would be the last "Annual" held in the Greenwich Village premises of the museum; the next one would be held in the museum's new building adjacent to the Museum of Modern Art. The "Annual" featured works by 151 artists selected by name. The artists or their representatives were allowed to choose the exhibits. Hess declared the exhibition "noncommittal, familiar, somewhat flat."[119] He mentioned the twenty or so New York and environs abstractionists, including Kline, de Kooning, Pollock, Gottlieb and others, who according to him took the giant share qualitatively.

The editorial staff remained largely unchanged at the beginning of 1954. In January Goodnough was one of six Editorial Associates, the other five being Larry Campbell, Barbara Guest, Betty Holliday, Eleanor C. Munro, and Fairfield Porter.

Goodnough, under the initials R.L.G., contributed twelve reviews to the January issue, of which eight covered solo shows of artists of little renown, apart from Saul Baizerman. Frank O'Hara[120] on the other hand contributed a review of Kees van

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[117] T[homas]. B. H[ess]., "The Coming Season, 1953-54," Editorial, *ARTnews*, October 1953, 15.
[118] Ibid.
[119] T[homas]. B. H[ess]., "Whitney Annual," Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, December 1953, 40.
[120] Frank O'Hara was heavily influenced by visual art and by contemporary music, which was his first love. In 1953 he resigned from the Museum of Modern Art to devote himself to writing. From 1955 until 1966 he organised circulating exhibitions of the Museum and in 1960 was appointed Assistant Curator in the Department of Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions. (Museum of Modern Art, https://www.moma.org/research-and-learning/archives/finding-aids/FrankOHaraf [accessed January 22, 2019].)

Dongen (1877-1968) at Wildenstein and a review of “Cubism to 1918” at Perls. Barbara Guest reviewed the show of Alfonso Ossorio (1916-1990) at Betty Parsons. Larry Campbell reviewed the Louise Nevelson show at Jacobi. Fairfield Porter contributed an analysis of the working process of Larry Rivers in “Rivers Paints a Picture,” as well as reviews of David Smith’s show at Willard and Larry Rivers at the Stable Gallery.

The impression from the middle of 1953, and certainly at the beginning of 1954, was that Goodnough seemed to have lost interest and was therefore not being given the more attractive shows of “advanced” artists in town. As noted earlier, in 1981 he admitted to becoming depressed by what he was seeing as a reviewer. Out of the hundreds of shows he visited every month, he felt only one or two were actually good. The job at *ARTnews*, as he explained, was only part-time, allowing him to survive financially and giving him time to paint.

Goodnough, under the initials R.L.G., contributed eight reviews to the February issue, of which five covered solo shows. The issue included an article by Hess, entitled “The New York Salon,” in which he reported on the “Third Annual” at the Stable Gallery. The show featured works from over 150 artists, painters and sculptors, most of them living in New York, exhibited over three floors “to show each other and any one else what they have been doing and how it all looks together.”[121] There was no qualitative selection, which as Hess pointed out was considered to be irrelevant. He explained that a “Salon” unlike a museum exhibition had nothing to do with scholarship, appropriateness of example, fairness of representation or the pleasure and edification of spectators. It also differed from an Academy exhibition, as it was not concerned with encouragement, protection, established standards and claims to “extra-professional prestige.”[122]

Hess divided the New York Salon into six parts. The first section consisted of “men in their forties,” who did most to create “that mixed style … unhappily known as Abstract-Expressionism [*sic*].”[123] Hess included amongst them de Kooning, Pollock, Gottlieb,

[121] Thomas B. Hess, “The New York Salon,” *ARTnews*, February 1954, 25.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 56.

Kline, Hofmann, accompanied by such associates as Reinhardt, Motherwell, David Smith, and Lassaw. He did not include Rothko, Still, and Newman because they were absent from the exhibition. The following section included artists in their early thirties, most having been influenced by the first group. Hess included in this group Robert De Niro, Elaine de Kooning, Goodnough, and Larry Rivers. This group was followed by more recent arrivals (usually via the Hans Hofmann School), which included Wolf Kahn, Felix *Pasilis, Ray *Parker, Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008), and Alfred Leslie. The fourth section consisted "(surprisingly) of realists"[124] such as Edwin Dickinson, Fairfield Porter (who had reviewed two Goodnough shows for *ARTnews*), and Jane Freilicher. A fifth section consisted of abstractionists working along the lines of Mondrian and De Stijl, amongst them Burgoyne Diller, Ilya Bolotowsky, Michael Loew, and Georgio Cavallon. The sixth and final section consisted of "unclassifiable individuals, but sui generis, exceptional."[125]

Hess felt the "New York Look"[126] prevailed in the first three groups, but noted that to descending age corresponded an increasing interest in figurative elements and an absence of shock-values and violence. According to Hess, few of the younger artists appeared to address to the face of each blank canvas the question "What is a painting?"[127].

Hess viewed the organisation of the exhibition itself as an indication of the quality inherent in the current New York art scene. A group of artists had met to decide who should be invited to participate. "The very amorphousness of the process of organizing the Stable exhibition suggests a further quality. A few artists decided that the exhibition of the past two years should be repeated. They picked a group of about twenty-five others who, in turn, met to invite the remaining hundred and twenty-five."[128] The whole selection process was easy because, according to Hess, it was inevitable. Refusals on the part of the artists amounted to a rejection of the collective. Hess concluded that irrespective of his style or motives, it was the artist's opinion about the situation of art in America in January 1954 that made him a part of the "Salon." But he

[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 56-57.
[126] Ibid., 57.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.

warned: "When such an opinion ceases to be radical or when it becomes a question of respected history or pride in the past or envy of the future, or when it is simply taken for granted, the New York Salon will have its standing committees. It will be like the Salon d'Automne or the Vienna Secession; a club or a museum—a bore."[129] Hess's article was a powerful statement with respect to the New York art scene.

As one of five Editorial Associates Goodnough contributed eleven reviews (initialled R.L.G.) to the March issue. Nine reviews covered solo shows. Goodnough was himself the subject of a review: six New York exhibitions of contemporary artists, including Goodnough, were reviewed under the heading "There's Fantasy in the Abstract." The other five were Jean Arp, Lee Gatch, Roy Lichtenstein (1923-1997), Maria Helena *Veira da Silva, and Stuart Davis. The reviews were introduced by the comment "It is too often forgotten that the witty, bizarre, grotesque or imaginative are still important weapons in the armory of the modern artist, no matter what his style."[130] Frank O'Hara reported on the Goodnough show at Tibor de Nagy, under the heading "Goodnough Gazed on Euclid Bare." He observed that Goodnough showed a total indifference to academic considerations in the exhibited works, which set him apart from other abstract painters.

In the same issue Hess reviewed the Pollock show at Sidney Janis, and noted the artist's creation of a new space of calm and stability within which his usual energetic dramas were played. Frank O'Hara reviewed the Baziotes show at Samuel Kootz, drawing the comparison of the paintings on show with the music of Claude Debussy. In the section Art News of America mention was made of Motherwell's appointment for the 1954 summer session at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center.

In April Goodnough, now listed as Robert L. Goodnough, was still one of five Editorial Associates. He contributed fourteen reviews to the issue, of which eleven covered solo shows of artists of little renown. Hess reviewed the Whitney Museum's "Annual exhibition of watercolours, drawings and sculptures by American artists."[131] He felt the

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[129] Ibid.
[130] "There's Fantasy in the Abstract," *ARTnews*, March 1954, 16.
[131] March 17 - April 18, 1954.

exhibition consisted of “bland or unsubstantial”[132] pictures, even in the case of well-known innovators. By way of example he cited Motherwell’s *Bird*, but also the works on display by Tobey, Pollock and David Smith. His verdict: “the exhibition seems inhibiting; insecure in its likes and dislikes, appreciating too much, committed to too little.”[133]

Fairfield Porter reviewed the Lyonel Feininger show at Curt Valentine, the Elaine de Kooning show at the Stable Gallery, the Milton Avery show at Borgenicht, and the Gorky show at Jackson. Frank O’Hara reviewed the John Graham show at the Stable Gallery, the Jane Freilicher and Fairfield Porter shows, both at Tibor de Nagy, Adolph Gottlieb’s show at Samuel Kootz. Lawrence Campbell reviewed the Jack Tworkov show at Charles Egan, and the American Abstract Artists exhibition at the Riverside Museum. Clearly the more interesting artists were being reviewed by the other Editorial Associates.

On the occasion of April Fool’s Day, the April issue included a “collage-panorama” of the contemporary New York art scene by Ad Reinhardt, entitled “Foundationfathersfollyday.” Included in the scene were references to art galleries, amongst others Betty Parsons, Samuel Kootz, Sidney Janis, Borgenicht, and to New York museums, such as the Museum of Modern Art.

Goodnough, as R.L.G., contributed a bumper twenty-one reviews to the May issue. Thirteen of the reviews covered solo shows of artists of little renown. Elaine de Kooning contributed an analysis of the painting process of Balcomb Greene in “Greene Paints a Picture” with photographs by Hans Namuth[134]. Barbara Guest reviewed the Alfred Leslie show at Tibor de Nagy. Frank O’Hara reviewed the John Ferren show at the Stable Gallery.

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[132] T[homas]. B. H[ess]., “The Whitney,” Reviews and Previews, *ARTnews*, April 1954, 40.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Hans Namuth (1915-1990) was a German-born photographer, who filmed Pollock painting on a sheet of glass. The resulting documentary shed light on Pollock’s painting gestures. (*The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Namuth, Hans.”)

In the section Art News of America mention was made of the purchase fund, set up by Mrs. Leopold Stokowski[135] for the purpose of acquiring works by contemporary American artists. The inaugural selection of fourteen works by young New York abstractionists was on view at the Playhouse Lobby of Hunter College in New York. Seven prominent East Coast critics were entrusted with the selection. They included Meyer Schapiro and James Johnson Sweeney. The artists chosen for the 1954 show included Robert De Niro, Philip Guston, Alfred Leslie, Joan Mitchell and Larry Rivers, all contemporaries of Goodnough.

Goodnough contributed thirteen reviews to the Summer issue, of which eight covered solo shows. None of the artists were well known. Lawrence Campbell reviewed the Franz Kline show at Charles Egan. Marilyn Robb Trier reported in the column Summer in Chicago on the "Momentum Midcontinental" exhibition at the Institute of Design in Chicago, praising its freshness. She highlighted the calibre of the jurors—Betty Parsons, Robert Motherwell, and James Johnson Sweeney—responsible for the selection. The jurors each independently picked their selection from the entire field. Over 225 pieces were accepted. Fourteen pieces were chosen by all three jurors.

Goodnough's name no longer appeared in the list of Editorial Associates in the September issue, which revealed a number of editorial changes. Kermit I. Lansner was listed as Managing Editor, Thomas Hess as Executive Editor. Henry La Farge and Eleanor C. Munro were both Associate Editors; Henry McBride and Dorothy Gees Seckler remained as Contributing Editors. The Editorial Associates were reduced to three: Lawrence Campbell, Frank O'Hara and Fairfield Porter. Goodnough was no longer listed amongst them. Thus, the Reviews and Previews section did not include any reviews by R.L.G., confirmation that Goodnough's time as a "reviewer" had come to an end after four years as part of the editorial team of *ARTnews*.

In the remaining months of 1954, a further number of changes occurred in the editorial team: in October Betty Chamberlain was listed as the new Managing Editor; Thomas Hess was listed as Executive Editor; Henry La Farge and Eleanor Munro as Associate

[135] Mrs. Leopold Stokowski was none other than the heiress and designer Gloria Vanderbilt (1924-2019), who was the niece of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney and at the time married to the conductor Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977).

Editors; Henry McBride, and Dorothy Gees Seckler as Contributing Editors. There were four Editorial Associates: Lawrence Campbell, Frank O'Hara, Gretchen T. Munson and Fairfield Porter. In November the Editorial Associates numbered six with Edith Burckhardt and Parker Tyler joining the team.

In the section Art News of America of the November issue, mention was made that the American Federation of Arts prize for criticism of American art in magazines had been awarded to McBride.[136] It was the second annual award for writing on art for *ARTnews*, as the magazine had won the award for its series "The Artist Paints a Picture" in 1953. Goodnough had contributed to the series in 1951 and 1952, and would do so again in 1956.

The end of Goodnough's association with *ARTnews* as a reviewer corresponded with his emergence as an independent artist and the maturing of his art. In the mid-1950s he was managing to live off his art: "gradually my paintings began to sell better and I stopped doing the other things."[137]

9.5. The insider's eye

Robert Goodnough had been part of the editorial team of *ARTnews* for virtually a year, when his article "Pollock Paints a Picture" appeared in the May 1951 issue. The article was in the series initiated by Thomas Hess after his promotion to Managing Editor in January 1948. Hess had started the series in May 1949 with "Ben Shahn Paints a Picture" followed by "Feininger Paints a Picture" in the Summer issue. The articles focused on the creation of an artwork by a living artist.

Hess regularly asked artists to contribute articles for the series. This provided a unique insight into the artist's work process, as the observer was another artist, most probably with a greater affinity for the process than an ordinary art critic or historian. Elaine de Kooning had already written a number of such essays when Goodnough was given the

[136] The corresponding prize for criticism in newspapers went to Dorothy Adlow of the *Christian Science Monitor*.
[137] Robert Goodnough, quoted in "Talking with Robert Goodnough," 203.

task to cover Pollock. The Pollock article was the first of five such writings Goodnough produced for *ARTnews* between 1951 and 1956.

Goodnough followed and described the creation of an artwork by two painters (Jackson Pollock and Franz Kline) and three sculptors (Saul Baizerman, Herbert Ferber, and David Hare). Pollock, as noted in Chapter 5, had already been recognised as a "trailblazer" of American painting by the time of the article. Franz Kline too was no longer unknown when Goodnough's article appeared in 1952. Both painters, each in their own way, had opted for a radical break with convention. Although Goodnough was primarily a painter, he was also acquainted with the three-dimensionality of visual expression, and had by 1950 already turned his hand to small sculptures, using metal as his medium. His insight into three-dimensionality is revealed in his articles covering the works of the three sculptors, who had chosen a less radical path to public recognition than the two painters.

> "My paintings do not have a center, but depend on the same amount of interest throughout."[138]
>
> Jackson Pollock

9.5.1. "Pollock Paints a Picture"

Goodnough's article "Pollock Paints a Picture" featured illustrations of the artist at work in his studio, of his work place, and of the result of the process—the painting *Number 4, 1950*. There is some confusion about the actual picture Goodnough witnessed Pollock painting. The article, according to Helen Harrison, mistakenly refers to *Number 4, 1950*, as the actual picture in the photographs is *Autumn Rhythm: Number 30, 1950*.[139] Pepe Karmel qualified Goodnough's article as influential, but alleged that, although the text gave the impression that Goodnough had been present during the painting of the picture, numerous inaccuracies suggested that he had used Namuth's

[138] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Pollock Paints a Picture," by Robert Goodnough, *ARTnews*, May 1951, 60.

[139] This is confirmed in the *Catalogue Raisonné*: the painting pictured in the article is incorrectly titled *Number 4, 1950*.

documentary of Pollock painting *Autumn River: Number 30, 1950*, and supplemented it with subsequent discussions with the artist.[140]

The photographs were by Hans Namuth, but, according to Goodnough, it was the photographer Rudolph Burckhardt[141] who accompanied him to Pollock's studio in (The) Springs[142] on Long Island in June 1950 for the purpose of the article.[143] Goodnough's visit to Long Island was not his first encounter with Pollock, since he had "conversed" with him for his dissertation at the end of 1949. Goodnough also described visiting Pollock in (The) Springs with Tony Smith and Hale Woodruff, when he was a student at New York University. His impression during that visit was that Pollock was "a very fine, goodhearted, gentle person who didn't talk much but said a lot even by not talking."[144] He had sensed Pollock had a strong but humble personality. He described entering the artist's studio as a "thrill."[145] The floor was covered with paintings in progress, but Pollock was not concerned about anyone unintentionally stepping on the edge of a canvas. He did not consider the pictures in any way "precious."[146]

Before focusing on the creation of *Number 4, 1950* [*sic*], which Pollock began in June 1950 and was exhibited in Pollock's one-man show at Betty Parsons[147], Goodnough introduced the reader to Pollock's living and working environment. Pollock worked in a converted barn a short distance from the house where he lived with Lee Krasner. The house was situated on Long Island, in a small village, (The) Springs, which, with the ocean as background, was surrounded by open fields. Goodnough reminded the reader that before settling down in this countrified environment, Pollock had spent ten years in Greenwich Village in New York City. During those ten years Pollock had remained in touch with the American landscape by going on journeys through the countryside by car

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[140] See Pepe Karmel, ed., *Jackson Pollock: Interviews, Articles, and Reviews*, (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1999), 74.
[141] See "Goodnough Paints a Word Picture: Recollections of Pollock and the New York School," in *Goodnough Paints a Picture*, exhibition catalogue, Pollock-Krasner House and Study Center East Hampton, New York, May 2 - July 28, 2002, n.p.
[142] Throughout the article Goodnough refers to The Springs.
[143] According to Helen A. Harris, apart from a shot of the studio surroundings, the pictures taken by Rudy Burckhardt were not used, because they appeared too static.
[144] Goodnough, "Goodnough Paints a Word Picture," n.p.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] This is likely to be the show Goodnough reviewed in the December 1950 issue of *ARTnews*.

or by riding freight trains. Pollock's roots were in the American countryside—Wyoming, Arizona and Northern California. According to Goodnough, this must have given the artist "a sense of the freedom experienced before endless mountains and plains."[148] Also of relevance, according to Goodnough, was the time Pollock had studied with Thomas Hart Benton.

Goodnough, himself an "advanced" painter, viewed Pollock as the most publicised and controversial as well as one of the most successful of the younger abstractionists. He described Pollock's studio as "a place where the intensity of the artist's mind and feelings are given full play."[149] Much of what transcended in his paintings, according to Goodnough, resided in Pollock's mind. "It is the unusual quality of this mind, penetrating nature to the core yet never striving to show its surface, that has been projected into paintings which captivate many and agitate others by their strange, often violent, ways of expression."[150] He further described the presence of cans of enamel, aluminium and tube colours, boards covered in drippings, cans with stubby paintbrushes, paintings (mostly of large dimension) in various stages of completion. He then went on to describe Pollock's creative process, which involved a long period of "deep contemplation"[151] followed by periods of "feverish"[152] activity. He described the birth of a Pollock painting as not being easy—an alternation between fierce activity and slow deliberation.

At the time, Pollock no longer painted on an easel, but put his canvas on the floor and applied paint, usually enamel, to it from all sides while walking around it. The brush never touched the canvas, but was used to let paint drip onto it. Pollock had also stopped giving conventional titles to his paintings, but numbered and dated them instead.

Goodnough described Pollock's working method in relation to the creation of *Number 4, 1950* [*sic*]. Although Pollock had stressed that he did not work in stages, Goodnough distinguished several steps in his creative process: the actual painting was preceded by a

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[148] Robert Goodnough, "Pollock Paints a Picture," 38.
[149] Ibid., 39.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

period of contemplation. The action of painting itself consisted of letting black paint fall from the brush, by moving his arm rhythmically, onto the canvas, laid out flat on the studio floor. The whole resulted in "an activity of weaving rhythms"[153] on the entire surface of the canvas. Goodnough referred to this as the "first step"[154] of the painting, which was followed by a time for consideration. Pollock could not say when he would be able to go back to the work, which was hung on the wall for "a period of study and concentration."[155] After two weeks Pollock felt he could go back to the painting. For Pollock this was a time of "getting acquainted"[156] with the painting.

Thus, periods of intense work were followed by periods of contemplation and reflection in preparation of renewed work on the canvas. When Pollock returned to the painting, he let drop, in a rhythmic movement a light reddish brown colour onto the canvas—on the uncovered areas as well as the black. Pollock made use of metallic paint, according to Goodnough, to add "a feeling of mystery and adornment to the work and to keep it from being thought of as occupying the accepted world of things."[157] The painting was put aside a second time to dry and hung up for another period of reflection. Goodnough noted that the final work was "slow and deliberate."[158] "The design had become exceedingly complex and had to be brought to a state of complete organization."[159] The final act consisted in a few movements with white paint. The completion of the work constituted a "released experience."[160] The painting was hung on the wall and the artist felt he could do nothing more with it. At that stage Pollock felt it had become "concrete."[161] According to Goodnough, Pollock said he worked "from the abstract to the concrete"[162] and not the other way round. There was, therefore, no reference to the world of reality—an object or a tactile surface. It existed "on its own."[163]

Goodnough viewed Pollock's working process as the result of a long period of concentrated effort. Pollock himself explained to Goodnough that during four years he

[153] Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid., 40.
[156] Jackson Pollock, quoted in "Pollock Paints a Picture," 41.
[157] Goodnough, "Pollock Paints a Picture," 41.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.

painted “black pictures”[164] without success. This was followed by a period of painting symbols—figures or monsters, which were expressed in a violent manner, as illustrated by the work (*The*) She *Wolf* (1943), where he combined brushwork and paint-pouring and working partly on the floor and partly on the easel. Pollock’s creative process had thus been one of gradual development.

In the article Goodnough sought to give the reader insight into the recent evolution of pictorial representation, explaining the gradual elimination of the object used as a reference point by many artists. Based on his recent dissertation interviews, he explained that these artists were no longer concerned with representing a preconceived idea, but rather with being involved in an experience, of which the nature was important. “It is not something that has lost contact with reality, but might be called a synthesis of countless contacts which have become refined in the area of the emotions during the act of painting.”[165] Goodnough thus outlined his perception of what constituted the “subject matter of the abstractionist artist.”

According to Goodnough, Pollock maintained that his painting was not an act of automatism. Although at the start his methods might have been automatic, they quickly went beyond automatism. Pollock also claimed he did not know how a particular work would end and that he was moved to work by “the urge to create and that this urge and what it produces are forever unknowable.”[166] The viewer responded to the beauty of the canvas, which was of “an intangible order.”[167] Goodnough maintained that it was possible to “experience the unknowable, but not understand it intellectually.”[168] Pollock did not use sketches, and considered the painting completed when he no longer felt any affinity with it.

For Goodnough Pollock’s paintings disclosed the artist’s creative process. “The work of art may be called an image which is set between the artist and the spectator. A Pollock reveals his personal way of bringing his image into existence.”[169] Goodnough described the process as starting automatically, his movements determining the way the

[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid., 60.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.

paint was applied, but underlying the physical process was the complex Pollock mind. "At first he is very much alone with a picture, forgetting that there is a world … outside himself. Gradually he again becomes aware of the outside world and the image he has begun to project is thought of as related to both himself and other people. He is working toward something objective, something which in the end may exist independently of himself, … . He is involved in the world of art, the area in which man undertakes to express his finest feelings, which it seems, is best done through love. Pollock … is in love with his work and his whole life evolves about what he is doing."[170]

According to Goodnough, Pollock believed that his most successful paintings carried the same intensity directly to the edges of the canvas. "My paintings do not have a center, but depend on the same amount of interest throughout."[171] Goodnough believed that since Pollock's painting had no reference to existing objects or ideal objects, such as circles and squares, his work must be considered from the point of view of expression achieved through the integration of rhythm, colour and design, of which the artist felt beauty was composed. Pollock had dispensed with physical space as an element in painting, and according to Goodnough the dimensions of the canvas only determined the ends of the image.

Number 4, 1950 [*sic*], which Goodnough considered one of Pollock's most successful works, was an example of this creative process, where a final state of rest[172] was achieved through the balancing and counteracting of tensions and rhythms. The different colours—browns, blacks, silver and white—were interwoven to achieve an integrated whole. There was no concern with space. "It is more of an emotional experience from which the physical has been removed, and to this intangible quality we sometimes apply the word 'spiritual.'"[173] Goodnough believed Pollock had removed anything that might prevent the viewer from enjoying the painting on this "spiritual" level, although the painting was apprehended through the senses. It was the "aesthetic" mind, which was targeted. For Goodnough, the viewer was released from physical reactions in the case of *Number 4, 1950* [*sic*]. The quality of the work was achieved through Pollock's own high feeling. "Of course anyone can pour paint on a canvas, …

[170] Ibid.
[171] Pollock, quoted in "Pollock Paints a Picture," 60.
[172] Other Pollock works, according to Goodnough, were not as restful.
[173] Goodnough, "Pollock Paints a Picture," 60.

but to create one must purify the emotions; few have the strength, will or even the need, to do this."[174]

Many years later, in 2002, Goodnough recalled his visit to Pollock's studio in the spring of 1950 with the photographer, Rudy Burckhardt, for his *ARTnews* article, after having been asked by Thomas Hess whether he would like to do "Pollock Paints a Picture"? He recalled being flabbergasted, and responding affirmatively at once. He and Burckhardt stayed at Pollock's house overnight.

> "*How do I know when a piece is finished? When it has taken away from me everything I have to give. When it has become stronger than myself. I become the empty one, and it becomes the full one. When I am weak and it is strong, the work is finished.*"[175]
>
> Saul Baizerman

9.5.2. "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture"

Goodnough's second article for the series appeared in the March issue of 1952. The article, "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture," covered the work process of the sculptor Saul Baizerman. Pictures[176] of Baizerman working on his relief in his studio, hammering the metal sheet, and of his tools accompanied Goodnough's text.[177]

Of the three sculptors Goodnough interviewed for the series, Baizerman, of Jewish origin, was the only one not born in America, but in Vitebsk[178] in Russia in 1889. From the age of thirteen he had been intent on becoming a sculptor, and studied at the Imperial Art School in Odessa. He arrived in the United States in 1910 and a year later,

[174] Ibid., 61.
[175] Saul Baizerman, quoted in "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture," by Robert Goodnough, *ARTnews*, March 1952, 67. (Italics in the original text.)
[176] The name of the photographer is mentioned.
[177] Subsequently Goodnough reviewed a Saul Baizerman one-man show at the New Gallery in New York in November 1952, and another one in January 1954.
[178] Saul Baizerman was born in the same town as Marc Chagall. He died in New York in 1957. (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://americanart.si.edu/artist/saul-baizerman-206 [accessed July 13, 2019].)

in 1911, he enrolled at the National Academy of Design, and at the °Beaux Arts Institute of Design as its first sculpture student. According to Goodnough, the artist posed as a model in art classes, which enabled him to learn from the instructors as well as earn money. Becoming a sculptor was a slow process. Until 1920 Baizerman remained under the school's process of preparing sculptors to do work for architects, but he gradually broke away and began to explore the possibilities of "hammered metal," a technique he had discovered while working on small cast bronzes. By 1921 he had begun to work in hammered copper, which remained his preferred material. Baizerman had his first show in 1920 and went to Europe to exhibit in London in 1924 and Paris in 1925. Upon his return in 1926 he started work on his large copper reliefs. The first show of his copper work was held in 1938. Baizerman's wife, Eugenie, was also an artist,[179] and in 1948 they had a joint exhibition at the Artists' Gallery.

Goodnough watched Saul Baizerman work on a large relief sculpture, to be entitled *Exuberance*. He followed the sculptor's creative and work process in his Greenwich Village studio, where Baizerman had been working for seventeen years at the time of the article. Goodnough described the sculptor as a kindly man in his sixties, "intensely patient and earnestly set in one direction: that of giving life to cold sheets of copper through projection of his ideas and philosophy about life."[180] He appeared to Goodnough as a "soft-spoken, gentle man."[181] It was only after talking to the artist that he became aware of the underlying strength and determination that emanated from his sculptures. According to Goodnough, Baizerman's figures—usually nudes— suggested rhythms and tempos which were part of larger abstract themes. He explained that for Baizerman, the figures carried no meaning in themselves, but were used to express the rhythmic feelings and moods he sought, and were employed, often with great distortion, to that end. "The body is simply used to tell his story— … . If he wants to express peace, for instance, he uses soft blows; to show agitation he will break out with staccato forms. He feels his work is like music in many ways."[182] Goodnough described the

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[179] Goodnough reviewed the posthumous show of Eugenie Baizerman (1899-1949) at the Artists' Gallery (October 14-November 9, 1950) in the *ARTnews* issue of October 1950.
[180] Robert Goodnough, "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture," 40.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid., 40-41.

sculptor's studio as "a crowded labyrinth of huge and small pieces"[183] where he hammered large sheets of metal into giant figures.

Goodnough noted that Baizerman started working directly in the metal, that he did not make any preliminary sketches. He worked with only a theme and its rhythms in his mind, which resulted in the gradual moulding of the metal. When Baizerman had exhausted his expression, he waited for new sensations to emerge. Meanwhile he turned to other works. He usually worked on two pieces, often opposite in feeling, at the same time, which enabled a variety of emotions to come into play. In the case of the *Exuberance* relief, Baizerman required many days to be ready to begin to model the figures. His initial excitement was followed by a period of gradual cooling down. Baizerman then started to determine his forms more carefully. There were no preliminary sketches to work from, and the whole of the expression had to be contained in one sheet of copper. This required careful consideration of what shapes he would create, since there was no margin for error.

Goodnough believed Baizerman had an intimate knowledge of the material he worked with. He was aware of the flexibility of the sheet of copper and heedful of its consistency so as to ensure his hammering would not split the metal. He used hard copper, which he never heated, and was aware that his pounding could cause the copper to harden and then split. According to Goodnough, Baizerman could sense when the metal would no longer respond and had lost its "springiness."

It took Baizerman several weeks to reach a stage in his work on *Exuberance* before the big movements started to emerge and before he had a clear view of what the finished work would look like. At that stage he put the work aside, so that the theme might further develop within him. During this time he worked on other pieces (smaller heads and torsos). Baizerman, according to Goodnough, had started on a long journey, as the pounding out of one of his large themes could take anything from two to ten years.

Baizerman himself considered his working method unique in sculpture, as his relief expression was worked on both sides and could be seen from both sides. His relief was

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[183] Ibid., 41.

both convex and concave. He had started developing this way of working in 1920, when he realised that by going directly to the metal with a hammer he could produce large reliefs. He found that copper was best suited to his work. Copper became the chief means for his creative output, but understanding the metal took time. "Copper to me is like a living thing, an animal that fights me. Now I know its tricks and can control it and make it comply with my needs."[184]

Baizerman returned to his work on *Exuberance* after his break. Goodnough described how he started working on the large figure masses, two- and three-dimensionally, with a clear idea of what he wanted to achieve. His objective was to move the large masses into increasingly smaller subdivisions. He beat the metal more slowly, day by day, and became quieter as well as more intense. The subdivisions became more complex. He then focused on the details, which he wanted to concentrate into one large overall mass by addition—not by elimination. The idea was to make the forms flow one into the other and achieve a "totality."[185] Baizerman then went on to shape the irons to support the relief at the sides. The irons were secured to a wooden standard and the relief was transferred from its original stretcher to its mount.

Baizerman wanted *Exuberance* to express peace and happiness. The work took three years to finish, and came alive when Baizerman had finished and, according to Goodnough, "the complexity of subdivision, of projected areas … gives way to the totality. The metal has become increasingly hard from thousands and thousands of hammer blows. The myriad bumps and indentations are not merely the result of shaping the metal but are carefully elaborated during the finishing process to achieve the texture surface that to him becomes so important. The surface almost quivers the light."[186]

The theme of *Exuberance* was subsequently developed into other ideas, of which *March of the Innocents*, which was destroyed by fire and redone in plaster, *Eroica*, on which Baizerman was working at the time of the article, and *Crescendo*, forecast as another ten years' work.

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[184] Baizerman, quoted in "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture," 43.
[185] Goodnough, "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture," 66.
[186] Ibid., 67.

"*The sculpture moves in space, it pierces space and holds it in tension*."[187]

Herbert Ferber

9.5.3. "Ferber Makes a Sculpture"

In his third article in the series, published in the November 1952 issue, Goodnough presented an analysis of the creation by Herbert Ferber of the sculpture *And the Bush Was Not Consumed*. The article was illustrated with pictures of the sculptor at work in his studio and assembling the units of the sculpture. It included a photograph of one of the artist's preliminary drawings, and a picture of the completed artwork in place. The photographs were by Henry Elkan.[188]

Herbert Ferber, an American of Jewish origin, born in New York City in 1906[189], was an unusual artist. He was a sculptor and a painter, but also practiced as a dentist. He began his artistic studies in 1926 at evening classes at the Beaux Arts Institute of Design, while studying at Columbia University Dental School. Ferber's background was similar to that of Barnett Newman and Adolph Gottlieb, and like them he was politically committed. In 1936 he took part in the First American Artists' Congress and joined the Artists' Union, but in 1940 he became one of the founding members[190] of the breakaway group, the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. He was one of "The Irascibles," and, according to Natalie Edgar, a late member of "The Club." Ferber had his first solo show in 1943 at Midtown Galleries in New York, followed by solo shows at Betty Parsons in 1947, 1950, and 1953. In 1955 and 1957 he had a one-man show at Samuel Kootz.

Herbert Ferber had been asked to create a sculpture to be placed on an outside wall of the B'Nai Israel Synagogue in Milburn, New Jersey.[191] The theme was that of the "Burning Bush," to which Ferber had agreed on condition that he would be able to treat

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[187] Herbert Ferber, quoted in "Ferber makes a sculpture," by Robert Goodnough, *ARTnews*, November 1952, 66.
[188] Henry Elkan: dates unknown.
[189] Herbert Ferber died in North Egremont, Massachusetts, in 1991.
[190] Other founding members included Ilya Bolotowsky, Adolph Gottlieb, Mark Rothko, Meyer Schapiro, David Smith, and Bradley Walker Tomlin.
[191] The commission was shared with Robert Motherwell and Adolph Gottlieb.

the subject in an abstract manner. The sculpture might be interpreted as a burning bush, but it would not consist of recognisable or associative shapes or forms. The sculpture would contain the metaphor, with the implication that the fire, contrary to the laws of nature, would not consume the bush. This enigmatic aspect appealed to Ferber, who did not want to treat the subject as a religious man but as an artist. Hence, the title of the sculpture, a quotation from *Exodus* II: 2. Ferber started work on the project in March 1951 and would need over a year to complete it.

Goodnough visited the artist's work environment—a penthouse studio on Riverside Drive in New York City. The sky-lit studio provided the artist with an expansive view of the sky, the Hudson River and the New Jersey shoreline. Ferber had an outside porch, where he stored his works. Goodnough believed that the surroundings of open space had influenced Ferber's "desire of openness and expansion in what he did, for in the synagogue sculpture and in his other work space is as important, as it moves through twisted shapes, as are the shapes themselves."[192] The studio contained all the materials and paraphernalia the artist needed to complete his work—hammers, sheets of copper, torches, etc.—as well as a few works in progress.

The synagogue project started off with a number of small pen-and-ink sketches, in which Ferber sought the germ of his theme. The sketches contained, according to Goodnough, tiny angular and curving shapes, some suggesting lightning bolts, while others resembled interwoven and crossed twisted toothpicks. The sketches were the basis for the actual sculpture, which in the end would measure seven feet in height. This involved a long and hard process, requiring changes and variations. However, the final work was already "anticipated"[193] in these sketches. Goodnough pointed out that for a sculpture the preparation was of major importance, as changes were not easily made once the work on the sculpture itself had started.

Ferber made two models, both in copper, after completing the sketches. The first model was only a foot high and was structured on the basis of the sketches, but included the third dimensional element. The model, in which the open spaces acquired more relevance, was submitted for approval to Dr. Grunewald, the Rabbi of the synagogue,

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[192] Robert Goodnough, "Ferber Makes a Sculpture," 41.
[193] Ibid.

and to the architect, Percival Goodman. Ferber insisted that once approval was given, no changes would be accepted with the exception of those the artist himself found necessary. The model was accepted without restriction. Goodnough pointed out that the original commission was for a six-foot sculpture, but Ferber came to the conclusion that it would be too small for the designated wall space. He proposed to make a sculpture twice that size, hence the final twelve-foot piece. This required the artist to jump from a one-foot model to a twelve-foot sculpture[194], and led him to work on a second model.

The second model incorporated a number of changes, which maintained the general rhythm and left the central idea intact. The model was in copper and other materials to be used for the final piece. It measured three feet in height, providing a better idea of the final work. This model, photographed and projected onto the wall of Ferber's studio, gave the artist a better grasp of the intended final result. He thus felt confident to proceed with the sculpture. To reach this stage Ferber had spent four months of hard labour on the preparations.

Goodnough pointed out that the working method followed for *And the Bush Was Not Consumed* was arrived at after many years. Twenty-five years earlier Ferber would have worked differently, according to Goodnough. From 1927 to 1931 Ferber made very accurate studies from models at the Beaux-Arts Institute of Design of New York. He made two trips to Europe, where he became impressed with Romanesque sculpture. Subsequently he adopted an "Expressionistic"[195] treatment of figures cast in bronze. He then gradually evolved towards abstraction, after which he turned to "non-objective"[196] sculpture by eliminating any direct reference to objects. By 1945, according to Goodnough, figures were no longer an important element in his work. He was in the process of breaking away from the constraints of copying the model. He stopped sculpting for several months, forcing back the tendency to use objects. "In what followed, figures became abstracted almost to the point of being unrecognizable and shapes were arranged to give interest to the open spaces they created. Metal, too, was

[194] A variation of one inch would mean a divergence of one foot in the final piece.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Herbert Ferber defined his sculpture as "non-objective."

coming to be his favored material."[197] Metal allowed for greater flexibility, which led to his "non-objective" manner of expression, illustrated by *And the Bush Was Not Consumed*.

According to Goodnough, the burning bush interpretation lent itself to shapes extended in space. Only the mounts touched the wall upon which the sculpture was fixed. No part of the sculpture touched the wall. The greatest projection from the wall was over three feet. Within this depth, many variations were brought into play as the twelve pieces, which made up the sculpture, were arranged within a controlled space. Goodnough pointed out that high and low relief as well as empty space were all put to use. The twelve pieces, which made up the sculpture, were executed one at a time: each one was completed before the next one was begun. Goodnough emphasised the importance of the preparatory work, since each piece had to fit exactly into its place.

According to Goodnough, the work on each element was itself an arduous task. Each element was supported by a structure of bars and rods, pipes, plumbers' fittings, wire mesh and any other material suitable to forming the desired shape. Copper sheets were cut out and then soldered to the framework; seams and joints were covered with solder. To Goodnough it was evident that Ferber wanted to achieve a unified whole, and thus solder was applied to all the visible copper areas. "Ferber is not interested in texture other than as it results from the working process. The material is merely there to make possible the total form."[198]

Ferber also decided to do away with the colour contrast between the copper and the lead, as it would interfere with the overall image of the work. Covering the copper with lead solder was a slow and tedious task, which involved dotting the entire copper surface with lead. The noticeable spotty texture was the result of the working process and in no way an intended effect. This task required many months and was completed with the assistance of Anthony Louvis, a young painter living in Greenwich Village, who helped construct, surface, and assemble the structure.

[197] Ibid., 41-42.
[198] Ibid., 42.

All the work on the sculpture up to the assemblage of the twelve elements was carried out in Ferber's studio. The assembling, which took two months, was done in a larger studio further downtown. The different pieces were joined and mounted temporarily on a plank backing, which was necessary in order to move and exhibit the sculpture at the exhibition "15 Americans"[199] at the Museum of Modern Art in the spring of 1952. Once assembled, the sculpture was lowered to the street in the same way as a piano would have been lowered. The final stage required Ferber to supervise the mounting of the sculpture into position on the synagogue wall.

Although the use of many different materials, of which piper, copper, and lead, would previously have been unorthodox, for Ferber the new techniques only allowed for a "transmutation into plastic ideas."[200] The materials in themselves were of no importance. He viewed the extension of the sculpture as an extension into space and as a way of making space an integral part of the sculpture. Ferber, according to Goodnough, was also aware of the artist's intimacy with the sculpture and the importance of this intimacy, which he strove to achieve in *And the Bush Was Not Consumed*.

Goodnough concluded: "As part of an over-all plan in which the intention was to combine architecture with works by some contemporary modern artists, Ferber's work may now be seen in the setting for which it was intended—an unusual phenomenon in avant-garde sculpture."[201]

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[199] April 9 - July 27, 1952.
[200] Ferber, quoted in "Ferber Makes a Sculpture," 66.
[201] Goodnough, "Ferber Makes a Sculpture," 66.

> “When I look out the window ... I don’t see the trees in bloom or mountain laurel. What I do see—or rather, not what I see but the feelings aroused in me by that looking—is what I paint.”[202]
>
> Franz Kline

9.5.4. “Kline Paints a Picture”

Goodnough’s fourth article in the series, “Kline Paints a picture,” appeared in the December 1952 issue. The text was illustrated with pictures, taken by the American photographer John Gordon Ross (1920-2000), of Kline in his Greenwich studio, his implements, preliminary and final preparatory drawings, and the final work.

Kline was born in 1911[203] in Pennsylvania and came to New York in 1938. According to Goodnough, he had spent most of his time since his youth in front of a canvas or a sheet of drawing paper, trying to work out how to paint pictures, which would show how he felt about art.

When he settled in New York, according to Goodnough, Kline was producing still-lifes, figures and pictures of trains. His work subsequently metamorphosed from “subject-packed”[204] paintings to huge pictures, in which the image was reduced to three or four areas of black paint related to three or four white areas. The evolution occurred slowly, through the elimination of many things, which Kline was fond of but were not essential to what he wanted to express.[205] Goodnough referred to sketches, done between 1942 and 1944, of figures with hardly any detail. The drawings were done in black ink on white paper and were a turning point, leading to the complete elimination of the figure and line.[206] Kline had reached this stage at the time of the article, and was interested in

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[202] Franz Kline, quoted in *Conversations with Artists*, by Selden Rodman, 6th repr. (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), 109-110.

[203] Several sources assert he was born on 23 May 1910. He died in New York City in 1962. For a biographical overview see “Chronology,” in *Franz Kline*, ed. Harry F. Gaugh (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 174-180.

[204] Robert Goodnough, “Kline Paints a Picture,” *ARTnews*, December 1952, 36.

[205] According to Harry F. Gaugh, Kline met Willem de Kooning in 1943, and probably under de Kooning’s influence, around 1947, began to abandon figuration and experiment on a large scale with a gestural abstract technique.

[206] Critics have since debated whether Kline's black and white paintings were inspired by Japanese calligraphy, a matter mentioned in Goodnough’s article, but always denied by the artist. Kline was seen

achieving "the maximum contrast and impact in what he felt was the simplest way, through black and white."[207]

According to Goodnough, Kline did not work from any preconceived formula. Each painting was produced in a different way: some were completed quickly, while others underwent many changes. Goodnough described Kline's creative process for *Abstract Painting, 1952*[208]*,* for which he began preparations in January 1952. Kline made many sketches and drawings before starting on the painting. He did not choose any of the preliminary works as a starting point, but put them aside and started working on the canvas "with the general feeling he has gotten as a result of making the drawings, ready also to make changes at any time necessary as the picture develops."[209]

In January Kline selected a very large canvas—6 feet 5 inches by 8½ feet—and started the actual painting. According to Goodnough, the sketches dictated the size of the canvas and the final picture. "Thus, while at first he had no idea of making a painting from them, they more or less told him that they should be painted."[210] It took until June for Kline to know how he wanted to do the painting, although even at that stage it was not altogether clear as several changes were made after the painting was started. He had apparently done a few smaller paintings of the theme, after which he realized he wanted to do something much larger. It was at that point, according to Goodnough, that Kline separated himself from the domination of the sketches. Goodnough explained that at that stage Kline could produce an entirely new picture, with the sketches only providing the energy to be expressed.

Goodnough described Kline's studio on East 9th Street in Greenwich Village, a top-floor loft from the front to the back of the building. The studio was uncluttered and neat, with in the back near two windows a table with the artist's paint and brushes, and nearby a large board, to which the canvas for *Abstract Painting, 1952* was tacked.[211]

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as the quintessential "action painter," yet he was less intent to express himself than to create a physical engagement with the viewer. By 1955 Kline was experimenting with colour again and using planes painted in different hues to evoke a more complex sense of space. By the end of the decade some of his pictures were almost monochromatic.

207 Goodnough, "Kline Paints a Picture," 37.

208 This was less a title than a means of identifying the work.

209 Ibid., 37.

210 Ibid., 38.

211 Goodnough noted that this area was lit by strong electric light bulbs, as Kline often worked at night.

Kline did not usually stretch his canvases before painting them. There were several reasons for this. Kline was in the habit of pushing the brushes hard against the canvas, and therefore liked a strong support. If the painting did not turn out to his liking, then stretching the canvas would have been unnecessary. Also when starting a painting Kline might not have been sure about its size.[212]

Goodnough described Kline's working process as follows: Kline started off by rapidly applying long lines in charcoal across the canvas, suggesting the "over-all movements"[213] he had in mind, but not outlining the shapes. This took less than half an hour and basically amounted to a few "directional"[214] lines. He allowed no time to elapse between the drawing and the application of the paint, as it was to be a continuous process—without a break as "otherwise he might lose the feel of his initial emotion."[215] Kline used house-painters' brushes of different widths to apply a few bold shapes in black oil colour and, with a clean brush, put in several areas of white in relation to the black areas, after which he moved back to black, and moved regularly from black to white and vice versa so that neither of the opposites might dominate the other. Kline painted rapidly in order to "get out the present intensity first."[216] He worked for about three hours, then stopped and put the painting aside "to jell in his mind."[217] This process was repeated until the painting reached its final stage. Kline would work on other pictures in the meantime.

Kline used a linen canvas with a coarse grain. The paint was not applied heavily: the black areas had a smooth feeling. He used black oil paint, purchased in cans, and turpentine as a thinner, which produced a mat effect in the black. Within the black there might, however, occur slightly glossy spots, as the black paint was not always fully absorbed. When this happened, Kline left them that way, since to change them out of technical considerations would go against his view that "the emotional results count and not technical afterthoughts."[218] For the white Kline used a commercial house paint, into which he mixed some titanium. He used less thinner with the white, but

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[212] Kline used a canvas somewhat larger than planned, which allowed for any unplanned additions. *Abstract Painting, 1952* was started three inches shorter in width than its final form.
[213] Goodnough, "Kline Paints a Picture," 38.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid., 39.

worked it with a palette knife to a smooth consistency before applying it. The whites appeared thicker and shinier than the blacks, which added “a kind of conflict on a sensuous level ... not out of keeping with the general conflicting elements of the painting.”[219] The brushes Kline used ranged from one to five inches in thickness and were kept very clean to ensure that the blacks and whites were kept as pure as possible.

Kline refuted the connection of his work with “calligraphy” since for him calligraphy was a matter of writing on an unlimited surface, the paper merely acting as a background to support the writing. His use of white and black was intended to create definitive positive shapes. Goodnough explained that in writing one was directed by the character of the letter, as was the case when drawing a representational figure. The paper acted as background, but Kline was attempting something different, since there was no subordination of white in his paintings.

In the course of executing *Abstract Painting, 1952* Kline had to make a number of decisions. Thus, he put a black area across two black shapes, which had shot upwards to the top of the canvas, in order to give a horizontal direction. Other changes were introduced in order to solve similar problems. As the changes were introduced the painting was becoming simpler and more direct. At this stage the painting was put aside for another rest.

Towards the end of July, Kline contemplated the painting for a long time. He was perplexed, feeling something was not quite right. He lifted it off the board and hung it sideways, which gave him a clue to what was needed. Goodnough explained that usually an abstract painting had a top and a bottom, although there was no objective way of determining this. Occasionally painters turned their canvas round several times to observe how the masses on the canvas organised themselves. However, one side tended to end up at the top. In the case of *Abstract Painting, 1952*, Kline knew from the start which side was at the top. Fortunately he had allowed for some leeway on the canvas. He turned the canvas back to its original position and added three inches to the right side and a few further minor adjustments, after which the picture was finished.

[219] Ibid., 39, 63.

Kline then made the stretcher and attached the canvas, and Goodnough noted "Kline felt gratified with the results."[220]

Goodnough further explained that there was a tendency to see black first, which was also the case in Kline's paintings, especially in paintings two or three years prior to *Abstract Painting, 1952*, in which black images predominated. More recent paintings comprised more white areas. Goodnough also observed that because of repeated layers, some of the paintings gave the feeling of texture, although this was not the artist's intention. "Black and white has been Franz Kline's main way of getting to the essentials. If he uses color at all it is only sparingly. Whether he will later re-introduce color into his work in some different way than he once used it remains to be seen."[221]

By way of information, Goodnough added that Kline had had one-man shows at Charles Egan in 1951 and 1952[222], and was planning another as soon as he felt ready. Kline's influence at that stage had reached beyond American frontiers, in particular in Japan.[223]

"Reality is as you see it, not as you have been told it is."[224]

David Hare

9.5.5. "Hare Makes a Sculpture"

Goodnough made one last contribution to the series in March 1956—"Hare Makes a Sculpture." The article included pictures of Hare at work on the sculpture in his studio, and two views of the final result *Figure in a Window* (1955). The photographer was John Reed.[225]

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[220] Ibid., 64.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Kline's black and white paintings were first exhibited at Charles Egan in 1950, a show that established his reputation.
[223] Two issues (1951 and 1952) of the Tokyo magazine, *Bokubi* (The Beauty of Black and White) had been devoted exclusively to his work.
[224] David Hare, quoted in "David Hare Makes a Sculpture," by Robert Goodnough, *ARTnews*, March 1956, 49.
[225] John Reed: dates unknown.

David Hare was born in New York City in 1917[226], but spent most of his early years in the Southwest of the United States. He never studied art formally, but learnt through observation and experience. During the war years he became closely involved with the émigré Surrealist movement and collaborated with them on a number of projects, of which the Surrealist journal *VVV*. He co-founded and co-edited *VVV* from 1941 to 1944 with André Breton, Max Ernst, and Marcel Duchamp. He also began to experiment with Surrealist sculpture, which became his primary focus, and exhibited his work in solo shows in a number of prestigious venues, including Art of This Century. In 1948 he became a founding member, along with Rothko, Baziotes and Motherwell, of the "Subjects of the Artist" School in New York.

According to Goodnough, Hare had been drawn to sculpting because of his interest in three-dimensional expression. He started sculpting small sculpture pieces as a pastime in high school. He was interested in chemistry and medicine, but was fascinated by photography and spent two years photographing operations in hospitals. Subsequently he did photographs of "Indians" for the Museum of Natural History. In the late 1930s, with no previous artistic training, he began to experiment with colour photography and developed an automatist technique called "heatage" in which he heated the unfixed negative, causing the image to ripple and distort. The medium of photography, however, did not fully satisfy him and he decided to work with something with a "greater range of expression."[227] Hare exhibited his work soon after he took up sculpting. By the time of the article, he had had thirteen shows in the United States and many in Europe.

In his analysis of Hare's work process Goodnough observed that he was a rapid worker, was deeply absorbed while working, and that "a lot of painstaking labor, study, selecting and discarding … [went] into the making of one of his pieces."[228] Hare had started working in metal about seven years prior to Goodnough's article and had been "sculpturing" for thirteen years by then. He had used every kind of material available, but for practical reasons had settled for metal, as metal was modern, a new means of expression and convenient to handle. For the purpose of the article Hare created *Figure*

[226] David Hare died in Jackson, Wyoming, in 1992.
[227] Robert Goodnough., "David Hare Makes a Sculpture," 48.
[228] Ibid., 47.

in a Window, which was in the vein of one of his favourite themes—a figure standing at a window. According to Goodnough, this theme for Hare brought into play the idea of limited space indoors as opposed to the openness of the out-of-doors, as well as the thought of hellos and good-byes, the idea of lingering and watching and many other associations. According to Goodnough, Hare saw it as symbolic of the human being situated in the world, looking out but actually looking into himself "since the outside represents his experience and reactions to it."[229] Hare had already dealt with this theme in various ways and decided to crown this series with a life-size figure.

Goodnough described Hare's working method as follows: although Hare often started working directly with the metal, for *Figure at a Window* [*sic*][230], he made numerous sketches, gradually covering the whole subject. Following weeks of toying with the idea, the sketches finally approached what he wanted to express. He then worked out a fairly accurate, life-size charcoal drawing, which he used as a diagram for measuring and cutting the structural pieces. When he was satisfied with the drawing, he laid it flat on the floor under strong lights. He then selected the metal rods (Bessemer steel rods, ¼ or ½ inch thick), and laid these on the drawing, which enabled him to bend them into shape and cut them to size. In addition to the rods he also required sheets of copper. He prepared and made all the pieces for the sculpture before assembling them, and left them on the drawing for a time, considering the possibility of any changes before welding them. He started to weld the joints the following day, beginning with two pieces, which he secured, and then adding another. This process did not take long. He was aware of the extreme heat absorbed in the rods during the welding process and the need and time for them to cool off.

The sculpture was life-size (seven feet tall) and because of its height was done in two sections: the frame would be welded together at the middle. The skeletal figure was ready to be placed erect: three rods were welded into the shape of a tripod; three more rods were attached to the ends where they touched the floor to strengthen the base; the end of the lower half of the figure where it came to a point was welded to this. The figure appeared precarious but was nevertheless solid: it occupied a narrow space within the rectangular space forming the window. Hare then pounded a nail into the

[229] Ibid., 47,48.
[230] The title of the sculpture varied between *Figure in a Window* and *Figure at a Window*.

ceiling of the studio, and suspended the upper half of the figure from the ceiling with a heavy cord; he lowered this half gradually until it met with the lower section of the sculpture. The rods of the two sections were welded into place, thus completing the sculpture.

According to Goodnough, Hare sought to achieve symbols that were not personal. He attempted symbols or forms, which might be of interest to a wider audience. "Though the result may be abstract, he feels that its emergence from the impact of the subject choice will be captured in the forms and will convey meaning."[231]

Hare often designed a web-like lacy black covering built around the bars to create a rough casing, which did not make the sculpture heavy but created the feeling of delicate mass. He achieved this with slender metal bars, which were worked into shapes and laced into one another in complicated variations. It created an unusual effect, which had almost become Hare's trademark. Hare went on to create this element for *Figure at a Window*. This was a slow and laborious task. The heating of the rods created different colours: steel turned black, while the brass rods turned orange. Some of the pieces thus appeared to be painted. Goodnough affirmed that Hare did not colour his pieces, although he sometimes applied varnish to protect the surface. He concluded that Hare had developed a work process, which highlighted "the lightness and tenuousness of the material combined with his individual tendencies in design and personal expression."[232]

Goodnough perceived Hare as something of a philosopher, a fluent talker who was vocal about his work. Apparently Hare felt closer to Picasso than to Matisse: what attracted him to Picasso was Picasso's many approaches to painting problems. According to Goodnough, Hare was not interested in style, but in creating experience. He was not concerned with abstraction as such, but was interested in the emotion felt about an object. Emotion, however, could lead to distortion and render one's subject unrecognisable. In Hare's words, "Reality is as you see it, not as you have been told it is."[233] Goodnough added that art was largely a product of emotions.

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[231] Ibid., 49.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Hare, quoted in "David Hare Makes a Sculpture," 49.

Hare completed the web work and made some minor adjustments to the shapes before the final completion of the sculpture. Goodnough observed that the preparation, which had required a lot of planning and thought, had probably been more difficult than the actual process of assembling and welding. Hare appeared satisfied with the result and thought *Figure at a Window* was one of the best of the series.

9.5.6. Conclusion

Although the articles took on a descriptive format, Goodnough through his descriptions provided the reader with an insight into the physical as well as the creative process of each artist. For the three sculptors, in particular, he was able to convey a deep understanding of the technical ability at play and the challenge of the physical difficulties. All three sculptors had evolved a relationship with their medium. Baizerman had learnt to understand copper and control it. For Ferber the materials and the technique were unimportant, since they only served to transmute ideas into a plastic format, and the material was a means to achieve the "total form." Hare was concerned with emotion, and sought his forms to capture and convey meaning.

Beyond the physical presence of the artwork, Goodnough was able to identify the creative forces behind the sculptors' use of the techniques and materials. A case in point was Ferber's commission for the B'Nai Israel Synagogue, which was an abstraction of a religious metaphor. The detailed descriptions of the sculpting enabled the reader to grasp the transmission process of emotion from the sculptor to the viewer through the work on the medium. In all three cases the material was only a means of expression—of ideas, feelings, a philosophy, a metaphor. Thus, Goodnough pointed out that Baizerman's relentless pounding of the copper sheet sought to transmit "peace and happiness."[234] Ferber intended his sculpture to contain the metaphor of a burning bush not consumed by the fire. Hare was in search of symbols of interest to a wider audience, and hoped that the impact of the subject choice would be captured in the forms.

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[234] Goodnough, "Baizerman Makes a Sculpture," 66.

Goodnough showed himself to be equally insightful with Pollock and Kline. In the case of Pollock he highlighted the "unusual quality" of mind of the artist, which was projected into the paintings and provided the captivating (or disturbing) aspect of Pollock's pictorial expression. With Kline too, Goodnough was able to understand and convey the painter's objective and his visual expression of it.

Goodnough's understanding of art was that it was largely a product of emotion, as he stated in "Hare makes a sculpture." Emotion was revealed as a prime ingredient of the creative process with all five artists. In the case of Pollock, Goodnough underlined the intensity of his mind and feelings, which contributed to the elusive quality of his pictorial representation. In the case of Kline feelings and emotions were an integral part of the creative process: once Kline knew how he was going to execute the painting, he worked without a break, eager to retain the feeling of his initial emotion. Such emotion was part of the end result since for Kline "emotional results" superseded "technical afterthoughts."[235]

The sculptors too were driven by emotion and feeling. Goodnough pointed out that Baizerman "felt" his work like music, while Ferber required an intimacy with the sculpture, and Hare's interest lay in the emotion felt about an object.

As an artist, Goodnough was able to identify the relevance of "time" in the creative process. In addition to the time it took to actually paint or sculpt, the artists needed time to step back from the physical process in order to feed the process of creation. According to Goodnough, Pollock needed to intersperse periods of intense work with periods of contemplation and thought, whereas Kline required time to separate himself from his preliminary sketches.

Inevitably the sculptors required more "real" time to execute their work, but they too needed "creative" time. Time was probably most precious for Baizerman, who needed three years to complete *Exuberance*. He needed "time" when he had exhausted his expression and was waiting for new sensations to emerge and new emotions to come into play. Goodnough indicated that an initial period of excitement was followed by a

[235] Goodnough, "Kline Paints a Picture," 39.

period of gradual cooling down. Baizerman put the work aside so that the theme might further develop within him. Ferber needed over a year to complete his mural sculpture, of which the first four months were spent on the preparatory stages, whereas Hare was a rapid worker, time being of the essence, when he was deeply absorbed in his work process.

Linked to "time" as well as to the emotional input was the stage of completion. For Pollock completion occurred when he no longer "felt" an affinity for the painting. Completion was a "released experience,"[236] and having worked from the abstract to the concrete there was no reference to the world of reality. The painting existed on its own. For Kline completion occurred when the painting "felt" right. In the case of Baizerman completion was reached when he had given all he had to give to the sculpture. For Ferber a state of intimacy concluded the completion of the work, and for Hare the work was completed when he was "satisfied" with the result of his labour.

Goodnough also revealed that all five artists sought to open up to the viewer. In the case of Pollock, Goodnough believed that the artist had removed anything that might prevent the viewer from enjoying his painting at the "spiritual" level. The "image" was the interface between the artist and the spectator, and although apprehended through the senses, it targeted the viewer's "aesthetic" mind, a reminder of Duchamp's "aesthetic echo." Baizerman sought to present a "totality" to the viewer, whereas Ferber strove to achieve intimacy in his work. Kline sought to convey the essentials to the viewer through black and white. Hare wished to create an experience through the "lightness" of his sculpture.

Goodnough explained the subject matter of the abstractionist as the "synthesis of countless contacts [with reality] which have become refined in the area of the emotions during the act of painting."[237] Pollock was driven by an "unknowable" urge to create. The product of this urge was also "unknowable," but Goodnough pointed out that it was possible to experience the "unknowable" without understanding it intellectually.

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[236] Goodnough, "Pollock Paints a Picture," 41.
[237] Ibid., 60.

> "There is no greater obstacle to the enjoyment of great works of art than our unwillingness to discard habits and prejudices."[1]
>
> Ernst H. Gombrich

CHAPTER 10 - CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE

As set out in the introduction the objective of this thesis is to ascertain whether Robert Goodnough's critical and artistic insight, as an "insider," into "advanced" painting in America contributes to our own understanding and perception of Abstract Expressionism. At the core of our quest was the nature of the "subject matter" of the "advanced" artist, whose work, devoid of all apparent reference to the world of reality, posed a problem for the outsider. "Advanced" painters themselves seemed at a loss to understand why this was so important for the viewer. Rothko and Gottlieb in 1943 made this clear publicly, when stating that their paintings needed no explanation. And Pollock claimed that only the artist's painting was of relevance, not what the artist had to say about it. Samuel Kootz sought to present the viewer with a window into the work of these artists through his show "The Intrasubjectives," by explaining the "intrasubjective" in twentieth century American pictorial art. Goodnough took this one step further by putting the question of subject matter and its source directly to the "intrasubjective" artists in his interviews.

Goodnough's research in 1949 was followed by his initiative of the closing seminar of "Studio 35" in April 1950. As a consequence we presume that he felt further debate and clarification on the matter was necessary. The artists willingly went along with the discussions at "Studio 35" and its successor "The Club." Prior to that the matter had been part of the informal discussions at the Waldorf Cafeteria and the Friday evening discussions at the "Subjects of the Artist" School. In addition, in 1949, the participants of "The Western Round Table on Modern Art" had sought to deal with current questions about art. And the summer initiative of Forum 49 was yet another sign of the urge to clarify matters. Philip Pavia brought the matter to a head in 1951, when he set

[1] Ernst H. Gombrich, *The History of Art,* Pocket Edition (London: Phaidon Press, 2006), 26.

up seven panels to discuss Thomas Hess's analysis in *Abstract Painting*, opposing the "abstractionists" and the "expressionists."

10.1. American subject matter

Until the Armory Show in 1913, it is safe to say that the American public in general had not been confronted with "unrecognisable" subject matter in the paintings to which they had access in public venues, such as museums and art galleries. The exhibition of "modern" European art provoked consternation and confusion, as the choice of subject matter was no longer traditional or represented in a conventional way. Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase No. 2* (1912) was a case in point.

Until that time, the American public had been confronted mainly with American subject matter—the American landscape, portraiture of American public figures, and American genre painting—leaving little to the imagination and hardly taxing the minds of the viewers. The Henri group introduced American viewers to the realism of urban decay, less appealing but still recognisable subject matter. Avant-garde art, although on display in New York, was viewed by a very few and was mainly European. The American "modernists" on display were still wedded to the American landscape, although some artists were looking beyond faithful rendition and seeking to imbue their subject matter with "spirit," turning to Native American art for inspiration.

American artists, who were not ready or willing to forsake the recognisable, had shielded the public against radical innovation. At best these artists applied modern technique to tangible subject matter—Max Weber was a prime example. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Synchromists were the only American painters to venture into non-recognisable subject matter, producing genuinely non-objective art. The experience, which originated in Europe, was short-lived and did not extend beyond the First World War.

The First World War did not give rise to any radicalism in American painting: in fact it had the opposite effect and triggered a return to realism and figurative painting. American subject matter remained recognisable throughout the 1920s, in spite of forays

into the avant-garde. Neo-Dada was European-spawned, ephemeral and represented only a minor avant-garde dent in mainstream American painting. Purism had a more lasting impact in the form of Precisionism, which became the leading school of American Realism in the 1920s, but the subject matter of the Precisionists remained in essence American in the shape of modern buildings exuding the spirit of modern technology. The "styles" of the 1920s were European-inspired, but the subject matter was highly American in nature, heralding the advent of consumerism through everyday American consumer objects.

The 1929 Crash and the ensuing Great Depression generated disillusionment and a further regression to the national, the conventional and the traditional in art. The two factions of American Realism—the Regionalists and Social Realists—both resorted to the real world for their subject matter. The Regionalists turned to rural America, while the Social Realists resorted to the woes of depressed urban centres. The subject matter of the 1930s was "America" first and foremost, as illustrated by the public works of the Federal Art Project in the mid-1930s.

Although figuration was predominant, abstraction was nevertheless beginning to serve the creative process of those American artists seeking to break out of the "domestic" mould. "The Ten" was a first incursion into the exploration of "expressionism" and "abstraction," albeit still within the realm of figuration. The common front of "The Ten" was directed against the predominant trends of American Regionalism, Social Realism, and "provincialism." The American Abstract Artists represented a more radical venture into the realm of abstraction. Its members, influenced by Mondrian's Neo-Plasticism, opposed "pure" abstraction to "subject matter" abstraction. Their vision, arrived at through discussion, had a "commonality" and was expressed in a declaration of intent.

At the end of the 1930s the influx of European intellectuals, artists, writers, and scientists started nurturing the breeding ground for the future "advanced" breakthrough in American painting. Surrealism became the prevalent trend at the beginning of the new decade, literally invading the New York art scene during the war years. Young American painters were attracted to the vision of the European Surrealists, whose influence became visible in their work. At the end of the war, however, the Surrealists

appeared to have outlived their welcome and, in 1945, began returning home, not without having left their imprint.

The immediate post-war years witnessed the gradual emergence of the "advanced" art of a new generation of talent and the breakthrough of a new emblematic pictorial expression in American painting. And although gallery owners and art dealers were beginning to thrust the new images into the public arena, little was conveyed by way of explanation as to the content of these images. As a result they were at best little understood and at worst sharply criticised.

Breaking the barriers of traditional painting went hand in hand with distancing American painting from its European counterpart and with American painters claiming their independence from their European peers. The matter, as we have noted, became part of the cultural battle waged by the United States to gain overall world hegemony. It was also a response to the demand for a distinctive note of Americanism. However, in this battle the "promotion" was of the artists not their work. A case in point was the article in *Life* magazine of 8 August 1949—"Jackson Pollock: Is He the Greatest Living Painter in the United States?" The artists felt "used" as well as vilified in many instances as they struggled to have their art acknowledged and recognised. They revealed the need to discuss, mainly amongst themselves, what they perceived as the essence of their work, be it in writing or in debates, formal and informal.

10.2. Subject matter as an issue

By the mid-1940s, most of the American public as well as the art critics and historians were in varying degrees aware of the changing nature of the subject matter of American painting, but, with a few exceptions, were unable or unwilling to comprehend the development American painting was undergoing. For John Graham "subject matter," which he defined as literary content was of minor importance and of little relevance to the work of art, as "form" expressed all the elements of subject matter. He believed the artist created because it was a joy, something Motherwell revealed he did not achieve very often. Nor did Rothko for that matter. For Goodnough it was the satisfaction of creation that was personally important.

Painting was for Graham the most difficult of the arts to understand, and the key to understanding it was space, an integral part of painting. A view shared by, amongst others, Pollock, de Kooning, Hofmann, and Newman, while Rosenberg referred to it as "nothingness."

Subject matter did not become an issue until it became inaccessible to the outsider. Holger Cahill and Alfred Barr sought to explain it, and in the case of Barr to make it accessible to the general public. Barr spoke in terms of learning to read a new visual language, which once acquired would enable the viewer to enjoy modern art. Clement Greenberg sought to elucidate the art produced by his contemporaries, following its gradual emergence, and bringing to the fore those "advanced" painters making a break with the past. The major problem with the emerging "advanced" art was its elusive subject matter, which the outsider was unable to identify, since it no longer visibly drew its inspiration from the world of reality. The artists themselves were reluctant to explain their art. Some, amongst them Rothko and Gottlieb, publicly refused to do so. Others, such as Baziotes and Pollock, as we have seen, remained silent most of the time. So much so that in 1946 Motherwell felt it useful to make the point that their silence did not imply the artists had nothing to say.

Alfred Barr, in 1943, had sought to throw light on the new art, maintaining that, whatever its appearance, modern art had its source in "the poetic imagination" of the artist. He was also adamant about the importance of subject matter in "expressionist" painting. He did not discard the presence of subject matter, however elusive, and made the key distinction between what artists paint and how they paint it (a matter raised during the "Artists' Sessions" in April 1950, endorsing the relevance of the personal in modern art. He recognised the dominance of abstract painting in mid-century art, while his three component elements of great art—truth, freedom, and perfection—pointed to the less tangible characteristics of artworks.

Samuel Kootz and Sidney Janis not only displayed the new painting, but also sought to "explain" it. Kootz did so through abstraction, stating that the abstract painter had no desire to copy nature, but still took as point of departure the world of reality and was attached to "life-impulses" as opposed to the non-objective painter who appeared to

have severed any attachment to the world of reality. A number of “advanced” painters, amongst them Hofmann and Rothko, confirmed their adherence to nature as their point of departure. However, it was no longer a matter of imitating nature, but “paralleling” it. In addition, the world of reality consisted of more than tangible objects. Kootz believed that aesthetics without content were of little value. In 1943 he had predicted that the work of Adolph Gottlieb, “a compromise between abstract geometry and expressionist freedom of emotion”[2] would grow into something worthwhile. And in 1949 he gave a discerning clarification of the work of “intrasubjective” painters.

Janis, in 1944, believed that the meaning of the concept of reality had changed and therefore required new imagery and symbolism, which was reflected in the evolution of twentieth-century pictorial representation. He took his cue from the antithetic directions of Surrealism and abstraction, which were evidence of the expanded concept of reality. In his classification of American painters he identified Hofmann and Pollock as painters in whose work the coexistence of “abstract” and “expressionist” styles was apparent, thus anticipating the future American pictorial breakthrough.

Clement Greenberg was amongst the first to acknowledge “advanced” art, and follow its evolution. Throughout the 1940s he was insightful in identifying the “trailblazers,” amongst them Jackson Pollock. He was aware of Hans Hofmann’s enduring influence (direct and through his students) on “advanced” artists. He was ahead in his anticipation of the relevance of mural painting (as was Holger Cahill) on modern American art, and the evolution of easel painting. He was aware of the importance of Samuel Kootz, Peggy Guggenheim, and Betty Parsons, in their choice of young and new talent, well before it was generally acknowledged. He anticipated the shift of the centre of gravity of the Western art world from Europe to the United States (as did Harold Rosenberg), and where (below 34th Street) the young American talent was at work. But it was only in the early 1950s that he identified the relevance of feeling and honesty in the work of the new art. And while he heralded Abstract Expressionism as the most radical development in American painting since the 1930s, without a counterpart in Europe, he only tentatively sought to identify the key to the elusive nature of the subject matter of Abstract Expressionist painters.

[2] Samuel M. Kootz, *New Frontiers in American Painting* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1943), 56.

In 1949 Cahill, Barr and Greenberg, amongst others, reviewed the state of American Art and were convinced that it was equal to its European counterpart, and that American artists were forging ahead towards a distinctive visual language of expression. Abstraction was, according to Cahill, the predominant trend, whereas for Barr "Expressionism" was the most common style of the 1940s.

10.3. The "subject matter of the 'intrasubjective' artist"

In 1949 Samuel Kootz provided Goodnough with a launching pad in his search for clarification of the meaning of the new visual language, "characterized by the elimination of recognizable objects."[3]

Kootz took the initiative to qualify the art of a number of "advanced" artists as "intrasubjective," and make an attempt at describing the objective of their art. He explained that the source of inspiration of the artists chosen for his exhibition was internal rather than external. "The intrasubjective artist invents from personal experience, dealing with inward emotions and experiences."[4] As a result the artist's self was contained in each painting. He viewed it as "a conscious revolt from our puritan heritage."[5] The artist's work was, as a consequence, highly personal and self-revelatory without any recognisable indices for the viewers to rely on. The image on the canvas was the painter's self-revelation, requiring the viewers to reach beyond their own experience. Because of the personal input into the work, the "intrasubjective" artists did not have a "style" in common. "Intrasubjectivism" provided Kootz with an explanation for the absence of recognisable subject matter.

Harold Rosenberg supplemented Kootz's view by asserting that the "intrasubjective" artists were inspired by "something not yet seen."[6] He contended that the point of departure for these artists was "nothingness," and that they invented the rest. Once the

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[3] Robert Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist: Writings by Robert Goodnough, 1950-1965*, ed. Helen A. Harrison (Chicago: Soberscove Press, 2013), 28.
[4] Samuel M. Kootz, "The Intrasubjectives," exhibition catalogue, Samuel M. Kootz Gallery, 600 Madison Avenue, New York 22, September 14 - October 3, 1949, n.p.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Harold Rosenberg, "The Intrasubjectives," n. p.

viewer was able to recognise this "nothingness," the work of the "intrasubjective" painter would become intelligible.

Thus, for Kootz and Rosenberg, conventional subject matter had been rejected in favour of something drawn from the personal, which required the viewer to enter the world revealed by the painter on the canvas.

It is the "intrasubjective" in painting which set off Goodnough's search for clarification of the "subject matter of the artist" in 1949. Goodnough's hypothesis was based on two key premises: first, the importance of subject matter in paintings, where the image does not reveal a link with the real world; and second, that only through the artists themselves could be found the answer to the question "what … is [the artist] doing when he finds it necessary to eliminate objects which may be identified as derived from things already in existence."[7] The basis of his approach to "advanced" painting was novel and led him to interview the seven painters of his choice, whose subject matter remained an enigma to the outsider. Goodnough's approach in this respect went beyond the viewpoints of Kootz and Rosenberg, as for him the clue to the enigmatic subject matter could only be found in and revealed by the artist. As such his approach might be viewed as "intrasubjective."

Goodnough highlighted the fact that there was no clear understanding on how to approach pictorial work that lacked any reference to the real world or existing objects. Hence, the need to ask the artists why existing objects were not used as painting material. He also asked them to explain their ideas about subject matter and the source of "their" subject matter. He was aware that since they had all ostensibly discarded the real world, their ideas about the source of subject matter might concur, and their approach to painting might be similar, although their work differed widely, the variation being a function of their personalities.

Important to note is that Goodnough did not use the term "Abstract Expressionism" in his dissertation. He set out to analyse the "contemporary" subject matter of artists,

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[7] Goodnough, *Subject Matter of the Artist,* 26.

whom he referred to as “intrasubjectivists.”[8] It is only many years later that he referred to them as Abstract Expressionists.

10.4. Goodnough’s “hypothesis”

Goodnough’s approach as an artist led him to broach the subject matter of the chosen painters from a different angle, that of the “insider.” Only the artist himself could clarify the subject matter of his painting. In putting the question directly to the artist he did not cloud his own view with theoretical assumptions or intellectual theories. He let the artists speak for themselves. The answers he received made clear that the validity of a painting was not determined by the presence or absence of recognisable objects or forms. In addition, the break with the recognisable world (real or symbolic) was no impediment to the means of expression available to these artists. His seven interlocutors also indicated that the source of their painting differed from that in the past and that the subconscious was a new wide-ranging source of inspiration.

In spite of their individualism the seven painters appeared to agree that the search for new subject matter had led them to reject the past as a source of painting. As a result their paintings no longer contained recognisable forms and the presence of such forms was no longer relevant to the validity of their work. However, their means of expression were in no way limited since the subconscious constituted a new source of “inspiration.” They were also intent to emphasise the relevance of individuality as well as the universal (rather than nationalistic) character of their subject matter. In addition they underscored the shift away from Paris to America in terms of art interest. They believed this shift was linked to the awareness of new sources of painting material on the part of American artists. The interviews also revealed that the artists were not amenable to the term “intrasubjectivist,” rejecting it as descriptive and feeling uneasy with its group aspect. As noted in Chapter 7, the seven artists confirmed to a large extent the two parts of Goodnough’s “hypothesis.”

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[8] Ibid., 64.

During the interviews (and conversations in the case of Pollock) the seven artists re-affirmed many of their previously expressed views. In addition to Goodnough's conclusions, the interviews also highlighted a number of aspects, which until then had only scarcely been touched upon. Thus, the elimination of (recognisable) objects was not the result of an abrupt break with reality, but was revealed as the outcome of a gradual process, as explained by both Baziotes and Pollock. Also, the content of their work was not reduced in its validity because their subject matter did not contain recognisable objects. The absence of such objects did not mean, as Rothko pointed out, that their work excluded reality. Their subject matter originated in the imagination and the subconscious and was still real. This explains why the interviewees put such emphasis on individuality. Individualism superseded "collectivity." They rejected in varying degrees the suggestion that they were a "group" or "movement," and were put off by the idea of a common label.

More far-reaching in scope and input was the debate of the "Artists' Sessions of Studio 35." The event was organised at the suggestion of Goodnough, we assume, as a follow-up to the findings of his research. The seminar involved a much larger number and variety of artists (Rothko and Pollock, however, did not participate), and although there were no genuine restrictions on issues or topics, the framework of the debate was maintained by the organisational structure. In many instances the participants confirmed Goodnough's findings and conclusions. Many of the contributions concurred with the responses of Goodnough's seven interviewees, while in addition affirming John Graham's conceptual approach. The creative process and its different stages (starting, completing, finishing, titling, and signing a work of art) were the focus of the discussions most of the time.

Motherwell summed up the issue at the core of the debate. "The question is how to name what as yet has been unnamed."[9] This question appeared to indicate the elusiveness of the subject matter of these artists. Motherwell claimed that modern artists had no accepted subject matter and as a result painting was often joyless. What became clear was that the essence of what these artists were doing and seeking to achieve was contained in the process of creation, which totally engulfed them while it

[9] Robert Motherwell, quoted in "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35 (1950)," in *Modern Artists in America: First Series*, ed. Robert Goodnough (New York: Wittenborn Schulz, 1951), 14.

was taking place. The issue of origin was reduced to a matter of "how or what?" And we may therefore query whether the problem of "how or what?" revealed the dilemma of "advanced" artists, and as such touched upon the essence of their work and by extrapolation upon that of Abstract Expressionism. Several artists contended they knew their work was "completed" when they were no longer "in" it and had become outsiders to it. Some participants claimed that the work of art took on a life of its own with its own rules, something Graham had already pointed out in 1937. They expressed the belief that a work of art was organic and self-defining, a law unto itself. Others saw it as a social phenomenon, where communication was a key element.

The "Artists' Sessions" debate underlined Goodnough's conclusion of the dominant importance of individuality. It confirmed the individualism of the participants as an inherent characteristic of their work, a quality they did not appear ready to sacrifice, or were even able to renounce, for recognition as a group or a movement. Most viewed the work of art as self-contained, as well as a tool of communication between the artist and the viewer, without the need for public judgment. Although rule-breakers, none of the participants denied the relevance of tradition, without which they would not have been able to blaze a new trail. Most of them viewed technical skills, in some instances craftsmanship, as a means to an end.

David Hare appeared to sum up the issue of "subject matter of the artist" with a pointed question. "Do you paint your subject or is painting your subject (subject in the sense of content, not in the sense of realism versus abstraction)?" [10]

10.5. What of Abstract Expressionism?

In 1951 Philip Pavia opposed the "abstractionists" against the "expressionists" in a drawn-out debate, which put an end to the aesthetic warfare that had been raging for a number of years. The two factions fused into an unexpected unity, as they joined in the belief that the personality of the artist was the dominant element of a work of art, something Goodnough had elucidated in 1949. The two factions were also agreed on

[10] David Hare, quoted in "Artists' Sessions," 17.

avoiding at all cost "group style," thus reasserting the importance of individualism. Pavia was adamant that Abstract Expressionism was not a style. The ensuing theory indicated that the personality of the artist was the dominant element of a work of art and determined its constitutive elements, re-affirming the insight provided by Goodnough's "hypothesis."

In 1955 Clement Greenberg summed up the Abstract Expressionist phenomenon by outlining its place in the evolution of American painting and its status in twentieth-century Western art. He emphasised that the Abstract Expressionists had had to free themselves from Cubism and had blazed a trail by breaking away from American "provincialism." In 1955 he firmly asserted that they did not constitute a school or a movement, that they had gained their independence and radiated their own influence. Prior to that, in 1954 Greenberg had dismissed the relevance of the representational or abstract in so far as the aesthetic value of the work of art was concerned, contending that the experience of "feeling" the art was the determining factor in judging it. He argued that dissatisfaction with contemporary art might be due to the public's inability to understand the new language, a point made by Barr in 1943.

Harold Rosenberg's insight went further than Greenberg's when, in 1952, he sought to explain the creative process of the Abstract Expressionists. He had sought to broach the issue from the artist's standpoint, describing the process as a physical encounter of the painter with the canvas, the image resulting from the encounter. For Rosenberg the rejection of objects was necessary for the artist to allow the painting to take place without hindrance. He viewed the painting as an integral part of the painter. The painting as action was inseparable from the life of the artist and was therefore of the same metaphysical substance as the painter's existence. During the creative process art and life were indistinguishable.

These views followed the conclusions of Goodnough's dissertation, but we have no evidence that they were inspired or influenced by the outcome of Goodnough's research.

10.6. Goodnough's insight

Goodnough's insight lies in his approach to the work of the artists. He did not attempt to fathom out what their images represented or symbolised. From the outset he "knew" that only the artists could tell us why their images no longer represented the recognisable world or were devoid of objects from the world of reality. Only the artists themselves could tell us why and how they had eliminated the visible links with the real world or nature. Goodnough's interviews brought to the fore the highly individualised quality of the process, each artist eliminating the world of reality in his own way and at his own pace and rhythm. He therefore started off from the premise that the answers of his seven "chosen" artists would vary, and did not expect their views to concur.

The interviews nevertheless showed that the seven artists had many points in common. One of the striking shared features was the importance of the creative process, which appeared to be an integral part of the final outcome of the artist's work. This is conveyed by the fact that some of the interviewees explained that they were "in" the picture during the process, and were outsiders once the painting was completed, as described by Pollock and de Kooning. Rothko too felt himself becoming an outsider during completion of the painting. In varying degrees the interviewees described the painting having, or taking on, a life of its own, thus reflecting John Graham's theory.

Another distinctive feature was the source of inspiration, which was not formalised: it was not the landscape or a still life, or a figure (human or other). The artists all appeared to look within themselves rather than outside of themselves, confirming Alfred Barr's explanation of 1943 of what he termed the "inner world of emotion." The interviews highlighted that the source for their work did not reside at the level of consciousness but in the subconscious, a point made explicit by John Graham and thus corroborated during Goodnough's interviews.

Yet, the interviews also confirmed that, despite its elusive nature, artists did have "subject matter," albeit not delineated or defined in conventional terms. Goodnough was therefore able to affirm both the presence of subject matter and its relevance to the "advanced" painters, even if it remained an enigma to the outsider and unidentifiable to the viewer. The artists expected the viewers to approach the painting without prejudice

and allow it to affect their senses (and their emotions) as would a piece of music. They required the viewer to make an input.

One facet, touched upon by the interviewees prior to the interviews, and not only by them, was the comparison with music. Ozenfant, as we noted, had quite early on established the parallelism between painting and music. For Graham the language of plastic form was as definite as the language of music. In his essay on Baizerman Goodnough observed that the sculptor felt his work like music. The comparison was not lost on others, since Frank O'Hara, when reviewing a Baziotes show at the Kootz gallery in 1954, compared the artist's works to the music of Claude Debussy. Much later (in 1981) Goodnough made the musical comparison, when describing colour shapes as if they were sounds. Pollock believed the viewers should approach painting as they did music. Rothko, in his interview, referred to Mozart's composition in his search for clarity and explained that initially music moved him more than did painting. Motherwell likened the painter's medium of thought to music, in which the artist's mind could become its own content. As for de Kooning, he illustrated his use of colour with a composer's variations on a theme. Newman explained the difference between the work of the painter and that of the composer. Repeatedly the artists raised the fact that the composer was not required to "explain" his music, but that it was simply listened to and enjoyed by the listener, something the viewer appeared incapable or unwilling to do when faced with the work of an "advanced" visual artist. The outsider appeared more demanding, or in greater need of clarification, when it came to the visual sense. This was left unexplained, but clearly of importance to them.

Goodnough in his dissertation did not refer to any "isms" or past styles or movements, but took as his point of departure the fact that the artists had eliminated recognisable objects from their pictures. In so doing he gave the artists a totally blank "canvas" for their response, to use as they would a canvas when painting. We may draw the conclusion that Goodnough as an artist had an insider's understanding of the work of "advanced" painters, which became evident in his essays about Pollock, Kline, Baizerman, Herber, and Hare. He drew attention to the fact that what transcended in Pollock's paintings resided in the artist's mind, highlighting the unusual quality of Pollock's mind. He indicated that it was possible to experience the "unknowable" without necessarily understanding it intellectually. When observing the artists at work

he pointed out the relevance of "time" in the creative process and the individualised nature of the concept. Goodnough shed light on the creative process not readily at hand for the outsider when he contended that the subject matter of the abstractionist should be viewed as the "synthesis of countless contacts [with reality] which have become refined in the area of the emotions during the act of painting."[11] We may thus conclude that Goodnough provides us with an "insider's" insight as to how to perceive the work of these artists. In so doing, he opened up a window through which the work of the "advanced" painters can be "seen" and "felt," and consequently comprehended on the artists' terms.

10.7. Epilogue

As we have noted, by the mid-1950s the "trailblazers" were still active and working, but had left their original breeding ground, downtown Manhattan, for less urban surroundings on Long Island, upstate New York or the Massachusetts countryside. The debating venues had ceased to draw the artistic crowds of the late 1940s and the early 1950s. Goodnough, in 1965, remembered the optimism and enthusiasm of the artists at the time of his interviews, and recalled their strong group spirit despite their individualistic personalities. He also recalled that shortly afterwards the group gradually dispersed, and since then he had never been aware of the strong direction prevalent at the time of his interviews. In 1981 he also indicated that the "electricity" of the 1950s had gone.

By the mid-1950s the work of the "trailblazers" was publicly acknowledged and fully recognised, as was the work of their followers, the "second" generation. Their art was displayed in galleries and sold at high prices. Their works were acquired by museums and, as part of permanent collections, displayed in major exhibitions and travelling shows. Although they never accepted a group qualifier, and even less a label, they were now being designated as Abstract Expressionists in journals and art reviews, even by their original supporters. In his 1955 essay "'American-Type' Painting" Clement Greenberg did not refrain from using the terms "abstract expressionism" and "abstract

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[11] Robert Goodnough, "Pollock Paints a Painting," *ARTnews*, May 1951, 60.

expressionists" when explaining that they did not constitute a school or movement. The label made it possible for their work to gain cultural ascendance vis-à-vis their European begetters and contemporaries. By this stage, whether they acquiesced or not, they were considered part of the New York School of Painting and hailed as the successors to the School of Paris.

In the early 1950s William Seitz, with the support of Alfred Barr, convinced the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University that Abstract Expressionism was a suitable subject for a doctoral dissertation, which he completed in 1955. The thesis was published by Harvard University Press in 1983, under the title *Abstract Expressionist Painting in America*, with a foreword by Robert Motherwell and an introduction by Dore Ashton. More detailed than Goodnough's project, it was nevertheless based on the same approach: an analysis of the views of six artists of distinction, who were also considered pioneers. Three of the artists were part of Goodnough's selection—de Kooning, Motherwell, and Rothko. Gorky, Hofmann, and Mark Tobey completed Seitz's selection of six. Although Seitz was aware of the artists' abhorrence of a label, he did not shy away from using the designation Abstract Expressionism or New York School.

Apart from Samuel Kootz and Robert Goodnough, the term "intrasubjective" was never referred to again. Although it fell into abeyance, it had served as an entry point into the work of a group of "advanced" artists, who furthered a momentous breakthrough in twentieth-century American painting and as such have their rightful place in the development of twentieth-century art.

POST SCRIPTUM

In 2009 Irving Sandler revisited the breakthrough in post-World War II American painting. After having covered Abstract Expressionism and its pioneers in 1970 in *Abstract Expressionism: The Triumph of American Painting*, and the New York School in 1978 in *The New York School: The Painters and Sculptors of the Fifties*, almost forty years later Sandler revised some of his claims in *Abstract Expressionism and the American Experience: A Reevaluation*. Many of his self-corrections follow the

discoveries that Goodnough unearthed in 1949. A case in point is Sandler's justification for the reluctant use of the label Abstract Expressionism in the title of his 2009 book, and an upfront awareness that Abstract Expressionism resisted categorisation, something Goodnough had already pointed out in 1949.

AFTERWORD

As Goodnough pointed out things were never the same again after the early 1950s. The "trailblazers" dispersed and by the mid-1950s had left their original breeding ground to the next generation of "advanced" artists.

Jackson Pollock died in a road accident on 11 August 1956, by which time he had become public property of the American art world. At the start of the new decade his work was displayed in solo and group shows, both in the United States and Europe. He featured in articles in daily newspapers and periodicals, of which Goodnough's "Pollock Paints a Picture" in *ARTnews* in May 1951 was only one example. Hans Namuth's film of Pollock painting had its first showing at the Museum of Modern Art in June 1951. His life became a hectic round of shows: fourteen group shows and two solo shows in 1951. The pace continued in 1952—the year he left Betty Parsons and joined Sidney Janis—and 1953. His works continued to be displayed, but in 1954 he painted little and in 1955 was totally inactive. His inner life was seemingly in turmoil: he had started drinking again and felt he had little to say. On 30 November 1956 "The Club" held a memorial evening for him "An Evening for Jackson Pollock." At the end of the year the Museum of Modern Art organised a retrospective exhibition, "Jackson Pollock."[1]

William Baziotes lived a more secluded life after the interview. He spent most of his time painting and teaching. He taught at the Brooklyn Museum Art School and New York University, and in 1950 began teaching at the People's Art Center of the Museum of Modern Art. In 1952 he was appointed Associate Professor at Hunter College in New York. In the 1950s he showed regularly at Samuel Kootz and his work was included in group shows at galleries and in exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Whitney Museum, amongst others. In 1956 his work featured in the landmark exhibition "Modern Art in the United States" at the Tate Gallery in London. In 1959 he left Samuel Kootz and joined Sidney Janis. In the mid-1950s he began to spend more time in Reading, away from the big city. Despite

[1] December 19, 1956 - February 3, 1957.

his secluded life he gave several interviews and made a number of public statements about his work. In 1961 he was awarded the Frank Logan Medal at the °Art Institute of Chicago for *The Sea* (1950). He died at his home in New York City on 6 June 1963, a few days before his fifty-first birthday.

Barnett Newman, after the letdown of his first two solo shows at Betty Parsons in 1951 and 1952, felt further wounded by not being included, with Pollock, Rothko, and Still in the exhibition “Fifteen Americans” at the Museum of Modern Art in April 1952. As a result he withdrew from the official art world until the mid-1950s. His first public display was in 1956 at the tenth anniversary exhibition of the Betty Parsons Gallery. In 1958 Alfred Barr and Dorothy Miller visited his studio and purchased four paintings, which were included in the travelling show “The New American Painting” of the Museum of Modern Art. At the end of the decade his works were given public display and recognition. In the 1960s he travelled to Europe. In 1965 he represented the United States as principal artist at the “Eighth São Paulo Bienal,” and completed his first sculpture. One of his major works, *The Stations of the Cross - Lema Sabachthani*, was exhibited at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum[2] in 1966. In 1970 he was awarded the Brandeis University Creative Arts Medal in Painting. He died on 4 July 1970.

Adolph Gottlieb continued to paint and exhibit on a regular basis until his death on 4 March 1974. During the 1950s and 1960s his work was displayed in numerous group and one-man shows. The group shows numbered between eleven and twenty a year. In 1968, opening on 14 February as a one-off event, he had a major simultaneous retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, organised jointly by the two museums. In 1970 he suffered a stroke and was confined to a wheel chair but continued to paint. The year of his death his works featured in twelve group exhibitions. The following year the Museum of Modern Art organised a memorial exhibition “Adolph Gottlieb 1903-1974,”[3] which spanned his lifetime output.

[2] April 20 - June 19, 1966.
[3] March 20 - April 15, 1975.

Mark Rothko did not want for success. He continued to work on canvas and on paper. He was given the Guggenheim International Award 1958 by the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, but refused the $1,000 United States National Section Award for *White and Greens in Blue* (1957). In May 1962 he attended a state dinner celebrating the arts at the White House. He completed, in 1963, five mural panels for Harvard University, which were exhibited under the heading '"Five Mural Panels Executed for Harvard University by Mark Rothko"[4] at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum before they were moved to Cambridge. He received a commission for murals for a chapel in Houston, Texas. In 1965 he won the Medal Award of Brandeis University Creative Arts Awards. He was fêted and admired: he was invited to President Lyndon Johnson's inauguration in 1965. But friends and peers were departing: William Baziotes died in 1963, Milton Avery in 1965 and David Smith was killed in a car accident the same year.

He was inducted into the National Institute of Arts and Letters on 28 May 1968, together with amongst others Josef Albers, Louise Nevelson and Saul Steinberg. In June 1969 he was awarded the Honorary Degree, Doctor of Fine Arts from Yale University. But all was not well with Rothko: on 25 February 1970 he was found by his assistant dead in his studio. His death, in all probability a suicide, led to a long drawn-out legal action by his daughter against the owners of the Marlborough Galleries and the executors of his estate. The case was decided in her favour and that of her younger brother and tainted, amongst others, Theodoros Stamos and a number of art dealers.

Robert Motherwell remained active during the 1950s and 1960s: he showed regularly at Samuel Kootz; he took part in exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art and other major museums and art institutions; he was given numerous commissions. He produced some of his most iconic works—*Wall Painting No. III*, *Wall Painting IV*, *Elegy to the Spanish Republic XXXIV*, and *Elegy to the Spanish Republic XXXV*—during the mid-1950s, and continued to write and lecture tirelessly. He spent much time in Provincetown. His works were shown in solo shows both in America and Europe and major group exhibitions. His private life was no less hectic: he remarried

[4] April 9 - June 2, 1963.

after his first divorce and after his second and third divorces; his third wife was Helen Frankenthaler. He worked relentlessly: he was commissioned to produce a large mural for the John F. Kennedy Federal Building in Washington, D.C.; he spent his time between New York City and Provincetown, while travelling continuously in the United States and Europe. He died of heart failure on 16 July 1991.

Willem de Kooning continued his independent way of life. He took part in the "XXV Venice Biennale,"[5] his first group exhibition abroad, with *Excavation* (1949), and had his second one-man show at Charles Egan in 1951. He continued to work, his paintings taking an increasingly abstract turn and becoming almost frenetic. In 1958 he and Elaine separated (but were reconciled in 1978). In 1962 he became a U.S. citizen. He left New York City and moved to (The) Springs permanently. His work was acknowledged publicly when given the Guggenheim International Award and the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964, and the Gold Medal for Painting from the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York in 1975. His work travelled to Europe at the end of the 1960s, with his first solo show in Paris at the M. Knoedler et Cie. Gallery in 1968, in which year he returned for the first time since 1926 to the Netherlands for the opening of a touring retrospective of his work organised by the Museum of Modern Art. In December 1978 he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York; in 1979 the Dutch government appointed him an Officer of the Order of Orange in Nassau on his seventy-fifth birthday. He continued to work in the 1980s but experienced Alzheimer symptoms. Elaine with whom he was reconciled in 1978 died in 1989. He died on 9 March 1997 at his home in East Hampton at the age of ninety-two.

Robert Goodnough, not much younger than the youngest of his interviewees, outlived the "magnificent seven" by a long stretch. Having found his language of expression, he was highly productive during the 1970s and 1980s. He continued to show at Tibor de Nagy and later switched to André Emmerich, also exhibiting, amongst others, at ACA Galleries in New York, Dwan Gallery in Los Angeles, the Arts Club of Chicago, Gertrude Kasle in Detroit, Harcus Krakow in Boston, and the Art Gallery of the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. He showed annually and his work

[5] He exhibited again at the Venice Biennale in 1954 and 1956, the São Paulo Bienal in 1951 and 1953, and the *Documenta* exhibition in Kassel, West Germany, in 1959, 1964, and 1977.

was much in demand, featuring in numerous group shows and exhibitions, amongst others in America at the Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum and the Jewish Museum in New York, the San Francisco Museum of Art, the Seattle Art Museum, the Arts Club of Chicago. His work was included in exhibitions abroad, amongst others in the Netherlands at the Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam and the Museum voor Steden en Landen in Groningen, in Norway at the Kunsternes Hus in Oslo, in Venezuela at the Museo de Bellas Artes in Caracas, and in France at the Grand Palais in Paris. He took part in the "XXV Venice Biennial" in 1970. His work became part of the permanent collections of national institutions, such as the Whitney Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, the Newark Museum, the University of Notre Dame, Syracuse University, and Pennsylvania State University.

In 1966 one of his paintings appeared on the wall of the film set of Edward Albee's *Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf?* He was also given many commissions, of which *K-M-G, 2010*, the glass faceted windows of the overpass of the Metro-North Railroad's Ossining station in New York State was the last he completed before his death. Despite his success, he remained a shy and discreet artist, often not appearing for the openings of his shows, much to the regret, and often dismay, of the gallery owner. Milton Esterow, at the time Editor and Publisher of *ARTnews*, paid tribute to Goodnough in an article following the artist's death, confirming his reluctance to be part of the social set surrounding the New York art scene and shying away from celebratory events.[6] Esterow reported that Helen Harrison, who edited the text of his dissertation, considered him "an exuberant abstractionist."[7] She claimed "a lot of his work was quite playful."[8] Goodnough continued to produce paintings, sculptures and collages until his death on 2 October 2010, just three weeks short of his ninety-third birthday.

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[6] Milton Esterow recounts Goodnough arriving after the important people had departed from a party celebrating the installation of four of his works in the hotel suite of the society photographer Cecil Beaton (1904-1980).
[7] Helen A. Harrison, quoted in "An Exuberant Abstractionist: Remembering Robert Goodnough, Painter and Author of an *ARTnews* Classic," by Milton Esterow, *ARTnews*, December 2010, 60.
[8] Ibid.

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[1] For the selective nature of the bibliography see "Introduction."

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Robert Goodnough (1917-2010): An Artist's Insider View of Abstract Expressionism in The United States

Volume 2

Thesis submitted by Ruth Ringer

in fulfilment of the requirements of the PhD Degree in History, History of Art, and Archaeology
Academic year 2019-2020

Supervisor: Professor Thierry Lenain

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[3] Spelling of original title.

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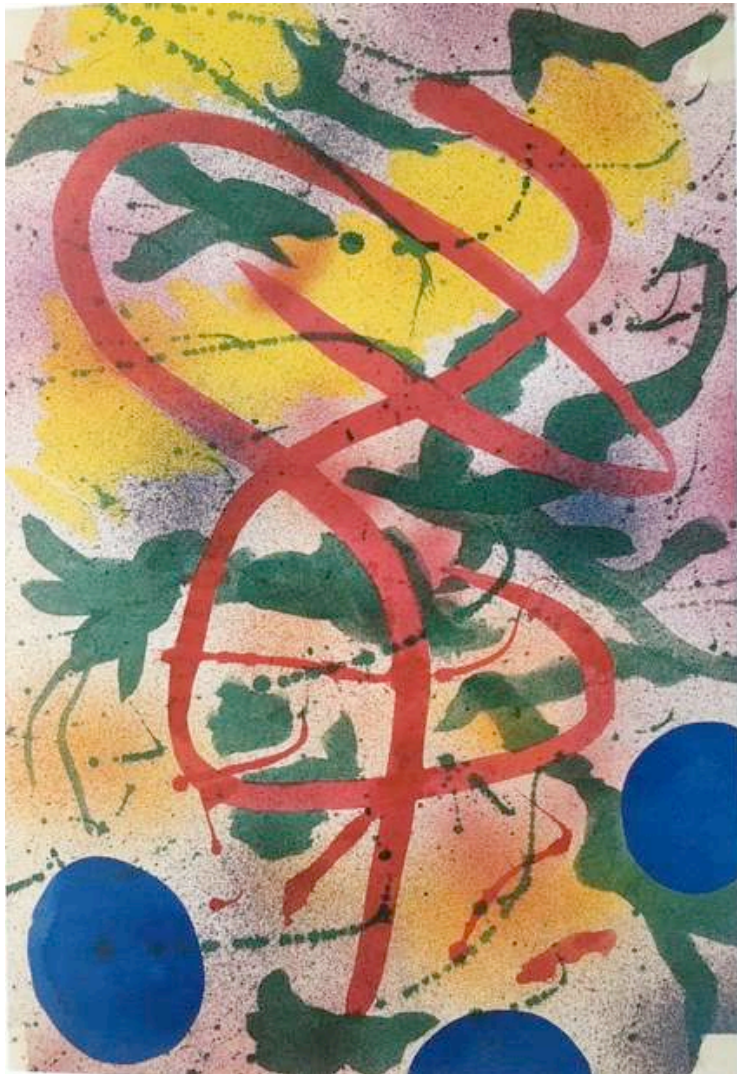

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Source: *Tony Smith: A Drawing Retrospective; Essays by Klaus Kertess and Joan Pachner*, exhibition catalogue (New York: Marthew Marks Gallery, November 1, 1995 - January 13, 1996), 17.

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Source: *Tony Smith: A Drawing Retrospective; Essays by Klaus Kertess and Joan Pachner*, exhibition catalogue, Matthew Marks Gallery, New York, November 1, 1995 - January 13, 1996, 39.

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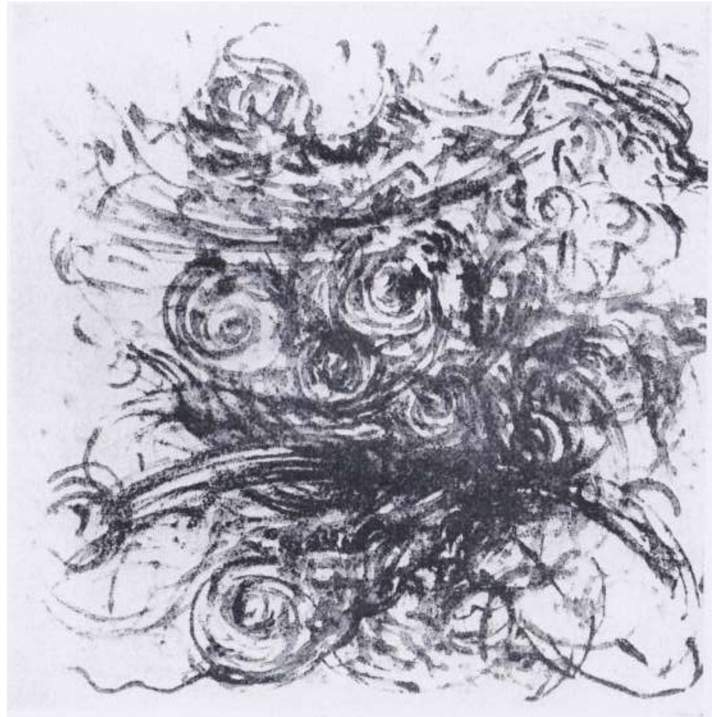
Source: Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, *Goodnough*, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Editions Georges Fall, 1962), 43.



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Source: Martin Bush, *Goodnough* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 19.

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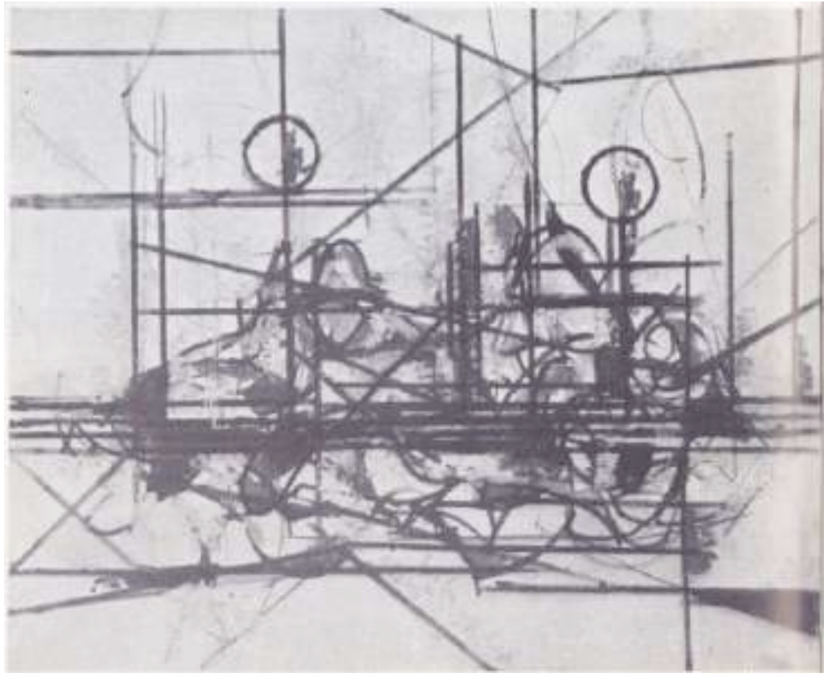
Source: Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, *Goodnough*, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Editions Georges Fall, 1962), 13.



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Source: Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, *Goodnough*, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Editions Georges Fall, 1962), 46.

[1] Also referred to as *Composition*.

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Source: Martin Bush, *Goodnough* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 32.

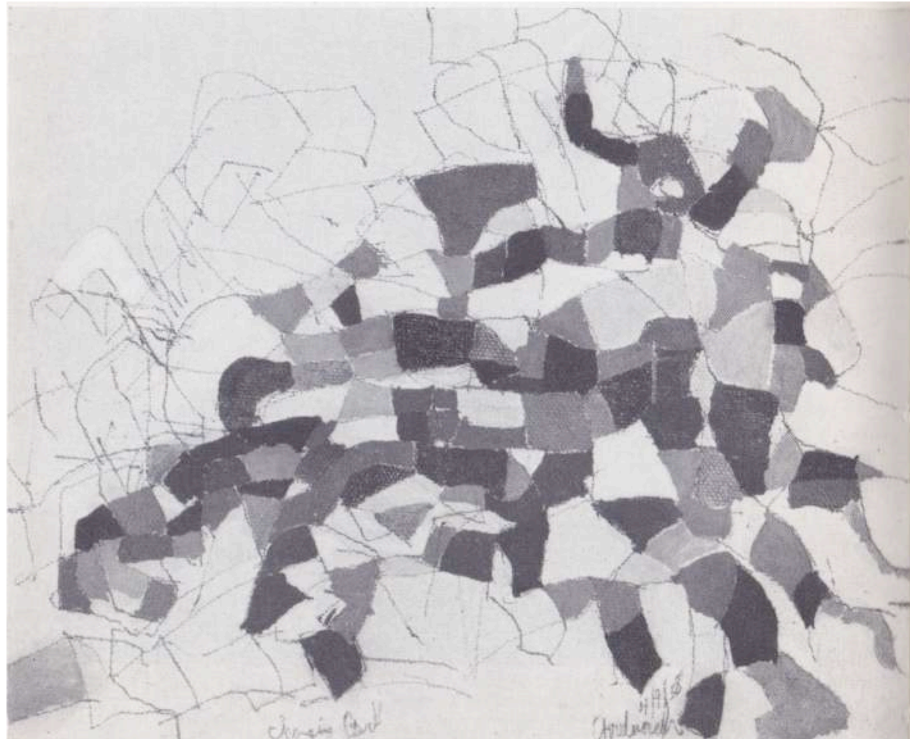

Figure 22. Robert Goodnough (1917-2010), *Charging Bull*. 1958, medium unknown. (Location unknown.)

Source: Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, *Goodnough*, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Editions Georges Fall, 1962), 50.

Figure 23. Robert Goodnough (1917-2010), *Rearing Horses*. 1959, medium unknown. (Location unknown.)

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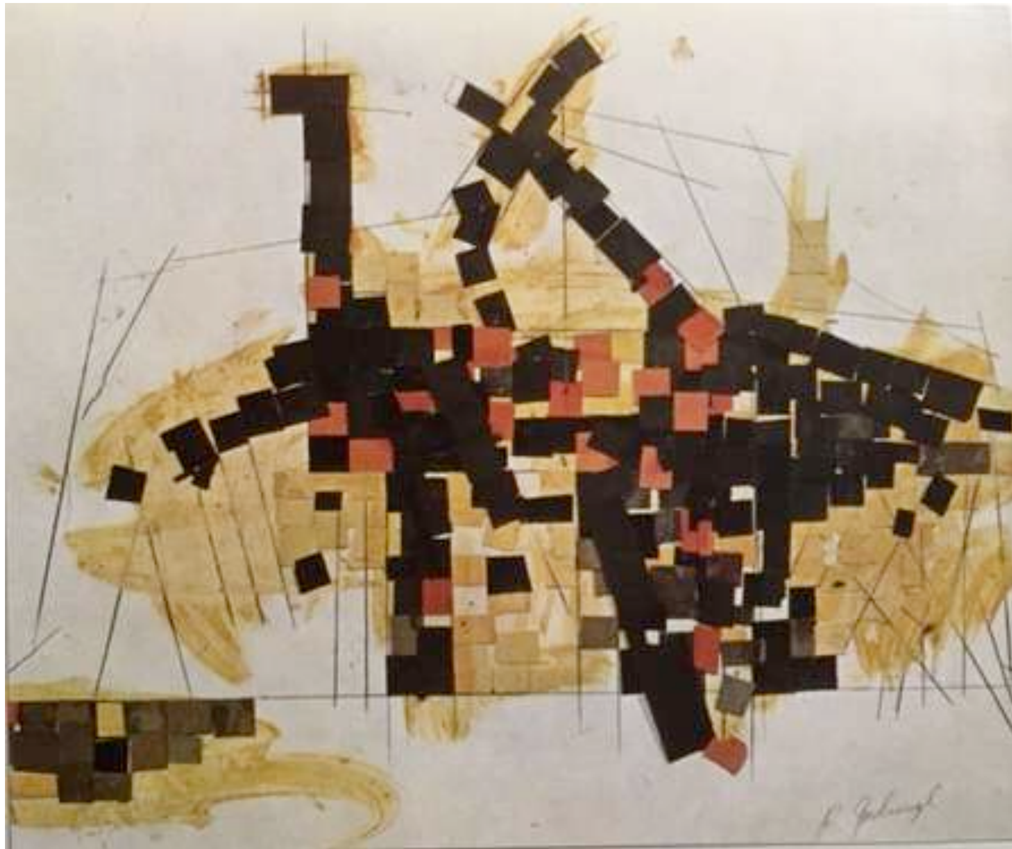
Source: Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, *Goodnough*, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Editions Georges Fall, 1962), cover page.



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Source: Barbara Guest and Bernard H. Friedman, *Goodnough*, The Pocket Museum (Paris: Editions Georges Fall, 1962), 11.

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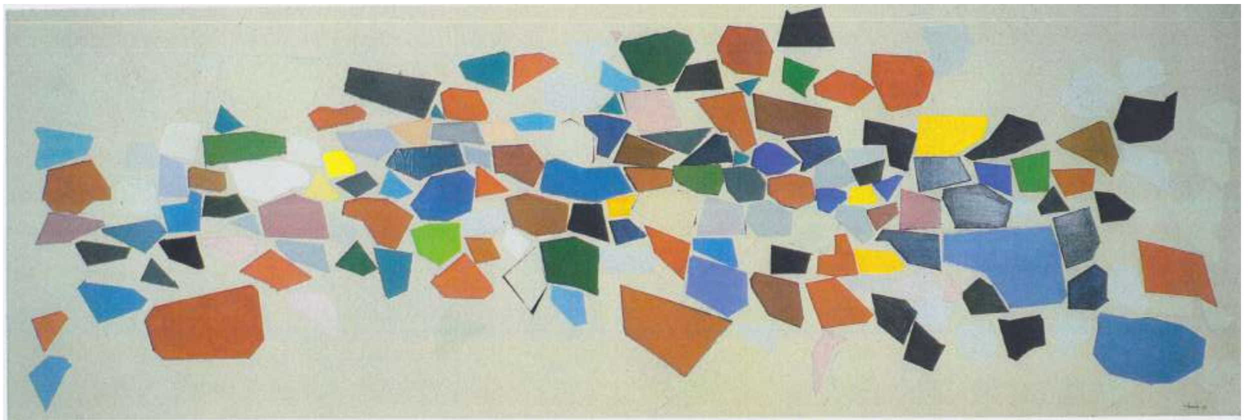
Source: Martin Bush, *Goodnough* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 100.



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Source: Martin Bush, *Goodnough* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 128.

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Source: Martin Bush, *Goodnough* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 171.

APPENDIX 1

ARTISTS ACTIVE IN AMERICA[1]

Admiral, Virginia (1915-2000)

Virginia Holton Admiral (or Virginia De Niro) was an American painter and poet, born in Oregon. She studied at the Art Institute of Chicago and in 1938 worked on the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in Oakland, California. She later moved to New York and studied painting under Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) in Provincetown. In 1942 the Museum of Modern Art purchased one of her paintings, *Composition* (1942). Her work was included in the 1943 "Spring Salon for Young Artists" at Art of This Century, where she had a solo show in November 1946, paired with the jazz critic, modern art collector and painter, Rudi Blesh (1899-1985). Her work was included in the Peggy Guggenheim Collection at the Venice Biennale in 1947. Admiral was married to the painter Robert *De Niro, from 1941 till 1953.

(Sources: Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds. *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 339-340; Museum of Modern Art, https://www.moma.org/artists/71?locale=en [accessed March 21, 2019].)

Anderson, John (1928-)

John Anderson is an American sculptor and painter, born in Seattle. He trained at the Art Centre School in Los Angeles in 1953 and 1954, and at the °Pratt Institute in Brooklyn from 1954 to 1957.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Anderson, John;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Anderson, John," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Avery, Milton (1885–1965)

Milton Avery, born in Altmar, New York, was an American painter and printmaker, who attended art classes at the Connecticut League of Art Students. In 1925 he arrived in New York City, where he briefly attended classes at the °Art Students League in the early 1930s. Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko, amongst many other young artists in New York City, befriended Avery and were much inspired by him. Avery had his first solo shows, in New York, at the Opportunity Gallery in 1928, followed by shows at the Curt Valentine Gallery in 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1941. During the 1940s he also showed at the Bertha Schaefer Gallery and the Durand-Ruel Gallery. In the 1950s he showed, amongst others, at the Laurel Gallery, at M. Knoedler & Co., and at the Grace Borgenicht Gallery

[1] Participation in the "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" has been checked in *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists; A Complete Documentation of the New York Painting and Sculpture Annuals, 1951-1957*, ed. Marika Herskovic (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 15-39 .

in the 1960s and 1970s. He took part in the “Stable Annual” of 1954, 1955 and 1956.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Avery, Milton;” *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists* Dictionary, 6th ed., s.v. “Avery, Milton;” *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. “Avery, Milton;” *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. “Avery, Milton;”)

Bearden, Romare (ca.1911-1988)

Romare Bearden was an African-American painter, collagist, and author, born in Charlotte, North Carolina, in 1911 or 1912. Bearden’s family moved to New York City in 1920, where he studied art, education, science, and mathematics at New York University, graduating with a degree in science and education in 1935. Through his mother, Bessye Bearden, the New York correspondent for the *Chicago Defender*, he was introduced to many of the artists, writers, and intellectuals associated with the Harlem Renaissance. Bearden then studied art under German artist George Grosz (1893-1959) at the °Art Students League in 1936 and 1937, during which time he supported himself as a political cartoonist for African-American newspapers. He had his first solo show, in New York, at Studio of Ad Bates in 1940. During World War II Bearden served in the U. S. Army from 1942 until 1945. After the war he joined the Samuel Kootz Gallery, where he showed in 1945, 1946 and 1947. In 1950-1951 he studied the history of art at the Sorbonne in Paris. He was a founding member of Spiral, a group of African-American artists who started meeting at his downtown New York studio in 1963.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists* Dictionary, 6th ed., s.v. “Bearden, Romare;” *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. “Bearden, Romare;” *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. “Bearden, Romare;” Grove Art Online, s.v. “Bearden, Romare,” https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2085630 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Beauchamp, John (1923-1995)

Robert John Beauchamp was an American painter and arts educator, born in Denver, Colorado. He attended the Cranbrook Academy of Art, in Michigan, where he obtained a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree. He also studied at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center and at Hans Hofmann’s school in New York. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy from 1943 to 1946. He had his first solo show, in New York, at the Tanager Gallery in 1953. He took part in the “Stable Annual” of 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. “Beauchamp, Robert;” *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists* Dictionary, 6th ed., s.v. “Beauchamp, Robert.”)

Ben-Zion (1897-1987)

Benzion Weinman, known as Ben-Zion, was an American painter, sculptor, poet and dramatist of Jewish-Ukrainian origin, who settled

in the United States in 1920 and became a U.S. citizen in 1936. Ben-Zion was basically self-taught. He was a member of "The Ten." His first one-man shows, in New York, were at the Artists' Gallery in 1936 and the Willard Gallery in 1937. He wrote fairy tales and poems in Hebrew.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Ben-Zion;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Ben-Zion," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00016716 [accessed March 1, 2019]; "Obituaries," *New York Times*, 26 January 1987.)

Biala, Janice (1903-2000)

Janice Biala was an American artist, born in Biala Podlaska, Poland, who arrived in the United States with her mother and brother in 1913. She studied at the °National Academy of Design in New York, and at the °Art Students League in 1924 and 1925. She had her first solo exhibition, in New York, in 1937 at the Passedoit Gallery. She spent time in the 1930s in France, where she participated in group shows, returning to the United States in 1940 to study at the Art Students League. In 1947 she went back to France, where she finally settled in 1960. She participated in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1956. The artist Jack *Tworkov was her brother. Biala took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Tworkov, Jack;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes: New York School Press, 2000), 65; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Biala, Janice," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00019168 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Blaine, Nell (1922-1996)

Nell Blaine, born in Richmond, Virginia, was an American landscape painter and water colourist, who studied painting under Hans Hofmann from 1943 to 1944. She joined the °American Abstract Artists as its youngest member ca.1944. Around 1946 Blaine began studying etching and engraving with Stanley William *Hayter at Atelier 17. She had her first solo shows, in New York, at the Jane Street Gallery in 1945 and 1948, and later showed at Tibor de Nagy.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Blaine, Nell;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Blaine, Nell;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Blaine, Nell," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00020473 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Bloom, Hyman (1913-2009)

Hyman Malamed Bloom, was a Latvian-born American painter, one of six children of an orthodox Jewish family from the tiny Jewish village of Brunavišķi. The family emigrated to the United States in 1920 and settled in Boston. Bloom originally planned to become a

rabbi, but was awarded a scholarship for a programme for gifted high school students at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. At the age of fifteen, Bloom began studying with Harvard art professor, Denman Ross (1853-1935), who sponsored him financially from 1928 to 1933. As a result Bloom had a rigorous traditional art training. In the 1930s he worked sporadically for the Public Works of Art Project[2] and the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). He first received national attention in 1942 when thirteen of his paintings were included in the Museum of Modern Art 1942 exhibition "Americans 1942: 18 Artists from 9 States." The Museum purchased two of his paintings from the exhibition. In 1950 he was chosen, along with Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, and Arshile Gorky, to represent the United States at the Venice Biennale. In 1951 Thomas Hess included Bloom's *Archaeological Treasure* (1945) in *Abstract Painting: Background and American Phase*.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Bloom, Hyman;" *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Bloom, Hyman;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Bloom, Hyman;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Bloom, Hyman;" The Estate of Hyman Bloom, http://www.hymanbloom.com/home/chronology/ [last accessed April 22, 2019].)

Blume, Peter (1906-1992)

Peter Blume was a Russian-born American painter and sculptor of Jewish origin, who ca.1912 arrived with his family in the United States. At an early age he attended evening art classes at the °Educational Alliance. He also studied at the °Beaux-Arts Institute of Design and the °Art Students League. He trained with the brothers Raphael and Isaac *Soyer. By 1926 he had his own studio. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Daniel Gallery in 1930, followed by a show at the Julien Levy Gallery in 1937, and at the Downtown Gallery in 1941 and 1947. He was awarded a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship in 1932 and 1936. And in 1934 he won first prize at the Carnegie International Exhibition for *South of Scranton* (1930-31).

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Blume, Peter;" *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Blume, Peter;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Blume, Peter;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Blume, Peter.")

Bolotowsky, Ilya (1907-1981)

Illya Bolotowsky was a Russian-born painter and sculptor, of Jewish origin, who came to the United States in 1923. He became a U.S. citizen in 1929. He attended the °National Academy of Design and became associated with "The Ten." He was a founder member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), and a co-founder of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. In the 1930s Bolotowsky returned to Europe and spent time in Italy, Germany, Denmark, England, and Paris. He returned to New York in 1934. In

[2] See entry for Federal Art Project in Appendix 2.

the mid-1930s he worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). After serving in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II, Bolotowsky replaced Josef Albers at °Black Mountain College from 1946 to 1948. He had his first solo show, in New York, at the G.R.D. Studios in 1930, followed by shows at J.B. Neumann's New Art Circle in 1946 and 1952, and at the Rose Fried Gallery in 1947 and 1949. He took part in the "Annuals" of the °American Abstract Artists and the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. His work was included in the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, and 1956.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Bolotowsky, Ilya;" *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Bolotowsky, Ilya;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Bolotowsky, Ilya;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Bolotowsky, Ilya;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Bolotowsky, Ilya.")

Bouché, René (1906-1963)

René Robert Bouché was born Robert August Buchstein in France, of Czech emigrants. He was a successful painter and portraitist, who had studied at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. At the beginning of 1941 he arrived in New York, where his career took off and he became established as a regular contributor to American *Vogue*. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art*, *1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 1:393; The Estate of Rene Bouche, "René Bouché: Artist of His Time," https://www.renebouche.com/artist/?page_id=74 [last accessed October 1, 2019].)

Brook, Alexander (1898-1980)

Alexander Brook was a Brooklyn-born American artist and critic. He received his first lessons in painting at the age of twelve when bed-ridden with polio. He studied at the °Art Students League from 1913 to 1917. He was Assistant Director at the °Whitney Studio Club, and had his first solo shows, in New York, at the ACA Gallery and at Curt Valentine in 1930, followed by shows at Downtown Gallery in 1934 and 1937. He was married to the painter and print maker, Peggy Bacon (1895-1987) from 1920 to 1940.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Brook, Alexander; *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Bacon, Peggy;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Brook, Alexander," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Brooks, James (1906-1992)

James A. Brooks was an American painter and muralist, born in St. Louis, Minnesota. He studied at the Southern Methodist University, before moving to New York in 1926. He attended the °Art Students League from 1927 to 1930, while working as a commercial artist. He participated in the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in the Mural Division from 1936 to

1942. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army as an art correspondent in Egypt and the Middle East. He had his first solo shows, in New York, at the Peridot Gallery in 1950, 1951, 1952 and 1953, followed by shows at the Grace Borgenicht Gallery in 1954, and at the Stable Gallery in 1957 and 1959, and the Kootz Gallery in 1961 and 1962. He was included in the exhibition "Twelve Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1956. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. He participated in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Brooks, James;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Brooks, James;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Brooks, James;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Brooks, James;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes: New York School Press, 2000), 81.)

Browne, Byron (1907-1961)

Byron Browne was an American painter, born in Yonkers, New York. From 1925 to 1928 he studied with Charles W. *Hawthorne and Ivan Olinsky (1878-1962) at the °National Academy of Design, where in his last year he won the prestigious Third Hallgarten Prize. He later studied with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966), and became a central figure in many of the artistic and political groups of the 1930s. He was an early member of the °Artists' Union, a founding member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). He participated in the °American Artists' Congress (AAC) until 1940, when he and others formed the breakaway °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. During the 1930s he worked in the Mural Division of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). He had his first solo shows, in New York, at the °New School (for Social Research) in 1936 and 1937, followed by shows at the Artists' Gallery in 1939, the Pinacotheca in 1943 and 1944, and the Samuel Kootz Gallery in 1946, 1947 and 1948. In 1950 he joined the faculty of the °Art Students League.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Browne, Byron;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Browne, Byron;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Browne, Byron," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00027288 [accessed March 1, 2019].

Bruce, Patrick Henry (1881-1936[3])

Patrick Henry Bruce was a Virginia-born American painter, whose family had once owned a large plantation. Bruce began taking evening classes at the Art Club of Richmond in 1898, while working

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[3] Peter Hastings Falk in *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* gives 1936 as date of death as do Jane Turner in *The Dictionary of Art*, Ann Lee Morgan in *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* and Joan Marter in *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, but Paul Cummings mentions 1937 in the 6th edition of *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*.

in a real estate office during the daytime. In 1902 he moved to New York, where he studied with the American landscape and portrait painter William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) and Robert *Henri. In 1903 he went to Paris, where he lived until 1936 and helped organise Henri Matisse's school. He returned to New York in 1936, where he committed suicide a few months after his return. He destroyed most of his work in the early 1930s. He took part in the Armory Show in 1913.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Bruce, Patrick Henry;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Bruce, Patrick Henry;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Bruce, Patrick Henry;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Bruce, Patrick Henry;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 1:479-480.)

Bultman, Fritz (1919-1985)

Fritz Bultman was an American painter, sculptor and collagist, originally from New Orleans. In the 1930s he studied privately with Morris *Graves at the New Orleans Arts and Crafts School, and in Munich. He attended the °New Bauhaus in Chicago in 1937 and 1938, and Hans Hofmann's classes in New York and Provincetown from 1938 to 1940. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Hugo Gallery in 1947 and 1950, at the Samuel Kootz Gallery in 1952, and at the Stable Gallery in 1958. He took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1956. Bultman was one of the initiators of °Forum 49.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*. 6th ed., s.v. "Bultman, Fritz;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Bultman, Fritz." Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Bultman, Fritz," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Bunce, Louis (1907-1983)

Louis Bunce was a Wyoming-born American painter and printmaker. He studied at the Museum Art School in Portland in 1925 and 1926, and at the °Art Students League from 1927 to 1931. He participated in the Public Works of Art Project[4] in Portland in 1934. From 1937 to 1939 he worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress (WPA/FAP) in Salem, Oregon. In 1940 Bunce returned to New York and worked as a WPA muralist and easel painter until 1942. He returned to Portland in 1946 as a faculty member of the Museum Art School. He had one-man shows at the Seattle Art Museum in 1936 and 1953. He took part in "American Painting Today" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1950, and in the Whitney Museum "Annuals" in 1951, 1953, 1955 and 1959.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Bunce, Louis;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 1:500.)

[4] See entry for Federal Art Project in Appendix 2.

Burlin, Paul (1886-1969)

Paul Burlin, born Isadore Berlin in New York, was an American painter. His family name was originally Berlinsky. He grew up in New York City and London. He left home at sixteen, and changed his name to Harry Paul Burlin, reducing it to Paul Burlin in 1915. Although a part-time student at the °National Academy of Art and the °Art Students League from 1900 to 1912, he was mainly self-taught. He travelled in Europe from 1908 to 1909. In 1913 he was invited to participate in the Armory Show. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Daniel Gallery in 1913, and then annually from 1914 to 1920. In 1913 he moved to Santa Fe, where he painted until 1920, while exhibiting his work in New York City. He moved to Paris in 1921, but returned to the United States in 1932 and settled in New York, where he lived for the rest of his life.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Burlin, Paul;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Burlin, Paul," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00029148 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Burliuk, David (1882–1967)

David Davidovich Burliuk (Burlyuk) was a Ukrainian-born artist, book illustrator, publicist, and author. From 1898 to 1904 he studied at the Kazan and Odessa Art Schools, as well as at the Royal Academy in Munich, where his professor was Anton Ažbe (1862-1904), also a teacher of Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). In 1904 he attended the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He returned to Russia and studied again at the Odessa School of Art in 1910 and 1911, enrolling in 1911 at the Moscow School of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, from which he was expelled in 1914. From 1910 he was a member of the Moscow artistic society, "Knave of Diamonds," which became the largest and one of the most significant exhibition societies of the early Russian avant-garde. He was a founder member of *Der Blaue Reiter* and *Der Sturm* groups. From 1915 to 1917 he resided in the Urals, but moved to Siberia after the 1917 Revolution, then to Japan, and finally in 1922 to the United States, settling in New York City. In 1930 he founded the journal *Color and Rhyme*. He owned and managed the Burliuk Gallery in Hampton Bays, New York. He had his first solo shows, in New York, at °Société Anonyme, Inc. in 1924, the Morton Gallery in 1928, followed by shows at the Dorothy Paris Gallery from 1933 to 1935, and at the Boyer Gallery from 1935 to 1939.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Burliuk, David;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Burliuk, David;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. " Bourliuk, David.")

Busa, Peter (1914-1985)

Peter Busa was a Pittsburgh-born American artist. In 1933 he moved to New York, where he studied at the °Art Students League under

Thomas Benton (1889-1975), and from 1935 to 1938 at the Hans Hofmann School. He worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1936 till 1941. He had a solo show "Peter Busa: Paintings" at Art of This Century, paired with Pegeen Vail, Peggy Guggenheim's daughter, in 1946. He took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street Show."

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Indian Space painting;" Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds., *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 333; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes: New York School Press, 2000), 93.)

Canadé, Vincent (1879–1961)

Vincent Canadé was an Italian-born self-taught American landscape painter, who was active during the 1920s and 1930s.

(Source: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 1:558.)

Carles, Arthur B. (1882-1952)

Arthur Beecher Carles was a Philadelphia-born American painter and teacher. Between 1900 and 1907 he studied at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) was one of his instructors. In 1907 he travelled to France, where he remained until 1910, and became close friends with John Marin (1870-1953) and the photographer Eduard Steichen (1879-1972). Six of his landscapes were shown in the "Salon d'Automne" of 1908. In 1910 his work was included in the show "Younger American Painters" at Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291 in New York, where he had his first of four one-man shows in January 1912. He showed at the Armory Show in 1913. He taught at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia from 1917 to 1925 and later gave private tuition. His daughter Jeanne Mercedes Carles (later *Matter) was also a painter. Carles had solo shows, in New York, at the Montross Gallery in 1922, the Marie Harriman Gallery in 1936; he had a two-man show at the Karl Nierendorf Gallery in 1944, followed by solo shows in 1946 and 1970.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Carles, Arthur;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Carles, Arthur;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Carles, Arthur B;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Carles, Arthur B., Jr.")

Cavallon, Giorgio (1904-1989)

Georgio Cavallon was an American artist born in Italy, who arrived in the United States in 1920 and became a U.S. citizen in 1929. In the 1920s he studied at the °National Academy of Design and with Charles *Hawthorne. He lived in Italy at the beginning of the 1930s. In 1935 and 1936 he studied with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). Cavallon was a founding member of °American Abstract Artists

(AAA). He worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in the Mural Division, as project assistant to Arshile Gorky, and in the Easel Division. He had his first one-man shows in Italy at the Bottege d'Arte in Vicenza in 1932 and, in New York, at the ACA Gallery in 1934. He showed at the Charles Egan Gallery in 1946, 1948, 1951 and 1954. He was a "charter" member of "The Club." He participated in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" in 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Cavallon, Giorgio;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Cavallon, Giorgio;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Cavallon, Georgio;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Cavallon, Giorgio.")

Constant, George (1892-1978)

George Zachary Constant was a Greek-born American painter and printmaker. In 1910 he emigrated to the United States, where he studied at Washington University in St. Louis, and at the °Art Institute of Chicago. He became a member of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. Constant also worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). He began exhibiting his work regularly from the late 1920s across the United States and had his first one-man show at the Arts Club of Chicago in 1929.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Constant, George;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 1:716.)

Corbett, Edward (1919-1971)

Edward Corbett was a Chicago-born American painter and draughtsman, who in 1937 began taking summer courses at the California School of Fine Arts and later joined the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). During World War II he served in the U.S. Army and the U.S. Navy Merchant Marine. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Grace Borgenicht Gallery in 1956, followed by shows in 1959, 1961, 1964, 1970, 1973 and 1981. He was included in the exhibition "15 Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1952. He took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1956.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Corbett, Edward;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Corbett, Georges;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Corbett, Edward," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00042076 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Covert, John (1882-1960)

John Covert was a Pittsburgh-born American painter, who studied at the Pittsburg School of Design from 1902 to 1908. He received a bursary from the German government, enabling him to study at the

Munich Academy from 1908 to 1912. Together with, amongst others, Walter Arensberg (1878-1954), Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), Katherine Sophie Dreier (1877-1952), and Man Ray (1890-1976), he was a founder of the °Society of Independent Artists. He stopped painting between 1923 and 1949.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Covert, John;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Covert, John," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Cramer, Konrad (1888-1963)

Konrad Cramer (or Kramer) was a German-born American painter and photographer, who studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Karlsruhe, Germany. He began his artistic career as a painter, but later switched to photography. In 1911 he emigrated with his wife to the United States, settling in Woodstock, New York, where he founded the Woodstock School of Photography in 1936. He had his first one-man show at the Woodstock Art Gallery in 1952. He was both educator and artist.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Cramer, Konrad;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Cramer, Konrad;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Cramer, Konrad," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00044093 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Crawford, Ralston (1906–1978)

Ralston Crawford was a Canadian-born American painter, lithographer and photographer, who spent his childhood in Buffalo, New York. In 1927 he enrolled at the Otis Art Institute in California. He worked briefly at the Walt Disney Studio. He then returned to the East Coast to study at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and at the °Barnes Foundation until 1930. He journeyed to Paris in 1932-1933, where he studied, amongst others at the °Académie Scandinave. During World War II he served in the U.S. Air Force.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Crawford, Ralston;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Crawford, Ralston;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Crawford, Ralston;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Crawford, Ralston," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Dehner, Dorothy (1901–1994)

Dorothy Dehner was an American painter, sculptor and printmaker, born in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1915 Dehner with her mother and sister moved to Pasadena, California, where she studied drama at the Pasadena Playhouse. In 1922 she pursued her drama studies at the University of California in Los Angeles, but left after one year to explore a stage career in New York, where she studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and starred in a few off-Broadway productions. In 1925 she travelled to Europe. Upon her return to New York, she enrolled at the °Art Students League, where she first studied sculpture and subsequently drawing under Jan

*Matulka, and met the sculptor David *Smith, whom she married in 1927. Dehner returned to Europe, with Smith, on an extensive tour in 1935. In the spring of 1940 they settled in Bolton Landing, New York. The couple remained together until 1950 and were divorced in 1952. Dehner started engraving at Atelier 17 that same year. She was a member of the Sculptors Guild and the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. She had her first solo show (paired with David Smith) at the Albany Institute ca.1944. She also showed at Skidmore College in 1948, 1953 and 1959, and, in New York, at the Rose Fried Gallery in 1952. She took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1956.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Dehner, Dorothy;" *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "Dehner, Dorothy;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Dehner, Dorothy" and "Smith, David;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Smith, David;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Dehner, Dorothy," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

de Kooning, Elaine (1918[5]-1989)

Elaine de Kooning, born Elaine Marie Catherine Fried in Flatbush, New York, was a painter, sculptor, printmaker, "draughtsman" and writer. She studied at Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn, and briefly attended Hunter College in New York City. In 1937 Elaine de Kooning studied under Conrad *Marca-Relli at the Leonardo da Vinci Art School in Hoboken, New Jersey, and then went on to study at the °American Artists School. In 1938 she was introduced to Willem de Kooning, who became her instructor. The two artists married in 1943. Elaine was one of the few female members of "The Club." She was included in the Samuel Kootz "Talent 1950" show, and participated in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and in the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. Elaine de Kooning was also an accomplished writer and teacher. In 1948 she became an Editorial Associate at *ARTnews* and wrote some of the first reviews on Franz Kline (1910-1962), David *Smith, Josef Albers (1888-1976), Arshile Gorky (1904-1948), and others. Her first one-woman show was at the Stable Gallery in 1954.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "De Kooning, Elaine;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "De Kooning, Elaine;" *Dictionary of Women Artists*, s.v. "de Kooning, Elaine;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "de Kooning, Elaine;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "de Kooning, Willem;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 93.)

De Niro, Robert (1922-1993)

Robert Henry De Niro was an American painter, born in Syracuse, New York. He studied at °Black Mountain College under Josef

[5] Elaine de Kooning told people she was born in 1920. Paul Cummings in the 6th edition of *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists* gives 1918 as her year of birth, as does Joan Marter in *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*.

Albers (1888-1976) from 1939 to 1940, and with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) at his Provincetown summer school in 1939. He moved to New York City in 1941, where he attended classes at the Hans Hofmann School. For five years De Niro worked for Hilla von Rebay (1890-1967) at the °Museum of Non-Objective Art. In 1945 he was included in the "Autumn Salon" at Art of This Century. He had his first solo show, paired with Teresa *Zarnower, "Robert De Niro: First Exhibition of Painting" at Art of this Century in 1946, and a series of solo exhibitions in the 1950s at the Charles Egan Gallery. He was married to Virginia *Admiral. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1957. He lived in France from 1961 to 1964.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "De Niro, Robert;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "De Niro, Robert;" Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds., *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 335; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 113; Grove Art Online, s.v. "De Niro, Robert," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00130876 [accessed March 1, 2019]; The Estate Robert De Niro, Sr, http://www.robertdenirosr.com/chronology [last accessed April 22, 2019].)

Dickinson, Edwin (1891-1978)

Edwin Walter Dickinson was an American painter and draughtsman, born in Seneca Falls, New York, in the Finger Lakes area, where Robert Goodnough came from. He studied at the °Pratt Institute in 1910 and 1911 and later at the °Art Students League with William Merritt Chase (1849-1916). During the summers of 1912 and 1913 he studied with Charles W. *Hawthorne in Provincetown. After the First World War he spent a year in France and Spain. He returned to France from 1937 till 1938. In 1944 he moved to New York, where he taught at °Cooper Union from 1945 to 1949, the °Art Students League from 1945 and the Brooklyn Museum School from 1950 to 1958. Most of his working life was spent on Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and in New York City. He participated in the 1954 "Stable Annual."

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Dickinson, Edwin;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Dickinson, Edwin;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Dickinson, Edwin;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Dickinson, Edwin;" Edwin Dickinson, http://edwindickinson.org/chronology/ [accessed April 22, 2019].)

Dickinson, William Preston (1891-1930)

William Preston Dickinson was a New York City-born third-generation American artist of a working-class background. Between 1906 and 1910 he studied at the °Art Students League under William Merritt Chase (1849-1916). From 1910 to 1914 he lived in Paris, where he studied at the °Académie Julian and the École des Beaux-Arts. His work was exhibited at the "Paris Salon" and the "Salon des Indépendants." Dickinson returned to the United States in September

1914, at the start of the First World War. He participated in several group exhibitions, in New York, at the Daniel Gallery, where he had his first solo show in 1923.

(Sources: *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Dickinson, Preston;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Dickinson, Preston;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 1:912.)

Diller, Burgoyne (1906-1965)

Burgoyne Andrew Diller was an American painter and sculptor, born in the Bronx, who grew up in Michigan and graduated from Michigan State University in 1927. In 1928[6] he moved to New York, where in 1929 he enrolled at the °Art Students League. His teachers at the League included Jan *Matulka and George Grosz (1893-1959). He also worked with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). Diller was a founding member of °American Abstract Artists (AAA) and took part in their annual shows. He was employed at the °Federal Arts Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP), first as head of the Mural Division from 1935 to 1940, then from 1940 to 1941 as the Assistant Technical Director of the New York Art Project, and subsequently as its Director. During World War II he was enlisted in the U.S. Navy and stopped all creative work while in active duty. His first solo show, in New York, was at the Pinacotheca in 1946. He took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1956.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Diller, Burgoyne;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Diller, Burgoyne;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Diller, Burgoyne;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Diller, Burgoyne;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Diller, Burgoyne," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00051616 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Driggs, Elsie (1898-1992)

Elsie Driggs was an American painter, watercolourist, pastellist and collage artist, born in Hartford, Connecticut, who grew up in New Rochelle, a suburb of New York City. Her family was supportive of her artistic interests, and at age twenty, she enrolled at the °Art Students League, where she studied under George *Luks and Maurice *Sterne. She also attended the evening criticism classes held at the home of painter John *Sloan. Driggs spent fourteen months in Europe from late 1922 to early 1924, drawing and studying Italian art. Upon her return to the United States she served as a copyist and an assistant in the lecture department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Driggs was one of the few female painters of the first group of Precisionist painters. She exhibited at the Daniel Gallery in the 1920s. In 1929 Charles Daniel gave Driggs a one-woman show. She participated in the °Society of Independent Artists exhibitions of 1922 and 1931, and was included in the 1930 exhibition "46 Painters

[6] Ann Lee Morgan in *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* gives 1929 as the year of his return to New York.

and Sculptors under 35 Years of Age" at the Museum of Modern Art. She was married to the painter Lee *Gatch.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Driggs, Elsie;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Driggs, Elsie," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00053833 [accessed March 1, 2019]; Museum of Modern Art Archive, https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/history?=undefined&page=&direction= [accessed April 22, 2019].)

Dzubas, Friedel (1915-1994)

Friedel Dzubas was a Berlin-born American artist, who in 1939 emigrated to the United States via London, arriving in New York in 1940. Later that year he moved to Chicago, where he became a designer in the publishing business. According to some sources he studied art in Berlin in the early 1930s, but other sources claim he was self-taught. In 1954 he returned to New York where he met Clement Greenberg (1909-1994) and became acquainted with Katherine Dreier (1977-1952) and the °Société Anonyme, Inc., designing the catalogue for the collection in 1950. He had his first solo shows, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1952 and 1976, at the Galerie French & Co. in 1958 and 1959, and at the Leo Castelli Gallery in 1958. He took part in the "Annuals" of the °Art Institute of Chicago in 1942, 1943, and 1944. He was included in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1955. He became a U.S. citizen in 1959.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Dzubas, Friedel;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Dzubas, Friedel;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (New York: New York School Press, 2000), 125; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Dzubas, Friedel" https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00056988 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Eilshemius, Louis (1864-1941)

Louis Michel Eilshemius was a New Jersey-born American painter, of a wealthy background, who also wrote prose and poetry and composed music. He was educated in Switzerland and Germany, after which he spent two years at Cornell University. He then studied at the °Art Students League. He also studied privately with the American landscape painter Robert Crannell Minor (ca.1839-1904), and subsequently under William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905) at the °Académie Julian in Paris. His father's death in 1892 left him with the means to travel amongst others to Europe, North Africa, the South Pacific and New Zealand. He was discovered by Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) in 1917, and had his first solo exhibition, in New York, in 1920 at the °Société Anonyme, Inc. The show was not well received by the critics, and in 1921 he gave up painting. However, by the early 1930s his name was established. He had three simultaneous one-man shows in 1939 in New York, but was living in poverty as an invalid after an automobile accident in 1932.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Eilshemius, Louis;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Eilshemius, Louis;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Eilshemius, Louis," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Ernst, Jimmy (1920-1984)

Hans-Ulrich Ernst, known as Jimmy Ernst, was a German-born American painter of Jewish origin, the son of Surrealist painter Max Ernst (1891-1976). His parents divorced in 1922 and Ernst stayed in Cologne with his mother, Louise Strauss, an art historian and journalist, while his father moved to France. In 1933 Ernst went to live with his maternal grandfather, while his mother moved to Paris to find work. In June 1938 he sailed from Le Havre to New York, while both his parents remained in France. His father was interned and in 1940 Jimmy Ernst petitioned the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC) to secure his release. Max Ernst was released in 1941 and arrived in New York the same year. Unknown to Jimmy, his mother was sent to Auschwitz in 1944 and did not survive the death camp. Jimmy Ernst became the director of Peggy Guggenheim's gallery Art of This Century in 1942. He became a U.S. citizen in 1952. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Norlyst Gallery in 1941, followed by shows at the Grace Borgenicht Gallery from 1951 to 1955, in 1957, 1961, 1962, 1968, 1971, 1972 and 1976, and, in Philadelphia, at the Philadelphia Art Alliance in 1948. In 1950 he participated in the "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35." He was one of "The Irascibles." He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1955.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Ernst, Jimmy;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Ernst, Jimmy;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Ernst, Jimmy;"*The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Ernst, Jimmy;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Ernst, Jimmy," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019]; Guggenheim Collection Online, https://www.guggenheim.org/artwork/artist/jimmy-ernst [accessed April 23, 2019].)

Feininger, Lyonel (1871-1956)

Lyonel Feininger was a New York-born American painter, printmaker, illustrator, caricaturist and comic strip artist, from a German musical background. His father was a violinist and composer, his mother a pianist and accompanist. He grew up in New York City, but in the 1880s was sent to Germany to study music. He became interested in art through a drawing class at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Hamburg, which led to further training at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin and the °Académie Colarossi in Paris. He returned to Berlin, where he studied at the Königliche Akademie. Feininger started a successful career as a cartoonist in 1894 and became a prominent illustrator by the mid-1890s for *Ulke*, *Lustige Blätter* and other leading German satirical magazines. By 1907 he was back in Paris, but returned to Germany in 1908 and gave up illustration for painting. He became a member of the

Berliner Sezession in 1909, and was associated with *Die Brücke* and *Der Blaue Reiter*. After the First World War Feininger joined the *Novembergruppe* and met Walter Gropius (1883-1969), who, in 1919, invited him to join the Bauhaus in Weimar to become the first master in charge of the school's printmaking workshop. In 1925, with Alexei Jawlenski (1864-1941), Paul Klee (1879-1940), and Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), he formed the *Blaue Vier*, which made its debut at the Charles Daniel Gallery in New York. In 1926 the Bauhaus moved to Dessau and Feininger followed as artist-in-residence without teaching responsibilities, free to concentrate on painting. When the Nazi Party came to power in 1933, Feininger's work was declared "degenerate." He moved with his family to America after his work was included in the "Degenerate Art" (*Entartete Kunst*) exhibition in 1936. In 1937 he moved to California, where he taught at Mills College, Oakland, before resettling permanently in New York. He stopped painting for two years after his return to America, but encouraged by the gallery owner Curt Valentine and winning major prizes his confidence returned gradually. In 1945 he accepted Josef Albers's invitation to serve as guest instructor at °Black Mountain College. He was a member of the °Federation of American Painters and Sculptors and was elected its President in 1947. He had his first one-man shows at Herwarth Walden's Sturm Galerie in 1917, at the Emil Richter Gallery in Dresden in 1919, and at the Anger Museum in Erfurt in 1920. In New York he had one-man shows at the Curt Valentine Gallery in 1941, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952 and 1954, the Buchholz Gallery in 1941, 1943 and 1944, the Karl Nierendorf Gallery in 1943, and the Willard Gallery in 1943. He was also an accomplished pianist and composer.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Feininger, Lyonel;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Feininger, Lyonel;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Feiniger, Lyonel;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Feininger, Lyonel.")

Ferren, John (1905–1970)

John Millard James Ferren was an American artist, born in Oregon, who in his twenties was apprenticed as a stonecutter in San Francisco. He initially worked as a sculptor but soon switched to painting. Ferren travelled to Europe twice as a young man, first in 1929 and then later from 1931 to 1938, residing in Paris and Mallorca. While in Europe he studied at the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière, the °Académie Colarossi, and the °Académie Ranson, as well as the Sorbonne and the universities of Florence, Italy, and Salamanca. In 1936 he had his first solo show, in New York, at the Pierre Matisse Gallery, followed by shows in 1937 and 1938. During World War II Ferren served as a civilian for the Psychological Warfare Branch of the Office of War Information, earning a bronze star for his service in North Africa, Italy and France. He has often

mistakenly been associated with the °American Abstract Artists[7]. He did not have much contact with his peers on the New York art scene, but became close to Philip Pavia (1911-2005). He was a "voting" member of "The Club" and served as its President in 1956. Ferren exhibited frequently during the 1950s and was a principal organiser of the "Ninth Street Show." He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957. During the 1950s he worked on two of Alfred Hitchcock's films, providing paintings for the role of the principal character in *The Trouble with Harry* and designing the nightmare sequence in *Vertigo*.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Ferren, John;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Ferren, John;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Ferren, John;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 125; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Ferren, John," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2090232 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Fine, Perle (1905–1988)

Perle Fine, originally Poule Feine, was a Boston-born American painter of Russian parentage. She attended the School of Practical Art in Boston, where she learned to design newspaper advertisements, before going to New York City, where she briefly attended Grand Central School of Art. She also studied at the °Art Students League, and in the late 1930s began to study with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) in New York City as well as in Provincetown. She also frequented Atelier 17. She joined the °American Abstract Artists (AAA) in the early 1940s. Fine featured in the "Spring Salon for Young Artists" at Art of This Century in 1943, and had her first solo show, in New York, in 1945 at the Willard Gallery. She took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. Fine was on the list of "voting" members of "The Club."

(Sources: Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 129; Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Fine, Perle," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019].)

Francés, Esteban (1913-1976)

Esteban Francés was a Spanish painter, born in Port Bou, Catalonia. He studied law in Barcelona, but shortly before finishing his law degree enrolled at the Escola de la Llotja, an art and design school in Barcelona. Francés fled the Spanish Civil War and travelled to Paris, where he became a member of the Surrealist circle. Shortly after the beginning of World War II, he fled to Mexico where he joined other expatriates, amongst them Wolfgang *Paalen as well as Mexican

[7] Ann Lee Morgan in *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, however, states that he exhibited with the American Abstract Artists.

artists Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and Frida Kahlo (1910-1954). He was an important member of the Surrealist movements in Paris, Mexico and New York City. He was a "voting" member of "The Club."

(Sources: *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*; s.v. Francés, Esteban;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Francés, Esteban," http//:www.oxfordartonline.com [accessed January 18, 2019]; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Francés, Esteban," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00067182 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Frankenthaler, Helen (1928-2011)

Helen Frankenthaler was a New York-born American painter, printmaker and occasional sculptor, of Jewish origin, who grew up in the well-heeled Upper East Side of Manhattan. She studied at the Dalton School under muralist Rufino *Tamayo, at Bennington College in Vermont with Paul Feeley (1910-1966), at the °Art Students League in 1949 with Vaclav *Vytlacil, at Columbia University with Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) in 1949, and with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) in Provincetown in 1950. Frankenthaler's professional exhibition career began in 1950, when Adolph Gottlieb selected her painting *Beach* (1950) for the exhibition "Fifteen Unknowns: Selected by Artists of the Kootz Gallery." She had her first solo shows, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1951, then from 1952 to 1958. She showed at the André Emmerich Gallery throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. She took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1956. She befriended Clement Greenberg (1909-1994), David *Smith, Jackson Pollock, Lee *Krasner, Willem de Kooning, amongst others, and was married to Robert Motherwell from 1958 to 1971.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Frankenthaler, Helen;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists* 6th ed., s.v. "Frankenthaler, Helen;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Frankenthaler, Helen;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Frankenthaler, Helen;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists by Choice* (Franklin Lakes, new Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 145; Helen Frankenthaler Foundation, http://www.frankenthalerfoundation.org [accessed April 22, 2019].)

Freilicher, Jane (1924-2014)

Jane Freilicher (née Niederhoffer) was a Brooklyn-born American painter, who studied under Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) and in 1947 earned a Bachelor of Arts degree at Brooklyn College. She obtained her Master of Arts degree in 1948 from Columbia University's Teacher's College, where Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) was one of her teachers. Freilicher was part of a circle of New York painters and poets, which included the artists Helen *Frankenthaler, Joan *Mitchell, Grace *Hartigan, Fairfield *Porter, and Larry *Rivers, and several poets, amongst them Frank O'Hara (1926-1966). She had her first solo shows, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1952, followed by shows from 1953 to 1964, and in 1970. She

showed at the John Bernard Myers Gallery in 1971. She took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1955.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Freilicher, Jane;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Freilicher (née Niederhoffer), Jane;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Freilicher, Jane;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists by Choice* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 149; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Freilicher, Jane," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00067955 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Friedman, Arnold (1879-1946)

Arnold Friedman was a New York-born American painter, who attended night classes at °City College of New York and studied at the °Art students League between 1905 and 1908 under Robert *Henri. In 1909 he went to Paris, where he became attracted to the work of the Post-Impressionists. He discovered Cubism at the Armory Show.

(Source: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Friedman, Arnold.")

Gallatin, Albert Eugene (1881-1952)

Albert Eugene Gallatin was a renowned American art collector, painter and writer, who studied art in the mid-1920s with Robert *Henri. He was born into a wealthy New York family and thus able to devote his time and energies to his cultural interests. He became interested in the works of modernist artists after the First World War and, under the influence of Clive Bell (1881-1964) of Bloomsbury renown, became attracted to Cubism. His frequent visits to Europe, and in particular Paris, between 1921 and 1938 resulted in his conversion to modernist art. In 1927 he opened his collection to the public at the Gallery of Living Art in the South Study Hall of New York University's Main Building. It was the first museum in the United States exclusively devoted to modern art. His collection included works of Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), Georges Braque (1882-1963), Juan Gris (1887-1927), Fernand Léger (1881-1955), Piet Mondrian (1872-1944), Jean Hélion (1904-1987), El Lissitzky (1890-1941), Joan Miró (1893-1983), Jean Arp (1886-1966), and André Masson (1896-1987). He renamed his collection the Museum of Living Art in 1936. He was a member of the °Société Anonyme, Inc. Gallatin was also an artist: in 1937 he joined the °American Abstract Artists (AAA) and began to support the group financially. He had his first solo show, in New York, at the Georgette Passedoit Gallery in 1938, and the same year sold a painting, *Composition* (1938), to the Museum of Modern Art. His collection played a formative role in the evolution of his own painting and became an influential source of inspiration to many artists, in particular the "budding" Abstract Expressionists (Motherwell was a frequent visitor). The museum was forced to close in 1943, when New York

University asked Gallatin to remove his works as a wartime measure. He placed most of the works on loan with the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gallatin's numerous publications included books about John *Sloan and Charles Demuth (1883-1935).

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Gallatin, Albert;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Gallatin, Albert;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Gallatin, A.E;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Gallatin, Albert Eugene.")

Gatch, Lee (1902-1968)

Lee Gatch was an American painter, born near Baltimore in Maryland. He began his artistic training at the Maryland Institute of Art, where he studied amongst others with John °Sloan. He travelled to France, where he studied at the °Académie Moderne with André Lhote (1885-1962). He returned to the United States in 1925 and had his first solo show, in New York, at J.B. Neuman's New Art Circle in 1927, followed by shows in 1932 1937, 1946 and 1949. He showed at the Willard Gallery in 1943. He was briefly married to Janice *Biala, and later married the painter Elsie *Driggs.

(Source: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Gatch, Lee;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Gatch, Lee;" Oxford Art Online, s.v. "Gatch, Lee," http://www.oxfordartonline.com/search?q=Gatch+lee&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true [accessed April 22, 2019].)

Georges, Paul (1923-2002)

Paul Gordon Georges was an American painter, born in Portland, Oregon, who started painting while still at high school. He took an active part in World War II from 1943 to 1945, and in 1946 attended the University of Oregon on the G.I. Bill. In 1947 he attended Hans Hofmann's summer school in Provincetown, where he met Larry *Rivers, Wolf *Kahn, Jane *Freilicher, and many other young artists, who became lifelong friends. He attended the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière in 1949 and frequented the Atelier Fernand Léger from 1949 to 1952. He had one-man shows, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1955 and 1957, and took part in the 1952 "New Talent" show at the Kootz Gallery.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Georges, Paul;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Georges, Paul," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00072501 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Glackens, William (1870-1938)

William Glackens was a Philadelphia-born American illustrator and painter. He attended evening classes at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and became a friend and follower of Robert *Henri, who persuaded him to take up oil painting. Glackens spent time with Henri in Europe and then followed him to New York. He was one of the founders of the Ashcan School and became one of Henri's group "The Eight." In 1913 Glackens served as Chairman for the selection

of American art for the Armory Show, in which he also exhibited. In 1917 he became the first President of the °Society of Independent Artists.

(Source: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Glackens, William;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Glackens, William;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Glackens, William J.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Glackens, William.")

Glasco, Joseph (1925-1996)

Joseph Milton Glasco was an Oklahoma-born American painter and sculptor. He grew up in Texas and attended the University of Texas in Austin. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army and took part in the Battle of the Bulge. After the war he attended the Art Center School in Los Angeles from 1946 to 1948 and the Escuela de Bellas Artes, in San Miguel de Allende in Mexico in 1948. In 1949 he enrolled at the °Art Students League. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Perls Galleries in 1950, and at the Catherine Viviano Gallery in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1961, 1963 and 1970. He showed at the Arts Club of Chicago in 1954 and 1957. He took part in the 1954 "Stable Annual."

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Glasco, Joseph;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Glasco, Joseph," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00075458 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Graves, Morris (1910–2001)

Morris Cole Graves was an Oregon-born American painter, one of eight children, who grew up in a semi-rural environment in Washington State. Graves was a self-taught artist, who at age seventeen became a merchant sailor and travelled to the Far East. He became interested in Eastern philosophies and in the early 1930s he began a lifelong study of Buddhism. His first one-man show was at the Seattle Art Museum in 1936, the year he began working in Seattle for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP), where he met Mark *Tobey. In 1937 Graves travelled to New York City to study with the controversial Father Divine's International Peace Mission movement in Harlem. He quit the Federal Art Project in 1938 and went to the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico to paint. In the spring of 1942 his work was included in the exhibition "Americans 1942: 18 Artists from 9 States" at the Museum of Modern Art. Critics praised his works, all of which were quickly purchased by museums and collectors. He showed, in New York, at the Willard Gallery in 1942, 1944, 1945, 1948, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1959, in the 1970s and in 1981. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1946.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Graves, Morris;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Graves, Morris;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Graves, Morris;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Graves, Morris.")

Greene, Balcomb (1904–1990)

Balcomb John Wesley Greene was an American painter, born in Niagara Falls. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree (with a major in philosophy) at Syracuse University in 1926, after which he spent time in Vienna studying psychology with, amongst others, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). Upon his return to the United States in 1927 he studied English literature for a year at Columbia University. He began painting in 1931 when in Paris, where he studied at the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière. In 1935 he became the first President of the °Artists' Union and in 1936 the first President of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), of which he was a founding member. In the late 1930s he worked for the New York Mural Division of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). In 1939 and 1941 he was reelected AAA President, but resigned in 1942 when he began a career as a professor of art history and aesthetics at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh. In 1935 and 1936 he was Editor of *Art Front* magazine. In 1941 a fire in his New York studio destroyed many of his early paintings. He had his first one-man show in Paris, in 1932, and his first solo show, in New York, at J.B. Neumann's New Art Circle in 1947. He took part in the AAA "Annuals" and the "Stable Annual" of 1955, 1956, and 1957.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Greene, Balcombe;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Greene, Balcombe;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Greene, Balcomb," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00078536 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Grippe, Peter (1912-2002)

Peter Grippe was an American sculptor, printmaker and painter, born in Buffalo, New York, who studied at the Albright Art School and the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. In 1930 he moved to New York, where he frequented Atelier 17. He was a member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). He worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1939 to 1942, teaching drawing and sculpture. He taught at °Black Mountain College in 1948. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Orrefors Galleries in 1942, followed by shows at the Willard Gallery in 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1948. His work was included in the "Whitney Annuals" in 1944, 1945, 1947, 48, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1957, 1960, 1962, and in the exhibitions of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors in 1944, 1945 and 1952, and in the AAA "Annuals" of 1946, 1947 and 1949. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1955, 1956 and 1957. He participated in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions of Studio 35."

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Grippe, Peter;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists*

Choice by Artists (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 165.)

Gropper, William (1897-1977)

William Gropper was a New York City-born American painter, cartoonist, lithographer and muralist, the eldest of six children of Jewish immigrants from Romania and Ukraine. A scholarship made it possible for him to attend the experimental Ferrer School, where he studied under Robert *Henri and George Bellows (1882-1925). He also attended the °National Academy of Design and the New York School of Fine and Applied Art (later °Parsons New School for Design). In 1917 he began working as an illustrator at the *New York Tribune*. During the 1920s he also contributed to *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, the *New York Post*, and the radical socialist journal *New Masses*. Gropper was a committed radical, although never a member of the Communist Party, and in 1927 he travelled to the USSR with the writers Sinclair Lewis (1885-1951) and Theodore Dreiser (1871-1945) in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. During the 1930s he worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). Due to his involvement in radical politics in the 1920s and 1930s, Gropper was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1953. He won numerous awards, including a Guggenheim scholarship in 1937 and a prize from the Carnegie Art Institute.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Gropper, William;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Gropper, William;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Gropper, William;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Gropper, William," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00079532 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Gross, Chaim (1904-1991)

Chaim Gross was an American sculptor, draughtsman, painter, and printmaker, born to a Jewish family in Galicia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He studied art in Budapest and Vienna before emigrating to the United States in 1921. He settled in New York, where he studied at the °Educational Alliance Art School and the °Beaux-Arts Institute of Design. In 1927 he decided to focus on sculpting and enrolled at the °Art Students League to study carving under Robert Laurent (1890-1970). He had his first solo exhibition, in New York, at Gallery 144 in 1932, followed by a show at the Boyer Gallery in Philadelphia in 1935 and the Boyer Gallery in New York in 1937.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Gross, Chaim;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Gross, Chaim;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Gross, Chaim;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Gross, Chaim;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Gross, Chaim," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00079603 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Guston, Philip (1913-1980)

Philip Guston, born Philip Goldstein in Montreal of Ukrainian Jewish parents, was a Canadian muralist, painter and printmaker. Guston began painting in 1927 at the age of fourteen, when he enrolled in the Los Angeles Manual Arts High School. Both he and Jackson Pollock studied under Frederick John de St. Vrain *Schwankovsky. Apart from his high school education and a one-year scholarship in 1930 at the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles, Guston was largely self-taught. In 1934 Philip Goldstein (as he was then known) travelled with Reuben *Kadish and Jules Langsner (1911-1967) to Mexico, where he spent time with Frida Kahlo (1910-1954) and Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and became acquainted with the work of the Mexican muralists. He arrived in New York in 1935, where he worked in the Mural Division of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1935 till 1939. In 1937 he adopted Guston as his surname. In 1939 he contributed the mural *Maintaining America's Skills* to the façade of the WPA building at the New York World's Fair. From the autumn of 1941 till 1945 he was artist-in-residence at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City. He then became artist-in-residence at the School of Fine Arts of Washington University. In 1947 he received a bursary from the Guggenheim Foundation and in 1948 won the Prix de Rome of the American Academy of Arts, which enabled him to spend two years travelling in Italy, France and Spain. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Midtown Galleries in 1945, followed by one in Boston at the Boston Museum School in 1947. He showed, in New York, at the Peridot Gallery in 1952, at the Charles Egan Gallery in 1953, and at the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1956, 1958, 1960 and 1961. He took part in the exhibitions "Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America" in 1951 and "Twelve Americans" in 1956, both at the Museum of Modern Art. He participated in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" in 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Guston, Philip;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Guston, Philip;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Guston, Philip;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Guston, Philip;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 173; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Guston, Philip," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00081607 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Harris, Louis (1902-1970)

Louis Harris was an American painter born in St. Louis, who arrived in New York in 1920, where he studied at the °Art Students League, amongst others with Max *Weber. He was a member of "The Ten" and also at one time President of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors.

(Source: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2:1468; *New York Times* Obituary, 25 July, 1970.)

Hartigan, Grace (1922-2008)

Grace Hartigan was a New Jersey-born artist, who married as a teenager and moved to California, where, encouraged by her husband, she attended drawing classes in Los Angeles. In 1942 she returned to New Jersey to study mechanical drafting at Newark College of Engineering and worked as a "draughtsman" in an airplane factory to support herself and her son, when her husband was called up for military service. She moved to New York City in 1945 and became quickly acquainted with the downtown artistic community. She divorced her husband in 1948, after which she was briefly married to Harry *Jackson in 1949. Clement Greenberg (1909-1994) and Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) selected her work for the "Talent 1950" show at the Samuel Kootz Gallery. She had her first solo show, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1951, followed by shows in 1952 and 1953. The Museum of Modern Art purchased her painting *Persian Jacket* in 1953. She was included in "Twelve Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1956. Hartigan took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and in the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956, and 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Hartigan, Grace;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Hartigan, Grace;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Hartigan, Grace;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Hartigan, Grace;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 165; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 177; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Hartigan, Grace," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00084139 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Hawthorne, Charles W. (1872-1930)

Charles Webster Hawthorne was an Illinois-born American portrait and genre painter. He studied under amongst others William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) at the °Art Students League. In 1902 he won the Obrig Prize at the Salmagundi Club and, in 1904, the Hallgarten Prize at the °National Academy of Design and came second in the Worcester Prize at the Salmagundi Club. He was also a noted teacher who founded the Cape Cod School of Art in 1899.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Hawthorne, Charles Webster;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Hawthorne, Charles," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00084821 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Hayter, Stanley William (1901-1988)

Stanley William Hayter was a London-born British painter, draughtsman and printmaker, who obtained a degree in chemistry

and geology at King's College London and worked in Iran for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company from 1922 to 1925. In 1926 Hayter went to Paris, where he studied briefly at the °Académie Julian and was introduced to copper engraving. In 1927 he opened his printmaking studio and in 1933 moved it to number 17 at rue Campagne-Première, where it became internationally known as Atelier 17. The hallmark of the workshop was its egalitarian structure, a cooperative approach to labour and technical discoveries. Hayter worked with many contemporary artists, including Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) and Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), encouraging them to explore printmaking as a medium. At the outbreak of World War II Hayter moved Atelier 17 to New York City and taught printmaking at the °New School (for Social Research). Jackson Pollock, Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko made prints at Atelier 17. In 1950 he returned to Paris and took Atelier 17 with him.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Hayter, Stanley;” *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Hayter, Stanley;” *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. “Hayter, S.W.;” Grove Art Online, s.v. “Hayter, Stanley,” https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00084948 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Henri, Robert (1865-1929)

Robert Henri, born Robert Henry Cozad in Cincinnati, Ohio, was an American painter and teacher. He changed his name to Robert Henri in 1883. He studied at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia, where he was a protégé of Thomas Eakins (1844-1916). He also frequented the °Académie Julian in Paris, where he studied under William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905), and was later admitted to the École des Beaux-Arts. He became a leading figure of the Ashcan School of American Realism and organiser of the group known as "The Eight." His chief followers were newspaper illustrators—John *Sloan, William J. *Glackens, George *Luks, and Everett *Shinn.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Henri, Robert;” *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. “Henri, Robert;” *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. “Henri, Robert;” Grove Art Online, s.v. “Henri, Robert,” https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00086157 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Hirsch, Stefan (1899-1964)

Stefan Hirsh was an American painter and draughtsman, who was born in Nuremberg to American parents and grew up in Europe. He studied law and art at the University of Zürich, where he became acquainted with the Dada movement. In 1919, at the age of twenty, he moved to New York, where his work appeared for the first time in an exhibition at the °Society of Independent Artists that same year. In 1922 Hirsch became a founding director and recording secretary of the Salons of America, created as an alternative to the °Society of Independent Artists. Hirsh had his first one-man show, in New York,

at the Bourgeois Gallery in 1927. He travelled in Mexico from 1929 to 1933 and became friends with the Mexican muralists David Siqueiros (1896-1974) and Diego Rivera (1886-1957). He taught at the °Art Students League from 1940 till 1946.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Hirsch, Stefan;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Hirsch, Stefan," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00087977 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Holty, Carl (1900-1973)

Carl Robert Holty was an American painter, draughtsman and watercolourist, born in Freiburg, Germany, but raised in Wisconsin, where he attended Milwaukee University School. During the First World War he joined the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. In the summer of 1919 he enrolled at the °Art Institute of Chicago, eventually attending classes at the °Parsons School of Design. In 1923 he returned to Milwaukee, where he opened a portrait-painting studio. In 1925 Holty travelled to Europe, where he remained for the next ten years, first in Munich, where he studied with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966), and then Switzerland. He moved to Paris in 1930, before returning to the United States in 1935 and settling in New York City. In the 1930s he was a member of the "Abstraction-Creation" group and a member of °American Abstract Artists (AAA). He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the J.B. Neumann Gallery in 1936 and then till 1944. He showed at the Karl Nierendorf Gallery in 1938 and at the Samuel Kootz Gallery in 1946 and 1948. He co-authored with Romare *Bearden *The Painter's Mind* (1969).

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Holty, Carl;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Holty, Carl;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Holty, Carl," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00089095 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Jackson, Harry (1924-2011)

Harry Andrew Jackson, born Harry Aaron Shapiro Jr., was a Chicago-born American sculptor and painter, who as a young teenager started taking Saturday classes at the °Art Institute of Chicago from 1932 till 1937. He joined the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II, earning two purple hearts, but suffered several post-traumatic disorders for the rest of his life. He moved to New York and between 1946 and 1948 studied with Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Ruffino *Tamayo and Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). His work was included in the Kootz "Talent 1950" show, and for several years it was shown at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery. He took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954. Jackson was briefly married to Grace *Hartigan in 1949.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Hartigan, Grace;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists*

Choice by Artists (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 193; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Jackson, Harry," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00092917 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Kadish, Reuben (1913-1992)

Reuben Kadish was a Chicago-born American sculptor, draughtsman, muralist, painter and printmaker, of Jewish origin, who grew up in California. He was a student at the Art Center School in Los Angeles, where he befriended Jackson Pollock and Philip *Guston. He took part in the 1955 "Stable Annual."

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Pollock, Jackson;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 33; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Kadish, Reuben," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00062595 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Kahn, Wolf (1927-)

Wolf Kahn is an American painter and printmaker of Jewish origin, born in Stuttgart, who left Germany in 1939, spent a year in London, and joined the rest of his family in New York in 1940. He attended the High School of Music and Art in New York City, graduating in 1945. He subsequently studied painting at the °New School (for Social Research) under Stuart Davis (1894-1964) and at the Hans Hofmann School. He became Hofmann's assistant in 1947 at his Provincetown studio. He also graduated from the University of Chicago in 1951. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Hansa Gallery in 1953 and 1954, and at the Grace Borgenicht Gallery in 1956 and 1958, followed by shows in the 1960s and 1970s. He took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" in 1954, 1955 and 1956.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Kahn, Wolf;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kahn, Wolf;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 197; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Kahn, Wolf," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00096742 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Kaiser, Ray (1916-1988)

Ray-Bernice Alexandra Kaiser (later Eames) was an American artist and designer, who studied painting under Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) in New York and Provincetown. She was a founding member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). With her husband Charles Eames she made groundbreaking contributions in the field of architecture, furniture and industrial design, manufacturing, and the photographic arts.

(Source: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Eames;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2:1782.)

Kaldis, **Aristodomos** (1899-1979)

Aristodomos Kaldis was a painter born in Turkey. In 1906 he arrived in the United States, where he started working as a journalist and became a labour activist. During the 1930s and 1940s he moved in left-wing circles in New York. He was Editor of *The Communist*, a monthly Greek-language newspaper.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2:1783; Philip Pavia, *Club Without Walls: Selections from the Journals of Philip Pavia*, ed. Natalie Edgar (New York: Midmarsh Arts Press, 2007), 137-138.)

Kamrowski, Gerome (1914-2004)

Gerome Kamrowski was a Minnesota-born American artist and participant in the Surrealist movement in the United States. He began to study art in the early 1930s at the St. Paul School of Art and later at the °New Bauhaus in Chicago, after which he moved to New York to study with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). He held a Guggenheim Fellowship from 1937 to 1939. Kamrowski was one of the few American artists included in Peggy Guggenheim's show "Spring Salon for Young Artists" at Art of This Century in 1943. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Mortimer Brandt Gallery in 1946, followed by a show at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1948. He featured in the show "Six American Painters" at the Galerie Maeght in Paris in 1947. After 1955 he withdrew from official artistic events and joined in the activities of an American Surrealist group.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Kamrowski, Gerome;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kamrowski, Gerome;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Kamrowski, Gerome," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00096978 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Kantor, Morris (1896-1974)

Morris Kantor was a Russian-born American painter of Jewish origin, who arrived in the United States in 1906[8] and upon his arrival found employment in the Garment District of New York City. He began his formal art studies in 1916 at the free and experimental, but short-lived, Independent School of Art. In the 1920s Kantor spent time in Paris, where his circle included amongst others the sculptor Isamu Noguchi (1904-1989). He was a member of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. In 1931 he won First Prize and the Logan Medal at the °Art Institute of Chicago. In the 1930s he was a supervisor of the Easel Painting Project of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in Rockland County, New York. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Rehn Gallery in 1932, followed by shows in 1935, 1938, 1940, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1953 and 1959. In the 1940s Kantor became

[8] Ann Lee Morgan in *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* gives 1911 as his date of arrival in New York.

an instructor at °Cooper Union and the °Art Students League, where he taught many pupils who became famous artists in their own right, such as Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008). He took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1955 and 1956.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Kantor, Morris;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kantor, Morris;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Kantor, Morris," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00097098 [accessed March, 1, 2019].

Karfiol, Bernard (1886–1952)

Bernard Karfiol was a Hungarian-born American painter and watercolourist, who attended the °Pratt Institute and the °National Academy of Design when not yet fifteen. In 1902 he spent a year in Paris studying at the °Académie Julian, and in 1904 participated in the "Salon d'Automne." From 1908 to 1913 he taught and painted in New York. He participated in the 1913 Armory Show, and from 1917 onwards his work was widely exhibited and received many awards. He was included in the exhibition "Paintings by 19 Living Americans" in 1929 at the Museum of Modern Art. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Joseph Brummer Gallery in 1924, 1925 and 1927, and later at the Downtown Gallery in 1931, 1933, 1935, 1941,1943, 1946, 1950 and 1956.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Karfiol, Bernard;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Karfiol, Bernard;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Karfiol, Bernard," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00097215 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Katzman, Herbert (1923-2004)

Herbert Katzman was a Chicago-born American painter, who against his father's wishes studied sculpture at the °Art Institute of Chicago, working his way through college doing odd jobs. His interest turned to painting and he graduated form the Art Institute of Chicago in 1946, after a stint in the U.S. Navy during World War II. In 1946 he was awarded a Chicago Art Institute Traveling Fellowship and travelled to Paris. He stayed in Europe for four years, during which time he met the Belgian painter James Ensor (1860-1949). He became a member of the Downtown Gallery and was included in the exhibition "15 Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1952. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Alan Gallery in 1954, 1957 and 1959.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Katzman, Herbert;" Herbert Katzman Museum, http://www.herbert-katzman-museum.com/biography/index.html [accessed March 17, 2019].)

Kees, Weldon (1914-1955)

Harry Weldon Kees was an American poet, painter, literary critic, novelist, playwright, jazz pianist, short story writer and filmmaker, who grew up in a well-to-do family in Nebraska. He studied at the

University of Nebraska, and in 1937 moved to Denver to earn a degree in library science at the University of Denver, which included working as a librarian at the Denver Public Library. He then became Director of the Bibliographical Center of Research for the Rocky Mountain Region. By 1947 Kees had already been painting for more than a year and had befriended a number of artists, including Willem de Kooning, Robert Motherwell, Hans Hofmann (1880-1966), as well as the critic Clement Greenberg (1909-1994), whose column he took over at the *Nation* from 1948 to 1950. He showed with the °American Abstract Artists (AAA) in 1949, and had solo shows, in New York, at the Peridot Gallery in 1948, 1949, 1951 and 1952. Kees took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35." He was one of "The Irascibles" who addressed an open letter of protest to the President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but was not included in the famous *Life* photograph, which appeared in the 15 January 1951 issue of the magazine. He was also actively involved with Adolph Gottlieb and Fritz *Bultman in setting up °Forum 49.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Irascibles, The;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2:1807.)

Kerkam, Earl (1891– 1965)

Earl Cavis Kerkam was an American painter, born in Washington, D.C., who studied, amongst others, at the °Art Students League, the °National School of Design, Robert *Henri's men's class, the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Institute of Art in Montreal. During the First World War he was Art Editor of the official Tank Corps magazine *Treat 'em Rough*. He had his first solo show, in New York, at the Contemporary Arts Gallery in 1933. In the 1940s his work was shown amongst others at the Bonestell Gallery and Charles Egan Gallery. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. He worked as a movie poster designer at Warner Brothers Pictures in 1935.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art – 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2:1828; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 201.)

Kiesler, Frederick (1890-1965)

Frederick Kiesler, born Friedrich Jacob Kiesler in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was an Austrian-American architect, theoretician, theatre designer, artist and sculptor, of Jewish origin. From 1908 to 1909 Kiesler studied at the Technische Hochschule in Vienna, and from 1910 to 1912 he attended painting and printmaking classes at the Vienna Akademie der bildenden Künste. But in July 1913 he quit the academy without having earned a diploma. In the 1920s Kiesler was productive as a theatre and art exhibition designer in Vienna and

Berlin. In 1920 he started a brief collaboration with the architect Adolf Loos (1870-1933) and in 1923 became a member of the group De Stijl. He designed the Austrian Pavilion for the 1925 "Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes" in Paris. He moved to New York City in 1926, where he lived until his death. He became a U.S. citizen in 1936. In New York Kiesler collaborated early on with the Surrealists and with Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968). He designed Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century gallery. He took part in the 1955 "Stable Annual."

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Kiesler, Frederick;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Kiesler, Frederick;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kiesler, Frederick.")

Kiesler, Lillian (1909/10-2001)

Lillian Kiesler (née Olinsey) was an American painter, sculptor, actress and art patron. She studied at °Cooper Union and privately with Jan *Matulka, and subsequently with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) at the °Art Students League. She later assisted Hofmann at his school. She was married to Frederick *Kiesler, whom she met in 1934 but only married in 1964.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kiesler, Frederick;" Tina Dickey, *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann* (Canada: Trill Books, 2011), 389.)

Knaths, Karl (1891-1971)

Karl Knaths was a Wisconsin-born American artist, who after his father's death was apprenticed to an uncle in the baking trade. He had no art training and little time for self-instruction, but when released from his apprenticeship was able to study at the Milwaukee Art Institute. In 1911 Knaths enrolled at the °School of the Art Institute of Chicago, supporting himself as a janitor's assistant. When the 1913 Armory Show came to Chicago he landed a job at the show as one of the guards and came into contact with European modernism. After two years of military service Knaths spent a short time studying art in New York City and then in 1919 moved to Provincetown, which became his principal residence for the rest of his life. In 1926 Knaths's work was included in the °Société Anonyme, Inc. exhibition held in Brooklyn. He was a member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Phillips Gallery and the Daniel Gallery concurrently. He won First Carnegie Prize in 1946.

(Source: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Knaths, Karl;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Knaths, Karl;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Knaths, Karl," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00099551 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Kopman, Benjamin (1887-1965)

Benjamin D. Kopman was a Russian-born American painter, engraver, illustrator, sculptor, educator and writer, of Jewish origin. He was born in Vitebsk, the same town as Marc Chagall (1887-1985) and Joseph *Solman, and immigrated to the United States with his family in 1903. In 1905 Kopman enrolled at the °National Academy of Art, where he remained for six semesters. Kopman was nevertheless mainly self-taught. The first major exposure of his work was at the annual exhibition of the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1914, followed by several others during the 1920s. Kopman worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) during the Depression. He had solo shows in the late 1930s and in the 1940s. He was married to the artist Minna Citron (1896-1991).

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Citron, Minna;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America*, (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2:1889-1890; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Kopman, Benjamin," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00100482 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Koppelman, Hy (1920-2009)

Chaim "Hy" Koppelman was a Brooklyn-born American artist of Jewish origin. He was primarily a printmaker, but also produced paintings, drawings and sculptures. He studied art at the Brooklyn Museum in 1936, at Brooklyn College in 1938, at the °Educational Alliance in 1938, and with Carl Holty at the °American Artists School in 1939. He also attended the °Art Students League in 1946, and the École des Beaux-Art in Reims in 1945. He studied with Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1956) from 1946 till 1949 while serving as his assistant at the Amédée Ozenfant School of Fine Arts. During World War II he served in the U.S. Air Force from 1942 to 1945. He had his first one-man shows at the Outline Gallery in Pittsburgh in 1943 and, in New York, at 67 Gallery in 1945. In the early 1950s he was part of Stanley William *Hayter's Atelier 17.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Koppelman, Chaim;" Chaim Koppelman, http://www.chaimkoppelman.net/pages/Biography.html [last accessed April 22, 2019].)

Krasner, Lee (1908-1984)

"Lee" Krasner, born Lenore Krassner in Brooklyn of Russian Jewish immigrant parents, was an American painter. She intended to pursue an artistic career from an early age, attending Washington Irving High School for Girls and subsequently on a scholarship the Women's Art School of °Cooper Union. In 1928 she enrolled at the °National Academy of Design. She also briefly enrolled at the °Art Students League in 1928. She joined the Public Works Art Project

(PWAP)[9] in 1934, and worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1935 till 1941. Krasner was involved with the °Artists Union during her employment with the WPA, but was one of the first to quit the organisation when she realised the Communists were taking it over. She then joined the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), and in 1937 she began attending Hans Hofmann's classes. Lee Krasner became involved with Jackson Pollock after they both exhibited at the show organised by John Graham (ca.1886-1961) at the McMillen Gallery in 1942. They married in 1945. Krasner had her first solo show, in New York, at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1951. She took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Krasner, Lee;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Krasner, Lee;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Krasner, Lee" and "Pollock, Jackson;" Gail Levin, *Lee Krasner: A Biography*; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 213; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Krasner, Lee," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00101076 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Kriesberg, Irving (1919–2009)

Irving Kriesberg was a Chicago-born American painter, who studied at the °School of the Art Institute of Chicago and the Escuela Nacional de Artes Plasticas in Mexico City in the 1940s. He moved to New York in 1945 and made his debut in the exhibition "15 Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1952. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Valentine Gallery.

(Source: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Kriesberg, Irving.")

Kuhn, Walt (1877-1949)

Walter Francis Kuhn was a New York City-born American illustrator and painter, from a working class background, who grew up near the city waterfront. He had little formal training, but attended art classes at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute when a teenager. He left for California in 1899 and became a magazine illustrator in San Francisco. In 1901 he travelled to Paris, where he briefly frequented the °Académie Colarossi. He then studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. In 1903 he returned to New York, where he first exhibited at the Salmagundi Club. He worked as an illustrator for *Life* magazine. He became acquainted with Arthur Bowen Davies (1862-1928), with whom he founded the °Association of American Painters and Sculptors, responsible for the organisation of the 1913 Armory Show. Together with Davies and Walter *Pach he toured Europe in search of modern works for the exhibition. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the

[9] See entry for Federal Art Project in Appendix 2.

Madison Gallery in 1910 and 1911, then at the Montross Gallery in 1914, 1915, 1922, 1924 and 1925. In the 1920s he also showed at Grand Central, M. Knoedler & Co., and the Downtown Gallery.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Kuhn, Walt; *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Kuhn, Walt;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kuhn, Walt;
Forum Gallery, http://forumgallery.com/adetail.php?id=142 [last accessed July 11, 2019].)

Kuniyoshi, Yasuo (1899-1953)

Kuniyoshi Utagawa (nickname Igusa) was a Japanese-born American painter, photographer and printmaker, who arrived in America in 1906. He settled in Seattle and held various jobs before developing an interest in art. He started his training at the Los Angeles School of Art and Design from 1907 to 1910, before going to New York, where he studied with Robert *Henri at the °National Academy of Design, at the Independent School of Art, and at the °Art Students League. Between 1925 and 1928 he twice travelled to Europe, where he became acquainted with the works of Chaim Soutine (1894-1943), Maurice Utrillo (1883-1955), and was deeply impressed by Jules Pascin (1885-1930). In Paris he studied lithography at the Atelier Desjoubert. He went to Japan in 1931. He worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) during the Depression. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Daniel Gallery in 1922, 1928 and 1930.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Kuniyoshi, Yasuo;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Kuniyoshi, Yasuo;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Kuniyoshi, Yasuo;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Kuniyoshi, Yasuo;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Kuniyoshi, Yasuo,"
https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00101910 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Lassaw, Ibram (1913–2003)

Ibram Lassaw was an Egyptian-born American sculptor of Russian-Jewish émigré parentage. He spent his childhood in Egypt, where he attended the French Lycée. He arrived with his family in the United States in 1921, and became a U.S. citizen in 1928. Lassaw started his study of sculpture at the age of thirteen at the Brooklyn's Children Museum. He then studied at the Clay Club from 1927 to 1932, and later at the °Beaux-Arts Institute of Design in New York. He also attended °City College of New York from 1931 to 1932. During the mid-1930s Lassaw worked briefly for the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP)[10], cleaning sculptural monuments around New York City. He subsequently joined the °Federal Art Project of the Works Programme Administration (WPA/FAP) as a teacher and sculptor until drafted into the army in 1942. He was one of the founding members of the °American Abstract Artists, and served as President

[10] See entry for Federal Art Project in Appendix 2.

of the organisation from 1946 to 1949. He took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35" and was a founding member of "The Club." During World War II, from 1942 to 1945, he served in the U.S. Army, where he acquired the welding techniques he later used in his sculpting. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Samuel Kootz Gallery in 1951, 1952, 1954, 1958, 1960, 1963 and 1964. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1953 and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Lassaw, Ibram;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Lassaw, Ibram;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Lassaw, Ibram;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Lassaw, Ibram;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 217; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Lassaw, Ibram," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00104926 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Leslie, Alfred (1927-)

Alfred Leslie (1927-) is a New York-born American painter, printmaker and filmmaker, of Jewish origin. He first achieved international success as one of the younger Abstract Expressionist painters. Leslie studied briefly at the °Art Students League. During World War II he served in the U.S. Coast Guard from 1945 to 1946. Between 1947 and 1949 he enrolled at New York University and studied with Tony Smith (1912-1980). In the early part of his career he took on a variety of manual jobs in order to support himself. He was included in the "Talent 1950" show at the Samuel Kootz Gallery. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1957. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954 and 1957. In the 1940s Leslie began experimenting with film. In 1959, together with the photographer Robert Frank (1924-2019) he directed the beat film *Pull My Daisy*, written and narrated by Jack Kerouac (1922-1969) and featuring, amongst others, Larry *Rivers, the French actress Delphine Seyrig (1932-1990), and the beat poet Allen Ginsberg (1926-1997). In 2001 he produced the film *The Cedar Bar*.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Leslie, Alfred;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Leslie, Alfred;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Leslie, Alfred;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 221; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Leslie, Alfred," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00108453 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Lewis, Norman (1909-1979)

Norman Wilfred Lewis was a New York-born African-American painter, scholar and teacher, of Bermudian descent. He studied at

Columbia University, at the John Reed Club Art School, and at the studio of African-American sculptor Augusta Savage (1892-1962) in Harlem. He worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1933 to 1935. During World War II he was a ship-lifter at Kaiser Shipyard in Vancouver, Canada. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Harlem Artists Guild in 1936, and later at Fisk University in 1939, followed by shows at the Willard Gallery in 1949, 1951, 1952, 1954 and 1956. In 1950 he attended the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Lewis, Norman;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Lewis, Norman;" Marika, Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 209; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Lewis, Norman," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00109044 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Lewitin, Landes (1892-1966)

Landes Lewitin was an American painter and engraver, born in Cairo, of Rumanian descent. He studied in Egypt, in Paris at the Académies Libres, and in New York at the °National Academy of Design and the °Art Students League. He lived in France from 1928 until 1939, when he settled in New York. His work was first exhibited at the "Salon des Indépendants" in Paris in 1937. In New York he had one-man shows at the Charles Egan Gallery in 1947 and 1949. His work also featured at the Rose Fried Gallery. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1953 and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. He was included in the Museum of Modern Art exhibition "16 Americans" in 1959. He was a "charter" member of "The Club."

(Sources: Philip Pavia, *Club Without Walls: Selections from the Journals of Philip Pavia*, ed. Natalie Edgar (New York: Midmarsh Arts Press, 2007), 139; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Lewitin, Landes," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00109051 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Liberte, Jean (1896-1965)

Jean Lewis Liberte was an Italian-American artist and art teacher, who emigrated to the United States in 1900 and became a U.S. citizen in 1932. He graduated from °Cooper Union in 1916 and studied at the °Art Students League in the 1920s. Liberte also attended the °National Academy of Design and the °Beaux-Arts Institute for a short time. From 1946 until his death, Liberte taught painting at the Art Students League.

(Source: Grove Art Online, s.v. "Liberte, Jean," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00109310 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Lippold, Richard (1915-2002)

Richard Lippold was a Milwaukee-born American sculptor of German parentage, who studied at the University of Chicago and graduated in industrial design from the °School of the Art Institute of Chicago. He worked until 1940 as an industrial draughtsman in Milwaukee. He had a keen interest in music and played the organ. He was also a sculptor, at first self-taught, producing spatial constructions, which were exhibited in New York in 1947 and 1948. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Willard Gallery in 1947, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1968 and 1973, and in Chicago at the Arts Club of Chicago in 1951 and 1953. He took part in the exhibitions "15 Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1952 and "Sculpture of the Twentieth Century" at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1953. He was included in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954. He taught at °Black Mountain College in 1948. He took part in the in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Lippold, Richard;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Lippold, Richard;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Lippold, Richard;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 225; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Lippold, Richard," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00110330 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Lipton, Seymour (1903-1986)

Seymour Lipton was a New York City-born American self-taught sculptor, who was initially trained as a dentist. Lipton was interested in art as an adolescent, but was encouraged instead to study electrical engineering. In 1922 and 1923 he pursued a course of study in the liberal arts at °City College of New York. Lipton graduated from Columbia University's dental school in 1927, after which he began to teach himself sculpture. In 1932 he became a full-time sculptor, whose works were first exhibited in a group show at the John Reed Club in New York in 1933-1934. His first solo shows, in New York, were at the A.C.A. Gallery in 1938, the Gallery St. Etienne in 1943, and at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1958 and 1962. Lipton took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street Show" and the 1954 "Stable Annual." From the early 1940s till 1958 he taught sculpture at various colleges, including °Cooper Union and the °New School (for Social Research), and became a visiting professor at Yale University. He took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Lipton, Seymour;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*. 6th ed., s.v. "Lipton, Seymour;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Lipton, Seymour;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Lipton, Seymour;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 213; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 229; George James, "Seymour

Lipton Dies; A Self-taught Sculptor," Obituaries, *New York Times*, December 7, 1986; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Lipton, Seymour," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00110348 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Loew, Michael (1907-1985)

Michael Loew was a New York City-born American artist, who in the late 1920s studied at the °Art Students League. As a recipient of a Sadie A. May Fellowship, Loew was able to continue his studies in France, where he attended the °Académie Scandinave and the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris. During the Depression he worked for the Mural Division of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). He was a member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), and later of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy as a Battalion Artist in the Pacific Theatre from 1943 to 1946. After the war, from 1947 to 1949, he studied at the Hans Hofmann School in New York and Provincetown. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Artists' Gallery in 1949, followed by shows at the Rose Fried Gallery in 1953, 1955, 1957 and 1959. He participated in the group shows of the American Abstract Artists. He took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1956. He was a member of "The Club."

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Loew, Michael;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 233; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Loew, Michael," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00111042 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Luks, George (1867-1933)

George Benjamin Luks was a Pennsylvania-born American painter and illustrator, who spent his childhood in the Pennsylvania mining town of Shenandoah. In 1883 he moved to Philadelphia and studied at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for a year. From 1885 he spent time in Europe, living most of the next decade in Düsseldorf, Munich, Paris and London, intermittently attending German and French academies. In 1894 he became an artist reporter for the *Philadelphia Press*, where he befriended Robert *Henri, William J. *Glackens, John *Sloan, and Everett *Shinn. In 1897 he began to paint in the style of the Ashcan School, and, as a member of "The Eight," he exhibited at the Macbeth Galleries. His best-known work is *The Wrestlers* (1905). He took part in the 1913 Armory Show and taught at the °Art Students League from 1920 to 1924.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Luks, George Benjamin;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Luks, George;" *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Art*, s.v. "Luks, George;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Luks, George;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. " Luks, George.")

MacDonald-Wright, Stanton (1890-1973)

Stanton MacDonald-Wright (pseudonym of Stanton Van Vranken) was a Virginia-born American painter, who spent a privileged adolescence in Santa Monica, California. He studied at the °Art Students League in 1904 and 1905. And in 1907 he went to Paris, where he was enrolled at the Sorbonne from 1908 to 1912. He also briefly studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, the °Académie Colarossi and the °Académie Julian. He exhibited for the first time at the Salon d'Automne in 1910. He met Morgan *Russell in 1911 and together they collaborated on developing their own theory of colour abstraction—Synchromism. They first exhibited their Synchromist works at the Neue Kunstsalon in Munich in 1913 and then at Bernheim-Jeune in Paris. They exhibited in New York at the Caroll Galleries in 1914. The movement was represented at the Armory Show in 1913. Macdonald-Wright had his first one-man show, in New York, at Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291 in 1917. In 1919 he returned to California, where he directed the Southern California region of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Programme Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1935 to 1937, and later served as a technical adviser for the Western region of the Federal Art Project.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "MacDonald-Wright, Stanton;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "MacDonald-Wright, Stanton;" *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Art*, s.v. "MacDonald-Wright, Stanton;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Macdonald-Wright, Stanton;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Macdonald-Wright, Stanton;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "MacDonald-Wright, Stanton," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00113285 [accessed March 1, 2019];)

McKee, Marjorie (dates unknown)

Marjorie McKee was an American painter, who studied painting in Chicago and then moved to New York, where she attended classes at the Hans Hofmann School. She took part in the show "The Women" at Art of This Century in 1945. She had a solo show, paired with Helen Schwinger, at Art of This Century from 24 December 1946 to 11 January 1947.

(Source: Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds., *Peggy Guggenheim: The Story of Art of This Century* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 341-342.)

McNeil, George (1908–1995)

George McNeil was an American painter, born in Queens, New York, into an Irish Catholic working-class family. He attended Brooklyn Tech High School and studied at the °Pratt Institute from 1927 to 1929, at the °Art Students League from 1930 to 1933 with Jan *Matulka, in the studio of Hans Hofmann from 1933 to 1936, and also at Colombia University. He was a member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). He travelled to Mexico in the late 1930s and early 1940s. He designed abstract murals for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) from 1935 to

1940. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy from 1943 to 1946. He had his first one-man show in 1941 in Havana, which he had visited during the war. He had a solo show at °Black Mountain College in 1947. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955 and 1956.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "McNeil, George;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 245; Grove Art Online, s.v. "McNeil, George," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00113566 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Marca-Relli, Conrad (1913-2000)

Conrad Marca-Relli, born Corrado Marcarelli in Boston, was an American painter, sculptor, printmaker and collage artist, of Italian origin, who moved with his family to New York City in 1926 and spent much of his childhood moving between the United States and Europe. Although he studied at °Cooper Union for a year in 1930, he was primarily self-taught. He worked as an illustrator for different magazines, and later supported himself by working for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP), first as a teacher and then at the Easel and Mural Divisions from 1935 to 1938. During World War II he served in the U.S. Army from 1941 till 1945. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Niveau Gallery in 1948 and 1950, and at The New Gallery in 1951. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. He was a founder member of the "The Club." He won the Logan Medal of the Arts in 1954.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Marca-Relli, Conrad;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Marca-Relli, Conrad;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Marca-Relli, Conrad;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Marca-Relli, Conrad;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 221; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 237; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Marca-Relli, Conrad," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00116160 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Matta, Robert (1911-2002)

Roberto Sebastián Antonio Matta Echaurren was a Chilean-born painter, sculptor, printmaker and draughtsman, from a wealthy background, educated at the Sacré Coeur Jesuit College at the Catholic University of Santiago de Chile, where he studied architecture from 1929 to 1931. In 1931 he went to work at the atelier of Le Corbusier (1887-1965) in Paris. At the end of 1934 he visited Spain, where he met the poet and playwright Frederico Garciá Lorca (1898-1936) and Salvador Dalí (1904-1989). The following year he went to Scandinavia, where he met the architect Alvar Aalto

(1898-1976), and to Soviet Russia where he worked on housing design projects. He was in London for a short time in 1936 and worked with Walter Gropius (1893-1969) and László Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946). In 1938 André Breton (1896-1966) invited him to take part in the "Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme." At the suggestion of his friend Gordon *Onslow Ford he began to paint. At the outbreak of World War II he went to New York, where he had his first solo exhibitions in the early 1940s at the Julien Levy Gallery and the Pierre Matisse Gallery. The Museum of Modern Art purchased his *Listen to the Living* (*Écoutez Vivre*) in 1941. The same year he made a trip in the company of Robert Motherwell to Mexico, where he was impressed by the landscape and the work of the Mexican muralists David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974), Diego Rivera (1886-1957), and José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949). Matta collaborated on the journals *View* (in 1941) and *VVV* (in 1942 and 1944). He took part in the exhibition "First Papers of Surrealism" in 1942. After his initial success in New York he began to attract the disapproval of Clement Greenberg (1909-1994) and the Surrealists. He returned to Europe in 1948, when the Cold War politics made his life increasingly difficult in the United States. In 1948 Breton expelled him from the Surrealist group. He lived in Rome, Paris, London, but travelled widely outside Europe. He returned briefly to Chile in 1970 when Salvador Allende (1908-1973) was in government, but lost his Chilean nationality when Allende was ousted.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Matta, Roberto;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. . "Matta, Roberto;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Matta Echaurren, Roberto Sebastian Antonio;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Matta (Echaurren), Roberto," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00118792 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Matter, Jeanne Mercedes (1913-2001)

Jeanne Mercedes Matter (née Carles) was an American artist, who grew up in Philadelphia, New York, and Europe. She studied at Bennett College in Millbrook, New York, and in New York City with Maurice *Sterne, Alexander Archipenko (1887–1964) and Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). She co-founded the New York Studio School. Matter became one of the original members of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). She also worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP), and assisted Fernand Léger (1891-1955) on his mural for the French Line passenger ship company. In 1939 she married Herbert Matter (1907-1984), a Swiss graphic designer and photographer. They became active in the emerging mid-century New York art scene, but in 1943 the Matters moved to California. Mercedes Matter took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the 1955 "Stable Annual."

(Source: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Carles, Arthur B., Jr.;" Philip Pavia, *Club Without Walls: Selections from the Journals of Philip Pavia*, ed. Natalie Edgar (New York: Midmarsh Arts Press, 2007), 139.)

Matulka, Jan (1890-1972)

Jan Matulka was a Czech-born American painter and printmaker, who in 1907 with his family settled in New York. Matulka began studying at the °National Academy of Design in 1908, graduating in 1917. Between 1917 and 1918 he travelled in the United States and the Caribbean as the first recipient of the Joseph Pulitzer National Traveling Scholarship. In the 1920s he travelled to Europe, where he opened a studio in Paris, while maintaining a studio in New York. In November 1926 he started to contribute illustrations to the left-wing magazine *New Masses*. He also started teaching at the °Art Students League, where his classes became popular. His students included Dorothy *Dehner, Burgoyne *Diller, and David *Smith. However, in 1931 conservative factions pushed him out of his position at the Art Students League. From 1934 to 1935 Matulka joined the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP)[11], and later the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). In 1936 he helped found the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), but refused to join the group. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Artists' Gallery, in 1925, at the °Whitney Studio Club in 1926 and 1929, at the Art Center in 1926, at Modern Gallery in 1927 and 1930, the Rehn Galleries in 1928, 1929, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1935, 1956, and at the ACA Gallery in 1944.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Matulka, Jan;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Matulka, Jan;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Matulka, Jan;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Matulka, Jan," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00119009 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Maurer, Alfred (1868-1932)

Alfred Maurer was a New York-born American painter, who studied at the °National Academy of Design from 1884 to 1887 with William Merritt Chase (1849-1916). In 1897 he went to Paris and briefly studied at the °Académie Julian. He resided in France from 1897 till 1914, during which time he participated in various independent salons. He exhibited in New York at Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291 in 1909. His work met with little critical or commercial success during his lifetime, but recognition came when in 1924 the Weyhe Gallery in New York gave him the first of several solo shows. He committed suicide in 1932 at the age of sixty-four.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Maurer, Alfred;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Maurer, Alfred H.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Maurer, Alfred.")

Mitchell, Joan (1925-1992)

Joan Mitchell was an American painter and printmaker, born in Chicago. She studied at Smith College in Massachusetts for two

[11] See entry for Federal Art Project in Appendix 2.

years, and then at the °Art Institute of Chicago, where she earned a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in 1947 and a Master of Fine Arts degree in 1950. She moved to Manhattan in 1947. Mitchell was awarded a $2,000 travelling fellowship by the °Art Institute of Chicago, which allowed her to study in Paris and Provence in 1948 and 1949. She returned to the United States in 1950. Her first solo shows, in New York, were at the St. Paul Gallery in 1950 and the New Gallery in 1952. She took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. In 1955 she left New York for France, living first in Paris and later outside the city in the village of Vétheuil in Val d'Oise. The first major feature on her working method, "Mitchell paints a picture" by Irving Sandler, appeared in *ARTnews* in October 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Mitchell, Joan;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Mitchell, Joan;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Mitchell, Joan;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Mitchell, Joan;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 229; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersery: New York School Press, 2000), 257; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Mitchell, Joan," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00123563 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Mintz, Raymond (1925-2008)

Raymond Mintz was an American artist of German descent, born in Clifton, New Jersey. He studied art both in the United States and France. He first showed in New York in 1950. Seven of his paintings were displayed at the Museum of Modern Art in 1951 in a presentation of new talent, "New Talent Exhibition at the Penthouse: Di Spirito, Kriesberg, Mintz." He moved to France in 1955, and subsequently to Greece. In 1969 he moved to Ireland.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2: 2294 (incomplete entry); *The Irish Times*, 12 April 2008.)

Morris, George L. K. (1905–1975)

George Lovett Kingsland Morris was an American sculptor, painter, printmaker, experimental artist, writer and editor, born into a privileged family in Manhattan. He graduated from Yale University in 1928, and from 1928 to 1929 studied with John *Sloan at the °Art Students League. In 1929 he travelled with Albert Eugene *Gallatin to Paris, where he continued his studies with Fernand Léger (1891-1955) and Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1966). He was a founding member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), and served as its President from 1948 to 1950. From 1937 through 1943 Morris was an editor, art critic, and patron of *Partisan Review*. He was a member of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Valentine Dudensing Gallery in 1933, followed by shows at the Museum of Living Art in 1935, the Passedoit Gallery in 1938, and the

Downtown Gallery in 1943, 1944, 1950, 1964 and 1967. He had a solo show at the Galerie Colette Allendy in Paris in 1946. His group shows included the AAA "Annuals."

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Morris, George L.K;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Morris, George L.K.;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Morris, George L. K.," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00126187 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Noland, Kenneth (1924-2010)

Kenneth Noland was an American painter, sculptor and occasional printmaker, born in Asheville, North Carolina. During World War II he enlisted in the U.S. Air Force from 1942 to 1946, after which he took advantage of the G.I. Bill to study art at °Black Mountain College, where he trained with Ilya *Bolotowsky. In 1948 and 1949, still under the G.I. Bill, he studied sculpture with Ossip Zadkine (1890-1967) in Paris, where he had his first one-man show at the Galerie Raymond Creuze in 1949. He returned to the United States in 1949, and then moved to Washington, D.C., where from 1949 to 1951 he taught at the Institute of Contemporary Arts.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Noland, Kenneth;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Noland, Kenneth;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Noland, Kenneth;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Noland, Kenneth;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Noland, Kenneth.")

Onslow Ford, Gordon (1912-2003)

Gordon Max Onslow Ford was born in England into a family of artists. His grandfather, Edward Onslow Ford (1852-1901), was a renowned Victorian sculptor. Gordon began painting at the age of eleven under the guidance of a family member. Following the death of his father, when he was fourteen, he was sent to the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth. In 1937 he resigned as a naval officer and moved to Paris to pursue painting full-time. He studied with André Lhote (1885-1962) and with Fernand Léger (1881-1955) for a short time. He met the Chilean architect Roberto *Matta, with whom he became friends. In 1938, André Breton (1896-1966) invited Onslow Ford to join the Surrealist group in Paris. At the outset of World War II, the Society for the Preservation of European Culture invited Onslow Ford to join the Surrealists in New York. As one of the few English-speaking Surrealists, he was asked to give a series of lectures at the °New School (for Social Research) in 1941, and he organised the lectures and the four Surrealist exhibitions, which complemented them. He had a major impact on young artists, including Jackson Pollock and Robert Motherwell. His first one-man shows, in New York, were at N.S.F.S.R. in 1940 and the Karl Nierendorf Gallery in 1946.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Onslow-Ford;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Onslow-Ford,

Gordon;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Onslow Ford, Gordon.")

Paalen, **Wolfgang** (1905-1959)

Wolfgang Robert Paalen was a Viennese painter, sculptor and art philosopher, born into a wealthy family of Jewish origin. His father, the inventor Gustav Robert Paalen, after converting to Protestantism and changing his name from Pollak to Paalen, became a member of the distinguished Viennese upper class of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Wolfgang Paalen was essentially a self-taught artist. In 1925 he exhibited at the Berlin Secession, while continuing his studies in aesthetics. After another year of studies, in Paris and Cassis, he visited the art school of Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) in Munich. In 1928 he decided to settle in Paris, where he studied for a short time with Fernand Léger (1881-1955) and in 1933 became a member of the "Abstraction-Création" group. He left the group in 1935 and joined the Surrealist movement, of which he was a prominent exponent until 1942. After his one-man show at the Guggenheim Jeune Gallery in London, he left Europe in 1939 and travelled to New York and later that year to Mexico. Whilst in exile in Mexico, he founded his own counter-Surrealist art magazine *Dyn*, and welcomed many visitors, including Roberto *Matta, Robert Motherwell, and Gordon *Onslow Ford. He committed suicide in 1959.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Paalen, Wolfgang;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Paalen, Wolfgang-Robert;" The Wolfgang Paalen Society, https://wolfgangpaalenorg.wordpress.com/biography/ [last accessed April 23, 2019].)

Pach, Walter (1883-1958)

Walter Pach was a New York-born American writer, teacher, painter and printmaker. In 1903 Pach graduated from °City College with a degree in art. He was a student of Leigh Hunt (1858-1937), William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), and Robert *Henri. In 1904 he went to Paris, where he became acquainted with the avant-garde. In 1912 Pach introduced the organisers of the Armory Show, Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928) and Walt *Kuhn, to artists and dealers in Paris and became their European agent. He chose some of the works for the show, including Duchamp's *Nude descending a Staircase, No. 2* (1913). In 1914 he introduced Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968) to the art collector Walter Arensberg (1878-1954) and helped them found the °Society of Independent Artists. In 1915 he organised a one-man show for Henri Matisse (1869-1954) at the Montross Gallery. He contributed articles to various magazines during the 1920s.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Pach, Walter;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Pach, Walter;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Pach, Walter.")

Pantuhoff, Igor (1911-1972)

Igor Pantuhoff, or Pantukhov, was a Russian-born American artist, who arrived with his family in New York in 1922. He studied at the °National Academy of Design and was a close friend of Lee *Krasner. During the 1930s he worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP).

(Source: Gail Levin, *Lee Krasner: A Biography* (New York: HarpersCollins, 2011), 59-61.)

Parker, Raymond (1922-1990)

Raymond "Ray" Parker was an American painter and jazz musician, born in Beresford, South Dakota. He studied at the University of Iowa in Iowa City, where he earned a Master in Fine Arts degree in 1948. From 1948 to 1951 he taught painting at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, and from 1955 at Hunter College in New York. He had his first one-man show at the Rochester Art Center, Minnesota, in 1949. In 1950 he took part in the "New Talent Exhibition in the Penthouse: Drumlevitch, King, Parker" at the Museum of Modern Art and in "Paintings Today" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. His work featured in the "Whitney Annual" of 1950, 1952, 1958, 1967, 1969, 1972 and 1973. He took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Parker, Raymond;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Parker, Ray;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Parker, Raymond," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00136210 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Pasilis, Felix (1922-)

Felix Pasilis is an Illinois-born American painter. In 1940 he enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps, as a weather forecaster, and was stationed in the Arctic for two years. From 1948 to the beginning of the 1950s he was a pupil of Hans Hofmann (1880-1966) in New York. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Hansa Gallery, of which he was a co-founder, in 1952, at the Urban Gallery in 1954 and 1955, and at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery in 1956. He took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Pasilis, Felix;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Pasilis, Felix," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00136593 [accessed March 1, 2019].

Porter, Fairfield (1907-1975)

Fairfield Porter was an American painter and art critic, who majored in fine art at Harvard University. In 1928 he moved to New York City, where he continued his studies at the °Art Students League with amongst others Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975). Between 1927 and 1932 he travelled extensively in Europe. In 1935 he began

to write art criticism and became an Associate Editor at *ARTnews* in 1951. He also frequently contributed to *The Nation*, and wrote a monograph on Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), published in 1959. He had one-man shows, in New York, at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery from 1951 to 1970. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1955.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Porter, Fairfield;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Porter, Fairfield;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Porter, Fairfield;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Porter, Fairfield;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 285.)

Pousette-Dart, Richard W. (1916-1992)

Richard Warren Pousette-Dart was a Minnesota-born American painter, sculptor and photographer, from an artistic background. His father, Nathaniel Pousette-Dart (1886-1965) was a painter and art writer, and his mother was a poet and musician. Pousette-Dart started painting at an early age and was mainly self-taught. He moved to New York in 1936 and became friendly with John Graham (ca.1886-1961) in 1938. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Artists' Gallery in 1941, followed by shows at the Willard Gallery in 1943, 1945 and 1956, at Art of This Century in 1947, and at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1948, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1964 and 1967. He was known to be independent and not interested in the downtown tavern scene, but in 1948 he attended gatherings at the "Subjects of the Artist" School, and in 1950 participated in the "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35." During the mid-1940s, Pousette-Dart also exhibited at 67 Gallery owned by Howard Putzel (1898-1945). In 1948 he joined the Betty Parsons Gallery**.** He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Pousette-Dart, Richard W.;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Pousette-Dart, Richard W.;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Pousette-Dart, Richard;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Pousette-Dart, Richard;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 289.)

Ray, Rudolf (1891-1984)

Rudolf Ray, born Rudolf Rapaport in Latvia, was a painter, who trained and worked in Vienna and arrived in America in 1942.

(Source: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 3:2713 (incomplete entry).)

Reinhardt, Ad (1913-1967)

Adolph Frederick "Ad" Reinhardt was an American painter, printmaker, collage artist and writer, born in Buffalo, New York. He grew up in New York City and from 1931 to 1935 studied on a

scholarship at Columbia University with Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996). He took painting classes as an undergraduate at Columbia University's Teachers College and after graduation began to study painting with Carl *Holty at the °American Artists School, while simultaneously studying portraiture at the °National Academy of Design. From 1936 until 1940 he worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP), in the Easel Division. Sponsored by Holty he became a member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA), with whom he exhibited during the next decade. He also became affiliated to the °Artists' Union and the °American Artists' Congress. He participated in several group exhibitions at Art of This Century, and had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Artists' Gallery in 1943. He joined the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1946 and stayed with the gallery for the rest of his life. During World War II he served as a U.S. Navy photographer from 1944 to 1945. His work was featured in the "Ideographic Picture" show, organised by Barnett Newman for Betty Parsons in 1947. He was associated with the vanguard *PM* newspaper. In 1944 the Gallatin Museum of Living Art[12] acquired his work. He was involved in the 1940 protest against the Museum of Modern Art, designing the leaflet *How Modern is the Museum of Modern Art*? He was also part of the protest against the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1950 and was one of the "The Irascibles." He participated in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35," and took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. He travelled to Europe for the first time in 1952.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Reinhardt, Ad;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Reinhardt, Ad;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Reinhardt, Ad;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Reinhardt, Ad;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Reinhardt, Ad;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 301.)

Resnick, Milton (1917-2004)

Milton (Rachmiel Milya) Resnick was a Ukraine-born American artist, of Jewish origin. His parents both came from wealthy families, but following the 1917 Russian Revolution were forced to abandon their property and assets. The family emigrated to America in 1922 and settled in Brooklyn. Resnick, against his father's wish, left home at seventeen to become an artist. In 1934 he studied at the °Pratt Institute evening art school in Brooklyn, and from 1935 to 1937 at the °American Artists School, working as the elevator boy in exchange for tuition, and in 1938 with Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). Resnick was enrolled in the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in 1939, in the Easel and Mural Divisions. He was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1940, and during World War II served in Iceland, Normandy, Northern Europe and the Rhineland until discharged in 1945. He then spent two years,

[12] See entry for Albert Eugene *Gallatin.

from 1946 to 1948, painting in Paris. His first one-man shows, in New York, were at the Poindexter Gallery in 1955, 1957 and 1959, and at the de Young Gallery in 1955. He participated in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. In 1949 Resnick became one of the founding members of "The Club." He wrote poetry, and was an inveterate reader, a brilliant speaker and a gifted storyteller. He also befriended John Graham (ca.1886-1961).

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Resnick, Milton;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Resnick, Milton;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 305; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Resnick, Milton," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00151285 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Rivers, Larry (1923-2002)

Larry Rivers, born Yitzroch Loiza Grossberg in New York**,** was an American painter, printmaker, sculptor, musician, filmmaker and occasional actor. His parents were both Jewish immigrants from Ukraine. He grew up in New York City and from 1940 to 1945 worked as a jazz saxophonist, changing his name to Larry Rivers in 1940. In 1944 he studied music theory and composition at the Juilliard School of Music, where he became friends with Miles Davis (1926-1991) and Charlie Parker (1920-1955). During World War II he served in the U.S. Army Corps from 1942 to 1943. He took up painting in 1945 and attended classes at the Hans Hofmann School in 1947 and 1948. He also earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in art education at New York University in 1951. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the Jane Street Gallery in 1949, followed by shows at the Tibor de Nagy Gallery from 1951 to 1954 and from 1957 to 1960. He took part in the 1953 "Ninth Street Show" and the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1955. He featured in the 1959 beat film *Pull My Daisy*, directed by Alfred *Leslie and Robert Frank (1924-2019).

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Rivers, Larry;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Rivers, Larry;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Rivers, Larry;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Rivers, Larry;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 313; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Rivers, Larry," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00153490 [accessed March 1, 2019]; Larry Rivers Foundation, http://www.larryriversfoundation.org [accessed March 4, 2019].)

Roesch, Kurt (1905-1984)

Kurt Albert Roesch was a German-born American painter. He was born in Berlin, where he studied at the Academy of Fine Arts from 1925 to 1929. In 1933 he emigrated to the United States, where he first settled in New York State and later moved to Connecticut. He taught at Sarah Lawrence College from 1934 to 1972. He had his

first one-man shows in Berlin at the Berlin Secession in 1928 and at the Gallery A. Flechtheim in 1930, and, in New York, at the °New School (for Social Research) in 1934.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Roesch, Kurt;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Roesch, Kurt," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00154593 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Rose, Herman (1909-2007)

Herman Rose (pseudonym of Herman Rappaport) was a Brooklyn-born American painter, who originally trained as a draughtsman and studied at the °National Academy of Design in 1926. From 1934 till 1939 he worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in the Mural Division under Arshile Gorky (1904-1948). He had his first solo show, in New York, at the Charles Egan Gallery in 1946.

(Source: Grove Art Online, s.v. "Rose, Herman," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00155813 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Rosenborg, Ralph (1913-1992)

Ralph Rosenborg, was a Brooklyn-born American artist, of Swedish parentage. He began his art training while still at high school and won a scholarship to Saturday art classes at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. From 1930 to 1933 he continued to study privately with Henriette Reiss, an associate of Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944). Rosenborg's skills were put to use in the Teaching, Easel, and Mural Divisions of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). While in the Mural Division he worked alongside Arshile Gorky (1904-1948). In 1936 he became a founding member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA). He also joined "The Ten." In the late 1930s Rosenborg worked as a guard at the °Museum of Non-Objective Painting. He had one-man shows, in New York, at the Eighth St. Playhouse in 1935, the Karl Nierendorf Gallery in 1939, the Willard Gallery in 1941, and The Pinacotheca in 1945. He took part in "Studio 35" evening discussions on avant-garde art subjects, and participated in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Source: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Rosenborg, Ralph.")

Roszak, Theodore (1907-1981)

Theodore Roszak was an American sculptor, draughtsman, painter, and printmaker, of Polish origin, born in Poznan, who emigrated with his parents to the United States in 1909. From 1925 to 1926 he studied at the °School of the Art Institute of Chicago. In 1930 he won the Logan Medal of the Arts and moved to New York City, where he attended classes at the °National Academy of Design, first with Charles *Hawthorne and later with George *Luks. He also

attended classes in logic and philosophy at Columbia University. In 1927 he resumed his study at the Art Institute of Chicago. Roszak had a studio in New York City in 1932 and worked as an artist for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) during the Depression. His first one-man show consisted of lithographs and was held in 1928 at the Allerton Gallery in Chicago. In 1929 Roszak was awarded a fellowship for European study and travelled to Europe, spending six months in Prague, where Czech industrial designers introduced him to the principles of the Bauhaus. He also visited Paris as well as cities in Italy, Austria, and Germany. His first solo shows of "constructions," in New York, were at the Julien Levy Gallery and at the Artists' Gallery in 1941. During World War II he taught aircraft mechanics and built aeroplanes. He was included in the exhibition "Fourteen Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1946, and his exhibited sculpture was purchased by the museum the following year. He was a signatory of the Open Letter of 20 May 1950 addressed to Roland L. Redmond, President of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and one of "The Irascibles."

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Rozsak, Theodore;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Roszak, Theodore;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Roszak, Theodore;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Roszak, Theodore;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Roszak, Theodore," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T074075 [accessed February 28, 2019]; Theodore Roszak, https://www.theodoreroszak.com [accessed April 23, 2019].)

Russell, Alfred (1920-2007)

Alfred Russell was a Chicago-born American artist, who studied at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor as well as at the °Art Students League and Columbia University in New York. He also studied at Atelier 17 in Paris with Stanley William *Hayter. He was included in the "Talent 1950" show at the Samuel Kootz Gallery. He had solo shows, in New York, at the Peridot Gallery and was included in group shows at the Sidney Janis Gallery.

(Source: Alfred Russell Biography, http://www.parnasse.com/alfred.htm [accessed March 17, 2019].)

Russell, Morgan (1886-1953)

Morgan Russell was a New York-born American painter and sculptor. With Stanton *Macdonald-Wright, he was the originator of Synchromism. He initially studied architecture, but from 1903 to 1905 switched to sculpture at the °Art Students League and posed as a model for the sculpture class. With financial help from Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875-1942) he travelled to Europe in 1906 to study in Paris and Rome. In 1907, after returning to New York City, Russell studied painting at the New York School of Art with Robert *Henri. He returned to Paris in 1909, where he studied at Matisse's art school. He had his first solo shows in 1913, at Galerie Bernheim-Jeune in Paris and at the Neue Kunstsalon in Munich. By 1930 he

had ceased to paint abstract works and begun to paint large-scale religious works. He returned to the United States in 1946. His first one-man show in New York was at the Rose Fried Gallery in 1953.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Russell, Morgan;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Russell, Morgan;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Russel, Morgan;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Russell, Morgan.")

Ryder, Worth (1884-1960)

Worth Ryder was an American landscape and portrait painter, etcher, curator and art professor. He studied at the University of California in Berkeley, at the °Art Students League in New York, and subsequently at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich and the University of Munich. In 1911 he returned to California, where he taught at the California School of Arts and Crafts (now California College of the Arts) until 1918. From 1921 to 1927 Ryder continued his art studies in Germany, France, and Italy. One of his teachers was Hans Hofmann (1880-1966), and Ryder was instrumental in bringing Hofmann to the United States, where he had his first solo show at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor and taught during the 1930 and 1931 summer sessions at Berkeley.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 3:2866; Worth Ryder is mentioned as a former student of Hans Hofmann in "Hofmann, Hans" by Cynthia Goodman in Grove Art Online, s.v. "Hofmann, Hans," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T038483 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Sage, Kate (1898-1963)

Kate Linn Sage was an American painter and poet, born in Albany, New York, into a wealthy family. Her father, Henry M. Sage, was a five-term State Senator. During her childhood Kate travelled extensively with her mother in Europe. She took courses at the Corcoran Art School in Washington, D.C., after which she studied art in Italy, in Rome at the British Academy and at the Scuola Libera delle Belle Arti. In 1937 she moved to Paris, where, exposed to Surrealist art and artists, she began to paint in earnest. At the beginning of World War II, Sage sailed back to the United States and immediately set up plans to help the Surrealists immigrate and establish themselves in the United States by means of art exhibitions. Sage had her own solo show, her first in the United States, at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in June 1940. She was married to Prince Ranieri di San Faustino from 1925 to 1935, and married Yves Tanguy (1900-1955) in August 1940. After Tanguy's death in 1955 she suffered from severe depression and began to go blind. She stopped painting in 1958, after which she devoted herself to poetry. She committed suicide in 1963.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Sage, Kate;" *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Sage, Kate;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v.

"Sage, Kate;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Sage, Kate;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Sage, Kate,"
https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00159028
[accessed February 28, 2019].)

Schamberg, Morton (1881-1918)

Morton Livingston Schamberg was an American-born painter and photographer, the youngest child in a German Jewish family. He first trained as an architect at the University of Pennsylvania, and then studied painting at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, from 1903 to 1906, under William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) with whom he travelled to Europe. From 1907 to 1909 he lived mostly in Paris, where he became acquainted with the works of the avant-garde. He participated in the 1913 Armory Show. He was closely associated with the New York Dada circle gathered around the art collector Walter Arensberg (1878-1954). He died during the 1918 influenza pandemic, aged thirty-seven.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Schamberg, Morton;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Schamberg, Morton;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Schamberg, Morton Livingston;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Schamberg, Morton,"
https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00162278
[accessed February 28, 2019].)

Schanker, Louis (1903–1981)

Louis Schanker was an American-born painter and engraver, who grew up in an orthodox Jewish environment in New York. He studied at °Cooper Union, at the °Educational Alliance and the °Art Students League, where he frequented Mark Rothko, Barnett Newman, and Milton *Avery. He also knew the *Soyer brothers and Adolph Gottlieb with whom he shared a studio in New York City. In 1931 and 1932 he attended classes at the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris, and travelled in France, Italy, and Spain. He had his first show, in New York, at the Contemporary Art Gallery in 1933, and exhibited at the Whitney Museum in 1936. He participated in the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP)[13] and then the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). During World War II he was a ship-fitter from 1941 to 1945. He was a "voting" member of "The Club." He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" of 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Schanker, Louis;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 333; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Schanker, Louis,"
https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00162290 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

[13] Se entry for Federal Art Project in Appendix 2.

Schwankovsky, John de St. Vrain (1885-1974)

Very little is known about Frederick John de St. Vrain Schwankovsky, who was a painter, teacher, writer and illustrator, from Detroit. He attended the °Art Students League and the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and then moved to Southern California in 1917, where he painted stage scenery. From 1919 to 1947 he was head of the art department at Manual Arts High School in Los Angeles. Schwankovsky was a partisan of the Communist Party as well as of the Theosophist Society.

(Source: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who Was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 3:2947.)

Seliger, Charles (1926-2009)

Charles Seliger, originally Charles Marvin Zekowski, was a Manhattan-born American painter, printmaker and draughtsman, who at the age of fourteen adopted his mother's maiden name, Seliger. He had a peripatetic childhood and began drawing at an early age. He was self-taught but much influenced by Amédée Ozenfant's *Foundations of Modern Art*. He left school as a young teenager and worked in a photography studio in Manhattan. In 1943 Seliger met and befriended Jimmy *Ernst, through whom he was drawn into the circle of the New York avant-garde. His paintings attracted the attention of Howard Putzel (1898-1945), who included Seliger's work in his 1945 exhibition "A Problem for Critics." Seliger was only nineteen at the time. He was one of the youngest artists to show at Art of This Century, where he had his first solo show in 1945 and where he exhibited until 1947. He joined the Willard Gallery in 1950. He took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1957. He was extremely well read with a wide-ranging knowledge of art, history, and science.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Seliger, Charles;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Seliger, Charles;" William Grimes, "Charles Seliger, Abstract Expressionist, Dies at 83," *New York Times*, October 9, 2009.)

Seligmann, Kurt (1900-1962)

Kurt Leopold Seligmann was a Swiss-born American painter, engraver, printmaker, sculptor, stage designer and writer, the son of a successful furniture department store owner. In the 1920s he studied at the École des Beaux-Arts in Geneva and at the Academia di Belli Arti in Florence. In 1929 he moved to Paris, where he remained till 1938. He became associated with the Surrealists and joined "Abstraction-Création." He did not formally join the Surrealist movement until 1937, but participated in their exhibitions throughout the 1930s. In 1939 at the outbreak of the war he emigrated to the United States, and later acquired American citizenship. Seligmann was the first European Surrealist to arrive in New York, ostensibly for an exhibition of his work at the Karl Nierendorf Gallery. Once in New York, he began a concerted effort to aid his Surrealist

colleagues left behind in France and bring them to safety. During the war years he associated with other exiled European artists, but also befriended many American artists and became a close friend of the art historian, Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996). He had his first one-man shows, in New York, in 1939 at the Wakefield Gallery and the Karl Nierendorf Gallery, followed by a show at the °New School (for Social Research) in 1940, and at the Karl Nierendorf Gallery in 1941.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Seligmann, Kurt;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Seligmann, Kurt;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Seligmann, Kurt;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Seligmann, Kurt;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Seligmann, Kurt;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Seligmann, Kurt," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00167372 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Shahn, Ben (1898-1969)

Ben Shahn was a Lithuanian-born American painter, photographer, printmaker, book illustrator and lithographer, of Jewish origin, whose family emigrated to the United States in 1906. Shahn originally trained as a lithographer, working as an apprentice in Hessenberg's Lithography Shop in Manhattan, while in the evenings attending high school in Brooklyn. In 1916 he enrolled in a life-drawing class at the °Art Students League. After studying biology, first at New York University in 1919 and then at New York °City College from 1919 to 1922, he entered the °National Academy of Design to pursue his artistic career. After travelling with his wife, Bernarda Bryson (1903-2004), an artist in her own right, to North Africa, Spain, Italy and France in 1924 and 1925, he moved to Brooklyn Heights, where he met the photographer Walker Evans (1903-1974), and began sharing a studio with him. His first one-man show, in New York, was at the Downtown Gallery in 1930. In the 1930s Shahn joined the °Artists' Union, worked for *Art Front*, and enrolled in the °American Artists' Congress. In 1933 he assisted Diego Rivera (1886-1957) on the frescoes of the Rockefeller Center in New York. During the 1930s and 1940s he painted murals for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) and was also employed by the Farm Security Administration (FSA) from 1935 to 1938, to document the plight of American farm labourers.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Shahn, Ben;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Shahn, Ben;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Shahn, Ben;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Shahn, Ben;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Shahn, Ben;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Shahn, Ben," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00168349 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Shinn, Everett (1876-1953)

Everett Shinn was a New Jersey-born American painter, illustrator, designer, playwright and film director. He was a member of the

Ashcan School and exhibited with "The Eight." He studied industrial design at the Spring Garden School in Philadelphia from 1888 to 1890. In 1903 he became an illustrator at the *Philadelphia Press* and at the same time attended the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where he met Robert *Henri, John *Sloan, William *Glackens and George *Luks. In 1897 he moved to New York. He visited Paris in 1901 and became inspired by the theatre scenes of Édouard Manet (1832-1983) and Edgar Degas (1834-1917). He had several one-man shows at the beginning of the twentieth century. He participated in the exhibition of "The Eight" at the Macbeth Galleries in New York in 1908. Despite his success as a painter, Shinn abandoned painting in 1913 to become a playwright, film director and interior designer. Most of his literary projects failed and he eventually returned to commercial art.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Shinn, Everett;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Shinn, Everett;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Shinn, Everett;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Shinn, Everett;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Shinn, Everett.")

Sloan, John (1871-1951)

John Sloan was a Pennsylvania-born American painter and etcher, one of the founders of the Ashcan School and a member of "The Eight." He studied at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and worked as a commercial artist first with the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from 1892 to 1895 and then the *Philadelphia Press* from 1895 to 1903. He earned his living through magazine illustrations until 1916. His association with Robert *Henri led him to paint in oil and become interested in depicting city life. In 1904 he followed Henri to New York, where he stayed for the rest of his life. Sloan participated in the 1913 Armory Show and served as a member of the organising committee. In 1914 he started teaching at the °Art Students League, where for eighteen years he was a mentor to many "advanced" artists. In 1939 he published a memoir/aesthetic treatise, *Gist of Art*.

(Source: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Sloan, John;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Sloan, John;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Sloan, John," "Ashcan School," and "Eight, the;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Sloan, John;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Sloan, John.")

Smith, David (1906-1965)

David Roland Smith was an Indiana-born American sculptor, painter, draughtsman and photographer. Although virtually untrained in sculpting, he is considered one of the most significant American sculptors of the twentieth century. In 1924 he attended Ohio University for one year, then briefly attended the University of Notre Dame in Indiana. He also briefly studied art and poetry at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. In 1926 he moved to New York, where he met the artist Dorothy *Dehner, to whom he

was married from 1927 to 1952. His formal art training began in 1926, when he enrolled at the °Art Students League to study painting and drawing. He studied with John *Sloan and Jan *Matulka. He became friendly with Adolph Gottlieb and Milton *Avery. Together with them he participated in the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in New York. The relationships endured until Smith moved to Bolton, New York, near Lake George, in 1940. His most significant early connection was probably with John Graham (ca.1886-1961), through whom he met Stuart Davis (1892-1964), Arshile Gorky (1904-1948), and Willem de Kooning. By the mid-1930s Smith was devoting himself increasingly to sculpture. After 1950, when a Guggenheim grant provided more financial security, his sculpture became more ambitious. From the 1950s onwards Smith received a considerable amount of favourable critical attention, but sold few works. He was given continuing critical support from his friend Clement Greenberg (1909-1994). He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at the East River Gallery in 1938, followed by shows at Skidmore College in 1939, 1943, 1946, at the Neumann-Willard Gallery in 1940, and then the Willard Gallery in 1940, 1943, 1946, 1947, 1959, 1951, 1954, 1955 and 1956. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" of 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957. He died aged 59 in a car accident in 1965. He took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35."

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Smith, David;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Smith, David;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Smith, David" and "Dehner, Dorothy;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Smith, David;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Smith, David;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 345.)

Sobel, Janet (1894–1968)

Janet Sobel (née Jennie Lechovsky) was born in the Ukraine and in 1908 with her mother and siblings came to the United States, where they settled in New York City. She was entirely self-taught. In 1937 she began experimenting with the art supplies of her son, Sol Sobel, a student of Hans Hofmann (1880-1966). Janet Sobel was included in group shows at the Arts Club of Chicago, the Brooklyn Museum, the Mortimer Brandt Gallery, before her solo debut, in New York, at the Puma Gallery in 1944. She was later included in Peggy Guggenheim's 1945 show "The Women" at Art of This Century, where her work caught the attention of Clement Greenberg (1909-1994) and Jackson Pollock. She was given a solo show at Art of This Century in January 1946.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Sobel, Janet;" Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds. *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2004), 328-329; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Sobel, Janet," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00171448 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Solman, Joseph (1909-2008)

Joseph Solman was an American painter, printmaker, and instructor, of Jewish origin, born in Vitebsk, the hometown of Marc Chagall (1887-1985) and Benjamin *Kopman. He attended the °National Academy of Design. With Mark Rothko he led "The Ten," and was instrumental in the breakaway from the Gallery Secession.

(Sources: *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Solman, Joseph;" Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art – 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 3:3104; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Art Front" https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2088304 [accessed on February 28, 2019]; s.v. "Rothko, Mark," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00156585 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Soyer, Isaac (1907[14]-1981) and **Raphael** (1899-1987)

The Schoar brothers, Raphael, his twin brother Moses (1899-1974), and Isaac, were members of a Russian-born American family of painters of Jewish origin. They came to the United States in ca.1913, where they settled in New York and changed their surname to Soyer. They all studied painting at °Cooper Union and the °National Academy of Design. Raphael and Moses also studied at the °Educational Alliance Art School. Each brother also had a successful career as a teacher. Raphael Soyer had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Daniel Gallery in 1929. By the mid-1930s he had become a leading advocate of realism. Moses and Raphael participated in the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP). All three brothers became American citizens and joined the °American Artists' Congress.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Soyer, Isaac, Soyer, Raphael, and Soyer, Moses;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Soyer, Isaac, Soyer, Raphael, and Soyer, Moses;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Soyer;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Soyer, Raphael;" Grove Art Online, "Soyer, Isaac, Soyer, Raphael, and Soyer, Moses," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T080239 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Stamos, Theodoros (1922-1997)

Theodoros Stamos was a New York-born American painter and illustrator, of Greek immigrant parentage. He won a scholarship to the °American Artists School, where he studied sculpture. In 1939 he abandoned sculpture to devote himself to painting, a medium in which he was entirely self-taught. During the late 1930s and early 1940s Stamos held a variety of odd jobs. In 1941 he opened a framing shop in New York, which he ran until 1948 and where he met Arshile Gorky (1904-1948) and Fernand Léger (1881-1955), and framed pictures by Paul Klee (1879-1940) for the Nierendorf

[14] Some sources give 1902 as Isaac Soyer's date of birth. Ann Lee Morgan in *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists* mentions 1907 as does the Whitney Museum of American Art database and Joan Marter in *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art.*

Gallery. In 1943 Betty Parsons gave him a solo exhibition at the Wakefield Bookshop Gallery. By the mid-1940s, his career was becoming well established: he exhibited at the °Whitney Museum annually from 1945 to 1951, at the Carnegie Institute and the °Art Institute of Chicago in 1947, and at the Museum of Modern Art in 1948. He was one of "The Irascibles." He took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street Show." He also took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35." He taught at °Black Mountain College from 1950 to 1954, and at the °Art Students League from 1955 to 1975. He was a friend of Mark Rothko and was one of three executors of the Rothko Estate, which involved him in a lengthy trial brought by the guardians of the Rothko children. Stamos and the other executors were found guilty of negligence and impropriety, and were imposed a hefty fine. Stamos's reputation was severely dented by the case.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Stamos, Theodoros;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Stamos, Theodoros;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Stamos, Theodoros; *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Stamos, Theodoros;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 349; Lee Seldes, *The Legacy of Mark Rothko*; Grove Art Online, "Stamos, Theodoros," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00174257 [accessed March 1, 2019]; Roberta Smith, "Theodoros Stamos, 74, Abstract Painter, Dies," Obituary, *New York Times*, February 4, 1997.)

Stankiewicz, Richard (1922-1983)

Richard Peter Stankiewizc was a Philadelphia-born American sculptor, who grew up in Detroit. He worked in the Civilian Conservation Corps and served in the U.S. Navy from 1941 to 1947. He then moved to New York to study painting at the Hofmann School of Fine Arts and became attracted to sculpture. In 1950 he spent a year in Paris, where he briefly studied with Fernand Léger (1891-1955) and then with Ossip Zadkine (1890-1967). He returned to New York in 1951 and co-founded the co-operative Hansa Gallery. His first solo show, in New York, was at the Hansa Gallery in 1953. He showed at the Stable Gallery from 1959 to 1963.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American* Artists, s.v. "Stankiewicz, Richard;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. " Stankiewicz, Richard;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Stankiewicz, Richard.")

Steinberg, Saul (1914-1999)

Saul Steinberg was a Romanian-born American painter, sculptor, draughtsman, cartoonist and illustrator, of Jewish origin, who became well known for his work in *The New Yorker*. In 1932 he entered the University of Bucharest and in 1933 enrolled at the Politecnico di Milano to study architecture, obtaining his degree in 1940. He began contributing cartoons to the humoristic newspaper *Bertoldo* in 1936, but two years later the anti-Semitic racial laws forced him to start seeking refuge in another country. In 1941 he fled to the Dominican Republic, where he spent a year awaiting a U.S. visa. By then his drawings had appeared in several American

periodicals—his first contribution to *The New Yorker* was published in October 1941. Steinberg arrived in New York City in July 1942. In 1943 he enlisted in the U.S. Navy and became a U.S. citizen, and in 1944 he married the Romanian-born painter Hedda *Sterne. He covered the Nuremburg Trials as a war correspondent for *The New Yorker* in 1946. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Wakefield Gallery in 1943, followed by shows at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1950, 1952, 1966, 1969, 1973 and 1976, and at the Sidney Janis Gallery in 1952, 1966, 1969, 1973 and 1976. After World War II Steinberg continued to publish drawings in *The New Yorker* and other periodicals, including *Fortune*, *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. At the same time, he embarked on an exhibition career in galleries and museums. In 1946 he was included in "Fourteen Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art. His many publications included *The Art of Living* (1949), *Passport* (1954), and *Documents* (1979).

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Steinberg, Saul;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Steinberg, Saul;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Steinberg, Saul;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Steinberg, Saul;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Steinberg, Saul," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T081215 [accessed February 28, 2019]; The Saul Steinberg Foundation, http://saulsteinbergfoundation.org/chronology/ [last accessed April 23, 2019].)

Stephan, John (1906–ca.1994-1995)

John Walter Stephan was an American painter, who studied at the University of Illinois in the 1930s, at the °Art Institute of Chicago, and frequented the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Paris. He owned the magazine *The Tiger's Eye*, which was widely read in New York art circles and was influential in promoting avant-garde art and literature. He took part in the 1951 "Ninth Street Show."

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Abstract Expressionism;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 357.)

Sterne, Hedda (1910-2011)

Hedda Sterne (née Hedwig Lindenberg) was a Romanian-born American artist of Jewish origin. She had a worldly education and knowledge of several languages. She studied art in Bucharest and in Paris, where she frequented the studios of Fernand Léger (1881-1955) and André Lhote (1885-1962), and the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière. She arrived in New York in October 1941. She became a close friend of Peggy Guggenheim (1898-1979) and frequented the Surrealists she had known in Paris. She had her first solo show in 1943 at the Wakefield Gallery, followed by shows at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1947, 1948, 1950, 1953, 1954, 1957, 1958, 1961, 1965, 1968, and 1970s. Over subsequent decades her work was shown in numerous solo shows and countless group exhibitions. In 1942 Sterne was included in the seminal exhibition

"The First Papers of Surrealism" at the Whitelaw Reid Mansion in midtown Manhattan. By 1943 her work was regularly shown at Art of This Century, including the 1943 "Exhibition by 31 Women." Sterne divorced her husband, Friederich Sterne (1905-1952), in 1943 and married fellow-Romanian Saul *Steinberg in 1944. She took part in the 1950 "Artists' Sessions at Studio 35." She was the only female artist included in the picture of "The Irascibles" published in *Life* magazine in January 1951. She took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1955.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Sterne, Hedda;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Sterne, Hedda;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Steinberg, Saul;" Lee Hall, *Betty Parsons: Artist, Dealer, Collector* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 182-187; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Sterne, Hedda," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2086086 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Sterne, Maurice (1878-1957)

Maurice Sterne was a Latvian-born American sculptor, painter and printmaker, of Jewish origin, who began his career as a draughtsman and painter. He arrived with his family in New York in 1889, and from 1894 to 1899 attended the °National Academy of Design where he studied under Alfred *Maurer and Thomas Eakins (1844-1916). He won a scholarship in 1904, which enabled him to spend the rest of the decade in Europe. He exhibited his prints and drawings at Paul Cassierer's gallery in Berlin in 1910. In 1933 he was given a retrospective exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. From 1934 to 1936 he lived in San Francisco, where he taught at the California School of Fine Arts. In the mid-1930s he was given the prestigious °Federal Art Project mural commission of a series of twenty scenes on the theme "Man's Struggle for Justice" for the Justice Department building in Washington, D.C.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Sterne, Maurice;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Sterne, Maurice;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Sterne, Maurice;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Sterne, Maurice," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T081358 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Stettheimer, Florine (1871-1944)

Florine Stettheimer, born in Rochester, New York, was an American painter and designer of Jewish origin, from a wealthy background. Stettheimer travelled frequently to Europe with her mother and sisters, spending time in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and France. At the age of twenty-one she enrolled at the °Art Students League to study painting. She continued her art studies in Berlin, Munich, and Stuttgart. At the outbreak of the First World War she returned to New York, where in the family residence on the Upper West Side at West 76th Street, in collaboration with her mother and sisters, she hosted cultural gatherings on a regular basis. Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), Charles Demuth (1883-1935), Albert Gleizes (1881-1953), Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), Francis Picabia (1879-1953),

Man Ray (1890-1976), Morton *Schamberg, Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), Carl Van Vechten (1880-1964), and many others frequented the Stettheimer's salon. In 1916 Stettheimer exhibited at M. Knoedler & Co., but sold no work. The reviews were mixed and she never showed her work in a public gallery again. The sets and costumes she designed in 1929 for the opera *Four Saints in Three Acts* of the American composer Virgil Thomson (1896-1989), with *libretto* by the American modern art collector and writer Gertrude Stein (1874-1946), were, however, duly acknowledged.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Stettheimer, Florine;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Stettheimer, Florine;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Stettheimer, Florine," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2022043 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Still, Clyfford (1904-1980)

Clyfford Still was an American painter, born in North Dakota. He was only briefly enrolled at the °Art Students League in 1925 and mainly self-taught. He graduated from Spokane University in 1933 and later earned a Master of Arts degree at Washington State College (now University), where he also taught. He was invited to spend the summers of 1934 and 1935 at the Trask Foundation artists' community "Yaddo" in Saratoga Springs, New York, where he was able to paint in total freedom. During World War II Still worked from 1941 till the summer of 1943 as a steel checker for the U.S. Navy in the making of submarine tenders. He later worked as a Materials Release Engineer for Hammond Aircraft. During this time he devoted himself mainly to the war effort, but still completed a number of major paintings. In 1943 he had his first one-man show at the San Francisco Museum of Art.

Still moved to New York in 1945, where he was given a one-man show at Art of This Century in 1946. One of his large paintings had already been selected for the 1943 "Autumn Salon" at Art of This Century. In the autumn of 1946 he began teaching at the California School of Fine Arts (now San Francisco Art Institute), and became influential in the development of Abstract Expressionism in the Bay Area. He became a close friend of Mark Rothko and was involved in the idea of setting up a new type of art school, which came to be the short-lived "Subjects of the Artist" School. He had a first solo show, followed by others, at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1947. His work featured in the exhibition "15 Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1952.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of* Art, s.v. "Still, Clyfford (E.);" *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Still, Clyfford;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Still, Clifford; *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Still, Clyfford;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Still, Clyfford.")

Tamayo, Rufino (1899-1991)

Rufino del Carmen Arellanes Tamayo was a Mexican painter, printmaker, sculptor and collector, of Zapotec origin. In 1911, after his parents' death, Tamayo lived with his aunt in Mexico City. Although he studied at the Escuela Nacional de Artes Plasticas at San Carlos from 1917 to 1921, he was essentially self-taught. After the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), Tamayo devoted himself to creating a distinct identity in his work, in which he expressed what he viewed as the “traditional” Mexico. He was opposed to the ideological current represented by Diego Rivera (1886-1957), David Alfonso Siqueiros (1896-1974) and José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949), whose overt political art he eschewed. In 1935 Tamayo joined the Liga de Escritores y Artistas Revolucionarios (LEAR). Although he did not agree with Siqueiros and Orozco, the three artists were chosen along with four others to represent their art in the first °American Artists’ Congress in New York, where he lived intermittently until 1949. He had his first show, in New York, at the Valentine Gallery, and later had his work displayed at M. Knoedler & Co. and the Marlborough Gallery.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Tamayo, Ruffino;” *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. “Tamayo, Rufino;” Michael Brenson, “Rufino Tamayo, a Leader in Mexican Art, Dies at 91,” Obituaries, *New York Times*, June 25, 1991.)

Tchelitchew, Pavel (1898-1957)

Pavel Tchelitchew was a Russian-born painter, set and costume designer, of an aristocratic landowner background. He was educated privately and started drawing at an early age. He attended art classes at the University of Moscow from 1916 to 1918. He moved south in 1918 in order to avoid the Revolution and studied at the Kiev Academy until 1920. In 1920 he moved to Odessa and in 1921 to Berlin, where he supported himself financially with theatre work. In 1923 he settled in Paris, where he stayed until 1934, when he emigrated to the United States. Tchelitchew earned a reputation as one of the most innovative stage designers of his time. From 1940 to 1947 he contributed illustrations to the Surrealist magazine *View*. He had his first solo shows, in New York, at the Julien Levy Galleries in 1934, 1937 and 1938, at the Durlacher Brothers Gallery in 1942, 1945 and 1951, and, in Chicago, at the Arts Club of Chicago in 1935 and 1938. He became a U.S. citizen in 1952, just before he moved to Italy.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. “Tchelitchew, Pavel;” *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. “Tchelitchew, Pavel;” *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. “Tchelitchew, Pavel;” *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. “Tchelitchew, Pavel;” *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Tchelitchew, Pavel.”)

Tobey, Mark (1890-1976)

Mark George Tobey was a Wisconsin-born American painter from a Congregationalist background. In 1893 the family settled in Chicago, where he studied at the °Art Institute of Chicago from 1906 to 1908. He was, however, was mostly self-taught. In 1911 he moved to New York City, where he worked as a fashion illustrator for the magazine *McCall's*. In 1925 he went to Paris, where he stayed for two years. In 1931 he took up a position at Dartington Hall, a progressive arts centre and school in Devon, England. He returned to the United States before the start of World War II. His first one-man show, in New York, was at M. Knoedler & Co. in 1917. He became a follower of the Bahá'í faith in 1918. He was included in the 1930-31 exhibition "Painting and Sculpture by Living Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art. His solo show, in New York, at the Willard Gallery in 1944 marked the start of his national recognition, followed by shows at the Willard Gallery in 1945, 1946, 1947, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1954 and 1955. He was included in the Museum of Modern Art exhibitions "Romantic Painting in America" in 1943 and "Fourteen Americans" in 1946. Tobey participated in "The Western Round Table on Modern Art" in 1949.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Tobey, Mark;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Tobey, Mark;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Tobey, Mark;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Tobey, Mark;" Committee Mark Tobey, http://www.cmt-marktobey.net/bio.html [last accessed April 23, 2019].)

Tolegian, Manuel J. (1911-1983)

Manuel Tolegian, also known as Manuel Jeriar Tolegian, was an American painter, muralist, illustrator, designer, writer and inventor, born in Fresno, California. He studied at the °Art Students League and was active in New York. He was a close friend of Jackson Pollock.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 3:3313; Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/manuel-j-tolegian-photographs-and-printed-material-9451 [accessed April 23, 2019].)

Tomlin, Bradley Walker (1899-1953)

Bradley Walker Tomlin was an American painter, born in Syracuse, New York. He first studied sculpture modelling in a private studio, and from 1917 to 1921 painting at the College of Fine Arts of Syracuse University. He then moved to New York, where he worked as a commercial illustrator. He spent 1923 and 1924 in Paris, where he frequented the °Académie Colarossi and the °Académie de la Grande Chaumière. He returned to New York in 1924 and began showing his work in 1925 at the °Whitney Studio. In 1925 he spent the first of many summers in the emerging artists' colony of Woodstock, New York. He was a founder member of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors, and in 1950 took part in the

"Artists' Sessions at Studio 35." He had solo shows, in New York, at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1950 and 1953. He took part in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953. He was included in the Museum of Modern Art exhibitions "Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America" in 1951 and "15 Americans" in 1952.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Tomlin, Bradley Walker;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Tomlin, Bradley Walker;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Tomlin, Bradley Walker;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 365.)

Tschacbasov, Nahum (1899-1984)

Nahum Tschacbasov was an American painter, printmaker and teacher, of Jewish origin, born in Baku on the Caspian See. His father emigrated to the United States in 1905, adopted the name Licterman, and settled in Chicago, where his family joined him in 1907. His father's printing business was hit by the 1907 financial crash and as a consequence Nahum grew up in the slums of Chicago. He left school in 1913, aged thirteen, and took on menial jobs to support the family while attending night school. After the First World War he earned himself a business degree and became an accountant. At the beginning of the 1930s he became interested in drawing and painting. He moved to New York and then to Paris, where he adopted the name Tschacbasov. He returned to New York in 1935, worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in the Easel Division, and became politically active. He was a founding member of "The Ten." In 1944 he worked at Stanley William *Hayter's Atelier 17.

(Sources: Peter Hastings Falk, ed., *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 3:3343; Rogallery, Nahum Tschacbasov Biography, https://rogallery.com/Tschacbasov_Nahum/Tschacbasov-bio.htm [last accessed April 23, 2019].)

Tworkov, Jack (1900-1982)

Jack Tworkov, born Yakov Tworkov in Biała Podlaska on the border between Poland and the Russian Empire, was an American painter of Jewish origin, who with his mother and younger sister, Schenehaia, joined his father in New York in 1913. He and his sister, the artist Janice *Biala, changed their names upon arrival. Tworkov studied at Columbia University from 1920 to 1923, at the °National Academy of Design from 1923 to 1925 with Ivan Olinsky (1878-1962) and C.W. *Hawthorne, and at the °Art Students League from 1925 to 1926. From 1923 he spent his summers in Provincetown, where under the guidance of Karl *Knaths he became acquainted with the work of Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944), Paul Klee (1879-1940), and Joan Miró (1893-1983). He became a U.S. citizen in 1928. He worked for the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in the Easel Division from 1935 to 1941. During World War II, while employed as a tool designer, he

stopped painting. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the ACA Gallery in 1940, followed by solo shows at the Charles Egan Gallery in 1947, 1949, 1952 and 1954, and at the Stable Gallery in 1957, 1958 and 1959, and later at Leo Castelli, Inc. in 1961 and 1963. He was a founder member of "The Club" and took part in the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953 and the "Stable Annual" of 1954.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Tworkov, Jack;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Tworkov, Jack;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Tworkov, Jack;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Tworkov, Jack;" Marika Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 345; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, new Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 369.)

Vieira da Silva, Maria Helena (1908-1992)

Maria Helena Vieira da Silva was a Lisbon-born French painter, watercolourist, engraver and illustrator, who started studying drawing and painting at Academia de Belas-Artes in Lisbon. She studied sculpture with Antoine Bourdelle (1861-1929) in Paris, and in 1929 she began engraving at Stanley William *Hayter's Atelier 17. In 1940 she fled with her husband, the Jewish Hungarian painter Árpád Szenès (1897-1985), to Portugal and then to Rio de Janeiro. After the war they returned to Paris, where she exhibited in 1947, 1949 and 1951 at the Galerie Jeanne Bucher.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Vieira da Silva, Maria Helena;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Vieira da Silva, Maria-Elena;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Vieira da Silva, Maria Helena," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00190842 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Vicente, Esteban (1903-2001)

Esteban Vincente was an American painter, draughtsman and collage artist, of Spanish origin, born in Turégano. He came to the United States in 1936 and became a U.S. citizen in 1940. In the 1920s he studied at the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid, where he completed his training in 1924. He won a travel grant enabling him to spend time in France and Germany, and from 1927 to 1932 he lived in Paris. He had his first one-man shows, in Barcelona, at the Galeria Avinyo in 1931 and at the Galeria Syra in 1931 and 1933. He had his first solo show, in New York, at the Kleeman Gallery in 1937, and further showed at the Peridot Gallery in 1950 and 1951, at the Charles Egan Gallery in 1955, at the Rose Fried Gallery in 1957 and 1958, and at Leo Castelli, Inc. in 1958. He took part in the Kootz "Talent 1950" show, the "Ninth Street Show" in 1951 and 1953, and the "Stable Annual" in 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Vicente, Esteban;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. Vicente, Esteban;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Vicente, Esteban;" Marika

Herskovic, ed., *American Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s: An Illustrated Survey* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2003), 349; Marika Herskovic, ed., *New York School Abstract Expressionists: Artists Choice by Artists* (Franklin Lakes, New Jersey: New York School Press, 2000), 373; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Vicente, Esteban," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00190667 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Vytlacil, Vaclav (1892-1984)

Vaclav Vytlacil was a New York City-born American painter, sculptor and art instructor, of Czech parentage. He was one of the earliest and most influential advocates of the teachings of Hans Hoffman (1880-1966) in the United States. At an early age he moved with his parents to Chicago, where he studied at the °Art Institute of Chicago, returning to New York on a scholarship to the °Art Students League in 1913. He spent time in Europe, studying and working as an assistant to Hans Hofmann. During the late 1930s and early 1940s, he taught at various institutions, including the °Art Students League and Queens College in New York, and °Black Mountain College in North Carolina. In 1946 he rejoined the faculty of the Art Students League and remained there until his retirement in 1978. His students included Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010), Willem de Kooning, Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008), James Rosenquist (1933-2017), Cy Twombly (1928-2011), and Tony Smith (1912-1980). He was a founding member of the °American Abstract Artists (AAA) and a member of the °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Feigl Gallery in 1942, and took part in the "Annuals" of the American Abstract Artists and the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. He took part in the "Stable Annual" of 1954 and 1957.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Vytlacil, Vaclav;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Vytlacil, Vacalv;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Vytlacil, Vaclav," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00193227 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Walkowitz, Abraham (1878-1965)

Abraham Walkowitz was a Siberian-born American painter, draughtsman and etcher, of Jewish origin, who emigrated with his mother to the United States in 1889. He attended art classes at °Cooper Union, the °Educational Alliance and the °National Academy of Design. In 1906 he moved to Paris, where he frequented the °Académie Julian and stayed until 1907. Upon his return to New York he became associated with the avant-garde group surrounding Alfred Stieglitz's gallery 291. He exhibited ten works at the 1913 Armory Show and returned to Paris in 1914. He had his first one-man shows, in New York, at 291 in 1912, at the Downtown Gallery in 1930, at the Park Gallery in 1937, at the Brooklyn Museum in 1939, followed by solo shows at the Newark Museum in 1941, the New York Public Library in 1942, the Schacht Gallery in 1944, and the Charles Egan Gallery in 1947.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Walkowitz, Abraham;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Walkowitz, Abraham;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Walkowitz, Abraham;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Walkowitz, Abraham;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Walkowitz, Abraham.")

Watkins, Franklin C. (1894-1972)

Franklin Chenault Watkins was a New York City-born American painter and muralist. Through his mother's side he was related to the poet Ogden Nash (1902-1971). Watkins had a peripatetic childhood, living in London, England, in Rye, New York, in Louisville, Kentucky, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The family's financial situation was never stable, which affected his education. In 1913 he entered the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. While a student he was awarded a Cresson Traveling Scholarship in 1917 and 1918. During the First World War he joined the U.S. Navy, where he met and befriended Arthur B. *Carles. After the war, from 1918 to 1923, he worked as a commercial artist for a Philadelphia advertising firm. In 1923 he travelled to Europe. He started exhibiting his work in 1931. In 1934 Watkins was commissioned to provide sets and costumes for the ballet *Transcendence* by George Balanchine (1904-1983). He received bronze medals at the Paris "Exposition universelle de 1937" and the Musée du Jeu de Paume in 1938, and a gold medal from the Corcoran Gallery of Art in 1939.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, s.v. "Watkins, Franklin C.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Watkins, Franklin C.;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Watkins, Franklin C.," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00194876 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Weber, Max (1881–1961)

Max Weber was a Polish-born American painter, sculptor, printmaker and a poet, of Jewish origin. Born in Białystok, then part of the Russian Empire, Weber at the age of ten emigrated with his Orthodox Jewish parents to the United States, where they settled in Brooklyn. He studied art at the °Pratt Institute in Brooklyn and was one of the first American Cubist painters, who in later life turned to more figurative Jewish themes in his art. Weber was a pupil of Arthur Dove (1880-1946) in New York. In 1905 Weber travelled to Europe, where he studied at the °Académie Julian in Paris and befriended members of the School of Paris**.** In 1909 he returned to New York and helped introduce Cubism to America. He did not take part in the Armory Show. He taught at the °Art Students League from 1919 to 1921 and 1926 to 1927, and became a mentor to Mark Rothko. He had his first one-man show, in New York, at the Haas Gallery in 1909, followed by one at the Photo-Secession Gallery in 1911, the response to which was discouraging, then at the Murray Hill Gallery in 1912, and at the Ehrlich Galleries in 1915. He showed at the Montross Gallery in 1915 and 1923, at the J.B. Neumann Gallery in 1924, 1925, 1927, 1939, 1935 and 1937, at the Downtown Gallery in 1928, 1957 and 1958, and at the A.A.A. Gallery in 1941

and 1970. He took part in "Paintings by 19 Living Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art in 1929. He was a member of the °Society of Independent Artists and the °American Artists' Congress (he was National Chairman in 1937 and Honorary National Chairman from 1938 to 1940). Weber contributed articles on art and colour theory to Alfred Stieglitz's journal *Camera Work*. In 1916 he published a theoretical tract on art, *Essays on Art*. His other publications include *Cubist Poems* (1914) and *Primitives* (1926), a poetry collection illustrated with his own prints.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Weber, Max;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Weber, Max;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Weber, Max;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Weber, Max;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Weber, Max.")

West, Pennerton (1913-1965)

Pennerton West was an American artist, a descendent of the American landscape painter Benjamin West (1738-1820). She was a painter, sculptor as well as a print maker, who studied at the °Art Students League and °Cooper Union. She also frequented Stanley William *Hayter's Atelier 17 in Paris.

(Sources: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, Bio-bibliographischer Index A – Z*, 2., erweiterte und aktualisierte Ausgabe, s.v. "West, Pennerton;" The Annex Galleries, https://www.annexgalleries.com/artists/biography/3986/West/Pennerton [accessed July 19, 2019].)

Wilfred, Thomas (1889-1968)

Thomas Wilfred, born Richard Edgar Løvstrøm in Denmark, studied music and art in Copenhagen, London, and at the Sorbonne in Paris. He was a musician as well as an inventor and produced "light art." He coined the word "Clavilux" for his innovative light designs, which influenced subsequent generations of visual artists. He demonstrated his invention for the first time on 10 January 1922. The device, which featured a keyboard and a set of organ-like pipes, was used to project coloured images onto a translucent screen. His work was included in the 1952 exhibition "15 Americans" at the Museum of Modern Art.

(Sources: *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Wilfred, Thomas;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Wilfred, Thomas;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Wilfred, Thomas," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00197195 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Woodruff, Hale (1900-1980)

Hale Aspacio Woodruff, born in Cairo, Illinois, was an African-American painter, printmaker and teacher, who grew up in Nashville, Tennessee, where he attended local segregated schools. He studied at the Herron School of Art and Design in Indianapolis and at the °Art Institute of Chicago. An award from the Harmon Foundation in 1926 enabled him to study in Paris from 1927 to 1931. He attended classes at the °Académie Scandinave and the °Académie Moderne, after

which he returned to the United States, where he established an art school at Atlanta University. In 1936 Woodruff went to Mexico, where he was apprenticed to Diego Rivera (1886-1957) and learnt the technique of mural painting. In 1946 he joined the faculty of New York University, where he taught for more than twenty years.[15] He taught at the Harlem Community Center and was a leading artist of the Harlem Renaissance.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Woodruff, Hale;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Woodruff, Hale;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Woodruff, Hale;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Woodruff, Hale," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00198798 [accessed February 28, 2019].)

Wyeth, Andrew Newell (1917-2009)

Andrew Newell Wyeth was an American-born painter, the youngest of the five children of illustrator and artist Newell C. Wyeth (1882-1945). Wyeth was tutored by his father at home. In 1937, aged twenty, he had his first solo exhibition of watercolours at the Macbeth Gallery in New York City, which sold out. He belonged to the Regionalist trend—his most famous work is *Christina's World* (1948). His style and subject matter remained largely unchanged throughout his career, which made his works less popular after the breakthrough of the Abstract Expressionists. He had solo shows, in Boston, at Doll and Richards in 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944 and 1946. He took part in exhibitions at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1938, 1939, 1941-45, 1949-52, 1958 and 1963, and at the °Whitney Museum of American Art in 1946, 1948, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1956, 1957, 1959, 1963 and 1964.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Wyeth, Andrew Newell;" *Dictionary of Contemporary American Artists*, 6th ed., s.v. "Wyeth, Andrew Newell;" *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Wyeth, Andrew;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Wyeth, Andrew;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Wyeth, Andrew.")

Żarnower, Teresa (1895-1897-1949)

Teresa Żarnower (originally Żarnowerówn) was a Polish painter, sculptor and illustrator, born in Warsaw, of an assimilated Jewish background. She was a graduate of the Warsaw School of Fine Arts and a member of the Block Group, a Polish Constructivist movement. She was the editor of the movement's journal *BLOK*. Zarnower was a militant Communist who contributed to a number of avant-garde reviews. In 1923 she exhibited at Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin. In 1937 she left Poland, eventually settling in the United States in the winter of 1943-44.

(Sources: *Dictionnaire des arts plastiques modernes et contemporains*, s.v. "Zarnower, Teresa;" Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds., *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederick Kiesler: The Story of Art of This Century* (New York: Guggenheim

[15] Robert Goodnough was one of his students.

Museum Publications, 2004), 335-336; Grove Art Online, s.v. "Żarnower, Teresa," https://doi.org/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00201107 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

ART INSTITUTIONS, MOVEMENTS, ORGANISATIONS, AND EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

United States of America

Advertising Council

The Advertising Council, commonly known as the Ad Council, was conceived in 1941 and incorporated as The Advertising Council, Inc., in February 1942. In June 1943 it was renamed The War Advertising Council, Inc. for the purpose of mobilising the advertising industry in support of the war effort. In 1946 The War Advertising Council officially changed its name back to The Advertising Council, Inc., and shifted its focus to issues such as atomic weapons, world trade and religious tolerance.

(Source: Ad Council, https://www.adcouncil.org/About-Us/The-Story-of-the-Ad-Council [accessed April 25, 2019].)

American Abstract Artists

The group of American Abstract Artists (AAA) was formed in New York in 1936 with the objective of promoting and fostering public understanding of abstract art. Its model was the European group "Abstraction–Création," founded in Paris in 1931. Its members included Josef Albers (1888-1976), Ilya *Bolotowsky, Burgoyne *Diller, Balcomb *Greene, Jeanne Carles (later Mercedes *Matter), Carl *Holty, Ray *Kaiser (later Eames), Ibram *Lassaw, George *McNeill, George L. K. *Morris, Ralph *Rosenborg, Louis *Schanker, Esphyr Slobodkina (1908-2002), and Vaclav *Vytlacil, a total of thirty-nine artists, mostly based in New York City. The group's leader in 1936 was Burgoyne Diller, who at the time was Project Supervisor of the Mural Division of the °Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA/FAP) in New York City. The first AAA President was Balcomb Greene. A major supporter was A.E. *Gallatin, who exhibited many of the works of AAA members at his Gallery of Living Art at New York University. On 8 January 1937, the group decided to call itself the American Abstract Artists. The AAA held its first exhibition at the Squibb Gallery in New York in 1937. Through exhibitions, publications, and lectures the AAA sought to present abstract art to a broader, often reticent, public in America and as such contributed to the development and acceptance of abstract art in the United States.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, "American Abstract Artists;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "American Abstract Artists;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "American Abstract Artists;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "American Abstract Artists," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T002320 [accessed March 1, 2019]; American Abstract Artists, http://americanabstractartists.org/history/1936-1999/ [last accessed April 14, 2019].)

American Artists' Congress

Founded in February 1936, the American Artists' Congress against War and Fascism (AAC) was a response to Stalin's Popular Front, launched in 1935 to fight against Nazism and Fascism, for which he expected the cooperation of his allies, including the United States. The AAC was part of the popular front of the American Communist Party and was used as a vehicle for uniting graphic artists in combating the spread of fascism. Amongst its initiators were George Ault (1891-1948), Peter *Blume, Stuart Davis (1892-1964), William *Gropper, Louis Lozowick (1892-1973), Moses *Soyer, Niles Spencer (1893-1952) and Harry Sternberg (1904-2001). Stuart Davis was the leader of the organisation and headed it for several years, assiduously promoting its causes. One of the first actions of the AAC was to boycott the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Understandably its anti-fascist mission attracted many artists of Jewish origin. Stuart Davis became National Secretary and Chairman as well as Editor of its magazine, *Art Front*, but resigned in 1940 because of the pressure to use art as a tool of political propaganda. Membership of the American Artists' Congress declined in 1940, after a number of members, amongst them Mark Rothko, Milton *Avery, Ilya *Bolotowsky, and Adolph Gottlieb, concerned at the apparent support for the Soviet attack on Finland, signed a statement declaring secession from the AAC in April 1940. They went on to form the politically independent °Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors. By 1943 the organisation was defunct.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "American Artists' Congress;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "American Artists' Congress;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "American Artists' Congress," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T002323 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

American Artists School

The American Artists School was an independent New York City art school, founded in 1936. Its founders and board members included people associated with the left-leaning John Reed Club. William *Gropper was one such example. A number were also contributors to the left-wing papers *New Masses* and the *Daily Worker*. Elaine *de Kooning, Ad *Reinhardt, Milton *Resnick, and Theodoros *Stamos were former students. The school was short-lived due to financial difficulties and closed in 1941.

(Source: Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, "The American Artists School: Radical Heritage and Social Content Art," *Archives of American Art Journal* 26, no. 4 (1986): 17-23, JStor, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1557206 [accessed July 22, 2019].)

Art Institute of Chicago

The Art Institute of Chicago was founded in 1879 as a museum and school for the fine arts—the °School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Its original name, Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, was changed in 1882 to the Art Institute of Chicago. At the end of the nineteenth and

beginning of the twentieth century its collection was furbished by major donations. In 1913 it hosted the Armory Show, which led to purchases of works by major avant-garde European artists for its permanent collection. In 1933 the Institute organised an exhibition "A Century of Progress," held in conjunction with the 1933 Chicago World's Fair, which attracted over one million visitors in less than six months.

(Source: Art Institute of Chicago, https://www.artic.edu/about-us/mission-and-history [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Art Students League

The Art Students League was founded in 1875 in response to a temporary closure of the °National Academy of Design classes in 1875, and a longer-term desire for a more wide-ranging and flexible approach to art training. It originally consisted of a breakaway group of students. The school was incorporated on 31 January 1878. The Art Students League had no entrance requirements and no set programme. Its progressive teaching methods attracted many students—both male and female. The National Academy responded with a more liberalised programme but the students voted to continue the League. The school expanded throughout the 1880s and 1890s. In 1882 the school moved to premises at 38 West 14th Street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, and then to 143-147 East 23rd Street in 1887. In 1892 the Art Students League joined with other arts organisations under the umbrella the American Fine Arts Society and became permanently headquartered at 215 West 57th Street, between Broadway and Seventh Avenue. In the late 1890s and early 1900s an increasing number of women artists studied and worked at the League. The League's popularity continued in the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1930s Thomas Hart Benton (1989-1975) was an instructor assisted by one of his students, Jackson Pollock. Other notable "advanced" artists included John Graham (ca.1886-1961), Mark Rothko, Adolph Gottlieb, Clyfford *Still, Lee *Krasner, Alfred *Leslie, David *Smith, Tony Smith (1912-1980). After World War II the G.I. Bill made it possible for veterans to enrol and attend classes. Between 1906 and 1922 and from 1947 till 1979 the League operated a summer school at Woodstock in New York State. Notable instructors at the Art Students League included, in addition to Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry (1897-1946), Stuart Davis (1892-1964), Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), George Grosz (1893-1959), Philip *Guston, Childe Hassam (1859-1935), Robert *Henri, Hans Hofmann (1880-1966), Wolf *Kahn, Morris *Kantor, Walt *Kuhn, Jacob *Lawrence, Jules Pascin (1885-1930), Richard *Pousette-Dart, John *Sloan, Theodoros *Stamos, Vaclav *Vytlacil, and Max *Weber.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Art Students League;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Art Students League;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Art Students League of New York;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Art Students League," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2093990 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Artists' Union

The Artists' Union (or Artists Union), which originated in 1933, was a short-lived union of artists set up in New York during the Great Depression. The Union had links through some of its members to the American Communist Party. Members included Balcomb *Greene, Ibram *Lassaw, Mark Rothko, and Willem de Kooning. Its original name Emergency Work Bureau Artists Group was changed first to Unemployed Artists Group and finally to Artists' Union. It organized regular meetings of its members and in 1934 published the magazine *Art Front*. Its petitions to set up a jobs programme for all unemployed artists eventually led to the creation of the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP).[1] The Union in 1938 again changed its name to the United American Artists and in 1942 merged with the °American Artists' Congress (AAC).

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Artists' Union;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Artists' Union," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2088309 [accessed March 13, 2019]; Gerald M. Monroe, "The Artists Union of New York," *Art Journal*, Autumn 1972, 17-20, https://www.jstor.org/stable/775601 [accessed March 13, 2019].)

Association of American Painters and Sculptors

The Association of American Painters and Sculptors was set up in New York in 1911 by a group of artists, who were intent on finding suitable exhibition space for contemporary American artists. Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928), Walt *Kuhn and Walter *Pach were leaders in developing a plan for a major invitational exhibition, including current European trends. The result was the International Exhibition of Modern Art (known as the Armory Show), which in 1913 introduced European modernism to the art-viewing American public. The Association disbanded shortly after the Armory Show.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Association of American Painters and Sculptors;" *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Association of American Painters and Sculptors;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. " Armory show;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Association of American Painters and Sculptors," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T004682 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Barnes Foundation

The Barnes Foundation was established by Albert C. Barnes (1872-1951) in 1922. Barnes was an American chemist and art collector, who became a millionaire after discovering the drug Argyrol in 1902. His fortune enabled him to start an art collection of considerable size and worth. Initially he collected works of the Barbizon School, but advised by William *Glackens, a former school friend, he went to Paris and became interested in Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings, and later in the works of Picasso and Matisse. By 1915 he owned fifty works by Renoir, fourteen by Cézanne, and several by Picasso. He also started to acquire works of early American

[1] See entry for Federal Art Project.

modernists, such as Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), Alfred *Maurer, Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), Arthur *Carles, and Charles Demuth (1883-1935). Following an unfavourable response to the exhibition of his collection at the °Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia in 1923, Barnes proceeded with plans to build a small museum to house his collection in the Philadelphia suburb of Merion. Barnes put his modern art collection at the disposal of the Barnes Foundation, but laid down strict terms of operation, restricting public admission to the art collection. He died in a car accident in 1951 and the newspaper publisher Walter Annenberg (1908-2002) took up the cause to force the Barnes Foundation to make its collection accessible to visitors. In 1961 the Barnes Foundation was obliged to open to the public.

(Sources: *The Dictionary of Art*, s.v. "Barnes Albert C.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Barnes, Albert C.")

Beaux-Arts Institute of Design

The Beaux-Arts Institute of Design was a New York City art and architectural school, whose founder Lloyd Warren (1868-1922) was a Paris-born American architect. The school founded in 1916 was an outgrowth of the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects, a formal club of American architects who had attended the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. The Institute's curriculum for American architects, sculptors and mural painters followed the principles of the curriculum of the Paris École. The Institute had on-site instruction and classes. Its sculpture studios ran into the evenings for the convenience of working students and part-time teachers. Many of its students were either immigrants or first-generation Americans. They often came from working-class backgrounds, their objective being to get a union job in the building trades rather than becoming a fine arts sculptor. Many students also attended the °Art Students League. Herbert Ferber (1906-1991), Chaim *Gross, and Ibram *Lassaw were former students. The school was renamed in 1956 as the National Institute of Architectural Education, and further renamed in 1995 as The Van Alen Institute, in honour of William Van Alen (1883-1954), the architect of the Chrysler Building in New York.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Beaux-Arts Institute of Design;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Beaux-Arts Institute of Design," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2094027 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Black Mountain College

Black Mountain College was an American experimental art education establishment at Black Mountain in North Carolina. It was founded in 1933 by a group of progressive academics, amongst them John Andrew Rice Jr. (1888-1968), its first rector. The school was committed to an interdisciplinary approach, whereby art was an essential part of education. The teachers were not subjected to any outside control, while the number of students was kept deliberately small, approximately fifty students per year. Ideologically the school

was organised around John Dewey's principles of education, which emphasised holistic learning and the study of art as central to a liberal arts education. It operated on a non-hierarchical basis between students and educators, and underscored the importance of balancing education, art and cooperative labour. Students were required to participate in farm work, construction projects, and kitchen duty as part of their holistic education. In 1933 Josef Albers (1888-1976) was selected to run the art programme, and his wife, Anni Albers (1899-1994), became responsible for weaving and textile design. Albers remained in charge until 1949. Many of the school's faculty members and students were, or would go on to become, highly influential in the arts. Examples include Josef and Anni Albers, the architect Walter Gropius (1883-1969), the artists Robert Motherwell, Cy Twombly (1928-2011), Willem and Elaine *de Kooning, and Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008), the choreographer Merce Cunningham (1919-2009), the composer John Cage (1912-1992), and the poet Allen Ginsberg (1926-1997). The American architect, systems theorist, designer and inventor, Richard Buckminster Fuller (1895-1983) set up the first large-scale geodesic dome at Black Mountain College. The college was closed in 1957.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Black Mountain College;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Black Mountain College;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Black Mountain College.")

Brooklyn Jewish Center

The Brooklyn Jewish Center was founded in 1919 with the purpose of being an all-inclusive Synagogue Center. The Center originally provided a number of amenities, including an adult education programme, for the local Jewish community. Many notable Jewish figures, American and foreign, were associated with the Brooklyn Jewish Center, which in the course of time acquired a Library of Nazi Banned Books, the School Academy, the Center Hebrew Academy, and in 1933 launched *The Brooklyn Jewish Center Review*. In the 1960s the Center went into decline as the Brooklyn neighbourhood underwent changes and the original Jewish communities moved to other parts of New York.

(Source: Brooklyn Jewish Center,
http://brooklynjewishcenter.org/history.php [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Chouinard Art School

The Chouinard Art School, the brainchild of the artist and educator Nelbert Murphy Chouinard (1879-1969), was founded in 1921. The objective was to create an art school of renown on the West Coast. The school expanded during the following decade and in 1935 the California State Government recognised it as a non-profit educational facility. In 1929 Walt Disney started sending his animators to the school for Friday evening classes. Several years later Disney hired a Chouinard teacher to teach more formal classes at the Disney studio. In the early 1950s Walt Disney supported the school financially and

took over its administration. The school was eventually merged with the Los Angeles Conservatory of Music into the California Institute of the Arts in 1961.

(Source: California Institute of the Arts, https://calarts.edu/about/institute/history/chouinard-art-institute [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

City College of New York

City College of New York was established by the New York Board of Education in 1848, originally as the Free Academy of the City of New York, and was the first free public institution of higher education in the United States. Its objective was to provide quality education to children from lower-income and working-class backgrounds, often the children of immigrants. Access was based on academic merit. It is affectionately referred to as the "Harvard of the proletariat." It was originally a men's institution, which was renamed the College of the City of New York in 1866 and in 1929 became the City College of New York. Until 1929 it was an all-male school; women were admitted for the first time to its graduate programme in 1930. The school attracted many bright students, a large number Jewish who were denied access to the top private schools, then restricted to the children of the Protestant establishment.

(Source: The New International Encyclopedia, s.v. "City College of New York," https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_New_International_Encyclopædia/New_York,_College_of_the_City_of [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Cooper Union

The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art, commonly known as "Cooper Union" or "The Cooper Union," was founded in 1859. Its founder, Peter Cooper, was an American industrialist, who was a prolific inventor, a successful entrepreneur, and one of the richest businessmen in the United States. Cooper's objective was to give talented young people the opportunity of a good education from an institution, which was "open and free to all." He also wished to make possible the development of talent that otherwise would have gone undiscovered. Cooper Union was a tuition-free school with courses made freely available to any applicant. Discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, or sex was expressly prohibited. The early institution had a free reading room open day and night, and a new four-year nighttime engineering college for men and a few women. After 1864 there were a few attempts to merge Cooper Union and Columbia University, but they never came to fruition.

(Source: The Cooper Union, https://cooper.edu/about/history [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Eben Demarest Trust Fund

The Eben Demarest Fund was originally set up in 1939 by Elizabeth B. Demarest. Its objective was, and still is, to support the work of independent creative artists and archaeologists by providing them

with financial assistance. Since 1945 it is part of The Pittsburgh Foundation.

(Source: The Pittsburgh Foundation, https://pittsburghfoundation.org/demarest [last accessed July 14, 2019].)

Educational Alliance Art School

The Educational Alliance was founded in 1889 as a partnership between the Aguilar Free Library, the Young Men's Hebrew Association and the Hebrew Institute. The main purpose was to serve as a settlement house for East-European Jews immigrating to New York City. The Alliance Art School was founded in 1905 as part of the Educational Alliance. The school offered art classes, providing the opportunity for creative expression and appreciation of the arts. Its many students have included artists of renown, such as Adolph Gottlieb, Chaim *Gross, Peter *Blume, Louise Nevelson (1900-1988), Mark Rothko, and Max *Weber.

(Source: Manny Cantor, https://www.mannycantor.org/art/ [last accessed March 11, 2019].)

Federal Art Project

The Federal Art Project (FAP) was organised by the U.S. Administration from 1935 to 1943 with the dual purpose of helping artists through the Depression years and deploying the artistic potential of the country in the decoration of public buildings and places. There was also a Federal Writers' Project, a Federal Theater Project and a Federal Music Project. Collectively they were known as the Federal Arts Project and were part of the Works Progress Administration, known as the WPA (later called the Works Projects Administration, also referred to as the WPA). The programme was part of President F.D. Roosevelt's work programme for the unemployed, known as the "New Deal." The Federal Art Project grew out of the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) to assist artists during the winter of 1933-1934, employing them on public works for a weekly wage. Holger Cahill (1887-1960) was in charge of the Federal Art Project. At its peak there were more than 5,000 people on the payroll, many of them women, African-Americans and other minorities. Almost all major twentieth-century American artists active during the 1930s were involved in the Project, either as teachers or practitioners (Barnett Newman was one of the rare exceptions). Federal Art Project artists produced, amongst others, some 2,500 murals, over 17,000 sculptures, 108,000 paintings, 200,000 prints from 11,000 designs, and 2 million silkscreen posters from 35,000 designs. The Federal Art Project was continually under attack from politicians who believed that artists should not be paid by the government to make art, and in the late 1930s the rule was put in place to terminate artists after they had been employed for eighteen months. The project was phased out in 1943.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Works Progress Administration/Federal Art Project" and "Cahill, Holger;" *The Oxford Dictionary of*

American Art and Artists, s.v. “Federal art projects;” *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Federal Art Project;” Grove Art Online, s.v. “Federal Art Project,” https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2091131 [last accessed March 1, 2019].)

Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors

The Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors was founded in 1940, as a breakaway from the °American Artists’ Congress, by llya *Bolotowski, Byron *Browne, Adolph Gottlieb, Balcomb *Greene, and Mark Rothko. The mission statement of the breakaway group was “to promote the welfare of free progressive artists working in America; to strive to protect the artist’s general and cultural interests and to facilitate the showing of their work; and to take legitimate action in furtherance of such purpose.”[2] The Federation held annual exhibitions, which included works by its members.

(Source: *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. “American Artists’ Congress;” The Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors, https://www.fedart.org/home [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Fieldston School

The Ethical Culture Fieldston School, founded by Felix Adler (1851-1933) in 1878, was started as a kindergarten. In 1880 elementary grades were added. It was then called the Workingman’s School. The school was coeducational and integrated from its beginnings. Moral education, psychological development, and integration of the creative and manual arts with academics were emphasised at its foundation. In 1885 the Workingman’s School became the Ethical Culture School and in 1899 a secondary school programme was introduced. In 1904 the school had a new building constructed at 33 Central Park West. In 1928 the Fieldston School opened at the Riverdale section of the Bronx.

(Ethical Culture Fieldston, https://www.ecfs.org/en/who-we-are/ [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Forum 49

Forum 49 was a series of seminars on art, architecture, psychology, music, and poetry held in Provincetown during the summer of 1949. It was the brainchild of Weldon *Kees, the writer Cecil Hemley (1914-1966), a relative of Adolph Gottlieb, and Fritz *Bultman. The seminars took place on Thursday evenings at Gallery 200. The event ran from 3 July till 1 September, bringing together at each weekly session speakers, artists, and a local audience. The theme of the inaugural session was “What is an artist?” On 11 August the theme was “French Art vs. U.S. Art Today.” The session was chaired by Adolph Gottlieb and the speakers included, amongst others, Karl *Knaths, Robert Motherwell, and Frederick Wight (1902-1986). The venue of the event, Gallery 200, also served as exhibition space for

[2] Statement of 19 June 1940. (Source: The Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors, https://www.fedart.org/home [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

the works of about fifty artists. Adolph Gottlieb and his wife were included amongst the sponsors and, in addition to financial assistance, also provided a helping hand in the organisation. According to Clement Greenberg (1909-1994), Forum 49 was a resounding success, which in many ways foreshadowed the success of "The Club." Its novelty lay in the open exploration of the relationship between art and politics in the immediate post-World War II years.

(Source: Jennifer Liese, "Towards No Laocoön: Forum 49 Allies the Arts," thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, The School of the Art Institute of Chicago, 2002.)

International Association of Art Critics

The International Association of Art Critics (*Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art*, *AICA*) was founded in 1950 following the First and Second International Congress of Art Critics, which took place in Paris in 1948 and 1949. The purpose was to revitalise critical discourse, which had suffered under Fascism in the 1930s and during World War II. In 1951 it was accorded the status of non-governmental organisation. Its fundamental objectives include the promotion of the critical disciplines in the field of visual arts, the introduction of sound methodological and ethical bases for these disciplines, the protection of the ethical and professional interests of art critics, and the promotion of permanent communication amongst its members by encouraging international meetings.

(Source: International Association of Art Critics, http://aicausa.org/about/timeline [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Museum of Non-Objective Painting

The Museum of Non-Objective Painting in New York was the forerunner of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum. It was opened in 1939 under the direction of Baroness Hilla von Rebay (1890-1967), an artist of German aristocratic origin, whom Solomon R. Guggenheim (1861-1949) had met in 1926. Guggenheim, a member of a wealthy mining family, had a substantial collection of old masters, but von Rebay's influence led to a major change in the collection. Guggenheim turned his attention to avant-garde and abstract art, and started collecting the works of Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) and that of early modernists, such as Piet Mondrian (1872-1944), Robert Delaunay (1885-1941), Fernand Léger (1881-1955), Amedeo Modigliani (1884–1920), and Pablo Picasso (1881-1973). He also began to display his private collection. In 1937 he established the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, whose mission was to foster the appreciation of modern art. The Museum of Non-Objective Painting, located in mid-town Manhattan, was the Foundation's first venue for the display of the collection. By 1943 the size of the collection was such that the need for a permanent sizeable building had become apparent. Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) was asked to design a building to house the collection. The new "controversial" venue opened its doors on 21 October 1959, ten years

after the death of Solomon R. Guggenheim in 1949 and six months after the death of its architect. In 1948 the Guggenheim Foundation purchased the estate of Karl Nierendorf, which included a large number of German Expressionist paintings, enhancing the existing collection with Expressionist and Surrealist works by Paul Klee (1879-1940), Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980) and Joan Miró (1893-1983). Hilla von Rebay, who had imposed a strict personal approach to the collection, resigned in 1952. Her successor, James Johnson Sweeney (1900-1986), who had been a curator for the Museum of Modern Art from 1935 to 1946, adopted a more open approach and under his guidance the scope of the collection was expanded and diversified to include the works of Abstract Expressionist artists. He remained in charge until 1960 and oversaw the move of the collection to the new venue.

(Source: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Guggenheim, Solomon R.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Guggenheim, Solomon R.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*. 3rd ed., s.v. "Guggenheim, Solomon R.;" Guggenheim, https://www.guggenheim.org/publication/the-museum-of-non-objective-painting-hilla-rebay-and-the-origins-of-the-solomon-r-guggenheim-museum [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

National Academy of Design

The National Academy of Design was a professional organisation of artists founded in New York in 1825 in opposition to the conservative approach of the American Academy of (the) Fine Arts, founded in 1802 (and dissolved in 1841). The National Academy of Design was originally called the Society for the Improvement of Drawing, but changed its name in 1828. For most of the nineteenth century it was the leading art institution in America and was the first artistic design school of its kind in the United States. Previously artists in America were self-trained, tutored privately, or travelled to Europe for their training. The institution held annual exhibitions with a view to making New York America's major art centre. Its "Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Art" was also the first of its kind. Its views, however, became gradually un-progressive, which led certain artists to break away, notably to found "The Eight"[3] in 1908.

(Sources: The *Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "National Academy of Design" and "American Academy of Fine Arts;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and* Artists, s.v. "National Academy of Design;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "National Academy of Design.")

New Bauhaus School of Design

The New Bauhaus School of Design was set up in Chicago in 1937. Its founder, László Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946), a former Bauhaus teacher, was invited by the Association of Art and Industry of Chicago to start a new design school. The teaching philosophy of the school was based on that of the original Bauhaus. The "New

[3] See entry for Robert Henri in Appendix 1.

Bauhaus" became the Institute of Design in 1944 and was integrated into the Illinois Institute of technology in 1949.

(Source: IIT Institute of Design, https://id.iit.edu/new-bauhaus/ [last accessed March 19, 2019].)

New School (for Social Research)

The New School, founded in 1919 by a group of progressive New York educators, was intended as a modern progressive free school for adult students. For most of its history, it has been known as the New School for Social Research. The founders included the economist and literary scholar Alvin Johnson (1874-1971), the historian Charles A. Beard (1874–1948), the economists Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) and James Harvey Robinson (1863-1936), and the philosophers Horace M. Kallen (1882-1974) and John Dewey (1859-1952). Several founders were former professors at Columbia University. In October 1917, after Columbia University imposed a loyalty oath to the United States upon the entire faculty and student body, several professors were dismissed. Charles A. Beard, Professor of Political Science, resigned his professorship at Columbia in protest. His colleague James Harvey Robinson resigned in 1919 to join the faculty at the New School. The New School plan was to offer the rigorousness of postgraduate education without degree matriculation or degree prerequisites. It was theoretically open to anyone. The first classes at the New School took the form of lectures followed by discussions, for larger groups, or as smaller conferences. In 1933 the New School established the University in Exile to serve as an academic haven for scholars escaping from Nazi Germany. The University in Exile was founded by the Director of the New School, Alvin Johnson, who was able to rely on the generous financial contributions from the American philanthropist, Hiram Halle (1867-1944), and the Rockefeller Foundation.

(Source: The New School for Social Research, https://www.newschool.edu/nssr/history/ [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

New York School of Poetry

The New York School of Poetry was a group of poets aligned with the New York School of painting in the 1950s and 1960s. The main figures of the New York School of Poetry were Frank O'Hara (1926-1966), John Ashbery (1927-2017), James Schulyer (1923-1991), Kenneth Koch (1925-2002), and Barbara Guest (1920-2006). They were influenced by relationships and collaborations with painters such as Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Jasper Johns (1930-), and Larry *Rivers. They were witty and had a keen interest in the visual arts. A second generation of New York School poets grew up in the 1960s and included Ted Berrigan (1934-1983), Alice Notley (1945-), Ron Padgett (1942-), and Anne Waldman (1945-).

(Source: Poetry Foundation, https://www.poetryfoundation.org/collections/147565/an-introduction-to-the-new-york-school-of-poets [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Parsons New School for Design

Parsons New School for Design was first established as the Chase School, founded in 1896 by the American painter William Merritt Chase (1849-1916). Chase and his followers seceded from the °Art Students League of New York in 1896, in search of a freer, more dramatic and more individual expression of art. The Chase School changed its name in 1898 to the New York School of Art. In 1909 the school was renamed the New York School of Fine and Applied Art. Frank Alvah Parsons (1886-1930), who had joined the school as a teacher in 1904, became its Director in 1911, a position he held until his death in 1930. In honor of Parsons, the institution became the Parsons School of Design in 1936.

(Source: The New School Parsons History,
https://www.newschool.edu/parsons/history/ [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, the oldest surviving art institution in the United States, was founded in 1805 to encourage interest in art. The artist and scientist Charles Wilson Peale (1741-1827) was the driving force amongst the founders, although initially it was run by businessmen rather than by artists. Teaching was sporadic until Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) began working at the Academy in 1876. In 1883, under his direction, the curriculum was modernised. Eakins initiated a rigorous programme of figurative work from a model and intensive anatomical study, based on the atelier model of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where he was trained. The new programme flourished, attracting students such as Cecilia Beaux (1855-1942), Robert *Henri, John *Sloan, and John Marin (1870-1953). Eakins was dismissed in 1886 for his insistent emphasis on the use of the nude model, but important faculty members followed on from him, amongst them Cecilia Beaux, William Merritt *Chase and Arthur B. *Carles, each introducing new approaches to teaching. In the early twentieth century the curriculum was expanded to include architectural design, mural painting and illustration. By the late 1950s, however, programmes with practical applications had been eliminated, and the primary focus was on the classic fine arts of painting, sculpting and printmaking. The Academy also acquired an art collection which, started in 1805, was established mainly by gifts and initially sporadic purchases, such as Benjamin West's *Death on the Pale Horse* (1814) in 1836. Although initially the collection included European works, by 1880 the Academy's focus, both in exhibitions and collecting, narrowed to exclusively American art.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and* Artists, s.v. "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts;"
Grove Art Online, s.v. "Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2090718 [accessed March 1, 2019].)

Pratt Institute

The Pratt Institute was founded in 1887, the brainchild of the American industrialist Charles Pratt (1830-1891). Pratt was an advocate of education and its impact on people's lives. He set out to provide an affordable college education that was accessible to working men and women. In 1887 the Pratt Institute was amongst the first in the country to welcome students regardless of class, colour or gender. The Pratt Institute responded to the rapid industrialisation of the American economy at the turn of the twentieth century by providing programmes that prepared students to enter the fields of design and engineering, producing architects, engineers, dressmakers and furniture makers. The engineering and design programmes were complemented by a liberal arts curriculum.

(Source: Pratt History, https://www.pratt.edu/the-institute/history/ [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

San Francisco Art Association

The San Francisco Art Association was founded in 1871 and incorporated in 1889. Its first honorary member was the painter Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902). In 1874 the Association founded the San Francisco School of Design and subsequently became affiliated with the University of California. The school was then renamed the California School of Design. In 1893 its name was changed to the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art and in 1907 it became the San Francisco Institute of Art, and subsequently the California School of Fine Arts in 1917. In 1921 it incorporated the San Francisco Museum of Art into its administration, although they each retained their autonomy. In 1961 the San Francisco Art Association merged with the California School of Fine Arts and was renamed the San Francisco Art Institute. In April 1949 the San Francisco Art Association sponsored "The Western Round Table of Modern Art," organised by Douglas MacAgy (1913-1973).

(Source: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/san-francisco-art-association-and-related-organizational-records-8413 [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

School of the Art Institute of Chicago

The School of the Art Institute of Chicago was founded as the Chicago Academy of Design in 1866; it was incorporated as the Chicago Academy of Fine Art in 1879; and in 1882 changed its name to the °Art Institute of Chicago. It rapidly attracted students, making it according to its records the largest art school in the world in 1922. The first diplomas were awarded in 1891 and in the 1930s it became the breeding ground for the American Regionalists. Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975), Grant Wood (1891-1942), and Georgia O'Keefe (1887-1986) were amongst its former students.

(Source: School of the Art Institute of Chicago, http://www.saic.edu/about/history-and-quick-facts/timeline [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Société Anonyme, Inc.

The Société Anonyme, Inc. was an art association founded in 1920 by Katherine Dreier (1877-1952), Man Ray (1890-1976) and Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), for the promotion of contemporary art in America through lectures, publications, travelling exhibitions and the formation of a permanent collection. It was America's first experimental museum of contemporary art. The museum opened at 19 East 47th Street in 1920, and was the first[4] one in the United States to be devoted entirely to modern art. Dreier initially called the venture the Modern Ark until Man Ray suggested Société Anonyme, assuming it referred to an anonymous society, not realizing that the term actually meant private company or corporation. Duchamp thought it was a fine name for their nascent organisation and when the legal papers were drawn, "Inc." was added. Dreier appended to the name "Museum of Modern Art: 1920," emphasising their ambition. Between 1920 and 1940 the Société organised eighty-four exhibitions, including first-time displays in America of works by Paul Klee (1879-1940), Kasimir Malevich (1879-1935), Joan Miró (1893-1983), Kurt Schwitters (1887-1948). It prepared the way for the Museum of Modern Art, which was founded in 1929 and eclipsed the Société. The Société officially closed in 1950.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Société Anonyme, Inc.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Société Anonyme, Inc.;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Société Anonyme, Inc.;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Société Anonyme," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T079468 [last accessed March 1, 2019].)

Society of Independent Artists

The Society of Independent Artists was an organisation set up in New York in December 1916 as a successor to the °Association of American Painters and Sculptors, which (as its task was accomplished) was dissolved after the Armory Show in 1913. It was modelled on the French "Société des Artistes Indépendants." Its founders included Katherine S. Dreier (1877-1952), Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968), William J. *Glackens, Albert Gleizes (1881-1953), John Marin (1870-1953), Walter *Pach, Man Ray (1890-1976), John *Sloan and Joseph Stella (1877-1946). The Managing Director was the American art collector Walter Arensberg (1878–1954). The Society's aim was to give progressive artists an opportunity to show their work by holding annual exhibitions in rivalry with the conservative °National Academy of Design. The shows were modeled on the French "Salon des Indépendants," without a jury or prizes. Everyone was allowed to exhibit on payment of a modest fee. The first show, "The Big Show," took place in April 1917 and featured about 2,000 works. The first President was William Glackens, followed by John Sloan who held the post from 1918 till his death in 1951. Annual exhibitions were held until 1944, but declined in

[4] The Phillips Collection in Washington, D.C. has the distinction of being the first *permanent* American museum of modern art, as the Société Anonyme, Inc. concerned itself with temporary exhibitions.

quality. The Society's commitment extended to all branches of the arts: film screenings, lectures, poetry readings and concerts supplemented the exhibitions.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Society of Independent Artists;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Independent exhibitions;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v; "Society of Independent Artists;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Society of Independent Artists," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T079485 [last accessed March 1, 2019].)

Whitney Museum of American Art

The Whitney Museum of American Art was founded in 1930 and opened in 1931. Its founder, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875–1942), was a wealthy and prominent American socialite and art patron after whom the museum was named. She was a well-regarded sculptor as well as a serious art collector. As a patron of the arts, she had already achieved some success as the creator of the °Whitney Studio Club. Gertrude Whitney favoured the "radical" art of the American artists of the Ashcan School, such as John *Sloan, George *Luks and Everett *Shinn as well as Edward Hopper (1882-1967) and Stuart Davis (1892-1964). The objective of the Whitney Museum of American Art was to establish a venue for American artists to exhibit their works. In 1929 Gertrude Whitney offered to donate over 500 works of art to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, but the museum declined the gift. This, along with the apparent preference for European modernism at the recently opened Museum of Modern Art, led Mrs. Whitney in 1929 to start her own museum, exclusively for American art. Its first exhibition, which opened in November 1931 at 10 West 8th Street with Juliana R. Force (1876-1948) as its first Director, featured works from the permanent collection developed under Mrs. Whitney's former Whitney Studio (1908), °Whitney Studio Club (1918), and Whitney Studio Galleries (1928). The Whitney's Annual and Biennial exhibitions, beginning in 1932, invited artists to show their works and attempted to give both established and emerging American artists an opportunity to be recognised in a museum setting.

(Sources: *The Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, s.v. "Whitney Museum of American Art" and "Whitney Annual and Biennial;" *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, s.v. "Whitney, Gertrude Vanderbilt;" *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Whitney, Gertrude Vanderbilt;" Grove Art Online, s.v. "Whitney Museum of American Art," https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2091112 [accessed March 2019]; Whitney Museum of American Art, History of the Whitney, https://whitney.org/about/history [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Whitney Studio Club

The Whitney Studio Club was a New York exhibition space, created by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875-1942) in 1918 to promote the works of avant-garde and unrecognised American artists, such as Charles Demuth (1883-1935), Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), and Max

*Weber. Gertrude Whitney founded a series of organisations in New York to help young artists: Friends of Young Artists in 1915, the Whitney Studio Club in 1918, and the Whitney Studio Galleries in 1928. In 1929 she announced the founding of the °Whitney Museum of American Art.

(Source: *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Whitney, Gertrude Vanderbilt.")

Europe

Académie Colarossi

The Académie Colarossi was a private art school in Paris, founded in the nineteenth century by the Italian sculptor Filippo Colarossi (dates unknown). It was initially located on the Île de la Cité, and later in the 1870s moved to number 10 rue de la Grande-Chaumière in the 6th arrondissement. The school was established as an alternative to the École des Beaux-Arts, which for many young artists had become too conservative. Unlike the École, the school accepted female students. Noteworthy is that the school applied tuition parity for women (forty francs for a month of half days). Notable graduates included Jean Pascin (1885-1930), Camille Claudel (1864-1943), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), Eileen Gray (1878-1976), and Jacques Lipschitz (1891-1973). American artists, who frequented the Académie Colarossi, included Charles Demuth (1883-1935), Lyonel *Feiniger, Walt *Kuhn, Stanton *Macdonald-Wright, and Isamu Noguchi (1904-1988). The school closed in the 1930s.

(Source: Barbara H., Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris; Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers*.)

Académie de la Grande Chaumière

The Académie de la Grande Chaumière was a private art school in Paris, founded in 1904 by the Catalan painter Claudio Castelucho (1870-1927). It was located in rue de la Grande Chaumière, in the vicinity of the °Académie Colarossi. From 1909 the school came under the joint direction of the painters Martha Stettler (1870-1945), Alice Dannenberg (1861-1948), and Lucien Simon (1861-1945). It was dedicated to both painting and sculpture. It did not teach or apply the strict rules of painting of the École des Beaux-Arts, thus generating art free from academic constraints. The fees were low, even lower than those of the °Académie Julian, and the school therefore attracted art students of modest means. Former students included Adolph Gottlieb. Antoine Bourdelle (1861-1929) taught at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière from 1909 until his death in 1929.

(Source: *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Art*, s.v. "Bourdelle, Emile-Antoine.")

Académie de La Palette

The Académie de La Palette (also called Académie La Palette and La Palette) was one of many private institutions founded in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century and active at the beginning of the twentieth century. There is uncertainty as to its exact origins. Between 1902 and 1911, under the leadership of the painter and art critic Jacques-Émile Blanche (1861-1942), the academy attracted many English and North American students seeking exposure to the latest avant-garde trends. By 1914 it had been closed. Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1956) attended the Académie de La Palette.

(Source: The Art and Popular Culture Encyclopedia, http://www.artandpopularculture.com/Académie_de_La_Palette [last accessed July 23, 2019].)

Académie Julian

The Académie Julian was a private art school in Paris, founded by the French painter and teacher Pierre Louis Rodolphe Julian (1839–1907) in 1873. The Académie Julian prepared students for the examinations at the École des Beaux-Arts. More important it offered independent alternative education and training in the arts. The school had no entrance requirements. It was open from 8 a.m. till nightfall. It became the most popular art school of its type. It opened several branches in Paris, one of them for women. By the 1880s the school numbered about 600 students. Although there was no imposed academic discipline, it became a stepping-stone to the École des Beaux-Arts. The Académie Julian became very popular with foreign students, particularly from the United Kingdom and the United States. The success of the Académie was due to the quality of the instruction given by artists, such as William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825–1905). Students included Jean (Hans) Arp (1886-1966), Léon Bakst (1866-1924), Thomas Hart Benton (1889-1975), Pierre Bonnard (1867-1947), Louise Bourgeois (1911-2010), Charles Demuth (1883-1935), André Derain (1880-1954), Childe Hassam (1859-1935), Stanley William *Hayter, Robert *Henri, Fernand Khnopff (1858-1921), Stanton *Macdonald-Wright, Henri Matisse (1869-1954), Hilla von Rebay (1890-1967), Diego Rivera (1886-1957), John Singer Sargent (1856-1925), Edward Steichen (1879-1973), Allen Butler Talcott (1967-1908), and Max *Weber.

(Sources: *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "académie;" Barbara H. Weinberg, *The Lure of Paris; Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 221-262.)

Académie Moderne

The "Académie Moderne," also known as the "Académie de l'Art Moderne," was established in 1924 by Fernand Léger (1881-1955) and Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1956) in 1924, in Paris at 86 rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Ozenfant left in 1929, but the school continued until 1939 as the "Académie de l'Art Contemporain." Artists

associated with the school included Emile Othon Friez (1879-1949) and Nadia Léger-Khodossievitch (1904-1982).

(Source: *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Art*, s.v. "Léger, Fernand.")

Académie Ranson

The Académie Ranson was a private art school, founded in 1908 by the artist Paul Ranson (1864-1909), who had studied at the °Académie Julian. Following his death in 1909, his wife took over the running of the school. Maurice Denis (1870-1943) and Paul Sérusier (1864-1927) both taught at the school.

(Source: *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "académie.")

Académie Scandinave

The "Académie Scandinave," also referred to as the "Maison Watteau," originally a "culture centre," was a private art school in Paris run by Swedish, Norwegian and Danish artists. It was housed in the former studio of Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721). The school remained open from 1922 to 1935. Teachers at the school also included non-Scandinavians, such as Marcel Gromaire (1892-1971) and Emile Othon Friesz (1879-1949).

(Source: Hubert van den Berg et al., eds., *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1900-1925* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 134.)

London Central School of Arts and Crafts

The Central School of Arts and Crafts of London opened in Regent Street in 1896, with a view to providing specialist art teaching for workers in the craft industries. The school was an offshoot of the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts movement promoted by William Morris (1834-1896) and John Ruskin (1819-1900). It was intended to provide a place for art scholars and students from local schools to work with established artists in close relation with employers. The school was restructured in 1919 to include eight main departments: silversmiths' work, textiles, stained glass and mosaic, painted, sculptured and architectural decoration, book production, furniture, dress design and engraving. Ancillary instruction was also provided in architecture and building crafts, drawing and painting.

(Source: Central School of Arts and Crafts, https://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/organization.php?id=msib2_1212166601 [last accessed April 25, 2019].)

Sonderbund

The Sonderbund was an organisation founded in Düsseldorf in 1909 with the objective of mounting exhibitions of contemporary art. The full name was Sonderbund Westdeutscher Kunstfreunder und Künstler ("Federation of Art-Lovers and Artists in West Germany"). The art-lovers included collectors, dealers, museum officials and writers. The first President was Karl Ernst Osthaus (1874-1921), a banker and collector. Four Sonderbund exhibitions were held, the first

three in Düsseldorf in 1909, 1910, and 1911, and the final one in Cologne in 1912. The Cologne show was by far the most important: its aim was to project the movement termed "Expressionism." It included works by Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), Edvard Munch (1863-1944). German painters (of *Der Blaue Reiter* and *Die Brücke*) were well represented. It was international in scope with artists from eight other countries on show. It had a major impact on the organisers of the 1913 Armory Show.

(Sources: *A Dictionary of Twentieth-Century Art*, s.v. "Sonderbund;"*The Oxford Dictionary of Art*, 3rd ed., s.v. "Sonderbund;")

APPENDIX 3

Reviews by Robert Goodnough as Editorial Associate at *ARTnews* - Summer 1950 to Summer 1954[1]

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954[2]
January		1. Hans Jelinck [New School; Jan. 4-25] 2. Walter Philipp [Milch; Jan. 8-27] 3. Ary Stillman [B. Schaefer; Jan.15-Feb.3] 4. William Pachner [Ganso; Jan 8-31] 5. Charles Seliger [Willard; Jan. 2-27] 6. Miriam Sommerburg [Village Art Center; n.d.], 7. Leonard [Peridot; Jan. 3-27] 8. Ronnie Lion [Creative; to Jan.8] (worked under Hans Hofmann) 9. *Contemporary Mexican printmakers [Wittenborn; Jan. 2-3] 10. *Sylvia Laks, Si Lewen, Nikolaj Storm [RoKo; Jan. 8-Feb.2] 11. Mariska Karasz [B.	1. Calvert Coggeshall [Parsons; to Jan. 5] 2. Sholam Farber [Artists' Gallery; to Jan. 10] 3. *Five Painters [A.C.A.; to Jan. 5] 4. *Meeker, Colescott and Wall [Serigraph; Jan. 15-Feb. 11] 5. Virginia Berresford [Levitt; to Jan. 16] 6. Jacob Steinhardt [Kennedy; Jan. 7-26] 7. Charles Semser [Hacker; Jan. 21-Feb. 9] 8. Morris Levine [Artists' Gallery; to Jan. 10] 9. *French Masters [Van Diemen; to Jan. 25] 10. Keith Simon [44th Street; Jan. 10-30] 11. Tad Miyashita [Hacker; Jan. 2-19] 12. Joseph Meierhans [Artists' Gallery; Jan.	1. Peppino Mangravite [Rehn; Jan. 5-24] 2. Emil Weddige [Contemporaies; Jan. 5-25] 3. William Halsey [B. Schaefer; Jan. 5-24] 4. *Stuart Davis and Kuniyoshi [Downtown; n.d.] 5. Stanley Twardowicz [Wittenborn; n. d.] 6. *Second Annual [Stable; Jan. 11-Feb. 7] 7. *Zukor, Laynor, Pearlstein [Creative; to Jan. 12] 8. H. Oliver Albright [B. Schaefer; to Jan. 3] 9. Cherney [A.F.I.; Jan. 7-31] 10. Helen F. Protas [Creative; n.d.] 11. Eyre de Lanux [Iolas; n.d.] 12. *Zucker, Elorduy, *Garb* [Creative; to	1. Saul Baizerman [New Gallery; Jan. 4-16] 2. Nicholas Vasilieff [Heller; Jan. 9-30] 3. Marechal Brown [Heller; to Jan. 9] 4. Geri Pine [Artisans; Jan. 4-25] 5. *Contemporary Exhibition [Kottler; to Jan. 9] 6. Frank Mason [Eggleston; Jan. 4-16] 7. *Twenty Drawings [Contemporaries; Jan. 5-23] 8. Holmead [Wellons; Jan. 4-16] 9. *Young American Painters [Town; Jan. 5-23] 10. Robert E. Borgatta [Wellons; Jan. 18-30] 11. *International Print Show [Contemporaries; to Jan. 4]

[1] Shows, which include more than one artist, are indicated with an asterisk.
[2] From January 1954 onwards Robert Goodnough's reviews bear the initials R.L.G.

		Schaefer; to Jan. 13] 12. Rene Procopia [Sellers Associates; n.d.] 13. *Mixed Group [Charles-Fourth; to Jan. 10] 14. *Surprise Show [Ganso; to Jan. 5]	12-31] 13. *Catherine Lorillard Wolfe Group [Barbizon Plaza; Jan. 13-27] 14. Hy Cohen [A.C.A.; Jan. 7-26] 15. *“In Crayon and Gouache” [B. Schaefer; Jan. 2-29]	Jan. 12] 13. Pamela Bichart [Rhebe; n. d.] 14. Checco [Rhebe; Jan. 6-31] 15. *Robert Wogenscky, Michael Patrix [Galerie Moderne; Jan. 5-31] 16. Jay Robinson [Milch; Jan. 5-24] 17. Jack Bloom [Creative; to Jan. 12]	**Other shows noted this month:** 12. Nina Walker Smith [Barbizon; n.d.]
February[3]		1. Arshile Gorky [Kootz; to Feb.10] 2. *“Fifteen Years in Review” [Washington Square Inn; to Feb. 20] 3. *Shanker’s Studio 74 show [Hacker; to Feb.17] 4. *Fifty-third Annual Exhibition [National Arts Club; n.d.] 5. Byron Browne [Grand Central; to Feb.7] 6. Xavier Gonzalez [Grand Central; Feb.14-28] 7. Weldon Kees	1. Ralph Fabri [Creative; Feb. 18-March 1] 2. Sperry Andrews [Ferargil; to Feb. 14] 3. *Schanker, Vodicka, Chamberlain [Sculpture Center; to Feb. 15] 4. Nora Herz [Village Art Center; Feb. 18-March 7] 5. Paul Galdone [Friedman; n.d.] 6. Paul Fiene [Sculpture Center; Feb. 18-March 5] 7. Fernando Puma [Argent; Feb. 18-March 8]	1. David Smith [Kootz; to Feb. 14] 2. *Landscapes, Seascapes [Levitt; n.d.] 3. Bernard Klonis [Babcock; to Feb. 14] 4. *Paris [Touraine; n. d.] 5. Herbert Kallem [Davis; to Feb. 21] 6. Denny Winters [Rehn; to Feb. 14] 7. L. Jensen [Creative; to Feb. 11] 8. Carzou [Galerie Moderne; Feb. 2-28] 9. Kimber Smith [New Gallery; Feb. 2-19]	1. *Exhibition One, 1954 [Gallery East; to Feb. 4] 2. Doris Kreindler [Seligmann; to Feb. 9] 3. Alice Gore King [Argent; Feb. 1-20] 4. *New Paintings [Coeval; Feb. 15-Mar. 6] 5. *Four Painters [Peter Cooper; Feb. 2-Mar. 12] 6. Olivia Kahn [Wellons; Feb. 1-13] 7. Audrey MacLean [Wellons; Feb. 15-27] 8. Walter Williams [RoKo; Feb. 8-Mar.

[3] The Reviews and Previews section of the February 1952 issue included a review initialled R.C., which initials did not correspond to anyone listed in the editorial team. As an error or misprint the review, which covered the show “Varied group [Barzansky; to Feb. 15],” *ARTnews*, February 1952, 52, could be attributed to R.G. or L.C. We have decided not to include it in the list.

		[Peridot; to Feb.24] 8. Hans Boehler [Artists' Gallery; to Feb.15] 9. Nat Koffman [Macbeth; n.d.] 10. Robert Vickrey [Creative; Feb. 5-17] 11. *Jean Cohen and Alex Katz [Peter Cooper; to Feb. 10] 12. Edward John Stevens, Jr. [Weyhe; to Mar. 7] 13. Liloda (Van Loen; n.d.) 14. Roberto Ossaye [RoKo; Feb. 4-28] 15. Joseph Winter [Artists' Gallery; Feb. 17-Mar. 8] 16. S. Felrath [Creative; Feb. 19-Mar. 3] 17. Joe Battaglia [Peter Cooper; n.d.] 18. *Father and son show (David and Nicholas Burliuk) [Burliuk; Feb. 3-24]	8. Lucia Howe [Ferargil; n. d. 9. *Sterling and Dorothy Strauser [Burliuk; Feb. 3-23] 10. Margot Lagow [Salpeter; Feb. 18-March 8] 11. David Burliuk [Burliuk; Feb. 24-March 1] 12. *Drummond, Dahle, Gilliland [Creative; to Feb. 9] 13. *Beck, Ross, Kurman [Creative; Feb. 11-23] **Shows noted this month:** 14. Frank Pack [Creative; Feb. 4-16] 15. Sylvia Laks [Roko; Feb. 4-29]	10. Sol Wilson [Babcock; Feb. 16-Mar. 7] 11. *Skowhegan [Kaufmann; n. d.] 12. *Sloane, Blumenthal, Koop [Creative; to Feb. 11] 13. Charles Chapin [Creative; to Feb. 11] 14. *Six Painters [Creative; to Feb. 11] 15. *Houstoun, Olney, Findling [Creative; to Feb. 11]	3]
March		1. James Brooks [Peridot; to March 24] 2. Day Schnabel [Parsons; March 13-31] 3. Gar Sparks [Hugo; n.d.]	1. Carl Holty [New Art Circle; n. d.] 2. *"Portraits and Self-Portraits" [New School; March 3-17] 3. Richard Hunter [Hugo; March 4-22]	1. William Baziotes [Kootz; to March 7] 2. Eugenie Baizerman [New; to March 14] 3. Marca-Relli [Stable; March 12-April 4] 4. Jeannette M. Genius	1. Ian Hugo [Kaufmann Y.W.H.A.; n.d.] 2. Lynne T. Morgan [Strauss; March 15-3] 3. *San Francisco Painters [Kaufmann Y.W.H.A.; to March

		4. Melville Price [Hugo and Bodley; to March 3] 5. Perle Fine [Parsons; to March 10] 6. Sidney Simon [Grand Central; March 5-24] 7. Carl Pickhardt [J. Seligmann; March 12-31] 8. Keith Martin [Hugo; March 12-25] 9. Constantine Kermes [J. Seligmann; to March 3] 10. Louise Kruger [Artists' Gallery; March 10-29] 11. Esphyr Slobodkina [New School; March 19-28] 12. Ernest Lothar [Bodly; March 6-24] 13. Emil Hess [Parsons; to March 10] 14. Gertrude Tiemer [Wellons; March 5-17] 15. Giobbi [Eggleston; n. d.] 16. Hubert Davis [Eggleston; to March 10] 17. John Lear [Hugo; to March 10] 18. *Knickerbocker	4. Andrée Ruellan [Kraushaar; to March 15] 5. David Porter [Hugo; n.d.] 6. Ilya Bolotowsky [New Art Circle; March 3-29] 7. *Mixed Mediums [Peridot; to March 22] 8. Martin Bloom [Peter Cooper; n.d.] 9. Jeswald [A.F.I.; n.d.] 10. *Harry Mathes and Margaret Layton [Gallery 99; March 3-22] 11. Lumen Martin Winter [A.F.I.; to March 3] 12. *Newell, Nevelson, Mathes [Gallery 99; n.d.] 13. *"Watercolor Exhibition 1952" [National Arts Club; n. d.] 14. Johannes Niemeyer [New School; March 18-31] 15. Louis Evans [A.F.I; March 7-29]	[Contemporary Arts; March 16-April 3] 5. *One Hundred and Forty-eighth Annual [Pennsylvania Academy; n.d.] 6. Diane Esmond [Carstairs; March 3-12] 7. Constantine Abanavas [Contemporary Arts; March 9-27] 8. *Ippolito, Terris, Groell [Tanager; to March 15] 9. Staats Cotsworth [Hammer; March 17-31] 10. *First Annual [New School; to March 15] 11. *Prize-winning Serigraphs [Serigraph; to March 9] 12. Jo Davidson [Israel Exposition; n.d.] 13. Warrington Colescott [Serigraph; to March 16] 14. Joan Shaffer [Friedman; March 1-31] 15. Joseph Low [Friedman; n.d.] 16. *David and Sylvia Lund [Peter Cooper;	18] 4. Anthony Toney [A.C.A.; March 15-April 3] 5. Ann Mittleman [Argent; to March 13] 6. Alfred Zalon [Peter Cooper; n.d.] 7. David Leneman [Van Diemen-Lilienfeld; March 1-15] 8. Alice Pallain [Eggleston; to March 6] 9. *Seven Peruvian Artists [Galeria Sudamericana; March 6-27] **A few shows noted this month:** 10. George Nelson [Grand Central; to March 6] 11. Luigi Corbellini [Hammer; March 1-29]

		Artists' Fourth Annual [Laurel; n.d.] **Noted up- and downtown:** 19. Clara Klinghoffer [New School; March 5-15] 20. James Crumrine [Willow; to March 10]		March 13-April 15] 17. Julio de Diego [Heller; March 2-31]	
April		1. René Bouché [Tibor de Nagy; April 2-30] 2. Marie Menken [Tibor de Nagy; n.d.] 3. Kenneth Davies [Hewitt; April 10-28] 4. Emerson Woeffler [Artists' Gallery; to April 19] 5. Akiba Emanuel [Artists' Gallery; to April 21-May10] 6. David Hare [Kootz; April 17-May 7] 7. *Abstract Artists' Annual [Riverside Museum; n.d.] 8. Frank Kleinholz [Assoc. Amer.; April 9-30] 9. *Village Art Center Artists [Washington Square Inn; to April 30] 10. Edward Rager	1. David Smith [Willard and Kleemann; April 1-26] 2. A.E. Gallatin [Fried; April 7-30] 3. George Hartigan [Tibor de Nagy; to April 12] 4. Victor Candell [Grand Central Moderns; to April 12] 5. Harry Jackson [Tibor de Nagy; April 14-May 3] 6. Rosa Boris [Burliuk; to April 19] 7. William Christopher [RoKo; to April 26] 8. Myrl Ephrim [RoKo; April 7-30] 9. Samuel Wechsler [Modreal; n.d.] 10. Francis Wharton Stork [Forty-fourth Street; to April 22]	1. W.R. Leigh [Grand Central; April 14-May 2] 2. Joan Mitchell [Stable; April 7-25] 3. Nahum Tschacbasov [Heller; to April 11] 4. Henry Kallem [Salpeter; April 20-May 9] 5. James V. Harvey [RoKo; to April 23] 6. Gaylord Flory [Eggleston; April 6-18] 7. Sophie Herrmann [Heller; April 13-25] 8. Shirley Goldfarb [Village Art Center; to April 3] **Shows also noted this month:** 9. Vladimir Naiditch [Chapellier; n.d.]	1. Gwyl Mitchell [Gallery 47A; n.d.] 2. Arduino Nardella [Town Gallery; April 6-24] 3. Joseph Gans [Creative; to April 23] 4. Malcolm Edgar Case [Karnig; to April 10] 5. Marshall Howe [Barbizon; April 1-30] 6. *Contemporary Group [Kottler; to April 3] 7. *Modern Masters [Van Diemen-Lilienfeld; to April 10] 8. Gerrit Hondius [Artisans; April 2-20] 9. Alice Murphy [Chapellier; April 3-17] 10. *Glen Albertson, B.

		[Bodley; to April 21] 11. Herbert Scheffel [RoKo; April 2-26]	11. Dr. J. S. Efremoff [Village Art Center; to April 18] 12. Elizabeth Olds [A.C.A.; to April 12] 13. *Savage, Sommerburg, Gerardia [Village Art Center; to April 18] 14. Amy Hartung [Burliuk; April 20-May 3] 15. Ben Eisner [A.F.I.; to April 15]	10. Mark Baum [Salpeter; to April 18] 11. Alphonse J. Shelton [Grand Central; n.d.] 12. Edmond J. Fitzgerald [Grand Central; to April 4] 13. *Sculpture Prize-winners [Village Art Center; to April 3]	Houchins [Gallery 47A; April 4-25] 11. Bruno Krauskopf [Feigl; to April 10] 12. Vincent Trotta [Friedman; April 1-30] **Other shows noted this month:** 13. Shim Grudin [Artisans; n.d.] 14. Samson Shames [Karnig; n.d.]
May		1. Dorothea Greenbaum [Sculpture Center; to May 12] 2. Dong Kingman [Midtown; to May 26] 3. Seymour Franks [Peridot; to May 19] 4. Joann Gedney [Creative; May 14-26] 5. Vaclav Vytlacil [Feigl; to May 12] 6. *Intimate Mediums [Kootz; May 8-June 2] 7. Pat Collins [Barzansky; to May 12] 8. Joe Gans [Creative; to May 12] 9. William Muir [Sculpture Center; May 14-June 2]	1. Robert Laurent [Kraushaar; to May 3] 2. Aach [Creative; May 26-June 7] 3. Harold Paris [Village Art Center; to May 9] 4. U.N. Benefit [Grand Central; to May 3] 5. Nikolai Storm [RoKo; May 5-31] 6. *African Sculptures [Segy; to May 31] 7. Claude Dern [Argent; May 5-24] 8. *Associated Artists of New Jersey [Barbizon-Plaza; n.d.] 9. Vance Hunt [New School; n.d.] 10. *Recent American Paintings [Kraushaar; May 5-31]	1. Titina Maselli [Durlacher; May 5-30] 2. *Martin and Di Spirito [Sculpture Center; May 3-22] 3. *Abingdon Square Painters [Barzansky; n.d.] 4. *Opening Show [Tanager; to May 4] 5. Constantine Kermes [Seligmann; May 11-23] 6. *Alex Katz, Lois Dodd [Tanager; May 5-25] 7. Elsie Driggs [Rehn; to May 16] 8. *Nine Prize Winners [Village Art Center; n.d.]	1. *Collective Showing [Jerusalem Art Center; to June 1] 2. *American Paintings of the Late Nineteenth- and Twentieth Century [Hartert; to May 15] 3. Sari Dienes [Parsons; to May 8] 4. William Wachtel [Tribune; to May 9] 5. Louis Ribak [Salpeter; May 10-29] 6. Saul Shary [Salpeter; to May 8] 7. *Goodman, Ames, Laidman [Village Art Center; n.d.] 8. Dan Lutz [Milch; to May 15] 9. George Ratkai

		10. Alfred van Loen [Van Loen; to May 31] 11. *Prizewinners [Village Art Center; n.d.]	11. George Peter [Contemporary Arts; May 19-June 7] 12. *"A New Direction in American Art" [Grand Central; n.d.] 13. *Braca, Kerr, Dubin [Village Art Center; to May 9] 14. Jim Meade [Creative; to May 10] 15. *European Contemporaries [Feigl; to May 15] 16. *"In My Studio" [Salpeter; May 5-24] 17. Joe Wolins [Contemporary arts; to May 16] 18. *Howard, De Rich, Schwartz [Creative; May 12-24] **One man shows noted about town:** 19. Mary Muhlenberg [Forty-fourth Street; to May 24]	9. William Harris [Hewitt; to May 22] 10. *Negri and Du Plantier [Circle and Square; n. d.] 11. Kate Helsy [RoKo; to May 21] 12. *Prize-winning Prints [Truman; May 5-30] 13. John Wilson [Tribune; to May 11] 14. Charles H. Alston [Heller; to May 16] 15. Domenico Facci [Village Art Center; to May 15] **Shows also noted this month:** 16. Bernique Longley [Van Diemen; n. d.] 17. Cecile Bellé [Midtown; to May 23] 18. James A. Ernst [Barzansky; to May 18] 19. Henri Goetz [Circle and Square; n.d.]	[Babcock; to May 8] 10. Mary Lou Hofsoos [Village Art Center; n.d.] 11. *Arthur Schwieder Group [Milch; May 17-28] 12. *Fourth Spring Annual [Ganso; to May 19] 13. *Latin American Prints [Sudamericana; May 1-22] 14. Patricia J. Blake [Matrix; to May 15] 15. *Spring Exhibition [Korman; to May 8] 16. *Silver Jubilee Prize Show [Caravan; n.d.] 17. Shirley Zimmerman [Matrix; May 18-June 5] 18. Elizabeth Elser [Argent; to May 15] 19. Hansegger [Galerie Moderne; May 10-June 5] 20. Ellis Wilson [Copain; May 1-31 **Other shows noted this month:** 21. Ward Jackson [Copain; n.d.]

Summer (June-July-August)[4]	1. Clyfford Still [Parsons; n.d.] 2. Alexander Dobkin [A.C.A.; n.d.] 3. William Dacey [Artists' Gallery; June 15-30] 4. Jeanne Miles [Parsons; n.d.] 5. Selma Bluestein [Artists' Gallery; to June 14] 6. Anita Gooth [Creative; n.d.] 7. Robert Winthrop White [Artists' Gallery; n.d.] 8. *Bernard Simon and Jim Gellert [A.C.A.; to June 3]	1. Paul Delvaux [Janis; June 4-30] 2. Ad Reinhardt [Parsons; June 4-20] 3. Ben Shahn [Downtown; to June 8] 4. *"For Young Collectors" [New Gallery; June 11-30] 5. Walter Murch [Parsons; to June 2] 6. Carl Rabus [Artists' Gallery; June 2-22] 7. Nanno de Groot [Saidenberg; n.d.] 8. Lester Johnson [Artists' Gallery; n.d.] 9. Bernard Pfriem [Hugo; to June 9] 10. Sam Greenberg [Creative; to June 9] 11. Charles Sebree [Saidenberg; n.d.] 12. *Newbill, Rackliffe, Lerman [Creative; June 25-July7] 13. William Ivers [Creative; June 11-23] 14. Peter Ruta [Hugo; n.d.] 15. *Paintings and Sculpture [Hacker; to June 16]	1. Anna Hyatt Huntington [National Arts; to June 25] 2. *New Group [Tanager; to June 8] 3. Morris S. Lazaron [Van Diemen; to June 4] 4. Job Goodman [New School; June 16-July 7] 5. *"Six Americans" [J. Seligmann; June 2-18] 6. Paul René Gauguin [Natl. Serig.; to June 30] 7. Liz Clarke [Hugo; n.d.] 8. Boris Lurie [Barbizon-Plaza; to June 15]	1. Margaret Layton [Village Art Center; to June 5] 2. Michael Loew [Rose Fried; to June 13] 3. Fred Mitchell [Tanager; to June 18] 4. Hans Guggenheim [Creative; to June 13] 5. *Alex Aizer, Robert Minter [Creative; to June 13] 6. Richard Florsheim [Contemporaries; to June 6] 7. Romeo V. Tabuena [Village Art Center; to June 4] **Shows noted recently:** 8. Beatrice Fried [Creative; to June 13] 9. Mary H. Walker [Riebe; n.d.]	1. I. Rice Pereira [Durlacher; n.d.] 2. Adomas Galdikas [John Myers; to June 4] 3. Berthold M. Herko [Lightolier; n.d.] 4. *Summer Watercolor Exhibition [Pen and Brush; to Sept. 1] 5. *Moura Chabor and Adriaan Lubbers [Galerie Moderne; June 7-30] 6. *New Paintings and Sculptures [RoKo; to July 3] 7. *Murry Lebwohl, Gwyl Mitchell [Gallery 47A; June 4-25] 8. William Hall [Crespi; June 14-26] 9. Gorman Powers [Rehn; n.d.] 10. *Contemporary Group [Kottler; to June 5] 11. Ervin Nussbaum [Crespi; n.d.] 12. Serneaux-Gregori [Crespi; to June 12]

[4] The 1951 Summer issue is the Fiftieth Anniversary issue.

		Other exhibitions: 16. Inger Jacobsen [Regional Arts; n.d.] 17. Polia Pillin [Willow; to June 15]			**Other shows noted this month:** 13. H.E. Ogden Campbell [Barbizon; n.d.]
September	1. John Stephan [Parsons; Sept. 26-Oct. 13] 2. *Year's – End Review [Washington Square Inn; n.d.] 3. Mirta Cerra [New School; n.d.] 4. Louis Tavelli [Hacker; n. d.] 5. Patricia Tate [Arthur Brown; n.d.]	1. *Contemporary American drawings [Downtown; Sept. 5-22] 2. *Preview 1952 [New Gallery; to Sep.15] 3. Anne Tabachnick [Arena; to Sep.10] 4. Nancy Genn [New School; n.d.] 5. Phil May [Friedman; n.d.] 6. *Paintings, Prints, Sculptures [Hacker; to Oct.1] 7. *Four Newcomers [Creative; Sept. 17-29]	1. *Texas contemporaries [Knoedler; to Sept. 28] 2. Howard Bay [New Gallery; n.d.] 3. Florian Kraner [Friedman; n.d.] 4. Theyre Lee-Elliott [Iolas; n.d.] 5. *Summer Group [Passedoit; to Sept. 13] 6. Hazel McKinley [Hugo; n.d.]	no reviews initialled R.G.	no reviews initialled R.L.G.
October	1. Benjamin Kopman [Milch; Oct. 2-12] 2. Eugenie Baizerman [Artists' Gallery; Oct. 14-Nov. 9] 3. Louise Bourgeois [Peridot; Oct. 2-28] 4. Seymour Lipton [Parsons; Oct. 16-Nov. 5] 5. Marcel Vertes [French Embassy; n.d.]	1. Louis M. Eilshemius [Burliuk; Oct.1-13] 2. Felix Ruvolo [Viviano; Oct. 8-27] 3. *Younger Abstractionists [Peridot; to Oct.6] 4. Hugh Weiss [Hacker; Oct.8-28] 5. Gertrude Berrer [Artists' Gallery; to Oct. 18] 6. Si Lewin [RoKo; to	1. Mathieu [The Stable; Oct. 2-25] 2. Emmanuel Viviano [Contemporary Arts; Oct. 3-Nov. 1] 3. Ran-Inting [Ferargil; Oct. 6-30] 4. Irma Boehr [Eggleston; n.d.] 5. *"Summer Harvest" [Salpeter; to Oct. 4] 6. Sasha Kolin [Burliuk; Oct. 5-18]	1. Gaston Bertrand [Stable; Oct. 8-31] 2. *Exchange Exhibition [Grand Central Moderns; Oct. 5-24] 3. Wilhelm Kaufmann [St. Etienne; to Oct. 15] 4. Jane Wilson [Hansa; Oct. 13-26] 5. *Sports and Ballet [Associated American Artists; Oct. 5-24]	no reviews initialled R.L.G.

	6. Homer Gunn [Creative; Oct. 16-28] 7. *Non-objective Paintings [Museum of Non-Objective Painting; to Oct. 31] 8. Minna Citron [New School; Oct. 16-30] 9. Anne Ryan [Parsons; to Oct. 14] 10. John Ruggles [Artists' Gallery; to Oct. 12] 11. Erika Weihs [RoKo; Oct. 15-Nov. 8] 12. Amalia Perlman [Creative; Oct. 2-14]	Oct. 11] 7. *Newcomers [New Art Center; Oct. 8-Nov. 3] 8. *Mueller and Vasey [Artists' Gallery; n.d.] 9. *19th and 20th Century Americans [Milch; to Oct. 15] 10. Alfred Russell [Peridot; Oct. 8-Nov. 3] 11. Logdson [Burliuk; Oct. 14-Nov. 3] 12. Florence Ferman [Eggleston; Oct. 1-13] 13. Dorothy H. Pflager [Eighth Street; n.d.] 14. *Seven Painters [Third Street; Oct.2-Nov.1.] 15. *"Faculty Show" [New School; to Oct. 12] 16. Fay Gold [RoKo; Oct. 15-Nov. 7] 17. Harry Hering [Lenox; Oct. 1-31] 18. *Animals in Sculpture [Van Loen; Oct. 15-Nov. 19] 19. F. Charles Woodruff [Van Loen; n.d.]	7. Helen Liedloff [Creative; to Oct. 11] 8. *Sella and Long [Creative; Oct. 6-18] 9. *Newcomers [Kottler; Oct. 1-31] 10. *Frankl, Scott, Ginsburg [Creative; Oct. 22-Nov. 1] 11. A. F. Levinson (Burliuk; Oct. 19-Nov. 1) 12. Sophie Siegel [Creative; Oct. 13-25] 13. *Artists' Equity Group [Arthur Brown; to Oct. 8] 14. Willard Bond [Little Studio; Oct. 6-20] 15. Eilshemius [Burliuk; n. d.] 16. *Pre-season Exhibition [Contemporary Arts; to Oct. 8] 17. *Michael Berry* [Newton; to Oct. 4] 18. *Nineteenth and Twentieth-century Americans [Babcock; Oct. 1-31] **Shows noted this month:** 19. Emy Herzfeld [Friedman; n.d.]	6. Odette de Rich [Creative; Oct. 19-31 7. Tabuena [Assoc. Amer.; Oct. 3] 8. Harry Mathes [Kottler; Oct. 19-31] 9. *Fourth Annual Winners [Creative; to Oct. 3] 10. *Eleventh Annual Watercolor Exhibition [Village Art Center; to Oct. 2] 11. William Getman (Jackson; Oct. 7-24) **Shows noted recently:** 12. Morris Gerber [Kottler; to Oct. 3]	

November	1. *Young U.S. and French Painters [Janis; to Nov. 11] 2. Hartley-Maurer [Bertha Schaefer; Nov. 13-Dec. 2] 3. Taro Yashima [Modreal; n.d.] 4. Mark Samenfield [Peter Cooper; n. d.] 5. Josef Presser [RoKo; Nov. 12-Dec. 7] 6. Lee Kalmer [Regional Arts; to Nov. 18] 7. *Spiral Group [Riverside Museum; n. d.] 8. Wolfgang Behl [Bertha Schaefer; to Nov. 11] 9. Margery Ryerson [Grand Central; to Nov. 9] 10. Shimon [Tribune; to Nov. 15] **New York debuts:** 11. Art Wells [Modreal; n.d.] 12. Nancy Root [Eighth Street Gallery; n. d.] 13. Elga [Charles Fourth; Nov. 3-23]	1. Harvey Fite [Assoc. Amer.; to Nov. 3] 2. Richard Pousette-Dart [Parsons; n.d.] 3. *Spiral Group [New School; to Nov.6] 4. Amar Nath Sehgal [Newton; to Nov. 2] 5. Walter Quirt [New Gallery; Nov. 13-Dec. 1] 6. Anne Ryan [Parsons; to Nov. 3] 7. Joseph Stefanelli [New Gallery; to Nov. 10] 8. Lee Krasner [Parsons; to Nov. 3] 9. Picasso ceramics and drawings [Delius; n.d.] 10. Thomas Blagden [Milch; to Nov. 10] 11. Dina Kevles [RoKo; Nov. 11-Dec. 8] 12. Lucius Crowell [Ferargil; to Nov. 5] 13. Cyril Osborne [Kleeman; Nov. 5-Dec. 1] 14. Winslow Eaves [Contemporary Arts; to Nov. 2] 15. Hannah Moscon [Contemporary Arts; to Nov. 9]	1. *Campigli, Morandi, Music [Heller; to Nov. 15] 2. Karl Schrag [Kraushaar; Nov. 3-22] 3. Saul Baizerman [New Gallery; to Nov. 15] 4. William von Schlegell [Art Students League; to Nov. 6] 5. Jim Forsberg [New Gallery; to Nov. 8] 6. *Open Oil Competition (Village Art Center; to Nov. 7] 7. Elias Friedensohn [RoKo; to Nov. 13] 8. Miron Sima [Heller; Nov. 17-29] 9. Picasso graphics [New Gallery; Nov. 10-29] 10. *Morill, Gambini, Mathes [Village Art Center; n.d.] 11. Gertrude Shibley [Copain; Nov. 3-Dec. 31] 12. Jacob Lipkin [Village Art Center; n.d.] 13. *Permanent Collection [Art Students League; Nov. 10-30] 14. *Mary Burliuk's	1. Walter Kamys [Levitt; to Nov. 7] 2. Olga Goitein [Este; to Nov. 14] 3. Fritz Janschka [Este; to Nov. 14] 4. Attilio Salemme [Borgenicht; n. d.] 5. Jan Yoors [Hugo; to Nov. 7] 6. Lydia Bush-Brown [Pen and Brush; n.d.] 7. *American and French Contemporaries [Feigl; to Nov. 7] 8. *Charles Norman, Bernard Rosenquit [RoKo; Nov. 16-Dec. 9] 9. Rose Kuper [Argent; to Nov. 7] 10. Cynthia Green [Barzansky; Nov. 9-21] 11. Francisco Coll [Argent; Nov. 9-28] 12. William Gordon Smith, Jr. [Regional Arts; n. d.] 13. Ernest Lawson [Hartert; to Nov. 15] **Other shows noted this month:** 14. Thelma Brownette	no reviews initialled R.L.G.

	Up-and downtown: 14. C. Ivar Gilbert [Grand Central; to Nov. 4] 15. Dines Carlson [Grand Central; n.d.] 16. Joseph Barber [Grand Central; Nov. 7-18] 17. Lucille Hobbie [Eighth Street Gallery; n.d.]	16. Norman Lewis [Willard; Nov. 6-Dec. 1] 17. Arbit Blatas [Assoc. Amer.; to Nov. 10] 18. *Art of the South Seas [Carlebach; Nov. 6-Dec. 31] 19. *Annual Watercolor Exhibition [Village Art Center; to Nov. 2] 20. Louise Pershing [Contemporary Arts; Nov. 5-23] 21. *Artists' Equity [Arthur Brown; to Nov. 30] 22. Daniel Milsaps [Ferargil; n.d.]	Collection [Burliuk; Nov. 16-29] 15. Nicholas Burliuk [Burliuk; Nov. 2-15] **Shows noted this month:** 16. May Mirim [Village Art Center; n.d.] 17. Alexander Sideris [Barbizon; n.d.] 18. Kamens [Copain; n.d.]	[Pen and Brush; n.d.]	
December	1. Hale Woodruff [New York University; n. d.] 2. Jackson Pollock [Parsons; to Dec. 16] 3. Hedda Sterne [Parsons; Dec. 18-Jan. 6] 4. Mark Tobey [Willard; to Dec. 30] 5. Leonard Balish [Creative; to Dec. 9] 6. Anthony Terenzio [Creative; Dec. 11-23] 7. Streeter Blair [Carlebach; n. d.] 8. David Harris [Free	1. Charles Salerno [Weyhe; to Dec. 31] 2. Louis Guglielmi [Downtown; to Dec. 8] 3. Rollin Crampton [Peridot; Dec. 3-31] 4. Sidney Gordin [Peter Cooper; Dec. 17-Jan. 5] 5. Jerry Cohen [Village Art Center; n.d.) 6. *Religious Sculptures [Argent; to Dec. 15] 7. Nathalie Pervouchine [Eggleston; to Dec. 8] 8. Edith Blum	1. Jackson Pollock [Janis; n.d.] 2. Mariska Karasz [B. Schaefer; to Dec. 20] 3. Lily Michael [New Gallery; Dec. 8-30] 4. Larry Rivers [Tibor de Nagy; Dec. 9-Jan. 3] 5. Madeline Hewes [Walker; to Dec. 6] 6. Howard Cook [Grand Central Moderns; Dec. 2-23] 7. Harry Beidleman [Copain; Dec. 2-Jan. 6]	1. George Ortman [Tanager; to Dec. 10] 2. Rolf Gérard [Schoneman; to Dec. 5] 3. Fernando Bosc [Barzansky; to Dec. 7] 4. Anne Tabachnick [Johannes; to Dec. 12] 5. *Brands and Trova [Creative; to Dec. 4] 6. Joseph Kaplan [Salpeter; to Dec. 5 7. Thamar Benaki [Argent; to Dec. 19] 8. *Garrison and Brandt	no reviews initialled R.L.G.

	Forms; n. d.] 9. *New Paintings [Peridot; to Dec. 23] 10. Forrest Bess [Parsons; Dec. 18-Jan. 6] 11. Martin Nelson [RoKo; Dec. 10-Jan. 4] 12. Judson Smith [Hacker; to Dec. 2] 13. Carlyle Brown [Viviano; to Dec. 2] 14. R. R. Tacké [Binet; to Dec. 15] 15. *Ethel and Jenne Magafan [Ganso; n. d.] 16. Manuel Casanova [Newcomb-Macklin; n. d.] 17. Wong Suiling [Friedman; Dec. 1-30]	[Albatross; n. d.] 9. David Moreing [Milch; n.d.] 10. *Burwell, Long and Case [Village Art Center; n.d.] 11. *Linda and Kantilal Rathod [New India House; to Dec. 14] 12. Lawrence Kupferman [Levitt; to Dec. 24] 13. Leona Pierce [Weyhe; n.d.] 14. Mary Steele [Argent; Dec. 18-Jan. 5]	8. Arthur Kaufmann [New School; n.d.]	[Creative; to Dec. 4] 9. *Leiber and Weinstein [Perdalma; to Dec. 4] 10. Eugenie Baizerman [New Gallery; Dec. 7-31] 11. *Pasto and Simboli [Creative; to Dec. 4] 12. Enit Kaufman [Van Diemen-Lilienfeld; to Dec. 3] **Other one man shows noted:** 13. David Stewart [Barbizon; n.d.]	
R. (L.) G. reviews: 558	**59**	**153**	**138**	**129**	**79**