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A

HENRIETTA SHORE
AMERICAN MODERNIST

by

CYNTHIA ROZNOY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Art History in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

2003

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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* Photographed by Richard Roznoy with permission of the institution/collector.

Introduction

The Canadian-born American painter Henrietta Shore (1880–1963) was a significant art figure in the Los Angeles art world of the 1910s and 1920s, and had some fame in New York in the 1920s. Yet the philosophical instigations to her work and her innovative imagery have eluded easy classification. On one hand, she is aligned with her contemporaries Georgia O'Keeffe and Arthur Dove, on the other, she is difficult to categorize because her output was inconsistent. As a result, her art is seldom included in studies of the period and is unknown to the general public.

This study defines Shore's status in the American modernist movement, placing her in the wider context of 20th century modernism and feminism. It opens a new chapter on the interpretations of women's contributions to art. Here, by firstly, casting Shore as an adherent to those same philosophies and as a developer of that same formal vocabulary that have identified Stieglitz circle artists as modernists. Secondly, by identifying Shore's pioneering of female sexual imagery. I investigated her imagery in terms of sexuality in light of her biography that demonstrates that though not publicly stated, Shore was a lesbian.

Though Shore's contribution to American art has been undervalued this study is not intended solely as a corrective. It

was more important to locate the artist and her works within a matrix of ideas and forces that propelled her and to examine the choices she was given in order to survive the art world of her productive period of approximately fifty years, from 1900 to 1950. This study is structured on women's history, considering art, women, and culture together. Researching Shore's life and work involved surmounting numerous barriers, the primary one being a lack of extant documentation concerning her personal and professional relationships. If Shore kept scrapbooks, correspondence or diaries, they were lost either upon her institutionalization or at the time of her death. While there are some archived materials—sketchbooks, family letters, newspaper clippings and mementos—in the family collection, I speculate that some material was lost as a result of Shore's own editing. This self-editing was most likely done in response to societal prejudice against her lesbianism. In her construction of a lesbian history Laura Cottingham quoted the London-based Lesbian History Group: "Lesbians do not usually leave records of their lives. Those who do may not include any details which would identify them as unmistakably lesbians."¹ Facing social censure and the subsequent dismissal of her art, Shore never commented (in anything that is currently known) about her sexual life,

¹ Lesbian History Group, *Not a Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in History, 1840-1985*, (London: Women's Press, 1993) quoted in Laura Cottingham, *Notes on lesbian*, (Art Journal, Winter 1996), p. 72.

fashioning instead a self-representation and exploration of sexuality in some of her work. Shore's acceptance of the nude as a legitimate genre for women artists and her use of the nude self-portrait prefigured the sexual and erotic themes that characterized feminist art of the 1960s and 1970s.

The rehabilitation of Henrietta Shore's reputation as a modernist and an artist of note had early support in the form of a distant relative who recognized the strength of Shore's artistry. Andrée Hollindrake Dell, the widow of Shore's great-nephew, began in the early 1980s to collect Shore's paintings, to archive the family papers, and to conserve and frame her works. At the same time, Penny Perlmutter, a collector and gallery owner in San Francisco, also recognized Shore's contribution. Perlmutter assisted Dell in promoting Shore's paintings and furthering her recognition. Their efforts led to the retrospective of Shore's work organized by the Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art in 1986-87, "Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition: 1900-1963."

Monterey Peninsula Museum director Jo Farb Hernandez, in her introduction to the exhibition catalogue, identified the overdue presentation of Shore's works as a "rediscovery of the strength of Shore's oeuvre". One of the exhibition goals, Hernandez wrote, was to "restore [Shore's] rightful place in art history."² The

² *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition, 1900-1963*, exh. cat. (The Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, 1986), p. 4.

exhibition was successful in making that major leap, for it gathered together more than thirty-five paintings, fourteen drawings, and eighteen lithographs, about a quarter of Shore's oeuvre. Organized by the museum's curator of exhibitions, Richard Lorenz, the retrospective initiated a reassessment of Shore's role in American art history and began to piece together the fabric of her life and artistry. Roger Aiken, professor of art at Creighton University, Omaha, Nebraska, contributed an essay identifying the shared influences between Shore and photographer Edward Weston.

The initial excitement generated by this retrospective coincided in the 1980s with an interest in Californian art of the twentieth century. New tastes and scholarly judgments reawakened interest in Shore's art and life. Shore's story seemed intriguing and it seemed strange to me that her contributions were treated in a cursory fashion. Her art and her activities were essential ingredients of the American modern art account and were worthy of a dissertation. Her unique style, a combination of strong line and reductive forms drawn from nature, was based on her studies of the transcendental ideology of Walt Whitman, the spiritual philosophy of Henri Bergson, the metaphysics of nature explored by Goethe, and the aesthetic arguments of Wassily Kandinsky. She brought this innovative imagery to Los Angeles. She was a major conduit of modernism to Southern California through her organization of arts groups and exhibition venues such as the Los Angeles Modern Art

Society and the Modern Art Workers. Additionally, her emphasis on line and clean shapes forecast the development of Precisionism in the following decade.

Shore met Edward Weston in Los Angeles in the late 1920s. Then the more famous of the two, Shore mentored the younger photographer. Her art and critique made a significant impact on Weston's art. As Karen Quinn has identified "Shore's work gave rise to one of the few times in his career that Weston wrote extensively about his reaction to another artist's work and its impact on his own."³ Weston disseminated the modernist ideal Shore so enthusiastically advocated.

An activist in supporting women's art, Shore was a founding member of the New York Society of Women Artists and a fighter for the cause of progressive women painters through the Los Angeles group she co-founded, the Modern Art Society. Gallery owner Penny Perlmutter, who specializes in finding and promoting the work of California's women artists, was instrumental in making Shore's work more accessible. Institutions such as the Monterey Peninsula Museum, the de Saisset Museum, and the Orange County Museum now show interest in exhibiting Shore's work. The major part of Shore's oeuvre remains in the family collection, the Dell

³ Karen Quinn, "Universal Rhythms: Edward Weston and Modernism after 1927," in *Edward Weston: Photography and Modernism* (exh. cat. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1999), p. 88.

Collection, and benefits from Andrée Dell's efforts for conservation and display.

In an Art News article in which curators, critics, and artists were asked whom they thought might be ripe for rediscovery, Henrietta Shore was identified as deserving to be brought out of obscurity and worth a reappraisal.⁴ Collectors have taken notice. A painting of Shore's late years, *Gloxina by the Sea* (1935-40, Collection of Robert Simpson, Long Beach, California) found a place in a private collection after being ranked in 1990 as a "masterpiece" by *Los Angeles Times* critic Christopher Knight. This notable painting, along with other remarkable paintings, never sold during Shore's lifetime. Shore's paintings are now valued at thousands of dollars, monies she could have benefited from during her lifetime. The lack of financial success must have caused despair and distress, yet Shore never faltered in the pursuit of her painting career, a career she felt compelled to pursue from her youth.

Recognized in 1927 by Los Angeles Times art critic Arthur Millier as one of the United State's best woman painters, Henrietta Shore is now mostly unknown. Clearly, Robert Henri's most successful woman student, Shore enjoyed many one-person exhibitions at major institutions such as the Los Angeles Museum

⁴ Ann Landi, "Ripe for Rediscovery," *Art News* (November 1996), p. 119.

and New York's Kraushaar Gallery.⁵ She was one of the women artists chosen to represent the United States in an exhibition of contemporary American Art presented in Paris in 1924 and she was given a mid-career retrospective at the Wooster Museum of Fine Arts in Massachusetts in 1923. Shore's work fell out of fashion, however, long before her death at the age of 83. On one hand, as she aged, she failed to consistently produce work of great quality. On the other, new stylistic developments after the 1920s including surrealism, regionalism, and eventually abstract expressionism dominated the art world in which her more naturalistic renditions found little favor. Furthermore, her decision to make Carmel, California her home after 1927 removed her from the locus of California art activity in Los Angeles and from the center of the American art world, New York.

Though Shore's name is a staple in encyclopedias and dictionaries of women artists, it is only in the past two decades, when feminist and other revisionist art historians have helped to write American art history, that texts have provided recognition of Shore's contributions. Exhibition catalogues have been the primary source of documenting Shore's activities and works. *South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination* (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1993), *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945* (Autry Museum of Western Heritage,

⁵ See Appendix, "Exhibition History."

Los Angeles, 1995) and *Circles of Influence: Impressionism to Modernism in Southern California Art* (Orange County Museum of Art, Newport Beach, 2000) are unusual in the significance accorded Shore's efforts. For the most part, she continues to be unrecognized for the modernist contributions she made. In describing her professional life, this dissertation identifies Shore as a major transmitter of modernist ideas from New York and an important stimulus to modernist activity in Southern California. The study of Shore's personal life against the broader social issues of her time, particularly the changing attitudes to women's friendships and new investigations into female sexuality, provides insight into reading her encoded imagery. A chronological examination of her works identifies her stylistic development.

Until the late 1980s, when California interest in Shore peaked with the retrospective exhibition at the Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art in Carmel, her work was largely unavailable to the public. Now California museums are acquiring her works. Many collectors have focused their attention on this period of American art. Shore's works are now making their way into private collections, still primarily on the West Coast. An affirmation of her larger impact occurred, however, when the Whitney Museum of American Art included Shore's 1921 painting *Two Worlds* in "The American Century" its exhibition celebrating the best art of the

twentieth century.⁶ An examination of Shore's art and life will contribute to the recovery of a significant player in the development of American modernism.

⁶ "The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900-1950, Part I," organized by Barbara Haskell, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1999.

Chapter 1 Formative Years in Canada

In Toronto, on February 10, 1880, Charlotte Hull Shore gave birth to her eighth child, a daughter, Henrietta. At forty years of age, Charlotte probably hoped this was the end of her childbearing. And her husband, Henry Shore, at age fifty-eight, would have been satisfied that this was the last of the brood, for he had definite plans about educating and providing for his children. Firstly, he wanted to ensure that they grew up in material comfort, and he did so. He was able to provide all the trappings of an upper-middle-class-life by making good business deals. Though he identified himself as a farmer to the 1881 census taker, Henry was a successful businessman. Mid-century Toronto was a highly competitive, complex society where great success could be had.¹ Starting with a little of his own capital and reaping the benefits available to a native-born Protestant, Henry found financial security in real estate. He was one of the pioneer investors in Manitoba, having made extended visits to Winnipeg, acquiring thousands of acres of land in the railway belt of British Columbia. Additionally, he early on recognized the profits to be had by holding vacant lands on the Toronto city frontier, for he

¹ See David Gagon, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). Gagon describes and analyzes the historical development of Ontario as a distinct region in Canada between 1850 and 1870.

took advantage of newly opened properties. In the first half of the nineteenth century, nearly 79 percent of the land in Peel County, where Toronto is located, was transferred from the Crown into private hands by sales, free grants, with or without payment of fees, or by privileged grants.² Shore held Dominion Land Grants for hundreds of acres, selling more than 450 acres of city land in 1878 alone.³

Educating his sons and daughters seems to have been the second priority Henry had in planning for his family. At least two of his four sons attended college. Egerton and Allan graduated from Toronto University in 1893 and 1895, respectively, and went on to have successful careers. Though there are no records of the oldest daughters' education, it might be assumed they had some private schooling. Elizabeth, Catherine, and Charlotte probably attended St. Margaret's School, which their younger sister, Henrietta, did. Private schools, which accepted both boarding and day students, proliferated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Canada's large towns and cities. They are evidence of

² Ibid., See Chapter 2.

³ Dominion Land Grants, Department of the Interior, Canada. Cross-Reference RG: 68, date of document 1878/03/05.

the desire of the new middle class to provide its daughters with the accomplishments and skills suitable to their status.⁴

Henry's good planning and financial success proved essential to his family's well being, for on May 1, 1882, Henry died suddenly at his home at 96 St. Patrick Street. A special train was provided to transport family and friends from Union Station to the Sandhill Cemetery. Just sixty years old, Henry left behind dependent children and a wife whose concerns centered on her family and home. Charlotte, widowed at a relatively young age, now had to take on the protector and breadwinner roles that had come so naturally to her husband. Fortunately, the family's material circumstances were not threatened, and Charlotte proved a capable mistress of the household. She maintained and furthered Henry's long-held desire to prepare their children for a productive and enjoyable adulthood.

Charlotte had shared her husband's goal of educating their children well and she took pride in their youngest child, Henrietta, who was only two years old at her father's death. While the toddler may have brought joy to her grieving mother, she was not made a "pet" and seems not to have enjoyed any of the special privileges sometimes allowed the youngest of a large family. Charlotte took pains in overseeing the quality of Henrietta's

⁴ Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds., *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1983), p. 35.

education, for even as a youngster, Henrietta was fond of making art, choosing to spend her time drawing rather than studying her books. But Charlotte was determined that her daughter finish her academic study and learn basic domestic skills before venturing to learn about art. Charlotte may have seen school as training for life, whereas women a generation earlier had received their educations at home. Perhaps she had been influenced by the newspapers and magazines of the period, that in the late 1870s through the early 1890s offered new ideas about women's instruction. Among the general endorsements for higher education for women was a new recognition of female selfhood.

Charlotte and her children continued to live on St. Patrick Street until early in 1890. The 1891 Toronto City directory documents a move that occurred in late 1890 and lists the Shore family's new address as 176 St. George Street. A family photograph of the house taken in the later years of the century reveals it to have been a house of wealth built to the latest fashion [fig. 1]. The large, very attractive granite and brick three-story home had arched entrances, pointed gables, and many windows. Stylishly decorated, the interiors had patterned rugs of Oriental design, the walls were papered and stenciled, and the ceilings were painted. Nothing was left unadorned: the wooden staircase featured carved floral garlands; the radiators were painted, and the doorways were hung with patterned draperies. Charlotte, in spite

of her husband's death, was able to continue the lifestyle befitting the family of a prominent man. In a culture in which serenity and nurturing were highly valued, Henrietta's mother succeeded handsomely.

As a child, Henrietta was most friendly with her brother, Wilfred, who was nearest her in age. A family photograph of the two young children captures them at ages six and eight. Both are charmingly dressed as they pose in the garden. Henrietta holds a book in her hands, has a bobbed haircut, and is wide-eyed and pretty. Another photograph [fig. 2], taken several years later at age twelve or so, at the time Henrietta recognized her desire to become an artist, reveals the adolescent girl. Her strong and even features are set off by a pageboy haircut. A studio photo [fig. 3] of Shore at about eighteen, shows a very attractive, fashionably dressed woman who exudes confidence and good humor. One would expect she enjoyed many friends, had many opportunities for gaiety, and had much to offer as she looked to her impending adulthood.

The 1870s and 1880s, years of Henrietta's youth, were a period of controversy and discovery as women's voices took to print in national magazines such as the *Canadian Monthly* and *The Champion* and in newspapers such as the *Christian Guardian*.⁵ The

⁵ See Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976) for a collection of primary source materials.

women's rights movement focused on the legal rights of women (control of property), their rights of citizenship (voting), and of individual liberties. Though Shore may have felt protected and ensured of a comfortable life, she recognized, as she entered young adulthood, that her own need for independence and her desire to become an artist fell outside the established pattern for her social class. She would have been sympathetic to suffrage and probably used the changing perception of women's roles to personal advantage. She may have taken to heart a question asked by the editor of a national magazine:

But it may be asked, still further, is woman to be a wife and mother? Some women, whether from choice or necessity, sustain neither of these relations.⁶

Henrietta wondered as she entered her teen years if her future would include marriage and children. We don't know of any beaux or marriage offers in Shore's life, and she remained unmarried and childless. She enjoyed the extended family of her siblings and their children and had many colleagues and some friends. For a woman born at a time when women's lives were shaped by societal norms, Shore would prove her individualism by performing outside

⁶ "The Woman Question," *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, May 1879, vol. 11, pp.568-79. Reprinted in *Ibid.*, p. 63.

the traditional restrictions in shaping her own identity and fashioning an independent life as an artist.

Chapter 2 Becoming an Artist

Shore often shared an anecdote describing her initial urge to paint, an experience she considered almost spiritual: "I was on my way home from school and saw myself reflected in a puddle. It was the first time," she observed, "that I had seen my image completely surrounded by nature, and I suddenly had an overwhelming sense of belonging to it--of actually being part of every tree and flower. I was filled with a desire to tell what I felt through painting."¹ Shore self-defined very early and diligently followed her star. At thirteen-years-old she took up a brush and with some oil paints produced a recognizable likeness.

A very early painting exists that demonstrates her undeveloped skill. *Girl with Dark Hair* (Dell Collection, Toronto)[fig. 4] is certainly a self-portrait. It matches closely the photograph of Henrietta at perhaps twelve where a dark-haired girl with black eyes is captured in three-quarter profile. The girl is a serious child whose affect is both trusting and determined. The painterly subject is the same girl as in the photograph, still childlike in preadolescence with a softly rounded face and flat torso. As she is untutored at this point, Shore's painting is more about the desire to become an artist than

¹ Quoted in Irene Alexander, "Henrietta Shore in One-Man Show," *Monterey Herald* (October 10, 1946), p. 11.

it is about artistic skill. Though unformed, there is an intimation of talent in the ambition of the composition with its three-quarter pose and its formal construction. The face lacks a believable bone structure, but the personal character is realized via its direct gaze toward the viewer, which is perceived as unwavering and candid. A thick black contour line forms the body and separates the girl from a loosely brushed background. Hints of the successful portraitist to come occur in the economical brushwork that produces the figure and in a felicitous use of white and gray in highlighting and shadowing. This portrait must date from 1893-95 when Henrietta recognized her urge to become an artist. In late nineteenth-century Toronto, this dream could become a reality.

While in her teens, Shore watched the fight for Canadian suffrage take form. The twenty-year period between the 1870s and the 1890s was an era of controversy and discovery as women's voices were expressed in print in magazines and newspapers. The national periodicals *Canadian Monthly* and *The Champion* and newspapers like the *Christian Guardian* brought news of the fight for equal rights to a wide audience. In a household like the Shores', which included a widow and three daughters, suffrage was a likely topic of conversation. Everyday discussions were apt to dwell on future opportunities that could include education, marriage, and career. Henrietta's mother, Charlotte, was

particularly keen on imparting some basic livelihood skills to her daughters and made sure they received some training beyond elementary school. Charlotte was supportive of Henrietta's dream of becoming an artist but wanted to ensure some instruction in the basics of housekeeping and self-care. Thus she demanded that Henrietta finish her academic and domestic training before she ventured to the study of art. Later in life, Henrietta related the story of her mother's educational requirement to a *Monterey Herald* reporter: "Study [mother said] to be an artist, but first learn to take care of yourself--for most artists know nothing about this."² Perhaps Charlotte was thinking of her own early widowhood, or perhaps she was thinking of school as providing a training for life that she, a generation earlier, had received at home.

Whatever prompted Charlotte's demand that Henrietta obtain a domestic training, it is probably linked to the discourse centered on women's education carried in the print media in the late 1870s through the early 1890s. Among the general endorsements for higher education for women and calls for ladies colleges, there was support for technical schools to provide training for housework. Writing in 1893 in an article for *The Canadian Magazine*, Helen Cameron Parker appealed to mothers who held traditional values of domesticity for their daughters. "If it be compulsory for a woman to be able to read and write, should it not also be compulsory for

² Ibid.

her to know how to cook a meal, and to make and keep a home?" she asked.³ In a similar vein, and with a nod to schools in the United States, including Vassar and Stanford, for establishing domestic science departments and recognizing that branch of study as necessary for the completeness of a woman's education, an editorial concluded that "With the addition of technical training, in woman's work, a college education would conduce to the welfare of home life."⁴ In any event, Henrietta stayed in school a few more years, completing a domestic science course before embarking on the study of art.

Shore had the opportunity to view both historical and contemporary art during her late teen years. In the late nineteenth century Toronto was the major art center in Canada. The Normal School, the only public art gallery in Ontario, had a collection of oil copies of the Old Masters, and the commercial gallery of Notman-Fraser was a locus of art activity. Beginning in 1880 with its founding, the Royal Canadian Academy became the major exhibition venue for contemporary artists. Much of the work produced during this period was in the conventional vein and was marked by an academic approach. Landscape subjects were primary as

³ Helen Cameron Parker, "Technical Schools for Women," *The Canadian Magazine* reprinted in Cook and Mitchinson, p. 147.

⁴ "The Labor Question and Women's Work and Its Relation to Home Life," compiled by the National Council of Women in Canada. Reprinted in *Ibid.*, p. 4.

artists sought to establish a national art and thus chose to convey the grandeur of their dramatic land. Until the turn of the twentieth century, landscape was used to express the artists' sense of themselves as Canadians. F. A. Verner's *The Upper Ottawa* (1882, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)[fig. 5] and John Fraser's *In the Rocky Mountains* (1886, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)[fig. 6] capture the quality of the sublime in the Canadian terrain and are typical of their period. Some artists did, however, look elsewhere for new means and approaches to express themselves; some studied in Paris. Among them was William Brymner whose *A Wreath of Flowers* (1884, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa)[fig. 7] demonstrates a period of French influence in Canadian art. This genre painting of young girls on a hillside amid tall grasses and flowers was considered advanced at that time because of its rich detail, subtle tones, and homey subject. This sort of imagery seems to have appealed to Shore, who would have been drawn to the painting's accessible subject matter. Indeed, young women are the constant subjects in the early years of Shore's career.

Shore repeatedly asserted that she had begun her painting education with Canadian artist Laura Muntz Lyall (1860-1930) at age fifteen.⁵ Maybe she was bragging of precocious skills or

⁵ See, for example, "Henrietta Shore, Born in Canada, Is Hard Worker," *Carmel Pine Cone* (August 25, 1939), p. 4.

perhaps her memory was unreliable, but Shore could not have studied with Lyall in Toronto in 1895 because Lyall was then in the middle of a seven-year sojourn in France. Most likely, Shore was eighteen years old when she began to study painting with Lyall.

Making the decision with whom to study was an easy one. Lyall's work was warmly received and widely exhibited and collected between 1890 and 1915. When Shore began her studies, Lyall had already achieved a singular honor as the first Canadian woman artist to be recognized in France, with her participation in the exhibitions of the *Société des artistes français*. Lyall had also established herself as a teacher; while in Paris she worked closely with American Wilhelmina Hawley and helped her operate a summer school in northern France. On her return to Toronto in 1898, Lyall took a teaching position at St. Margaret's College and opened a studio on Yonge Street. Students flocked to her--in particular, women--and her studio promised to "become a favourite resort of congenial spirits."⁶

An Impressionist, Laura Muntz Lyall was typical of Canadian artists who came of age in the 1880s when many of them looked

⁶ "Studio and Gallery," *Saturday Night* (December 16, 1899), quoted in Julia Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and as Subject in Canadian Painting, 1890-1930: Florence Carlyle, Laura Muntz Lyall, Helen McNicoll". MA thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, 1989, p. 157.

beyond Canada, to France, for new inspirations. For the most part, Canadians were attracted to academy artists such as Gérôme, Cabanel, and Bouguereau. Their naturalistic and highly finished style had enormous appeal. But outside the art schools Canadians could view French Impressionism and Post-Impressionism in commercial galleries in Canada and at the annual salons, including the Salon d'Automne and the Salon des Indépendants in France.

Lyall established herself in Paris from 1891 to 1898, after studying first in England and then in Toronto. She studied at the Académie Colarossi and traveled to Italy and Holland. Her European training resulted in a middle position between academic realism and modernism as evidenced in *A Daffodil* (1910, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) [fig. 8], a painting of a lavishly coifed young woman. Critics liked its subject, its colors, and its composition, though it was considered daringly modern with its lack of detail and its seemingly unfinished surface.⁷ Lyall won both critical and popular success with this type of work: progressive, impressionistic style and an emotive palette enhanced the sentimental narratives of women and children for which she became best known.

The intimacy between mothers and their children as well as children alone was a popular subject at this time. Maria Tippett,

⁷ Maria Tippett, *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1992), p. 33.

writing in *By a Lady: Celebrating Three Centuries of Art by Canadian Women*, has concluded that Canadian women painters in the late nineteenth century "were content" with the mother and child theme.⁸ While this subject allowed the female artist the chance to explore the topic as it was close to her, it was a step away from the convention that had defined landscape as appropriate Canadian subject matter. So for Shore the maternal theme as encouraged by Lyall's teachings would be a natural first choice.

Shore's talents, although still untutored in the mid-1890s, were developing. *Sister with Baby* (Dell Collection, Toronto) [fig. 9] demonstrates progression in her painting skills. This oval work, with its dark background, was probably cut down from a more standard rectangular canvas. The elimination of excess background works well in this case as it focuses attention on the central two figures. This pedantic study is strengthened by bold colors that indicate a growing confidence with her palette. Developing skills with the brush impart a structure to the figures; dimensions and weight take form with shorter, rounded brushstrokes. Characterization, however, is not yet achieved. But the viewer can see that an understanding of space and ground, an evolving brush technique, and the genesis of a strong, personal color sense mark the difference between this piece and earlier works. *Sister and*

⁸ Ibid., see Chapter 2, "Laying the Foundations."

Baby, quite possibly a portrait of Shore's nieces, dates from around 1896.

Shore continued painting women and children for many years, most likely taking as her subjects friends and neighbors who were in her circle, young women, who, as they married and began their families, turned to Shore to document their lives as young matrons. The subjects of *Miss Phyllis Sanford* (known by exhibition list) and *Portrait of Miss Maria Watson* (known by reproduction) [fig. 10] were probably of that group. They were part of Toronto's middle class, with funds to commission portraits, commissions that in turn supplied their friend her livelihood and encouraged a sisterhood of support.

The year 1898 was an exciting one for Shore. She started her art career by studying with one of Canada's best-received female artists; she began to produce work that moved her from amateur to professional; and she may have had opportunities to exhibit. An exhibition history produced for the catalogue that accompanied the Shore retrospective at the Monterey Peninsula Museum lists Shore's inclusion in an exhibition organized by the Royal Canadian Academy of Art in 1898.⁹ Documentation however, is not reliable.¹⁰ Though an exciting proposition, it is highly unlikely that Shore did

⁹ *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition: 1900-1963*, exh. cat. The Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, 1986-87, p. 4.

¹⁰ The source of exhibition information used by the Monterey Peninsula is an undated and unspecific written note in the Dell Collection.

participate in such an exhibition. Firstly, Shore's name is not among those listed on Academy exhibition checklists. Secondly, it is unlikely that a novice woman painter would have been invited to participate in a Royal Canadian Academy exhibition at that time.

In late nineteenth-century Canada, most art institutions were dominated by tradition and led by men. Upon its founding in 1880, the Royal Canadian Academy of Art elected only one woman to its permanent forty-member body.¹¹ In Toronto, the Arts and Letters Club and the Canadian Art Club were exclusively male, thus limiting exhibition venues and commissions for women artists. Unwilling to tolerate such discrimination, a group of women artists joined together in 1887 to form the Women's Art Club, a society for the professional and serious female artist. Lyall was a participant in this and in other art groups. A founder of the Saturday Sketch Committee, Lyall was also a member of the Ontario Society of Artists.¹² Lyall's active participation in Canadian arts organizations would have been a boon for her female students. Her membership in the Royal Canadian Academy of Art was matched by Shore's membership a few years later.¹³ Lyall's energetic

¹¹ Tippet, p. 39.

¹² Guallieri, "The Woman as Artist and as Subject (1890-1930)," pp. 158-59.

¹³ Shore was a member and exhibited with the Royal Canadian Society in 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1916. See Evelyn de R. McMann, *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: Exhibitions and Members, 1880-1979* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 374.

involvement in the art community of Toronto was observed by Shore, who early on gained an appreciation of the powers of art institutions and organizations. Throughout her artistic career, Shore joined and founded many arts organizations and actively promoted the development of exhibition opportunities for lesser-known artists. An awareness of the need to join with other women for support led Shore to become an associate member of the Women's Art Association of Canada in 1903.¹⁴

Laura Muntz Lyall's example of the independent, successful woman artist established a paradigm that Shore was to emulate in her personal life. A painting career, Lyall would instruct her young female charges, was demanding, and one needed to make a choice between conventional home life as a wife and mother or an independent career as a successful artist. A woman might devote her energies to family or painting, but never to both. Lyall herself chose the painter's life and did not marry until her middle age, in 1915, when she was fifty-five years old.

On the other hand, Charlotte Shore, whose wealthy, middle-class lifestyle had been assured by the financial resources left upon her husband's death, probably hoped Henrietta would marry. Would a Victorian woman choose not to marry? Opportunities were

¹⁴ Shore was an associate member of the Women's Art Association of Canada in 1903, 1911, and 1912, though there are no records of her exhibiting with them.

opening for advanced education, and there were new places for women in some professions, such as teaching and nursing, but overall there was only a marginal increase in the proportion of women who remained single in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Marriage would have been the societal norm.¹⁶ Additionally, Shore was probably considered eminently marriageable. She was from a wealthy family with social connections, and she was physically attractive. A photograph of Shore in her late teens [fig. 3] gives evidence of a brunette beauty with fine, regular features. Her large eyes add gravity to the smile she offers the camera. Her clothes are stylish--her dainty dress with delicate lace inserts and her plumed feather hat signal a concern with attractive presentation. Matrimony would have been the expected social outcome for this young woman. But Shore's dream of an artistic career challenged this conventional standard. There are no records of beaux, and no letters or diaries that give word to a young woman's desire to wed and have a family have survived. Shore most likely made the critical marital

¹⁵ Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds., *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920*, p. 109.

¹⁶ In the United States, at the turn-of-the-century, those women who went to college had a low rate of marriage and they married later than noncollege women. See Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 282. See also, Gail Levin, *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), p. 153. She describes Jo Nivison's choice to live independently of her family, "an alternative that was becoming increasingly common among college-educated daughters of business and professional families."

decision to avoid the security of domestic life when she went to art school. She developed her plans for the future not expecting a husband to make her life complete. As with many young people embarking on new ventures, Shore focused on the rewards of freedom and adventure. She wanted to live creatively, putting her energies into her art. Friendships with other women may have alerted her to their importance in her life in both the intellectual and sensual spheres. If Shore experienced libidinal confusion in her teens, it is likely that as she entered her marriageable years she delayed making a commitment to a man. Dedicated to her art, perhaps unwilling to ever take a husband, Shore chose to remain single.

Instead of marrying, Shore remained at her family home, living with her mother and oldest brother. Her other brothers, Wilfred, Egerton and Allan had left Toronto at the end of the nineteenth century. In the early years of the new century they were in business together in Portland, Oregon, dealing in real estate, mortgages, and bonds. In that year, Shore focused on her beginning career and directed all her energies to her studies. But a career marked by financial success and critical recognition was not an easy goal to achieve. As Maria Tippett points out, gaining social acceptance as an artist was something at which male art

students were most successful, even though women outnumbered men in every major art school in Canada during this period.¹⁷

Shore's studies with Lyall probably continued into the early years of the new century but not beyond, certainly not after 1905, when Lyall moved to Montreal. The poignancy that Lyall achieved in her best works of mother and children together was part of her legacy to her students, but as a subject it was not greatly successful for Shore. *Maternity* (known by reproduction) [fig. 11] lacks a tenderness and sympathy for the subject, though the mother may have been well known to Shore, and was possibly one of her sisters. For some artists, the image of the mother and child was an opportunity to explore maternal feelings and ideals of love and innocence. Shore failed to find accomplishment with this subject, perhaps because she lacked empathy. Though considered a "natural" subject for women because it was close to their environment and experience, Shore felt apart from this world of maternity.¹⁸ At twenty-one years old, Shore may have consciously transcended the stereotypical role society had assigned her, either as a mother herself or as a maiden aunt who would stand in for the mother to care for children, choosing, instead, to seek fulfillment as an independent new "bachelor" woman. She was talented, had the

¹⁷ Tippet, *By a Lady*, p. 28.

¹⁸ Nancy Mowll Mathews establishes this model in, *Mary Cassatt, A Life* (New York: Villard Books, 1994), pp. 185-189.

advantage of education, and had some degree of financial independence. She could see the potential for an independent life unencumbered by marital and family responsibilities.

Perhaps existing empathetic feelings toward motherhood were simply not expressed because Shore's painting skills were still poor and developing in *Maternity*, which must date from before 1898-99. In *Mother and Child* (Collection of Stephen and Beverly Berg-Hansen, Newport Beach, California) [fig. 12] the same woman is seated in an upholstered chair and holds the child on her lap. While it is altogether a more pleasing painting with its well-structured composition, this work, too, lacks character development; both mother and child are devoid of animation. Perhaps the most valuable tool Shore uses here is the brushed outline. The moving, dark contour line is key to Shore's best works, yet to come in the next decades. While there is evidence in this painting that the form-giving outline is special for Shore, it is also apparent that she has not yet learned its variety of use. That skill will develop as she explores different painterly styles and subjects.

In the last years of the nineteenth century, Shore produced a group of paintings that reflected the Lyall legacy. Two works evidence her increasing skill and link the nineteenth and upcoming, twentieth century. While demonstrating the rapid development of Shore's craft, *Shoeshine Boy* (watercolor, c. 1900,

Stephen Turner Gallery, Los Angeles) [fig. 13] and *Head of a Girl* (c. 1900, Stephen Turner Gallery) are amazing antecedents to works that Shore would create under Robert Henri's tutelage some five years hence. *Shoeshine Boy* marries the lushness of paint in loosely applied strokes Shore would have learned from Lyall with the candid presentation of a street child that Shore would see in Henri's work.

The theme of children became stifling after several years, and Shore began to look elsewhere for subject matter. With the new century come paintings that bear witness to new studies and developed skills. With increased skill and growing independence as an artist, Shore took the time to examine many things on her own. Additionally, she looked at other artists in her area to see what they produced. She saw that the emphasis on the academic naturalism popular during her youth was slowly giving way to a tentative modernism as Impressionism became more widely known in North America. In addition to the popular acceptance of Impressionism, there were two groups that would challenge the conservatism of late Victorian period Canadian art.

The Canadian Art Club (CAC), founded in 1907, was determined to lure European-trained (and thus more modern) Canadian talent back to Canada. CAC exhibitions of work by James Morrice, Horatio Walker, and Ernest Lawson showed that Canadian artists could measure themselves against international standards. The Group of

Seven, under the leadership of Lawren Harris, began as a fledging group of like-minded artists in 1913. They were determined to paint the essence of Canada in a distinctly Canadian visual language. Naming themselves as a group in 1919, their first public exhibition took place in 1920, long after Shore had departed Toronto. The idiosyncratic landscape artist Emily Carr was an artist of Canada's West Coast and there is no evidence that Shore and she had an acquaintance. There is also no evidence to support contact between Shore and artists of the Canadian Art Club and/or the Group of Seven, yet the aesthetic ideas and ideals that permeated Canadian thought in the opening years of the twentieth century were bound to have an impact here. The Canadian imprint, slow in making itself known, appears in Shore's mature works and demonstrates affinities between Shore and her Canadian peers.

Among Toronto women artists that Shore probably knew are Estelle Kerr (1879-1971) and Mary Wrinch (1877-1969), other Canadian women who studied with Lyall. It is likely that they met at Lyall's studio, though it does not appear that there were any obvious personal connections between them. Like Shore, Wrinch picked up on Lyall's subjective, emotive coloration, turning to the Canadian landscape for her subjects. Wrinch's scenes were color saturated, moody, and wild. Estelle Kerr, who won support for her illustrations, traveled to New York for further study, as did Shore. The two women must have recognized that travel to

cosmopolitan cities outside of Canada was crucial for the achievement of artistic status.

Chapter 3 Seeking a Wider World

With the new century, Shore made the decision to leave Toronto and travel to New York. The previous few years had been encouraging for Shore's career, and she was now ready for advanced training. Many Canadians traveled to the United States to receive art education. The Art Students League in New York attracted many of them, for there were no entrance exams, and the student could choose her course of study. Some newspaper articles and biographies indicate that Shore studied at the Art Students League, though no records of her attendance there exist.¹

Conflicting accounts about Shore's New York studies abound. It is known that she sometimes exaggerated her past, for example, the tale of studying with Laura Lyall at age fifteen. (This tale was embellished in 1946 to identify Lyall falsely as "the gifted

¹ Among the many accounts that mention Shore studied at the Art Students League are: Irene Alexander, "Henrietta Shore in One-Man Show," *Monterey Herald*, October 10, 1946, n.p.; Penny Dunford, *A Biographical Dictionary of Women Artists in Europe and America Since 1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); and Jules Heller and Nancy G. Heller, *North American Women Artists of the Twentieth Century, A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995), p. 509. None of these provide supporting evidence for the assertion, and there is no proof that Shore studied there: The archivist of the Art Students League, Stephanie Cassidy, found no records of her attendance in enrollment records at the League. Additionally, Shore's name does not appear on student registers, 1877-1905, of Art Students League records at the Archives of American Art, New York, Smithsonian Institution, reels NY59/20-NY59/29. Moreover, the Art Students League was often confused with the New York School of Art as both were located on West 57th Street.

daughter of a Polish countess and a British younger son".)²

Furthermore, there is nothing directly from Shore that identifies a particular New York school. All accounts of her New York art studies mention the artist-teachers William Merritt Chase, Robert Henri, and Kenneth Hayes Miller, and most of these accounts indicate that Shore would spend six months annually in New York studying and the other six either in London or in Toronto. This basic chronicle can be substantiated by Josephine Nivison, who knew Shore as a fellow student at the New York School of Art. Jo Nivison wrote in a letter about the friendship that she developed with Shore, whom she called Etta, when they were at art school together.³ The two women attended classes at the New York School of Art between 1904 and 1906. It was there that Shore studied with Chase, Henri, and Miller.

Spurred by Laura Lyall's departure from Toronto to Montreal in 1905, Shore decided to go to New York where her brother Wilfred was working in a bond house. Shore had set her sights on studying with the celebrated William Merritt Chase. Attracted by his reputation as a great portraitist, she decided to attend the New

² Irene Alexander, "Henrietta Shore in One-Man Show," *Monterey Herald* (October 10, 1946), p. 17. Lyall's father operated an unsuccessful farm in central Ontario.

³ Nivison to Henri, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Yale University, Beinecke Library as cited in Gail Levin, *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

York School of Art.⁴ Her previous studies had concentrated on portrait painting, so Shore would have considered learning from Chase a great benefit in furthering her art. She looked forward to improving her technique and developing a more urbane style. In fact, Chase's dashing portraits of cosmopolitan society inspired Shore in her move away from painting the sentimental scenes of women and children she had spent much time producing heretofore. An attraction to Chase must have occurred as a result of Shore's viewing of his work, if not firsthand, then in journals and magazine accounts. In a review published in the March 1898 issue of *The Illustrated American*, critic Charles De Kay commented on Chase's superior skills in painting women: "Chase excels in his portraits of women," the journalist wrote, "because he never descends to flattery of his sitter through smooth, unmeaning features and pretty gowns and furbelows, but gives them distinction of expression and paints draperies and flesh with a rare skill that seldom fails to come at his call."⁵

Chase was one of American's most celebrated artists and admired teachers at the turn of the century. At the New York

⁴ Chase had founded the Chase School in 1896 and taught there until 1907. After he relinquished administrative control in 1898, the school reorganized as the New York School of Art.

⁵ Charles De Kay, "Notable American Painters," *The Illustrated American* (March 12, 1898), p. 322, quoted in Barbara Dayer Gallati, *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1995), p. 112.

School, Shore enrolled in Chase's life class, where she was subject to his forceful personality and direct teaching manner. One of Chase's primary teaching tools was the weekly critique, which was anticipated with both excitement and some anxiety by his pupils because they were sometimes cruel. Georgia O'Keeffe, a pupil of Chase's at the Art Students League in 1907 (Chase left the New York School in 1907), identified the feelings of apprehension that appeared as review drew near, saying, "the women in his Life Class were terrified of his sharp criticism."⁶ Another student referred to these critical sessions as being "almost as cruel as the study of vivisection."⁷

Shore was among the women to suffer the pain of a Chase critique. While still a new pupil, she came under review. Chase stood in front of Shore's paintings and, apparently finding much to censure, offered a vicious criticism. During the following week Shore worked diligently to correct the faults Chase had identified. The next week, Chase again stood in front of Shore's painting, and this time his criticism was the reverse of what he had offered the week before. "So much so that he said she was a person who could never be guilty of those faults which had been

⁶ Bram Dijkstra, *O'Keeffe and the Eros of Place* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 71.

⁷ Katharine Cameron, *The Artist as Teacher: William Merritt Chase and Irving Wiles*, exh. cat. (East Hampton, New York: Guild Hall Museum, 1994), p. 10.

hers only the week before."⁸ So after only a month, finding Chase both inconsistent and unhelpful, Shore was determined to find a new teacher. She found him in the person of Robert Henri, a Chase rival and fellow teacher at the New York School, where Henri taught from 1902 to 1908, leaving to open his own school.⁹

One of the first influential artist-teachers to celebrate the avant-garde in America, Robert Henri encouraged his students to develop ideas independent of academic conventions. Under his spirited leadership, his students added to the traditional subject matter of portraiture and still life by portraying scenes of everyday urban life. Stimulated by his personable teaching style and his theory of art, Shore forged an empathetic relationship with Henri that endured for almost two decades. Through correspondence, at least, Shore and Henri maintained a student-teacher relationship for about ten years. Afterward, in the 1920s, the two shared a mutually respectful relationship as peers, sometimes showing in the same group exhibitions in California.

In addition to teaching painting, Henri encouraged his students to experience all artistic mediums, including dance and literature. Classroom discussions sometimes touched on Rousseau,

⁸ Shore related this story to a Carmel reporter, printed in "More Attention to Basic Principles," *The Carmel Pine Cone* (October 10, 1946), Archives, Carmel Public Library, Carmel, California.

⁹ Henri resigned because of unpaid salary. See Bennard B. Perlman, *Chronology of Robert Henri's Life and Art in Robert Henri, Painter*, exh. cat. Delaware Art Museum, 1984, p. 169.

Ibsen, Emerson, and Whitman.¹⁰ Henri seems to have been particularly sympathetic to Whitman's work, often describing the poet's writings and quoting them in lectures.¹¹ Henri admired the transcendentalist's ability to find "great things in the littlest things of life"¹² and for locating the source of his poetry in his own emotional and personal nature. As a conduit for Whitman's philosophy, Henri acted to bring transcendentalism to some forward-looking artists of the new century. Henri, who regarded art as a spiritual force, gave voice and an iconographic method to the intimate ties between art and life. It is likely that the instigation for locating the spiritual in art that was to appear in Shore's works several years later originated with these discussions in class.

Shore had been exposed to Whitman's poetry prior to her studies with Henri, for the type of transcendentalism promoted by Whitman was particularly influential in Canada at the turn of the

¹⁰ See, for example, "An Address to the students of the School of Design for Women, Philadelphia," written 1901, in Robert Henri, *The Art Spirit* compiled by Margery A. Ryerson (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1960), pp. 78-87.

¹¹ The significant essay to address Whitman's impact on Henri is Matthew Baigell's "Walt Whitman and Early Twentieth-Century American Art" in *Walt Whitman and the Visual Arts*, Geoffrey M. Sill and Roberta K. Tarbell, eds. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), pp. 121-41. Max Kozloff's "Walt Whitman and American Art" in *The Artistic Legacy of Walt Whitman*, Edwin Haviland Miller, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1970), pp. 29-53, is a more general examination of Whitman's influence on American art and architecture.

¹² "Individuality and Freedom in Art," reprinted in Henri, *The Art Spirit*, p. 142.

century. R. M. Bucke, the London, Ontario author promoted Whitman's beliefs in close contact with nature, in intuitive wisdom, and in individual freedom. Trained as a doctor, Bucke spent most of his professional life as the superintendent of the Hamilton Asylum in Ontario. There, his work with the mentally ill reinforced his natural curiosity about psychological experience and led to his lifelong interest in the "science of the evolution of the human mind."¹³ This evolution to a new consciousness was, in Bucke's eyes, centered in Walt Whitman's poetry. *Leaves of Grass* was read and reread for its keys to attaining cosmic consciousness.¹⁴ Bucke's progressive evolutionism and mystical philosophy found voice in Whitman's words. Bucke published three books based on his unconventional religious beliefs, his most famous being *Cosmic Consciousness: A Study in the Evolution of the Human Mind* in 1901. Canadian artist and Shore contemporary Lawren Harris (1885-1970) called *Cosmic Consciousness* the greatest book by a Canadian and he, among other Canadian artists, attributed his

¹³ Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). Cook provides an extensive and illuminating account of Bucke's utopian view.

¹⁴ The search for spiritual truth led American modernist Marsden Hartley to Bucke's text. Hartley also shared Shore's interest in Madame H.P. Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society which he learned about as a result of his reading Wassily Kandinsky's *The Spiritual in Art*. See Gail Levin, "Marsden Hartley and Mysticism," *Arts Magazine*, November 1985, pp. 16-21.

mystically inspired paintings to the ideas offered in the book.¹⁵ American artists also identified *Cosmic Consciousness* as a revelation and inspiration. Marsden Hartley acknowledged it to be one of the sources from which he learned how to express his spiritual experiences.¹⁶

These elementary lessons in locating the spiritual in nature and giving it a visual iconography was fixed in Shore's mind in the period around 1906 to 1907. It would take many years and further experiences, however, for the idea to reach maturity. At this time, while still a pupil, Shore focused on the basics, learning to look analytically and developing her technique.

Shore was among the young trainees who gathered around the exciting teacher who rejected the Chase credo of Art for Art's Sake, preaching instead, Art for Life's Sake. "The school," Henri wrote, "is not a place where students are fitted into the groove of rule and regulation, but where personality and originality of vision are encouraged, and inventive genius in the search for

¹⁵ Lawren Harris was the leader of the Canadian Group of Seven, artists who exhibited separately and together in Toronto between 1913 and 1931. The Group of Seven asserted the primacy of Canadian subject matter as vital to the essence of creating a national art. The Group's work as a whole assumed a relationship between art and religion. Their first exhibition as a group occurred in 1920. During the 1920s the group garnered critical and popular acceptance and wielded national influence.

¹⁶ Gail Levin, "Marsden Hartley and the European Avant-Garde," *Arts* (September 1979), pp. 158-163.

specific expression is stimulated."¹⁷ "His teaching," Nivison stated, "was so broad. It amounted to a philosophy of life, a religion, and was never confined merely to putting paint on canvas. The search for character was a dominating interest in the treatment of a subject."¹⁸ "It isn't the subject but what you feel about it,"¹⁹ Henri advised his pupils. "Painting is a language, a method of exchanging ideas between humans."²⁰

These pronouncements appealed to Shore who combined lessons learned by both her teachers by choosing children, Lyall's focus of interest, as subjects while incorporating the painting methods and ways of seeing that Henri endorsed. Two Shore paintings from this period, approximately 1905-08, have children as its major element. *Girl with Blue Ball* (Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco) and *Boy with Blue Balloon* (whereabouts unknown) [fig. 14] are typical Lyall subjects, but their painting style, with its vigorous execution, is certainly the result of study with Henri. Known to us by its reproduction, *Boy with Blue Balloon* captures the subject's youthful vitality. Bright color and reflected light

¹⁷ "Letter" in Henri, *The Art Spirit*, p. 233.

¹⁸ Frank Crotty, "Sharing Emotion with Others," *Worcester Sunday Telegram*, Feature Parade section (February 1, 1959), p. 21; quoted in Gail Levin, *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography*, p. 151.

¹⁹ Quoted in *Robert Henri & Five of his Pupils*, exh. brochure (New York: The Century Association, 1946), n.p., essay by Helen Appleton Read.

²⁰ Guy Pène Du Bois, "Du Bois Tells How He Met Real Life," *Life* magazine, June 20, 1949, p. 70.

impart a sense of dynamism. Though this appears at first to be a simple painting, closer examination reveals it to be a fine demonstration of developing craft in use of line and brushstroke. The composition mixes diagonals and circles that push the highlighted sphere of the balloon forward, out of the darkened background. The shape-forming outline is strong yet malleable. Though slightly sentimentalized as in the Lyall fashion, the boy is more Henri-like in his of-the-street casual appearance, a subject of many Henri paintings (see, for example, *Portrait of Willie Gee*, 1904, Newark Museum). The dramatic lighting and dynamic brushwork also comes from Henri.

In "A Letter of Criticism" to an unknown recipient, Henri touches on points that could easily apply to Shore. Henri advises the painter that the work shows "artistic temperament," that the artist has the gift of color and "a big line." "It often gets cramped, but the big line is there and it can grow." He also favorably critiques a painting, *Children with the Balloons*, remarking that it "is beautiful in color, in child action."²¹ Henri's criticism could have been addressed to Shore's paintings of that subject matter. *Girl of the Ghetto* (known by exhibition list) suggests by its title that it, too, is part of Shore's output while under Henri's tutelage.

²¹ Henri, *The Art Spirit*, pp. 180-84.

Shore's work did not go unnoticed during this period. She was an emerging artist when one of the first critical reviews of her work appeared in *The [Toronto] Globe* on February 23, 1907:

Miss Henrietta Shore limits her efforts to no one class of subject, finding in each experience of life some available material for her brush. Exception, however, may be made of some of the east side quarters of New York, the abode of various sorts of foreigners, who seem to hold for Miss Shore a special fascination, and among these scenes have been painted some strong and original work.²²

The reviewer, no doubt, focused on the Shore painting *Girl of the Ghetto* one of the works to be included in that year's Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual in Toronto.

Shores' studies with Henri allowed for increased study in Europe. London was not unknown to Shore, as she had studied there a few months a year over a period of several years. She reported that she "took instruction at the Heatherley Art School."²³ Heatherley's, a small independent art school established in 1845, offered classes for both beginning and experienced artists. Shore might have found the highly structured program attractive, but documenting her course of study is impossible, as no record of her attendance exists. The Heatherley School has no records before

²² *The Globe*, February 23, 1907, n.p. Clipping in the Dell Collection archive, Toronto, Canada.

²³ See, for instance, Irene Alexander, "Henrietta Shore in One-Man Show," *Monterey Herald*, October 10, 1946, p. 17, and Roger Aiken, *Henrietta Shore: A Retrospective Exhibition, 1900-1963*, Preface.

1907 and records of only "famous" artists for some years after that.²⁴

Wider European opportunities beckoned. Shore told a newspaper reporter in later years that she had studied in Haarlem, Holland, with Henri.²⁵ She most likely traveled to Holland as a member of Robert Henri's summer class from June through August in 1907. Led by Henri with the school's administrator, Douglas Connah, a group of students, including Josephine Nivison, Clara Perry, and Louise Pope painted in Holland, visiting Haarlem, Volendam, and Amsterdam. When the program ended on August 14, Shore traveled on to London, maintaining a practice of studying there a few months every year that she had initiated years earlier and reported in later accounts.

In later interviews with journalists and in her own teachings, Shore set great store by her European studies. Only three works have been found that record her travels abroad: *Ships at Sea* (1905, de Saisset Museum, Santa Clara University) [fig. 15], *Ponte Rialto* (1907, known by exhibition list), and a small oil on board, *Untitled/Canal in Venice* (1907, de Saisset Museum,

²⁴ Phone conversation, July 7, 2000, with Sarah Cloonan, Heatherley School of Fine Art, London.

²⁵ "Henrietta Shore, Born in Canada, Is Hard Worker," *Carmel Pine Cone* (August 25, 1939), p. 4.

Santa Clara University) that is similar in medium and dimension to several surviving works by fellow traveler Jo Nivison with similar support and dimensions.²⁶

In a return visit to London, probably about 1908-09, Shore became determined to meet John Singer Sargent. She had heard that Sargent was an admirable teacher and that just the "spectacle of his lessons was considered memorable" in words that Vanessa Stephen, later Vanessa Bell, wrote to a friend.²⁷ Sargent's reputation was at its peak, he was a very prominent figure. Armed with a letter of introduction, perhaps from Henri, Shore was granted an interview. In an account later given to a newspaper reporter, Shore stated that on seeing her work, Sargent accepted her as a student, but he advised her not to study with him because of his strong influence over his pupils.²⁸ Shore followed Sargent's advice, though she seems to have incorporated some Sargent influence, coming away with a new sense of polish.

A painting from this period, *Untitled* (1909-10, de Saisset Museum, Santa Clara University, California) [fig. 16] demonstrates a finish and refinement that Shore achieved by studying Sargent's work. This (now) untitled work is most certainly the painting *Girl*

²⁶ Special thanks are extended to Professor Gail Levin for this information.

²⁷ Quoted in Stanley Olson, *John Singer Sargent, His Portrait* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), p. 233.

in *Brown*, which was included in the "Exhibition of Canadian Art" organized by the Royal Canadian Academy and presented at the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, England in 1910. Shore's enthusiasm for Sargent's elegant, dramatic portrait style is demonstrated in this work, which blends Sargent fluency of line and graceful pose with Henri coloring and subject. Set deep within the composition and against an undifferentiated background, a young girl, seated to the left of the picture's center, looks steadily out to the viewer. The asymmetrical composition with empty areas surrounding the figure is typical of both Henri and Sargent. While the dark tones reflect Henri, the balance between the dark clothing slashed by the gold upholstery and the silvery-white color patch of the background wall is gained from looking at Sargent's work. This child has the look of a Henri street urchin, with her unkempt hair and too-large dress. Additionally, and in a surprising move, Shore reveals the girl's shoulder by pulling the neck of the dress over and down the right arm. The result is a lessening of the formality of the pose. It also causes the viewer to question the reason for the disheveled appearance that underscores the girl's youth. It is likely that this mode references Henri, who encouraged painting common scenes and working class people. Shore uses this device of clothing to

²⁸ "Henrietta Shore, Born in Canada, Is Hard Worker" *Carmel Pine Cone*, August 25, 1939, Archives, Carmel Public Library, Carmel, California.

suggest the girl's class origin and makes the low-art, popular subject an appropriate focus for fine, high-art portraiture. This painting is typical of Shore's style between 1906 and 1910.

Charlotte Hull Shore was still a powerful force in Shore's life in this period. She had provided financial support while her daughter studied and was the loyal and primary advocate of her art. But by 1907 the tables turned, and it was Charlotte who needed her youngest daughter's services. Now elderly and with her other daughters married and in homes of their own, Charlotte needed another female in the house to manage the domestic sphere and to provide companionship, and she called Henrietta home. Although Shore had left the household two years earlier, that fact did not necessarily end parental control or filial duty. At the end of 1907, Shore returned to Toronto, to her mother's house on St. George Street, where she stayed until 1912. Her studio was separate, farther downtown in the Yonge Street Arcade (Shore in Toronto Studio) [fig. 17].

Although many neighborhoods still retained their historical character, downtown Toronto in 1907 was a gleaming city. A large fire on April 19, 1904, destroyed many downtown houses and businesses with more than \$10 million in property damage sustained but, fortunately, with no loss of life.²⁹ Within two years the city

²⁹ Nancy Rawson and Richard Tatton, *The Great Toronto Fire* (Erin, Ontario: The Boston Mills Press, 1984).

was rebuilt. Mud streets gave way to gravel and asphalt. Telephone, telegraph, and electricity were most everywhere. As the city developed into Ontario's center of import and export, business expanded, and four- to six-story skyscrapers were built. Shore's return was timely as it coincided with a ripening interest in Canadian art. Toronto played an important role in supporting Canadian art. The Art Museum of Toronto was incorporated in 1900, the Art Gallery of Ontario (then known as the Art Gallery of Toronto), the nation's premier art institution, was formed in 1906. Local talent found support in the Canadian Art Club, which had been formed in 1907 by Edmond Morris, Homer Watson, and Horatio Walker, influential artists of this generation. In 1908 the Arts and Letters Club was founded in that city, and the Toronto Camera Club held annual exhibitions. Shore's return home occurred at a propitious time for her art.

Upon her return Shore found that the same vitalist philosophy Henri advocated in New York was of great interest to the Canadian public as evidenced in literature and art. There was a curiosity in cosmic as well as organic evolution, a quest for exploring the secrets of the beyond. For many Canadians an important way to metaphysical consciousness was suggested by nineteenth-century American transcendentalists, especially that form promoted by

Whitman.³⁰ Individuals were encouraged to be open to a hidden spiritual dimension of reality found both in nature and in the self. This movement was given visual expression by a group of male artists known as the Group of Seven when Lawren Harris, gathered six other like-thinking painters around him.³¹ They shared a vision of a new, distinctive way of depicting the Canadian landscape, using the distinct light of the north, a restrained use of Fauve color, and a swirling Art Nouveau line as demonstrated in *Morning, Lake Superior* (Montreal Museum of Art) [fig. 18] by Harris. Convinced that art must express spiritual values as well as portray the visible world, they thought that the function of art was to reveal the divine forces in nature. Their goal was to incorporate spiritual feelings for the landscape into their work. Nationalistic, the Group of Seven tried to express a Canadian identity that captured the spirit of their country.

A similar school developed in the United States in New Mexico. Western modernist Raymond Jonson (1891-1982) joined with other nonrepresentational artists such as Agnes Pelton (1881-1961)

³⁰ The source for much of this discussion is the analysis of mysticism in Canada in Ann Davis, *The Logic of Ecstasy: Canadian Mystical Painting, 1920-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), see especially, Chapter 2, "Whitman and Transcendentalism."

³¹ The Group of Seven included Lawren Harris, Frederick Varley (1881-1969), Jock Macdonald (1873-1932), Arthur Lismer (1885-1969), Frank Johnston (1888-1949), Franklin Carmichael (1890-1945) and A.Y. Jackson (1882-1955).

in forming the Transcendental Painting Group in 1938.³² Their aim was to "carry painting beyond the appearance of the physical world, through new concepts of space, color, light, and design; to imaginative realms that are idealistic and spiritual."³³ Paintings by Agnes Pelton and Emil Bisttram (1895-1976) demonstrate some of the painterly devices used, such as arrangements of flat geometric shapes in harmonious colors to indicate spiritual glory, in their abstract paintings. Pelton's *Sea Change* (1931, Whitney Museum of American Art) [fig. 19] evidences her belief that the creative impulse was linked to light energy and visualized as a type of radiance.

Currents of mysticism, strong in painting both in the United States and Canada in the 1920s, had their cultural underpinning in the last decades of the nineteenth-century. Shore was witness to this development of interest in the mystical world, for she was at the epicenter of its growth. Beginning in the 1870s, a significant cultural transformation, the New Thought Movement, gathered a popular following in both Canada and the United States.³⁴ New

³² Pelton was the group's honorary president in 1938. See Michael Zakian, *Agnes Pelton, Poet of Nature*, exh. cat. Palm Springs Desert Museum, 1995, p. 87.

³³ Quoted in Tiska Blankenship, *Vision and Spirit: The Transcendental Painting Group*, exh. cat. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1997), p. 3.

³⁴ A good description of this movement can be found in Beryl Satter's, *Each Mind a Kingdom: American Women, Sexual Purity, and the New Thought Movement, 1875-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

Thought advocated mind-over-matter spirituality and sought to enlighten people about the creative powers of their minds. It was a "popular outgrowth of Transcendentalism, German idealist philosophy, and liberal Protestantism that helped shape American and Canadian twentieth-century beliefs about mind, body, spirit and will."³⁵ Particularly well received by white middle-class women, the movement attempted to negotiate the transformation of ideas of gender, race, reform, and personal success. The movement provided financial liberation for women who trained to become healers, teachers, and lecturers within the organization. It also allowed women to "escape heterosexuality and to immerse [themselves] in an almost female world."³⁶ As historian Beryl Satter documents in her in-depth examination of the New Thought Movement, there was a "kinship" between it and the woman's' movement of the turn-of-the century. They shared the goal of breaking loose of the Victorian era's rigid class and sex roles seeking new changes in male-female relationships that would keep pace with a society transformed by rapid industrialization. Women joined together in political and professional groups with the aim of mobilizing sex solidarity to achieve individual freedoms. Activists found a receptive audience. Satter finds that by the

³⁵ Satter, *Each Mind a Kingdom*, p. 15.

³⁶ See the description of women leaders of the Divine Science movement in Satter, *Each Mind a Kingdom*, chapter 3.

1910s New Thought authors reached huge numbers of readers through mainstream periodicals such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Woman's Home Companion*, through Hearst press publications, and popular novels.³⁷ Role models now existed for those women whose daily lives often differed radically from the ideals of womanhood proscribed by an earlier generation. Shore was one of those women—unmarried and with a career—who would have responded with enthusiasm to the views promulgated in the journals and best selling novels. New Thought publications included the journals *Harmony* and *Unity*, names that appear as titles of Shore paintings in future years. The impact of New Thought on Shore's life is unmistakable as we see the pattern of Shore's life taking form. She demonstrated the New Thought model: she sought companionship with women, she joined professional support groups, and she sought realization of selfhood—for Shore, this was through art.

Between 1907 and 1912, Shore exhibited at least yearly. In 1907 she exhibited *Girl with Doll* and *Girl of the Ghetto* in the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual. *Girl in Blue* was exhibited at the annual exhibition in 1908, and in 1909 two paintings, *Miss Phyllis Sanford* and *Winter* were displayed. The Ontario Art Society also offered annual exhibitions. Once Shore became a member in 1909 she was included in their annual shows. She sent *Woman with Cat* and *Miss Phyllis Sanford* to the 37th Ontario Art Society

³⁷ Satter, *Each Mind a Kingdom*, p. 226.

Annual. The next year offered three exhibition opportunities, and Shore was represented by *Winter, Child with Fruit*, and *The Blue Cape*. The titles of these works suggest a greater diversity of subjects that Shore was now exploring. The details of subjects and styles of these paintings are unknown, however, for these paintings have not been located.

Shore was brought up in a home where religion was a respected convention, though there seems to be no evidence of any strongly felt convictions. In a household where education and independent thinking were encouraged, an interest in new philosophic and religious thought can be assumed. Shore could not have failed to observe that the espousal of transcendentalism in Toronto in the early years of the twentieth century was matched by a fascination with theosophy. The Theosophical Society was founded in New York in 1875, and the first Canadian lodge, in Toronto, was chartered in 1891. By 1920 there were eighteen more in Canada.³⁸ Based on the teachings of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the modern theosophical movement expounded a body of knowledge acquired by psychic means, and it taught spiritual techniques designed to promote enlightenment, including study, prayer, and meditation.³⁹ The three

³⁸ See Davis, *The Logic of Ecstasy*, Chapter 2.

³⁹ See Peter Washington, *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon: A History of the Mystics, Mediums, and Misfits Who Brought Spiritualism to America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1993), and K. Paul Johnson, *The Masters Revealed: Madame Blavatsky and the Myth of the Great White Lodge* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1994).

theosophical goals were the formation of a universal brotherhood, the encouragement of studies in religion, philosophy, and science, and the investigation of unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in humankind. Members were often attracted to the humanitarian social ideals intrinsic to theosophic doctrine. Artists found the mystical teachings valuable in seeing the underlying connectedness of all things. This spiritual way of looking at the world allowed artists to identify their art as a vision into infinity. Their art was not so much an aesthetic celebration as a point of departure for examining mystical ideas and truth.

As Ann Davis observes in her valuable discussion of Theosophy and the Fourth Dimension in *The Logic of Ecstasy: Canadian Mystical Painting, 1920-1940*, "contemporary creative Canadians interested in this type of thinking. . . typically exhibited philosophic interests that embraced both transcendentalism and theosophy, as well as some liberal Christianity."⁴⁰ Shore was probably typical of this creative type as she expressed interests not only in transcendentalism and Theosophy but also in Christian Science. Though her participation with the Christian Science Church did not come until the last years of her life, her introduction to Christian Science occurred upon her homecoming to

⁴⁰Davis, *The Logic of Ecstasy*, p. 97.

Toronto. It was the result of serendipity, for on her return to her mother's house at St. George Street, she found, within blocks of her home, a new church: the First Church of Christ, Scientist had located on St. George Street.⁴¹ Though popularly known for its espousal of spiritual healing, Christian Scientist concepts, including belief in the infinite powers of the human mind, spirit as immortal truth, and harmonies of heaven, probably drew Shore's interest. Aware now of new ways of seeing after Henri's tutelage, fresh from studies abroad and active in the Toronto art community, Shore would not have failed to investigate the development of new attitudes toward traditional subjects. In the era of great independent spiritual teachers, many artists responded to new ways of thinking, and their art was motivated in some part by their probings of the mystical experience. Alternative religions attracted some of the most influential intellects of the age--Oscar Wilde, W. B. Yeats, George Bernard Shaw, and Frank Lloyd Wright--among them, all seeking an alternative to Western materialism and notions of spirituality. This metaphysical source of motivation entered Shore's consciousness, but it wasn't until her move to Southern California, with its openness to alternative lifestyles and spiritual beliefs that it flourished. There,

⁴¹ Interestingly, Lawren Harris's mother was an active member of this church. See Ann Davis, *Ibid.*, *The Logic of Ecstasy*, pp. 21-22.

Christian Science was to become Shore's mainstay at the end of her life.

While in Toronto, where she remained until 1913, Shore continued to produce realistic art, choosing conventional subjects such as portraiture and landscape. Having made a name for herself with her New York training and critical acceptance in reviews (e.g. *The Globe*, 1907)⁴², Shore felt confident in opening her studio to the public and so organized a show of her work in 1911 at the Yonge Street Arcade. Among the paintings she probably exhibited was *The Promenade, Center Point, Toronto* (National Gallery of Canada) [fig. 20], one of a series of outdoor scenes that includes *In the Park* (de Saisset Museum) *Park Scene* (de Saisset Museum), and *Little Girls* (Collection of Stephen and Suzanne Diamond, Carmel, California) [fig. 21]. This series is particularly interesting in the Shore oeuvre as it demonstrates a willingness to work from a foundation laid by her teachers while moving toward the development of an individual style. Unlike the dark, controlled works she had been working on, the Park Series is proto-Impressionist; the works are lushly painted with looser, shorter brushstrokes. Pigment is heavily applied, and the palette is lightened. This series finds correspondence with William Merritt Chase's scenes of Prospect and Central Parks as well as

⁴² See p. 45.

some Shinnecock scenes produced between 1887 and 1905.⁴³ One in particular, Shore's *Little Girls* shows a group of seven-year-olds delighting in the simple outdoor pleasures of a summer's day. Bright sunlight centers on the group of five. Well balanced, yet not predictably centered, the composition is dynamic with the unexpected placement of the figures, the softening of contours that allows the eye to roam, and a vigorous mix of lines and shapes. Glowing and polished, *Little Girls* represents the artist coming into her own.

Shore was represented in the 1910 Ontario Society of Artists Annual and then again in 1911 and 1912. The 1911 Annual included *Little Girl in Green*, *In the Studio*, and *Ready for Play* (all, whereabouts unknown). Included in the 1912 exhibition were *Ready for Play* and *Portrait of Miss Maria Watson*. Neither of these were new works; Shore recycled these two paintings from among the works she had in her studio. Instead of devoting all her time and energy into her painting, Shore was distracted because she was preparing to leave Toronto.

In 1911 Shore's mother, Charlotte Hull, died; she was buried in Toronto's Mt. Pleasant Cemetery. Shore's oldest brother, Henry,

⁴³ See, for example, Chase's *The Park* (c. 1887, Art Institute of Chicago), *A Bit of the Terrace* (c. 1890, Private collection), *The Lake for Miniature Yachts* (1890, Collection of Peter G. Terian), *The Bayberry Bush* (c. 1897, The Parrish Art Museum), and *Idle Hours* (c. 1894-95, Amon Carter Museum). All reproduced in Barbara Gallati, *William Merritt Chase* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with The National Museum of American Art, 1995).

aged forty-four, also died that year. With the death of her mother, Shore felt no compulsion to remain in Toronto. At the invitation of her other brothers, Shore prepared to leave Toronto behind and join them in the northwestern United States.

Chapter 4 The Lure of the West

Wilfred Shore, the brother to whom Henrietta was closest in age and sentiment, was the first of the Shore sons to leave Toronto. His two brothers Egerton and Allan had managed the family estate since their graduation from Toronto University in 1893 and 1895, respectively. The estate, primarily in the form of land that their father, Henry, had left on his death, was a valuable legacy for the family as it provided them with a comfortable life style.¹ Wilfred, not having a hand in managing the estate, was working as a salesman in 1891 when he began casting about for a position in finance.² He recognized that New York, the capital of the financial world in North America, was the place to go. Additionally, Canada was unable to support his adventuresome ideas because an economic slump that had begun in the late 1880s worsened into a depression in the 1890s. Canadians emigrated to the United States in increasing numbers during that period, causing the *Toronto Mail* to editorialize: "There is scarcely a

¹ "Men Who Are Making Good," *Southwest Union Jack*, n.d., Clipping in the Dell Collection, Toronto, Canada.

² The *Toronto City Directory* of 1891 lists J. Wilfred, a salesman, at 176 St. George, also the home of Charlotte, widow of Henry, and R. Allan, student.

farm house in the older provinces where there is not an empty chair for the boy in the States."³

In New York, Wilfred operated a bond and mortgage business representing Spencer Trask & Company, then one of the leading bond houses of New York.⁴ Wilfred's presence in New York during the late years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth may have been an added inducement for Shore's decision to travel there in 1905. His presence may, at least, have eased their mother's mind in allowing her youngest child to move there. Wilfred and Henrietta, no doubt, maintained their friendly sibling relationship in New York, but they separated again when business took Wilfred west.

Observing that Oregon offered great inducements in forms of new business and wealth, Wilfred made Portland his next destination. Arriving there sometime after 1910, he found a lively city that had made a significant imprint on the American imagination with its Lewis and Clark Exposition in 1905. More than three million visitors to that national exposition brought word of the city's natural beauty, business development, and cultural programs. Seizing the chance for an enterprising moneyman to make a good income, Wilfred opened an office at 619 Hastings Street.

³ Quoted in Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1962), p. 354.

⁴ "Men Who Are Making Good," *op.cit.*

Named Wilfred Shore & Company, the firm offered general brokerage in the sale of real estate, insurance, stocks, bonds, and negotiations of loans.⁵ Wilfred also remained a representative of the Spencer Trask & Company Bank of New York.

Wilfred's years in Portland were successful in both his business and personal life. By 1912 he had moved to a new home on Spring Street and had taken a wife.⁶ Marriage to Annette, who shared Wilfred's interest in business and his closeness to his family, allowed him to open his home to Henrietta, when, on the occasion of their mother's death, she expressed a desire to leave Toronto. In 1913 Henrietta was in Portland. While the city lacked the urbanity and artistic opportunity Shore was used to, it nevertheless supported a burgeoning class of artists and art lovers.

By the turn of the century many Oregon artists had studied in the major European art centers and on their return shared their knowledge of aesthetic standards that locals then were determined to equal. Frank V. DuMond (1865-1951), an instructor at the New York Art Students League, and his Oregon-born wife, artist Helen Savier DuMond (1872-1968), visited Portland and established a

⁵ An undated announcement card in the Dell Collection provides this information.

⁶ The 1912 Portland, Oregon, City Directory lists Wilfred Shore & Company at 210 Lewis Boulevard and his home at 616 Spring Street. New York Public Library Roll ZAN-G67.

studio there in the 1890s. As director of the Fine Arts Exhibits at the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, Frank DuMond brought together masterworks from Europe, emphasizing the Barbizon and Impressionist schools.⁷ In 1905 the Portland Art Museum opened, the first art museum in the Pacific Northwest. It was followed the next year by the founding of the Oregon Art Students League. The Arts and Crafts Society and School started in 1907, and in 1912 the Society of Oregon Artists began to welcome members.

Shore joined the Society of Oregon Artists, though she appears not to have exhibited with them. She probably kept abreast of local art world news by reading the *Spectator* magazine, a Portland publication that regularly reviewed Oregon artists, and *Sunset*, a magazine that highlighted art and literature. The most exciting art event to take place in Portland in 1913 was the exhibition at the Portland Art Museum of photographs and copies of works originally exhibited in the New York Armory Show. Portland art dealer Frederic C. Torrey had purchased Duchamp's *Nude Descending Staircase* out of the New York show. On his return to Portland, he exhibited the painting along with reproductions of

⁷ Ginny Allen and Jody Klevit, *Oregon Painters: The First Hundred Years (1859-1959): Index and Biographical Dictionary* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1999), p. 17.

other works from the infamous show at the Portland Art Museum.⁸

Only a small portion of the 1,300 works that were included in the New York show were reproduced and exhibited, and there are no records of which images were included.

Wilfred and Annette did their best to make Henrietta feel at home in Portland. They often went on car trips exploring the local sites, and they invited her along. On these trips, the exoticism of the Asian community, a contrast to the conventional, middle-class world she had inhabited, attracted Shore's eye. Many Japanese workers had crossed the Pacific in the last years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries, immigrating to Oregon in order to work on railroads and in gold mines.⁹ Shore found the idea of representing them on canvas appealing. In 1913 she began painting a group of works that documented Japanese immigrant life and culture. The series, which includes *The*

⁸ Thanks are extended to Debbie Royer, Librarian, Portland Art Museum, who checked Museum archives for exhibition lists and brochures.

⁹ Probably the first immigrant party from Japan to arrive in the United States was The S.S. China that docked in San Francisco in 1869. The number of Japanese in America topped 1,000 for the first time in 1891 and topped 2,000 in 1898. The majority was male. They were recruited by American employers to "replenish the supply of labor on farms, railroads, mines, and canneries, which began to dwindle with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882." Japanese found jobs in Oregon first in the lumber industry. See Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969), Chapter 3, "The First Nisei." Shore did not have much opportunity to see Japanese culture in Toronto. In 1907 there were less than 6,000 Japanese in Canada and more than 95 percent of them were in British Columbia. See Barry Broadfoot, *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame, The Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War II*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1977.

Japanese Scarf (whereabouts unknown), *Japan* (known by exhibition list), *The Japanese Doll* (Dell Collection) and *Japanese Girl with Flowers* (Dell Collection) was painted over the course of the next few years. *The Japanese Doll* [fig. 22] is a tabletop still-life composition featuring an Asian-style dish in the picture's center. It is flanked on one side by a kimono-dressed doll and around it, scattered across the tabletop, is an array of fruits such as cherries and kumquats in complementary colors, bright and naturalistic. *Japanese Girl with Flowers* [fig. 23] is a lushly painted, vibrantly colored, three-quarter-length portrait. The subject, a young woman in a bright, flower-printed, silk kimono fills the canvas space from the obi at the left edge to the flowers held in her arms at the right. Her dark hair is at the top of the canvas and the white, flowing dress at the bottom--the figure fills the canvas nearly edge-to-edge. Shore used a combination of long and short brushstrokes in creating pictorial tension. The somber, minimal amount of background is quickly washed, while the dress gets more attention. Short, carefully placed brushstrokes combine to form a lush bouquet that overflows the woman's arms. The woman's face is most finely painted; delicate brushwork fits out the dark eyes and full mouth. A conventional pose places the figure against a subdued dark background that emphasizes by contrast the beauty of the woman, her costume, and her flowers. Using these conventional Western

painting techniques, Shore presents an Eastern subject, assimilating her in a painterly manner into the Western vernacular.

Asian subjects and an interest in all things "Oriental" were popular not only in Pacific Coast states. At the turn-of-the-century, Aestheticism, the selection of subject matter whose main purpose was the creation of an object of dignified beauty, had many adherents who chose Asian subject matter. Additionally, the Impressionist's high regard for Japanese prints inspired an interest in all things Asian. Shore's mentors painted works that may have influenced Shore's choice of this subject matter. Laura Lyall produced several works with Asian subjects. *The Japanese Kimono* (University of Lethbridge Art Gallery), which Lyall painted around 1895, may have attracted Shore with its dramatic costume. Robert Henri, drawn as he was to peoples of particular locales, offered *The Blue Kimono* (1909, New Orleans Museum of Art) and *Tam Gan* (Albright-Knox Art Gallery) [fig. 24]. The latter, painted while Henri was in Los Angeles in 1914, was one of a group of portraits Henri called "My People" and depicts a youth of Chinese descent.

Shore seems not to have exhibited in 1913, probably because she was busy in her personal life. She had many decisions to make about her career, her home, and her income. Financially secure with an allowance from family monies and lovingly included in

Wilfred's Portland home, Shore nevertheless was dismayed by the smallness of that city's art scene. Her ambitions would not allow her to settle there. Confident of her ability and her will to succeed, Shore decided to leave Portland and head to Los Angeles, where she could test herself and her art against a more vigorous standard.

The decision to move to Los Angeles was not a difficult one. Her brothers Allan and Egerton had emigrated there late in 1913 after having been in business with Wilfred for a short time in Portland.¹⁰ Egerton and Allan [figs. 25 & 26] established their own financial business, Shore Brothers Company, dealing with mortgages, bonds, and investments. The *Southwest Union Jack* announced the brothers' venture and recognized that they "were induced to move from Portland to the larger and more inviting field of Southern California, where they are now making for themselves an enviable record as conservative financiers and progressive business men."¹¹ Their success allowed them to offer Henrietta a home with them, which she took advantage of, moving in with Allan and his wife, Eva. Egerton and his wife, Virginia, lived nearby.

¹⁰ The brothers and their business first appear in the Los Angeles City Directory in 1914.

¹¹ "Men Who Are Making Good," op.cit.

Once in Los Angeles, Shore wasted little time in taking stock of the art scene. On her arrival there in 1914, she found an active artist community. Art clubs that united like-minded artists were an integral part of the development of Los Angeles society. At the turn of the century, there had been only one art school in Los Angeles and two art clubs. But an influx of population in the early years of the twentieth century brought more artists, more diversity, and a consequent demand for more groups. Nancy Dustin Wall Moure has documented the growth of art clubs in Los Angeles, finding that more than sixty clubs were formed between 1900 and 1930.¹² Many groups were formed to provide exhibition venues. The California Art Club, founded in 1909, was one such group. Their annual shows became a high point in the Los Angeles art scene.

The California Art Club was led by painter William Wendt (1865-1946) who used the Impressionist style to explore the Southern California landscape. Impressionism was at full flower in Los Angeles in 1914, having developed from about 1900 away from dark Barbizon and Tonalist landscapes toward plein-air painting of California scenes with bright sunlit colors and loose brushstrokes.¹³ Wendt was the major artist in Los Angeles at the

¹² Nancy Dustin Wall Moure has done the groundbreaking work in this area, documenting art club foundings, membership, and exhibition histories. See *Artists' Clubs and Exhibitions in Los Angeles Before 1930* (Los Angeles: Dustin Publications, 1975).

¹³ See Patricia Trenton and William H. Gerdtz, *California Light 1900-1930*, exh. cat. (Laguna Beach, California: Laguna Art Museum, 1990).

time of Shore's arrival. However, his conservative dedication to Impressionism, which he propagated through the powerful California Art Club, delayed the acceptance of more modern art styles well into the 1920s.¹⁴

Shore brought a cosmopolitan sensibility to her newly adopted art world. She was progressive in style and appreciated new ideas. Southern California had other artists like her who had trained in New York, Boston, Chicago, and abroad, who afterward made Los Angeles their home. Modernist artists including Nick Brigante (1895-1989), Helena Dunlap (1876-1955) and Lawrence Murphy (1872-1947) settled in Los Angeles around 1910. With the outbreak of World War I, American expatriates working in Europe and European-born modernists took refuge in California. Modernist artists to settle in California include Bret Cressey (1883-1944), Meta Cressey (1882-1964), and Edouard Vysekal (1890-1939). Californian Stanton MacDonald Wright (1890-1973) returned to Southern California in 1919, bringing Synchronist theories he had developed with Morgan Russell (1886-1953). An important connection between New York and California existed in the Art Students League. In 1906 the Los Angeles Art Students League, a future site for the fostering of modernism, was formed. Rex Slinkard, a student of Henri's in New York before he returned to Los Angeles,

¹⁴ Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, *Painting and Sculpture in Los Angeles 1900-1945*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980).

was director of the Los Angeles Art Students League from 1909 to 1912. When the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art opened in 1913, *Los Angeles Times* critic Antony Anderson predicted the city would become a world art center.¹⁵ Thus when Shore, who saw herself as an independent professional woman, arrived in Los Angeles, she found, in the words of art critic Everett Carroll Maxwell, an art community where "a restless spirit beats at the bars of academic methods."¹⁶

Almost immediately, Shore joined the California Art Club because membership afforded exhibition opportunities at the Los Angeles Museum. She was included in the 1914 Fifth Annual Exhibition, where she was represented by *Mother and Child* and *My Niece, Margaret* (also known as *Margaret Eileen*) (all whereabouts unknown). The 1914 *Mother and Child* [fig. 27] differs significantly from the similarly titled painting Shore had produced in the mid-1890s. No longer straight portraiture, Shore's new scene is a narrative in which the viewer reads the story of mother-child bonding. In a deeply receding space, a child's crib is placed beyond a couch that lies in the foreground. A woman, seated so that she faces the child and with her back to the viewer, sits on the couch. Angled toward the left, her body leans

¹⁵ Anthony Anderson, "Art and Artists: Fifth Annual Exhibition," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1914, p. 10.

¹⁶ Everett Carroll Maxwell, "Development of Landscape Painting in California," *Fine Arts Journal*, vol 34 (March, 1916), p. 138.

forward in order to greet the little girl who stands at the crib's footboard. The scene captures the gentle rapport existing between the two without overly sentimentalizing the occasion. Shore's success in achieving this emotive link lies in the dynamics of the composition. She worked out her compositions in preliminary drawings. Though a preparatory sketch for this work has not survived, it surely existed as a trial-and-error site for determining the position of the myriad types of line used in the painting.

Vertical lines provide the format for this overall rectangular work. Simple strokes of black produce the crib boards which are banded at head and footboard; the heavier band at the footboard runs across the canvas at two-thirds the distance from the bottom edge, effectively raising the site of the picture's action well above midpoint of the canvas. The standing child repeats the verticality of the composition, and even her pudgy form does little to interrupt the upward moving lines because the body contour is painted with a light touch. Dramatically cutting across the canvas is the angular form of a woman. Starting at the bottom right, where she is seated, and rising upward toward the left, the round form of her head is both above and to the left of the canvas midpoint. The contour line describing her body shape is dark and flowing, focusing attention on her oblique position. The meeting point of both heads in the upper left quadrant is the

focal point of the painting. Accomplished, innovative, and strong, this intimate scene evidences Shore's willingness to experiment, to develop the strong foundation she had gained from studies with Lyall and Henri.

Shore was skilled at drafting. Approximately fifty of her drawings are extant, most of them preliminary works for paintings. These preparatory compositions are usually no more than a few simple lines that Shore used to plan her paintings. Judging from studies for various portraits, she prepared a drawing as a point of departure, not as a model to copy. As part of her creative process, she would define her images as she moved onto the canvas, adding the elements that provided personality, likeness, and emotional tenor. In her preliminary drawings, figures and parts of figures were either simply outlined as in *4 Hands and a Gull* (Dell Collection) [fig. 28], in order to determine pose or position as seen in the finished drawing [fig. 29] or else swiftly described as in *Man with Little Girl by the Hand* (Dell Collection) [fig. 30], to work out scale and relationships.

Of the twelve known drawings created as finished works in themselves, *Cabbage* (Perlmutter Fine Arts) [fig. 31] is perhaps the most intricately delineated and masterfully finished. Creamy white, tight inner cabbage leafs contrast with the darker gray, fully developed leafs that expand outward yet still envelop the head in an undulating surround. Tiny yet crisp veins move through

the leafs giving character and linear distinction to the rounded forms. The drawing skill demonstrated in this work places Shore at her artistic peak, and drawings produced later in her career such as *Tree* (Perlmutter Fine Arts) [fig. 32] continue that achievement.

Confident of her skills and immersed in her career, Shore at age of thirty-four demonstrated many of the characteristics of the "new woman," a much-talked-about ideal that embodied the growing aspirations of emancipated women at the turn-of-the-nineteenth-century. As June Sochen observed in her study of feminist art history and cultural theory, the phrase "new woman" had been the focal point for theoretical discourse on feminine roles and the changing social order.¹⁷ In the early years of the century changed attitudes toward working women and the family allowed that marriage and motherhood need not be central in a woman's life. As women increasingly pursued educational, occupational, and political activities the phrase "new woman" came to encompass many meanings. Shore was a new woman in that she had an autonomous life of meaningful work outside the domestic sphere. Her artistic career was her passion; she was determined to maintain a full-time studio and to achieve critical and popular success. Unconstrained

¹⁷ June Sochen, *The New Woman: Feminism in Greenwich Village, 1910-1920* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972). See also, Ellen Wiley Todd, *The "New Woman" Revised: Painting and Gender Politics on Fourteenth Street* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

by the institutions of marriage, motherhood, and religious and conventional morality that described partnership with a man as standard, Shore was the beneficiary of the successes of feminist movements both in Canada and the United States.

Though an expatriate after 1913, Shore maintained a correspondence with her sister Catherine in Toronto. There the Canadian woman's movement promoted the connection between women's suffrage and social reform. In 1888 the International Council of Women was founded as a result of the efforts of leading American feminists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The Council influenced the formation of the Canadian National Council of Women in 1893. Successful in promoting women's activities outside the home, the National Council put forward the notion that if women were allowed to endorse social change by obtaining the vote, many problems of society would be ameliorated.¹⁸ World War I heightened the emphasis in the reform movement upon patriotism and professional life, where women had made some inroads as doctors, teachers, and academics. Between 1916 and 1920 Canadian women received the vote in all jurisdictions except Prince Edward Island

¹⁸ The Canadian National Council of Women promulgated the ideal of maternal feminism, arguing that women's distinctive biology and the special nurturing qualities required for motherhood equipped them for a wide range of philanthropic activities. For a discussion of those principles and their impact on imagery produced by Canadian female artists at the turn of the century see Gualtieri, "The Woman as Artist and As Subject in Canadian Painting (1890-1930)" Chapter 5.

and Quebec.¹⁹ News of such portentous events must have flowed between the Toronto home of Catherine and the California family residence of Allan, Eva and Henrietta.

At the same time, the American suffrage movement was moving slowly. It would take more than seventy years of campaigning before women would secure the right to vote in the United States. Between the first woman suffrage convention in 1848 and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, some women did gain voting rights in some states by state-by-state ratification. California was among the first states to ratify the vote for women, passing the law in October 1911. This success would have been very much in the air when Shore arrived in Los Angeles just three years later. Though her Canadian citizenship made her ineligible to vote in the United States, Shore was sure to have been excited to see the demonstration of women's power in the political realm. Female emancipation became a major theme in the popular culture of the period. Models for successful women were now available in literature, advertising, magazines, and movies. During the period 1915-30 women's magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *McCall's*, and *The Crisis* dealt with the problems and struggles of the new woman who was slowly emerging from the obsolete Victorian

¹⁹ Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds., *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920*, Introduction.

model.²⁰ A photograph of Shore from this time, 1914-1915, shows an arresting-looking, attractive woman [fig. 33]. Posed in front of her easel, the artist gazes candidly at the photographer. Her poise and good looks are of the type that inspired American novelist William Dean Howells to write:

The [woman's] beauty was of the most bewitching Canadian type. She was redeemed by her New World birth from the English heaviness; a more delicate bloom lighted her cheeks; a softer grace dwelt in her movements; yet she was round and full, and she was in the perfect flower of youth. She was not so ethereal in her loveliness as an American girl, but she was not so nervous and had none of the painful fragility of the latter.²¹

Lacking any signs of the domestic sphere, the photographic portrait signals Shore's professional status. Here is the artistic worker who can produce a good painting and who seeks commissions. Useful as a promotional tool, this photograph gives evidence of Shore's skill. The nearly completed work behind her is *Girl with Violin* (1914-15, Perlmutter Fine Arts). Compared with her earlier portraits of women, which typically recorded indicators of class such as elegance of dress or status as wife or mother, as in *Lady in White Waist* (1911) or *Portrait of Miss Maria Watson* (1912) [fig. 10], *Girl with Violin* shows Shore was depicting "new woman" images. Firstly, the undifferentiated backgrounds of previous

²⁰ For an anthology of short stories published in women's magazines during this era, see Maureen Honey, *Breaking the Ties That Bind: Popular Stories of the New Woman, 1915-1930* (Norman, Oklahoma: Oklahoma University Press, 1992).

portraits gives way to an indication of place with its colorful rolling hills. Secondly, the pose is not solely assumed for the painter. Instead, the painter serves as a candid camera to capture the subject at work. The subject's activity here--playing the violin--is special as it indicates education and training. Lastly, the model is simply coifed and dressed; she is more interested in her musical art than in the artifice of fashion. This presentation of the violinist against a landscape portrays a woman of the wider world and gives evidence to Shore's conscious endorsement of the "new woman" character.

Shore met several women who thought along her lines soon after her move to California. It is most likely that Shore met artists Meta Gehring Cressey and Helena Dunlap at a California Art Club meeting. The three women shared similar affluent backgrounds and painterly interests, and they developed a friendship that centered on their ideas of modern art and modern life.

Impressionist Meta Gehring Cressey must have made an immediate connection with Shore when the two discovered their common experience as students of Robert Henri in New York. Meta, the daughter of a prosperous Cleveland brewer, had met artist Bert Cressey, the son of a wealthy California rancher, when both traveled to Spain with Henri in the 1911 summer school class

²¹ William Dean Howells, *Their Wedding Journey*, John K. Reeves, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), p. 112.

abroad. Upon their marriage they settled in the Hollywood Hills. The carefree existence afforded by their independent means, gave them the opportunity to experiment freely with subject and style. Known primarily as a landscape artist, Meta Cressey produced expressive, colorful views of her large garden in Hollywood, the family ranch in Compton, and flowers in nearby areas. When she first arrived in Los Angeles in 1914, she was producing works still very much in the Henri vein. Cressey is likely to have shown her painting *Oriental Lady* (n.d, Michael Johnson Fine Arts, Fallbrook, California) [fig. 34], to Shore, who was then in the midst of producing several of her Asian-themed works. The Henri-like vigorous handling of paint in a thick impasto with an energetic brush continues in Cressey's paintings in the following years. But influenced by the bright sunlight and lush surroundings, Cressey moved away from Henri's dark palette, using instead bright tones of yellows, oranges, crimsons, and greens in her outdoor views, as in *Under the Pepper Tree* (c. 1926, Irvine Museum, California) [fig. 35].

From the start, Helena Dunlap and Shore found much to share, and they must have enjoyed comparing the stories of their lives up to then, the different roads taken as each gained recognition as independent women artists. They quickly developed a close friendship that lasted many years. Together, Shore and Dunlap fought battles that paved the way for later modernist artists.

Helena Dunlap was a native Californian, born in Whittier near Los Angeles in 1876. She began as a student at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and then attended the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, which awarded her a traveling scholarship. A trip to Paris, where she studied with Raphael Simon and André L'Hôte, gave her the opportunity to show in Paris Salons. Dunlap returned to Los Angeles in 1911 and immediately became active in local art programs. She maintained her interest in Paris and was able to bring home ideas of the Parisian avant-garde. In 1911, when she exhibited paintings at the Steckel Gallery in Los Angeles, the critic of the *Los Angeles Times* noted: "We need pictures like hers in Los Angeles because they are so different."²² The desire for Dunlap's pictures indicated the popular acceptance of Impressionism by the Los Angeles audience. For Dunlap's paintings through 1916, such as *Vanity* (1914, Dunlap Collection, Laguna Niguel, California) [fig. 36], were based on Impressionistic principles of bright palette and deliberate broad strokes. Moreover, the subject of *Vanity*, a woman reflected in a mirror, was a standard subject in turn-of-the-century painting that had precedents in French Impressionist works such as Edouard Manet's *Before the Mirror* (1876, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum) and Georges Seurat's *Young Woman Powdering Herself* (1888-90, Courtauld Gallery, London) [fig. 37]. The vanity

²² "Pictures of Places," *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 1911, p. 21.

theme is also typical in American art in the early years of the twentieth century as seen in Frederick Frieseke's *Youth (La Toilette)* (1912, Private collection, Texas) [fig. 38] and Alson Clark's *Reflections* (1920, Collection of Carol and Alson Clark).²³ The vanity table/toilette as a woman's subject varies in theme. Berthe Morisot's subject concentrates on her beauty ritual in *Young Woman Powdering Her Face* (1895, Musée d'Orsay) [fig. 39] while Mary Cassatt provides a meditative figure in *Antoinette at Her Dressing Table* (1909, National Gallery of Art) [fig. 40]. Such works are antecedents to the theme's popularity as an expressive feminist device in contemporary art. Audrey Flack (b. 1931) began using mirrors in a series of self-portraits in the 1950s and the objects of the dressing table in the early seventies. Flack's *Queen* (1975-76, Louis K. Meisel Gallery, New York) [fig. 41] is one of a group of paintings that combines self-portraiture and still life to comment on femininity, women's fate, and the "trappings and cycles" of women's lives.²⁴ The image of a mother

²³ Bram Dijkstra discusses the popularity of the woman-in-the-mirror theme in California Impressionist art in "The High Cost of Parasols: Images of Women in Impressionist Art," *California Light, 1900-1930*, pp. 33-53. Dijkstra identifies these images as an integral part of an antifeminist campaign. The artists discussed in the essay, all male, assume as standard practice, female adornment for masculine appreciation. The female subject, in making herself "up" is preparing her public face. Dunlap's scene differs from these in a conscious comment on this being a female space, a private place that allows for contemplation.

²⁴ Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Reflections in a Mirror: The Self-Portraits of Audrey Flack: 1952-1982," in *Breaking the Rules, Audrey Flack: A*

and daughter putting on lipstick at a make-shift kitchen table vanity is the subject of Carrie Mae Weems' (b. 1953) *Untitled* from the *Kitchen Table Series* (1990) [fig. 42], a photographic story of a women's struggles with emotions and politics.

Dunlap's vanity scene anticipates this contemporary use of reflection as both a physical and psychological device. She replaces the activity of powder puff and comb with the contemplation of a handheld sculpture. The small piece, seemingly a Madonna, may reference female mystery and sexuality. In terms of virginal birth, the Madonna represents revered achievements-- childbirth and high/goddess status--of female sexuality without the participation of a male. Dunlap, who portrayed herself in a self-portrait in a mannish suit and hat in *Self-Portrait* (n.d., Collection of Stephen and Beverly Berg-Hansen, California) [fig. 43], may have sought painterly expressions of her private inclinations of homosexuality, knowing well the social dangers of revealing and acting out lesbian desire. While no erotic declarations between the Shore and Dunlap have survived their relationship, the two developed a long-lasting relationship, rejecting male companionship in order to concentrate on their art and on their friendship.²⁵ For a period of about twelve years, the

Retrospective 1950-1990." exh. cat. J.B. Speed Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, 1992, p. 36.

²⁵ No letters between the two have been found. Sarah Vure, curator, Orange County Museum, Newport Beach, California, has speculated that

two balanced their independence on one hand, and their solidarity as a pair, on the other.²⁶

Both Dunlap and Shore exhibited in the California Art Club's Fifth Annual Exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in October 1914. In November Shore was included in a group show at the museum's "American and European Artists," and in December she had a one-person exhibition there, "Paintings by Henrietta Shore."²⁷ Organized by the California Art Club, the one-person show provided Shore a professional affirmation of her talent and public recognition.

The year 1914 was an exiting one for Shore, for in the summer of that year Robert Henri made a visit to Southern California that lasted a few months. A former Henri pupil Alice Klauber (1871-1951), in her position as member of the Fine Arts Committee for San Diego's Southern California Panama International Exposition, asked Henri for his assistance in organizing the Modern American Art section. The San Diego Exposition was a complement to San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which

correspondence once existed; that it was either hidden or destroyed by Dunlap family members who were reluctant to share it with the public. Telephone interview, May 20, 2002.

²⁶ Blance Wiesen Cook's narrative of the companionship between Eleanor Roosevelt and Lorena Hickok is the model used in writing about romantic friendships. The narrative was possible, in part, because Roosevelt preserved her correspondence.

celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal and the joining of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The San Diego Exposition opened December 31, 1914, and the San Francisco Exposition opened in February 1915. In San Diego, Henri was given use of the Ethnological Building, which he filled with the works of artists from his New York circle, including George Bellows, Guy Pène de Bois, William Glackens, Ernest Lawson, Maurice Prendergast, Everett Shinn, John Sloan, and Carl Sprinchorn. New Mexican painter Joseph Henry Sharp and American Impressionist Childe Hassam were represented also. He did not include the work of any woman artist, though he knew many on both coasts and had three former female students right at hand: Henrietta Shore, Alice Klauber, and Meta Creasey.²⁸ Exposition curator Maud Deverell Foster filled the Southern Counties Building with 100 paintings and 14 pieces of sculpture, with work by artists drawn from the

²⁷ Exhibition history taken from record cards listing exhibitions at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

²⁸ Although Henri proved a valuable teacher and mentor to many women artists, he appears to have failed them when it came to inclusion in shows where he was the principal organizer. Insight into his bias that "it's a man's world" is provided by Guy Pène du Bois (1884-1958) who related a story about his student experience many years later. He said that Henri critiqued a work, denouncing its lack of relevance to life. "'For years artists have been running away from the world. But beauty is seen in truth and known phenomena.... To find it we've got to be honest and fearless. We've got to be men first of all; the artist can come later. When he does come thus prepared, he will gain greatness.'" From that day on the Henri class concentrated on being men first of all." Pène du Bois goes on to describe class activities in handball games, boxing, and baseball. See "Du Bois Tells How He Met Real Life," *Life Magazine* June 20, 1949, p. 66.

Los Angeles California Art Club, both male and female. Shore was among the local artists included. She won a silver medal with *Little Girls* (1914-15) [fig. 21] a brightly colored, vibrant painting.²⁹ Its park setting theme was shared by Henri circle artists, especially Maurice Prendergast (1859-1924) and William Glackens (1870-1938); see for example, Prendergast's *Summer's Day* (1916-18, Whitney Museum of American Art) [fig. 44] and Glackens' *Mother and Baby, Washington Park* (1914, Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale) [fig. 45].

The importance of Henri's visit to Southern California was observed by critic Everett Maxwell, who commented: "his influence has been titanic, and as a teacher and an artist he has been responsible for much that is strong, vital, and new in our modern school of native art."³⁰ Though Henri had announced in an April 4, 1914 letter to Alice Klauber that he was retired from teaching,³¹ he was a natural tutor and couldn't help but respond to artist's questions and needs. Shore continued to learn from Henri, in correspondence and through observation of his work and the work of

²⁹ See the list of award winners published by the Southern California Panama Exposition, 1915 in *From Exposition to Exposition: Progressive and Conservative Northern California Painting, 1915-1939*, Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr., ed. (Sacramento, California: Crocker Art Museum, 1981).

³⁰ Everett Maxwell, "Art," *Saturday Night* (September 19, 1914). In Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art Scrapbooks, on file at Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

³¹ Alice Klauber Letter, Archives of American Art, New York, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., roll #583.

the artists he encouraged. She appreciated Henri's role as a mentor, and his value to her was recognized in critical reviews. Anthony Anderson, reviewing the California Art Club Sixth Annual Exhibition in 1915 and commenting unfavorably on her style in the three works displayed, noted that Shore was "another pupil of Robert Henri's".³² Everett Maxwell saw Henri's influence on Shore in a positive light. In a review of the Modern Art Society (MAS) exhibition of the next year, Maxwell observed:

Of the revolutionists in American art there are two groups—those who have studied with Henri and those who have not. The majority of the above-mentioned [a list of the MAS members] have, I think, either studied under Mr. Henri or have been directly influenced by his advanced methods. Of this group, Henrietta Shore is easily the best. Miss Shore tempers her pigment with intelligence and understanding, and brings to her work an acute knowledge of psychology as well as a sound technique, a thorough art training and rare artistic perception. Her exceptional canvas, called "Mother and Child," is unquestionably one of the real gems of the exhibition. The envelopment of the figures is subtly yet convincingly accomplished, and the whole ensemble is far in advance of the usual experimental canvas.³³

But the period of Henri's significant impact on Shore ended about this time. His generous assistance would continue another decade, but beginning in 1915 Shore opened herself to other ideas; she actively studied philosophy, she looked at avant-garde art from Europe, and she traveled. Most important, she asserted her

³² Anthony Anderson, "Art and Artists," *Los Angeles Times*, October 17, 1915, p. 21.

leadership in a group of similar-thinking artists, moving away from the safety of acceptance to newer, unknown horizons.

³³ Everett Carroll Maxwell, "Development of Landscape Painting in California," *Fine Arts Journal* (March 1916), p. 142.

Chapter 5 New Friends, New Ventures

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 provided an opportunity for Californians to view international and national art.¹ More than 11,000 paintings, drawings, etchings, and sculpture were on display, with 4,500 works from the United States alone. Although often compared to the Armory Show of 1913 for its impact on the development of modernism in the United States, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition was significantly less important in its effect because of its emphasis on American Impressionism, academic style, and post-Victorian taste.² Organized along conservative lines, the sampling of European avant-garde art was primarily Impressionist, with a smattering of

¹ An invaluable group of essays that address this issue is found in Joseph A. Baird Jr., ed., *From Exposition to Exposition: Progressive and Conservative Northern California Painting, 1915-1939*, exh. cat. (Sacramento: Crocker Art Museum, 1981).

² Nancy Boas has provided a comparison of artists and styles of art represented at the Armory Show and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in *Society of Six, California Colorists* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), Chapter 3. "For example, the Armory Show boasted seventeen van Goghs, one was seen at the Panama-Pacific. It included thirteen Gauguins, not including several lithographs, while only two Gauguin paintings were shown at the fair. Fourteen Cézannes appeared at the Armory, plus two lithographs, while the exposition showed only one painting. The list goes on: forty Redons versus two; seventeen Matisses versus none; and Picasso, Hartley, Vlaminck, Pascin, Rouault, Braque, Picabia, Duchamp, Delaunay, Kandinsky, Kirchner, and Hopper were all represented to some degree in New York and not at all in California." pp. 59-60.

paintings by the Nabis, Fauves, Expressionists, and Futurists.³

The Exposition included some paintings by Cézanne, Gauguin, Kokoschka, Monet, Munch, Pissarro, Puvis de Chavannes, Redon, and Whistler, among others, and did lead to increased contact with movements and experimentation being done in Paris and New York.

Although Shore, who was acquainted with the European avant-garde movements through travel abroad and studies in New York where she most likely visited Stieglitz's Gallery 291,⁴ must have responded with some enthusiasm when seeing these works, the Panama-Pacific was less significant in its effect on her than the Post-Exposition Exhibition. This Post-Exposition Exhibition of 1916 occupied the Palace of Fine Arts for five months at the conclusion of the fair. There, Shore and her artist friends would have seen a different version of the Exposition. Seven thousand works, about two thousand of them prints, bespoke a more modern spirit than the original show. In addition to the modernist paintings included in the Exposition were works by Picasso, Picabia, Matisse, and Pascin as well as works by Americans Weber, Hartley, Demuth, and Sheeler. The impact of this post-fair exhibition on Shore and her friends was immediate, for within a

³The Futurists had not participated in the Armory Show, and their exhibition of fifty works at the Exposition was their first appearance in the United States.

⁴ The "Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession" opened its doors in November 1905. It became better known as "291" because of its Fifth Avenue address.

year they organized to battle the highly entrenched conservative art establishment in Los Angeles, led by Impressionist William Wendt and furthered by the California Art Club.

In 1916 several artists exhibited together at the Brack Galleries in Los Angeles. Calling themselves the Los Angeles Modern Art Society, the core group included Henrietta Shore, Helena Dunlap, Bert Cressey, Meta Cressey, Edgar Keller, and Karl Yens. This was a pioneering exhibition that signaled the beginning of organized modernist art in Southern California. Members of the group were willing to explore new, unconventional styles that grew out of personal experience. Important to the artists organizing this group were two goals: the abolition of juries and the elimination of prizes and awards. Each member selected which of his/her works would be exhibited. The abolition of the jury system was progressing throughout the country (the Modern Art Society identified its antecedent as the McDowell Club of New York) and the Modern Art Society considered the elimination of the jury system key in differentiating themselves from other California art groups.

Popular interest in the group ran high--more than seven hundred people attended the opening reception of the Modern Art

Society in early December 1916.⁵ Critic Mary N. Dubois announced the organization of the club in her column about Los Angeles art in *American Art News*:

The Los Angeles Modern Art Society is the name of a new art club which has been formed to further the interest of those "moderns" who reside here. The California Art Club, of which the founders of this society are members, is the pioneer in the field, but the city is growing artistically and there is room and need for just such a club.⁶

Also, bemoaning the fact that Los Angeles was still waiting to be put on the art map, Dubois reported that the Modern Art Society "artists are the ones who [would] do it."⁷

Modern Art Society co-founders Henrietta Shore and Helena Dunlap had the support of Robert Henri when establishing the Society. He was confident that the California artists could contribute something new and fresh--something idiosyncratic that originated with their location. In an interview granted to Los Angeles Times art critic, Antony Anderson, Henri admonished Californian artists to recognize the value of their locale. "The new Western school of painting will not be an imitation of all the others that have gone before it, but will be strongly individual,

⁵ Sarah Vure, *Circles of Influence: Impressionism to Modernism in Southern California Art*, exh. cat. (Newport Beach, California: Orange County Museum of Art, 2000), p. 60.

⁶ Mary N. Dubois, "Los Angeles," *American Art News* (December 30, 1916), p. 5.

⁷ Mary N. Dubois, "Los Angeles Modern Art Society," *Los Angeles Graphic* (December 2, 1916), p. 4.

unmistakably of the big free West. You have the opportunity here to advance in your own way because you are happily removed from any large center of conservative traditions. Compelled to blaze your own trail, you will grow fearless and strong."⁸

Henri continued to advise Shore, and it was probably from him that she learned about the development of the Society of Independent Artists in New York. The Society was organized by artists who had difficulty finding exhibition opportunities for the new styles of painting or the unfashionable subject matter they were then exploring. As historian Clark S. Marlor has observed, by the time the Society of Independent Artists was incorporated in early 1917 there had already been a series of shows that made the situation ripe for the development of the Society. These exhibitions included the Independent Exhibitions organized by Robert Henri in 1901 (The Allen Gallery, works by Henri, Sloan, Glackens, and Maurer, among others), 1908 (Macbeth Gallery, "The Eight": Henri, Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Davies, Lawson, Shinn, and Prendergast), and 1910, the Exhibition of Independent Artists held at 29-31 W. 35th Street (103 artists exhibited 631 works); the Forum Exhibition of 1916 conceived by Willard Wright, brother of Synchronist painter Stanton Macdonald-

⁸ Quoted in Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, *Painting and Sculpture in Los Angeles, 1900-1945* exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), p. 27.

Wright, and the Armory Show in 1913.⁹ The success of these exhibitions, evidenced by the growing number of artists who chose to exhibit in them and of those that viewed them, indicated the need for continuing, in a regular fashion, with such exhibitions. Artist Walter Pach, joined by William Glackens, Maurice Prendergast, Morton Schamberg, Albert Gleizes, Francis Picabia, and Marcel Duchamp, worked through 1916 organizing a group that would free artists from the conservative views of the old guard in obtaining exhibitions. Using the guidelines of the French Société des Artistes Indépendants as its model, the founders resolved that there would be no jury and no prizes as the group's guiding principles. In addition, works would be hung alphabetically by artist name, starting with a letter pulled randomly, to avoid hierarchy. The first exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists came in April 1917, three months after the announcement of the Society's founding. In a letter Walter Pach penned to John Quinn, he described, "in two weeks over six hundred applications for membership have come in. We are going to have a good many of the known men and I believe some worthwhile stuff from the unknown men. That is what I am interested in."¹⁰ One of those applications was from Shore--not a man and just one of very many women. Pach's attitude reflects the stereotype of the successful artist and

⁹ Clark S. Marlor, *The Society of Independent Artists: The Exhibition Record 1917-1944*, (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1984).

demonstrates what Shore and other women had to fight in order to gain recognition.

Accepted into the Society (acceptance was guaranteed by paying the \$5 application fee) she sent two works to the 1917 inaugural exhibition, *Negro Woman and Two Children* (1910-1915, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) and *From the Studio Window* (1915-17, Perlmutter Fine Arts, San Francisco). The two works differ stylistically, and their contrasts announce a new path for Shore. *From the Studio Window* [fig. 46] is a new subject. Though an urban genre scene it differs from those produced by the Henri circle artists in its focus on place and not people. In the quickly brushed scene Shore presents the plaza seen from above. A few people are in sight though they do not dominate the action. Rather, two flags, flying at full mast in the breeze, point to the developing Los Angeles city that appears still small in comparison to the broad hills that rise beyond it.

The second work in the Independent Society exhibition, *Negro Woman and Two Children* [fig. 47], furthers Shore's longtime involvement with portraits and figures as well as her sensitivity to character. From her earliest works of her sister and niece, Shore had explored the topic of mother and child interaction. Early works showed stiff-bodied women and doll-like children with little communication between the two. By 1912-14, however, Shore

¹⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 4.

had achieved a fuller understanding of the physicality that linked mother and child, and demonstrated a full psychological understanding of the rapport between the two. *Negro Woman and Two Children* furthers this achievement. In this work, Shore posed the group to look to the viewer, eliminating face-to-face interaction between the mother and her children. Viewer insights into the emotions between the three can be read in their interlocking positions. The physical connection between the three females is complete and naturalistic here. Using the mother's arms to envelop each child, Shore created a pyramidal composition of inclusion. In *Negro Woman with Two Children*, we see Shore's efforts to mix the spontaneous stroke of Henri with her inclination to strong contour line. A conflict in the use of the line and gesture had existed since her student days. Between 1910 and 1920 Shore would work to resolve the opposition between Henri-inspired painterliness and her own inclination for linear tightness. Despite the unresolved issue of spontaneity versus control, many paintings from this period are successful because of Shore's strong compositions and bold use of vivid colors.

Robert Henri was a constant support, and his natural abilities as a teacher inspired and instructed Shore in all things new. In October 1917 Henri described a new color system to Shore in a multi-page letter with diagrams and instructions. Henri had been experimenting with color since 1909, when he met Hardesty

Marratta, whose color theories and pigments were meant to coincide with the notes and chords of musical scales for the purpose of producing paintings of visual harmony. Henri provided Shore with the rules of the system that dictated the placement of colors in a compartmentalized tray. Each grid square of color was referred to as a note. "The notes," Henri wrote, "are in a general way, a measured distance from each other. . . . [The system] is simply an extension of possibility and because so many related notes can be mixed, great facility during the process of painting is obtained. The notes are elements with which he [the artist] may make his construction--with which he may compose his picture."¹¹ Shore may have tried the system, but there is no evidence that she employed it routinely. This letter may have served as an introduction to the links between painting and music that were to become important to Shore and fellow Los Angeles artists in just the next year. But rather than focusing on a new art theory at the end of October 1917, Shore was busy, once again, preparing for an exhibition. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art had invited her, through the CAC, to exhibit her works in a one-person exhibition in November.

Most afternoons Shore was in her studio at the International Bank Building. Though she lived in a large, handsome stucco home at 1559 Cassil Place with her brother and his wife, Shore kept her

¹¹Robert Henri to Henrietta Shore, October 25, 1917, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

studio apart so that she might escape the domestic and social demands typically expected of her position as a spinster in a home with children. On Thursday, November 8, she was at the studio identifying works she might send to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art show, when a group of students called upon her. One was a young woman who had already shown artistic promise, Mabel Alvarez [fig. 48]. Mabel had been born in Hawaii in 1891. Her parents were a Spanish-born physician Dr. Luis Fernandez Alvarez and Clementine Setza, the daughter of a prominent St. Paul family of musicians. Mabel grew up in Los Angeles, where her father had relocated the family in 1906. A skillful real estate investor, Dr. Alvarez had gained financial security for his family during the Hawaiian land boom. Dr. Alvarez then moved his wife and children to Los Angeles. Interested in making art from childhood, Mabel enrolled in William Cahill's art school in Los Angeles in 1915.¹² As longtime friend Glenn Bassett writes, "Early on Mabel's doting father recognized her talent and her serious dedication. He insured her financial security, so that she was always free to paint only those things that interested her."¹³ Portraiture was a great interest, and her first portrait painting was displayed at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in 1917, a time Alvarez most likely first met Shore.

¹² Mabel Alvarez studied with Stanton Macdonald-Wright at the Los Angeles Art Students League in the 1920s.

¹³ Glenn Bassett, "Mabel Alvarez: A Personal Memory," *American Art Review*, vol. 11, no. 2 (February 1999), p. 186.

It is probable that they knew of each other's work a year earlier as each was included in the Southern California Panama Exposition in San Diego--Alvarez had painted a large mural for the fair.

Alvarez had a favorable response to her visit to Shore's studio. She was impressed, delighted, and encouraged by Shore and was immediately drawn to her. Writing of Shore in her diary, Mabel noted that she "like[d] her so much" and that she found Shore "earnest and enthusiastic." Alvarez's description of the visit identifies the pedagogical tone Shore took with the student group:

Gave us regular talk on art. Said she wasn't usually as serious. Said we should be very careful and not be influenced by the things we saw and liked. Great dangers in looking at another's work. Said each one should find the particular way for him to paint regardless of any one else. Have to go away by one's self to do this. Said she tried to look at things with a fresh vision and put this down spontaneously. Said a teacher's main business was to make you enthusiastic and thrilled about everything.

Looking about the studio on her way out, Alvarez observed: "Lovely prints & books about. Felt uplifted all afternoon as though I'd been to a Symphony concert."¹⁴ Alvarez spent the next Sunday afternoon at the Los Angeles County Museum viewing Shore's show. There she would have seen Shore's paintings of city scenes and portraits as well as some floral still lifes. The variety of

¹⁴ All Mabel Alvarez diary entries from Mabel Alvarez Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

subject matter was interesting in that the horticultural content marked a shift in Shore's subject matter.

Among the thirteen paintings included in the "Henrietta Shore" exhibition at the Los Angeles County Museum in November 1917 were a group of four floral still lifes, including *Still Life, Anemones with Marigolds, Canterbury Bells*, and *Bowl of Zinnias* (all whereabouts unknown). Still life painting, with some focus on the floral still life, had a history in California art from about 1850, about a decade later than the renewed interest in the genre by East Coast artists.¹⁵ At mid-century California artists delighted in depicting the flowers and fruits and vegetables that grew so abundantly in their state, using the imagery as testimony to the state's natural beauty, rather than as symbols as in the European tradition. Los Angeles had a number of still life painters, many of them women, including Alberta Binford McCloskey, renowned for her images of flowers and fruit. Still life remained popular in California until the turn of the twentieth century but lapsed for a few decades until a new interest appeared around 1920, when these neutral subjects were found ideal for stylistic exploration.

Shore's interest in flowers as subject matter appears rather suddenly, but a link in her shift from portraiture to still life

¹⁵ For a significant study of nineteenth-century Californian still life, see Janice T. Driesbach, *Bountiful Harvest: 19th-Century California Still Life Painting*, exh. cat. (Sacramento: Crocker Art Museum, 1991).

can be seen in several earlier paintings that combine portraiture with arrangements of flowers. One is *Negro Woman with Children*, [fig. 47] where the group of figures on the left is balanced by the arrangement of peonies on the right. Another precedent is *Japanese Girl with Flowers* [fig. 23] that includes a lavish bouquet of multiblossomed stems of yellow and orange and red held gently in the woman subject's arms. Again, the flowers balance the composition as they are placed in opposition to the figure. Both works are made vivid by contrasting hues painted with a loose brush in a quick fashion. Shore's inclination for linear control is evidenced in the more precisely and tightly positioned *Zinnias (aka Bowl of Zinnias)* [fig. 49], which has visual intensity because of bright color combinations according to Mabel Urmey Seares who used it to illustrate her 1917 article "Modern Art and Southern California" to demonstrate how Southern Californian artists "showed what can be done to answer to the natural enthusiasm of the desert's winter lovers."¹⁶

Shore would return to floral imagery regularly over the next few decades, indeed it was the subject of her final years of production, as demonstrated in the 1955 work, *White Radiant* (Hauk Fine Arts, Pacific Grove) [fig. 50]. She found it a flexible subject for her stylistic explorations. Flowers can often offer

¹⁶ Mabel Urmey Seares, "Modern Art and Southern California," *The American Magazine of Art* (December 1917), pp. 58-64.

symbolic readings, and they serve as iconographic subjects in Shore's works, particularly those after 1920. Her contemporary and friend Edward Weston considered Shore's flowers metaphors for the artist, referencing Shore's ability to become part of nature's world. Weston once said of Shore, "When she paints a flower she IS that flower."¹⁷ In these early works of flowers used the subject to reflect the glories of the natural world and to show her affinity with nature; more essentially, she used them as evidence of her Southern California locale. Later, as discussed in chapter six, Shore used flowers and leaves as sexual and reproductive images.

Another reason for Shore's choice of floral imagery may have been its popularity with the public. Conscious of her reliance on her brother's generosity and with no (evidence of) income from sales, the choice of subject as a marketing tool was important. Although she preferred to believe that art was created for its own sake, Shore had financial responsibility for maintaining her studio and purchasing her supplies that could have affected her output. The inclusion of the floral paintings in November's Los Angeles County Museum exhibition may have been a conscious act of appealing to a wider patronage.

November 1917 was an exciting month for Shore in another way. Just as she was preparing her one-person show, she received word

¹⁷ Edward Weston in *Henrietta Shore* (New York: E. Weyhe, 1933), p. 11.

from Canada's National Gallery that it "would be glad of the opportunity" of seeing some of her works for consideration of buying one. Put into motion earlier that spring by correspondence Shore had initiated, Canada's premier institution had, over the summer months, decided to acquire a Shore painting for its permanent collection. Shore's immediate response indicated her great delight. "My dear Mr. Brown," she wrote to the Gallery director, "Your letter of November 5, informing me of the desire of the Trustees of the National Gallery, to see my work, was most welcome." Shore then informed Eric Brown of her hope: "*The Negro Woman and Children* is the picture that I most earnestly desire The National Gallery to purchase. . . . It is the picture I would like to have represent my work in The National Gallery of my own country." Leaving the decision in their hands, however, she informed him that she would be "sending four pictures by American Express" and awaited their decision.¹⁸

Alvarez was a regular visitor at the studio in the winter of 1917-18, and sometimes Shore would visit Mabel's studio, where she would give Alvarez valued painting advice and criticism. Alvarez also came to regard Shore as a friend, writing on December 21, 1917

¹⁸Henrietta Shore to Mr. Eric Brown, November 14, 1917. Archives of the National Gallery of Art, Ottawa. The curatorial and registrar's office of the National Gallery generously provided copies of the correspondence between Shore and the institution.

Miss Shore called up one morning. Liked the work she said. Gave me criticism. Said look for big light over whole thing then put in big shadow over shoulders feeling the bones and bulk under the coat at same time. Then sweep overhead in same way feeling solidity of bony structure. Lot to think about. Like her so much. Saw her later in Wisteria [a restaurant] with small niece. Told mother I was getting along very well.¹⁹

Alvarez would visit Shore on more social occasions, times when Shore and Dunlap would entertain together. When Alvarez visited them for tea on February 14, 1918, the two invited her to exhibit with the Modern Art Society.

The Los Angeles Modern Art Society exhibited for the second time in March 1918. The Society had added new members, nearly doubling in size to fifteen, and had the support of local benefactors. Though Los Angeles patrons were generally slow to accept the modernist view, eight guarantors were secured for the second exhibition.²⁰ This time club members looked beyond their own city, inviting works from local and foreign painters to be exhibited alongside their own. The critics, too, endorsed the new group, seeing time for the development of the Los Angeles Modern Art Society as ripe. As Arthur G. Vernon noted, "the organization of progressive art exhibitions has invariably devolved upon art

¹⁹ Mabel Alvarez Papers, Diary entry December 21, 1917.

²⁰ See Janet Blake Dominik, "Patrons and Critics in Southern California, 1900-1930," in Patricia Trenton and William H. Gerdtts, *California Light 1900-1930* exh. cat. (Laguna Beach, California: Laguna Art Museum, 1990), pp. 171-76. The guarantors as listed on the brochure that accompanied the Los Angeles Modern Art Society Second Exhibition were

associations." Vernon was looking forward to the work of the new group:

I am informed that our own local Modern Society will in their coming show bring in sympathetic works from the East. This is gratifying news, for they already have promises from Robert Henri, George Bellows, Maurice Prendergast and William J. Glackens of New York, J. W. Morrice of Paris and Grace Ravlin, Victor Higgins and Walter Ufer of Chicago. While I should like to see some of the more extreme and less known men, the society has with these alone, assured themselves of a strong outside group.²¹

The goal for the second exhibition was to "circulate the late developments of the East and compare it with the freshest expression of the West."²² Shore and Dunlap turned to Robert Henri in their efforts in gathering works from New York. Dunlap had written to Henri in August 1917, asking him to send works for the second Modern Art Society exhibition, which he agreed to do. At that time she must have complained to Henri about the conflicts then arising between the artists of the Modern Art Society and those of the California Art Club. While most members of the Modern Art Society maintained their membership in the California Art Club, the differences between the objectives of each organization strained relations among them. Most significant was the

Fanny Bixby, Theodosia Carlin, George I. Cochran, Mrs. John H. Dwight, F. W. Hadley, Oscar Mueller, Augusta Senter, and Mrs. W.H.R. Strong.

²¹ Arthur G. Vernon, "Modern Art in California," *The Graphic* (February 1, 1917), p. 11.

²² Foreword, *The Los Angeles Modern Art Society Second Annual Exhibition March 5 to 30, 1918*, .

contrasting view regarding the jury system. Juried exhibitions were so inherent a part of the California Art Club that when the Club was invited to participate in the inaugural exhibition of the Los Angeles County Museum in 1913, which had no jury requirements, California Art Club members chose not to lend work. Instead, they had their own exhibition at another site. (The rift was mended the next year.) Additionally, hard feelings had been created when the younger group splintered off, for the new Society had garnered exhibition space, and it received good publicity. This defection soured the feelings of the executive members of the longstanding and prestigious California Art Club. Henri responded with calmness and inspiration to Dunlap's dismay as the situation developed.

Addressing the conflict, he wrote:

On the surface, there is the battle of institutions, the illustration of events, the cataloguing of peoples--on the surface there is propaganda, and there is the effort to force opinions of right. The deeper currents pursue no propaganda, the shock of surface upheaval does not deflect it from its course. Its pursuit is fundamental principle, that basic principle of all, which in degree as it is apprehended points the way to Beauty, to Order, to law which is nature's law.²³

Dunlap was moved by Henri's inspiring words and, in a brief reply, indicated that she would share his letter with the Modern Art Society membership.

The tension caused by the rivalry between the Modern Art Society and the California Art Club is manifested in the entries

²³Robert Henri to Helena Dunlap, August 14, 1917, Robert Henri Papers.

Mabel Alvarez made in her diary that spring. Shore visited Mabel on April 30 and asked Alvarez to accompany her to the exhibition space. Her diary records that "Miss Shore called up about going to Expo Park on Friday morning about Modern Art Society."²⁴ But by May of that year Alvarez was withdrawing from Shore and Dunlap, avoiding them. Her wariness with them may have been a reaction to their partnership. At this time Shore and Dunlap were socializing as a couple and the suggestion of a lesbian relationship might have affronted the younger woman. However, Alvarez's diary entries fail to address this subject directly. The entries seem to point to the conflict between the Modern Art Society and the California Art Club as the cause of the break. For a young artist of promise, whose career was just gaining recognition, Alvarez felt she had much to lose if she sided with the untraditional, split-off group. On May 2 Alvarez's diary records that she "Met Hinkle. Said not to get mixed up in Miss Shore's affairs so won't go tomorrow."

(Clarence Hinkle was a post-impressionist who showed with the Group of Eight.) On May 3 the diary records her decision: "Didn't meet Miss Shore to go to Expo Park." On May 4th, the discomfort continued, "Went to Miss Wood about Miss Shore affair--long

²⁴ Mabel Alvarez Papers, Diary entry April 30, 1918. In a puzzling undated note that may or may not further this entry, a note under "Memoranda" continues, "Stomach out of order. Think from being bothered with Miss Shore being so vehement.

talk."²⁵ Alvarez was unsure if she was willing to support Shore and Dunlap in their efforts with the Modern Art Society and risk being alienated from the larger, conventional, and socially sanctioned art community. Modern art didn't really get much support in Los Angeles in these years. No galleries carried modernist work, and most of it was excluded from the Los Angeles County Museum's Annuals, so it is not unexpected that Alvarez would be guided away from the Modern Art Society and its founding members. Alvarez made the break from the Modern Art Society complete when on May 29, she entered the fact in her diary: "Wrote Miss Shore about withdrawing from the club." The reply from founders Shore and Dunlap was expected. On June 4 Alvarez wrote, "Miss Dunlap nice about my letter to Miss Shore. Miss Shore rather hurt but decent. Haven't yet decided what is right."

An exchange of letters in the newspaper between Helena Dunlap of the Modern Art Club and Julia Bracken Wendt of the California Art Club finally made the discord public.²⁶ Centered on obtaining exhibition space at the Los Angeles County Museum, Dunlap argued that the California Art Club was unfair to artists because of its selection of exhibition juries. Wendt's responded that the California Art Club had a fair system in place. But her comment

²⁵ Mabel Alvarez Papers, Archives of American Art.

²⁶ "The Firing Line," and "From Miss Dunlap," *Los Angeles Times*, found in *Ferdinand Perret Notebook on California Artists*, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, roll #3863.

that the California Art Club "made no objection when Mr. Keller, Miss Dunlap and Miss Shore formed the Modern Art Club," weakened her argument that it was not about personality. At the core of the dispute was the CAC's resistant to ceding control and prestige. The California Art Club found itself unable to be generous though it had little to fear from offering an olive branch: the group of artists involved was small, they had maintained their ties with the mother institution, and their art was not so significantly extremist as to cause consternation. In fact, consideration of works included in the Modern Art Society exhibition reveals them to be neither radical in terms of formal innovation nor challenging in terms of abstraction.

The subject matter of both Modern Art Society exhibitions was mainly figurative, though still-lives emerged as an important subject at this time. Meta and Bret Cressey, painting in these years in the spontaneous, expressive manner encouraged by their teacher, Robert Henri, produced imagery that depicted contemporary life; Meta sent portraits, Bret submitted landscapes and outdoor scenes that sometimes included animals and people. Karl Yens (1868-1945), a German immigrant with a European academic background, sent portraits. Shore exhibited her new floral paintings. *Anemones with Marigolds* (known by exhibition list) was shown at the second exhibition of the Modern Art Society that was on view March 5-30, 1918. That exhibition of thirty-five works

found critical support from Los Angeles critic Arthur Vernon, but the anti-modernist faction was the superior power in Los Angeles, and the Modern Art Society disbanded after the exhibition and group artists continued to exhibit with the California Art Club. Shore had kept Robert Henri informed, and his response was sympathetic:

I am sorry that the Modern Art Society is no more. But perhaps it is good that Societys die young while they are yet virtuous and useful. Some of the old ones have hung on long after those conditions and they stand as horrible examples. Success is not in the life of an institution. Success is in the living quality of ideas and the Skins may be shed as often as they are worn out.²⁷

March was a month of both unsettling events and wonderful conclusions. In February 1918 the National Gallery of Canada contacted Shore about their choice of paintings for acquisition. Shore had shipped four paintings, *Negro Woman and Children*, *Mother and Child*, *Child with Toys*, and *Rosario Gomez* on consignment to The National Gallery. More specific in character than the others, *Rosario Gomez* (1917, Perlmutter Fine Arts, San Francisco) [fig. 51] featured a Hispanic woman who sold produce at Los Angeles's open-air market. *Rosario Gomez* had been deemed a favorite of the 1917 fall exhibition season in Los Angeles, where several colorful works with a similar theme attracted the eye of critic Mabel Army Seares. Delighting in the postcard views available to every

²⁷ Robert Henri to Henrietta Shore, January 15, 1920, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Box 9, Folder 234.

visitor of Southern California, Seares found evidence in the exhibition of this appreciation in the majority of the exhibition's subject matter. "Surely," she wrote:

the cities of Asia and the eastern side of Europe dazzle no more the eyes of travelers, than does this tourist-pleasing group of cities by the western seas. ... Here the Mexican or Japanese vegetable vendor has stacked his crisp and curling lettuce, green bouquets of celery or pyramids of artichokes, deep purple eggplant and close by, lots of slender carrots, washed and shining.²⁸

To demonstrate her point, Seares included an illustration of Shore's painting of Rosario Gomez. All four works had received good critical reviews and Shore was confident the National Gallery would find one of them in favor, as indeed they did. In a letter dated February 8, 1918, Director Brown informed Shore that the museum trustees had purchased *Negro Woman and Children* for \$1,000.²⁹ Shore was thrilled. Though her letter in response continues the formality of the occasion, her joy is evident in her vocabulary and phrasing:

Will you extend my sincere thanks to the Trustees of the Gallery, and assure them that I am very glad they bought that picture in preference to any of the others as I would rather be represented by that picture than by any other that I have painted. Please extend to them also my appreciation of their congratulations and their courtesy, and assure them that the recognition by purchase, of the National Gallery of Canada will act as a stimulus for my future work. Most heartily I

²⁸ Mabel Urmy Seares, "Modern Art and Southern California, *The American Magazine of Art* (December 1917), pp 58-64.

²⁹ Eric Brown to Henrietta Shore, February 6, 1918, courtesy National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

thank you for the personal interest you have taken in the matter, and for the courtesy you have shown.³⁰

In 1918, in addition to the Modern Art Society show in March, Shore exhibited with the San Francisco Art Association in its Annual Exhibition, presented in the Palace of Fine Arts, Exposition Grounds. Shore had been exhibiting with this group since 1916 and would continue through 1919. The 1918 Annual included two Shore paintings, *Mother and Child* and *The North Window*. Her familiarity with San Francisco had developed beginning in 1915 during the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Making the trip between the two cities allowed her to participate in the art world of California's two major cities.

Though she disagreed with their jury policy and found their aesthetic authority disturbing, Shore had remained a member of the California Art Club, recognizing their power to affect the popular acceptance of her work. She participated in its Spring Exhibition in April and its Ninth Annual Exhibition in September. For the spring exhibition only one work was selected by the jury for display, *Flowers and Fruit*, disappointing critic Arthur G. Vernon, who wrote in a review of that show, "A small study is all that represents Miss Shore's vital talent."³¹ Only one painting was

³⁰ Henrietta Shore to Eric Brown, February 13, 1918, courtesy National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

³¹ Arthur G. Vernon, "Modern Art in California," *The Graphic* (April 20, 1918), p. 25.

included in the fall Annual, *Little Girl with Fruit*. Shore was, no doubt, uncomfortable showing with this group with which she publicly found fault, and they were evidently unhappy with her.

By the end of the summer of 1918, the excitement generated by the National Gallery purchase was waning--Shore was not feeling especially inspired. Disputes with members of the California Art Club over the founding of the Modern Art Society were exhausting, and she had no success in selling her work. Though she had a steady friend in Helena Dunlap, a small circle of similar-thinking artist colleagues, and a supportive family, Shore was beginning to wonder if Los Angeles was a nurturing place for her and her art. She confided in Henri. An exchange of letters in late summer of 1918 references World War I but primarily as a hindrance to her plans. "The war is everywhere and in everything--it seems even to affect the colour and general movement of the clouds and is reflected in individuals and groups everywhere. I wish that it were ended, and the German machine finally smashed. I cannot go to France but am thinking seriously of going to New York." Then, looking for Henri's advice, Shore asked,

Do you think it best for me to work things out quietly by my self, here--my work is making definite progress--or to go to New York and work where others are working? I would greatly appreciate having your opinion on this matter, as it will mean a final uprooting if I should go to New York, and this

country is very beautiful, and I am only commencing to know it.³²

Within four weeks, Shore had a reply. "Stay where you are," Henri advised,

don't pull up stakes now for of all times there are no times so hard as these for an artist. In New York it is a 100% you would find work more difficult than where you are for if there is much war in the art in Los Angeles, there is much more of it in New York. New York is the closest place to the front line in America. Henri also warned Shore of the very little chance for financial success, noting that the cost of living was high and that the odds were against her to make even enough money to live on. "So therefore," he cautioned, "stay where you have a footing. It's a beautiful place anyway and there is a beginning of things artistic there. Stick it out, you have got a grip on your self and on things since you have been in California. The place has been good to you."³³

Following Henri's advice, Shore remained in California and continued to work with her artist friends in advancing the cause of modernism. A significant boon for their campaign occurred late in 1918 with the arrival in Los Angeles of Stanton Macdonald-Wright.

Macdonald-Wright was key in stimulating and fostering modernist activity in Los Angeles.³⁴ In 1909 Macdonald-Wright had traveled to Paris to study art at a period when traditions were

³² Letter from Henrietta Shore to Robert Henri, August 31, 1918, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Box 9, folder 234.

³³ Robert Henri to Henrietta Shore, September 24, 1918, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Box 9, Folder 234.

³⁴ Major sources on Macdonald-Wright and Synchronism are Gail Levin, *Synchronism and American Color Abstraction, 1910-1925* exh. cat. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1978), and Will South, et al. *Color, Myth, and Music: Stanton Macdonald-Wright and Synchronism*, exh. cat. (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum, 2000).

being challenged by new approaches. There, in 1911, Macdonald-Wright met fellow American Morgan Russell. Both attended the classes of Canadian artist Ernest Percyval Tudor-Hart, who taught color theory and proposed a connection between color and music.³⁵ This experience influenced Macdonald-Wright and Russell, who both agreed on this correspondence. Together they developed a method of painting called Synchronism, which was based on using color scales to create compositions of abstract shapes and colors.³⁶ Returning to America in 1916, Macdonald-Wright became active in the New York avant-garde. He was one of the organizers of the Forum Exhibition of American Modernists, and he exhibited at Stieglitz's 291 Gallery in 1917 and at the Charles Daniel Gallery in 1918. But his day-to-day life was dismal and discouraging as there were no sales; late in 1918 he decided to return to California, where he had spent his youth.

Shortly after his return to Los Angeles, Macdonald-Wright established himself as a force in modernist art. He garnered the crucial spot to further his experiments and teachings when, in 1919, he became director the Los Angeles Art Students League, succeeding Rex Slinkard. He found support for his thinking in the

³⁵ Gail Levin, *Synchronism and American Color Abstraction, 1910-1925*, p. 14.

³⁶ See Gail Levin, *Synchronism and American Color Abstraction, 1910-1925*.

circle of modernists that would grow to include Henrietta Shore, Helena Dunlap, Nick Brigante, Annita Delano, Peter Krasnow, and others, as well as the rare book dealer Jake Zeitlin, the collectors Walter and Louise Arensberg, and the critic Arthur Millier.

Shore knew of Macdonald-Wright; she probably met him sometime in 1919.³⁷ A first introduction to Macdonald-Wright's theories could have come from Henri who had written artist Guy Pène du Bois in early 1916 that

I have just read Willard Huntington Wright's "Modern Painting" and though I began with much antipathy and continued that antipathy throughout the book, I have been able to find no significant flaws. It is a work built upon good, sound, very evidently sincere logic. It is not easy to say this. It is probably more difficult to believe it. The book is built apparently for the single purpose of proving his brother Macdonald-Wright the greatest artist that ever lived. Painting [Macdonald-Wright] tells us is color and color therefore must build the forms, be the root of their organizations, its creator of its volume.³⁸

Henri, who had an interest in color theory that he shared with Shore, most likely commented on this new practice. Another conduit to their meeting would have been Mabel Alvarez. Though Alvarez doesn't mention Shore in her diary in the year 1919, evidence in her 1920 entries indicate that she and Shore had mended the tear in their friendship. Alvarez was a student of Macdonald-Wright's

³⁷ The two would later exhibit together as members of the Modern Art Workers in 1927 and 1928.

³⁸ Guy Pène Du Bois Papers, Archives of American Art, New York, Smithsonian Institution, New York, roll 2008.

at the Art Students League and remained a longtime friend of his.³⁹ Shore most likely had contact with Macdonald-Wright during this period and established a new ally. She might have gone to him with questions about the New York art world, for she was now determining if she should continue down the Los Angeles road she had paved or seek to mark a path elsewhere.

San Francisco was open to Shore. She continued her affiliation with the San Francisco Art Association, showing four works in their Annual Exhibition, March 21 to May 4, 1919. The Palace of Fine Arts organized an exhibition later that year, "Work by California Group of Contemporary Artists," that included *Girl with Fruit* and she showed again with the Society of Independent Artists. But she didn't feel a part of the city and had no family there. Instead, she continued her focus on Los Angeles and spent much of her time in 1919 regrouping the artists of the Modern Art Society in forming the California Progressive Group.

The Modern Art Society reorganized in 1919 as the California Progressives. Artists Caroline Bowles, Helena Dunlap, William Cahill, Edouard Vysekal, and Luvena Vysekal organized an exhibition of their work at the Lafayette Tea Room. Though their

³⁹ A "very charming woman. I've known her for 40 years; she's a very talented painter." Transcription of Stanton Macdonald-Wright interviewed by Betty Lochrie Hoag, Oral History Interview, April 13, 1964, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D. C. p. 50.

work was far from radical in terms of formal innovation, these artists were determined in their efforts on behalf of modern art.

In August 1919 Helena Dunlap was attacked for defending the modernists in a debate among area artists over allowing the California Progressives to exhibit at the Los Angeles County Museum. Shore and Dunlap had petitioned the Los Angeles County Museum for exhibition space for the Progressives. The museum made the request known to members of the California Art Club who considered the Progressives group founded by Shore and Dunlap as lacking in respect for the power and prestige due the Art Club. The longstanding relationship between the Los Angeles County Museum and the California Art Club apparently prompted the Museum to deny the Progressives the use of the gallery. Dunlap felt that the issue had become personalized and particularly that it had become sexist. Los Angeles Times critic Antony Anderson summarized her position. "She has been accused, she avers, of having only selfish aims. She believes that some men hold such an attitude toward women that when [the women] stand up for what they believe to be right and just, they are at once accused of being troublemakers." Dunlap had written "Equal chance was our motto."⁴⁰ The equality Dunlap and Shore sought was two-fold: acceptance as women artists and acceptance of women as administrators with

⁴⁰ Antony Anderson, "A Fly in the Ointment," *Los Angeles Times* (August 31, 1919), p. 2.

skills to establish, organize, and manage institutions. Theirs was still a difficult road in 1919 when suffrage remained a battle to be won.

Probably the last knot in the string of difficulties for Shore that year was her failure to garner critical approval. A review in the *Christian Science Monitor* of the 1919 California Art Show in which *Little Girl with Fruit* [fig. 52] was displayed dismissed Shore's efforts in a scathing comparison of her style with that of Manet. "On looking at the little girl eating a banana, by Miss Shore, one is reminded that a great many people have tried to brighten Manet's palette whilst retaining his distinction; and whilst it may eventually be done, it will only be by some one who can draw rather better than Manet and who is as free from tricks of technique."⁴¹

The denigration of Shore's art combined with her powerlessness in determining its exhibition went far in confirming her feelings that she should take a break from Los Angeles. By the end of 1919 Shore made the decision to leave Los Angeles, an idea she had mulled over for at least a year. New York was looking very attractive as she had a friend in Henri and she was active already with forward-looking artists in that city by way of the Independent Society. She had some money since the sale of her work

⁴¹ By special correspondent, "Current Tendencies at Los Angeles," *Christian Science Monitor* (September/October 1919), p. 5.

to Canada's National Gallery, and her friend and colleague Helena Dunlap was off to Europe. Now was the time to make a change.

In January 1920 Shore sent Robert Henri a telegram that announced her intention of traveling to New York. Though he didn't have the opportunity to answer it, Henri did respond to a letter that followed in which Shore announced her impending arrival by train and asked for advice in exhibiting her work in the city.

Writing on January 15, Henri's answer hints at his frustration:

I haven't the least idea what you can do now in the way of an exhibition. The galleries are all booked up for the season now I think. I know that Montross is. Most likely all the others. I enclose a list cut from the American Art News. The galleries marked = are the most important, those marked - are o.k. and your chances with them now perhaps the best on account of the advanced season. If you could get Mrs. Sterner at Knoedlers it would be fine. Milch is good gallery and does good business. Of the minor galleries the Touchstone is new but extra well placed and will cost reasonably. You had better wait until you come and make your own decision. It is hard for me to place myself in your stead not knowing the size of your purse or just what your wish is in regard to the exhibition. From point of view of selling pictures the bigger and heavier priced galleries are the best, and even among them there are specialties. One dealer can sell one artist's works while another sells another's. You had best look the ground over for yourself."⁴²

Shore prepared to do so, having initiated the move, she was now committed to making it a success.

⁴² Robert Henri to Henrietta Shore, January 15, 1920, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Box 9, Folder 234.

Chapter 6 The Bicoastal Years

Determined to move to New York City in order to further her career and to make a name for herself, Shore bought a ticket on the California Limited, a Pullman train that departed from Los Angeles twice a week. For at least a decade, travel coast-to-coast could be accomplished in a week's time.¹ By mid-January 1920 Shore was in Manhattan.

Finding an apartment and studio was the first priority. Her search focused on midtown Manhattan, where the business district extended from 34th Street on West 59th Street. The area was also the center of the theater district and of commercial publishing. The Art Students League was located on 57th Street, and it formed a center for artistic activity, a significant attraction for her. For these reasons, Shore focused her search to the neighborhood of the West Fifties, between Fifth and Sixth avenues. This was an area of superb residences that in the years after World War I began to give way to commercial and apartment house development. When Shore decided on the Rembrandt Building at 152 West 57th Street, she selected an area with neighbors involved in the art and literary worlds.² William Dean Howells lived at 130 West 57th

¹ Advertisement in *Brush and Pencil* (February 1898), p. 18.

² The addresses of celebrities living in the midtown area was obtained from Susan Edmiston and Linda D. Cirino, *Literary New York: A History and Guide* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), Chapter 3.

Street from 1908 until his death in 1920. Dorothy Parker moved to her apartment at 57 West 57th Street in 1917 to be near her friend artist Neysa McMein, who also had an apartment there. Robert Henri was on 57th Street that year but moved to Gramercy Park the next. Childe Hassam was nearby, and Charles Sheeler was ten blocks north. Shore had Carnegie Hall as her neighbor, the Sixth Avenue El for transportation, and could walk to Central Park.

By the time of her fortieth birthday in February, Shore had settled into her apartment and had reacquainted herself with the city from which she had been away for fifteen years. Fortunately, Shore had friends and support in the members of the Society of Independent Artists with whom she had been exhibiting since their first exhibition in 1917. In March 1920 the Society of Independent Artists presented their Fourth Annual Exhibition. Shore was represented by one painting, *Houses and Hills, California* (perhaps known today as *Cityscape, 1915-20*, Perlmutter Fine Arts, San Francisco) [fig. 53] a work not previously exhibited.³ *Houses and Hills, California* was probably not given much attention by viewers, who would have been overwhelmed by the size of the show, in which all members--and there were 573 that year--were invited to contribute. Finding the exhibition dull, wearisome, and confusing, the *New York Times* critic was disappointed to discover

³ Known by exhibition list only, this painting may also have been exhibited as *Among the Hills* in Los Angeles in 1927.

"so few thoughts, so little depth of feeling, so little delicacy and force" in the large showing.⁴ Shore felt she needed to distinguish herself from the hundreds of contributors, many of who lacked her level of talent and skill. She had to promote her work.

As correspondence with Henri indicates, Shore's first career goal at this time was to find a gallery and organize a show of her work. With, no doubt, the efforts and influence of Henri, Shore secured an important venue at Kraushaar Art Galleries. Kraushaar Galleries favored the artists in the Henri circle, among others. In January 1920 they showed George Luks' paintings, and in February, John Sloan. That March, Gifford Beal was up, and in April the gallery showed French painter and etcher Jean-Louis Forain. Shore was scheduled for a one-person exhibition in May.

The one-person show featuring recent works by Shore at Kraushaar ran from May 5 to May 22 and included twelve paintings that were valued for sale between \$350 and \$1,000.⁵ The works demonstrated Shore's variety of subject matter, from portraits to still lifes, and from landscapes to single floral studies. Among the works included were *Japanese Girl with Flowers* (1917-18, Dell

⁴ "Notes on Current Art," *The New York Times* (March 21, 1920), p. 6. The review points out the inclusion of a small exhibition of works from New Mexico and Arizona by American Indians. Money from the estate of Morton Schamberg, who died in the influenza epidemic of 1918, financed the costs. The critic found these paintings "vivid and spirited."

⁵ This exhibition is listed incorrectly as taking place in 1921 in the catalogue that accompanied "Henrietta Shore: A Retrospective Exhibition, 1900-1963" exhibition at The Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, 1988.

Collection, Toronto), *Girl with Fruit* (1910-1915) [fig. 52], *Gloxinia* (1919, known by exhibition list), and *The Promenade* (c. 1910-13) [fig.30]. No evidence exists today of sales made from that show, but even if the exhibition was financially disappointing, Shore walked away with pride because of the positive critical reception the show garnered for her. The *New York Times* reviewer gave an approving assessment:

At the Kraushaar Galleries are the recent paintings of Henrietta M. Shore, which will be on until May 22. Miss Shore is one of Mr. Henri's pupils and shows his influence, particularly in her figure subjects, which have also a personal note of pleasant quietness. The little girl eating a disconcertingly green banana is piquant and childish, and the girl with the violin is well related to the background without the over-insistence upon silhouette usually found where a figure is seen against the sky. The flower studies are more completely the artist's own than the other canvases, and in the free grouping and expressive form hold much promise of future triumphs.⁶

Shore could not help but be pleased with the review.

The works Shore exhibited in 1920 were ones produced earlier in California. She had not yet painted pictures that reflected the exciting cosmopolitan world she was becoming a part of. In these early months in New York, Shore was visiting galleries, seeing other artists' works, shopping in bookstores, and keeping abreast of the latest in art, literature and entertainment. She witnessed new styles, met other artists, developed new tastes, and became

⁶ "Exhibitions of the Week," *The New York Times* (May 9, 1920), section 6, p. 6.

excited and recharged about her own career as she concentrated on distinguishing her art as a truly personal expression.

Moving forward into new artistic territory, Shore necessarily had to relinquish her dependence on Henri. At forty, she was just now developing artistic independence. Charles Sheeler once commented that it was easy to spot pupils of certain teachers. He observed, "Any teacher that is good, just without his volition, does impose himself on the pupils because they're in a very impressionable state of wax that records everything that is projected in their direction. You just knew," he said, "when you went in and saw some new and unknown, you knew that he was a pupil of Henri, or in my case, that you were a pupil of Chase, and you can see Kuniyoshi in recent years."⁷ Sheeler found it took him about ten years to move away from what proved to be a wrong direction for him as a result of Chase's teaching. It took Shore close to fifteen years to shrug off the influence from her much-admired mentor to then allow her own artistic expression to emerge. Shore would repudiate the aesthetic tradition in which she was trained as she made the shift towards abstraction and the modernism of the Stieglitz circle artists.

Probably the principal instigation for change in Shore's art was her exposure to avant-garde art then on view in New York.

⁷ Charles Sheeler Oral History Interview, conducted by June 18, 1959, by Martin Freidman for the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., p. 11 of written transcript.

Though Alfred Stieglitz's 291 Gallery closed in 1917, modern and avant-garde art continued to be shown in other Manhattan galleries.⁸ When Stieglitz's gallery closed, Charles Daniel on West 47th Street provided venues for the Stieglitz circle artists, showing their work from 1917 to 1925. Mitchell Kennerly, director of the Anderson Gallery at Park Avenue and East 59th Street, was a modern art enthusiast, and he used his institution to further its cause. Stephan Bourgeois at 668 Fifth Avenue and Marius de Zayas Gallery also on Fifth Avenue showed modern art. In April a Joseph Stella retrospective was on view at Bourgeois Galleries. And between 1920 and 1921, the final season at de Zayas, a series of one-person shows featured the work of Charles Sheeler, Walt Kuhn, Paul Gauguin, John Covert, Henri Rousseau, and Arthur B. Davies.

Primary among the exhibitions to feature avant-garde art were the shows organized by the Société Anonyme. Patron and artist Katherine Dreier, seeing that the original urge toward modernism was disintegrating so soon after its initial impulse, was determined to establish an organization promoting modernism in America. With Marcel Duchamp, who brought in Man Ray, the three established the Société Anonyme in 1920 to recognize and support

⁸ In 1925 Stieglitz opened a new small gallery, the Intimate Gallery, which continued through 1929.

progress in the arts.⁹ They resolved to produce changing exhibitions that were international in scope and representative of a broad range of the modern movement. The first exhibition year ran from April 1920 to June 1921 and offered a series of six-week exhibitions showing a mix of Cubism, Expressionism, and Dada.

The Société Anonyme Gallery opened on April 30, 1920 in two small rooms on the third floor of an old brownstone at 19 East 47th Street. The inaugural exhibition included works by Constantin Brancusi, Patrick Henry Bruce, James Daughtery, Marcel Duchamp, Juan Gris, Vincent van Gogh, Francis Picabia, Man Ray, George Ribemont-Dessaignes, Morton Schamberg, Joseph Stella, Jacques Villon, and Heinrich Vogeler. This exhibition provided a great opportunity for Shore to see the variety of styles that modernism enveloped.

In the fall of 1920, the fifth exhibition included Kandinsky, Hartley, Walkowitz, and Derain. This exhibition may have been the first opportunity Shore had to see a Kandinsky work firsthand. There his 1913 painting *The Storm* could have been an inspiration for her move toward abstraction. One suspects, however, that Hartley's *The Rubber Plant* [fig. 54] may have made a more lasting impression, as witnessed in Shore's *Two Leaves* of 1922-23 (Dell

⁹ See Ruth L. Bohan, *The Société Anonyme's Brooklyn Exhibition: Katherine Dreier and Modernism in America* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), and *The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

Collection, Toronto) [fig. 55]. Perhaps it was the two Joseph Stella works included in the show that Shore most admired as did the critic for *The Art News* who admired the "brilliantly colored works of ultramodern tendency" found in *Italian Procession* and *A Pittsburgh Landscape*.¹⁰ The Société Anonyme's exhibition year closed with the show that ran winter 1920-1921. In addition to the exhibitions, the Société Anonyme sponsored many lectures, concerts, and publications concerning modern art that would have attracted Shore's notice.

Some American modernist art was on view in the Society of Independents Annual in which Shore was included that March. Those paintings included James Daugherty's *Movement*; Stuart Davis's *The Yellow Hill* and *The Morning Walk*; Alfred Maurer's *Tango-Minnow* and *Still Life*; and Abraham Walkowitz's *Decorative Panel*.¹¹ Certainly Shore would have examined these works for clues of modernist inclinations. Most of the work in this show was traditional, however, and the impact of modernism was stronger at other exhibitions Shore was likely to have sought out. Shore, no doubt, shared her revelations of the New York art world with her friends and family remaining in California. Unfortunately, none of this correspondence has surfaced.

¹⁰ *The Art News* (November 4, 1920), p. 2.

¹¹ Clark S. Marlcor, *The Society of Independent Artists: The Exhibition Record, 1917-1944* (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1984).

In March Shore had the opportunity to see "A Selected Group of Modern French and American Paintings" at the Colony Club, where Max Weber's cubist *Still Life* would have caught her eye. Perhaps the show of John Marin's near-abstract watercolors at Daniel Galleries gave her pause, though it is most likely she felt more rapport with Charles Burchfield's watercolors at Kevorkian Galleries, where pictures of rich color and linear detail matched her own working method. But one of the two one-person exhibitions certain to have had a great impact on Shore's developing new style was the Bourgeois Galleries' "Retrospective Exhibition of Paintings, Pastels, Drawings, Silverpoints and Watercolors by Joseph Stella," which ran March 27 through April 24, 1920.

The Stella retrospective covered twenty years of his career "in an interesting journey from the little drawings of a boy of twelve . . . to the pyrotechnic fires of the recent work."¹² Joseph Stella (1877-1946) had a command of Old Master drawing techniques, an appreciation for modernism, particularly Futurism, and a value system that placed emphasis on emotional perception over objective portrayal. Shore must have been drawn to the show, if not by word of mouth then by the *New York Times* review, which considered one of the key paintings in the show, *L'Arbre de Ma Vie (Tree of My Life)*, "with its organic forms, its lively play of brilliant

¹² "Paintings by Joseph Stella," *The New York Times* (April 4, 1920), section 7, p. 6.

prismatic colors, its style and true emotion and purity of treatment" a triumph.¹³ Shore would have felt compelled to see work that so described what she was attempting to produce herself. Once there, besides viewing the large, baroque, and lyrical *Tree of My Life*, Shore would have seen *The Bridge*. The painting was described by the same *New York Times* critic as "orderly in form, glowing and resonant in color and with the new happy trick of giving each color space a chance to breathe before bringing it into relation with the next color space--a device not quite easy to explain in words, but present in all the best work of the modernists."¹⁴

Sharing an affinity for linear approach and strong coloration in painting with a recognized artist such as Stella no doubt provided Shore with confidence in her continued use of line as a modernist tool. Never able to surrender the contour and outline for gestural abstraction, she was now confidently putting it to use in her expressions. Though no journal entries or letters exist to document Shore's admiration of Stella's technique, the paintings she began to produce during this period reflect her receptive response.

The other one-person show in 1920 that appears to have affected Shore's methodology is Charles Sheeler's solo exhibition at de Zayas Gallery in February. Charles Sheeler (1883-1965)

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

showed thirty-nine works, both paintings and photographs, many of them the Bucks County barns and interiors of his Doylestown house in Pennsylvania.¹⁵ There were two paintings that Shore must have paid particular attention to because of their composition and use of color. *Hallway (Interior)* (1919) [fig. 56] is a domestic interior with flat planes, angular junctions, and cool colors that join to create more an abstract design than a realistic scene. In contrast, Sheeler's *Flower Forms* (1919) [fig. 57] is a grouping of darkly colored, sensuously curved organic shapes that form a composition more truly abstract than *Hallway* as they bear no relation to realistic objects. The voluptuous contours of *Flower Forms* are echoed in Shore's paintings beginning in 1921.

Doubtlessly, the more Shore looked at Sheeler's work, the more she admired it. She would have liked the clean, simplified, and architectonic structuring of Sheeler's work that as it progressed came to be known as Precisionist.¹⁶ It is possible that Shore got

¹⁵ See Carol Troyen and Erica E. Hirshler, *Charles Sheeler: Paintings and Drawings*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988), pp. 74, 76.

¹⁶ There was no formal Precisionist school or movement per se. The term characterizes work where (typically urban) subjects are reduced or simplified to geometric forms via sharp, precise lines with large flat areas of color and rendered in bright and clear light. Karen Tsujimoto, writing in *Images of American: Precisionist Painting and Modern Photography* exh. cat. (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1982) identifies John I. H. Baur (director of the Whitney Museum of American Art 1968-74) as the first to identify the artists associated with this style as "sometimes called the precisionists, sometimes the Immaculates." In *Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 58.

to know Sheeler during 1920-21, he too lived in the midtown area, and he also was seeking out the newest in art expression. Sheeler, who began his career as a photographer around 1910 met Edward Weston in 1922. When, a few years later, Weston and Shore developed their close friendship, Sheeler and his art would be of shared interest.

In addition to the burgeoning modernist art scene, there was a plethora of books that were published at this time documenting the conceptualization of modernism and the forces behind it. Publications about art, such as A. J. Eddy's *Cubists and Post Impressionism*, published in 1914, introduced the art of Arthur Dove.¹⁷ Furthermore, many Americans were attracted to transcendentalism and subjective states and mental processes at this time. A preoccupation with spiritualism and the vogue for Theosophy is evidenced in the weekly advertisements placed by E. P. Dutton and Company in the book review section of the *New York Times* listing new books under the heading "On Psychic Matters," which featured, for example, *On the Threshold of the Unseen* and

¹⁷ Joan Murray, *Origins of Abstraction in Canada: Modernist Pioneers*, exh. cat. (Oshawa, Ontario: The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, June 30-August 21, 1994). Murray identifies a possible link between Eddy's book and Shore's abstraction. The book "reproduced in colour a pastel of around 1911-12 by Arthur G. Dove, based on leaf forms, along with a statement from Dove: It is a choice of three colours, red, yellow, green and three forms selected from trees and the spaces between them that to me were expressive of the movement of the thing which I felt." Murray suggests that Shore would have seen more Dove works at Stieglitz's salon. pp. 7-8.

Proofs of the Spirit World. Throughout 1920 the *New York Times* carried articles, book reviews, and letters to the editor that had spiritualism, the philosophy of mysticism, or the religion of the spirit as their topics.¹⁸ Shore, a pragmatist as the result of her mother's teaching, may have disclaimed spiritualist notions such as communicating with the dead as frivolous, but she was drawn to the transcendental concept of spirit in matter and in nature and she sought out texts that were more philosophical than popular. She turned to writings by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Wassily Kandinsky and Henri Bergson—the same works that Stieglitz circle artists were reading.¹⁹

Many American artists were first made aware of Bergsonian philosophy when Stieglitz published two of his essays in *Camera Work*. Henri Bergson (1859-1941) was a French philosopher who proposed a theory of evolution based on the spiritual dimension of life. One of his essays, written in 1907, was published in the October 11, 1912 issue of *Camera Work*, and another essay was published in the January 1912 issue. Bergson's *Creative Evolution*:

¹⁸ See for example, *The New York Times* "Do the Dead Still Live?," (July 4, 1920) section 3, p. 18; "Spiritualism" (January 4, 1920) section 2, p. 4; "Spiritualism" (February 12, 1920), section 10, p. 7; "Religion of the Spirit" (September 26, 1920), section 3, p. 1, "Religion and the New Society" (December 26, 1920), section 3, p. 22.

¹⁹ Her readings of these writers are demonstrated by Shore's use of a Goethe quote as part of her artistic statement; her library included a copy of Kandinsky's *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*; and she titled paintings after significant points in Bergson's writings.

An *Introduction to Metaphysics* was originally published in 1911.²⁰ This study proposed a philosophical system that originated in intuition and theorized that during evolution, intelligence superceded instinct as a motivation. Instinct did not disappear, however; rather, it remained latent, coming into play as the instrument we call intuition. Bergson postulated that this intuitive energy was a vital force of universal life that might, one day, triumph over death. Bergson also offered a concept of art as the expression of this life force. His theory of *élan vital* would have appealed to Shore, who was self-assured and down-to-earth in running her life yet at the same time wholly interested in investigating the unintelligible and unknowable in her art.

In 1920 Shore was moving toward a personal philosophy that embraced Bergson's teaching that the unrepressed emotional content of the unconscious was a possible source of aesthetic power. Although no diary entries or correspondence exists today that documents Shore's reading of Bergson, titles of paintings produced beginning around 1921 indicate her appreciation of his thought.

²⁰ Henri Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1911). A recent reissue was published by Dover in 1998. Other Bergson material available to Shore included: A. D. Lindsay, *The Philosophy of Bergson*, 1911; J. M. Steward, *A Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy*, 1911; H. W. Carr, *Bergson*, 1914; H. Höffding, *Lectures on Bergson*, 1914; A. Ruhe and N. M. Paul, *Henri Bergson: An Account of His Life and Philosophy*, 1914; and K. Stephen, *The Misuse of Mind: A Study of Bergson's Attack on Intellectualism*, 1922. For a contemporary publication see Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).

She used titles such as *Creation* (1921 known by exhibition lists), *Embryo* (1921, known by exhibition list), and *Two Worlds* (1921, Nora Eccles Harrison Museum of Art, Utah State University) [fig. 58]. *Embryo* especially makes a direct reference to the Bergson text. In a passage that addresses aging, Bergson uses the image of the embryo:

We hold there is an unbroken continuity between the evolution of the embryo and that of the complete organism. The impetus which causes a living being to grow larger, to develop and to age, is the same that has caused it to pass through the phases of the embryonic life. The development of the embryo is a perpetual change of form. Anyone who attempts to note all its successive aspects becomes lost in an infinity, as is inevitable in dealing with a continuum.²¹

In choosing the embryo as a subject, Shore found content that enabled her to explore the relation of the mind to the body, and at this time, she was developing new stylistic means that would allow her to achieve its expression. She continued to read and to look for new ideas and methodologies.

Sometime between 1920 and 1921 Shore began to read Goethe and incorporated a quote from him in her artist's statement beginning around 1922. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), best known for his poetry, fiction, and plays, also produced a sizable body of scientific writing that focused on such diverse topics as

²¹ Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Dover edition, p. 22. This is but a brief passage from an extensive paragraph that ends, "the evolution of the living being, like that of the embryo, implies a continual recording of duration, a persistence of the past in the present, and so an appearance, at least, of organic memory."

plants, weather, animal morphology, and color science. His works had been translated into English as early as 1835, when *Faust* was published in England, and throughout the rest of the nineteenth century his poetry and correspondence as well as a developing body of critical literature appeared in English. In 1920 Goethe had a new champion in the person of H. L. Mencken, then editor with George Jean Nelson of the popular magazine *Smart Set*. Goethe was also the subject of a popular biography written by P. Hume Brown in 1920. Reviewing the book for the *New York Times*, William Lyon Phelps spoke for much of his readership when he acknowledged, "We can't get along without Goethe. He was a unique combination of intellectual and emotional forces."²² Phelps identified the new publication as an authoritative work, indispensable to every student of Goethe. Brown examined Goethe the man and his society, providing many passages from Goethe's works, reflecting on his art and religion and incorporating a discussion of Goethe's *Conversations*.²³

In a lesser-known "Conversation" the topics of time and creativity, then very much on Shore's mind, were addressed. She found the following statement: "There is no past we need long to

²² William Lyon Phelps, "Bringing Goethe Back," *The New York Times* (July 31, 1921), section 3, p. 5.

²³ See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Conversations of Goethe*, with an introduction by Havelock Ellis (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998). The original *Conversations* were published in 1836 and 1848 in three volumes and then consolidated into one volume in a 1930 edition.

return to. There is only the eternally new which is formed out of the enlarged elements of the past, and our genuine longing must always be for a newer, better creation."²⁴ This fragment became so much a part of Shore's personal philosophy that she used it repeatedly in exhibition brochures, newspaper interviews, and artist statements until the end of her career. Shore found Goethe's conception of art-making similar to the one she was developing, in that Goethe saw a work of art as a union between nature and artist, a rebirth of nature out of the spirit of a creator. Art and nature were ultimately linked; art was an expression of the soul only if at the same time it was an expression or impression of nature. This spiritual aspect is addressed in the following Goethe conversation:

It is not the subjects as such, that count for the artist. It is a matter rather of his finding the subjects whose inner life responds to his own disposition and of his being able to project through the outer shell into their innermost being; if they move his soul to inspiration so as to make him see their forms transfigured; if he has the mastery of stroke and color so as to objectify his inner vision, then he is a great artist. Let the subject be ever so humble, it will enchant us.²⁵

Shore responded to this notion of inner expression and identified the art-making process as a unifier of the spiritual and natural

²⁴ Goethe, "Conversation with Müller," November 4, 1823, in *Goethe, His Whole Works*, ed. Amtze Beutler, 1949. Special thanks are extended to Dr. Ulla Hofstader at Goethe House German Cultural Center, New York, for her assistance in locating the source of the quote.

²⁵ Goethe, "Conversation with Müller," June 21, 1781, quoted in *Goethe, Wisdom and Experience*, selections by Ludwig Curtius, trans. and ed. by Hermann J. Weigand, (New York, Pantheon, 1949), p. 227.

world. The title of her painting *Unity* (1921, whereabouts unknown) produced in 1921-22 pays homage to Goethe and is a direct reference to one of his writings about the creative process:

At everything she wants to make, Nature arrives only in a sequence. She could not make a horse, for example, without that whole series of animals having gone before on which she climbs, as on a ladder, to the structure of a horse. Thus in all things the individual exists for the whole and vice versa, because the individual is at the same time a whole. Nature, however diverse her manifestations, is always one--a unity; and thus for each particular manifestation all the rest must serve as a basis and each in turn must fit into the context of the rest.²⁶

Now that Shore had a conceptual view of her art, she needed to develop the painting style that would express it. She found cues in the abstract works she was then coming to know and admire. Key among the abstractionists that influenced her art was Kandinsky, whose treatise *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, was a book Shore found so important that she shared it with her friends.²⁷

It remains unknown if Shore learned of Kandinsky first through his writings or his paintings, though the likelihood of her experience of his work had more opportunity in text than in

²⁶ Goethe to Riemer, March 19, 1807, in *ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

²⁷ "Henry loaned me a book by Kandinsky." in *The Daybooks of Edward Weston*, ed. by Nancy Newhall, New York: Aperture, 1981, August 9, 1928, p. 34. Weston had already evidenced an interest in Kandinsky with his purchase of a Kandinsky print, *Lithographie Blau* (1922) in 1927. See Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., et al. *Edward Weston: Photography and Modernism*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), p. 86. Shore may have also shared the book with Mabel Alvarez, who also admired Kandinsky. See Ilene Susan Fort, "The Adventurousome, the Eccentrics, and the Dreamers," *Independent Spirits*, Patricia Trenton, ed.

oil.²⁸ The title of his treatise alone would have appealed to Shore, who empathized with the Kandinsky notion that the twentieth century was the century of the internal as opposed to the nineteenth, the century of the external. Like Kandinsky, Shore strove to produce art that expressed the soul of the artist. Kandinsky's essay is divided into two parts, the first about general aesthetics and the second about the painting process. In Part One, he writes: "The spiritual life, to which art belongs and of which she is one of the mightiest elements, is a complicated but definite and easily definable movement forwards and upwards."²⁹ The notion of vertical movement stayed with Shore and was incorporated into the painting series developed in 1921 in her emphasis on verticality of composition.

Kandinsky's recognition of the development of the large spiritual movement created by Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society engaged Shore's interest.³⁰ Shore had years

(Berkeley: University of California Press in association with Autry Museum of American Heritage, 1995), p. 90.

²⁸ Kandinsky's *Über das Geistige in der Kunst: Insbesondere in der Malerei* was first published in Munich in 1912. It was translated by M.T.H. Sadler as *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, London and Boston, 1914 and republished in a new revised edition as *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, New York, 1947.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁰ "From that moment there began a tremendous spiritual movement which today includes a large number of people and has even assumed a material form in the Theosophical Society. This society consists of groups who seek to approach the problem of the spirit by way of the inner knowledge." *Ibid.*, p. 13.

before been piqued with interest in the group, though her pragmatic personality was probably unable to accept all their activities as genuine. Reading on in the chapter on Spiritual Revolution, Shore found Kandinsky's ideas about art and music, ideas that she already had embraced in her study of Synchronism and its theory of links between color and harmony.

Kandinsky addressed the method of developing this freedom of painting in Part Two of *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, where he discussed the psychology of color and the language of form and color in making abstract compositions. Shore would have been encouraged by Kandinsky's concept of harmonizing colors and his reference to Goethe's work on color. She had most likely read Goethe's *Theory of Colours* and had probably responded to the connections he made between color and philosophical ideas.³¹ Kandinsky acknowledged Goethe's contributions and built on them, showing the close relationship between music and painting. Kandinsky, himself a musician, wrote, "Generally speaking, colour is a power which directly influences the soul. Colour is the keyboard, the eyes are the hammers, the soul is the piano with many strings. The artist is the hand which plays, touching one key or another, to cause vibrations in the soul."³² Shore had both an

³¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Theory of Colours* (replication London: John Murray, 1840), Cambridge, and Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2000.

³² Kandinsky, *The Art of Spiritual Harmony*, p. 25.

emotional response and an intellectual reaction to Kandinsky's writings about color. She, who always enjoyed a sensuous delight in color, was learning of its value as a spiritual force. But she had used color freely before this, what could be different in its use that would allow her to experience this new power?

Kandinsky's message was that abstraction, not conventional depiction, was the compositional device through which spiritual gains could be achieved. For him, form represented an object, "form alone, even though totally abstract and geometrical, has a power of inner suggestion"³³ And "form, in the narrow sense, is nothing but the separating line between surfaces of colour. That is its outer meaning. But it has also an inner meaning, of varying intensity, and, properly speaking, form is the outward expression of this inner meaning." Using the piano metaphor, he continued, "the artist is the hand which, by playing on this or that key, affects the human soul in this or that way. So it is evident that form-harmony must rest only on a corresponding vibration of the human soul."³⁴ Reading Kandinsky on form and color, Shore contemplated and realized new ways of composition. Though abstraction was new to her, she considered its merits. She rejected total abstraction, following Kandinsky's warning that

³³ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

"Purely abstract forms are beyond the reach of the artist at present; they are too indefinite for him. To limit himself to the purely indefinite would be to rob himself of possibilities, to exclude the human element and therefore to weaken his power of expression."³⁵ Shore worked to develop a style in which to incorporate Kandinsky's theories, a modern style that reflected her belief that art could be an expression of spiritual life with grounding in transcendentalism, Theosophy, Bergson, Goethe, and Kandinsky.

It was through the intellectual framework provided by Kandinsky that Shore moved from the Henri aesthetic to the modernist one advocated by Alfred Stieglitz. Shore knew Stieglitz, though the events of their acquaintance are unknown save for entries in Edward Weston's daybooks. Weston, who was seeking critique from Stieglitz at the time, identified a hostility on Shore's part:

After knowing Henry [Weston's name for Shore] better, I am not so sure but that her estimation of Stieglitz is very much colored by her personal peeve, which would be natural, even as my own reaction followed Consuela's letter quoting Stieglitz' opinion of my work. I might have more simply said, instead of exploding as I did, if Stieglitz likes my work I am happy, for I admire him, if he does not, I am sorry, for Stieglitz. The very fact that I bothered to notice his opinion shows that I did care. But evidently the rumours of Stieglitz' favoritism, autocratic rule, the exaggerated reverence demanded before the shrine of O'Keeffe and others are not unfounded, they

³⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

come from too many different sources; or else the gossip comes from envious inferiors.³⁶

The remark about O'Keeffe is suggestive, and provides context for a likely scenario. Shore probably approached Stieglitz for a critique of her work, certainly with the hopes of gaining his support, and was rebuked. There was only room for one woman in Stieglitz' coterie, and that was O'Keeffe, the woman Stieglitz recognized as the "spirit of 291" and a "purer form" of himself.³⁷

Opportunities surely existed for Shore and O'Keeffe to meet for there were periods of time that their years in New York overlapped: as students and young professionals between 1906-1908, and then again between 1920 and 1925. Though he offers no evidence to support his claim, Roger Aiken, writing in the catalogue that accompanied the Shore retrospective in 1986, claimed that Shore probably met O'Keeffe "in 1907 or 1908 as a student."³⁸ At the least, Shore knew O'Keeffe's work and must have acknowledged the similarities that existed in their work, for a very brief time, in part due to their common source in Kandinsky. Sarah Whitaker Peters examines Kandinsky's influence on O'Keeffe in *Becoming O'Keeffe: The Early Years* concluding

³⁶ Edward Weston Daybooks, August 31, 1927, p. 70

³⁷ Quoted in Sarah Whitaker Peters, *Becoming O'Keeffe, The Early Years*, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), p. 63.

³⁸ *Henrietta Shore: A Retrospective Exhibition, 1900-1963*, p. 17.

that his impact is seen in her use of expressive color, "unreal" light, and softened outline.³⁹ Shore was not likely to have known O'Keeffe's work until 1920 when she returned to New York for she left before Stieglitz began exhibiting O'Keeffe's abstractions at 291 in 1916. But Shore seems to share even more with O'Keeffe than an interest in Kandinsky. Shared subject matter--flowers, shells, trees--and stylistic similarities--abstracted forms, rich colors--joined the two. Moreover, both were subject to sexual interpretations of their work as were other Stieglitz circle artists including Arthur Dove, whose work critics saw as phallic images that countered O'Keeffe's feminine works.

Arthur Dove (1880-1946), who Stieglitz popularized as getting to the forefront of abstraction "independently of foreign influence,"⁴⁰ demonstrated Kandinsky's influence, as did Shore, via his interest in recording a sensation or feeling; nature, rather than culture, was the source of his subject matter. Dove and Shore (as well as O'Keeffe) are also linked by their interest in Bergson and his notion of *élan vital* with its emphasis on intuition and unmediated experience. The correspondences between them also include a painterly vocabulary of geometric shapes began by Dove

³⁹ Peters, p. 99.

⁴⁰ Arthur Dove, autobiographic statement, c. 1930 Dove Papers, reel 4682, Archives of American art, quoted in Debra Bricker Balken, "Continuities and Digressions in the Work of Arthur Dove from 1907 to 1933, *Arthur Dove: A Retrospective*, exh. cat. (Andover, Massachusetts: Addison Gallery of Art and the Phillips Collection, 1998), p. 22.

as early as 1910-11. In works with the sun as its subject including *Sunrise* (1924, Milwaukee Art), *Sunrise I* (1936, William H. Lane Collection), and *Sunrise II* (1936, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Meredith J. Long) [fig. 59] Dove used concentric circles to tell a creation story. Shore's use of this geometric device, though in a tighter and less sensuously painted composition, is seen in *Two Worlds*, a cosmic landscape that evokes creation. Shore had the opportunity to see Dove's work in New York as early as 1910 when Dove was included in "Younger American Painters" at Stieglitz' 291. Moreover, Shore may have known Dove from her early years as a student in New York.⁴¹ Dove had met Robert Henri, John Sloan and William Glackens in 1906 when he had moved to New York to work as an illustrator.⁴² Henri was a link between the two.

During the years she was in New York, Shore traveled to Canada during the summer but she never returned to Toronto, instead she visited Newfoundland, finding "a beautiful country, big and simple, with a magnificent coastline. I have seen nothing finer in any country . . . am fascinated with the beauty of the place and hope to do good work here."⁴³ She used these summer excursions to work on the new modernist, abstract language she was

⁴¹ No records have yet been found to document their acquaintance.

⁴² Balken, pp. 18, 176.

⁴³ Quoted in *Los Angeles Times* (May 30, 1920), p. 3.

seeing and creating for herself. She enjoyed success with some of the paintings instigated on these trips though the paintings produced during those travels sometimes reverted to a lush realism that countered the modernist style. Critic Reginald Poland admired *The Cove, Newfoundland*, finding that it "goes [far] in appealing to the sense of touch by form and space and in creating a swirling, dynamic vitality."⁴⁴ Shore's linear approach found success in *Newfoundland Graveyard* (Dell Collection) [fig. 60], a painting that also reveals Shore's inclination towards simplicity and sparseness in description. Blank-faced, curved shouldered, tilted tombstones march up a green hillside to overlook the Newfoundland bay. Their stark white faces contrast with the loosely brushed grasses and sky. Bright colors enliven the scene—one of natural beauty.

At the same time Shore was making a major move in her art, she was making a major move in her life. Canada as a home country seemed not to have a hold on Shore anymore. And, in fact, the graveyard subject announces Shore's view that it was a dead-end for her. In 1921 she decided to confirm her identity as an American and she became a United States citizen. Prompted, perhaps, by her success in the States, and seconded by the support of family and friends located in California and New York, Shore's

⁴⁴ Reginald Poland, "Shore Paintings Given High Tribute by Poland," *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1927, p. 24.

decision to renounce her Canadian citizenship is understandable. Though in her later years, she second-guessed her artistic reception in Canada, at this period of achievement and excitement, she was positive of her career position. Moreover, she was comfortably accepted as a career woman both in cosmopolitan New York and Los Angeles. Her citizenship coincided with the passage of suffrage and she, no doubt, delighted in that.

Her major life moves had significant results. In 1921 Shore began to produce a group of abstract paintings. She was unwilling to share these works with the public during this exploratory stage, choosing instead to exhibit works she had executed while still in California in the preceding years. Additionally, the availability of exhibition venues seems to have decreased, for she exhibited only once in 1921 when she sent the portrait *Kathleen* (1918, whereabouts unknown) to the Society of Independent Artists Annual. Other artists knew of her progress, even if the work was not exhibited publicly. Her friend from their student years with Robert Henri, Josephine Nivison, reported to Henri that Shore's work was moving toward abstraction, commenting also that "Etta Shore is back from Monhegan—it's done her such worlds of good to be there--she came back so freshened up, so much less keyed up."⁴⁵ A painting inspired by this visit to Maine, *Monhegan Harbour*,

⁴⁵ Nivison to Henri, Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100 (New Haven: Bienecke Library, Yale University), cited in Gail Levin, *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), p. 164.

Maine is a good indicator of the change then taking place in Shore's art.

Monhegan Harbour, Maine (1920-21, de Saisset Museum, Santa Clara University, California) [fig. 61] describes the cove in Penobscot Bay with the dramatic cliffs of Monhegan Island in the background, sailing boats in the mid-ground, and rocky shore up front. Sailboats were the subject of Dove's *Sails* (1911-12, Terra Foundation for the Arts) [fig. 62] that might have served as a starting point for Shore, though Dove's work is based on Cubist and Futurist ideas and no record exists that documents Shore's knowledge of the painting. The strength of Shore's composition is in its linear quality, with emphasis on simple angular shapes and attention given to the whole rather than the detail. A large open wedge of water in the immediate foreground carries the viewer's eye into the scene, where the geometry of sails, hulls, and sharp rocks plays off the gently sloping but immensely sized hill of the tiny island behind it. Bold colors are applied thinly, and evidence of stroke is hidden. The work demonstrates Shore's early steps towards abstraction as she sacrifices descriptive detail to concentrate on geometric shapes and linear power. These were important steps in her progress towards abstraction. She was not yet successful, however, in unifying all the painterly elements. Here, the very lightly applied paint seems to lack force, the

colors have no vibrancy, thus giving the picture an anemic appearance. This painting is transitional in Shore's oeuvre--it follows on the developments made in *Newfoundland Graveyard* and carries her further towards abstraction. The Maine and Newfoundland coastlines encouraged Shore in her explorations and led to a group of paintings centered on the ocean, including ones of the Atlantic and later of the Pacific.⁴⁶ Her skills at portraiture were put aside for a short while as she focused her attention on a new way of seeing and revealing. Looking at the land and sea was a vehicle that now appealed to her as she explored the paths to an abstraction that would take the form of geometric rooted in nature.

Early in 1922 Shore was still showing work she had produced in California. The February show of the Society of Independent Artists included only one Shore work, *Mother and Child*, a painting now several years old and not truly indicative of her current style. Reviewed in *The Arts* primarily in a laundry list of names, the Independents exhibition was judged both good and bad. "The Independent show is a good one this year. I do not know that it is any better than last year's show. It is also a bad one, if you only look at the rubbish, and there is plenty of it (is there not more than usual?). However, that is always a feature of the

⁴⁶ Works that take the sea as their subject produced in the first half of the 1920s include: *By the Sea*, *The Cove*, *The Cove*, *Newfoundland*, *Cove Rocks*, and *Seascape, Maine*.

Independent, and we must expect it."⁴⁷ Shore exhibited again, later that year at the autumn inaugural of the Salons of America. This organization emerged, as historian Clark S. Marlor observes, "as a result of a major disagreement among the officers of The Society of Independent Artists, which occurred sometime between their annual exhibitions of 1919 and 1921."⁴⁸ Similar to the Independents in its openness, the Salon sought to display "every representative group in America, conservative, modern, radical and the rest, that the best talent of every group be included in this representative exhibition."⁴⁹ The first exhibition of the Salon opened at the Anderson Galleries on October 16, 1922, with the participation of 270 artists. Shore was represented by one work, listed in the program as *Painting* with no record of a specific title.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, 1922 was a year of accomplishment: she had gained new skills and garnered a receptive critical audience that made her future hopeful. Gallery and museum exhibitions looked promising for the next year.

In January 1923, Shore enjoyed a one-person show at Ehrich Galleries where, along with other, conventional paintings she had produced during the past several years, her abstractions were

⁴⁷ *The Arts* (March 25, 1922), p. 310.

⁴⁸ Clark S. Marlor, *The Salons of America 1922-1936* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1991), p. 7.

⁴⁹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

shown to the public for the first time. Generally, she received favorable reviews. *The [Toronto] Star Weekly* headlined its critique, "Toronto Girl Makes Sensation in New York" with a subtitle "Henrietta Shore Has Some Unusual Canvases--Result of Subconscious Emotionalism."⁵¹ The critic for *The Arts*, the representative artist, Alexander Brook, reviewed the show.

Her earlier work discloses a clever manipulation of the brush and a facility to put down what she then saw. However, Miss Shore no longer sees things the way she used to. . . . For the past year and a half she has turned away from pure representation to the painting of more abstract canvases. In this later work she achieves a really remarkable evenness of execution, but one is inclined to think occasionally that it is repetition rather than stability. The recent output she calls her "Creative Group" are bold statements of all manner of things ranging from her conception of "Two Worlds" to "Two Leaves," and all that happens in between.⁵²

Shore's abstractions were boldly colored, strongly linear compositions of simple shapes that produced rhythmic and harmonious conceits of nature; not the Nature that the artist pictured but rather the artist's nature as described by Goethe. Among the abstract paintings that Shore showed were *Creation, Embryo, Growth, Life, Rhythm, Trail of Life, Two Worlds, and Unity*. The paintings' titles represent allusions to the spiritual inspiration behind their production and Shore's contemplative

⁵¹ "Toronto Girl Makes Sensation in New York," [Toronto] *Star Weekly* (April 1, 1923), p. 6.

⁵² Alexander Brook, "February Exhibitions," *The Arts*, (February 1923), p. 134.

openness to a spiritual dimension of reality.⁵³ Moreover, some titles underscore physical parts and functions of the woman's body. These paintings, which Shore sometimes referred to as semi-abstractions, have both an iconographic and a formal significance. With a reductive formalism and linear elegance, Shore had taken reality and transformed it into abstraction without altogether losing the original subject on which the abstraction was based.

The reviewer for *Arts and Decoration* magazine was excited by the new work, identifying the "exhibition of what is termed 'fourth dimensional inter-pretations,' painted by Miss Henrietta Shore and shown at the Ehrich Galleries in New York" as "one of the sensational art shows of the season."⁵⁴ The fourth dimension was a highly popular concept in the early 20th century and was associated with the evolution of cosmic consciousness.⁵⁵ This fourth dimension called for new forms of language in art that found a voice in painter Max Weber (1881-1961). Weber published the first treatise on the fourth dimension in art in Stieglitz's *Camera Work* in 1910. While Weber saw the fourth dimension as a

⁵³ See Roger Aiken, "California and New York, 1913-1927," *Henrietta Shore: A Retrospective Exhibition, 1900-1963*, pp. 16-17. Aiken suggests that others besides Shore may have titled these works.

⁵⁴ "Subconscious Emotionalism on Canvas," *Arts and Decoration* (February 1923), p. 26.

⁵⁵ See Linda Dalrymple Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983). Henderson describes the more philosophical and mystical expositions of a spatial fourth dimension, especially as demonstrated by Cubism.

model for his cubist work, he also considered it as an essential divine element of nature. It pre-existed as "the consciousness of a great and overwhelming space magnitude in all directions at one time."⁵⁶ Shore agreed that there was a mystical component in visual art and sought its expression in this series of abstractions.

The modernist idea of deleting all extraneous forms, of extracting the essential visual qualities from the forms of nature on order to make visible the most intense feelings allowed Dove, O'Keeffe and Shore to make flowing water, rocks, flowers, trees and leaves, to become parts of a man's or woman's body.⁵⁷ Among Shore's abstractions are works that emphasize the female body as something of value to be examined in a new way. Using the vocabulary of abstraction, she revealed some aspects of her experience as a woman, describing vaginas and uteruses. In this way she was ahead of her time; she was a precursor of overtly female imagery, anticipating, for example, the work of Judy Chicago (b. 1939). Chicago's ground breaking installation, *The Dinner Party* (1979, The Brooklyn Museum) [fig. 63] and the mixed media work, *The Birth Project* (1982, Albuquerque Museum) [detail, fig. 64] provides clues for recognizing the encoded imagery in

⁵⁶ Quoted in *Max Weber: The Cubist Decade, 1910-1920* exh. cat. (Atlanta, Georgia, High Museum of Art, 1991), introduction by Susan Krane, p. 16.

⁵⁷ See "The Hieroglyphics of a New Speech," *Cubism, Stieglitz, and the Early Poetry of William Carlos Williams* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 145-160.

Shore's work. *Life* (1921, Dell Collection, Toronto) [fig. 65] has strong contrasts, with white generalized male and female forms that flower from gold-colored bifurcated stalks that serve as pathways centered on a blood-red caul that lies between the male and the female figures. *Birth Tear/Tear* from *The Birth Project* [fig. 64] illustrates the delivery of child figures and the bloody flow that accompanies them. Two of the children are centered at the birth opening resembling, somewhat, Shore's figures in *Life*. *Primordial Goddess* from *The Dinner Party* [fig. 66] shows soft, fleshy folds of vaginal walls that give way to the birth canal, here a linear cylinder that easily corresponds to Shore's painting. With these aids it is easy to see that Shore's caul resolves to a uterus, the pathways to vaginal birth canals, and the purely white figures into the newly born. Shore makes a (then) typically private woman's experience a public one. Yet she does not remove the spiritual mystery of generation from the experience. In the deep green and purple background are hints of other beings, or of other natures, our forebears and/or our futures. The mood is peaceful with tonal and compositional elements that suggest passivity, contemplation, and continuity.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The concept of birth combined with the simplified figuration suggests Theosophic ideas as expressed by Piet Mondrian (1872-1944) in his triptych *Evolution* (1910-11, Haags Gemeentemuseum, The Hague).

Life pointedly refers to the sexual pairing required for reproduction and Shore's work provoked similar sexual readings as the work of Dove and O'Keeffe. Dove's *Penetration* (1924, The Bedford Family Collection) [fig. 67] by title and image is a sexualized landscape that shares the rhythmic folds of line seen in Shore's *Trail of Life*, and it drew the observation "Dove's manner of uniting with his subject matter manifests the mechanism proper to his sex...".⁵⁹ And though erotic readings of floral imagery were popular in the 1920s, O'Keeffe's position as a female artist, producing these works was exploited to gain recognition. From the start, when Stieglitz's offered his legendary appraisal, "At last, a woman on paper!" O'Keeffe's gender was offered as an attribute of her sensibility. Shore, too came under such scrutiny. Male critics recognized the totally female imagery, its power and its rejection of the male, seeing it as a challenge to male perception of the women. Their works forced men to see a woman as she saw herself, not a socially constructed concept.

The stylistic similarities that occur between Shore and O'Keeffe in the early years of the 1920s is evidenced with the comparison of O'Keeffe's *Red and Orange Streak* (1921, Philadelphia Museum of Art) [fig. 68] and Shore's *Trail of Life* (1921, Richard

⁵⁹ Paul Rosenfeld, "Arthur G. Dove," *Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924), p. 171. Quoted in Debra Bricker Balken, p. 28.

Lorenz, Berkeley) [fig. 69]. Both compositions include wavy lines, rhythmic repetition, and forms that turn on themselves, a painterly language that had its origins in Art Nouveau and in modernist formalism. Both works use a sweeping arc of color that cuts across the canvas. Instigation and content differs significantly however. As Charles Eldredge describes, *Red and Orange Streak* suggests the Texas plains that O'Keeffe left behind when she moved to New York in 1918.⁶⁰ Shore's painting proposes the generative force of nature with overt female imagery. With *Trail of Life* Shore denies the traditional taboo concerning menstruation, a topic so outside people's expectations that it still startled fifty years later with Judy Chicago's lithograph *Red Flag* (1971) that showed the commonplace event of removing a tampon and *Menstruation Bathroom*, an installation work from *Womanhouse* (1972).⁶¹ Shore uses a pouring metaphor to describe the monthly flow. A gush of white, orange, and red from an ellipsis of labial lips is exuded into a soft mound below. A complementary reading allows for the blood-lined uterine wall of the lower mound to propel a seed like disk from its center. This description of the work of the nurturing uterus contextualizes the painting's title. A successful sense of energy and movement is achieved by

⁶⁰ See Charles C. Eldredge, *Georgia O'Keeffe* (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with The National Museum of American Art, 1991), p. 33.

⁶¹ Illustrated in Edward Lucie-Smith, *Judy Chicago, An American Vision*, (New York: Watson Gupstill, 2000), p. 37 and p. 35.

the curved, moving shape of white paint applied in a mix of fluidly upward and downward motion. The painting gives structure to Bergson's *élan vital* and the verticality of composition reflects Kandinsky's teachings and theosophic ideal. Similar notions found expression in the art by Agnes Pelton (1881-1961). Pelton who was working in Southampton, Long Island in the 1920s, produced her first abstraction, *Being* in 1926 [fig. 70]. The ovoid shape that springs from the waves and folds of an atmospheric background in *Being* suggests a genesis similar to Shore's *Trail of Life*. The impulse behind the painting is discovered in a few lines of Pelton's poem, also titled "Being,"

Strongly thrusting upward through the crust
The will to be takes shape
Revolving, spiraling the Blue-
The mystery at heart of its unfoldment
Still unrevealed.⁶²

The inwardly folding shapes that open thus both hiding and revealing the interior seem to point to the mystery of nature. Spirit is in nature, ready to reveal itself, to unfold its mystic secrets.

Shore's *Envelopment* (1921, Dell Collection, Toronto) [fig. 71] is more easily understood as having its source in nature. Here, she adheres to naturalistic form yet abstracts the elements by underscoring the leaf's linearity. This is similar to Dove's

⁶² Quoted in Michael Zakian, *Agnes Pelton: Poet of Nature* exh. cat. (Palm Springs, California: Palm Springs Desert Museum, 1995), p. 47.

reduced geometric shapes in *Plant Forms* (c. 1912, Whitney Museum of American Art) [fig. 72]. Shore's two leafs interact as they simultaneously fold into and bend away from each other. Very simply composed with a large red and a smaller gold leaf form set against a cool green background, they dance in tune with each other, finely balanced and delicately attached. They serve as a poetic allegory for union and relationship as the leaves join at lower center then move away to look back upon each other. Not the usual flower as reproductive image that O'Keeffe was painting, the choice of a two-of-a-kind subject suggests Shore's willingness to give painterly voice to homosexuality that found a literary voice in Amy Lowell (1874-1925). The first stanza of her poem, "The Weather-cock Points South", matches subject and sentiment print to paint:

I put your leaves aside,
 One by one:
 The stiff, broad outer leaves;
 The smaller ones,
 Pleasant to touch, veined with purple;
 The glazed inner leaves.
 One by one
 I parted you from your leaves,
 Until you stood up like a white flower
 Swaying slightly in the evening wind.⁶³

Shore's imagery encodes lesbian sexual awareness and parallels

⁶³ Amy Lowell, "The Weather-cock Points South," in *Chloe Plus Olivia: An Anthology of Lesbian Literature from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, ed. by Lillian Faderman (New York: Viking, 1994), p. 464.

early twentieth century investigations of sexuality such as Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* and Margaret Sanger's efforts to establish women's rights to control their bodies in the areas of health and sexuality. Moreover it corresponds to new thought about the construction of lesbian identity only began in Europe in the nineteenth century that was not really a part of the American public consciousness until the early decades of the twentieth century.⁶⁴

The Ehrich show gained critical attention. In February 1923, writing for *The Arts*, critic Alexander Brook reviewed eleven New York exhibitions. The first review was of Georgia O'Keeffe's work at the Anderson Galleries. Brook wrote,

It seems to be Georgia O'Keeffe's [sic] business to take objects, thoughts and emotions that most people would rather ignore, and glorify them in paint. She experiences all things deeply and when brought to the surface, these experiences are unfolded directly on canvas. One does not feel the arm's length that is usual between the artist and the picture; these things of hers seem to be painted with her very body. Her paintings of still-life--green apples that give one the colic, flowers forced into Woolworth vases, her landscapes imbued with tragic poetry, and finally her abstractions, these last whispered in some cases, shrieked in others, seem all to be transfixed by an absolutely clean dagger that pierces neatly and hits a vital place. Her painting is, in fact, clean. It is the first adjective that occurs to the beholder.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ See, for example, John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (University of Chicago Press, 1997) and Pat O'Connor, *Friendships Between Women, A Critical Review* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992)

⁶⁵ Alexander Brook, "February Exhibitions," *The Arts* (February 1923), pp. 130-31.

An unfavorable review of Russian art at the Brooklyn Museum and a small but approving critique of Marguerite Zorach's embroideries at the Montross Galleries separate the O'Keeffe review from the one of Shore's paintings at the Ehrich Galleries. Brook, perhaps seeing Shore's art for the first time, provided some information about the person behind the art,

Another woman painter to loom on the horizon in her initial showing is Henrietta Shore, now exhibiting her pictures at the Ehrich Galleries. She is a Canadian by birth, and has exhibited extensively in the larger cities of that land. She then went to Los Angeles where she became a leader of the more modern group, later coming east to study with Mr. Robert Henri."⁶⁶

Moving to a discussion of the show, Brook contrasts Shore's early and later work, admiring the new paintings for their execution but faulting them for their shared characteristics. He concludes with a comparison of Shore with O'Keeffe, "here it may be curious to note that these canvases seem to be related to Georgia O'Keeffe's, but very distantly."

This comparison may have upset Shore for whom these paintings were intensely personal and the result of a new and concentrated aesthetic exploration. On the other hand, her comparison with a Stieglitz modernist may have delighted her. After all, here was confirmation that she had achieved her goals. Brook was on track with his observation of a relation. His primary response may have been to the simplified content that he identified in both

painters' works that he considered "clean." His second notion-- that concerning sources in nature--applied to both artists' works. A significant difference between them was the recognition each was accorded.

Whereas O'Keeffe had the support of one of New York's most influential art dealers, her husband, Alfred Stieglitz, Shore had no one powerful source promoting her. Henri may have opened doors and her brothers may have provided an allowance, but Shore was her own agent when it came to promotion, marketing, and sales. Certainly, more female artists, Shore among them, would have found a place in American art history if they had had, as did O'Keeffe, the power of an Alfred Stieglitz advancing their careers.

Jehanne Bietry-Salinger, an art reviewer for the *San Francisco Examiner* in the 1920s identified the very crux of the problem in a description of Shore: "She was very private, proud and haughty, and could be terribly sharp. She would not sell to anyone she disliked, but often sold her paintings too low because she needed the money. She knew who she was, and she did not have a great opinion of her fellow artists. . . . In my opinion, if Henrietta had been in the hands of a sharp dealer, she would now

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 134.

be regarded as far superior to an artist by the name of Georgia O'Keeffe."⁶⁷

Shore's and O'Keeffe's jointly timed exhibitions prompted critic Henry Tyrell to focus on the gender element in his review "Two Women Painters Lure with Suave Abstractions" in the *New York World*.⁶⁸ The fulsome title led into a review where Tyrell focused more on the fact that the artists were women modernists and is worth presenting in whole:

An extraordinary manifestation of modern art expression and feminine self-revelation through the medium of semi-abstract symbolistic painting occurs in the coincident exhibitions of Miss Georgia O'Keefe [sic] at the Anderson Galleries and Miss Henrietta Shore at Ehrich's.

Both these artists are American women—young but evidently past the novitiate state in life and in their art—and they have in common a certain eager freshness which would seem to mark them as debutantes or disciples in a new and fascinating field of aesthetic discovery. And such charmed explorers indeed they are, despite the fact that is now about a decade since Miss O'Keefe's timour drawings of flower germination and embryonic life first appeared among the other incomprehensibilities offered to skeptical public by Alfred Stieglitz at 291; and despite the other significant fact that Miss Shore had gone far and successfully along the road of academic training—as is conclusively shown by such pictures as "Maternity" and the several nudes and still life paintings among the "early work" included in the present exhibition—before she stopped short and turned precipitately to the rhythmic, suave and sonorous symbolism culminating in "Two Worlds," "Unfolding of Life," and "Destiny" now before us.

There is something profoundly moving, strangely suggestive of the mystic source of our being and of

⁶⁷ Quoted in Roger Aiken, "Henrietta Shore and Edward Weston," *American Art* (Winter 1992), p. 45.

⁶⁸ Henry Tyrell, "Two Women Painters Lure with Suave Abstractions," *New York World* [February, 1923], p. 9. New York Public Library, ZZAN-742.

creation's dawn, in all these harmonious conjurations of design and color.

Anyway, modern art at the present stage of the game require the feminine kabosh. No radical idea, whether in religion, fashion, politics or art, ever amounted to anything until woman took it up. Then, and only then, the infusion of life blood begins, never to cease until it has been nourished to maturity and fruition.

Perhaps this art manifestation underneath the surface is nothing new but only what every woman knows and has known all through the ages, from the Princesses of the Pharoahs rudely awakened the other day out of the 4,000 years of beauty sleep in the tombs of Egypt, down to the Mary Cassatts, Berthe Morisots, Marie Laurencins, Pamela Biancas, Georgia O'Keeffe's and Henrietta Shores of our time.

If such be the case--well, at any rate it has required the cataclysmic upheaval and the dynamic psychology of the second decade of the twentieth century to make women let themselves go in anything like such frank freedom of expression in their lives and in their works.

Henrietta pictures a red volcanic lake, and it typifies smothered passion. Two celery stalks--if you shut your eyes and make believe hard enough--are our First Parents up against a dark destiny of original sin, or something like that.

Georgia paints a couple of pears on a battered tin plate, and you have a hunch that it really means intimations of immortality from recollections of childhood. And you have reason to suspect that her charming little picture of a heifer reaching up to nab an apple from the bough symbolizes the cosmic urge of the eternal feminine toward something or other.

It may take the general public some little time to get accustomed to this sort of thing, and that is why we can't help regretting that the shows last only two or three weeks.

The public, however, ought by now to be pretty well able to take care of itself in matters of art. It has not remained stolid and stunned these twenty years past, "since Cezanne." It may not see through modernism at a glance, but at least it can no longer be bluffed and bullied by self-elected censors and partisan critics. Since these have driven the common-sense art-loving public to desperation, the said public is now in a way to some thinking on its own account.

One thing, though: in these two occult exhibitions we have been discussing don't look for any help from catalogs. Miss O'Keefe has none, and Miss Shore's titles are just so many poetic puzzles.

If Shore confided to her friends her response to the review it is not recorded. It is known that O'Keeffe typically objected to the idea that her art was an expression of female eroticism. Both must have objected to the review that was not restricted to an exploration of the art but commented on their womanhood. But Tyrell was in some ways, on target, for the character of Shore's and O'Keeffe's imagery was linked to their biological nature. His approach was formed, in part, by Stieglitz. Since his promotion of O'Keeffe began in 1916, Stieglitz had influenced the way in which reviewers looked at women modernists. Barbara Buhler Lynes has documented how Stieglitz' ideas were reflected in the thinking of the critics.⁶⁹ Tyrell's focus on the intuitive source of the women's work, that which is "nothing new but only what every woman knows and has known all through the ages," was a denigration of their intellect, but the only possible source of such talent to someone like Tyrell who considered the creative process an intellectual activity of men. The sexist implications of his language, his belittling use of their first names, along with his contemptible analysis "two celery stalks" are our "First Parents" or something like that" and the heifer that "symbolizes the cosmic

⁶⁹ See Barbara Buhler Lynes, *O'Keeffe, Stieglitz and the Critics, 1916-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

urge...or something like that" shows how women's art was ranked lesser than the art of the men. This, no doubt, angered Shore, who nonetheless, would have appreciated Tyrell's (perhaps intuitive) understanding that the art was about the thoughts and feelings distinctive to a woman.

The mid-career retrospective moved to Wooster Art Museum where Henniker-Heaton commented on its value as contemporary art, "art of the present that is subject to contemporary spirit and thought."⁷⁰ Shore's abstractions in which nature's forms were condensed to a few clear shapes in boldly colored, simplified compositions demonstrated her successful achievement as a modernist. Henniker-Heaton was a visionary museum director whose affirmation of her art signaled her accomplishments.⁷¹

Success as measured by exhibitions and critical recognition was in Shore's hands in the spring of 1923.⁷² Yet she was prepared

⁷⁰ *Catalogue of Exhibition of Paintings by Henrietta Shore*, exh. Cat. (Wooster Art Museum, March 18-April 15, 1923), nonpaginated.

⁷¹ Raymond Henniker-Heaton, then Raymond Wyer, was the first director of the Muskegon Museum of Art, serving from 1912-1916. He began building the permanent collection, purchasing a Whistler painting from the Armory Show and later, a Henry Osawa Tanner work, one of the first of the artist's to go to a major institution. He moved in 1916 to the Wooster Art Museum, where, in order to collect an inheritance, he changed his name to Henniker-Heaton. At the Wooster Art Museum he showed works of the Post-Impressionists, purchasing the first Gauguin for an American museum. He was a friend of Roger Fry and organized an exhibition of *The Dial*. He also presented a *Société Anonyme* exhibition. Special thanks are extended to Susan Talbot, Director, Muskegon Museum of Art, and James Welu, Director, Wooster Art Museum for providing this information.

⁷² In addition to the one-person shows at the Ehrich Gallery and Wooster Art Museum, Shore was included in the group shows of the Salons of

to leave New York and return to Los Angeles that summer. Perhaps her achievements spurred her back to California, where she could test her abstract work with a new audience. Perhaps she felt an emotional desire to return to her family. Very likely financial need was a motivating factor. Either way, Shore decided to travel back to Los Angeles, where she would spend the next few months.

On her arrival in Los Angeles, Shore returned to the active family life that centered on her brothers and their families. Egerton and Virginia opened their home to Henrietta on her return. Wilfred (who had left Oregon for California), Egerton and Allan were doing well in California. They had continued their brokerage and mortgage business, had maintained a branch in San Francisco and had gained more financial success when Allan expanded the business to include real estate. Both Egerton and Allan were involved with the community, but Allan made a significant contribution to its growth. Spending long hours without remuneration, Allan served on the Hollywood Board of Trade, "settling the young community's problems and directing its relationship with the city government."⁷³ The Board of Trade grew as the number of residents and businesses grew, and in 1921 the

American Annual and the Society of Independent Artists and in an exhibition at the Minnesota State Fair. Reviews of her work were included in *The World*, *Arts and Decoration Magazine*, and *The Arts*.

⁷³ Edwin O. Palmer, *History of Hollywood* (Hollywood: Arthur H. Cawston, Publisher, 1937), pp. 231, 232, 240. See also, Bruce T. Torrence, *Hollywood: The First 100 Years* (Hollywood: The Hollywood Chamber of Commerce and Fiske Enterprises, 1990).

group reorganized under the name of the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce. Allan, described by the honorific title of Dr., served as the Chamber's first president.

In the three years she was away, Shore had continued her friendship with Helena Dunlap via correspondence, though none remains today.⁷⁴ Dunlap was happy to see Shore after their extended parting, and very shortly after Shore's return Dunlap organized a small social affair to welcome her friend home. Mabel Alvarez, who had maintained a social and working relationship with Dunlap, recorded the event in her diary.⁷⁵ On Sunday, June 24, 1923, she wrote a simple account of the party, "Tea for Miss Shore at Helena Dunlap's."⁷⁶

Shore must have delighted in seeing her dear friend Dunlap, who had shared in the struggle for modernism in Los Angeles, held similar notions regarding gender equality, and, like Shore, remained unmarried, independent in her career, and interested in the wider world outside of California. Their romantic friendship has gained scholarly interest. Roger Aiken, writing about the association of Shore and Edward Weston, asserts that Weston's son,

⁷⁴ Sarah Vure, *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Diary entries for 1922 and 1923 reveal that Mabel made several visits to Helena's studio. They both attended Stanton Macdonald-Wright's classes at the Art Students League. Additionally, Mabel attended Helena's masked ball on May 5, 1923. Mabel Alvarez Papers, Diary, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1923.

Brett, opined that Shore was attracted to women.⁷⁷ Ilene Susan Fort, writing for the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West*, echoes Aiken, writing, "Shore's lesbianism has been conjectured."⁷⁸ And Bram Dijkstra suggests that Dunlap is the "subject of Shore's resplendently erotic scrutiny" in a painting produced just after this period (a nude).⁷⁹ There is some circumstantial evidence to confirm a lesbian relationship. In 1918 Mabel Alvarez chose to avoid Shore and resisted joining with Shore and Dunlap in their Modern Art Society venture when advised by a male friend to avoid them.⁸⁰ She also comments on Shore's "queerness" in an entry of 1923.⁸¹ Weston's use of the male name "Henry" to refer to Shore is

⁷⁷ Roger Aiken, "Henrietta Shore and Edward Weston," p. 57.

⁷⁸ Ilene Susan Fort, "The Adventuresome, the Eccentrics, and the Dreamers," *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945*, (Berkeley: University of California Press in association with the Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 1995), p. 80, n. 11, p. 280.

⁷⁹ Bram Dijkstra, "Early Modernism in Southern California: Provincialism or Eccentricity?," *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950*, ed. Paul J. Karlstrom (Los Angeles: University of California Press in association with the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1996), p. 169.

⁸⁰ "Went to C' studio-met Hinkle (Conrad and John) said not get mixed up in Miss Shore affair so won't go tomorrow." This entry might reference the Modern Art Society. Diary entry, May 2, 1918, Mable Alvarez Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

⁸¹ "Went to Miss Shore's studio for supper, next to Carnegie Hall. Very nice time. She didn't seem at all queer this time." Diary entry December 4, 1923. Mabel Alvarez Papers. Mary E. Galvin writes that in the early 1920s "the word 'queer' as slang for lesbian or homosexual male was just beginning to gain currency." She cites a stanza from a poem from openly lesbian poet, Amy Lowell, using this word to connote difference: Taking us by and large, we're a queer lot/We women who write poetry. And when you think/How few of us there've been, its

a veiled reference to her to masculine identification. A review of Shore's art helps in finding a formulation of sexual identity. In addition to the group of abstractions in which she revealed aspects of her experience as a woman, is a group of nudes that provides a context for her sexuality. Shore produced a vibrantly colored painting *Nude* [c. 1923, Dell Collection) [fig. 73] and six drawings of single female nudes--some are self-portraits. This group evidences an interest in self-knowledge, of revelation and of exploration. Though the nude was a staple of academic art, the subject was typically a female model and was painted by a male artist for the male viewer. Woman painters before the twentieth century were prohibited by propriety to work from a naked model so female model by female artist paintings are rare. Female nude self-portraiture has a pioneer, Edward Lucie-Smith finds, in French artist Suzanne Valadon (1865-1938) who produced *Self-Portrait* (1917, Musée d'Art Moderne, Paris) [fig. 74] a half-figure with bare breasts in 1917.⁸² He attributes an insistence on psychological openness as leading to the development of the genre and points to American Alice Neel (1900-84) as an exemplar of that impulse to honesty in her *Nude Self-Portrait* (1980, National Portrait Gallery, London). Shore's *Nude* [fig. 73] is no less

queerer still./I wonder what it is that makes us do it... See *Queer Poetics: Five Modernist Women Writers* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), p. 26.

⁸² Judy Chicago and Edward Lucie Smith, p. 124.

honest in its realm of psychological truth-telling; it differs significantly, though, in its expression. Unlike the others where the artist gazes directly at the viewer, Shore's nude turns her head to the side, avoiding confrontation by eye, offering instead her seated body full-frontal position. Even in the drawing, *Nude* (c. 1922, Richard Lorenz, Berkeley) [fig. 76], a stylized and less personalized work where no facial characteristics are detailed, the head is turned aside. Here the nude is dramatically presented on a proscenium, a small riser against biomorphic folds that both support her and then recede to the background. Both works reveal an attitude of frankness about the body, an unashamed willingness to move it from the private sphere to the public sphere. Shore's use of the nude self-portrait was a means of obfuscating lesbian subject matter for the nude was a classic among art subjects and Shore was able veil her lesbian conception within it. The painting *Nude* was produced in the year Shore returned to Los Angeles and at the time she and Dunlap were reunited. It is a presentation work, most likely meant as a gift for Dunlap. Ben Maddow identifies a similar use of the nude self-portrait finding that Shore had given Edward Weston a charcoal nude of herself to signal her desire to push their friendship to a more sexual level, though it did not.⁸³

⁸³ Ben Maddow, *Edward Weston, His Life* (New York: Aperture, 1981), p. 146.

Dunlap's painterly output has traditional content, largely inspired by her travels, though some works offer readings of sexual identity. Dunlap's *Self-Portrait* (n.d., Dunlap Collection, Laguna Niguel, California) [Fig. 43] in which she presents herself in a mannish suit suggests a familiarity with Romaine Brooks' work. During this period, Brooks was formulating a sexual identity in a series of portraits produced between 1910 and 1930. And, as suggested earlier, Dunlap's *Vanity* may be self-reflexive (also reflective, as it mirrors the model) in which identity and social role is questioned.

That Dunlap and Shore shared a great friendship that endured many tests of separation and social disapproval strengthens the supposition that it was an intimate relationship. Their romantic pairing most certainly contained the exchange of letters and was probably marked by journal or diary entries. Yet documentation such as correspondence between Dunlap and Shore believed to have once been in her family's hands seems to have vanished. This suggestion of secrecy may indicate family embarrassment at a lesbian relationship. Though social disapproval would have constrained their public personae, by the time Dunlap and Shore met, both were independent women, each in her thirties, with strong individual identities that fostered a nurturing, romantic companionship. Only Dunlap and Weston appear in Shore's life as romantic figures. Shore was without any romantic attachment for

most of her life. Weston's rejection of intimacy with Shore occurred in 1927 and precedes by just a year the final separation between Shore and Dunlap. Shore seems to have had no other intimate attachments. But between 1914 and 1927, Shore and Dunlap were actively involved and found support and validation of lifestyle in each other.

In California in the summer of 1923, Shore shared Dunlap's studio. She planned just a few months' visit before she headed back to New York. But while in California she searched out the new developments in art. There was a new group of artists in the San Francisco area, the Society of Six, who had successfully integrated influences from Impressionism to Kandinsky-like abstraction in their paintings of the California landscape. In Los Angeles another group of artists who called themselves the Free Art League came together that year. Most significant and close to her heart, however, was the newly formed Group of Independent Artists of Los Angeles, who had held their first show in February of that year. This group of modernists included Stanton Macdonald-Wright, Nick Brigante, Charles Austin, Boris Deutsch, Peter Krasnow, Edouard Vysekal, and Morgan Russell, all of whom shared interests in the painterly mediations of color, form, and content. Shore's association with Vysekal through the Modern Art Society and her tie with Macdonald-Wright through Mabel Alvarez announces her awareness of their activities. But though she had alliances

with them, Los Angeles artists and their community at this time failed to entice Shore from New York's siren call. The fall of 1923 she returned to Manhattan, the train trip costing her about \$100.⁸⁴

Back at the Rembrandt at 57th Street, Shore returned to her easel. She showed her new paintings to Alvarez that December, when Alvarez was visiting from the West Coast. Having complained in her diary that she felt tired (she had traveled from Philadelphia just the day prior), Alvarez then described her visit: "Went to Miss Shore's studio for supper. Next to Carnegie Hall. Very nice time. She didn't seem at all queer this time. Saw her work. Nice in design and color. Showed me a portrait of a man, a very powerful thing to me. Rather thrilling. Very simple, only the essentials. Walked with me to Columbus Circle subway. Home by 10:30."⁸⁵

The painting Shore showed Alvarez was most certainly the portrait of Raymond Henniker-Heaton [fig. 77], the director of the Worcester Museum, a friend and active supporter who had arranged for her one-person retrospective earlier that year. Incorporating traditional content with her new semiabstract style resulted in a strong portraiture technique that Shore would return to during the

⁸⁴ Train travel cost estimated by information given in Robert Henri diary entries February 6 through 9, 1925, when he traveled to Los Angeles from New York. Robert Henri Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York, roll 886.

⁸⁵ Diary entry, December 4, 1923, Mabel Alvarez Papers.

next four years. Two strongly colored large rectangular shapes form the background for the solidly formed and rounded body of the museum director. Dressed rather elegantly in a soft-necked white shirt under a fur-collared dark coat, the well-groomed Henniker-Heaton sports a mustache and smoothly brushed hair. His body reads as the third geometric shape in the composition. His face, with its firmly stroked lines and chiseled planes, provides the fourth mold. Structured as if it were sculpture not painting, the planar quality of the work, with its simple contours, linear emphasis, and bold coloration testifies to Shore's success in a style totally her own.

As 1923 turned into 1924 Shore prepared once again to exhibit her work with the Society of Independent Artists. She sent two works, an unnamed painting and *Calla Lilies* to the March venue presented, as in the past, at The Waldorf Astoria. In *Calla Lilies* (1923, The Reis Collection, Oakland, California) [fig. 78] Shore used the tools of her semi-abstractions—bold colors, reductive geometry, and linear elegance—to depict a massing of flowers. The calla lily as a subject was used by modernists for its identity with both genders. It became particularly a symbol of homosexuality, most notably in works by Oscar Wilde whose trademark lilies and green carnations became shorthand for

homosexuality.⁸⁶ Romaine Brooks incorporated the lily into some imagery as did Stieglitz modernists O'Keeffe, Hartley and Demuth. Demuth made repeated use of the subject. With *Calla Lilies* (Bert Savoy) (1926, The Carl Van Vechten Gallery of Fine Arts at Fisk University, Nashville) [fig. 79] he pays homage to "one of Broadway's most successful female impersonators."⁸⁷ Hartley celebrated the sensuous organic curves of the flower in several table top still lifes as in *Still Life No. 9* (1917, University Gallery, University of Minnesota) [Fig. 80]. That same sensuality of curved line is highlighted by repetition in Shore's massing of blooms [fig. 78]. Georgia O'Keeffe produced a group of calla lilies paintings between 1923 and 1926, perhaps an expression of lesbian involvement.⁸⁸

In the early months of 1924 Shore worked on paintings for inclusion in an exhibition being planned for a Paris venue to which she was invited to participate by Marie Sterner. Sterner was owner of the Marie Sterner Gallery and collector of both French and contemporary American art and was director of Art Patrons of

⁸⁶ See James Saslow, *Pictures and Passions: A History of Homosexuality in the Visual Arts* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999), p. 186 and Barbara Buhler Lynes et al, *Georgia O'Keeffe and the Calla Lily in American Art, 1860-1940* (Yale University Press, 2002).

⁸⁷ Charles Demuth, exh. cat., essay by Barbara Haskell (Whitney Museum of American Art, 1988), p. 181.

⁸⁸ See Harmony Hammond, *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), p. 8 "Artists who probably had what we now call lesbian relationships include: Rosa Bonheur, Berenice Abbott,

America, Inc., located at 705 Fifth Avenue. In 1924 Sterner organized an exhibition, described by one critic as "reasonably well selected and fairly representative" of American art and traveled it to Paris, hoping that "the public in the French metropolis would be quick to respond to the opportunity to study further the efforts of American artists today."⁸⁹ The show, which ran July and August at *La Galerie de la Chambre Syndicate des Beaux Arts*, included works by Charles Burchfield, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Walt Kuhn, George Luks, and Jules Pascin, among others in a group of twenty-five artists. It is unknown which of Shore's paintings were exhibited for the review in *The Arts* does not discuss Shore. Sterner probably had come across Shore's work early in 1920, when Shore was searching for gallery representation. Most likely, Henri presented Shore's work to Sterner, as Sterner and Henri were professional and personal friends. Shore's inclusion in this European show provided brought her work to a larger audience.

That summer Shore was back in Los Angeles visiting with family and friends. Mabel Alvarez and Peter Krasnow were among those she called on.

Laura Gilpin, Frida Kahlo, Georgia O'Keeffe, Betty Parsons, Louise Nevelson, Agnes Martin, and Lenore Tawney.

⁸⁹ "American Art in Paris," *The Arts*, vol. 6, no. 2 (August 1924), p. 103.

Russian-born painter and sculptor Peter Krasnow (1886-1979) studied at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and later spent two years in New York City. He, as was Shore, was a member of the Society of Independent Artists, and he exhibited two works in their 1922 show. Shore probably met him in New York and furthered the acquaintance the next year in Los Angeles. In late 1922 Krasnow had driven cross-country to California and in 1923 had build a redwood cabin/studio near Glendale on a lot bought from his friend Edward Weston. A friendship between Shore and Peter Krasnow existed for several years and they sometimes met socially for dinner.⁹⁰ Krasnow, Weston, and Shore were each represented in rooms designed and decorated for New York's Macy's department store in its International Exposition of Art in Industry in 1928.⁹¹ But Krasnow failed to remark on their friendship. Toward the end of his life, Krasnow produced an autobiography that remains unpublished and that is curiously silent about all other artists he either knew or admired.⁹²

Shore returned to New York City in the late fall of 1924. She had kept the 57th Street apartment, and from there wrote condolences in early January 1925 to Robert Henri on the death of

⁹⁰ See *Edward Weston Daybooks*, (all 1928) February 23, p. 50; March 2, p. 51; May 28, p. 58.

⁹¹ *Edward Weston Daybook*, May 28, 1928, p. 58.

⁹² Peter Krasnow Papers, unpublished manuscript, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

George Bellows. In Henri's reply is found the first indication of Shore's position as an art teacher. Henri wrote, "I am not at all surprised to hear you say that George Bellows rendered you services when you needed them, in helping you to get private pupils, and a position as a teacher."⁹³ Shore most likely provided private classes in her studio but her place of employment in an arts institution or high school (the most likely opportunity for a woman artist) is still to be discovered.

In 1925 Shore again participated in New York's Society of Independent Artists Annual in March and in the Spring Salon that ran April through May. But much of her time was spent meeting with similar-thinking women in forming a new arts organization. The New York Society of Women Artists was formed as an organization of twenty-six artists whose aims included: "to supply the need of an outlet for the more unacademic painters, to act as a unified body in the arranging of shows of their work, and to present to the public their modern expressions."⁹⁴ Among the original group of members was Marjorie Organ, Robert Henri's wife, about whom Henri commented in his diary, "M went to meeting of NY Women's Society

⁹³ Robert Henri to Henrietta Shore, January 19, 1925, Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100, Box 9, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. This letter appears to be the last in the Henri-Shore correspondence.

⁹⁴ Amy J. Wolf, *New York Society of Women Artist, 1925*, exh. cat. (ACA Galleries, New York, 1987), p. 7.

of Artists. It was a meeting of the officers and she being Vice President, she had to be there."⁹⁵

The first exhibition of the New York Society of Women Artists opened at the Anderson Galleries on April 20, 1926. It was supported by a reception committee of twenty-two influential society women, including Mrs. Egerton Winthrop, whose husband had been immortalized in paint by Sargent, and Katherine Dreier, the director of the Société Anonyme.⁹⁶ Critical reception was positive: "a lively and interesting affair," with "plenty of individuality" wrote the reviewer for *The Arts*.⁹⁷ As curator Amy Wolf discussed in the brochure essay that accompanied an exhibition about the New York Society of Women Artists in 1987, the most perceptive critique came from Helen Appleton Read of *The Brooklyn Eagle*. Read examined the issues raised by the all-women group:

American women artists are not academic and traditionally feminine, and do not, as George Moore said carry the art of men across their fans. Feminine, if you will, since no art can be of the slightest significance unless it reflects personality, and personality carries with it the flavor of sex, but femininity which can be acrid and somber, lyric and gay according to the owner. Femininity

⁹⁵ Robert Henri Papers, roll 668, p. 956, undated, but no earlier than late 1925 when Henri begins to type his journal and no later than 1928, when the next dated entry appears. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York. Marjorie Organ may have resigned her post early in the development of the organization, for her name does not appear as vice president during the years 1925 to 1928.

⁹⁶ This information was obtained from the invitation to the first exhibition and differs from information provided by Amy Wolf, op. cit., who cites twenty in the reception committee including Mrs. Philip Roosevelt, whose name does not appear on the committee list.

⁹⁷ *The Arts* (May 1926), p. 287.

can mean as many things as masculinity, not merely the traditional feminine attributes. The present exhibition asks no quarter on the grounds of sex; does not count on the gallant half patronizing attitude with which the world still regards women's art, a sort of "To the ladies, God Bless them" attitude . . . a woman's art group is the only concrete way of demonstrating woman's success in the field of creative expression.⁹⁸

Shore was represented by her painting *Two Leaves* [fig. 55] one the most abstract works to have been exhibited, along with Agnes Weinrich's cubist collage and Lucy L'Engle's cubist oil, *Abstraction*. Other styles ranged from Impressionism to Fauvism to caricature. The group exhibited again in 1927, and Lloyd Goodrich found the show "an altogether enjoyable and well-arranged affair" in his review for *The Arts*.⁹⁹

In a review of the third annual in 1928, the *raison d'être* of the Society was addressed.

The question whether it is wise for women artists to group as such need not be argued again. The practical effect is that a number of the ladies whose pictures were well shown, and should be shown, find their best exhibiting opportunities in such organizations. And the New York Society is so much more adventurous than such an organization as the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, that the note of apology, which often appears in the shows held by women artists, is here not apparent."¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Quoted in Wolf, *New York Society of Women Artists, 1925*, p. 12.

⁹⁹ Lloyd Goodrich, "In the New York Galleries," *The Arts*, vol. 11, no. 4 (April 1927), p. 209.

¹⁰⁰ "New York Women," *The Arts* (May 1928), p. 314.

Yet the Society suffered censure for its all female contingent on the occasion of its forth annual in 1928. Under the headline "Women Art Critics Attack Organization of Modernist Women" readers of the *Art Digest* learned that Margaret Breuning of the New York *Evening Post* and Helen Appleton Read of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, a former supporter, were now attacking the New York Society of Women Painters "not on the shortcomings of the work shown, but on the fact that the women showed it."¹⁰¹ In an article that claimed that women now had equality in accomplishment and opportunity, the two critics neglected the issues of financial reward, critical recognition, and promotional relationships with dealers. Instead they negatively and wrongly represented the group as desiring "the immunity of feminine fragility" in their competition with male artists."¹⁰² Nevertheless, the Society, recognizing the prejudice that existed, continued their ardent fight for acceptance. Shore was an active member of the group, and though she was not in New York for the whole period, she continued to show in the Society's annuals from 1925 through 1929.

The year 1925 was one of mixed blessings for Shore. She had the affirmation of the value of her work and the support of a sisterhood of women artists. Sadly, she suffered the loss of a

¹⁰¹ "Women Art Critics Attack Organization of Modernist Women," *The Art Digest* (March 1, 1929), p. 9.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

loved brother, the one nearest to her in age; her friend and former traveling companion, Wilfred, died in Belgium sometime in 1925.¹⁰³ Returning to the family residence in Los Angeles that summer, Shore found Wilfred's widow, Annette, at loose ends. The two, who had a shared grief and perhaps a shared concern for financial stability, decided to join forces. During this period, Shore decided to forsake New York City completely and to make the most of her roots in Los Angeles. At age forty-five, Shore determined that financial success would not be hers in New York, that she had an abundance of support in her family, and that she could continue previous projects and make new contributions to the increasingly modern Los Angeles art scene. In the autumn of 1925 Shore decided to remain year round in California.

¹⁰³ Interview with Andrée Dell Hollindrake, October, 10 1996.

Chapter 7 California Recall

Returning to Los Angeles in the summer of 1925, Shore once again found safe harbor with her brother Egerton and his wife, Virginia. The very accommodating couple had already taken in Wilfred's widow, Annette, earlier that year. Egerton and Virginia may have been surprised with a proposition Henrietta and Annette announced during the summer. They would start a business just a few doors down the road from the handsome stucco Shore residence on South New Hampshire Street. Their joint venture, the Studio Inn, would combine a studio and gallery for Henrietta's work with a small restaurant that Annette would manage. They would hire one employee, an acquaintance, Helen F. Schook.¹ The location was convenient for their domestic life as well as ideal for attracting an interested clientele. Artist Chalfant Heade, living in Los Angeles at this time, described the primarily residential area when writing about his own home at 552 1/2 South New Hampshire: "One of a group of little studio houses all piled into a wooded ravine in the center of Los Angeles's nicest living district. Painters, musicians and the like in the other houses."²

¹ Los Angeles City Directory, 1926.

² Chalfant Heade to Morgan Russell, no later than 1928. Morgan Russell Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, New York, roll 4524.

Immediately on opening Studio Inn the Shore sisters-in-law experienced success. Mabel Alvarez and a guest went to the Studio Inn on October 4 to dine and found sixteen other guests, including Stanton Macdonald-Wright, and Edouard and Luvena Vysekal among them. These were old friends of Shore's with whom she had organized exhibitions under the banner of the Modern Art Society and the California Progressive Group. Shore had continued her affiliation and support of independent activities in Los Angeles during the previous years even when she spent most of her time in New York. When Macdonald-Wright reorganized the Group of Independent Artists into the Modern Art Workers, Shore was a vital part of the new group. Alvarez and Vysekal were officers and participants included Nick Brigante, Karl Yens, Anita Delano, and Helena Dunlap, among others. A reception at the Holly Library on October 5, 1925, for the Modern Art Workers exhibition featured a lecture by Macdonald-Wright in conjunction with the show, which Mabel recorded as "pretty interesting" and attracting "interesting foreign looking people."³ The Modern Art Workers exhibited again in 1926, but the group ceased its exhibition itinerary thereafter.

During this period in Los Angeles, Shore continued to produce abstractions drawn from nature. However, her notion of spirituality as a springboard to art making was diverted from

³ Diary entry, October 5, 1925, Mabel Alvarez Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

abstraction at this time as she investigated new subject matter. The group of abstractions she had successfully exhibited in New York and Massachusetts appears to have been a specifically conceived project with a short life cycle. Though the essential elements of style that she developed in the years 1921-25 were basics in her art thereafter, the content of her painting underwent change around 1926. Then, Shore returned to painting portraits and still lifes. The elements of abstraction she had developed in the previous years were now stylistic fundamentals that she applied to a naturalistic vision. Using a strong contour line, vibrant colors, and simplified shapes, Shore developed these mature works from innovations she explored in the earlier abstractions. Though these new paintings would have recognizable subject matter, they remained modernist both in vision and realization. A similar move was made by O'Keeffe.

Shore was a modernist in accord with the definition offered by William Zorach, who wrote in 1921 that the modern art movement had "freed art from the idea of reproducing nature."⁴ The modernist artist Zorach described was one who looked at nature

with a creative vision and sees new and different truths, new and different reactions of form and color, new and different but intensely true relations. He does not limit himself to what he sees at the moment, but is free to include his memory and his knowledge of how things are as well as how they look; nor does he limit himself to the

⁴ William Zorach, "The New Tendencies in Art," *The Arts* (October 1921), p. 120.

thing he is looking at, but is free to include whatever around him has relation to that thing.⁵

Zorach characterized the modernist artist as using two stylistic elements: abstract color--color used for abstract significance not for realistic depiction--and abstract form--geometric shapes and simplified elements of nature. Those modernist characteristics are fully realized in Shore's mature works.

As mentioned in the last chapter, one of Shore's earliest modernist portraits was of museum director Raymond Henniker-Heaton, painted in 1923. The portrait of the Swiss dancer, Erwin Gauthi [fig. 81] produced most likely in 1926 shares the simplified geometry of composition but is further flattened with the reduction of background information: soft layers of unspecified rings suggestive of an enveloping body halo. Two portraits done in 1927, a painting, *Jean Charlot* (Dell Collection, Toronto) [fig. 82], and a pencil drawing, *Edward Weston* (1927, Collection of Richard Lorenz, Berkeley) [fig. 94], eliminate background altogether and move the figure to the very front edge of the canvas, where each man seems to confront the viewer with his close-up stance. Compared with earlier naturalistic portraits in which costume was important in establishing class, for example, *Portrait of Miss Maria Watson* (1912) or where background gave clues to identity, *Female Violinist* (1915), Shore's portraits of

⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

the 1920s are radical in their elimination of cultural and social settings. These portraits focus on personality, on reducing both the painterly and worldly aspects of life in order to reveal the true nature and temperament of the subjects. While portrait commissions were, from the start of Shore's career, an important means of financing her art, the portraits of the four men described were produced, no doubt, because of her desire for a personal record and not meant solely for sale.

Portraiture was in decline during this period, and Shore's choice of different content—a return to floral subjects—may have been in part determined by what the public demanded. California artists had long before discovered the natural beauties of their region; Shore, recognizing the factors of marketability and accessibility, let her inclination for, and past successes with, floral imagery determine the direction her art would follow. She appreciated the subject for the spiritual investigations of nature it allowed but valued it too as a metaphor for the female body.

Among the first of the floral studies produced on her return to Los Angeles was the vividly colored oil of birds and flowers she titled *California Data* (1926, Oakland Museum, Oakland, California) [fig. 83]. Against a heaven of blues that darken as they rise toward the top of the canvas is centered a hybrid plant that combines orange and white lilies with a dark green cactus. Birds flutter among the blooms dipping to taste the nectar of the

blossoms. This work signals Shore's further development of a form language that encodes lesbian content, here, in allegories of flora and fauna. Shore uses the homosexually charged lily to structure the work and furthers its reading of otherness by changing its traditional garden appearance. She gets double symbolic value by using the bird: "birds flock together" to indicate "of the same kind," and also as slang reference to the female.⁶ The birds sipping nectar at the flower references the vagina much in the way as Meret Oppenheim's sculptural *Breakfast in Fur* (1936, Museum of Modern Art, New York).

Iris es were the subjects of three Shore paintings. In one, *Iris es* (c. 1930, Monterey Public Library, California) she masses them in a fecund group similar to her lilies. In another, *Iris es* (c. 1930, George Stern Fine Arts, Los Angeles) [fig. 84] she focuses on a central bloom, placing a bud to the left and an echoing bloom behind. Her use of the iris has a literary equivalent in the poetry of Elsa Gidlow. The confluences of painterly and literary subjects combine with similarities in the lives of the artists to suggest a knowledge of one with the other.

Elsa Gidlow was born in England in 1898, grew up in Canada where her parents had immigrated, was in New York in 1920 and then

⁶ The metaphor is still valid today. Used in lesbian literature and film, see for example, see Jackie Calhoun, *Birds of a Feather* (1999), Madelyn M. Arnold, *Bird-Eyes* (2000), and *Birds of a Feather*, a 1990 German film about an all-girl revue group.

moved to San Francisco, California in 1926. Throughout her life she studied Theosophy, had interests in Taoism and Buddhism, then New Age spiritualism. By the 1920s Gidlow had identified as a lesbian. She was a poet and writer and a feminist pioneer. Her 1923 book *On a Grey Thread* was identified by Armistead Maupin as most "likely the first book of explicitly lesbian poetry published in North America."⁷ Gidlow wrote many love poems, one, *Chance*, takes the iris as its subject:

Strange that a single white iris
 Given carelessly one slumbering spring midnight
 Should be the first of love
 Yet life is written so.
 If it had been a rose
 I might have smiled and pinned it to my dress
 We should have said Good Night casually
 And never met again.
 But the white iris!
 It looked so infinitely pure
 In the thin green moonlight.
 A thousand little purple things
 That had trembled about me through the young years
 Floated into a shape I seem always to have known
 That I suddenly called Love!⁸

It seems unlikely that Shore wouldn't have known of Gidlow and her work. Perhaps the one inspired the work of the other.

⁷ Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), p. 21.

⁸ The poem continues for two more stanzas. In Elsa Gidlow, *Sapphic Songs, Eighteen to Eighty*. Rev. ed. (Mill Valley, California: Druid Heights Books, 1982 (Previous ed. *Sapphic Songs, Seventeen to Seventy*, 1976)).

In February 1927, Shore's friend Peter Krasnow suggested that Shore accompany him to view the exhibition of photography by Edward Weston and his son Brett at the gallery at the University of California. Weston recorded the details of the visit in his diary. "Peter came with Marguerite Zorach and Henrietta Shore to see my work. Mrs. Zorach I remembered from published reproductions, but could not definitely connect her name and her work. Henrietta Shore I knew only by name--from Peter. Now I know her very well, for they took me to her home and there I saw fine painting. Women as creative artists soar in my half contemptuous estimation when I see such work."⁹ While Krasnow would have talked of Shore and her work to Weston, the photographer had come close to knowing Shore years earlier, and it is indeed likely that he heard her name through other friends they had in common. Weston had met Helena Dunlap a few years prior to his first meeting with Shore. As recorded by Mabel Alvarez, Weston was at Dunlap's home on May 23, 1923, taking photos of the masked ball Dunlap hosted.¹⁰ By the time they finally met, Weston and Shore [Shore in 1927, fig. 85] were destined to influence each other's life and art. Correspondence between the two, as well as Weston's entries in his daybooks, tell the story of their close relationship.

⁹ Daybook entry, February 14, 1927, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston: California*, ed. Nancy Newhall (New York: Horizon Press in collaboration with the George Eastman House, Rochester, 1961), p. 5.

¹⁰ Diary entry, May 23, 1923, Mabel Alvarez Papers.

Edward Weston documented his favorable response to Shore's work when first viewing her paintings in February 1927. Following the lead of Peter Krasnow, who had advised "You should see Shore's work; it is unique" Weston accompanied him to Shore's house where, Weston later wrote, he was "ushered directly into a room hung with Shore's canvases. I stopped short in my tracks silently amazed;" he continued,

here was something outstanding, a notable achievement. There was no question, the response was immediate; those deeply felt, finely executed paintings moved me at once. And how rare it is to be raised to unexpected heights! That work held the amazement of discovery, had all the force released by an artist who in a period of transition reaches toward new horizons; the results at such times may be uneven, but they are always exciting. My introduction was to a group of Shore's "semi-abstractions."¹¹

Shore, too, had found much to admire in Weston who, at the time was less well known and admired than she. Shore wrote in the guest book at his University of California exhibition, "I spent an hour enjoying the sheer beauty of your work--free from mussiness or effect."¹² Clarity of expression was mutually appealing. Weston had responded immediately to a still life of a shell that Shore had painted just a year before, *Shell* (known by reproduction) [fig. 86]. Shore collected shells and had many of them; she most likely

¹¹ Quoted in Roger Aikin, "Henrietta Shore and Edward Weston," *American Art* (Winter 1992), p. 43. Aikin's article chronicles the relationship between Weston and Shore through 1932.

¹² Daybook entry, February 24, 1927, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston: II California*, ed. Nancy Newhall (New York: Aperture, 1961), p. 6.

made more than one painting using shells but only the one has been photographed, and its whereabouts is unknown today. Shells were common subjects among the modernists. Hartley used them in still life compositions, alone in lush red drapery in *Shell* (1929, The John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota) [fig. 87], evocative of vaginal folds, and in groupings such as *Two Shells* (1929, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution) [fig. 88] in which *vagina dentata* threatens. Sarah Whitaker Peters has discussed O'Keeffe's paintings of shells during this period as autobiographic works done during a traumatic separation.¹³ They served O'Keeffe too, as tools of sensuality as in the velvety darkness of *Shell I* (1928, Private collection, Lakewood, Colorado) [fig. 89] and in the contrasts of soft, open, feathery strokes of sea grass against the firm, solid dome of the clam shell in *Shell II* (1928, Georgia O'Keeffe Museum) [fig. 90]. Shore's shell painting [fig. 86] continues this iconography of sex and beauty, using it to extend her painterly language of womanhood. Using the chambered nautilus, she followed the shell's concave and convex lines, tracing the shell's folds and undulations as they moved to opened and closed places referencing the curves and creases of the female body. Bright light highlights the shell in the foreground of a dark, unspecific space. In the drawing, *Open Shell* (c. 1926, Dell Collection) [fig. 92] a thin line ripples in and out to

¹³ Peters, *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 350n.98.

produce the outer edge of the shell before moving to the center to form the seam of its joint in a sensual image of femininity. The formal qualities of the work attracted Weston. His experiments with modernism begin with his photographs of shells. Shore's simplified and abstracted paintings had been on his mind, so much so that when he saw her collection of shells and the paintings based on them, he felt compelled to make that subject his own, writing that "after seeing the shells of Henrietta Shore a new field has been presented."¹⁴ *Chambered Nautilus* (1927, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) [fig. 91] reveals that it was the shells' sensuous quality that appealed: "I think the chambered Nautilus has one of the most exquisite forms, to say nothing of color and texture, in nature."¹⁵ He began to photograph shells at Shore's studio, then borrowed them in order to work on a series that came to consume him: "I was awakened to shells by the painting of Henry. I never saw a Chambered Nautilus before. If I had, my response would have been immediate! If I merely copy Henry's expression, my work will not live." And "I worked all Sunday with the shells, literally all day. My first photograph of the Chambered Nautilus done at Henry's was perfect all but the too black ground: yesterday the only available texture was white.

¹⁴ Daybook entry, April 1, 1927, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston: California*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Daybook entry, undated, after May 7, before May 12, p. 20.

Again I recorded to study at leisure the contrast. The feeling of course has been changed, the luminosity of the shell seen against the black, gone, but the new negative has a delicate beauty of its own."¹⁶ Painter and photographer resolved the formal issue of transforming the organic shape into simplified iconic imagery by setting an abstracted shape against a rich, dark background. What sets Shore aside from other modernists painting shells is her relation to photography. O'Keeffe, for instance, was influenced by the photography of Stieglitz and the synthesis of photography and painting is realized in her close-up views. In the reverse, Shore influenced Weston, whose aesthetic of distillation and reduction came through her stimulation.¹⁷

That March Shore requested that Weston sit for a portrait. His positive reply is indicative of his respect for her: "Henrietta Shore asked me to sit to her. I am sure no one else could tempt me to so spend time, but certainly I respond to this real opportunity."¹⁸ Weston had sat for Peter Krasnow two years earlier, and Krasnow had sent the portrait, *Edward Weston* (1925, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution) [fig. 93] to

¹⁶ Daybook entry, May 9, 1927, p. 21.

¹⁷ Karen Quinn, claims in "'Universal Rhythms': Edward Weston and Modernism after 1927" in *Edward Weston: Photography and Modernism*, exh. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1999) that Weston's aesthetic also derives from Brancusi, pp. 88-89.

¹⁸ Daybook entry, March 20, 1927, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston: II California*, p. 12.

the annual exhibition of the Whitney Museum at the Anderson Galleries in 1925, though it was not accepted for the show. Shore may have seen saw Krasnow's depiction of their friend and admired it, for Krasnow's painting of Weston resembles the clean, linear approach of precisionism that appealed to her. Krasnow's *Edward Weston* demonstrates the painter's explorations of the interplay between flattened volumes and line in a similar way that Shore had in her portraits of Raymond Henniker-Heaton and Erwin Gautchi, though Krasnow's painting included background content that filled space Shore chose to keep empty. Krasnow went on to explore various other styles and methods. Unfortunately so, wrote Bram Dijkstra, in a discussion of Krasnow, Weston, and Shore.

"Krasnow's restless eclecticism led him to try his hand at so many different styles and modes of visual expression that he ultimately failed to gain a truly significant voice in any, except when, in his later years, he developed a densely patterned, kaleidoscopic style of abstraction. . . ." ¹⁹

Weston had initiated the notion of portraits of each other when in early April he indicated his desire to photograph Shore. Her response was, at first, negative. In a letter to Weston, Shore

¹⁹ Bram Dijkstra, "Early Modernism in Southern California: Provincialism or Eccentricity," in Paul J. Karlstrom, ed., *On the Edge of America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 169. Krasnow's portrait of Weston is also discussed by Karen E. Quinn, "'Universal Rhythms': Edward Weston and Modernism after 1927," in *Edward Weston, Photography and Modernism*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), pp. 81-82.

explains her reaction. "I was not gracious when you said you would like to photograph me--because I was surprised! Please know that you can make as many negatives of me as you like and when you like."²⁰ But Shore got Weston to delay his portrait studies of her, instead using the time of his visits to her studio to paint his likeness. While Weston sat for his portrait he would read to Shore from his daybook, sharing the record of his activities, inviting comment on his thoughts. Thus the two early on established an easygoing relationship, each holding the other's talent and skill in high regard. This professional relationship soon extended into the personal. In an observation of a sitting Weston wrote that Shore and he had talked till late at night as she began his portrait. "She asked me not to look at it until much more work had been done. 'I work slowly--I am not a brilliant painter--but I used to be!' she added, her face expanding with that characteristic, full-blown, generous smile."²¹ That smile, however, did not figure in Weston's photographs of Shore, of which he produced several.

A comparison of a Shore drawing of Weston [fig. 94] with one of his photographs of her [fig. 95] shows a parallel viewpoint. In

²⁰ Henrietta Shore to Edward Weston, April 17, 1927, *Henrietta Shore-Edward Weston Letters*.

²¹ Daybook entry, April 16, 1927, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston: II California*, p. 15.

these works, each artist posed the other in similar fashion in order to obtain a three-quarter bust portrait. Shore, who was forty-seven years old at the time, wears a fashionable high-collared coat open at the neck to show a long, unwrinkled throat. Her unlined face and firm jaw belie her years, and the full lips and dark eyes still bear witness to the fine beauty she had been twenty years earlier. A beret covers her short brunette hair as she tilts her chin upward and gazes away to the left. Not necessarily flattering, Weston nonetheless observed and exposed the attraction of a woman of middle age and at the same time revealed his own regard for her. Shore in return was faithful to her modern style in portraying this younger man (by six years), using the strong contour line in forming his high forehead and sharp nose. With an open-necked shirt and sweater, Weston appears casual and approachable. It appears that in these early months of learning about each other Weston and Shore felt a mutual warm regard that was captured in their art.

During April Shore prepared for a one-person show at San Diego's Fine Arts Gallery organized by its director, Reginald Poland. She sent thirty-four works of a variety of subjects, including still life, abstraction, and landscape. Writing for the *Christian Science Monitor*, Poland announced Shore as "one of the important living painters of the United States, as strong as any on the Pacific coast for the intellectual, technical, decorative

and aesthetic qualities of her latest work."²² Poland commented on Shore's abstractions and the contrast they made to her earlier work. These abstract paintings were no longer titled as they were when first exhibited in New York in 1923 but were shown as a series of "semi-abstractions" that Poland described as emotionally appealing.²³ These abstractions also contrasted with the work Shore produced after her return to Los Angeles. In addition to the floral studies, Shore began to paint landscapes. Of these, Poland identified *Mount Wilson* [fig. 96] as "perhaps as important as any picture in the collection."²⁴

Weston too admired the work, describing the painting "with its indefinite pattern of deer and flowering yucca against waves of mountains, . . . a similarly masterful example of Shore's new realism."²⁵ He was also able to find in this painting an analogy that fit the change in Shore's work. Shore had once said: "The mountains are dynamic to me, a living part of the rhythm of all life."²⁶ Weston identified rhythmic composition as intrinsic to Shore's style: "Rhythmic vitality, that canon which certainly was

²² Reginald Poland, "Henrietta Shore's Paintings," *Christian Science Monitor* (June 13, 1927), p. 4.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ "Edward Weston", essay in *Henrietta Shore*, designed by Merle Armitage (Los Angeles: Will A. Kistler Company for E. Weyhe, 1933), pp. 5-6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

one of the most important in ancient Chinese art, is perhaps the keynote of Shore's expression. Her drawing of abstract contours in composition is an evidence of her concentration on rhythm for its own sake." He commented that, "the decorative quality is due to a harmonious or balanced placement of lines or areas of light and dark, and of varied hues, and to the directions which we naturally but unconsciously follow, as we look at the subjects which she has manipulated for this very effect."²⁷

Decorative with its symmetry, repetitive pattern, and simplified forms, *Mount Wilson* has a calm mood that coincides with and celebrates a period of ease and quietude in Shore's life during this time. She was at home with her family, surrounded by old and new friends, and was exhibiting often.²⁸ *Wanderlust*, however, again stirred her to action. Since arriving in Los Angeles, Shore had not traveled any further than San Francisco. She made plans to remedy that deficit. In August 1927 Shore and her friend Helena Dunlap, an experienced world traveler, set off for Mexico.

Mexico was a popular destination for artists during the late 1920s. Shore must have heard about its attractions both from her

²⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁸ In spring 1927 Shore participated in the New York Society of Women Artists annual, Anderson Galleries, New York, March 9-19, and at the "Exposition d'Art Canadien," Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris, April 11-May 11. That summer she had a one-person show in San Diego and a similar one in Los Angeles that fall.

mentor, Robert Henri, who had traveled there on and off for a decade, as well as from Edward Weston, who began visiting there in 1923. By August 30 Shore and Dunlap were in Tucson; on September 3 they were guests at the Hotel Fenix in Guadalajara, and a week later they were on their way to Mexico City. Shore must have arranged the trip knowing that the retrospective of her work at the San Diego Art Gallery would be traveling to the Los Angeles County Museum that fall, for she wrote to Weston from Mexico City to thank him for his help. Weston, whose work was being shown concurrently at the Museum, had installed Shore's paintings. The Los Angeles show ran from October 4 to November 2, 1927, and included all thirty-four works that were shown at the San Diego venue.

After arriving in Guadalajara, Shore and Dunlap called on the Marins. Artist John Marin, a Stieglitz modernist, had traveled to the Southwest in the late 1920s, where he found a sense of spiritual renewal. At a restaurant lunch on September 3, Dunlap and Shore met Weston's friends the artist José Orozco and his wife. The gracious Orozcos invited the two Anglos to their home the next day and gave them gifts of books about Mexican art. Shore responded with a portrait of the muralist [fig. 97]. On September 9 Shore wrote to Weston about her journey and the Mexican friends they now had in common. She also expressed her concern about the political situation, writing "the general feeling is that there

will be a serious revolution within a month. Immediately upon arrival in Mexico City we will consult the Mexican Consul General. If he advises us to leave at once and return home we will do so. We will be guided entirely by his advice."²⁹ Fortunately, the Consul reassured them, and the two continued their travels. When Shore and Dunlap reached Mexico City, they lost the fears they had had in Guadalajara. "Here," Shore wrote, "is not the same frenzy and panic. After talking with people there I was firmly convinced that my throat might be cut at any moment and Helena might blissfully hang from a scaffold at a moment's notice. We talked with the American Consul and he calmed our fears."³⁰

Thus relieved, Shore phoned the Italian-born actress Tina Modotti (1896-1942), who had become Weston's pupil, his admirer, and his mistress in 1921. Married at the time to a Mexican diplomat, Modotti traveled to Mexico at her husband's death in 1922, where she developed her photographic art, focusing on the Mexican political situation. Always dedicated to revolutionary movements, Modotti was deported from Mexico in 1930. But in 1927 she was willing to host some activities for Weston's Californian friends, and on September 11 she took Shore and Dunlap to see the Diego Rivera and José Orozco frescoes. Shore found the work too

²⁹ Henrietta Shore to Edward Weston, September 11, 1927, *Henrietta Shore-Edward Weston Letters*.

³⁰ Letter from Shore to Weston, September 11, 1927, *Shore-Weston Letters*.

political for her taste. "I am very keen about the Orozco on the stairway of [Sanborns]. Diego Rivera is a big artist. I am overwhelmed by the ancient sculpture at the National Museum. How big it is and how free from propaganda. The revolutionary propaganda one understands and can sympathize with, but it brings to mind the war cartoons of 1914-1918. They were weak and these are fine but I believe art to be greater than propaganda!"³¹

Shore found several new friends to admire. Among them was Jean Charlot, whom she met through Modotti. Charlot (1898-1979), an artist and a playwright, worked as a staff artist for the Carnegie Archaeological expedition in Yucatan from 1926 to 1930. He and his mother extended several invitations to Shore and Dunlap, inviting the women to their home for meals and entertainment. Shore and Charlot developed a friendship that would continue after Shore's Mexican trip, for she liked and respected the young man, writing that "he is kind and he is an artist in his judgment and in his feeling."³² Charlot requested that Shore sit for him, but she resisted. She turned the tables on him, however, painting his portrait, and depicted his dark good looks in an intense mood of introspection [fig. 82].

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., October 24, 1927.

While Shore was actively enjoying new company, she and Dunlap suffered a break in their friendship. Though the cause of their dispute is unknown, Shore explained their problem in a letter to Weston. "I had not realized how much I wanted to be alone," she wrote, complaining that that Dunlap "was a drag on [her arm], a dead weight". "Helena," she continued, "is a very fine woman--but we are better apart!"³³ Their breach lasted a good part of the trip, but they resolved their differences before the trip ended. Shore finally determined that "Helena is fine. We have gotten at the bottom of our misunderstandings and know that we really care for each other."³⁴ Dunlap left Mexico on December 1; Shore remained a few weeks longer.

Shore found much to admire in the landscape and people of Mexico. She described her quarters in Mexico City: "My window looks out on a great courtyard into which various little back yards open and in one of the little back yards the children play, naked. Beyond the back yards are many, many houses, then the roofs of the churches, and beyond that the hills, and beyond that the mountains and beyond that the clouds. Yes it is beautiful."³⁵ She was painting well and often. A visit to a bullfight inspired a painting featuring the interaction of the matador and the beast at

³³ Ibid., October 15, 1927.

³⁴ Ibid., November 16, 1927.

³⁵ Ibid., October 24, 1927.

the arena's edge [fig. 98]. But the painting she determined to be the most successful work produced while in Mexico was a floral study, *Floripondios* (The Buck Collection, Laguna Hills, California) [fig. 99]. In the middle of October, while in Mexico City, Shore constructed a still life of a flowering plant and a gourd. "Today," Shore wrote, "I worked on a drawing--in paint--which is as good as any I have done. You know those wonderful white flowers like great bells--I think they call them Floripronteos [sic]? Well, I found the most marvelous black gourd, the most elemental thing in shape and form--from this strange gourd the flowers are eagerly soaring--as eagerly as ever a gull flew against the sky. It will surprise me if the picture is not good."³⁶

Shore was correct in her assessment. *Floripondios* is dramatically colored and dynamically structured. As she described, Shore used the intensely black, pyramidal gourd as the base from which a dark stem of the plant arises. Shaded green leaves that blacken with shadows at their folds contrast with the pearly white, multi-layered blossoms. The sharply delineated vegetative form in the foreground stands apart from the billowing, cloudlike mounds of blue and white in the background, emphasizing the hybrid's successful flowering. It is an autobiographical work that

³⁶ Ibid., October 15, 1927.

records her state of mind: she feels accomplished with her art and is producing good work, her relationship with Dunlap is back on track, she has enjoyed traveling, she is optimistic about the return to Los Angeles. Though successful, after this floral study was completed, Shore confessed that she was ready to paint other things. Other subjects that she took for content, either completed while in Mexico or produced as preliminary drawings for works to be painted on her return to Los Angeles, included Mexican people such as the rhythmic *Women of Oaxaca* (1927-28, Collection of Penny Perlmutter, San Francisco) [fig. 100], religious scenes, and dessert vegetation. James Oles, writing in *South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination* charges Shore of idealizing domestic drudgery in *Women of Oaxaca*. He points out that Shore's "elegant promenade" of traditionally dressed Tehuantepec women depicts "the arduous task of bringing water from distant wells to the home."³⁷ Oles also identifies Shore's lack of treatment of individual faces and almost featureless shapes as purposeful transformations of particular characters into "emotionless mannequins, representative symbols of the Mexican or even of Mexico as a whole."³⁸ With this reading Oles denies Shore's instigation toward abstraction, it is her stylistic tendency for

³⁷ James Oles, *South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination, 1914-1947* exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1993), p.87.

³⁸ Ibid.

linearity and contour that are at work here, not her training in portraiture or genre.

The variety of scene and people, including new artist friends such as Modotti, Charlot, and Orozco made Shore's six-month trip to Mexico from August 1927 to January 1928 a period of successful production. Invited to show at the Aztec Land Gallery in Mexico City, Shore exhibited a dozen canvases for one week in mid-January--her second international showing--a great coup for a woman artist of the period. By that time she was ready to return to California and resume her routines.

In Los Angeles on February 10, 1928, Shore quickly picked up where she had left off, contacting family and friends. She called at Weston's house only a few days after her arrival bringing gifts of huaraches for him, dulce de leche for his sons, and some exciting news. Shore was eagerly expecting Mr. H. C. Bentley, a retired businessman from Boston, to visit the next day, and she made an effort to interest Weston in meeting the collector. Bentley, who had already bought one of Shore's canvases, was collecting the work of Californian artists. Weston tells the story: "Henry said: 'I want to take back a few of your prints, expect nothing but maybe I can interest him.' The following

afternoon I stopped by as requested. Mr. B was still there. He had purchased seven prints and one of Henry's new paintings!"³⁹

As important as Shore was to Weston's success in promoting, exhibiting, and selling his work, he did not always consider her to be good company. "Henry has a certain possessive sense re her friends, or at least re me," Weston wrote

She will have them act just so, according to her light, or they are no longer friends! I hardly [know] whether to politely refuse answer to her very personal questions or to attempt explanations, whether to be angry or to inwardly smile and "defend" myself. . . Henry has taxed my patience times before this with her entire lack of humor, her positiveness. I have stood that side of her, knowing her preponderance of fine qualities, as one must with any friend, as I would have friends do with me. . . .There are moments when I positively dislike Henry, and then the feeling passes, overwhelmed by her definite fineness. I don't want to lose her as friend.⁴⁰

Weston's daybook entry provides insight into Shore's character, which as she got older became less congenial and more judgmental. More than art, though, linked the two. Shore was enthralled with Weston's self-confidence, and Weston was impressed by Shore's independence and strength of character. Within two weeks of his complaint, Weston and Shore were dining together again. They shared their views on art, and Shore continued to amaze Weston with her artistry. In early March Shore dropped by Weston's studio to show him a new work. Weston's reaction was intense:

³⁹ Weston Daybook entry, February 14, 1928, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston: II California*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, February 14, 1928.

When first I met Henry over a year ago and saw her work, I acclaimed her greatness as an artist at once. I indulged in superlatives, until my own words and enthusiasm nearly brought a reaction. Then she would paint such a canvas as the cactusto brings forth from me a renewed tribute. Yesterday she showed me a drawing in pastel—the greatest work she has done, and that means it is really great. A nude female torso, an astounding thing so sure, so powerful. It "knocked me cold." Slang seems stronger to express my feelings.⁴¹

The nude was most certainly another self-portrait, this time, a torso only, done with strong dark linearity. While *Torso* (1928, whereabouts unknown) [fig. 101] continues a genre persistent in Shore's work, this drawing may be in response to the series of nudes Weston showed her for her critique including *Berthe Wardell* (1927, reproduced in Ben Maddow, *Edward Weston, His Life*) [fig. 102] she charged him with constancy as Weston recorded in his daybook: "I showed Henrietta [the complete series of Bertha Wardell]. I had a direct, plain spoken reproof. 'I wish you would not do so many nudes, you are getting used to them, the subject no longer amazes you, most of these are just nudes.' (I knew she did not mean they were naked, but that I had lost my 'amazement')." ⁴² And while the drawing and photograph correspond in the use of the fragmented figure and interest in line, there is a difference in sentiment, Weston's is voyeuristic while Shore's is direct presentation.

⁴¹ Ibid., March 6, 1928.

⁴² Daybook entry, April 23, 1927, p. 17.

In April 1928, Shore was invited to exhibit at the Brick Row Gallery in Hollywood. The critic for *Art News* offered no critique but described the works on view: "Interesting features are portraits of Orozco and Charlot, two outstanding artists of Mexico City. Her six-month stay in Mexico makes itself felt in the interpretations of Indian women and children, of the bullfight, of the water carriers, and of the cactus and landscape subjects."⁴³ Of the landscape subjects, the one painting that most successfully links Shore's notions of abstraction with her painterly renditions of nature is *Maguey* (1927, Collection of Edwin Gregson, Pasadena, California) [fig. 103] a close-up view of this tropical fibrous plant that was also a Weston's subject, *Maguey* (1927, Lane Collection) [fig. 104] view. Unlike Weston's photograph, which included some elements of the setting, Shore eradicated the background desert in her close-up view, filling the whole of the canvas with the plant that shares space with only the vibrantly blue sky viewed between the maguey's limbs. The linear structure of the cactus, with its central, light-filled core and tall spiky branches radiating upward, combines Shore's predilection for plants with her belief that the source of all spiritual life was located in nature.

⁴³ "Exhibitions in LA," *Art News* (April 7, 1928), p. 44.

That April Shore sent works to be included in the third annual exhibition of the New York Society of Women Artists. She was busy also as she made ready for an exhibition in San Francisco. Under the joint auspices of the San Francisco Society of Women Artists and the Legion Palace, a selection of Shore's work, from early to present, was shown from June 1 to 15. But perhaps most exciting in Shore's life was her newly acquired interest in lithography. Merle Armitage, whom Shore had met through Weston on March 2, 1928, was probably most responsible for captivating Shore's interest in printmaking.

Author, publisher, book designer, theater promoter, and modern art collector, Merle Armitage (1893-1975) continued an earlier friendship with Edward Weston in February 1928 when they met again, after several years apart, at the home of art critic Arthur Millier. It is likely that Millier and Weston joined in advising Armitage of the power of Shore's art, encouraging him to view it. Armitage wasted little time in requesting that Weston take him to Shore's studio, where upon seeing her work he exclaimed "Why, she is one of America's greatest painters."⁴⁴ Armitage responded to Shore's strong linear style, which inspired him to encourage Shore to investigate lithography. Armitage included prints in his collection, and those were the prints that he had shown to Millier, an etcher, a few weeks earlier. The

artist and printer of those prints is not known, but it is probable that some of the works on paper were printed by Lynton Kistler, then attempting to establish himself as a fine-art printer. A Los Angeles native, Kistler (1897-1989) joined his father's commercial lithography business in 1927. Lynton's personal interest in art soon resulted in a shift of focus on the business away from commercial work to fine-art printing. Kistler's work soon attracted Armitage's interest, and the two formed a long-lasting association. Shore was one of the first artists Armitage introduced to Kistler and one of the very few to have produced work at his press in the early months of 1928. As Kistler commented, "Henrietta Shore was one of my early [artists]. I had an association with Edward Weston and that whole group of artists there too at the time, and that came through Merle Armitage. Merle was very active, and he got me into a lot of the associations with the artists."⁴⁵

Shore was excited about printmaking. With the support of Millier the critic, Armitage the patron, and Weston the friend, she approached the new methodology with eagerness. Some of her artist friends also expressed an interest in working on stone.

⁴⁴ Weston Daybook entry, March 2, 1928, p. 51.

⁴⁵ "The Fine Arts and Lithography in Los Angeles," Lynton Kistler interviewed by Joanne L. Ratner, January-March, 1989. Completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles, 1993, transcript, p. 134.

Ebria Feinblatt identified Peter Krasnow as having produced lithographs in 1928, working with a commercial printer whose name Krasnow did not later recall.⁴⁶ Shore's friend from the past, George Bellows had been a great lithographer. Also, while in Mexico Shore had received the gift of a book of woodcut reproductions that now peaked her interest. Moreover, Kistler's assiduousness and passion for the art inspired curiosity on her part. Art critic Aline Kistler (no relation to Lynton Kistler as she documented in her column) provided an accounting:

As one after another of the more vital spirits among Western artists began to work in lithography there appeared on the scene a man not only willing to do an occasional print in connection with other commercial work but one who was eager to sound out the possibilities of hand printing of lithographs, a person intensely interested in the artist's problem and actively concerned with lithography as an art medium. This man is Lynton Kistler of Los Angeles, who has set up a hand printing lithography plant at home where, in his spare time, he rolls up and prints lithographs for artists. Most of the rapidly increasing output can be traced to the stimulus he has provided by his enthusiasm and co-operation. Truly present happenings corroborate the often repeated statement that lithography as an art always springs up in the region of a skilled and sympathetic printer."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ebria Feinblatt, "Los Angeles Prints, 1883-1959," in *Los Angeles Prints, 1883-1980*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Part 1: September 4-November 30, 1980). Krasnow seems to have been either very forgetful or purposely silent about other artists or influences on his art. It is possible that Krasnow printed his lithographs with Ludwig Melzner, a German lithographer who worked with Kistler father and son.

⁴⁷ Aline Kistler, "Western Lithographers," *Prints* (May 1935), p. 20.

To judge from the prints produced with Kistler, Shore found him both expert and responsive, and her prints drew the attention of critic Kistler, who wrote:

Just a few years ago, lithographs appeared at exceedingly sparse intervals, and only when some artist experimented with a drawing on stone and would search the highways and byways for a commercial printer who would bother to assist him with the preparation of the stone and the final processes of printing. Then Henrietta Shore and one or two other artists became interested. They worked intensively for a time on stone or transfer paper, braving the difficulties of technique and the discomfiture of rarely finding a sympathetic printer."⁴⁸

Evidence suggests that Shore considered transfer drawing in at least some of her attempts at lithography, as four transfer drawings prepared for unproduced lithographs exist. One depicts a large-scale magnolia [fig. 105]; the three other transfer drawings share similar subject matter of Gypsy women. Drawing on paper allowed Shore the freedom of time and place, and in 1928 Kistler was interested in the Senefelder method of transfer printing, using the zinc plates then part of the commercial business, though he encouraged his artists to draw directly on the plates.⁴⁹ Kistler must have been excited to have the opportunity to print Shore's work--she had critical recognition and support. Moreover, Shore's drawings must have pleased him with their crisp line, simple forms, and variety of texture. Shore, in turn, must have delighted

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Kistler began to pull prints from stone in 1933. See Peter Morse " Lynton Kistler, The Happy Printer," *Art News* (March 1978), p. 91.

in the exploration of new production and the chance to reach a wider audience with the multicopy process. Kistler would do an edition, twenty-five in a run usually, splitting the cost and editions with the artist. Interestingly, Kistler's mark as the printmaker, a chop of an encircled LK, appears on some but not all Shore lithographs. Its use seems not to depend on the quality of the print. Indeed the appearance of the chop at all is somewhat mystifying, as Kistler claims not to have created his chop until the 1940s.⁵⁰

Shore's lithographs indicate a technique that is basically crayon drawing and close in manner to that of Diego Rivera, whose work she had observed in Mexico.⁵¹ Lithographic content was similar to that of her paintings. Shore drew from her travel experience, and fully one-third of the lithography output is of Mexican subjects drawn from her recent travels. Flora and fauna are common subjects, with occasional forays into landscape. Perhaps the most striking lithographic image Shore produced is *Women of Oaxaca* (1928, The Oakland Museum) [fig. 106], a subject she had previously painted. Here a group of five women carrying water jars traverse the canvas, crossing from right to left. In the background are rhythmic mounds of desert and sky and clouds. The verticality of the female forms as they sway with movement adds

⁵⁰ Lynton Kistler oral history, transcript, p. 72.

dynamism. The faces and features are indistinct, thus preventing the eye from stopping as it moves with the flowing, sensual contours. Rhythmic and patterned, the work also reveals Shore's talent in her use of dark and light contrasts. Light dresses are set against the dark mountains, the dark clay pots atop the women's heads contrast with the white of the rolling clouds. This lithograph won the Graphic Arts Prize in San Francisco's 52nd Annual in 1930 and First Prize in 1931 at the San Francisco Graphic Arts Association.

Some lithograph subjects appear to be chosen for their pure graphic strength. In *Banana Tree* (Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art) [fig.107] Shore developed contrasts with masses of dark fronds against which the light skins of the bananas appeared in clusters at the center. Three upright saguaro cacti provide anthropomorphic verticality in *Sentinels* (Perlmutter Fine Arts, San Francisco) [fig. 108], and geometric diversity provides interest in *The Old Well* (Perlmutter Fine Arts) [fig. 109]. Perhaps the most sensitively rendered lithograph is *Water Lily* (Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art) [fig. 110] with its atmospheric quality achieved with gradual toning and softened line. Seen from above, the multilayered blossom of tongue like petals unfolds against the large irregularly shaped and veined leaf pad. Two other floral lithographs, *Amaryllis* (Perlmutter Fine Arts), chosen

⁵¹ Ebria Feinblatt, *Los Angeles Prints, 1883-1959*, p. 17.

for honorable mention in an exhibition by the members of the San Francisco Society of Women Artists that year, and *Gull* (Perlmutter Fine Arts) [fig. 111] complement *Water Lily* in their strong linearity and emphasis on edge. Boating is the subject of the lithograph chosen by the Library of Congress for its collection of American prints. *Yachting on the Bay* [fig. 112] balances shape, contrast, and rhythm in a scene of three catboats sailing on gentle seas.

Shore enjoyed success with her prints right from the start. At the end of August, Weston was able to sell two Shore prints to a New York collector who had purchased several of his photographs. The University Women's Club of San Diego purchased the lithograph *Seals* and presented it to the San Diego Gallery that year. An exciting opportunity came with the chance to exhibit the lithographs in a group in September. Jake Zeitlin, proprietor of the Jake Zeitlin Bookshop and Gallery in Los Angeles was active in showcasing and promoting prints. Working on a consignment basis, Zeitlin would exhibit artwork that, if sold, would render him a commission of one-third the cost. A supporter of contemporary artists, Zeitlin's first show in Los Angeles was of Peter Krasnow, the second was photographs of Edward Weston. Zeitlin recalled that small as his shop was, there wasn't anyone else showing the new

developments in the arts, particularly the graphic arts.⁵² Shore also showed her prints with the Los Angeles Print Club and the California Society of Etchers.

During the last months of 1928 Shore, probably feeling the pinch of a tight wallet, devoted time to teaching. Her students were adults, most often amateurs like the businessmen she taught at the Berkeley Art Museum that fall. Though she was exhibiting regularly, sales were not common. Additionally, she was not satisfied with the changes occurring in her personal life. Shore and Dunlap were no longer intimate companions and their friendship was completely broken when Dunlap left Los Angeles to move to rural northern California. Her friendship with Weston was at risk as he too was considering a move away from Los Angeles to Carmel.

Though she was no longer traveling to the East Coast, Shore prepared, in the beginning of 1929, for the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the New York Society of Women Painters. Its poor critical reception as well as the distance now between her and the Society marked this as the last New York Society of Women Painters exhibition in which Shore would participate.

With the onset of the Depression in late 1929, Shore more than ever, had to depend on her family for financial assistance as

⁵² See "Books and the Imagination: Fifty Years of Rare Books," Jake Zeitlin interviewed by Joel Gardner, June-December, 1977. Completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles, 1980.

her sales dwindled. Very few artists were prospering. Egerton and Allan continued their financial generosity and emotional support. Their business appears not to have suffered much in the immediate market crash or even a year later, for in 1930 Allan and his wife were traveling, arranging in September to "take some people to Mexico."⁵³ Their willingness to support Shore certainly had an impact on the decision she made that year, a decision that would take her away from her family and the Los Angeles art world. In late 1929 Shore left Los Angeles, traveled north, and made a new home in Carmel.

⁵³ Allan Shore to Caroline Shore, June 25, 1930, courtesy Andrée Hollindrake Dell.

Chapter 8 Maturity and Melancholy

Merle Armitage once observed, "Carmel, on the California coast near Monterey, has gone the way of all communities that boast art colonies. Robinson Jeffers lives there as does Henrietta Shore, Edward Weston and other distinguished people, including Martin Flavin, the playwright."¹ Armitage asserted that the lure of Carmel ran deeper than its enchanting tree-lined streets. The seaside community had a core of visionary artists, writers, poets, and developers who had settled there in the early part of the twentieth century. Their successful careers, the establishment of galleries, and the opportunity to teach combined with a supportive audience to attract artists of all types. The presence of her friend Edward Weston added to the irresistible charms of the coastal community, and Shore relocated there in the last months of 1929.

Shore had long been aware of the Carmel area, as she had for many years made the trip from Los Angeles to San Francisco. So when the chance to participate in that vital town came with the invitation to show her work at the Denny-Watrous Gallery in Carmel, Shore took advantage of the opportunity. The gallery,

¹ Merle Armitage, *Accent on America* (New York: E. Weyhe, 1944), p. 191.

established in 1929 by two women, designer Hazel Watrous and pianist Dene Denny, was supportive of modern art and for its first exhibition showed the works of the Blue Four--Alexej Jawlensky, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, and Lyonel Feininger.² In March 1929 the gallery exhibited Weston's photographs, a show that he invited Shore to critique. Gallery directors Watrous and Denny met Shore then though they probably knew Shore's work from earlier exhibitions, particularly those in San Francisco where Watrous and Denny had previously lived. But at least from that time Shore had this connection to new venues for her art.

In 1930 Shore was fifty years old [fig. 113]. The success she had sought had not been achieved either by sales or celebrity and the fame of the previous decade had not been sustained. New horizons and inspirations were necessary to ignite new achievements. Spurred by the chance, perhaps the last chance, to become part of a developing and exciting community, Shore made Carmel her home, moving to an apartment in a neat, white stucco building on Monte Verde and Seventh Street. From this in-town site she established herself quickly with the art community, painting and exhibiting, taking students, and, important for her psyche and

² Hazel Watrous, "Autobiography of the Denny-Watrous Gallery," *Carmel Pine Cone* (May 4, 1934), p. 10.

art, enjoying and recording the beauty of the "pine-covered shore bound by blue-green bays and cypress-studded headlands."³

The move north inspired Shore, providing her with new subjects. These subjects in turn revitalized the urge in Shore to express her theosophical convictions and to paint the spiritual in nature. The coastal landscape became the focus of Shore's paintings for the next few years. The paintings produced during this time are significant in the Shore oeuvre for demonstrating a new compositional strength, exciting exploitation of color, and dramatic metaphysical content. Shore had never thoroughly abandoned her emotionally invested and intellectually pursued investigation of metaphysics, which had been a part of her world since her developing years in Canada. And Shore found, on her return to Los Angeles in the second half of the 1920s, a lively interest in Theosophy, and in psychic research. Southern California had become the world headquarters of Theosophy, and it was also "a major publishing center for magazines, newspapers, and books on mysticism, spiritualism, and other metaphysical philosophies."⁴ The accepting social view and the large audience for psychic study most likely reawakened Shore's then dormant urge

³ Barbara J. Klein, "The Carmel Monterey Peninsula Art Colony," *American Art Review* (September-October 1996), p. 110.

⁴ Ilene Susan Fort, "The Adventurousome, the Eccentrics, and the Dreamers: Women Modernists of Southern California," *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945* exh. cat. (Autry Museum of Western Heritage in association with the University of California Press, 1995), p. 89.

to express the spiritual life she believed existed in nature. This urge found new expression in the Carmel landscape.

Shore, sometimes accompanied by Weston, drove her Ford to the ocean on the Monterey coast, most often visiting Point Lobos. The headland area [fig. 114], with its varied topography of slopes and bluffs, towering pines, crashing surf, and riotous blooms, provided many subjects for the two artists. Monterey Pines and Cypressess, types of coniferous trees, became popular subjects for both the painter and the photographer. Weston's interest in using the tree for examining texture and contour line is evidenced by *Cypress, Point Lobos* (1929, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) [fig. 115]. Shore's work is more personal and in tune with Dove's *Tree Trunk* (1929, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) [fig. 116] and O'Keeffe's *Birch and Pine Tree* (1925, Rahr-West Museum, Manitowoc) [fig. 117]. Shore's twisting trees recall the interplay of leaves in her earlier work, *Two Leaves* [fig. 55] where nature's forms are metaphorically used as an expression of the artist's sexuality. Shore found the trees provocative and used their twisting shapes several times in her work including lithography, *Banana Tree* [fig. 107], and drawing, *Tree* (c. 1930, Penny Perlmutter, San Francisco) [fig. 32]. The tree served as the artist, as had the rock and flower, as an expression of self, which was observed by Weston who wrote about Shore "When she paints a flower she is that flower,

when she draws a rock she is that rock..."⁵ echoing critic Waldo Frank's assessment of O'Keeffe, "O'Keeffe is very like a tree..."⁶

A painting especially startling in its vigor and dynamism is Shore's *Cypress Trees, Point Lobos* (1930, Private collection, California) [fig. 118]. Using simplified forms and strong linear design Shore rendered the trees as manifestations of nature's vital force. Two trees dance in a push-pull pas-de-deux, writhing upward against high granite cliffs. Elegantly colored with no regard to local truth, the deep, jewel-like hues of the bare tree trunks, one red the other gold, boldly announce the generative force within them. Gently curving mounds of green and purple hills in the background provide contrast to the sharply angular and twisting verticality of the conifers. A short foreground of orange is interrupted by slashes of green that lead the eye from the canvas edge into its depth. Precise in its sure, careful stroke, which denies the artistic hand, and clean in its expressive linearity, this dynamically composed painting demonstrates Shore at her most talented and skilled. A work that could only have been produced after many years' experience and study, the singular *Cypress Trees, Point Lobos* celebrates Shore's maturity.

⁵ *Henrietta Shore*, Designed by Merle Armitage (New York: Weyhe Gallery, 1933), p. 11.

⁶ Waldo Frank, "White Paint and Good Order," in *Time Exposures* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), pp. 31-35, cited in Barbara Buhler Lynes, p. 21.

This painting has been included in the discussion offered by Ilene Susan Fort in *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945* as an example of the surrealist movement that occurred in California in the late 1920s. Fort asserts that for some surrealist painters the generative powers of nature "became a metaphor for their reality as women and for their powers of artistic creation."⁷ Arguably, *Cypress Trees, Point Lobos* does embody the surrealist character of biomorphic abstraction. It is possible also that Shore was aware of the seeds of the surrealism movement then sprouting as promoted in Los Angeles by Lorser Feitelson. Feitelson (1898-1978) had settled in Los Angeles in 1927, where he soon became a key figure in the avant-garde. With Helen Lundeberg (b. 1908) he promoted a style formulated as Post-Surrealism, which incorporated European-style surrealist explorations of the subconscious but differed from its parent movement in its avoidance of the grotesque and bizarre. This art, Feitelson and Lundeberg announced, affirmed "all that surrealism negates: impeccable aesthetic order rather than chaotic confusion, conscious rather than unconscious manipulation of materials, the exploration of the normal functioning's of the mind."⁸ It was an

⁷ Ibid., p. 96.

⁸ Quoted in Susan Ehrlich, "Pacific Dreams," *Pacific Dreams: Currents of Surrealism and Fantasy in California Art, 1934-1957*, exh. cat. (Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center, University of California at Los Angeles, 1995), p. 20.

art movement that with hindsight might call Shore's painting its own, but it was a movement that came to fruition after Shore had produced *Cypress Trees, Point Lobos*. Feitelson and Lundeberg inaugurated Post-Surrealism with an exhibition at the Centaur Book Shop in Hollywood in November 1934.⁹ Fort is accurate in identifying Shore's work as self-referential but it precedes Feitelson and Lundeberg and is the result of the aesthetic ideas she had forged earlier about spirituality and feminist self-consciousness that were diffused in figurative and quasi-abstract works.

Shore continued in her portrayal of universal movement and growth in nature and affirmed its force by anthropomorphizing her subjects in the drawing *Rocks, Point Lobos* (1931, Dell Collection) [fig. 119]. Along with the painting *Cacti, Rocks, Point Lobos* was exhibited in the San Francisco Art Association Annual in the spring of 1931.¹⁰ Most likely a view of the Carmelo Formation at Point Lobos, a series of bumpy, pebbly rock intermixed with sand and shale, the rocks depicted in this work have the appearance of prehistoric animals, sleek water-traveling beasts with smooth

⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁰ Two paintings of cacti exist. *Cactus* (1926) offers a close-up view of conjoined cactus plants rising from multiple flower blossoms at their base. *California Cacti* focuses on one large cactus plant that flowers in the center of the canvas with a multilayered spiky flower; a decorative spray of undistinguished leaves fills the right upper edge of the canvas. *California Cacti* was used by the Automobile Club of Southern California for the cover of their December 1929 issue of *Touring Topics*.

snouts and tiny eyes. They seem to progress slowly across the foreground, shifting left to right as they move toward the water. Animating these boulders and stones with the ability to see and move supports the notion that they are indeed living rocks. That they had a tremendous past in the Paleocene age, 50-60 million years ago, adds credence to the notion of living rock because, after all, they have aged and endured. As with the aging process, the rocks have changed with the effects of erosion, and importantly, the rocks maintain life by providing hollowed-out caves and nooks--protective areas that foster plant and sea-life generation. *Rocks, Point Lobos* is the most anthropomorphic work in Shore's oeuvre, but it is subtle and distinctly quiet in its portrayal of animus. As allegory, the rocks describe the artist (now a large, rounded being of nature) as a creative force that protects and nourishes talent, producing a legacy of artwork, not children.

Shore's new paintings garnered attention. In January 1932 the local newspaper, *The Carmel Pine Cone*, sent reporter Eleanor James to interview the artist on the occasion of her exhibition at the Denny-Watrous Gallery. In answer to James's inquiry about the meaning of the new work, Shore "asserted emphatically that she resorts to no symbols in her art; that she paints nature as it

appears to her."¹¹ Her denial was more in tune with hiding than with honesty. James remained unconvinced, recognizing in Shore's paintings something otherworldly. James observed that Shore painted "cryptically . . . shapes, human and animal, in rocks and trees, veiled creatures beckoning the imagination. Skeletons of ancient dinosaurs, cavernous of eye and mighty of paw, resident in Lobos rocks, only to be seen by the seeing eye."¹² James recognized that it was not the imitation of nature that Shore sought but rather recognition of its generative force.

Astute in her evaluation of Shore's painterly content, James was also insightful in her description of Shore's technique, finding that structure was all-important.

Even when [Shore] experiments in color and composition, it's a stylism that does not intrude. . . . Her sense of structure and preoccupation with the sculptural quality in nature is apparent whether she is painting humanity, animals--as goats or horses--flowers, rocks or mountains. . . .there are no short cuts in her work. No tricks. Her painting--and drawing--is infinitely painstaking, yet never tight. She works long and conscientiously over her canvases yet they are not labored."¹³

Shore's painting technique was further examined in an essay that Jean Charlot was then organizing for a book of essays titled *Art*

¹¹ Eleanor Minturn James, "North Lights," *Carmel Pine Cone* (January 22, 1932), p. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

from the Mayans to Disney by Jean Charlot. Charlot perceptively wrote,

Shore's technique is exacting; she will work for days on a linear draft until it acquires the supple inexorability of the copper ribbon that partitions cloisonné enamels. Modeling and local tone imbed themselves in these boundaries as logically and organically as muscles and tendons to bones. Supremely aware that colors per se are of variable densities and endowed with personal spatial co-efficients, she mixes and applies them with the vital care of a druggist compounding a prescription. A small area becomes dominant when tuned to red or yellow; rainbow-like blends make the plane recede or advance, cave or bulge. The finished picture, though coinciding with the first draft, is plastically and emotionally a new work. It possesses a smooth finish and a stencil-like accuracy. The absence of visible brush stroke, the rigid emphasis on local colors, a diffusion of light through which modeling acquires a quasi-static content, those rare elements are in close kinship to older and perhaps saner art periods than ours, when the artist, having things to say that he believed of public interest, was proud to do so with grammatical clarity.¹⁴

Charlot found that the quality of clarity was achieved by a technique that was "crystal clean," and he summed up his high regard for Shore by announcing her "the impeccable craftsman of her own passion."

He was not alone in his positive evaluation of Shore's art. A Canadian art critic, writing in 1932 about his trip to California for *The Canadian Forum*, announced his "discovery of an expatriate."¹⁵ Archibald Key approved of the "strength of

¹⁴ Jean Charlot, *An Artist on Art: Collected Essays of Jean Charlot* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1972), pp. 194-95.

¹⁵ Archibald Key, "Parallels--And an Expatriate," *The Canadian Forum* (July 1932), p. 384.

Henrietta's work" and quite sensitively assessed her painterly intentions of the "re-creation of the life force in rocks, leaves, flowers, and bellies." Finding her self-confident but not irritatingly egotistical, he admired her as a "naive, honest woman." Shore, in turn, must have felt at ease with him, for she allowed herself to question, "I wonder if Ontario has forgotten me?" In answer Key suggested, "Why don't you come back? You've been to Europe, Mexico, and South America. Don't you feel the urge to return for a visit?" A thoughtful Shore admitted, "I should like to hear what Canada thinks of my work." Wisely, Key didn't respond. For though he found much to admire, he indicated in his article that the conservative majority in Canada would not be accepting of Shore's work and might even deport her upon seeing it.

Unexpectedly, perhaps, for Key, Shore became furious when she read Key's article. In a rebuttal published in the September 1932 issue of *The Canadian Forum*, Shore complained that Key had made many misstatements. Key had made unflattering personal comments-- "Henrietta Shore, almost as big as her studio but rounder" and "She is ethereal despite her ruddy rotundity and she doesn't give a damn whether you like her work or not"--among them. But Key was accurate in his assessment of Shore's work, particularly in identifying the spiritual language she used in painting Point

Lobos. He had accompanied Shore on a picnic there, where he must have observed her drawing the twisted trunks of a dead cypress tree: "Henrietta made one feel new life emerging from the bleached, wracked trunks which clung tenaciously on the rocky slopes. Deadwood? Superficially yes! But in every inch life was being re-created--new life, a new form."

Shore could not credit Key for his insights as she considered his use of comments about her personal life trivialized her accomplishments. Indeed, the start of Shore's rebuttal suggests that Key denigrated all he found: "As this article is of a damaging nature to my profession and is of such a nature to be labeled a *false publication damaging to property or business*--one phrase alone leaves you open to suit for libel."¹⁶ Shore briefly acknowledged that Key's intention was to express his appreciation of her art. She felt, however, that Key showed an "obvious lack of understanding of the intent and content of my work." Nowhere, however, does she dispute his findings about her art. The majority of Shore's letter locates Key's offense in the personal: the impolite use of her first name; the use of her toilet; her purchase of a Ford; her move to Carmel; and the inclusion of names of Carmel writers. The single reference Shore makes to her art in

¹⁶ Henrietta Shore, Letter in "The Reader's Forum," *The Canadian Forum* (September 1932), p. 475.

this refutation concerns Key's observation about Shore and her friend Weston. Key had written that Shore had moved to Carmel "so she could be near her photographer contemporary Edward Weston, whose photographs of peppers are quite as obscenely indecent as Henrietta's rocks--according to the best people."¹⁷ Here is the crux of the matter, as Shore's letter makes clear. "With the admiration I feel for the work of Edward Weston and the value I place upon his friendship, I feel sure that he, as well as I, will clearly and justly resent our names and work being classed together as 'obscenely indecent'. *I request from the editor of THE CANADIAN FORUM a public apology for the offensive use of these words in this article published in this magazine.*"¹⁸ Weston added his voice to Shore's in a letter to the editor published alongside Shore's: "I wish to add my protest to hers," Weston wrote.

"Adverse criticism no one should object to, it may indeed be a stimulus, even though not agreed to. But classifying work as 'obscenely indecent' is carrying a flippant--albeit well meant--article too far." His less vehement response ended lightly: "I assure you I do not write as a Puritan, and I have a sense of humor, but I object to this misleading interpretation."¹⁹ Key's

¹⁷ Archibald Key, "Parallels--And an Expatriate," p. 384.

¹⁸ Henrietta Shore, Letter in "The Reader's Forum," *The Canadian Forum* (September 1932) p. 475.

¹⁹ Edward Weston, Letter in "The Reader's Forum," *Ibid.*, pp. 475-76.

sexualized interpretations of Shore's paintings and Weston's photographs were indicative of the period's conditions and culture that valued Freudian (and then Jungian) polemic. Shore had experienced this sort of review before (in 1923) and she saw how the pervasiveness of such interpretation frustrated her contemporary Georgia O'Keeffe²⁰

Archibald Key found himself compelled to offer an apology in the next issue of *The Canadian Forum*: "Miss Shore, more than any other painter I have met, has absorbed the emotional context of each country she has visited--retaining the essence of their spiritual outlook without accepting the doctrines of any one school and, what is more important, without losing any of her innate qualities. A powerful, dynamic figure, marching from one height to another."²¹

Shore's friend, the San Francisco art critic Jehanne Bietry Salinger answered one of the questions Key had posed to Shore concerning a possible return to Canada. Bietry Salinger too wrote in the September issue of *The Canadian Forum*, and her argument

²⁰ See Barbara Buhler Lynes, *O'Keeffe, Stieglitz, and The Critics, 1916-1929* (Ann Arbor and London: UMI Research Press, 1989). Also Anne Middleton Wagner, *Three Artists (Three Women): Modernism and the Art of Hesse, Krasner, and O'Keeffe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), chapter 2; and Bram Dijkstra, *Georgia O'Keeffe and the Eros of Place* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 193-199.

²¹ Archibald Key, Letter in "The Reader's Forum," *The Canadian Forum* (November 1932), p. 74.

proposed that Shore would have experienced a greater success had she remained in Canada. "I can only think of the personality of Henrietta Shore," Bietry Salinger wrote, "and of her work with a vision of what she and her art would have been, had not a mere geographical displacement completely taken this artist out of the orbit of her natural destiny, had she not left her native country, Canada, and become an expatriate."²² Comparing the shared spiritual content in the art of Shore with Canadian Lawren Harris, Bietry Salinger discerned that both had drunk at the same spring, "where twenty years ago, she and Harris and a few other young artists of that day partook of an inspiration which was to give Canada its art of today." Yet by leaving Canada, Bietry Salinger observed, Shore sacrificed the fame that country would have afforded her.

Shore must have been unhappily surprised by her friend's comments. She had particularly denied any association with Lawren Harris and the Group of Seven, asserting in her letter that she did not know the work of the Group. Shore was also distressed to see Bietry Salinger continue Archibald Key's personal comments. Indeed, Bietry Salinger was more intrusive than Key in directly tying the artist's emotional being with the art.

Uprooted, having to battle for her daily subsistence among strangers, finding herself on a footing of absolute

²² Jehanne Bietry Salinger, "Geography and Art--And Shore," *The Canadian Forum* (September 1932), p. 463.

equality with males in this land of the United States, where feminism is taken ever so much more literally than in Canada, this artist grew away from the shelter which would have been afforded her in her familiar surroundings--the artist she is today is painfully detached from her roots, from herself, it seems. Where she might have lent her emotional wealth to the rugged forms of Canada and developed into a sort of George Sand painter, making the rigid rocks of Lake Superior feel warm and familiar, having nothing to love and a great power to love, she turned to a purely introspective art expression, an important phase of which is distinctly esoteric in character.²³

Shore did not respond publicly to Bietry Salinger's composition, and she must have been pained to have such a character-revealing description made available in the popular press. If she were feeling at all vulnerable, she would have been distressed with Bietry Salinger's conclusion:

On leaving Canada, Shore chose to be second in Rome rather than first in her hometown. Because I admire her work, so verily and so profoundly, I know that she has made the wrong choice. Canadian art is writing a chapter of art of the world. At best Shore can hope for no more than to leave the imprint of her name added to so many other great names in that ungrateful book of glory. Unless, who knows, the prodigal daughter suddenly decides to retrace her steps, and returns to her native land, there, to be reborn Canadian.²⁴

An admiring critic who suggested leaving town was not the best advocate to have on one's team. But as painful as the articles must have been, Shore found some solace in other events around her. Primary among them was some welcome celebrity--her inclusion

²³ Ibid., pp. 463-64.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 464.

in *Who's Who* was announced in *The Camel Pine Cone* September 23, 1932 issue.²⁵ Shore also continued the good fortune she had in her circle of friends, which included Weston, Charlot and Armitage. Armitage especially would help Shore in her move away from the anger and pain occasioned by the exchange in *The Canadian Forum*.

Merle Armitage was determined to publish a book that centered on Shore. He was a book designer and writer, with more than one hundred books to his credit. Many of these focused on the artists, composers, and performers with whom he was associated. Inspired by E. A. Jewell's lament that art in America lacked a literature, Armitage decided to write books about the country's best artists. So he wrote and designed books about Rockwell Kent, Edward Weston, Martha Graham, Warren Newcombe, and Henrietta Shore, among others. Armitage's book about Shore was published by Edward Weyhe in 1933 and consisted of three critical essays by Reginald Poland, Edward Weston, and Merle Armitage. The trifold, paperbound book was illustrated by photographs of her work in painting, drawing, and lithography taken of the originals by Edward Weston and printed in Lynton Kistler's lithography studio. The *Art News* review of the book found the three essays to be superfluous. "It remains that all three writers have lauded Miss Shore in the traditional

²⁵ "Who's Who Succumbs to Lures of Carmel--22 Names Get In," *Carmel Pine Cone* (September 23, 1932), p. 16.

manner. For the reader, the photographs will be more than satisfactory, since opinion can be drawn from these without any external aid."²⁶ There were twenty-three reproductions of Shore's works and a frontispiece that was a caricature of Shore by Jean Charlot [fig. 120]. Lynton Kistler remembered well the occasion of that Charlot work.

That was an amusing situation. We had all of the plates on Henrietta Shore's book made. Jean Charlot came to town at that time. It was when we first contacted Jean Charlot. The Henrietta Shore book was one of Merle Armitage's babies. Jean Charlot saw the work that we were doing then on it and he said, "Well, I'd like to make a frontispiece for it." So there was a frontispiece added to this book by Jean Charlot, and Henrietta Shore didn't know anything about it at all. He did a portrait of Henrietta Shore. It was a modern version and did nothing to compliment Henrietta Shore's looks. She was furious when she saw this thing. There are only two hundred of those books printed. She became reconciled to it finally, but it raised quite a ruckus for a while when it was published.²⁷

It is easy to understand Shore's anger. The color lithograph shows her in a three-quarter profile. With her eyes focused high to the left, and with the edge of a palette visible in the lower right, she is seemingly at work in front of her easel. That pose would certainly have been acceptable; it was, instead, the rather clownish appearance and costume that Charlot put on Shore that caused her ire. The smock she wears has the look of a toga, and

²⁶ J.S. "Recent Art Books," *The Art News* (November 11, 1933), p. 10.

²⁷ "The Fine Arts and Lithography in Los Angeles," Lynton Kistler interviewed by Joanne L. Ratner, December 1988-March 1989, completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles, 1993, transcript, pp.88-89.

the bouffant cap, overwhelming in its scale, bulges high and wide above the distorted features of Shore's face. The coarsened eyes and mouth are outmatched by an overlarge, bulky nose. There is no delicacy or sensitivity found here. Even Kistler understood its injustice.

It was a little bit wild, you know. When Henrietta saw it, why, she plumb nearly dropped to the floor, because she didn't know that it was going to be in there. It was a surprise. She got very upset about it, but finally she realized that it was what it was and it was a very nice thing, and she became very fond of it. But it didn't make her out to be a movie star or anything.²⁸

Charlot argued his case, though his story behind the instigation for the work differed from Kistler's. "I was asked to do it by Armitage--kind of a last-minute job. She really looked like that. She didn't like it much."²⁹ Vanity aside, Shore was most likely displeased with the image because of its irreverent tone. This book was one of the very rare opportunities of promotion to come her way, and Shore wanted every part of it to reflect well on her. Armitage had done his best in using it as a marketing tool, working though problems with panache. He at one time admitted, "The Shore book presented a financial problem, several expensive color reproductions were necessary to make an adequate

²⁸ Ibid., p. 182.

²⁹ Peter Morse, *Jean Charlot's Prints: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii and the Jean Charlot Foundation, 1976).

presentation. Ruth Maitland saw us through our difficulty as she has many times, in many ways, assisted other causes. Dr. and Mrs. Maitland are Americans of a rare type."³⁰

Patrons were few and far between in these years of the Great Depression. Though Shore continued to exhibit, there is no evidence of sales of her work. In 1933 Shore was included in a group show at the Los Angeles County Museum, and she was also represented in an exhibition of Lynton Kistler's printed lithographs at the Stendahl Galleries in Los Angeles. The Denny-Watrous Gallery organized an exhibition of Shore's work in conjunction with the publication of the Armitage book that was on view in June. That month, Weston wrote an "appreciation" of Shore's work that was printed in the *Carmel Pine Cone*. Highlighting both the book and the exhibition, Weston detailed Shore's progression in content and style and characterized her as an "artist by destiny."³¹ Indeed, Shore had, since her teens, dedicated her life to art making, but here, at age fifty-three, she was still in the battle for fame and financial stability.

Shore was fortunate in the support her family, but its likely that at this point in the early 1930s they too felt the economic

³⁰ Merle Armitage, *Accent on America*, p. 305.

³¹ Edward Weston, "The Paintings of Henrietta Shore," *Carmel Pine Cone* (June 9, 1933), p. 10.

uncertainty of the Depression. A minimal allowance and the opportunity to belong to a federally sponsored artists group forced her hand. Shore joined the Public Works of Art Project, one of the New Deal's cultural support programs. The PWAP was the first federal nonrelief project for artists.³² Initiated by a suggestion offered by George Biddle, a well-known artist and friend of President Roosevelt's, the program centered on the production of murals that would decorate the country's public spaces. On May 9, 1933, Biddle had written to Roosevelt "the Mexican artists have produced the greatest national school of mural painting since the Italian Renaissance. "That this was possible only because the Mexican president, Obregon "allowed Mexican artists to work at plumbers' wages in order to express on the walls of the government buildings the social ideals of the Mexican revolution." He alerted Roosevelt that America's artists "are conscious, as they have never been of the social revolution that our country and civilization are going through; and they would be eager to express these ideals in a permanent art form if they were given the government's co-operation." Roosevelt would,

³² Key references include Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, *New Deal for Art: The Government Art Projects of the 1930s with Examples from New York City & State*, (Hamilton, New York: The Gallery Association of New York State, 1977); Steven M. Gelber, "Working to Prosperity: California's New Deal Murals," *California History: The Magazine of the California Historical Society* (Summer 1979), pp. 98-127; Nancy Acord, "Women of the WPA Art Projects: California Murals," *Yesterday and Tomorrow: California Women Artists* (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989), pp. 1-33.

Biddle concluded, give impetus that could result, "for the first time in our history, in a vital national expression."³³

From this eventually developed the New Deal programs: the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP, 1933-34); the Treasury Department's Section of Painting and Sculpture (Treasury Relief Art Project, TRAP); the Works Progress Administration (WPA, started in 1935); and the Federal Arts Project (WPA/FAP 1935-1943). Most of the murals produced in California were created under the Federal Arts Project and the Public Works of Art Project. Shore was among the nearly two hundred artists to paint government-sponsored murals in that state. Writing on the contributions of women artists of the Depression era, Nancy Acord identified the California Art Project as producing "one of the most active mural developments in this country. Compared to their male counterparts," however, "the women muralists were very few in number--only 40, compared to almost 140 males. The numbers are not as important as what these 40 women accomplished."³⁴ Shore's accomplishment, Acord noted, was her depiction of the ideals of the New Deal--"the nobility of hard work."

³³ George Biddle, *An American Artist's Story* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1939), p. 268.

³⁴ Nancy Acord, "Women of the WPA Art Projects," p. 8.

In 1933 funds were announced for a Southern California Public Works of Art Project. The committee for Southern California was formed with Merle Armitage as chairman. Having a friend on the committee must have helped to ease Shore's discomfort when applying to the program. Apparently she was in financial distress at this time, having only the allowance provided by her family, which had to have been less than \$50 a month in order for Shore to meet program requirements. Acord has written about Shore's unhappiness about being on relief. She found a past administrator of the local branch of the WPA in Monterey who remembered the artist's humiliation at having to sign the document stating that she was destitute.³⁵ Yet the process required that artists supply a financial statement of need when they brought samples of their work to the local headquarters at the Dalzell Hatfield Galleries. More than six hundred artists applied for this inaugural program, which budgeted for only sixty artists for a two-month project (December 1933-February 1934).³⁶

The Public Works of Art Project that subsidized unemployed artists was short-lived. After the agency's demise in 1934, it was followed by the State Emergency Relief Administration and then in 1935 by the Treasury Relief Art Program (TRAP), which, was in

³⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

³⁶ Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, *Painting and Sculpture in Los Angeles, 1900-1945*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1980), p. 87, n. 7.

turn followed by the Federal Arts Program of the Works Progress Administration. Shore was commissioned by TRAP in 1936 to execute six murals after submitting color sketches to TRAP in Washington to gain the award. Shore was to paint four lunette murals at the Santa Cruz Post Office, one mural for the Monterey Post Office, and one for the Monterey Old Customs House, all with localized subject matter. She worked on the paintings throughout 1936, and they were placed in their locations during 1937.

In 1984, postmaster and history buff Doug Mathews ordered maintenance men to remove some paneling on the wall behind his desk at the Monterey Post Office. Casual conversations he had had with some old-timers suggested that there was a painting on that wall. What the maintenance men found on removing plasterboard was the mural of Monterey Bay [fig. 121] painted by Shore between 1936 and 1937, which had been covered up in 1963 at the time the post office was remodeled.³⁷ Placed high on the wall with its top edge meeting the (now suspended) ceiling, the mural runs the length of the wall, approximately twelve feet long, in a ratio of about four-to-one with its three-foot width. Intersected by a window at its midsection and visually interrupted at either end by suspended lighting fixtures, the painting lacks visual unity and the

³⁷ Calvin Demmon, "Monterey's Temporary Postmaster Finds Mural, Historical Memorabilia," *Monterey Peninsula Herald* (February 16, 1984), p. 1.

interior space hinders appreciation of the artwork. Moreover, this painting is disappointing for its lack of dynamism--it is pedantic, staid, and dull. Though the colors and lines are Shores, little of the three-dimensional structuring, compositional complexity, and tonal contrasts that make other paintings from this period so powerful are present here.

Shore's choice of a historical scene for the Monterey Post Office was in accord with TRAP's mandate that artists paint scenes of ordinary people in activities of the everyday or the past. Long-gowned women carrying parasols, men on horseback, and wooden buildings indicate an early period of Monterey settlement as the theme of this painting. There is no single subject, but rather a progression of characters who establish a time period. Historical subjects were of little interest to Shore, whose oeuvre contains not a one. Though local history was a most popular subject--probably the reason for her choice--Shore was unable to make the past come alive in this painting, as she had no particular focus. Additionally, the overlong horizontal stretch of the space to be covered differed significantly from Shore's typical compositional format, which was usually vertically oriented with a central focal point. Unusual subject and unusual format combined to work against Shore here and resulted in this less than successful mural.

Shore, when prepared with the right subjects and a comfortable format, succeeded in producing murals of exceptional

quality. She executed four murals for the Santa Cruz Post Office that focused on the agriculture and commerce of that area: *Fishing Industry* [fig. 122], *Limestone Quarries Industry* [fig. 123], *Artichoke Industry* [fig. 124], and *Brussels Sprout Industry* [fig. 125]. The oil paintings framed in white carved lunettes are in harmony with the interior architecture. Shore worked comfortably in this vertically oriented space, which was about four feet high and eight feet long at its full length, a ratio of two-to-one at its outer limit. Another reason for Shore's success at Santa Cruz was her subject choice. Though these themes again fit the TRAP emphasis on recording the American scene, these pictures of local agriculture and commerce draw on her experience with the figure and her delight in depicting the landscape.

Once Shore's preliminary drawings were accepted by the TRAP committee she enlarged them onto kraft paper to the actual mural dimensions and transferred the composition to the canvas. The mature style observed in paintings such as *Cypress Trees Point Lobos* and *Rocks, Point Lobos* is easily recognized in the Santa Cruz murals. Shore's style readily adapted to the mural scale because of its emphasis on simple modeling, clear outlines, and dramatic colors. Additionally, the half-moon format of the space naturally allows for the classic pyramidal composition in which the action is centered and to which attention is drawn. Two murals are commercial in theme: *Fishing Industry* [fig. 122], which shows

two sturdy men on a dock surrounded by their nets, barrels, and ropes as they head to their boats on the water, and *Limestone Quarries Industry* [fig. 123], which depicts three men, each with a tool, at work excavating the area's native schist. In both, Shore achieves a deep dimensionality in the picture plane by layering the scene's components--men and their natural environment--in receding tiers.

That feeling of deep space was again achieved with repetition of motif in the two agriculture-based murals, *Artichoke Industry* [fig. 124] and *Brussels Sprouts Industry* [fig. 125], where the dominant shape of each kind of vegetable plant surrounds the men at work. The globular-shaped light green sprouts are super-large and abundant and are unrealistically oversized. Similarly, the large silver-green cut-leaf fronds of the artichoke plant fill most of the space of the *Artichoke Industry* mural, which is truer to life, as a single artichoke plant can cover forty-five square feet. All four murals are boldly colored. Complex variety of lines, curved and moving contrasted by straight, structuring ones are all sharp and precisely placed. Attention to detail serves Shore well in steering the viewer's eye from areas of dark recess to places of lighted exterior, as seen in the inner structure of the wooden boat in *Fishing Industry*, in the crags and hollows of the split rock face in *Limestone Quarries Industry*, and in the empty spaces between crop rows in the *Artichoke Industry*. Shore's

technique, here consisting of massing and repetition, emphasis on simple shapes, and use of rhythm-giving strong line, join with an affinity for the subjects in making these murals a success.

The fifth of the Shore murals was created for the Monterey Customs House, the oldest building in the city. An expanded version of the *Artichoke Industry* mural, *The Artichoke Pickers* [fig. 126] pictures a large field with many workers filling their shoulder-hung bags with artichokes that have just been knifed from the plant. This mural is a more complete scene than its Santa Cruz counterpart, with its inclusion of farmhouses and outbuildings that are all enveloped by a background by California hills. Shore was able to handle the problem of a lengthy horizontal space with the use of this single theme and, in fact, played to it with vertical cuts of crop rows that, in effect, shortened its appearance of length. This mural was removed from the Customs House and is now in the collection of the California Department of Parks and Recreation.

The years of the Great Depression were especially hard for Shore. Though she received an allowance she was physically separated from her brothers, who now approached old age. Also, in the last years of the 1930s her relationships with her friends changed. Shore was no longer mentioned in Mabel Alvarez's diaries, as the two probably no longer crossed paths. The last record Weston makes of Shore in his Daybook is in 1934. Weston moved to

Santa Monica in 1935 and married Charis Wilson in 1938. Wilson writes in the biography of her husband that Shore invited the married couple to visit them: "Another friend of Edward's, painter Henrietta Shore, often invited us to dinner in her tiny Carmel cottage" observing that "Henry was a very large woman who spoke in a distinctive combination of childish affectation and precise eloquence."³⁸ Though they continued in their mutual admiration--as late as 1949 Weston was writing on Shore's behalf--Weston's move as well as his marriage resulted in a lapse in the Weston/Shore friendship. Lynton Kistler and Merle Armitage, while attempting to sell and promote Shore's work, had little success in the second half of the decade and their relationship with Shore was primarily business oriented. Shore's emotional stresses were added to by her destitution, now that her family allowance was reduced. She was forced at one time to supplement the income from the TRAP commission by the reluctant sale of some Weston photographs she had.

In April 1936 Shore and fellow Carmel artist Paul Whitman were praised for their work in an article in the *Carmel Pine Cone* that announced an exhibition of drawings to be exhibited at the Public Works of Art headquarters in San Francisco before being

³⁸ Charis Wilson, *Through Another Lens: My Years with Edward Weston* (New York: Lippincott, 1998), p. 55.

sent to Washington, D.C.³⁹ That year also, Charlot and Kistler presented an exhibition of prints at the Santa Barbara Library that included works by Shore. A similar show of prints, an exhibition that included Shore's *Water Lily*, was presented by the Weyhe Galleries in New York that May.

An exhibition of Shore's four murals for the Santa Cruz Post Office was presented in April 1937 just before their installation in Margaret Lial's gallery in Monterey, a new venue for Shore. Writing for the *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, Janie Otto found that "the murals represented show Miss Shore to be happily compatible with her medium."⁴⁰ Otto commented on Shore's use of brilliant color and good sense of scale, finding overall that the paintings were acceptable and accessible. Other earlier work was hung in the gallery's smaller rooms, and Otto encouraged her readership not to miss seeing the work of "a serious artist with something of lasting significance to say."

Throughout the 1930s Shore found the support of other artists at the Carmel Art Association. A pioneering member of the organization, which had been founded in 1927, Shore probably taught as well as exhibited there. During the Depression years, the Carmel Art Association continued to organize shows, often

³⁹ "Carmel Artists Praised in State PWA Exhibition," *Carmel Pine Cone* (April 6, 1936).

⁴⁰ Janie Otto, "Shore Murals Are Exhibited in Lial Studio," *Monterey Peninsula Herald* (April 10, 1937).

traveling them to Santa Cruz and Oakland.⁴¹ Although no exhibition lists exist for these shows, it is likely that Shore was represented.

No doubt 1938 was a disappointing year for Shore, who continued to suffer financially. There is no evidence of any sales, and she was not represented in any exhibitions. But 1939 brought a New York exhibition and again her name was in the news. That March the *Carmel Pine Cone* announced "Henrietta Shore Exhibit on in N.Y. Gallery." The Georgette Passedoit Gallery exhibited nineteen paintings and offered "a private showing of a number of pencil drawings, colored crayon drawings and lithographs."⁴² This exhibition, described in the article as "unexpected [and organized] through no effort of her own is a complimentary showing," may have come about through the efforts of Jean Charlot, who visited the exhibition and in a letter to Shore shared his pleasure in seeing the show. "I enjoyed the photographs of the murals and seeing the drawings again (there are three drawings shown, the horse and two framed ones.)" In a postscript Charlot concluded, "Ozenfant (the Parisian painter and critic) said he

⁴¹ Betty Hoag McGlynn, *A History of the Carmel Art Association* (Carmel-by-the-Sea: Carmel Art Association), 1987.

⁴² "Henrietta Shore Exhibit on in N.Y. Gallery," *Carmel Pine Cone* (March 1939).

liked your show and he is a very choosy man."⁴³ Charlot also exhibited in New York that season. His paintings of Mexico were on view at the John Levy Galleries in March.⁴⁴ Most important for Shore, however, was the publication of Charlot's book, *Art from the Mayans to Disney by Jean Charlot*, published by Sheed and Ward, New York, which included an essay on Shore's art. A coincident exhibition of her art with the book publication was mutually beneficial for Charlot and Shore.

It is difficult to identify the inspiration behind a nonattributed *Carmel Pine Cone* article that appeared in the summer of 1939. "Henrietta Shore, Born in Canada, Is Hard Worker" is an uncritical account of Shore's background that centers on her studies and successes. The article fails to describe Shore's painting style but discusses her attitude to work, concluding that Shore is "first rate" as a result of her "native ability and by devotion to grueling work."⁴⁵ Most likely the article was a promotional tool that Shore convinced a kindly reporter to write

⁴³ Jean Charlot to Henrietta Shore, undated, on the occasion of the Passadoit Gallery exhibition, collection of Andrée Dell, Toronto.

⁴⁴ See "Paintings by Charlot of Mexico Exhibited," *The Art Digest* (March 1, 1936), p. 17. The John Levy Gallery was located at the corner of Fifth Avenue and East 57th Street. Norman Hirschl, a founder of the Hirschl & Adler Galleries was manager there from 1941-1952.

⁴⁵ "Henrietta Shore, Born in Canada, Is Hard Worker," *Carmel Pine Cone* (August 25, 1939), p. 4.

with the aim of not only generating art sales but also recruiting adult students.

The efforts of 1939 brought results in a big pay-off in the next year. In 1940 Shore was invited to participate in the Whitney Museum's Annual Exhibition of Contemporary Painting. The catalogue that accompanied the exhibition provided only a checklist and an index of the artists' addresses. No essay exists to explain the choice of artists or art in this show, which consisted of 164 works--one painting per artist. The checklist suggests that all styles of painting were included, from abstraction to American Scene painting to Surrealism. Among the artists included were Thomas Hart Benton, Isabel Bishop, Federico Castellon, Stuart Davis, Arshile Gorky, Edward Hopper, Charles Sheeler, and Max Weber. There can be no doubt that Shore was thrilled to be included in this exciting and affirming exhibition organized by Lloyd Goodrich. Represented by the dramatic *Floripondios* of 1927, probably at the suggestion of gallery owner, Georgette Passedoit, Shore probably felt, for one the few times in that decade, that she was finally receiving recognition for her work. This positive boost to her self-esteem had been preceded earlier that year with a letter from Ferdinand Perret announcing her inclusion in a publication about California artists. Perret was a Los Angeles historian who compiled scrapbooks of clippings and notes that he intended but failed to publish in a two-volume book under the

title "California Artists of the First 150 Years." That year's New York acknowledgment following on the news of California's appreciation made the passage to her sixtieth birthday somewhat easier.

In 1941 Shore most likely traveled to Los Angeles several times for family reasons. That August, Shore's sister-in-law Eva died. On November 15, her loyal brother, Egerton, aged seventy, also died. Egerton was survived by his wife Virginia and his daughter Kathryn. The allowance that Egerton had supplied his sister was then continued by others in the family and into the next generation throughout Shore's remaining years.

As she aged, Shore increasingly depended on her earlier works to exhibit when the opportunity arose. She was included in an exhibition of drawings at the Passedoit Gallery in 1943 that garnered a review in the *New York Herald Tribune*. "Although there are one or two Americans included, the show of drawings just opened by the Passedoit Gallery is mainly devoted to French artists. One could regard the work as contemporary, in general, even though there are some drawings that date back to 1914. The most painstaking of these artists is Henrietta Shore in her Dürer-like plant study *Escheviria*."⁴⁶ In 1946 a retrospective of Shore's work mounted by the Carmel Art Association did include some

⁴⁶ "French Drawings," *New York Herald Tribune* (September 19, 1943), artists file, New York Public Library.

paintings that reflect Shore's later years. *White Horse and Goat*, (c. 1935, Private collection), was illustrated in the *Monterey Herald* announcement of the show. It shares some qualities with a similar painting, *Point Sur Lighthouse* (1935-1940, Steven Turner Gallery, Los Angeles) [fig. 127] painted about the same time. Both works take horses as their principal subjects, though *Point Sur Lighthouse* situates the small-scale animals among the large, overpowering hills of Point Sur. Unlike that painting, *White Horse and Goat* focuses on the animals, and the background remains undifferentiated and abstract in form. Though some stylistic components, namely line and color, remain strong, animal characterization in *White Horse and Goat* is poor and the horse, especially, approaches caricature. The horses in *Point Sur Lighthouse* are more naturalistically depicted. Both find a precedent in a 1925 drawing of a horse, powerful yet more decorative than realistic. A more successful animal painting from that period is *My Cat*, (c. 1935, Collection Robert Simpson, Laguna Beach, California) [fig. 128] which combines a naturalistically described animal with a hypernatural background of immense, fleshy cactus stems that are topped by nipplelike buds the size of the cat's paw. Richly colored and sublimely filling the gap between real and unreal, *My Cat* proves that Shore's skills were strong as she entered the 1940s.

The events of World War II go mostly undocumented in Shore's art. One drawing, however, describes not only the call to war but comments on a labor issue significant in 1941. *War, Coal Strike Ends* (1943, Penny Perlmutter, San Francisco) [fig. 129] documents the nationwide coal miner's strike that was ended by the United States' entry into the war. At that time, the AFL-CIO gave a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war that was disregarded by John. L. Lewis, leader of the union, in 1943. Shore's drawing presents a group of seven miners placed in front of a waving American flag. They realize, in their looks to the flag and preparedness to work, their patriotic duty.

In the 1940s, perhaps because of the uncertainties generated by world war, Shore chose religious subjects as a field for investigation. This new, but brief, exploration of new subject matter proved her continuing intellectual vigor even if the sentimentality of the subject worked against her still strong compositional style. Twenty years earlier while in Mexico, Shore had painted scenes that documented the religious life of the Mexican people, such as *Santos Figures in the Desert* (Dell Collection) [fig. 130] or had documented their celebrations as *El Nacimiento* (de Saisset Museum, Santa Clara University). The new work of the 1940s to 1950s, such as *Christ Calming the Water* (Dell Collection) [fig. 131] is neither genre nor documentary. These paintings attempted to provide visual truth to popularly accepted

mythology. The abstracted and simply shaped waves of the sea reveal Shore's skills, especially in the contour line and the dramatic use of white and dark contrasts seen between the Christ figure and the landscape. Shore's colors are successfully dramatic. But the inclusion of a softly painted, impressionistic sky and some loosely figured apostles counters the success of her hard-edged approach. The Christ figure moves his torso well as he prays above the waters, but his hands lack credibility just when they demand the most attention. Perhaps the one significant failure in this work is the expressive quality of Christ's face. Shore may have aimed for qualities of peace and assurance; at the most, however, she succeeded in demonstrating quietude, though the general feeling is exaggerated piety, and that accounts for the painting's ineffectiveness. This painting was used to illustrate Irene Alexander's article "Religious Art Varied and Tasteful," which appeared in the *Monterey Peninsula Herald* in 1958.

While Shore had, for most of her life, chosen art as a vehicle for exploring and explaining the spiritual, it appears that in her old age she sought religious fellowship. Late in the 1940s she began to attend meetings of Christian Scientists, whose hall on Lincoln Street was just a couple blocks down Seventh Avenue from Shore's home. Renewing an interest in Christian Science that had originated in her youth, Shore made new friends who became a support to her as she aged. She may have desired such

fellowship in younger years but avoided the church because of its censure of homosexuality. In these years of advancing age--she was nearing seventy--and solitary living, Shore was more comfortable in approaching the church.

About the only venue Shore had for her art during the late 1940s was the Carmel Art Association, which provided her with one-person exhibitions in 1947 and 1949. The 1947 exhibition was accompanied by an article Shore wrote and published in the *Carmel Pine Cone*. Revealing more about her character than her art, Shore introduced her essay with the subtitle: "Slap Dash Times Call for Pains in Art." She wrote, "So much nonsense has been written, talked and taught about art, one hesitates to add to that which already has been said. As a painter, I write only about drawing and painting. Thoroughness in art and in thought and life, of which it is a reflection, is the need of our slap-dash times. More attention to basic principles is the need of modern art."

Detailing her modernist philosophy, Shore argued that "the genuine modernist is not dependent upon the mode of the moment; neither is he compelled to adhere to the old method. One may be contemporaneous without wisdom or intelligence. It is to the artist of integrity of vision that we look for progress and development." She ended with the Goethe quote she had used since the early 1920s, "There is no past we need to long to return to. There is only the eternally new which is formed out of the

enlarged elements of the past, and our genuine longing must always be for a newer, better creation."⁴⁷ At age sixty-seven, Shore continued to voice her support for modernism and for independence and freedom of expression.

In 1948 a Shore lithograph was included in an exhibition of prints in its collection at the Cleveland Museum of Art. The next year, the Carmel Art Association again showed Shore's work. Irene Alexander, writing for the *Carmel Pine Cone* in 1949, commented on the variety of styles and subjects represented in the retrospective and listed many of the works. Alexander's recording of painting titles sadly indicates the inventory of works that Shore had failed to sell throughout her career. This collection included beautiful, strong paintings that should have brought her income and fame. An insight to that lack of financial success came from her landlord at the Sundial Court apartments at Monte Verde and Seventh. Apparently Shore was so emotionally tied to her works that she couldn't part with them, thus prohibiting sales to those who wanted to buy her work. The landlord, however, recognized that the paintings were valuable, and he did once accept a painting in lieu of money for rent.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "Toughness as Basic Principle," *Carmel Pine Cone* (October 31, 1947), p. 15.

⁴⁸ Interview with Lani Fremier, September 23, 1998. Fremier's father was the builder of the Sundial Court apartments, and he often related this story to his family. The painting of a single flower is no longer in the family's collection, having been donated to a museum. Fremier has

Shore's financial situation apparently improved in the 1950s, most likely because the recovering economy allowed family members to increase the amount of allowance they sent her. An indication of her new economic standing appears in the Shore listing in the Monterey City directory of 1956. Now moved from the Sundial Court apartment, Shore provides two addresses, a home address on Mission Street and a separate studio address on Tenth Avenue. The benefit of a separate studio was the ease it provided in taking students. There is evidence that Shore, then in her mid-seventies, was teaching again. A clipping about the Canadian Art Documentary Film series being shown at the San Francisco Palace of the Legion of Honor in 1951 identified Shore as a well-known painter who "had resumed teaching."⁴⁹ A 1952 article in the magazine *Game and Gossip* noted that "Miss Shore's life [was] very full what with teaching three times a week together with her own painting and writing her autobiography which she feels will never be finished."⁵⁰ Shore must have been fully occupied with teaching and painting, for sadly no autobiography exists today.

Shore experienced the aches and fatigues of old age. In a letter to the widower of her sister Catherine, Shore wrote, "I've

no knowledge of the painting's title, or of the museum to which it was donated.

⁴⁹ "Henrietta Shore," *Ottawa Evening Citizen* (February 17, 1951).

⁵⁰ Rose Miele, "Henrietta Shore," *Game and Gossip* (March 1952), p. 14-15.

been ill and greatly discouraged," and indicated that she had trouble with her teeth.⁵¹ Yet she remained well enough to live independently throughout the 1950s. By the time she turned eighty in 1960, however, Shore was exhibiting signs of senility. A retrospective of her work in Monterey's Hidden Village Art Galleries in 1961 failed to elicit commentary from her, which had so regularly been reported in the Carmel newspaper on previous occasions of Shore's exhibitions. The first retrospective in several years, this exhibition was accompanied by a small brochure with an introduction by Jehanne Salinger Carlson who wrote: "It has been years since Henriette [sic] Shore was interested in showing her work and it is a privilege to present this retrospective exhibition. Because each moment with her is lived to the fullest and on the highest plane of dignity and meditation, her work has a quality of timelessness and has already entered the realm of history where artificers automatically fade away and artists of her caliber take on greater stature."⁵² The eulogistic quality of Salinger Carlson's piece foreshadowed Shore's quick mental and physical descent. By October 1962 Henrietta was hospitalized for chronic senility. Her last months at home had

⁵¹ Henrietta Shore to Harry Hollindrake, 1947, collection of Andrée Dell, Toronto.

⁵² Jehanne Salinger Carlson, "Henriette Shore," exh. brochure (Monterey, California: Hidden Village Art Galleries, November 15-December 13, 1961), n.p.

proved increasingly dangerous for her, though her friends from the Christian Science Church would stop in on occasion to help her with her daily activities.⁵³ Institutionalized at Agnews State Hospital in San Jose [fig. 132] in the fall of 1962, Shore succumbed to pneumonia nine months later and died on May 17, 1963, at age eighty-three. Two nephews, Wendell Shore and Col. Osborne Hollindrake, helped with final arrangements that included her cremation at Skylawn Memorial Gardens on May 22.

A substantial obituary in the *Monterey Times* highlighted Shore's accomplishments, identifying her work as a founder of art societies, her prizes, her one-person exhibitions, and her presence in key collections. The *Carmel Pine Cone* provided a more complete sense of the person. Written by Irene Alexander, a longtime supporter of Shore's, the article describes the retrospective organized by the Carmel Art Association in July 1963 as a memorial exhibition. Alexander revealed her understanding of Shore's situation in that art colony: "Henrietta Shore died May 17 this year, after living for more than 30 years in Carmel. One of the saddest thoughts provoked by her death is the realization of how few among the many here who profess their love for art

⁵³ Members of the Shore family suggest that the Christian Scientists were responsible for putting Shore in the institution. That Shore's home and studio were open to the Christian Scientist members as Shore came to depend on them and that some church members helped themselves to Shore's artwork. This may explain the loss or unlocated status of so many Shore works. Conversation with Andrée Dell, Toronto, October 1996.

appreciated her great gifts."⁵⁴ Fame was fleeting during Shore's lifetime and anonymity was close upon her heels at her death. It would take two decades, a developing interest in women's art, and a new attention to California art history to bring Henrietta Shore to the public's attention again.

⁵⁴ Irene Alexander, "Memorial Shore Exhibition," *Carmel Pine Cone* (July 10, 1963).

Chapter 9 Conclusion Henrietta Shore: American Modernist

Beginning in the 1980s the work of Henrietta Shore came under scrutiny as the interest in California art of the twentieth century gathered momentum. And though museums, galleries, and collectors began to acquire and exhibit her works, the Shore oeuvre lacked scholarship and the need for an investigation of the art and artist was recognized. This study required a two-pronged approach because Shore's work needed to be read through the double perspective of twentieth century modernism and the articulation of feminist self-consciousness.

In an effort to characterize what was modern about modern art in California, Richard Cándida Smith wrote that "the common definition of modernism that focuses on the fine arts simply gathers together all the new art, music, architecture, and literature of the first half of the twentieth century."¹ Not content however, with this messy assemblage, Smith advocated instead the view promulgated by Daniel Joseph Singal, who argued that modernism was a "set of cultural values that expressed people's admiration for the 'vitality and inventiveness of technological process while decrying the dehumanization it appears

¹ Richard Cándida Smith, "The Elusive Quest of the Moderns," *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950*, ed. Paul J. Karlstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 22.

to bring in its wake."² Though Singal was describing the Hollywood motion picture industry as quintessentially modernist, Smith integrated Singal's approach with the more traditional aesthetic approach. Smith's integration identifies several key elements of modernist visual art: a response to scientific questions, a curiosity about universal truths, and a passion to examine and test the seen and unseen world. This integrated approach describes Henrietta Shore's progress toward modernism as it posits Shore as very much a product of her time. It falls short, however, of providing recognition of Shore as a precursor of art styles yet to come. Shore the artist was both, a woman in accord with the philosophical milieu of the period who paved the way for progressive styles yet to come.

Shore's aesthetic language depended on the use of strong line and bold color. Her subjects were abstracted from nature and her reductive imagery was stylistically related to the earth forms of Georgia O'Keeffe and Canadian Lawren Harris. Her innovative idiom contributed significantly to the development of modernism in California. Additionally, Shore's strong linear approach forecast the hard-edged style of Precisionism, one of America's avant-garde movements to follow in the next decade.

Shore understood the value of peer support and put her professional skills to use in organizing arts groups and

² Ibid., p. 21.

exhibition venues. In Los Angeles she co-founded the Modern Art Society and the Progressive Artists Group. In New York she was co-founder of the Society of Women Artists advancing both the causes of modernism and women's art.

Shore was fortunate in finding a companion who shared her artistic ambitions and lesbian orientation in Helena Dunlap, another progressive painter. Yet Shore's battle for acceptance as a lesbian was a private one. Social attitudes were not sympathetic and she feared social censure and the subsequent dismissal of her art with any overt declarations. As a result, she fashioned a self-representation and an exploration of her sexuality in her art. This self-conscious examination parallels developments in early twentieth century investigations of sexuality such as Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (six books published between 1897 and 1910). It reflects Margaret Sanger's efforts in establishing women's rights to control their bodies in the spheres of health and sexuality. It also corresponds to new thought about the construction of lesbian identity entering American public consciousness in the early decades of the twentieth century. It was, most significantly, a precursor of the work of artists of later generations such as Judy Chicago in the 1970s and Sue Williams in the 1990s. Shore's acceptance of the nude as a legitimate genre for women artists, particularly her use

of the nude self-portrait, prefigured the sexual and erotic themes that characterized feminist art of the 1960s and 1970s.

Gender preference and orientation most likely affected Shore's views on patronage. By the 1920s, Carroll-Smith Rosenberg, writes, charges of lesbianism had become a common way to discredit women professionals, reformers, and educators.³ The silence Shore and Dunlap kept about their companionship may have been costly emotionally but seen as understandable in terms of advancing their careers.

Additionally, Shore was, perhaps, too devoted to her artwork as she was resistant to parting with her paintings. Her favorable reviews, international exhibitions, and nationwide reputation during the 1910s and 1920s should have resulted in a large market for her works. Collectors would have been helpful in elevating her status and encouraging others to buy. Evidence is, however, that much of all Shore painted continued as inventory in her studio. In the end, it may have been her location away from New York that contributed to her very small market.

Though a respected figure among her artist friends, Shore was considered by her social peers to be outspoken, self-righteous, and unyielding. An independent and solitary character, Shore was

³ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 281.

an eccentric but compelling personality who attracted people because of her convictions but who failed to develop long-term friendships because of her obstinate assertion that her beliefs were all-important. She welcomed publicity and had some success with the local media. But her public persona failed to excite the public. Sarah Burns has identified that in addition to being a producer of aesthetic commodity, the modern artist had to become a commodity as well--a consumable personality.⁴ Shore failed to appreciate this unavoidable fact of life.

During her lifetime Shore contributed to the support of other artists both individually and collectively. Her most significant influence was on the artistry of Edward Weston who readily acknowledged her impact on all his work. Weston disseminated the modernist ideal that Shore transmitted to California.

As a result of her travels in Mexico, where political radicals deemed prints appropriate for bringing art to the masses, Shore experimented with lithography. In 1928, at the fore of the print renaissance that had begun in New York just a decade earlier and that only gained wider popularity with WPA efforts in the 1930s, Shore worked with printer Lynton Kistler. She became an early contributor to the American print renaissance of the twentieth century.

⁴ Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1996), p. 5.

Shore's contemporary critics were generally on target when describing and interpreting her works. A critic for *California Art and Architecture* identified succinctly her best works as being "clean-cut, beautifully organized, and well-painted." He recognized that Shore was "a good example of the modern artist who is well grounded in painting technique and who, consequently, can do abstract subjects or naturalistic work equally well."⁵ Shore had the advantage of the support of impresario Merle Armitage, who designed the book about her art published by Erhard Wehje. "Henrietta Shore's work is essentially feminine and primarily sensuous," Armitage wrote in *Accent on America*. "In oils, pencil drawing or lithography, her technique is meticulous. She uses a polished careful treatment to express luscious, opulent forms." He found that Shore had "created a very personal world. Ambiguous, sensuous though austere, full of controlled desire."⁶ Armitage identified correctly, though indirectly, Shore's artistic contribution of sexual expression.

Shore's oeuvre can be newly assessed. An overview of the available works produced over fifty years reveals that the artist made three significant stylistic shifts during her career. From the Impressionist style informed by Shore's first teacher, Laura

⁵ Edwyn A. Hunt, "Henrietta Shore, Artist," *California Arts and Architecture* (March 1939), p. 26.

⁶ Merle Armitage, *Accent on America* (New York: E. Wehje, 1944), p. 305.

Lyall, Shore moved in the early 1900s toward realistic portraits in the style of her mentor, Robert Henri. An emotional and intellectual awakening instigated by Shore's awareness of Bergson and Kandinsky coincided with her identification with Stieglitz circle artists resulting in a remarkable shift toward abstraction in the 1920s. At that time Shore began to use abstract language to fashion a visual representation of female sexuality. She subsequently forged and diffused a summation of these aesthetic ideas in figurative and quasi-abstract works such as *Eroded Rocks* [fig. 133] and *Cypress Trees, Point Lobos* [fig. 118]. The most successfully rendered painting of Shore's late years was *Gloxinia by the Sea* (1935-40, collection of Robert Simpson, Long Beach, California) [fig. 134]. It offers the best of Shore's style: strong geometric structure balanced by the gentler and looser shapes of natural forms; keen, sharply observed color with close modulations of hue; technical sureness witnessed by the lack of brushstroke and erasure of the artist's hand; a common subject in a poetic (to some eyes, visionary) presentation; and a provocative rendering that elicits emotive readings that are often meditative or spiritual in origin. Now in a private collection, this notable painting, along with other remarkable paintings, was never sold during Shore's lifetime. At the memorial exhibition organized by the Carmel Art Association, its value was surprisingly judged to

be less than that accorded for the Henri-like *Boy with Blue Ball* (\$450 verses \$1,000). Among the fourteen works in that show, only one, the portrait of Jean Charlot, was sold. Shore outlived the period of popularity for her work. Between the peak of her career, about 1923-33, to the time of her death in 1963 the art world had experienced the dominance and recession of Surrealism, Social Realism, Geometric Abstraction, and Abstract Expressionism; the birth of Conceptual Art and Minimalism was at hand. Not until the 1980s and 1990s did Shore's work once again attract notice.

Critics and scholars are recognizing Shore's contributions in furthering modern art. Bram Dijkstra observed "The precisionist tendency dominant in the American visual aesthetic of the twenties had actually arrived quite early in Los Angeles in the work of Henrietta Shore."⁷ Susan Landauer has written, "Although she denied belonging to any of modern art's 'isms,' Shore became affiliated with numerous avant-garde groups and developed a reputation as one of California's most progressive modernists."⁸ And California art specialist Nancy Dustin Wall Moure referred to

⁷ Bram Dijkstra, "Early Modernism in Southern California," *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950*, ed. Paul J. Karlstrom (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 169.

⁸ Susan Landauer, "Searching for Selfhood," *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945*, ed. Patricia Trenton (Berkeley: University of California Press in association with the Autry Museum of Western Heritage, 1995), p. 27.

Shore as a "pioneer."⁹ But Shore's contribution in creating a vocabulary of female sexuality has gone unrecognized until this study. As Laura Cottingham has described in her attempt to construct a lesbian history, the historian confronts "silence, erasure, misrepresentation and prejudice...formidable obstacles" to research."¹⁰ The lack of documentary evidence has kept viewers ignorant of what Shore was consciously and obviously enunciating in her paintings. Failure to acknowledge Shore's lesbianism would have been not to understand fully her art or subjects. Such lack of acknowledgement, as Cottingham has described, functions to deny lesbians access to the art canon. Recognition of Shore's use of lesbian sexual imagery and its cultural correspondences opens the door for further examination. Further research identifying how changing women's art of the early decades of the twentieth century tied to a wider cognizance of encoded imagery along with analysis of the social context in which the imagery is produced, will, no doubt, lead to the recovery of more women artists.

Appreciation of Shore's work was limited, moreover, because she spend most of her career outside of a major art center and on the fringe of the art world. Out of the mainstream and without promotional resources, Shore soon lost the critical and popular

⁹ Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, *California Art: 450 Years of Painting and Other Media* (Los Angeles: Dustin Publications, 1998), p. 178.

¹⁰ Laura Cottingham "Notes on lesbian," *Art Journal* (Winter 1996), p. 72.

recognition necessary for great success. Yet if her achievement were to be measured in her painterly convictions, production, and contribution, the result would be positive. Her career demonstrates how women artists negotiated their ways into the American modernist discourse and contributed their own voices to its direction. The recovery of Shore's art provides women further access to their cultural history.

Appendix

Exhibition History

The chronology of Henrietta Shore's exhibition history is based on exhibition brochures, institutional records, press clippings, and articles from other sources.

Frequently cited sources:

- M = McMann, Evelyn de Rostaing. *Royal Academy of Canadian Arts, Exhibitions and Members 1880-1979*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- R = Record cards listing the exhibition history at the Los Angeles County Museum. The California Art Club presented its exhibitions at the Museum of History, Science and Art. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art began as part of that institution and separated its collection in 1965.

1907

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual, Art Gallery of Toronto (M).

1908

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual, Art Gallery of Toronto (M).

Ontario Society of Artists, Toronto (Irene Alexander, "Henrietta Shore in One-Man Show," *Monterey Herald* (October 10, 1946), p. 17).

1909

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual, Art Gallery of Toronto (M).

1910

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual, Art Gallery of Toronto (M).

Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, England, July 4-23 ("Exhibition of Canadian Art, Under the Auspices of the Royal Canadian Academy," exh. cat. (Liverpool, England: Walker Art Gallery, July 4-23, 1910), p. 14.).

1911

Royal Canadian Academy of Arts Annual, Art Gallery of Toronto (M).

Ontario Society of Artists (illustrations in exh. cat. handwritten "1911," original in Dell archive, Toronto).

1914

"American and European Artists", Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, November (R).

California Art Club Fifth Annual, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, October 7-31 (R).

"Paintings by Henrietta Shore," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, December 15-30 (R) (cited also in *Who's Who in California, 1942-43*, edited by Russell Holmes Fletcher (Los Angeles, 1943), p. 832).

1915

Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Diego, 1915 ("Southern California Panama Exposition, 1915," in *From Exposition to Exposition: Progressive and Conservative Northern California Painting, 1915-1939*, ed. By Joseph Armstrong Baird, Jr. (Sacramento: Crocker Art Museum, 1981), listing of prize winners, p. 55) (cited also in Karen Beall, *American Prints in the Library of Congress, A Catalog of the Collection* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), p. 446).

"American and European Artists," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, July 1915 (R)

The California Art Club Sixth Annual, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, October 5-31 (R) (also, Everett Carroll Maxwell, "Development of Landscape Painting in California," *Fine Arts Journal* (March 1916), pp. 138-142).

1916

Royal Canadian Academy, Art Gallery of Toronto (M).

"Summer Exhibition of Paintings," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, June 15-September 30 (R).

The California Art Club Seventh Annual, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, October 5-31 (R).

"American and European Artists," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art (R)

San Francisco Art Association Annual Exhibition (Edan Milton Hughes, *Artists in California 1786-1940* (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Company) p.512).

Los Angeles Modern Art Society, Brack Galleries, Los Angeles, December (Mary N. DuBois, "Los Angeles," *American Art News* (December 30, 1916), p. 5) (also cited in Arthur

Vernon, "Modern Art in California," *The Graphic* (February 1, 1917), p. 11).

1917

"Paintings by Henrietta Shore," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, April 1-15 (R).

The California Art Club Spring Exhibition, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, April 5-30 (R).

"Paintings by Henrietta Shore," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, November 15-30 (R) (and list of works from exh. cat.).

San Francisco Art Association Annual Exhibition (Hughes, p. 513).

The Society of Independent Artists, Grand Central Palace, New York, April 10-May 6 (Clark S. Marlor, *The Society of Independent Artists, The Exhibition Record 1917-1944* (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press), p. 498).

1918

The Los Angeles Modern Art Society, Second Exhibition, March 5-30, Brack Galleries, Los Angeles (exh. cat.).

The California Art Club Spring Exhibition, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, April 4-30 (exhibition brochure).

San Francisco Art Association Annual Exhibition, Palace of Fine Arts, March 22-May 22 (exh. cat.).

The California Art Club Ninth Annual Exhibition, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, September 12-October 10 (exh. cat.).

Helena Dunlap and Henrietta Shore—Two Women Show, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art (Paul Karlstrom, *On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 277).

1919

Forty-Third Annual Exhibition of San Francisco Art Association, Palace of Fine Arts, March 21-May 4 (exh. cat.).

The Society of Independent Artists, The Waldorf-Astoria, New York, March 28-April 14 (Marlor, p. 498).

Museum Loan Exhibition of Work by California Group of American Artists, Palace of Fine Arts (exh. cat.).

California Progressive Group, Lafayette Tea Room, Los Angeles (Karlstrom, p. 277).

1920

The Society of Independent Artists, Waldorf-Astoria, March 11-April 1 (Marlor, p. 498).

"Recent Paintings by Henrietta M. Shore," Kraushaar Galleries, New York, May 5-May 22 (exh. cat.).

1921

The Society of Independent Artists, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, February 26-March 24 (Marlor, p. 498).

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Annual Exhibition, Philadelphia (Peter Hastings Falk, ed. *The Annual Exhibition Records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, Vol. III (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1989), p. 424).

1922

The Society of Independent Artists, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, March 11-April 2 (Marlor, p. 498).

The Salons of America, Autumn Salon, Anderson Galleries, New York, October 16-November 4 (Clark S. Marlor, *The Salons of America 1922-1936* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1991), p. 199).

1923

"Henrietta Shore," Ehrich Galleries, New York, February (review in *The Arts* (February, 1923), p. 134).

"An Exhibition of Paintings by Henrietta Shore," Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, March 18-April 15 (exh. cat.)
Minnesota State Fair (*Who's Who in California 1942-43*, p. 832).

The Society of Independent Artists, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, February 24-March 18 (Marlor, *Society*, p. 498).

1924

The Society of Independent Artists, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, March 7-March 30 (Marlor, p. 498).

Art Patrons of America Exhibition, La Galerie de la Chambre Syndicale des Beaux Arts, Paris, Summer 1924 (review in *The Arts* (August 1924), pp. 103-107).

"British Empire Exhibition: Canadian Section of Fine Arts," London, England (exh. cat.).

1925

The Society of Independent Artists, Waldorf Astoria, New York, March 6-March 29 (Marlor, *The Society of Independent Artists*, p. 498). The Salons of America, Anderson

Galleries, New York, April 28-May 16 (Marlor, *Salons of America*, p. 199).

1926

The New York Society of Women Artists, First Exhibition, Anderson Galleries, New York, April (exhibition invitation).

1927

The New York Society of Women Artists, Second Annual Exhibition, Anderson Galleries, New York, March (exhibition announcement).

"Exposition d'Art Canadien, "Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris, April 11-May 11 (exh. cat.).

"Paintings by Henrietta Shore," Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, California, May-June (review by Reginald Poland, "Shore Paintings Given High Tribute by Poland," (Los Angeles Times (June 12), p. 24).

"Paintings by Henrietta Shore, Photographs by Edward Weston," Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, October (American Art Annual, Volume XXV (Washington, D.C.: The American Federation of the Arts), p. 62).

San Francisco Art Association, Palace Legion of Honor (Who's Who in American Art, 1940-1947, p. 424).

1928

"Henrietta Shore," Brick Row Gallery, Hollywood, California, April (review "Exhibitions in LA," *Art News* (April 7) p. 17).

The New York Society of Women Artists Third Annual Exhibition, Anderson Galleries, New York, April 23-May 5 (exhibition announcement).

"Henrietta Shore," California Palace of the Legion of Honor under the auspices of The San Francisco Society of Women Artists and the Legion Palace, June 1-15 (reported in *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 20), p. D7).

Prints by Henrietta Shore, Jake Zeitlin Bookshop and Gallery, Los Angeles, August (reviewed in *Los Angeles Times*, September 2), p. 6).

1929

New York Society of Women Artists Fourth Annual Exhibition, Anderson Galleries, New York, February (reviewed in *The Art Digest* (March 1), p. 9).

California Society of Etchers, Vickery, Atkins and Torrey Gallery, San Francisco, September 15-30 (reviewed in *The Art Digest* (October 1), p. 7).

San Francisco Society of Women Artists Annual Exhibition, Galerie Beaux Arts, November (reviewed in *The Art News* (November 30), p. 27).

1930

San Francisco Art Association Annual Exhibition, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, April-May (reviewed in *The Art Digest* (May), p. 9).

1931

San Francisco Art Association Annual Exhibition, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco (*Who's Who in American Art, 1940-1947*), p. 424).

1932

"Henrietta Shore," Denny-Watrous Gallery, Carmel, California, January (reviewed in *Carmel Pine Cone* (January 22), p. 16).

1933

"Paintings of Henrietta Shore," Denny-Watrous Gallery, Carmel, June (reported in *Carmel Pine Cone* (June 9), p. 10).

"Lithographs: Impressions Printed by Hand From Stone and Zinc by Lynton R. Kistler," Stendahl Galleries, Hollywood, October 9-21 (exh. cat.).

1935

San Diego Exposition, Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, October (reported in *Art* (October), pp. 591-595).

1936

State Public Works of Art Exhibition, San Francisco, April (reported in *Carmel Pine Cone* (April 6), p. 9).

"Lithographs Printed by Lynton Kistler," E. Weyhe Galleries, May 11-May 23 (exh. cat.).

Lithographs Printed by Lynton Kistler, Santa Barbara Library, Santa Barbara, California (Karlstrom, p. 132).

1937

Henrietta Shore Murals and Earlier Work, Margaret Lial Gallery, Monterey, California, April (reviewed in *Monterey Peninsula Herald* (April 10, 1937), p. 42).

1939

Henrietta Shore Paintings and Works on Paper, Georgette Passedoit Gallery, New York, March (announcement in *Carmel Pine Cone* (March 17), p. 10).

1940

"California Art Today," San Francisco World's Fair, Treasure Island/Yerba Buena, May 25-September 29 (list of artists from the official catalog in Edward Korb, *A Biographical Index to California and Western Art*, (1983), p. 186).

"1940-41 Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Painting," Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, November 27, 1940-January 8, 1941 (exh. cat.), #143.

1943

French and American Drawings, Passedoit Gallery, New York, September (reviewed in *Herald Tribune* (September 19), p. 20).

1946

Watercolors by Members of the Carmel Art Association, Grand Central Galleries, New York, October (announcement in *Carmel Pine Cone* (September 18), p. 10).

"Henrietta Shore," George Beardsley Room, Carmel Art Association, October 15-30 (announcement in *Monterey Herald* (October 10), p. 11).

1949

"Henrietta Shore," George Beardsley Room, Carmel Art Association, October 15-November 1 (reviewed in *Carmel Pine Cone* (October 16), p. 10).

1961

"Henriette [sic] Shore," Hidden Village Art Galleries, Monterey, November 15-December 13 (exh. cat.).

Posthumous exhibitions

1963

"Memorial Exhibition of Paintings by Henrietta Shore,"
Carmel Art Association, July 3-August 6 (exh. cat.).

1982

"Monterey: The Artist's View, 1925-1945" Monterey Peninsula
Museum of Art, Monterey, November 6-December 31 (exh.
cat.).

1983

"Fifty Years of California Prints, 1890-1940" The Annex
Galleries, Santa Rosa, California, March 6-April 16 (exh.
cat.).

"A Woman's Vision: California Painting Into the 20th
Century," Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco, November 30,
1983-January 31, 1984 (exh. cat.).

1986

"Henrietta Shore: A Retrospective Exhibition, 1900-1963,"
Monterey Peninsula Museum, traveled to Laguna Museum and de
Saisset Museum, Santa Clara University, 1986-1988 (exh.
cat.)

1990

"Visions of Their Own: Four Monterey Bay Artists of the
Depression Era," Octagon Museum, Santa Cruz County
Historical Trust, June 1990 (exh. cat.).

"Turning the Tide: Early Los Angeles Modernists 1920-1956,"
Santa Barbara Museum, September 1990, traveled to Laguna
Art Museum, The Oakland Museum of Art, Marion Koogler McNay
Art Institute, Springs Desert Museum (exh. cat.).

"A Time and Place: From the Ries Collection of California
Painting," The Oakland Museum of Art, December 1990-March
3, 1991 (exh. cat.).

1992

"Canadian Artists South of the Border," Art Gallery of
Windsor, Windsor, Ontario (exh. cat.)

1993

"South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination, 1914-1947," Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, traveled to Phoenix Art Museum, New Orleans Museum of art, Museo de Monterrey (exh. cat.).

1994

"Origins of Abstraction in Canada: Modernist Pioneers," The Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa, June 30-August 21 (exh. cat.).

1995

"Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945," Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles, traveled to Gilcrease Museum, Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, Brigham Young University Museum (exh. cat.).

1996

"Modernists in (New) Mexico," Whitney Museum of American Art at Champion, Stamford, Connecticut, September 27-December 27 (exh. cat.).

"California Progressives, 1910-1930," Orange County Museum of Art, Newport Beach, California, October 26, 1996-January 12, 1997 (exh. cat.).

1997

"On the Edge of America: California Modernist Art," Jack Rutberg Fine Arts, Los Angeles, end date February 1 (press announcement).

1998

"This Side of Eden: Images of Steinbeck's California," Laguna Art Museum, October 24, 1998-January 3, 1999 (press announcement).

"Through An-Other's Eyes: White Canadian Artists-Black Female Subjects," Robert McLaughlin Gallery, Oshawa, November, traveled to The Leonard and Bina Ellen Art Gallery of Concordia University and Art Gallery of Nova Scotia (press announcement).

1999

"The American Century Art and Culture 1900-2000, Part I, 1900-1950" Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, New York, April 23-August 22 (exh. cat.)

"Opening the Door: Women in Art," Bakersfield Museum of Art, Bakersfield, California, May 19-October, 1999 (press announcement).

2000

"In the Nature of a Gift: Recent Donations," Monterey Museum of Art, April 8-October 22 (press announcement).

"Circles of Influence: Impressionism to Modernism in Southern California Art, 1910-1930," Orange County Museum of Art, June 3-September 3 (exh. cat.).

"Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000," Section 2, Los Angeles County Museum of Modern Art, October 25, 2000-February 25, 2001 (press announcement).

2001

"Focus on the Figure: Southern California Artists 1850-1950," Santa Barbara Museum of Art, August 11-November 11 (press announcement).

2002

"75th Anniversary Historical Exhibition," Carmel Art Association, August 8-September 4 (exh. checklist).

Anticipated exhibitions

2003

"Seeing Art at Work," Fine Arts Gallery, San Francisco State University, opening September 1, 2003 (press announcement).

"The Not-So Still Life: A Century of California Still Life Painting and Sculpture," San Jose Museum of Art, November 22, 2003-February 15, 2004, traveling to Pasadena Museum of California Art (press announcement).

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig.7



Fig.8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

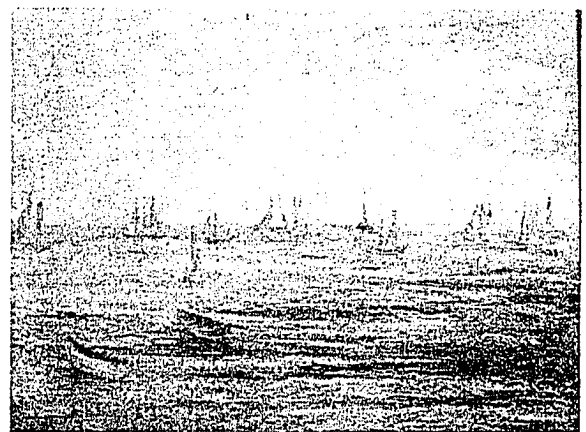


Fig. 15



Fig.16

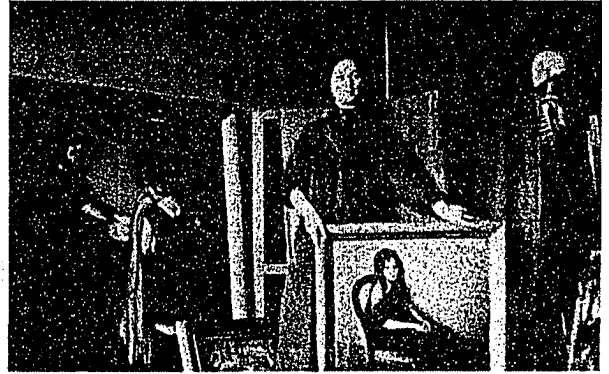


Fig. 17



Fig. 18

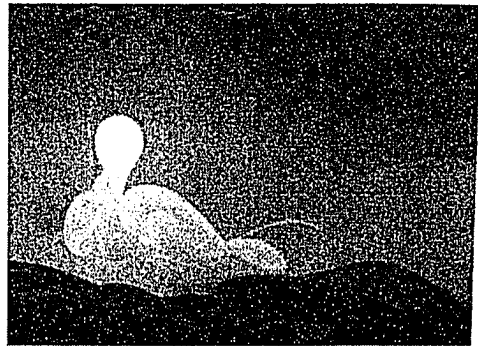


Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27

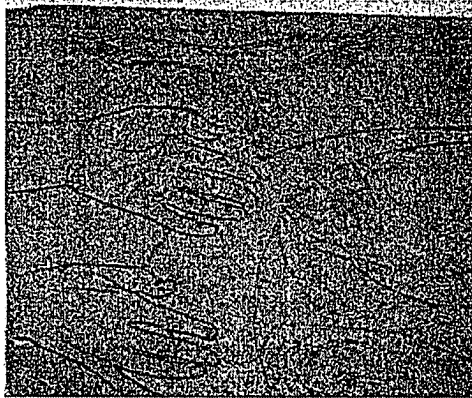


Fig. 28



Fig. 29

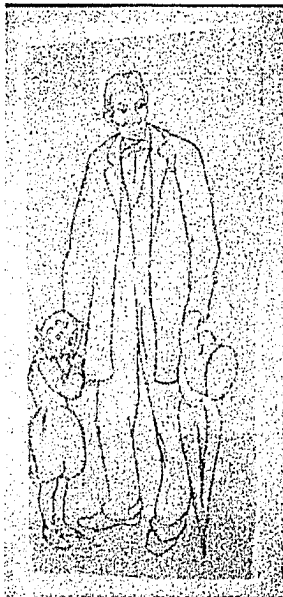


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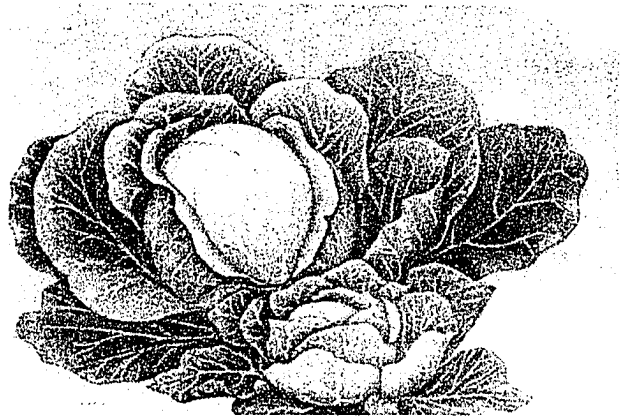


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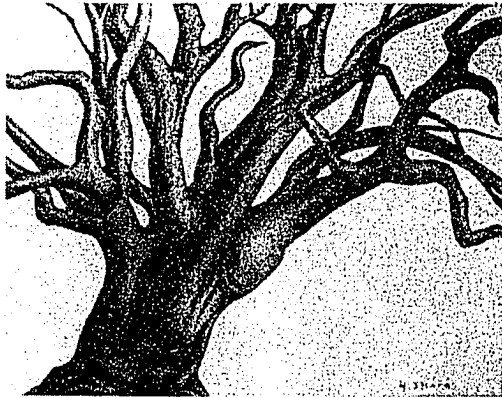


Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49

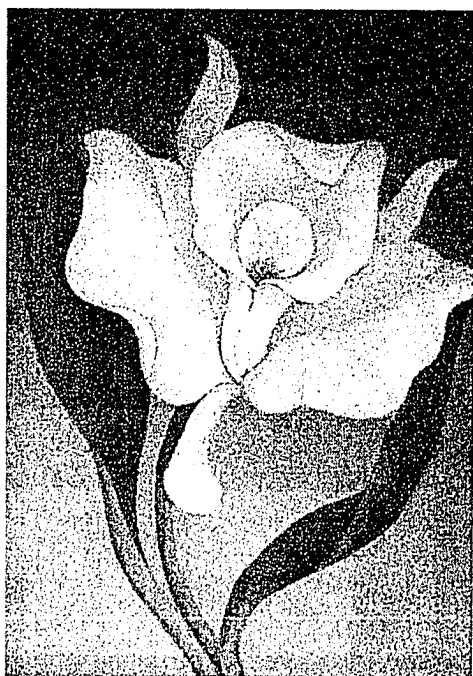


Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53

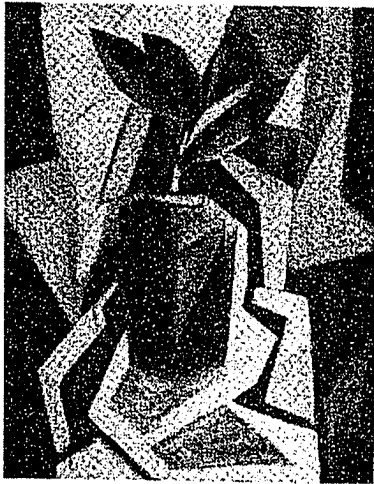


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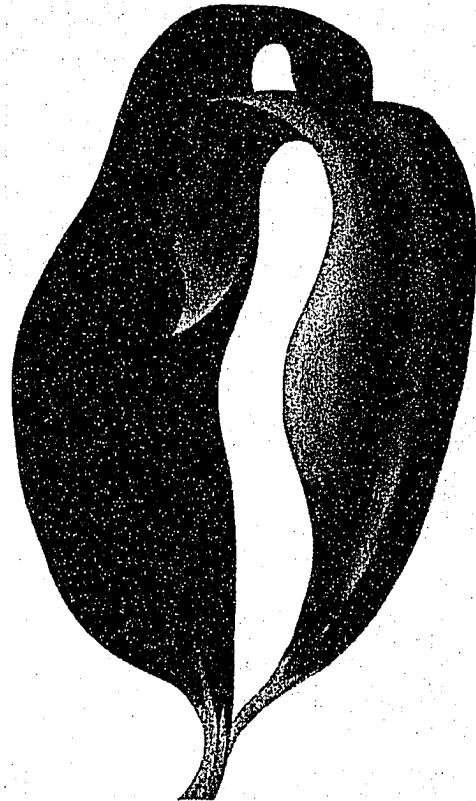


Fig. 55

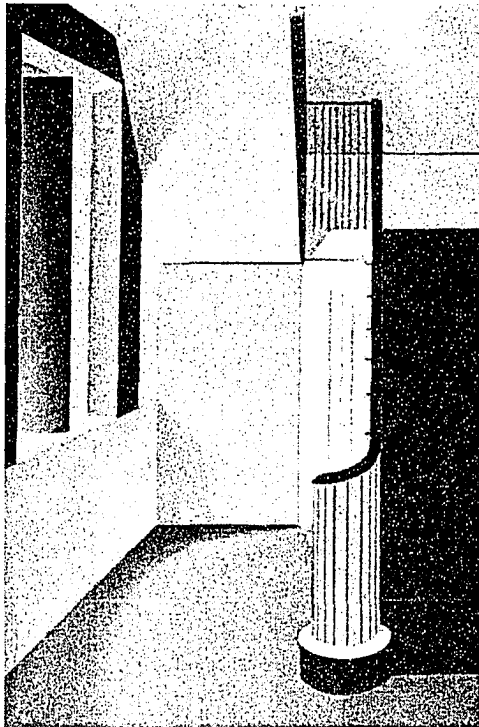


Fig. 56



Fig. 57

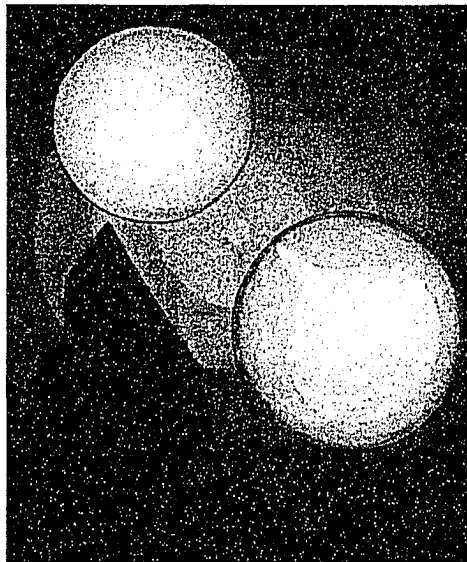


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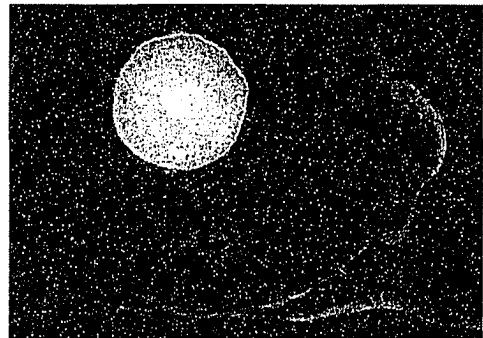


Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61

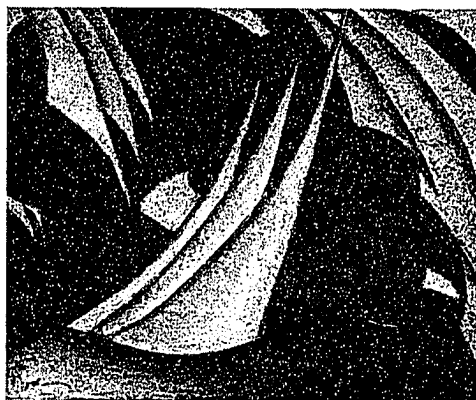


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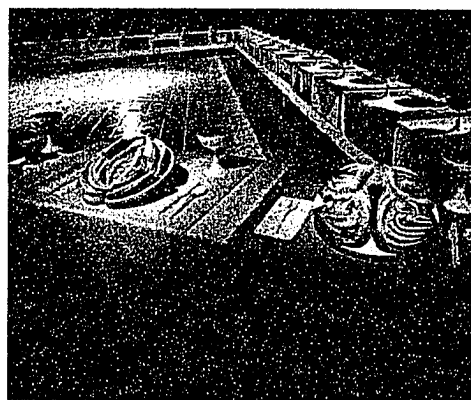


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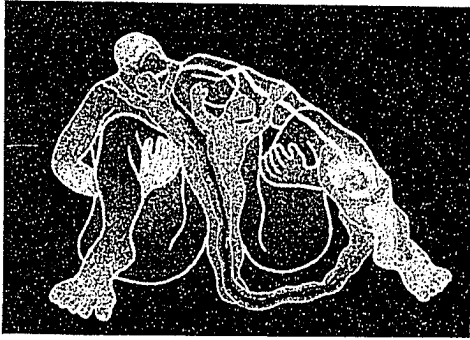


Fig. 64



Fig. 65



Fig. 66

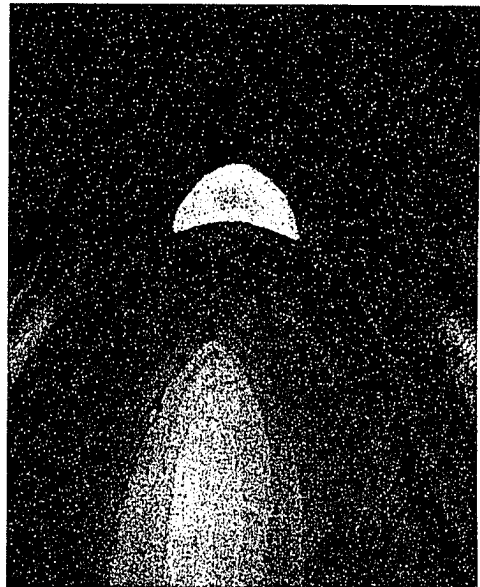


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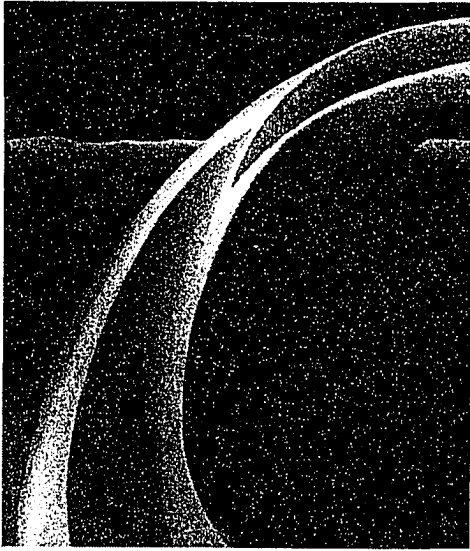


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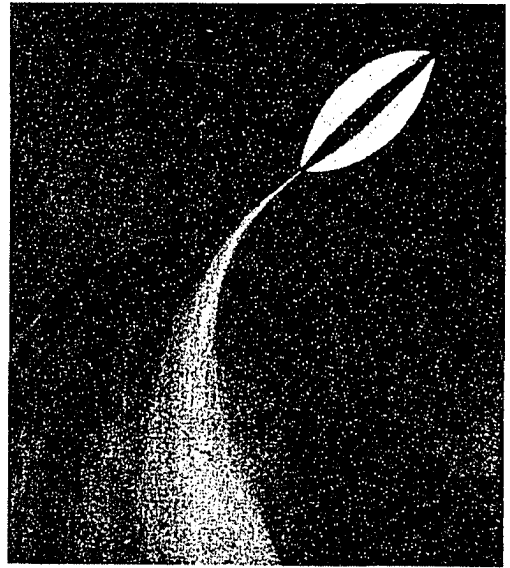


Fig. 69



Fig. 70

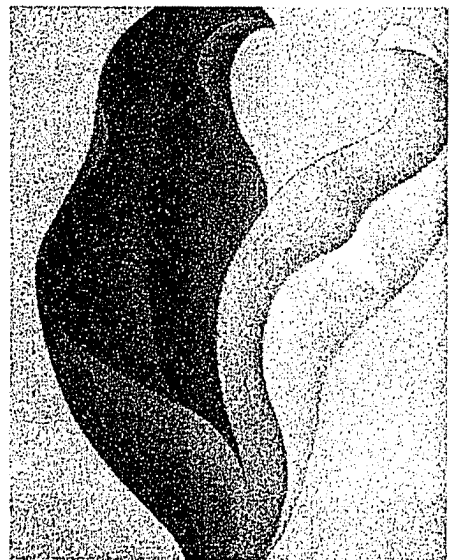


Fig. 71



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Fig. 74



Fig. 75

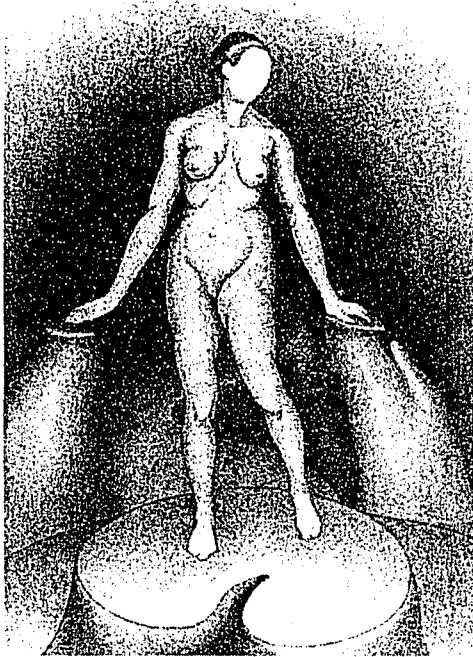


Fig. 76



Fig. 77



Fig. 78

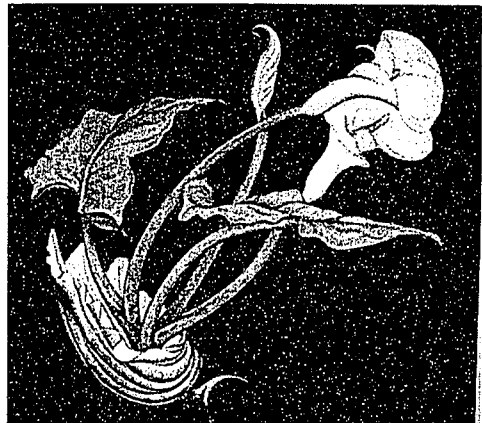


Fig. 79



Fig. 80



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Fig. 82



Fig. 83



Fig. 84



Fig. 85

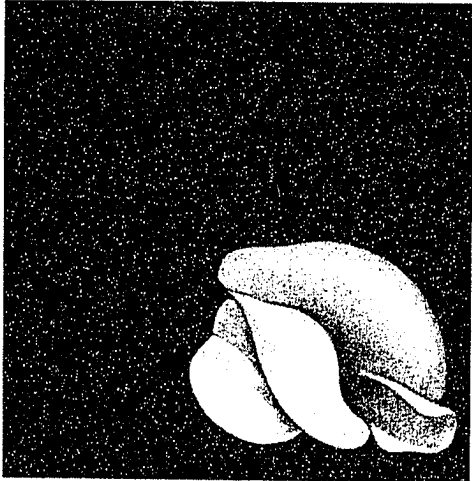


Fig. 86

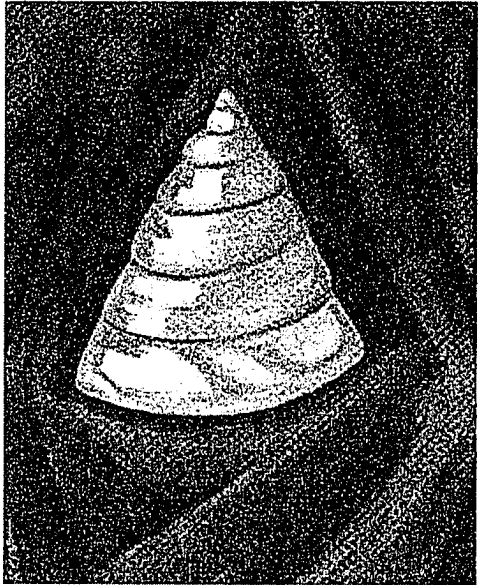


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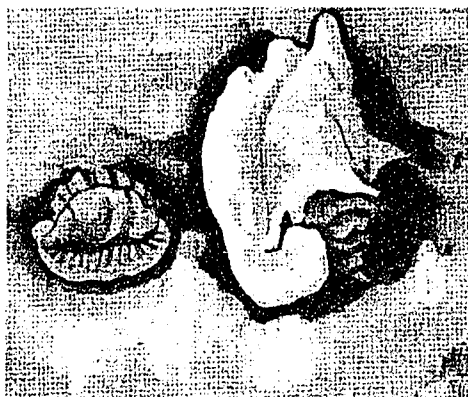


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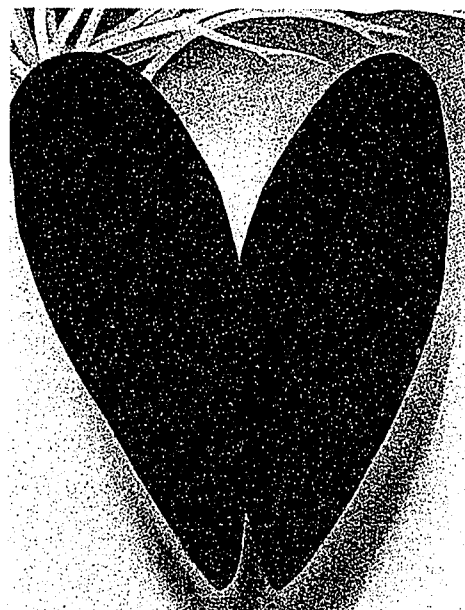


Fig. 89



Fig. 90

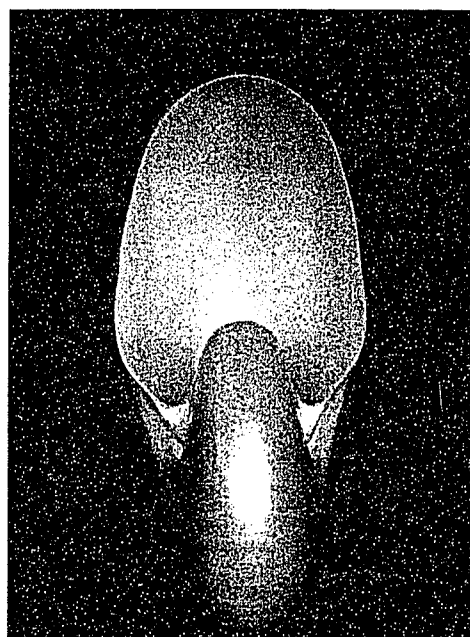


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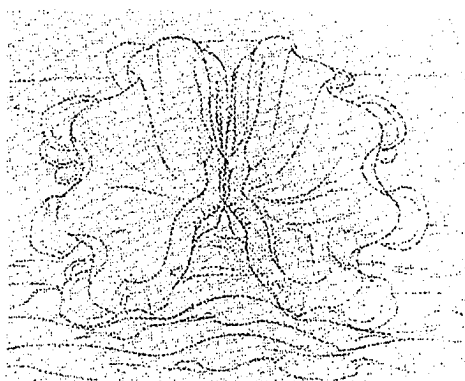


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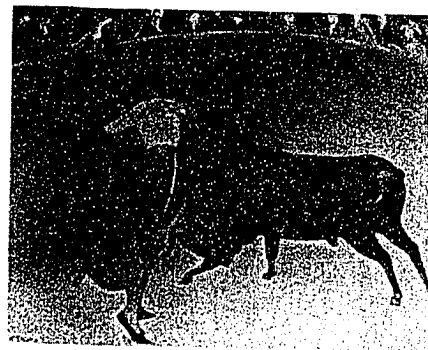


Fig. 98



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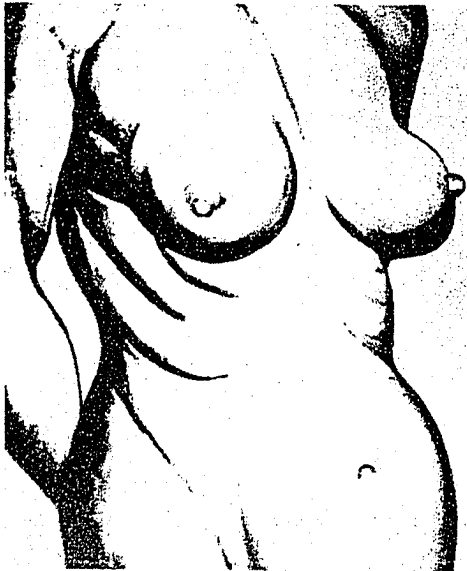


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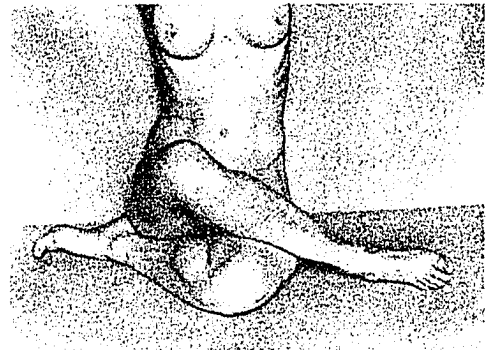


Fig. 102



Fig. 103



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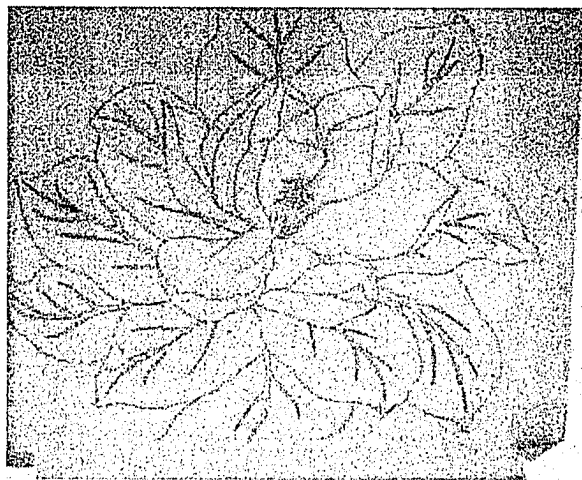


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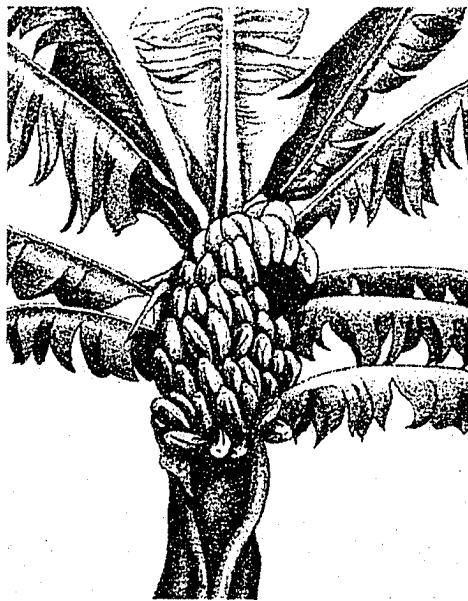


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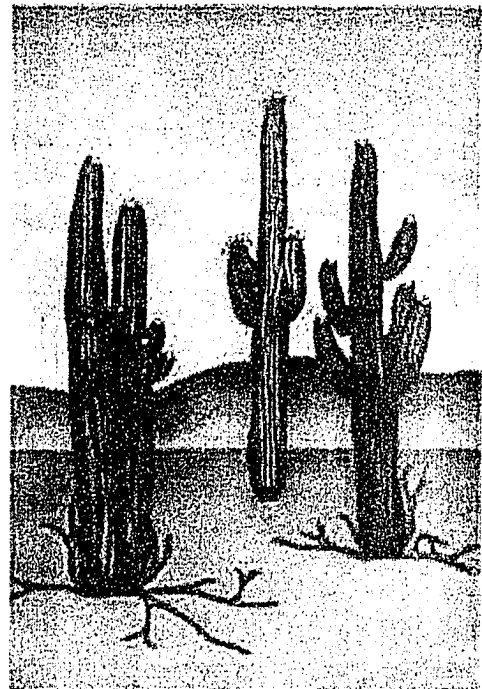


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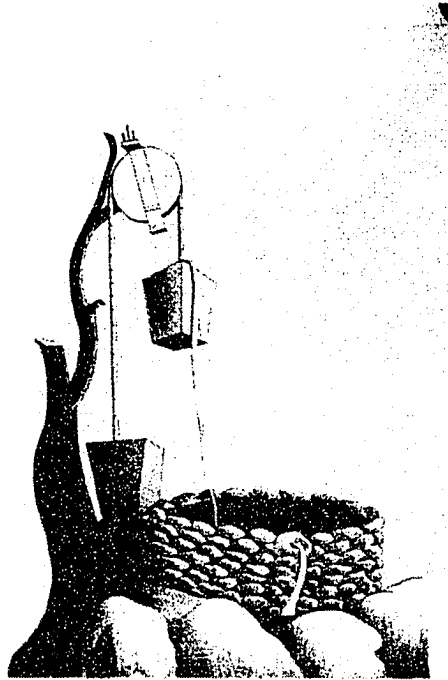


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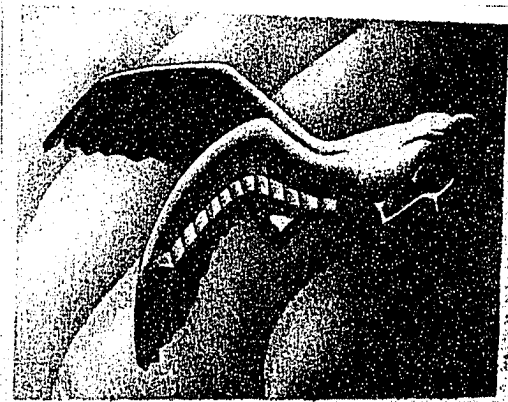


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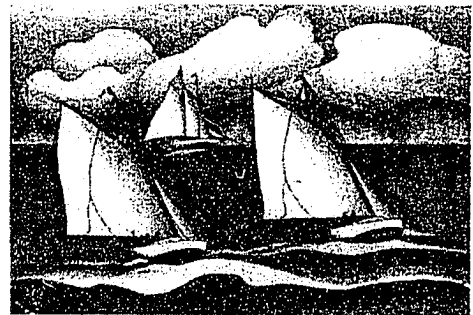


Fig. 112



Fig. 113



Fig. 114



Fig. 115



Fig. 116



Fig. 117



Fig. 118



Fig. 119



Fig. 120



Fig. 121

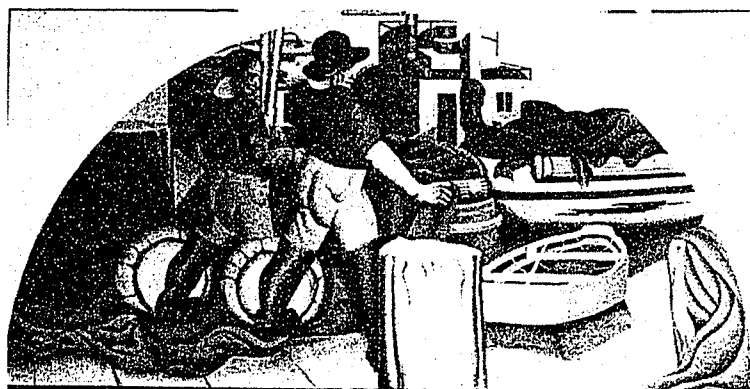


Fig. 122



Fig. 123

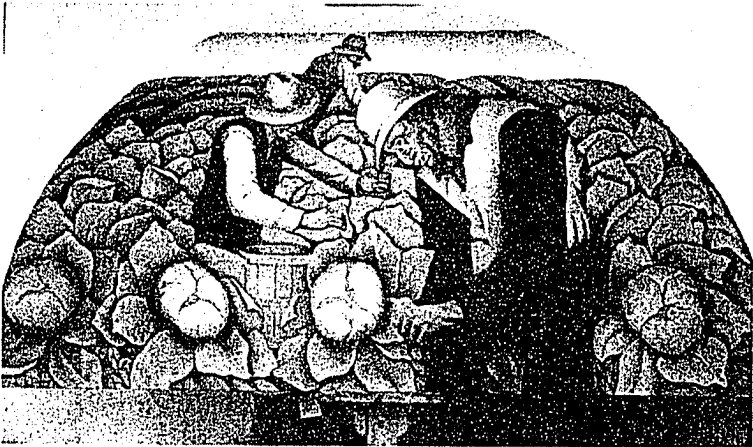


Fig. 124



Fig. 125



Fig. 126



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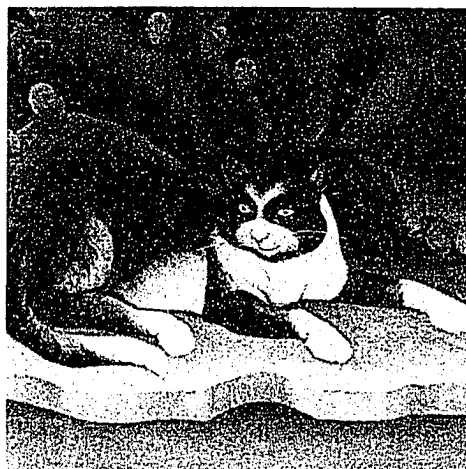


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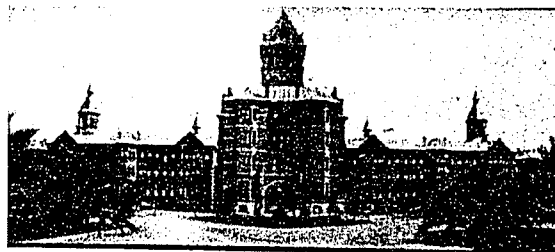


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Fig. 133

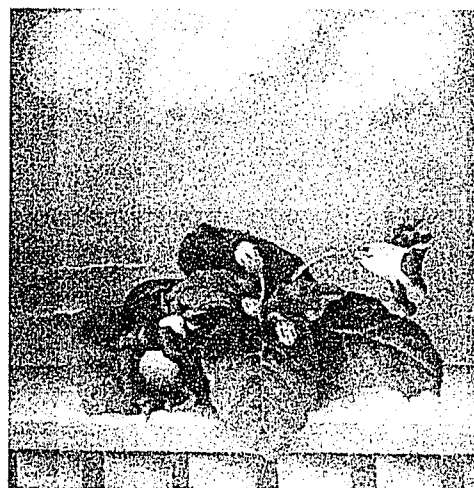


Fig. 134