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The Weyhe Gallery Between the Wars, 1919-1940

by

Reba White Williams

Volume 1

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

1996

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Sept 13, 1996 — Date

Executive Officer

Diane Kelder

David W. Kiehl

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Chapter One

Prints in the United States, 1900-1918

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many American artists made prints, in large numbers and in a variety of media. The 1893 World's Fair in Chicago--the Columbian Exposition--included an important print exhibition, a demonstration of the enthusiasm of U.S. printmakers in the years preceding the exhibition. Ninety artists--including James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), who dominated the exhibition with fifty-nine prints,[1] lent by nine collectors--exhibited more than six hundred objects identified in the exhibition catalogue as prints, including engravings, etchings, drypoints, wood engravings, mezzotints, steel engravings, and monotypes, one woodcut (probably a wood engraving), and one lithograph.[2] Many of the prints were unidentified as to type, and those who compiled the Official Catalogue of Exhibits were confused about original prints versus reproductions, and even about the definition of a print.[3]

If artistic reputation and the number of prints in the exhibition can be equated, the leading printmakers of the period were Whistler, fifty-nine prints; Alexander Schilling (1859-1937), twenty-seven; Stephen Parrish (1846-1885), twenty-six; J. Alden Weir (1852-1919), twenty-six; Timothy Cole (1852-1931), twenty-four; Frank French (1850-1933), twenty-one; and Charles F.W. Mielatz (1864-1919), twenty-one.[4] Since the medium of so many of the prints was unidentified, a complete analysis by type of print is not possible, but etchings and wood engravings were clearly in the majority. Both were made in great numbers in the late 1870s and 1880s, but by the

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time the exhibition opened, had already passed their peak popularity, and were being produced in steadily declining numbers.

For example, during the so-called etching revival of the late 1870s and 1880s, etching clubs were founded in New York, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Boston, and hundreds of artists made thousands of etchings; but by the 1890s the etchings craze was over. As Joseph Pennell wrote in 1895, "There was a period of great activity in American etching a few years ago. . . . However, this brief, spontaneous movement toward individual expression unfortunately seems rather to have spent itself and America, like so many other countries, is waiting for something new to turn up."[5]

And Alfred Lawrence reported in 1903 in The Brush & Pencil that when James D. Smillie (1833-1909) was asked to put together a "comprehensive and representative" collection of etchings for display at the St. Louis exposition of 1904, Smillie was:

> practically the only one of that early group of artists so devoted to the needle and copper plate who seems to have retained his love of this charming art. The other men who gave new birth to the 'art of Rembrandt'--Farrer, Falconer, Peter and Thomas Moran, R. Swaine Gifford, Parrish, Duveneck, Pennell, Platt, Church, Bellows, Chase, Miller, Van Elton, Coleman, Bacher, Blum, Vanderhoff, Whistler and scores of others--have either passed away or have abandoned the needle and have devoted themselves to other and more lucrative lines of work.[6]

The public's desire for etchings had peaked ten years earlier, and the New York Etching Club presented its last exhibition in 1893, the year of the Columbian Exposition.

Similarly, in the 1870s and 1880s, several American wood engravers--Timothy Cole, Frederick Juengling (1846-1889), William B. Closson (1848-1926), Elbridge

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Kingsley (1842-1918), and Henry Wolf (1842-1916)--were famous, both for the quality of their engravings, and for their attempts to turn wood engraving, a reproductive craft, into an original art form, with signed and limited editions. But by the turn of the century, technological change had all but ended the use of wood engravings in magazines like The Century and Harper's, and few artists were willing to learn the art without the possibility of publication. Wood engraving, even more than etching, went into dormancy.[7]

In the 1890s Americans were also passionately interested in posters; posters were made by a number of American artists, and widely collected. But by 1900, the enthusiasm for U.S. posters had virtually disappeared.[8] And even at the height of the late-nineteenth-century passion for prints, American artists showed little interest in lithography. In 1896, Montague Marks, editor of the Art Amateur, unsuccessfully attempted to establish an American Society of Painter-Lithographers,[9] but even if a large number artists had wished to make lithographs, it would not have been possible. As Clinton Adams wrote, "When in the 1890s efforts were made to stimulate interest in artists' lithography in the United States, they foundered on the inability of American artists to find sympathetic printers. There were in the United States no lithographic workshops equivalent to the Parisian ateliers, nor was there a commercial firm comparable to that of Thomas Way, where Whistler and Pennell worked in London. As a consequence, the few American artists who made lithographs before the first World War did so largely in Europe."[10]

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In summary, at the turn of the century, the art of American printmaking was at a low ebb. American print collectors bought European prints, or prints that looked European, and American dealers supplied them. The U.S. artists making prints were, for the most part, second-generation etchers--followers of Whistler--whose European landscape subjects and architectural studies satisfied the tastes of conservative American collectors.

There were, of course, exceptions, of whom the most outstanding was Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922), who in 1891 had begun to make color woodcuts. In 1895, about two hundred of these were shown at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the first exhibition of color woodcuts by an American.[11] But the making of color woodcuts in the U.S. was tedious and time-consuming, since the U.S. artist, unlike his Japanese counterpart, was forced to cut his own blocks, and Dow initially inspired few followers.[12]

During the first decade of the twentieth century, only a handful of events marked any progress in American printmaking. In 1900, Frank Weitenkampf (1866-1962) became curator of New York City's first print room, in the New York Public Library, soon after Samuel P. Avery donated his print collection--which the Metropolitan Museum had refused--to the library. And, in 1905-1906, John Sloan (1871-1951) created ten etchings, the remarkably realistic New York City Life set, today highly prized, but at the time a commercial failure and criticized as "vulgar." In 1908, Sloan experimented with lithography, but encountered the usual problem: the lack of a printer willing to work with artists.[13]

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That same year, the Montross Gallery presented fifteen of Dow's woodcuts, with thirty-eight of his oil paintings and eight photographs, in a solo exhibition in New York.[14] Also in 1908, Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) opened the Photo-Secession Gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue. Stieglitz has been heralded as a pioneer who exhibited and encouraged the American avant-garde; and his exhibitions of photography, painting, drawing, and sculpture have been discussed in considerable detail,[15] but his print exhibitions are less well known. The "291" exhibitions that included prints during the nine years the gallery remained open are shown below in table 1-1.[16]

TABLE 1-1

"291" EXHIBITIONS FEATURING PRINTS, 1908-1917

1. February 26-March 11, 1908. Etchings and Bookplates by Willi Geiger; Etchings by Donald Shaw MacLaughlan; Drawings by Pamela Colman Smith
2. April 16-April 25, 1908. Drawings, Lithographs, Watercolors, Etchings, and one Oil by Matisse
3. February 26-March 10, 1909. Etchings, Drypoints, and Bookplates by Allen Lewis
4. May 18-June 2, 1909. Japanese Prints from the F.W. Hunter Collection
5. November 24-December 17, 1909. Monotypes and Drawings by Eugene Higgins
6. December 20-January 14, 1909-1910. Thirty Lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec
7. February 7-February 19, 1910. Forty-three Watercolors, twenty Pastels, and eight Etchings by John Marin

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8. November 18-December 8, 1910. Lithographs by Manet, Cézanne, Renoir, and Toulouse-Lautrec; Drawings by Rodin; Paintings and Drawings by Henri Rousseau

9. December 14-January 12, 1910-1911. Forty-six Drawings and Etchings by Gordon Craig

10. March 28-April 15, 1911. Eighty-three Drawings and Watercolors by Picasso; may also have included Etchings[17]

11. February 23-March 26, 1915. Watercolors, Oils, and Etchings, recent and old, by John Marin[18]

The Matisse exhibition, and the exhibition of the prints by Cézanne, Manet, and Renoir have been accurately described as "ground-breaking,"[19] but taken as a whole, Stieglitz's print exhibitions were a curious mixture of the avant-garde and the retardataire. In the first "291" print exhibition, the Bavarian Willi Geiger (1878-1970) showed etchings described as "in the 'decadent' fin-de-siècle tradition,"[20] and Donald Shaw MacLaughlan (1876-1938), a Canadian-born artist who settled in Boston, showed etchings of traditional European landscapes with titles like Tivoli (Figure 1) and The Certosa, (Florence). Of MacLaughlan, Homer wrote that Stieglitz "had been impressed by the quality of the proofs he had pulled from plates by Rembrandt and offered him a show."[21] The ability to make a good restrike appears to have been an improbable reason for Stieglitz to exhibit MacLaughlan's work, however, and it seems likely that there was some other explanation.

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This first feeble entry by Stieglitz into the print world was followed by the important Matisse exhibition, the artist's introduction in the United States and his first one-man show outside France. While, as Homer pointed out, the exhibition did not feature Matisse's more radical work--it included the "realistic etchings of 1903"--the exhibition was, in 1909, both revolutionary and controversial.[22]

But after this venture into the unconventional, the next print exhibition at "291" was a retreat to the traditional, with the etchings, drypoints, and bookplates of Allen Lewis (1873-1957). Betsy Fahlman has opined that:

> While Lewis cannot be regarded historically as an avant-garde artist, he did possess qualities which would have attracted Stieglitz's attention. Lewis was a slow and careful worker who, much like Stieglitz, was always concerned to maintain the highest standard of craftsmanship. Lewis never sought to produce art on a mass scale, and Stieglitz must have admired this selfless devotion to a craft.[23]

As in the case of Homer's rationale for the MacLaughlan exhibition, "devotion to a craft" seems an improbable reason for Stieglitz to have exhibited Lewis's work at "291." But both MacLaughlan's and Lewis's etchings were Whistler-influenced, and as Robert Getscher has pointed out, when Stieglitz started Camera Work in 1902, "Whistler was the single artist whose ideas were quoted as gospel, the proper guide for the avant-garde artist. Whistler's influence on the ideas and works of the Photo-secessionists . . . is well worth a separate study, for his frequent mention in Camera Work is a clear indication of the power and pervasiveness of Whistler's ideas."[24]

The Lewis exhibition was followed by the show of a private collection of Japanese prints, also old-fashioned. While there had been a tremendous vogue for Japanese art in the United States in the 1890s, by 1900, for some of the younger

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artists, including John Sloan, it "was no longer the wave of the future,"[25] and, by 1900, Japanese prints were well known in the U.S. art world.[26] Again, the Whistlerian taste for Japonisme must have been the governing influence in Stieglitz's selection of this exhibition.

The exhibition of the monotypes of Eugene Higgins (1874-1958), held six months later, was also surprising because, as Homer wrote, Higgins's "Millet-like style, with strong sentimental overtones" seems unlikely to have appealed to Stieglitz.[27] But Stieglitz was probably influenced by a perceived affinity between Higgins's monotypes and contemporary photographs; a writer in the January 1910 issue of Camera Work wrote that Higgins's style of composition was "one of spotting, of the play of dark and light masses, and some of his monotypes have all the rich quality of a good platinum print."[28] Unfortunately, the study of Higgins's monotypes has been impeded by the inability of art historians to identify which of his works were shown at "291," since the artist did not title these works on the prints themselves and the exhibition checklist did not distinguish between drawings and monotypes.[29]

As Homer points out, the first Post-Impressionist exhibition at "291" was comprised of the thirty lithographs by Toulouse-Lautrec from Stieglitz's personal collection, including the ten lithographs in the Elles Series; Truffier et Moreno dans les Femmes Savantes; and (Woman With Dog at Café).[30] It is possible that this was the first time these works were exhibited in the U.S., but it was not, as Dorothy Norman claimed in a frequently repeated error, "the first presentation of the artist's work in America."[31] Toulouse-Lautrec's posters had been displayed in the late 1890s

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in numerous cities, and by 1910, his subjects and images had been known in art-interested circles for nearly twenty years.[32]

The eight untitled etchings by John Marin in the 1910 exhibition of his works were necessarily traditional, for, while Ruth Fine described the 1909 etchings as "highly individualistic,"[33] and Carl Zigrosser wrote that "from 1909 onwards, his [Marin's] etchings became wilder,"[34] Marin's pre-1913 etchings are, in fact, conventional European views of churches and the like, and decidedly Whistlerian, the characteristic that probably made them appealing to Stieglitz.

In the 1910 exhibition of lithographs by Manet, Cézanne, Renoir, and Toulouse-Lautrec, Stieglitz introduced Cézanne, with three of his lithographs, in the U.S.[35] Again, Stieglitz was at the forefront in bringing an artist's work--this time, prints--to the attention of American art lovers.

Homer has written that the etchings of Gordon Craig (1872-1966) exhibited at "291" in December of 1910, reflected Edward Steichen's interests rather than Stieglitz's,[36] but the subject of Craig's art was the same as that of Pamela Colman Smith (1878-1951), whose 1907 exhibition of drawings and watercolors at "291" was Stieglitz's first show of non-photographic work, and whose drawings were exhibited in 1908 with the Geiger and MacLaughlan prints. According to Parsons, Smith was "one of the earliest artists to incorporate direct visual interpretations of specific musical composition into her paintings."[37] All three of her "291" exhibitions were of her "music paintings"; indeed, Smith's "most important contribution was her application of the concept of synesthesia to the pictorial interpretation of music,"[38] a concept

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explored by, among others, Whistler, Wassily Kandinsky (whose painting Garden of Love, Improvisation #27 Stieglitz bought at the Armory Show), and two "291" artists, Marsden Hartley (1877-1943) and Abraham Walkowitz (1880-1965).[39] Smith was Stieglitz's discovery, and according to Homer, Steichen was disturbed when Stieglitz promised her the 1907 exhibition.[40]

Homer has stated that the work of Gordon Craig, the illegitimate son of Ellen Terry and the father of Isadora Duncan's first child, was brought to Stieglitz by Steichen, but Steichen may have proposed the Craig exhibition because of its subject matter, which he knew would appeal to Stieglitz. Craig's etchings, with titles such as First Movement, etc., suggest a shared aesthetic with Smith's work; if Smith's art had appealed to Stieglitz, so would Craig's.[41]

According to Homer, the 1911 Picasso exhibition included drawings and watercolors only, but Dorothy Norman wrote that the exhibition was composed of "eighty-three early and recent drawings and watercolors; charcoals, pen and ink drawings, and etchings"; and the most recent Stieglitz book concurs with Norman.[42]

The final "291" exhibition featuring prints was the 1915 Marin exhibition, which included the famous New York etchings. The prints exhibited are listed below in table 1-2.[43]

TABLE 1-2

ETCHINGS BY JOHN MARIN,

MARCH 23-26, 1915

1. Brooklyn Bridge (1914)
6. Grain Elevator, Weehawken (1915)

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2. William Street (1914)
3. Nassau Street (1914)
4. Woolworth Building (1913), (Figure 2)
5. Brooklyn Bridge, No. 2 (1915)
7. Vicinity of Trinity Church (1914)
8. Brooklyn Bridge, No. 3 (1915)
9. Woolworth Building (1913)
10. Brooklyn Bridge, No. 4 (1915)

The checklist for this well-publicized exhibition was apparently not used as a source when in the late sixties Zigrosser was preparing the first Marin print catalogue raisonné. Zigrosser wrote that "all of the New York etchings were exhibited at the 291 Gallery," but the titles and dates in his The Complete Etchings of John Marin do not correspond with those in the "291" checklist. For example, Zigrosser includes no print with the title William Street (#2, above), and no Brooklyn Bridge dated 1914 (#1, above). Also, according to Zigrosser, "The very first of the Bridges [is] listed as No. 3," although the "291" checklist includes a 1914 unnumbered Brooklyn Bridge (#1, above), and a Brooklyn Bridge, No. 2 (1915) (#5, above). Finally, Zigrosser did not include in The Complete Etchings a print entitled Vicinity of Trinity Church (#7, above), and the only print with a similar title, Trinity Church Yard (Zigrosser 120), is dated 1915, not 1914.[44]

While "291" was the most famous New York gallery exhibiting prints between 1900 and 1918, there were, of course, others; some of the more interesting print exhibitions were held at the Berlin Photographic Company. In 1910, Martin Birnbaum (1878-1970) was offered the job of managing the American branch of the Berlin Photographic Company, a position he held for six years. Birnbaum's primary assignment was to obtain permission from American owners to photograph their paintings for inclusion in monographs. (For example, Berlin Photographic published

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monographs on Velázquez and Franz Hals, as well as a catalogue of J. Pierpont Morgan's collection.)[45] Birnbaum also organized exciting and unusual shows; although a comprehensive study of the Berlin Photographic Company exhibitions between 1910 and 1916 has yet to be published, some of those significant in the history of American prints are listed in table 1-3.[46]

TABLE 1-3

BERLIN PHOTOGRAPHIC COMPANY EXHIBITIONS INCLUDING PRINTS

1910-1916

1. Albert Sterner, Lithographs and Monotypes, 1911
2. Paintings, Drawings, and Lithographs by W. Rothenstein, 1911
3. Ernest Haskell, An Exhibition of Etchings, Silverpoints, Lithographs, Monotypes, and Original Drawings, 1911
4. Contempory German Graphic Art, December 1912-January 1913
5. Lithographs of Charles Conder, May-June 1913
6. Memorial Loan Exhibition of the Works, including Etchings, of Robert Frederick Blum, 1913
7. Original works, including Lithographs, by Charles Conder, 1913
8. Contemporary Graphic Art of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, December 1913
9. New York Society of Etchers, January 6-30, 1914
10. Original Graphic Works Printed at the Pan Press of Berlin, May-June 1914
11. Paintings, Bronzes, and Graphic Works by Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon, 1914

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12. Etchings, Drawings, and Lithographs by H. Struck, 1914

13. Woodblock Prints by Edna Boies Hopkins, 1914

14. Albert Sterner, Lithographs, 1915

15. Paintings, Watercolors, and Etchings by Anne Goldthwaite, October 23-November 13, 1915

16. Original Block Prints and Wood Engravings, May 1-31, 1916 (works by Dean Babcock, Herbert M. Baer, Charles W. Barlett, Gustave Baumann, Michael C. Carr, Elizabeth Colwell, Arthur Wesley Dow, Gordon Ertz, Eliza D. Gardiner, Ada Gilmore, Edna Boies Hopkins, Florence Wyman Ivins, Mary Bacon Jones, Tod Lindenmuth, Ethel Mars, Mildred McMillen, Juliette S. Nichols, B.J.O. Nordfeldt, Margaret Patterson, and Rudolph Ruzicka)

Other American galleries also occasionally exhibited modern prints before 1919, including the Ehrich Print Gallery, which in 1917 showed the lithographs Bolton Brown (1864-1936) had recently made in England (Figure 3); the Montross Gallery, which exhibited Dow's works and in 1916 presented the work of the New York Society of Etchers; the Daniel Gallery, which in 1916 exhibited Modern French Graphic Art; the Ardsley Gallery, which in 1917 exhibited Redon lithographs; and the Modern Gallery, which in late 1917 exhibited "Drawings, Etchings, Lithographs and Woodcuts by European and American Modernists."[47]

During the same period, several galleries, notably Albert Rouillier of Chicago, and Kennedy and Company (Kennedy Galleries) and Keppel & Co. in New York,

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continued to show prints by nineteenth-century Europeans and a few Americans, e.g., Whistler and Joseph Pennell (1859-1926). In 1911, Frederick Keppel and his partner Fitzroy Carrington (later curator of prints and drawings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), founded the Print Collector's Quarterly.[48] The original intent of the founders was to publish some of the work of younger American artists in addition to that of acknowledged masters such as Meryon, Whistler, Charles Seymour Haden, etc., but the "younger" artists they published were the same familiar names; for example, Volume I, No. 3, July 1911, featured the wood engravers Timothy Cole and Henry Wolf.[49]

On February 17, 1913, the International Exhibition of Modern Art opened at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York. Because the Armory Show changed the development of American art, much has been written about this exhibition and it has even been reconstructed.[50] But almost no one has observed that the Armory Show was an important print exhibition.[51] Twenty-one artists showed prints in the Armory Show, including six Americans; and as Milton Brown wrote, "Walter Pach estimated the total [number of objects] including lithographs which were not in the exhibition proper at 1600."[52] Brown later observed, "Approximately 90 prints which were not actually on display were also sold."[53] Overall, of about 250 works sold at the Armory Show in New York, Chicago, and Boston, about one hundred were prints, the majority purchased in New York.[54]

The six Americans who exhibited prints at the Armory Show, and the prints they exhibited, are shown below in table 1-4.[55]

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TABLE 1-4

AMERICAN PRINTS AT THE ARMORY SHOW

1. Frank Nankivell (1869-1959)

   859. Fowls, color print, watercolor from woodblocks

   860. Football Player, color print, watercolor from woodblocks

   861. New York in the Making, etching, ca. 1912

2. Walter Pach (1883-1959)

   268a. Mary, etching

   268b. Renoir's "Liseuse," etching (1 of 2) (sold to Mrs. Richard Shedrick for $10.00)

   269a. Gothic Virgin, etching, 1912 (Figure 4)

   269b. St. Germain-des-Pres-Night, etching, 1912

   270. St. Germain-des-Pres-Day, etching, 1912

3. John Sloan (1871-1951)

   908. Girl and Beggar, etching, 1910

   909. Portrait of Mother, etching, 1906

   910. Night Windows, etching, 1910

   911. Anchutz's Talk on Anatomy, etching, 1912

   912. The Picture Buyer, etching, 1911 (sold to William Macbeth for $10.00, March 14, 1913) (Figure 5)

4. Abraham Walkowitz (1880-1965)

   137. An untitled color monotype, lent by the artist, or by Alfred Stieglitz[56]

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5. J. Alden Weir (1852-1919)

991. Landscape and Figure, etching, and twelve unidentified etchings in Kuhn catalogue, not listed by title, all lent by the artist

6. Charles Henry White (1878-1918)

761. The Valley of Unrest, etching, 1907

762. Fulton Market, etching, 1905

763. The Condemned Tenement, etching, 1906 (Figure 6)

With the exception of Sloan, these U.S. artists were far from America's best, or best-known, printmakers. Frank Nankivell, an Australian who came to the U.S. in 1894, was a friend of Walt Kuhn's, who introduced Nankivell to Arthur B. Davies; and in 1923-1924, Nankivell began printing Davies's intaglio prints. Nankivell later printed etchings for the WPA graphics workshop in New York. He was a competent printmaker, but he probably owed his place in the Armory Show to his friendship with Kuhn. Today, Nankivell's prints are sought after in Australia, where he has been reclaimed as a native son.[57]

Walter Pach was, of course, an organizer of the Armory Show; he was not a highly regarded printmaker, and his Armory Show prints were the typical foreign views so popular in America at the time. He is almost unknown as a printmaker today.[58]

John Sloan was, and is, one of America's leading printmakers, and his Armory Show prints included some very fine works. But the only print he sold, The Picture

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Buyer, depicting the dealer William Macbeth "purring in the ear of the victim," was bought by Macbeth himself.[59] Perhaps the best of Sloan's Armory Show prints was Night Windows, which even in 1913 may still have been considered "vulgar." [60]

Abraham Walkowitz grew up on Manhattan's Lower East Side and trained at the National Academy of Design, where he made his first prints (etchings) while studying with Walter Shirlaw. But he preferred monotypes, and between 1906 and 1910 produced hundreds of them--European views, Cézanne-influenced nudes, and Fauvist bathers and beach scenes at Coney Island.[61] His single monotype at the Armory Show apparently has not been identified.

J. Alden Weir, the American Impressionist, was primarily a painter, but in the late nineteenth century he made about 140 etchings, a number of which were exhibited in 1893 at the Columbian Exposition. He had little interest in the Armory Show, and made no sales there. The etchings he exhibited have not been identified.[62]

Charles Henry White was born in Canada and educated both in Europe and at the Art Students League in New York. In 1901, in Venice, he was persuaded by Joseph Pennell to take up etching, which became his major medium; and he taught etching at the Art Students League in 1907-1909. Shortly after his death, he was described in a memorial exhibition checklist as "not a supremely great artist [who] was nevertheless one of the most capable and masterly etchers among his contemporaries."[63] His etchings were "uninvited" at the Armory Show, but later accepted by the Domestic Committee.[64]

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In contrast to the pathetic little group of American prints, the European prints at the Armory Show were made by some of Europe's great early modernist printmakers: Pierre Bonnard, Paul Cézanne, Maurice Denis, Paul Gauguin, Edvard Munch, Odilon Redon, and Edward Vuillard. Many of their Armory Show prints have not been identified, but, for example, among the Gauguin prints sold were Pastorales Martiniques and Les Cigales et les fourmis. The most popular prints were those by Redon; more than twenty of his prints sold. The other favorite prints were those by Gauguin, Denis, Cézanne, and Vuillard.[65]

It is not surprising that the best-known American collectors of the day--Walter Annenberg, Lillie P. Bliss, Katherine Dreier, John Quinn--were the major purchasers of the European prints. But a few American artists also bought them: Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928) bought prints by Cézanne, Gauguin, and Redon; Walt Kuhn (1880-1949), a Cézanne lithograph; Earl Horter (1881-1940), thirteen lithographs by Vuillard (for $112.00); and Walter Pach (1883-1959), a Gauguin lithograph.[66]

Despite the interest shown in European modernist prints by both American collectors and American artists at the Armory Show, the exhibition had little immediate effect on printmaking in the United States. During the next several years, only a few artists attempted to integrate into their art the new ideas to which they had been exposed. In 1916, Arthur B. Davies began to experiment with cubism in intaglio prints;[67] and around 1917, John Sloan made the aquatint Mosaic (Figure 7), intended as a satire of abstract art. But as he later wrote:

> The Armory Show undoubtedly had a strong and perhaps subtle effect on my work. . . . The clarion call of freedom which the ultra-moderns gave us led to a

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> greater interest in color, plasticity, geometric consciousness about form. While I made only one excursion into the abstract field, the aquatint Mosaic, the impact of the ultra-modern work has greatly influenced my thinking.[68]

And William Zorach (1889-1966) wrote, "In Paris I had not understood or been interested in the Cubists. But after the Armory Show I began making my visual observations of nature into Cubist patterns."[69] Between 1915 and 1918, he and his wife, Marguerite Thompson Zorach (1887-1968), both exhibitors at the Armory Show, together worked "through cubism almost chronologically."[70]

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, the return of Americans who had been working and studying abroad brought new vitality and new knowledge about printmaking to the United States. By the spring of 1915, a group of American artists who had been living in Paris--Ada Gilmore, Mildred McMillen, Ethel Mars, and Maud Squire--had settled in Provincetown, Massachusetts. They were joined there by B.J.O. Nordfeldt (who had studied printmaking in England with Frank Morley Fletcher), Juliette Nichols, Edna Boies Hopkins, Oliver Chaffee, Blanche Lazzell, and Agnes Weinrich, all of whom had also been living in Paris. In Provincetown, Nordfeldt developed the one-block, or white-line, woodcut, made especially beautiful by its brilliant color and simple composition, undoubtedly inspired by the prints he had seen in Europe. Color prints became the predominant mode of expression for this group, and they were joined by other artists, including Gustave Baumann and Marguerite and William Zorach, all of whom made prints in Provincetown in the teens.[71]

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Another important force for change that emerged in 1914 was the Whitney Studio, which became the Whitney Studio Club (1917), the Whitney Studio Galleries (1928), and, ultimately, the Whitney Museum of American Art (1930).[72] Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney gave her first private, informal exhibitions soon after moving her studio to MacDougal Alley in 1907. In 1914, she enlarged the space and began to exhibit publicly the work of promising artists, hiring her sister-in-law's secretary, Juliana Force, to assist her. In January-February 1916, Whitney gave John Sloan his first one-man exhibition, of twenty-one paintings, sixteen etchings, three lithographs, four monotypes, and forty drawings. As a consequence of the exhibition, Kraushaar Galleries began to represent Sloan, an association that continued throughout his life.[73] And, as Avis Berman put it, "Having Sloan noticed by a dealer was the ideal result, as envisioned by Gertrude and Juliana. An artist was to be given a boost, which, with any luck or justice, would flow into a commission, a berth in a Gallery, or a perceptive write-up by a critic."[74] With the opening of the Whitney Studio Club, the pace of exhibitions accelerated, and other printmakers, like Sloan, were almost certainly given a "boost" by the Whitney association.

The next major event in the history of prints in the U.S. was the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, which opened in San Francisco in 1915. It was the first large exhibition of American prints, displaying more than two thousand prints by some two hundred artists. Today, art historians recall the Panama-Pacific International Exposition for its concentration on the American Impressionists, when

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Impressionism was already over in Europe.[75] Like the American paintings at the exposition, American prints reflected few of the new tendencies in European art.

The grand jury for etchings and engravings included Joseph Pennell and Frank Duveneck (1848-1919), who also had works in the exhibition. Duveneck was awarded a special commemorative medal for his 1880s etchings of Venetian scenes, and more than one hundred prints by Pennell were exhibited in a special pavilion. Whistler, who had died twelve years earlier, was well represented with thirty-eight etchings and lithographs, evidence of his continuing influence.[76]

The grand-prize winner was Henry Wolf (1852-1916), the wood engraver, who had been part of the U.S. movement to establish wood engravings as original works of art (Figure 8). His award came, as Wolf himself observed, just as the art of wood engraving was disappearing.[77] Medals of honor were won by Charles H. White, the painter-etcher who had forced his way into the Armory Show, and Daniel Wehrschmidt (1861-1932), a mezzotint engraver of reproductions. Of the six gold medal winners, five were etchers--Allen Lewis and Donald Shaw MacLaughlan, who had exhibited at "291," Herman Webster (1878-1970), Cadwallader Washburn (1866-1965), and J. André Smith (1880-1959). Gustave Baumann (1881-1971) was a surprising gold medal winner for his color woodcuts.[78]

The American prize winners at the exposition are listed in table 1-5.[79]

TABLE 1-5

AMERICAN PRIZE WINNERS

Grand Prize	Bronze Medal Winners
Wolf, Henry	Addams, Clifford

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Medal of Honor
Wehrschmidt, Daniel
White, Charles H.

Special Commemorative Medal
Duveneck, Frank

Gold Medal Winners
Baumann, Gustave
Lewis, Allen
MacLaughlan, Donald S.
Smith, J. André
Washburn, Cadwallader
Webster, Herman

Silver Medal Winners
Chadwick, Charles E.Vondrous
Evans, John W.
Hobart, Clark
Hopkins, E.B.
Horter, Earl
Lum, Bertha
Nahl, Perham W.
Nordfeldt, Bror J.O.
Pearson, Ralph M.
Roth, Ernest David
Ryder, Worth
Senseney, George
Stevens, Dorothy
Sturges, Dwight C.
Walt, William G.

Aid, George Charles
Barone, Antonio
Brown, Benjamin C.
Colwell, Elizabeth
Covey, Arthur
Dow, Arthur W.
Goldthwaite, Anne
Griffith, Louis O.
Haskell, Ernest
Hyde, Helen
Jacques, Bertha
Kimball, Katherine
Levy, William Auerbach
Percy, Isabelle
Plowman, George T.
Sloan, John
Stevens, Helen B.
Vondrous, John C.
Warner, Everett L.
Wood, Franklin T.

Honorable Mention
Cotton, John Wesley
Dahlgreen, Charles W.
Keeler, Charles B.
Lemos, Pedro J.
Martinez, Xavier
Patterson, Margaret
Wettherill, Elisha Kent Lane

While most critics ignored the prints exhibited at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, Charles Olmsted, writing in August 1915 in the American Magazine of Art, commented on the "splendid progress" in the numbers of artists exhibiting prints since the expositions in Chicago and St. Louis. But, like the compilers of the catalogue of the Columbian Exposition, Olmsted did not distinguish between reproductive prints and original prints; he wrote, "Many indeed will be the

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homes, scattered throughout the vast regions of our country, which will be made more desirable and more truly home--a place to be happy in--by the presence of fine proofs by those masters of Burin, Timothy Cole and Henry Wolfe, for example, whose reverent line reproductions of the masterpieces of art are shown in great profusion."[80]

The year 1915 heralded a new interest in prints among U.S. artists, manifested by the large number of works shown at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition; and in 1916, the Brooklyn Society of Etchers, founded in 1913, held its first exhibition, of 197 etchings by sixty-five artists.[81] Etchings societies were staging a comeback, and this time some of them would be long-lived. In another important development in 1916, the Metropolitan Museum of Art appointed William M. Ivins, Jr. (1881-1961) its first curator of prints.

And, as Richard Field has pointed out, in 1915 and 1916 a number of American artists "took up" printmaking; those Field cited were Childe Hassam, George Bellows, Martin Lewis, Edward Hopper, Jan Matulka, and William and Marguerite Zorach.[82] Printmaking must have been in the air, for these first-time printmakers were variously motivated.[83] Jan Matulka (1890-1972), for example, apparently made his first prints (etchings) as a student at the National Academy of Design; the stimulus may have been no more than the availability of a press, but in 1917 he received a prize for etching.[84]

Many artists made--and still make--their first prints as students; but in the United States, formal instruction in printmaking was slow to develop. In 1894 James David Smillie initiated an etching class at the National Academy of Design,[85] which he

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taught until 1904, when he was succeeded by Charles F.W. Mielatz, who taught until his death. His former student, William Auerbach Levy (1889-1964) then taught the class.[86]

Meanwhile, according to Art Students League records, printmaking courses began there in 1906. The instructors are shown below, in table 1-6.[87]

TABLE 1-6

INSTRUCTORS OF GRAPHICS AT ART STUDENTS LEAGUE OF NEW YORK, 1906-1954

George Senseney	1906-1907	Saturday class
Charles Henry White	1907-1909	P.M. class
Voitech Preissig	1913-1914	P.M. class
Voitech Preissig	1914-1916	P.M. and Evening classes
Voitech Preissig	1916-1917	P.M. class
Ernest Haskell	1918-1919	Evening class
Mahonri Young	1919-1922	Evening class
Joseph Pennell	1922-1926	A.M. class
Allen Lewis	1925-1930	A.M. class
Charles Locke	1925-1933	A.M. class
Allen Lewis	1931-1932	A.M. class
Eugene C. Fitsch	1925-1933	Evening class

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Allen Lewis	1930-1932	P.M. class
Arthur Young	1932-1933	P.M. class
Harry Wickey	1932-1933	A.M. class
Charles Locke	1932-1936	P.M. class
Warren Chappel	1933-1935	P.M. class
Harry Sternberg	1933-1966	A.M. class
Harry Sternberg	1934-1936	Saturday class
George Picken	1933-1942	Evening class
Harry Sternberg	1940-1944	P.M. class
Will Barnet	1941-1945	Saturday class
Will Barnet	1944-1954	P.M. class

Vojtech (or Voitech) Preissig (1873-1944) was probably the first Art Students League instructor to teach any form of printmaking other than etching. Preissig, a Czechoslovakian, lived and worked in Paris and operated a studio and print shop in Prague before coming to the United States in 1910. According to his biographers, Preissig introduced the linoleum cut in America, and taught it at the Art Students League in 1912.[88] In 1914, Arthur Wesley Dow persuaded Preissig to join his staff in the art department at Columbia Teachers College, where Preissig also taught linoleum block printing.[89] The following year, Preissig and Dow exhibited jointly at the Montclair Art Museum; Dow showed oil paintings and woodblock prints, and Preissig etchings, aquatints, and other graphic works (Figure 9).[90]

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As for other forms of printmaking, as Janet Flint has pointed out, "Wood engravings. . . had for so many years been relegated to commercial work that the addition of a class in woodblock techniques [by Allen Lewis] to the curriculum of the Art Students League early in the 1920s merited a special announcement."[91] The first lithography class at the Art Students League did not take place until January 22, 1923, when Pennell, who was teaching etching, "organized the League's first lithography shop."[92] But despite the lack of formal instruction in printmaking, artists learned to make prints, typically from other artists, or they taught themselves.[93]

The year in which the tide turned for American printmaking was probably 1917. On January 9, 1917, Albert Sterner invited a group of artists to his studio to organize the Painter-Gravers of America, intended "to help raise the general quality of prints in America. . . . The specific object of the society was to further the understanding and the appreciation in the United States. . . of their work in engraving, lithography and etching, and to give exhibitions of such work and to provide for sales."[94] Sterner and George Bellows found exhibition space in a building on East Fifty-eighth street, and in March 1917, the group exhibited 198 prints, which toured to Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Toledo, Milwaukee, and Detroit, continuing until May of 1918. According to Ralph Flint, the group held four shows in all, after which "the country's preoccupation with war checked the momentum of the Painter-Gravers."[95]

But the most important printmaking event of 1917 was the establishment by George C. Miller (1894-1965) of a firm to assist artists in the printing of lithographs.

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Miller, who had been born into a family of commercial lithographers--at one time eleven members of his family were working in commercial lithography--became an apprentice with the American Lithographic Company when he was only fifteen, and by the time he was in his twenties, had become the foreman of the stone-proofing department.[96] In 1914, he was asked by one of the owners of American Lithographic to assist Albert Sterner, who in 1911 had exhibited the lithographs he had made in Europe in a one-man show at the Berlin Photographic Company. Sterner owned his own press and was determined to continue making lithographs, but, like other U.S. artists, had been unable to find a printer and was having technical difficulties.

Miller was able to help Sterner, who, in turn, recommended Miller to George Bellows, and Miller began to print for Bellows, Sterner, and Joseph Pennell in the evenings, in their studios. Since Miller established his own firm, the shop has remained open (except for a brief period during World War I when Miller was in the Navy), becoming George C. Miller and Son in 1948. The firm has been operated by Burr Miller since his father's retirement in the early sixties.[97] The availability of a lithographer not only willing but extraordinarily able to assist in making lithographs opened the door to artists' lithographs in the U.S. As Janet Flint wrote, "The development and growth of American lithography in this period is inextricably linked with George Miller."[98]

Lithography's time had definitely come, for, in another 1917 development, Bolton Brown exhibited the lithographs he had made in London at the Ehrich Galleries on Fifth Avenue.[99] In 1915 Brown had seen Sterner's lithographs at the Berlin

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Photographic Company, and was inspired by them to learn to make lithographs. Unable to acquire the necessary technical expertise in the United States, Brown went to London to study lithography,[100] and when he returned in 1916, became a master printer for others, while continuing to make his own prints. Among the artists Brown assisted were Bellows, Pennell, Sloan, and Sterner.[101] As Clinton Adams has pointed out, "Brown's critical role in the development of American lithography has remained largely unacknowledged."[102] Suddenly, there were two knowledgable lithographers available to assist artists in the United States, and the stage was set for what was to become a boom in artists' lithography.

While the pivotal year for American printmaking was probably 1917, it was not until 1918, when the war ended, that the environment for the marketing of prints improved. Histories of American printmaking tend to brush lightly over the impact of World War I on artists, dealers, and collectors, but all were affected.[103] By the time the U.S. entered the war in 1917, huge numbers of European soldiers had been killed, and the shadow of the war had hung over the United States for three years. Some printmakers joined the U.S. forces, or were in Europe when the war started, and a few--notably Kerr Eby, Lester G. Hornby, and J. André Smith (Figure 10)--depicted what they saw.[104] George Bellows, a pacifist horrified by what he read about German atrocities in Belgium, was inspired to make a series of lithographs depicting his perception of the German invasion (Figure 11).[105] And both Joseph Pennell and Childe Hassam made prints with images of war-time activities on the home front.

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But the years 1914-1918 were not necessarily conducive to making prints, and certainly not to selling them. As we have seen, the momentum of the newly founded Painter-Gravers movement was "checked" by the war, and galleries closed for the duration, or chose not to hire men of military age.[106] The attention of most Americans was focused on the war long before the United States entered it.

The Armistice of 1918 was greeted with joy in the United States, not least by the country's artists, including printmakers. In Philadelphia, for example, Elizabeth Robinson Pennell wrote that Joseph Pennell "led the revels by which Philadelphia artists sought to lure people into Carmac Street, not to let them out again until thousands [of Liberty Bonds] had been promised and signed for."[107] At least one printmaker, William Meyerowitz (1898-1981), depicted the joyous celebration in November 11, 1918-Fifth Avenue, 1918 (Figure 12).

The war had changed America. As Carl Zigrosser wrote,

> The First World War helped jolt the country out of its provincialism, or rather out of its complacent acceptance of a genteel art tradition. In a sense, the war took the glamour out of Europe; it no longer was something remote and awe-inspiring where the beauty of centuries dwelt. The United States suffered less than the other nations engaged in the war, and emerged with pride in its own achievements. A dynamic idea spread, namely that printmakers could find their subjects close at hand, that their own way of life and background could furnish exciting esthetic material. It was the rediscovery of a continent, the unfolding of a great pageant: landscape, people, city and country life, industry, transportation, social forces--portrayed in many different ways, factually, heroically, sketchily, lovingly, humorously, and satirically.[108]

After the Armistice, the United States entered a period of unprecedented prosperity. Galleries reopened, and international travel resumed. While many American artists returned to Europe, European artists poured into New York, and

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print imagery shifted from European churches to American skyscrapers.[109] The time had come (in prints as in paintings) for the emergence of a new American Art. It was the ideal moment to open a gallery specializing in prints and featuring American printmakers.

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Footnotes - Chapter 1

1. As Una Johnson has pointed out, "American printmaking in the early years of the twentieth century was dominated by. . . Whistler. . . . Although his last print was issued in 1900-1 and he died in 1903, Whistler's influence extended far into this century." Johnson, American Prints and Printmakers (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980), 1.

2. M.P. Handy, ed. World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, Official Catalogue (Chicago: W.B. Conkey, 1893), 33-42.

3. The subtitle of the prints category in the catalogue is "Group 143, Engravings and Etchings. Prints. Etchings and Dry Points." Ibid., 33.

4. Ibid., 33-42.

5. Quoted by Edgar Breitenbach in "Graphic Arts," in "American Graphics and Painting in the Late Nineteenth Century," Archives of American Art Journal, Volume 9, #3, (July 1919), 23. Carl Zigrosser opined that the etchings organizations "died out in a few years chiefly because most of the members were second-rate artists." Prints and Their Curators, A World History (New York: Crown, 1937), 90.

6. Alfred E. Lawrence, "American Etchings at the St. Louis Exposition," Brush and Pencil, No. 12, April-September 1903, 269-280.

7. For an introduction to the "New School of Wood Engraving," see James Watrous, A Century of American Printmaking, 1880-1980 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 20-26.

8. For more on the American poster fad, see David Kiehl, American Art Posters of the 1890s in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Abrams, 1987).

9. Frank Weitenkampf, "American Lithography of the Present Day," International Studio, Volume 97, December 1930, 39-42, 110. Weitenkampf wrote that only two artists inspired by Marks made "works of real significance": two female portraits by J. Alden Weir, and On the Scene by H.W. Ranger. Joseph Pennell in Lithography and Lithographers (New York: MacMillan, 1915), 222, wrote that on the occasion cited above by Weitenkampf, "Lithographs were made by J.C. Beckwith, Alden Weir, H.W. Ranger, F. Hopkinson Smith, J. Lauber, James G. Brown, Ruger Donoho, and Cleveland Coxe. But these were

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experiments, and except for the work of H.W. Ranger, have little quality." American artists' lack of interest in artistic lithography may have been partly the result of the huge number of commercial chromolithographs produced between 1840 and 1900. See Peter C. Marzio, The Democratic Art, Pictures for a 19th Century America (Boston: David R. Godine, 1979).

10. Clinton Adams, Crayonstone, The Life and Work of Bolton Brown (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 103-104. As Janet Flint wrote, "Few if any [lithographic] firms were interested in concerning themselves with the special attention or the relatively small editions required by the artist-printmaker." Flint, Provincetown Printers, A Woodcut Tradition (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1983), 8.

11. Nancy E. Green, Arthur Wesley Dow and His Influence, exhibition catalogue (Ithaca, New York: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, 1990), 10.

12. Eliza Draper Gardiner saw Dow's 1895 exhibition, and, as a result, she successfully taught herself how to make her own woodblock prints. Green, Dow, 14.

13. Peter Morse, John Sloan, Prints, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings, Lithographs and Posters (New Haven and London: Yale, 1969). See "Sale of Prints," 17; "New York City Life Set," 134-149; and "Lithography," 155. Sloan later made three more prints, generally considered a part of the set. Ibid., 134.

14. Frederick C. Moffatt, Arthur Wesley Dow (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1957), 112. Montross also gave Dow solo exhibitions in 1911 and 1913.

15. See, for example, William Innes Homer, Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977).

16. The information in table 1-1 is from Homer, Stieglitz, appendix I, 295-298, cross-checked against exhibition checklists from "291," and other books and articles on "291." See, for example, note 17, below. The underlining is the writer's, to highlight the prints included in multimedia exhibitions.

17. While Homer, Stieglitz, appendix I, 297, lists only drawings and watercolors in the Picasso exhibition, Dorothy Norman, Alfred

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Stieglitz, An American Seer (New York: Random House, 1960, 1973), 107, writes that etchings were also included; and Richard Whelan, Alfred Stieglitz (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1995), 294, concurs, or used Norman as his source. The vast Stieglitz literature contains a number of inconsistencies, contradictions, and errors. See, for example, the problem of Toulouse-Lautrec in America cited in this chapter.

18. Homer, Stieglitz, in appendix I, 298, inexplicably omits the etchings in the entry for the 1915 Marin exhibition.

19. Homer, Stieglitz, 66.

20. Ibid., 308.

21. Ibid., 309. The decidedly nineteenth-century MacLaughlan was recruited in 1908 by Stieglitz's fellow Photo-Secessionist Edward Steichen (1878-1951) to be on the advisory board of the Secessionist organization, the New Society of American Artists, with, among others, Alfred Maurer, John Marin, Max Weber, Patrick Henry Bruce, and Arthur B. Carles.

22. Ibid., 58.

23. Betsy Fahlman, Allen Lewis, Drawings, Etchings, Drypoints, Woodcuts and Wood Engravings (Wheaton, Illinois: Wheaton College and Archives, 1979), 3. Fahlman lists the "291" etchings, drypoints, and bookplates in "Chronology," 8. As she points out, in 1913 Lewis designed a bookplate and monogram for Stieglitz, 3.

24. Robert Getscher, The Stamp of Whistler, exhibition catalogue (Oberlin, Ohio: Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, 1977), 15.

25. Julia Meech and Gabriel P. Weisberg, Japonisme Comes to America (New York: Abrams, 1990), 92. American artists' interest in Japanese art may have peaked about the same time as the 1890s poster craze.

26. Flint, Provincetown Printers, 9.

27. Homer, Stieglitz, 308. Late-twentieth-century art viewers find the admiration for Higgins's work in the early twentieth century puzzling, but his popularity was both broad and enduring. See Raymond L. Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions 1882-1940 (Metuchen, N.J., and London: Scarecrow Press, 1988), 698-699. See also John

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Spargo, "Eugene Higgins: An American Artist Whose Work Upon Canvas Depicts the Derelicts of Civilization as Do the Tales of Maxim Gorky in Literature," The Craftsman, Volume XII, May 1907, 135-146, for an indication of how Higgins was perceived two years before the "291" exhibition.

28. "Photo-Secession Exhibitions," Camera Work, Volume 19, [January 1910], 51.

29. For more on the problem of Higgins's monotypes, see David Kiehl, "Eugene Higgins," in The Painterly Print: Monotypes From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 186-187.

30. There was no exhibition checklist, but the Photo-Secession Gallery publication, "Exhibition of Lithographs by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, December 20, 1909-January 14, 1910, refers to "the series of 'Elles,' Woman With Dog at Café and 'Truffier in les Femmes Savantes.'" According to David Kiehl, many, perhaps all, of Stieglitz's Toulouse-Lautrec prints are in the holdings of the Drawings and Prints Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

31. See, Norman, Stieglitz, 104; Homer, Stieglitz, 60; and Whelan, Stieglitz, 267. The source of the error is a statement from the Photo-Secession Gallery publication cited above (note 28): "This exhibition--which by the way is the first Lautrec exhibition held in the United States--can give but an inadequate notion of the essential importance of the man. In the quality of some of the lithographs he ranks with Whistler."

32. See, for example, The Quadrangle Club, Catalogue of an Exhibition of American, French, English, Dutch and Japanese Posters From the Collection of Mr. Ned Arden Flood, Chicago, 1897, p. 48; Art Poster Exhibit in Aid of the Quincy City Hospital, Quincy, Massachusetts, (catalogue), 1895, #s 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Exhibition of Posters (catalogue), Philadelphia, 1896, 23. For more poster exhibitions in the U.S., see Kiehl, American Art Posters, 99-100.

33. Ruth E. Fine, John Marin (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery, 1990), 45.

34. Carl Zigrosser, The Complete Etchings of John Marin (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1969), 3.

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35. Homer, Stieglitz, 61.

36. Ibid., 307.

37. Melinda Boyd Parsons, To All Believers, The Art of Pamela Colman Smith (Wilmington: University of Delaware and Delaware Art Museum, 1975), n.p. See also Green, Dow, 54, for Smith's birth and death dates.

38. Parsons, Smith, n.p.

39. See Barbara Haskell, Marsden Hartley (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1980), 29, for a brief discussion of the concept. See also Judith Zilczer, "The Aesthetic Struggle in America, 1913-1918: Abstract Art and Theory in the Stieglitz Circle." Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1975, 43-95, which, however, mentions Smith only briefly and Craig not at all.

40. Homer, Stieglitz, 40. According to Homer, Stieglitz and Steichen had agreed that the first non-photographic art to be shown at "291" would be drawings by Rodin, and Steichen thought that Stieglitz had "jumped the gun" in agreeing to exhibit Smith's work.

41. Homer, Stieglitz, 41, wrote that Gordon Craig influenced Smith, but there is nothing to support this in the catalogue prepared by Homer's student, Melinda Boyd Parsons, To All Believers, The Art of Pamela Colman Smith, apparently Homer's only source on Smith. The artist's son, Edward Craig, in Gordon Craig (New York: Knopf, 1968), mentions Smith only in passing and Stieglitz not at all; moreover, the author does not refer to synesthesia in connection with Gordon Craig's work. Robin Garton, British Printmakers 1855-1955, A Century of Printmaking from the Etching Revival to St. Ives (London: Garton & Co., in association with Scolar Press, 1992), in the entry for Gordon Craig, 18-19, describes him as a wood engraver, and mentions neither his etchings nor synesthesia. Craig's "291" prints, which are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Drawings and Prints, are described by David Kiehl as "monolithic monumental stage sets with raking one-source light" (letter from David Kiehl, December 1995.)

42. See Homer, Stieglitz, 297; Norman, Stieglitz, 107; and Whelan, Stieglitz, 294.

43. From a "291" publication, "An Exhibition of Watercolors, Oils, Etchings, Drawings, Recent and Old by John Marin of New York will

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be held at the Gallery of the PhotoSecession. . . opening on February 23 closing March Fifteen [1915]."

44. Zigrosser, The Complete Etchings of John Marin, 17, and the catalogue entry for Trinity Church Yard, Zigrosser 120.

45. The facts of Birnbaum's years at Berlin Photographic are from Martin Birnbaum, The Last Romantic (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960).

46. The list of the Berlin Photographic Gallery's print exhibitions is compiled from a variety of sources, including monographs on some of the artists, but may be incomplete. Birnbaum, The Last Romantic, wrote, "I found myself in a favorable position to encourage artists like Marin, Eugene Higgins and John Sloan who were then not too successful," 45, but there is no record that he gave those artists exhibitions, or any explanation of what he meant. Catherine Ryan in Edna Boies Hopkins (New York: Mary Ryan Gallery, 1986), wrote, without footnote, that Hopkins was given a solo exhibition at Berlin Photographic in 1916, but this seems unlikely, as no supporting information has been discovered (Ryan also erroneously wrote that the Berlin group woodblock exhibition that included Hopkins's work took place in 1915).

47. This far from exhaustive list of print exhibitions is from appendix I, in Zilczer, "Aesthetic Struggle," 240-261.

48. Print Collector's Quarterly was published in New York for two years. In 1913, publication was moved to Boston, when Carrington moved there, and issued by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From 1914 to 1917, it was published by Houghton Mifflin for the museum. Publication was suspended from 1918 to 1920. It was revived in 1921 with Volume 8, by J.M. Dent Ltd., and published by Dent in London through 1936. In 1937, the magazine was purchased by J.H. Bender of Kansas City, Missouri. Publication was suspended in April 1942, with the completion of Volume 29, No. 2. For more on Print Collector's Quarterly, including later history, see Bernard Karpel, ed., Arts in America: A Bibliography, (Washington, D.C.: Archives of American Art, 1979). Volume 2, K-43. See also James Watrous, A Century of American Printmaking, 1880-1980 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1984), 31.

49. Another printmaker PCQ published in the early years was the ubiquitous Donald Shaw MacLaughlan. See Jerome Mellquist, The Emergence of An American Art (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942), 269-273.

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50. Joseph Trovato, ed., 1913 Armory Show 50th Anniversary Exhibition 1963, organized by Munson Williams Proctor Institute and sponsored by the Henry Street Settlement, New York, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1963).

51. Richard Field, in "Introduction to a Study of American Prints 1900-1950," American Prints 1900-1950 (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1983), is an exception; as Field pointed out, 16, "Little has been made of the fact that the Armory Show of 1913 was also a fairly major print exhibition."

52. Milton W. Brown, The Story of the Armory Show (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 110. The numbers preceding each work of art are those assigned the work when it was in the Armory Show in New York.

53. Ibid., 120.

54. Estimates, based on the catalogue raisonné in Brown, Armory Show, 244-328.

55. Brown, Armory Show, 298, 299, 317, 323, 324, and 325-326. The Kuhn listed etchings are mentioned on 325.

56. Brown, Armory Show, 324, wrote that the monotype was lent by the artist; according to Trovato, ed., Armory Show, 207, it was lent by Alfred Stieglitz.

57. The facts of Nankivell's life are from Joseph S. Czestochowski, Arthur B. Davies, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints (Newark: University of Delaware, 1987), 75.

58. For more on Pach's prints, see chapter 2, 11-12; and chapter 3, 17-18.

59. Morse, John Sloan, Prints, 177, and Brown, Armory Show, 317.

60. Sloan made few print sales between 1906 and 1912, and despite "strong efforts," few between 1912 and 1915. Morse, John Sloan, Prints, 17.

61. For the facts of Walkowitz's life, and for more on his printmaking, see Martica Sawin, Abraham Walkowitz, 1878-1965 (Salt Lake City: Utah Museum of Fine Arts, 1975).

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62. For Weir's prints, see Janet A. Flint, J. Alden Weir, An American Printmaker (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1972). For Weir and the Armory Show, see Brown, Armory Show, 49-52, 54, and 324-325. Even the print entitled Landscape and Figure has not been identified.

63. The facts of White's life and the quotation about his work are from the Weyhe Gallery checklist of the memorial exhibition, The Complete Etched Work of Charles Henry White, March 22-April 6, 1920 (WGS, Volume-New).

64. Brown, Armory Show, in the catalogue raisonné, indicates by an asterisk those works that were "uninvited"; White's were the only prints so designated.

65. Brown, Armory Show, Cézanne, 254; Denis, 261-262; Gauguin, 269; Redon, 307-309, Vuillard, 323.

66. Brown, Armory Show, "Buyers," 335-337.

67. See, for example, in Czestochowski, Davies, Prints: #38, Figure in Glass; #42, Aftermath; #50, Bathing Woman and Servant; and #53, Contemplation. Marjorie B. Cohn, Carl A. Weyherhaeuser Curator of Prints, Fogg Art Museum, wrote, "The European cubist and futurist work in this epochal exhibition made a tremendous, albeit temporary, impact upon [Davies's] art, which in the narrow span of 1914-1918 was reflected in his prints. In my opinion, Aftermath is the very best among them, and it is also one of the few remarkable American cubist prints" (letter from Cohn, October 19, 1992).

68. Morse, John Sloan, Prints, 386, and catalogue entry #185.

69. William Zorach, Art Is My Life (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing, 1967), 34.

70. Marilyn Friedman Hoffman, Marguerite and William Zorach, The Cubist Years: 1915-1918, exhibition catalogue (Manchester, New Hampshire: The Currier Gallery of Art, 1987), 16.

71. For more on Provincetown prints, see Flint, Provincetown Printers.

72. For the history of the Whitney Museum of American Art, see Avis Berman, Rebels on Eighth Street (New York: Atheneum, 1990).

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73. Ibid., 123.

74. Ibid., 124.

75. See, for example, Richard J. Boyle, American Impressionism (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974), 215.

76. Illustrated Official Catalogue, Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915, 198-229 (San Francisco: The Walgreen Company, 1915).

77. Ibid., and Henry Wolfe, "Concerning Wood Engraving," Print Collector's Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1911), 357.

78. For Baumann and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, see Martin F. Krause, et. al., Gustave Baumann: Nearer to Art (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1993), 11-12.

79. Illustrated Official Catalogue Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 198-229.

80. Charles Olmsted, "Prints at the Exposition," American Magazine of Art, August 1915, Volume 6, No.10, 379-384.

81. For the Brooklyn Society of Etchers, see Pauline Winchester Inman, "A History of the Society of American Graphic Artists," Artist's Proof, 1963-1964, Issue 6, Volume 3, 41-45. In 1931, the Brooklyn Society of Etchers became The Society of American Etchers, Inc., and in 1952, the Society of American Graphic Artists (SAGA), still in existence in 1996. As Watrous points out, the first of the new generation of etching clubs, The Chicago Society of Etchers, founded in 1910, held its first exhibition in 1911. Several others began around the same time: The California Society of Etchers was founded in 1912, and held its first exhibition in 1913; The [new] New York Society of Etchers was founded in 1913; and the Philadelphia Print Club was established in 1915. See Watrous, American Printmaking, 29, and 313, note 1. See also Raymond L. Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 1882-1940.

82. Field, "Introduction," American Prints, 19. The date of Marguerite Zorach's first block print is disputed; Janet Flint wrote, without footnote, that M. Zorach made her first linocuts in Paris in 1912. See Flint, Provinceton Printers, 12. It is generally agreed that both Zorachs made linocuts in Provincetown in 1916; the only question is whether the

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block prints she made in 1916 were Marguerite's first efforts in the medium. Marguerite definitely made drawings (designs) for linocuts in Paris in 1911-1912. See Roberta K. Tarbell, Marguerite Zorach: The Early Years, 1908-1920 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1973), 17.

83. Hassam may have turned to printmaking for commercial reasons; see Mellquist, American Art, 275, although David Kiehl opines that Hassam was also resolving issues in prints he had been unable to work out in painting (David Kiehl, interview by author, December 1995). Bellows was inspired to make lithographs through his association with Albert Sterner, whose wife, Marie, was Bellows's dealer; see Lauris Mason and Joan Ludman, The Lithographs of George Bellows, A Catalogue Raisonné (Millwood, N.Y.: K&O Press, 1977), 21; and Jane Myers and Linda Ayres, George Bellows: The Artist and His Lithographs, 1916-1924 (Ft. Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1988), 8-9. Lewis may have made prints before his first documented etching in 1915; see Paul McCarron, The Prints of Martin Lewis, A Catalogue Raisonné (Bronxville: M. Hausberg, 1995), 12. Hopper, when asked why he took up etching, replied, "I wanted to etch, that's all." See "Edward Hopper's Voice," in Brian O'Doherty, American Masters: The Voice and the Myth (New York: Random House/Ridge Press 1989), 17. The Zorachs were, of course, a part of the Provincetown printmaking group, and were swept up by the group's enthusiasm. Another artist who made his first original print in 1915 was John Taylor Arms (1887-1953); he was inspired to make his first prints (copies) in 1913, when he was given a "hobbyists etching set." See David Acton, A Spectrum of Innovation, Color in American Printmaking, 1890-1960, exhibition catalogue, Worcester Art Museum (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1990), 249.

84. Patterson Sims, "Jan Matulka: A Life in Art," 12, from Jan Matulka 1890-1972, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), 12.

85. Brucia Witthoft, The Fine Arts Etchings of James David Smillie, 1833-1909 (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Miller Press, 1992), IV and V. The first class met on March 21, 1894, and Smillie resigned on November 4, 1904.

86. Gladys Engel Lang and Kent Lang, Etched in Memory: The Building and Survival of Artistic Reputation (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 163.

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87. Art Students League. One Hundred Prints by 100 Artists at the Art Students League of N.Y., 1895-1975 (New York: Associated American Artists, 1975), 136.
The Art Students League records are apparently incomplete; according to Witthoft, Etchings of James David Smillie, 32, Smillie initiated an etching class at the ASL in 1894; and according to Lang and Lang, Etched in Memory, 163, George Bridgman (1864-1943) taught at the Art Students League before World War I. Other writers also mention Bridgman's teaching at the ASL in New York; see, for example, Lloyd Goodrich, "Introduction" to Norman Sasowsky, The Prints of Reginald Marsh (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1979), 9, who lists Bridgman as one of Marsh's teachers at the ASL. For more artists who studied with Bridgman, see chapter 5.

88. On Preissig, see Acton, Spectrum, 17, and Moffatt, Arthur Wesley Dow, 122-123.

89. The role of Dow as a teacher of printmaking is perplexing. He apparently did not teach printmaking at Columbia (1904-1922), and the references to the content of his teaching (regarding printmaking) at Pratt Institute (1895-1903), Ipswich (1891-1907), and the ASL (1899-1903) are vague. Flint, Provincetown Printers, 10, wrote, without footnote, that Edna Boies Hopkins "is understood to have studied printmaking at Pratt Institute in 1899 with Arthur Wesley Dow," and Ryan, Edna Boies Hopkins, 13, wrote, also without footnote, "At Pratt she had the good fortune to study with Arthur Wesley Dow who taught her printmaking." But Hopkins studied block printing in Japan in 1904, and her first prints seem to have been made after her studies in Japan.

90. Arthur W. Dow and Vojtech Preissig. Montclair Art Museum, Montclair, N.J., December 4, 1914-January 3, 1915. Exhibition checklist. Preissig exhibited Acacias, a "study for a linoleum cut," but no linoleum cuts.

91. Janet Flint, Two Decades of American Prints: 1920-1940 (Washington, D.C., National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian, June 21-September 8, 1974), 2). While this pamphlet does not list an author, it is believed that the writing and research are Flint's.

92. See Clinton Adams, American Lithographers 1900-1960 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 49, and The New York Times, January 23, 1923, quoted in Adams, 49. According to Flint, Two Decades of American Prints, 2, he was succeeded as lithography instructor by Charles Locke. Flint added that classes in lithography

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were taught by Konrad Cramer in Woodstock, New York, beginning in 1923.

93. Lang and Lang, Etched in Memory, 154-165.

94. Ralph Flint, Albert Sterner, His Life and His Art (New York: Payson and Clarke, Ltd. 1927), 28-29. However, the only reliable source for the date of the founding of the Painter-Gravers of America and for accurate lists of the founding members is The First Annual Year Book of the Painter-Gravers of America, which establishes 1917 as the founding date. As Field has pointed out, in "Introduction," American Prints, 21, Ralph Flint in Sterner, 28, erroneously reported that the founding year was 1915. The charter members of the Painter-Gravers were: George Bellows, Frank Weston Benson, George E. Brown, Arthur Sinclair Covey, Kerr Eby, Salvator Anthony Guarina, Ernest Haskell, Childe Hassam, Eugene Higgins, Lester Hornby, Earl Horter, Allen Lewis, Huc Mazelet Luquiens, John Marin, Francis Luis Mora, Charles F. W. Mielatz, Leo Mielziner, H. McCormick, Bror Julius Olsson Nordfeldt, Henry Raleigh, Boardman Robinson, Ernest Roth, Rudolph Ruzicka, Maurice Sterne, Albert Sterner, John Sloan, Harry Everett Townsend, J. Alden Weir, and Mahonri Young. During its first year, John Taylor Arms, Gustave Baumann, Anne Goldthwaite, J. Held, William Auerbach Levy, Ethel Mars, Jerome Myers, Will Simmons, Jules André Smith, and Dorothy Stevens became members.

95. Ralph Flint, Sterner, 29.

96. Peyton Boswell, "By their Deeds. . .," Art Digest, December 15, 1937, 3-4.

97. Ibid. See also Alfred P. Maurice, "George C. Miller and Son," American Art Review, March-April 1976, 133-144; Janet Flint, George Miller and American Lithography (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1976); Ernest Watson, "George Miller, Godfather to Lithography," American Artist, June 1943, 13-15; Maltby Sykes, "Recollections of a Lithographile," Tamarind Papers, Volume 6, No. 2, summer 1983, 40-47; Stow Wengenroth and Lynd Ward, "George C. Miller, Master Printer," American Artist, May 1966, 12-13, 63.

98. Janet Flint, Miller, n.p.

99. Adams, Crayonstone, 95.

100. Ibid., 80.

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101. Ibid., 107.

102. Ibid., ix.

103. Una Johnson, American Prints, 41-42, devotes two paragraphs to war images by U.S. printmakers; and Watrous, American Printmaking, mentions Eby's war prints, 79, but neither discusses the war years in America, nor offers a survey of war-image prints.
Milton Brown, "The War Years," 71-76, in American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), provides an overview of the effect of the war on U.S. art and artists (excluding printmakers), concluding that "the direction of American art was not changed by the World War."[71] Ilene Susan Fort, The Flag Paintings of Childe Hassam (Los Angeles: L.A. County Museum of Art, 1988), offers information about artists' activities on the home front, and cites Hassam's New York in war-time prints. Alfred Emile Cornebise, Art From The Trenches (College Station: Texas A&M, 1991), focuses on the eight official artists accompanying the U.S. forces (see note 104, below). The major source is A.E. Gallatin, Art and the Great War (News York: E.P. Dutton, 1919), which reproduced George Bellows's Murder of Edith Cavell, Joseph Pennell's Ready to Start, and The Superdreadnoughts New York and Arizona, by Vernon Howe Baily (1874-1953). Gallatin also mentioned the prints of J. André Smith, Lester G. Hornby, and Childe Hassam, as well as "three etchings of Rheims Cathedral under fire," (1917), by Louis Orr, 42. Orr (1879-1966), a Connecticut Yankee, was appointed an official war artist by the government of France, in which capacity he made the etchings of Rheims Cathedral.

104. Kerr Eby enlisted in 1917 and brought back drawings made the same year, from which he later made his first successful etchings, some as early as 1919. Lester G. Hornby went to France in 1916 to be with the French troops, and in 1918, General Pershing gave him a pass to move in and out of the American armies. Many of his war sketches were published in Harper's, and he also made about twenty-eight etchings of war subjects, all in 1918. See Peter Hastings Falk, Lester G. Hornby Connecticut, Painter-Etcher (Madison, Connecticut, 1983). J. André Smith was chosen in 1918 as one of eight artists to accompany the American Expeditionary Forces, to sketch the action. (The other seven were William James Aylward, Walter Jack Duncan, Harvey Thomas Dunn, George M. Harding, Wallace Morgan, Ernest Clifford Peixotto, and Harry Everett Townsend.) One hundred of Smith's drawings were published in In France With the Expeditionary Forces (New York: Arthur H. Hahlo, 1919), and a number of his drawings were later used

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as subjects for etchings. See Alfred Emile Cornebise, Art From the Trenches, for more on Smith and the war.

105. See Glenn C. Peck and Gordon K. Allison, George Bellows and the War Series of 1918, dealer's catalogue (New York: Hirschl & Adler, 1983).

106. See Carl Zigrosser, A World of Art and Museums (Philadelphia, 1975), 24-25.

107. Elizabeth Robinson Pennell, The Life and Letters of Joseph Pennell (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1929), Volume II, 212.

108. Zigrosser, Prints and Their Creators, 92-93.

109. For more on printmakers' interest in the city, especially skyscrapers, see Sara D. Baughman, "Images of the Urban Complex: The City, Construction, Bridges, Transportation and the Factory," in Field, American Prints, pp. 31-51. For some of the artists and their prints, see Reba and Dave Williams, New York, New York, Prints of the City: 1880s-1990, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1994).

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Chapter Two

The Establishment of the Weyhe Gallery

1919-1923

Erhard Weyhe (1882-1972) left his native Germany when he was in his early twenties to settle in London. He had apprenticed as a book dealer in Germany, Italy, and Belgium, thoroughly learning the trade, before opening a bookstore on Charing Cross Road. When World War I broke out, Weyhe immigrated to the United States, arriving in New York in 1914. He decided to specialize in art books, and, after ventures in smaller spaces, in 1918 he rented space at 710 Lexington Avenue, with art books in the front and room for a gallery in the rear.[1]

Before opening the gallery, Weyhe had dealt extensively in prints through his catalogues; a 1916 catalogue, for example, featured "396 French lithographs, of which 216 are by H. Daumier."[2] Other catalogues published between 1916 and 1920 included prints by many Europeans--Renoir, Manet, Delacroix, Toulouse-Lautrec, Piranesi, Rembrandt, Redon, Gavarni, and Goya, among others--as well as Americans --Whistler, Childe Hassam, John Marin, Donald Shaw MacLaughlan, John Sloan, Walter Pach, Timothy Cole, and Henry Wolf.[3] But when Weyhe added gallery space, he obviously felt the need for assistance in the gallery, and in the summer of 1919, hired Carl Zigrosser (1891-1975), who had worked for three years at the New York print dealers Keppel & Co.

Zigrosser, the son of an Austrian emigrant, was born in Indianapolis. In 1900 his family settled in Newark, where Zigrosser grew up. In 1908, he received a

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scholarship to Columbia, graduating Phi Beta Kappa in three years. While at Columbia, Zigrosser was one of a group of freshmen invited to tea at the home of the dean, Frederick Paul Keppel. Zigrosser recognized etchings on the walls as Whistler's; he was later told that he was the first freshman to notice or recognize them. The dean subsequently recommended Zigrosser to his brother, David, head of Keppel & Co., who was seeking an assistant in the gallery; although he had not studied art history, Zigrosser had the necessary scholarly preparation, including knowledge of French and German.[4]

After Zigrosser joined Keppel in 1912 as a researcher, he embarked on a self-teaching program, working in the print room of the New York Public Library. He learned to catalogue the prints, and wrote forewords to Keppel catalogues on Rembrandt and Whistler, as well as on contemporary American artists, including Ernest Roth, Earl Horter, and Childe Hassam. While at Keppel, he met artists who later became associated with the Weyhe Gallery, and he began to learn about printmaking processes, visiting an etcher's workshop with Ernest Roth and watching Joseph Pennell print at Peter Platt's shop.[5]

Zigrosser also met collectors and art critics who wrote about prints (see appendix 7), as well as other print dealers operating in New York, including Alfred Strölin, who, when he heard Weyhe was looking for an assistant, suggested Zigrosser.[6] At the Armory Show, Zigrosser encountered the exciting prints being made in Europe; he also saw avant-garde prints at the Berlin Photographic Company (see chapter 1). Zigrosser wrote that he suggested that Keppel's exhibit and sell

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modernist works, but he was unable to convince the management that there was demand for these kinds of prints in America.[7]

In 1917, when the United States entered the war, David Keppel chose not to employ men of draft age for the duration of the war; Zigrosser, a pacifist, found work at the United Engineering Society's Library. Zigrosser wrote that after the war he was invited back to Keppel's, but decided instead to join Weyhe, where he could exhibit the modernist works that interested him.[8] Weyhe, after all, was already dealing in avant-garde prints.

Zigrosser's first task at the new gallery was to oversee the production of The Weyhe Portfolio: Twelve Prints by Contemporary American Artists, 1919, which Erhard Weyhe had agreed to finance even before the formal opening of the gallery.[9] The portfolio involved prominent printmakers, some of whom Zigrosser undoubtedly hoped would become gallery regulars. He also must have wanted to draw attention to the new gallery, and to announce its intention to publish prints. In any case, the portfolio was a novel way to sell prints.

Although portfolios of prints were frequently made and sold in Europe in the early twentieth century, they were less common in the United States. The few published portfolios were typically theme-oriented and included only one type of print medium, as in Rudolph Ruzicka's New York, A Series of Wood Engravings in Color, The Grolier Society, 1915, and his Newark: A Series of Engravings on Wood, The Carteret Book Club, 1917.[10] The Weyhe Gallery's 1919 Twelve Prints by Contemporary American Artists was thus unusual--a portfolio published by a

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commercial gallery, without a unifying theme, and including etchings, drypoints, woodcuts, and three lithographs. The artists and their prints are shown in table 2-1.

TABLE 2-1

THE WEYHE PORTFOLIO PRINTS

1. William Auerbach-Levy, Tony, 1919, etching
2. Earl Horter, The Dark Tower, etching
3. Rockwell Kent, Bluebird, 1919, woodcut
4. Kenneth Hayes Miller, The Bather, drypoint
5. Jerome Myers, Springtime, drypoint
6. Walter Pach, Brooklyn Bridge, 1919, etching
7. Boardman Robinson, Russia, 1915, lithograph
8. Rudolph Ruzicka, East River Evening, woodcut
9. John Sloan, Copyist at the Metropolitan Museum, 1908, etching
10. Maurice Sterne, Dancing Figure, lithograph
11. Albert Sterner, Earth, lithograph
12. Mahonri Young, Navajo Woman and Pony, drypoint

As we have seen in chapter 1, artistic lithographs were a new and modern type of print for most U.S. artists, and therefore the inclusion of lithographs in the portfolio was a sign of its modernity. George Miller, who had opened his lithography studio only two years earlier, printed the three portfolio lithographs, by Boardman Robinson, Maurice Sterne, and Albert Sterner.[11] Zigrosser probably met Miller during the production of the portfolio; he wrote that he "supervised" the printing.[12]

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The Zigrosser-Miller association proved to be both enduring and important for the gallery. As Howard Cook (1901-1980), a longtime Weyhe artist, pointed out in 1974, "All budding artists of the Weyhe Gallery were sent by Carl Zigrosser down to George Miller's studio to work directly on the stone and then have him print the edition."[13]

The portfolio artists William Auerbach-Levy, Earl Horter, Rockwell Kent, Kenneth Hayes Miller, Jerome Myers, Walter Pach, Boardman Robinson, Rudolph Ruzicka, John Sloan, Maurice Sterne, Albert Sterner, and Mahonri Young and their prints were selected by Zigrosser, almost certainly in consultation with Erhard Weyhe.

Bruce Rogers designed the portfolio cover, which was printed by Edwin Rudge.[14] Of the 115 signed copies, a hundred were offered to the public at $50 each, with fifteen reserved as a special artists' edition.[15] More than fifty years later, Zigrosser wrote that he learned several things from the publication; the most important lesson was that Americans didn't care for portfolios. Collectors liked one or two of the prints, but weren't interested in the others.[16] He added that he hadn't exercised enough critical judgment when selecting the prints, especially those of Robinson, Ruzicka, Sterne, and Young. And he admitted that "the choice of several artists to be included represented a compromise with the prevailing taste, an expediency I now regret." But he continued to believe that the portfolio was a fairly representative cross-section of print production around 1920, "albeit slightly in advance of prevailing taste," adding that he would have liked to have included works by Arthur B. Davies, George Bellows, and J. Alden Weir, either discovered after the publication of the

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portfolio, or for one reason or another unavailable.[17] Curiously, he did not mention the omission of a print by John Marin, the foremost modernist printmaker in America, whose etchings he had admired at "291" in 1915, and would exhibit at Weyhe in 1921.[18]

The artists chosen illustrate the challenge facing anyone who attempts to assess newly made art: how can one determine whether the art will survive the test of time? Artists admired, even famous, in 1919, in 1996 may be forgotten, or recalled for reasons that have little to do with their artistic ability. As early as June 1936, when a magazine polled its readers to identify those perceived as outstanding American printmakers, of the Weyhe portfolio artists, only Rockwell Kent and John Sloan made the national list, with Mahonri Young appearing on the regional list for the West; the other artists did not appear at all.[19] Why were these twelve artists chosen? The portfolio was published six years after the Armory Show, which every artist in the portfolio probably saw, and with which several were involved, but the prints today appear old-fashioned, certainly by comparison with the European prints in the Armory Show.

Clearly, Zigrosser and Weyhe saw something in these prints not obvious to the late-twentieth-century viewer. Zigrosser offered a partial explanation in "Concerning Prints," the essay included with the portfolio; he wrote, "With regard to the accompanying group of prints. . . one may discover in them all manner of reflections of American thought and life. . . how men looked in this decade, what environment

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they created for themselves in cities, and in the open, how they lived, and what they thought about. . . . "

There was much more to the selection of the works, but at the time, the reasoning behind the choices probably needed no further explanation.

The portfolio artists were all well known in 1919. William Auerbach-Levy (1889-1964), for example, who specialized in studies of European peasants and immigrants living on New York's Lower East Side and made portraits of celebrities, including the Marx brothers, was awarded prizes by the Chicago Society of Etchers in 1914 and 1918, and a bronze medal for his etchings at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exhibition. Tony (Figure 13) is typical of his prize-winning works; a similar image, Brittany Peasant, appears in Albert Reese's American Prize Prints of the 20th Century, 1949.[20] Auerbach-Levy, born in Russia, was probably influenced by the great wave of immigration into the U.S. in the teens--approximately 10.5 million immigrants, mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe, entered the U.S. between 1910 and 1913. Auerbach-Levy shared the interests of Paul Strand, whose New York photographs--close-ups of the faces of ethnically diverse New Yorkers--appeared in 1917 in Camera Work, and were described in contemporary reviews as "brutally direct," and "the direct expression of today."[21] In 1919, Tony represented a very modern idea, a fact not obvious to the viewer today.

Earl Horter was a self-taught painter and draftsman who became interested in printmaking in 1910, and received a silver medal for his prints at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition. In 1916, he had exhibited The Dark Tower (Figure 14) and

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other etchings at Keppel & Co., where Zigrosser then worked; Zigrosser wrote the introduction to the exhibition catalogue.[22] The Dark Tower, like most of Horter's etchings, reflects the influence of Whistler, who, as we have seen, dominated American printmaking well into the twentieth century.[23] As we know, Whistler was considered "the proper guide for the avant-garde artist," especially at the influential "291" Gallery.[24] The Photo-Secession Gallery ("291") artists' commitment to the ideas of Whistler continued well into the teens.[25]

Carl Zigrosser, who first encountered Stieglitz around 1913-1914, was a frequent visitor to "291" and a regular reader of Camera Work. Zigrosser valued the relationship, frequently referring in his diaries to meetings and conversations with Stieglitz and Georgia O'Keeffe, and his files contain 462 letters from Stieglitz.[26] Stieglitz was an important influence on Zigrosser's taste, and their shared aesthetic is reflected in more than one print in the Weyhe portfolio.

Zigrosser met Rockwell Kent (1882-1971)--painter, printmaker, illustrator, author and traveler--when Kent addressed a student group at Columbia that included the nineteen-year-old Zigrosser. As Zigrosser later wrote, Kent was the first artist he met, and it was a case of "friendship at first sight"; he was thrilled to be invited to dinner at the Kent home.[27] Kent, eight years older than Zigrosser, also recalled their meeting: he wrote, "Aged about 20, beardless, blue-eyed, and crowned with a true glory of blonde hair, young Carl was as angelically beautiful a youth as ever trod our earth, his beauty being eloquent of such unearthly purity of soul as shamed a sinner such as I."[28]

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Kent made his first woodblock print in Alaska in 1918 with materials Zigrosser provided.[29] Bluebird (Figure 15), his first large wood engraving, inspired by Kent's daughter, Barbara, remained popular for many years; in 1926, it was the frontispiece of the section "Seven 'Modern' Prints" in Print Connoisseur; it was included in Fifty Prints (1927), American Institute of Graphic Arts; and it appeared on covers of two editions of Agnes De Lima's Our Enemy the Child (1925) and on the cover of the catalogue for a 1937 exhibition of Kent's work at the Syracuse Museum of Fine Arts (now the Everson Museum of Art). Bluebird typifies prints of the late twenties and early thirties, anticipating "Art Deco" in its simplified style and reduced elements, the tubular body of the child, and the dainty refinement and exaggeration of her dancing pose. In 1919, it must have seemed extraordinary.[30]

Zigrosser and Kent remained friends until the latter's death in 1971; four years later, Zigrosser dedicated A World of Art and Museums jointly to Kent and another friend, Roderick Seidenberg. Kent was a regular exhibitor at the Weyhe Gallery until 1930, and in 1933, Kent and Zigrosser collaborated to produce Rockwellkentiana, which included a checklist of Kent's wood engravings and lithographs, the predecessor of the 1975 catalogue raisonné of his prints.[32]

Zigrosser did not record how he came to meet Kenneth Hayes Miller (1876-1952), but Miller was a close friend of Rockwell Kent's, who may have introduced them. Miller was later an important teacher of the urban realists, including Peggy Bacon (1895-1987), Reginald Marsh (1898-1954), and Isabel Bishop (1902-1988). He was also a painter, and an award-winning printmaker in the twenties and thirties. His

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best-known etchings depict women shoppers, but another favorite subject was the Renoir-like nude, as in the drypoint The Bather, 1919 (Figure 16). Renoir's prints were much admired in the United States in the teens; in 1910, when Stieglitz held an exhibition of lithographs by Manet, Cézanne, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Renoir,[33] the print singled out by reviewers was Renoir's "beautiful nude,"[34] also described as "a little nude, charmingly drawn."[35] Renoir lithographs in the Armory Show attracted the attention of prominent collectors, including Lillie P. Bliss, who bought two of them, and John Quinn, who bought six.[36] Erhard Weyhe included Renoir prints in his early catalogues,[37] and a dozen Renoir prints--mostly nudes and bathers--were a part of the 1922 Weyhe Gallery exhibition, "Etchings and Lithographs by Manet and the French Impressionists."[38] Renoir, like Whistler, continued to influence U.S. printmakers well into the twentieth century.

The painter Jerome Myers (1867-1940), who made etchings of New York street scenes, is most often recalled as an organizer of the Armory Show. He was interested in the picturesque, and romanticized the slums, squalor, and poverty of New York, especially with his groups of children. His drypoint Springtime (Figure 17) is typical of his oeuvre; in addition to crowded streets, he often produced scenes of relaxation and play in the city's parks or on the piers. A well-known artist in his time, Myers received his first solo exhibition at the Macbeth Gallery in 1908, and was represented in the "Exhibition of Independent Artists" in 1910. Though not one of the Eight, Myers was an "Ashcan" painter, frequently portraying scenes of everyday

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life on the Lower East Side. Like John Sloan, he was committed to capturing urban life--a thoroughly modern idea--but in a more sentimental light.

Walter Pach, like Myers, is remembered for his role in the conception and organization of the Armory Show. Pach, who had been living in Europe since 1904 and spoke French and German, knew most of the modern European artists, collectors, and dealers. In 1912, he assisted Arthur B. Davies and Walt Kuhn in choosing works for the Armory Show and, afterward, continued to organize European Modernist exhibitions for the Montross Gallery and others.

Few print collectors today know Pach's prints, although he was one of the six U.S. artists to show prints in the Armory Show; he even sold a print, and he also bought one, the Gauguin lithograph, Pastorales Martiniques.[39] Weyhe offered his prints for sale before 1919, and Zigrosser wrote that he had met Pach before the Armory Show. Zigrosser valued Pach as a friend, but was later dubious about his talent. In 1975, he wrote: "[Pach] learned everything about art from without, he learned the rules, he knew the techniques. He was basically an academic painter and, therefore, his aesthetic reactions originated more from outside authority than from inner sensibility. His lectures and even his writings on art were dull and uninspiring."[40] Nevertheless, the Weyhe Gallery gave Pach and his wife, Magda (Magdalene Frohberg), a joint exhibition in 1925 (see chapter 3).

The somewhat awkward Brooklyn Bridge (Figure 18) is one of Pach's better prints, but in any case, its image probably redeemed it for Zigrosser. The Brooklyn Bridge, completed in 1883, was an important feature of the New York skyline and a

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source of inspiration for artists well into the second decade of the twentieth century; the earliest of Joseph Stella's famous works of art celebrating the bridge, Brooklyn Bridge, is dated 1917-1918 (Yale). Pach's Brooklyn Bridge may have won its place because its subject was understood to be a symbol of progress and modernity, and Pach's association with the Weyhe Gallery may have arisen out of Pach's place in the art world, and his friendship with the principals, rather than his artistic ability. Be that as it may, Pach would in future years be helpful to the gallery on several occasions (see chapter 4).

Boardman Robinson (1876-1962) was a painter, muralist, teacher, illustrator, and cartoonist, as well as a printmaker. He was art editor of Vogue in 1906-1907, a cartoonist for the New York Tribune from 1910-1914, and in 1916-1917, a contributor to the politically radical publication, The Masses. Zigrosser had admired Robinson's cartoons in the Armory Show, and may have been inspired by them to include Robinson's work in the Weyhe Portfolio. Zigrosser described Robinson as "a notable draughtsman" whose "work will hold its place . . . in the final approval of American Art in the twentieth century," and he wrote that he perceived Robinson as "more of an artist than a propagandist" in Robinson's work for The Masses;[41] indeed, the gallery would give Robinson a solo exhibition (drawings) in 1924. Robinson's Russia (Figure 19) resembles his Masses cartoons; to paraphrase Zigrosser, it appears to be more propaganda than art. But Zigrosser also wrote for The Masses and shared its political viewpoint; he later described the periodical as "one of the authentic mouthpieces of the

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era from 1910-1920,"--that is, a thoroughly modern publication.[42] Like Pach, Robinson was later helpful to the gallery.

Rudolph Ruzicka (1883-1978) was perhaps best known as an illustrator and a typesetter. Of Ruzicka, Zigrosser wrote, noncommittally, "A leaflet that I wrote in 1921 which drew favorable comment from The Dial . . . was printed with decoration and typography by Rudolph Ruzicka."[43] East River Evening (Figure 20) is typical of Ruzicka's oeuvre; Ruzicka specialized in depicting cities--Rome, Prague, Boston, Newark--as well as New York. He printed his blocks himself, and his work was admired by some of the most discerning print connoisseurs of the time, notably W.M. Ivins, Jr., who was impressed by the "beautiful and brilliant handling of his masses of black and white,"[44] and Zigrosser may have included the Ruzicka print because of Ivins's interest. Zigrosser initially knew Ivins as a collector and, after 1916, as the first curator of prints at the Metropolitan Museum and as a mentor who influenced his taste.[45]

In 1919, John Sloan, the most highly regarded printmaker represented in the portfolio, was undoubtedly both the best known and most experienced American printmaker. As we have seen in chapter 1, his first New York etchings of 1905-1906 comprised the set known as "New York City Life," and, like Pach, Sloan exhibited prints in the Armory Show, and also sold one. Zigrosser looked through a large number of Sloan's prints before selecting Copyist at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 21) for the Weyhe portfolio. The plate for Copyist at the Metropolitan Museum was made in 1908, but Sloan worked on it again in 1910, when he finally considered it

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finished; it includes a self-portrait, and a portrait of his wife, Dolly.[46] Given Sloan's prominence as a printmaker, the choice for his inclusion in the portfolio was a natural one.

Maurice Sterne (1878-1957) was a painter, sculptor, and graphic artist who traveled widely, particularly in Bali; indeed, his Bali works made him famous. When Sterne returned to America in 1915 after an eleven-year absence, his work was much admired in the New York art world. In 1919, Martin Birnbaum, formerly director of the New York branch of the Berlin Photographic Company, praised Sterne, citing especially his "graceful drawings of dancers,"[47] of which Dancing Figure (Figure 22) is a lithographic example. From 1917 to 1923, Sterne was married to Mabel Dodge (the much-married heiress, famous for her New York salon and, later, for the circle she formed in Taos), and was very much a part of the avant-garde. His work was praised by the influential critic Hamilton Easter Field, and he was a frequenter of Provincetown and Taos, the modernist colonies of the period.[48]

Although he is virtually unknown today, Albert Edward Sterner was a prolific printmaker, and a pioneer lithographer in the United States. He made his first lithographs in Paris in the 1890s, and took up lithography again in Munich in 1901-1905; as stated earlier, his lithographs (exhibited in New York at the Berlin Photographic Company in 1911 and 1915) were among the first artistic lithographs shown in the U.S. in the twentieth century.[49] And, he had organized the Painter-Gravers of America, a group that included many of the best-known artists of the time

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and that played an important role in the beginning of modern printmaking in America. Of the twelve artists represented in the Weyhe Portfolio, six were charter members.[50]

Sterner's lithograph Earth (Figure 23) has recently been interpreted as intending "to suggest Man--all men, all humanity--horrified by the devastation of War as symbolized by the starkness of earth and sky, turning to the wasted, untended Land."[51] The subject would have appealed to Zigrosser, a conscientious objector and antiwar activist.

Mahonri Mackintosh Young (1877-1957), born in Salt Lake City and a grandson of the Mormon leader Brigham Young, was known primarily as an "Ashcan" sculptor; highly prolific, his oeuvre comprises thousands of objects. Young was awarded prizes for his prints by the Society of American Etchers and the National Academy of Design. His earliest etchings in Paris in 1898-1902 were of French images, but after his return to the United States, he made etchings of Utah subjects. In 1912 he travelled to Arizona, afterward frequently focusing on Southwestern images, especially Indians. His studies of the Southwest are among the earliest modern works of that region. Navajo Woman and Pony (Figure 24) was probably chosen for its subject matter; the "Red Man" was much in vogue with artists in the teens and twenties.[52]

The Weyhe portfolio encompassed ideas and images that in 1919 were easily read as "modern," and despite its somewhat disappointing commercial performance, probably accomplished the objective of announcing the kind of gallery Weyhe and

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Zigrosser planned to establish.[53] Similarly, the gallery's initial exhibitions seemed designed to place the Weyhe Gallery firmly in the modern camp (see appendix 2).

The gallery's first major exhibition, November 1-15, 1919, was of the lithographs of Daumier and Gavarni--almost certainly from the inventory built up by Erhard Weyhe--followed by Redon lithographs, also probably from Weyhe's inventory. Zigrosser wrote that these were "pioneering" exhibitions, and that the only other Redon prints he had seen had been at the Armory Show.[54] As discussed in chapter 1, Redon's prints were the most popular prints at the Armory Show; the exhibition was a clever choice. The Weyhe Gallery exhibited Redon prints again in 1923, when the artist's work continued to be well received; "R.F," in the Christian Science Monitor, wrote that the exhibition was "of distinct appeal to the connoisseur. . . a modernist . . . , Redon appeals to a limited public who understand and appreciate the world which makes his background and environment."[55]

In 1920, the Weyhe Gallery's exhibitions were for the most part undistinguished (see appendix 2), but the year closed with "Lithographs in Color, Aquatints and Watercolors by Arthur B. Davies." Davies was at the time one of the best known and most highly regarded artists in America. An anonymous reviewer in The Arts wrote, "Of the versatility of Arthur B. Davies the exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery gives new evidence. He has a feeling for the beauty of black close in many respects to that of the great Chinese masters. . . . The spotting of the lithographs he is exhibiting is at first sight as beautiful as it is in the work of the great Japanese of the Sixteenth Century." The reviewer went on to describe the "spotting" in Davies's

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lithographs as "capricious," and declared that "caprice is a characteristic of our times even of most of the greatest art of our times," citing Renoir, Gauguin, Matisse, Picasso, and Rodin as "capricious," and "our own Arthur B. Davies."[56] Unfortunately, no checklist for the exhibition has been found.[57]

Zigrosser wrote that when he met Davies in Weyhe's bookstore around 1919, he already knew the artist's etchings and drypoints from a 1916 New York Society of Etchers exhibition at the Montross Gallery, for which he had written the catalogue introduction. He also wrote that Davies "seemed to take a fancy" to him.[58] Zigrosser claimed to have introduced Davies to George Miller, to whom Davies turned over all his lithographic printing in 1919.[59] In the summer of 1920, the Weyhe Gallery announced the publication of eighteen Davies lithographs, and fourteen more in the fall.[60] Over the next several years, the gallery continued to publish Davies's lithographs, including his final portfolio of fifteen in 1924.[61]

The Davies lithographs were the first prints (after those in the portfolio) to be published by the gallery; thereafter, print publishing was to become an important Weyhe Gallery activity. Few studies on prints define "publishing," but in 1953, William M. Ivins, Jr. discussed seventeenth-century print publishing, describing the print publisher as one who "hired men to make prints for him, which he stocked, and published, and dealt in just as though he were an ordinary manufacturer-dealer."[62] Later print scholars have typically ignored the subject, but in 1980 Antony Griffiths wrote, "Although some artists have marketed their own prints, most have worked through or for publishers. These have often put their address (i.e., name and place of

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publication) on the plate, or added their blind-stamp to each impression of a print. Publishers are in general one of the most important and neglected elements in the genesis of most prints."[63] Sylvan Cole (b. 1918), the dean of U.S. print dealers, defined print publishing in the Weyhe Gallery manner as "owning an entire edition. Sometimes the gallery paid the cost of producing the print directly to the printer; or the dealer bought the entire run from the artist. The artist would sign the prints, and the dealer owned the plate or the stone."[64]

Owning the entire edition gave the gallery an incentive to "build" both the edition and the artist through advertising, announcing the publication of the prints, distributing photographs of prints to the press, etc. The price of the unsold impressions might rise with the artist's reputation, especially if the print received awards,[65] but if the prints didn't sell, the gallery assumed the risk of owning prints for which the costs might not be recovered. Occasionally, a print might prove to be exceptionally popular, and the gallery would make unusually large profits (see chapter 4, note 23).

According to Zigrosser, Davies's relationship with the Weyhe Gallery eventually deteriorated; Zigrosser claimed that Davies allowed his last dealer, Frederick N. Price, to undermine his good relationship with Weyhe. Price took over the sale of Davies's prints as well as the paintings, and in 1929, published, according to Zigrosser, "an elaborate and pretentious catalogue raisonné of the prints . . . one of the most useless catalogues ever made."[66] For whatever reason, Zigrosser failed to

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establish an enduring relationship with Davies, the kind he was able to establish with some Weyhe artists.

The Davies exhibition was the first of the type for which the gallery was to become best known--prints, especially lithographs, by living American artists. As a part of the exhibition, the gallery initiated another pioneering practice, the use of original prints as Christmas greetings; with the invitation to the Davies exhibition, gallery clients received as a holiday souvenir one of eight transfer lithographs by Davies [67] (Figure 25).

In 1921, the Weyhe Gallery continued to show works by Europeans, but also exhibited etchings by John Marin (1872-1953), as shown in table 2-2 below.[68]

TABLE 2-2

ETCHINGS BY JOHN MARIN, MARCH 13-31, 1921

1. Canal, Amsterdam, 1906
2. Hotel du Garde Chasse, Paris, 1906
3. La Serrurerie, Paris, 1906
4. Rue Mouffetard, Paris, 1906
5. Près du Pont Nationale, Paris, 1906
6. Maison Blanche, Paris, 1906
7. St. Germain du Près, Paris, 1906
8. Place St. Jacques, Paris, 1907
9. The Window, Venice, 1907
10. Ponte di Donna Onesta, Venice, 1907
11. Palazzo Dario, Venice, 1907
22. Vieille Maison, Rouen, 1909
23. St. Ouen, Rouen, 1909
24. Chartres Cathedral, 1910
25. Pflanzbadgasse, Strassburg, 1910
26. Frauen Kirche, Nuernberg, 1910
27. La Place (Frauen Kirche), 1910
28. Set of Six New York Etchings, 1913
29. Grain Elevators, Weehawken, 1915
30. Grain Elevators, (Abstraction), 1915
31. New York, No. 1, 1921
32. Pastel, 1909

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12. Clochette de Sta Maria, Venice, 1907
13. Gondoliers, Venice, 1907
14. Sta Maria della Salute, Venice, 1907
15. Della Fava, Venezia, 1907
16. Canal S. Pietro, Venice, 1907
17. Ponte, Venezia, 1907
18. Gestiere di Porseduro, Venice, 1907
19. La Madeleine, Paris, 1908
20. Cathedral, Rouen, 1909
21. Cloitre, St. Maclou, Rouen, 1909
33. Pastel, 1909
34. Pastel, 1909
35. Pastel, 1909
36. Pastel, 1909
37. Pastel, 1909
38. Watercolor, 1914
39. Highland, Hoosic Mts., 1918
40. Hoosic Mountaintops, 1918
41. Hoosic Mountaintops, 1918
42. Big Tree, Penobscot Bay, 1919

Zigrosser wrote in 1969 that Stieglitz "farmed out" Marin's prints to the Weyhe Gallery "for a period," but does not elaborate on this rather curious statement.[69] Indeed, Zigrosser is self-contradictory and far from thorough or complete in the Marin print catalogue raisonné, which he compiled.

For example, in 1915, Zigrosser saw Marin's etchings at "291," and, as discussed in chapter 1, Stieglitz had also exhibited Marin prints in 1910. Yet, Zigrosser did not include in his list of "Exhibitions of Marin Etchings" in the catalogue raisonné any exhibition (except a 1911 Kennedy Galleries exhibition) before the Weyhe Gallery 1921 exhibition.[70] Even more perplexing, a 1928 Weyhe catalogue announced that the gallery had published Marin's Park Row (Zigrosser 134, titled in Zigrosser's catalogue raisonné, Downtown, The El, 1921, and identified therein as published by Stieglitz) and River Movement (Zigrosser 145, also identified in Zigrosser's catalogue raisonnè as published by Stieglitz).[71] Zigrosser never refers to

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the 1928 Weyhe publication, or to the contradictory information about who published the prints.

In May of 1921, the gallery exhibited etchings, drawings, and monotypes by Joseph Stella (1988-1946), an exhibition omitted in the voluminous Stella literature; indeed, it has been generally accepted that Stella made only "a small number of monotypes and a group of five etchings," the former confined to portraits and the latter never editioned[72] (Figure 26). Unfortunately, there was no exhibition checklist, and no photographs of the works were reproduced in the press, but one contemporary review praised Stella's etchings, and another asserted, "He is at his best in three monotypes of landscape subjects which are rich in suggestion and broadly decorative."[73] The "monotypes of landscape subjects" are apparently unknown, and not mentioned in the Stella literature. The Weyhe Gallery also offered for sale unidentified work by Stella in 1922 (see table 2-3).

In 1922, Weyhe exhibitions included woodcuts by Felix Vallotton and prints by the French Impressionists, and in May, woodcuts and lithographs by George Biddle (1885-1954). In 1920, Biddle had begun an intermittent two-year visit to Tahiti, where he made a number of woodcuts and two drypoints. He returned in 1921, and spent January through June in New York, when he began to make lithographs with George Miller. How Biddle was introduced to the Weyhe Gallery and to Miller has yet to be determined, but Biddle wrote that while in New York he lived at 50 1/2 Barrow Street, where Rockwell Kent, another Greenwich Village resident, was a visitor; Kent may have introduced Biddle to Zigrosser.[74]

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Zigrosser admired Biddle's work: he wrote about Biddle in The Artist in America (1942), exhibited Biddle's watercolors at the Weyhe Gallery in 1927, and included Biddle's prints in a group exhibition in 1932 ("Fifty Modern Prints of 1932"), but Biddle never became a gallery regular. Biddle does not refer to the Weyhe Gallery or Zigrosser in his memoirs,[75] and the catalogue raisonné of Biddle's prints omits in its list of exhibitions the Weyhe Gallery May 1922 solo exhibition of Biddle's prints. [76]

1922 closed with an exhibition of Piranesi etchings, and lithographs by Pamela Bianco (1906-1994), a British child prodigy who later settled in America. Bianco's first American exhibition (drawings and paintings) was held in 1921 at the Anderson Galleries, and in May 1922 the Print Rooms, a San Francisco Gallery, exhibited her drawings, paintings, and lithographs. There is no record of how Bianco came to the Weyhe Gallery, but Bianco's father managed Brentano's bookshop in Paris, and it seems probable that he and Erhard Weyhe knew each other.[77] In December 1922, The Balsam Tree (Figure 27), one of Bianco's first lithographs, was announced as "Just Published" by Weyhe; and around the same time, the gallery mailed to friends and clients a small lithograph by Bianco, with the inscription Holiday Greetings. The print, without inscription, was later sold as Still Life.[78]

1922 also saw the publication of a Weyhe Gallery brochure entitled The Living Artist, an appeal "to buy the works of the creators of our own time," to "aid them when they most need your support, not when they are old and famous. If America is ever to produce an art for all the world to see, you must foster everyone who is

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genuinely striving to create."[79] The Living Artist listed twenty-six artists whose works were available from $5 upwards; the artists listed can be seen in table 2-3.

TABLE 2-3

THE LIVING ARTIST

Adolf Dehn	John Marin
Arthur Young	Marsden Hartley
Charles Burchfield	J.J. Lankes
Ben Kopman	Allan Lewis
Boardman Robinson	George Bellows
Rudolph Ruzicka	Earl Horter
Arthur B. Davies	Jerome Myers
Alfred Stieglitz	Pop Hart
Edward Hopper	Walter Pach
Konrad Cramer	John Sloan
Walt Kuhn	Hays [sic] Miller
Max Weber	Rockwell Kent
Paul Burlin	Ernest Haskell
Joseph Stella	Mahonri Young
Maurice Sterne	William Zorach

Unfortunately, the specific works were not identified, and the list of artists raises important questions; for example, while the gallery later published two of Marsden Hartley's prints, it has been believed that Hartley completed his first prints in

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Germany in 1923, and there is no documentation of any other Hartley work ever exhibited at the gallery. [80]

1923 opened with the second Redon exhibition, and in April, the gallery featured drawings and lithographs by Adolf Dehn (1895-1968), the artist's first one-man exhibition. Zigrosser could not recall exactly how Dehn came to the Weyhe Gallery,[81] but Richard W. Cox wrote that:

> [Boardman] Robinson with the aid of George Miller . . . instructed Dehn in the rudiments of lithography in 1920. Robinson then conducted his protegé to the Weyhe Gallery . . . to meet Carl Zigrosser, the evangelistic promoter of American printmaking, who took some of Dehn's drawings and seven lithographs on consignment and offered him a place in a small graphic art show in 1921. Dehn entered seven drawings and three lithographs; only two drawings sold, one of them to Arthur B. Davies . . . for $16.50. Dehn's other work languished in the back room.[82]

In 1970, Zigrosser wrote, "We managed to sell a few of [Dehn's] drawings. We also encouraged him to make a few lithographs, and our outright purchase of a batch of his drawings made it possible for him to get to Europe at a crucial time in his life."[83] The chronology in Adolf Dehn Drawings indicates that in 1921 Dehn "first exhibited drawing purchased by Arthur B. Davies," and travelled to Europe for the first time.[84] The 1921 exhibition cited was the gallery's summer exhibition, for which there was no announcement or checklist, but The Evening Post, June 25, 1921, mentioned the exhibition and included Dehn in a list of artists represented.[85] Dehn continued to exhibit at Weyhe, with frequent one-man exhibitions, until 1940, the last year his work was shown at the gallery.[86]

The Dehn exhibition was the last important exhibition held at 710 Lexington Avenue, for the gallery was by year-end to relocate to 794 Lexington Avenue. The

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move signalled a new era for the gallery, with larger space, more frequent exhibitions, more critical attention, and a growing recognition in the New York art world.

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Footnotes - Chapter 2

1. The facts of Erhard Weyhe's life are taken from his obituary in The New York Times, July 13, 1972, and from conversations with Gertrude Weyhe Dennis. In Catalogue of Books on the Fine and Applied Arts, 25, 1919, Weyhe wrote, "E. Weyhe announces that in the fall he will add to his present shop at 708 Lexington Avenue larger and more commodious quarters next door at 710 Lexington Ave., where with the aid of able and trained assistants he will be at the service of libraries, artists, and collectors of prints and books on the fine and applied arts. A small gallery will be opened at which modern and old prints of moderate price will be shown." The catalogue can be seen at the Grolier Club Library. (See appendix 1 for a partial list of the Weyhe Gallery catalogues published between 1916 and 1940, and where they can be found. Many early Weyhe Gallery catalogues remain unlocated.)
   The earliest catalogue with Erhard Weyhe's name on it (in the collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis) is dated December 1913, and bears the legend "offered for sale by E. Weyhe (F.B. Neumayer & Co.), 64 Charing Cross Road. Mrs. Dennis says that F.B. Neumayer was E. Weyhe's partner, and later his brother-in-law (Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, interview by author, February 1996).

2. Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Books and Prints, No. 15, 1916, 7. The catalogue can be seen at the Grolier Club Library.

3. This information is from a group of pre-1919 Weyhe catalogues, which can be seen at the Grolier Club Library.

4. The facts of Zigrosser's life are taken from Zigrosser's two autobiographies, A World of Art and Museums (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1975), 15-25; and My Own Shall Come to Me (Casa Laura: 1975, privately printed in Holland in an edition of 300), 23-37, and 52 (hereafter, World and My Own).

5. Zigrosser, World, 17-18.

6. Ibid., 24.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., 25.

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9. Ibid, 40. In the United States, the complete portfolio can be seen in the collection of Reba and Dave Williams, and in the U.S. Library of Congress; in the United Kingdom, it can be seen at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England.

10. The Grolier Club, The Engraved and Typographic Work of Rudolph Ruzicka, An Exhibition (New York, 1948), 27-28. For more on early American print portfolios, see Janet Flint, Art for All, American Print Publishing Between the Wars (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1980).

11. According to the page opposite "Contents" in the Weyhe Portfolio. All three prints are included in Catalogue of a Collection of Lithographs by American Artists From the Portfolio of George C. Miller, Plaza Book Auction Corporation, March 23, 1934. The impression of Sterne's The Dancer (Dancing Figure) was a unique trial proof, signed by G.C. Miller. This valuable catalogue, at the New York Public Library, was brought to my attention by Clinton Adams (see also chapter 5, note 70).

12. Zigrosser, World, 40. Printing bills to the gallery for work on the portfolio were submitted by George Miller; Peters Brothers Plate Printers (Sloan and Horter); and Fred Reynolds, Art Printer (Miller, Young, Pach, Myers) (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4645, Frame 143, 145-150, 153, and 156). According to the page opposite "Contents" in the portfolio, the "copper plates" were printed by Fred Reynolds of New York, and G.A. and R.W. Peters of Philadelphia; the wood blocks were printed by Rudolph Ruzicka and "Mr. Adams" of the Cooperative Press.

13. Janet Flint, George Miller and American Lithography, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1976), (9).

14. Zigrosser, World, 40-41. See also page opposite "Contents" in the portfolio, which reads: "Mr. Bruce Rogers arranged the letterpress, which was printed by Mr. William Edwin Rudge."

15. Dan Burne Jones, The Prints of Rockwell Kent: A Catalogue Raisonné (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 3.

16. Zigrosser, World, 40-41.

17. Ibid, 41. Zigrosser omitted the fact that at least one artist, Joseph Pennell, turned down the opportunity to participate in the portfolio. On

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October 20, 1919, Pennell wrote Zigrosser, "I should like to contribute to the portfolio--but I cannot afford to on the terms you offer." (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4637, Frame 228-230).

18. Zigrosser, World, 185-186. See also table 2-3; Marin was represented in The Living Artist list.

19. Aline Kistler, "The National Survey," Prints, Volume VI, June 1936, No. 5, 241-250.

20. Albert Reese, American Prize Prints of the 20th Century (New York: American Artists Group, 1949), 8.

21. Camera Work, Numbers XLIX-L June 1917. Kraus Reprint edition, 1969. The plates are unpaginated; the comments are on 36.

22. Frederick Keppel & Co., Catalogue of an Exhibition of Etchings and Drawings by Earl Horter, New York, September 1916.

23. Una Johnson, American Prints and Printmakers, 1, quoted in chapter 1.

24. See Getscher, The Stamp of Whistler, 15, quoted in chapter 1. Horter was represented in the Oberlin exhibition with View of New York From Manhattan Bridge, number 152, which is number 23 in the 1916 Keppel Gallery exhibition checklist.

25. Camera Work, Numbers 45-50, 1914-1917, published Whistler-influenced photographs in the teens--e.g., Paul Haviland's two views of New York at Night, Volume 46, dated April 1914, published October 1914.

26. Zigrosser, World, 35 and 185-186. Unfortunately, his diaries rarely recorded anything of interest to the contemporary reader about Stieglitz and O'Keeffe, and the letters from Stieglitz to Zigrosser are dull beyond belief (Zigrosser papers, AAA, Reel 4643, Frames 223-999).

27. Zigrosser, World, 28.

28. Rockwell Kent, It's Me O Lord: The Autobiography of Rockwell Kent (New York: Mead, 1955), 250. The contemporary reader of Kent's description might infer that the attachment was homosexual, but both Kent and Zigrosser were aggressively heterosexual; Kent tended to dramatic writing. (See note 29, below.)

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29. Ibid., 353. "Fruit of my friendship with Carl Zigrosser was to be my wood engraving. Convinced by the character of my drawings that I could become an engraver, Carl had given me some blocks and tools to try one in Alaska." Zigrosser wrote, "Believing that he had great potential as a printmaker, I kept prompting him to try cutting in wood, and sent blocks and tools to Alaska" (World, 132).

30. Jones, The Prints of Rockwell Kent: A Catalogue Raisonné, 3. According to Jones, 115 proofs were printed by Ruzicka and Adams at the Cooperative Press in New York. Bluebird has certain similarities to Lee Laurie's 1937 bas-relief, Progress, Rockefeller Center, illustrated on the cover of Alastair Duncan, American Art Deco (New York: Abrams, 1986.)

31. Kent's last exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery was apparently "The Rockwell Kent Drawings for Moby Dick," February 24-March 15, 1930. But the gallery continued to offer Kent prints by catalogue; see Fine Prints, Old and New, Drawings and Sculpture, Catalogue #81, December 1938, 37-39.

32. Rockwell Kent and Carl Zigrosser. Rockwellkentiana: Few Words and Many Pictures (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1933). See note 15 above for the catalogue raisonné. Neither Zigrosser nor Jones included print publisher, exhibition history or a chronology of events in Kent's life. The only list of Weyhe Gallery-published Kent prints, because of its date, incomplete, is in the Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 11-13, which lists twenty prints and one reproduction of a Kent painting. In 1931, the gallery announced the publication of three Kent lithographs in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art: Sermilik Ford, September 1931, 178; Farewell, ed. 100; and Hero, ed. 100, October 1931, 262. Kent fans, while extraordinarily devoted--they publish "The Kent Collector," an index to everything mentioning Kent--have not produced a complete list of his exhibitions.

33. Homer, Alfred Stieglitz, 297.

34. J. Edgar Chamberlin, in the N.Y. Mail, quoted in Camera Work, 33, January 1911. Kraus Reprint edition, 1969, 50.

35. James Townsend, American Art News, ibid.

36. Milton W. Brown, Armory Show, 299 and 130.

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37. Rare Books, Art Books, Prints, Weyhe Catalogue 28, #195 (1920).

38. Etchings and Lithographs by Manet and the French Impressionists at E. Weyhe's, January 28 to February 11, 1922, exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume 1, 22).

39. Brown, Armory Show, 269 and 299. The print he sold was an etching entitled Renoir's Liseuse. For the other American artists who showed prints in the Armory Show, see chapter 1.

40. Zigrosser, World, 29. Despite Zigrosser's disparaging comments about Pach, he corresponded with Pach for thirty-six years, a correspondence initiated (and perpetuated) by Zigrosser. On September 14, 1946, Pach reminded Zigrosser that "about thirty years ago, I recommended you to Weyhe, and Weyhe to you" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4636, Frame 524).

41. Zigrosser, World, 31 and 270. Zigrosser was right about Robinson, as Alexander Calder was among the artists to whom he taught continuous-line drawing. See Joan M. Marter, Alexander Calder (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 16. Marter also wrote, "Calder's drawings of these years [at the ASL] were indebted to Robinson, and this early development of linear expression was the groundwork for his later achievements in wire sculpture," 19. According to Una Johnson, Robinson made fewer than twenty lithographs, between 1915 and 1942 (Johnson, American Prints and Printmakers, 41).

42. Zigrosser, World, 273.

43. Ibid., 39.

44. Quoted in The Engraved & Typographic Work of Rudolph Ruzicka, exhibition catalogue (New York: The Grolier Club, 1948), 9.

45. Zigrosser, World, 198.

46. Peter Morse, John Sloan's Prints, A Catalogue Raisonné, 167. The entry for this print indicates two editions, one hundred in J.S. edition; 115 in Weyhe edition. Richard W. and Gustav A. Peters did most of Sloan's edition printing for twenty-five years, including the Weyhe edition.

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47. Martin Birnbaum, Introductions (New York: Frederick Fairchild Sherman, 1919), 50. Several artists of the period, including Arthur B. Davies, Rockwell Kent, and Sterne, specialized in the depiction of graceful nudes in Arcadian landscapes, symbolic images that were considered "modern," especially after the Armory Show, when Americans were introduced to the European Symbolists, notably Redon. For more on this subject, see Charles Eldridge, American Imagination and Symbolist Painting, exhibition catalogue (New York: Grey Art Gallery, 1979).

48. Ibid., 49-50.

49. Clinton Adams, Crayonstone, 80 and 104-106.

50. The six were E. Horter, B. Robinson, R. Ruzicka, M. Sterne, A. Sterner, and J. Sloan. (See chapter 1 for the complete list.)

51. In Henry A. Broadd, "Albert Sterner: Printmaker With Ideas," Print Review, 1981, 27-40. Sterner was also a symbolist (see note 47). For more on this aspect of his prints, see Richard Field, "Symbolic Images," in American Prints 1900-1950, 99-100.

52. Of the numerous artists who were fascinated with the American Indian, one of the most famous was Marsden Hartley, who both wrote about them and used Indian themes in his art. The Weyhe Gallery continued to offer a group of Young's prints, all Western images, for sale as late as 1938 (Fine Prints Old and New, Drawings and Sculpture, Weyhe Catalogue No. 81, December 1938, 44).

53. The New York Tribune, December 21, 1919, described the portfolio as a "promising experiment." The Christian Science Monitor, March 8, 1920, admired and reproduced Sterner's Earth, but was critical of the other prints (WGS, Volume-New).

54. Zigrosser, World, 37. He must have missed the Ardsley Gallery 1917 exhibition; see chapter 1, 12.

55. R.F., Christian Science Monitor, February 12, 1923 (WGS-Volume II, 2).

56. "Of the Versatility of Arthur B. Davies," The Arts, Vol I, January 1921, 32. (WGS, Volume-New). The use of the term "spotting" by critics of the period is interesting; see chapter 1, 8.

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57. The major source for Davies's prints is Joseph S. Czestochowski, Arthur B. Davies, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints; see 236 for the Weyhe exhibition. The Weyhe catalogue, Rare Books, Art Books, Prints, Catalogue 28, n.d. (710 Lexington Avenue), features a watercolor by Davies, Cathedral Rock, Yosemite, and a drawing, A Road in France.

58. Zigrosser, World, 209.

59. Ibid. Davies may have been the first of the Weyhe Gallery artists Zigrosser sent to Miller.

60. Czestochowski, Davies, 230. The gallery announced the publication of thirteen Davies prints in the Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 4-5.)

61. 46. Czestochowski also included, when known, the publisher of the print in each entry. This is highly useful information, often difficult to obtain, especially years after the publication of the print.

62. William M. Ivins, Jr., Prints and Visual Communication (Boston: MIT, 1969, paperback republication of the first edition published by Harvard in 1953), 67.

63. Antony Griffiths, Prints and Printmaking (London: British Museum, 1980), 145. In the 1920s, print publishing must have been of great interest to the art community. In March 1928, the magazine Creative Art initiated a monthly column, "Print Bulletin," "to stimulate interest in print collecting, and to provide a service to print collectors and artists," listing new prints, the artist, the medium, edition, and publisher or dealer. Perhaps inspired by the column, the Weyhe Gallery produced in September 1928 its most important catalogue, Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery (see chapter 5). The last "Print Bulletin" column appeared in December 1933.

64. Sylvan Cole, interview by author, April 19, 1995. Sometimes the entire edition was printed immediately, and sometimes it was printed in batches, e.g., 1-25 on one date, and 26-50 at a later date. For example, Arnold Rönnebeck wrote E. Weyhe from Denver: "I am sending you today 15 (fifteen) copies of my lithograph "Atlantic" and 15 (fifteen) copies of my lithograph "Columbus Circle" both numbered 15 to 30, and signed (illegible). Hoping that the edition of 50 of each

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of these prints will [be] exhausted in a very short time, and that the later prints will be doubled and tripled in price. . . ." (undated letter, 1930. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 290). See also Ernest W. Watson, "George Miller, Godfather to Lithography," in American Artist, June 1943, 14: "On many of these [lithographic stones] may still be seen the drawings from which editions have already been printed and which await the possible demand for still another run."

65. On May 22, 1929, Erhard Weyhe wrote to Rockwell Kent, "I just had Mr. Miller on the telephone and he told me that he is sending the prints up to you today. I wonder if you would allow [me] to have 150 proofs printed of the Boat. I do think it will make a real hit. My idea would be that 100 could be sold at the published price in a very short time and the other 50 at an increased value" (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4626, Frame 762).

66. Zigrosser, World, 212. In 1921, Zigrosser had begun a catalogue raisonné of Davies's prints, and was undoubtedly disappointed to have his work rejected in favor of another's. Perhaps Zigrosser did not progress on his catalogue raisonné quickly enough to satisfy Davies, who then turned elsewhere.

67. Czestochowski, Davies, numbers 181-188, 194-200, and 236.

68. The Weyhe checklist for the Marin exhibition was incomplete in the Weyhe Gallery scrapbooks. Ruth Fine in John Marin (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 392, cited the checklist and upon request, generously supplied a copy. (The complete checklist can be found in WGS, Volume-New.)

69. Carl Zigrosser, The Complete Etchings of John Marin, 4.

70. Ibid., n.p. (following bibliography).

71. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928; and Zigrosser, The Complete Etchings of John Marin. Ruth Fine, in her otherwise thorough book on Marin (see note 52), does not address the problem.

72. Joann Moser, Visual Poetry: The Drawings of Joseph Stella. exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of American Art, 1990), 9. Moser does not include the Weyhe exhibition in her chronology; the exhibition is also omitted in Barbara Haskell, Joseph

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Stella, exhibition catalogue (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1994).

73. New York Herald, May 22, 1921, and (newspaper name illegible), May 22, 1921 (WGS, Volume-New).

74. George Biddle, An American Artist's Story (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1939), 202-203. It seems likely that Zigrosser introduced Biddle to Miller.

75. This seems to me a fairly significant omission, given the level of detail in An American Artist's Story; Biddle mentioned dozens of people he met casually, but never referred to the Weyhe gallery or to Zigrosser. Similarly, Biddle in Tahitian Journal (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1968), "New York Interlude, January to June 1921," 94-104, refers to arranging an exhibition at the Kingore Gallery, but does not mention the Weyhe Gallery.

76. Martha Pennigar, The Graphic Work of George Biddle with Catalogue Raisonné (Washington, D.C.: Corcoran Gallery, 1979), 43. The 1922 group exhibition cited was probably Biddle's one-man show at the Weyhe Gallery. The omission is especially surprising because the gallery published at least eleven of Biddle's prints (Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 2-3.) Curiously, they announced the publication of four of the same prints in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March 1928, XXVI; May 1928, XXII; and June 1928, XX.

77. The facts of Bianco's life were taken from the checklists of the Anderson Galleries' 1921 exhibition; the Print Rooms' 1922 exhibition; and Greenwich Time, December 19, 1974, 18. Joseph Stella was a great admirer of Bianco's art, and wrote an appreciation of her work, possibly a catalogue introduction, unfortunately undated and unidentified as to source. The clippings and checklists were generously provided by two dealers who have handled Bianco's work, Ellen Sragow and The Graham Gallery, or are from the Weyhe Scrapbooks.
At least some, probably all, of Bianco's lithographs were printed by Miller; but there is no information available as to how Miller and Bianco met. It seems likely that Zigrosser introduced them. See Catalogue of a Collection of Lithographs by American Artists From the Portfolio of George C. Miller, Plaza Book Auction Corporation, March 23, 1934, 5.

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For more on Bianco, see Reba W. Williams, "The Prints of Pamela Bianco," Print Quarterly, September 1992, Volume IX, Number 3, 292-293.

78. Both Bianco prints were included in the Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 2 and 27 (Balsam Tree, illustrated). In May 1928, the gallery announced the publication of Bianco's Wild Rose in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, XXII.

79. The document can be seen in WGS, Volume 1, 36-38. Of it, Zigrosser wrote, "A leaflet I wrote in 1921, which drew favorable comment from The Dial" (World, 39). The Dial reference can be found on page 448 of the April 1922 issue (WGS, Volume New). Arnold Rönnebeck wrote in the Rocky Mountain News, April 10, 1927 (WGS-Volume III, 18), that the "leaflet" was "edited by Weyhe himself." It seems probable that most of the material published by the gallery was edited (or approved) by Erhard Weyhe.

80. Charles Eldridge, Marsden Hartley, Lithographs and Related Works (Laurence: University of Kansas, 1972), is the standard source. Unfortunately, there are no letters from Hartley in the Zigrosser files. The Weyhe Gallery included Hartley's lithographs Basket of Fruit and Grapes in the Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 10. (See also chapter 5.)
The art by Weber was probably a print. On May 14, 1920, Weber wrote to Zigrosser in reply to a letter of May 7, "I regret to say that I cannot trace you in my mind. Those were hard but happy years when we found a happy milieu at the Ferrer School" (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 831.) For Zigrosser and the Ferrer Center, see Zigrosser, My Own, 69-78.) Weber went on to give Zigrosser permission to photograph his woodcuts, exhibited at Montross "for a week in April 1920," and from May 11-29, 1920. In Daryl R. Rubenstein, Max Weber, A Catalogue Raisonné of His Graphic Work (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 1980), 37, Rubenstein wrote without footnote, "Carl Zigrosser took prints to be sold at the Weyhe Gallery. . . ." On January 15, 1923, Weber wrote to Zigrosser that he had received a check, and "was pleased to learn that you had sold the woodcuts and a lithograph" (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 834). And on January 25, 1925, "I hope you will not consider it impertinent or an imposition on my part for writing as I am, most reluctantly, to ask you to please send me a little check on account" (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 836).

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In Prints as Presents, 1931, 20, the gallery offered Weber's lithographs Egyptian Bowl, Pewter Cup, and Alone; and in 400 Prints at $10, April 1932, 16, the gallery offered Weber's lithograph Alone.
In 1956, E. Weyhe published Woodcuts and Linoleum Blocks by Max Weber, printed from the original blocks at the Spiral Press, limited to 225 signed and numbered copies of which the first twenty-five copies were specifically bound and include a portfolio of five additional prints each signed by the artist.

81. Zigrosser, "Introduction," in Virginia Dehn, ed., Adolf Dehn Drawings (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1971), 5-6.

82. Richard W. Cox, "Adolf Dehn: The Life," in Jocelyn Pang Lumsdaine and Thomas O'Sullivan, The Prints of Adolf Dehn, A Catalogue Raisonné (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987), 4.

83. Zigrosser, in Virginia Dehn, ed., Adolf Dehn Drawings, 6.

84. Ibid., 9.

85. No announcements or checklists for the Weyhe Gallery's summer group exhibitions were printed, and unless artists and works were mentioned in the press coverage of the exhibitions, there is no record of the artists or works included.

86. The list of exhibitions in Adolf Dehn Drawings omits several Weyhe exhibitions, but the list in Lumsdaine and O'Sullivan, The Prints, 261-263, appears to be complete. Dehn's major Weyhe exhibitions were in 1923, 1925, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1938, 1939, and 1940. His work was also included in many group shows.
In September 1928, the gallery announced the publication of a Dehn etching, Au Sacre Du Printemps, 20 proofs, and four lithographs: Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, 30 proofs, Harbor, Douarenez, 30 proofs; Moonrise at Concarneau, 10 proofs; and Landscape, 30 proofs (Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravers, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 5). The gallery had previously announced the publication of four of the same prints in "Print Bulletin" Creative Art, April 1928, XXVI; May 1928, XXII; and June 1928, XX. The gallery announced the publication of three more Dehn lithographs in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art: in June 1932, 485, Summer Central Park; in February 1933, 143, The Immaculate Conception, ed. 12; and in April 1933, 323, Catholic Church at Waterville, ed. 15.

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Wanda Gág offered an interesting postscript to Dehn's relationship with the gallery. In her diary for March 19, 1941, she wrote:

I had quite a long talk with Mr. Weyhe. . . . Mr. Weyhe had asked Adolf whether he wouldn't leave them a few watercolors, but Adolf who has gone over to the Associated Artists since Carl has left Weyhe's, wouldn't do it. 'I don't think that was very nice,' said Mr. Weyhe, and went on to say how when Adolf was in Europe and asked for money, they always sent it to him no matter whether he had credit or not. It does seem ungrateful of Adolf--for I know that Weyhe's were very good to him in that way.

From Wanda Gág's diaries, The Wanda Gág Collection, Department of Special Collections, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, quoted in Audur Winnan, Wanda Gág, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints (Washington: Smithsonian, 1993), 285.

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Chapter Three

"Greetings from the House of Weyhe"

1923-1927

In April of 1923, Erhard Weyhe purchased 794 Lexington Avenue, a five-story building between Sixty-first and Sixty-second Streets, remodeled it, and installed the bookstore at street level and the gallery on the second floor. The Weyhe family, (Erhard, his wife, Hannah McCarthy Weyhe (d.1970), their daughter, Gertrude, and son, Arthur), moved into the top floors.

The architect Henry S. Churchill (1893-1962) designed the terra cotta stucco façade, with its striking pattern of blue and yellow checkerboard tiles; and Henry Varnum Poor (1888-1970) made four decorative tiles to be incorporated into the façade. The ironwork was designed by Rockwell Kent, who also painted the hanging signboard, replaced in 1924 by a sign by Alfred Maurer on the occasion of his first exhibition at the gallery.[1]

The new bookshop and gallery has been described as "the most progressive (or least traditional) shop of the immediate postwar period";[2] "with decorative tiles whose checkerboard pattern of red, yellow and blue adorn the front of the building and strike a gay, modern note in the somber, conservative buildings of the city";[3] and "by no means a large or impressive building, but it easily holds the attention of the passerby, if it does not turn his retreating head by the warmth of its façade with tiles by Varnum Poor outlining window and door and inset as medallions and iron work by Rockwell

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Kent as a finish of ornamental detail. Here there might have been just another shop like so many others, but instead there's a delightfully individual building."[4]

The unusual façade was to become a distinguishing feature of Weyhe Gallery publications; the gallery had already established a tradition of using original prints as holiday greeting cards, and in 1924 the façade appeared on New Years Greetings from the House of Weyhe, a wood engraving (Figure 28) designed by Allen Lewis (1873-1959), which also served as a notice of the new address.

Lewis, little known today, was at the time greatly admired as a wood engraver, an illustrator, and a designer of bookplates. As we have seen, Alfred Stieglitz gave Lewis his first one-man exhibition at "291" in 1909, and Lewis won a gold medal at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Lewis-designed Christmas cards were exhibited at several galleries in the late teens and early twenties, possibly inspiring the Weyhe commission.[5] The Weyhe Gallery never gave him an exhibition, but offered his prints for sale in 1922.[6]

The first exhibition at the new gallery was of prints and watercolors by modern German artists, followed by the second Weyhe Gallery Arthur B. Davies exhibition, of "recent landscape and figure drawings." The Davies exhibition was extraordinarily successful; according to Henry McBride, fourteen of Davies's watercolors sold within the first twenty-four hours.[7]

The success of the exhibition was confirmed by Sherwood Anderson in an interview with Erhard Weyhe. According to Anderson, Weyhe "got such a fat fee for the sale of the Davies watercolors that his conscience troubled him and he resolved to

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spend some of the 'easy money' in furthering the career of some more difficult artist."[8] The "more difficult artist" Weyhe chose to assist was Alfred Maurer (1868-1932), whose oil sketches Stieglitz had shown at "291" in 1909 in a joint exhibition with John Marin's watercolors, and whose work was included in Stieglitz's March 1910 "Younger Americans" exhibition. Erhard Weyhe had bought his first Maurer painting in 1922 at an auction held at the Anderson Galleries, and on January 8, 1924, with the proceeds of the Davies watercolor sale, bought the contents of Maurer's studio "every damned picture, some 255 Maurers" for which Maurer received "something over $2000."[9]

As Elizabeth McCausland pointed out, the "sale was a high point in Maurer's life," especially since Weyhe "followed the purchase with a verbal commitment to buy twenty or thirty watercolors a year at a fixed price of $35 each,"[10] and in mid-January 1924, only two weeks after the purchase of his paintings, gave Maurer a one-man exhibition. Following the exhibition, Anderson wrote, "Furthermore, Mr. Weyhe placed them [the paintings] promptly on view and sold twenty of them before the show was officially announced."[11] Unfortunately, no checklist for the exhibition has yet been located, but it included landscapes as well as the typical Maurer "girls."[12]

The gallery thereafter gave Maurer solo exhibitions in November 1924, January 1926, January 1927, April 1928, and January 1931, and Erhard Weyhe continued to provide Maurer with a small income until the artist's suicide in August of 1932.[13]

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Maurer's biographers did not discuss Erhard Weyhe's motivation in what was, as one reporter wrote, "the first time, we understand, that the entire production of a very modern painter has been bought, en bloc, by a dealer in America," adding that this was a French practice, whereby dealers bought the works of artists not yet commercially successful, to encourage "embryonic talent."[14] But there was a model nearer home, that of Stieglitz and Marin. As Zigrosser wrote, "Marin [returned] to America with the assurance that Stieglitz would stand by him and not let him starve. Marin would be able to work freely, as he had never done before, with no thought for the main chance. Stieglitz would take Marin's father's place as the provider, but on more honorable terms, not as a father to a dependent son but as a patron to a potentially great artist. It was one of the most extraordinary arrangements in art history and it worked miracles."[15]

Stieglitz, who knew both Maurer and Weyhe, may have been consulted about the Weyhe-Maurer arrangement; McCausland implied that Stieglitz was involved, when she wrote, "Stieglitz approved the terms, so they must have met his criteria of fair play for the artist."[16] On the other hand, she may have meant that he approved the terms after the fact, for on January 10, 1924, Stieglitz wrote to Erhard Weyhe:[17]

> Dear Weyhe: You are a good sport. Thank heaven there is at least one in New York--in America--ready to back his enthusiasms for pictures and books not yet on the passbooks of the Institutions. You have done a fine thing for Maurer in more ways than you realize.
>
> You know I respect him and his work. He does know how to paint and his pictures are not manufactured.
>
> Greetings and Congratulations.
>
> Stieglitz

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According to those who knew him, Erhard Weyhe was a kindhearted, generous man, grateful for his success in the United States, who wanted to share his good fortune with others. Less than two years later, Emil Ganso (1895-1941) became Weyhe's protegé. In the fall of 1925, Ganso, a German immigrant who worked as a baker at night and at his art during the day, brought samples of his work to the Weyhe Gallery.[18] Erhard Weyhe bought all the samples with a "tremendous check," and began to show Ganso's work to clients.[19] He also provided Ganso with fifty dollars a week so he could give up baking, and devote all of his time to art.[20] The gallery, after including Ganso's work in group exhibitions, gave him his first one-man show (paintings, watercolors, drawings, etchings and lithographs) in the spring of 1926.[21]

The press, which had been fascinated with the Weyhe-Maurer story, had great fun with the Ganso rescue: "Mr. Weyhe's latest discovery is a baker who kneads dough only because he needs dough,"[22] and, "'And when the pie was opened the birds began to sing.'"[23] Ganso, overjoyed at his great luck, was not offended by the critics' jokes. He was apparently a good-natured, nonpretentious soul, who for his opening on March 29, 1926, baked and decorated cakes for the guests; the cakes, themselves works of art, were photographed and reproduced in the press, and mentioned in several accounts of the opening.[24]

The gallery gave Ganso frequent exhibitions until his death in 1941, and posthumous exhibitions in 1941, 1944, and 1946. His reviews, at first mixed, grew increasingly favorable; at the time of his premature death of a heart attack, Forbes Watson wrote: "All other reasons aside, his was a particularly unfortunate death

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because at forty six his talent was still growing. The best work that he did was done in his last year."[25]

While Maurer was almost exclusively a painter (most, if not all, of his few known prints were made for Weyhe Gallery announcements)[26] (Figure 29), Ganso was a dedicated printmaker. His first efforts were experimental, and without instruction, using an abandoned etching press he found in the hall of his building, and reading about etching in books borrowed from the New York Public Library. With the help of a neighbor, a German mechanic, Ganso redesigned the old press to make it less expensive, in an effort to make etching more accessible to artists. Some of his artist friends, including Ernest Fiene, Fitsch, and Jerome Myers, raised money to fund the manufacture of twelve of the cheaper presses.[27] In 1925 and 1926, Ganso attended Eugene Fitsch's evening class in etching at the Art Students League, and around the same time, learned there all he could about lithography, again supplementing his experiments at the League with library books.[28] Of Ganso, Zigrosser, always more interested in prints than paintings, wrote, "I can think of no other artist who had such an all around and complete knowledge of all the graphic processes. He not only etched, lithographed, and engraved on wood, but also did his own printing. In lithography that is quite an achievement, since such printing is a highly complicated art. There are perhaps only two other printers (and they are professional) in the whole country who are in his class when it comes to technical proficiency."[29]

Indeed, while today Ganso is rarely recalled as a painter, his prints are still collected, and are the subject of the sole scholarly publication on his work.[30]

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Ganso was the second artist to illustrate a Christmas card with the image of the Weyhe building. His wood engraving, Greetings From the House of Weyhe (Figure 30), focused closely on the checkerboard façade. Ganso did not date the print, but it was probably used as the 1925 card; and the image appeared again, without caption, on the cover of the Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, at the same time the Weyhe Gallery published the first edition of The Checkerboard, featuring Ganso.

The Checkerboard announced itself as a house organ, to be issued "as some fitting occasion demands"; in fact, it appeared only three times.[31] The Ganso issue, published in September 1928, was illustrated with original woodcuts by Ganso, in an edition of five thousand, with a special edition of one hundred signed copies on hand-made paper. Its contents are quotations from Ganso's reviews, from March 24, 1926, through May 1928. The inspiration for its format and title, was, of course, the Weyhe building façade, but it seems likely that the inspiration for the first issue was Ganso himself, protegé of Erhard Weyhe, admired as a printmaker by Zigrosser, and apparently thoroughly liked by all who knew him.

Until the Maurer purchase, followed by the arrangement with Ganso, little information on Erhard Weyhe's role in the gallery management is available; indeed, the extent of his involvement will probably never be known, since he left no diaries, letters, or autobiography. But, as we have seen, he was actively dealing in prints before Zigrosser's arrival, and as Gertrude Weyhe Dennis points out, he was in charge of all financial arrangements, and thus approved all exhibitions, as well as the

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purchase of all artworks.[32] Weyhe must have made most of the foreign purchases, since Zigrosser travelled abroad for the gallery only between 1923 and 1930,[33] and even during those seven years Weyhe continued to go abroad on buying trips, a fact frequently noted in the press.

For example, in 1925 Murdock Pemberton wrote in The New Yorker, "E. Weyhe, just back from Europe, brings an assortment of Studio sweepings, odds and ends to enhance further an interesting exhibit now current at his gallery. . . . Mr. Weyhe seems to have a good time picking up these trifles. . . ."[34] The New York Brooklyn Daily Eagle reported, "The old maps at Weyhe's are a collection recently brought from Europe by Mr. Weyhe. . . ,"[35] and other reports offered, "Weyhe is in Europe and as a vanguard has sent home the watercolors of Andre Fraye,"[36] and "Weyhe brought back from Europe a shipload of things he saw in various studios . . . [and] he has, apparently, had most everything available sent home. The first installment is a show devoted mainly to Vlaminck, watercolors and etchings."[37]

In 1975, three years after Erhard Weyhe's death, Zigrosser wrote, "Maurer and Ganso had been brought into the gallery circle by Weyhe himself," seeming to imply that all other Weyhe artists were Zigrosser discoveries.[38] But Vincent Canadè (1879-1961) was also an Erhard Weyhe protegé. Canadè, like Maurer and Ganso, exhibited paintings at Weyhe, and as Zigrosser noted, painting exhibitions at the gallery tended to be the exception rather than the rule.[39] Canadè, an Italian immigrant who worked as a house painter, was discovered around 1919 by Joseph Stella, who

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saw a few drawings Canadè had made, and encouraged him to become an artist. Stella then took Canadè to the Bourgeois Gallery, where his work was included in a group show.[40] According to Zigrosser, Stephen Bourgeois (author of a catalogue, The Adolph Lewison Collection of Modern French Paintings and Sculpture, published by E. Weyhe in 1928), introduced Canadè to the Weyhe Gallery,[41] and solo Canadè exhibitions at the gallery in 1925 and 1927 were favorably reviewed.[42]

Contemporary and near-contemporary accounts refer to Erhard Weyhe's arrangement with Canadè: ". . . a one-man show at the Weyhe Galleries in 1925, which with Mr. Weyhe's help has made it possible for [Canadè] to devote all of his time to painting."[43] And, "From year to year Canadè has had a tortured canvas or two hung on these [Weyhe's] walls. This is his first real show. In the meantime, he has been staked to a studio, and, with the wolf safely tied down the block, he has let his heart run out."[44]

And, "Then, ten years ago, Stella found him . . . He saw the drawings, took them to New York and sold one, almost at the pistol's point, for fifty dollars. Others saw them. Bourgeois, Riefstahl, Weyhe. The first two made for Canadè a name. The last has made it possible for him to live."[45]

Finally, and unequivocally, "Later a one-man exhibition was staged at the Weyhe Galleries, and since then Mr. Weyhe has been Canadè's financial backer."[46]

But as Zigrosser later wrote, Canadè's works "appealed only to a limited few [since] people generally were repelled by . . . the overtones of sorrow and bitterness, that were evident in his pictures."[47] Canadè, unlike Ganso, seems to have been bad-

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tempered, self-centered, and ungrateful; he was once described in the press as the "Dr. Jekyll-Mr. Hyde of canvas."[48] In the end, even the generous, tolerant Erhard Weyhe could no longer abide him, and in 1929 severed the relationship.[49] Today, Canadè, like Ganso, is rarely remembered, except occasionally for his prints, for in 1927-1928, "at the insistence of the Weyhe Gallery," Canadè made ten lithographs, printed by George Miller. In 1963, Zigrosser wrote that "the Double Self Portrait (Figure 31) and the night city views, notably the Town by a River, are outstanding."[50] These two works continue to be Canadè's most highly regarded prints.

As far as has been determined, Maurer, Ganso, and Canadè were the only three painters with whom Erhard Weyhe made special financial arrangements, although the sculptor, John Flannagan, was also the beneficiary of a such an arrangement. [51] (See chapter 6). Most Weyhe Gallery exhibitions featured works on paper, especially prints, by a large number and variety of artists, and the financial arrangements with those artists were more typical--that is to say, they did not involve a stipend, or a guaranteed income. On the other hand, the gallery was very generous, lending artists money, and taking items on consignment, while Zigrosser's financial records were apparently careless, sometimes even chaotic.[52]

In March 1924, after an exhibition of prints by the British artists Walter Sickert and Eric Gill,[53] the gallery showed the prints of Walt Kuhn (1877-1949), who, like Pach, is best remembered for his role as co-organizer of the Armory Show. Once again, Kuhn's Weyhe Gallery exhibition is not included in scholarly works about the artist;[54] Kuhn was then, and remains today, almost unknown as a printmaker. In

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1967, when the Kennedy Galleries presented "Walt Kuhn as Printmaker," the author of the introduction to the exhibition checklist wrote, "With the exception of a few examples shown during his lifetime, the greater portion of his prints has remained locked up and forgotten in a warehouse these many years."[55]

According to Philip Rhys Adam, his biographer, Kuhn began making etchings and lithographs in 1915, and "turned them out steadily till 1927, when he seems to have dropped them completely. . . . It is one of the mysteries that after 1935 he never spoke of his prints, almost as if he wanted them forgotten."[56] Jonathan Greenberg, an art dealer preparing the catalogue raisonné of Kuhn's prints, confirms that around 1935 Kuhn packed up all his prints and put them into storage, where they remained until the 1967 Kennedy Galleries exhibition.[57] Fortunately, Kuhn kept a detailed record of his work, and using his records, it is possible to list many, perhaps all, of the prints exhibited at Weyhe in 1924. (See Table 3-1) Other works on paper were also included in the exhibition, but a pastel (Woman's Head), reproduced in Arts, August 1924, is the only one of which we can be certain.[58]

TABLE 3-1

PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

OF

GRAPHIC ART BY WALT KUHN

WEYHE GALLERY

MARCH 18-31, 1924

Casey, drypoint (1915)

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Casey Seated, etching (1915)

Casey With Yellow Stockings, etching, some hand-colored (1915)

Girl in Knickerbockers, etching (1915)

Clown and Girl, etching/drypoint (1915)

Strong Girl, etching/drypoint, (1915) (Figure 32)

Strategy, lithograph (1920) printed by George Miller

Officer and Indians, lithograph (1920) printed by George Miller

Poker Game, (1920) hand-colored lithograph (according to census, one at Weyhe)

Country Road, lithograph (1921)

The General, lithograph (1921) printed by George Miller

The Horse Trade, lithograph (1921)

Girl Bending Her Knee, drypoint (1922) (one purchased by "Dicks" at Weyhe.)

Colt, drypoint (1922)

Head With Black Hair, drypoint (1922) (illustrates the Weyhe Gallery exhibition announcement)

Near Portsmouth [Portsmouth], drypoint (1922)

Pears and Grapes, lithograph (1922)

Apples and Bread, drypoint (1923) (An impression was sold at the Weyhe Gallery exhibition.)

Angna Enters, etching (1924)[59]

Leola, drypoint (1924)

Large Head, lithograph (1924), drawn in New York, printed in Paris by De Zayas.

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Chris, drypoint (1924) Weyhe[60]

Mask, drypoint (1924) "Done during 'Angel' period at 23E. H., exh Weyhe 27."[61]

Other exhibitions by Americans in 1924 included drawings by Rockwell Kent, drawings by Boardman Robinson, and, in the autumn, woodcuts by Julius J. Lankes (1884-1960). Lankes, who was born in Buffalo, New York, made his first woodcut in 1917, and continued to make them until 1958. As Zigrosser pointed out, "Lankes along with his older confreres, Allen Lewis and Rudolf Ruzicka, were the pioneers in the rehabilitation of the woodcut as a means of creative expression--that is to say, independent of illustrative value or commercial application. He thus deserves credit for his share in restoring wood-engraving to the dignity of an original art."[62]

Zigrosser also wrote, "He has been called the Robert Frost of the wood engravers; and in truth, few engravers have rendered the 'feel' of the countryside with greater sincerity or charm than Lankes."[63]

The critics also liked Lankes's work: The Sun, November 1, 1924, reported, "Lankes is gradually becoming known as one of the ablist [sic], and most original wood engravers in America;"[64] while a writer in The New York Times declared, "J.J. Lankes at Weyhe's Book Shop, takes every technical advantage of this sparkling brilliant medium. . . . Lankes has the dignity and reserve of an artist who works from nature with respect and reverence."[65]

In 1922, Lankes saw and was greatly impressed by Charles Burchfield's work. Lankes and Burchfield met, and became friends and collaborators; Burchfield drew designs on the block, which Lankes engraved. One of these collaborative works,

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Carolina Village, was chosen for the "modern" section of "Fifty Prints of the Year, 1925-1926," the first year of this important exhibition.[66] (The inclusion of the print as a "modern work" is inexplicable to a late-twentieth-century viewer; as Watrous has pointed out, Lankes's work was always conservative.)[67]

In 1928, the Weyhe Gallery announced the publication of eight Lankes woodcuts (wood engravings): Dawn, sixty proofs; Meeting House, sixty proofs; Vermont Farmhouse (Figure 33), sixty-five proofs; Virginia Farmhouse, sixty proofs; Windy Hill Top, sixty proofs, Carolina Village, seventy-five proofs, Saturday Night, seventy-five proofs; and St. George Tucker, ed., fifty.[68]

By 1930, Frank Weitenkampf, first curator of prints at the New York Public Library, was able to write of the "return of the wood engraving,"[69] a renaissance in which the gallery had played an important role, with its exhibition of wood engravings and sponsorship of the artists who made them.

The year 1925 opened with an exhibition of Adolf Dehn's drawings, included a group of works on paper by contemporary British artists (Gordon Craig of the "291" exhibition was one of them), as well as paintings and drawings by Benjamin D. Kopman (1887-1965), a Russian-born symbolist, whose name appeared in The Living Artist list, and an important exhibition of drawings and prints by Matisse.[70] 1925 also saw the introduction of the work of Arnold Rönnebeck (1885-1947), a German sculptor who had met Marsden Hartley in Europe in 1912, and upon his arrival at the U.S. in 1923, looked up Stieglitz. Although Stieglitz tolerated Rönnebeck's authorship of a wordy piece for the 1925 Young American exhibition at "291,"[71] he

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was not interested in Rönnebeck's art, and sent him to the Weyhe Gallery.[72] Rönnebeck's Weyhe exhibition, the only solo exhibition in New York the artist was ever to have, included sculpture, drawings, and prints; and although Rönnebeck settled in Colorado in 1926, he continued to be associated with the gallery, and to maintain a voluminous correspondence with Zigrosser, as long as Zigrosser was with the gallery.[73] (See chapter 6).

A summer group exhibition in 1925 was notable for the inclusion of prints by "Pop" Hart (1868-1933).[74] Although he did not make his first prints until he was fifty-three, Hart is today best known as a printmaker; as Gregory Gilbert wrote, "His art historical importance has been based largely on his innovative efforts in print making and it was primarily through his graphics that Hart began to gain critical recognition for his work in the twenties."[75]

Works by Hart were for sale in the gallery as early as 1922 (see chapter 2, table 2-3). Hart and Zigrosser were in correspondence by 1923,[76] and on January 29, 1924, Hart wrote Zigrosser from New Orleans: "Have got quite a lot of material and wish to stay here a while and get some plates underway so it would give me much pleasure to know if you have had any success with my prints, as a little money would be most useful just now."[77] Hart probably referred to work he had consigned to the gallery; as late as 1928, Hart had prints on consignment with Weyhe.[78]

The Weyhe Gallery never gave Hart a solo exhibition, and apparently included his work in only a few group exhibitions; but in 1928 the Gallery announced three Hart prints as published by Weyhe--Dance of the Centaurs, (1926), soft ground

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etching, 60 proofs (Figure 34); Mammy, (1924), etching, 50 proofs; and Boats and Natives, (1924), drypoint, 50 proofs.[79] Hart eventually became affiliated with the Downtown Gallery, presumably ending his association with the Weyhe Gallery.

The year 1926 included exhibitions by the gallery regulars, Maurer, Kent and Ganso, and in March, etchings by Walter Pach and paintings by Magda Pach. The works in the joint exhibition are listed below.[80]

TABLE 3-2

EXHIBITION OF ETCHINGS BY WALTER PACH, MARCH 1-13, 1926

1. Copy of Rembrandt, 1910
2. Renaissance Medal, 1910
3. Greek Torso, 1911
4. St. Germain des Prés (Day), 1911
5. Gothic Virgin, Cluny, 1911
6. Mary, 1911
7. Ex Libris, 1911
8. Gothic Virgin (Louvre), 1912
9. Renoir's "Liseuse", 1912
10. St. Germain des Prés (Night), 1912
11. Apples, 1916
12. Portrait, 1916
13. East River Window, 1916
14. The Gray Shafts, 1918
15. The Chapel of the Comforter, 1919
18. Brooklyn Bridge, 1919
19. The Shot Tower, 1920
20. Miss W.M., 1920
21. Washington Square, 1920
22. New York From Governor's Island, 1920
23. Ex Libris, 1920
24. Portrait, 1921
25. Ile de la Cité, 1921
26. Scopasian Head, 1922
27. Barye's Theseus, Ile St. Louis, 1923
28. The Shelton, 1924
29. The Metropolitan Tower, 1924
30. Miss M.M., 1924
31. The Pulque Jug, 1924
32. Miss J.N., 1925

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16. The Venus of Vienne, 1919
17. Ex Libris, 1919
33. The Etching Press, 1925
34. The Telephone and Telegraph Building, 1925
35. Girl Seated, 1925

Paintings by Magda F. Pach

1. Mexican Still Life
2. The Oaxaca Jugs
3. Adirondack Landscape
4. Mount Marey
5. The Green Jug
6. St. Tropez, Autumn
7. Zinnias
8. The Gothics
9. Field Flowers
10. After Sunset
9. Field Flowers
10. After Sunset
11. Nasturtiums
12. St. Tropez From the Citadel
13. The Mistral
14. From Our Window
15. Afternoon Sun
16. The Kitchen
17. Le Granier, St. Tropez

The exhibition announcement featured one of Pach's etchings of skyscrapers (untitled), and reproductions of two more Pach skyscrapers, Metropolitan Tower and The American Telephone and Telegraph Building,[81] appeared in the press, which, while at best noncommittal about Magda's work ("Mrs. Pach's paintings have subjects taken from Mexico, Provence and the Adirondacks"),[82] or distinctly critical ("The paintings by Magda F. Pach that accompany the etchings disclose only a very/mild promise"),[83] were more positive about Pach's etchings, although surprised at their conservatism: "Mr. Pach, for all the radicalism of his point of view . . . is a

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conservative when he takes up his etcher's tools. . . . Among his most successful prints are his New York views. . . ."[84]

1926 also featured some new artists, including in October, Rufino Tamayo (1899-1991), whose work the gallery presented for the first time in New York. The works exhibited at Weyhe are listed in table 3-3. [85]

TABLE 3-3

PAINTINGS, WATERCOLORS, DRAWINGS, AND WOODCUTS

BY RUFINO TAMAYO, OCTOBER 19-30, 1926

1. Chimneys
2. Woman's Head
3. Mexican Landscape
4. Mexican Landscape
5. Spectators
6. Clock and Telephone
7. Women at Window
8. Mask
9. The Family
10. A Woman
11. Nude
12. Woman
13. Heads
14. The Road
20. Heads
21. Window
22. Children
23. Men Walking
24. Soldiers
25. Bathers
26. Sitting Women
27. Man and Woman
28. Heads
29. Woman's Head
30. Man and Woman
31. Two Children
32. Women
33. Man and Woman

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15. The Virgin of Guadalupe
16. The Table
17. Bathers
18. Bathing Women
19. Man's Head
34. Head
35. Two Women
36. Child and Phonograph
37. Bathers--Two Women
38. Woodcut
39. Woodcut

In September of 1926, Tamayo and his friend Carlos Chavez, a young pianist (later a well-known composer, and Mexican Minister of Fine Arts), travelled from Mexico to New York for a visit, and after their arrival, decided to remain. Tamayo, desperate for money, sought out Walter Pach, whom he had met in Mexico, and Pach took the young artist, with the works of art he had brought from Mexico, to the Weyhe Gallery. The gallery offered Tamayo an exhibition to be held only a month later.[86]

According to Emily Genauer, at Zigrosser's suggestion, Tamayo made some woodcuts,[87] two of which, untitled, were included in the October exhibition, while a third, Man and Woman (Figure 35), was featured on the gallery announcement.[88]

In March of 1928, the gallery announced the publication of one of the woodcuts, Woodchopper, in "Print Bulletin," in Creative Art.[89] In September 1928, the gallery listed five Tamayo woodcuts as published by the gallery: Head, fifty proofs; Man and Woman, sixty proofs; Two Mexican Girls, sixty proofs; The Virgin of Guadalupe, sixty proofs; Woodchopper, woodcut, sixty proofs.[90]

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Tamayo's work was included in group exhibitions in 1928 and 1932, but his relationship with the gallery did not continue, possibly because, as Zigrosser wrote in his diary in 1930, he did not care for Tamayo's later work.[91] Then, too, apparently Tamayo was at this time not very interested in printmaking. By 1936, according to Zigrosser, Tamayo's total print production included only "about a dozen woodcuts, among which may be cited Woodchopper, Man and Woman, The Virgin of Guadalupe and Head."[92] Although Tamayo did not become a long-term Weyhe artist, the gallery's receptivity to Tamayo may have been partially responsible for the Weyhe Gallery's success in attracting other Mexican artists during the late twenties and early thirties. (See chapters 4 and 7).

The Tamayo exhibition was followed by the first solo exhibition of the work of Wanda Gág (1893-1946), who was to become important both to the gallery and to Zigrosser personally. Gág had met Carl Zigrosser socially in 1920; and in 1925, Adolf Dehn, her art-school friend and sometime lover, brought Zigrosser to Gág's home to dine, and to look at her work. Zigrosser took some of her drawings on consignment to sell in the Gallery, and several were included in the 1925 summer exhibition. In the spring of 1926, Zigrosser told Gág that the gallery would give her a solo exhibition during the 1926-1927 season; around the same time, he suggested they become lovers. She declined the affair, but began to work towards the exhibition.[93]

Gág had already made a few prints. She had studied etching with Mahonri Young at the Art Students League in 1918, and made her first prints (drypoints and an etching) at that time. She made her first lithograph with George Miller in 1920,

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probably inspired by Dehn, who had begun working with Miller earlier that year. In 1923-1924, she had made a few more lithographs, which she printed herself, but she began printmaking in earnest for her first Weyhe Gallery exhibition. She produced thirteen lithographs with Miller during the summer and early fall preceding the exhibition,[94] although only six are listed in the exhibition checklist. The works exhibited are shown below in table 3-4.[95]

TABLE 3-4

WATERCOLORS, DRAWINGS, AND LITHOGRAPHS BY WANDA GÁG, NOVEMBER 3-20, 1926

1. Tumble Timbers, drawing
2. Interior, drawing
3. Interior, watercolor
4. Interior, Night, drawing
5. Interior, Sleet, drawing
6. Interior, Vegetables, drawing
7. The Air-Tight Stove, watercolor
8. Kitchen Lamp, drawing
9. Pipe and Door-Hinge, drawing
10. Pie and Flowers, drawing
11. Squash, drawing
12. Tea Pot, drawing
13. Flowers, watercolor
26. Autumn, watercolor
27. Autumn, watercolor
28. Autumn, watercolor
29. Hills, watercolor
30. Hills, drawing
31. Hills, drawing
32. Hills, watercolor
33. Landscape, watercolor
34. Landscape, drawing
35. Landscape, drawing
36. Landscape, drawing
37. Landscape, drawing
38. Summer, watercolor

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14. Flowers, watercolor
15. Flowers, crayon
16. Flowers, watercolor
17. Flowers, drawing
18. Skunk Cabbage, drawing
19. The Little Spring, watercolor
20. Nude, watercolor
21. Adolescent, watercolor
22. Tree, watercolor
23. Tree, watercolor
24. Spring, drawing
25. Spring, watercolor
39. Storm, drawing
40. Country Cemetary, [sic] drawing
41. The Sisters, drawing
42. The Sisters, watercolor
43. Cutting Hair, drawing
44. Easter Morning, lithograph
45. Elevated Station, lithograph (Figure 36)
46. Tumble Timbers, lithograph
47. Flowers, lithograph
48. Pipe and Flowers, lithograph
49. Squash, lithograph
50. Country Road, linoleum cut

Gág's exhibition was very successful; twenty-two drawings and several lithographs were sold.[96] She became a Weyhe Gallery regular--her work was included in the group exhibitions, and she was given a second solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery in March 1928. In September of 1928, a gallery publication listed fifteen Gág prints as published by Weyhe:[97]

TABLE 3-5

Christmas Eve, lithograph, 100 proofs
The Departure, linoleum cut, 50 proofs
Easter Morning, lithograph, 100 proofs
The Elevated Station, lithograph, 100 proofs
Spinning Wheel, woodcut, 100 proofs
Spinning Wheel, lithograph, 100 proofs
Spring, lithograph, 100 proofs
Squash, lithograph, 50 proofs

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The Franklin Stove, woodcut, 100 proofs

Gumbo Lane, lithograph, 100 proofs

Pipe and Flowers, lithotint, 75 proofs

Tumble Timbers, lithotint, 75 proofs

Vase of Flowers, lithograph, 50 proofs

Wash Tubs, lithotint, 30 proofs

Winter Twilight, lithograph, 100 proofs

In January 1930, Gág was given another solo exhibition at Weyhe, and the Gág number--the second issue--of The Checkerboard was published in connection with the exhibition. That same year, in the summer, Zigrosser and Gág began an affair, which continued intermittently for years.[98] Gág's fourth solo exhibition at Weyhe, a retrospective for which no catalogue was issued, was not held until October 1940. Her relationship with the gallery always remained positive (see chapter 2, note 86), and she corresponded with Zigrosser until nearly the end of her life.[99]

One of the last Weyhe Gallery exhibitions of 1926 was of the drawings and lithographs of the stage by Eugene Fitsch (1892-1972). The works exhibited are shown below in table 3-6.[100]

TABLE 3-6

LITHOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS OF THE STAGE BY EUGENE C. FITSCH

1. Great White Way
2. The New Theatre
3. The Scenic Studio
4. Greenwich Village Follies Rehearsal
5. Robert E. Jones Directing "Love for Love"
6. Ziegfeld Follies Rehearsal
7. Rehearsal for "Orpheus" at Provincetown Theatre
15. The Rose Ballet
16. Spanish Dancer
17. Fire Dancer
18. Russian Dancer
19. The Musical Show
20. Town Hall
21. The Movie

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8. Robert Milton directing "Sandalwood"
9. Interior Provincetown Theatre
10. Jacob Ben Ami in "Masse Mensch"
11. Eugene O'Neill's "The Fountain"
12. Congreve's "Love for Love"
13. "The Miracle": The Inquisition
14. Denishawn Dancer
22. Sketch for Hasenclever's "Beyond" Act I
23. The Same Act II
24. The Same Act III
25. The Same Act IV and V
26. Setting for Faust (in color)
27. Setting for Faust
28. Complete Stage Set for Faust

Fitsch, who was born in France, came to the United States when he was twenty-one. He studied painting and sculpture at the Art Students League before embarking on a career as a scenic painter and set designer, and while working, attended Mahonri Young's evening classes in printmaking at the League. When Young resigned in 1924, Fitsch replaced him as the Art Students League instructor in etching and lithography, teaching there for the next ten years.[101]

Between 1924 and 1936 Fitsch made numerous drawings, and more than 250 lithographs. The Weyhe Gallery gave Fitsch his first one-man show, launching his career as a chronicler in prints of the New York theatre. Although Fitsch is not well-known today, he was, as Sylvan Cole has pointed out, critically acclaimed during his lifetime, when his works were exhibited widely and acquired by museums.[102] The gallery published two of his lithographs, The Great White Way (Figure 37), selected as one of the Fifty Prints of the Year, 1927, and R.E. Jones Directing "Love for Love."[103]

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The year 1927 included exhibitions by Canadè, Maurer, and Ganso; several important sculpture exhibitions (see chapter 6); watercolors by George Biddle; and drawings and etchings by Picasso. According to The New Yorker, the gallery featured a Picasso print in 1927: "Second place is given to one plate by Picasso, Weyhe having bought the edition."[104]

But by far the most significant new name at the gallery in 1927 was that of Diego Rivera (1886-1957), whose work was first shown at Weyhe in the 1927 summer group exhibition, and who was to receive his first solo exhibition in New York at the Weyhe Gallery in January 1928. The Rivera exhibition was a major coup, and the ripple effect of his association with the gallery was to continue for years to come.

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Footnotes - Chapter 3

1. Zigrosser, World, 41, and interview with Gertrude Weyhe Dennis.

2. Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gillmartin, and Thomas Mellins. New York 1930, Architecture and Urbanism Between The Two World Wars. (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 296 and 787.

3. New York American, December 23, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 10).

4. New York Evening Post, February 4, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 32).

5. Fahlman, Allen Lewis: Drawings, Etchings, Drypoints, Woodcuts and Wood Engravings, 2 and 9.

6. The Weyhe Gallery does not appear in Fahlman's detailed chronology and history of Lewis's exhibitions; and Lewis's name does not appear in Weyhe Gallery announcements, except in The Living Artist (see chapter 2).

7. Henry McBride, "14 of his watercolors bought in first 24 hours of display," New York Herald, December 23, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 10).

8. Sherwood Anderson, "'Third Floor Back,' Story With Moral," The New York Herald, January 20, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 11).

9. Elizabeth McCausland, A.H. Maurer, a Biography of America's First Modern Painter (New York: A Wyn, Inc., 1951), 153. As early as August 1921, the Weyhe Gallery (or E. Weyhe) had acquired art by Maurer, but the acquisition has not been identified. McCausland, 150. See also Adelyn D. Breeskin, Alfred H. Maurer, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1973). Most of the facts in the Breeskin catalogue are taken from McCausland, or from the McCausland Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian. According to Breeskin: "During the course of her work on Maurer (around 1950), McCausland had 114 pictures photographed at Weyhe's and 250 at the Weyhe storage." (McCausland Papers; Breeskin, note 71, 120).

10. McCausland, 155.

11. Anderson, New York Herald, January 20, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 32).

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12. McCausland, 269.

13. See McCausland, Maurer, 245-248, for an account of Maurer's last days.

14. Boston Transcript, January 25, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 32).

15. Zigrosser, Etchings of John Marin, 15.

16. McCausland, Maurer, 155.

17. The letter is in the collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis.

18. Harry Saltpeter, "A Collection of Paintings by Emil Ganso," Esquire, July 1938, 60. Saltpeter erroneously wrote that Ganso met Weyhe in 1924, and that Ganso's first Weyhe exhibition was in 1925. These errors have been repeated in all subsequent writings about Ganso. Yet, the chronology of events is clear in the contemporary press notices; see, for example, The New York Sun, March 27, 1926: "Last fall, Ganso very diffidently showed a few of his watercolors to Mr. Weyhe, who was so struck by them that he bought them on the spot. . . . Ganso . . . is holding his first exhibition of paintings, watercolors, drawings, etchings, lithographs and woodcut." (WGS, Volume II, 98). The same story, with almost identical wording, probably from a press release, appeared in the Chicago Post, March 30, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 95), and Evening Post, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 99). And the reporter for the New York Sun added, "On Monday there will be put on exhibition a collection of paintings, watercolors and drawings (there are also woodcuts, lithographs and etchings) by Emile [sic] Ganso, whose work has been glimpsed occasionally at some of the big free-for-all shows." New York Sun, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 98).

19. Saltpeter, 60. According to Saltpeter, "The adjective is Ganso's." See also The New Yorker, November 7, 1925: "Weyhe, knowing our weakness, trots out another primitive. A fortnight ago it was the butcher, this week the baker who has turned artist." (WGS, Volume II, 79). The writer, probably Murdock Pemberton, must have been one of the first to see Ganso's work at the gallery.

20. Saltpeter, 60. According to Donald Smith, a Washington, D.C., art dealer writing a book on Ganso, the stipend had increased to $125.00 a week at the time of Ganso's death. Smith obtained this information

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from Ganso's friend Leonard Bocour, now deceased, in a telephone interview on May 19, 1993.

21. See note 18, above.

22. Art World Magazine, October 27, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 72).

23. The New Yorker, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 99). Other headlines included "Leaves Loaves Behind, Art Defeats Oven, Baker Will Paint," Evening Post, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 99); "Erstwhile Baker Showing at Weyhe's," Chicago Post, March 30, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 95).

24. Chicago Post, April 13, 1926, (WGS Volume II, 117), and Northwestern Miller, April 23, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 102); Evening Post, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 99).

25. Forbes Watson, "A Word About Emil Ganso," Magazine of Art, June 1941, 310-311.

26. See McCausland, Maurer, 154-157; 185-186; 199-200; 216-217; and Breeskin, Maurer, cover, and copyright page. All of the images are of young women and/or flowers.

27. The accounts of Ganso's early printmaking activities are from Harry Saltpeter, "Emil Ganso: Handy Artist," Esquire, July 1938, 100 and 102.

28. Ibid, 107-102. Saltpeter wrote, "When Ganso heard that Bellows's lithographic press had been given to the Art Students League, Ganso rushed up to the League to see what he could learn about lithography." According to Lawrence Campbell, Archivist for the League, the ASL has no record of receiving Bellows's press, but Bellows died in 1925, so presumably his press, if it came to the ASL, came around 1925. (Letter from Lawrence Campbell, July 5, 1995). But Pennell established a lithography class in 1923, so there was a press there before Bellows died. (see chapter 1).

29. Zigrosser, "Emil Ganso," in The Artist in America, Twenty Four Closeups of Contemporary Printmakers (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 168.

30. Joann Moser, The Graphic Art of Emil Ganso, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1980). Donald Smith's book on Ganso (see

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note 20) will also emphasize the prints. In Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 9-10, the gallery announced the publication of twenty-eight prints by Ganso: Self Portrait, etching; Bather, Seated, aquatint; Central Park Bridge, aquatint; Central Park Winter, aquatint; Fisher's Pond, soft ground etching; Halberstadt, aquatint; Mountain Village, etching; Nude on Couch, aquatint; The Paramount Theatre, etching; Road by the Lake, soft ground etching; Road to Woodstock, etching; Still Life, aquatint; Still Life, etching; Summer Night, Central Park, etching; Sunset, aquatint; Three Bathers, aquatint; Two Bathers With Boat in Distance, etching; The Waterfront, etching; Hudson Theatre, lithograph; Reclining Nude, lithograph; Siesta, lithograph, Three Bathers, lithograph; The Lake, linoleum cut; River Village, woodcut; Seated Nude, woodcut; Tree and Road, linoleum cut; Two Bathers, woodcut; Woodstock, woodcut. They also announced ten Ganso prints published in issues of "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March, April, May, and June 1928; September 1931; January 1932; and April 1933.

31. Quotation from The Checkerboard, Ganso issue, September 1928. The other two issues of The Checkerboard are the Wanda Gág issue, January 1930, and the Howard Cook issue, September 1931.

32. Conversation with Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, May 1994.

33. Zigrosser's first trip abroad for the gallery was in 1923 (Zigrosser, World, 61), and his last trip abroad for the Gallery was to Mexico in 1930. (ibid., 79). Thus, all foreign purchases between 1930 and 1940, as well as those between 1919 and 1923, were Erhard Weyhe's.

34. The New Yorker, August 15, 1925 (WGS, Volume III, 111). The October 9, 1927, The New Yorker also mentioned Zigrosser's trips: "Weyhe has unpacked another of the trunks that Carl Zigrosser brought home from a summer in Europe . . .," (WGS, Volume III, 117).

35. Brooklyn Daily Eagle, October 19, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 22).

36. Murdock Pemberton, The New Yorker, July 17, (1927?) (WGS, Volume II, 129).

37. The New Yorker, October 9, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 149).

38. Zigrosser, World, 42. Some of the most important Weyhe artists were not "brought into" the gallery by Zigrosser; for example, Walter Pach brought both Tamayo and Rivera to the Gallery. See chapters 3 and 4.

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39. Zigrosser, World, 42.

40. Guy Eglinton, "Vincent Canadè," in Reaching for Art (Boston and London: 1931), 127; and "Exhibitions of the Month, Vincent Canadè, to November 26th," Art Alliance, 1928. (WGS, Volume IV, 118).

41. Carl Zigrosser, "The Lithographs of Vincent Canadè," Artist's Proof, Issue No. 5, Spring-Summer 1963, Volume III, No. 1, 33.

42. See, for example, New York Evening Post, April 18, 1925, and The Sun, April 11, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 38); H. McBride, The Sun, April 2, 1927, and the New York Post, April 2, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 8).

43. "Exhibitions of the Month, Vincent Canadè, to November 1926, Art Alliance," 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 118).

44. The New Yorker, April 2, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 8).

45. Eglinton, "Canadè," 127.

46. The Public Ledger, November 14, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 119).

47. Carl Zigrosser, "The Lithographs of Vincent Canadè," 32.

48. The New York American, April 10, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 14). Canadè complained constantly about having to paint "commercially" in order to live, and sounded determined to bite the hands that fed him. A writer in The New Yorker, probably Murdock Pemberton, called him "the bitter poet of Brooklyn." June 27, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 47).

49. On June 29, 1929, E. Weyhe wrote to Zigrosser, "Forgot to tell you in my last letter I have dropped Canadè. He came in a few days after you left and showed some minor pastels. He wanted 85 for the above, I thought it rather high and offered him fifty five. He got wild. I am through with him." (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 1061-1062).

50. Zigrosser, "The Lithographs of Vincent Canadè," 33. Town by River was selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts for its second annual exhibition, "Fifty Prints of the Year, 1926-1927;" Self Portrait was selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts for the third annual exhibition, "Fifty Prints, 1927-1928." These two prints and New York Roofs were the three Canadè prints included in Illustrated

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Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 3. The gallery had previously announced the publication of Self-Portrait, ed. 35, and New York Roofs, ed. 75, in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March and June 1928.

51. Margherita Flannagan, ed., Letters of John B. Flannagan (New York: Curt Valentin, 1942), 10.

52. Rufino Tamayo both benefited from a Weyhe loan, and had difficulties with Zigrosser's records. On January 1, 1929, he referred in a letter to Zigrosser to "the money you lent me." (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4644, Frame 181). On July 31, 1933, Tamayo wrote to Zigrosser, "I should appreciate it very much if you would return my watercolors as soon as possible." (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4644, Frame 184). On October 2, 1933, Tamayo wrote that four of his watercolors were still in the gallery, and again requested that they be sent to him "as soon as possible." (ibid., Frame 185). Zigrosser replied on January 9, 1934:

> It was my impression that we had paid you for the other watercolors and it was necessary for me to look up in back records, many of which were stored away and difficult to get at. I remember definitely paying you for a couple of drawings when I was in Mexico and we have a record of paying you for one on September 30th, 1930. This would account for three of the missing four. Since I can find no record of paying you for the fourth one, I am returning it to you with my apologies. (Ibid., Frame 186).

Another Weyhe artist who had problems with Zigrosser's records was Arnold Rönnebeck, who wrote on November 10, 1925: "Thanks also for statement of account. Credit only 150? Nothing doing! What about all the sales of my exhibit? 200 for London Wedding, 75-80 for Hermaphrodite, 300 for the drawings . . . bookends, lithos, etc., etc.?" (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 48-49).

Erhard Weyhe eventually criticized Zigrosser for his unbusiness-like methods; their differences around this issue contributed to Zigrosser's decision to leave the gallery in 1940. (See chapter 8, and World, 57-58).

53. Zigrosser wrote that he acquired Gill's work from the artist in 1923 in England, but did not explain how the gallery came by Sickert's work. World, 65.

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54. The accepted Kuhn biography, Philip Rhys Adams, Walt Kuhn, Painter, His Life and Work (Columbus, Ohio, 1978), omits references to both the Weyhe exhibition and the Kennedy Galleries 1967 exhibition. A two-page chronology in Adams, Walt Kuhn, 1877-1949, A Memorial Exhibition (Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museums, 1960), also omits the Weyhe Gallery and Kennedy Galleries exhibitions.

55. Walt Kuhn as Printmaker, 1877-1949 (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., October 11-November 7, 1967).

56. Adams, Walt Kuhn, Painter, 69. In 1978, Adams wrote that there were about a hundred Kuhn prints "known today," and that Quinn bought nineteen Kuhn etchings for $125 in January 1917. Adams added that in 1935 Kuhn gave to the New York Public Library thirty-two etchings and lithographs executed between 1915 and 1925.

57. I am very grateful to Jonathan Greenberg for sharing Kuhn's annotated records of his prints. The records list galleries where each print was exhibited, and it is from these notations that the Weyhe checklist has been constructed. A few dates have been changed to accord with facts in Adams, Walt Kuhn, Painter, but until the Greenberg catalogue is completed, the dates of all Kuhn's prints remain tentative.

58. Arts, August 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 40).

59. This print is dated "1923 circa?" in Kuhn's records, but a notation reads, "done N.Y. same time as "Portrait of Angna Enters." The two portraits of Angna Enters, Adams #s 131 and 132, are dated 1924. Adams, 247. When in 1924 the prints were made is unknown; thus all 1924 prints are included in table 3-I.

60. Chris must have been made in 1924 or earlier if it appeared in the Weyhe Gallery Exhibition. Also, Adams in Walt Kuhn, Painter, wrote that in the early spring of 1925, Kuhn nearly died of an ulcer, and after a family conference, Kuhn decided to concentrate all of his time and energy on paintings (100-101). Among the "distractions" Kuhn gave up was sculpture; prints were not mentioned in this context, but it seems improbable that he made prints in 1925-1926.

61. Mask was not dated in Kuhn's print list, but the annotation "done during 'Angel' period" suggests a 1924-1925 date, as Angel, Adams #147, is the first painting listed for 1925. (Adams, 248). Also, Kuhn wrote that an impression was sold to Miss Halpert at the Marie Sterner sale, and the Marie Sterner Exhibition was in 1924. (Adams, Walt

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Kuhn, Painter, 92.) The "27" a mystery; it is either an error, or Mask was in a 1927 Weyhe Gallery group exhibition. Efram L. Burk, in Walt Kuhn, Paintings, Drawings, Prints, A Study of Related Works, (Orono, Maine: 1989), dates both Mask and an associated drawing, Abstract Head, 1923.

62. Zigrosser, Artist in America, 183. The gallery had, of course, already featured prints by Lewis and Ruzicka. Lankes' name appeared on the 1922 Living Artist list, as did that of Burchfield, whom Lankes met in 1922 (see chapter 2).

63. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 13-14.

64. WGS, Volume II, 24.

65. The New York Times, November 2, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 24).

66. Fifty Prints of the Year, Selected for Exhibition by the American Institute of Graphic Arts 1925-1926 (New York, 1926).

67. Watrous, A Century of American Printmaking, 1880-1980, 76-77. The definition of "Modern" as described in the checklist for the exhibition was "'classic' . . . in which enduring expression is gained by a universal rather than a particular point of view and by an organization of such universalized subject matter into the structural harmony called design." Several prints we would today define as "modern" in 1925-1926 were also included: Marin's Woolworth Building; Weber's Abstraction; Sheeler's Sailboats (Yachts). It is difficult to comprehend what these works have in common with Lankes's print.

68. The first seven were announced in Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 13-14; Vermont Farm House (Robert Frost's House), illustrated, 57; Dawn, illustrated, 56. St. George Tucker was announced in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March 1928, XXVI, which used "ed." rather than "proofs," to indicate the size of the edition.

69. Frank Weitenkampf, "American Lithography of the Present Day," International Studio, Volume 97, December 1930, 41. Eleven years later, Carl Zigrosser wrote "Renaissance of the Wood-Engraving," in The Studio 121, June 1941, 178-185, which discussed the role of the Federal Arts Project in the comeback of the woodcut.

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70. As Zigrosser pointed out in World, 38, the Matisse drawings exhibition was a collaboration with Pierre Matisse, before he opened a gallery in New York. But Zigrosser failed to mention that Walter Pach had brought Matisse prints to Erhard Weyhe as early as 1921. (Zigrosser Files, Reel 4636, Frame 500-501). Pach also wrote a brief essay for the 1925 Matisse checklist, "The Drawings of Henri Matisse." (WGS, Volume I, 74).

71. Rönnebeck had introduced himself to Stieglitz in a letter from Europe in 1919, beginning, "I am a friend of Marsden Hartley's . . . " (AR to AS, March 6, 1919, Yale).
Of Rönnebeck's piece for the Young American Exhibition, Stieglitz wrote Dove in January 1925, "Rönnebeck is working at a page which may serve a purpose. I don't know. He has been sweating over it for more than a week." Ann Lee Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 39.

72. Stieglitz introduced Rönnebeck to the Weyhe Gallery in a letter he wrote Stieglitz to Zigrosser, on October 13, 1924: "Dear Zigrosser, I want you and Weyhe to know Arnold Rönnebeck, bearer of this." (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4643, Frame 298).

73. Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 31-315. Fifteen letters to Erhard Weyhe (in German) are interfiled among the letters to Zigrosser, and it seems probable that Rönnebeck continued to write to Weyhe after Zigrosser's departure in 1940. If so, the correspondence probably no longer exists.

74. "Summer Exhibit at Weyhe Gallery," The New York Times Magazine, June 28, 1925, 17 (WGS, Volume New). Gregory Gilbert, George Overbury "Pop" Hart, His Life and Art (New Brunswick, 1986), in the "Selected List of Exhibitions," 123, incorrectly dates the exhibition 1924, although Gilbert's bibliography includes the article that places the exhibition in 1925. According to one press notice, and to Zigrosser's handwritten notes from the files of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Hart's work was also included in a summer exhibition, 1922, as well as in the Living Artist list, but the art is unidentified.

75. Gilbert, "Pop" Hart, 81.

76. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 464, Frame 111.

77. Ibid., Frame 112.

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78. Ibid., Frame 117.

79. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 10, Boat and Natives, illustrated, 40, and Mammy, illustrated, 44. The descriptive information is as printed in the Weyhe Gallery catalogue; and the media of the prints does not necessarily conform to other sources. The dates of the prints are from Holger Cahill, editor, George O. "Pop" Hart, Twenty Four Selections From His Work (New York: The Downtown Gallery, 1928).

80. Weyhe Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 89-90).

81. Metropolitan Tower, The New York Times, March 7, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 108); The American Telephone and Telegraph Building in an unidentified clipping, n.d. (WGS, Volume II, 122).

82. The New York Times, March 6, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 108).

83. Royal Cortissoz, New York Herald Tribune, March 7, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 108).

84. Brooklyn Eagle, March 7, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 47).

85. Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings and Woodcuts By Rufino Tamayo, October 19th to 30, Weyhe Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 106-107).

86. Emily Genauer, Rufino Tamayo (New York, 1974), 37.

87. Ibid. Genauer clearly stated that the woodcuts were made in New York.

88. In 1995, Raquel Tibol wrote, in "Tamayo y Su Vuelo Del Reflejo al Sueño," Rufino Tamayo Del Reflejo Al Sueño: 1920-1950 (Mexico: Fundacíon Cultural Televisa, A.C., 1995), 14, that Tamayo displayed at his first exhibition in Mexico in 1926, "pinturas, acuarelas y grabados en madera," but no evidence that woodcuts were included in that exhibition has been located. Most U.S. art historians agree with Genauer, and Francis O'Connor, who wrote, "He had his first one-man show of oils and gouaches in a shop on the Avenida Madero in Mexico City in 1926." (O'Connor, ed., Art for the Millions (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), 294. The presence in the Philadelphia Museum collection of the woodblock for Head, 1928, supports their

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having been made in New York, as it seems unlikely that Tamayo brought the block with him to New York from Mexico.

89. "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March 1928, 18.

90. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 20. Man and Woman and Woodchopper are illustrated, 63.

91. "It's too bad I can't like Tamayo's recent work." Diary entry, August 3, 1930 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669, Frame 699). Tamayo left New York in 1928, and did not return until 1936; thereafter, for the next eighteen years he lived intermittently in New York. His first dealer when he returned to New York was Julian Levy, whom he probably met at the Weyhe Gallery. Levy worked for Weyhe as an assistant, or an apprentice, in the twenties. Levy met Calder at the Weyhe Gallery in 1929; and according to Levy, Calder later sought out Levy and asked for an exhibition, which Levy gave him in 1932. (Julian Levy, Memoir of an Art Gallery (New York, 1977), 46, 116, 297, and 302).

92. Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collectors Quarterly, 1936, #23, 80; Head, illustrated, 77. In the same article, 67, Zigrosser referred to Woodchopper as "symbolic."
Tamayo's woodcuts deserve more attention than they have received. Other than Genauer's brief reference to the woodcuts, nothing is known about the circumstances in which they were made. Gertrude Weyhe Dennis provided Tamayo, exhibition catalogue (Phoenix, Arizona: Phoenix Art Museum, 1968), which reproduces three of the woodcuts: The Virgin of Guadalupe, #7; Man and Woman, #102; and (Grief) #110, in fact, Head. A fourth image (Man Standing by a Maguey Plant) #97, is identified in the 1968 Phoenix catalogue as a linoleum cut, but cited in Mexican Art Today (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943) as a woodcut on loan from Galeria de Arte Mexicano, Mexico D.F.
The recent exhibition "Rufino Tamayo, Del Reflejo Al Sueño: 1920-1950," Mexico: Fundación Cultural Televisa, 1995-1996, included the woodcuts with assigned dates, but the 1925 pre-New York dates assigned to the (Weyhe) prints seem improbable and have not been included here.

Tamayo's Early Woodcuts

1. Man and Woman, 1926 (also Couple, The Meeting, Lovers). Man and Woman was reproduced on the Weyhe Gallery announcement of Tamayo's 1926 exhibition. The title comes from Illustrated Catalogue

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of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 20, Man and Woman, illustrated, 63. Also mentioned by Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," 1936, 80. Exhibitions: Mexican Art Today, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943, #239; Tamayo, (Phoenix,1968), #102, illustrated, 94; Rufino Tamayo Del Reflejo Al Sueño (Mexico City, 1995), (hereafter Tamayo, 1995) Cat. 90, illustrated, 46.

Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (two impressions, one from the Weyhe Gallery, one from the Zigrosser collection); Huntington Gallery (from the Weyhe Gallery); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery); Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Carl Zigrosser, 1930).

We know that at least two more woodcuts were in the Weyhe Gallery exhibition, but it is impossible to identify them.

2. Woodchopper (ca. 1926).
Listed as published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 20; illustrated, 63. Mentioned by Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," 1936, 80.

Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (three impressions, one from the Weyhe Gallery, two from the Zigrosser collection); Metropolitan Museum of Art (two impressions, gifts of Zigrosser, 1930); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery). Exhibition: "Rufino Tamayo," 1995-1996, Cat 102, illus. 47.

3. Two Mexican Girls (ca. 1926). (Also Two Women, Two Girls Touching Cactus Plant).
Listed as published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 20.

Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (from the Zigrosser Collection); Huntington Gallery (from the Weyhe Gallery); Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Carl Zigrosser, 1930); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery). Exhibition: "Rufino Tamayo," 1995-1996, Cat. 91, illus. 46.

4. The Virgin of Guadalupe (ca. 1926).
Listed as published by the gallery, September 1928, 20. Mentioned by Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," 1936, 80.

Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (two impressions, one from the Weyhe Gallery, one from the Zigrosser collection);

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Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Jean Charlot, September 1931); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery); Yale University Art Gallery.
Exhibitions: Tamayo, (Phoenix: 1968), #7, illustrated p. 30; Mexican Art Today, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943, #238; Rufino Tamayo, 1995-1996, Cat 104, illus. 47 (Note: a different image, Cat 94, illus. 47, is entitled Virgin de Guadelupe in this catalogue).

5. Head (ca. 1926) (Also Head of a Man, Grief).
Listed as published by the Gallery, September 1928, 20. Mentioned in Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," 1936, 80; illustrated, 77. This print has recently been called (Grief), apparently because impression in the collection the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was erroneously listed in the Phoenix exhibition catalogue as Grief. In the Boston MFA records, it is titled Head.

Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (three impressions, one from the Weyhe Gallery); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The block is owned by the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
Exhibitions: Tamayo, Exhibition catalogue, (Phoenix, 1968), #110, illustrated
98; Mexican Art Today, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943, #235; Rufino Tamayo, 1995-1996, Cat. 101, illus. 47.

6. (Man Pulling Up Tree Trunk) (ca. 1927).
Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (from the Zigrosser collection); Huntington Art Gallery (from the Weyhe Gallery); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery).

7. (Girl Standing at Table) (ca. 1927).
Impressions owned: Huntington Art Gallery (from the Weyhe Gallery, mat stamped March 23, 1929); Philadelphia Museum of Art (from the Zigrosser collection); Reba and Dave Williams (from the Weyhe Gallery). Exhibition: Rufino Tamayo, 1995-1996, Cat #100, illus. 47.

8. (Head of a Woman) (ca. 1927).
Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (two impressions, both from the Zigrosser collection, thus presumably from the Weyhe Gallery).

None of the following works appears to have been handled by the Weyhe Gallery:

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9. (Guitar Player) (1931?)
Impressions owned: Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Charlot, September 1931). Image similar to Dos Hombres Con Guitarra a woodcut for Cancionero Mexicana, 1931.

10. (Mermaids) (1931?)
Impressions owned: Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Charlot, September 1931.) Exhibition: Rufino Tamayo, 1995-1996, Cat 93, illus. 46. Image similar to Sirena con Mandolina, a woodcut for Cancionero Mexicana, 1931.

11. (Angel Embracing a Soul) (1931?)
Impressions owned: Metropolitan Museum of Art, (gift of Charlot, September 1931).
References: Illustrated in Erasto Cortes Juarez, El Grabado Contemporaneo (1922-1950), (Mexico, 1951), n.p.

12. (The Revolutionist) (1931?) (Also Zapatista, Man standing by a Maguey Plant) Impressions owned: Metropolitan Museum of Art (gift of Charlot, September 1931); Huntington Gallery (Mary-Anne Martin); Cincinnati Art Museum (two impressions, one purchased in Mexico in 1931, the other a gift from a museum patron). Exhibitions: Mexican Art Today #237, 102; Tamayo, Phoenix, Cat # 97, illus. 93; Tamayo, 1995-1996, Cat. 92, illus. 46.

13. (Three Children Singing) (1931?)
Impressions owned: Cincinnati Art Museum, acquired in Mexico in 1931. Exhibition: Tamayo, Phoenix, 1968, Cat. 100, illus. 30.

14. (Man and Woman Seated Before a Maguey Plant) (1931?)
Impressions owned: Cincinnati Art Museum, acquired in Mexico in 1931. Exhibition: Tamayo, Phoenix, 1968, Cat. 98, illus. 92.

In addition to the images discussed above, Rufino Tamayo del Reflejo al Sueño: 1920-1950 lists the following woodcuts, with the dates shown below:

15. Virgen de Guadalupe (ca. 1926), Cat #92, illus. 47. (A different image from #4, above).

16. Mujer con Bulto y Maguey, (ca. 1928), Cat. #97 and Cat. #97a; illus. 47.

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17. Cancionero Mexicano, 1931, nine woodcuts made for Mexican Folkways, Cat. 105, illus. 16.

18. Self-Portrait, 1935, Cat 106, illus. 47.

93. The facts of Gág's life are taken from Audur Winnan, Wanda Gág, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints (Washington, D.C.; Smithsonian, 1993), 17. This excellent work is such a thorough examination of Gág's life and art, including her relationship with the gallery, little can be added by this writer.

94. Winnan, 28.

95. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist. The checklist, generously provided by Audur Winnan, can be seen in WGS, Volume New.

96. Winnan, 29.

97. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 7-8; illustrations, 34-37, and 56. The Gallery had previously announced the publication of a number of Gág's prints in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, as follows: March 1928, XXVI, two lithographs, Spring, and The Spinning Wheel, and a woodcut, (Shelf with Lamp); in April 1928, XXVI, two lithographs, The Departure and Fruit and Flowers; in May 1928, XXII, Winter Twilight, a lithograph, and Spinning Wheel, a woodcut, in June 1928, XX, two lithographs, Squash and Flowers and Gumbo Lane. Subsequently, the gallery announced the publication in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, February 1932, 158, of a lithograph entitled Grandma's Kitchen; and in October 1932, 150, The Forge.

98. Winnan, 44.

99. Zigrosser, Reel 4261, Frames 1257-1293. The earliest surviving letter in the Zigrosser file from Gág to Zigrosser is June 1, 1942 (Frames 1260-1263), and the last is November 21, 1942 (Frames 1265-1268).

100. From the exhibition checklist, WGS, Volume I, 220-222. The exhibition was widely reviewed; see WGS, Volume III, 87-88.

101. Sylvan Cole, A Retrospective Exhibition of the Prints of Eugene Fitsch, Dealer's exhibition checklist (New York, March 1989)

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102. Ibid.

103. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 7. The Great White Way is illustrated, 34.

104. WGS, Volume III, 117. The gallery sold many Picasso prints; for example, Fine Prints, 1933, listed twenty-four. The gallery also handled other works by Picasso; A Sampler, December 1939, offered Picasso's La Lecture Interrompue, illustrated, painting on board panel, signed and dated 1932, for $2000.00.

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Chapter Four

"Los Tres Grandes" and the Weyhe Gallery

1927-1931

Zigrosser wrote that while on an art-buying trip to Europe in the summer of 1927, he acquired from Léonce Rosenberg, the Parisian dealer with whom Diego Rivera had signed a contract in 1916, "about forty beautiful drawings and a number of large cubist paintings" by Rivera.[1]

Some of Rivera's work was on view at the Weyhe Gallery in September 1927. Murdock Pemberton wrote in The New Yorker:

> Carl Zigrosser has just returned from all parts of Europe bringing back with him various and sundry offerings. . . . Of these, he has made an interesting show, augmented now and then by some of the local talent. Of the foreign stuff, most emphasis is placed on some early work of Rivera, a Mexican master . . . mainly water colors and sketches done in the early manner. We suppose they have great value, the Mexican being what he is. But if you have seen only the one or two things of his at the Quinn sale, you will be a bit disappointed in the earlier mode.[2]

On September 22, 1927, Rivera wrote to Erhard Weyhe from Mexico:

> I received a letter from my friend Walter Pach in which he said that you are preparing an exhibition of some of my old drawings that you have recently acquired, and Pach also informed me in his letter that you proposed my sending some of my recent work.
>
> Finding your proposition interesting, I have sent thirteen drawings with my friend the architect William Spratling.[3]
>
> Enclosed you will find a list of the titles and prices of the drawings. For your commission you may deduct 33 percent from the prices.[4]

The list Rivera enclosed is shown below:

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TABLE 4-1

DRAWINGS FOR MR. WEYHE

No.			
	1.	Torso of Woman	$100
	2.	Project for Ceiling	75
	3.	Project for Ceiling	50
	4.	Project for Ceiling	50
	5.	Study of Hands	100
	6.	Landscape with Mountains (watercolor)	75
	7.	Flower Vendor (watercolor)	100
	8.	Horseman Resting	30
	9.	Group of Horsemen, Resting	40
	10.	Women Resting	75
	11.	Flower Seller	50
	12.	Landscape With Horse	50
	13.	Lupe	100
			(less 1/3)

Seven days later, Rivera wired Erhard Weyhe, "Can send six recent canvasses drawings watercolors October twentieth please answer my first cable discussing old canvasses can send pictures if return expenses Mexico and custom charges paid by you. Possible to avoid custom charges return by seeing Mexican consulate New York asking permit for exhibit."[5]

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The dates of the correspondence were initially confounding, as it has been agreed that Rivera left Mexico for the Soviet Union in August 1927, and delivered lectures in Moscow in September 1927.[6] But the accepted chronology was wrong, since on October 17, 1927, Rivera, on his way to the Soviet Union, spent a day in New York.[7] He arrived by train, and was met by the ubiquitous Walter Pach, whom he had met in Mexico in 1922, and who had written Rivera about the forthcoming Weyhe exhibition. Pach and Rivera, with drawings Rivera hoped to sell to finance the trip, proceeded to the Weyhe Gallery at 62d and Lexington, where the drawings were acquired for cash.[8] According to Zigrosser, Rivera and Pach spent the rest of the day in the Metropolitan Museum; not until six o'clock did Rivera remember his traveling companions, abandoned in Pennsylvania Station.[9] Sometime that day, Rivera also met with Anita Brenner, and within the same busy twenty-four hours, departed for Moscow.[10]

Rivera's presence in New York in 1927 was mentioned at least twice in the press: "Diego Rivera, whom Weyhe is to show extensively in midwinter, has just . . . sailed from New York to Russia, where he expects to stay for several months . . . ," and, "Rivera spent a few days in New York last summer on his way to Russia for consultation with other artists on work projected by the Soviet Republic."[11]

Some of the Weyhe Gallery's Rivera material was first shown at the Worcester Art Museum, in Worcester, Massachusetts, in November 1927, and G.W. Eggers, the Director of the Museum, wrote the introduction to the checklist. The works in the Worcester exhibition are listed below.[12]

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TABLE 4-2

EXHIBITION OF SKETCHES BY THE MEXICAN ARTIST DIEGO M. RIVERA

NOVEMBER 6-NOVEMBER 27, 1927

1.	Bowl of Fruit	22-25.	Portraits
2.	Caricature	26.	Reclining Figure
3.	The Chimney	27.	Reclining Nude
4.	Four Studies for Ceiling	28.	The Sardine Can
5.	Girl and Lilies	29.	Sketch for Entombment
6.	Head	30.	Still Life
7.	House and Trees	31.	Still Life and Artichoke
8-14.	Landscapes	32.	Still Life and Coffee pot
15.	Mexican Family	33.	Still Life With Grater
16.	Mexican House	34.	Still Life With Vegetables
17.	Mexican Woman	35.	Street Corner
18.	Mother and Child	36-37.	Studies for Heads
19.	Nude Sketch	38.	Telegraph Pole
20.	Nude with Apple	39.	Water Pitcher
21.	Nude with Braided Hair	40.	Woman and Child

At the same time, the Worcester Art Museum acquired from the Weyhe Gallery six of the drawings: Mother and Child, 1927; Water Pitcher, 1918; Portrait of Chirokof, 1917; Bowl of Fruit, 1918; Mexican Landscape, ca. 1927; and Mexican House, ca. 1927.[13]

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The larger Weyhe Gallery exhibition of Rivera's works was held in January 1928. The works exhibited are shown below.[14]

TABLE 4-3

EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS BY DIEGO M. RIVERA

JANUARY 3-21, 1928

PAINTINGS

1.	La Cruche	1912
	("the large painting from the Quinn collection")[15]	
2.	La Femme Assise	1915
3.	Abstraction	1916
4.	Abstraction	1916
5.	Portrait of an Indian Child (lent by Miss Ernestine Evan)	1927
6.	Woman With Corn (lent by Mrs. Walter Frank)	1926
7.	Still-Life With a Bottle	1918
8.	Still-Life With an Artichoke	1918
9.	Landscape	1918
10.	House and Tree	1918
11.	The Chimney	1918
12.	Aqueduct	1918
13.	Town With an Aqueduct	1918
14.	Backyards	1918
15.	Street Corner	1918

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16.	Sketch for Entombment	n.d.
17.	Girl and Lilies	1927
18.	Mountains	1927

Brush and Ink

19.	Woman and Child	1926
20.	Mother and Child	1926
21.	Mother and Child	1926

Pastel

22.	Study of a Girl	1921
23.	Portrait of Lupe	1927
24.	Study for a Fresco	1927
25.	Study for a Fresco	1927

Pencil and Crayon Drawings

26.	Still Life With Two Glasses	1917
27.	Still Life With Cigarettes	1917
28.	Still Life With a Grater	1917
29.	Portrait	1917
30.	Woman With a Headdress	1918
31.	Still Life With a Knife	1918
32.	Still Life With a Coffeepot	1918
33.	Still Life With a Sardine Can	1918
34.	Still Life with a Carafe	1918

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35.	Still-Life with a Cup	1918
36.	Portrait of a Man	1918
37.	Portrait of a Girl	1918
38.	Portrait of a Boy	1918
39.	Head	1921
40.	Study of a Sleeping Figure	1921
41.	Group of Mexicans	1921
42.	Head of a Woman	1921
43.	Industrial Composition	n.d.
44.	Sketch of a Head	n.d.
45.	Nude, Sketch	n.d.
46.	Study for a Head	1923
47.	Head of a Young Man	1923
48.	Head	1923
49.	Nude	1925
50.	Nude With Braided Hair	1925
51.	Study for a Mural	1925
52.	Study for a Mural	1925
53.	Nude With an Apple	1925
54.	Reclining Nude	1925
55.	Bathers	1925
56.	Mexican Family	n.d.

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57.	Cliffs	n.d.
58.	Landscape Sketch With a Burro	n.d.
59.	Landscape Sketch With Houses	n.d.
60.	Desert Landscape	n.d.
61.	Telephone Pole	n.d.
62.	Horseman in a Group	1927
63.	Man on Horseback	1927

The exhibition was extensively reviewed. A writer in The New York Evening Post asserted, "It's a provocative exhibition and leads one to the conclusion that a pilgrimage to Mexico should be a part of art education,"[15] while an art critic in The New Yorker offered, "Rivera is now in Russia having a continuous Samovar party with kindred souls. This is put in to warn readers of newspaper editorials. Rivera does not paint their kind of stuff."[16] (Presumably, this was a compliment!)

But not everyone admired Rivera's work. José Clemente Orozco (1883-1949), who had arrived in New York in November 1927, wrote on January 3, 1928, to his friend Jean Charlot: "Poor fat man! Just inter nos: I think he's making a fool of himself."[17] The criticism was one of Orozco's mildest; his angry tirades about Rivera dominated his correspondence with Charlot. Indeed, Orozco seemed hostile to nearly everyone.

In the 1950s, Selden Rodman discussed Orozco with Inés Amor, a well-known Mexican art dealer. Amor explained, "He [Orozco] hated mankind. Why was he so

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bitter? Because of his life, his failures, his poverty, his obsessive inferiority complex."[18]

In a February 1928 letter to Charlot's mother, Mrs. Charlot Goupil, Orozco continued his diatribe:

> With regard to the matter of the "potentate" Rivera, it's more serious here than in Mexico: he already has incredible publicity, and the idea is now firmly established that he is the great creator of everything and the others are only his disciples. Whenever I am introduced and they hear "painter from Mexico," they say: "Oh, then you know the great Rivera!". . . . He had an exhibition here at a very small gallery with a multitude of drawings and paintings from all periods and all "schools" and, despite the fact that it was a really ridiculous show, it was praised highly, although not as highly as he wished.[19]

But Orozco also discussed his own work. On February 23, he wrote Charlot, "Lithography: I am going to do it, it's easy, it doesn't have to be done on stone, there are some special plates, I already have two of them. There is a Mr. Miller who has a lithography studio here and he is the one who makes the prints for the art galleries. The plates I bought (26 x 43 centimeters) cost 50 cents each, the printing of the first 12 proofs costs 10 dollars, and each additional one is 25 cents, plus the paper. It's expensive for me, but I'll see if I can manage it."[20]

Orozco continued to be harshly critical of Rivera, and scathing in his comments about the Weyhe Gallery. In the same letter he wrote,

> Diegoff Riveritch Romanoff: Still a big threat to us. . . . The/Mexican fashion/or mode de Mexique, whatever you want to call it, that farce, is now passing. One proof of this is the exhibition of Diegoff's work that was held at the so-called Wheye [sic] or Wyhe [sic] Gallery. It is not a gallery at all, just a very small bookstore . . . a kind of Volador in miniature, because it has a little of everything, even nicknacks [sic]. And during the winter they have continuous shows, each lasting for 3 days, you can imagine what they are like. . . . Weyhe is just good for selling cheap little things; they told me they sold one of your

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> watercolors and two of my drawings. All they ask is a modest 33 ⅓% commission. I've taken my drawings out of there until the "Mexicanist" storm blows over.[21]

There is no way to verify or to refute the statement that Orozco took his drawings "out of there," but it seems unlikely. Orozco was desperate for money, and less than two months later invited Zigrosser to look at his work. And in March 1928, the Weyhe Gallery advertised that they were "agents for" Orozco, Charlot, Rivera, and Tamayo.[22] But the secretive, suspicious Orozco chose to keep his relationship with the Gallery from Charlot. On March 20, 1928, he wrote, "The Volador of New York: Weyhe: exhibitions every half hour, many portfolios with drawings, lithographs, engravings, etc., etc., by every painter who ever lived. . . . The first lithograph! it came out very well, now I have drawn two more and tomorrow I'll take them to the printer. I am delighted with the new method, a very interesting toy, it will keep me busy."[23]

Orozco's first lithograph was Vaudeville in Harlem, 1928 (Figure 38), a popular subject of the period. During the twenties and thirties, many artists depicted Harlem's musicians, dancers, and nightclubs in paintings and prints; most artists who came to New York visited Harlem, and few could resist trying to capture what they saw on paper or canvas. But Orozco's Vaudeville is not one of his best; the gaiety of Harlem in the twenties was an unsympathetic subject for the angry, embittered Orozco.

In April, Orozco wrote Charlot that Joseph Pollet, an American painter, had advised him that the Weyhe Gallery was not "suitable" for Orozco, because "the other one" [Rivera] was there and "they would play politics with [Orozco]." Orozco also

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revealed that when he had invited Zigrosser, whom he described as "the manager of Weyhe and the great supporter, manager, and defender of D.R.," to look at his work, "just to sound him out, he looked at everything and didn't say a word."[24] Orozco again failed to mention that the Weyhe Gallery was already acting for him.

Orozco even warned Charlot about affiliating with the Weyhe Gallery; on October 13, he wrote, "You say that you're going to leave your things at Weyhe, I say that the first thing you must do is take your things out of there."[25] Two days later he complained, "As to the Weyhe Gallery, it's really not bad for small things but they're rather shameless, not only do they charge 33% commission on what they sell, which is excessive, but it seems they also 'make off' with the works when you aren't looking."[26]

However, by this date, the Weyhe Gallery had already included Vaudeville in Harlem and La Bandera in a list of its published prints, with a sympathetic caption: "Jose Clemente Orozco was born in 1883 at Zapatlan, State of Jalisco and is one of the two most significant Mexican painters of today. Like all those rebels who do not fit into early classification and cliches, he has been much maligned and misunderstood. One feels in his drawings and lithographs the objectivity that comes from tremendous power and restraint and an emotional intensity that renders his work haunting and memorable."[27]

Orozco's prints were well received by the critics. After seeing his lithographs at the second annual show of the Society of American Print Makers, Margaret Breuning wrote, "Orozco, the Mexican artist, is one of the star contributors; his prints

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'Flag' and 'Requiem' are incredibly dramatic, yet without any forcing of medium or of emotional appeal. The big, trenchant design, the boldness of the contrasted masses of lustrous black and dazzling white are obviously the only idiom which could convey these original conceptions directly to us."[28]

While Orozco had damned the Weyhe Gallery in his 1928 letters to Charlot, in letters to his wife Margarita in 1929, he described the gallery in glowing terms, and offered his Weyhe Gallery affiliation as proof of his own success. On March 29, he wrote enthusiastically:

> . . . the "Requiem" lithograph . . . as I had told you, was selected as one of the "50 prints of the year." The exhibition of these prints is currently at the "Art Center," I enclose the catalogue, it is said that it will travel to over sixty American cities.[29] The Weyhe Gallery quickly asked me to sell them 50 copies of my lithograph "Requiem" and I didn't make them beg, of course they are the ones who will make more business but for now it was good for me to do, since I need money with urgency, it is also good publicity for us. They gave me a third of the sale price which is $20.00, that is a total of $333.00 for the 50 copies. Weyhe also gave me two art books which are each worth $30.00.[30]

And on April 20, 1929, he wrote, "The Weyhe Gallery is buying some lithographs for a total of $780.00 and they want me to make more lithographs which could mean several thousand dollars! Mr. Weyhe and his partner tell me that they have not had lithos like mine in their shop and theirs is a shop that has been around for a while and are specialists in prints. They are known worldwide.

To think that I have only made 3 lithographs in all the days of my life and they have already given me fame and money."[31]

In June of 1929, Orozco and Alma Reed (1889-1966), the California-born journalist and adventurer who adopted Mexico, especially its artists and archaeology,

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and whose New York Salon, The Ashram, attracted crowds of artists and intellectuals, established Delphic Studios. An equal partnership, the gallery was conceived as a showcase for Orozco's work, to obtain mural commissions.[32] After it opened, Orozco's relationship with the Weyhe Gallery began to deteriorate. On October 20, 1929, he wrote to Margarita:

> The Weyhe shop bought a complete set of my lithographs and one drawing which is a mural cartoon, they paid me for this last one $80.00. It is a shame that I drew it on cheap paper. Lately though Weyhe's shop has been difficult, obviously as a result of Alma's Delphic Studios which they see as competitors. Old man Weyhe told Alma that $10.00 is too much per lithograph yet he told her that they are great prints and that within three or four years I can ask whatever I want for them. Yesterday we sent them a short letter maintaining our price and asking if they want more lithos or not. We await their response. They have no choice but to agree and enter into a more formal agreement.[33]

At the same time, Orozco continued to brag about his success, using his association with the Weyhe Gallery as evidence of his fame. On November 12, he wrote to Margarita, "I recently saw a list of prices at Weyhe's and I saw that mine are higher, even more than the drawings of the mastodon [Rivera]. One of my lithographs called 'Rearguard' in English, is already worth $50.00, not to mention 'Requiem' which they no longer even advertise. More people come to the gallery asking to see my work, each day I have a larger group of admirers."[34]

Orozco was the first of "Los Tres Grandes" whose prints the gallery published. His first two lithographs, Vaudeville in Harlem (or Vaudeville), and Bandera (The Flag), printed in 1928 by George Miller, appeared in the 1928 publication, Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery.

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His third lithograph, Requiem, 1928, was also published by Weyhe, as was Rear Guard, 1929 (Figure 39).[35]

While his later prints were apparently not published by the Gallery--Orozco must have held firm against exclusive editions--the Weyhe Gallery continued to handle Orozco's lithographs. In 1933, a gallery catalogue listed thirteen of them for sale:[36]

TABLE 4-4

Requiem	$150.00
Bandera	$75.00
Vaudeville	$50.00
Marching Women	$30.00
The Family	$30.00
Hands	$35.00
The Maguey	$60.00
Tres Generaciones	$30.00
The Franciscan	$30.00
Mexican Woman	$30.00
Rear Guard	$75.00
Soldier's Wife	$30.00
Mural Study	$30.00

In 1938, twenty-two were listed:[37]

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TABLE 4-5

La Bandera	$40.00
Requiem	$60.00
Revolution	$50.00
Rear Guard	$50.00
Soldier's Widow	$25.00
Mural Study, Grief	$30.00
Marching Women	$30.00
Mexican Women	$25.00
The Franciscan	$25.00
Hands	$25.00
Three Generations	$25.00
The Family	$25.00
Mexican Landscape	$30.00
Pueblo	$30.00
Inditos	$30.00
Mouths, (a macabre fantasy of hunger)	$40.00
The Demonstration, (a fantasy of collective action)	$40.00
Leaders	$40.00
Mexican Rocks	$30.00

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Pulqueria	$30.00
Dumping Ground	$30.00
Unemployed	$10.00

Orozco rarely attained the quality of his earliest prints in the later works, and the relatively modest prices of his later lithographs reflected the decline in the calibre of his work, as well as a probable lessening of interest on the part of Erhard Weyhe and Zigrosser in spending money to promote partial editions. (The overall decline in prices, was, of course, the result of the Depression; see chapter 7). But the success of Orozco's early lithographs may have encouraged Zigrosser and Weyhe to seek out and publish prints by Rivera and Siqueiros.

While Orozco discovered lithography and Miller for himself (possibly through Pach, whom Orozco had known in Mexico in 1922, and who seemed to take under his wing all the Mexicans artists who came to New York), and brought samples of his prints to the Weyhe Gallery after he made them, the gallery commissioned Rivera's prints after selling his drawings and paintings in 1927. In the autumn of 1929, Zigrosser began to try to persuade Diego Rivera to make lithographs for the gallery. On November 20, 1929, Zigrosser wrote to William Spratling: "and if you could persuade him [Rivera] to make a group of lithographs or woodcuts I would be extremely grateful to you."[38] Zigrosser did not record how he came to know Spratling or to initiate a correspondence with him, but the Zigrosser-Spratling correspondence refers to their "mutual friend" George Biddle, and it is possible that Biddle acted as intermediary.[39] However it came about, it was a fortuitous association.

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William Spratling (1900-1967), who taught architecture at Tulane, first visited Mexico in 1926 on an assignment to write a series of articles for Architectural Forum. A Tulane colleague had provided him with introductions to Diego Rivera, to Frances Toor (an American woman living in Mexico who published Mexican Folkways), and to a newspaper editor, Rafael Helodoro Valle, who in turn introduced Spratling to Orozco and Tamayo.[40]

In 1929, when Dwight Morrow, U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, wanted to present a gift to Cuernavaca, his favorite Mexican city, Spratling suggested that Morrow commission frescoes by Rivera for the Cortés Palace there. Spratling negotiated a $12,000 fee for Rivera, and the artist gave Spratling a $2,000 commission, enabling Spratling to buy a house in Taxco; by January 1929, he was living in it, earning a precarious living writing.[41] He continued his association with Rivera, in 1930 editing The Frescoes of Diego Rivera for the Museum of Modern Art, and helping to arrange Rivera's one-man show there. His presence in Mexico, and willingness to help Zigrosser acquire art for the Weyhe Gallery, proved extremely fortunate for the gallery.

Zigrosser continued to write to both Spratling and Rivera about the lithographs; on March 10, 1930s he wrote Rivera: "Have you ever made any lithographs? I think that if you made some we could find a ready sale for them. I should like to talk further with you about making some lithographs when I see you."[42] On May 3 in a letter to Spratling, Zigrosser again raised the topic of the prints: "I also hope that we can induce him [Rivera] to make some lithographs. Are there any good lithographic

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printers in Mexico?"[43] On June 8, 1930, Spratling replied, "He [Rivera] seemed very pleased about making lithographs, we talked about it at length."[44]

A month later (on July 8), Zigrosser left the United States for Mexico, where he remained until August 5; he described the journey as his "last purchasing trip for the Weyhe Gallery."[45] Most of the diary entries for his stay in Mexico refer to food, flirtations, sightseeing, and gossip; unfortunately, the business he conducted is almost never mentioned.[46] But he saw both Rivera and Spratling frequently, and they must have continued to discuss the lithographs. Their correspondence on the subject resumed after his return to New York.

In fact, even before Zigrosser could have reached New York, on August 8, 1930, Spratling wrote to him reassuringly, "Also, you can depend on me to get after Diego for the lithographs."[47] On September 25, 1930, Rivera wired Zigrosser, "Shall send drawings Spratling if possible make lithographs, advise number of them wish and possible price."[48] The same day, Spratling wired Zigrosser, "Saw Diego Monday had six paintings no lithographs but promised to do them and agreed I should take all with me when I go about October 15."[49]

On September 29, 1930, Zigrosser wrote Rivera, "Spratling has no doubt given you all the details about the lithographs, I hope that you will be able to make them before you leave for America."[50] And on October 5, 1930, Rivera wired Zigrosser, "Spratling expects to leave for New York on the 15th of this month, and he will take the paintings and the lithographs. . . . As I have no means of printing lithographs, a friend of mine will do the five hundred of five subjects for $150.00 (American), and I

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wish you would advise me how much you can pay me for the five lithographs that I shall make directly on the stone."[51]

The identity of Rivera's friend, the 1930 printer, is still unknown. Dolores Olmedo Patiño, Rivera's longtime friend and model and the chairman of the Diego Rivera Trust, has reportedly said that Rivera's lithographs were printed at a workshop formerly located behind the Palacio de Bellas Artes,[52] while a list of Rivera's prints in the papers of Diego's biographer, Bertram Wolfe, reads, "Fueron impresas en el taler de litografia de _____ en la calle de Guatemala # _____ en Mexico."[53] Both the name of the studio, and the number of the street were omitted.

Rivera's first five lithographs (in an edition of one hundred impressions each), included Market and Flower Market, each made in two versions, the first on a plain (paper) background, the second on a yellow background, produced with a tint stone.[54] The prints were subsequently used to illustrate a book by Carleton Beals, Mexican Maze (Philadelphia, 1931): Market (yellow tint stone) in the inside cover, back and front; and Flower Market, a small reproduction at the top of page fifty-five. It has been suggested that the illustrations were made from drawings, on which the prints were later based,[55] but, in fact, the Weyhe Gallery loaned the lithographs to Lippincott, the publishers of Mexican Maze, and reproductions of the lithographs were used to illustrate the book.[56]

Rivera's 1930 lithographs also include two nudes. The model for Nude With Long Hair (Dolores Olmedo) (Figure 40), still plays an extremely important role in his history. In 1957, two years before he died, Rivera appointed Olmedo the life

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chairman of the Diego Rivera Trust, which Rivera had set up two years earlier. The trust controls the Frida Kahlo museum, Rivera's own museum, containing his studio and his collection, Kahlo's and Rivera's private papers and diaries, and numerous works by both the artists.[57] In Olmedo's former home, the Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño, many important works by Kahlo and Rivera can be seen.

Nude With Beads (Frida Kahlo) (Figure 41) is a rare depiction of Kahlo as a nude; because she was injured at an early age, most of Diego's portraits of her are in voluminous garments. The print makes an interesting comparison with Frida Kahlo's lithograph, a nude self-portrait of 1932 (Figure 42).[58] While only two years separate the works, they are worlds apart in feeling. Rivera presents Frida as beautiful and seductive, while Kahlo is concerned with her recent tragic miscarriage--her print is a portrait of pain.

The final print of the 1930s group, Rivera's Self-Portrait (Figure 43), demonstrates (especially in comparison with the other 1930 lithographs, all relatively simple line drawings) an extraordinarily sophisticated use of lithography. Rivera was fascinated with his own face--he made many self-portraits--and in the 1930 Self-Portrait he experimented with both his own image and with lithography.[59] Self-Portrait exists in at least three variations -- the image on a grey tint stone; on a tan tint stone; and on plain paper. But there are also paper differences, and the true number of variations has yet to be determined.

Using an impression of Self-Portrait, Rivera, with the same stone, created a unique work he called a "'lithomontage,'" in which his head appears, super-imposed

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three times in different positions."[60] He also used Self-Portrait in a unique over-impression with Nude With Beads,[61] a combination suggesting Kahlo's Diego in My Thoughts, 1943, a painting made more than ten years later, in which Kahlo painted Diego's face on the forehead of her self-portrait.

In November 1931, Rivera and Kahlo travelled to New York and lived at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel while Rivera painted works for his exhibition at MoMA, which was to open on December 23. He produced eight "portable" frescoes, three of New York City images and five of Mexican themes, all of which were purchased by the Weyhe Gallery after the exhibition closed.[62]

Rivera remained in New York until April 1932, working on five lithographs, each a detail from one of his murals. Four of the images--The Fruits of Labor, Boy With Dog (Boy with Taco), The Rural School (Open Air School), and Sleep (Sleep of the Poor)--are details from his murals in the Ministry of Education in Mexico. The fifth, Zapata, is an image from the Museum of Modern Art's portable fresco panel.[63] The five 1932 lithographs (each in an edition of one hundred) were printed by George Miller; the details of where and when they were made have been established by Lucienne Bloch (b. 1909), who assisted Rivera with his murals, both in New York and Detroit. Bloch, who was on intimate terms with both Rivera and Kahlo, was fortunately a diarist.[64]

But Rivera made two lithographs in 1932 about which Bloch knew nothing; they are, according to the 1989 catalogue raisonné of Diego's work, Portraits of

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Emma Dunbar, 1932, one full-face, one profile (Figure 44), in the Dolores Olmedo Patiño Museum. They are signed and dated, but not titled on the prints.[65]

The lithographs were almost certainly printed by George Miller at the same time as the other 1932 lithographs, but they do not appear in the Weyhe records of Rivera's prints,[66] and in 1936, Zigrosser wrote in Print Collector's Quarterly, "Diego has to date made ten lithographs," and went on to describe the ten well-known works.[67] It seems probable that Zigrosser deliberately excluded the Dunbar portraits, since an impression (profile) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art is dedicated to Zigrosser by Rivera.[68] Perhaps he excluded them at the request of Rivera, who may have wished to be discreet about his relationship with Dunbar.

In 1977, Berta Taracena referred to Diego's twelve lithographs, mentioning specifically the two Emma Dunbar prints.[69] Though none of the many other articles and books about Rivera mentions Emma Dunbar,[70] the catalogue raisonné of Rivera's work contains, in addition to the Dunbar lithographs, a 1931 portrait of John Dunbar,[71] a New York real estate broker, who, with his wife Barbara, visited Rivera in Mexico.[72] It seemed likely that Emma Dunbar was connected to the John Dunbars, but the link was not established until Ellen Sharp, curator of graphic arts at The Detroit Institute of Arts, produced the previously mentioned unpublished list of Rivera's prints from the papers of Bertram Wolfe. In Wolfe's list, the portrait lithographs were titled Barbara Dunbar; the prints had been mistitled in the catalogue raisonné.[73]

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According to Wolfe's records, Rivera made only ten impressions of each of the Dunbar prints, giving five of each to Barbara Dunbar, and retaining five of each for himself. Only a few have surfaced--one of each in Olmedo's collection, now on display in her museum, and photographed for the Gutiérrez Catalogo General, one (profile) dedicated to Zigrosser in the Philadelphia Museum of Art,[74] one (profile) dedicated to Erhard Weyhe now in the collection of Reba and Dave Williams (gift of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis),[75] and one (profile) in the Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas.[76] An impression (profile) was sold at Sotheby's in 1977,[77] and an impression (profile) was sold by the Davidson Gallery, possibly in 1985.[78]

Although Rivera made a linoleum cut, The Communicating Vessels, printed in Mexico in 1938,[79] he apparently made no more lithographs after 1932. Rivera's relationship with the Weyhe Gallery remained positive, and in 1996, works by Rivera can still be acquired at the Weyhe Gallery.

The third of "los grandes," David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974), also produced prints published by the Weyhe Gallery. Zigrosser wrote in his biography that during his visit to Mexico in 1930, he bought paintings by Siqueiros through Frances Toor, adding that he did not meet him.[80] Zigrosser's diary entries for his visit to Mexico mention Siqueiros only once; on July 29, he wrote that he "went to see Frances Toor . . . she showed me some Siqueiros paintings. He is in jail."[81] Forty-five years later, in his biography, Zigrosser added, "I met him [Siqueiros] later in New York and was overwhelmed by the flamboyance of his style and particularly of his speech. I commissioned several editions of lithographs from him nonetheless."[82]

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Zigrosser seems to imply that he commissioned the lithographs after he met Siqueiros, but Siqueiros did not visit New York until 1934, and there was no earlier opportunity for the two to meet, and no correspondence between them. Yet, in March of 1931, a photograph of Siqueiros's lithograph Head (Figure 45) was reproduced, courtesy of the Weyhe Gallery, in The New York Herald Tribune.[83] And by September 19, 1931, Jean Charlot had presented three Siqueiros lithographs, Zapata (Figure 46), Reclining Nude, and Moisès Sáenz (a politically astute and well-connected Mexican educator), to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[84] Also in 1931, probably December, a Weyhe Gallery catalogue listed four Siqueiros lithographs for sale--Nude, Zapata, Portrait of Sáenz and Reclining Nude.[85] Clearly, the Zigrosser's commissioning of Siqueiros's lithographs occurred before Zigrosser and Siqueiros could have met.

In 1941, MacKinlay Helm wrote that when Siqueiros was released from jail in 1931, an exhibition of his work was taking place in Mexico City. (The exhibition was actually held from January 25 to February 15, 1932).[86] According to Helm, "some of the works shown at that time had been produced in jail. . . . Only the wood engravings and the lithographs, for which Spratling had supplied the stones, survive in their original strength and clarity. The lithographs are directly and finely drawn. . . . Thirteen of the Taxco woodcuts were published by Spratling in 1931."[87]

Desmond Rochfort added that, during the year Siqueiros spent in "town arrest" confined to Taxco, the artist produced over seventy paintings, drawings, and prints.[88]

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And according to Raquel Tibol, "Siqueiros was anxious to break into large formats, and managed to paint vast canvases in the cramped studio-home [in Taxco]. He also worked on lithographs that were much larger than the prison woodcuts, portraits of Zapata and Moisès Sáenz, a Zapata on horse-back and a nude of Blanca Luz."[89]

The dates on some of the lithographs, the dates by which some of them had arrived in New York, and Helm's, Rochfort's, and Tibol's writings, seem to confirm that Siqueiros produced lithographs during his "town arrest" in Taxco, after his release from prison in 1930. A vital question remains: how and by whom were the lithographs printed? Lithographers were rare in Mexico in 1930-1931, and as Judith Keller wrote, ". . . the stone required for the lithographic process was not cheap or abundant in Mexico. Large stones were especially rare, presses to accommodate them, even scarcer."[90] How had the impoverished and confined Siqueiros gained access to stones and a lithographer? Helm's assertion that Spratling supplied the stones seems unlikely; Spratling was also in desperate financial straits.

Correspondence between Zigrosser and Spratling provides some of the answers. On September 4, 1931, Zigrosser wrote, "George Miller is working on the Siqueiros lithos now. I will send them down to be signed when they are ready."[91] And on September 24, 1931, Spratling replied, "About Siqueiros' lithos--if you will pay for them it will little more than cover the difference you would have owed Siqueiros--and I'll be responsible."[92] He added, in a letter to Zigrosser on September 25, "The Siqueiros lithos have not arrived yet but am expecting them soon."[93] On

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October 19, Spratling wrote, "Siqueiros wants you to please tell George Miller to go ahead (when he has time) with another 25 prints from each of his 4 lithos--they sell well here."[94] With the letter was an invoice: "Mailed to Carl Zigrosser, 794 Lexington Avenue 4 packages (rolls) containing 20 prints each of 4 subjects (lithographs, original)."[95]

Zigrosser wrote to Spratling, on November 3, 1931, "I will instruct Miller to print twenty five more each of the [Siqueiros] lithographs. I shall do my best about a show of Siqueiros. . . . I certainly can include him in a group show with an adequate representation of his lithographs, watercolors and paintings. . . ."[96]

On November 22, 1931, Spratling wrote Zigrosser, "The Siqueiros lithos were Zapata, (20 at 4), Mujer, (20 at 4), Nina, (20 at 3), Portrait of Sáenz, (5 at 4)."[97]

The correspondence might puzzle those unfamiliar with George Miller's working methods, but (William) Maltby Sykes (1911-1992), who was apprenticed to Miller in 1934-1935, has described how Miller worked with artists outside New York: "Miller also rented and shipped stones to artists. After putting an image on the stone, the artist shipped it back to Miller for etching and proving. Proofs were mailed to the artist and, when these were okayed, Miller went ahead with the edition."[98]

As late as the 1940s, Sykes used Miller-shipped stones in Alabama, where Sykes was teaching. Sykes and his students drew on the stones, which Miller then processed and printed.[99]

Another Weyhe Gallery artist and Zigrosser correspondent, Arnold Rönnebeck (See chapter 3 and chapter 6), made prints long-distance from Denver with Miller by

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transfer drawing, zinc plate, and stone.[100] And, of course, Rivera signed at least some of his 1932 lithographs in Detroit, where they were shipped to him (see note 63, above).

In his 1936 essay on Mexican prints, Zigrosser wrote that Siqueiros's "graphic oeuvre, besides the few woodcuts for 'El Machete,' consists of thirteen woodcuts executed while in jail for communist activities, and six large lithographs, Bather, Reclining Nude, Zapata, and portraits of Moisès Sáenz and William Spratling."[101]

This is, obviously, only five lithographs, and, as we know, the Weyhe Gallery provided the New York Herald Tribune with a photograph of Head, a print Zigrosser omitted from the list.

Since Zigrosser's article, Siqueiros's prints have received almost no scholarly attention; even the beginning of a catalogue raisonné does not exist. An attempt to identify and date the prints associated with the Weyhe Gallery is offered below.

TABLE 4-6

1. Head, (1924)[102]
2. Zapata, (1931)[103]
3. Portrait of Moisès Sáenz, (1931)[104]
4. Reclining Nude, (1931)[105]
5. Bañista (Seated Nude), (1931)[106]
6. William Spratling, 4/1931[107]
7. Joseph Freeman, 12/1931[108]
8. Self-Portrait, (1936)[109]

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Of the three great Mexican artists, only Rivera received a solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery, although as Zigrosser had promised Spratling, in 1932 the gallery organized a group exhibition, "Mexican Graphic Art," which included Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros, as well as other Mexican artists, and non-Mexican artists who had been to Mexico and made prints with Mexican imagery[110] (see chapter 7).

But the fashion for Mexican art was fading. As Helen Delpar points out, "The excitement and sense of discovery that characterized American attitudes toward Mexico in the 1920s had abated by the late 1930s."[111] But as she added, "The foundations laid in the years 1920-35 were the basis for permanent linkages between the United States and Mexico."[112] The Weyhe Gallery was at the forefront in forging those linkages, and in 1996 continued to be an important source of the early prints of the great Mexican artists of the thirties.

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Footnotes - Chapter 4

1. Zigrosser, World, 70. Zigrosser did not include the date of the trip in his autobiography; the year is established by Murdock Pemberton, in "The Art Galleries," The New Yorker (See note 2 below).

2. Murdock Pemberton, The New Yorker, September 17, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 95).

3. William Spratling (1900-1967) was a New Orleans architect and writer, who settled in Mexico in 1929.

4. The Zigrosser files, AAA, Smithsonian, Reel 4638, Frame 747. When Walter Pach told Rivera about the Weyhe Gallery's interest in Rivera's work, he probably also told him that 33 ⅓% was the gallery's standard commission for works on consignment.

5. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4638, Frame 738.

6. See, for example, Lawrence P. Hurlburt's chronology in Cynthia Newman Helms, ed., Diego Rivera, A Retrospective, exhibition catalogue (Detroit: Founders Society/ Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986), 66.

7. The date was very graciously supplied by Alicia Azuela, who obtained it from the unpublished diaries of Anita Brenner, which belong to Anita Brenner's daughter, Susana Glusker. Clearly, Rivera did not leave Mexico in August, nor did he lecture in Moscow in September!

8. Rivera's visit to New York was mentioned in both Zigrosser, World, 83-84; and Walter Pach, Queer Thing, Painting (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1938), 287-288.

9. Zigrosser, World, 84.

10. According to Anita Brenner's unpublished diaries, as obtained by Alicia Azuela.

11. Art World, November ?, date illegible, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 123). Chicago Evening Post, January 10, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 156).

12. The checklist for this exhibition was generously provided by David Acton, curator of prints and drawings, Worcester Art Museum.

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13. Information about the Worcester Museum's Rivera acquisitions was provided by David Acton. The works on the exhibition checklist were not dated, but the works acquired were presumably #1, #16, #18, #39, one of the portraits, #22-25, and one of the landscapes, #8-14.

14. From the exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume 1, 138-140).

15. The New York Evening Post, January 7, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 156).

16. The New Yorker, January 14, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 156). The exhibition was also reviewed in The New York Times, January 1, 1928; The New York Sun, January 7, 1928; and Art News, January 14, 1928 (WGS, Volume III,156). Also Art Digest, mid-January 1928; The Herald Tribune, January 8, 1928; and Creative Art, February 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 158).

17. Orozco, José Clemente, The Artist in New York (Austin: University of Texas, 1974), 30. As Charlot points out in note 11, Rivera "was not thin."

18. Selden Rodman, Mexican Journal (New York: Devin-Adair, 1958), 170. Orozco apparently eventually quarreled with everyone. On September 15, 1930, Zigrosser wrote in his diary, "Orozco . . . now hates Charlot as well as Diego" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669, Frame 731).

19. Orozco, The Artist, 34. The "small gallery" was, of course, the Weyhe Gallery.

20. Orozco, The Artist, 39. Charlot's footnote 21 explains who George Miller was (see chapter 1), and continues, "The beauty of his black and white proofs was unmatched. Poorly advised by his Delphic friends, Orozco switched the next year to another, cheaper printer. The difference in quality between the Miller prints and the later ones will help future catalogers establish the sequence of Orozco's New York graphic work."

    Clinton Adams believes the "other printer" was J.E. Rosenthal, "who is known to have printed for artists on an offset press." Letter from Clinton Adams, August 21, 1995.
    In apparent contradiction of Charlot's footnote, Luigi Marrozzini, in Catalogo Completo de la Obra Grafica de Orozco (San Juan: University of Puerto Rico, 1970), catalogue entry no. 1, noted that Jon H.

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Hopkins, in Orozco: A Catalogue of His Graphic Art, (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northern Arizona University, 1967), "reproduces a printer's proof of Negros ahorcados (1930) belonging to his collection, unsigned by the artist, but signed in the lower left by the printer G. Miller." (See Hopkins, catalogue entry No. 23, "The Hanged Men," 68). In fact, this print was one of six in the portfolio, The American Scene No. 1, 1933, all printed by Miller. See Janet Flint, Art for All, American Print Publishing Between The Wars (Washington: National Museum of American Art, 1980), n.p.

21. Orozco, The Artist, 40-41. Charlot explains in footnote 23 that the "Volador" was the Mexico City thieves' market.

22. Weyhe Gallery advertisement, Creative Art, March 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 12).

23. Orozco, The Artist, 43-44. Charlot's footnote 28 elaborates:

> This passage is important to date Orozco's early graphic work. Of one lithograph he has seen a proof. Two other plates are ready to be printed. That first lithograph is Vaudeville in Harlem. The two others are Requiem and Rear Guard. Luis Cardoza y Aragón saw a letter to Mrs. Orozco dated April 20, 1929, in which Orozco states, "I have made only three lithographs in my life." Thus, there is a gap of months between these three prints and those that followed. The day that Orozco introduced me to George Miller he picked up the small edition--as much as he could afford--of Requiem, and we went directly to the Weyhe Gallery. Carl Zigrosser, then in charge of the upstairs art section, gave Orozco six dollars per copy cash. This to me seemed a fantastic sum. Requiem was chosen that year as one of the Fifty Best Prints of the Year. After that its price, with help from Weyhe who now owned the edition, rose to two hundred dollars per print. My first contact with the realities, or surrealities, of the New York art market.

But Charlot was mistaken; Orozco's first two prints were Vaudeville and The Flag, and the third was Requiem. The "Fifty Best Prints of the Year" to which he refers was the American Institute of Graphic Arts exhibition, "Fifty Prints of the Year" (see note 29). No verification of the $200.00 price for Requiem has been discovered, but in 1933 the print was offered at $150.00
Orozco's associates had difficulty keeping his prints straight. Alma Reed, in Orozco (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 111,

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mistakenly wrote that La Bandera was selected as one of the "Fifty Prints of the Year," when she meant Requiem.

24. Orozco, The Artist, 50-51.

25. Orozco, The Artist, 79.

26. Orozco, The Artist, 81. Obviously, something belonging to Orozco had been mislaid; no further information about this has come to light. But Zigrosser definitely had problems with records. See chapter 3, note 52.

27. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 16.

28. New York Evening Post, December 15, 1928 (WGS-Volume New).

29. Orozco referred to the American Institute of Graphic Arts exhibition "Fifty Prints of the Year," March 1929-February 1930, which included Requiem, at $20.00. The first of these exhibitions (in 1926-1927) was seen in thirty cities. Prints by Orozco were also selected for this important exhibition in 1930-1931 (Tres Generaciones), and in 1931-1932 (Revolution).

30. Translations of passages from Orozco's letters to his wife Margarita Valladares de Orozco, in the collection of the Orozco Museo-Taller, Guadelajara, Jalisco. The translations, by Alejandro Anreus, Curator, Jersey City Museum, were very generously provided by Mr. Anreus. The letters are also available in Spanish; see José Clemente Orozco, Cartas a Margarita, 1921/1949 (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1987).
The gallery doubtless bought the edition, including the plate; Miller probably printed additional impressions to make up the fifty that Weyhe bought. It is improbable that Orozco advanced the money to have all fifty printed.

31. The three lithographs were Vaudeville in Harlem, Bandera (The Flag) and Requiem. The accepted source on Orozco's prints is Luigi Marrozzini, Catalogo Completo de la Obra Grafica de Orozco, which contains many errors, but correctly identifies Orozco's first three lithographs.
Alma Reed confirmed the dates of the early prints when she wrote about the opening of the Art Students League exhibition of Orozco's works, on April 15, 1929: "Three recently executed lithographs were also included. Two of the themes--Requiem and La Bandera--were versions of revolutionary drawings of the same titles. The third print,

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Vaudeville--a study in ovals--was an interpretation of a Harlem burlesque show in which the performers are seen leaping about the stage like so many frogs." Reed, Orozco, 107. Unfortunately, no checklist for the exhibition to which Reed referred has been located.

32. Antoinette May, Passionate Pilgrim, The Extraordinary Life of Alma Reed (New York: Paragon House, 1993), 227-230.

33. See note 30. The letter to which Orozco refers has not been found.

34. Ibid. He implies that Requiem needed no advertising.

35. Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928, 20. For Requiem, see footnote 23, above, and Orozco's March 29 letter to Margarita; for Rear Guard see The Chicago Post, May 21, 1929, Rear Guard illustrated, with the caption, "Lithograph recently published by Weyhe" (WGS, Volume V, 47).

36. Fine Prints, 1933, 31. The New York Herald, June 21, 1931, illustrated Grief with the caption "Mural Study, Grief" and "From the lithograph by José C. Orozco, at the Weyhe Gallery," next to a column headed, "Summer Miscellany" (WGS, Volume VI, 110).

37. Fine Prints, 1938, 26-27.

38. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frame 36.

39. Ibid., Frames 29 and 37.

40. The facts on Spratling's life are from William Spratling, File on Spratling (Boston, 1967).

41. Ibid.

42. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frame 38.

43. Ibid., Frame 41.

44. Ibid., Frame 44.

45. World, 79. The dates of Zigrosser's departure from New York and from Mexico are from his diary (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669,

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Frame 628 and 699-700). He arrived in Mexico on July 14 (ibid., Frame 647).

46. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669, Frame 685. The only art purchases Zigrosser mentioned occurred on July 29, when he wrote that he bought "4 pictures" from Manuel Rodriquez (ibid., Frame 684), and on July 31, when he wrote that he bought three paintings from Castellanos (ibid., Frame 685).
In World, 87, he wrote that he "had come to Mexico to purchase [contemporary] art," and cited paintings bought from Manuel Rodriguez, and the three paintings from Castellanos, adding that his "major purchases were from Rivera," not identified.

47. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frame 49. In the same letter, Spratling raised the question of mailing Zigrosser "a couple of my own lithographs for our friend George the lithographer to make an attempt at transferring. . . . If such can be done I'd like to send about 40 others." Spratling needed money, and hoped to sell prints; some of his prints were included in the Weyhe Gallery exhibition "Mexican Graphic Art," May 1932 (See chapter 7).

48. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4638, Frame 760.

49. Ibid., Frame 762.

50. Ibid., Frame 764.

51. Ibid., Frame 765.

52. According to Judith Keller, "Rivera's Prints; Notes on the Weyhe Lithographs, 1930-1932," 24, note 4, The Fath Collection, exhibition catalogue (Austin, Texas: Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, 1986).

53. Several possibilities have been suggested, including Emilio Amero, Academia S. Carlos, and Dario Mejia, Lithografia Senefelder, both deceased, both printers for Caroline Durieux (see chapter 5).
Raquel Tibol writes that "someone should investigate the matter with relatives of Francisco Díaz de León and Carlos Alvarado Lang" (letter from Raquel Tibol, August 18, 1995). José Sanchez, at Taller de Gráfica Popular, thinks the printer was probably a commercial lithographer. (telephone interview by Maria Carreras, August 17, 1995. A written summary of the interview, August 18, 1995, can be found in the Williams art files under Diego Rivera).

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54. As Antony Griffith explains in Prints and Printmaking (London: British Museum, 1980), 120, "Since a stone, like a woodblock, can only be inked easily with one color, colour lithography usually employs as many stones as colours. . . . The earliest use of a second stone in lithography was to supply a background colour; this was called a tint-stone. . . ."

55. Keller, "Rivera's Prints," 18-19.

56. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4638, Frame 779.

57. Judd Tully, "The Kahlo Cult," Art News, April 1994, 128-129.

58. For more on this print by Kahlo, see Reba W. Williams, "Frida Kahlo," Print Quarterly, Volume 9, No. 2, June 1992, 204-206. Scholars have until recently believed Self-Portrait to be Kahlo's only print, but a letter from Kahlo to Mrs. John D. Rockefeller discovered by James Wechsler in the Rockefeller Archive Center clearly states that Kahlo made another lithograph as yet unidentified: "I am painting a little bit too. Not because I considered myself an artist or something like that, but simply because I have nothing else to do here, and because working I can forget a little all the troubles I had last year. I am doing oils on small plates of aluminum, and sometimes I go to one crafts school and I made two lithographs which are absolutely rotten." (Frida Kahlo to Mrs. Rockefeller, January 24, 1933. Rockefeller Archive Center, OMR, III 2C, Business Interests, Box 94, Folder 706.)

59. See Xavier Moyssén, "The Self-Portraits of Diego Rivera," in Cynthia Newman Helms, ed., Diego Rivera, A Retrospective, exhibition catalogue (Detroit: Founders Society/Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986), 189-195, for a discussion of Rivera's preoccupation with his own face. Moyssén estimated that there are about twenty Rivera self-portraits. Of the lithograph, Moyssén wrote, "Around 1930 Rivera became interested in lithography, creating . . . one self-portrait, which is so magnificent that were it his only lithograph it would suffice to quality him as a successful lithographer," 194. According to José Sanchez, El Taller de Gráfica Popular, the stone for Self-Portrait survives, in an unidentified museum in Mexico (telephone interview by Maria Carreras, August 17, 1995).

60. Moyssén, in Helms, ed., Diego Rivera, 194. The "lithomontage," on view in Museo Dolores Olmedo Patiño, is No. 892, 119, in Laura Cortes Gutiérrez, ed., Diego Rivera, Catálogo General de Obra de Caballete (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 1989).

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61. Gutiérrez, Rivera, Catálogo General, No. 894, 118.

62. See letter from Rivera to E. Weyhe, February 6, 1932: "En suite aux pour parler a ce sujet entre notre ami Monsieur Karl Zigrosser et moi; j'ai le plaisir de vous dire que j'accepte de vous tendre les huit fresques, exposer au Museum of Modern Art dans la somme de cing mille dollars ($5000)" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 46387, Frames 784-785). See also letter from Diego Rivera to John D. Rockefeller, February 6, 1932: "Mr. Weyhe has just purchased my eight frescoes and so I should be very glad if you would please allow him to take any of them from your garage if he should wish to. . . . I want to thank you ever so much for your kindness in permitting me to store the frescoes at your place, but for which it would have been difficult for me to dispose of them" (Rockefeller Archive Center, OMR, III 2C, Business Interests, Box 94, Folder 706. This letter, another link in the history of the murals, was generously provided by James Wechsler). See also The New York Herald, February 17, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 170). The Museum of Modern Art purchased The Agrarian Leader Zapata from the gallery during the summer of 1940. (See draft of Zigrosser's letter of resignation from the Weyhe Gallery, July 15, 1940: "We have sold a few more Dehn watercolors and a Rivera fresco to the Museum of Modern Art for 1000." Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 1116). In 1943, Mrs. Herbert Cameron acquired Sugar Cane and Liberation of the Peons from Weyhe, and donated them to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Four of the murals and the cartoons were sold by the Weyhe family at auction in 1977 (Modern Mexican Paintings, Drawing, Sculpture, and Prints, (catalogue), Sotheby Park Bernet, Inc., May 26, 1977, Lots 19, 20, 21, 22).

63. Zapata is Rivera's most famous print, and while most of Rivera's preparatory drawings for the lithographs are unlocated, the drawing for Zapata is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, acquired in 1976 from the Zigrosser Collection.

64. Lucienne Bloch, "On Location With Diego Rivera," Art in America, February 1986, 105. At least some of the prints were sent to Rivera in Detroit to be signed (Rivera to Zigrosser, May 9, 1932, Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 46387, Frame 793.) Three months seems a long time for Rivera to have spent working on five lithographs, especially since at least some of them were not printed until after his departure. In 1963, Maltby Sykes wrote that "three days was about right to do a stone" with Miller. See "Recollections of a Lithographile," The Tamarind Papers, Volume 6, No. 2, summer 1963, 42.

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65. Gutiérrez, Rivera, Catálogo General, 140, nos. 1049 and 1050. A letter from Bloch, April 17, 1994, confirmed her lack of familiarity with the work. The impressions in Olmedo's collection may be signed, as the catalogue claims; all of the Dunbar lithographs are initialled and dated on the stone.

66. Inexplicably, Dolores Olmedo told Ellen Sharp in 1985 that the Dunbar prints were made in San Francisco. (December 30, 1985, Letter from Ellen Sharp to Judith Keller, at that time at the Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery). But the evidence that the Dunbar prints were made in New York is compelling: Rivera was in New York from January to April 1932, and in Detroit from April 1932 to March 1933, when the Detroit murals were dedicated. Although he returned to New York for brief visits at least twice in late 1932 and early 1933, as far as is known, he was not in San Francisco in 1932.
Also, the Dunbars lived in New York, and Rivera had the time and the opportunity to make the Dunbar lithographs while he was making the other 1932 prints with Miller (see note 63, above). Finally, the Dunbar prints are on BFK Rives, the paper most frequently used by Miller. See Janet Flint, George Miller and American Lithography, (5), note 6.

67. Carl Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collector's Quarterly, 1936, No. 23, 78.

68. "To Karl Zigrosser/Diego Rivera." The Philadelphia impression was acquired from the Zigrosser Collection in 1976.

69. Berta Taracena, "La Obra de Cabellete de Diego Rivera," in Exposicion Nacional de Homenaje a Diego Rivera Con Motivo Del XX Aniversario De Su Fallecimiento (Mexico: Palacio de Bellas Artes, December 1977), 77. "Rivera realizó doce litografía . . . y por último Retrato de Emma Dunbar (de frente) y Emma Dunbar (de perfil, 1932)." Taracena lists only eleven lithographs, omitting Flower Market, 1930.

70. Keller, in "Rivera's Prints," note 22, 25, wrote, "Although reproductions have not been made available, references have been found to two 1932 portraits of Emma Dunbar, one frontal and one a profile view. A profile portrait previously known as Portrait of Cristina Kahlo is in the Huntington Art Gallery Collection. This may in fact be one of the Dunbar portraits, since the Kahlo resemblance is questionable." Keller was correct. The title of the impression in the Huntington Art Gallery has been changed to Portrait of Barbara Dunbar. But not one of the numerous books and articles about Diego mentions Barbara (or Emma) Dunbar or her relationship with Rivera.

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71. Gutiérrez, Rivera, Catálogo General, 131, #983.

72. A photograph of John and Barbara Dunbar in Mexico with Rivera and Kahlo appeared in Town and Country, October 1931, 35. Rivera and Dunbar were photographed together in Diego's studio, with Portrait of John Dunbar, 1931. See Bertram D. Wolfe, Diego Rivera, His Life and Times (New York, 1939), illustration 152. Inexplicably, Raquel Tibol writes that the painting was made in 1929 (Letter from Raquel Tibol, August 18, 1995.) The Los Angeles County Museum sold the portrait of John Dunbar at auction in 1978 (Modern Mexican Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture and Prints (catalogue), April 5, 1978, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc., New York, Lot 12). In 1995, the painting was owned by B. Lewin Galleries, Palm Springs, California.
Curiously, Zigrosser was acquainted with Dunbar; he wrote in his diary, January 14, 1930, "Talked with John Dunbar relative by marriage of Frances Neilson" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669, Frame 476). Could he have arranged the Dunbars' introduction to Rivera? For a time, all trails to the Dunbars seemed to vanish. Barbara Eversz Dunbar died in 1933; John Atkinson Dunbar died in 1974. Their only child, Mrs. Terence Flood, was mentioned in John Dunbar's obituary, along with two unnamed grandchildren. All letters to Dunbar, Flood, and Eversz were unanswered; or, if answered, the writer or caller had no knowledge of Barbara and John. Several letters to the L.A. County Museum inquiring about the identity of the donor of the Dunbar painting also went unanswered. Finally, in August 1995, the attorney for the second Mrs. John Atkinson Dunbar, who died in December 1994, revealed that Barbara and John's daughter's name was Ruth Cushing. The same week, Bruce Davis, curator of prints and drawings at the L.A. County Museum, provided the information that the donor of the Dunbar painting was Ruth Dunbar Sherwood Cushing Flood, who now calls herself Ruth D. Cushing. She lives in Greenwich, Connecticut, less than a mile from this writer's house. Letters to Ruth D. Cushing remained unanswered until September 1995, when Ms. Cushing telephoned with the information that she was not familiar with the prints, and had no idea what became of them.

73. The original of Wolfe's list is in the Bertram Wolfe Collection, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, California.

74. See note 68, above.

75. Inscribed, "A Monsieur Weyhe affectionment Diego Rivera."

76. Annotated and signed at lower right: "8/10 Diego Rivera 1932."

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77. "Portrait of a Woman," 1932, signed in pencil, dated and numbered 4/10, (Modern Mexican Paintings, Drawings, Sculpture and Prints (catalogue), Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc., New York, May 26, 1977, Lot 124). The print was sold to the B. Lewin Gallery of Palm Springs, and the gallery subsequently sold it, and cannot identify the buyer.

78. "Head of a Woman," signed and numbered 1/10. Monogram and year on the stone. Davidson Gallery catalogue, n.d. (1985?), #56, n.p. The Davidson Gallery cannot date this catalogue, but suggests 1985 as a possibility. A xerox of the catalogue entry was generously provided by Jonathan Bober, Curator of Prints and Drawings, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin.

79. In the last few years this object has occasionally been offered for sale in New York, although the consensus suspicion was that it might be a photographic reproduction of a drawing. Starr Figura, curatorial assistant, Department of Prints and Photographs, Museum of Modern Art, has recently, with a prodigious amount of research, thoroughly documented it as an original print, in an article to be published in a future issue of Print Quarterly. Impressions can be seen at MoMA, and in the collection of Reba and Dave Williams. Also see Gutiérrez, Rivera, Catalogo General, No. 1466, 192.

80. World, 87. Siqueiros was in jail from May 1930 (he was imprisoned for his participation in a May Day demonstration) until November 1930. He was then placed in "internal exile" in Taxco for a year. See Desmond Rochfort, Mexican Muralists, Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros (Mexico: Laurence King, 1993), 145, 147, and 226, note 43.

81. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669, Frame 681. But Frances Toor wrote Zigrosser on September 23, 1930, "You must have copies of the Siqueros [sic] pictures. If so he would very much appreciate one of each and so would I" (ibid., Reel 4638, Frame 759). And on October 23, 1930, "What about Siqueros [sic] things? Have you had any luck with them?" (ibid., Reel 4645, Frame 41). Does she refer to the lithographs?
Toor wrote on February 16, 1932, "What about the Posadas? Have you sold them?" (ibid., Frame 46). On June 26, 1932, "Please send on the lithographs at once." (ibid., Frame 49). On December 24, 1932, Toor wrote that she was "enclosing $40, two thirds of 60--$40.00 for Orozco's lithographs and $20 for one of Diego's lithographs." (ibid., Frame 50).
On February 14, 1933, she complained that she had heard that the Weyhe Gallery was selling for only $10.00 lithographs that she had in

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Taxco, "the Orozco, Siquero [sic], Diego ones" (ibid., Frame 51). Zigrosser wrote her on February 21 that the gallery had experimented with offering Rivera's Nude With Long Hair and Orozco's The Family for ten dollars each, "but they did not sell any more at that price than at the regular price," so they had been returned to the original price (ibid., Frame 52).
Toor was not only selling Mexican prints through the Weyhe Gallery, but also selling Weyhe Gallery-published prints in Taxco. The marketing of U.S.-published Mexican prints is a topic that deserves exploration. While according to Spratling, at one time some of the prints "sold well there," it is difficult to locate prints by Rivera, and early prints by Siqueiros and Orozco in Mexico today.

82. Zigrosser, World, 87.

83. The New York Herald Tribune, March 8, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 75).

84. The information on the Charlot gift of the Siqueiros lithographs to The Metropolitan Museum was provided by David Kiehl, for nineteen years curator of American prints at The Metropolitan Museum, in 1996 print curator at the Whitney Museum of American Art.

85. Prints as Presents, 1931, 7.

86. MacKinlay Helm, Modern Mexican Painters (New York, 1941), 92. Helm wrote that "two foreigners were exhibiting his work in Mexico City, the Russian moving picture director Eisenstein, and the American poet Hart Crane." The January 25-February 15, 1932 exhibition was held at the Casino Español in Mexico City, under the patronage of the Spanish Ambassador to Mexico (see Hurlburt, Mexican Muralists, 282-283, note 23.) According to Raquel Tibol, the organizing committee was "staffed by Carolina Durieux, Sergei Eisenstein, Salvador Novo, Hart Crane, Eyler Simpson, Roberto Montenegro, William Spratling and Gabriel Garcia Maroto." See Tibol, "David Alfaro Siqueiros in Taxco," Artes de Mexico, No. 5, fall 1989, 94.

87. Helm, Modern Mexican Painters, 92. Helm refers to the portfolio 13 Woodcuts by Siqueiros, preface by William Spratling, Taxco, May 1931. On July 4, 1932, Spratling wrote to Zigrosser, "I am also mailing you a folio of Siqueiros's woodcuts which I found dedicated to you (only a year late)" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frame 112). David Kiehl says the portfolio (which can be seen in the collection of Reba and Dave Williams, and at the Philadelphia Museum of Art), is

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rare. Raquel Tibol writes, "Three years ago, Ediciones Toledo and Ediciones Sámara made a very well printed facsimile" (letter from Raquel Tibol, August 18, 1995).

88. Rochfort, Mexican Muralists, 226, note 43.

89. Tibol, "Siqueiros in Taxco," 92. Tibol seems to imply that there were two portraits of Zapata, but there may have been a problem in the translation. Blanca Luz Brum, for whom Siqueiros abandoned his wife in 1929, was Siqueiros's companion in Taxco and in the United States.

90. Judith Keller, El Taller de Gráfica Popular, Block Prints and Lithographs by Artists of the TGP From the Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery (Austin, Texas, 1985), 10.

91. Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frame 68.

92. Ibid., Frame 71.

93. Ibid., Frame 75.

94. Ibid., Frame 76 .

95. Ibid., Frame 77.

96. Ibid., Frames 78-79.

97. Ibid., Frame 86. The numbers refer to the number of impressions enclosed and the price of each impression.

98. Maltby Sykes, "Recollections of a Lithographile," The Tamarind Papers, Volume VI, No. 2, summer 1963, 41. According to Clinton Adams, the Los Angeles lithographer Lynton Kistler was routinely shipping stones throughout the country in 1948; and Theodore Cuno in Philadelphia, and Laurence Barrett in Colorado Springs also shipped stones. Paper presented at "Contacting Pablo Picasso, The Influence of Picasso on U.S. Printmakers," a symposium held at the Spanish Institute, October 21, 1995.

99. Sykes, "Recollections," 42.

100. See Rönnebeck's letters to Zigrosser, Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 31-315.

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101. Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collector's Quarterly, 1936, No. 23, 78. Reclining Nude is illustrated, 73, with the illustration vertical, so that the nude appears to kneel or sit; Moisès Sáenz is also illustrated, 75.

102. Head or Cabeza, (1924).
References:
(a) Siqueiros, Exposicion De Homenaje, Palacio De Bellas Artes (Mexico, D.F. Abril/Julio De 1975). Catálogo #11, "Cabeza, 1924; litografiá (la primera que realizó)."
(b) Metropolitan Museum of Art impression also dated 1924, based on research by David Kiehl, sources not available; but the print, a gift from Jean Charlot, was received at MMA December 1929. The circumstances in which Siqueiros made this print are unknown, but this work differs stylistically from the prints of the thirties; Kiehl describes it as "crude and experimental." Its brown ink also distinguishes it from the other prints. In 1924, Siqueiros was in Mexico City and contributing to El Machete, the newspaper of "The Syndicate of Revolutionary Painters, Sculptors and Technical Workers," which was edited by his wife Graciela. Siqueiros made woodcuts to illustrate El Machete; he may have met a commercial lithographer through his association with El Machete, and because of the woodcuts, become briefly interested in printmaking. See Anthony White, Siqueiros (Encino, California, 1994), 92-95, for Siqueiros and El Machete.

Zigrosser may have brought some impressions of (Head) back from Mexico, or possibly Toor or Spratling obtained impressions from Siqueiros, and shipped them to the gallery. (The latter seems probable, since the print was not advertised until March 1931. See footnote 82, above).

Impressions owned: MMA; MoMA; Archer M. Huntington Gallery, U. of Texas, Austin; Philadelphia Museum of Art (10/25); Reba and Dave Williams.

103. Zapata, (1931).
References:
(a) Correspondence between Spratling and Zigrosser, September 4, 1931, through November 1931. Zapata mentioned by title, November 22, 1931, (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frames 68, 71, 75-79, and 86).

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(b) Records in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, showing that the museum received Zapata, Reclining Nude, and Moisès Sáenz as gifts from Jean Charlot by September 19, 1931.

(c) Prints as Presents, 1931, 7.

(d) Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collector's Quarterly, 1936, #23, 78.

(e) Mexican Art Today, exhibition catalogue (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943). Four Siqueiros lithographs were included--Seated Nude, 221; Reclining Nude, 222; Zapata, 223; Head, 224--all borrowed from the Weyhe Gallery, and all four dated 1931. The fourth, #224, Head, cannot be positively identified; it could be the 1924 Head, but it seems more likely that it is Moisès Sáenz.

(f) Riva Castleman, Grabados Latino Americanos del Museo de Arte Moderno, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1974), #85, illustrated, n.p., (1930). According to Wendy Weitman, associate curator, Department of Prints and Illustrated Books, MoMA, the print, purchased from Weyhe, was originally dated 1932, later changed to 1931, citing the Philadelphia catalogue, Mexican Art Today; and still later, without written justification, changed to 1930.

(g) Raquel Tibol in "David Alfaro Siqueiros in Taxco," Artes de Mexico, No. 5, fall 1989, 92, mentions "a Zapata on horseback," as one of the lithographs made in the "studio-home in Taxco."
Impressions owned: MMA, MoMA; Philadelphia Museum of Art (two impressions, 3/35 and 11/35); Huntington Art Gallery; Reba and Dave Williams.

104. Moisès Sáenz (1931). References:

(a) Correspondence between Spratling and Zigrosser, September 4, 1931, through November 1931. Moisès Sáenz mentioned by title, November 22, 1931 (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frames 68, 71, 75-79, and 86).

(b) Records in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, showing that by September 19, 1931, the museum had received Zapata,

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Reclining Nude, and Moisès Sáenz as gifts from Jean Charlot.

(c) Prints as Presents, 1931, 7.

(d) Print Collector's Quarterly, 1936, #23, 78. Moisès Sáenz illustrated, 75.

(e) Riva Castleman, Grabados Latino Americanos del Museo de Arte Moderno (New York, 1974), #86, illustrated, n.p., dated (1931). According to Wendy Weitman, the 1931 date was supplied by Inés Amor, the prominent Mexican art dealer.

(f) Raquel Tibol, in "David Alfaro Siqueiros in Taxco," Artes de Mexico, No. 5, fall 1989, 92, mentions a portrait of Moisès Sáenz as one of the lithographs made in the "studio-home in Taxco."
Impressions owned: MMA; MoMA; Philadelphia Museum of Art; MFA, Boston; Huntington Art Gallery.

105. Reclining Nude (1931). References:

(a) Correspondence between Spratling and Zigrosser, September 4, 1931, through November 1931 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frames 68, 71, 75-79, and 86). Reclining Nude is not mentioned by that title, but is almost certainly either Mujer or Nina, mentioned in the correspondence.

(b) Records in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, showing that by September 19, 1931 the Museum had received Zapata, Reclining Nude, and Moisès Sáenz as gifts from Jean Charlot, September 19, 1931.

(c) Prints as Presents, 1931, 7.

(d) Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collectors Quarterly, 1936, #23, 78, illustrated, 73.

(e) Mexican Art Today, exhibition catalogue (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943). Reclining Nude, 1931, is #222.

(f) Raquel Tibol, in "David Alfaro Siqueiros in Taxco, Artes de Mexico, No. 5, fall 1989, 92, mentions "a nude of Blanca

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Luz." Tibol writes that "the 'naked' ones are undoubtedly from [of] Blanca Luz Brum." Letter from Raquel Tibol, August 18, 1995.
Impressions owned: MMA; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Reba and Dave Williams.

106. Bañista (Seated Nude), (1931).
(a) Correspondence between Spratling and Zigrosser, September 4, 1931 through November 1931 (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 1610, Frames 68, 71, 75-79, and 86). Bañista is not mentioned by that title, but is almost certainly either Mujer or Nina, mentioned in the correspondence.

(b) Prints as Presents, 1931, 7.

(c) Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collector's Quarterly, 1936, #23, 78.

(d) Mexican Art Today, exhibition catalogue (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1943.) Seated Nude, 1931, is #221.
Impressions owned; Philadelphia Museum of Art (three impressions, 4/35 and 11/35, the other not numbered); Huntington Art Gallery, 22/35; Reba and Dave Williams.

107. Portrait of William Spratling (Head of Man Facing Left), 1931, signed and dated in stone, lower left: A. Siqueiros/Taxco/4-1931. This rare print is almost never mentioned in the literature, and only one impression has been located.
References:
(a) Zigrosser, "Mexican Graphic Art," Print Collector's Quarterly, 1936, #23, 78.
Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (acquired from the Zigrosser collection).

108. Portrait of Joseph Freeman (Head of Man Facing Right), 1931, signed and dated in stone, lower left: A Siqueiros, 12/1931. This lithograph is almost never mentioned in the literature, and only two impressions have been located.
Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art; Reba and Dave Williams, 20/50.

109. Self-Portrait (1936?)
(a) Fine Prints, 1938, 31, #589.

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(b) According to Raquel Tibol, "The lithographic self-portrait is from 1936" (letter, August 18, 1995).
Impressions owned: Philadelphia Museum of Art (24/25); MMA; Reba and Dave Williams.

110. See Mexican Graphic Art, Weyhe Gallery exhibition announcement, WGS, Volume VII, 46; and chapter 6.

111. Helen Delpar, The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican, Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico 1920-1935. (Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1992), 203.

112. Ibid., 208.

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Chapter Five

"It was the best of times..."

1928-1931

In late January 1928, after the Rivera exhibition, the gallery exhibited sculpture by John Flannagan (See chapter 6) and drawings by Jules Pascin (1885-1930). Pascin, who was already a legendary figure--perhaps more for his flamboyant lifestyle than for his art--was born in Bulgaria, the son of Marcus Pincus, a prosperous grain merchant. One of eleven children, Pascin detested his siblings, and was neither attached to his family, nor to the family name. By 1905, he was living in Paris, working as an artist, and had christened himself Pascin.[1]

In 1914, when war broke out in Europe, Pascin, who had been represented in the Armory Show with twelve works (six of them acquired by John Quinn), came to the United States seeking U.S. citizenship to avoid military service. Because of the presence of his work in the Armory Show, he was not unknown in New York, and a few months after his arrival, Martin Birnbaum gave him his first solo exhibition (drawings) at Berlin Photographic Gallery.[2]

Pascin remained in the United States for the required five years, becoming a U.S. citizen in 1919 (his witnesses were Maurice Sterne and Alfred Stieglitz), and was very popular; he was a frequenter of the Penguin Club, and was befriended by Walt Kuhn and Guy Pène du Bois, among others[3] (Figure 47). But despite his social success, and the fact that he arrived in the U.S. "a mature and successful artist," Pascin apparently nearly starved during his first U.S. sojourn.[4] In mid-October 1920,

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he returned to Paris, and assumed the title of Modigliani (who had died in 1920) as the "last bohemian."[5]

In August 1927, when Pascin came back to New York to satisfy the requirements of his U.S. citizenship, he met Emil Ganso, whom Zigrosser described as "his admiring friend and disciple," and who, Zigrosser wrote, "took care of the wayward old man [of 42!], tried to keep him from drinking too much, and encouraged him to work at his [Ganso's] studio on Sixth Avenue."[6] Ganso introduced Pascin to Zigrosser,[7] but Pascin must have also come to know Erhard Weyhe, as Alfred Werner specifically mentions that Weyhe was Pascin's friend.[8]

Both the Weyhe Gallery exhibition of Pascin's drawings, and Pascin himself, were well received: "Pascin's best is a very fine best indeed,"[9] and, "Pascin is in America. His return to this country caused great joy in the bosoms of his disciples, and he has been widely feted by them."[10] In March 1928, the Weyhe Gallery advertised that they were "agents" for Pascin (drawings),[11] but although Zigrosser claimed that "under Ganso's prompting, Pascin made a number of etchings which Ganso printed for him,"[12] and Werner wrote that Pascin made "up to 100 prints,"[13] and "should be ranked with the most accomplished modern masters in this field,"[14] the gallery did not exhibit his prints, although some of them were sold through catalogues.[15]

After Pascin returned to Paris in June 1928, he resumed his frenetic and dissolute life, and two years later, in June 1930, committed suicide. Biddle wrote, "Thus died my friend Pascin, the last of the great Bohemians. His work no less than

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his life embodied all that was decadent and fin de siècle in the école de Paris, yet he had chosen to love and to cast his lot in America. More or less he influenced all the young American artists with whom he came in contact. . . ."[16] Indeed, Pascin seems to have touched the lives of many of the people he met both here and abroad.[17]

In February, the German art historian and critic Julius Meier-Graefe came to the U.S., at Erhard Weyhe's invitation and expense, in honor of the critic's sixtieth birthday. He and his wife remained in the United States for four weeks, visiting Dr. Barnes in Philadelphia, travelling to Chicago to look at art, and attending New York dinners and a nightclub in Harlem.[18] He was described in the press as "the world-famous art critic," who, although "associated for the last twenty-five years with significant art movements," had not, "according to E. Weyhe . . . had a satisfactory opportunity to observe what the younger artists of America are doing in the blazing of new trails."[19]

A New Yorker writer added, "Mr. Weyhe will try to persuade Meier-Graefe to see enough of American Art while here to write a book about it."[20] But according to C.J. Bulliet, writing in The Chicago Post, Meier-Graefe was unimpressed with the work assembled in Chicago for his perusal, and did not discover "any especially significant artist in New York, either," although he admired Marin's watercolors, in which he "detected something vital, but admitted a strong French influence."[21] Nevertheless, the gallery presented Meier-Graefe with a portfolio of prints and drawings by Weyhe artists. The critic wrote his thanks in fractured English: "These artists have greatly enjoyed me with the collectif [sic] portfolio. The gift will be a

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fine souvenir of my first journey to America."[22] (If there was a second journey to America, it was not as a guest of the Weyhe Gallery, or of Erhard Weyhe.)

Also in February, the gallery exhibited the watercolors of Reginald Marsh (1898-1954), who had studied "sporadically" at the Art Students League with Kenneth Hayes Miller, George Bridgman, George Luks, and John Sloan.[23] Like Sloan, Marsh specialized in the portrayal of New York life, and is best known for his approximately 250 prints.[24] And also like Sloan, Marsh had been given his first exhibition (paintings) by the Whitney Studio Club during the 1923-1924 season. Marsh may have become acquainted with Zigrosser and the Weyhe Gallery through the Whitney Studio. Zigrosser wrote that he had met Juliana Force around 1917, and had joined the Whitney Studio Club in 1918 at her invitation,[25] adding that he "did not make much use of the club," occasionally visiting there Mabel Dwight, "one of the persons in charge of the reading room," but that he accepted invitations to openings.[26]

The club continued to show Marsh's work, exhibiting his lithographs from November 27-December 15, 1928; and in 1930, the Weyhe Gallery included Marsh's etchings and lithographs in a group exhibition. After 1930, Marsh's relationship with the gallery seems to have been confined to the sale of some of his prints, offered in several Weyhe catalogues.[27]

In late February 1928, the gallery paired Emil Ganso's works with the sculpture of a new Weyhe artist, Alexander Calder (see chapter 6), and in early March exhibited watercolors and prints by Leon Underwood. George Claude Leon Underwood (1890-1975), born in London, is best known as a sculptor, but he was also

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a painter and a printmaker--wood engravings, linocuts, lithographs, and etchings. In 1921, he opened a school in Hammersmith, England, where his students included, among others, Henry Moore and Nora Unwin. Between 1925 and 1930, Underwood travelled, living in the United States for eighteen months in 1926-1927, and in Mexico in 1928.[28] Zigrosser did not record how Underwood came to the Weyhe Gallery, but since the gallery had shown English prints in the past, Underwood may have approached the gallery directly, perhaps at the recommendation of another English artist.

The gallery's announcement for the Underwood exhibition featured an original (untitled) wood engraving by Underwood, described in the New York Evening Post as "symbolic," representing "some of the vicissitudes of the career of the man and artist."[29] There was no exhibition checklist, but according to an article in Vanity Fair, the exhibition comprised "fifty etchings, a group of lithographs, a great variety of wood engravings, and three notable books," as well as "important oils."[30] Works in the exhibition singled out by the press for critical attention included a painting, Venus in Kensington Garden (compared to Manet's Dejeuner Sur L'Herbe!), an etching, Head, and a woodcut, Giraffe.[31]

In September 1928, the gallery listed six Underwood prints as published by Weyhe: four wood engravings--Aquarium, 50 proofs; Woodcutter, 30 proofs (selected as one of the Fifty Prints, 1926); Apes, 50 proofs; and Bathers, 30 proofs; a woodcut, Bird and Fish, 50 proofs (selected as one of the Fifty Prints of the Year, 1927); and a linoleum cut, Love, 30 proofs.[32] In Prints as Presents, 1931, 8, the gallery offered

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an Underwood etching, Self-Portrait; and in Prints as Presents, 1933, the gallery offered two previously published Underwood prints. Bird and Fish and Love, and four new prints: Head Aztec and Women of Merida, both wood engravings; Elephant, a woodcut; and Tulip Girl, an etching.[33]

Following the Underwood exhibition, the gallery showed the work of two Weyhe regulars, Wanda Gág, and Alfred Maurer, and in April, presented paintings and drawings by Andrée Ruellan (b. 1905). Ruellan, one of the few living artists who exhibited with the Weyhe Gallery between 1919 and 1940, says that after 1926, when she met him through Adolf Dehn in Paris, Zigrosser, Ruellan, and her fiancé, the American painter John W. (Jack) Taylor (1897-1983), became close friends--in fact, Zigrosser was best man at the Ruellan-Taylor wedding in Paris in 1929.[34] In 1927, the gallery included Ruellan's work in a group show, and gave her a solo exhibition of paintings, pastels and drawings the following year. The works exhibited are listed in table 5-1.[35]

TABLE 5-1

PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS BY

ANDRÉE RUELLAN, APRIL 16-28, 1928

1.	Nude	10.	Landscapes
2.	Porte Ferrier, Cagnes	11.	Quartier Du Vallonet, Cagnes
3.	Portrait	12.	Cyclamen
4.	From the Window	13.	Helen
5.	Still Life	14.	Anemones

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6.	"Simone"	15.	Monsieur Camoin
7.	Red Tulips	16.	Peppers
8.	Sainte Anne, Cagnes	17.	Rue Sous-Barri, Cagnes
9.	Lavender Tulips	18-36.	Drawings and Pastels

Zigrosser admired both Ruellan and her work; he wrote, "Her art is based on sensibility and taste, the perfect equivalent of her own beautiful and sensitive nature," and he enjoyed visiting Ruellan and Taylor at their home near Woodstock, where they settled shortly after their marriage.[36] Ruellan's reviews were positive, and throughout the late twenties, her work apparently sold regularly at the Weyhe Gallery.[37] The gallery gave her another solo exhibition in February 1931; the works exhibited are listed in table 5-2.[38]

TABLE 5-2

ANDRÉE RUELLAN, FEBRUARY 9-28, 1931

1.	The Mill, Autumn	12.	In the Garden
2.	Still Life	13.	Study of a Head
3.	Peaches	15.	Autumn Flowers
4.	Road to the Village	15.	Pears
5.	Dédée	16.	Onions in a Glass Bowl
6.	Mountain Laurel	17.	Louise
7.	View of the Village	18.	Landscape With White House
8.	The Herring	19.	Big and Little Fish
9.	Still Life With Pineapple	20.	Fruit and Laurel

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10. Catskill Saw-Mill
11. Still Life With Fish
21. Composition
22-42. Drawings, Watercolors, and Lithographs

Ruellan says she made four lithographs in 1927-1928 with Desjobert in Paris, and eight more in 1931-1932; she also made six lithographs in the 1930s with George Miller.[39] (See appendix 3 for Ruellan's prints). In 1933, the gallery offered seven of Ruellan's lithographs for sale: Rabbits, Half Past Two, Bavarian Chimney Sweep, Siesta (Pigs), Place de l'Orme, Circus Day, and Circus[40] (Figure 48).

In the mid-thirties, Ruellan's art, which had reflected the influence of her long stay in Europe, shifted in subject matter to what is called American Scene. In 1935, when Maynard Walker opened a gallery to specialize in American Scene art, he invited Ruellan to be a part of it. Ruellan says Zigrosser urged her to join Walker, since she was primarily a painter, and he thought her oils would sell better with Walker than at the Weyhe Gallery.[41] Ruellan and Zigrosser remained friends, but her association with the gallery ended.

In late April 1928, the gallery exhibited watercolors by Arthur Raymond Young (1895-1989), whose name first appeared in Weyhe Gallery records in 1922 in The Living Artist (chapter 2). Young, who was born in New York, studied at the Art Students League and the National Academy of Design, and had his first solo exhibition at the MacDowell Club before World War I. From 1922 until his retirement in 1960, Young was a teacher of paintings and graphics at Columbia Teachers College.[42] If Young is remembered today, it is for his prints; his etching Terrace was selected as one of the Fifty Prints of the Year 1925-1926, and his woodcut Lilies was chosen as

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one of the Fifty Prints in 1932-1933. His lithograph Spring appeared in 1932 in the Print Makers Society of California Thirteenth International Print Makers Exhibition, Los Angeles Museum Exposition Park; and his etching, Woman Ironing, appeared in 1929 in the Contemporary American Print exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and in the Brooklyn Society of Etchers exhibition in 1931.[43]

Given Young's printmaking activities and reputation, it is surprising that, instead of prints, the gallery exhibited his watercolors, apparently undistinguished landscapes of the Catskills and the Hudson River Valley.[44] In 1928 the gallery announced the publication of Young's etching, Woman Ironing, and in Prints as Presents, 1931, 20, it offered for sale three of Young's lithographs, Figure, Peekskill Hill, and Arrangement.[45] In a 1933 catalogue, in what appears to have been Young's last Weyhe Gallery association, the gallery offered for sale Woman Ironing and Lilies.[46]

Group exhibitions in the summer of 1928 featured several new artists important in the history of American prints, including B.J.O. Nordfeldt, Howard Cook, Peggy Bacon, and Mabel Dwight. Nordfeldt, who was born in Sweden and came to the U.S. as a child, is today best known in the print world for his color woodblock prints (see chapter 1), but he was also a highly regarded etcher, having won the first annual prize from the Brooklyn Society of Etchers in 1927, and first prize from the Chicago Society of Etchers in 1928.[47] The inclusion of Nordfeldt's etchings in the May 1928 group exhibition was apparently his only Weyhe Gallery association.

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The work of Howard Cook (1901-1980) was first shown at the gallery in a group exhibition in July 1928.[48] There is no record of how Cook was introduced to the gallery, but in the spring of 1928, Cook and his wife, artist Barbara Latham (see chapter 7), travelled from New Mexico to visit their families in the East. While in New York, Cook met Zigrosser and established a relationship with the gallery.[49] He may have been sent to the gallery by Arnold Rönnebeck, since Cook's first solo exhibition was held in November 1927 at the Denver Art Museum, where Arnold Rönnebeck employed from 1926 to 1931, and Rönnebeck was in frequent communication with the gallery[50] (see chapters 3 and 6).

Cook was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, and from 1919 to 1921 studied at the Art Students League with George Bridgman, Andrew Dasburg, Maurice Sterne, and Wallace Morgan. He also studied etching with Joseph Pennell, and when he was in Paris in 1925, perhaps inspired by the two American printmakers, James Allen and Thomas Handforth, with whom he lived, Cook returned to printmaking, producing his first surviving prints (etchings) in Handforth's studio. In 1926, in Maine, Cook made his first woodcuts. Later that year, he travelled to New Mexico, where he met and married Latham.[51]

The gallery gave Cook a solo exhibition in February 1929. The works exhibited are listed in table 5-3.[52]

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TABLE 5-3

PRINTS AND DRAWINGS BY HOWARD COOK, FEBRUARY 4-23, 1929

Woodcuts

1. Wind in the Elms
2. Railroad Sleeping
3. Boat Builders
4. Sun and Desolation
5. Seabird
6. Schoolhouse
7. Revolutionary Days
8. Pueblo Moonlight
9. Hopi House
10. Sage and Cactus
11. Colorado River
12. Giant's Thumb
13. Fat John
14. Tesuque
15. Walpi
16. Taos Pueblo
17. Governor's Place
18. Snow and Dobe
19. Grand Canyon
20. Christopher Street
21. Rubber Center
22. Canyons
23. Dictator
24. Busy Harbor
25. Fog in Eastport
26. Village

Etchings

27. Lobo
28. The Plaza
29. Talpa Furrows
30. Taos Pueblo
31. Towers
32. Downtown, New York
33. Station
34. The Valley
35. Quoddy Bay
36. Herring Fisherman
37. Deer Island
38. Portrait B.

Drawings

39. Ranchos
40. Windmill
41. Manuel
42. Adobe Church
43. Gables
44. Park Square
45. Iris
46. Geraniums
47. Cider Mill
48. Quoddy Bay
49. Wet Street
50. Aristocracy
51. The Prison
52. The House of God
53. The Village

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An introduction to Cook's exhibition checklist was written by Rönnebeck, who had also reviewed Cook's Denver exhibition.[53] That same year, Cook made the Weyhe Gallery Christmas card (Figure 49), presenting the famous façade in a wood engraving;[54] and in September 1931, Cook was the subject of the third and last issue of The Checkerboard, which contained a checklist of his 113 prints, and quotations from critics who had seen the 1929 exhibition.[55] The dedication of the Checkerboard to Cook was a measure of his importance to the gallery, and indeed, Cook was (and is) one of the most highly regarded printmakers who exhibited with the gallery. His best-known works were influenced by Precisionism, and his views of New York are thought to be among his best.

In March 1928, the gallery announced the publication of two of Cook's wood engravings, Colorado River and Walpi, Arizona,[56] and in June, three woodcuts, The Dictator, Downtown, New York, and The Rubber Center.[57] In September, the gallery announced the publication of eight Cook prints--five wood engravings, Boat Builders, 50 proofs (one of the Fifty Prints of the Year, 1927), Railroad Sleeping, 50 proofs, Taos Pueblo, Moonlight, 50 proofs, Canyons, 50 proofs, and The Dictator, 50 proofs; a woodcut, Wind in the Elms, 50 proofs; and two etchings, Downtown, New York, 50 proofs, and The Plaza, 50 proofs.[58]

In October 1931, the gallery announced the publication of Cook's Los Angeles, an aquatint, ed. 50, and Merry-Go-Round, an etching, ed. 50;[59] in January 1932, Airplane, a wood engraving, ed. 75;[60] and in February 1932, The Los Angeles, aquatint, ed. 50, New Hudson Bridge, lithograph, ed. 75, and New England Church,

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wood engraving, ed. 50.[61] In Fine Prints 1938, 33, the gallery offered nineteen Cook prints and a drawing, Mississippi Stevedores, for sale by catalogue, and the drawing was again offered in A Sampler, December 1939, n.p.

The gallery gave Cook four more solo exhibitions: "Prints and Drawings," November 9-28, 1931; "Mexican Frescoes and Drawings," February 19-March 10, 1934; "Prints and Drawings," February 8-27, 1937; and "Watercolors," February 24-March 15, 1941. Cook's next New York exhibition was held in 1945 at the Kennedy Galleries, after which he exhibited regularly at the Frank Rehn Gallery.

Peggy Bacon (1895-1987) was introduced to Zigrosser on March 21, 1924, by Frank Crowninshield, editor of Vanity Fair, through a note that she probably hand-delivered to Zigrosser: "Dear Carl, This is Peggy Bacon. Rockwell Kent suggested her going to you. I think she is sort of a genius. Do try to help her. Yours ever, Frank Crowninshield." [62]

By 1924 Bacon was already a well-known printmaker. In 1919 her drypoints had been shown at the third exhibitions of both the Painter Gravers of America and the Society of Independent Artists; in 1918 or 1919, at the Cosmopolitan Club; in 1922 at the Joseph Brummer Gallery; and in 1925 at the Montross Gallery.[63] Yet, despite her reputation as a printmaker, and the recommendations of the influential Crowninshield[64] and of Kent, one of Zigrosser's closest friends, Zigrosser did not immediately enlist Bacon for the Weyhe Gallery. He asked to see her drypoints, and on September 18, 1925, she sent him six.[65] In 1927, she wrote to Erhard Weyhe, who

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had inquired about a drawing, replying that it had been sold, and adding that the Gallery had examples of all, or nearly all, her drypoints.[66]

In December 1927, Bacon wrote Zigrosser, asking whether her "stuff" was in the way,[67] and on February 16, 1928: "It is a shame that I have encumbered you so long with my stuff, the more I consider my negligence the more contrite I feel."[68] She added that she had discussed the situation with Mr. Stieglitz, and that "they would fetch the work away within a day or two" for her show.[69] In March 1928, Stieglitz exhibited Bacon's pastels and drawings at the Intimate Gallery, and that same year, Bacon made her first lithographs, almost certainly with George Miller.[70]

In September 1928, the Weyhe Gallery included four of Bacon's drypoints in a list of prints published by the gallery: Hatty, 25 proofs; Country Dressmaking, 25 proofs; Help!, 25 proofs; and A Few Ideas, 25 proofs.[71] The gallery included Bacon's work in the September 1928 group exhibition, and finally, in March 1929, gave her a solo exhibition. The works are listed below in table 5-4.[72]

TABLE 5-4

DRAWINGS AND PRINTS BY

PEGGY BACON, MARCH 18-30, 1929

Pencil Drawings

1. Flowers
2. Flowers
3. The Classic Pose
4. Bucolic Felicity
33. "My Neighbor has a Flock, My Neighbor has a Herd"
34. The Dog
35. Jacket Design

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Illustrations to "The Lion-Hearted Kitten"

5. The Gloomy Hippopotamus
6. The Lion Hearted Kitten
7. The Naughty Leopard

Illustrations to "Mercy and the Mouse"

8. "The Family observed with wonder this uncommon and beautiful friendship"
9. The Blue Hill
10. The Fly
11. "Indeed he had grown very bold"
12. A Wonderful Kitten

Illustrations to "The Song Book"

13. Welcome (lent by Mrs. Alfred Harcourt)
14. The Crocodile
15. Outdoors
16. Heart to Heart (lent by Mrs. Alfred Harcourt)
17. The Very Young World
18. I Hear America Singing
19. The Zoo (lent by Mrs. Alfred Harcourt)
20. End Paper
21. Fingers and Toes
22. Old Uncle Ned
23. Dolphins
24. Cock-a-doodle-doo
36. "My Lord, What a Mornin" (Lent by Mrs. Alfred Harcourt)
37. Li'l Black Blow Ball
38. Practisin'
39. Three Policemen (lent by Mr. Leopold Mannes)
40. The Crocodile Book
41. The Blackbird (lent by Mr. Louis Untermeyer)
42. Old King Cole
43. Singing Lesson
44. Bumblebee

Illustrations to "Funerealities"

45. Forty-three Pen Drawings

Drypoints

46. Al Fresco
47. Auction
48. Black Eye
49. Frenzied Effort
50. Help!
51. The Patroness
52. A Few Ideas
53. Congenial Scene
54. Vanity

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25. "As I was walking one fine morning for pleasure"
26. Little Timmie Mousie
27. A Medley
28. The Big Baboon (lent by Mrs. Alfred Harcourt)
29. The Owl and the Pussy-Cat
30. The Town
31. The Python
32. "Come Back Home With a Pocket Full of Tin"
55. Greed
56. Portrait

Lithographs

57. Lunch, Hors d'Oeuvres
58. Lunch, Soup
59. Lunch, Sandwich
60. Lunch, Custard
61. Titan

In July 1929, the gallery announced the publication of Bacon's drypoint, Congenial Scene (Figure 50), and in December 1931, the publication of another drypoint, Satyr.[73] By 1929 Bacon and Zigrosser were on first-name terms in their correspondence, but their letters had ceased to involve business; instead, they dealt with social engagements.[74] Their correspondence continued until at least 1933, but Bacon did not again exhibit with the gallery.[75] Perhaps her growing relationship with the Downtown Gallery precluded the need for another gallery,[76] or perhaps the Weyhe Gallery's commitment to Wanda Gág and Mabel Dwight prevented a closer relationship with Bacon.[77]

Zigrosser wrote that he met Mabel Dwight (1876-1955) around 1913, when she was married to Eugene Higgins (1874-1958), whose "rather melancholy etchings" Zigrosser unsuccessfully tried to sell at the Keppel Gallery,[78] and whose monotypes were exhibited at "291" in 1909 (see chapter 1). Zigrosser also wrote that he "saw

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much of [Dwight] during the early days and especially during the period of the great passion of her life, after she had left Eugene Higgins."[79] He did not identify "the great passion," who was, in fact, Zigrosser's close friend, Roderick Seidenberg (1889-1973).[80]

The gallery exhibited Mabel Dwight's work for the first time in a group exhibition in the summer of 1928, and in September announced the publication of fourteen of her prints,[81] listed in table 5-5.

TABLE 5-5

1. The Aquarium, lithograph
2. Basque Church, lithograph in color
3. Basque Country, lithograph
4. Bouquiniste, lithograph
5. The Clinch, Movie Theatre, lithograph
6. Fish, lithograph in color
7. Guignolette, lithograph in color
8. In the Subway, lithograph
9. Toy Shop Window, lithograph in color
10. "$1.98," lithograph
11. "Stick 'Em Up," lithograph
12. Brothers, lithograph
13. In the Park, lithograph
14. The Ocean, lithograph

In December 1928, the gallery gave Dwight a solo exhibition; the works exhibited are listed in table 5-6.[82]

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TABLE 5-6

MABEL DWIGHT, DRAWINGS AND LITHOGRAPHS,

NOVEMBER 26-DECEMBER 15, 1928

Watercolors and Drawings (1-10)

1. Statue of Paul Verlaine
2. Pont Neuf
3. The Seine I
4. The Seine II
5. Le Calvaire
6. Jardin des Tuileries
7. Fishing Boats, St. Jean de Luz
8. Ancient Fort, Socoa
9. Christmas Shopping, Paris
10. Nude

Lithographs (11-40)

11. Ille St. Louis
12. Ille de la Cité
13. Male Pulchritude in Paris
14. Bouquiniste
15. Café, Boulevard des Italiens
16. Copyists at the Louvre
17. Gossips
18. Guignolette
19. Toy Shop Window
20. Interior, Basque Church
21. Doorway, Ciboure
26. Fish
27. The Aquarium
28. "The Clinch"
29. "Stick 'em Up"
30. The Ocean, Coney Island
31. "Mechano, Marvel of the Age"
32. Brothers
33. In the Park
34. Old House, Westchester Co.
35. The Family
36. Deserted Mansion

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22. Basque Country
23. Tourist, Crypt of Chartres
24. In the Subway
25. "$1.98"
37. Old Greenwich Village
38. Art Gallery
39. Houston Street Burlesque
40. Portrait

Dwight's 1928 exhibition checklist ended with an unusual footnote: "Miss Dwight wishes to give credit to Mr. George Miller for his admirable printing of the American lithographs." Dwight had made her first seventeen lithographs in 1927, in Paris, in collaboration with the printer Duchatel,[83] and in 1928, when she returned to the U.S., she made seventeen more lithographs with George Miller. Then, as Zigrosser wrote, "For the next six years there was a steady stream of prints . . . ," until, in 1942, he wrote, "To date [Dwight] has made about one hundred lithographs."[84]

In 1928, Dwight made the Weyhe Gallery holiday greeting card; her lithograph, Greetings From the House of Weyhe (Figure 51), focused on the gallery interior, and included portraits of the critic Henry McBride (1867-1962), Erhard Weyhe, Carl Zigrosser, and Wanda Gág.[85] Dwight's next solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery was held in January 1932. The works exhibited are listed below in table 5-7.[86]

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TABLE 5-7

MABEL DWIGHT, PRINTS AND DRAWINGS, JANUARY 4-23, 1932

Lithographs (1-23)

1. Banana Men, New Orleans
2. Old House, Rancho de Taos
3. Penetente Graveyard, New Mexico
4. Old Graveyard, New Orleans
5. Dusk
6. Survivor, Staten Island
7. Great Trapeze Act
8. Circus
9. Ferry Boat
10. Harlem Rent Party
11. Kittens
12. Luxembourg Gardens, Marie Medici
13. Horse Meat, Paris
14. Fishing Village, Nova Scotia
15. Derelicts
16. In the Crowd
17. Staten Island Shore
18. Night Work
19. Portrait
22. Life Class
23. Central Park Winter

Drawings (24-31)

24. Savoy Dance Hall
25. Sacco and Vanzetti
26. In the Subway
27. Chinese Movie
28. Hallelujah
29. Nude
30. Nude
31. Nude

Watercolors (32-40)

32. Staten Island Shore
33. Jardin des Tuileries
34. Le Calvaire, Paris
35. Dusk
36. Deserted Mansion
37. Summer Group
38. Night Work

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20. Emperor Jones (color)
21. Emperor Jones (black & white)
39. Movie Lounge
40. Fishing Village, Nova Scotia

Dwight's last Weyhe Gallery exhibition, of all the prints she had made between 1927 and 1937, was held in January 1938.[87] At the time of this major retrospective, Dwight was only sixty-two, but she was already in fragile health; she was asthmatic and very deaf, and, in any case, of a retiring and private nature.[88] For the last twelve years of her life, Dwight lived away from New York, the inspiration of so many of her prints, in Pipersville, Pennsylvania.[89]

A group exhibition in September 1928 was notable for the inclusion of the drawings of Elizabeth Olds (1896-1991), mentioned favorably in both The New York Times, September 16, 1928, and The New Yorker, September 22, 1928.[90] Olds's work does not appear to have been shown again in the gallery until 1940, in a groundbreaking exhibition of American serigraphs[91] (see chapter 7).

In the same group exhibition, the gallery showed the sculpture of Renée Sintenis (see chapter 6), and prints by Alexander Zerdin Kruse (1890-1972), an artist who was also a columnist for Art Digest, and later art critic for the Brooklyn Eagle. In January 1930, the gallery included his prints in another group exhibition, and also may have exhibited Kruse's work in January 1931. [92] Although Kruse's prints were once well regarded (he exhibited with the Print Makers Society of California, and the Brooklyn Society of Etchers, and was included in Fine Prints of the Year in 1933 and Fifty Prints of the Year, 1930-1931),[93] he is virtually unknown today. The gallery published two of his lithographs, Young Smoker, ed. 50, and Self-Portrait, ed. 50, in

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1931-1932 (Figure 52) and offered his prints in catalogues in 1931, 1933, 1938, and 1939.[94]

Also in September, the gallery exhibited the work of Adrian Lubbers (1892-1954), who was born in Holland and came to New York for the first time in 1916, supporting himself with odd jobs while struggling unsuccessfully to establish himself as an artist. Lubbers moved back to Holland in 1919, and in the next few years achieved moderate success. He returned to New York in the fall of 1926, where his growing reputation had preceded him. His first U.S. exhibition (paintings) at the Kraushaar Gallery took place in 1927, and in 1928, the Weyhe Gallery exhibited his drawings.[96] The works are listed in table 5-8.[97]

TABLE 5-8

DRAWINGS BY A. LUBBERS, SEPTEMBER 24-OCTOBER 6, 1928

1. Old Church in Positano
2. Brooklyn Bridge
3. Augustine Bridge, Dresden
4. Capri
5. Farmhouses in Holland
6. Boy on Chair
7. Sixth Avenue, New York
8. 42nd Street, New York
9. Building Foundation
10. Williamsburg Bridge
15. View in San Gimignano
16. A Street in Positano

[17 and 18 omitted from the printed checklist]

19. Landscape Around San Gimignano
20. A Little Boy
21. Landscape in the Bohemian Woods
22. Schoenberg
23. Landscape
24. Venice

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11. Fifth Avenue From Central Park
12. East 42nd Street, New York
13. Brooklyn and Manhattan Bridges
14. Under the Brooklyn Bridge
25. Catacombs in Positano
26. Catacombs in Positano
27. Catacombs in Positano
28. House in the Woods

The same month, the gallery announced the publication of four Lubbers lithographs: Broad Street, New York, 50 proofs; The Crane, Broad Street, 50 proofs; 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue, 50 proofs; and Herald Square, 50 proofs,[98] probably printed by George Miller.[99] Later that year, Lubbers returned to Europe, but New York remained his favorite subject, and he continued to portray the city while living in Europe. He visited the United States in 1933 and 1937, and died on a trip to New York in 1954, but there is no record of further Weyhe Gallery exhibitions or contacts. In 1931, the gallery offered for sale another Lubbers lithograph, South Ferry (Figure 53), but there is no surviving correspondence between the gallery and Lubbers to explain how the gallery came by the print.[100]

September 1928 also saw the publication of the Illustrated Catalogue of Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, one of the gallery's most important catalogues.[101] Most of the forty-eight artists represented in the catalogue have been, or will be, discussed in the context of their relationships with the gallery. The thirteen artists included in the September 1928 catalogue not considered elsewhere are discussed briefly below. (Page numbers refer to the September 1928 catalogue, hereafter Illustrated Catalogue.)

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1. Alfred J. (Al) Frueh (1880-1968), born in Lima, Ohio, was a cartoonist for The New York World, The New York Times, The New Yorker, Variety, and Life. In 1912, he exhibited caricatures at "291." He contributed to The Masses, where Zigrosser may have met him. His prints in the September 1928 catalogue (7) were contained in Stage Folk, a portfolio of 33 original linoleum cuts, caricatures of well-known actors and actresses.[102]

2. Marsden Hartley (1877-1943) made his first Weyhe Gallery appearance in The Living American Artist list of 1922 (see chapter 2), but the work the gallery offered was not identified, and Hartley's name does not appear again in Weyhe catalogues or Weyhe press clippings until the September 1928 listing (10) of two of his lithographs as Weyhe-published: Basket of Fruit, 25 proofs (illustrated, 23), and Grapes, 25 proofs. Hartley's role as a printmaker is perplexing. On September 4, 1922, he wrote to Stieglitz from Germany that he was making lithographs for the first time: "I have begun to work at lithography on stone. . . . The first stone is at the lithographers and I wait for the proofs. As soon as I can see these I shall order several more stones & go at them with reassurance. But the stone itself looked authentic enough & quite in the tradition of the medium. I could never take it up in America because it was so elaborate & costly--but here it is quite possible. As soon as I get several results I'll try & send you some. I shall have an edition of say 100 pulls made of each & then number them out."[103]

Thus, his first group of prints (still lifes) is thought to have been made in Europe in 1922-1923. His later prints (1933-1934) were also made in Europe.[104] But

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his name appears on the George C. Miller & Son advertising flyer (ca. 1950) listing artists for whom Miller had printed lithographs, suggesting that he also made prints in the United States[105] (see also chapter 2).

3. The name of Edward Hopper (1882-1967) was also on the The Living Artist list of 1922 (see chapter 2), and it appeared in reviews of Weyhe Gallery group exhibitions in July 1925, September 1926, August 1928, and February 1930.[106] The Hopper prints included in Illustrated Catalogue (11) were American Landscape (Figure 54) (illustrated 40), The Evening Wind, and Catboat. There is as yet no definitive catalogue raisonné of Hopper's prints, although Zigrosser made a beginning in 1962, and in 1979 Gail Levin added to Zigrosser's work.[107] Neither Zigrosser nor Levin mentions a Hopper-Weyhe Gallery association, but in 1984 James Watrous wrote, without documentation, that in 1926 another Hopper print, East Side Interior, "was published by the Weyhe Gallery and shown in the travelling exhibition, 'Fifty Prints,' sponsored by the American Institute of Graphic Arts," an exhibition not cited by Levin.[108] Despite the references to Weyhe-published Hopper prints, there is no evidence that the gallery actually published his prints.

The gallery presentation of Hopper's prints in Illustrated Catalogue differed from most of the other listings, in that no edition size was listed; instead, each title was followed by the words "signed proof," clearly singular. (The other two atypical listings were Frueh's portfolio and Alfred Stieglitz's Steerage; the citation for each is also singular.) Hopper's correspondence with Zigrosser[109] and Hopper's own records seem to suggest that his association with the gallery was one of ordinary sales: the

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gallery sold some of his prints.[110] The inclusion of Hopper's prints (like the works by Frueh and Stieglitz) in Illustrated Catalogue was misleading, and perhaps strictly for convenience. Hopper prints were also offered for sale by catalogue in 1933 and 1938.

4. Ilonka Karasz (1896-1981), a Hungarian who came to America in 1913, was better known for textile design and illustration than for fine prints, although her lithograph, Group of Figures, was selected for Fifty Prints of the Year, 1926-1927; and in January 1920 her work was included in "An Exhibition of Wood Block Prints" at the Boston Art Club. Zigrosser probably met Karasz (like Frueh) during their mutual association with The Masses; she drew covers for The Masses and The New Yorker. Karasz's Weyhe-published prints (11) were all lithographs--Apple Harvest, 30 proofs; Animals Two by Two (Figure 55), 30 proofs; and The Black Gate, 30 proofs (illustrated, 41).[111]

5. Yasuo Kuniyoshi (1893-1952) was born in Japan and came to the United States in 1906, studying first in Los Angeles, and later in New York at the National Academy of Design, the Independent School of Art, and the Art Students League. As Zigrosser wrote, Kuniyoshi's first lithograph "was made in 1922 more or less by chance. It was in the old days of the Whitney Studio Club, and Mrs. Force commissioned George Miller to come down with his lithographic press and demonstrate how lithographs were made. Zinc plates were distributed to Bouché, Duffy, Niles Spencer, and Kuniyoshi and were drawn upon by the artists and printed by Miller on the spot."[112]

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Kuniyoshi's three September 1928 Weyhe-published lithographs (13) Lady in Hammock, 50 proofs (illustrated 41), Three Dancers, 50 proofs, and Girl Leaning Against Tree, 50 proofs (selected as one of the Fifty Prints of the Year 1927), were also printed by George Miller.[113] During his lifetime, Kuniyoshi's work apparently appeared in a Weyhe Gallery group exhibition,[114] and as Richard A. Davis noted, "In 1958, five years after his death, the Weyhe Gallery in New York held an exhibition of the lithographs of Yasuo Kuniyoshi, [the first] exhibition of any importance."[115] The gallery also offered Kuniyoshi prints in catalogues in 1933 and 1938.[116]

6. Marie Laurencin (1883-1956), "artist, muse, and poet,"[116] was born and grew up in Paris. She was represented in the Armory Show with seven works, and enjoyed the patronage of many well-known American collectors, including Gertrude Stein, John Quinn, and Chester Dale. She exhibited drawings and lithographs at the gallery in 1921 (see chapter 2). Her 1928 Weyhe-published lithograph, Columbine, 100 proofs (illustrated, 44), was her next gallery association,[118] and in the summer of 1929, her name appeared in connection with a group exhibition.[119] In 1933, a gallery catalogue offered Columbine and three color lithographs, Les Trois Soeuers, Jeunes Filles au Balcon, and Girl With Swan; and Les Trois Soeuers again appeared in a 1935 catalogue.[120]

7. In 1925, Jan Matulka (1890-1972) had taken Eugene Fitsch's etching class at the Art Students League, and Fitsch, a competent lithographer, introduced him to lithography. Of Matulka's forty-one known prints, about half are thought to have been made between 1925 and 1928, presumably printed by Fitsch or with his

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assistance.[121] In the summer of 1925, Matulka was included in a group exhibition at the gallery; Murdock Pemberton wrote, "A special paragraph should go to Jan Matulka, a Czech, who has decided to grow up with this country. Along with being most modern in his interpretations, he knows about all there is to know about drawing. His lithographs have great beauty as well as strength."[122]

Matulka was also included in a 1928 summer exhibition at the gallery, when Elizabeth Luther Cary wrote, "Matulka's still-life [of] bottle, soup-bowl, knife, lemons, apples, woods under a menacing cloud that has drawn from the fruit its juices, robbed the kitchen things of their power to send light from their surfaces."[123] The two Matulka lithographs announced in September 1928 as Weyhe-published (15) were New York, 20 proofs (illustrated, 48), and selected as one of the Fifty Prints, 1925), and Bather, 30 proofs.

Patterson Sims maintained that, during the 1930s, the Weyhe Gallery made "occasional" purchases of Matulka's drawings, paintings, prints, and watercolors, and that in the late thirties, Erhard Weyhe "purchased a large number of drawings, prints, watercolors, and a few paintings from Matulka for the Weyhe Gallery's stock, most of which remained in storage for the next thirty years."[124] Sims also wrote, "In 1930 George L.K. Morris purchased a watercolor from the Weyhe Gallery for $100, which was the highest price of the fourteen works sold by the Gallery between 1927 and 1933."[125] In 1933, the gallery offered for sale two Matulka lithographs, Nude and Bather,[126] the last documented Matulka association with the gallery.

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8. George Renouard (1885-1954) was born in Rochester and studied etching at the Art Students League. A chemist by profession and a print hobbyist, he exhibited with the Brooklyn Society of Etchers in 1930 and 1931, and his etchings were selected for Fine Prints of the Year in 1927, 1928, and 1929. His etching, Tea, was chosen for Fifty Prints in 1930-1931, and his print entitled From "Karamazov Brothers" was included in the "Exhibition of Contemporary American Prints," Victoria and Albert Museum, 1929.[127] His six September 1928 Weyhe-published etchings (17) were Immigrant, 50 proofs; The Patriarch, 50 proofs; Man with Beard, 50 proofs; Mama Bathing, 50 proofs; and On the Beach, 50 proofs, and Mother and Children, 50 proofs, which were both illustrated, 50. In March 1928, the gallery had announced the publication of an etching, Mama Swimming (probably Mama Bathing), ed. 35, in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March 1928, XXVI. Mother and Children and On the Beach were offered for sale in the 1933 catalogue, Renouard's last documented association with the gallery.[128]

9. Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946), mentioned frequently in chapters 1 and 2 as the founder of the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, and as a friend of both Erhard Weyhe and Zigrosser, was also, of course, a well-known photographer. A single proof of his most famous work, Steerage (1907), was offered in the September 1928 Weyhe Catalogue, (19-20, illustrated 47). As was the case with the prints by Hopper, the inclusion of this prestigious work in Illustrated Catalogue was misleading.

10. Paul Wenck (1892-d?) was born in Berlin, and in 1928, had been living in New York for five years. The four Wenck woodcuts published by the gallery (21)

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were Two Dogs, 75 proofs (illustrated, 63), Deer, 75 proofs, Horses, 75 proofs, and Geese, 75 proofs (selected as one of the Fifty Prints of the Year, 1927.)[129] Another Wenck woodcut, Cats, was offered for sale in Fine Prints, 1933, 46.

11. Clarence O. Woodbury (1891-1971) was born in Ohio, and studied at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Art Students League. In 1926, the gallery exhibited etchings, woodcuts, and lithographs by Woodbury (see chapter 3, and WGS, Volume I, 98-99, for the exhibition checklist), and announced in April 1928 the publication of The Lady, a lithograph, in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, April 1928, XXVI. In September 1928, the gallery announced the publication of Eve, a lithograph, 50 proofs, (21, illustrated, 52). Woodbury, today forgotten, exhibited with the Brooklyn Society of Etchers in 1930 and 1931, and his lithograph Top of the World was selected as one of the Fifty Prints, 1927-1928. In 1928 he was chief art director for J. Walter Thompson in New York; later, a freelance designer and illustrator; and from 1945 until 1962, art director of the Reader's Digest.[130]

12. Marguerite Thompson Zorach made etchings as early as 1908. Her first solo exhibition in 1912 in San Francisco included etchings as well as paintings, and she may have exhibited an etching in the 1910 "salon" in Paris.[131] Linoleum cuts made after her designs were published in Paris in 1911, and it is possible that she made her first block print in Paris in 1912.[132] The gallery published two linoleum cuts by Marguerite Zorach (22), Father, 100 proofs, and Four Figure Composition, 100 proofs (illustrated, 64), and in Fine Prints, 1938, 47, offered two of her lithographs, Maine Sheriff and Girl and Cat.

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13. The name of William Zorach first appeared in Weyhe Gallery records in 1922 in The Living Artist (see chapter 2). While Zorach is best known as a sculptor (see chapter 6), he also made prints, from around 1916. In the spring of 1926, Zigrosser wrote to Zorach inquiring about his blockprints; he replied, "I have made very few and most of those some four or five years ago. I may do some more this summer and will send them to you."[133] The gallery published six linoleum cuts by William Zorach (22), each in editions of one hundred: Father and Son; Fisherman, Provincetown; Houses, Provincetown; and, Sailboat, Sunrise, and The Swimmer (Figure 56), all three illustrated, 64 and 65.[134]

The year 1929 is, of course, infamous for the stock market crash in October, and the beginning of the Great Depression. But Erhard Weyhe and Zigrosser were no more prescient than most other Americans, and in 1929, the tenth anniversary year of the gallery, continued to operate as they had in the recent past, with numerous and varied exhibitions. The year opened with etchings and drawings by Thomas Schofield Handforth (1897-1948) (Figure 57). Handforth was a painter, illustrator, and etcher who was born in Tacoma, Washington, and studied at the National Academy of Design, the Art Students League, and the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts. After serving in World War I, he returned to his art studies with Kenneth Hayes Miller, and later, Mahonri Young, Robert Henri, and George Bridgman.[135] Handforth may have been introduced to the Weyhe Gallery by Howard Cook, who had met him in Paris in 1925.[136] Handforth returned to Tacoma in about 1926, and as Lang and Lang point out, upon his return was "elevated to stardom," and "is featured as the greatest artist

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of the West Coast port he left as a young man."[137] Handforth participated in many exhibitions and won numerous prizes, and the gallery continued to offer his prints for sale through catalogues in 1935 and 1938.[138]

Later in January 1929, the gallery presented drawings and watercolors by Kai Klitgaard, of whom little is known other than the brief entry in Zigrosser's diary in July 1930:

> went to Bearville [sic] to Kai Klitgaard, a Danish Sea captain who had married an artist [Georgina Klitgaard, b. 1893] and settled near Woodstock. He had a whimsical imagination which he expressed in watercolor drawings (for instance a version of the Jonah legend). I liked to talk to Kai: with him . . . I would engage in recondite discussions on the most frivolous occasions. When he was slightly inebriated he became quite funny. I remember one occasion at a benefit auction for the Hamilton Easter Field Foundation when he waved a check which he had signed with Georgia O'Keeffe's name, and claimed that she had commissioned him to buy an exceedingly mediocre painting which would have turned the stomach of that austere lady.[139]

In June, the gallery presented woodcuts and watercolors by Lowell Houser (1902-1971).[140] No exhibition checklist has been located, and a contemporary review was not admiring: "The watercolors and oils . . . are essentially decorative; they apply highly stylized methods to findings in the tropics; but the pictures are not particulary strong as regards design, with a tendency to become diffuse and vague. . . . Upon the whole the woodcuts are executed with a surer hand."[141] Unfortunately, none of the woodcuts was identified by title, although the gallery announcement was illustrated with an original woodcut portraying a Mexican guitar player, and it is possible that the woodcuts were of Mexican subjects, since Houser travelled extensively in Mexico.

Houser was born in Chicago, and moved with his family to Iowa when he was seven. He graduated from Ames [Iowa] High School in 1921, and attended Iowa State

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College briefly before enrolling in January 1922 at the Art Institute of Chicago. There he met Everett Gee Jackson (1900-1995), and they became lifelong friends, travelling together to Mexico in 1923, and returning there together for several stays. In the 1930s Houser moved back to Iowa, and painted murals on the Section of Fine Arts. In 1938, he joined the art department at San Diego State College in Southern California to work for Jackson, by then head of the department. After serving in the Armed Forces in World War II, he returned to San Diego State, where he remained until 1958, when a heart attack forced him to retire. For the rest of his life, he lived near his brother in Virginia.[142]

For the next several months, the Weyhe Gallery exhibited mainly works by the "stable" artists--Dehn, Canadé, Davies--but in September 1929, the work of Victoria Ebbels Hutson (1900-1971) appeared for the first time in a group exhibition.[143] Hutson was born in New Jersey, and grew up in the New York area, attending Saturday classes at the Art Students league when she was only twelve. In 1919, she entered regular classes at the League, eventually studying with John Sloan, Max Weber, George Bridgman, George Luks, and Kenneth Hayes Miller. In 1925 she married William Hutson, whom she divorced in 1933, and in 1934 married Ralph Huntley. Thereafter she was known as Victoria Hutson Huntley. Zigrosser and Huntley met in 1926,[144] and in 1930, two years after her first gallery appearance, she was given her first solo exhibition (paintings and drawings).[145] That same year, Zigrosser suggested that Hutson try lithography, and sent her to Miller. She became a very successful lithographer--she is today best known for her lithographs--and in

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December 1931, the gallery exhibited her lithographs[146] and sent out a greeting card she designed (Figure 58). In February-March 1932, she was given another exhibition; the works are listed in table 5-9.[147]

LITHOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS BY

VICTORIA EBBELS HUTSON

FEBRUARY 15-MARCH 3, 1932

Lithographs (1-20)			19.	Nude	1932
1.	Winter Landscape	1930	20.	Portrait of a Little Girl	1932
2.	Interior	1930	Drawings (21-36)		
3.	From a City Window	1930	21.	Trees in Snow	1931
4.	Spring Bouquet	1930	22.	Willow	1931
5.	Still Life	1930	23.	Old Apple Tree	1931
6.	Jack in the Pulpit	1930	24.	Diego Rivera	1932
7.	Pine Tree	1930	25.	Rockwell Kent	1931
8.	Beach, Nantucket	1930	26.	John Sloan	1932
9.	Nantucket Dunes	1930	27.	Mabel Dwight	1932
10.	Rural Free Delivery	1931	28.	Wanda Gág	1932
11.	Cyclamen	1931	29.	Ruth Starr Rose	1932
12.	Tiger Lilies	1931	30.	Self-Portrait	1932
13.	Tulips I	1931	31.	Self-Portrait	1932
14.	Tulips II	1931	32.	Nude	1931
15.	Hunkie's House	1931	33.	Nude	1931

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16.	Stairway	1931	34.	Nude	1931
17.	Christmas in the Country	1931	35.	Nude	1931
18.	Gardenia	1931	36.	Archaic Head	1931

In 1931, the gallery announced the publication of Huntley's color lithograph, Tulips ("Print Bulletin," Creative Art, September 1931,178); and in 1932, the publication of her lithographs Nude, ed. 50, and Stairway, ed. 75 ("Print Bulletin," Creative Art, February 1932, 158). The gallery also offered her prints for sale by catalogue in 1931, 1932, 1933, 1936, and 1938.[148]

In October 1929, the gallery presented the lithographs of Louis Lozowick (1892-1973). Lozowick was born in Russia, and studied art in Kiev for two years before he came to the U.S. in 1906. Between 1912 and 1915 he studied at the National Academy of Design, and from 1915 to 1918, at Ohio State University. After graduating in 1918, he immediately volunteered for the Army.[149]

After the war, in 1919, Lozowick travelled to Paris, and in 1920 to Berlin, where he had his first two solo exhibitions of paintings, and in 1923, made his first lithographs. The following year he returned to New York, where he met Carl Zigrosser, who encouraged him to again take up lithography. Between 1928 and 1930, Lozowick made more than seventy lithographs, nearly a third of the 301 included in his catalogue raisonné. According to Janet Flint, the Weyhe Gallery included some of his early works in catalogues;[150] and in 1929, the gallery gave him his first solo exhibition of lithographs. The works exhibited are shown below in table 5-10.[151]

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TABLE 5-10

LITHOGRAPHS BY LOUIS LOZOWICK, OCTOBER 28-NOVEMBER 9, 1929

1. New York (Figure 59)
2. Backyards of Broadway
3. Minneapolis
4. Industrial Architecture
5. Whitehall Building
6. High Bridge
7. Hudson Bridge
8. Still Life No. I
9. Still Life No. II
10. Sweet Peas
11. Breakfast
12. Tanks No. I
13. Tanks No. II
14. Hanover Square
15. Under the El
16. Hoboken
17. Crane
18. Hell Gate Bridge
19. Checker Board
20. Fallen Tree
21. Blast Furnaces
22. Reflections
23. Corner of Steel Plant
24. Central Park
25. Tree
26. Cleveland
27. Dead Tree
28. Amphibians
29. In the Park
30. Stone Quarry
31. Gas Tanks
32. Coney Island
33. High Voltage
34. Torso
35. Coal Pockets
36. Madison Avenue
37. Bridges

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In March 1931, the gallery gave Lozowick a second exhibition of paintings, drawings and lithographs; the works are listed below in table 5-11.[152]

TABLE 5-11

LOUIS LOZOWICK, PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS, AND LITHOGRAPHS

MARCH 23-APRIL 4, 1931

Lithographs

1. Allen Street
2. Noon
3. Willow Tree
4. Third Avenue
5. Rubber Center
6. Queensboro Bridge
7. Mid-Ocean
8. Demolition
9. Portrait Study
10. Brooklyn Bridge
11. Mountain Farm
12. Williamsburg Bridge
13. Excavation
14. Dusk
15. Squash
16. Bridge in Shadow
26. Port Newark
27. Doorway into Street
28. Debutante
29. Swans
30. Under the Bridge
31. Traffic
32. White Tanks
33. Train and Factory
34. Sentinel
35. Loading
36. Rock Bottom
37. Factories and Canal
38. Old Willow
39. Subway Construction

Drawings

40. Harbor

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17. Flower Piece
18. Tanks No. 3
19. Tugs
20. Fruit Bowl
21. Coal Yard
22. Steam Shovel
23. Factories and Electric Tower
24. Elevated Railway
25. Construction
41. Coal Pockets
42. Luna Park
43. Concrete Mixer
44. Backyard

Paintings

45. Blast Furnaces
46. Squash
47. Apple Tree
48. Steam Roller

In April 1936, Lozowick's last Weyhe Gallery exhibition, of paintings and lithographs, took place. The works in the exhibition are listed below in table 5-12.[153]

TABLE 5-12

PAINTINGS AND LITHOGRAPHS BY LOUIS LOZOWICK

APRIL 6-APRIL 18, 1936

Lithographs

1. Cohoes
2. Above the City
3. Hooverville
4. Sentinel
5. Grand Canyon
6. Into the Canyon
7. Cactus
24. Dell
25. Radio City
26. After the Storm (Clouds above Manhattan)
27. Render Unto Caesar
28. Kohler, Wisconsin
29. Strike Scene
30. Tear Gas

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8. Yosemite Valley, Half Dome
9. Ice Cone, Yosemite Valley
10. Russian Village
11. Red Tea House, Tajikistan
12. Coming for Cotton, Tajikistan
13. Red Army Volunteers, Tajikistan
14. Pioneers on Way to School, Tajikistan
15. Woman in Veil, Tajikistan
16. Woman Unveiled, Tajikistan
17. Tractor, Tajikistan
18. Steam Shovel in Desert, Tajikistan
19. Devil's Bridge, Tajikistan
20. Goat Ripping, Tajikistan
21. Contact, Airport of Stalinabad, Tajikistan
22. At the Gates of Pamir, Tajikistan
23. Midair
31. Tiflis Melons
32. Abandoned Quarries, Rockport
33. In the Quarries
34. Pneumatic Drill
35. First Avenue Market
36. New York in Snow
37. Granaries to Babylon
38. Subway Station

Paintings

39. Pneumatic Drill
40. Steam Shovel
41. Omaha Grain Elevators
42. Riveter
43. Factory Town
44. Bird of Paradise
45. Blast Furnaces

Lozowick's association with the gallery spanned about ten years and included two distinct phases of his style--the early semiabstract, cubist period, which included images of the city and industry, and ended about 1929, and his middle period, when his art had a social orientation, and his subjects were the working man and images from his 1931 trip to the Soviet Union. The gallery also offered works by Lozowick for sale by catalogue in the 1930s.[154]

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Black Friday had occurred almost simultaneously with the opening of Lozowick's first exhibition, and the decline of the stock market hurt Erhard Weyhe financially. Alexander Calder wrote that in the fall of 1929, he was staying in New York when he

> decided to give a circus party. . . . I think we invited Frank Crowninshield, Vanity Fair art editor, Edward Steichen, the photographer, and Mr. Erhard Weyhe, at whose Gallery I had shown in New York. There were also many other guests.
> The next morning, I guess I delivered something to the Weyhe Gallery, and I saw him and asked: "Well, Mr. Weyhe, how did you like my circus last night?" And he, with a slight German accent, replied: "Mr Kalder, [sic] yesterday I lost eight thousand dollars. . . ."[155]

1930 must have been a bizarre year for those in the art world. Erhard Weyhe had suffered financial losses, and as the owner of the gallery, was probably deeply concerned. Yet Zigrosser later wrote: "Although the crashes were dramatic and catastrophic, it was several years before the full impact of the depression was felt in the business of the Weyhe Gallery. . . . "[156] Elsewhere he observed, "The years just before and after 1930 were perhaps the most social of my career. I met innumerable people at the gallery and I hardly ever spent an evening or holiday alone."[157] The difference in being the owner of a gallery and being a gallery employee obviously affected one's perception of the times.

The exhibition schedule in 1930 may have begun to reflect Weyhe's concerns. There were fewer exhibitions and fewer new names. But in 1931, in a summer show, the gallery included "two studies of young colored men, seated and in three-quarter length" by Starr Rose, and "studies of types of city women" and "an especially clever

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study of a group of tearoom waitresses" by Caroline Durieux, both new to the gallery, both of whom were to become interesting printmakers.[158]

Zigrosser wrote that he met Ruth Starr Rose (1887-1965) "through Victoria Hutson Huntley, from whom she had some instruction in painting. Ruth was not a great artist: art was but one activity in her busy life as mistress of a big house, patroness of causes (including Negro rights). . . . "[159] Zigrosser spent holidays on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay with Rose and her businessman husband, and later portrayed Rose as a remarkable woman, a professional pianist, who, when she was widowed, changed her name to Sandra and took up "aesthetic dancing, painting (peacock murals and decorative screens), aviation in her own plane, and even thought of joining the circus."[160]

Ruth Starr was born in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and graduated from Vassar. She studied painting at the Art Students League before 1914, and in 1922, after her marriage and the birth of several children, she returned to New York to study lithography. Most of her lithographs were printed by George Miller, and Harry Shokler (1896-1978) taught her how to make serigraphs.[161]

Rose is today better known for her prints than her paintings, but her subject--African-American life and religion--was the same in both media, and it is typically for their images that her prints are collected. The Weyhe Gallery included a lithograph by Rose (Aunt Sally's House) in the exhibition "Fifty Modern Prints of 1932,"[162] and offered her prints in catalogues throughout the 1930s.[163]

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Zigrosser met New Orleans-born Caroline Durieux (1896-1989) in 1930, when she was visiting New York. He was impressed by her drawings, and sent her to George Miller, who taught her the basics of lithography. Durieux lived in Mexico from 1926 to 1936, and it was there that she made her first surviving lithographs, with the printer Dario Mejia at the Senefelder Lithographic House in Mexico City.[164] Some of her later prints were printed by Emilio Amero at the Academia San Carlos, and she sent some to New York to be printed by Miller.[165]

Before Durieux was a printmaker, she was a painter, but after her 1930 discovery of lithography, she did little painting, and she is best known today for her witty, satirical prints. Zigrosser and the Weyhe Gallery were helpful in establishing her reputation; Zigrosser even wrote about her, quoting from her letters (they corresponded for more than forty years).[166] Durieux was never given a solo exhibition at the gallery, but some of her prints were included in a group exhibition in 1932,[167] and her work was offered for sale by catalogue.[168]

Another 1931 summer exhibition was comprised of artists' self-portraits. There was no exhibition checklist, but a possible reconstruction of the exhibition, based on a New York Times article and a gallery sales catalogue, is shown below in table 5-13.[169]

TABLE 5-13

1. Peggy Bacon, Lady Artist, drypoint
13. Leo J. Meissner, Self-Portrait, woodcut

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2. George Bellows, My Family, lithograph
3. Vincent Canadè, Double Self-Portrait, lithograph
4. George Constant, Self-Portrait, etching
5. Howard Cook, Self-Portrait, lithograph
6. Howard Cook, Self-Portrait, woodcut
7. Aline Fruhauf, Self-Portrait, lithograph
8. Emil Ganso, Self-Portrait With Model, woodcut
9. Anne Goldthwaite, Self-Portrait, Etching
10. Waldo Kaufer, Self-Portrait, Etching
11. A.Z. Kruse, Self-Portrait, woodcut
12. Louis Lozowick, Self-Portrait, lithograph
14. Rudolf Ruzicka, Self-Portrait, woodcut
15. John Sloan, Copyist at the Metropolitan Museum, etching
16. E. Barlach, Self-Portrait, lithograph
17. Cézanne, Self-Portrait, lithograph
18. Louis Corinth, Self-Portrait With Model, etching
19. George Grosz, Self-Portrait, lithograph
20. Käthe Kollwitz, Self-Portrait, woodcut
21. Marie Laurencin, Self-Portrait, lithograph
22. Diego Rivera, Self-Portrait, lithograph
23. Georges Rouault, Self-Portrait, lithograph
24. Leon Underwood, Self-Portrait, etching

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Alan Fern has observed that "a considerable number of American printmakers in our century have made remarkable self-portraits," mentioning specifically the work by Rudolph Ruzicka exhibited at Weyhe.[170] Of course, those closest to an artist make the most convenient models, and what is closer than the artist's own face? Self-portraiture has been an important subject for printmakers since the seventeenth century, and in her review of the Weyhe exhibition, Elizabeth Cary wrote that artists' self-portrait prints made a "side-track irresistibly alluring to collectors not already committed to well-worn tracks."[171]

In August 1931, Zigrosser, typically seeking the original or unusual in printmaking, included in a group exhibition a few color lithographs by American artists. While there was no checklist for the exhibition, some of the color lithographs mentioned in contemporary articles and a 1931 gallery catalogue are listed in table 5-14.[172]

TABLE 5-14

COLOR LITHOGRAPHS BY

AMERICAN ARTISTS

1. Rockwell Kent, Sermilik Fjord
2. Emil Ganso, Sunny Room
3. Kenneth Hartwell, __?__
4. Mabel Dwight, Paul Robeson

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5. Benton Spruance, April Wet

6. Victoria Hutson, Tulips

7. Ernest Fiene, White Roses

As Gustave Von Groschwitz summarized, "after Lautrec's death in 1901 color lithography lost much of its popularity. . . . No concentrated activity in the medium appears until 1936 when artists of the New York City Federal Art Project took it up during the few years of the project's existence and produced more fine color lithographs than had ever been made before in the United States."[173]

Unbeknownst to those involved, the inclusion of color lithographs in the 1931 exhibition at Weyhe prefigured what lay ahead for the Weyhe Gallery, and for artists and galleries all over the United States.

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Footnotes - Chapter 5

1. The facts of Pascin's life are from Alfred Werner, Pascin (New York: Abrams, 1962), 15-18, Of Pascin's life-style, Werner wrote, 13, "Others. . . remember him as a strange combination of melancholia and lust; as a habitué of the notorious Rue Blondel in Paris and other red-light districts of three continents; the arranger of dazzling studio parties; the host who always paid the check for his friends and followers. . . ."

2. Ibid., 21.

3. Ibid., 22.

4. George Biddle, "Memories of Jules Pascin, 1923-1920," in An American Artist's Story (Boston: Little Brown, 1939), 232.

5. Werner, Pascin, 25.

6. Zigrosser, My Own, 176. Also see Fanny Ganso, "Jules Pascin, An Informal Sketch," Art Magazine, June 1956.

7. Zigrosser, My Own, 176.

8. Werner, Pascin, 25. Pascin's work had been shown in the gallery in the summer of 1925, when Murdock Pemberton wrote that "E. Weyhe is just back from Europe with an assortment of studio sweepings," mentioning Pascin, whose work was presumably a "sweeping." The New Yorker, August 15, 1925 (WGS, Volume III, 111).

9. The New York Times, January 29, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 164).

10. The New York Sun, January 28, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 164).

11. Creative Art, March 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 12).

12. Zigrosser, My Own, 176.

13. Werner, Pascin, 14.

14. Ibid., Pascin, 31.

15. The gallery offered four of Pascin's etchings--Rue Chabanix, Georgia, Bal Tabarin, and Judgement of Paris--in Fine Prints, 1933, 26. In Fine Prints, 1938, 27, the gallery offered a Pascin drawing, Reclining

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Figure; two watercolors, At the Sea Shore and Le Sport; an aquatint, Cinderella; and three etchings, Cabaret, Judgement of Solomon, and Four Ladies. In Foreign Artists, n.d., 14, four etchings, Rue Chabanix, Georgia, Bal Tabarin and Judgement of Solomon, were offered.

16. Biddle, "Pascin," in An American Artist's Story, 238-239.

17. See Werner, Pascin, 27-28, for an account of Pascin's last days, and of his funeral. See also see Alfred Werner, "Jules Pascin in the New World," College Art Journal, fall 1959, 30-39, for Pascin's impact on U.S. artists. See also Zigrosser's diary entry for June 6, 1930 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4669, Frame 000601). See also The New York Sun, June 6, 1930 and The New York Times, June 6, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 168).

18. Zigrosser, World, 46-47. Walter Pach, in Queer Thing Painting (New York, 1938), 259, also wrote about Meier-Graefe's visit.

19. The Publisher's Weekly, February 11, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 161).

20. The New Yorker, February 15, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 161).

21. C.J. Bulliet, "Artless Comment on the Seven Arts," The Chicago Post, February 28, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 162).

22. Quoted in Zigrosser, World, 47. The artists included in the portfolio were Niles Spencer, Preston Dickinson, Louis Bouché, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Arnold Rönnebeck, Vincent Canadé, R. Lahey, Al Frueh, Eugene Fitsch, Ernest Fiene, Mahonri Young, Jo Mielziner, Edward Hopper, Walter Pach, A. Lubbers, John Marin, Wanda Gág, Emil Ganso, Max Weber, and Arthur B. Davies. The specific works included were not identified.

23. Lloyd Goodrich, "Introduction" to Norman Sasowsky, The Prints of Reginald Marsh (New York, 1976), 9.

24. Ibid., 53.

25. Zigrosser, My Own, 171. Zigrosser wrote that he met Force when he sublet the Zigrosser apartment at 28 Grove Street to Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney's friend, the English writer Alleyn Ireland.

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26. Ibid., and 173. Zigrosser wrote that Rockwell Kent had "brought him together" with Force. In fact, as Avis Berman wrote in Rebels on Eighth Street, 162, "Kent, a practiced womanizer," first seduced and then rejected Force, and wrote to Zigrosser about her in an extraordinarily caddish way. Nevertheless, when Zigrosser approached Force about assisting Kent, she did so.

27. In 1930, Marsh affiliated with the Frank Rehn Gallery, where he exhibited nearly annually through 1953, but in Prints as Presents, 1931, 6, the gallery offered for sale eight Marsh etchings: Skyline (1931); Louise Miller; B.M.T.; Kenneth Hayes Miller; Tenth Avenue; The Barker; Merry-Go-Round; and Gaiety Burlesk [sic]. In Fine Prints, 1938, 40, the gallery offered some of the same etchings, with the addition of Rue Bonaparte, a lithograph; seven engravings, Girl With Umbrella, Girl With Newspaper, Two Girls in Wind, The Battery, People's Follies, G String; and Merry-Go-Round, 1938; and five more etchings, Steeplechase, Erie Locomotives Watering, Tattoo, Haircut and Shave, Metropolitan Opera Box, and Drillers.

28. The facts of Underwood's life are from Robin Garton, British Printmakers 1855-1955, A Century of Printmaking From the Etching Revival to St. Ives (London: Garton & Co., in association with Scolar Press, 1992), 73-74; and A.D. Fraser Jenkins, Leon Underwood, Mexico & After (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1979).
In 1928, Orozco met Underwood at the Weyhe Gallery and gave him a letter of introduction to Jean Charlot, an example of artistic "net-working" in the 1920s. See Orozco, The Artist in New York, 42 and 45-46.

29. The New York Post, March 10, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 10).

30. Vanity Fair, May 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 47).

31. Ibid., and The New York Times, March 11, 1928, and New York Herald Tribune, March 11, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 10).

32. Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 20-21; Bird and Fish, illustrated, 62. The gallery had announced the publication of Bathers in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, May 1928, XXII.

33. Fine Prints, 1933, 23.

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34. Interview with Andrée Ruellan, June 27, 1994. The gallery also included Taylor's work in a January 1930 group exhibition (WGS, Volume I, 202).

35. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume I, 149-150).

36. Zigrosser, My Own, 122.

37. Donald D. Keyes, with a critical essay by Marlene Park, Andrée Ruellan, exhibition catalogue (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 1993), Keyes, 16, and Park, 50.

38. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 16-17).

39. Ruellan interview, June 27, 1994, and Ruellan print checklist, December 5, 1995, thanks to Janis Connor, who worked with Ruellan to compile the complete list of the prints (see appendix 3). In 1932-1933 the gallery announced the publication of two of Ruellan's lithographs, Circus Day, ed. 25, in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, October 1932, 150; and Circus, ed. 25, in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, February 1933, 143.

40. Fine Prints, 1933, 43.

41. Ruellan interview, June 27, 1994.

42. The facts of Young's life are from Glenn B. Opitz, ed., Fielding's Dictionary, 1067. The death date is from an April 4, 1989 letter from Judith Brandenberg, vice president for academic affairs and dean, Teachers College, Columbia University, to Young's former associates at T.C. Columbia. Moffatt, Arthur Wesley Dow, wrote without elaboration that Young was hired by Dow, even though Dow did not like Young's approach to teaching, 105.

43. Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 903.

44. The New York Herald Tribune, May 6, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 53).

45. Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 21, illustrated, 53; and Prints as Presents, 1931, 20.

46. Fine Prints, 1933, 46.

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47. Acton, A Spectrum of Innovation, 1890-1960, 277.

48. The New York Times, July 15, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 74).

49. Janet Flint, "Howard Norton Cook (1901-1980), A Biographical Sketch," in Betty and Douglas Duffy, The Graphic Work of Howard Cook, A Catalogue Raisonné (Washington, D.C., 1984), 19.

50. Rönnebeck's relationship with the Denver Museum was stormy and uncertain. He was sometimes described as "advisor" to the museum and sometimes as director. At least one article, no source, n.d., reported that "Cook . . . is a protege of the sculptor Rönnebeck" (WGS, Volume IV, 170).

51. Flint, in Duffy and Duffy, Cook, 15, 18, and 34.

52. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume I, 173-175).

53. One of the more curious aspects of Rönnebeck's role in Denver was that he would first arrange an exhibition at the Denver Museum, and then review it in the Rocky Mountain News.

54. For more on this greeting card, see Reba W. Williams, "Greetings From Weyhe," Print Quarterly, Volume X, Number 4, December 1993, 409-410.

55. The Checkerboard, Published on Occasion by the Weyhe Gallery, Cook Number, September 1931. Rönnebeck's review of Cook's Denver exhibition in Rocky Mountain News, November 18, 1927, was included.

56. "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, March 1928, XXVI. The prints were incorrectly identified as wood engravings. Cook's Colorado River, Duffy #43, and Walpi, Duffy #73, are woodcuts, and Walpi, Arizona, Duffy #74, is an etching.

57. Ibid., June 1928, XX, Duffy #s79, 80 and 93.

58. Illustrated Catalogue, September, 1928, 4, and illustrations, 54-55.

59. "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, October 1931, 262, Duffy #s158 and 159.

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60. Ibid., January 1932, 74, Duffy #147.

61. Ibid., February 1932, 158. "The Los Angeles" and "Los Angeles" must be the same print, Duffy #158.

62. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4614, Frame 383.

63. Roberta K. Tarbell, Peggy Bacon, Personalities and Places (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1975), "Chronology," 59-60. According to Tarbell, 22, at the end of 1924 Bacon made a portfolio of her drypoints and drawings and took them around to the galleries; N.E. Montross was the most enthusiastic about her work. (This valuable reference work also includes Janet A. Flint's "Checklist of [Bacon] Prints," the standard source.)

64. Zigrosser, A World, 50. See also note 85, below.

65. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4614, Frame 384. Unfortunately, they were not titled.

66. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4614, Frame 385. According to Tarbell, between 1920 and 1924, Bacon made seven drypoints; between 1925 and 1929 she produced twenty-five drypoints. Tarbell, Bacon, 23. Presumably the drypoints at the gallery were on consignment.

67. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4614, Frames 389-390.

68. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4614, Frames 391-393.

69. Ibid.

70. Tarbell, Bacon, "Chronology," 60. Tarbell did not record who printed Bacon's lithographs, but four of Bacon's works were in the important Miller sale of 1934, the catalogue for which is one of the two sources for identifying artists who printed with Miller. Plaza Book Auction Corporation, Catalogue of a Collection of Lithographs by American Artists, From the Portfolio of George C. Miller and Sold by the Order of the Owner, With Additions, March 23, 1934. (The other source is "Lithographic Printing for Artists," a George C. Miller & Son advertising flyer, n.d., produced between 1948 and 1955, hereafter, ca. 1950. The dates are established by the name "George C. Miller & Son," adopted by Miller in 1948, and the firm's address, 3 East 14, which the firm occupied until 1955.

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71. Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 2; Help! and A Few Ideas, illustrated, 24.

72. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume I, 178-180).

73. For Congenial Scene, see The Chicago Post, July 9, 1929, illustrated (WGS, Volume V, 64); for Satyr, see "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, December 1931, 502.

74. Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4614, Frames 3916 and 3917.

75. But in Prints as Presents, 1931, 7 and 9, the gallery offered six of Bacon's prints for sale: four lithographs, Outing (Munich), Queer Birds (Munich), Peanuts, and Heywood Broun; two etchings, Matinale and Noon Hour; and one drypoint, Lady Artist (Self-Portrait). In 1933, the gallery offered thirty-four of her prints for sale in Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings Engravings, and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, 1933, 47-48, and repeated the offer of three of them, Ardent Bowlers, Hors d'Oeuvres, and Pity the Blind, in Fine Prints Old and New, Drawings and Sculpture, December 1938, 45.

76. The Downtown Gallery, opened in 1926 by Edith Halpert, held annually from 1927 through 1935 a series of nine exhibitions, entitled "American Print Makers." Bacon participated in all nine exhibitions, and in 1931 and 1934 was given solo exhibitions at the Downtown Gallery. In 1937, 1939, and 1940, Bacon was given solo exhibitions at the Frank Rehn Gallery.

77. Gág and Bacon were younger than Dwight, but all three were active in the print world at the same time. Bacon and Dwight were both satirists, and Bacon and Gág both wrote and illustrated books about cats. In at least one 1930s article, the works of Bacon and Gág were discussed together; see Elizabeth Luther Cary, "Peggy Bacon and Wanda Gág: Artists," in Prints, Vol. 1, No. 3, (March 1931), 13-24.

78. Zigrosser, My Own, 125. The earliest letter from her in his files is dated December 30, 1915, and is formal in address, regretting a dinner invitation (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4620, Frames 564-565).

79. Zigrosser, My Own, 126.

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80. Seidenberg and Zigrosser were at Columbia together, camped and hiked together, and were both conscientious objectors. Among the letters to Zigrosser from Dwight are a series from Junction City, Kansas, in October 1918, when Dwight was visiting Seidenberg, imprisoned as a conscientious objector (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4620, Frames 567-579). Seidenberg was an architect, but he also made etchings, and in 1928, the gallery published two of them, Church of the Paulist Fathers, selected as one of the Fifty Prints of the Year, 1927, and The Prison. In 1931, the gallery offered Seidenberg's etching House and Barn in Prints as Presents, 9.
The forthcoming Dwight catalogue raisonné, Susan Barnes Robinson and John Pirog, Mabel Dwight: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Lithographs (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, [December] 1996), should offer some interesting insights into Dwight's personal life. Robinson says that Dwight and Higgins must have been divorced, as Higgins remarried, but by the summer of 1995, she had not unearthed proof of the divorce. Telephone conversation with Robinson, July 1995. Curiously, Dwight, in her old age, lived with Seidenberg and his wife. Conversation with Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, July 1995.

81. Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 6; Guignolette and Toy Shop Window, illustrated, 31; Basque Country, The Clinch and Fish, illustrated, 32. Other prints published by the gallery, announced in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, were Aquarium, April 1928, XXVI; The Crypt at Chartres, May 1928, XXII; Hat Sale, June 1928, XX; Paul Robeson as Emperor Jones, September 1931, 178; Life Clan, October 1931, 262; Night Work, December 1931, 502; In the Crowd, January 1932, 74; and Winter, Central Park, February 1932, 58.

82. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume I, 161-162).

83. Zigrosser, "Mabel Dwight," The Artist in America, 149.

84. Ibid., 149-150. Dwight made a few more prints in the 1940s. Karen F. Beall, in American Prints in the Library of Congress, A Catalogue of the Collection (Washington, D.C., 1970), dates Summer Evening [1945?], 141. And Robert Henkes, in "Mabel Dwight," American Women Painters of the 1930s and 1940s, The Lives and Work of Ten Artists (Jefferson, North Carolina and London, 1991), cited Farm Yard, dated 1947, 123-124. Gertrude Dennis thinks Farm Yard was Dwight's last print. Conversation with Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, January 1996.

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85. For more on this greeting card, see Reba W. Williams, "Greetings From Weyhe," Print Quarterly, Volume X, Number 4, December 1993, 409-410. The importance of Henry McBride to the gallery and in the art world is suggested by his presence.

86. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 36-38.)

87. Appendix 4 contains a complete list of Dwight's prints, 1927-1937, from the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 128-131). Until the publication of Robinson and Pirog (see note 80 above), this checklist is the most complete Dwight print list available.

88. Conversation with Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, July 1995. Also see Dwight's letter to Carl Zigrosser, n.d., (January 22, 1937): "I'm still in bed, wheezing and puffing--it's asthma now" (Zigrosser Files, AAA, Reel 4620, Frame 594).

89. "Mabel Dwight, 79, an Artist, is Dead," The New York Times, September 5, 1955.

90. The New York Times, September 16 (WGS, Volume IV, 86), and The New Yorker, September 1922, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 87).

91. Perhaps Weyhe or Zigrosser brought Olds's work back from Europe, where she was living in 1928, or perhaps a fellow artist acted as a courier (see chapter 7 for the serigraph exhibition).

92. For the facts of Kruse's life, see Peter Falk, ed., Who Was Who in American Art (Madison, Connecticut, 1985), 350. For the two Weyhe exhibitions, see The New York Times, September 16, 1928, and The New Yorker, September 22, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 86 and 87); and Christian Science Monitor, January 3, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 38). For the gallery announcement, see WGS, Volume I, 200.

93. Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 726.

94. "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, November 1931, 420.

95. Ibid, February 1932, 158.

96. The facts of Lubbers's life are from Jan Seidler Ramirez, Adriaan Lubbers in New York, exhibition checklist (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1992), n.p.

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97. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume I, 154-155).

98. Prints Published, September 1928, 15; Broad Street, New York, illustrated, 48.

99. Lubbers's name does not appear on either of the two sources used to determine who printed with Miller (see note 70 above), but at least some of Lubbers's prints are on BFK Rives paper, typically used by Miller.

100. Prints as Presents, 1931, 6.

101. The publication of this very helpful catalogue may have been inspired by the Creative Art column, "Print Bulletin," which began to appear in March 1928; see chapter 2, note 63.

102. The facts of Frueh's life are from Acton, Spectrum, 16; and Rebecca Zurier, Art for the Masses (1911-1917): A Radical Magazine and its Graphics (New Haven, 1985), 165. For Zigrosser and The Masses, see Zigrosser, World, 261-273. Frueh is mentioned, 270.

103. Marsden Hartley to Alfred Stieglitz, September 4, 1922, Yale.

104. See Charles C. Eldredge, Marsden Hartley, Lithographs and Related Works (Lawrence: University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, 1972) for the prints. However, Eldredge did not include Hartley's letter to Stieglitz, and did not mention the Weyhe Gallery or George Miller.

105. "Lithographic Printing for Artists," George C. Miller & Son, advertising flyer, ca. 1950.

106. The Newark Evening News, July 13, 1925, in an article on a Weyhe summer group exhibition, included Hopper's The Cat Boat and American Landscape (WGS, Volume II, 43). The Chicago Post, September 28, 1926, reproduced Railroad with the caption, "Included in the Weyhe collection of modern American etchings" (WGS, Volume II, 143). The New York Times, August 26, 1928, mentions Hopper in connection with a summer group exhibition (WGS, Volume IV, 85). Today in New York, February 6, 1930, reported on a Weyhe group exhibition that included seven unidentified Hopper etchings (WGS, Volume V, 122). Hopper's American Landscape was included in the

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gallery's 1931 exhibition "A Hundred Contemporary American prints," (Gotham Life, September 20, 1931, WGS, Volume VI, 144).

107. Carl Zigrosser, "The Complete Graphic Work of Edward Hopper" in Prints (New York: Print Council of America, 1962), and Gail Levin, Edward Hopper, The Complete Prints (New York: W.W. Norton/Whitney Museum of American Art, 1979).

108. James Watrous, American Printmaking, 60, caption under illustration 3.15. In a July 15, 1995, letter replying to a query about the source of the Hopper information, Watrous wrote that his sources were "thrown out," and that he could not say where he obtained the information. In fact, two of Hopper's prints, Eastside Interior and Night in the Park were in the first Fifty Prints of the Year, 1925-1926, the only time Hopper prints were selected for this important exhibition and catalogue. The judge for 1925-1926, for the "conservative group" in which Hopper's prints appeared, was Ernest Roth.

109. The Hopper correspondence in the Zigrosser files, AAA, microfilmed from the Special Collection Department, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania., includes no material earlier than the 1960s. However, the Hopper Archives, Whitney Museum of American Art, has earlier letters from Hopper to Zigrosser, from 1923. On April 2, 1923 Hopper wrote: "Dear Mr. Zigrosser, I am raising the price of two of my etchings as follow, East Side Interior to be $25, Evening Wind to be $22" (Hopper Archives, Whitney Museum of American Art, provided by David Kiehl, curator of prints, Whitney Museum of American Art).

110. The information from Hopper's records was provided by David Kiehl.

111. The facts of Karasz's life are from Zurier, Masses, 166; and Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 511. See also Alastair Duncan, American Art Deco (New York: Abrams, 1986), 53 and 239, and the exhibition checklist for "An Exhibition of Wood Block Prints," Boston Art Club, January 5-21, 1920.

112. Carl Zigrosser, "Yasuo Kuniyoshi," in The Artist in America (New York: Knopf, 1942), 122.

113. The three prints are L-19, L-17, and L-15, in Richard A. Davis, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, The Complete Graphic Works (San Francisco: Alan Wofsey Fine Arts, 1991). (An earlier version of this work was published, without illustration, in the July 1965 Journal of the Archives of

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American Art). Another lithograph, Bather (L-18?) was announced as published by Weyhe (not illustrated) in "Print Bulletin," Creative Art, May 1928, XXII; and a print entitled "Three Girls" (actually, Three Dancers, L-17) was illustrated in The Chicago Post, September 3, 1929, with the caption "Lithograph recently published by the Weyhe Gallery" (WGS, Volume V, 69).

114. There must have been at least one Weyhe Gallery group exhibition that included work by Kuniyoshi. Art World, October 4, 1927, in a story about Weyhe's upcoming exhibitions, reported, "Kuniyoshi has become interested in lithography and will show recent drawings and lithographs." (WGS, Volume III, 114).

115. Davis, "Foreword," Kuniyoshi, vii. Davis wrote that "conflicting dates and titles" in compiling the catalogue had been a problem, and in fact, Davis's catalogue includes conflicting information on the edition sizes of one of the Weyhe-published prints. L-15 was printed, according to Davis, in an edition of eighty rather than fifty, as indicated in Illustrated Catalogue, 13.

116. In Fine Prints, 1933, 65-66: Acrobat, 1928; Bather, 1924; Bathing Girl, 1927; Before the Act, 1932; Boy, 1924; Bull, 1928; Bullfight, 1928; Circus Girl, 1933; Dancing, 1928; Dressing, 1928; Feathered Hat, 1928; Four Nudes, 1928; Girl Dressing, 1928; Girl at Table, 1928; Girl Leaning Against Tree, 1927; Girl Putting on Chemise, 1928; Girl With Cigarette, 1928; Grapes and Sculpture Mold, 1933; Grapes in Bowl With Cakes, 1928; Interior With Dress Form, 1928; Lady in Hammock, 1927; Model Seated (large), 1927; Night Police, 1928; Nude at Door, 1928; Nude With Robe, 1927; Peaches and Grapes, 1928; Pears and Grapes, 1928; Railroad, 1928; Shower, 1932; Still Life (large), 1927; Still Life, 1931; Still Life at Window, 1928; Train, 1930; Two Acrobats, 1928; Variety (large) 1927; Water-melon (large), 1927; and Wire Walker, 1928; and in Fine Prints, 1938, 46, three lithographs, Bull, Girl Dressing, and Paris Street.

117. For more on Laurencin, see Douglas K. S. Hyland and Heather McPherson, Marie Laurencin: Artist and Muse, exhibition catalogue (Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1989). See also Wilson, American Print Exhibitions, 730.

118. WGS, Volume I, 18-20.

119. WGS, Volume V, 73.

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120. Fine Prints, 1933, 25, and Fine Prints, 1935, 5.

121. Patterson Sims, "Jan Matulka: A Life in Art," and Janet Flint, "Matulka as Printmaker: A Checklist of Known Prints," in Sims, Jan Matulka, 1890-1972 (Washington, D.C., and New York: National Collection of Fine Arts and Whitney Museum of American Art, 1980).

122. Murdock Pemberton, The New Yorker, August 15, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 65).

123. The New York Times, July 1, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 72).

124. Sims, Matulka, 28. Unfortunately, Sims did not give a source for his information on Matulka and the Weyhe Gallery. In a November 17, 1995 letter in response to a query about this information, Sims wrote that he could not recall where he obtained it, unless it was from Gertrude Weyhe Dennis. However, Mrs. Dennis says she was not the source; she thought that Elizabeth Ives Bartholet (1901-1995), for many years a dealer in Matulka's work, might have provided the information. Chauncey Bartholet, who is handling the Bartholet estate, says there are no records of this kind of information in the estate.

125. Ibid., 36, note 41.

126. Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, 1933, 41.

127. For the facts of Renouard's life, see The Art Digest, mid-October, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 106); Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 808, and Falk, ed., Who Was Who in American Art, 513.

128. Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, 1933, 43.

129. The facts of Wenck's life are from the Weyhe Gallery biography, in Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 21, and from Falk, ed., Who Was Who in American Art, 669.

130. The facts of Woodbury's life are from his obituary in The New York Times, May 13, 1971. The exhibitions cited are from Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 899.

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131. For the facts of Marguerite Thompson Zorach's life, see Roberta K. Tarbell, Marguerite Zorach: The Early Years, 1908-1920. (Washington, D.C., 1974). The cover of the catalogue features one of the linocuts M. Zorach designed. See also Marilyn Friedman Hoffman, Marguerite and William Zorach, The Cubist Years 1915-1918 (Manchester, New Hampshire: Currier Gallery of Art, 1987).

132. See chapter 1, note 81.

133. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4647, Frame 160.

134. The prints of Marguerite and William Zorach will be the subject of a dissertation by Efram L. Burk, a doctoral student at Penn State College, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Letter from Burk, September 20, 1995.

135. For the facts of Handforth's life, see Bertha Mahony Miller, ed., The Hornbook Magazine, Volume XXVI, An Extra Issue, October 19, 1950, "Thomas Schofield Handforth, Artist, Illustrator, Author."

136. Johnson, American Prints and Printmakers, 35.

137. Lang and Lang, Etched in Memory, 338.

138. Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 684-685, and Miller, The Hornbook, October 19, 1950.

139. Zigrosser, My Own, 122. Zigrosser corresponded with both Kai and Georgina Klitgaard from 1928-1946 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4629, Frames 666-719).

140. Gallery exhibition announcement (WGS, Volume I, 187).

141. The New York Times, June 30, 1939 (WGS, Volume V, 61).

142. For the facts of Houser's life, see Mary L. Meixner, "Lowell Houser and The Genesis of a Mural," The Palempsest, Volume 66, Number 1, January-February 1985, 2-13. See also Everett Gee Jackson, Burros and Paintbrushes, A Mexican Adventure (College Station: Texas A&M, 1985), X111-XIV.

143. "The current show makes a feature of some new paintings by Victoria Hutson." The New Yorker, September 14, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 73).

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144. For the facts of Huntley's life, see June and Norman Kraeft, "The Lithograph Speaks Many Languages," (dealers' catalogue), November-December 1974; and F.A. Whiting, Jr., "Victoria Hutson Huntley," Magazine of Art, November 1938, 638-642, 672, 673.

145. See WGS, Volume I, 202-203, for the exhibition checklist.

146. There was no exhibition checklist and little press coverage for the exhibition. (See The Newark Evening News, December 8, 1931, WGS, Volume VI, 164-166).

147. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 41-43).

148. In Prints as Presents, 1931; 14, eight lithographs, Winter Landscape, Pine Tree, Still Life, Nantucket, Tiger Lilies, Cyclamen, New York Window, Hunkie's House; in 400 Prints at $10, April 1932, 14, Nantucket Dunes, lithograph; in Fine Prints, 1933, 62, twenty-two lithographs, Cyclamen, 1931 Freight, 1933; From a City Window, 1930; Gardenia, 1930; Hunkie's House, 1931; Interior, 1930; Jack in the Pulpit, 1930; Koppers Coke, 1932; Nantucket Beach, 1930; Nude, 1932; Old Mill, Nantucket, 1932; Pine Tree, 1930; Rural Free Delivery, 1931; Sand Dunes, Nantucket, 1930; Southern Home, 1933; Spring Bouquet, 1930; Stairway, 1931; Tiger Lilies, 1931; Towards New York, 1933; Tulips, 1931, in color and Winter Landscape, 1930. In Fine Prints, 1936, 11, two lithographs, Lower New York and Moonlight; in Fine Prints, 1938, 37, twelve lithographs, Winter Landscape, 1930; Cyclamen, 1931; Tulips, 1931; Rural Free Delivery, 1931; Kopper's Coke, 1932; Lower New York, 1934; Moonlight, 1935; Storm, (Fine Prints of the Year 1938); March Landscape, 1937; Covered Bridge, 1927; Night On The Mountain, 1938; Snow and Ice, 1938.

149. For the facts of Lozowick's life, see Janet Flint, The Prints of Louis Lozowick, A Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Hudson Hill Press, 1982).

150. Ibid., 19. These "early works," and the catalogue including them, have not been identified.

151. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume I, 192-193).

152. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 20-21).

153. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 111-112).

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154. In Fine Prints, 1933, 68, Above the City, Allen Street, Blast Furnaces, Breakfast, Bowl of Fruit, Brooklyn Bridge, Checker Board (Under the El), Coney Island, Corner of Steel Plant, Excavation, Gas Tanks, Hanover Square, Hell Gate Bridge, High Voltage, Hudson Bridge, Madison Avenue, Mountain Farm, New York Abstraction, Noon, Port Newark, Queensboro Bridge, Red Tea House, Rubber Center, Russian Village, Self-Portrait, Still Life No. II, Steam Shovel, Stone Quarry, Subway Excavation, Tanks I, Tanks II, Torso, Tree, and Trees and Mountains, Whitehall Building, Willow Tree, Yosemite Valley. In Fine Prints, 1935, 5, Airport Tajikistan, lithograph; in Fine Prints, 1936, 14, Oil Country, lithograph; and in Fine Prints, 1938, 40, New York Waterfront, Checkerboard, Hanover Square, Tanks, Brooklyn Bridge, High Voltage, MidAir, Dusk, Subway Construction, Corner of Steel Plant, Tugs, Russian Village, Coming For Cotton, Tajikistan; Airport, Tajikistan, Strike Scene, and Tear Gas.

155. Alexander Calder and Jean Davidson, Calder, An Autobiography with Pictures (New York, 1966), 103.

156. Zigrosser, World, 54.

157. Zigrosser, My Own, 121.

158. Gallery announcement (May 1931), (WGS, Volume VII, 24) and William B. McCormick, "Here Are Ladies," The New York American, June 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 107).

159. Zigrosser, My Own, 53.

160. Ibid., 153.

161. June and Norman Kraeft, "Ruth Starr Rose," in An American Sampler (dealers' catalogue), January-February 1986, Bethlehem, Connecticut.

162. The New York World Telegram, February 4, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 33).

163. In Prints as Presents, 1931, 18, Portrait of Negro Girl, lithograph; and 24, Negro Girl, lithograph, in 400 Prints at $10, 1932, 16, Little Fanny, lithograph; in Fine Prints, 1933, 43, seven lithographs, Fanny, Little Oliver, Crab Alley, Aunt Sally's House, Washington on the Back Porch, Little Moaney, and Barney and Bernard. In Fine Prints 1938, 46-47, three lithographs, Noah's Ark, Little David, Play on Your Harp, and Moonlight, Maryland.

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164. For the facts of Durieux's life, see Richard Cox, Caroline Durieux, Lithographs of the Thirties and Forties (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1977).

165. Ibid., 7, and Ellen G. Landau, Artists for Victory, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C., 1983), 34.

166. Zigrosser, "Caroline Durieux," The Artist in America, 128. For the letters, see Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4619, Frame 593, through Reel 4620, Frame 267.

167. New York Evening Post, May 7, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 192).

168. In 400 Prints at $10, April 1932, 13, her lithograph, The Golfer; and in Fine Prints, 1938, 45, three lithographs, Reception, Applause, and The Gallery; and a drawing, Ruby Rankin.

169. The New York Times, July 12, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 126), and Prints as Presents, 1931, 7-8.

170. Alan Fern, "Introspection and Imagination, Portraiture in Twentieth Century Prints," in Wendy Rick Reaves, ed., American Portrait Prints (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1984), 261.

171. The New York Times, July 12, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 126).

172. Chicago Post, August 4, 1931; The New York Times, August 9, 1931; and Gotham Life, August 2, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 132). See also Prints as Presents, 1931, 3.

173. Gustave Von Groschwitz, First International Biennial of Contemporary Color Lithography, 1950 (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1950), n.p.

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Chapter Six

The Sculptor-Printmakers

1923-1940

The Weyhe Gallery specialized in works on paper, but as Zigrosser pointed out, after prints and drawings, "sculpture was the most active branch of the gallery's business," adding that it "was pioneer work, since few other galleries dealt in sculpture. The low book cases or print cabinets made appropriate bases for the display of plastic objects in bronze, wood or stone. Sculpture was often on view even during formal shows of pictures."[1] The arrangement Zigrosser described was depicted in Mabel Dwight's greeting card of 1928[2] (Figure 51), and in 1930, Adolf Dehn, emphasizing the importance of sculpture to the gallery, covered the face of the greeting card with identifiable gallery sculptures[3] (Figure 60).

Sculpture was Erhard Weyhe's special interest; the gallery owner both collected sculpture and acquired it for resale. He almost certainly planned the gallery with the display of sculpture in mind. Weyhe knew many of the European sculptors from his travels abroad, and when they were in New York, they visited the gallery.[4] While there is little evidence that Zigrosser was interested in sculpture, he was certainly desirous of persuading sculptors to make prints.[5]

The first sculpture exhibited at the gallery may have been a bronze figure by George Kolbe (1877-1947), a photograph of which appeared in the December 22, 1923, New York Evening Post.[6] It was followed in 1924 by Head of Artist's Mother in wood by Simon Moselsio (1890-1964), reproduced in The New York Times on

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October 19,[7] and Cats Playing, by Richard Scheibe (1879-1964), in the New York Evening Post, December 13, 1924.[8] (See appendix 5 for brief biographies of Kolbe, Scheibe, and other European sculptors whose work was handled by the gallery, and a description of their relationships with the gallery.)

The first formal Weyhe Gallery exhibition featuring sculpture was that of the work of Arnold Rönnebeck (1885-1947), which took place in 1925. The works exhibited are listed below.[9]

TABLE 6-1

SCULPTURE, DRAWINGS, AND LITHOGRAPHS BY ARNOLD RÖNNEBECK

APRIL 27-MAY 16, 1925

Sculpture

1. Miss Georgia O'Keeffe
2. Mr. Marsden Hartley
3. Mr. Marsden Hartley
4. Mr. Pierre Coalfleet
5. Mr. G. St.
6. Mr. W.H.
7. Miss Harriett Marsland
8. Ariel
9. Mr. George Antheil
10. Crucifixion (pear wood)
11. London Wedding
16. Dancer
17. Hermaphrodite
18. Composition of Curves and Right Angles
19. Composition of Rhythmically Arranged Volumes
20. Sketch for a Mausoleum
21. St. Sebastian
22. Arcadia, 3 Bas-reliefs
23. Arcadia, 3 Bas-reliefs
24. Speed, Auto Mascot
25. Chanteclair, Auto Mascot

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12. La Parisienne 1911
13. La Parisienne 1912
14. Dancer
15. Dancer
38. The Boy in the Canoe
39. Mirror Lake (Lake Placid)
40. Design for a Plastic Group
41-46. Hommage á..... .....

26. A Pair of Bookends
27. A Pair of Bookends

Drawings

28-37. New York

Lithographs

47. Wall Street
48. Brooklyn Bridge
49. Manhattan
50-60. Positano, Southern Italy

Arnold Rönnebeck was born in Nassau, Germany. He studied architecture in Berlin and in Munich, but in 1906 switched to the study of sculpture, and two years later left Germany for Paris to work with Aristide Maillol and Emile-Antoine Bourdelle. Rönnebeck was twenty-nine and had been in Paris four years when Marsden Hartley, thirty-five, arrived.[10] They became close friends, and today Rönnebeck's name is rarely mentioned except in the voluminous Hartley literature. Rönnebeck's life and art were changed by the Hartley association, and much of what is known (or thought) about him is available only because of their friendship.[11] He even owed his Weyhe Gallery relationship to Hartley.[12] He sold work through the gallery for much of his life, and he was important to the gallery as a museum director who took Weyhe Gallery-organized exhibitions.[13] His letters to Zigrosser are a valuable source of information on the gallery and the art world.[14]

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By the autumn of 1924, Rönnebeck had made arrangements with the Weyhe Gallery for what was to be his only New York exhibition. Rönnebeck had made prints before he and Zigrosser met, and exhibited three lithographs he had made in the United States, as well as those made in Europe[15] (Figure 61). While he considered himself a sculptor (Figure 62), most of his Weyhe Gallery sales were of prints.[16] His prints and one of his sculptures were offered in gallery catalogues in 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1938.[17]

In 1926, the gallery presented the sculpture of Myra Musselman-Carr (1880-d?), who was born in Kentucky and studied at the Cincinnati Art School, with Bourdelle in Paris, and at the Art Students League.[18] She was married to, or lived with, a painter, Charles Bateman (1890-d?),[19] and the work of the couple was presented jointly. The sculptures exhibited are listed in table 6-2.[20]

TABLE 6-2

SCULPTURES BY MYRA MUSSELMAN-CARR

MARCH 15-27, 1926

1. Mother and Child, stone
2. Portrait Head, stone
3. Draped Figure, stone
4. Siamese Cat, cement
5. Lady With Folded Arms, cement
6. Pretty Lady, plaster
7. Figure, Pipe Stone
8. Nude Figure, Pipe Stone

Musselman-Carr had exhibited two bronze statuettes, Electra and Indian Grinding Corn, in the Armory Show. From around 1914 to 1917 she ran the Modern Art School in New York's Washington Square, and a summer school in Provincetown.

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Courses taught in the Provincetown school included painting with Nordfeldt, woodblocks with Ethel Mars, and art embroidery and design with Marguerite Zorach; William Zorach taught at the Washington Square School.[21] In 1927, Musselman-Carr exhibited with the Woodstock Art Association. Sometime in the 1930s, she seems to have dropped out of sight.[22]

Also in 1926, the gallery presented sculpture by Simon Moselsio, who was born in Russia and studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Berlin. He came to the United States in 1924 and became a citizen in 1930.[23] The works in Moselsio's first Weyhe exhibition are listed below.[24]

TABLE 6-3

SCULPTURE BY SIMON MOSELSIO

DECEMBER 1926

1. Iphigenia, bronze
2. Chastity, bronze
3. Head, bronze
4. Mother and Child, bronze
5. Beatrice, bronze
6. Ariadne, bronze
7. Head, bronze
8. Circe, bronze
9. Circe, wood
10. Charm, bronze
11. Charm, ebony
12. Bird, bronze
13. Portrait of Baby, bronze
14. Peasant Reclining, bronze
15. Vanity, bronze
16. Young Girl, bronze
17. Buffalo, bronze
18. Deer, bronze
19. Lucretia, bronze
20. Lucretia, Walnut

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In 1936, the gallery gave Moselsio another solo exhibition. The works in the show are listed in table 6-4.[25]

TABLE 6-4

CERAMICS AND BRONZES BY

SIMON MOSELSIO

APRIL 20-MAY 9, 1936

Ceramics

1. Beggar
2. Small Head
3. Adam and Eve
4. Ariadne
5. Head Indra
6. Torso
7. Sitting Figure
8. Circe
9. Woman
10. Head
11. St. Giles
12. Monkey

12a. Monkey

13. Meditation
14. Reclining Woman
17. Woman
18. Kneeling Figure
19. Rabbit
20. Cat
21. Dancer
22. Yak
23. Madonna
24. Sybil
25. Eve
26. Beatrice
27. Fat Woman (sitting)
28. Small Head
29. Sketch
30. Group

Bronzes

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14a. Reclining Woman

14b. Reclining Woman

15. Fat Lady

15a. Fat Lady

16. Sorrow

16a. Sorrow

31. Bird

32. Dancer

33. Dancer

34. Head of Baby

Fluorite

35. Monkey

As previously mentioned, Moselsio's Head of Artist's Mother was exhibited in the gallery in 1924,[26] but there is no record of how Moselsio was introduced to the Weyhe Gallery. As Gertrude Weyhe Dennis points out, many artists simply dropped in and introduced themselves, and Moselsio could have been such a "walk-in."[27] Or perhaps he was introduced to Erhard Weyhe by a mutual friend from Berlin.[28]

The gallery included in a 1935 catalogue Moselsio's Seated Figure (fifteen by fourteen inches, ceramic, blue) and Madonna (height eighteen inches, wood). In a 1936 catalogue, the gallery offered Moselsio's Madonna (height seven inches, ceramic, blue); Rabbit (two by seven inches, ceramic, blue); Adam and Eve (seven by six inches, ceramic); and Madonna (height eighteen inches, wood). In a 1938 catalogue, the gallery offered his Nude (height twenty-eight inches, ebony).[29]

In January 1927, the gallery presented for the first time the sculpture of John Flannagan (1897-1942), one of the most important artists associated with the Weyhe Gallery. Flannagan grew up in the Midwest, and attended the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, where he met Adolf Dehn, Wanda Gág, Lucille Lundquist (Blanch), Arnold Blanch, and Harry Gottlieb, all of whom he was to reencounter in New York.[30] When

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the U.S. entered World War I, Flannagan joined the Merchant Marine, and after his discharge, by late 1919 or early 1920 was living in New York City. Two different stories are told about Flannagan's introduction to the Weyhe Gallery. According to Avis Berman, Flannagan came to Zigrosser's attention because of the sculptor's "exposure" at the Whitney Studio Club in December 1925, and, as a consequence, "[Zigrosser] began handling Flannagan's work."[31] Robert Forsyth, on the other hand, wrote that "through the generosity of Adolf Dehn, his art school classmate, Flannagan was introduced in 1926 to Carl Zigrosser. . . . After seeing some of Flannagan's work, Zigrosser offered to show it at Weyhe's, the exhibition scheduled for January of 1927."[32] Perhaps both accounts are true.

The works exhibited in Flannagan's first Weyhe exhibition are listed in table 6-5.[33]

TABLE 6-5

SCULPTURE BY J.B. FLANNAGAN

JANUARY 5-20, 1927

1. Nocturne, ebony
2. Ebon, ebony
3. Casuals, satinwood
4. Mother and Son No. 1, satinwood
5. Mother and Son No. 2, mahogany
6. Mother and Son No. 3, violet wood
7. The Acrobats, mahogany
14. Kangaroo, walnut
15. Blues, sandstone
16. Red Horse, sandstone
17. Old Man, sandstone
18. Camel, limestone
19. Two Children, limestone
20. Bride, limestone

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8. Country Church, mahogany
9. Lady with Death Mask, mahogany
10. Kneeling Woman, rosewood
11. Sunrise, tulip wood
12. Colt, hazel wood
13. Cathedral, walnut
21. Aurelia, granite
22. Fragment, marble
23. Ape, sandstone
24. Elephant, plaster
25. Cat, plaster
26. Head, plaster

Flannagan's work received favorable reviews, and of the twenty-six objects shown, five were sold.[34] A year later, the gallery held its second Flannagan exhibition. A checklist for the exhibition has not yet been located, but according to Forsyth, the twenty-one objects listed below were included.[35]

TABLE 6-6

RECENT SCULPTURE BY J.B. FLANNAGAN

JANUARY 23-FEBRUARY 4, 1928

1. Brooding Monkey
2. Pelican
3. Cat
4. Kitten
5. Hound
6. Puppy
7. Galloping Horse
8. Draft Horse
9. Squirrel
12. Sandstone Figure (Kneeling Woman)
13. Sandstone Figure (Destiny)
14. Exercise
15. Head
16. Negress
17. Head and Bust
18. Twins
19. Child
20. Quiet Woman

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10. Nude Woman
11. Torso
21. Fat Lady

In 1928, the Weyhe Gallery became Flannagan's sole dealer, and Weyhe acquired "all of the older plus current works from his exhibition which Flannagan had not sold," and arranged to pay him "a sort of salary in return for a certain number of works per year. The agreement lasted for almost ten years."[36] Thus, Flannagan became the fourth artist to receive an annual stipend from Erhard Weyhe.

In April 1930, the gallery held its third Flannagan exhibition, which opened on Flannagan's birthday. Again, no exhibition checklist has been located, but table 6-7 contains the list of objects that, according to Forsyth, were in the exhibition, as well as some mentioned in contemporary articles.[37]

TABLE 6-7

SCULPTURE BY JOHN B. FLANNAGAN, APRIL 7-26, 1930

1. (Full-length Study of a Negro)
2. (Sleeping Girl), alabaster
3. (Cat, or Cats)
4. (Sitting Figure, Head Down)
5. Nude, alabaster
6. Nude, alabaster
7. Nude, alabaster
8. Negro Boy, red sandstone
9. Supercilious Cat, marble
10. Owl, stone
11. Pelican With Fish, granite
12. Resting
13. Coiled Snake

In 1930, "partly as a wedding present and partly as a business agreement," Erhard Weyhe arranged to send Flannagan and his wife to Ireland for a year.[38]

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Flannagan's fourth Weyhe exhibition was held in 1931, after their return. The works exhibited are listed in table 6-8.[39]

TABLE 6-8

SCULPTURE BY JOHN FLANNAGAN

NOVEMBER 9-28, 1931

1. Hare, blue-gray marble
2. Lamb, pink marble
3. Goat, blue-gray granite
4. Ram, gray granite
5. Goat, reddish granite
6. Cat, black marble
7. Ass, gray granite
8. Goat, black granite
9. Kid, tan-gray granite
10. Colt, sandstone
11. Puppy, black granite
12. Sleepy Ass, black granite
13. Goat, black granite
14. Ass (small), bluestone
15. Pig, limestone
16. Barking Puppy, yellow granite
18. Child, greenish marble
19. Duck, gray granite
20. Hare, bluestone
21. Lynx, bluestone
22. Monkey, sandstone
23. Head, red sandstone
24. Bird, red sandstone
25. Swimmer, limestone
26. Head, limestone
27. Child I, quartz
28. Child II, limestone
29. Child III, sandstone
30. Child IV, fieldstone
31. Figure I, sandstone
32. Figure II, sandstone
33. Figure III, sandstone

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17. Lamb, marble

34. Figure IV, limestone

35. Cat, sandstone

His fifth exhibition was held in 1934. No checklist has yet been located, but table 6-9 contains a list of a few sculptures in the exhibition, from Forsyth's records or cited in contemporary articles.[40]

TABLE 6-9

THE SCULPTURE OF JOHN B. FLANNAGAN

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1934

1. Mother and Child [standing]
2. Mother and Child [seated]
3. Head, granite
4. Monkey Resting, sandstone
5. Monkey and Young
6. Figure of Dignity
7. Preening Waterbird

Flannagan's sixth exhibition took place in 1936. The works are listed below.[41]

TABLE 6-10

SCULPTURE BY J.B. FLANNAGAN

FEBRUARY 24-MARCH 14, 1936

1. Infant, bluestone
2. Bundle, granite
3. Pup, fieldstone
4. Two Children, limestone
5. Shampoo, sandstone
13. Thin Pelican, bluestone
14. These Two, bluestone
15. Morning, sandstone
16. Pensive, bluestone
17. Brown Horse, fieldstone

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6. Flea, bluestone
7. The Rag Doll, bronze
8. Long Bird, granite
9. Young Woman, sandstone
10. Two Little Children, sandstone
11. Evening, black marble
12. Toward The Sun, silver, copper and brass
18. Beginning, quartz
19. Torso, sandstone
20. Figure, sandstone
21. Full Hands, granite
22. Dark Lady, sandstone
23. Tired Ass, granite
24. Mother and Child, artificial stone

The last Weyhe Gallery exhibition of Flannagan's work held during the artist's lifetime took place in 1938.[42] The works exhibited are listed in table 6-11.[43]

TABLE 6-11

SMALL STONE SCULPTURE BY

JOHN B. FLANNAGAN

FEBRUARY 9-MARCH 5, 1938

1. Camel
2. Elephant
3. Ram's Head
4. Frog
5. Dog
6. Polar Bear
7. Bear
8. Donkey
14. Rabbit
15. Thin Pelican
16. Triumph of the Egg
17. Child
18. St. Theresa Not Interested
19. Figure
20. Kid
21. Lady With Fox

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9. Kangaroo
10. Horse
11. Horse's Head
12. Cat Lying Down
13. Cat
22. Figure
23. Fallen Jumper
24. White Bird
25. Gorilla
26. Head
27. Mother and Child Sleeping

At some point during their association, Zigrosser apparently pressed Flannagan to make prints, possibly intending to use them as illustrations on the gallery's announcements of his exhibitions, for in 1929, Flannagan wrote Zigrosser, "I have come to hate the sight of woodblock. Hope you can find it in your heart to remit my sentence to only 'one art.'"[44] He may have "come to hate the sight of woodblock," but Flannagan made about a dozen block prints, including Untitled, (Two Horses in a Hilly Landscape) (Figure 63).[45]

Erhard Weyhe terminated the gallery's association with Flannagan after the 1938 exhibition. The breech resulted from Flannagan's alcoholism; his unreliability and drunken scenes finally pushed Erhard Weyhe to the breaking point.[46] The severed relationship was one of a long series of sad episodes in a tragic life. Flannagan grew up in poverty, and was homeless and near starvation during his early years in New York. In 1934 he suffered a severe breakdown after a suicide attempt, and spent seven months in Bloomingdale Hospital in White Plains. In 1936, while drunk--"stupefied"--he was run down by a taxicab, injuring his leg.[47] In 1938, his relationship with the Weyhe Gallery ended. In 1939, Flannagan was again struck by

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an automobile, and suffered severe brain damage. After a series of operations, he began a slow recovery, but he was desperately poor and deeply depressed. A new dealer, Curt Valentine, the owner of the Buchholz Gallery, rescued him financially, but on January 6, 1942, Flannagan committed suicide.[48] The Weyhe Gallery offered Flannagan's prints, drawings, watercolors, and sculpture for sale in catalogues throughout the 1930s.[49]

In February 1927, the gallery exhibited the sculpture of Roy Van Auken Sheldon (1897-1976). Sheldon was born in St. Louis and graduated from Amherst in 1919. He studied in Europe at the Académie Julian with Bourdelle, Henri Bouchard, and Paul Landowski, and had a studio in Florence and later, in Vienna.[50] No exhibition checklist has been located, but a New York Times review of the exhibition referred to "stylized bears, penguins, elephants and nudes," while the Post mentioned a sculpture of a kangaroo, and opined that "heads in bronze and marble" and "the figure of 'La Baigneuse' in marble, with her uplifted arms and head beautifully defined" were "the most serious of the works." The Herald Tribune described a "graceful 'Baigneuse'" as a "charming figure," which, with "the portrait head of a girl modeled in the rough, represent him at his best."[51]

In Sheldon's second Weyhe exhibition in January 1929, the gallery announcement referred to "Twelve Sculptures" by Sheldon, but no checklist has been located,[52] and Sheldon apparently had no further relationship with the gallery.

In April, the gallery presented sculpture by Wharton Esherick (1887-1970). The works exhibited are listed in table 6-12.[53]

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TABLE 6-12

SCULPTURE BY WHARTON ESHERICK

APRIL 11-30, (1927)

1.	Adam	11.	Sherwood Anderson
2.	Eve	12.	Mother and Child
3.	Set of Chessmen	13.	Amaranth
4.	Set of Chessmen	14.	Ebony Figure
5.	Nude	15.	Bird
6.	Berceuse	16.	Frog
7.	Horse Race	17.	Happy Fish
8.	Cat and Snake	18.	Horse's Head
9.	Centaur and Maiden	19.	Cane
10.	Muse	20.	My Fire Bird

Esherick was born in Philadelphia and studied painting at the Pennsylvania School of Industrial Art and at the Pennsylvania Academy. Around 1920, he began to carve wooden frames for his paintings, and later furniture and sculpture. He also produced woodcuts, linocuts and wood engravings.[54] He even attempted etching, as Zigrosser wrote in 1924 to his wife, Kinglet, who was with the Eshericks in Alabama: "I got a letter from Wharton asking me to get some etching paraphernalia for him. He does not realize how complex a medium etching is and how easy it is to spoil a plate. I don't think anyone could prepare a plate (laying the ground and smoking etc.) without spoiling at least a half dozen. So I will get someone here to fix all that. Will

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you tell him that I am assembling the stuff and as soon as I can get an etcher to fix it I will send it down. . . ."[55]

Zigrosser later wrote that during the winter of 1920, Kinglet and their daughter Carola (Dux) "decided to go south to get a little sunshine and warmth . . . at Fairhope, the . . . colony on the shore of Mobile Bay and the site of Marrietta Johnson's School of Organic Education. Kinglet helped at the school, and also typed for Sherwood Anderson (who was staying at the colony) the manuscript of his novel Poor White. Also living there were the artist Wharton Esherick and his wife Letty. . . . We have remained family friends ever since."[56]

Despite Zigrosser's avowed friendship with Esherick, the gallery gave him only the single sculpture exhibition, perhaps because the work received mixed reviews.[57] More surprising, while Esherick was a well-known and respected printmaker, the gallery never gave him a solo print exhibition, although two of his woodcuts were featured on the announcement of his sculpture exhibition.[58] The gallery published his woodcut Of a Great City (Figure 64) in 1928, and offered his woodcuts Surf Fishing, Live Oak, Jug Hollow, and Iseult, and a bronze sculpture, Cat and Snake, for sale by catalogue.[59]

The most famous American sculptor who exhibited at Weyhe was Alexander Calder (1878-1976); his first two solo exhibitions, of wire sculpture in 1928 and of wood carvings in 1929, were held there.[60] Neither Zigrosser nor Calder recorded how Calder was introduced to the gallery, but Boardman Robinson was one of Calder's instructors at the Art Students League, and Robinson may have suggested that Calder

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approach the gallery, or the young artist may have simply been a "walk-in." In any case, Calder wrote that in February 1928, he "showed wire animals and people to Carl Zigrosser of the Weyhe Gallery and bookshop and he decided forthwith to give me a show. My first show. There were about fifteen objects and we priced these things at ten and twenty dollars. Two or three were sold. Among those sold was the first Calder's Josephine Baker which I had made in Paris."[61]

There was no exhibition checklist, and the only object illustrated in the exhibition announcement was Josephine Baker. Table 6-13 contains a partial reconstruction of the exhibition, based on contemporary articles and the Calder literature.[62]

TABLE 6-13

WIRE SCULPTURE BY ALEXANDER CALDER

FEBRUARY 4-23, 1928

1. Josephine Baker
2. Soda Fountain
3. "J.D." (Oil Magnate Playing Golf)
4. "Struttin' His Stuff"
5. Mr. Coolidge
6. The Mule
7. (Lady Under an Umbrella)
8. Sheppard Vogelgesang
9. Laughing Policeman
10. Flat Cat
11. Circus Act
12. Portrait of E. Weyhe
13. Portrait of Carl Zigrosser

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After the wire sculpture exhibition, Calder returned to wood carving, and by the spring of 1929 had made enough carvings for an exhibition.[63] Again, no exhibition checklist has been located, but table 6-14 contains a partial reconstruction of the exhibition from a list compiled by Calder.[64]

TABLE 6-14

WOOD CARVINGS BY ALEXANDER CALDER

FEBRUARY 4-23, 1929

1.	Cow	6.	Horse (acquired by Museum of Modern Art)
2.	Camel	7.	Giraffe
3.	Licorice	8.	Man With Hollow Chest
4.	Elephant	9.	Another Cat
5.	Two Elephants	10.	Several Circus Figures

In March 1929, Zigrosser wrote to Calder: "Your exhibition has come and gone and while there was a great deal of interest in certain pieces, notably the cow, so far, I have not sold anything. Several people are considering the cow and I still have hopes of informing you of its sale."[65]

The same month, Calder wrote his parents: "I did expect Weyhe to sell something, but I guess they don't know much about blowing a horn. I had a note from Zigrosser last night too, saying that he still hoped to sell the cow. He seems to have dispersed the collection pretty soon, but I suppose and hope that he has kept the more popular articles at the Gallery, because all the publicity seems to come along rather late. . . . "[66]

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On another occasion Calder wrote, "Weyhe sold the cow for a fair price--$350--that would have helped me for several months. But he did not send me anything and only paid me later when I came to collect it."[67]

Calder wrote Zigrosser in September 1930, "I had intended writing you for some time past to tell you I had been doing some small bronzes and terres cuites--and would you please save an opening for me this winter--when in walks [Heinz] Warneke and tells me all about your super three-ring gallery--that is going to be (or is)--of course that made me very enthusiastic--I think it's fine and just the thing you have needed for so long--shake!--and will you please reserve in un petit coin in February or March, or sometime, and how are you and Hon. Weyhe."[68]

The exhibition of small bronzes and terra cottas did not take place, and the reference to the "three-ring gallery" is so far unexplained. Presumably, Zigrosser was expecting a job offer, or perhaps he considered opening his own gallery.

Besides showing his sculpture at Weyhe, Calder sent drawings to the gallery, hoping for an exhibition. In November 1932, he wrote, "What's the dope on a show of my drawings Chez Weyhe? I wrote you some time ago to ask about it. Please let me know soon, as I would like to arrange for it somewhere else if you don't want to do it."[69] Calder also made a print for the gallery, the woodcut Circus, which appeared on the announcement of his 1929 exhibition.[70]

In 1930, the gallery exhibited sculpture by Harold Cheney Cash (1895-1977).[71] No checklist has been located, but a review of the exhibition mentioned "a series of portrait heads, a large torso in plaster . . . a convincing 'seated woman' in green

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bronze; a sturdily modelled bust of a girl and portraits like that of an oriental type."[72] Another review referred to "small bronze female figures,"[73] and The New York Times published a photograph of the sculptor standing before some of his works.[74]

Cash was born in Tennessee and studied at Stanford and the University of Virginia, as well as the New York School of Fine and Applied Arts and the Beaux Arts Institute of Design. He was awarded Guggenheim fellowships in 1930 and 1931, and his work was exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in 1930-1934 and at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1935,[75] but he seems to have had no further contact with the gallery.

In December 1930, the gallery presented the sculpture of Vally Wieselthier (1895-1945). The works in the exhibition are listed in table 6-15.[76]

TABLE 6-15

NEW SCULPTURE BY VALLY WIESELTHIER

DECEMBER 8-22, (1930)

1. Naomi, terra cotta
2. Abizag, terra cotta
3. Leisure, terra cotta
4. Playmates, terra cotta
5. New Diana, terra cotta
6. Phyllis, terra cotta
7. Bathers, terra cotta
8. Coquette, terra cotta
13. Flirt, terra cotta
14. Suzette, terra cotta
15. Lilla, mask
16. Marcia, mask
17. Charlotta, mask
18. Janine, mask
19. Lolotte, mask
20. Portrait

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9. Modern Romance, terra cotta
10. Lovers, terra cotta
11. Blackbird, terra cotta
12. Chrysanthemum, terra cotta
21. Lena
22. Look-Out
23. Circus
24. Decorative Tile
25. Collette, terra cotta

Wieselthier was born in Vienna and studied under Josef Hoffmann at the Wiener Werkstaette. She specialized in ceramics, and exhibited in Frankfort in 1922 and at the International Exposition of Decorative Arts in Paris in 1925, where she was awarded a gold medal. She came to the U.S. in 1929 and after exhibiting her work at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, became an American citizen. Wieselthier later expanded into other decorative art media, and into bas-reliefs and murals for buildings.[77] Her ceramics were characterized by "fanciful originality and whimsical gaiety."[78]

In 1932, the gallery exhibited sculpture by Betty Burroughs (1899-1988). The works in the exhibition are listed in table 6-16.[79]

TABLE 6-16

SCULPTURE BY BETTY BURROUGHS

JANUARY 4-23, 1932

Portraits

1. Kenneth Hayes Miller, marble
2. Herbert Winlock, terra cotta
3. Mrs. McLaughlin, terra cotta

Figures

9. Seated Negress No. I, plaster
10. Seated Negress No. II, plaster
11. David, cement

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4. Lloyd Goodrich, terra cotta
5. Louis Miller, terra cotta
6. Fred Dana Marsh, terra cotta
7. Sue Marsh, terra cotta
8. Virginia F. R. Grace, terra cotta
9. Raymond Berry, plaster
12. Diana, bronze
13. Figure, plaster
14. Figure, terra cotta
15. Figure, terra cotta
16. Figure, terra cotta

Burroughs, also known as Betty Burroughs Woodhouse (Mrs. Thomas Woodhouse), was the daughter of Bryson Burroughs (1869-1934), curator of painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1909 to 1934, and the sculptor Edith Woodman Burroughs (1871-1916). Betty Burroughs studied in Paris, Florence, and London and at the Art Students League, where her teachers included Mahonri Young and Kenneth Hayes Miller.[80] The 1932 exhibition seems to have been her only Weyhe Gallery show, but in 1935, 1936, and 1939 her sculpture was offered for sale in Weyhe catalogues.[81]

In 1933, the gallery presented sculpture by Marion Walton (b. 1899).[82] No exhibition checklist has been located, but contemporary reviews described it as her first solo exhibition, and praised her work, especially Family Group, Pastoral, and Alone.[83] In the 1920s and 1930s, Marion Walton was a fairly well-known direct carver in wood. She was born in New Rochelle, New York, and began modeling in clay when she was a child. She left school to nurse wounded soldiers and, a few years later, drove a truck in war-torn France. She studied sculpture with Bourdelle

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and at the Art Students League.[84] The gallery apparently never gave her another exhibition, but offered her sculpture for sale in catalogues in 1935, 1936, and 1938.[85]

In 1934, the gallery exhibited sculpture by Dorothea Schwarz Greenbaum (1893-1986). The works are listed in table 6-17.[86]

TABLE 6-17

SCULPTURE BY DOROTHEA GREENBAUM

FEBRUARY 5-24, 1934

1. Little Woman, plaster
2. Josie, composition
3. Yas, terra cotta
4. Sleeping Girl, composition
5. Equestrian Act, bronze
6. Circus Horse, plaster
7. Rooting Hog, bronze
8. Duck, bronze
9. Big Business, bronze
10. Schnapps, bronze
11. Girl With Braids, bronze
12. Rabbit, bronze
13. Acrobat, bronze
14. Rabbit, cement
15. Rabbit, cement
16. Head, bronze
17. Study for Animal Trainer, plaster
18. Baby, bronze

In 1939, the gallery gave her another solo exhibition. The works are listed in table 6-18.[87]

TABLE 6-18

SCULPTURE BY DOROTHEA GREENBAUM

JANUARY 1939

1. David, bronze
11. Baby, cast stone

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2. Tired Shopper, bronze
3. Man About Town, bronze
4. Fascist, bronze
5. Snake Charmer, bronze
6. Bullfighter, bronze
7. Stylish, bronze
8. Artist, bronze
9. Head, German silver
10. Adolescence, cast stone
12. Figure, cast stone
13. Diver, terra cotta
14. Snake Charmer, terra cotta
15. Adolescence, terra cotta
16. Cock, plaster
17. Pan, plaster
18. New Hat, plaster
19. Figure, plaster
20. Calf, plaster

Greenbaum was born in Brooklyn, attended the New York School of Design, and studied painting at the Art Students League with Kenneth Hayes Miller. After her marriage and the birth of her two children, she returned to her art, switching to sculpture. She worked in clay modeling, stone carving, hammered lead, and in marble, terra cotta, wax, and bronze.[88] In addition to giving her two solo exhibitions, the gallery offered her sculpture for sale in catalogues in 1936 and 1938, and her etching, Cactus, in a 1931 catalogue.[89]

Doris Porter Caesar (1892-1971) was given a sculpture exhibition at the gallery in 1935. The works are listed below in table 6-19.[90]

TABLE 6-19

SCULPTURE BY DORIS CAESAR

APRIL 8-27, 1935

1. Sketch of Man, bronze
9. Leaning Girl, artificial stone

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2. Sketch of Woman, bronze
3. Seated Girl, artificial stone
4. Standing Girl, artificial stone
5. Woman Leaning Forward, bronze
6. Seated Woman, artificial stone
7. Fragment, bronze
8. Seated Figure, bronze
10. Woman, artificial stone
11. Portrait Head, plaster
12. Kneeling Girl, bronze
13. Portrait of Melina Raccioppi, bronze
14. Reclining Figure, bronze

Her second Weyhe exhibition took place in 1937. The works are listed in table 6-20.[91]

TABLE 6-20

SCULPTURE BY DORIS CAESAR

MARCH 1-20, 1937

1. Promenade
2. Mother and Children
3. Torso
4. Embrace
5. Young Girl
6. Magdalen
7. Entombment
8. Standing Girl
9. Gossip
10. St. Sebastian
13. Last Supper
14. Drought
15. Mother and Child
16. Seated Figure
17. Negress

Bas-Reliefs

18. Night
19. Morning
20. Adam and Eve

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11. Composition
12. Crucifix
21. Maternity

Caesar was born in Brooklyn, attended Miss Chapin's and the Spence School, and was graduated from Syracuse University. She also studied at the Art Students League with George Bridgman. In 1913 she married, and bore two children. She did not return to her art until 1926, when she began formal training in sculpture at the Alexander Archipenko School (1926-1931). She cast her first sculpture in bronze in 1927 and took the work, a portrait of a ten-year-old African-American boy, to Erhard Weyhe, who agreed to handle her sculpture.[92] "Bring me more," he told her. "I'll keep your things in the window."[93]

Weyhe became not only her dealer but also her friend and tutor, introducing her to the German and English sculpture he collected. Caesar "spent hours in the gallery, studying sculpture by Barlach, Lehmbruck and Belling, paintings by Emil Nolde and the prints of Käthe Kollwitz."[94] When Rudolf R. Belling came to New York in 1935, Erhard Weyhe introduced him to Caesar, and Caesar and Belling talked for hours, "leaning on the book shelves at Weyhe's."[95]

Despite Weyhe's appreciation of her work, the gallery did not give Caesar her first solo exhibition because, according to Caesar, Zigrosser "insisted that she was not yet ready."[96] She later said that Zigrosser had been right, and that after she persuaded Montross to give her an exhibition in 1931, it was unfavorably reviewed.[97] But after a second Montross exhibition in 1933, an article in the The New York Times described

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her as a "gifted sculptor," and her work as "imaginatively conceived triumphantly released figures . . . modeled with authority."[98]

In 1937, the gallery finally gave Caesar a solo exhibition. The works shown are listed in table 6-21.[99]

TABLE 6-21

SCULPTURE BY DORIS CAESAR

MARCH 1 to MARCH 20, 1937

1. Promenade
2. Mother and Children
3. Torso
4. Embrace
5. Young Girl
6. Magdalen
7. Entombment
8. Standing Girl
9. Gossip
10. St. Sebastian
11. Composition
12. Crucifix
13. Last Supper
14. Drought
15. Mother and Child
16. Seated Figure
17. Negress

Bas-Reliefs

18. Night
19. Morning
20. Adam and Eve
21. Maternity

In 1939, the gallery gave Caesar another solo exhibition. The works are listed in table 6-22.[100]

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TABLE 6-22

SCULPTURE BY DORIS CAESAR

MARCH 6-25, 1939

1. Family Group
2. Duet
3. Laughing Couple
4. The Doctor
5. Woman Thinking
6. Young Girl
7. Girls Reading
8. Effie
9. Subway
10. Monks Singing
11. Girl With Book
12. Mother and Child
13. Girl Walking
14. Sleeping Pair
15. Family Portrait
16. Accuses
17. Winter Walk
18. Charwoman

According to Caesar, the Weyhe Gallery closed during World War II, and therefore, during the war, Curt Valentine handled Caesar's sculpture.[101] But there was obviously some misunderstanding, since, according to Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, the gallery remained open throughout the war,[102] and the Weyhe Gallery scrapbooks contain exhibition announcements and press clippings dated throughout the war.[103] In any case, after the war, Caesar returned to the Weyhe Gallery, where exhibitions of her work were held in 1947, 1952, 1957 (a twenty-five-year retrospective), 1959, 1964, and 1969.[104] The gallery also offered her work in catalogues in the 1930s.[105]

In 1937, the gallery exhibited sculpture by Anita Weschler (b. 1903). The works are listed in table 6-23.[106]

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TABLE 6-23

ANITA WESCHLER

MARTIAL MUSIC, A SERIES OF ANTI-WAR SCULPTURES

APRIL 12-MAY 1, 1937

1. Turmoil
2. The Family
3. The Volunteer
4. Air Raid
5. Drafted
6. Shrapnel, Starvation, Bacteria and Gas
7. Spoils

In 1940, the gallery gave her another solo exhibition. The works shown are listed in table 6-24.[107]

TABLE 6-24

ANITA WESCHLER, HAIL AND FAREWELL

SERIES OF SCULPTURES

APRIL 8-27, 1940

Artificial Stone

1. Alone
2. Waiting
3. Election
4. Caprice

Martial Law

11. a series, 1928, #2, Explosion

Carvings

12. Young Woman, painted pine, 1937
13. Torso, caen stone, 1938

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5. Summer's Lease

Portraits, artificial stone

6. 1936, Burle Marx
7. 1938, Son of Doris Humphrey
8. 1938, Polish Girl
9. 1940, Mrs. John Duncan Clarke
10. 1940, Jose Limon
14. Figure, tulipwood, 1938
15. Emblem of Earth, English oak, 1939
16. Foot of the Rainbow, ten-figure group, 1937
17. Fair Wind, 1939
18. American Daughter, 1940

Weschler was born in New York and graduated from Parsons School of Design in 1927. She also studied at the Pennsylvania Academy and the National Academy of Design, and at the Art Students League with William Zorach and Robert Laurent.[108] In 1938, the gallery offered Weschler's Portrait of Frances Stone, a ten-inch-high limestone sculpture, for sale by catalogue.[109]

In 1938, the gallery gave Harry Wickey (1892-1968) a solo exhibition of one hundred drawings, sculpture, and prints, described as "Harry Wickey's first show in nine years."[110] The prints and sculpture exhibited are listed below.[111]

TABLE 6-25

HARRY WICKEY, SCULPTURES AND PRINTS

MARCH 7-19, 1938

Sculpture	Lithographs	Etchings and Drypoints
1. Young Boar	1. Sultry August Afternoon	1. The Chicken Yard
2. Little Pigs Tussling	2. Hogs Near a Corn Crib	2. Central Park No.2
3. Sulking Bull	3. Bringing Up the Mare	3. Railroad Cut No.3

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4. Old Wrestler	4. Stallion and Mare (Figure 65)	4. Night Storm
5. Rearing Stallion	5. Rearing Horses	5. Snug Harbor
		6. Ninth Avenue
		7. The Jungle

Wickey was born in Stryker, Ohio, and in 1914 came to New York, where he studied art at the Ferrer Modern School with George Bellows.[112] He also studied at the Art Students League with John Sloan and George Bridgman in 1916-1917 and 1920-1921. After serving in the Army in World War I, Wickey settled in New York, later teaching at the Art Students League and Bucknell.[113] His first prints were etchings, an art he learned around 1920 from his neighbor Maria Rother, whom he later married. He learned lithography in 1929 from Grant Arnold, a fellow teacher at the Art Students League, and took it up in earnest in 1935, when he began to have trouble with his sight.[114]

Also in 1938, or perhaps in 1939, the gallery published Harry Wickey and His Work (ca. 1938), which contained an essay Zigrosser wrote about Wickey and tributes to Wickey by a number of his friends and admirers.[115] Watrous later wrote, "A comprehensive exhibition [of Wickey's prints] was not sponsored until Zigrosser organized one at the Weyhe Gallery in 1938. Seventy nine prints were displayed including all of the handsome landscapes that Wickey had been etching. . . ."[116] Watrous assumed that Harry Wickey and His Work was the catalogue for a Weyhe Gallery exhibition, but it is more likely that it was the catalogue for an exhibition arranged by the Weyhe Gallery but held at other institutions.[117]

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The gallery had included prints by Wickey in group exhibitions in 1925 and 1927,[118] and offered his prints and sculpture in catalogues in 1938 and 1939.[119]

In May 1939, the gallery presented the sculpture of Adolphe Dioda (1915-1991). The works exhibited are listed below.[120]

TABLE 6-26

STONE SCULPTURE BY ADOLPHE DIODA

MAY 8-27, 1939

1.	Rainbow	9.	Reclining Nude
2.	Nude	10.	Indian Rider
3.	Youth	11.	Reposing Nude
4.	Native Girl	12.	Creation
5.	Serenity	13.	Eternity
6.	Kneeling Figure	14.	Steel Worker
7.	Standing Nude	15.	Temple of God
8.	Torso	16.	Beauty and the Beast

Adolphe Dioda was born in Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, a steel town near Pittsburgh. He studied at the Cleveland School of Art, the Carnegie Institute of Technology, the Barnes Foundation, and the Art Students League. Shortly after arriving in New York, he was invited by John Flannagan to share his studio and to work as his apprentice. The arrangement lasted about a year, and Flannagan then told Dioda to "get out and stay out for a year, then come back." Dioda eventually returned to share Flannagan's studio, and Flannagan continued to befriend him until

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shortly before the older artist's suicide.[121] In fact, on August 8, 1941, Flannagan wrote to Dorothy Miller, recommending Dioda's sculpture to the Museum of Modern Art, pointing out, "There are a lot of his things at Weyhe's. . . ."[122] In 1936, the gallery offered for sale by catalogue Dioda's Head of a Miner (height ten inches, granite), described as a "powerful head by a young sculptor of great talent." [123]

Warren Cheney (1901-1979) apparently had a relationship with the gallery, since several sources indicate that he exhibited at Weyhe.[124] Cheney was born in France of American parents, grew up in California, and attended the University of California before studying art at Ecole des Beaux Arts and with Hans Hofmann in St. Tropez. He also earned an MA from Columbia and has been described as a "sculptor, lecturer, writer and teacher."[125] In 1935 and 1936, the gallery offered one of Cheney's sculptures for sale by catalogue.

Another sculptor, H.A. Shaffer (b. 1901), may have exhibited his work at the gallery in 1929. The New York Sun, March 20, 1929, reported that the "works of H.A. Shafer [sic] will be on Exhibition [at the Weyhe Gallery] beginning Saturday, March 23."[127] The article illustrated three of his sculptures, Nude and "two of his poses from the dances of Cambodia and Argentina," and reported that Shaffer "went to the University of Chicago and took his degree and then began a business career. It was not until he was 26, which was two years ago, that he took up sculpture."[128] No information other than that contained in the single article on Shaffer has been located, and the artist seems to have had no further contact with the gallery.

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Two more American sculptors also had close relationships with the Weyhe Gallery, although they were apparently never given solo exhibitions. Gaston Lachaise (1882-1935), who was born in France and studied art there, came to America in 1906 and ten years later became an American citizen. In America, Lachaise studied under Paul Manship, and one of his sculptures was in the 1913 Armory Show. He earned his living making decorative animal and portrait sculptures, but is best known for his late cast bronzes of monumental nude women.[129] According to Zigrosser, "Whole editions of bronzes by . . . Lachaise (six subjects) were commissioned, and became, as it were, publications of the gallery." [130] The gallery offered sculpture by Lachaise in catalogues throughout the 1930s.[131]

Heinz Warneke (1895-1983) was born near Bremen, Germany, and studied art there and at the Berlin Arts and Crafts School. Warneke served with the German War Memorials Commission during World War I, managing a cemetery and overseeing the commission of memorial designs. After the war he opened a studio in Berlin, where he gained some recognition. Because of the difficult economic conditions in post-war Germany, he moved to St. Louis, Missouri, where family friends lived. Soon after his arrival, he won a commission for a forty-eight-foot eagle sculpture for the Scottish Rite Temple in Fort Scott, Kansas, which brought him other commissions. From 1927 to 1932, Warneke lived in Paris, spending enough time in New York every year to qualify for U.S. citizenship. He became a citizen in 1930, and returned to the U.S., where he lived in New York and Connecticut. Warneke employed a wide range of materials in his sculpture, and animals were the most typical subjects. His styles

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and techniques varied: realism, abstraction, smooth surfaces, rough surfaces.[132] The gallery offered his sculpture for sale in catalogues in 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1939.[133]

A few artists exhibited only one or two sculptures with the gallery. One of them was Benjamin Kopman (1887-1965), who was born in Russia and came to the United States in 1903. He studied at the National Academy of Design and was best known as a painter, but he also made prints.[134] His name appeared on The Living Artist list in 1922 (see chapter 2), and, in 1925, the gallery exhibited his paintings and drawings[135] and at least one sculpture, Bird Carved in Wood.[136]

William Zorach was another artist whose prints and other works on paper were handled by the gallery (see chapter 5), but who never received a Weyhe Gallery sculpture exhibition.[137] However, in Fine Prints, December 1938, 60, the gallery offered Zorach's Spirit of the Dance (height thirty inches, bronze), a smaller version of the piece in Radio City. Similarly, in Fine Prints, December 1935, 11, the gallery offered Mahonri Young's Miner (ten by twelve inches, bronze), Young, best known for his sculpture, was represented with a print in the 1919 Weyhe portfolio (see chapter 2), and continued to sell prints through the gallery,[138] but he seems to have had no other association with Weyhe as a sculptor.

There is no record that Hélène Sardeau (1899-1969) ever exhibited at the gallery, but her sculpture Blues Singer (height ten inches, bronze) was offered in the December 1935 catalogue, 11; and her sculpture Jazz Singer (four by seven inches, terra cotta) in the December 1938 catalogue, 60. In 1931 Sardeau had married

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George Biddle, who probably introduced her to the gallery, but she seems to have had no gallery relationship beyond the catalogue offerings.[139]

A single print and a single sculpture by Vincent Glinsky (1895-1975), a Russian-born sculptor and printmaker, were offered for sale in catalogues; his lithograph Steam Bathers appeared in Fine Prints, 1933, 38, and his sculpture Nude (height twenty inches, bronze) in Fine Prints, 1935, 11. Similarly, Nude (height twenty inches, terra cotta), a sculpture by the California artist Adaline Kent (1900-1957) was offered in Fine Prints, 1935, 11, although she apparently had no other Weyhe Gallery association; and the gallery advertised in December 1934 unidentified sculpture by Lenore Thomas (b. 1909), the only time her name appeared in the Weyhe Gallery catalogues or scrapbooks.[140] A single work, Nude (four by seven inches, terra cotta), by Mary Lightfoot Tarleton (1904-1992), later known as Mary Tarleton Knollenberg, was offered in Fine Prints, 1935, 11; again, her name does not reappear in gallery records.

Alexander Archipenko (1887-1964) wrote to the gallery "cold" from Berlin in 1922, offering his work.[141] He emigrated to the U.S. in 1923, founded an art school in New York, and later became a citizen. Archipenko apparently was never given an exhibition at the gallery, but his Nude (height fourteen inches, bronze) was offered in Fine Prints, 1935, 11; and Figure (semi-abstract, height fourteen inches, bronze) and a drawing, Nude, were offered in Fine Prints, 1938, 54. The gallery also handled his prints, including the lithograph Two Nudes, offered in the catalogue Foreign Artists, n.d., 24.

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The Weyhe Gallery played an important role in the exhibition and sale of sculpture, almost from the gallery's inception. Both European and American sculpture were exhibited there, and a range of styles and media was shown. The sculpture was typically small--the gallery was designed to display table sculpture--and reflected the taste of the times, with, for example, a preponderance of animal figures. Two of the most important American sculptors, Calder and Flannagan, had their first exhibitions at the gallery, and Flannagan's work is still associated with the gallery. But perhaps because of the sheer volume of works on paper, especially prints, handled by the gallery, few art historians are aware of the Weyhe Gallery's role as a sculpture dealer. Yet, as Zigrosser pointed out, the gallery pioneered in the marketing of sculpture as surely as it did in prints.

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Footnotes - Chapter 6

1. Zigrosser, World, 42.

2. For more on these cards, see Reba W. Williams, "Greetings From Weyhe," Print Quarterly, December 1993, 408-412.

3. Ibid. The central figure holding a Christmas tree is thought to be Aristide Maillol's Pomona; the figure clasped in the same arm is by Wilhelm Lehmbruck. Continuing clockwise, the headless nude is by Alexander Archipenko, and the ape by John B. Flannagan. The reclining nude in the foreground is by Gaston Lachaise, while Kneeling Deer, 1930, is by Renée Sintenis, as is Colt. The nude with arms raised is Allegro by George Kolbe. Scattered among the sculptures are stacks of books and framed paintings, additional treasures to be found in the House of Weyhe.

4. See, for example, Doris Caesar's meeting with Belling, 31, this chapter. And Harry Sternberg says that he met Barlach at the gallery. Harry Sternberg, interview by Dave H. Williams, 1993.

5. The prints made by Flannagan and Calder's Circus were almost certainly made at Zigrosser's insistence.

6. WGS, Volume II, 9.

7. Ibid., 22.

8. Ibid., 33.

9. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist, WGS, Volume I, 76-77.

10. The facts of Rönnebeck's life are drawn from his application to the Federal Art Project, generously provided by Professor Marlene Park. Another biography was supplied by Rönnebeck's daughter, Ursula Moore Works. Secondary sources are unreliable; for example, Bruce Kellner, ed., A Gertrude Stein Companion (New York: Greenwood, 1988), 246, erroneously states that Rönnebeck died in Germany.

11. See, for example, Townsend Ludington, in Marsden Hartley, The Biography of an American Artist (New York, 1992), who devotes many pages to Rönnebeck's friendship with Hartley. (See appendix 6 for more on Rönnebeck's life and work.) Much of the research on Rönnebeck was undertaken for a class taught by Professor Gail Levin at the Graduate Center in 1992, resulting in Reba White

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Williams, "Marsden Hartley and Arnold Rönnebeck: A Strange Friendship, 1912-1947," May 18, 1992, unpublished manuscript.

12. See chapter 3, 14, and notes 71, 72, and 73.

13. See, for example, "Spirit of Adventure Actuates True Painters," Rocky Mountain News, April 10, 1923, Rönnebeck's review of a Denver exhibition he had borrowed from Weyhe (WGS, Volume III, 18).

14. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 31-312.

15. Both the lithograph Manhattan, #49 in table 6-1, and the image on the gallery announcement are unknown to the writer, to Ursula Moore Works, to Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, and to Catherine Burns, Oakland, California, who deals in Rönnebeck's prints. It is possible that the image on the announcement is the lithograph Manhattan, but Mrs. Dennis thinks it may be a drawing.

16. The catalogues contain a large number of Rönnebeck's prints for sale at the gallery (see note 17, below), and the correspondence (see note 14, above) is full of references to his printmaking.

17. There is no complete checklist of Rönnebeck's prints or of his sculpture, but the beginnings of such lists can be seen in appendix 6. The gallery offered a number of his lithographs for sale in Prints as Presents, 1931, 19: Plains Indians, Sacred Mountain, Taos, Corn Dance Taos, Eagle Dance, and Chicago, From Tribune Tower. In Fine Prints, December 1936, 12, the gallery offered a lithograph, "So She Passed Swaying." In Fine Prints, 1933, 71, Atlantic, 1929; Brooklyn Bridge, 1925; Canotier, 1930; Central City, 1933; Central City Cemetery, 1933; Chicken Pull, Taos Indians, 1931; Colorado Gold Dredge, 1932; Colorado Mining Town, 1933; Colorado Silver Mine, 1932; Columbus Circle, 1929; Eagle Dance, 1931; El Monte Sol, Santa Fe, 1928; Gem Mining Co., 1932; Grand Lake (Sail Boats), 1932; Mine Near the Continental Divide, 1933; Old Mine, Silver Plume, 1932; Paramount, 1928; Plains Indians, 1931; Rain in the Jemez Mts., 1931; Rain Over Desert Mesa, 1931; Red Rock Lake, 1933; Rio Grande Canyon, 1931; Sacred Mountains, Taos, 1928; Skyline, 1928; Taos Corn Dance, 1931; Taos Marada, 1930; Tribune Tower, Chicago, 1930; Wall Street, 1925. In Fine Prints, December 1935, a lithograph, Yacht Race, 5, and Nude (height eighteen inches, bronze), 11. In Fine Prints, December 1938, 41, the gallery offered the lithographs Wall Street, Chicken Pull, Taos, Colorado Mining Town, Red Rock Lake, Yacht Race, So She Passed Swaying, Adeste Fideles, and Magic Peak.

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18. For the few available facts about Myra Musselman-Carr's life, see Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, American Women Sculptors (Boston, 1990), 240.

19. Even less is known about Bateman than about Musselman-Carr. According to Rubinstein, American Women Sculptors, 240, Bateman was Carr's husband, but according to Diane Cochrane, a writer living near Woodstock, local gossip suggests that they weren't married. "Chuckie [Bateman] was her boy friend for a long time. . . ." The same sources report that Musselman-Carr had a son who used the name Carr. Telephone interview by author with Diane Cochrane, May 10, 1996. The brief entry on Bateman in Who Was Who in American Art, 38, indicates that he was born in Minneapolis and studied at the Art Students League with Kenneth Hayes Miller and Andrew Dasburg.

20. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume I, 91-92).

21. International Studio, April 1917, 10-11. See also William Zorach, Art is My Life, 44. Zorach referred to the sculptor as Myra Carr.

22. Her last known address, in 1933, was Woodstock. See Glenn B. Opitz, ed., Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors & Engravers (Poughkeepsie, 1986), 653.

23. For the facts of Moselsio's life, see Opitz, ed., Fielding's Dictionary, 643; and Joan Marter, et. al., Vanguard American Sculpture 1913-1939, exhibition catalogue (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1979), 54.

24. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume I, 113-114).

25. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 113-114).

26. The New York Times, October 19, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 22).

27. Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, interview by author, May 1995.

28. Erhard Weyhe may have met him in Berlin; Weyhe was a frequent traveller to Europe.

29. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11; Fine Prints, 1936, 16; and Fine Prints, 1938, 59.

30. For the facts of Flannagan's life, see Robert Joseph Forsyth, "John B. Flannagan: His Life and Work" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1965). The manuscript also contains the beginnings of a

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catalogue raisonné of Flannagan's sculpture. Forsyth, in 1996 in a nursing home in Minneapolis, deeply regrets that he was unable find a publisher, and to complete the catalogue raisonné. Forsyth, telephone interview by author, March 19, 1996.
Of Flannagan as an art student in Minneapolis, Gág wrote, "Bernard Flannagin [sic], Adolphe [sic] and I are impatient with some of the people at school . . . (I don't know about Flannagin. Flannagin is a taciturn, unsmiling creature who reads Nietsche [sic] and Schopenhauer and is all for the modern tendencies in art)." Wanda Gág, Growing Pains (New York, 1940), 453.

31. Avis Berman, Rebels on Eighth Street, 221.

32. Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Work," 25.

33. From the gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume 1, 116-117). According to the chronology, 14, in Dorothy C. Miller, ed., The Sculpture of John Flannagan, exhibition catalogue (New York: MoMA, 1942), the Weyhe Gallery gave Flannagan solo exhibitions in 1927 (twenty-six sculptures), 1928, 1930, 1931 (according to Miller, seventeen sculptures, but actually thirty-five), 1934, 1936 (twenty-four sculptures), and 1938 (twenty-seven sculptures). Checklists for three of the exhibitions have not been located.

34. For the reviews, see WGS, Volume III, 63. The number of objects sold is from Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Work," 26, and note 117, 58, taken from Weyhe records, not located.

35. For the gallery exhibition announcement, see WGS, Volume I, 141. For the list of objects included, see Forsyth's papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., in June 1996 not yet microfilmed. Forsyth seems to have had access to a gallery checklist, but it remains unlocated.

36. Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Work," 25, and 58, notes 113 and 114.

37. For the Weyhe Gallery announcement see WGS, Volume I, 207. Forsyth also failed to locate a checklist. The sources for the sculpture included in table 6-7 are shown below.

TABLE 6-7
SCULPTURE BY JOHN B. FLANNAGAN, APRIL 7-26, 1930

1. (Full-length Study of a Negro), The Chicago Post, April 15, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 155).

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2. (Sleeping Girl), Alabaster, The Chicago Post, April 15, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 155).

3. (Cat or Cats), The New Yorker, April 19,1930 (WGS, Volume V, 155).

4. (Sitting Figure, Head Down), The New York Times, April 13, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 156).

Items 5-13 are from Forsyth's papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., in June 1996 not yet microfilmed.

5. Nude (alabaster)

6. Nude (alabaster)

7. Nude (alabaster)

8. Negro Boy (red standstone)

9. Supercilious Cat (marble)

10. Owl (stone)

11. Pelican With Fish (granite)

12. Resting

13. Coiled Snake

38. Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Work," 27.

39. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume New).

40. From the Weyhe Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 57-60). According to Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Work," 31, the exhibition included twenty-one sculptures produced in Ireland, the sculptor's entire Irish production, although his contract with the Weyhe Gallery called for forty objects.

TABLE 6-9
THE SCULPTURE OF JOHN B. FLANNAGAN
JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1934

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1. Mother and Child [standing], illustrated, The New York Times, February 4, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 60).

2. Mother and Child [seated], illustrated, Weyhe brochure (WGS, Volume VII, 57-59).

3. Head, granite, illustrated, London Studio, April 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 72).

4. Monkey Resting, sandstone, illustrated, London Studio, April 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 72).

41. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume New).

42. In 1973-1974, the Weyhe Gallery, the Minnesota Museum of Art, and the Tweed Museum of Art jointly presented John B. Flannagan, Sculpture/Drawings, 1934-1938. Forty-five sculptures were included, all the property of the Weyhe Gallery.

43. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 132-133).

44. Flannagan, Margherita, ed., Letters of John B. Flannagan (New York: Curt Valentin, 1942), 21.

45. For a list of Flannagan's prints, see appendix 7.

46. Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Work," 38 and 42.

47. Ibid., 44-48.

48. Robert J. Forsyth, John B. Flannagan, Sculpture/Drawings, 1924-1938 (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1973), (7).

49. In Fine Prints, 1935, 10, The Rag Doll (height twenty inches, bronze); Woman's Head (height twelve inches, artificial stone); Mother and Child (height fifteen inches, artificial stone); Lamb (eight by thirteen inches, stone); and Monkey (eight by twelve inches, stone). In Fine Prints, 1936, 16-17: Woman's Head (height twelve inches, artificial stone); Mother and Child (height fifteen inches, artificial stone); These Two (height fifteen inches, artificial stone); Dog Curled Up (three by six inches, stone); Kid (six by twenty-four inches, stone); Morning (height four feet, stone). In Fine Prints, 1938, 55-56: Mother and Child (height fifteen inches, limited to ten cast, artificial stone); Woman's Head (height twelve inches, artificial stone); Gorilla (height fifteen inches, red sandstone); Colt Licking Its Back

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(eight by fourteen inches, limestone); Cat Lying Down (six by twelve inches, red sandstone); Elephant (height eight inches, blue stone); Alligator Curled Up (diameter twenty-four inches, granite); Nude Standing (height twenty inches, red sandstone); Colt In Field, watercolor; Contented Cow, watercolor; Nude, drawing; Cat, drawing. In A Sampler, December 1939, n.p., These Two (height thirteen inches, limited to ten cast, artificial stone).

50. For the facts of Sheldon's life, see the Chicago Post, February 15, 1927. (WGS, Volume III, 48).

51. The New York Times, February 13, 1927; The Post, February 19, 1927; The New York Herald Tribune, February 13, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 48). For the Gallery announcement, see WGS, Volume I, 217.

52. For the gallery announcement, see WGS, Volume I, 164.

53. From the gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 125-126). The year of the exhibition is not contained in the announcement, but contemporary reviews of the exhibition confirm the date (see WGS, Volume III, 20, for the reviews).

54. For the facts of Esherick's life, see Michael Schanz and Mansfield Bascom, Prints by Wharton Esherick, exhibition catalogue (Paolu, Pennsylvania: Wharton Esherick Museum, 1984).

55. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4620, Frames 608-613.

56. Zigrosser, My Own, 115.

57. The New Yorker, April 23, 1927; The Chicago Post, April 23, 1927; and ARTnews, April 23, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 20).

58. The two woodcuts feature a chessboard and a stylized view of the gallery façade. WGS, Volume I, 125-126. Esherick sent the blocks to the gallery on March 28, 1927 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4626, Frame 1071). A recent catalogue, Robert Edwards and Robert Abel, Wharton Esherick 1887-1970, American Woodworker (Philadelphia: Moderne Gallery, 1996), in the chronology, 7, erroneously included a 1924 solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery. Esherick's daughter, Ruth Esherick Bascom, says that Esherick's first solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery was in 1927, but that the gallery was handling his prints earlier than 1927. Telephone interview by author, August 11, 1996.

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59. The publication of Of A Great City was announced in Illustrated Catalogue, September 1928, 7, illustrated, 55. In Prints as Presents, 1931, the gallery offered the woodcuts Surf Fishing, 5, and Live Oak, 11; and in Fine Prints, 1933, 37, the woodcuts Jug Hollow and Iseult; and in Fine Prints, 1938, 55, Cat and Snake (length eighteen inches, bronze).

60. The usual Weyhe definition of "solo" prevailed (see introduction to appendix 2) in that his wood sculptures shared the Gallery in 1929 with Howard Cook's prints. The Cooks told a puzzling story about the exhibition: "In addition to Cook's prints the show included some wood carvings and more interesting, the early small mobiles of Alexander Calder. . . . Calder needed another mobile brought up from the village. At Calder's request, Barbara [Latham, Cook's wife] took on the task, picked up the mobile at the studio and proceeded uptown . . . holding it quivering in the wind as she rode atop an open Fifth Avenue bus" (Betty and Douglas Duffy, The Graphic Work of Howard Cook [New York, 1984]; 19). There is no record of such an object in the exhibition.

61. Alexander Calder and Jean Davidson, Calder, An Autobiography With Pictures (New York, 1966), 86.

62. The articles cited in table 6-13 are in the Weyhe Gallery Scrapbooks. The books cited are Daniel Marchesseau, The Intimate World of Alexander Calder (New York, 1989), and Joan M. Marter, Alexander Calder (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University, 1991). Specifically:

TABLE 6-13
WIRE SCULPTURE BY ALEXANDER CALDER
FEBRUARY 4-23, 1928
[PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION]

1. Josephine Baker.

2. Soda Fountain. The Chicago Post, March 13, 1924, illustrated (WGS, Volume IV, 4), and Marchesseau, 123, illustrated.

3. "J.D." (Oil Magnate Playing Golf). The New York Times, February 26, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 3), and American Sketch, April 1928, illustrated (WGS, Volume IV, 22).

4. "Struttin' His Stuff." American Sketch, April 1928, illustrated (WGS, Volume IV, 22). Marchesseau, 126, titled Singer of Charm, illustrated; and Marter, titled (Boxing Negro), illustrated, 51.

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5. Mr. Coolidge. American Sketch, April 28, illustrated (WGS, Volume IV, 22), and Marchesseau, 122, illustrated, titled Portrait Calvin Coolidge.

6. The Mule. Creative Art, April 1928, illustrated (WGS, Volume IV, 43), and Marchesseau, 171, illustrated, titled Donkey.

7. (Lady Under an Umbrella). Marchesseau, illustrated, 120.

8. Sheppard Vogelgesang. Marchesseau, illustrated, 134.

9. Laughing Policeman. The New Yorker, March 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 3).

10. Flat Cat. The New Yorker, March 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 3).

11. Portrait of E. Weyhe. Marter, 267, n. 71.

12. Portrait of Carl Zigrosser. Marter, 267, n. 71.

13. Circus Act (Marchesseau, illustrated, 107).

63. Calder and Davidson, Autobiography, 89.

64. The list is from Calder and Davidson, Autobiography, 89. Marter, 83, illustrates Cow. Inexplicably, Marter omitted Calder's 1929 Weyhe exhibition from the chronology, 285, although she illustrates the invitation to the exhibition, 82, and discusses the exhibition, 80. Perhaps she didn't consider it "solo," since Calder shared the gallery with Howard Cook's woodcuts. But in 1928 Calder's wire sculpture shared the space with paintings, prints, and drawings by Emil Ganso (see Artnews, February 25, 1928, in WGS, Volume IV, 3), and the 1928 exhibition is included in Marter's chronology.

65. Zigrosser to Calder, March 2, 1929 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 227).

66. Margaret Calder Hayes, Three Alexander Calders, A Family Memoir (Middlebury, Vermont, 1977), 221.

67. Calder and Davidson, Autobiography, 89. Calder seems to refer to E. Weyhe, but his recorded financial transactions were with Zigrosser.

68. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 232.

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69. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 237. Calder also sent drawings to the gallery on July 26, 1932 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 238). And on October 13, 1932 Calder wrote E. Weyhe that he'd "left a batch of drawings with Zigrosser, and asked him whether you would give me a show of drawings during the winter" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 240). Apparently, the exhibition did not take place, but Calder's drawing Circus was offered in Fine Prints, 1935, 8.

70. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 172). Calder's first letter to Zigrosser mentions his early prints: "By the way, I owe Keppler $50.40 for prints which he had made, and sent to me. So if anything gets sold will you pay him as soon as possible, please, and charge me" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 225).
Sylvie Maillet, an intern at the Museum of Modern Art in 1993-1994, and in 1996 in Paris, is working on the catalogue raisonné of Calder's prints.

71. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 211).

72. The New York Herald Tribune (WGS, Volume V, 163).

73. The Chicago Post (WGS, Volume V, 163).

74. The New York Times, May 18, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 163).

75. For the facts of Cash's life, see Opitz, ed., Fielding's Dictionary, 138.

76. From the gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 10-11).

77. For the facts of Wieselthier's life, see her obituary in The New York Times, September 3, 1945.

78. Ibid.

79. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 34-35).

80. For the facts of Burrough's life, see her obituary in The Providence Journal-Bulletin, November 11, 1988.

81. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, Baby With Shell (height fourteen inches, terra cotta), and Head of Hays [sic] Miller (height fifteen inches, terra cotta). In Fine Prints, 1936, 15, Nude (height fifteen inches, terra cotta); and in Fine Prints, 1938, 54, Portrait of Anna Sokolow (height fourteen inches, bronze).

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82. Gallery exhibition announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 51).

83 See Creative Arts, April 1933, Family Group, illustrated; The New Yorker, March 25, 1933; The New York Evening Post, March 4, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 53); and The New York Times, March 1, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 56).

84. For the facts of Walton's life, see "Marion Walton" in Ilene Fort, The Figure in American Sculpture: A Question of Modernity, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles, 1995), 230. In April 1996, Walton was living in a nursing home.

85. In Fine Prints, 1935, 10, Sleeping Girl (eight by eight inches, artificial stone); Rabbit (height ten inches, artificial stone); and Girl with Braids (height fourteen inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1936, 17, Nude (height thirty-six inches, wood); and in Fine Prints, 1938, 60, Man and Woman (height ten inches, limestone).

86. From the gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 61-62).

87. From the gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 140-141). The date is derived from a review of the exhibition in ARTnews, January 21, 1939 (WGS, Volume New).

88. For the facts of Greenbaum's life, see Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, American Women Sculptors (Boston, 1990), 275-276.

89. In Fine Prints, 1936, 16, Sleeping Girl (eight by eight inches, artificial stone), and in Fine Prints, 1938, 56, Man With Top Hat (height eight inches, bronze). In Prints as Presents, 1931, 13, Cactus, etching.

90. From the gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume New).

91. From the gallery exhibition checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 119-120).

92. For the facts of Caesar's life, see Martin H. Bush, Doris Caesar (Syracuse, 1970).

93. Ibid., 38.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid., 41-42.

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96. Ibid., 41

97. But at least one review, by Katherine Grant Sterne in Parnassus, October 1931, was very positive.

98. The New York Times, April 23, 1933.

99. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 142-143).

100. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume New).

101. Bush, Caesar, 48.

102. Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, interview by author, April 1996. Although the exhibition is not mentioned in her biography, Caesar exhibited at the Fifteen Gallery in 1940. (ARTnews, March 2, 1940, 12.)

103. See WGS, Volumes VII and VIII. There were far fewer exhibitions in the 1940s than in the 1920s and 1930s. There are also fewer 1940s clippings in the scrapbooks; as Zigrosser wrote to Rönnebeck on January 17, 1940:

"The art market is getting worse and worse. Even on the side of criticism and publicity things are all mixed up. None of the critics have reviewed our African show which I believe to be one of the most exciting and important shows we have ever held" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 260).

104. According to Bush, Caesar, 151-152.

105. Mother and Child (height fifteen inches, bronze), in Fine Prints, 1936, 15; and Family Group (height fifteen inches), in Fine Prints, 1938, 54.

106. From the gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume New).

107. From the gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 158-159).

108. For the facts of Weschler's life, see Fort, The Figure in American Sculpture, 230-231. Of her connection with the Weyhe Gallery, Weschler says, "I was a pretty avid art-goer, and the Weyhe Gallery was considered one of the most important galleries for sculpture. I think I showed Zigrosser a photograph of a sculpture of a horse--I used to ride horseback in Central Park--and he put the sculpture in the window. Then he gave me my first one-man show." Anita Weschler, interview by author, June 25, 1996.

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109. Fine Prints, 1938, 60.

110. The Art Digest, March 1, 1938 (WGS, Volume New).

111. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 134-137). Wickey's drawings in the exhibition are listed below.

Drawings

1. Study of Pigs
2. Study of Pigs
3. Pigs in a Wallow
4. Sow Lying Down
5. Hogs in a Lot
6. Hogs Running
7. Tamworth Sow
8. Studies of Pigs
9. Boars Head
10. Studies of Pigs
11. In the Hog Yard
12. Two Pigs
13. Chester White Boar
14. Tamworth Sow and Little Pigs
15. Sow and Little Pigs Eating
16. Hogs in an Orchard
17. Studies of Pigs
18. Men and Horses
19. Horse in an Orchard
20. Young Stallion
21. Two Horses
22. Bringing Out the Mare
23. Horses Broken Loose
24. Prince and Farber at the Fence
25. The Meeting
26. Bringing Up the Stallion
27. Black Stallion and Grey Mare
28. Horses in a Barn Yard
29. Modeling the Stallion
30. Angry Mare
31. Horses
32. Horse Kicking
33. Young Stallion
34. Farmer and Horses
35. Grey Mare Kicking
36. Holding the Horse
51. In Central Park
52. In the Balcony
53. Picnickers
54. Conservation in Washington Square
55. Sunny Day in the Park
56. Figures Resting
57. Coal Wagon
58. Out for an Airing
59. On the Ferry
60. Study for "The Jungle"
61. Entering the Balcony
62. Sailor and Girl in Central Park
63. Looking for an Opening
64. Entering the Ring
65. Starting the Bout
66. In the Gymnasium
67. Heading for the Shower
68. Two Wrestlers
69. Bothner's Gymnasium
70. Wrestlers Talking
71. Study for Sculpture of a Wrestler
72. Pollocks Place
73. Landscape with Waterfall
74. Cove Near Storm King
75. Skaters by a Fire
76. Study of Anthony's Nose
77. Study for an Etching
78. Windy Day on the River
79. Approaching Storm
80. Landscape
81. George and Cochon Playing
82. Cochon Asleep
83. Watching the Rooster
84. Head of a Dog
85. Dogs Near the Hen Yard

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37. Rearing Mare
38. Mothers and Children in Washington Square
39. Afternoon in the Square No. 1
40. Afternoon in the Square No. 2
41. In the Elevated
42. In the Subway
43. Snow Shovelers
44. Storm in Central Park
45. Iron Puddlers
46. Twenty-First Street Sketches
47. At Orchard Beach
48. Study of Bathers No. 1
49. Study of Bathers No. 2
50. Sleeping Tramps
86. Tired Dogs
87. Dogs Running
88. Leaping Dog
89. Dog Fight
90. Dog Resting
91. Dogs on the Lawn
92. Dogs Sleeping
93. Dog Scratching Himself
94. Something up a Tree
95. Victor and the Pup
96. Hunting for Mice
97. Watching the Pups
98. Bull in the Rain
99. Men Shocking Wheat
100. Prince at the Gate

112. He may have encountered Zigrosser there. In 1913 or 1914, Zigrosser attended a drawing class taught by Bellows, and wrote that Harry Wickey was also a student. Zigrosser, My Own, 71. But Wickey wrote of meeting Zigrosser at the Weyhe Gallery after World War I, implying that it was the first time they met. Wickey, Thus Far (New York, 1941), 65.

113. For the facts of Wickey's life, see Zigrosser, "Harry Wickey," in The Artist in America, 70-79; Thomas Craven, ed., A Treasury of American Prints (New York, 1939), plates 89, 90, 91; and Harry Wickey, Thus Far (New York, 1941).

114. Susan Teller, Harry Wickey and His Circle, Prints, Drawings and Sculpture, January 5-February 2, 1991, dealer's catalogue (New York, 1991).

115. For the catalogue, see WGS, Volume New. The essay was later published by Zigrosser in Artist in America, 70-79.

116. Watrous, American Printmaking, 89-90. The statement is not footnoted, and no supporting evidence for a second Weyhe-Wickey exhibition in 1938-1939 has been located.

117. Wickey wrote, "The exhibition opened the way for one-man shows at the Cincinnati Museum of Art, The Dayton Art Institute, and the Colorado Springs Fine Art Center the same year" (Wickey, Thus Far, 103). By the late 1930s, the gallery was arranging exhibitions for a fee (letter to Mrs. Abram J. Levy, The Century Club of Scranton, Pennsylvania, October 31, 1938; letter to Miss Adele Brandeis, Louisville Art

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Association, January 22, 1937; Letters to and from Ralph Naziger, University of Minnesota, March-April 1940. See Weyhe Gallery Correspondence, Collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis). Zigrosser seems to have arranged the Wickey exhibition in Cincinnati. He wrote to Beatrice Winser, Newark Museum of Art, "Does the museum ever lend works of art to another museum. I am arranging a comprehensive show of the work of Harry Wickey at the Cincinnati Museum for the month of November, and I am anxious to include the bronze bull which the Museum recently acquired. . . . I am wondering whether it could be borrowed for the show." (CZ to BW, Newark Museum, October 8, 1938. Weyhe Correspondence, Collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis).

118. The New Yorker, August 15, 1915 (WGS, Volume II, 65), and The New Yorker, September 17, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 95).

119. The gallery also offered many of Wickey's prints for sale by catalogue. In Prints as Presents, 1931, four etchings, 20 and 22, Bathers No. 1, Riverside Drive, The Mountains, and The Jungle. In Fine Prints, 1933, 74: Bathers, No.4, Central Park, Summer Night (drypoint), Gleason on His Beat, Hudson River Landscape; The Jungle, "Mount Beacon," Railroad Cut No. 1, Railroad Cut, No. 3, Rocks at Cornwall, Sailor's Snug Harbor (drypoint), Snow on the Mountains, Storm King in Winter, Storm Sweeping the Hudson, Trees and Pond, Trees by Moonlight, and Waterfall. In Fine Prints, 1938, 43-44: Waterfall, Hudson River Landscape, Bathers IV, Railroad Cut III, Storm King in Winter, Hudson Highlands Under Snow, The Jungle, Snug Harbor, Sultry August Afternoon, Hogs Near Corn Crib, Rearing Horses, Stallion and Mare; and in the same catalogue, 60, The Old Wrestler (height twenty inches, bronze), and Boar Walking (height eight inches, bronze). In A Sampler, December, 1939, the gallery offered Wickey's Rearing Stallion (height twenty inches, bronze).

120. From a Weyhe Gallery price list (WGS, Volume New).

121. For the facts of Dioda's life, see his obituary in The Philadelphia Inquirer, November 1, 1991, and the Art Alliance Bulletin, January 1951. According to Castellon, after the war Erhard Weyhe told him that there were "two people that I wanted to keep with me, Adolph Dioda and you, and I wanted to build a gallery around you . . ." (Castellon, unpublished interview with Paul Cumming, April 1971, AAA).

122. Flannagan, Letters, 90. Flannagan probably sent Dioda to the gallery.

123. Fine Prints, 1938, 55.

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124. Falk, ed., Who Was Who in American Art, 112, and Opitz, ed., Fielding's Dictionary, 149. The "exhibitions" may have been of his single work offered in the gallery's catalogues. See note 126, below.

125. For the facts of Cheney's life, see Opitz, ed., Fielding's Dictionary, 149.

126. Dream (height seventeen inches, terra cotta) in Fine Prints, 1935, 11, and Fine Prints, 1936, 15.

127. The New York Sun, March 20, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 2-3). In all other references to the artist in the article, the name is spelled "Shaffer."

128. Ibid.

129. For the facts of Lachaise's life, see Tom Armstrong et al., 200 Years of American Sculpture (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1976), 285.

130. Zigrosser, World, 43.

131. In Fine Prints, 1935, 10, and in Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered Portrait of Marin (height fifteen inches, bronze); Mask (Head of Woman) (height twelve inches, bronze); Woman on Horseback (ten by eleven inches, bronze); and La Montagne (eight by sixteen inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1938, 57-58, the gallery again offered Portrait of Marin, Woman on Horseback, Woman, Mask, La Montagne and Sketch (height ten inches, bronze); Torso (height fifteen inches, bronze); and Moment of Falling (height eighteen inches, bronze). In A Sampler, December 1939, n.p., the gallery again offered the bronze Portrait of Marin (limited to twelve casts, illustrated). The gallery also handled drawings by Lachaise; see Fine Prints, 1936, 15. In March of 1996, the Weyhe family sold Lachaise's Female Nude Relief (height twenty inches, bronze), (American Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture (catalogue) Sotheby's, March 14, 1996, Lot 131).

132. For the facts of Warneke's life, see Mary Mullen Cunningham, Heinz Warneke (1895-1983) (Newark, Delaware, 1994). Zigrosser met Warneke in 1927, when the Zigrossers and the Warnekes traveled from Europe to the U.S. on the same boat. Zigrosser, My Own, 127.

133. In Fine Prints, 1935, 10: Kitten (five by seven inches, wood); Eve Repentant (height seven inches, wood); Bear (four inches, terra cotta); Kid (height five inches, bronze); Fawn (height four inches, brass); and The Wandering Three, (Colts) (six by fourteen inches, bronze). In Fine Prints,

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1936, 17, the gallery again offered Kitten, Bear, Kid, and Fawn; and in Fine Prints, 1938, 60, Frisky Stallion (height eleven inches, iron); Wandering Three; Bear on His Back (height four inches, brass); Kid; and Crouching Figure (height sixteen inches, mahogany).

134. For the facts of Kopman's life, see Falk, ed., Who Was Who in American Art, 346, and Opitz, ed., Fielding's Dictionary, 504.

135. For the gallery announcement, which featured a woodcut or linoleum cut by Kopman, see WGS, Volume 1, 70-71.

136. Art World Magazine, October 6, 1925, illustrated (WGS, Volume II, 72).

137. The gallery offered Zorach's watercolor, Landscape, in Fine Prints, 1935, 9.

138. The gallery offered in Fine Prints, 1933, 75, a number of Young's etchings, "A Right Across,' Burro and Juniper Tree, Burro of the Snake Chief, Hopi Oven, Husking at Ganados, Indian Woman, Main Street Gymnasium, Navajo Woman and Pony, Neighbors, Suburbanite and Walpi.

139. For the facts of Sardeau's life, see Rubinstein, American Women Sculptors, 269-271.

140. The advertisement appeared in the Weyhe catalogue, Gallery Selections, December 1934, offering unidentified sculpture by a list of artists. The name of Lenore Thomas is the only one that does not appear in any other catalogue.

141. Zigrosser correspondence, AAA, Reel 4613, Frame 466.

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Chapter Seven

The Depression and its Aftermath

1932-1940

Thirty-five years after he left the Weyhe Gallery, Zigrosser wrote that the artists "most closely identified with the gallery were Rockwell Kent, Adolf Dehn, Wanda Gág, Emil Ganso, Mabel Dwight, Howard Cook, Harry Sternberg, and Federico Castellon."[1] By 1932, of the artists he cited, only Harry Sternberg (b. 1904) and Federico Castellon (1914-1971) had not yet exhibited at the gallery. In January 1932, the gallery presented prints and drawings by Sternberg. The works exhibited are listed below.[2]

TABLE 7-1

PRINTS AND DRAWINGS BY HARRY STERNBERG

JANUARY 25-FEBRUARY 13, 1932

1. Elmer
2. Circus III, The Wheels
3. Circus IV, The Rings
4. Palisades Park
5. Excavation
6. Roundhouse I
7. Roundhouse II (Figure 66)
8. Broadway I
9. Broadway II
15. Acrobats
16. Elevated Platform
17. Central Park
18. Locomotives
19. Principle II
20. Principle III
21. Principle IV
22. Nudes and Landscape
23. Nude

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10. Woman
11. Subway Car
12. Freaks
13. Dream
14. Nude With Skull
24. Principle V
25. Principle VI
26. Nude (lithograph)
27. Nudes and Landscape II
28. Principle VII

29-40. Drawings

Sternberg was born in New York and grew up in Brooklyn. When he was twelve he began Saturday art classes at the Brooklyn Museum and from 1922 to 1927, studied drawing and anatomy at the Art Students League with George Bridgman, while Harry Wickey, graphics instructor at the League, taught him etching privately in Sternberg's studio.[3] In 1927, Sternberg made his public debut as a printmaker with Philharmonic in the Brooklyn Society of Etchers annual exhibition.[4]

Of his introduction to the Weyhe Gallery, Sternberg wrote, "My first exhibition at Weyhe was in 1932. Being a cocky young man, I took my first portfolio of prints to the Keppel Gallery. They only handled the old masters. The young man who looked at my prints was too snobbish about my prints so we had a rather noisy run in. Mr. Keppel came out of his office, looked over my portfolio, bought two of my prints and told me to come back in two years. I did, and he did give me a show of my drawings. Meanwhile I had gone to the Weyhe and became a full member of the gallery."[5]

The reviews of Sternberg's 1932 exhibition were mostly positive, although one critic wrote, "His work is remarkable for its strength and truculence rather than for its

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charm."[6] Sternberg's first lithograph, Nude, made with George Miller at Zigrosser's suggestion, was included in the 1932 exhibition. In 1934, when the gallery gave him a second solo exhibition, he showed five more lithographs, the title of the exhibition notwithstanding. The works shown are listed below.[7]

TABLE 7-2

ETCHINGS BY HARRY STERNBERG

MARCH 12-31, 1934

Etchings

1. Construction
2. Burlesque
3. Excavation, Radio City
4. Pigeon Rock
5. Weehawken
6. Moon Over Manhattan
7. Self-Portrait
8. Burlesque Queen
9. The Dance
10. Wrestlers No. 3
11. Wrestlers No. 4
12. Principle No. VIII
13. Principle No. IX
14. Violin
19. Oboe
20. Saxophone
21. Trumpet
22. French Horn
23. Trombone
24. Tuba
25. Drum
26. Cymbals

Lithographs

27. Roberta
28. Elmer
29. Death Underground
30. Demonstration
31. Electrical Power

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15. Cello
16. Harp
17. Piano
18. Clarinet

According to Warner, the thirteen aquatints (14-26 in table 7-2) comprising the Music Series were printed on "antique papers given to Sternberg by Zigrosser,"[8] and thereafter Zigrosser became Sternberg's "close friend and supporter."[9] Although the 1934 show was his last solo exhibition at Weyhe, in 1935 the gallery published a brochure, Harry Sternberg, illustrating seven prints and a painting, listed in table 7-3.[10]

TABLE 7-3

1. Burlesque
2. Piano
3. Cymbals
4. Locomotives
5. Death Underground
6. Electrical Power
7. Central Park
8. (Southern Holiday), tempera

The works illustrated were a curious mixture of old and new; the prints had been exhibited previously, but (Southern Holiday), a painting in tempera made after the 1935 lithograph Southern Holiday (Warner 41), which dealt with the same subject (lynching), was new and may be the only Sternberg painting the gallery handled.[11] The gallery offered his prints in catalogues throughout the 1930s,[12] but his next major New York exhibition, of drawings and prints of coal and steel subjects, took place at

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Frederick Keppel & Company in 1937, and in 1942 Sternberg began to exhibit with the ACA Gallery.[13]

In May of 1932, the gallery presented "Mexican Graphic Art," featuring the prints of eight Mexican artists--Emilio Amero, Jean Charlot, José Clemente Orozco, José Pavón, José Guadalupe Posada, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Rufino Tamayo--and nine U.S. and British artists who had worked in Mexico and made prints with Mexican images--Maxine Albro, George Biddle, Caroline Durieux, Henry Glintenkamp, Thomas Handforth, Lowell Houser, Henrietta Shore, William Spratling, and Leon Underwood.[14]

Of the Mexican artists, Tamayo, Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros had previous relationships with the gallery. (See chapter 3 for Tamayo and chapter 4 for Orozco, Rivera, and Siqueiros.) Charlot had accompanied Orozco to the gallery in 1928, and subsequently established his own relationship there.[15] Charlot may have introduced the work of Emilio Amero (1901-1976) to the gallery; Charlot had taught Amero printmaking, and in 1923, the two artists had tried unsuccessfully to revive lithography as an art form in Mexico.[16] Prints by Posada (1852-1913), a chronicler of daily life, in a nineteenth-century caricature tradition, had been sent to the gallery by Frances Toor sometime before February 1932.[17] José Pavón (1902-1995) was born in Mexico and moved to New York around 1930. Between 1931 and 1941, he made more than twenty lithographs with George Miller,[18] who may have introduced him to the gallery.

Several of the U.S. artists were also new to the gallery. Maxine Albro (1895-1966) was born in Iowa of Spanish descent, and moved to Los Angeles as a child.

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She studied at the California School of Fine Arts, the Art Students League, and the Ecole de La Grande Chaumière. Albro traveled frequently to Mexico, and worked there with Diego Rivera painting murals. She also assisted Rivera with his San Francisco murals before receiving a commission from the Public Works of Art Project to paint a mural (fresco) in Coit Tower in San Francisco. In 1928 Albro married the sculptor Parker Hall, and, afterward, the couple lived in Carmel.[19] Little is known about Albro as a printmaker, but her few known prints have Mexican motifs.[20] It seems likely that Rivera introduced her to the gallery.

Henry (or Hendrik) Glintenkamp (1887-1946) was born in New Jersey and studied at the National Academy of Design and with Robert Henri. Like several other Weyhe artists, he was associated with The Masses, through which he and Zigrosser probably met. In 1917, to avoid the draft, Glintenkamp moved to Mexico, where he lived for much of the next ten years,[21] and where he produced many drawings, engravings, and paintings with Mexican imagery; a 1987 Glintenkamp exhibition in Mexico included 143 drawings of Mexican subjects,[22] a few of which resulted in woodcuts.[23]

The work of Henrietta Shore (1880-1963) was also exhibited for the first time at the Weyhe Gallery in the Mexican exhibition. Shore was born in Toronto and studied art in New York with W.M. Chase and Robert Henri, and at the Art Students League with Kenneth Hayes Miller, before settling in Los Angeles. She became a U.S. citizen in 1921.[24] In August 1927, she traveled to Mexico, where she remained for about a year. Her nineteen prints, many of which have Mexican images, were printed

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by Lynton Kistler, the California lithographer, after her return and before 1930.[25] Shore was a friend of Charlot's, and he probably brought her work to the gallery.[26]

No checklist for the Mexican exhibition has been located, but Rivera's 1932 lithographs were featured prominently, with Open Air School reproduced on the exhibition announcement.[27] Table 7-2 presents a reconstruction of the exhibition, based on contemporary accounts of the exhibition, Weyhe Gallery sales catalogues, catalogue raisonnés of some of the artists, and books and articles of the period. Works with * were identified by title in reviews of the exhibition.

TABLE 7-4

MEXICAN GRAPHIC ART

THE WEYHE GALLERY

MAY 2-14, 1932

Emilio Amero[28]

1. Still Life With Alarm Clock, lithograph
2. Mother and Child, lithograph

Jean Charlot[29]

1. Mother and Child, lithograph
2. Woman Sitting on Bed, lithograph
3. Woman Sitting on Chair, lithograph
4. La Nana, lithograph
5. Hunting the Leopard, lithograph
6. Mestizas Yucatan, lithograph
7. Great Builders, lithograph
8. Tondo, lithograph

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José Clemente Orozco[30]

1. Bandera*
2. Rear Guard*
3. Requiem
4. Vaudeville
5. Marching Women
6. The Family
7. Hands
8. The Maguey
9. Tres Generaciones
10. The Franciscan
11. Mexican Woman
12. Soldier's Wife
13. (Mural Study)

José Pavón[31]

1. Taxaco, lithograph [sic? surely Taxco]
2. Noon Hour, lithograph (Figure 67)
3. Mexican Landscape, lithograph*

José Guadalupe Posada[32]

1. Calvera Huertista

Diego Rivera[33]

1. Zapata*
2. Education* (probably Open Air School)
3. Sleep * (Sleep of the Poor)
4. Life of the Fields (probably Fruits of Labor)
5. Boy and Dog* (Boy With Taco)
6. Self-Portrait
7. Market
8. Flower Market
9. Nude With Beads
10. Nude With Long Hair

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David Alfaro Siqueiros[34]

1. Seated Nude*
2. Zapata*
3. Portrait of Sáenz
4. Reclining Nude

Rufino Tamayo[35]

1. Woodchopper, woodcut*
2. Head, woodcut
3. Man and Woman, woodcut
4. Virgin of Guadalupe, woodcut
5. Two Mexican Girls, woodcut

Maxine Albro[36]

1. Doña Rosa, Mexico (Figure 68)
2. Taxco Street, Mexico
3. Tehuantepec Baby

George Biddle[37]

1. Pollo y Pulque*
2. The Siesta
3. Woodchoppers
4. Woodcutters
5. The Anvil (Figure 69)
6. Washtub Gossip

Caroline Durieux[37]

1. Benediction
2. Three Cats
3. Golfer

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4. Bipeds Dancing
5. Dancing With Vigor

Henry J. Glintenkamp[39]

1. Serenade, Cuernavaca, woodcut

Thomas Handforth[40]

1. Benito
2. Christianos y Moros
3. Dance of the Tecuanes, etching
4. Fiesta, etching
5. Los Caballistos
6. Pulque y Tortillas, etching
7. Rodeo
8. Santiago y Conquistadores
9. Taxco Women, etching
10. Tierra Caliente, etching

Lowell Houser[41]

1. Guadalupe Dancers, woodcut

Henrietta Shore[42]

1. Banana Tree, lithograph

William Spratling[43]

1. Acuitlapan, lithograph
2. Maguey, lithograph
3. Tierra Caliente, lithograph
4. Niño, lithograph (Figure 70)
5. Doña Victoria, lithograph

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Leon Underwood[44]

1. Head Aztec, wood engraving
2. Women of Mérida, wood engraving

Immediately after the Mexican exhibition, the gallery presented drawings by Count René d'Harnoncourt (1901-1968).[45] No exhibition checklist has been located, but table 7-5 contains a partial reconstruction of the show, based on Weyhe Gallery correspondence.[46]

TABLE 7-5

DRAWINGS BY RENÉ D'HARNONCOURT

MAY 16-30, 1932

1. War
2. Morning in Vienna
3. Heaven
4. The Jungle
5. The Sea
6. Don Juan
7. Happy Days Are Here Again
8. Two Heads
9. Elegant People
10. California Mountains
11. Suicide
15. Indian Woman
16. Formal Call
17. Landscape With Gasoline Station
18. Paper Parlor
19. Two Figures
20. Maguey
21-36. Unidentified Drawings for Mexicana
37. Paramount Usher
38. Cop
39. The Magnificent Blonde
40. Reunion

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12. Five Cents
13. Flowers
14. Peace
41. Hunter and Hamadryad
42. The Magnificent Turk

René d'Harnoncourt, born in Vienna, was of French descent. In 1925 he moved to Mexico, where he remained for six years. While there he illustrated a book for children, The Painted Pig, written by Elizabeth Cutter Morrow, wife of American Ambassador Dwight Morrow, and wrote and illustrated a book entitled Mexicana, a "picture book for grownups." He became an art adviser to Americans living in Mexico, and he assembled the exhibition "Mexican Arts," which was circulated by the American Federation of Arts and appeared at the Metropolitan Museum in 1930.[47]

Zigrosser wrote that he first met d'Harnoncourt in Mexico in 1930, and that they reencountered when d'Harnoncourt came to the U.S. with the fourteen-month tour of "Mexican Arts."[48] After the exhibition tour, d'Harnoncourt remained in the U.S. and became a citizen. He continued as an art advisor--one of his clients was Nelson Rockefeller--and a growing relationship with the Museum of Modern Art led to his 1949 appointment as director of the museum. Shortly after his retirement in 1968, he was run over and killed by an automobile.[49]

In June 1932, the gallery included the work of Barbara Latham (1896-1989) in a group exhibition.[50] Latham received good reviews for her watercolors (titles included Early Spring, Negress, Zinnias, and Tulips),[51] and she was given a solo exhibition in 1934. The works exhibited are listed below.[52]

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TABLE 7-6

PRINTS AND WATERCOLORS

BY BARBARA LATHAM

APRIL 23-MAY 12, 1934

Watercolors

1. Old Church, New England
2. Summer Landscape, New England
3. Autumn, New England
4. Meadow Pool, New England
5. Old Farm, New England
6. Taxco, Mexico
7. Nude Negress, New York
8. Still Life, No. I, New York
9. Still Life, No. II, New York
10. Geraniums, New York
11. Tulips, New York
12. Banana Tree, Mexico
13. Begonia Leaves, Mexico
14. Begonia, Mexico
15. Pink Flowers, Mexico
16. Vase of Flowers on Green Tablecloth, Mexico
17. Vase of Flowers on Brown Tablecloth, Mexico
18. Vase of Flowers Before Mirror, Mexico
21. Girl in Blue Rebozo, Mexico
22. Juanito, Mexico
23. Pedro, Mexico
24. Young Girl, Mexico
25. Man With Serape, Mexico
26. Tía Maria, Mexico
27. Taxco Butcher, Mexico
28. Taxco Kitchen, Mexico
29. Portrait H., New England
30. Mill Village, New England
31. Winter, New England
32. Spring Snow, New England

Prints

33. Artist Interior, linoleum cut
34. Flowers, wood engraving
35. Lucy, wood engraving
36. Geraniums, linoleum cut
37. The Sink, linoleum cut

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19. Deer and Lily, Mexico
20. Red Flower in Vase, Mexico
38. Stable, linoleum cut
39. Spring, wood engraving

Latham, a painter, printmaker, author, and illustrator, was born in Walpole, Massachusetts, and as a child moved with her family to Norwich, Connecticut, where she graduated from high school. She won a scholarship to Pratt Institute, and studied with Andrew Dasburg in Woodstock and with Charles Rosen at the Art Students League. In 1925, she moved to New Mexico, where she worked as an illustrator. She married Howard Cook in 1927, and the couple made their home in Taos, New Mexico.[53] Latham's watercolors were included in the gallery's American watercolors exhibition of July-August 1934,[54] and some of her works were offered in Weyhe catalogues,[55] but apparently she did not again exhibit at the gallery.

In November 1932, the gallery presented engravings by Stephen Gooden (1892-1955),[56] a British book illustrator and "the leading exponent of the reintroduction of original line engraving to England during the 1920s."[57] No exhibition checklist has been located, but contemporary articles identified the exhibited works as bookplates and illustrations, some hanging on the walls of the gallery and some in portfolios.[58] There is no record of how Gooden came to the gallery, but since "most of his work was in the form of book illustration and decoration, with special attention to the book plate . . . Gooden's name was more familiar to book lovers, particularly collectors of fine editions, than to frequenters of art galleries,"[59] Erhard Weyhe probably knew him through bibliographic circles.

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In 1933, the gallery held a number of group shows, including "Ninety-Nine Ways to Draw a Nude," "Modern New York Views," and "Fifty Modern Prints."[60] The last exhibition was a replacement for "Fifty Prints of The Year," normally presented by the American Institute of Graphic Arts, which, according to Edgar Alden Jewell, "had to be abandoned this year." He went on to write that the Weyhe exhibition "does not exactly cover the ground usually covered by 'Fifty Prints of the Year' since it contains little or nothing on the conservative side of the fence," explaining that the AIGA exhibition was divided into "conservative" and "modern" works, with separate juries for each section.[61] The prints exhibited are listed in table 7-9.[62]

TABLE 7-9

FIFTY MODERN PRINTS OF 1932

JANUARY 30-FEBRUARY 18, 1933

1. Peggy Bacon, Close Quarters, etching
2. George Biddle, Three Cows, lithograph
3. Fiske Boyd, As I Should Be, woodcut
4. George Constant, Head, etching
5. Howard Cook, New Hudson Bridge, lithograph
28. Lillian Linding, Croton Lake, lithograph
29. Charles Locke, Joe's Place, lithograph
30. Louis Lozowick, Coming for Cotton, lithograph
31. Reginald Marsh, Tattoo, Haircut and Shave, etching

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6. Huber Davis, Whiskey Row, etching
7. Stuart Davis, Two Figures and El, lithograph
8. Richard Day, Ilut, New Mexico, lithograph
9. Adolf Dehn, Loge, lithograph
10. Caroline Durieux, Bipeds Dancing, lithograph
11. Mabel Dwight, Abstract Thinking, lithograph
12. Ernest Fiene, Madison Square Park, etching
13. Arnold Friedman, Polo, etching
14. Wanda Gág, Forge, lithograph
15. Emil Ganso, Bearsville Meadow, lithograph
16. Hugo Gellert, Illustrations to Marx's Kapital, lithograph
17. Vincent Glinsky, Life and Still Life, lithograph
18. Harry Gottlieb, Two Fishing Boats,
32. Dorothy McEntee, Jacks, wood engraving
33. Hays [sic] Miller, Couplet, etching
34. Thomas Nason, New England Scene, wood engraving
35. Edith Newton, Quaker Meeting House, lithograph
36. Frank Osborn, Ruins, air brush print
37. Angelo Pinto, Aeroplane, wood engraving
38. Boardman Robinson, Midnight, Central City, lithograph
39. Arnold Rönnebeck, Chicken Pull, lithograph
40. Ruth Starr Rose, Aunt Sally's House, lithograph
41. Andreé Ruellan, Circus, lithograph
42. Raphael Soyer, Life Class, lithograph

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lithograph

19. Thomas Handforth, Wrestlers, lithograph
20. Helen Heller, Jain, woodcut
21. Earl Horter, Junk Shop, etching
22. Victoria Hutson, Koppers Coke, lithograph
23. Norman Jacobson, Bathers, lithograph
24. Rockwell Kent, Sea and Sky, wood engraving
25. Alexander Kruse, The Smoker, lithograph
26. Yasuo Kuniyoshi, The Shower, lithograph
27. Julius Lankes, In Northport News, woodcut
43. Benton Spruance, Young Colored Girl, lithograph
44. Harry Sternberg, Construction, etching
45. Jack Taylor, New Town, lithograph
46. Max Weber, Chinese Lion, lithograph
47. Stow Wengenroth, Dark Harbor, lithograph
48. Harry Wickey, Winter Landscape, etching
49. Esther Williams, Horseman, lithograph
50. Mahonri Young, A Right Across, etching

The gallery also held "Fifty Modern Prints" exhibitions in 1934 and 1935.[63]

In 1933, probably in June, the Weyhe Gallery presented for the first time the work of Federico Castellon, the last artist Zigrosser mentioned in his memoirs as being "most closely identified with the gallery," in a group exhibition.[64] In June 1934, the gallery gave him a solo exhibition of twenty-four small oil paintings. Neither an

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announcement nor a checklist for the exhibition has been located, but an undated, handwritten copy of Zigrosser's draft for the press release reads: "The Weyhe Gallery is opening an exhibition of paintings by Castellon. There are twenty four pictures in the show and they are truly an amazing performance for a boy of about eighteen recently graduated from Erasmus High School. He has displayed such unusual talent that the Spanish Government has been moved to grant him for the next four years, a scholarship for study abroad. The show will last for several weeks."[65]

In November 1936, the gallery held a second exhibition of Castellon's work. The works are listed in table 7-10.[66]

TABLE 7-10

FEDERICO CASTELLON

NOVEMBER 9-26, 1936

Paintings

1. The Efforts of Unrelated Objects Towards a Common Goal
2. Blind Leading Blind and Five Landmarks
3. The Romance of a Door
4. Seen From a Compartment in the Madrid-Irun Train
5. An Adventure of the Prodigal Son
6. The Prodigal Son Returns and Finds His Sister Dead
7. The Birth of Venus
8. Shoes in Flight Over a Plain

Drawings

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1. Pen and Ink
2. Resist-Ink Process
3. Tempera on Black Paper
4. Pencil
5. Ink and White on Brown Paper

In May 1939, the gallery gave Castellon a third exhibition. The works are listed below.[67]

TABLE 7-11

PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS, AND LITHOGRAPHS

MAY 8-27, 1939

1. Man and Woman, tempera
2. Women, tempera
3. Two Women, tempera
4. The Broken Statue, tempera
5. The Bath, tempera
6. Three Figures, tempera
7. Five Figures, tempera
8. Moment of Mystery, oil
9. Figure in Black, oil
10. Toward the Desert, oil
11. Realms of Beauty, oil
20. A Woman and Her Mother-Daughter, pen
21. Nemesis, pen outline
22. Couple on Beach, pen outline
23. Man and Two Women, pen outline
24. Far Prospect, pen outline
25. Figures on the Sand, pen outline
26. Dancers, pen outline
27. Three Figures, pen outline
28. Faceless Face, pencil

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12. "Therefore Peasants Shall Reincarnate," pen
13. The Watchman, pen
14. La Putain, pen
15. "Her Eyes Trembled," pen
16. Rendezvous, pen
17. Heaven Kiss, pen
18. "Maybe this Dummy Will Feel Like Flesh," pen
19. "My Andromeda is Flying Away," pen
29. The Earth First Knew Beauty When Lucifer Fell on It, pencil
30. Balloon, pencil
31. Malodorous Awakening, drybrush
32. Dance of Salome, drybrush
33. Self-Portrait, lithograph
34. Spanish Landscape, lithograph (Figure 71)
35. Rendezvous in a Landscape, printed from two stones, lithograph
36. The New Robe, printed from two stones, lithograph

And in April 1941, the gallery exhibited paintings and drawings by Castellon. Again, no checklist has been located, but according to a review of the exhibition, the works included "Oils, tempera and ink paintings, lithographs, and drawings."[69] D.B. in Artnews reviewed the exhibition positively, opining that:

> [Castellon's] most impressive innovation is a series of figural panels executed on board in rich tempera tones, and treated with an all-over resist ink process which enhances the modeling and produces a marvelous surface quality.
>
> The themes are simple, based on Biblical and mythological subjects, while the style, marked by his own autograph throughout, sometimes reflects wooden Flemish primitives and sometimes, as in The Judgment of Paris, a Michelangelesque mannerism. . . . The present exhibition includes all the mediums in which he works and offer tiny ink studies for

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> his painted compositions as well as dexterous large pencil drawings and his popular lithographs.[70]

Castellon was born in Spain and moved with his family in 1921 to Brooklyn, where he grew up and graduated from high school. His only art instruction occurred as part of his public school education and at the Brooklyn Museum, where he attended Saturday classes.[71] While he was still in high school he was introduced to Diego Rivera,[72] who admired the young artist's drawings and sent him to Carl Zigrosser. With Rivera's help, Castellon obtained a traveling fellowship to Europe. During the trip, he began a correspondence with Zigrosser,[73] and his letters are helpful in constructing an accurate chronology of Castellon's early life. He remained in Europe until December 1935.[74]

The gallery offered Castellon's work in catalogues in the late 1930s.[75] The 1941 exhibition was his last with the gallery. He was drafted in 1943 and after the war, exhibited at Associated American Artists.[76]

Also in 1933, the gallery presented the work of Benton Spruance (1904-1967) in his first solo exhibition in New York. The works exhibited are listed below.[77]

TABLE 7-12

LITHOGRAPHS AND DRAWINGS BY BENTON SPRUANCE

NOVEMBER 15-30, 1933

1.	Homing Instinct, lithograph	23.	Torso, lithograph
2.	Card Players, lithograph	24.	Flashy Back, lithograph
3.	Approach to Station, lithograph	25.	Backfield in Motion, lithograph
4.	Building Edition, lithograph	26.	Spinner, lithograph

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5. "Of the People," lithograph
6. Portrait of Seldon Cary, lithograph
7. Portrait of W.G.S., lithograph
8. Young Colored Girl, lithograph
9. Self-Portrait, lithograph
10. Child Sleeping, lithograph
11. Adolescent, lithograph
12. Luxembourg Gardens, lithograph
13. Landscape in Winter, lithograph
14. Confusion of Spring, lithograph
15. Bluebell Hill, lithograph
16. Church at Night, lithograph
17. Closed Road, lithograph
18. Shells of the Living, lithograph
19. Entrance to Germantown, lithograph
20. Cat and Busybody, lithograph
21. April Wet, lithograph
22. City in the Rain, lithograph
27. Driving Tackle, lithograph
28. Football Player, lithograph
29. Ball Carrier, lithograph
30. Touchdown Play, lithograph
31. Thrill of the Game, lithograph
32. Nude, charcoal
33. Touchdown Play, charcoal
34. Cat and Busybody, charcoal
35. Shells of the Living, gouache
36. Football Player, gouache
37. Sanseveria, gouache
38. Suburban Landscape, gouache
39. Nude, crayon
40. Adolescent, crayon
41. Valley in June, crayon
42. Shapes at Night, crayon
43. Quarry, crayon
44. Closed Road, crayon
45. Road, crayon

Spruance has been the subject of more scholarly attention than many Weyhe artists,[78] but how he and Zigrosser met has not yet been determined.[79] The connection had been made by 1931; Spruance's lithograph The Homing Instinct was included in

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the gallery's 1931 group exhibition, "The United States in Pictures, One Hundred Contemporary Prints,"[80] and five Spruance lithographs, April Wet, Subway, Summer in the Park, Confusion of Spring, and Street Scene, Germantown, were offered in a 1931 Weyhe Gallery catalogue.[81] By 1933, Zigrosser and Spruance had begun a correspondence that would continue well beyond Zigrosser's move to Philadelphia.[87]

Benton Spruance was born in Philadelphia and attended the University of Pennsylvania School of Fine Arts, where he made his first prints (etchings). In 1928, he made his first lithographs in Paris with Desjobert, and in 1929, he exhibited prints at the Philadelphia Print Club and began making lithographs with Theodore Cuno (1877-1967), a German printer who worked with Philadelphia artists.[83] Lithography became Spruance's preferred medium, and between 1928 and 1967 he produced more than five hundred lithographs. He was especially well known for his football images; as Abernethy pointed out, he was the first printmaker to "capture the rhythm and excitement of that popular American pastime."[84]

Among his other better-known works is the remarkable series of four lithographs entitled The People Work--Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night, 1937 (Fine 141, 142, 143, and 144); and his cubistic prints, Traffic Control, 1936 (Fine 132); Riders of the Apocalypse, 1943 (Fine 222); Arrangement for Drums, 1941 (Fine 191); and American Pattern-Barn, 1940 (Fine 184). In 1940, the gallery exhibited a group of Spruance's lithographs, including some of his most outstanding works. The prints shown are listed in table 7-13.[85]

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TABLE 7-13

LITHOGRAPHS BY BENTON SPRUANCE

FEBRUARY 5-24, 1940

1. Portrait at Dusk
2. Portrait of Mary
3. Head of Janet
4. Portrait of a Sullen Girl
5. Head, J.T.
6. Figure With Still Life
7. Girl With Pigtails
8. The Little Fencer
9. Figure of Woman
10. Girl With Locket
11. Seated Nude
12. End Sweep
13. Spinner Play (large)
14. Pass Coming Up
15. Philatelists
16. Bar at Doyles
17. Morning in Babylon
18. Flight From the Beach
19. The People Work, Morning
20. The People Work, Noon
21. The People Work, Evening
22. The People Work, Night
23. The Bridge From Race Street
24. Supplies for Suburbia
25. The Home Coming
26. Traffic Control
27. Road From the Shore
28. Harps Once Played
29. Visitor to Germantown
30. Macbeth, Act V
31. Vagrant
32. Plans for the Future
33. The Thirties--Graduation
34. The Thirties--Windshield (Figure 72)
35. The Thirties--Requiem

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The gallery offered Spruance's prints in catalogues throughout the 1930s.[86] The 1940 exhibition was his last at the Weyhe Gallery, although he apparently did not form a relationship with another gallery.[87]

In 1935, the gallery presented the first of two exhibitions featuring the work of the California lithographic printer Lynton Kistler (1897-1993). The exhibition comprised eleven books designed by Merle Armitage (1893-1975) and printed by Kistler, on view simultaneously at Brentano's and Weyhe's in New York and at five other bookstores in Washington, Chicago, and Los Angeles.[88]

Kistler was born in Los Angeles, and in 1919, after being discharged from the Army, went into business with his father, a commercial printer. In 1928, the business was converted from a letterpress operation to offset lithographic printing, and the company began to print for local advertising agencies. After a friend introduced Kistler to Merle Armitage, impresario and manager of the Los Angeles Grand Opera Company, Kistler printed opera programs for Armitage.[89] As another consequence of meeting Armitage, Kistler began to print for artists; as Kistler told Clinton Adams, "Merle Armitage had been an art collector for all of his life, collecting principally prints, and he interested me in stone lithography. My acquaintance in the art field magnified itself as it grew until I had a following among the artists."[90]

Kistler continued with the commercial business, printing for artists in his spare time. Armitage introduced him to Charlot, and in 1933, Kistler worked with Charlot to produce Mother With Child on Back, "the first print [Kistler] ever pulled from

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stone."[91] Charlot and Kistler then produced Picture Book, today considered "one of the classics of the modern illustrated book."[92]

But before Picture Book, Kistler had printed six of the Armitage-designed books in the 1935 Weyhe exhibition, and after Picture Book, he printed the other five. Of the eleven books in the exhibition, five were published by E. Weyhe, who later published four more of the Kistler-Armitage collaborations. The book exhibition at the gallery was thus the result of Erhard Weyhe's relationship with Armitage.[93]

The second Kistler exhibition is less easily explained; the exhibition of the prints of a specific printer was unprecedented in New York. (Indeed, the Weyhe Gallery never exhibited "Lithographs Printed by George Miller," despite the long-term association between Miller and the gallery.) The exhibition took place as a result of correspondence between Kistler and Zigrosser. In early 1934, Kistler wrote Zigrosser, "Since my company (the Will A. Kistler Company) printed the Warren Newcombe and Henrietta Shore books, I have made several editions of hand printed lithographs for a group of artists in California. In October of this year [1933] I gave a show of forty prints at the Stendahl Galleries representing the work of fifteen artists . . . of the fifteen artists represented you now have prints of Elise Seeds and Beatrice Wood. . . . I would like to get a New York showing and establish dealer connections for Warren Newcombe and Henrietta Shore. . . ."[94]

Zigrosser requested some prints (unfortunately untitled), and on February 19 the printer mailed the gallery an invoice for four of Shore's lithographs and eight by Newcombe.[95] In July, Kistler wrote again, proposing an exhibition of prints similar to

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his October 1933 show at the Stendahl Gallery.[96] Initially Zigrosser rejected the idea; he wrote, "I doubt very much whether we could handle a show of your California lithographs. . . . I doubt if we will have many, if any, formal shows this year. The state of the art business does not warrant the expenditure of time and money involved in handling formal exhibitions."[97] But something occurred to change his mind, for in May the gallery exhibited the Kistler prints, listed in table 7-14.[98]

TABLE 7-14

LITHOGRAPHS, IMPRESSIONS PRINTED BY HAND FROM STONE AND ZINC BY LYNTON R. KISTLER

MAY 11-23, 1936

1. Bea, Holiday[99]
2. Bea, Joy of Life
3. Bea, Operation (Figure 73)
4. John Breneiser, Ranch at Point Sal
5. Jean Charlot, Nude
6. Jean Charlot, After the Bath
7. Jean Charlot, Woman Washing
8. Jean Charlot, Woman and Child
9. Jean Charlot, Burden Bearer
10. Richard Day, Boat on the Ways
11. Elise, Mechanical Abstraction[100]
12. Elise, Succulent No. 1
24. Dan Lutz, Fire
25. Bob Majors, Japanese Woman
26. Bob Majors, Magnolia
27. Bob Majors, Wind in Little Mexico
28. Bob Majors, Alexander's Garden
29. Giovanni Napolitano, Hollywood Bowl
30. Giovanni Napolitano, Picasso
31. Warren Newcombe, Ventura Ranch

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13. Elise, Calla Lillies
14. Alexander Patrick Fleming, Magnolia
15. Alexander Patrick Fleming, Landscape
16. Alexander Patrick Fleming, Calla Lillies
17. Alexander Patrick Fleming, Iris
18. E. Fleury, Yeah Man
19. Don Freeman, Plights of Stardom
20. Ruth Ives, Snow White and Red Rose
21. Paul Julian, Quatuor
22. Elnore La Caff, Visitors From the City
23. Paul Landacre, Shellface
32. Warren Newcombe, Las Tulgas Corral
33. Warren Newcombe, Brown's Ranch
34. Phil Paradise, Fragrantes
35. James Redmond, Cat and Cicada
36. James Redmond, Cat and Flea
37. James Redmond, Playing Cat
38. James Redmond, Hunting Cat
39. Palmer Shoppe, Go 'Long Mule
40. Palmer Schoppe, Beach
41. Millard Sheets, Pinto
42. Henrietta Shore, Water Lily

The exhibition was not a success. As Zigrosser wrote in 1937, "We did not do so well with the exhibition of your prints. Only one of them has been sold, and that some time later. It was the Millard Sheets lithograph . . . sometime in the future we would like to return a number of the prints which you sent us. . . ."[101]

In the autumn of 1936, the gallery presented an exhibition of prints by artists in the newly formed American Artists Group. The artists are listed in table 7-15.[102]

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TABLE 7-15

AMERICAN ARTISTS GROUP

FIRST EXHIBITIONS OF NEW ETCHINGS,

WOODCUTS AND LITHOGRAPHS

SEPTEMBER 14-19, 1936

George Biddle
Fiske Boyd
Conrad Buff
Paul Cadmus
Federico Castellon
Jean Charlot
Asa Cheffetz
Nicolai Cikovsky
Howard Cook
Miguel Covarrubias
Adolf Dehn
Harold Denison
Mabel Dwight
Ernest Fiene
Don Freeman
Wanda Gág
Emil Ganso
William Gropper
Eloise Howard
Victoria H. Huntley
Rockwell Kent
Yasuo Kuniyoshi
Paul Landacre
J.J. Lankes
Barbara Latham
Allen Lewis
Louis Lozowick
Joseph Margulies
John Marin
Reginald Marsh
Frank Mechau, Jr.
Leo J. Meissner
Kenneth Hayes Miller
Warren Newcombe
Edith Newton
Nura
Waldo Peirce
Grant Reynard
Arnold Rönnebeck
Ruth Starr Rose
Andrée Ruellan
Rudolph Ruzicka
Raphael Soyer
Benton Spruance
Harry Sternberg
Agnes Tait
Jack W. Taylor
Prentiss Taylor
R.W. Woiceske

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The exhibition announcement contained the following statement: "The artists exhibiting are returning to the early traditions practiced for centuries by the masters of the graphic arts, in not limiting or pencil signing the American Artists Group series of prints. These etchings and lithographs will be available so long as hand proofs of high quality can be pulled from the original plates and stones. They will be sold for the uniform price of two dollars and seventy-five cents."[103]

As Zigrosser wrote, in response to the Depression he "came up with the idea of publishing very low-priced prints by contemporary artists . . . prints not limited in edition and not signed in pencil by the artist. . . . Its success was contingent on finding an efficient vehicle for mass distribution. I believed I had found it in the set-up of the greeting-card industry. Sam Goldwyn, the president of the American Artists Group, one of the leading greeting card distributors, was sympathetic and offered full cooperation."[104]

In order to assure quality production, George Miller was employed to print the lithographs, Charles White the etchings, and the Spiral Press the woodcuts.[105] Although Zigrosser wrote that the group included fifty-four artists, the 1936 exhibition included only forty-nine.[106] Of the prints, Zigrosser wrote, "If a large number of the ninety prints published now seem trite and commonplace, a score perhaps still have not lost their luster, and another score stood out above the average of their time."[107] Zigrosser went on to write that he and Goldwyn tried marketing the low-cost prints for two years, 1936-1937, and that the venture was a "moderate" success.[108] It was not, however, successful enough to continue.

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In 1937, the gallery exhibited a portfolio of lithographs by William Sharp (1900-1961) satirizing the New York Supreme Court.[109] Sharp was born in Austria, and studied and worked in Germany before coming to the U.S. in 1934. He settled in New York, where he became a cartoonist and illustrator best known for his sketches of famous trials, including that of Bruno Hauptman, the kidnapper of the infant child of Charles Lindbergh.[110]

In 1938, the Weyhe Gallery announced the publication of another Sharp portfolio, A Doctors Life--A Series of Twelve Lithographs.[111] In December 1939, the gallery offered Psychoanalysis, illustrated, in A Sampler of Pictures and Sculpture From The Weyhe Gallery, n.p., with the caption "Original lithograph, signed proof, we have other prints by the same artist on doctors, dentists, lawyers and radio broadcasters in stock."

In 1940, the gallery presented a ground-breaking exhibition of silkscreen prints. The works in the exhibition are listed in table 7-16.[112]

TABLE 7-16

FIRST EXHIBITION OF SILKSCREEN

STENCIL PRINTS

MARCH 18-APRIL 6, 1940

Ruth Chaney

1. Head
2. Man
3. Swimmers

21. Farming

Harry Sternberg

22. Medicine
23. Steel

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4. Figure With Flowers

5. Elevated

Hananiah Harari

6. Weather Contraption

7. Divers

Mervin Jules

8. Young Artist

9. Kids

Eugene Morley

10. Execution

11. Jersey Landscape

Elizabeth Olds

12. Picasso Study Club (Figure 74)

13. Merry-go-round

14. Dead End Beach

15. Harlem River Bridges

16. Long Island Ducks

Augustus Peck

17. Young Girl

Herbert Pratt

18. Still Life Composition

Bernard Schardt

Anthony Velonis

24. Side Street

25. Young Girl

26. Unloading Fish

27. Decoration: Empire

28. Design: Auto Motif

29. Half-ton Fish

30. Romanesque

31. El Station Interior

32. Local Stop

33. Madison Square

34. Washington Square

Hyman Warsager

35. Gathering Logs

36. Beach Scene at Sea Gate

37. Sea Wall

38. Along the Harlem River

39. Adoremus

40. Adeste Fideles

41. Cherub

42. Park

43. New York Nocturne

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19. Still Life

20. Bouquet

44. Silos

The silkscreen as an art form grew out of the same kind of thinking that led to the American Artists Group project. As a writer in Time put it, "Periodically, U.S. artists and art dealers yearn for $5 customers--lots of them. . . . Many an artist would like to develop a cheap medium that would be as popular as reproductions. For the past five years, artist Anthony Velonis has been at work in Manhattan on such a project. Its name: serigraphy, or less flossily, silk-screen printing."[113]

It is generally agreed that Guy Maccoy made the first artistic screenprints in 1932.[114] He described the evolution from commercial printing to artistic prints in a letter to Carl Zigrosser in 1941:

> In the fall of 1932 Genoi Pettit was offered a job to help 'hand paint' several hundred candy boxtops. The boxes were to be extra special and they paid from 15¢ to 60¢ per top. The job was a rush job for the tops had to be sent to the box manufacturer, then . . . to the candy companies where they were filled for the St. Valentine and Easter trade. Miss Pettit realizing the labor killing task decided if they were processed, using the brush technique, there was money in the job. I was called in to help and we did the work in the usual commercial oil silkscreen manner, using glue as stopout.
>
> At this time the Weyhe Gallery was displaying colored stencils (pochoirs) by French artists like Hugo, Braque, Picasso, Servage, and several others. The prints were very good and they thrilled us very much, but the stencil had certain limitations which caused the artist to do a certain amount of handwork which varied in each print slightly. The silkscreen method seemed a better way to make a colored print.
>
> With these two experiences the idea was started. My first print was made in 1932 which was immediately followed by a second print. The two prints were about 9" by 11" and I ran about 40 prints from each design.[115]

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Harry Sternberg also had a role in the early development of the medium. As he explained:

> Posters and displays for store windows were screenprinted. It was a logical thing to do, to try to make prints that way. We were all looking for a way to make inexpensive color prints. Prints were selling for $5 or $10, and we needed a cheap way of making them. A number of artists, both in and out of the WPA, were horsing around with screenprinting, experimenting with different techniques and making a few prints. Mervin Jules, Harry Gottlieb, Harry's wife Elizabeth Olds, myself and a few others.
>
> But we couldn't get anything accepted for a national show, for a number of years. We took our problem to Carl Zigrosser, who was very interested in prints. A group of us sat around with him one evening, talking over the problem. Zigrosser finally said that the name was the problem--we had to have a new name, to distinguish art screen-prints from commercial. We asked, 'what name?' He said, 'give me a day, and I'll get a name for you!' Sure enough, next day, he came up with serigraph, and explained its Latin sources (seri--silk and graph--write). That made all the difference. Serigraphs began to get accepted.[116]

Sternberg produced sixteen serigraphs between 1935 and 1938. Few other artists were as prolific or as well received. The screenprint required some help from the federal government before it experienced its brief burst of popularity.

Beginning in 1933, the United States government undertook a series of government-financed art projects as part of a much broader effort to increase employment and stimulate economic recovery from the Great Depression. The art projects operated under several different names and lasted until 1943. In 1935, the largest of these programs, the Federal Art Project, a division of the Works Project Administration, set up a Poster Division in New York City to supply posters for the arts projects and for other government departments. Richard Floethe, who later made

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artistic screenprints, was named head of the Poster Division, which made hundreds of thousands of posters, mostly with screenprint.[117]

Anthony Velonis, one of the young artists employed by the Poster Division, had worked in commercial printing establishments, and he was familiar with all color print reproduction processes. He and other Poster Division artists began experimenting with screenprinting as an artistic medium. Encouraged by the results, Velonis petitioned the Federal Art Project to establish an artistic screenprinting programs and in 1938, the Silk Screen Unit of the Graphic Section of the New York City WPA Art Project was formed, with Velonis as its head.[118]

Besides Velonis, the first six artists who worked for the unit and made screenprints were Elizabeth Olds, Harry Gottlieb, Ruth Chaney, Louis Lozowick, Eugene Morley, and Hyman Warsager. Other artists, both in and out of the Federal Art Project, also began to make screenprints. These developments roughly coincided with Sternberg's meeting with Zigrosser, and the coining of the word "serigraph."[119]

In 1938, Contemporary Arts, a midtown New York gallery, gave Guy Maccoy a one-man show, the first gallery exhibition of screenprints. In early 1940, at least three important exhibitions were mounted. The first, at the A.C.A. Gallery, New York City, on March 3, 1940, was a one-man show of screenprints by Harry Gottlieb. In the second, at the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts, in Springfield, Massachusetts, March 12-31, 1940, entitled "Exhibition of Silk Screen Prints," twenty-four artists exhibited a total of sixty-two works, many of them produced under the auspices of the

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New York City WPA Art Project. The third was the Weyhe Gallery exhibition, which included most of the artists who were represented at the Springfield Museum.[120]

Of the eleven artists represented in the screenprint exhibition, only Sternberg and Elizabeth Olds had previously exhibited with the gallery, and Olds's representation had been limited to the inclusion of some of her drawings in a 1928 group show (see chapter 5). The screenprint artists weren't a part of the Weyhe circle; in fact, this was the first Weyhe exhibition to recognize the seven-year-old government-sponsored art-projects, and the artists who worked on them. Zigrosser, for many years at the forefront in the rapidly shifting world of prints, initially failed to acknowledge the artists who came to prominence as a result of government patronage, and the new mediums that came out of the graphics workshops. For example, while he wrote the foreword to a catalogue for "Printmaking: A New Tradition," an exhibition of color lithographs at the Federal Art Gallery in 1938, where he must have met new young artists, he apparently did not follow up with them.[121] And yet, Zigrosser wrote that on his trip around the United States in 1939, "I made a special point of visiting about fifteen of the regional centers of the art project to get a general idea of their impact throughout the country. . . . The Art Project could be and was an investment in creative talent. Many distinguished artists of today served their apprenticeship on the project. It also acted as a stimulus for the development of regional schools throughout the country. . . ."[122]

Unfortunately Zigrosser--that prodigious writer about prints--did not write about those visits. He had intended to do so; in 1942, he wrote in the "Introduction"

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to The Artist in America: "This book, the first volume of a projected two-volume study of contemporary graphic art in America, was made possible through a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The second volume will be a regional survey of American printmaking during the last thirty years, ending with America's entry into the second World War. . . ."[123]

Zigrosser not only failed to write that second volume, he did not exhibit the work of the artists he met on his tour--at least not at the Weyhe Gallery.[124] In December 1940, he joined the Philadelphia Museum of Art, ending his twenty-one-year association with the "House of Weyhe."

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Footnotes - Chapter 7

1. Zigrosser, World, 44. Obviously, he meant artists "identified with the gallery" before 1940, while he worked there. The artists he cited were all his close friends.

2. From the Weyhe Gallery announcement and checklist, WGS, Volume VII, 39. But Sternberg's Excavation was offered in a 1931 catalogue, Prints as Presents, 5. Sternberg's prints deserve more scholarly attention than they have received. James C. Moore, Harry Sternberg, A Catalogue Raisonné (Wichita, 1975), is, despite its title, not a catalogue raisonné, and omits many of the prints. Malcolm Warner, The Prints of Harry Sternberg (San Diego, 1994), also omits many of the prints. The works in the 1932 exhibition, with Moore and/or Warner #s, to the extent that they can be assigned, are listed below.

1. Elmer (M31 or M32)
2. Circus III, The Wheels (M40, W6)
3. Circus IV, The Rings (M41, W7)
4. Palisades Park (M50)
5. Excavation (M82, W23)
6. Roundhouse I (M55)
7. Roundhouse II (M56, W8)
8. Broadway I (M60)
9. Broadway II (M61, W12)
10. Woman (W11, M63)
11. Subway Car (W13, M64)
12. Freaks (M66)
13. Dream (M70)
14. Nude With Skull (W14, M65)
15. Acrobats (M67)
16. Elevated Platform (M68)
17. Central Park (M69, W19)
18. Locomotives (M71, W9)
19. Principle II (M72, W15)
20. Principle III (M73)
21. Principle IV (M74, W16)
22. Nudes and Landscape (M75 or M77, W20?)
23. Nude (M 76?)
24. Principle V (M78, W17)
25. Principle VI (M79)
26. Nude (lithograph) (M80, W22)
27. Nude and Landscape II (M77?)
28. Principle VII (M81)

3. For the facts of Sternberg's life, see Warner, The Prints of Harry Sternberg, especially the chronology, 106-109.

4. Ibid., 106; and Wilson, Index of American Print Exhibitions, 1882-1940, 376, and The Brooklyn Society of Etchers, "Twelfth Annual Exhibition," Brooklyn, December 27, 1927, No. 241.

5. Letter from Harry Sternberg, August n.d., 1993. But the gallery offered Excavation, 5, and Elevated Platform, Nude, and Principles II, IV, and VI, in Prints as Presents, 1931, 20.

6. The New York Times, January 26, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 169).

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7. From the Weyhe Gallery announcement and checklist, WGS, Volume VII, 63-64. The works in the exhibition, with Moore and/or Warner #s, to the extent that they can be assigned, are listed below.

Etchings

1. Construction
2. Burlesque (M93)
3. Excavation, Radio City (M82, W23)
4. Pigeon Rock (M 90)
5. Weehawken (M91)
6. Moon Over Manhattan (M 25)
7. Self-Portrait (M84, W24)
8. Burlesque Queen (M83)
9. The Dance (M88?)
10. Wrestler #3 (M86)
11. Wrestler #4 (M87, W16)
12. Principle #8 (M85, W18)
13. Principle #9 (M95)
14. Violin (M108, W26)
15. Cello (M 96, W27)
16. Harp (M101, W38)
17. Piano (M103, W37)
18. Clarinet (M97, W29)
19. Oboe (M102, W28)
20. Saxophone (M104, W30)
21. Trumpet (M106, W32)
22. French Horn (M100, W31)
23. Trombone (M105, W33)
24. Tuba (M107, W34)
25. Drum (M 99, W35)
26. Cymbals (M 98, W36)

Lithographs

27. Roberta (M110)
28. Elmer (M111, W39)
29. Death Underground (M116)
30. Demonstration (M115)
31. Electrical Power (M112)

8. Warner, The Prints of Harry Sternberg, 107.

9. Ibid.

10. The brochure can be seen in WGS, Volume New. Of it, Sternberg wrote, "The brochure, or catalogue, was not related to an exhibition but was a promotional program by the Gallery." Letter from Sternberg, April n.d., 1996.

11. See the catalogue entries for Warner 41 and Moore 117. The painting was destroyed by a roof leak in Sternberg's studio.

12. From 400 Prints at $10, 1932, 16, two etchings, Elevated Platform (M68), and Nude (M76?); from Fine Prints, 1936, 73-74, as follow:

Acrobats, 1930 (M67)
Broadway I, large, 1929 (M60)
Broadway II, large, 1929 (M61, W12)
Burlesque, 1932 (M93)
Burlesque Queen, 1932 (M83)
Central Park, large, 1930 (M69, W19)
Circus III, The Wheels, 1929 (M40)
Nude and Landscape I, 1931 (M75, W20)
Nude and Landscape II, 1931 (M77?)
Nude With Skull, 1930 (W14, M65)
Pigeon Rock, 1932 (M90)
Principle II, 1930 (M72, W15)
Principle III, 1930 (M73)
Principle IV, 1931 (M74, W16)

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Construction, 1932 (M89)
Circus IV, Rings, 1929 (M41, W7)
The Dance (Dancers), 1932 (M88)
Dream, 1930 (M70)
Elevated Platform, 1930 (M68)
Elmer, 1928 (M31 or M32)
Excavation, large, 1929
Excavation, Radio City, 1932 (M82, W23)
Freaks, 1930 (M66)
Locomotive, 1930 (M71)
Moon Over Manhattan, 1932 (M94, W25)
Nude, 1931 (M76 or 80, W21 or 22)
Principle V, 1931 (M78, W17)
Principle VI, 1931 (M79)
Principle VII, 1931 (M81)
Principle VIII, 1932 (M85)
Roundhouse I, large, 1929 (M55)
Roundhouse II, large, 1929 (M56, W8)
Self-Portrait, 1932 (M84, W24)
Subway Cart, large, 1930 (W13, M64)
Woman, 1930 (W11, M63)
Wrestlers III, 1932 (M86)
Wrestlers IV, 1932 (W87, W16)

From Fine Prints, 1938, pp. 42-43:

Dance of the Machine, The Present, lithograph (M118, W42)
Dance of the Machine, The Future, lithograph (M120, W44)
Death Underground, lithograph (M116)
Electric Power, lithograph (M112)
Dawn in Coal Town, lithograph (M140)
Slope Mine, lithograph (M137-W50)
Seventh Level, lithograph (M135, W48)
Steel Mills, lithograph (M149)
Blast Furnace, lithograph (M154)
Coal Mining Town, lithograph (M134)
Steel Town, lithograph (M144)
Blast Furnace at Night, lithograph (M147or 148)
Coal Miner, etching and aquatint (M143)
Excavation, etching and aquatint (?)
Construction, etching and aquatint (M89)
Southern Holiday, lithograph (M117, W41)
Dream, etching and aquatint (M70)

The same catalogue featured, "Orchestral Instruments. Imaginative personifications of orchestral instruments, Drum, Cymbals, Violin, Tuba, Saxophone, Oboe, Harp, etchings and aquatints." (For Moore/Warner #s, see note 7, above.) And from A Sampler, December 1939, Harp, illustrated, n.p. (see also note 5, above).

13. Warner, chronology, 108. Sternberg wrote that the Keppel exhibition took place "with Carl Zigrosser's permission." He also wrote that he "never left Weyhe's," and he thinks he was given more exhibitions at the gallery than the few for which records have been located. He wrote, "The music series was a one-man show alone. Prints of coal and steel were good for at least another. Central Park and New York scene also another show. I had one man shows at Carl's gallery every couple of years until he left . . ." (letter from Sternberg, April n.d., 1996). But there are no gallery records or press notices about any of these exhibitions, and they do not appear in Warner's chronology.

14. Weyhe Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 46). The names Albro and Handforth were not on the announcement, but were mentioned in reviews, Albro in The New York Evening Post, May 7,

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1932, and Handforth in Social Calendar, May 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 192).

15. See chapter 4 for Charlot's 1928 introduction to the gallery. In 1929, Charlot wrote in his diary (May 27): "With Anita (Brenner) at Weyhe [Gallery]. I leave a proof of Hunter" (Morse, 51). Tondo II and Head, lithographs, were offered in the December 1931 catalogue, Prints as Presents, 7. Jean Charlot made his first lithograph in Europe in 1918, and took up lithography again in Mexico in 1923, working with a commercial printer. In 1929, he began to make lithographs with George Miller, many with Mexican images.

16. Francisco Diaz de Leon, "Mexican Lithograph Tradition," Prints, Vol. VI, No. 1, (October 1935), 29. The author attributes the later revival of lithography in Mexico to Amero, who established a lithographic studio there around 1930, 31. For the facts of Amero's life, see Virginia Stewart, 45 Contemporary Mexican Artists (Stanford, California, 1951), 78-82. The date of Amero's introduction to the gallery remains undetermined, but two Amero lithographs, Still Life With Alarm Clock and Mother and Child, were offered in Prints as Presents, 1931, 7, perhaps brought to the gallery by Charlot, or Amero could have been a "walk-in." Amero was in New York from 1924-1930, and during this time, made lithographs with Miller. He left New York in 1930, but returned in 1934 and taught lithography at the Frances Cane School, the American Artists School, and the New School for Social Research. While he was in New York, he painted two frescoes at Bellevue for WPA/FAP. In 1935, he exhibited watercolors, photographs, drawings, and lithographs with Julian Levy. And in 1936, he wrote Zigrosser, thanking him for sending Handforth to him at the Frances Cane School, to make lithographs (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4613, Frame 415).

17. See chapter 4, note 81.

18. The information on José Pavón was obtained from Ellen Sragow, interview by the author, April 22, 1996; and from Claudia Pavón, José Pavón's widow, interview by the author, April 22, 1996.

19. For the facts of Albro's life, see Masha Zakheim Jewett, Coit Tower, San Francisco, Its History and Art (San Francisco, 1983), appendix; and Edan Milton Hughes, Artists in California 1786-1940 (San Francisco, 1986), 15-16.

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20. The Annex Gallery in Santa Rosa, California, which specializes in prints by California artists, has handled only three Albro prints in the last ten years.

21. For the facts of Glintenkamp's life, see Rebecca Zurier, Art for the Masses, A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics, 1911-1917 (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1985), 179.

22. Richard Kempe, ed., 1887-1987, Hendrik Glintenkamp, Un dibujante norteamericano in Mexico, 1917-1920. (Mexico: Museo Estudio Diego Rivera, 1987). See especially the essay by Raquel Tibol, 14.

23. Only a few Glintenkamp woodcuts with Mexican subjects have so far been located, but logic suggests that there should be more. An article in Forum, October 1928, 558-562, "Old Mexico: Four Woodblocks," illustrated Glintenkamp's Market Place, Cholula, The Serenade, In The Sun, and Untitled (Cathedral).

24. For the facts of Shore's life, see Roger Aiken, Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition: 1900-1963, exhibition catalogue (Monterey, California: The Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, 1986).

25. The nineteen lithographs and their Aiken #s are:

Amaryllis (51.)
Banana Tree (52.)
Butterfly (53.)
Canadian Weed (54.)
Drawing Pulque (55.)
Gypsy Encampment (56.)
Horse (57.)
Indian Woman and Child (58.)
Mexican Mother (59.)
Mexican Wanderers (60.)
Seagull (61.)
Seals (62.)
Sentinels (63.)
The Old Well (64.)
Two Nudes (65.)
Water Carrier (66.)
Water Lily (67.)
Women of Oaxaca (68.)
Yachting on the Bay (69.)

26. Shore and Charlot met when Shore was in Mexico. She painted his portrait and Charlot made two portraits of her. Aiken, 27 and 28.

27. See WGS, Volume VII, 46.

28. No Amero print was mentioned by title in reviews, and the only Amero prints offered in gallery catalogues were the two in table 7-4. See note 16, above.

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29. The only information on Charlot's prints in the exhibition is contained in a review in The Chicago Post, May 17, 1932: "Jean Charlot is present with several characteristic stylized drawings of Mexican women and versions of early Aztec subjects, which curiously mingle the archaic with a very modern personal style" (WGS, Volume VI, 193). The eight lithographs listed under Charlot's name in table 7-4 were offered for sale in Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints both American and Foreign Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, 1933, 31. They are listed below, with assigned numbers from Peter Morse, Jean Charlot's Prints, A Catalogue Raisonné (Honolulu, 1976): Mother and Child, 1929 (M79), Charlot's first print with George Miller; La Nana, 1929 (M82); Leopard Hunter, 1929 (M80); Luz Seated (Woman Sitting on a Chair) (M86); Mestizas (M87); Great Builders I or II, (M83 or 93); Tondo: Nudes (M105); (Luz Seated) (Woman Seated on a Bed), (M85).

30. Orozco's Rear Guard and Bandera were mentioned in a review of the exhibition in The New York Evening Post, May 7, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 192). The other Orozco prints were offered for sale in Fine Prints, 1933, 31.

31. A review of the exhibition in The New York Times, May 9, 1932 referred to Pavón's Mexican Landscape (WGS, Volume VIII, 6). All three Pavón prints listed in table 7-4 were offered in Fine Prints, 1933, 31.

32. No titles by Posada were mentioned in articles about the exhibition, nor were any offered in located catalogues. The only Posada print identified with a connection to the gallery is Calvera Huertista, #560 in Zigrosser, Prints and Their Creators, a World History (New York, 1937), from the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Many, probably most, of the early Mexican prints at Philadelphia came from Weyhe. Thus, Calvera Huertista might have been in the exhibition.

33. Rivera's prints received a great deal of attention in the contemporary press. The New York Times, May 9, 1932, mentioned Zapata and Sleep; The New York Evening Post, May 7, 1932, mentioned Zapata and The Fruits of Labor; The New York Herald Tribune, May 8, 1932, mentioned Fruits of Labor, Education (The Open Air School), Life of the Fields (?), Sleep of the Poor, and Zapata. All of Rivera's lithographs (except for two portraits of Barbara Dunbar) were handled by the gallery (see chapter 4).

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34. The New York Times, May 9, 1932, referred to Siqueiros's Seated Nude; and The New York Herald Tribune, May 8, 1932, mentioned his Zapata. The other prints were offered in Fine Prints, 1933, 32.

35. A review of the exhibition in The New York Evening Post, May 7, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 192), mentioned Tamayo's Woodchopper. Four of the woodcuts were offered in Prints as Presents, 1933, 32, and all five were offered in Catalogue of Etchings, Woodcuts, and Lithographs by Foreign Artists, n.d. (1933), Catalogue No. 2, 24.

36. Albro was apparently an exhibition afterthought, as her name does not appear on the gallery announcement. No Albro titles were mentioned in exhibition reviews, nor did the gallery offer any of her prints for sale in the 1931 or 1933 catalogues, or in any other catalogue yet located. But on September 8, 1933, impressions of the three Albro prints listed in table 7-4 were purchased by the Library of Congress, which did not provide a record of where they were acquired. The prints are not dated, but their subjects and the date of their acquisition suggest that they could have been in the exhibition. The Library of Congress may have acquired the prints from the Weyhe Gallery.

37. The only Biddle print title cited in exhibition reviews was Pollo y Pulque, reproduced in The New York Evening Post, May 10, 1932, erroneously subtitled "Polo [sic] y Pulque (Chicken and Wine [sic]) by George Biddle of Philadelphia which is among the exhibits of modern Mexican paintings [sic] displayed at the Weyhe Gallery here" (WGS, Volume VIII, 4). The New York Times, May 9, 1932, referred to Biddle's "Gay Mexican lithographs," without identifying any by title (WGS, Volume VI, 192). But in 1928, Biddle and Diego Rivera traveled together in Mexico, sketching, and as result of the trip, Biddle produced six transfer lithographs. One of them was Pollo y Pulque, and another was The Siesta, offered in Fine Prints, 1933, 48. It seems probable that all six were in the exhibition. See Martha Pennigan, The Graphic Work by George Biddle With Catalogue Raisonné (Washington, D.C., 1979), #s 85-90. (For more on Biddle and the Weyhe Gallery, see chapter 2.)

38. None of Durieux's prints were mentioned by title in reviews of the exhibition. The prints listed in table 7-4 were offered in Fine Prints, 1933, 37; and 400 Prints at $10, April 1932, 13. (For more on Durieux and the Weyhe Gallery, see chapter 5.)

39. No specific title by Glintenkamp appeared in contemporary articles, but Serenade, Cuernavaca was offered in Prints as Presents, 1931, 3.

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40. None of Handforth's prints was mentioned in the press, but his prints listed in table 7-4 were offered in Prints as Presents, 1931, 13. (For more on Handforth and the Weyhe Gallery, see chapter 5.)

41. Lowell Houser exhibited woodcuts and watercolors at the Gallery in 1929 (See chapter 5). Guadalupe Dancers was offered in Prints as Presents, December 1931, 13.

42. No specific work by Shore was mentioned in the exhibition reviews, but in Fine Prints, 1933, 44, the Gallery offered Banana Tree for sale.

43. A review in The New York Times, May 9, 1932, referred to the presence in the exhibition of "a good many of the sensitive and lovely lithos with which William Spratling illustrated Little Mexico . . ." (WGS, Volume VI, 192). The illustrations in Spratling's book Little Mexico (New York, 1932) were mostly untitled. The Spratling prints listed in table 7-4 are from Fine Prints, 1933, 45. They were probably all illustrations in Little Mexico. (For more on Spratling and the Weyhe Gallery, see chapter 4.)

44. No specific work by Leon Underwood was mentioned in exhibition reviews. The two prints listed in table 7-4 were offered in Fine Prints, 1933, 23. (For more on Underwood and the Weyhe Gallery, see chapter 5.)

45. The exhibition announcement can be seen in WGS, Volume VII, 47.

46. Weyhe Gallery Files. Letter from Ernest Weiss, Newhouse Galleries, to CZ, March 5, 1932. Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis. The letter contains the list of the works in table 7-5, which were being shipped to the gallery.

47. For the facts of d'Harnoncourt's life, see his obituary in The New York Times, August 14, 1968, and Helen Delpar, The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican (Tuscaloosa and London, 1992), 66, and 143-144, 180; and Geoffrey T. Hellman, "Imperturbable Noble," The New Yorker, May 7, 1960, 49-112.

48. Zigrosser, World, 253. Zigrosser wrote "Rene d'Harnoncourt, A Tribute," in World, 253-257. The Zigrosser-d'Harnoncourt acquaintance explains the exhibition at the gallery.

49. René d'Harnoncourt's obituary, The New York Times, August 14, 1968.

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50. The New York Times, June 10, 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 13).

51. Ibid.

52. From the Weyhe Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 72-74.)

53. For the facts of Latham's life, see Chris Petteys, Dictionary of Women Artists, An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born Before 1900 (Boston, 1985), 422; and Peggy and Harold Samuels, The Illustrated Biographical Encyclopedia of Artists of the American West. (New York: Doubleday, 1976), 279.

54. The New York Times, May 20, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 76).

55. In Prints as Presents, 1931, a watercolor, Group of Geraniums, 4; in 400 Prints at $10, 1932, two woodcuts, Geranium and The Sink, 14; in Fine Prints, 1935, a watercolor, Landscape, 9; in Fine Prints, 1936, a wood engraving, Fording the Stream, 14, and a watercolor, Landscape, 15; in Fine Prints, 1938, a wood engraving, In The Park, 46, and two stencils in color, Skating and Vase of Flowers, 49; and in Fine Prints, 1933, three woodcuts, Geraniums, Kitchen Sink, and Lucy, 40.

56. Weyhe Gallery announcement, WGS, Volume VII, 49-50.

57. Campbell Fine Art. British Prints 18th-20th Century, Catalogue No. 3, n.d. (1993), #256, n.p.

58. The New York Times, November 18, 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 22).

59. F.C. Roberts, ed., Obituaries From the Times, Volume 1, 1951-1960 (London, 1975), 299.

60. No gallery announcement has been located for "Ninety-Nine Ways to Draw a Nude," but The New York Times, March 27, 1933 (WGS, VIII, 33), reported on the exhibition and mentioned the following artists: Renoir, Mons Breidvik, Alexander Brook, Jean Hugo, Mahonri Young, Severini, Chirico, George Biddle, Degas, Arthur B. Davies, Dürer, Mabel Dwight, Boucher, Guercino, Chasseriau, Augustus John, Rembrandt, Speicher, Picasso, and Bellows. Similarly, there was no gallery announcement for "Modern New York Views," but The New York Herald Tribune, August 6, 1933, The New York Times, August 5, 1933, and Gotham Life, August 6-12, 1933, reviewed it (WGS, Volume VIII, 55). The artists' names mentioned were Charles

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Adams Platt, Joseph Pennell, Louis Lozowick, Howard Cook, Reginald Marsh, Mabel Dwight, William McNulty, Glenn O. Coleman, Ernest Fiene, Eugene Fitsch, Adrian Lubbers, John Sloan, Fisk Boyd, Dewey Albinson, Ernest Born, Ernest Briem, Adolf Dehn, H. Doppel, Wanda Gág, Earl Horter, Alexander Z. Kruse, Margaret Lowengrund, John Marin, Walter Pach, Arnold Rönnebeck, Rudolf Ruzicka, Roderick Seidenberg, Harry Sternberg, and Abraham Walkowitz.

61. The New York Times, February 1, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 33).

62. From the gallery announcement and checklist, WGS, Volume New. A statement in the announcement explained that conservative etchings were omitted because they "had been adequately shown by etching societies and established dealers."

63. The American Institute of Graphic Arts organized the following "Fifty Prints" exhibitions: 1.1925-1926; 2.1926-1927; 3.1927-1928; 4.1929-1930; 5.1930-1931; 6.1931-1932; 7.1932-1933; 8.1938; 9.1944. For the prints in the 1935 exhibition, see chapter 8. The prints in the 1934 exhibition are listed below.

"Fifty Modern Prints of 1933," April 21, 1934 (WGS, Volume VII, 69-71.)

1. Kenneth Adams, Indian Woman, Taos, lithograph
2. Peggy Bacon, Antique Beauty, drypoint
3. Weldon Bailey, Death and the Maiden, lithograph
4. Julius Bloch, Midsummer Night, lithograph
5. Aaron Bohrod, Perry Street, lithograph
6. Fiske Boyd, Three Trees, woodcut
7. Andrew Butler, Ranch and Waterhole, etching
26. Richard Lahey, Piermont, etching
27. Julius J. Lankes, Cornfield, woodcut
28. Lois Lenski, Girl at Pump, lithograph
29. Charles Locke, Docks, lithograph
30. Margaret Lowengrund, Stairway, lithograph
31. Louis Lozowick, Goat Ripping, lithograph
32. John Marin, Sailboat, etching

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8. Jean Charlot, Maya Builders, lithograph
9. Nicolai Cikovsky, Farm, lithograph
10. Howard Cook, Pedro, aquatint
11. John Steuart Curry, Flying Codonas, lithograph
12. Adolf Dehn, Waves, lithotint
13. Olin Dows, Steps, Taxco, woodcut
14. Werner Drewes, Winter, woodcut
15. Mabel Dwight, Danse Macabre, lithograph
16. Elise, Quasi-Gyroscope, lithograph
17. Helen Farr, Angna Enters in "Feline," lithograph
18. Wanda Gág, Snowy Fields, lithograph
19. Emil Ganso, Still Life With Pitcher, wood engraving
20. Thomas Handforth, Circus Riders, etching
21. Irwin Hoffman, In the Arroyo, etching
22. Victoria Hutson, Southern Home, lithograph
23. Rockwell Kent, Young Greenland Woman, lithograph
33. Reginald Marsh, Iron Steamboat Co., etching
34. Alexander Masley, Man, Bird and Beast, wood engraving
35. Thomas W. Nason, End of Day, wood engraving
36. Warren Newcombe, Ventura Ranch, lithograph
37. Edith Newton, Hulda's Front Hall, lithograph
38. Arnold Rönnebeck, Red Rock Lake, lithograph
39. Ruth Starr Rose, Little Moaney, lithograph
40. Doris Rosenthal, Nude, lithograph
41. I.J. Sanger, Beaver River Saw Mill, woodcut
42. Henrietta Shore, Sea Gull, lithograph
43. Raphael Soyer, Girl at Table, lithograph
44. Benton Spruance, Thrill of the Game, lithograph
45. Harry Sternberg, Harp, aquatint
46. Prentiss Taylor, Carolina Low Country, lithograph
47. Max Weber, The Embrace, lithograph

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24. A.Z. Kruse, Long Island Peasant, etching
25. Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Circus Girl, lithograph
48. James Lessene Wells, Good Samaritan, woodcut
49. Harry Wickey, Storm King Winter, etching
50. Mahonri Young, Navajo Rider, etching

64. On July 4, 1933 Castellon wrote to Zigrosser from Spain, "I doubt if there were any sales but if there are any press clippings I wonder if you could send it [sic] to my address in Spain" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 624).

65. The Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 711. See also The New York Times, June 22, 1934 (WGS, Volume-New). The single scholarly publication on Castellon's work is August L. Freundlich, Federico Castellon, His Graphic Works, 1936-1971 (Syracuse, New York, 1978), which contains many errors and omissions. Freundlich's early chronology of Castellon's life, 144, and the early exhibition history, 148 and 150, are particularly problematic. See below for a reconstruction of Castellon's chronology and his exhibitions, 1914-1941, derived from Weyhe Gallery exhibition announcements, articles published in the 1930s and early 1940s, Castellon's letters to Zigrosser, and the sources listed in note 71.

Federico Castellon
Chronology (1914-1941)

1914	Born in Almeria, Spain
1921	Family moved to Brooklyn
1933	Graduated from Erasmus Hall High School
	Met Diego Rivera
	Met Carl Zigrosser
	First (group) exhibition at Weyhe Gallery
	Departed for Spain; in Spain by July 1, 1933.
1934	May exhibition at Erasmus Hall High School
	June-July solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery
1935	Included in group exhibition of Spanish artists in France at the Spanish Residence in Paris
	Returned to the United States in December
1936	Solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery, November 9-26
1939	Solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery, May 8-27
1941	Solo exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery, April 7-26

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There are also errors in Freundlich in the dating and sequence of Castellon's prints. On April 13, 1938, Zigrosser wrote to a customer in Washington, "The order of the lithographs is as follows: 'Gordian Knot' was made in 1936, 'Self-Portrait in 1937, and 'Landscape in Spain' in 1937. The two last, as you have already suspected, were based in part on recollections of landscapes in Spain in the year 1934 . . . 'Landscape in Spain' depicts the Spanish Coast in the province of Almeria" (Letter from CZ to Charles Leavitt, April 13, 1938. Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis).

66. From the gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 115-116).

67. From the gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 145-146).

68. The gallery announcement offered no details of the exhibition (WGS, Volume VII, 162).

69. The Art Digest, April 15, 1941 (WGS, Volume-New). See also the gallery exhibition announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 162).

70. ARTnews, April 15, 1941, Judgment of Paris, tempera and ink, illustrated. (WGS, Volume-New).

71. For the facts of Castellon's life, see the unpublished interview of Castellon by Paul Cumming, April 1971, AAA; and Carl Zigrosser, "Federico Castellon," in The Artist in America, 100-109.

72. Rivera returned to New York from Detroit in March 1933 to begin work on the RCA mural and remained in New York until December 1933. The specific date of his meeting with Castellon is unknown, but it had to occur during those months.

73. For the correspondence, see the Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frames 624-1209.

74. Letter from Castellon to CZ (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 657).

75. In Fine Prints, 1936, the gallery offered two tempera and ink drawings by Castellon, Three Heads and Two Figures, 14. In Fine Prints, December 1938, the gallery offered Self-Portrait, lithograph; The Cello, resist-ink tempera; Sleep, resist-ink tempera; Man and Woman, resist-ink tempera; Pursuit, resist-ink tempera; Three Draped Figures, pen

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drawing; Susanna, pen drawing; Salomé, drybrush drawing; Malodorous Awakening of Abysmal Regions, drybrush drawing; Abstraction, brush drawing; Landscape in Spain, pen drawing; Forms of the Night, tempera on black paper; The Blind Leading the Blind, oil painting; and Fantasy on Hair Dressing, oil painting. And in A Sampler, December 1939, Rendezvous in a Landscape, lithograph, n.p., and Bathers, tempera and ink painting on cardboard, 1938, n.p.

76. According to Sylvan Cole, who joined Associated American Artists in March 1946, Castellon was already exhibiting there when Cole arrived. Sylvan Cole, interview by author, May 15, 1996.

77. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 55-56).

78. Ruth E. Fine and Robert F. Looney, The Prints of Benton Murdock Spruance, A Catalogue Raisonné (Philadelphia, 1986); and Lloyd M. Abernethy, Benton Spruance, The Artist and the Man (Philadelphia, 1988). Both are thorough and scholarly. Abernethy even plumbed Spruance's letters to Zigrosser.

79. And as Abernethy, Spruance, 38, wrote, "How Zigrosser first became familiar with Spruance's work is unknown." David Kiehl suggests that the link could be through other Weyhe artists who worked with Desjobert in Paris. Both Adolf Dehn and Yasuo Kuniyoshi worked there in 1928, as did Spruance. Note from David Kiehl, June 1996.

80. See the gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 31) for the complete list of artists.

81. Prints as Presents, 1931, 3 and 19-20.

82. The first letter from Spruance to Zigrosser in the Zigrosser files is dated February 11, (1933), AAA, Reel 4642, Frame 140. The date can be inferred by the address from which it was written. The correspondence continues into the 1960s. The last item in the Spruance-Zigrosser file is Frame 489. See Abernethy, Benton Spruance, chapter 3, for a discussion of the early correspondence.

83. For the facts of Spruance's life, see Abernethy, Spruance, and Fine and Looney, Spruance, "Chronology," 29-33. For more information on Cuno, see Clinton Adams, "Theodore H. Cuno (1877-1967)," in Adams, ed., Second Impressions, Volume Sixteen, The Tamarind Papers (Albuquerque, 1990), 97-100.)

84. Abernethy, Spruance, book jacket, front cover.

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85. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist, WGS, Volume VII, 149-151.

86. In Fine Prints, 1933, 72, Adolescent, Approach to Station, April Wet, Backfield in Motion, Ball Carrier, Harps Once Played, Bluebell Hill, Bull Dog Edition, Card Players, Cat and Busybody, Child Sleeping, Church at Night, City in the Rain, Closed Road, Confusion of Spring, Driving Tackle, Entrance to Germantown, Flashy Back, Football Player, Garden of Eden, Homing Instinct, Luxembourg Gardens, "Of the People", Self-Portrait, Shells of the Living, Spinner, Thrill of the Game, Torso, Touchdown Play, and Young Colored Girl. In Fine Prints, December 1935, the gallery offered a Spruance gouache, Interior, Plant on Chair, 9, and three lithographs, End Sweep, Three of the Game, and Backfield in Motion, 5. In Fine Prints, 1936, 12, the Gallery offered eleven lithographs, April Wet, City in Rain, Ball Carrier, Driving Tackle, Spinner, End Sweep, Flashy Back, Head Janet, Homecoming, Philatelists, Road to Shore. In Fine Prints, 1938, 42, Touchdown Play, Flashy Back, Backfield in Motion, Spinner, End Sweep, Thrill of The Game, Little Fencer, Highway Holiday, Traffic Control, Road From the Shore, Shells of the Living, Prelude to Rest, Homecoming, Supplies for Suburbia, The People Work, Morning, The People Work, Noon, The People Work, Evening, The People Work, Night, Philatelists, Vagrant, Morning in Babylon, Visitor to Germantown, "Harps Once Played . . .", Macbeth Act V. In A Sampler, December 1939, n.p., the gallery offered a single lithograph, Shells of the Living.

87. Spruance was deeply attached to, even dependent on, Zigrosser early in his career. See Abernethy, Spruance, for more on this topic. When Zigrosser left the gallery, so did Spruance.

88. From the Weyhe Gallery exhibition announcement, WGS, Volume VII, 86-87, and checklist, 103:
Sculpture of E. Maier-Krieg, Alfred A. Knopf, 1932.
Lithographs of Richard Day, E. Weyhe, 1932.
Painting of Warren Newcombe, E. Weyhe, 1932.
Photographs of Edward Weston, E. Weyhe, 1933.
Paintings of Henrietta Shore, E. Weyhe, 1933.
Picture Book, Jean Charlot and Paul Claudel, 1933.
Biography of Rockwell Kent, Alfred A. Knopf, 1932.
The Art of Elise, E. Weyhe, 1934.
Zarathustra Jr., by Louis Danz, Brentano's, 1934.
The Capture of Inspiration, by E. Robert Schmitz, E. Weyhe, 1935.
The Work of Napolitano, E. Weyhe, 1935.

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89. For the facts of Kistler's life, see his obituary in the Los Angeles Times, November 16, 1993; Peter Morse, "Lynton Kistler: 'The happy printer,'" ARTnews, March 1978, 90-93; and Clinton Adams, "Lynton R. Kistler and the Development of Lithography in Los Angeles," Tamarind Technical Papers, No. 8, Winter 1977-1978, 100-109.

90. Adams, "Kistler," 101.

91. Ibid. The print is Morse 113.

92. Morse, "Kistler," 91. According to Clinton Adams, "Art for All: Was Mencken Right?" a talk delivered at The Tamarind Institute, October 13, 1994, the collaboration also included Will Kistler, Lynton's father. Adams described Picture Book as "a series of thirty-two lithographs, all multicolor, drawn by hand on four sets of large zinc plates, eight subjects on each plate. All were printed on a rotary offset press in the Kistler printing plant." Adams went on to say, "The lithographs Charlot made for his Picture Book appear to be the earliest multicolor, offset lithographs printed in the United States."

93. Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, interview by author, April 1996.

94. LK to CZ, January 8, 1934, Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis.

95. CZ to LK, January 25, 1934, and invoice, LK to Weyhe Gallery, February 19, 1934. Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis. Unfortunately, the prints were not titled.

96. LK to CZ, July 17, 1934. Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis.

97. CZ to LK, July 23, 1934. Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis.

98. Perhaps Erhard Weyhe intervened because of his friendship with Armitage. The prints in table 7-14 are from the Weyhe Gallery exhibition checklist, WGS, Volume VII, 107-109. The earlier exhibition at Stendahl gallery differed in content. The prints (from the exhibition checklist) included were:

1. Thomas Barr, Normandy
2. Edwin Botsford, The Brewery
3. John Breneiser, Ranch at Point Sal
20. Warren Newcombe, Malibu Mountains
21. Warren Newcombe, Malibu

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4. John Breneiser, Circus Roustabouts
5. John Breneiser, Water Lily
6. John Breneiser, Cereus
7. Stanley Breneiser, Banana Leaves
8. Jean Charlot, Mother and Child
9. Jean Charlot, Bathers
10. Jean Charlot, Woman Washing
11. Jean Charlot, Mayan Builders
12. Jean Charlot, Burden Bearer at Rest
13. Richard Day, Boat on the Ways
14. Franz Geritz, Mt. San Antonio
15. Franz Geritz, Hamlin Garland
16. Paul Landacre, Shell-face
17. Paul Landacre, Sunbath
18. Gerd Lovick, Ship's Wake
19. Gerd Lovick, Overseas Flyer
22. Warren Newcombe, Ventura Ranch
23. Elise Seeds, Succulent No. 1
24. Elise Seeds, Succulent No. 2
25. Elise Seeds, Quasi-Gyroscope
26. Elise Seeds, Nude No. 1
27. Elise Seeds, Semi-Abstraction
28. Elise Seeds, Arno and the Cats
29. Henrietta Shore, Water Lily
30. Henrietta Shore, Seagull
31. Henrietta Shore, Moth
32. Blanding Sloane, The Knot
33. Beatrice Wood, Holiday
34. Beatrice Wood, Helen Lloyd Wright
35. Beatrice Wood, Achievement

99. "Bea," Beatrice Wood (b. 1895) was a New York Dadaist who had moved to Southern California in the early 1930s, and is today best known for her ceramics.

100. "Elise," Elise Cavanna Seeds Armitage Wilton (1905-1962), the California pioneer of modernism and abstraction, was at one time married to Merle Armitage.

101. CZ to LK, April 22, 1937. Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis. The exhibition apparently did not attract any press attention.

102. From the exhibition announcement (WGS, Volume New). The American Artists Group was organized in 1934 "to popularize contemporary American Art. Its first venture was to create more than a hundred different Christmas Cards, each a reproduction of an etching, woodcut or lithograph by an American Artist." American Magazine of Art, October 1936, 667 (WGS, Volume New).

103. From the exhibition announcement (WGS, Volume New).

104. Zigrosser, World, 56.

105. Ibid., 56-57

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106. Some American Artists Group publications contain the list of names in table 7-15. See, for example, American Artists Group, Inc., Original Etchings, Lithographs and Woodcuts by American Artists, Catalogue Number One, August 1936, which lists the artists and correctly announces that there are forty-nine of them. But Handbook for the American Artists Group, number one, n.d., (1935?), refers to thirty-eight participating artists, as follow: John Taylor Arms, Peggy Bacon, Fiske Boyd, Conrad Buff, Howard Cook, John E. Costigan, John Steuart Curry, Richard Day, Adolf Dehn, Harold Denison, Mabel Dwight, Ernest Fiene, Don Freeman, Wanda Gág, Emil Ganso, Eugene Higgins, Eloise Howard, Victoria Hutson, Rockwell Kent, Paul Landacre, Julius J. Lankes, Reginald Marsh, Dorothy McEntee, Leo J. Meissner, Kenneth Hayes Miller, Jerome Myers, Thomas W. Nason, Warren Newcombe, Edith W. Newton, José Clemente Orozco, Grant Reynard, Diego Rivera, Arnold Rönnebeck, Rudolph Ruzicka, Agnes Tait, Harry Wickey, R.W. Woiceske, and Mahonri Young.

And Original Etchings, Lithographs, and Woodcuts Published by the American Artists Group Inc., 1937, contains fifty-four names, as follow: George Biddle, Henry Billings, Fiske Boyd, Conrad Buff, Paul Cadmus, Federico Castellon, Jean Charlot, Asa Cheffetz, Nicolai Cikovsky, Howard Cook, Miguel Covarrubias, Adolf Dehn, Harold Denison, Mabel Dwight, Ernest Fiene, Walter Frame, Don Freeman, Wanda Gág, Emil Ganso, William Gropper, Eloise Howard, Victoria Hutson Huntley, Joe Jones, Ilonka Karasz, Rockwell Kent, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Paul Landacre, J.J. Lankes, Barbara Latham, Allen Lewis, Louis Lozowick, Herman Maril, John Marin, Reginald Marsh, Frank Mechau, Jr., Leo J. Meissner, Kenneth Hayes Miller, Alice Murphy, Warren Newcombe, Edith Newton, Nura, Waldo Pierce, Grant Reynard, Arnold Rönnebeck, Ruth Starr Rose, Andreé Ruellan, Rudolph Ruzicka, Raphael Soyer, Benton Spruance, Harry Sternberg, Agnes Tait, Jack W. Taylor, Prentiss Taylor, and R.W. Woiceske.

107. Zigrosser, World, 57.

108. Ibid.

109. For the gallery and the Supreme Court portfolio, see The New York Post, April 3, 1937, and The New York Times, March 28, 1937 (WGS, Volume New).

110. For the facts of Sharp's life, see his obituary in The New York Times, April 2, 1961, and The National Cyclopedia of American Biography,

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James T. White & Company (New York, 1937), second edition, (St. Clair Shores, Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1972), 283-284.

111. For the portfolio A Doctor's Life, see the gallery announcement (WGS, Volume II, 123), and The New York Times, January 30, 1938 (WGS, Volume-New).

112. From the gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 153-157).

113. "Silk-Screen Prints," Time, November 11, 1940, 78.

114. But there is today some thought that earlier screenprints, at one time believed to be reproductions, are in fact original artistic screenprints. If so, Leopold Krumel, active in San Francisco in the twenties, may be the first, not Maccoy.

115. Letter from Guy Maccoy to Carl Zigrosser, June 4, 1941, courtesy of Richard S. Field.

116. Harry Sternberg, interview by Dave H. Williams, April 5, 1986. Sternberg's comments about the origin of the name "serigraph" are confirmed by Harry Shokler, Serigraph Quarterly, August 1949; by Edward Landon, Serigraph Quarterly, February 1946; and by Carl Zigrosser, "Ten Years of Serigraphy," The New Colophon, January 1948, 63.

117. The material on the history of the screenprint is from Reba and Dave Williams, "The Early History of the Screenprint," Print Quarterly, December 1986, 287-188, and Reba and Dave Williams, American Screenprints From the Collection of Reba and Dave Williams, exhibition catalogue (New York, 1991).

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Printmaking: A New Tradition, exhibition catalogue (New York: Federal Art Project, 1938). Foreword by Carl Zigrosser, "Explanation" by Gustave Von Groschwitz, and description of color lithography by Russell Limbach.

122. Zigrosser, World, 98.

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123. Zigrosser, The Artist in America (New York, 1942), xii.

124. In March 1942, Zigrosser curated the exhibition "Between Two Wars, Prints by American Artists 1914-1941," for the Whitney Museum of American Art. In his essay in the exhibition catalogue he discussed the contributions of the Federal Art Projects:

> In spite of many mistakes (due largely to their origin as a relief measure), the projects have made a definite contribution, principally as an investment in creative talent. Young artists have been given a minimum of subsistence at a crucial time in their careers, enabling them to pass through the experimental phase and really find themselves as artists. Such artists in the present show as Arthur Murphy, Flint, Bettelheim, Twohy, Kahn, Troy, Velonis, Warsager, Pytlak, Chaney, Gickow, Gallagher, and many others, bear witness to the wisdom of such a course. Another contribution by the projects has been the development of special graphic techniques: silk screen in New York, color lithography in Chicago, carbograph in Philadelphia, stylotint and crayon aquatint in Cleveland.

He also attempted to organize the exhibition regionally. As he wrote:

> Gallery III includes, in a general way, the artists of the metropolitan area, the stylists and the depictors of a great city in its human and intimate and monumental aspects. Gallery VI represents the Mid-continent, both the city, with a side glance at social significance, and the country in various moods and seasons. In Gallery VII one may travel through the South and the Far West. Furthermore representation from the West and South has to a certain extent been stressed at the expense of New York and the East, because such work has been less frequently seen here. (Ibid.)

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Chapter Eight

Conclusion: 1940

By 1940, when Zigrosser resigned, he was seriously disaffected. Like disgruntled employees at other organizations, he blamed his problems on his employer, Erhard Weyhe. Zigrosser described his feelings about the situation in his memoirs,[1] but a long draft of a letter to Weyhe, undated and almost certainly never sent, is even more revealing.[2] The letter is a litany of complaints, summed up in Zigrosser's statement that there was "something wrong with the spirit and organization of the bookstore and the gallery."[3]

By contrast, his letter of resignation was brief and detached.[4] Erhard Weyhe's reply was candid and personal. After offering his congratulations, Weyhe wrote, "I am almost 60 years old. I do not feel ambitious anymore, besides that I know my limitations and I shall never be a good art-dealer . . . To save work I shall not give any exhibitions [and] shall not take anything on sale [consignment] so if you do not mind, please return anything whatever we have on sale, but you said in your letter you are doing it already . . . perhaps we should keep a few Dehn watercolors on sale."[5]

Selling on consignment had been a gallery practice for many years, perhaps since 1919 when the gallery was established, but, according to Zigrosser, Weyhe had "always been opposed in principle to the consignment method, preferring to buy outright whenever possible."[6] Dealing with art on consignment was time-consuming, and because of Zigrosser's casual record keeping, often led to financial chaos, disputes over accounts, and the like (see chapter 3, note 52). Nevertheless, the reversal of this

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policy was a major change for the gallery, and many of the artists with whom the gallery had a casual relationship, who dropped in to leave works or to pick up checks, thereafter had little to do with the Weyhe Gallery. The decision to cease consignment selling contributed to Castellon's departure from the gallery, as the artist explained: "I was with them seven years, from '33 to '40. Well, I was with Weyhe a little longer [than] that, I think till the beginning of '42, and the end of '41. I had stayed on for only a slight period after Zigrosser left because at the time he left I was up in Yaddo in Saratoga. . . . Mr. Weyhe decided not to carry on any work on consignment and by the time I came back to New York I was the only living artist in the Gallery."[7]

Obviously Castellon exaggerated, but the lively atmosphere created by artists coming in and out had undoubtedly disappeared. Castellon went on to say, "And Ganso was still part of the gallery, though he had died, and it was very uncomfortable."[8] The much-loved Ganso died in April 1941 (see chapter 3), the same month that the gallery gave Castellon a solo exhibition, and his death undoubtedly cast a pall over Castellon's show.

The end of consignment selling meant the end of a budding relationship with Paul Cadmus (b. 1904), one of the few new artists associated with the gallery in the 1930s. His etchings, including Shore Leave (Figure 75), appeared in a Weyhe catalogue for the first time in 1936, and the gallery also offered his prints in a 1938 catalogue. The prints were popular with Weyhe clients, but, perhaps because of Zigrosser's lack of attention to the gallery, Cadmus was not given a Weyhe Gallery

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exhibition; his first solo exhibition took place in 1937 at the Midtown Galleries. It was a serious omission on Zigrosser's part; the exhibition "broke records with some seven thousand viewers," and twenty-four paintings were sold.[10]

Consignment selling was not the only matter over which Zigrosser and Weyhe differed. They also disagreed about the prospects for the American Artists Group. Zigrosser complained that he "laid the idea before Weyhe but he rejected it emphatically. With his usual pessimistic approach toward new enterprise, he said it would not work and furthermore would ruin the print business completely."[11] As it happened, the idea did not work, and the unsigned prints did create problems in the fine print business. In 1936, Aline Kistler wrote in Prints, "A few days ago a collector came to me fairly trembling with anger because he had discovered that unsigned impressions of an etching he bought about six months ago are now being sold for less than a third of what he paid for his signed artist's proof. 'My print is valueless now,' he said. 'It's a dirty trick. I'll never buy another print by that artist again as long as I live.'"[12]

Around the same time, the proprietor of a book and print shop in Washington, wrote to the Weyhe Gallery, "My customer who bought the signed copy of Queer Fish now wishes to know if you would consider exchanging it for another of Miss Dwight's lithographs. . . . On account of The Queer Fish now being popularized at a low price, he feels he would like to exchange [it] for one of the others. . . ."[13]

And another customer wrote, "In the catalogue I notice there are signed impressions of Going South by Paul Cadmus. All my Cadmus etchings are signed

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except this one which is of the American Artists Group. . . . If possible I would like to return it, pay the difference and receive one of the signed etchings."[14] These episodes suggest that it was a poor decision to reprint existing works, rather than to produce new prints for the project.

Another aspect of the Weyhe-Zigrosser disagreement over the American Artists Group must have involved Zigrosser's devoting too much time to the project. He wrote that he "was scrupulous not to do any work for the American Artists Group during Gallery hours,"[15] implying that Weyhe thought otherwise. In fact, the evidence in the gallery's surviving correspondence suggests that Zigrosser did devote a great deal of time to the project. He wrote to collectors requesting loans of works to reproduce, to artists to ask for their participation, and to Weyhe Gallery customers to whom he tried to sell the unsigned prints, and he featured American Artists Group prints in the Weyhe Gallery catalogues.[16] And all of this activity was in aid of a project Weyhe did not approve, while Weyhe was paying his salary.

Zigrosser also complained about Erhard Weyhe's reaction to his Guggenheim Fellowship; he wrote, "when I was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1939 for research on American prints during the summer, Weyhe's response was to reduce my salary."[17] Zigrosser apparently took off both the summer of 1939 and 1940 to work on his book; of the 1939 trip, Zigrosser wrote that he "visited almost every state to gather data on printmaking in America,"[18] during an absence of about three months.[19] He was away for four months in 1940, leaving in early June and returning in late September.[20] Few employers would have kept him on at full pay during two

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prolonged absences, especially when business was poor and when Weyhe himself was away.[21] Zigrosser's job, after all, was to "mind the store."

Another area of disagreement was the time-consuming and costly activity of producing traveling exhibitions. As Zigrosser wrote to Erhard Weyhe in the letter he didn't send: "There being little trade I concentrated upon and built up an activity in sending out shows all over the country to museums, etc. . . . No doubt I carried it too far, for it means a lot of work for relatively little return. . . . You summarily ordered me to curtail these activities. . . . I felt that you did not understand the difficulties of the situation. It is very hard to curb an activity once it is in full swing. There were many requests and calls from outside which were difficult to ignore."[22]

And Zigrosser did not ignore those requests. The probable date of the "letter never sent" is 1935, so Weyhe must have "summarily ordered" Zigrosser to "curtail" his organization of exhibitions in 1935 or earlier, but as late as 1939 he continued to commit to the arrangement of exhibitions, although he began to charge a nominal fee.[23]

Meanwhile, Zigrosser wrote that Weyhe complained to others, including Rockwell Kent and Alfred Stieglitz, about Zigrosser's "shortcomings," notably that the gallery manager was not a "business man."[24] Zigrosser seemed to feel that there was a stigma attached to being "business-like," and he sounded as if he were rather proud of his casual and inefficient ways.[25] At some level he understood that the gallery's revenues had declined, and that Erhard Weyhe had payrolls to meet and expenses to cover, but he seemed unwilling to change his own behavior in response to the reduced

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sales. Instead, he tended to treat the gallery as if it were his own--or perhaps, more accurately, as if profits were unimportant. For example, Betty Burroughs wrote to him in 1938, "I've just learned that you have taken no commission--except the trifling one on the figure of baby lying down--on those things of mine you sold."[26] Of course, she meant that the gallery took no commission, so at a time when Zigrosser knew the gallery's business was poor, he deliberately withheld income from the gallery, thus making the situation worse.

His inability to comprehend the situation--or to act on it--initially may have been because the decline in business was gradual. Zigrosser reported "In 1929 the gallery had a gross turnover of about $200,000 and the bookstore a like amount. Then came the depression. . . ."[27] Elsewhere he wrote that for the first few years after the crash, the gallery's sales seemed unaffected, "But by 1935, even we began to feel the pinch. Sales became fewer and fewer, and many worthy people, including artists, were on the bread line."[28]

His observations on Weyhe's revenues are fairly consistent with the scant data available on art sales in the 1930s, notably the information included in the American Federation of Art reports, "The Year in Art." In the report for 1930, Florence Berryman concluded, "This phase [art sales] alone of art activity gave evidence of the national economic depression which began in the fall of 1929; nevertheless, several records were broken, and prices generally were consistently high."[29] The following year, Berryman wrote, "The year 1931 has been distinguished by increased activity in

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the world of art which seems in many of its aspects to have been unaffected by the second year of economic depression."[30]

By 1934, however, the report was gloomy, at least about the part of the art world in which the Weyhe Gallery operated: "But that section of the art trade which deals in the work of living artists, art that is of comparatively unestablished value in terms of dollars, had good reason to feel depressed. And so have the living artists. It has proved nearly impossible to adjust prices to the timidity of the present-day pocketbook. The work of living artists is necessarily a gamble in the minds of most collectors; fingers burnt along Wall Street are not likely to be present along Fifty-Seventh Street. . . ."[31]

Nevertheless, Time estimated U.S. art sales in 1934 at $126,000,000,[32] and F.A. Whiting, Jr., editor of American Magazine of Art, wrote, "Despite the mournful looks and the wringing of hands, the art trade had in 1934 the best year in five."[33] By 1941, Berryman was able to write, "In the field of art sales, the period 1938-1941 was the most exciting since 1929. . . . The Parke Bernet Galleries resumé of the auction season 1940-41 appeared to indicate that despite the war, the art market was on the way back to the prosperity it enjoyed in 1929. . . ."[34]

In 1975, looking backward, Zigrosser wrote that "if reverses had not come, I might have been constrained to continue" at the gallery.[35] But the available information on the art market suggests that by 1940, when Zigrosser resigned, the worst was over; in stock market terms, Zigrosser sold "at the bottom," or even after the art market had begun to recover. Perhaps he was unaware that the market was

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turning upward, or perhaps he knew he had lost his enthusiasm and "edge" as the director of a gallery. For by 1940, the Weyhe Gallery was no longer the trendsetting gallery it had been in the 1920s. The print world was experiencing a period of rapid change, and Zigrosser had failed to keep up with the times.

One aspect of the change was discussed in a 1939 article in Prints by Lynd Ward, who wrote, "Printmaking in modern America has reached what historians of some later time are sure to refer to as a 'new stage' [of which] the chief characteristics are easy to distinguish."[36] Ward went on to explain that in the "pioneering period in modern graphic work," artists' reputations depended on excellence in one medium: "Adolf Dehn and Mabel Dwight in lithography, J.J. Lankes and Asa Cheffetz in wood engraving, John Taylor Arms in etchings. These, and others of their generation, are the 'old masters' of our day."[37]

Ward identified the new stars as virtuosos who had a "wide familiarity with the greatest range of printmaking procedures."[38] The names of the artists he selected as "Printmakers of Tomorrow" were John Lonergan, Rita Albers, Jack Markow, Prentiss Taylor, Mervin Jules, Eugene Morley, Russell Limbach, Fritz Eichenberg, Fred Becker, Isaac Sanger, Will Barnet, Hyman Warsager, and--the only artist cited associated with the Weyhe Gallery--Federico Castellon.[39] While one might differ with his choices, Ward accurately forecast that the "new masters" would be multimedia printmakers. And one could hardly fail to observe that they were not Weyhe Gallery artists.

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In his early years with the gallery, one of Zigrosser's great skills had been in the development of close relationships with artists, binding them to him personally, although only secondarily to the gallery.[40] But by the mid-thirties, Zigrosser seemed to have ceased to develop new relationships--either personal or for the gallery--with young artists. And as Ward hinted, the careers of the gallery's stars--the "old masters"--had nearly all peaked and were soon to decline, or the artists had for one or another reason drifted away, either from the gallery, or from printmaking.

For example, Rockwell Kent was involved in political controversy and mired down in personal problems. His art in the mid-1930s seems to have been confined to mural painting and illustration; and in 1936, he was accused of being a communist, leading to a decline in his popularity as an artist.[41] Mabel Dwight was ill and at the end of her career (see chapter 5). Wanda Gág's health had begun to deteriorate by the late 1930s or perhaps earlier, and, in any case, during the thirties she devoted herself to writing and illustrating books.[42]

Howard Cook's "most productive years of printmaking" occurred between 1927 and 1934; like Kent, in the mid-thirties he devoted himself to murals and, later, to easel painting.[44] Harry Sternberg's art had "become a vehicle for political protest," and he was at least as politically involved as Kent.[44] And Adolf Dehn, who in 1933 had formed the Adolf Dehn Print Club to try to sell his lithographs, was one of the first artists to sign on in 1934 with the newly formed Associated American Artists and its charismatic founder, Reeves Lewenthal (1910-1987).[45]

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In fact, Lewenthal had taken over the role that Zigrosser had played in the 1920s, of the print world's talent scout, identifying and making deals with up-and-coming printmakers, and even persuading artists who were not printmakers to make prints.[46] Lewenthal, as Erika Doss put it, came to "recognize the inbred inertia of the American Art market," and set out to change it.[47] Lewenthal was inspired to pay artists' costs plus a $200 fee for each edition of a print (the prints, in an edition of 250, were sold for $5 each), and managed to sign up, among others, the superstars of the 1930s, Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, and Grant Wood.[48] As Doss reported, "Lewenthal later claimed that the AAA 'couldn't have gotten them if their old galleries had been doing their jobs.'"[49]

While this was probably true, it was also true that Lewenthal was an unabashedly good businessman, and Associated American Artists was "a perfect example of an efficiently run corporate enterprise." The result: "Sales boomed. The AAA jumped from a $30,000 loss in 1934 . . . to a $50,000 profit in 1935, selling some 70,000 prints by 1937. . . . By 1941, the AAA . . . was the 'largest commercial art gallery in the World,' a $500,000-a-year business."[50] A key ingredient in Associated American Artists' success was its specialization in regionalist American Scene art. The new organization not only handled prints by all of Big Three American scene printmakers, but Benton's works were AAA's runaway bestsellers.[51]

Meanwhile, Carl Zigrosser not only missed the regionalist triumvirate,[52] he also misunderstood what had made Associated American Artists successful: the right art at the right price at the right time, in an exceptionally well-managed venture.

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Zigrosser's unsuccessful American Artists Group was a feeble attempt to challenge Associated American Artists, and its lack of the salient characteristics needed to succeed--notably the work of the most popular artists--as well as the failure to anticipate customer reaction to the availability of cheap, unsigned impressions of prints they already owned, showed just how out of touch with the market Zigrosser had become.

Indeed, Zigrosser not only missed the popular artists who personified the more conservative trends in printmaking, he also failed to recognize the importance of the avante- garde prints and printmakers at a time when they must have been hard to overlook. The American Abstract Artists Group, founded in 1936, had its first exhibition at the Squibb Gallery in 1937, attracting fifteen hundred visitors. Their second exhibition at the Art Students League Building in 1938 was followed by two more exhibitions that year, at the Contemporary Art Center and the Municipal Art Gallery.[53] Of the thirty-nine artists[54] represented in the American Abstract Artists 1937 print portfolio,[55] only Werner Drewes (1899-1968) had exhibited prints at Weyhe or had prints included in a Weyhe catalogue.

And Drewes had been represented at the gallery by only one print, the relatively conservative Winter Snow, 1933.[56] But Drewes would have been a logical artist to affiliate with the Weyhe Gallery; he was one of the first Bauhaus-trained artists to emigrate to the U.S., and Zigrosser wrote that he had made a point of visiting the Bauhaus in 1923, and that he had subscribed to the portfolio of Lionel Feininger's woodcuts, the first publication of the Bauhaus Graphic Workshop.[57]

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Drewes arrived in the U.S. in 1930 and, by 1933, had started to make abstract woodcuts and etchings. He also made lithographs at the Art Students League with Eugene Fitsch, who had exhibited with the gallery in 1926 (see chapter 5);[58] if the natural attraction of a German-speaking proprietor had not drawn Drewes to a gallery specializing in prints, surely Fitsch would have sent him there.

Drewes's set of woodcuts, Manhattan, was completed in 1931-1932. As Jacob Kainen pointed out, "Aside from their superb quality, the prints have an additional significance. Printmaking in this country in the early 1930s was extremely conservative. . . . Printmakers of an abstract or expressionist tendency had virtually no market and were practically (underground). . . . Drewes's Manhattan set was one of the finest products of the period and a landmark in the history of the American woodcut."[59]

Kainen added, "In 1934 Drewes issued a set of ten woodcuts, It Can't Happen Here, in an abstract vein (Figure 76). These are among the earliest totally abstract prints made in the United States."[60] At a time when the prints in the Manhattan and It Can't Happen Here portfolios must have been available, Zigrosser failed to choose one of them for the gallery's exhibit "Fifty Modern Prints of 1934" (January-February 1935).

There were, of course, a few other U.S. artists producing abstract prints, but most of them apparently never had any relationship with the gallery. The gallery did handle a few prints by Stuart Davis (1894-1964), notably Barbershop Chord, 1931

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(Figure 77), but the acquaintance with the artist that this suggests did not lead to a closer relationship.[61]

Somehow, Zigrosser failed to recognize the major new trends in printmaking of the 1930s. One reason for his seeming blindness may have been his distance from the New York WPA Graphic Workshop (see chapter 7). As Jacob Kainen noted, "We should not overlook the importance of the WPA graphic arts division. . . . The project artists bridged the gap between the old moribund etching societies and the unprecedented flowering of graphic arts that has taken place during the past two decades. When Stanley William Hayter came to this country in 1940 to open his experimental arts studio, Atelier 17, he found the artists ready."[62]

Stanley William Hayter (1901-1988) arrived in New York on May 31, 1940, and arranged to teach an intaglio printmaking course in the fall semester at the New School. He also "organized a sort of evening at a cafe called the Jumble Shop on West 8th Street. Every Friday evening from about [six] onwards . . . we'd meet and talk and so forth. . . ." Hayter added that "most of the [American] artists either didn't know one another or didn't see one another. And that's where the Europeans were rather useful, because Matta turned up . . . Seligmann, Léger, Calder."[63]

Zigrosser does not seem to have been aware of Hayter's arrival, or the implications for printmaking that his presence in New York implied, although Hayter had opened his first graphic workshop in Paris in 1927, and by 1940, when he came to New York, was famous in the print world for creating an atmosphere that inspired artists to produce avante-garde prints, especially those influenced by surrealism.

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Zigrosser's lack of knowledge of Hayter and his followers is all the more surprising because surrealism was the single avant-garde trend acknowledged in the Weyhe Gallery 1930s print catalogues, although the acknowledgement was slight and apparently did not lead to an exhibition.[64] It was not at the Weyhe Gallery, but at the Municipal Art Galleries, where a critic observed in 1938, "Surrealism overruns the print group."[65]

Yet, despite his obvious lack of interest in, or knowledge of, the important trends in printmaking in the 1930s, Zigrosser organized exhibitions of "Fifty Modern Prints" in 1933, 1934, and 1935. (See chapter 7 for the 1932 and 1933 exhibitions.) Since Zigrosser was ignoring the most important modern trends, how did he define "modern" in the 1930s? And which artists did he identify as important modern printmakers? The prints in the last "modern prints" exhibition held at the gallery are listed in table 8-1.[66]

TABLE 8-1

FIFTY MODERN PRINTS

OF 1934

JANUARY 28 TO FEBRUARY 9, 1935

1.	Grace Albee, Contrasts, wood engraving	26.	Robert Kuhn, Potato Sorting, Vermont, woodcut
2.	Vera Andrus, Lily Leaves, lithograph	27.	Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Dawn, lithograph
3.	Alfred Bendiner, Audience,	28.	Armin Landeck, Manhattan

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lithograph

4. Thomas Benton, Minstrel Show, lithograph
5. Julius Bloch, The Prisoner, lithograph
6. Alexander Brook, Young Thing, lithograph
7. Andrew Butler, Arizona, The Dry Season, etching
8. Paul Cadmus, The Fleet's In, etching
9. Nicolai Cikovsky, Portrait of Girl, lithograph
10. John Steuart Curry, Mississippi Noah, lithograph
11. Adolf Dehn, Stuyvesant Square, lithograph
12. Werner Drewes, Abstraction, woodcut
13. Mabel Dwight, White Mansion, lithograph
14. Elise, Composition, lithograph
15. Ernest Fiene, Connecticut Winter, lithograph

Canyon, aquatint

29. Julius J. Lankes, Morning in Maine, woodcut
30. Lillian Linding, Spring, lithograph
31. Charles Locke, The Terrace, lithograph
32. Louis Lozowick, Airport, lithograph
33. Reginald Marsh, Box at Metropolitan Opera, etching
34. Hayes Miller, Sales Women, etching
35. Barbara Morgan, Harlem Pool, lithograph
36. Thomas W. Nason, Vermont Landscape, engraving
37. Warren Newcombe, La Casa, lithograph
38. Edith Newton, Kitchen Chamber, lithograph
39. Elizabeth Olds, Sheep Skinners, lithograph
40. Starr Rose, Herald Angels,

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16. Don Freeman, The Enemy's Public, lithograph
17. Wanda Gág, Connecticut Churchyard, wood engraving
18. Emil Ganso, Daphne, lithograph
19. William Gropper, Burning Wheat, lithograph
20. Thomas Handforth, Horses Bathing, lithograph
21. Rosella Hartman, Deer, lithograph
22. Peter Hurd, Texas Freighters, lithograph
23. Victoria Hutson, Lower New York, lithograph
24. Dorothy Kent, Black Mesa, lithograph
25. Rockwell Kent, Self-Portrait, lithograph
41. Sanford Ross, Wet Road, lithograph
42. Raphael Soyer, Two Girls, lithograph
43. Benton Spruance, End Sweep, lithograph
44. Harry Sternberg, Death Underground, lithograph
45. Agnes Tait, Want Out, lithograph
46. Prentiss Taylor, Horlbeck Alley, lithograph
47. Stow Wengenroth, Harbor Light, lithograph
48. Harry Wickey, Waterfall, etching
49. Lois Wilcox, Boat, lithograph
50. Mahonri Young, Snake Dance, etching

The exhibition was proof of Zigrosser's determination to cling to the past and the familiar. He included works by Adolf Dehn, Mabel Dwight, Wanda Gág, Emil Ganso, Rockwell Kent, and Harry Sternberg, six of the eight artists Zigrosser had described as most "closely identified with the Gallery."[67] Three of the artists--Kent, Miller, and Young--had been represented in the 1919 Weyhe Portfolio. Victoria

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Hutson, J.J. Lankes, Starr Rose, and Harry Wickey, all close friends and old Weyhe Gallery artists, were also represented. He barely acknowledged the regional triumvirate, with Benton's The Minstrel Show and Curry's Mississippi Noah. He included Drewes's Snow Scene (which he had also included in "Fifty Modern Prints of 1933") and "modernized" it, changing the title to Abstraction. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the exhibition was its demonstration that Zigrosser no longer cared, since some of the prints had been made earlier than 1934, and there were numerous errors in titles, etc.[68] His indifference to important scholarly details was a sign of his disaffection and his deep malaise.

While Zigrosser blamed most of his problems on Erhard Weyhe, he later acknowledged that there were other factors at work; he wrote, "In the mid-nineteen-thirties my fortunes were in many respects at their lowest ebb. My relations with my wife were prickly, and my position at the Weyhe Gallery was precarious. My father died in 1935. And beyond my personal concerns, much of the world was in a sorry plight. The economic depression in America was beginning to be acute, affecting adversely my livelihood at the gallery and the welfare of my friends and of the country in general."[69]

But he did not admit what appears to be obvious with more than fifty years hindsight: he was no longer good at his job, and he was unwilling (or unable) to continue to undertake the tasks necessary to ensure the gallery's success. Perhaps he knew he could not, in the rapidly changing print world of the 1930s, identify works that would sell or artists who were potential stars. At the same time, he had learned

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that there were tasks he did enjoy--the arranging of traveling exhibitions, for example, and, above all, writing about prints, rather than selling them.[70] His move to the Philadelphia Museum would allow him to spend his time as he liked and to avoid the "commercial" activities he found so distasteful.

Zigrosser remained at the Philadelphia Museum of Art until 1963. When he died in 1975, the writer of his obituary pointed out that "under his direction, the museum's print department grew from about 15,000 objects to more than 100,000 works of art. He had also been active as a critic, historian, writer and lecturer. . . ."[71]

The growth in the number of objects in the print department is not surprising, for while Zigrosser objected to selling, he had no qualms about begging! When he wrote the Weyhe artists about returning the work they had consigned to the gallery, he frequently asked that he be allowed to keep it for the Philadelphia Museum--or himself. For example, he wrote to Calder, "I was at the Gallery the other day, and looked over some of your drawings before they were packed up to be returned. It occurred to me that you have so many of them that you might not be so anxious to get them all back. So I am asking you if you would let the Philadelphia Museum and me have a little group of them for keeps. I am specially anxious to have something of yours in the Museum to balance the work of your father and grandfather. . . . I believe I laid aside 14 drawings, mostly of the calligraphic circus variety. . . ."[72]

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Calder replied, "You guessed it, I would rather not have them back. Of course, I would rather sell things--as my father and grandfather did, I believe--but as it seems that is not to be, and because of our ancient friendship, I will give you them."[73]

But Zigrosser was not satisfied; he wrote, "Thanks for your letter and the generous gift. If you really don't want them all back, I would love to have a couple for myself, and I know that Miss Canadè would too . . . so unless I hear from you to the contrary, I shall assume that you would not mind if Miss Canadè and myself picked out a couple for ourselves."[74]

Calder was amused; he replied, "You're the wiliest diplomat I've ever known personally. However, go to it. Sure you can have them. . . . I guess I had better call quickly for what is left of the drawings."[75]

But not every artist agreed so readily to Zigrosser's proposals. Harry Sternberg wrote:

> . . . I had no chance to clear up a question I wanted to ask. I was trying to frame it and was so damned embarrassed that I couldn't. . . . I guess I'll just dive right in--my understanding is that you wanted to pick a batch of prints and drawings for the Museum for which they would pay seventy five dollars. . . . I have gone over the stuff. Roughly there are 20 etchings at $10 [for] $200, 13 musical etchings [for] $125; 12 drawings at $30 [for] $360; 7 silk screens at $10 [for] $70 [for a total of] $755 . . . I have not counted in the prints for your own collection which I am genuinely honored to have you own. . . . Don't you think Carl--that this is too much to give to the Museum for the money they are paying. . . . [76]

Zigrosser had a successful second career, especially in expanding the museum's collection, but it seems improbable that he ever again experienced the same degree of influence and the exhilarating lifestyle of his years at the "House of Weyhe," when,

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with Erhard Weyhe's backing and counsel, he was able to substantially advance the course of American printmaking. For, by the time he left the gallery, American prints had come a long way from their pitiful showing at the Armory Show, and there is little doubt that Zigrosser and the Weyhe Gallery had made a major contribution to their progress.

As for the gallery, Erhard Weyhe did not cease to give exhibitions, although they were not held as frequently as in the frantic 1920s. He was later acknowledged as an art dealer and patron, as well as a book dealer.[77] In fact, Zigrosser had always exaggerated his own role and understated Weyhe's role in the gallery, as when he wrote, "The direction and operation [of the gallery] were to be my responsibility, for Weyhe knew little about prints."[78] Poor, foolish Zigrosser! Anyone who glanced through the early Weyhe catalogues full of prints (see appendix 1 and chapter 2) knew Zigrosser prevaricated. And the sculpture, including the African art, so important for the special quality of the gallery, was another of Erhard Weyhe's interests. Indeed, as his obituary made clear, "To connoisseurs of art books and fine prints Mr. Weyhe was a dealer of impeccable taste and sagacity, whose combination book shop and gallery at 794 Lexington Avenue was a treasure-trove."[79]

After Erhard Weyhe's retirement, the bookstore and gallery continued to coexist at 794 Lexington Avenue under the management of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis until 1991, when Mrs. Dennis moved the gallery to smaller quarters, where in 1996 she continued to see clients by appointment. At the same time, the bookstore was moved to Mt. Desert, Maine, under the direction of Mrs. Dennis's daughter, Deborah

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Weyhe Kiley, and her husband, Donald Kiley. A visit to either establishment still inspires the feeling of having discovered a "treasure-trove," as well as nostalgia, or, as an anonymous author wrote in Art World more than eighty years ago, "And, then, there is E. Weyhe with this book store that prides itself on letting nothing published on art escape its ken, and with big chests and drawers full of lithographs and etchings and watercolors, and with unframed canvases and little bronze things scattered everywhere room can be found. . . ."[80]

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Footnotes - Chapter 8

1. Zigrosser, World, 53-60.

2. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frames 1212-1238. The letter was probably written in 1935, since in it he mentions Lewenthal's Associated American Artists, founded in 1934, coming along "a year ago." See note 46 below.

3. Ibid., Frame 1212.

4. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frames 1114-1116. The letter of resignation is a handwritten draft dated July 15, 1940. Zigrosser probably typed the final copy, but the date of Weyhe's reply suggests that Zigrosser's letter was sent on or close to the date of the draft.

5. Erhard Weyhe to CZ, July 19, 1940 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frames 117-120).

6. CZ to Arnold Rönnebeck, September 23, 1940 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 271-272).

7. Federico Castellon, interview with Paul Cumming, April 1971, AAA, typed transcript, 33. In fact, the gallery gave Castellon another solo exhibition after Zigrosser left, in April 1941 (see chapter 7).

8. Ibid.

9. The following Cadmus prints were offered in catalogues: in Fine Prints, 1936, 10, four etchings: Horse Play, Shore Leave, Mother and Child, and Coney Island; in Fine Prints, 1938, 33, ten etchings: Shore Leave, Horse Play, Mother and Child, Coney Island, Stewart's, Going South, Y.M.C.A. Locker, The Fleet's In!, Polo Spill, and Two Boys on Beach.

10. Lincoln Kirsten, Paul Cadmus (New York, 1984), 130.

11. Zigrosser, World, 56.

12. Aline Kistler, "New Market Trends," Prints, October 1936, 31-36.

13. Letter from Dora C. Fox, The Intimate Bookshop, to the Weyhe Gallery, October 31, 1936 (Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis).

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14. Letter from Charles Leavitt to the Weyhe Gallery, April 24, 1939 (Weyhe Gallery correspondence, collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis).

15. Zigrosser, World, 57.

16. In Zigrosser's unsent letter to Erhard Weyhe, he wrote, "The American Artists Group will, I am convinced, create thousands of new customers for prints all over the country" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 1234).

17. Zigrosser, World, 58.

18. Ibid., 98.

19. Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ, June 13, 1939, and CZ to Rönnebeck, September 1, 1939 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 238 and 244).

20. CZ to Rönnebeck, September 23, 1940 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 271).

21. Erhard Weyhe spent summers in Nova Scotia, and also went to Europe to buy art. According to Zigrosser, Weyhe was away "five months of the year" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 1232).

22. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frames 1212-1213.

23. See chapter 6, note 117.

24. Zigrosser, World, 57.

25. He wrote, "I am sure that Weyhe did not value me for my business ability, but rather for my knowledge and judgement in matters of art, and for my idealistic attitude, my 'principles' to counter-balance any excessively business-like atmosphere." Zigrosser, World, 58. But, in fact, there was never a hint that there was any tendency towards "an excessively business-like atmosphere."

26. Betty Burroughs to CZ, January 16, 1938 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 163).

27. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 1212.

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28. Zigrosser, World, 53-54.

29. Florence Berryman, "The Year in Art," American Art Annual, Volume XXVII, American Federation of Arts (for the year 1930), 20.

30. Ibid., Volume XXVIII (for the year 1931), 5.

31. F.A. Whiting, "The Year in Art: 1934," American Art Annual, Volume XXXI, American Federation of Arts (for the year 1934), 20. Zigrosser wrote Arnold Rönnebeck on January 17, 1940, "All we are able to sell are a few old masters and out of the way things like some of the African collection" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 260).

32. Time, December 24, 1934, 24. The same article reported that "the peak art year, 1928, had turnover of approximately one billion dollars."

33. Whiting, "The Year in Art: 1934," 20.

34. Florence Berryman, "Three Years in Art, July 1938-June 1941," American Art Annual, Volume XXXV (1941), 34 and 35. The print market might not have been totally in synchrony with the general art market, since Lynd Ward wrote, "1938 has been considered among print dealers as the worst year of all as far as sales were concerned" ("Printmakers of Tomorrow," Parnassus, March 1939, 9).

35. Zigrosser, World, 55.

36. Ward, "Printmakers of Tomorrow," 8.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., 9.

39. Ibid., 9-12.

40. There is no question that the artists Zigrosser cited as most closely identified with the gallery were loyal to Zigrosser rather than to the gallery; the exception was Ganso, who died in 1941. See chapter 2, note 86, for Dehn's actions after Zigrosser's departure. And Mabel Dwight wrote to Zigrosser on January 5, 1938, "I know that any success I have had in becoming known is so largely due to your interest and unfailing efforts on my behalf" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4620, Frame 602). And Castellon told Paul Cumming,

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"All through my early years [Zigrosser was] my guardian angel, he's the one that, when things weren't good economically or something at least he sympathized and I know that if I had somebody who believed in me, sympathizing and egging me on that, you know, the fight [was] not lost"
(Federico Castellon, interview with Paul Cumming, April 1971, AAA, typed transcript, 9-10).

41. Fridolf Johnson, Rockwell Kent, An Anthology of His Work (New York, 1982), 60-67. In June 1936, Kent's name appeared in first place in a survey of national printmakers in Prints; but as the writer of the article noted, the listing meant only that Kent's name was included most often in a list of national printmakers. Aline Kistler, "The National Survey," Prints, June 1936, 31-36.

42. Winnan, Wanda Gág, 61. Her last Weyhe exhibition, a retrospective, was held in 1940. Gág died in 1946.

43. Duffy and Duffy, The Graphic Work of Howard Cook, 38. Cook's last exhibition at Weyhe (watercolors) took place in 1941.

44. Moore, Harry Sternberg, 11.

45. Adams, American Lithographers, 139-140.

46. Zigrosser resented Lewenthal; he wrote, "The killing [of the limited-edition print market], if it was done at all, was done a year ago when Mr. Lowenthal [sic] came along with his $5 signed print enterprise which to my mind is nothing but a price cutting scheme" (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4646, Frame 1234).

47. Erika Doss, "Catering to Consumerism, Associated American Artists and the Marketing of Modern Art, 1934-1958," Winterthur Portfolio, Volume 26, Numbers 2/3, Summer/Autumn 1991, 143.

48. Ibid., 143 and 145.

49. Ibid., 149.

50. Ibid., 151.

51. Ibid., 152.

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52. The Weyhe Gallery offered two of Benton's lithographs, Minstrel Show, 1934, and Mine Strike, 1933, in Fine Prints, 1936, 10.

53. Esphyr Slobodkina, American Abstract Artists, Its Publications, Catalogs, and Membership (Great Neck, New York: Urquhart-Slobodkina, 1979), (5-6).

54. The thirty-nine artists were Josef Albers, Rosalind Bengelsdorf, Ilya Bolotowsky, Harry Bowden, Byron Brown, Jeanne Carles, George Cavallon, A.N. Christie, Anne Cohen, Burgoyne Diller, Werner Drewes, Herzl Emmanuel, Robert Foster, Balcomb Greene, Gertrude Greene, Hananiah Harari, Harry Holtzman, Carl Holty, Ray Kaiser, Frederick P. Kann, Paul Kelpe, M. Kennedy, Leo Lances, Ibram Lassaw, Agnes Lyall, George McNeill, Alice Mason, George L.K. Morris, John Opper, Ralph M. Rosenborg, Louis Schanker, Charles G. Shaw, Ephyr Slobodkina, Albert Swinden, R.D. Turnbull, Vaclav Vytlacil, Rudolph Weisenborn, Frederick J. Whiteman, and W.M. Zogbaum. Ibid., (14).

55. A facsimile of the portfolio is included in Slobodkina, American Abstract Artists. The prints can be seen in the collection of Reba and Dave Williams.

56. Ingrid Rose, Werner Drewes, A Catalogue Raisonné of His Prints (New York, 1984), Relief Print #84, 309. The catalogue entry reads: "This print was included in the April 2-21, 1934 exhibition 'Fifty Modern Prints of 1933, The Weyhe Gallery, New York.'"

57. Zigrosser, World, 76.

58. For the facts of Drewes's life, see Caril Dreyfuss, Werner Drewes Woodcuts, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1969), especially the biographical notes, 10-11, and Jacob Kainen, "The Woodcuts of Werner Drewes," 7-9.

59. Kainen, "The Woodcuts of Werner Drewes," 8, in Dreyfuss, Werner Drewes.

60. Ibid.

61. The gallery included Davis's Two Figures and El in the exhibition "Fifty Modern Prints of 1933" (see chapter 7). In Fine Prints, 1933, 35, the gallery offered Davis's lithographs Arch (Arch No. 1 or Arch

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No. 2, both 1929), Theatre on Beach, 1931, and Barbershop Chord, 1931. For the prints, see Jane Myers, ed., Stuart Davis, Graphic Work and Related Paintings With a Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1986).

62. Jacob Kainen, "The Graphic Arts Division of the WPA Federal Art Project," 155-175, in Francis O'Connor, ed., The New Deal Art Projects: An Anthology of Memoirs (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1972).

63. Jacob Kainen, "An Interview With Stanley William Hayter," Arts Magazine, January 1986, 65.

64. In Fine Prints, 1933, 84, "Sur-Realism and Modern Movements," a group of European works; and in Fine Prints, 1936, 18-19, "Sur-Realism and Modern Movements," a group of European works, including several by Castellon, at that time not a U.S. citizen. Zigrosser included an essay on Hayter's contributions in The Book of Fine Prints (New York: Crown, revised edition, 1948), later reprinted in Atelier 17, the catalogue of the fourteenth exhibition of prints by members of the Atelier 17 Group, March 14-April 1, 1949 (New York; Laurel Gallery, 1949). Even as late as 1948 he seemed ambivalent about the Atelier 17 work; he wrote, "This is not the place to judge and weigh accomplishment, or to ask wherefore. One need but say that here is a group of pictures to be looked at--pictures that have perchance the power to kindle feeling, to attract or to repel. Here is a movement of youth and vitality. Here are prints of today and perhaps of tomorrow."

65. Quoted in Johnson, American Prints and Printmakers, 81, without footnote.

66. From the Weyhe Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume IV, 77-79).

67. Zigrosser, World, 44. The two "closely identified" artists not represented were Castellon and Howard Cook.

68. Among them were the previously mentioned Snow Scene, 1933, by Drewes; Curry's Mississippi Noah, 1932; Lozowick's Airport, 1932; and Wickey's Waterfall, 1930.

The list contained a number of other errors and omissions:

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1. The correct title of the Dehn print is Stuyvesant Park at Night, see Jocelyn Pang Lumsdaine and Thomas O'Sullivan, The Prints of Adolf Dehn, A Catalogue Raisonné, No. 286.
2. The Armin Landeck print is a drypoint, not an aquatint. See June and Norman Kraeft, Armin Landeck, The Catalogue Raisonné of His Prints (Bethlehem, Connecticut, 1977), K46.
3. The correct title of the Lozowick print is Airport, Tajikistan (Contact, Airport of Stalinabad). See Janet Flint, The Prints of Louis Lozowick, A Catalogue Raisonné, No. 89.
4. The Reginald Marsh print is entitled Box at the Metropolitan, and it is an etching and engraving; see Norman Sasowsky, The Prints of Reginald Marsh, No. 143.
5. The title of the Hartman print is European Deer; see Dennis Drogseth, Rosella Hartman, Lithographs 1923-1959 (Woodstock, New York, 1980), 5, (No. 21), 28, and 47.

69. Zigrosser, My Own, 183.

70. Zigrosser wrote many books, articles, forewords, catalogues, etc. While they often contain errors, they nevertheless have served as a foundation on which later works are based. A list of some of his better known works follows.

Zigrosser, Carl. "American Prints Since 1926: A Complete Revolution in the Making." Art Digest, November 1, 1951, 26-27.

_____The Appeal of Prints. Kennett Square, PA: KNA Press, Inc., 1970.

_____The Artist in America: Twenty-four Closeups of Contemporary Printmakers. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942.

_____"The Art of Exhibiting Art." Magazine of Art, October 1936, 226-230.

_____Benton Spruance, Lithographs, 1932-1969. Philadelphia: Philadelphia College of Art, 1967.

_____Between Two Wars: Prints by American Artists, 1914-1941. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1942.

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_____The Book of Fine Prints. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1937.

_____The Complete Etchings of John Marin. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1969.

_____The Complete Graphic Work of Edward Hopper. Philadelphia: Print Council of America and Philadelphia Museum, 1962. Reprinted from Prints, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

_____ "Concerning Prints." In Twelve Prints by Contemporary American Artists. New York: E. Weyhe, 1919.

_____Exhibition of Prints: Prentiss Taylor. Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1942.

_____The Expressionists: A Survey of Their Graphic Art. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1957.

_____"Federico Castellon." American Artist, May 1949, 27.

_____Foreword to The Prints of Rockwell Kent, A Catalogue Raisonné, by Dan Burne Jones. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

_____Foreword to American Prints in the Library of Congress, by Karen Beall. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970.

_____Foreword to Growing Pains, by Wanda Gág. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1940.

_____and Christa Gaehde. A Guide to the Collecting and Care of Original Prints. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1965.

_____Harry Wickey and His Work. New York: Weyhe Gallery, [1938].

_____"The Historical Background." In What is an Original Print?: Principles Recommended by the Print Council of America, Joshua Binion Cahn, ed., 16-27. New York: Print Council of America, 1964.

_____Introduction to Adolf Dehn Drawings. Virginia Dehn, ed. Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1971, 5-6.

_____Introduction to The Sculpture of John B. Flannagan. Dorothy C. Miller, ed. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1942 -13.

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_____"John Sloan Memorial, His Complete Graphic Work." The Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin, Vol. 51, no. 248, 1956, 19-31.

_____Käthe Kollwitz. New York: H. Bittner and Co., 1946.

_____"The Lithographs of Vincent Canadè." Artist's Proof, 5. (Spring-Summer 1963): 32-33.

_____"Mabel Dwight." American Artist, June 1949, 42-45.

_____Mabel Dwight: A Decade of Lithography 1927-1937. New York: Weyhe Gallery, 1938.

_____Mauricio Lasansky. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1960.

_____"Mexican Graphic Art." The Print Collector's Quarterly, January 1936, 64-81.

_____Misch Kohn. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1961.

_____"Modern American Etching." The Print Collectors Quarterly, October 1929, 381-397.

_____"Modern American Graphic Art." Creative Art, November 1931, 369-374.

_____Multum in Parvo: An Essay in Poetic Imagination. New York: George Braziller Inc., 1965.

_____My Own Shall Come to Me. 1971: Casa Laura (Switzerland), by the author.

_____"A New School of Printmaking." In Fourteenth Exhibition of Prints by Members of the Atelier 17 Group, Herbert Read, ed. New York: Wittenborn Schultz, Inc., 1949. (Reprinted from The Book of Fine Prints, revised edition 1948).

_____"The Philadelphia Print Club." Art in America, no. 1, 1965, 88-89.

_____Prints and Their Creators: A World History. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. Second Revised edition, 1974.

_____, ed., Prints: Thirteen Illustrated Essays on the Art of the Print. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1962.

_____"Rockwell Kent." The Print Collector's Quarterly, April 1938, 136-155.

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_____Rockwellkentiana: Few Words and Many Pictures. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1933. (With Rockwell Kent).

_____"The Serigraph, A New Medium." The Print Collector's Quarterly, December 1941, 443-477.

_____Six Centuries of Fine Prints. New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1939.

_____"Ten Years of Serigraphy." The New Colophon, no. 1, January 1948: 58-66.

_____Harry Sternberg, Thirty Years of Graphics, Detroit, MI: Garelick's Gallery, 1958.

_____A World of Art and Museums. London and Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1975.

71. "Carl Zigrosser, Prints Curator at Philadelphia Museum, Dies." The New York Times, November 28, 1975.

72. CZ to Calder (1941), Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4616, Frame 248.

73. Calder to CZ, February 19, 1941, Ibid., Frame 244.

74. CZ to Calder, February 24, 1941, Ibid., Frame 245.

75. Calder to CZ, March 3, 1941, Ibid., Frame 249.

76. Harry Sternberg to CZ (ca. 1940-1941), Zigrosser files, Reel 4642, Frames 977-983.

77. "Book Seller and Artists' Angel," Look, June 20, 1950, 96-101.

78. Zigrosser, World, 37.

79. "Erhard Weyhe, Art-Book Dealer," The New York Times, July 13, 1972.

80. Art World, October 25, 1925 (WGS, Volume I, 67).

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The Weyhe Gallery Between the Wars, 1919-1940

by

Reba White Williams

Volume II

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

1996

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G = Grolier Club

W = Williams Collection

N = Not located

Appendix 1

Weyhe Gallery Catalogues, 1913-1940

1. Catalogue of Books on Art & Architecture, Illustrated Books, Old Bindings, Original Drawings, Etchings, Lithographs, etc., December 1913, #1 (W).
2. Catalogue of French, German & Italian Books, February 1914, #2 (W).
3. N
4. Catalogue of Interesting Books, March 1914, #4 (W).
5. Catalogue on Art & Architecture: Old Bindings: Illustrated Books: Original Drawings, Etchings, & Lithographs: Old Mezzotints: Costume & Fashion Plates: Jewish Caricatures: Satirical Prints: Portraits, etc., April 1914, #5 (W).
6. Catalogue of French, German, Italian and Spanish Books, May 1914, #6 (W).
7. Clearance Catalogue of English & Foreign Books in Various Classes of Literature, and Recent Purchases, June 1914, #7 (W).
8. Catalogue of Continental Views, Costume Plates and Topographical Books, July 1914 #8 (W).
9. Books and Prints Relating to Dentistry and a Collection of Old Medical Books, 1914, #9 (W).

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10. N

11. Old Technics (Ballooning, Brewing and Distilling, Clock and Watchwork, Lithography, Paper-making, Art of Etching, Art of Printing, etc.), November 1914, #11 (W).

12. Catalogue of Interesting Books, May 1915. (Almanacs, Art, Bibliography, Coloured Plate-Books, Old Cookery Books, Ireland, India, Russia, Sport, etc. etc.) #12 (W).

13. Catalogue of Miscellaneous Interesting Books, English & Foreign: Architecture, Art, GEMS, Japan, Sweden, Modern Authors, Illustrated Books, etc., November 1915. #13 (W).

14. Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Books & Prints, 1916, #14 (W).[1]

15. Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Books & Prints, 1916, #15 (W).

16. Choice Collection of Books & Prints, n.d., #16 (W).

17. Choice Collection of Books & Prints, n.d., #17 (W).

18. A Short List of Books, Prints & Drawings, 1918, #18 (W).

19. A New List of Books Relating to the Fine and Applied Arts, 1918, #19 (W).

20. A Choice Collection of Books & Prints, 1918, #20, (W).

21. A Short List of Books Relating to the Fine and Applied Arts/A Few Prints and Other Items of Interest, December 1918, #21 (G).

22. Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Prints and Books, Christmas 1918, #22. (G).

23. N

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24. N

25. Catalogue of Books on the Fine and Applied Arts, also a Few Modern Etchings and Old Master Drawings, 1919, #25 (G).

26. N

27. Catalogue of a Choice Selection of Books and Prints/Suitable in Most Part for Holiday Gifts, 1919, #27 (G).

28. Rare Books, Art Books, Prints, n.d., #28 (G).

29. Books on the Fine and Applied Arts, 1920, #29 (G).

30. Catalogue of Art Books, Summer 1920, #30 (G).

31. N

32. N

33. Catalogue of Art Books and Prints, Fall 1920, #33 (N).[2]

34. N

35. Art Books and Prints, 1921, #35 (G).

36. N

37. Catalogue of Art Books, Prints, and Drawings, Autumn 1921, #37 (G).

38. N

39. A Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Art. Original Lithographs, Etchings, Woodcuts, and Drawings, Spring 1922, #39 (N).[3]

40. Summer Clearance Catalogue, n.d., #40 (W).

41. N

42. N

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43. Art Books and Prints Recently Acquired, 1923, #43 (G).

44. Catalogue of Art Books and Prints, April 1923, #44 (G).

45. Books on the Fine and Applied Arts, Summer 1923, #45 (G).

46. N

47. Holiday List, Art Books and Prints, 1923, #47 (G).

48. Art Books, Rare Books, Prints, and Paintings, Spring 1924, #48 (G).

49. N

50. N

51. N

52. N

53. N

54. N

55. N

56. N

57. N

58. N

59. Books in the Fine and Applied Arts, Old and New, Architecture. Modern Decoration. 1928, #59 (G).

60. N

61. N

62. Books on History of Art, Architecture, and Decoration/Rare and Illustrated Books, 1930, #62 (G).

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63. Christmas 1930, no #, inferentially (#63) (G).

64. Books on Art, Architecture, and Decoration, Rare Prints and Drawings, 1931, #64 (G).

65. N

66. N

67. N

68. N

69. Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Arts, n.d. (1933), #69 (W).

70. Catalogue of Books on Fine Arts and Rare Books, Spring 1934, #70 (W).

71. A Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Arts, Prints, Architecture, Decoration, Rare and Illustrated Books, Winter 1934-1935, #71 (W).

72. Selections from the Stock of the Weyhe Gallery Catalogue, December 1934, #72 (W). Also: Art Books, Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Art, Architecture, Rare and Illustrated Books, Spring 1935, #72 (W). (Two catalogues numbered 72.)

73. Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Art, Architecture, Rare and Illustrated Books, December 1935, #73 (W).

74. Fine Prints, December 1935, #74. (W).

75. Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Art, n.d. (1936) #75 (W).

76. Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Arts, Prints, Architecture, Decoration, Rare and Illustrated Books, Winter 1936-1937, #76 (W).

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77. Fine Prints, Drawings, Water-Colors, Stencils, Paintings and Sculpture, December 1936, #77 (W).

78. A Catalogue of Books on Fine and Applied Arts, Prints, Architecture, Decoration, Rare and Illustrated Books, Winter 1937-1938, #78 (W).

79. Fine Prints, Drawings, Water-Colors, Stencils, Paintings & Sculpture, December 1937, #79 (W).

80. N

81. Fine Prints Old and New, Drawings and Sculpture, December 1938, #81 (W).

82. N

83. A Sampler of Pictures and Sculpture From the Weyhe Gallery, December, 1939, #83 (W).

84. N

85. N

Catalogues in Williams Collection without #s:

1. Illustrated Catalogue, Lithographs, Engravings, and Etchings Published by the Weyhe Gallery, September 1928.

2. Prints as Presents, Modern American Prints, United States in Pictures, 1931.

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3. 400 Prints at $10 (April 1932?)

4. IIII Prints at Bargain Prices, n.d., (Refers to "Previous" Catalogue of 400 Prints at $10).

5. Fine Prints: Old Master Etchings, Engravings and Wood Cuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures For the Home, Prints as Presents, 1933.

Catalogues in Williams Collection with numbers not in sequence.

1. Catalogue of Etchings, Woodcuts and Lithographs By Foreign Artists, n.d. (1933?), #2.

Notes

1. First catalogue published in the United States (708 Lexington Avenue).
2. Cited in Joseph S. Czestochowski, Arthur B. Davies, A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints (Newark, Delaware, 1987), 235. Requested from Czestochowski; but never received.
3. WGS, Volume I, 16. Catalogue cover only; no complete catalogue located.

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Appendix 2

Chronological List of Weyhe Gallery Exhibitions

1919-1940

The chronology of Weyhe Gallery exhibitions is based on gallery announcements and press clippings in the Weyhe Gallery Scrapbooks (WGS) and articles from other sources. When articles referring to the gallery not in the original WGS were discovered, they were placed in a new scrapbook (Volume IX, WGS, Volume New). Copies of all these scrapbooks have been given to the New York Public Library Print Department and the Archives of American Art. An exhibition at the Weyhe Gallery was considered to be a "solo" exhibition when it was not part of a group exhibition. Thus, the work of a sculptor shown with the work of a printmaker was considered to be a solo exhibition for each artist. Scholars writing about Weyhe artists typically use the same definition.

1919

1. "Impressions of Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia," Temperas and Watercolors by M. Von Recklinghausen, from October 24, 1919. Gallery announcement with illustration, "A View of the Camp," linoleum cut by M. Von Recklinghausen (WGS, Volume I, 21). Evening Post, November 26, 1921, and The Sun, November 19, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

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2. "Lithographs by Daumier and Gavarni," November 1-November 15, 1919. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 4). The New York Times, November 9, 1919; The World, November 9, 1919; Evening Transcript, Boston, November 3, 1919; The Sun, November 9, 1919; and New York Tribune, November 9, 1919 (WGS, Volume New).

3. "Lithographs by Odillon [sic] Redon," November 24-December 6, 1919. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 6). New York Tribune, November 30, 1919; The Sun, November 30, 1919; American Art News, December 6, 1919; and Christian Science Monitor, December 15, 1919 (WGS, Volume New).

1920

1. "A Surgeon-Etchers Holiday, Etchings Made by Dr. Herman Fischer," January 14-January 24, 1920. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 8).

2. "An exhibition of Work by Artist Members of the Stowaways." Two gallery announcements and a checklist (WGS, Volume I, 10-12). January 20 to February 14, 1920, and January 26 to February 7, 1920. (J.M. Bowles, Jay Chambers, Arthur S. Covey, Everett R. Currier, Edward B. Edwards, Frederick W. Goudy, Earl Horter, Herbert E. Martini, Bruce Rogers, Louis H. Ruyl, Tony Sarg, F.W. Shaefer, Wilbur M. Stone,

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Walter Dorwin Teague, Harry Townsend, Clarence H. White, and Edward A. Wilson.) New York American, February 1, 1920, and New York Tribune, February 8, 1920 (WGS, Volume New).

3. "Drawings by Ananda Coomaraswamy, Dorothy M. Larcher, and Stella Bloch," February 23-March 6, 1920. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 14-15). New York Herald Tribune, February 29, 1920, and New York Herald Tribune, February 8, 1920 (WGS, Volume New).

4. "Memorial Exhibition of the Complete Etched Works of Charles Henry White," March 22 to April (1920). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume New). The New York Times March 28, 1920; Evening Post Magazine, March 27, 1920; New York Tribune, March 28, 1920; American Art News, April 3, 1920; Evening Sun, March 27, 1920; and World, March 28, 1920 (WGS, Volume New).

5. "Lithographs and Aquatints by Arthur B. Davies," December 14-December 31, 1920, and "Beginning December Fifteen." Two Gallery announcements (WGS, Volume I, 27-28). Henry Tyrrel, "Arthur B. Davies: A Muralist in Prints," International Studio, February 1921, CXXVII; The Arts, December 1921, 170-172; The Arts, January 1921, 32; New York Tribune, December 19, 1920, New York Evening Post,

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December 18, 1920; American Art News, n.d. (December 1920); The New York Times, December 26, 1920; New York City Sun, December 31, 1920; and Brooklyn Eagle, January 2, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

1921

1. "Fine Prints by Old and Modern Masters," January 24-February 5, 1921. No gallery announcement. The New York Times, January 23, 1921; New York Herald, January 23, 1921; and Tribune, January 30, 1921. Included Rembrandt, Daumier, Whistler, LePere, Zorn, Mary Cassatt, Mahonri Young, etc. (WGS, Volume New).

2. "Decorative Designs in Black and White by Walter Dorwin Teague," February 16-February 24, 1921. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 17). Sentinel, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, March 13, 1921; American Art News, March 5, 1921, n.p.; The New York Times, February 27, 1921; and New York Tribune, February 27, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

3. "Etchings by John Marin," March 13-March 31, 1921. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 18-20; and WGS, Volume New). Evening Post, March 29, 1921; The New York Times, March 13, 1921; and Brooklyn Eagle, date illegible, (March 18?, 1921) (WGS, Volume New).

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4. "Etchings, Drawings, and Lithographs by Marie Laurencin and Orovida Pissarro," April 11-March 23, 1921. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 18-20). New York Herald n.d., n.p. (March 1921); The New York Times, April 24, 1921; and The New York Times, April 17, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

5. "Etchings, Drawings, and Monotypes by Joseph Stella," May 9-21, (1921). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 22). The New York Herald, May 22, 1921, and (name of paper illegible), May 22, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

6. Summer "mixed exhibition." No gallery announcement. Artists mentioned in the press included Arthur B. Davies, Walt Kuhn, Boardman Robinson, Max Weber, Adolf Dehn, Walter Pach, John Marin, Arthur Young, William Zorach, Marie Laurencin, Derain, Picasso, Vallotton, Villon, Vlaminck, Maillol, Dufy, Macke. Evening Post, June 25, 1921, and The New York Times, July 10, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

7. "Etchings, Drawings, and Lithographs by J.L. Forain," October 26-November 12, 1921. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 3). New York Tribune, Sunday, October 30, 1921; The Sun, October 29, 1921;

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The World, October 30, 1921; New York American, November 6, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

8. "Color Pencil Drawings by Max von Recklinghausen," beginning November 14, 1921. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 7); The Sun, November 19, 1921; Evening Post, November 26, 1921; and The New York Times, November 27, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

9. "Old Maps of America and Other Countries," December 3-December 15, (1921). Gallery announcement (WSG, Volume I, 5). The Sun, December 10, 1921; New York Herald, December 11, 1921, The New York Times, December 11, 1921; and New York Tribune, December 11, 1921 (WGS, Volume New).

1922

1. "A Collection of Fine Prints Offered for Sale," January 24-February 5, (1922). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 33-34). (Twenty Zorn etchings, ten Rembrandt etchings, others by Bol and Lievens, ten Whistlers, twenty Lepère woodcuts, and prints by Cassatt, Leheutre, Berdeley, Lee-Hankey, Mahonri Young, and Daumier.)

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2. "Etchings and Lithographs by Manet and the French Impressionists," January 28-February 11, 1922. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume II, 28-31). (Cezanne, Cassatt, Degas, Guillamen, Morisot, Manet, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, and Signac.) Evening Post, February 11, 1922, and The Sun, February 11, 1922 (WGS, Volume New).

3. "Decorative Prints and Drawings," March 1922. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 13). New York Evening Post, March 4, 1922, and New York Herald, March 5, 1922 (WGS, Volume New).

4. "First of April Show" (anonymous drawings, some original, some reproductions). Gallery announcement (1922) (WGS, Volume I, 38-39). New York Globe, March 30, 1922; Publishers Weekly, April 15, 1922; Christian Science Monitor, April 7, 1922 (WGS, Volume New).

5. "Original Woodcuts by Felix Vallotton," April 19-May 3, 1922. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 22-23); The Sun, April 22, 19??; New York Herald, April 23, 1922; Evening Post, April 22, 19??; and New York World, April 23, 19?? (WGS, Volume New).

6. "Woodcuts and Lithographs by George Biddle," May 4-May 20, 1922. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 40).

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7. "Summer Group Show." No gallery announcement. A press clipping, no source, no date, refers to, "The last formal exhibition of the season--George Biddle has two walls to himself." Also mentions William Zorach, Paul Burlin, Arthur Young, Max Weber, Adolf Dehn, and Felix Vallotton (WGS, Volume New).

8. "Mixed Exhibition" and "The Living Artist"; no gallery announcement. Sunday World, July 2, 1922, discusses a "mixed exhibition" and mentions "The Living Artist"; cites Arthur Young, Walt Kuhn, George "Pop" Hart, Charles Burchfield, Joseph Stella, Marsden Hartley, and William Zorach (WGS, Volume New). Handwritten notes by Zigrosser from files at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, July 1922, list Arthur Young, Burchfield, W. Kuhn, Stella, Pop Hart, Marsden Hartley, Zorach, A.B. Davies, B. Robinson, Weber, M. Sterne, Marin, Bellows, Sloan, R.H. Miller, Kent, and Haskell, all presumably in the July exhibition, which probably relates to "The Living Artist."

9. "Old Decorative Maps," October 17-October 31, 1922. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 41). New York Times, October 22, 1922 and New York Evening Post, October 28, 1922 (WGS, Volume New).

10. "Piranesi Etchings," and "Lithographs by Pamela Bianco" no gallery announcement. Christian Science Monitor, December 18, 1922, byline

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R.F., dateline New York, December 15, n.p. (Bianco) (WGS, Volume II, 1). New York Herald, December 10, 1922 (Piranesi); New York Tribune, December 17, 1922 (Piranesi); and New York Evening Post, December 9, 1922 (Bianco and Piranesi) (WGS, Volume New).

1923 (at 710 Lexington)

1. "Etchings, Drawings, and Lithographs by Odilon Redon," January 26-February 10, 1923. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 40). Christian Science Monitor, February 12, 1923, and Christian Science Monitor, April 12, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 2). New York Herald, February 4, 1923 (WGS, Volume New).

2. "Drawings and Lithographs by Adolf Dehn," April 2-25, 1923. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 42). N.Y. Herald, April 1, 1923, (WGS, Volume II, 2); Christian Science Monitor, April 12, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 4).

1923 (at 794 Lexington Avenue)

1. "Modern German Artists, Selected by the Ferdinand Moeller Gallery of Berlin," November 27-December 11, 1923. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 43). New York Herald, December 2, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 9) (included Partikel, Otto Muller, Emil Nolde, Bizer, Heckel, Crodel,

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Huth, Kolbe, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff). Brooklyn Daily Eagle, December 15, 1923, and New York Evening Post, December 8, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 26).

2. "Recent Landscape and Figure Drawings by Arthur B. Davies," December 1923-January 10, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 44-47). New York American, December 23, 1923, and New York Herald, Sunday, December 23, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 10 and 14). New York Herald, January 20, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 11). New York Evening Post, December 22, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 9) New York World, December 23, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 29). Town Topics, January 3, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 30).

1924

1. "An Exhibition of Paintings by Alfred H. Maurer," January 15, 1924. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 45-47). The New York Herald, January 20, 1924, and Christian Science Monitor, February 2, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 14).

2. "Etchings by Walter Sickert," February 25-March 9, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 50). New York Herald, March 2, 1924

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(WGS, Volume II, 14 and 19). Brooklyn Eagle, March 2, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 12).

3. "Woodcuts by Eric Gill," February 25-March 9, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 51). New York Herald, March 2, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 14 and 19). Brooklyn Eagle, March 2, 1994 (WGS, Volume II, 12).

4. "Graphic Art by Walt Kuhn," March 18-31, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 53). Arts, August 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 40).

5. "Drawings of Tierra del Fuego by Rockwell Kent," April 8-25, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 54). Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 13, 1924, and New York Times, April 13, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 15).

6. "Woodcuts and Drawings by Frans Masereel," May 1-15, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 52). Christian Science Monitor, May 19, 1924, and New York American, May 4, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 16).

7. "Drawings by Boardman Robinson," May 19-June 7, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 55). The Sun, May 24, 1923, and Brooklyn Eagle, June 8, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 16 and 18).

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8. Summer Group Exhibitions? No gallery announcement or press clippings in WGS.

9. "Old Maps of America," October 11-25, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 60). New York Evening Post, October 18, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 21). New York Brooklyn Daily Eagle, October 19, 1924. The New York Times, October 19, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 22).

10. "Watercolors by Richard F. Lahey," October 24-November 8, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 60). New York Sun, November 1, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 23.)

11. "Woodcuts by J.J. Lankes," October 27-November 8, 1924. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume 1, 61). New York Sun, November 7, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 23). New York Evening Post, November 11, 1924; The Sun, November 11, 1924; New York Sun, November 1, 1924; and The New York Times, November 2, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 24). Christian Science Monitor, November 10, 1924, illus. (WGS, Volume II, 25).

12. "Alfred H. Maurer," November 12-December 30, 1924. Gallery announcements (WGS, Volume I, 63 and 64). The New York Sun,

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November 15, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 24). The closing date is in The New York Times, December 28, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 25). ARTnews, January 26, 1924 (WGS, Volume II, 32).

1925

1. "Drawings by Adolph Dehn," January 16-31, 1925. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 65-66). N.Y. Herald Tribune, February 1, 1925; Brooklyn Eagle, March 15, 1925; and The New York Times, January 25, 1925 (Volume II, 33). New York Evening Post (WGS, Volume II, 35).

2. "Etchings by Jean Frelaut," February 2-14, 1925. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 69).

3. "Watercolors, Drawings, and Woodcuts by a Group of Contemporary English Artists," February 2-14, 1925. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 67-68). Horace Brodsky, Gordon Craig, Henry Dixon, Eric Gill, Miguel Mackinlay, John Nash, and Paul Nash.

4. "Paintings and Drawings by Benjamin D. Kopman," February 16-25, 1925. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 70-71). The New York Times,

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February 22, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 34). Newark Evening News, February 23, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 35). Art World, October 6, 1925, illus., Bird Carved in Wood (WGS, Volume II, 72).

5. "Drawings, Lithographs, and Etchings by Henry Matisse," selected by his son Pierre Matisse, March 14-April 4, 1925. Gallery announcement and catalogue (WGS, Volume I, 72-76). The New Yorker, April 4, 1925, and New York World, March 22, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 35). Brooklyn Eagle, March 5, 1925, The Sun, March 29, 1925, and New York Town Topics, April 2, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 36). The New York Times Magazine, March 22, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 37). New York American, March 29, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 38). Art Events, March 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 39).

6. "Paintings and Drawings by Vincent Canadè," April 6-25, (1925). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 78-79). New York American, April 26, 1925; The Sun, April 11, 1925; and New York Evening Post, April 18, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 38).

7. "Sculpture, Drawings, and Lithographs by Arnold Rönnebeck," April 27-May 16, 1925. Gallery announcement and catalogue (WGS, Volume I, 76-77). The New York Times, May 3, 1925, and The Sun, May 2, 1925

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(WGS, Volume II, 40). The Sun, May 16, 1925 (WGS,Volume II, 41). The New Yorker, May 29, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 42). The Arts, June 1925, and Vogue, May 1, 1927 (WGS, Volume II, 45).

8. Summer exhibition. No gallery announcement. Drawings and sculptures by Aristide Maillol; etchings by John Marin; etchings by John Barber; Fiske Boyd; Wanda Gág; Thomas Handforth; drawings by Francisco Franco; paintings by John Flannagan; Manet's etching Portrait of Berthe Marisot. The New York Times, May 24, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 81-83).

9. Summer exhibition. No gallery announcement. Etchings, monotypes, and other prints by Pop Hart; lithographs and drawings by Adolph Dehn, prints by Jean Frelaut. Other artists: Rudolph Ruzicka, Edward Hopper, Meryon, Whistler, Bellows, and Matisse. Newark Evening News, July 13, 1925 (WGS, Volume New). The New York Times Magazine, June 28, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 50.) The work of Harwood Simpson was also shown. The New Yorker, August 29, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 64). Also, "a grand finale to their season's offerings-Matisse, Rönnebeck, Canadè." The New Yorker, June 27, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 47). Murdock Pemberton in The New Yorker, August 15, 1925, mentions paintings by M. Berly, Pascin, Bonnard, Maclet Kisling, Rönnebeck, Harry Wickey, Jan Matulka, J.J. Lankes, and Mukwl Dey.

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10. "Etchings by J.A. Ten Eyck." Gallery announcement and checklist, n.d. (October 1925) (WGS, Volume I, 58-59). The date of the exhibition is inferred from a copy of the gallery announcement, date stamped October ?, 1925, in the files of the New York Public Library Print Room. No press notices for this exhibition have been located.

11. "Eva Bernstein, Paintings and Drawings," October 14-24, 1925. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 82-83). ARTnews, October 24, 1925, and The New Yorker, October 24, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 68). Evening Post, October 31, 1925, and Cortissoz, New York Herald Tribune (?), October 25, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 75).

12. "Drawings by Alastair," October 26-November 7, 1925. Gallery announcement and catalogue (WGS, Volume I, 80-81, 84). ARTnews, October 31, 1925, and Cortissoz, November 1, source? (WGS, Volume II, 76). The New Yorker, November 7, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 79).

13. "Exhibition by the Peintre-Graveurs Independants of Paris," November 25-December 8, 1925. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 80-84). The New Yorker, December 5, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 89). Boussingault, Chagall, Coubine, Frelaut, Galaner, Georg, Gromaire, Kayser, Labourer,

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Laurencin, Lespinasse, L. Levy, Marchand, L.A. Moreau, Verge-Sarrat, and Vlaminck.

1926

1. "Paintings by Alfred Maurer," January 4-20, 1926. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 87 and 143). The New Yorker, January 9, 1926; ARTnews, January 16, 1926; The Sun, January 16, 1926; The New York Times, January 10, 1922; ARTnews, January 16, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 90).

2. "Monotypes and Drawings by Paul Froehlich" and "Watercolors by Emil Holzhauer," January 25-February 6, 1926. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 82-83). The New Yorker, January 2, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 78). The New Yorker, February 6, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 90). Lilies, illus., The Chicago Post, March 30, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 96).

3. "Watercolors by Rockwell Kent," February 8-February 27, 1926. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 86). The Herald Tribune, February 14, 1926; Brooklyn Eagle, February 14, 1926; The New Yorker, February 19, 1926; and The Sun, February 13, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 104). ARTnews, February 13, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 105).

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4. "Etchings by Walter Pach" and "Paintings by Magda Pach," March 1926. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 89-90). The New York Times, March 7, 1926 and Brooklyn Eagle, March 7, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 108).

5. "Paintings by Charles Bateman" and "Sculpture by Myra Musselman Carr," March 15-27, (1926). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 91-92). ARTnews, March 20, 1926, and New York Sun, March 20, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 110).

6. "Mario Toppi, Recent Drawings," n.d. (March 1926). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 88). ARTnews, March 20, 1926; N.Y. Herald Tribune, March 20, 1926; and Christian Science Monitor, March 29, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 110). Margaret Breuning, source?, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 98).

7. "Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings, Etchings, Woodcuts, and Lithographs by Emil Ganso," March 29-April 17, 1926. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 93-95). New York Sun, March 27, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 98). The New York Times, March 28, 1926; The New Yorker, April 3, 1926; ARTnews, April 10, 1926; and R. Cortissoz, New York Herald Tribune?, April 4, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 100).

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8. "Watercolors and Etchings by Charles Downing Lay," April 19-May 1, (1926). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 96-97). The New York Times, April 18, 1926, and Sun, April 24, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 120).

9. "Clarence O. Woodbury: Etchings, Woodcuts, and Lithographs," May 4-18, 1926. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 98-99). The New York Evening Post, May 15, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 120).

10. Summer exhibition. No gallery announcement. Texie Myers, Will Beaton, Jean Charlot, Thomas Erwin, Cecil Boulton, Mruk, Thomas Erwin, Leon Underwood. The New Yorker, June 12, 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 101). Also The New Yorker, August 28, 1926, Canadè, Ganso, Peggy Bacon, Matisse, Laurencin (WGS, Volume II, 140).

11. "Watercolors, Prints, and Drawings by Vlaminck," October 4-16, (1926). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 105). N.Y. American, October 3, 1926, and M.P., in ARTnews n.d., 1926 (WGS, Volume II, 149).

12. "Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings and Woodcuts by Rufino Tamayo," October 19-30, (1926). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 106-107).

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13. "Watercolors, Drawings, and Lithographs by Wanda Gág," November 3-20, 1926. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 110-111. The checklist for this exhibition is incomplete in Volume I. A complete checklist can be found in WGS Volume New). The Arts, December 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 84.) McBride, The New York Sun, November 6, 1926, and Christian Science Monitor, November 18, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 85). Murdock Pemberton, in The New Yorker, November 13, 1926; New York Evening Post, November 13, 1926; New York Graphic, November 13, 1926; and New York Herald Tribune, November 26, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 86).

14. "Drawings and Lithographs of the Stage by Eugene Fitsch," November 22-December 4, (1926). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 219-221). New York Post, December 4, 1926; The Chicago Post, November 30, 1926 Herald Tribune, November 28, 1926; and The New Yorker, December 4, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 87). The New York Times, November 28, 1926; New York Sun, November 27, 1926; and Christian Science Monitor, November 29, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 88).

15. "Drawings by Mario Toppi," December 1926. Gallery announcements (WGS, Volume I, 88, 112, and 217). The New York Times, December

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19, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 67). Herald Tribune, December 19, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 66).

16. "The Sculpture of Simon Moselsio," December 1926. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 113-114). The New Yorker, December 18, 1926; New York Post, December 4, 1926; American Art News, December 18, 1926 (WGS, Volume III, 65). New York Herald Tribune, December 19, 1926; Brooklyn Eagle, December 12, 1926, Indra's Daughter, illus. (WGS, Volume III, 66).

1927

1. "Paintings by Alfred Maurer," January 5-20, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 115). The New Yorker, January 22, 1927, which also reviews Flannagan (WGS, Volume III, 52). New York Sun, January 8, 1927; The New York Post, January 18, 1927; The New Yorker, January 8, 1927; The New York Times, January 16, 1927; The New York Herald Tribune, January 16, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 63). Post Literary Review, January 29, 1927, drawing illustrated (WGS, Volume III, 46). The Chicago Post, January 18, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 53).

2. "Sculpture by J.B. Flannagan," January 5-20, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 116-117). New York Sun, January 8, 1927; Chicago

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Evening Post, April 19, 1927; Herald Tribune, January 16, 1927; New York Times, January 16, 1927; New York World, January 17, 1927; New York Post, January 16, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 63).

3. "Bronzes and Drawings by Manolo," January 24-February 5, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 118). New York Post, February 5, 1927, and New York Tribune, January 30, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 45).

4. "Etchings and Drawings by Picasso," January 24-February 5, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 118). The Chicago Post, January 11, 1927; New York Tribune, January 30, 1927; New York Post, February 5, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 45).

5. "Drawings by Jo Mielziner" and "Paintings by Paul Froelich," February 7-19, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 128). New York Telegraph, February 7, 1927; The Chicago Post, February 15, 1927; and The New Yorker, February 19 (WGS, Volume III, 48).

6. "Sculpture by Roy Sheldon," February 7-28, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 119). The World, February 27, 1927 (joint review with Ganso) (WGS, Volume II, 84). The New York Times,

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February 13, 1927. The New York Post, February 14, 1927; The Chicago Post, February 15, 1927; and The New York Herald Tribune, February 13, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 48).

7. "Paintings and Drawings by Emil Ganso," February 21-March 5 (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 122). New York Sun, February 26, 1927; The New York Times, February 27, 1927; The Herald Tribune, February 27, 1927; The World, February 27, 1927; The New Yorker, March 4, 1927; and The New York Evening Post, March 5, 1927 (WGS, Volume II, 94).

8. "Rockwell Kent: Watercolors of Ireland and Drawings," March 4-26, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 121). The Sun, March 12, 1927; LK in The New York Times, March 13, 1927; and Gaelic American, March 19, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 4). New York Post, March 19, 1927, and New York Tribune, March 13, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 5).

9. "Paintings by Vincent Canadè," March 28-April 9, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 122). The New Yorker, April 2, 1927; (H. McBride) The Sun, April 2, 1927; and New York Post, April 12, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 8). New York American, April 10, 1927 (WGS,

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Volume III, 14). New York Post, April 9, 1927, and The New York Times, April 10, 1927 (WGS, Volume III. 9). McBride, The Sun, April 2, 1927, and the New York Post, April 2, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 8).

10. "Watercolors by Faie Jarmel," April 11-25, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 123-124). The Sun, April 16, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 13). The Chicago Post, April 23, 1927; ARTnews, April 23, 1927; and The New Yorker, April 23, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 20). The New York Times, April 17, 1927, and Chicago Evening Post, April 19, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 21).

11. "Sculpture by Wharton Esherick," April 11-30, (1927). Gallery announcement and checklist (probably incomplete) (WGS, Volume II, 125-126). Chicago Evening Post, April 19, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 21). ARTnews, April 23, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 20). The Chicago Post, April 23, 1927, Cat and Snake, illus. (WGS, Volume III, 6).

12. Summer exhibitions? No gallery announcements or press clippings in WGS.

13. September exhibition. No gallery announcement. Murdock Pemberton, The New Yorker, September 17, 1927, mentions "the first exhibition that might be

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called official": Rivera, Max Pechstein, Conrad Westphal, Canadè, Ganso, Harry Wickey, and Picasso (WGS, Volume III, 95).

14. "Watercolors by George Biddle," October 17-29, 1927. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 129). New York Evening Post, October 29, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 110).

15. "Paintings and Drawings by Jean Negulesco," October 31-November 12, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 128-130). The New York Sun, November 5, 1927; The New Yorker, November 12, 1927; and The New York Herald Tribune, November 6, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 122). The New York Sun, October 29, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 114). The New York Evening Post, November 5, 1927, illus. (WGS, Volume III,123).

16. "Rare Japanese Prints From the Collection of Mr. A.G. Moslé," November 14-26, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 131). The New Yorker, November 23, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 124).

17. "Paintings and Drawings by Jan and Cora Gordon," November 28-December 7, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 132-134). Art World, October 4, 1927; The New York Times, October 4, 1927;

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and New York Sun, October 28, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 114). The New Yorker, December 10, 1927, and New York Evening Post, December 3, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 136). The Citadel, date ?, illus. (WGS, Volume III, 109).

18. "Paintings and Watercolors by Lois Lenski," December 8-24, (1927). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 136-137). New York Evening Post, December 17, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 149). The New York Times, December 18, 1927 (WGS, Volume III, 150).

1928

1. "Paintings and Drawings by Diego M. Rivera," January 3-21, 1928. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 138-140). New York Sun, January 7, 1928, and The New York Times, January 1, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 155), ARTnews, January 14, 1928; and New York Evening Post, January 7, 1928; The New Yorker, January 14, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 156). Herald Tribune, January 1928; The Art Digest, mid-January 1928; and Creative Art, February 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 158).

2. "Recent Sculpture in Wood and Stone by J.B. Flannagan," January 23-February 4, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 141).

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ARTnews, February 3, 1928 (also Pascin) (WGS, Volume III, 176). New York Evening Post, February 18, 1928 (WGS Volume III, 179). The Chicago Evening Post, February 21, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 6). Creative Art, March 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 12).

3. "Drawings by Jules Pascin," January 23-February 4, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 141). New York Herald Tribune, January 29, 1928; The New York Times, January 29, 1928; New York Sun, January 28, 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 164). The Art Digest, mid-February 1928; New York Evening Post, February 3, 1928; and Creative Art, March 1928 (WGS, Volume III, 176). The Arts, March 1928, illus. (WGS, Volume IV, 16).

4. "Watercolors by Reginald Marsh," February 5-16, (1928). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 142). The New York Times, February 12, 1928; New York Sun, February 18, 1928; New York Evening Post, February 18, 1928; and The New Yorker, February 18, 1921 (WGS, Volume III, 179).

5. "Paintings, Drawings, and Prints by Emil Ganso," February 20-March 3, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 147). The Herald Tribune, February 26, 1928; Creative Art, March 1928; The New Yorker,

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March 3, 1928; The New York Times, February 26, 1928; ARTnews, February 25, 1928; and The New Yorker, March 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 3). Brooklyn Daily Eagle, March 4, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 4). Creative Art, April 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 44).

6. "Wire Sculpture by Alexander Calder," February 20-March 3, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 143). The New York Times, February 26, 1928; ARTnews, February 28, 1928; The New York Herald Tribune, March 4, 1928; The Chicago Evening Post, February 28, 1928; and The New Yorker, March 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 3). The Chicago Post, (Soda Fountain reproduced) (WGS, Volume IV, 4). Charm, April 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 19-22). American Sketch, April 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 23). Creative Art, April 1928 (The Mule, illus.) (WGS, Volume IV, 43-44). The New York Times, March 31, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 17).

7. "Watercolors of Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, Etchings and Wood Engravings by Leon Underwood," March 5-17, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 144). New York Evening Post, March 10, 1928; The New York Times, March 11, 1928; and The New York

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Herald Tribune, March 18, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 10). Vanity Fair, May 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 46-47). Creative Art, April 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 44).

8. "Watercolors, Drawings, and Prints by Wanda Gág," March 19-31, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 146). The New Yorker, March 24, 1928; The New York Times, March 25, 1928; New York Evening Post, March 24, 1928; and The Chicago Evening Post, March 20, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 13).

9. "Recent Paintings by Alfred Maurer," April ? to April 14, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 147-148). The Herald Tribune, April 8, 1928; The New York Times, April 8, 1928; The Art Digest, mid-April 1928; and The Chicago Post, April 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 27). The New York Times, April 8, 1928 (illus., Self-Portrait) (WGS, Volume IV, 28). The New Yorker, April 14, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 29).

10. "Paintings and Drawings by Andrée Ruellan," April 16-28, 1928. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 149-150). Herald Tribune, April 22, 1928; The New York Times, April 22, 1928; New York Sun, April 14, 1928; American Art News, April 17, 1928; Chicago Evening Post, April 17, 1928; The New York Evening Post, April 21, 1928 (WGS,

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Volume IV, 39). The New Yorker, April 28, 1928, and The Nation, May 9, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 41).

11. "Watercolors by Arthur R. Young," April 30-May 12. Gallery announcement and checklist, May 12, 1928 (WGS, Volume I, 151-152). The New York Times, May 6, 1928; New York Herald Tribune, May 6, 1928; and The Arts, May 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 53).

12. Group exhibition, May 14-31, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 153). Arch Bonge (paintings); Kent Crane (lithographs); B.J. Nordfeldt (etchings); Lue Osborne (watercolors); William Simmons (woodcuts); Jessie Warneke (watercolors); Egmont Arens (lamps). The New York Sun, May 12, 1928; The Chicago Post, May 15, 1928; New York Herald Tribune, May 20, 1928; New York Times, May 20, 1928; The Arts, May 26, 1928; and The New York Evening Post, May 19, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 54).

13. Group exhibition, June 1928. No gallery announcement. Watercolors by five young Americans: Homer Bass, Eva Bernstein, Elizabeth Spalding, Abbie Candlin, and ? (only four artists mentioned by name). The New York American, June 10, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 65).

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14. Group exhibition, July 1928. No gallery announcement. Derain, Segonzac, Ganso, Matulka, Lois Lenski, Canadè, Maurer, and Pascin; and the drawings and lithographs of Mabel Dwight. The New York Times, July 1, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 72).

15. Group exhibition, July 1928. No gallery announcement. Maximo Pacheco, Jean Charlot, Rivera, Pop Hart, Howard Cook, Mahonri Young, Tamayo, and Ralph Pearson. The New York Times, July 15, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 74). The New York Herald Tribune, July 15, 1928, and International Studio, August 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 75).

16. Group exhibition, August 1928. No gallery announcement. Bacon, Ganso, Pascin, Maurer, Canadè, Benton, Gág, Lois Lenski, Kent, Kuniyoshi, Mabel Dwight, Charles D. Lay, Hopper, Glenn Coleman, Arthur Young, Calder, Flannagan, Sprinchorn, Shimizu, and Vlaminck. Murdock Pemberton in The New Yorker, September 1, 1928; The New York Times, August 26, 1928; and New York Herald Tribune, August 26, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 85).

17. Group exhibition, September 1928. No gallery announcement. Ethel Spears, Elizabeth Olds, George Biddle, A.Z. Cruse, Reginald Marsh, Renée Sintenis, William O'Brien, and Harwood Simpson. The New York

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Times, September 16, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 86). The New Yorker, September 22, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 87).

18. "Drawings by A. Lubbers," September 24-October 6, 1928. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 154-155). The New York Herald Tribune, September 30, 1928; The New York Times, September 30, 1928; and The Chicago Post, October 9, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 101).

19. "Audubon Bird Prints," October 8-20, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 156). The Social Calendar, October 15, 1928; The New York Herald Tribune, October 14, 1928; and The New Yorker, October 20, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 102).

20. "Paintings and Drawings by Emil Ganso," October 22-November 10, (1928). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 157). The World, October 27, 1928; The New York American, October 28, 1928; The New York Herald Tribune, October 28, 1928; The New York Evening Post, October 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 104). The New Yorker, November 3, 1928; and The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, November 4, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 105).

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21. "Woodcuts by Alice D. Laughlin," November 12-24, 1928. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 158-160). The Art World, November 18, 1928; New York Herald Tribune, November 18, 1928; The New York Times, November 18, 1928; and The New York Evening Post, November 24, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 122).

22. "Burins by Mary Huntoon," November. No gallery announcement. Gotham Life, November 18, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 120).

23. "Drawings and Lithographs by Mabel Dwight," November 26-December 15, 1928. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 161-162). The New York Times, December 2, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 131). The New York Herald Tribune, December 2, 1928; The New Yorker, December 1, 1928; The Social Calendar, December 3, 1928; The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, December 2, 1928; The Chicago Post, November 27, 1928; The New Yorker, November 3, 1928; and The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, November 4, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 132). The New York Evening Post, December 8, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 133).

24. "Bronzes by Renée Sintenis," November 26-December 15, 1928. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 163). The New York Times, December 2, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 131). The New York Herald Tribune,

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December 2, 1928; The New Yorker, December 1, 1928; Brooklyn Daily Eagle, December 2, 1928; The Chicago Post, November 27, 1928; The Social Calendar, December 3, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 132). New York Evening Post, December 8, 1928, (WGS, Volume IV, 133). Dogs, etching, illus., The Chicago Post, July 2, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 63).

25. December group show? No gallery announcement. Herman Post, mentioned in The Chicago Post Art World, December 26, 1928 (WGS, Volume IV, 143).

1929

1. "Etchings and Drawings by Thomas Handforth," January 2-19, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 165-167). The New York Times, January 13, 1929; The Art Digest, January 1929; The New York Herald Tribune, January 13, 1929; Gotham Life, January 6, 1929; and The New York Evening Post, January 19, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 137). The Forum, January 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 139-140).

2. "Twelve Sculptures by [Roy] Sheldon," January 2-19, (1929). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 164). The New York Times, January 13, 1929; The New York Times, January 13, 1929; and The New York Herald Tribune, January 13, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 137).

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3. "Drawings and Watercolors by Kai Klitgard," January 21-February 2, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 170-171). Edward Alden Jewell, The New York Times (?), n.d. (WGS, Volume IV, 167-168). The New York Sun, January 26, 1929; The New York Evening Post, February 2, 1929; and The New York American News, February 2, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 169.) and The Arts, February 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 188).

4. "Bronzes, Woodcuts, and Drawings by Aristide Maillol," January 21-February 2, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 168-169). The New York Sun, January 26, 1929; The New York Evening Post, February 2, 1929; The N.Y. American News, February 2, 1929; The New York Herald Tribune, January 29, 1929, 169 (WGS, Volume IV, 169). Chicago Evening Post, February 19, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 184). Chicago Evening Post, February 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 180). The Arts, February 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 185 and 188).

5. "Wood Carvings by Alexander Calder," February 4-23, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 172). The New York Evening Post, February 8, 1929; The New Yorker, February 23, 1929; The New York Times, February 9, 1929; and Social Calendar, February 18, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 170.) The New York Herald Tribune, February 17, 1929;

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The New York Herald Tribune, March 31, 1929; and The Arts, April 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 171).

6. "Prints and Drawings by Howard Cook," February 4-23, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 173-175). The New York Evening Post, February 8, 1929; The New Yorker, February 29, 1929; The New York Times, February 9, 1929; Social Calendar, February 18, 1929; and The New York Herald Tribune, February 17, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 170). The Forum, February 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 162).

7. "Drawings and Lithographs by Adolf Dehn," February 25-March 16, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 177-178). The New York Times, March 3, 1929; The New Yorker, March 9, 1929; The New York Evening Post, March 9, 1929; The New York Sun, March 2, 1929; Gotham Life, March 10, 1929; and The N.Y. Herald Tribune, March 3, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 22). The Arts, March 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 23). The Chicago Post, March 12, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 24). The Chicago Post, March 19, 1929, 25, (WGS, Volume V, 25).

8. "Drawings and Prints by Peggy Bacon," March 18-30, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 178-180). The New York Times, March 24, 1929; The New York Herald Tribune, March 24, 1929;

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The New Yorker, March 30, 1929; The New York Evening Post, March 24, 1929; and Gotham Life, March 24, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 13). The Arts, April 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 17). Brooklyn Eagle, March 31, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 15).

9. "Sculpture of Harry Allen Shaffer," Saturday, March 23, 1929. No gallery announcement. The New York Sun, March 20, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 2-3).

10. "Drawings by Mahonri Young," April 1-20, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 182). The New York Herald Tribune, April 4, 1929; The New Yorker, April 13, 1929; and The New York Times, April 14, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 19). Art Digest, n.d.; The New York Herald Tribune, April 7, 1929; and The New York Evening Post, April 13, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 20).

11. "Recent Paintings by Vincent Canadè," April 22-May 11, (1929). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 183).

12. "Etchings and Lithographs by Arthur B. Davies," April 29-May 11, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 186). The New York Times, May 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 40). The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 5,

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1929; The New Yorker, May 11, 1929; and Gotham Life, May 13, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 41).

13. "The Sculpture of George Kolbe," (May 1929). Gallery announcement, n.d. The New York Times, May 5, 1929, and The New York Herald Tribune, May 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 37). The New York Sun, May 4, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 38). Evening Post, May 5, 1929; N.Y. Herald Tribune, May 5, 1929; and Social Calendar, May 13, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 39). The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume IV, 41). The Brooklyn Times, May 12, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 44). International Studio, June 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 56) Vanity Fair, August 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 67).

14. "Harlem Sketches by Stella Bloch," May 13-25, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 187). The New York Herald Tribune, May 19, 1929; The New York Times, May 19, 1929; Gotham Life, May 26, 1929; and The New York Sun, May 25, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 46).

15. Group exhibition, May 27-June 15, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 187). Abbie Candlin, watercolors; William Littlefield, drawings; Henry Melloy, drawings; Wladek Mruk, watercolors; Willard

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Nash, watercolors; Hermann Post, watercolors; and Wayne Wilhelm, paintings. The New Yorker, June 8, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 53).

16. "Woodcuts and Watercolors by Lowell Houser," June 17-July 6, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 189). The New York Times, June 30, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 61).

17. Summer group exhibition. No gallery announcement. Victoria Hutson, Canadè, Kent, Marin, Rivera, Vlaminck, Laurencin, Matisse, Bacon, and Dwight. The New Yorker, September 14, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 73).

18. "Airbrush Drawings by Frank Osborn," September 30-October 12, 1929. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 190). The New York Times, October 6, 1929; The N.Y. Herald Tribune, October 6, 1929; and New York American, October 6, 1929; The New Yorker, October 12, 1929; and The Arts, October 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 81). The Chicago Post, date? (WGS, Volume V, 80).

19. "Finger Painting by Kwei Teng" (October 14-26, 1929). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 191-193). Christian Science Monitor, October 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 84). The New York Herald Tribune, October 9, 1929; The New York Herald Tribune, October 20,

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1929; The New York World, October 13, 1929; The New York Evening Post, October 19, 1929; The New York Times, October 20, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 82). The Chicago Post, October 15, 1929; Christian Science Monitor, October 5, 1929; and The New Yorker, October 26, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 83). Brooklyn Daily Times, October 20, 1929, and Baltimore Sun, October 20, 1929 and (WGS, Volume V, 85).

20. "Lithographs by Louis Lozowick," October 28-November 9, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 192-193). Brooklyn Eagle, November 3, 1929; The Arts, November 1929; The New York Times, November 3, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 87).

21. "Modern Drawings," November 11-23, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 196-197). The New Yorker, November 16, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 89). The New York Herald Tribune, November 17, 1929, and Creative Art, December 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 90). The New York Sun, December 26, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 104).

22. "Sculpture by Chana Orloff," November 11-30, 1929. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 194-195). Brooklyn Daily Eagle, November 17, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 94). The New Yorker, November 16, 1929; The New York Evening Post, November 16, 1929;

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and The New York Evening Post, November 16, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 89). The New York Herald Tribune, November 17, 1929, and Creative Art, December 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 90). The Arts, December 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 102). The New York Sun, December 26, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 104).

23. Vivin, "a new primitive," The Chicago Post, November 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 87). The Chicago Post, December 31, 1929, Winter, illus. (WGS, Volume V, 106).

24. "Dutch and Flemish Prints," November 25, 1929-December ? Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 198-199). The New York Herald Tribune, December 1, 1929; The New York Times, December 1, 1929; and The New Yorker, December 7, 1929 (WGS, Volume V, 97).

1930

1. "Paintings and Watercolors by Julius Bloch, Lois Lenski, Charles Rocher, and J.W. Taylor," and "Lithographs and Etchings by Reginald Marsh and Alexander Z. Kruse," January 2-11, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 200). The Chicago Post, January 14, 1930; and The New York Times, January 12, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 110).

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2. "Watercolors, Drawings, and Prints by Wanda Gág," January 13-February 1, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 203). The Arts, January 1930, and International Studio, February 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 113). Brooklyn Daily Eagle, January 12, 1930; The New York Sun, January 11, 1930; The New York Herald Tribune, January 19, 1930; The New York Times, January 19, 1930; The New York Evening Post, January 18, 1930; The New Yorker, January 25, 1930; The N.Y. World, January 19, 1930; and Today in New York, January 14, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 115). The Chicago Post, January 21, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 123).

3. Group exhibition. No gallery announcement. Gág, Hopper, Dwight, Ganso, and Nason. Today in New York, February 6, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 122).

4. "Paintings and Drawings by Victoria Ebbels Hutson," February 3-22, 1930. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume I, 204-205). The New Yorker, February 22, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 123). The New York Herald Tribune, February 9, 1930; The New York Times, February 16, 1930; The New York Evening Post, February 15, 1930; and The Arts, February 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 124). The Chicago Post, February 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 128). Washington Irving Times, February 10, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 129).

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5. "Rockwell Kent's Drawings for Moby Dick," February 24-March 15, (1930). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 206-207). The New York Times, March 2, 1930; Social Calendar, March 10, 1930; and Brooklyn Eagle, March 2, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 130). New York Sun, March 1, 1930; and New York Herald Tribune, March 2, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 141). The New Yorker, March 29, 1930; Rocky Mt. News, May 4, 1930; Brooklyn Eagle, March 30, 1930; and The New York Times, March 12, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 142).

6. "Paintings and Drawings by Emil Ganso," March 17-April 5, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 208). New York Herald Tribune, March 23, 1930; New York Evening Post, March 29, 1938; and The New York Times, March 30, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 141).

7. "Fifty New Lithographs by Adolf Dehn," April 7-26, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 210). The New Yorker, April 19, 1930; The Chicago Post, April 15, 1930; and The Social Calendar, April 21, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 155). The New York Times, April 13, 1930; The New York Sun, April 12, 1930; The New York Herald Tribune, April 12, 1930; and The Newark Evening Post, April 19, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 156).

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8. "Sculptures by John Flannagan," April 7-26, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 209). The New Yorker, April 19, 1930; The Chicago Post, April 15, 1930; and The Social Calendar, April 21, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 155). The New York Times, April 13, 1930; The New York Sun, April 12, 1930; The New York Herald Tribune, April 12, 1930; and The Newark Evening Post, April 19, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 156).

9. "The Work of the Curwen Press," April 28-May 2, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 211). Publishers Weekly, May 3, 1930; and The Chicago Post, March 6, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 157).

10. "Sculptures by Harold Cash," May 1-15, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 213). New York Herald Tribune, May 11, 1930; The New York Times, May 11, 1930; The New York Evening Post, May 10, 1930 The Chicago Post, May 13, 1930; and (WGS, Volume V, 163).

11. "Drawings and Lithographs by William Littlefield," May 1-15, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume I, 212). The New York Times, May 11, 1930; The New York Evening Post, May 10, 1930; The New York Herald Tribune, May 11, 1930; and The Chicago Post, May 13, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 163).

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12. "Daumier Portrait Busts," May 1930. No gallery announcement. The New York Evening Post, May 10, 1930; The New York Times, May 25, 1930; and The New York Herald Tribune, May 25, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 164). The Chicago Post, May 20, 1930; and The Chicago Post, May 27, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 165).

13. "Paintings by Heywood Broun," September 25-October 9, 1930. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 1-4). The New York Herald Tribune, September 25, 1930; The Social Calendar, September 1930; and The New York Herald Tribune, September 28, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 188). The New York Telegraph, September 27, 1930; The New York Evening Post, October 4, 1930; and The Chicago Post, September 30, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 189). The New York Times, October 5, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 190). The Chicago Post, October 7, 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 195). Art Digest, mid-October 1930 (WGS, Volume VI, 2). Parnassus, Fall 1930 (WGS, Volume VI, 92).

14. "Colored Engravings by Thomas Rowlandson," October 13-24, (1930). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 5).

15. "Six Portraits by Berenice Abbott: Andrée Gide, Jean Cocteau, Eugene Atget, James Joyce, Princess Murat, and Sophie Victor," November 24-

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December 6, (1930). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 7 and 9).

16. "Atget Photographs," November 24-December 6, (1930). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 7-8). The New Yorker, December 13, 1930 (WGS, Volume VI, 17).

17. "New Sculptures by Vally Wieselthier," December 8-22. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 10-11). The New York Evening Telegram, December 26, 1930, and The Social Calendar, December 15, 1930 (WGS, Volume VI, 19).

18. "Drawings by Rockwell Kent, Illustrations for His Book N by E," December 8-22, (1930). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 12).

1931

1. "Lithographs by Alexander Kruse." No gallery announcement. Christian Science Monitor, January 3, 1931 (WGS, Volume I, 38). Mummery, July-August 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 18).

2. "Recent Paintings by Alfred Maurer," January 12-26, 1931. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 14). The New York Sun, January 17,

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1931; The New York Times, January 18, 1931; World, January 18, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, January 18, 1931; and The New Yorker, January 24, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 39). The New York Evening Post, January 24, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 40).

3. "George Grosz, Watercolors and Drawings," January 26-February 7, year? Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 15). Social Calendar, January 26, 1931; Boston Transcript, January ?, 1931; The New York Times, January 27, 1931; The New York Evening Post, January 31, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, February 1, 1931; and The Social Calendar, February 2, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 46) The Chicago Post, January 27, 1931; The Chicago Post, February 10, 1931; and The New York Sun, January 3, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 47).

4. "Andrée Ruellan" (paintings, drawings, watercolors, lithographs), February 9-28 (1931). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 16-17). The New York Times, February 10, 1931; The New York Evening Post, February 14, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, February 15, 1931; and The New York Times, February 15, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 54), The Social Calendar, February 23, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 55).

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5. "Paintings and Drawings by Emil Ganso," March 2-21, 1931. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 19). The New York Times, March 15, 1931; The New Yorker, March 14, 1931; and Parnassus, March 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 71). ARTnews, March 21, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 72).

6. "Paintings, Drawings, Lithographs by Louis Lozowick," March 23-April 4, 1931. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 20-21). The New York Evening Post, April 4, 1931; The New Yorker, April 4, 1931; and Brooklyn Daily Eagle, March 29, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 83). Article by Walter Gutman, "In The Galleries," no source, April 4, (1931) (WGS, Volume VI, 100).

7. "Hogarth Engravings," April 6-18, 1931. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 22). The New York Times, April 8, 1931; The Herald Tribune, April 12, 1931; and The New York Times, April 12, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 84).

8. "Recent Drawings by Adolf Dehn," April 20-May 9, 1931. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 23). The New York Sun, May 9, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 96). The New York Times, April 24, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, April 26, 1931; The New York World Telegram,

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May 2, 1931; and The New York Post, May 12, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 146). Creative Art, July 1931, Guy Péne du Bois, "Adolf Dehn" (WGS, Volume VI, 122-125).

9. "Paintings by Dorothy Brett, Caroline Durieux, Lucy L'Engle, Elinor Gibson, Alice Newton, Amelie Pumpelly, Starr Rose, and Helen Woods Rous." Gallery announcement, (May 1931) (WGS, Volume VII, 24). The New Yorker, May 28, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, May 24, 1931; The New York Times, May 24, 1931; The New York Sun, May 28, 1931; Gotham Life, May 24, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 106). New York American, June 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 107).

10. "Three Paintings by Julio Castellanos," shown as part of "May Group Exhibition." No gallery announcement. Gotham Life, May 24, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 106). The Arts, March 1931, reproduces Woman Washing Child (WGS, Volume VII, 86).

11. Group exhibition, "Taste and Trend," June 13-July 3, (1931). No gallery announcement. Article by Edward Alden Jewell, June 11, 1931, source illegible. The New York Times? Paintings by Canadè, Julio Castellanos, Emil Ganso, Victoria E. Hutson, Alfred Maurer, Derain, Frans Masereel, Per Krohg, and Maurer. Watercolors, drawings, and prints by Marin,

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Orozco, Georg Grosz, Wanda Gág, Pascin, Rouault, Mabel Dwight, Boardman Robinson, Rivera, Peggy Bacon, Emil Ganso, Rockwell Kent, Howard Cook, Adolf Dehn. Sculpture by Lehmbruck, Maillol, Kolbe, Despiau, Gaston Lachaise, J.B. Flannagan, Heinz Warneke, and Renée Sintenis (WGS, Volume VI, 109). Also, The New York Herald Tribune, June 21, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 110). Art World, June 23, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 118). The New York American, July 7, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 120). Gotham Life, June 21, 1931, and The New York Herald Tribune, June 14, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 111).

12. Self-Portraits. No gallery announcement. The New York Times, July 12, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 126). Artists included Käthe Kollwitz, Rouault, Fels, Canadè, Cook, Ganso, Ruzicka, Goldthwaite, and Lozowick.

13. College Art Association exhibition entitled "Contemporary American Prints," September 14-26, 1931. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 25-29). The New York Times, September 15, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, September 20, 1931; and The New York Times, September 20, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 141). Parnassus, October 1932 (WGS, Volume New).

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14. "Color Lithographs by American Artists," August 1931. No gallery announcement. The Chicago Post, August 4, 1931; Gotham Life, August 2, 1931; and The New York Times, August 9, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 132).

15. "Color Prints by Severini, Gleizes, Lurçat, and Hugo," October 5-17, 1931. Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 30). The New York Times, October 8, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 144).

16. "The United States in Pictures, One Hundred Contemporary Prints," October 19-November 7, 1931. Gallery announcement includes a list of participating printmakers (WGS, Volume VII, 31). The New York Times, October 20, 1931; The New York Evening Post, October 24, 1931; The Chicago Post, October 27, 1931; and The New York Times, October 25, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 150). The New Yorker, November 7, 1931; The New York Herald Tribune, November 1, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 156). The New York Times (Jewell) n.d., which identifies many of the prints (WGS, Volume VI, 163).

17. "Prints and Drawings by Howard Cook," November 9-28, 1931. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 32-33). The Chicago Post, October 13, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 144). Prints (WGS, Volume

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VI, 157. ARTnews, November 28, 1931; and The New York Herald Tribune, November 22, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 161).

18. "Carvings by J.B. Flannagan," November 1931. No gallery announcement. The New York Times, November 11, 1931; ARTnews, November 28, 1935; The New York Sun, November 14, 1931; and New York Herald Tribune, November 22, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 161). ARTnews, November 28, 1931 (WGS, Volume New).

19. "Lithographs by Victoria Ebbel Hutson," December 1931. No gallery announcement. Newark Evening News, December 8, 1931 (WGS, Volume VI, 164-166).

1932

1. "Sculpture by Betty Burroughs," January 4-23, 1932. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 34-35). The New York Herald Tribune, January 11, 1932, and The New York Sun, January 16, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 168).

2. "Prints and Drawings by Mabel Dwight," January 4-23, 1932. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 36-38).

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3. "Prints and Drawings by Harry Sternberg," January 25-13, 1932. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 39-40). The New York Sun, January 30, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 168). The New York Times, January 26, 1932; The New York Times, January 31,1932; The New York Herald Tribune, January 31, 1932; and The New Yorker, February 6, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 169).

4. "Lithographs and Drawings by Victoria Ebbels Hutson," February 15-March 5, 1932. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 41-43). The New York Times, February 19, 1932; Arts Weekly, March 11, 1932; and New York Evening Post, March 5, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 171).

5. "Prints and Drawings by Emil Ganso," March 7-26, 1932. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 44). New York Herald Tribune, March 20, 1932, and The New York Evening Post, date illegible (WGS, Volume VI, 181).

6. "Lithographs by Daumier," March 28-April 9, 1932. No gallery announcement. The New York Sun, March 26, 1932; ARTnews, April 2, 1932; The Social Calendar, March 28, 1932; and The New York Times,

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April 3, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 184). The New York Times, April 10, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 190-191).

7. "Lithographs by Adolf Dehn," April 11-30, 1932. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 45). The New York Herald Tribune, April 17, 1932; The New York Times, April 17, 1932; The New York Times, April 22, 1932; and The New Yorker, April 23, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 191).

8. "Mexican Graphic Art," May 2-14, 1932. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 46). Social Calendar, May 1932; The New York Sun, May 7, 1932; The New York Evening Post, May 7, 1932; and The New York Herald Tribune, May 18, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 192). The Chicago Post, May 17, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 193). The New York Times, May 9, 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 6).

9. "Drawings by René d'Harnoncourt," May 16-30, (1932). Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 47). The Chicago Post, May 24, 1932; The New York Times, May 19, 1932; The New York Evening Post, May 28, 1932; and The New York Times, May 22, 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 193). The New York American, April 1932 (WGS, Volume VI, 194).

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10. Group exhibition, June 1932. No gallery announcement. Barbara Latham, Leslie Powell, Nina Barr Wheeler, Sewell Johnson, Edgar Yaeger. The New York Times, June 10, 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 13).

11. "Photographs of Art Forms in Nature by Blossfeldt," November 7-26, 1932. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 48). The New York Times, November 20, 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 21). The New York Herald Tribune, November 13, 1932, and The New York Times, December 11, 1932 (WGS, Volume VII, 22).

12. "Engravings by Stephen Gooden," November 14-26, 1932. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 49-50). The New York Times, November 20, 1932 (WGS, Volume VIII, 21); and The New York Times, November 18, 1932) (WGS, Volume VII, 22).

1933

1. "Exhibition of Fifty Modern Prints of 1932," January 30-February 18, 1933. Gallery checklist (WGS, Volume New). The New York Times, February 11, 1933; The New York Evening Post, February 11, 1933; and The New York World Telegram, February 4, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 33). The New York Times, February 5, 1933; and New York in Your Pocket, February 4, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 34).

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2. "Sculpture by Marion Walton," February 27-March 18, 1933. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 51). The New York Times, April 1, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 30). Creative Art, April 1933; and The New York Evening Post, March 4, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 53). The New York Times, March 1, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 56).

3. "Ninety-Nine Ways to Draw a Nude," March, 1933. No gallery announcement. The New York Times, March 27, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 33). Renoir, Mons Breiduik, Alexander Brook, Jean Hugo, Mahonri Young, Severini, de Chirico, George Biddle, Degas, Arthur B. Davies, Dürer, Mabel Dwight, Boucher, Guercino, Chasseriau, Augustus John, Rembrandt, Speicher, Picasso, and Bellows.

4. "Modern New York Views," August 1933. No gallery announcement. C.A. Platt, Pennell, Lozowick, Howard Cook, Reginald Marsh, Mabel Dwight, William McNulty, Glenn O. Coleman, Ernest Fiene, Eugene Fitsch, Adrian Lubbers, John Sloan, Fisk Boyd, Dewey Albinson, Ernest Born, Ernest Briem, Adolf Dehn, H. Doppel, Wanda Gág, Earl Horter, A.Z. Kruse, Margaret Lowengrund, John Marin, Walter Pach, Arnold Rönnebeck, Rudolph Ruzicka, Roderick Seidenberg, Harry Sternberg, and A. Walkowitz. The New York Herald Tribune, August 6, 1933; The New

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York Times, August 5, 1933; and Gotham Life, August 6-12, 1933 (WGS, Volume VIII, 55).

5. "Lithographs and Drawings by Benton Spruance," November 15-20, 1933. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 55-56). ARTnews, November 25, 1933, and The New York Times, November 26, 1933 (WGS, Volume New).

1934

1. "Sculpture by John B. Flannagan." Gallery announcement, n.d. (January 1934) WGS, Volume VII, 57-59). The New York Sun, January 27, 1934; The New York Evening Post, January 23, 1934; The New York Times, February 4, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 60). London Studio, April 1934, 221-222 (WGS, Volume VIII, 72).

2. "Sculpture by Dorothea Greenbaum," February 5-24, 1934. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 61-62). The New York Times, February 4, 1934, and The New York Sun, February 17, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 62).

3. "Mexican Frescoes and Drawings by Howard Cook," February 19-March 10, 1934. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 65-

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67). The New York Times, February 20, 1934, and The New York Sun, February 17, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 63). The New York Evening Post, February 22, 1934, and The New York Herald Tribune, March 18, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 64). The New Yorker, March 17, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 67).

4. "Etchings by Harry Sternberg," March 12-31, 1934. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 63-64). The New York Evening Post, March 15, 1934, and The New York Herald Tribune, March 18, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 67). New York Evening Post, March 15, 1934, Harp illus. (WGS, Volume VIII, 61).

5. "Exhibition of Sculpture by Six German Artists: Lehmbruck, Kolbe, Sintenis, Barlach, Gerhard Marcks, and Ewald Matare," April 2-21,1934. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 68). The New York Herald Tribune, April 8, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 74).

6. "Exhibition of Fifty Modern Prints of 1933," April 2-21, 1934. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 69-71). The New York Times, April 5, 1934, and The New York Times, April 8, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 74).

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7. "Prints and Watercolors by Barbara Latham," April 27-May 12, 1934. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 72-74). The New York Times, April 29, 1934; The New York Herald Tribune, April 29, 1934; The New York Sun, April 5, 1934; and The New York Post, April 30, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 76).

8. "Paintings by Fay Kennedy," May 14-31, 1934. Gallery announcement and checklist, May 14-May 31, 1934 (WGS, Volume VII, 75-76). The New York Times, May 19, 1934, and The New York Times, May 20, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 78).

9. Twenty-four small oils by Castellon (June 1934). No gallery announcement. The New York Times, June 22, 1934; The New York Daily News, June 26, 1934; Brooklyn Times Union, June 28, 1934; and The New York Evening Journal, June 30, 1934. (WGS, Volume New).

10. "American Watercolors," July-August 4, 1934. No gallery announcement. Charles Bockler, Bob Brown, George Constant, Howard Cook, Emil Ganso, Rockwell Kent, Georgina Klitgaard, Barbara Latham, Frank Lieberman, Waldo Pierce, Prentiss Taylor, J.W. Taylor, Frank Wilcox, and John Marin. The New York Times, July 22, 1934, and The New York Herald Tribune, July 22, 1934 (WGS, Volume VIII, 76).

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1935

1. "Exhibition of Fifty Modern Prints of 1934," January 28-February 9, 1935. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 77-79). The New York Times, February 2, 1935; The New York Herald Tribune, February 3, 1935; The New York Evening Post, February 3, 1935; and The New York Evening Post, February 9, 1935 (WGS, Volume VIII, 83).

2. "Watercolors and Drawings by Victor Planckh," February 11-February 23, 1935. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 80-81).

3. "Paintings and Watercolors by Emil Ganso." Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 82). The New Yorker, March 9, 1935 (WGS, Volume VIII, 87).

4. "Paintings by Martin Kainz," March 18-April 6, 1935. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 83-84).

5. "Sculpture by Doris Caesar," April 8-April 27, 1935. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 85).

6. "Watercolors by W. Eisenschitz," May 1-May 18, 1935. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 86).

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7. Eleven books designed by Merle Armitage and printed by Lynton R. Kistler, October 1-15, 1935. Announcement and catalogue (WGS, Volume VII, 86-87 and 89-104). 1. The Work of Maier-Krieg; 2. Warren Newcombe; 3. Biography of Rockwell Kent; 4. Photography of Edward Weston; 5. Paintings of Henrietta Shore; 6. Picture Book: 32 Original Lithographs by Jean Charlot; 7. The Capture of Inspiration by E. Robert Schmitz; 8. The Art of Elise; 9. Zarathustra Jr. Speaks of Art; 10. The Work of Napolitano; and 11. The Lithographs of Richard Day.

8. "Watercolors and Drawings by E. Boyd." November 11-November 23, 1935. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 88).

1936

1. "Recent Watercolors by Martin Kainz," February 3-22, 1936. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 105). ARTnews, February 15, 1936 (WGS, Volume New).

2. "Sculpture by J.B. Flannagan," February 24-March 14, 1936. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume New) ARTnews, March 7, 1936. New York Herald Tribune, March 1, 1936 (WGS, Volume New).

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3. "Paintings and Drawings by Emil Ganso," March 16-April, 1936. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 106). Art Digest, April 1, 1936 (WGS, Volume New).

4. "Paintings and Lithographs by Louis Lozowick," April 6-18, 1936. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 111-112).

5. "Ceramics and Bronzes by Simon Moselsio," April 20-May 9, 1936. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 113-114).

6. "Lithographs, Impressions Printed by Hand From Stone and Zinc by Lynton R. Kistler," May 11-May 23, 1936. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 107-109). ARTnews, May 16, 1936 (WGS, Volume New).

7. "American Artists Group, First Exhibition of New Etchings, Woodcuts and Lithographs," September 14-September 19. Gallery announcement and checklist of artists (WGS, Volume VII, 110).

8. "Federico Castellon," November 9-21, 1936. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 115-116). ARTnews, November 28, 1936; New York Post, November 13, 1936; New York Sun, November 14, 1936; Brooklyn

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Daily Eagle, November 22, 1936; New York Herald Tribune, November 14, 1936 (WGS, Volume New).

1937

1. "Prints and Drawings by Howard Cook," February 8-27, 1937. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 117-118). The Art Digest, February 15, 1937; The Art Digest, March 1, 1937; and Parnassus, March 1937 (WGS, Volume New).

2. "Sculpture by Doris Caesar," March 1-20, 1937. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 119-120).

3. "Paintings and Drawings by Emil Ganso," March 22-April 10, 1937. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 121).

4. "Anita Weschler, Martial Music, A Series of Anti-War Sculptures," April 12-May 1, 1937. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume New). Art Digest, April 15, 1937 (WGS, Volume New).

5. "William Sharp, Caricatures of Activities at the New York Supreme Court." No gallery announcement. The New York Times, March 28,

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1937; The New York Post, April 3, 1937; and Art Digest, April 15, 1937 (WGS, Volume New).

1938

1. "Mabel Dwight, A Decade of Lithography 1927-1937," January 3-22, 1938. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 128-131). ARTnews, January 8, 1938, and Art Digest, January 15, 1938 (WGS, Volume New).

2. "Small Stone Sculpture by J.B. Flannagan," February 9-March 5, 1938. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 132-133).

3. "Harry Wickey, 100 Drawings, Sculpture, Prints," March 7-19, 1938. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 134-137). Art Digest, March 1, 1938, and ARTnews, March 26, 1938 (WGS, Volume New).

4. "William Sharp, A Doctors Life-A Series of Twelve Lithographs." Gallery announcement, n.d. (April 1938) (WGS, Volume VII, 123). The New York Times, June 30, 1938, and ARTnews, January 27, 1938 (WGS, Volume New).

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5. "Paintings by Emil Ganso," May 28-April 16, 1938. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 138).

6. "Watercolors by Adolf Dehn," April 16-May 7, 1938. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 139).

1939

1. "Sculpture by Dorothea Greenbaum," n.d. (January 1939). Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 140-141). ARTnews, January 21, 1939 (WGS, Volume New).

2. "Sculpture by Doris Caesar," March 6-25, 1939. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 142-143). ARTnews, March 11, 1939 (WGS, Volume New)

4. "Watercolors by Adolf Dehn," March 27-April 15, 1939. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 147).

5. "Paintings and Watercolors by Emil Ganso," April 17-May 6, 1939. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 148).

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6. "Stone Sculpture by Adolf Dioda," May 8-27, 1939. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 144). The ARTnews, May 13, 1939 (WGS, Volume New).

7. "Paintings, Drawings, and Lithographs by Federico Castellon," May 8-27, 1939. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 145-146). Art Digest, May 13, 1939 (WGS, Volume New). Town and Country, May 1939 (WGS, Volume New).

1940

1. "African Negro Art," January 1940. No gallery announcement or checklist. For the exhibition catalogue, see WGS, Volume New. There were no exhibition reviews (see CZ to Arnold Rönnebeck, September 23, 1940. Zigrosser file, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 271-272).

2. "Lithographs by Benton Spruance," February 5-24, 1940. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 149-151). ARTnews, February 17, 1940 (WGS, Volume New).

3. "Watercolors by Howard Cook," February 24-March 15, 1940. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 161).

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4. "Flower Paintings With Flower Pigments," February 26-March 16, 1940. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 152).

5. "First Exhibition of Silkscreen Stencil Prints," March 18-April 6, 1940. Gallery announcement and catalogue (WGS, Volume VII, 153-157).

6. "Anita Weschler, Hail and Farewell, Series of Sculptures," April 8-27, 1940. Gallery announcement and checklist (WGS, Volume VII, 158-159). ARTnews, April 20, 1940, and Parnassus, April 1940 (WGS, Volume New).

7. "Watercolors by Adolf Dehn," April 29-May 18, 1940. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume VII, 160).

8. "Wanda Gág: 35 Years of Printmaking," October 12-31, 1940. Gallery announcement (WGS, Volume New). The New York Times, October 12, 1940, and The New York Times, October 20, 1940 (WGS, Volume New).

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Appendix 3

The Prints of Andrée Ruellan

Wood Interior, 1927

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 30

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

Inscribed: 22/30 "Wood Interior" (pencil, lower left below image)

Le Ravin, 1927

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 20

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

Inscribed: 9/20 "Le Ravin" (pencil, lower left below image)

Wild Flowers, 1927

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 20

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Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

Inscribed: 19/20 "Wild Flowers" (pencil, lower left below image)

Landscape, 1927-1928 (near Burgthann)

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 20

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 17/20 "Landscape" (pencil, lower left)

Circus Day, 1931 (St. Tropez)

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 25

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

Inscribed: 2/25 "Circus Day" (pencil, lower left below image)

La Rue des Bons Enfants, 1931 (St. Tropez)

Printer: Desjobert

Lithograph on rice paper

Edition: 20

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Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

Inscribed: 11/20 "La Rue des Bons Enfant" (pencil, lower left below image)

La Place de l'Orme, 1931 (St. Tropez)

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 25

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Inscribed: 20/25 "La Place de l'Orme" (pencil, lower left below image)

Rabbits, 1931-1932

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 35

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 8/35 "Rabbits" (pencil, lower left)

Circus, 1932 (Paris, Cirque Médrano)

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 25

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Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Inscribed: 1/25 (pencil, lower left below plate)

References:

Clinton Adams, American Lithographers 1900-1960 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), illustrated, 77.

Bavarian Chimney Sweep, 1932 (from 1926 drawing done in Burgthann)

Lithograph

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 25

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Inscribed: 2/25 "Bavarian Chimney Sweep" (pencil, lower left below plate)

References:

Albert Reese, American Prize Prints of the 20th Century (New York: American Artists Group, 1949), illustrated, 177.

Siesta, 1932

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 25

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Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Inscribed: 11/25 "Siesta" (pencil, lower left in image)

Half Past Two, 1932 (St. Tropez)

Lithograph, chine collé

Printer: Desjobert

Edition: 20

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Inscribed: 15/20 "Half Past Two" (pencil, lower left below image)

Side Show, 1936

Lithograph

Printer: Sam Golden

The American Artists Group

Marked: American Artists Group 106 Seventh Avenue New York (logo);

Side Show by Andree Ruellan / AR ©1936 on reverse, lower left corner

City Market, Charleston (1936)

Lithograph

Printer: George Miller

Edition: 40

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

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Inscribed: 8/40 "City Market, Charleston" (pencil, lower left below plate)

References:

American Artists Congress. America Today, A Book of 100 Prints (New York: Equinox Cooperation Press, 1936), pl. 27.

The Art Institute of Chicago, Sixth International Exhibition of Lithography and Wood Engraving. Chicago: November 3, 1937-January 10, 1938, no. 329.

American Art Today: New York World's Fair 1939. (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Apollo, 1987), 1129.

Karen Beall, American Prints in the Library of Congress. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins, 1970), 429.

Duet, 1937

Lithograph

Printer: George Miller

Edition: 250

The American Artists Group

Signed: © Andrée Ruellan 1937 (in the plate, lower right); Andrée Ruellan (pencil,

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lower left below image)

Catalogued by Associated American Artists 1942 (title: Duet at Home).

Trio, 1930s

Lithograph

Printer: George Miller

Edition: 209

Associated American Artists

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

Inscribed: "Trio" (pencil, lower left below image)

Catalogued by Associated American Artists 1940/41.

References:

Karen Beall, American Prints in the Library of the Congress, illustrated, 430 (1940).

Mending the Nets, Rockport, 1930s

Lithograph

Printer: George Miller

Edition: 26

Associated American Artists

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below image)

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Inscribed: Mending the Nets (pencil, lower left below image)

Catalogued by Associated American Artists 1936

References:

Robert Henks, American Women Painters of the 1930s and 1940s: The Lives and Works of Ten Artists. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1991, illustrated, 92.

Dog Circus, (1937)

Silkscreen

Printer: Sam Golden

The American Artists Group

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Quatorze Juilliet, ca. 1943 (from drawing made in France 1929, for Free French Celebration, Woodstock, NY)

Screenprint

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right below plate)

Masques, 1950-1951

Sugar lift aquatint

Printer: Lacouriere

Edition: 45

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Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 35/45 "Masques"

The Crab Net, 1950-1951

Sugar lift aquatint

Printer: Lacouriere

Edition: 45

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 17/45 "The Crab Net" (pencil, lower left)

Three Women, 1950-1951

Sugar lift aquatint

Printer: Lacouriere

Edition: 45

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 19/45 "Three Women" (pencil, lower left)

Musicians, 1950-1951

Sugar lift aquatint

Printer: Lacouriere

Edition: 45

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Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 26/45 "Musicians" (pencil, lower left)

Man With a Monkey, 1950-1951

Sugar lift aquatint

Printer: Lacouriere

Edition: 45

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 26/25 "Man with a Monkey" (lower left, pencil)

Clown, 1950-1951

Sugar lift aquatint

Printer: Lacouriere

Signed: Andrée Ruellan (pencil, lower right)

Inscribed: 28/45 "Clown" (pencil, lower left)

References:

Karen Beall, American Prints in the Library of Congress, 430. (1951, drypoint)

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Appendix 4

Mabel Dwight, A Decade of Lithography 1927-1937, January 3-22, 1938

1.	Paris Street, 6 printed in Paris	1927
2.	Show Window, Male Pulchritude in Paris, 6 printed in Paris	1927
3.	Paris Pension, 6 printed in Paris	1927
4.	Paris Sketches, 6 printed in Paris	1927
5.	Gossips, 6 printed in Paris	1927
6.	Boulevard Des Italiens, 12 printed in Paris	1927
7.	Bouquiniste, 12 printed in Paris	1927
8.	Calvary, 12 printed in Paris	1927
9.	Copyists At The Louvre, 12 printed in Paris	1927
10.	Ile De La Cité, 12 printed in Paris	1927
11.	Ile St. Louis, 6 printed in Paris	1927
12.	Doorway Ciboure, 12 printed in Paris	1927
13.	Basque Country, 12 printed in Paris	1927
14.	Basque Church (color), 12 to 18 printed in Paris	1927
15.	Guignolette (color), 12 printed in Paris	1927
16.	Guignolette (color), 50 printed by Miller	1927
17.	Guignolette II, 12 printed in Paris	1927
18.	In The Subway, 30 printed by Miller	1927

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19.	Toy Shop Window (color), 50 printed by Miller	1927
20.	Tourists In the Crypt At Chartres, 40 printed by Miller	1928
21.	Old House, 30 printed by Miller	1928
22.	Old Greenwich Village, 40 printed by Miller	1928
23.	Portrait R.S., 30 printed by Miller	1928
24.	Mechano Marvel of the Age (color), 50 printed, including 12 trials in black and white, by Miller	1928
25.	The Brothers (Monkey House), 50 printed by Miller	1928
26.	Hat Sale $1.98, 24 printed by Miller	1928
27.	The Family (Cat and Kittens), 50 printed by Miller	1928
28.	White Cat In The Window, 12 printed by Miller	1928
29.	Aquarium (Alligators), 50 printed by Miller	1928
30.	Fish (two colors), 60 printed by Miller	1928
31.	Deserted Mansion, 30 printed by Miller	1928
32.	The Clinch (Cinema), 50 printed by Miller	1928
33.	"Stick 'Em Up" (Cinema), 50 printed by Miller	1928
34.	In The Park, 25 printed by Miller	1928
35.	The Ocean, Coney Island, 50 printed by Miller	1928
36.	Christmas Card (for Weyhe Gallery), 2000 printed, including 50 hand prints by Miller	1928
37.	Harlem Rent Party, 44 printed by Miller	1929
38.	Houston Street Burlesque, 50 printed by Miller	1929

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39.	Dusk (Staten Island), 100 printed by Miller	1929
40.	The Survivor (Staten Island), 30 printed by Miller	1929
41.	Bathers (first plate), few printed	1929
42.	Derelict Banana Men, New Orleans, 34 printed by Miller	1929
43.	Old Southern Graveyard, 30 printed by Miller	1929
44.	Penitentes Graveyard, 12 printed by Miller	1929
45.	Old House Taos, 25 printed by Miller	1929
46.	Portrait C.Z., 50 printed by Miller	1930
47.	Portrait of Paul Robeson (4 colors), 100 printed, including several black and white trials, by Miller	1930
48.	The Great Trapeze Act, 30 printed by Miller	1930
49.	Circus (White Horse), 55 printed by Miller	1930
50.	Ferry Boat, 60 printed by Miller	1930
51.	Staten Island Shore (Bathers II), 25 printed by Miller	1931
52.	Life Class, 40 printed by Miller	1931
53.	Kittens, 30 printed by Miller	1931
54.	Feeding The Ducks, Central Park, 2 printed by Miller	1931
55.	Boucherie Chevaline, 4 printed by Miller	1931
56.	Statue of Marie Medici, Luxembourg, 30 printed by Miller	1931
57.	Fishing Village, Nova Scotia, 24 printed by Miller	1931
58.	Winter, Central Park, 24 printed by Miller	1931
59.	Night Work, 40 printed by Miller	1931

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60. In the Crowd, 32 printed by Miller 1931

61. Derelicts, 35 printed by Miller 1932

62. Abstract Thinking, 40 printed by Miller 1932

63. Book Auction (Lothian Sale of American Art Gallery), 40 printed by Miller 1932

64. Self-Portrait, 50 printed by Miller 1932

65. Tight Rope Walker, 35 printed by Miller 1932

66. Gossip New York ("You don't tell me!"), 35 printed by Miller 1932

67. Dance Macabre, 40 printed by Miller 1932

68. Sunday Afternoon, 30 printed, including trials, by Miller 1934

69. Three Cronies, 25 printed, courtesy of Public Works of Art Project 1934

70. New Mexico Interior, 25 printed, courtesy of Public Works of Art Project 1934

71. Old American Mansion, 25 printed, courtesy of Public Works of Art Project 1934

72. White Mansion (second stone), 40 printed by Miller 1934

73. Convent Garden, 25 printed, courtesy of Public Works of Art Project 1934

74. Merchants of Death, 40 printed by Miller 1935

75. Portrait, 2 or 3 printed 1935

76. Rain, 40 printed by Miller 1935

77. Nova Scotia, 40 printed by Miller 1935

78. Children's Clinic (first stone), 2 or 3 printed 1936

79. Children's Clinic, 15 signed prints and an unlimited unsigned edition published

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by the American Artists Group, all printed by Miller 1936

80. Queer Fish, 20 signed prints and an unlimited unsigned edition published by the American Artists Group, all printed by Miller 1936

81. Banana Men, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

82. Feeding the Ducks (second stone), 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

83. General Seminary, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

84. Mulberry Street Marionettes, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

85. Museum Guard, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

86. Ninth Avenue Church, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

87. Old Aquarium, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1936

88. St. Nicholas, 15 signed prints and an unlimited unsigned edition published by the American Artists Group, all printed by Miller 1937

89. The Adams House, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1937

90. Toy Shop, Staten Island, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1937

91. Cliffs By The Sea, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1937

92. Montauk Lighthouse, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1937

93. Lonely House, 25 printed, courtesy of W.P.A., Federal Art Project 1937

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Appendix 5

European Sculptors and the Weyhe Gallery

The following list of European sculptors sold work through the Weyhe Gallery. Each brief biography includes a list of the works known to have been handled by the Weyhe Gallery and a description of the sculptor's relationship with the gallery between 1919 and 1940.

Ernst Barlach (1870-1938), German, was of the Expressionist generation, and his work communicates strong emotion through posture and gesture. Barlach's typical sculpture is a wood carving of a single figure heavily draped and bulky in form, inspired by the peasants he saw when visiting Russia. Under the Weimar Republic, Barlach executed several war memorials, dismantled by the Nazis when his art was condemned as "degenerate." One such memorial, a large hovering angel, has been restored in the Cathedral at Güstrow, where Barlach lived the last twenty-eight years of his life. Barlach's work was included in the Weyhe Gallery's 1934 exhibition "Sculpture by Six German artists." There was no checklist, but a review in the New York Herald Tribune, April 8, 1934, mentioned Barlach's Avenger, Prodigal Son, and Peasant Woman. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered Beggar (nine by sixteen, bronze) and Kneeling Monk (height twenty two inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1936, 15, the gallery offered Monks Reading (height twenty four inches,

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bronze); Kneeling Monk (height twenty-two inches, bronze); Peasant Woman, (height four feet, wood); and Die Kupplerin (height fifteen inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1938, 54, the gallery again offered Barlach's Peasant Woman and Monks Reading, two lithographs, Hunger and Ecstasy, and a drawing, Study of Man. The gallery also handled prints by Barlach; see, for example, Burial, woodcut, in Foreign Artists, n.d., 16; Self-Portrait, lithograph, in Prints as Presents, 1931, 8; and Scene, woodcut, in 400 Prints, 1932, 5.

Rudolf Belling (1886-1972), German, was influenced by Boccioni and Archipenko. Belling's sculpture, in both wood and metal, is even more abstract but retains Archipenko's alternations of voids and solids. Belling was an important figure in the artistic life of Berlin in the 1920s. In 1937 he moved to Istanbul and taught there for most of the remainder of his life. The gallery apparently never gave Belling a formal exhibition, but The Chicago Post, June 10, 1930, illustrated Max Schmeling with the caption "Bronze Portrait of the German Fighter [by Belling] on view at Weyhe" (WGS, Volume V, 171). In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered Belling's Boxer (height twenty-one inches, bronze); and in Fine Prints, 1936, 15, the gallery again offered Boxer, Miner (height thirty inches, bronze), and Abstract Head (height twenty-one inches, wood). In Fine Prints, 1938, 54, the gallery again offered Belling's Miner. Erhard Weyhe apparently knew Belling, who visited the Gallery when he was in New York in 1935.

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Dora Clarke (1895-1989) was born in Harrow, Middlesex, England. When she was only fifteen she began her studies at Slade School under Henry Tonks and Harvard Thomas, and received a Slade Scholarship. Early in her career, she executed portrait busts on commission. She began exhibiting her sculpture at the Royal Academy of Art in 1923 and continued to exhibit there for many years. She spent 1927-1928 in Kenya, and after her return to London executed bronzes and wood carvings of African women. Her main technique became carving, using hard wood and sperm-whale teeth. In Fine Prints, 1936, 15, the gallery offered Clarke's Young Aphrodite (height eighteen inches, tulipwood), apparently her only connection with the gallery.

Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) was born in Marseille, France, but when he was eight moved with his family to Paris, where he lived for the rest of his life. He is best known for his satirical drawings and lithographs, depicting royalty, government officials, judges, etc. Daumier was a champion of the underdog and a critic of the establishment. Daumier's sculptures--plaster and clay--were made as models for drawings, paintings, and prints, and therefore are also caricatures. Some were cast in bronze during his lifetime, but most of his sculptures were cast after his death. In Fine Prints, 1938, 11, the catalogue writer reported that "about fifteen years ago it was deemed best to preserve them in bronze, small editions of 25 to 30 were cast of each one. We have many of them in stock in early casts, numbered I or II." In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered Head (height eight inches, bronze) and Head (height five inches, bronze), and in Fine Prints, 1938, 55, Head of a Man (height

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eight inches, bronze) and Head of a Man (height five inches, bronze). In A Sampler, 1939, the gallery offered Daumier's Portrait of Viennet (height eight inches, bronze, number one of thirty) and Paysagistes Au Travail, the original stone from which the lithograph was made in 1862. According to contemporary articles, the gallery also handled Daumier's bronze Ratapoil (The Chicago Post, February 9, 1926, in WGS, Volume II, 26, and The Art World, July 24, 1928 in WGS, Volume IV, 78). The gallery also carried many prints by Daumier. In Fine Prints, 1936, 6, a notice read, "We have thousands of original lithographs by this famous artist." Many are listed by title in individual catalogues. The first important exhibition held at the gallery was of the lithographs of Daumier and Gavarni in November 1919 (see WGS, Volume I, 4), and the gallery again exhibited Daumier's lithographs and "sculptured heads" in 1932 (see WGS, Volume VI, 184, and 190-191). The gallery also exhibited a group of bronze portrait busts by Daumier in 1930 (WGS, Volume V, 164-165). In June 1996, the Weyhe family sold Daumier's Le Niais (#20) Admiral Verhuel or Girard De L'Aim. Modern and Contemporary Art, Including Property From the Collection of Henry W. Benjamin, Sotheby's Arcade Auction, June 7, 1996, Lot 25 (The catalogue erroneously reported that the edition was 2/80; in fact, it was 2/30. Letter from Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, June 1996).

Edgar Degas (1834-1917), French, master of all artistic media, exhibited only one sculpture during his lifetime, the radically realistic Fourteen-year-old Dancer. Most of Degas's sculptures are castings from the wax and clay works found in his studio after

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his death. Many of these are ballet dancers, quick studies of the dancer posing, or in a mundane act, such as tying a shoe. The surface of Degas's work is disturbed, like Rodin's, but the subjects are non-heroic, anonymous members of the ballet chorus. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, Fine Prints, 1936, 15, and Fine Prints, 1938, 55, the gallery offered Degas's Dancer (sixteen by twenty-six inches, bronze), with the addition in 1936 of Horse (twelve by nineteen inches, bronze), and the addition in 1938 of Horse Galloping (twelve by nineteen inches, bronze). The gallery also handled an occasional drawing by Degas and several of his prints, including the lithograph Après le Bain and the etchings Deux Danseuses and Sur La Scene, in Fine Prints, 1933, 15.

Charles Despiau (1874-1946), French, worked for Rodin as a stone carver, but became a modeler. He made many portrait busts, often described as "delicate." In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, and Fine Prints, 1936, 15, the gallery offered his Head (height fourteen inches, bronze), and in Fine Prints, 1938, 55, Portrait of a Woman (height fourteen inches), and a drawing, Nude. The gallery also handled at least one print by Despiau, Nu, lithograph, in Foreign Artists, n.d., 10.

Ernesto de Fiore (1884-1945) was born in Rome, studied painting at the Munich Academy, and lived in Paris in 1911-1914, but he settled in Germany and was a German citizen in 1914. His early painting was influenced by Hodler, but while in Paris he was impressed by the work of Maillol and Degas and turned to sculpture. He fought in the German army in World War I. In 1920 he moved to Paris and lived

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there until 1936, when he emigrated to Brazil to avoid the threat of war. De Fiore's mature style utilized wood, bronze, or terra cotta; his subject was typically a single human figure with relaxed and angular limbs and an impressionistic, disturbed surface. In Fine Prints, 1936, 15, the gallery offered his Boxer (height twelve inches, bronze), apparently the only object by de Fiore handled by Weyhe, but at some point de Fiore made a portrait in bronze of Erhard Weyhe, now in the collection of the Wolfsonian, Miami, Florida.

Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891-1915) was born in France, where he met and married his Polish wife, Sophie Brzeska, each adding the other's last name. They moved to London in 1911, where most of his surviving work was made before he was killed during World War I. Gaudier-Brzeska was influenced by the Vorticists and Jacob Epstein; he produced a body of work--mostly carved stone--that incorporated avante-garde ideas and techniques. In Fine Prints, 1938, 56, the gallery offered his The Idiot (height seven inches, bronze), and a drawing, Portrait of Madame Gaudier. The 1938 catalogue offerings were the only time the artist's name appeared in the gallery's catalogues or scrapbooks.

Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), French, moved to Tahiti "to love, sing and die," where he claimed he would live on "ecstasy, calm and art." His best-known paintings are of Tahitian subjects; his sculpture, on the same topic, is less well-known. Much of it is wood-carved reliefs, with flattened figures and decorative patterns. The gallery

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offered a number of Gauguin prints in Fine Prints, 1933, 16, and Fine Prints, 1938, 19-20. In the latter catalogue, 56, the gallery also offered Gauguin's sculpture Seated Nude (height nine inches, bronze). In June 1996, the Weyhe family sold Gauguin's Figure of a Martiniquan Woman (height nine inches, bronze). Modern and Contemporary Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture, Including the Collection of Helen W. Benjamin, Sotheby's Arcade Auction, June 7, 1996, Lot 28.

Eric Gill (1882-1940), English, was radical in his life and his art. He dressed in a monk's smock, and his art was religious, erotic, or both. He worked in all media except painting, but he was primarily a stone carver. His style included simplified line and form, distinct patterns, and a streamlined, art deco look. The gallery showed Gill's woodcuts in a solo exhibition in 1924 (see WGS, Volume 1, 51) and included his work in an exhibition of watercolors, drawings, and woodcuts by contemporary English artists in 1924 (see WGS, Volume 1, 71). In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, and Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered Gill's Acrobat (six by ten inches, marble). The gallery also offered Gill's prints for sale by catalogue, including St. George, The Bath, and "Nowell," all wood engravings, in Foreign Artists, n.d., 6. Zigrosser wrote in World, 65, that he "spent a day in High Wycombe with Eric Gill and came away with prints and drawings," probably in 1923. In June 1996, the Weyhe family sold Gill's Adolescent Torso (height twenty-two inches, limestone). Modern and Contemporary Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture, Including the Collection of Helen W. Benjamin, Sotheby's Arcade Auction, June 7, 1996. Lot 251.

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Luis Hidalgo (1899-1949), Mexican, is noted for his carved wax figures, dressed in waxen fabrics. Many are satirical and humorous and depict well-known figures--Adolf Hitler, American politicians, and actors. Hidalgo lived in New York from 1926 to 1930, after which he returned to Mexico. In 1929, Frank Crowninshield called Hidalgo and Miguel Covarrubias the two greatest caricaturists in America. In Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered Hidalgo's Enters as the Queen of Heaven (height seven inches, wax), apparently the only object by Hidalgo handled by the gallery.

Joachim Karsch (1897-1945) was born in Breslau and lived most of his life in Germany. He traveled all over Europe and settled for periods in Southern France and on the Baltic Coast. His sculptural style was realistic, and most of his work is small, typically of vulnerable, introverted, suffering people. Despite Karsch's realistic style, his work was declared "degenerate" by the Nazis. The confiscation of his art, the war, physical illness, and the threat of deportation drove him to suicide. In Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered his Seated Figure (height eight inches, bronze). The gallery also offered his prints in catalogues, including the etchings Nude and Tennis Player in Foreign Artists, n.d., 18; Tennis and High Jump in Prints as Presents, 5; and Nude and Maedchen in Fine Prints, 1933, 28.

Georg Kolbe (1877-1947), German, achieved popularity in the 1920s with his rhythmical sculptures of bodies in motion. His nude Dancer was chosen by the German government for the pool in Mies van der Rohe's pavillion at the Barcelona

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Exhibition of 1929. Under the Nazis, Kolbe's work changed to conventional monumental and stereotypical nudes. Kolbe's sculpture was shown at the gallery in 1923 in an exhibition entitled "Modern German Art," mostly prints and watercolors, but Kolbe was represented by the sculpture Assunta and a small unidentified figure, possibly Seated Figure, illustrated in The New York Evening Post, December 22, 1923 (WGS, Volume II, 26). He was given a solo exhibition at the gallery in May 1929 (WGS, Volume I, 183), described as his "first American show" in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, May 5, 1929 (WGS, Volume VI, 41), and was included in the 1934 Weyhe exhibition "Sculpture by Six German Artists." Contemporary articles mentioned a number of Kolbe's sculptures offered by the gallery: Adagio (thirty-two inches high, bronze), (Vanity Fair, August 1929, illustrated, WGS, Volume VI, 67); Madonna (The New York Times, May 5, 1929, illustrated, WGS, Volume VI, 37); Seated Figure (bronze), (The New York Sun, May 4, 1929 illustrated WGS, Volume VI, 33); and Seated Figure (terra cotta) (illustrated, Parnassus, January 1930, WGS, Volume VI, 125). In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered Nude Standing (height sixteen inches, bronze), Crouching Figure (height twenty-four inches, terra cotta), and Kneeling Figure (height twenty-four inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1938, 57, the gallery offered Kolbe's Young Woman (height thirty-eight inches, bronze, 1929), The Slave (height twenty-nine inches, bronze, 1917), Mermaid (height twenty-one inches, bronze), Allegro (height twenty-nine inches, bronze), Little Najade (height twelve inches, bronze, 1930), Crouching Figure, (height twenty-four inches, terra cotta), and Kneeling Figure, (height twenty-four inches, bronze); and two drawings, both entitled

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Nude. In a A Sampler, 1939, the gallery offered Allegro (height twenty-nine inches, bronze), illustrated, n.p. The gallery also offered his prints in catalogues, including Nude (etching), and Nude (lithograph), in Foreign Artists, n.d., 18. In June 1996, the Weyhe family sold Kolbe's Young Girl on Spread Knees (height twenty-six inches, terra cotta). Modern and Contemporary Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture, Including the Collection of Helen W. Benjamin, Sotheby's Arcade Auction, June 7, 1996. Lot 30.

Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881-1919), German, lived most of his adult life in Dusseldorf, with a stay in Paris and visits to Italy. He was influenced by Rodin's surface treatment and distortions of the human figure, and by Maillol's calm, formal harmonies. The result is his graceful, elongated nudes, typically cast in artificial stone. Lehmbruck's work took on a tragic aspect during World War I. His birthplace, Duisburg, erected such a sculpture as the principal figure for a military cemetery following his suicide in 1919. Lehmbruck's work was included in "Sculpture by Six German Artists," 1934. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered his Torso (height twenty-eight inches, artificial stone); in Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered Torso, 1910 (height twenty-eight inches), Standing Figure, 1910 (height seven feet, bronze), Bending Torso, 1913 (height thirty-six inches, bronze), Torso, 1913 (height four feet, artificial stone), Mother and Child, 1917 (height eighteen inches, artificial stone), Nude, 1911 (height eighteen inches, artificial stone), Rücklickende, 1914 (height thirty-six inches, artificial stone), and Head of a

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Youth, 1913 (height twenty-four inches, artificial stone). In Fine Prints, 1938, 58, the gallery offered Lehmbruck's Standing Figure, 1910 (height seven feet, bronze), Nude (eighteen inches, artificial stone), Bending Torso (height thirty-six inches, bronze), Mother and Child, 1917 (height eighteen inches, artificial stone), and an etching, Woman Turning. The gallery also included Lehmbruck's etchings Head of Woman, Woman Turning and Pygmalion, in 400 Prints at $10, April 1932, 9; and the etchings Woman's Head and Girl Sleeping in Foreign Artists, n.d., 19.

Aristide Maillol (1861-1944) moved to Paris from his native Banyuls in 1887 and studied briefly at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. After discovering the work of the Nabis, Maillol took up decorative arts, particularly tapestries. However, his eyesight weakened from the strain of weaving, and he turned to sculpture. His work, primarily the female nude, is conspicuous for its rounded forms and smooth surface. Despite their extreme differences in style, Rodin praised Maillol's work, referring to a Leda as "absolutely beautiful, absolutely pure, absolutely a masterpiece." According to Zigrosser, "Whole editions of bronzes by Maillol (eight subjects) . . . were commissioned, and became, as it were, publications of the gallery" (World, 43). Zigrosser wrote of visiting Maillol at his studio outside Paris, since the "Gallery did much with his work" (World, 69). Maillol was given a solo exhibition of his bronzes, woodcuts, and drawings at the gallery in 1929 (see WGS, Volume 1, 168-169). In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered Nude (height eight inches, bronze), Seated Figure (height eleven inches, bronze), Dolphin (height seven inches,

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bronze), and Sketch for Cézanne Movement (five by six inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered the same works, with the addition of Woman Arranging Hair (height thirty inches, bronze) and Victory (relief, eight by eight inches, bronze, limited to ten). In A Sampler, December 1939, n.p., the gallery offered Pomona Draped (height fifty-five inches, bronze). The gallery also handled Maillol's drawings and prints, including the etchings Femme Assise and Femme Agaenouilleé and the lithographs Femme Assise, En Berceau, and Femme Vue A Micorps in Foreign Artists, 13; and Crouching Nude, lithograph, Femme Entendu, woodcut, Bacchante, etching, Femme au Bain, woodcut, and Femme Accroupie, lithograph, in 400 Prints, 1932, 9.

Manolo (Manuel Martinez Hugué) (1872-1945) was born and grew up in Barcelona. After his mother died and he was abandoned by his father, he lived in the streets. He was befriended by Picasso and followed him to Paris, where he lived a colorful life in Montmartre and associated with the Cubist artists. But he retained a classical style frequently compared to Maillol's. His subjects were bullfighters, gypsy singers, and peasant women and children. In 1927, the gallery exhibited his bronzes and drawings (see WGS, Volume I, 118), and in Fine Prints, 1935, 11, offered his Jeune Catalan (height eleven inches, bronze) and in Fine Prints, 1936, 16, again offered his Jeune Catalan and added Peasant (height seven inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1938, 58, the gallery offered Jeune Catalan and added Nude (height five inches, bronze), Peasant Woman Seated (height sixteen inches, bronze), and Crouching Nude (height sixteen

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inches, bronze). The gallery also sold his prints through catalogues: Ferme Catalane and Tête d'Homme, woodcuts, were listed in Foreign Artists, n.d., 25, and Deux Femmes and La Veillés, woodcuts, in Fine Prints, 1933, 33.

Gerhard Marcks (1889-1981), German, taught at the Bauhaus in 1920-1925, when Expressionism was still a popular style there. Marcks was preoccupied with the human figure, and his sculpture reflected emotion as well as the influence of medieval carvings. Marcks was included in the gallery's 1934 "Sculpture by Six German Artists." In Fine Prints, 1936, 16, the gallery offered Seated Figure (height thirty-six inches, marble), and in Fine Prints, 1938, 59, Alcina (height forty-two inches, bronze), Nude (height thirteen inches, bronze), and a drawing, Nude. The gallery also handled Marcks's prints, including the woodcuts Cats, Das Hafenbad, Das Totenhaupt, Ganseidyll, and Die Eule, in Foreign Artists, n.d., 19; and Alm Tanz, woodcut, in 400 Prints, 9.

Ewald Mataré (1887-1965), of Spanish descent, was born and spent his life in Germany. He studied under Loris Corinth in Berlin and became a professor at the Dusseldorf Academy of Art. Early in his career as a sculptor he specialized in animal subjects simplified to near abstraction. In 1933, when his work was declared "decadent" by the Nazis, he lost his position, and for the next twelve years struggled to survive. After the war, his professorship was restored. He subsequently executed several large religious commissions, including doors of mosaic and bronze for

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Cologne Cathedral and a portal for the World Peace Church in Hiroshima. Mataré was included in the gallery's 1934 exhibition, "Sculpture by Six German Artists." In Fine Prints, 1936, 16, and Fine Prints, 1938, 59, the gallery offered his Cow (six by twelve inches, bronze), and in the latter catalogue, his woodcut Cows in the Wind was also offered. The gallery also offered his prints Horses, Three Cows, 1929, Cow, 1928, and Cows in the Wind, all woodcuts, in Fine Prints, 1933, 29.

Chana Orloff (1888-1968) was born in Ukraine but spent much of her artistic career in Paris. She worked in plaster, bronze, and wood. Her sculpture has a simplified, rounded form and a smooth surface; she is best known for her portrait busts. The gallery gave her a solo exhibition in November 1929 (WGS, Volume I, 194-195.) The gallery also handled some of her prints, including Portrait, a woodcut, in Foreign Artists, n.d., 13.

Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) was born in Málaga, Spain, moved with his family to Barcelona at age fifteen, and eventually moved to France, where he spent the rest of his life. He worked in multiple artistic styles, some of which he originated, and in many artistic media: oil paint, drawings, prints, and a variety of sculptural materials. The gallery sold a number of his prints and drawings, and in A Sampler, December 1939, n.p., offered La Lecture Interrompeu, painting on board panel, 1932. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered Picasso's Head (height sixteen inches, bronze),

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and in Fine Prints, 1936, 17, the gallery offered Head of a Woman (height sixteen inches) and Harlequin (height sixteen inches, bronze).

Pierre Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), a founder of French Impressionism, typically chose people as his subjects, and the monumental nude woman became central to his mature style, in both painting and sculpture. The gallery offered a number of Renoir's prints in catalogues, and in Fine Prints, 1935, 11 offered his sculpture La Laveuse (height twelve inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1936, 17, the gallery again offered La Laveuse, as well as Head of Coco (height fifteen inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1938, 59, the gallery once more offered Head of Coco.

Richard Scheibe (1879-1964), German, studied painting in Munich and spent two years in Rome, where he became friendly with fellow German artist Georg Kolbe, who was also studying painting there. In 1907, back in Berlin, Scheibe took up sculpture, much influenced by Maillol. His early work was small bronzes, many of animals. He taught at the Stadelschule in Frankfurt and at the Berlin Academy. Under the Nazis, Scheibe produced heroicized academic sculptures. In Fine Prints, 1938, 60, the gallery offered Scheibe's Head of Yvette Guilbert (nine inches, bronze); and his Cats Playing was reproduced in the New York Evening Post, December 13, 1924, courtesy of the Weyhe Gallery (WGS, Volume II, 33).

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Renée Sintenis (1888-1965) was born and lived all her life in Germany. As a child she liked animals, and they became her main subject. She entered art school at an early age and was quickly recognized as a major talent. After World War I, her small animal sculptures caught the attention of Rainer Maria Rilke, who promoted her art and eventually introduced her to her husband-to-be, E.R. Weiss. During World War II, Weiss was killed, and a fire destroyed their home and much of her work. After the war, she resumed an artistic career, and taught at the Academy of Arts in Berlin. The gallery gave Sintenis an exhibition in December 1928 (WGS, Volume I, 163), and included her work in "Sculpture by Six German Artists" in 1934. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, and in Fine Prints, 1936, 17, the gallery offered Colt (height five inches, bronze), Colt (height six inches, bronze), and Polo Player (eleven by twenty inches, bronze). In Fine Prints, 1938, 60, the gallery offered Polo Players (bronze, eleven by twenty inches), Nurmi (height, fifteen inches, bronze), Colt (height five inches, bronze); Young Donkey (height five inches, bronze), Proud Colt (height six inches, bronze), Self-Portrait (height seventeen inches, terra cotta), and two etchings, Two Colts and Camel and Young. In A Sampler, December 1939, n.p., the gallery offered her Kneeling Deer (1930, height twenty and one-half inches, bronze). The gallery included her prints in a number of catalogues: in Fine Prints, 1935, 5, Colt, drypoint; in Foreign Artists, n.d., 21, the drypoints Colt Lying Down, Dogs, Deer, Seal, Llama, Baby Lion, and Camel and Young; in 400 Prints, 11, Nude, Seal, and Two Figures, etchings; in Fine Prints, 1933, Giraffe, Two Deer, Llama, Leopard, Proud Colt, Antelope, Scotch Terrier, and Two Colts, drypoints. In 1996, the Weyhe family

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offered two Sintenis sculptures for sale at auction, Portrait Head of Totter (height 17 1/2 inches, patinated plaster on a wooden base) and Self-Portrait (height 17 1/2 inches, terracotta, colored plaster on wooden base). Modern and Contemporary Art, Including Property from the Collection of Henry W. Benjamin, Sotheby's Arcade Auction, June 7, 1996. Lots 26 and 27.

Theophile-Alexandre Steinlen (1859-1923) was born in Lausanne. When he was eighteen he moved to Mulhouse, where he worked as a designer of industrial fabrics. In 1881 he and his wife moved to Paris and settled in Montmartre. A friend was opening a nightclub, the Chat Noir, and employed Steinlen to execute drawings of cats to decorate the club. Artists gathered at Chat Noir, and this led to the publication of Le Chat Noir, mostly illustrated with Steinlen's cats. Steinlen was active in the poster craze in the 1880s-1890s, and is best known for his work in this medium. Many featured cats. In Fine Prints, 1935, 11, the gallery offered his sculpture, Cat (six by six inches, bronze). The gallery also handled Steinlen's prints: Two Girls, lithograph, Nude, aquatint, and Chemeneau, lithograph, in 400 Prints, 1932, 11; and Menagère et Enfants and Les Deux Meres, etchings, in Foreign Artists, n.d., 14.

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Appendix 6

Arnold Rönnebeck (1885-1947)

In the autumn of 1912, shortly after they met, Rönnebeck and Hartley visited Gertrude Stein and her companion, Alice B. Toklas, in Paris. In The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, Stein wrote more about Rönnebeck than she did about Hartley, but Stein's interest in Rönnebeck centered on his ingratiating manners, his conversation, and his admiration for her writing, rather than his art. As she explained, "The first time he came to the house he quoted some of Gertrude Stein's recent work to her. It was the first time anybody had quoted her work to her and she naturally liked it. . . . He also made a translation into German of some of the portraits she was writing at that time. . . ."[1]

In January 1913, Hartley traveled to Germany at Rönnebeck's invitation, and Rönnebeck accompanied Hartley to Munich, where they met with Kandinsky and Gabriel Münter, an important meeting for the direction of Hartley's art, frequently mentioned in the Hartley literature.[2] In mid-May they returned to Berlin, where Hartley was a guest of the Rönnebeck family until he found an apartment. Hartley remained in Germany that summer, but without Rönnebeck, an absence explained by Gertrude Stein, who wrote that Rönnebeck had been asked to do the portrait of "a countess and her two sons, the little counts and he was to spend the summer doing this in the home of the countess who had a magnificent place on the shores of the Baltic."[3]

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In 1913, Rönnebeck was back in Paris, where he continued to visit Stein. But she complained, "When we all came back that winter Rönnebeck was different. In the first place, he came back with lots of photographs of ships of the German navy and insisted upon showing them to us. We were not interested. Gertrude Stein said, of course Rönnebeck, you have a navy, of course, we Americans have a navy, everybody has a navy, but to anybody but the navy, one big ironclad looks very much like any other, don't be silly."[4]

Rönnebeck, caught up in Germany's militant nationalism, had become a bore. But that was not Rönnebeck's only sin; as Stein went on to say, "He was different though. He had a good time. He had photos of himself with all the counts and there was also one with the crown prince of Germany who was a great friend of the countess."[5] Rönnebeck, over-impressed with his royal acquaintances, made the mistake of boasting about them to Stein, who found his name-dropping tedious.

In August, Germany declared war on Russia and then France. Stein and Toklas became convinced that Rönnebeck was a spy and traitor and that he had taken photographs in France to assist Germany, and they never forgave him.[6] Rönnebeck repeatedly denied their charges and unsuccessfully tried to regain their friendship; in fact, he was still trying as late as 1941.[7]

In the German army, Rönnebeck won an Iron Cross and was seriously wounded. He later wrote, "I was blind and deaf for half a year (only to be forced again to maim and kill more of my fellow men). . . . I know what physical and mental suffering means. . . ."[8] Rönnebeck remained in military service until 1918, when the Armistice

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was declared, but nothing else is known of his life until March 6, 1919, when Rönnebeck wrote to Hartley's

New York dealer and friend, Alfred Stieglitz:

> . . . I am a friend of Marsden Hartley's with whom I have been very much connected in P. [Paris] and B. [Berlin]. Since he left B. I have not heard of him once . . . Make him write me. I even don't know if he is still alive. . . . Will you please tell him that my brother and I came back safe and sound. . . . Of course, I should very much like to know if he is thinking of ever coming back here and what I shall do with the things he left here. Please let me know what became of him who for so long has been my dearest friend and with [whom] I share the fondest and most beautiful memories. . . .[9]

After the war, Hartley returned to Europe and by November 1921 was in Berlin living with the Rönnebeck family and sharing Rönnebeck's studio. In the intervening years, Rönnebeck had traveled to Italy and had been powerfully affected by a visit to the coast between Salerno and Amalfi; he said the scenery was like "one enormous work of sculpture, houses and rocks seemingly one."[10] It was there, he said, that he made his "first landscape drawings, after which followed a cycle of lithographs" based on the Italian landscape.[11] The lithographs must have been made in Berlin between late 1921 and his departure for the United States in late 1923, since some of them were to appear at his first New York exhibition in 1925.[12]

In 1922, Rönnebeck planned to join Alice Miriam, to whom he had been engaged since before the war, in the United States, where they finally were to be married. But as Rönnebeck explained, "I was in Hamburg with Marsden awaiting the

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departure of the boat. Returning to my hotel I found this cable: 'Alice Miriam died today of appendicitis, New York Medical Center.' I canceled my passage."[13]

Actually, according to her obituary in The New York Times, she died at Flower Hospital, on July 22, 1922, when she was only twenty-eight years old.[14] The facts of Miriam's life have remained even more obscure than Rönnebeck's, although Hartley wrote a poem to her, as well as one of his "letters never sent."[15] But Miriam was briefly famous before her premature death; she traveled with Enrico Caruso and starred at the Metropolitan Opera.[16]

Alice Miriam Pinch (who dropped the name Pinch for professional reasons), the fifth of seven children, was born in Newton, Kansas, in 1895. Her father, Pearse Pinch, was a minister, and the family was extremely poor, but Alice was "discovered" at an early age by a Chicago matron, who undertook her musical education and sent her abroad to study, perhaps as early as 1909 when she was only fifteen. Miriam remained in Europe for the better part of nine years, where she "suffered all the privations that come with wars." She probably returned to the United States in 1918, signing a contract with the Metropolitan Opera in 1919. In the summer of 1920, she toured with Caruso, and in 1921-1922, understudied at the Metropolitan Opera, where, incredibly, the star became ill, and Miriam stepped into the starring role, to critical acclaim.[17]

On March 27, 1922, only a few months before Rönnebeck planned to arrive in the United States, Miriam was interviewed by Jed Fiske in The Billboard and was asked about her hopes and dreams. They included a "hansom cab all her own, a

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houseboy to wait on her, and her name and picture in the periodicals." Inexplicably, they did not include marriage or even an engagement; none of the articles about her mention a fiancé.[18]

Despite Miriam's death, Rönnebeck proceeded to emigrate; he later wrote that he did so at the invitation of Miriam's father.[19] He arrived in New York on November 23, 1923, and he remained in the United States for the rest of his life, becoming a citizen in 1933.[20]

On June 1, 1924, Rönnebeck was interviewed by Viktor Flambeau in the Washington Herald. He was at the time the guest of Major Edward Dworak (an Alice Miriam connection, although her name was not mentioned in the interview), and Flambeau wrote that Rönnebeck had "socially found himself quickly among the elite of the national capital."[21] Flambeau quoted Rönnebeck on his impressions of New York: "My artistic emotion of the 'phantastic' reality of America was beyond all expectation. New York is living Cubism. The skyscraper is the symbol of the States, personifying the monumentality of this country."[22] Rönnebeck must have immediately begun to sketch what he saw, since New York images are included in the first exhibition of his work a year later.[23]

By the autumn of 1924, Rönnebeck had come to an arrangement with the Weyhe Gallery to handle his work; and in November he reported that Mrs. Payne Whitney had come into the Weyhe Gallery and bought two of his sculptures, The London Wedding and The Hermaphrodite.[24] In May 1925, his Weyhe Gallery exhibition took place.

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An unidentified critic for The Sun reviewed Rönnebeck's exhibition: "The portrait of Marsden Hartley . . . is all that a portrait should be in way of likeness and also good sculpture in the fine relations of planes and the modeling of the face." The critic also complimented Rönnebeck's New York images, writing that they had a "feeling of animation and movement . . . of the cliff dwellings of our city thrusting up their dizzy heights into the sunlight that leaves the canyon below a black well."[25]

A New York Times critic added:

> Our tremendously high buildings with their narrow channels are not always as imposing and as important as we like to think. Arnold Rönnebeck makes merry with them, if a bit heavily at times, discounts some of their side, as it were, with clotheslines and fire escapes and the crossing and recrossing of mathematical form, rays from the sky that emphasize the dizziness of height. His work is in no way photographic, but depends on a certain literary realism and much poetic liberty; the advertiser's signs never were, but could be placed in this excruciating order; the caves between buildings cannot be so deep, but they seem so looking either up or down. There is that same touch of pressure in everything he does; the portraits hardly escape it, the caricatures benefit by it. The artist has a fine sense of the value of planes and their small and large relations to one another. He feels the relation as strongly in the drawings as he does in the sculpture, and as strongly when expressed with an edge as when it is indicated.[26]

While The New York Times critic sounded ambivalent about Rönnebeck's New York images, the lithographs Wall Street and Brooklyn Bridge were selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts for the Fifty Prints, 1926. These two prints, among the first Rönnebeck produced after his arrival in the United States, are still considered his best.

In July of 1925, Rönnebeck traveled to Taos, New Mexico, spending July through October at Los Gallos, Mabel Dodge Luhan's ranch. While there he met

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Louise Harrington Emerson, a New York artist and great grand-niece of Ralph Waldo Emerson. They were married in New York in March 1926.[27]

In addition to finding a wife at Taos, Rönnebeck must have thought he had found a spiritual and artistic home. At some point--perhaps in Taos, perhaps on his honeymoon, when he and his wife again traveled west--Rönnebeck decided to live in the West. Given the positive reception of Rönnebeck's New York images, his move westward and subsequent concentration on Western imagery would seem to have been a poor career decision. And so it was to prove; he was never again to receive national recognition for a print, and the rest of his career was fraught with disappointment and frustration.

In June of 1926 Rönnebeck joined the Denver Art Museum as an "advisor." In an interview with the local press he discussed his recent work; he said that before coming to Denver he had spent several months in Omaha, where he executed ten or twelve portraits of prominent Nebraskans, as well as designing a cemetery memorial, Grief. He also referred to Indian drawings--an eagle dance, and other ceremonial dances--that he planned to cast in terra cotta.[28]

Marsden Hartley had written about Indian dances in his poem "The Festival of the Corn" in 1918-1919, and in the essay "The Great Corn Ceremony at Santo Domingo" in 1922.[29] Hartley had also written on the topic of the "Red Man"[30]--of whom Rönnebeck was speaking authoritatively as early as June 1924, before he'd been west of the Hudson![31] Rönnebeck subsequently wrote articles about the American Indian, as well as repeatedly featuring Indians in his art.[32] For most of the rest of his

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career, Rönnebeck concentrated on Western--especially Indian--motifs. It is impossible to say how much his admiration of Hartley influenced him in these choices.

From Denver, Rönnebeck complained long and often about problems with the board of the museum.[33] But he also used his position with the museum to invite friends and acquaintances to lecture there,[34] and despite his unhappiness in Denver, Rönnebeck managed, for a while, to do fairly well. During the 1920s and early 1930s he received a number of respectable commissions in Denver and Santa Fe. In addition to public commissions--altarpieces, hotel and club decorations, and the like--he continued to make the occasional bronze portrait bust, e.g., Miss Anne Evans, 1932, founder of the Denver Museum. But his predominant sculptural style was an Art Deco shallow relief, incorporating his favorite Western motifs. From time to time, an article appeared in the press mentioning a work by Rönnebeck, as when in 1930 he donated to the Bethphilliah Fourth Moravian Church in New York a "Madonna and Angels," the plaster model for the altarpiece he made for St. John's Cathedral in Denver.[35]

While continuing to work as a sculptor, Rönnebeck drew on his brief exposure to the great figures he'd met in Paris to write articles about Stein, Picasso, Maillol, and Bourdelle in various art magazines,[36] and for several years, he wrote a weekly column on art for the Rocky Mountain News. He was Professor of Sculpture at Denver University from 1929 to 1935, and throughout his years in Denver, he made a large number of prints for the Weyhe Gallery and kept up a long correspondence with Carl Zigrosser, frequently about the prints.[37]

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By 1936, however, his career was definitely on the decline. He continued to receive commissions, but they were minor, for by this time, his "local" status was against him. At the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, for example, built in the mid-thirties, the "predominant piece, the entrance frescoes" went to Boardman Robinson, described as "one of the country's foremost muralists" with an "international reputation."[38] Like Rönnebeck, Robinson had lived in Paris, but from 1919 until 1936 he had worked in New York, teaching at the Art Students League. He was sixty when in 1936 he moved to Colorado Springs to take charge of the Fine Arts Center School, and he was viewed as a national figure, while Rönnebeck, after ten years in Denver, was perceived as a local artist. Rönnebeck's minor contribution to the project was the design and execution of three shallow reliefs of geometricized Indian motifs on cast aluminum panels for the auditorium.[39]

That same year, Rönnebeck saw himself publicly demoted as a printmaker. Prints, a highly regarded periodical in the thirties, surveyed curators, collectors, etc., to name the ten best printmakers in the United States. Rönnebeck not only failed to make the national list, but came in seventh--last--in his region, the Southwest.[40]

Rönnebeck's greatest career disappointment occurred in 1936, when he failed to receive a major sculpture commission in Denver. Had Rönnebeck won it, it would have been the most important commission of his lifetime; instead, its loss was a terrible blow. In 1933, Vaso L. Chucovich, a native of Yugoslavia, left $100,000 to build a memorial to Robert W. Speer, a former mayor of Denver. Chucovich named his nephew, Peter Jovanovich, and his cousin, John Chucovich, both of Yugoslavia, to

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carry out his wishes. The Yugoslavians promptly engaged Ivan Mestrovic, at that time said to have been Yugoslavia's greatest sculptor, to build a huge statue of Moses. But under the Denver charter, such work had to be approved by the Art Commission. When word of the planned memorial leaked out, Denver's art community rose up in protest: Why should $100,000 leave the country when American artists were hungry? And, above all, they asked, "Why Moses in Denver's Civic Center?"[41] Jovanovich then engaged Rönnebeck to undertake the commission, but his design (never described in the voluminous literature about the controversy) was unanimously rejected by the Art Commission. So Jovanovich announced a national competition, in which fifteen leading sculptors participated. The winning work was to be chosen by an advisory committee to be headed by Maurice Sterne, described by local press as an "internationally known painter and sculptor."[42] Here is the story, as William Zorach told it:

> In 1934 I met Burnham Hoyt, an architect from Denver, Colorado. He wrote me that there was a fund of a hundred thousand dollars to build a memorial to Mayor Speer of Denver. It was decided to hold a competition and invite fifteen nationally known artists to compete for this monument. Burnham Hoyt asked me if I would design a sculpture in collaboration with a landscape design and setting which he would create. I made a number of small sketches. Burnham Hoyt was very enthusiastic over my design of two figures, each to be thirty feet high on an esplanade with a pool and fountains and running water. It was to be in the very heart of Denver on the plateau, with the Rocky Mountains in the distance. It would have been magnificent. He asked me to submit two three-foot models of the figures with his rendering. This I did; the models were very complete. Maurice Sterne, painter and sculptor, was chairman of the jury of seven.
>
> It was announced in the Denver papers that Arnold Rönnenbeck the [sic] Director of the Denver Museum, had been awarded the commission. When Maurice Sterne, who was already back in New York, heard this he was scandalized. It seems I had been first choice and Rönnenbeck [sic] had been fifth.

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> He at once wired and protested and all hell broke loose. There were screaming headlines all across the front pages of the Denver papers and a terrific scandal seemed to be in the making. Rönnenbeck's [sic] friends, it was suspected, had maneuvered things so that he would get the commission regardless of the jury. It was war. I was out of it, on the sidelines. It was fought over for a number of years and in the end there was no monument. The money was given to the hospital.[43]

If Zorach was disappointed, Rönnebeck was devastated. It was inconceivable to him that Zorach's was the better design; he wrote to Stieglitz that the decision was "disgusting," and he charged "politics, personal hatred, slander, graft."[44] But whatever the merits of the two designs, it seems clear that it was an issue of national versus local artist. In fact, John I.H. Baur, writing about the incident in 1959, referred to Rönnebeck as a "native Coloradan."[45]

Still, Rönnebeck continued to work both as a sculptor and a printmaker. In 1937, for the Treasury Department's Section of Painting and Sculpture, Rönnebeck (one of about twenty Colorado artists chosen) made three terra cotta reliefs, Ways of the Mail, for the Longmont, Colorado, Post Office.[46] He was asked to submit a design for the 1939 World's Fair, but he was required to raise the money needed to build the thirty-foot sculpture,[47] and the piece was never constructed.

Around the same time, Hartley publicly demonstrated his disdain for Rönnebeck. Since the Speer memorial controversy was covered by the national press, Hartley must have known about Rönnebeck's disappointment; yet, during a period when Rönnebeck desperately needed Hartley's support, in the essay "Posing for Lipchitz," Hartley wrote, "I have in the course of the years been painted by various people, and twice before this had given time to two other sculptors of lesser significance. . . ."[48]

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Rönnebeck's correspondence with Zigrosser seems to have ended in 1940, when Zigrosser left the gallery, or perhaps Zigrosser no longer kept letters from Rönnebeck.[49] Rönnebeck may have continued to write to Erhard Weyhe,[50] but if so, the letters did not survive.

Zigrosser, who initially liked Rönnebeck,[51] never became as intimate with him as he had with other Weyhe artists; he even reminded Rönnebeck that the artist owed the gallery money, rare indeed for the unbusinesslike Zigrosser! In his first surviving letter to Rönnebeck in 1925, he wrote, "We do not wish to stand in the way of your making any sales and if you make any, we certainly can use to advantage the money we have advanced to you during the past year."[52]

Zigrosser visited the Rönnebecks at least twice,[53] and the gallery manager even offered some constructive criticism of a series of lithographs Rönnebeck had made with cloud images.[59] But Zigrosser's last surviving letter to Rönnebeck about his impending departure to Philadelphia and Rönnebeck's future with the gallery was pessimistic, informing the artist that Mr. Weyhe had requested him to return all consignment material to the artists, and ending, "And rest assured that I will do everything I can to help you (though as you know art sales are almost non-existent): the final decision, however, rests with Mr. Weyhe."[55]

In May-June 1943, Rönnebeck exhibited twelve paintings at the Santa Barbara Museum of Art. They were described as "decorative surrealism" and "travel posters to the subconscious"; two of the titles were Sacre Printemps, I Told You So and Death at Dawn.[56] The writer of an article in The Art Digest did not comment on the merits

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of the paintings but cited all Rönnebeck's numerous activities prior to having taken up painting, and opined that, given all those activities, "No one should paint unless it is a necessary release for his inhibitions and makes him a better member of the society," concluding that "we are not quite sure this objective was attained."[57]

On September 2, 1943, Marsden Hartley died; and on September 8, Rönnebeck wrote to Stieglitz, "About two weeks ago my sister saw Hartley on Madison Avenue. Do you know what happened to him? I had his last letter in January--a friendship of more than 30 years has become stronger than it ever had before. If you know anything about the end will you let me know?"[58]

Within a few days of Hartley's death, Rönnebeck had begun to create a mythological relationship between himself and Hartley. His last communication from Hartley was almost certainly a very unpleasant letter dated October 14, 1942[59]; and the nature of Hartley's letters, in both frequency and tone after Rönnebeck moved to Denver, certainly does not suggest a friendship "stronger than it ever had [been] before."[60]

Additional evidence of this mythologizing can be found in Rönnebeck's famous letter to Duncan Phillips, in which Rönnebeck explained the symbolism of Hartley's painting Portrait of a German Officer.[61] Rönnebeck began with an error, writing that his friendship with Hartley began in 1908 (actually 1912). He also referred to a probably nonexistent letter from Hartley "shortly before his death," adding that "a beautiful correspondence had come to an end." Since both of these statements are probably inaccurate, one might infer that Rönnebeck's interpretation of Portrait of a German Officer also overstates Rönnebeck's role in the painting, as "one half of the Prussian

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officer." Rönnebeck wrote that the triangle in the painting "symbolizes the friendship and the understanding between three men: Hartley, Karl v. Freyberg and myself."[62] On the other hand, it is indisputable that Hartley and Rönnebeck were close friends before Rönnebeck came to the United States.

Rönnebeck's last tribute to Marsden Hartley is a memorial painting, Even Seagulls Love the Shape of Roses,[63] that referred to Hartley's poem, "Sea Burial" (1941), which ends ". . . even sea gulls love the shape of roses ere day closes,"[64] and to Hartley's paintings; gulls were a frequent Hartley subject, and Roses, 1943, was on his easel when he died.[65]

Arnold Rönnebeck died November 14, 1947, at his home in Denver, of throat cancer, a disappointed man who seemed to cling to his early friendship with Hartley as the most important event of his life.

Table A 6-1

The Sculpture of Arnold Rönnebeck

The following list of works is by no means complete, but may be helpful as a beginning in cataloguing Rönnebeck's work.

		Date	Location
1.	Marsden Hartley, portrait bust	1912	Yale
2.	Marsden Hartley, portrait bust	(1912?)	Yale
3.	Marsden Hartley, portrait mask	1912	Yale
4.	Miss Georgia O'Keefe, portrait bust		University of Denver

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5. Mr. Pierre Coalfleet
6. Mr. G. St.
7. Mr. W.H.
8. Miss Harriett Marsland
9. Ariel
10. Mr. George Antheil
11. Crucifixion (pear wood)
12. London Wedding
13. La Parisienne 1911
14. La Parisienne 1912
15. Dancer
16. Dancer
17. Dancer
18. Hermaphrodite
19. Composite of Curves and Right Angles
20. Composition of Rhythmically Arranged Volumes
21. Sketch for a Mausoleum
22. St. Sebastian
23. Arcadia, 3 bas-reliefs
24. Arcadia, 3 bas-reliefs
25. Speed, Auto Mascot
26. Chanteclair, Auto Mascot

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27.	A Pair of Bookends		
28.	A Pair of Bookends		
29.	Anne Evans, portrait bust	ca. 1932	Denver Art Museum
30.	Ananda Coomaraswamy, portrait bust Denver Art Museum		ca. 1929
31.	The People--Yes painted plaster (Portrait of Carl Sandburg) 23 7/8" x 1 9 1/4" x 2 1/4"		Hirshhorn
32.	Saul Carton, portrait head (former director of Denver Symphony Orchestra)		Denver Symphony
33.	Allen True, portrait head (Denver mural painter)		
34.	Esmeralda molded concrete 67" high	ca. 1930	Denver Art Museum
35.	Waste, Model for a Peace Memorial (Creative Art, October, 1932, 154)	ca. 1932	
36.	The Epiphany (Reredos) 8' x 12' wood carving	1927	St. Martins Chapel, St. Johns Cathedral Denver
37.	The Ascension (Reredos) wood carving 8 1/2' x 14'	1931	Church of the the Ascension, Denver
38.	Homage to a Great Musician (Ravel)		Wolfsonian Collection Miami, Florida (formerly IBM Collection)
39.	Hodges Memorial life size? granite	1929	Fairmont Cemetery Denver

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40.	The History of Money, eight panels 2' x 12' each		Denver National Building, Denver
41.	Indian Ceremonial Dances decorative panels terra cotta		Hotel La Fonda Santa Fe, New Mexico
42.	The Crucifixion wood carving	ca. 1925	
43.	Indian Ceremonial Dances, frieze		The Cactus Club Denver
44.	The Ways of the Mail, terra cotta relief panels	1935	In storage, in Post Office, Loveland, Colo.
45.	The London Wedding, bronze		
46.	Hermaphrodite, plaster		
47.	(Madonna) terra cotta relief 9 1/2" x 16"		
48.	(Indian Dances) cast aluminum panels	ca. 1936	Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center Auditorium
49.	Speer Memorial Model 1		
50.	Speer Memorial Model 2		
51.	Male Dancers relief		Wolfsonian Collection Miami, Florida
52.	Male Dancers relief		Wolfsonian Collection Miami, Florida
53.	Dancing Figure		Collection Reba and Dave Williams

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54.	Dancing Figure		Weyhe Gallery
55.	Dancing Figure		
56.	Lovers relief		Weyhe Gallery
57.	Musician bas-relief	1938	
58.	Nude bronze height 18"	(1935)	

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Table A 6-2
Lithographs by Arnold Rönnebeck
The following titles appear in Weyhe Gallery publications and correspondence.

New York Subjects

1. Brooklyn Bridge, 1925

2. Manhattan, 1925 (unidentified image)

3. Wall Street, 1926

4. Manhattan Twilight, 1928

5. Skyline, 1928

6. Paramount, 1928

7. Columbus Circle, 1929

8. Broadway Boogie Woogie (Times Square), 1929

New Mexico, Colorado and Miscellaneous Western Subjects

1. El Monte Sol, Santa Fe, 1927

2. Sacred Mountain, Taos, 1928

3. Taos Morada, 1930

4. Rain in the Jemez Mountains, 1931

5. Rain Over Desert Mesa, 1931, ed. 50.
(also some impressions dated 1934)

6. Rio Grande Canyon, New Mexico, 1931

7. Taos Morado Cemetery, 1931

8. Red Rock Lake, 1933

9. Adeste Fideles, 1937

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10. Magic Peak, 1937
11. Colorado Gold Dredge, Breckenridge, 1932
12. Gem Mining Company, Colorado, 1932
13. Colorado Silver Mine, 1932
14. Old Mine, Silver Plume, 1932
15. Colorado Mining Town, Fairplay, 1933
16. Silver Mine, Russell Gulch, 1933
17. Central City, 1933
18. Memories of Gold Days, 1933
19. Mine Near the Continental Divide, 1933
20. Central City Cemetery, 1933
21. Rain in the Rockies, 1939
22. Clouds Over the Rockies, c. 1939
23. Colorado Silver Mine

Native Subjects

1. Santo Domingo Corn Dance, 1931
2. Eagle Dance, San Ildefonso, 1931
3. Plains Indians, 1931
4. Chicken Pull (Taos Indians), 1931
5. Taos Corn Dance, 1931

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Other

1. Atlantic, 1929
2. Canotier, 1930
3. Chicago, From Tribune Tower (1930 or 1931), or Tribune Tower, Chicago
4. Grand Lake (sail boats), 1932
5. Self-Portrait, 1933
6. Drama, 1936
7. "We Shall Always Love Them" (Circus), 1937
8. "So She Passed Swaying"
9. Yacht Race

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Footnotes

Appendix Six

1. Gertrude Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas (New York: Vintage, 1990), 101. Stein's only comment on Rönnebeck's work was that "he did small full figure portraits and was doing them very well." (Ibid.)

2. See, for example, Townsend Ludington, Marsden Hartley, The Biography of an American Artist (New York, 1992), 93-94.

3. Stein, Autobiography, 101. Presumably this was a group sculpture, since according to Rönnebeck's daughter, Ursula Moore Works (hereafter UMW), the artist did not make paintings until the 1940s. UMW, telephone interview by author, April 27, 1992.

4. Stein, Autobiography, 101.

5. Ibid., 102.

6. Ibid.

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7. Arnold Rönnebeck, "Gertrude Was Always Giggling (Memories of Gertrude Stein, Picasso and Others)," in Books Abroad, winter 1945, volume 19, #1, 3-7. Also see Arnold Rönnebeck to Alfred Stieglitz, January 5, 1935, Yale.

8. Arnold Rönnebeck to Dr. William S. Friedman, letter in the Denver Post, November 15, 1938. AAA, American Artists Group, Int., Reel NA67, Frame 383.

9. Arnold Rönnebeck to Alfred Stieglitz, March 6, 1919, Yale.

10. Victor Flambeau, The Washington Herald, June 1, 1924, 5. The source for the timing of the Italian visit is the biography supplied by UMW.

11. Ibid.

12. WGS, Volume I, 76-77. Rönnebeck's daughter thinks he brought the Italian prints with him from Germany. UMW, telephone interview by author, April 27, 1992.

13. Arnold Rönnebeck to Leon Tebbetts, January 19, 1943, Yale.

14. "Miss Alice Miriam Dies," The New York Times, July 24, 1922

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15. "Alice Miriam," in Gail R. Scott, ed., The Collected Poems of Marsden Hartley (Santa Rosa, California, 1987), 177, and an unpublished essay, Marsden Hartley, "Letter to Alice Miriam," Yale. According to Ludington, Hartley, 156, Marsden Hartley met Alice Miriam and her sister for coffee on May 10, 1921, in New York before his auction. No source is given for this information.

16. The facts about Miriam's life are drawn from the following articles: "Alice Miriam," Musical Courier, July 27, 1922; "Alice Miriam Pinch," Musical Leader, July 27, 1922; Jed Fiske, "Another American Girl Wins Opera Favor," The Billboard, March 27, 1922, 30; "Miss Alice Miriam Dies," The New York Times, July 24, 1922; "Passing of Alice Miriam Cuts Short Career of Promise on Opera Stage," Musical America, n.d.; and Grace Robinson, "Prairie Girl's Fairy Dream Comes True," American Pictorial, February ?, 1922(?).

17. Ibid.

18. Fiske, The Billboard, March 27, 1922, 30.

19. Arnold Rönnebeck to Leon Tebbetts, January 26, 1943, Yale.

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20. The dates are from the biography supplied by UMW.

21. Flambeau, The Washington Herald, June 1, 1924, 5.

22. Ibid.

23. Weyhe Gallery Exhibition Checklist, AAA, Gallery Literature and Reproduction, Print Division, NYPL, Reel N105, Frame 0823; and WGS, Volume I, 76-77.

24. Arnold Rönnebeck to Alfred Stieglitz, October 20, 1924, and November 18, 1924, Yale. According to conversations with various members of the staff of the Midtown Gallery, April 1992, none of this branch of the Whitney family recalls these works.

25. The Sun, May 16, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 41).

26. The New York Times, May 3, 1925 (WGS, Volume II, 40).

27. Biography supplied by UMW; and Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ, October 29, 1925, Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 000045.

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28. "Arnold Rönnebeck Engaged for Advisor at Denver Art Museum," Rocky Mountain News, June 27, 1926, Society Section, 9.

29. Marsden Hartley, "The Festival of the Corn," in Gail R. Scott, ed., The Collected Poems of Marsden Hartley (Santa Rosa, California, 1987), 63-67; and "The Great Corn Ceremony at Santo Domingo," in Art and Archaeology 13 (March 1922), 113-119, cited by Scott, ed., in On Art by Marsden Hartley, 307 and 308.

30. Marsden Hartley, "The Red Man," Adventures in the Arts: Informal Chapters on Painters, Vaudeville and Poets (New York, 1972), 13-29.

31. Flambeau, The Washington Herald, quotes Rönnebeck as saying, "The art of the Redman, of Alaska and Mexico, that is the classical of America."

32. Arnold Rönnebeck, "Indian Is Master of Rhythm, Gesture and Pantomime," The Rocky Mountain News, January 9, 1927, Society Section, n.p.; and Arnold Rönnebeck, "Spirit of Land of Poco Tiempo Prevails at Denver Art Museum," The Rocky Mountain News, June 5, 1927, 3. Some of his sculptures of these subjects are listed in table A6-1; the prints are listed in table A6-2.

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33. See, for example, Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ, October 26, 1928; Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ, October 30, 1929; and Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ, December 16, 1929. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 91, 119, and 132.

34. One of his visitors was Marsden Hartley; see Arnold Rönnebeck, "Hartley Gives Talk on the 'Original Research of Cézanne,'" The Rocky Mountain News, Sunday, March 25, 1928, 4,

35. "A Rönnebeck Gift," The Art Digest, July 1930, 15.

36. See note 7 above; see also Arnold Rönnebeck, The Arts, July 1925, 38-40; and The Arts, October 1925, 206-221.

37. For the correspondence, see the Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 31 to 312.

38. Christopher Wilson, "A Unique Opportunity: John Gaw Meeth and the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center," in A History and Selection From the Permanent Collection (Colorado Springs: 1986), 27 and 38.

39. Ibid., 38.

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40. Aline Kistler, "The National Survey," Prints, 1936, 240-250.

41. "Rönnebeck and Zorach Storm Centers in Tempest Over Statue," The Art Digest, September 1, 1936, 8-9.

42. Ibid., 8.

43. Zorach, Art Is My Life (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing, 1967), 111. The crowning blow to Rönnebeck's ego would have been, had he been alive to read Zorach's account, that Zorach misspelled his name.

44. Arnold Rönnebeck to Alfred Stieglitz, May 19, 1935, Yale.

45. John I. H. Baur, William Zorach (New York: Praeger, 1959), 33.

46. Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, Democratic Vistas, Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1984), 204. In 1984, the reliefs were missing, but more recently, according to UMW, they were located in storage in the basement of the new post office building in Longmont, where they remain.

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47. Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ, March 18, 1932 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 150-151).

48. Gail Scott, ed., On Art by Marsden Hartley (New York, 1982), 229.

49. The last letter from Zigrosser to Rönnebeck in the Zigrosser files is dated September 23, 1940. Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 271-272.

50. Among the letters from Rönnebeck to Zigrosser in the Zigrosser files are fifteen from Rönnebeck to Erhard Weyhe, in German.

51. Alfred Stieglitz wrote Zigrosser, November 12, 1924, "I felt that Rönnebeck and you would strike it off together. Yes, he is very likeable." Alfred Stieglitz to CZ, Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4643, Frame 308.

52. CZ to Arnold Rönnebeck, September 21, 1925 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 000039).

53. Arnold Rönnebeck to CZ June 15, 1928, and June 13, 1939 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frame 83 and Frame 238).

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54. CZ to Arnold Rönnebeck, September 30, 1939 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 246-247).

55. CZ to Arnold Rönnebeck, September 23, 1940 (Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4639, Frames 271-272).

56. Donald Bear, "Rönnebeck Paintings," Santa Barbara Newspress, June 5, 1943.

57. "Something to Dismember You By," The Art Digest, July 1943, 17.

58. Arnold Rönnebeck to Alfred Stieglitz, September 2, 1943, Yale.

59. Hartley wrote, "We seem to be at it again. I find your letters difficult to read because you mention with such enthusiasm the subject painfully de trop surrealism? How can you interest yourself in so utterly passé a subject?" Hartley then went on to criticize Rönnebeck for his middle-class values, comparing his own desire for a simple lifestyle with Rönnebeck's materialism. The letter is distinctly unfriendly and does not encourage Rönnebeck to continue the correspondence. Marsden Hartley to Arnold Rönnebeck, October 14, 1942, Yale.

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60. The letters were infrequent, and always instigated by Rönnebeck; in fact, he rarely knew a current address for Hartley.

61. AR to Duncan Phillips, n.d. (1944?), Yale.

62. Ibid.

63. The painting is in the collection of UMW.

64. "Sea Burial" (1941), in Scott, ed., The Collected Poems of Marsden Hartley, 281.

65. Gail R. Scott, Marsden Hartley (New York, 1988), 147, and plate 142.

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Appendix 7

The Prints of John B. Flannagan

Very little information is available on Flannagan's prints, although Robert Forsyth referred to the prints on several occasions, e.g.: "Flannagan's sculpture divides itself into certain basic periods. The first, from 1922 to 1926, was a period of paint and wood wherein he practiced both painting and sculpture, often turning his graphic ideas, as expressed in drawings, prints and watercolors, into sculpture." Forsyth also wrote, "Graphically, Flannagan is also known for some woodcuts and linoleum prints from his early and Irish periods." (John B. Flannagan, Sculpture, Drawings, Paintings, Woodcuts, exhibition checklist (Notre Dame: Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, 1963.)

But only a few prints by Flannagan have been located. Each of them has been described in exhibition checklists, etc., as both a wood block and a linoleum cut. In this preliminary list--which may not be complete--the works are described as block prints.

1. (Quiet Woman), ca. 1923/1924, block print, 5 1/2" x 7 5/8"

   Alternate title: (Nude)

   Collection: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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References:

(a) Carl Zigrosser, "The Art of Exhibiting Art," Magazine of Art, XXXVI, October 1943, 22.

(b) Carl Zigrosser, Between Two Wars, Prints by American Artists 1914-1941. March 3-31, 1942. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1942, #213 (Nude).

Exhibitions:

The Whitney Museum, "Between Two Wars, Prints by American Artists 1914-1941," March 3-31, 1942. #213 (Nude).

Related Works:

(Quiet Woman), 1923, alternate title (Swimmer), watercolor, illustrated in Forsyth's papers, Archives of American Art, a work now in the collection of Janis Conner and Joel Rosenkrantz, provenance Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmerman, Mr. and Mrs. John Donnelly. Also Quiet Woman, 1927, quartz sculpture, 3 3/4" x 5 1/4" x 9 5/8." This work was, according to Forsyth, #20 in a Weyhe Gallery checklist, Sculpture of J.B. Flannagan, 1928, No. 20, or Catalogue for Sculpture by J.B. Flannagan, January 23-February 4, 1928 ("John B. Flannagan; His Life and Works," 147, note 18). Flannagan also wrote that Nude Woman, #60 in the same exhibition is a similar sculpture. Quiet Woman, the sculpture, was exhibited in "John B. Flannagan, Sculpture/Drawings

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1924-1938," New York, Weyhe Gallery, 15 November-29 December 1973, #28.

2. (Four Nudes in a Forest), ca. 1924, block print, 8 1/2" x 6"

Alternate title: (Nudes and Trees)

Collection: Janis Conner and Joel Rosenkrantz (provenance, Mrs. Henry E. Montgomery).

References:

(a) Old Master, American, Modern and Contemporary Prints and Illustrated Books (Catalogue), Christie's, New York, New York, May 11-12, 1993, Lot 99, illustrated.

(b) American Federation of Arts. Catalog List: Flannagan: Sculpture and Other Works, No. 27. New York, 1959.

Exhibition:

American Federation of Arts, circulating exhibition, Time & Life Reception Center, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, November 24-December 4, 1959, and other locations. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry E. Montgomery, New York.

3. Christmas Card, 1930, block print.

Collection: None located.

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Reference:

(a) Forsyth, "Flannagan: His Life and Works," 238, Fig. 110, Madonna and Child (Mrs. Flannagan and newborn daughter).

4. (Goat in Landscape), n.d., block print

Alternate title: (Goat)

Collections: None located. The impression lent to Notre Dame (see below) was from the collection of the Hugh J. Connolly, New York City.

References:

(a) John B. Flannagan Sculpture, Drawings, Paintings, Woodcuts, exhibition checklist. Notre Dame, Indiana: Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, 1963, No. 45.

(b) Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, Weyhe Gallery, 1933, 38. (Note: the print in the catalogue was entitled Goat.) It is possible that the print was no. 5, (Landscape with Goat).

Exhibitions:

"John B. Flannagan, Sculpture, Paintings, Woodcuts." Art Gallery,

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University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, October 6-November 10, 1963, No. 45, lent by Mrs. Hugh J. Connelly, New York City.

Related Works: We have been unable to compare (Goat in Landscape) with (Landscape with Goat), no. 5 below, but since they were exhibited together at Notre Dame in 1963, they must be two different images, and undoubtedly related.

5. (Landscape with Goat), n.d., blockprint, 5" x 4"

Alternate title: (Irish Farmhouse)

Collections: Reba and Dave Williams, 19/50

References:

(a) Robert J. Forsyth, John B. Flannagan, Sculpture, Drawings, Paintings, Woodcuts, exhibition checklist. Notre Dame, Indiana: Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, 1963, No. 47.

(b) Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, Weyhe Gallery, 1933, 38.

Exhibitions:

"John B. Flannagan, Sculpture, Paintings, Woodcuts." Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana. October 6-November 10, 1963. No. 47, lent by the Weyhe Gallery.

Related works: See notes under (Goat in Landscape), no. 4, above.

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6. (Landscape with Dog), block print, 10" x 5 3/4"

Collection: None located. The impression lent to Notre Dame was from the Weyhe Gallery.

References:

(a) Robert J. Forsyth, John B. Flannagan, Sculpture, Drawings, Paintings, Woodcuts. Notre Dame: Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, 1963, No. 46.

Exhibitions:

"John B. Flannagan, Sculpture, Paintings, Woodcuts," Art Gallery, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, October 6-November 10, 1963. No. 46, lent by the Weyhe Gallery.

7. (Two Horses in a Hilly Landscape), ca. 1930, block print, 10 1/4" x 6 1/4"

Alternate titles: (Horses), (Two Horses), (Horse)

Collections:

Janis Conner and Joel Rosenkrantz; National Museum of American Art; Reba and Dave Williams, 49/50

References:

(a) Old Master, American, Modern and Contemporary Prints and Illustrated Books (Catalogue). Christie's, New York, New York. May 11-12, 1993, Lot. 99.

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(b) Journal of the Print World, Volume 8, No. 2, Spring 1985, 13, illustrated, impression owned by National Museum of American Art.

(c) Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, Weyhe Gallery, 1933, 38.

Exhibitions:

American Federation of Arts Exhibition, Time-Life Recreation Center, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, November 24-December 4, 1959, and other locations. Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry E. Montgomery.

"Zoo to Art: Animal Subjects by American Sculptors," Smithsonian Institution, March 1-October 14, 1985.

Related Works:

Mare and Colt in Landscape, 1924-1926; watercolor, 11 1/8" x 16 1/4", #46, illustrated, John B. Flannagan, Sculpture/Drawings, 1924-1938. St. Paul: Minnesota Museum of Art, 1973.

8. Giraffes, n.d., block print, 9 1/2" x 6 1/2"

Collections: None located. The impression in the MoMa exhibition (see below) was lent by the Weyhe Gallery.

References:

(a) Dorothy C. Miller, ed. The Sculpture of John B. Flannagan. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1942, no. 55.

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Exhibition:

"The Sculpture of John B. Flannagan," The Museum of Modern Art, 1942.

Related Works:

Giraffe, 1924, walnut, 22 3/4" high, lent to MoMa in 1942 by Carl Zigrosser; Giraffe, wood, 21 1/2" high, lent to Notre Dame Art Gallery in 1963 by Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Zimmerman, New York, N.Y.; and Giraffes, ca. 1930, pastel, collection of Janis Conner and Joel Rosenkrantz.

9. (Scottie and Cow near Cottage in Hilly Landscape), ca. 1930, block print, 10 1/8" x 5 3/4"

Alternate titles: (Scottie and Cow, Ireland), (Dog and Calf)

Collection: Reba and Dave Williams

References:

(a) Fine Prints, Old Master Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, Early Lithographs, Modern Fine Prints Both American and Foreign, Pictures for the Home, Prints as Presents, Weyhe Gallery, 1933, 38.

Flannagan's prints deserve further research. Contradictory dates should be resolved (for example, a reference to (Nude) in the Zigrosser files, AAA, Reel 4621, Frame 203, suggests a date of 1931 for the print); and two references to lithography in the Flannagan-Zigrosser correspondence should be explored. Ibid., frame 246.

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Appendix 8

Critics and the Weyhe Gallery

During the early years of the Weyhe Gallery, there were many art critics reviewing exhibitions. Some of the most important, and their affiliations, are listed below.

Sherwood Anderson (1876-1941) occasionally wrote art criticism for the The New York Herald.

Margaret Breuning (dates unknown) was art critic for The New York Post, 1910-1922, art critic for the Journal American, 1923-1925, and wrote for Art Digest, Magazine of Art, and International Studio. She was also active as a lecturer on the arts in the 1930s and 1940s.

C.J. Bulliet (1883-1952) was art critic for the Chicago Evening Post, 1924-1932, and art critic for the Chicago Daily News, 1932-1952.

Elizabeth Luther Cary (1867-1936) was art critic at The New York Times 1908-1936 for both the Sunday Magazine and the daily paper.

Frank Crowninshield (1873-1948) was editor of Vanity Fair, 1914-1936.

Royal Cortissoz (1869-1948) was art critic at the New York Herald Tribune, 1891-1944. His columns were unsigned until 1901.

Hamilton Easter Field (1873-1922) was founder and editor of The Arts, art editor of The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, ca. 1919, and editor, Arts and Decoration, 1919-1920.

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Emily Genauer (b. 1911) was art critic for the New York World-Telegram, 1932-1948.

Edward Alden Jewell (1888-1947) became associate art critic of The New York Times in 1927, and succeeded Elizabeth Luther Cary in 1936 when she died, remaining at The Times, until his own death.

Henry McBride (1867-1962) wrote for The New York Sun (1912-1950), The Dial (1920-1929), Creative Art, 1939-1932, and ARTnews (1950-55).

Lewis Mumford (1895-1990) wrote for The New Yorker, sometimes in the column "The Art Galleries."

Murdock Pemberton (1888-1982) was the first art critic at The New Yorker, June 1925-1932.

Paul Rosenfeld (1890-1946) wrote for The Seven Arts, The Dial, The New Republic, Vanity Fair, The Nation, Creative Art, The New Yorker, etc.

Henry Tyrrell (1865-1933) was on the staff of the New York Sunday World, 1903-1931. He also contributed art reviews to other magazines and newspapers.

Forbes Watson (1880-1960) wrote for The New York World, ca. 1920-1927, and The Arts, 1923-1931.

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(1) The Weyhe Gallery scrapbooks (WGS), which include gallery exhibition announcements and checklists and clippings from newspapers and magazines about the Weyhe Gallery and its artists. A set of the scrapbooks can be seen at the Archives of American Art (AAA) and at the New York Public Library.

(2) The Carl Zigrosser Papers, which can be seen in the Special Collection Department, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, and at the Archives of American Art (AAA).

(3) Weyhe Gallery correspondence from the collection of Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, at the Archives of American Art (AAA).

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Other Unpublished Sources

(1) Letters, telephone conversations, and interviews to/by the author from/with the following persons: David Acton, Alejandro Anreus, Alicia Azuela, Ruth Esherick Bascom, Jonathan Bober, Lucienne Bloch, Efram L. Burk, Paul Cadmus, Maria Carreras, Hilda Castellon, Diane Cochrane, Marjorie B. Cohn, Sylvan Cole, Janis Conner, Ruth Dunbar Cushing, Bruce Davis, Gertrude Weyhe Dennis, Betty Duffy, Robert Edwards, Starr Figura, Ruth Fine, Robert J. Forsyth, Jonathan Greenberg, John Itman, David Kiehl, Sylvie Maillet, Kathleen Mann, Mary Anne Martin, Mary L. Meixner, Claudia Pavón, Susan Barnes Robinson, Andrée Ruellan, Patterson Sims, Donald Smith, Ellen Sragow, Harry Sternberg, Susan Teller, Raquel Tibol, Roberta Waddell, Anita Weschler, James Wechsler, Wendy Weitman, Dave H. Williams, Audur Winnan, Ursula Moore Works.

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(5) Letters in special collections.

(a) Rockefeller Archive Center

1. Frida Kahlo to Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, January 24, 1933
   OMR III 2C, Business Interests,
   Box 94, Folder 706

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2. Diego Rivera to John D. Rockefeller, February 6, 1932
OMR III 2C, Business Interests,
Box 94, Folder 706

(b) Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (Yale)

1. Letters from Marsden Hartley to Arnold Rönnebeck and Alfred Stieglitz.

2. Letters from Arnold Rönnebeck to Duncan Phillips, Alfred Stieglitz and Leon Tebbetts.

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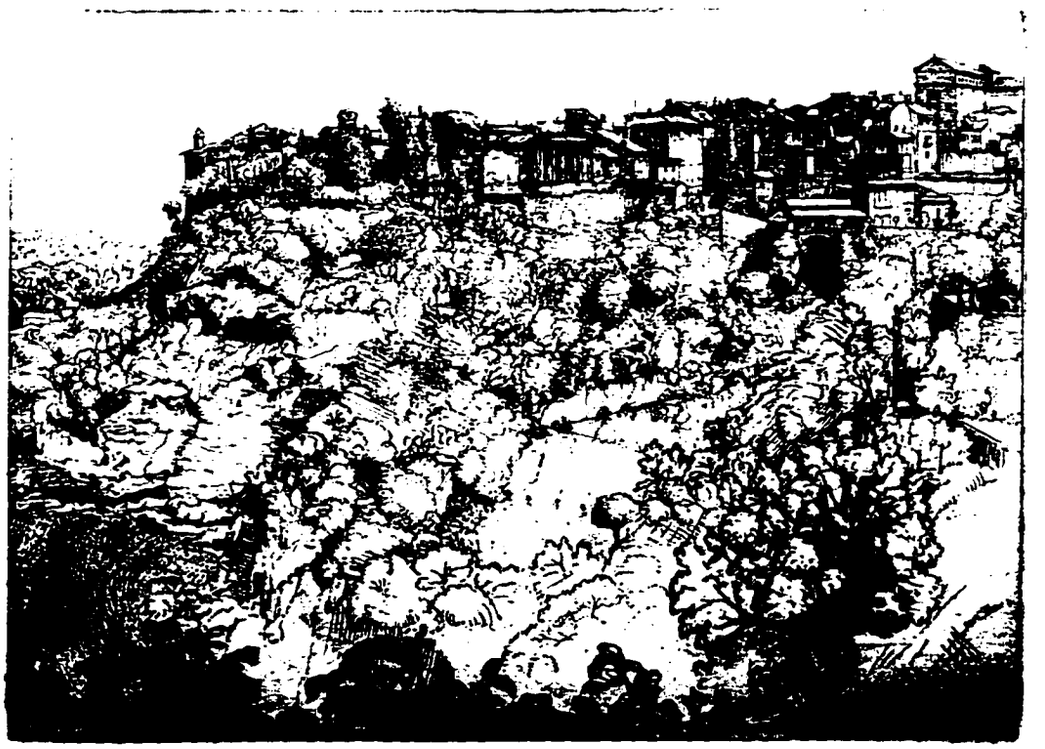


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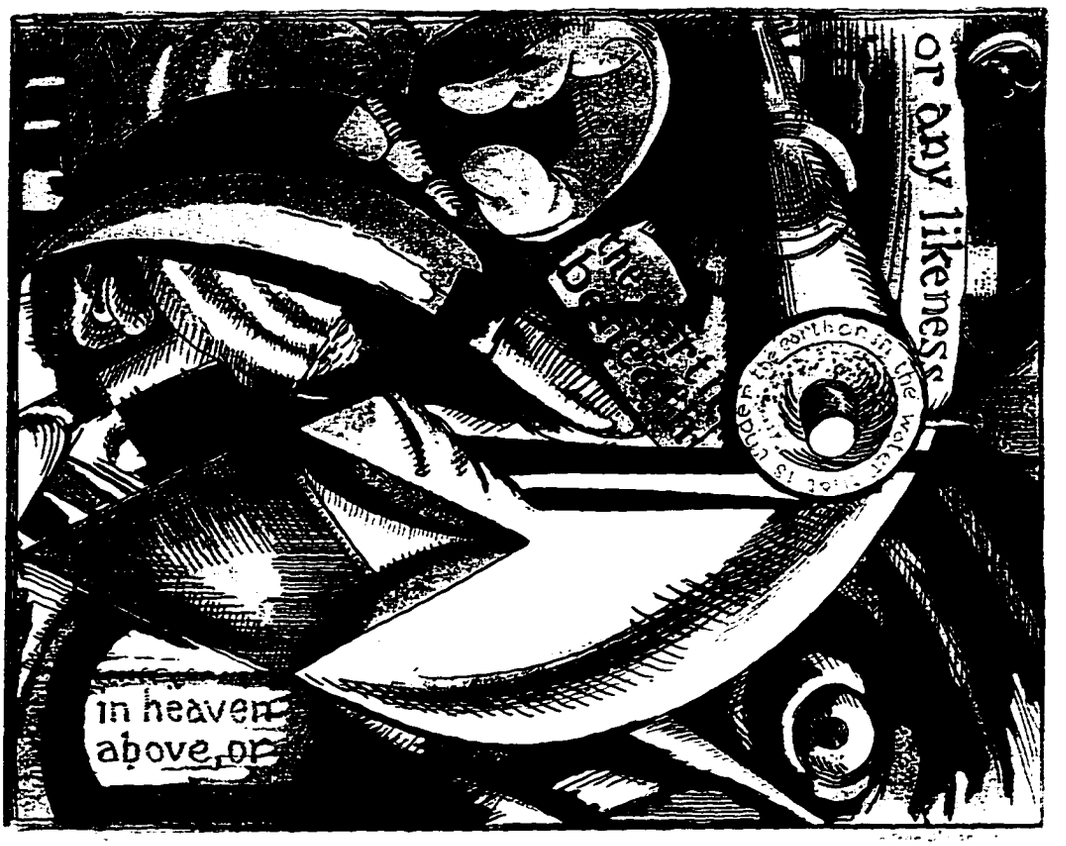


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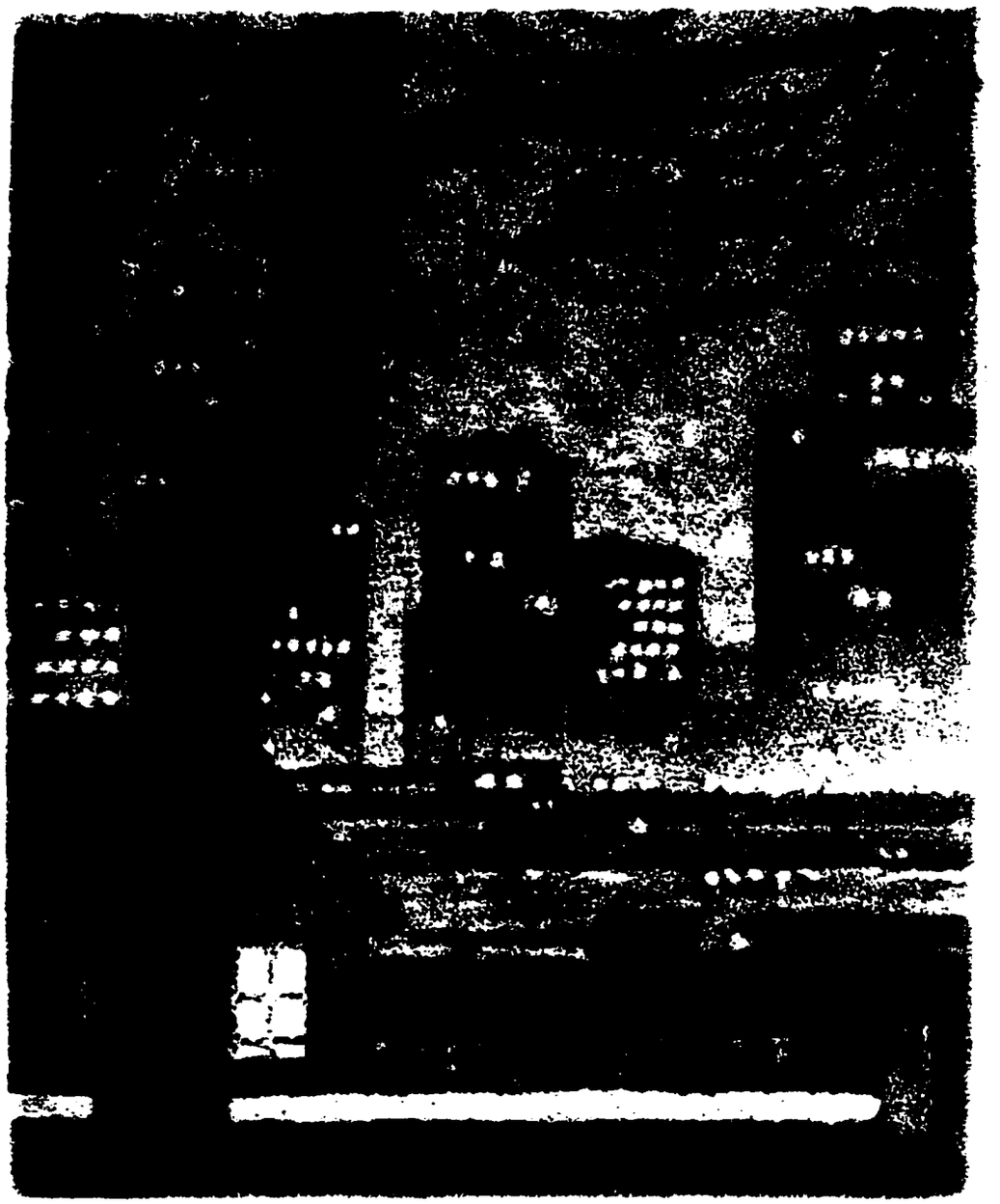


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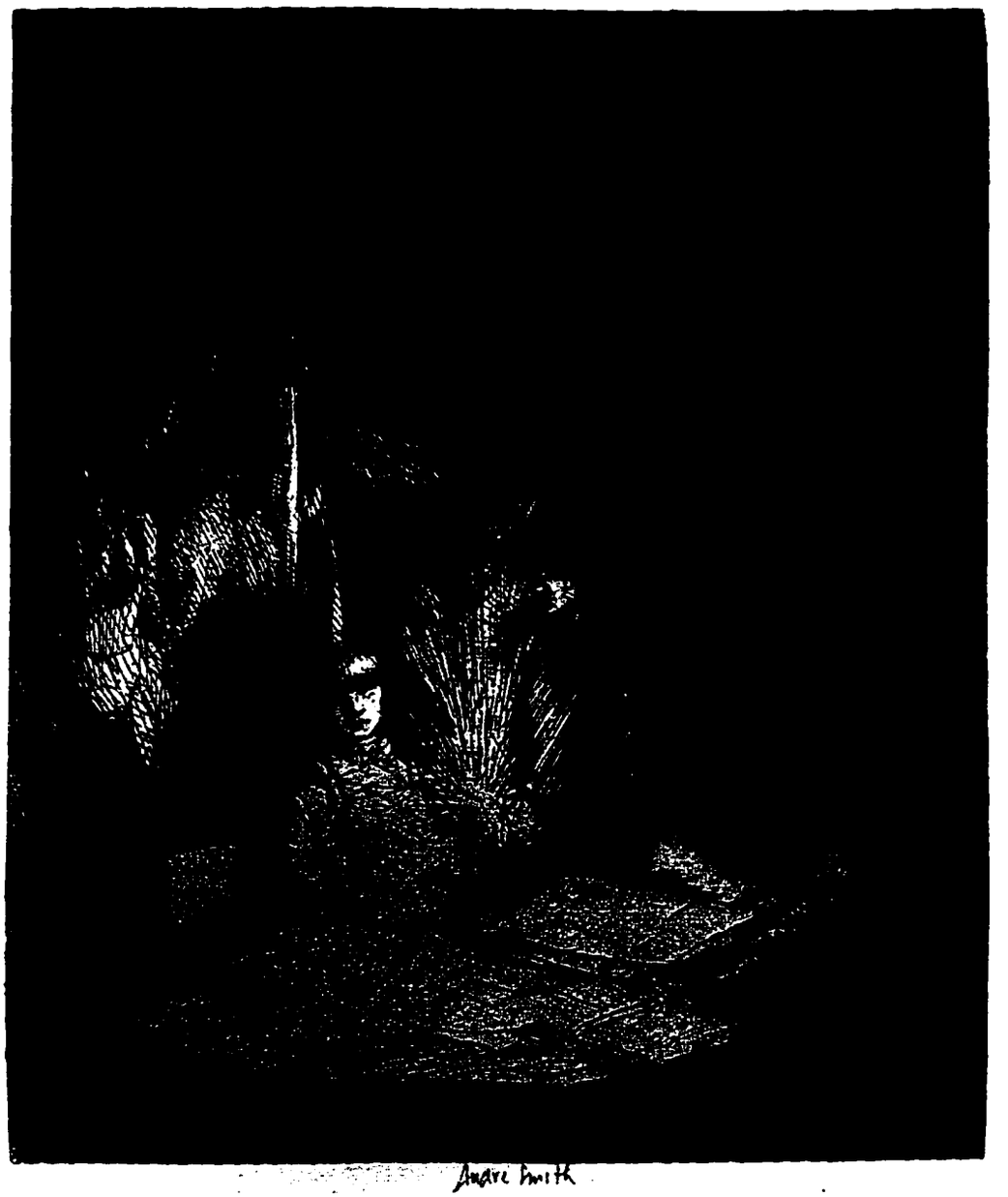


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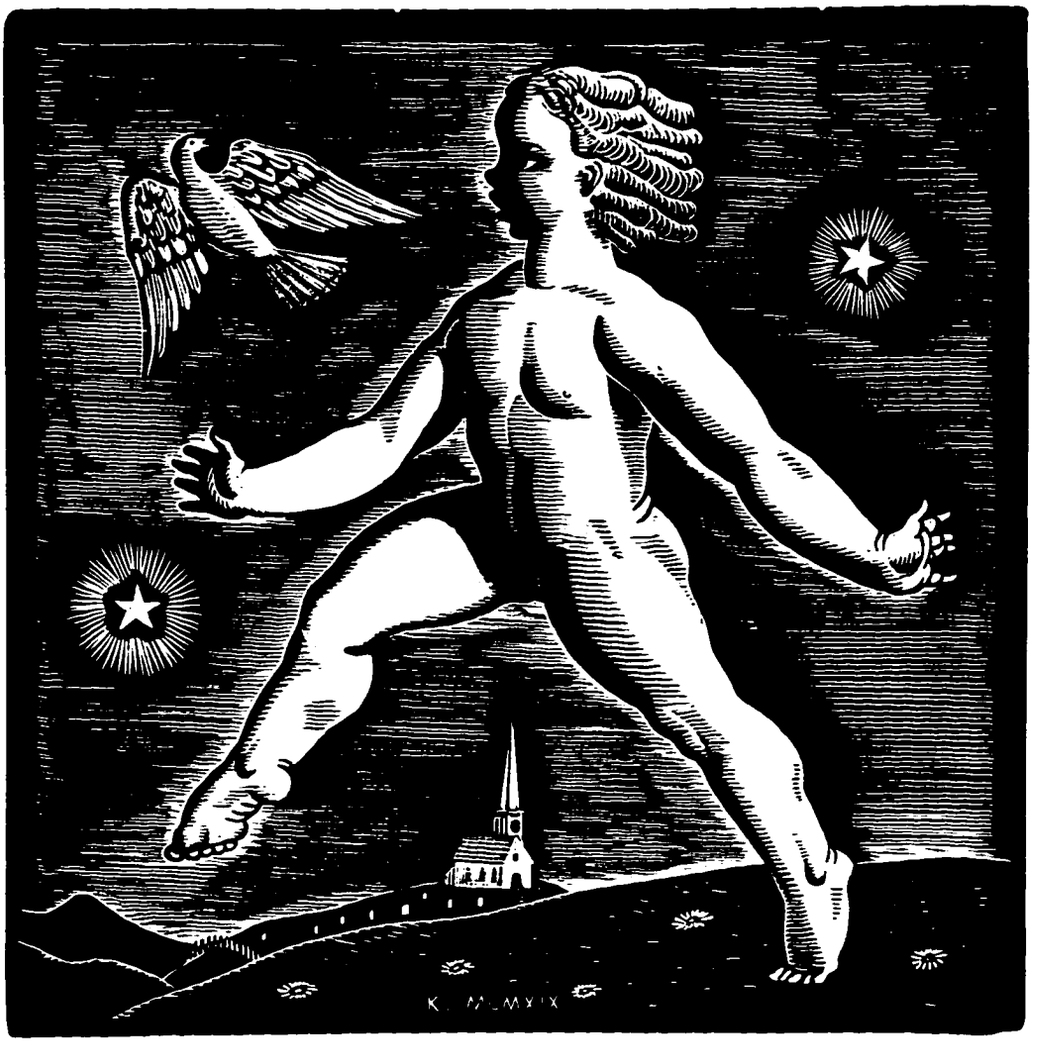


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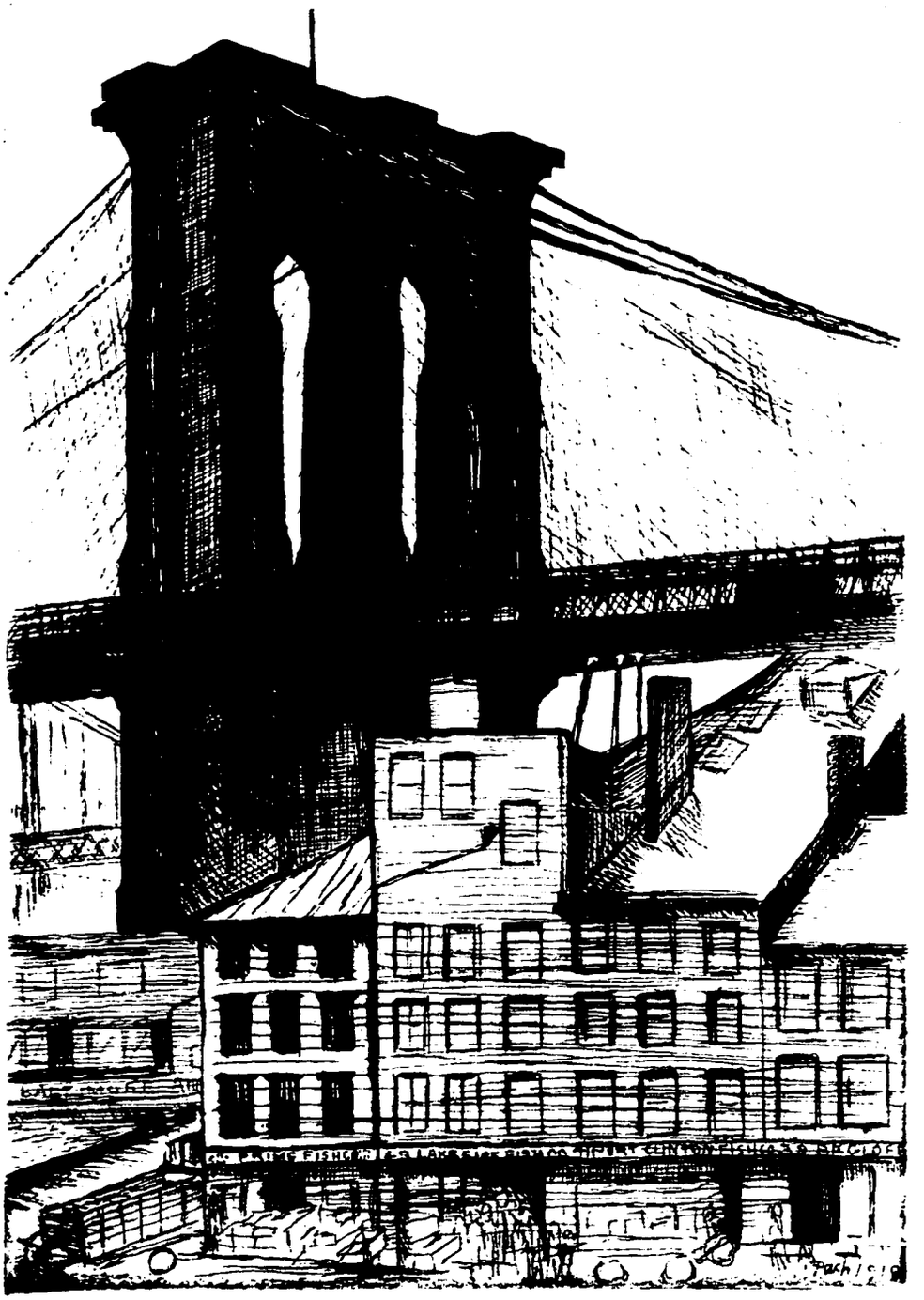


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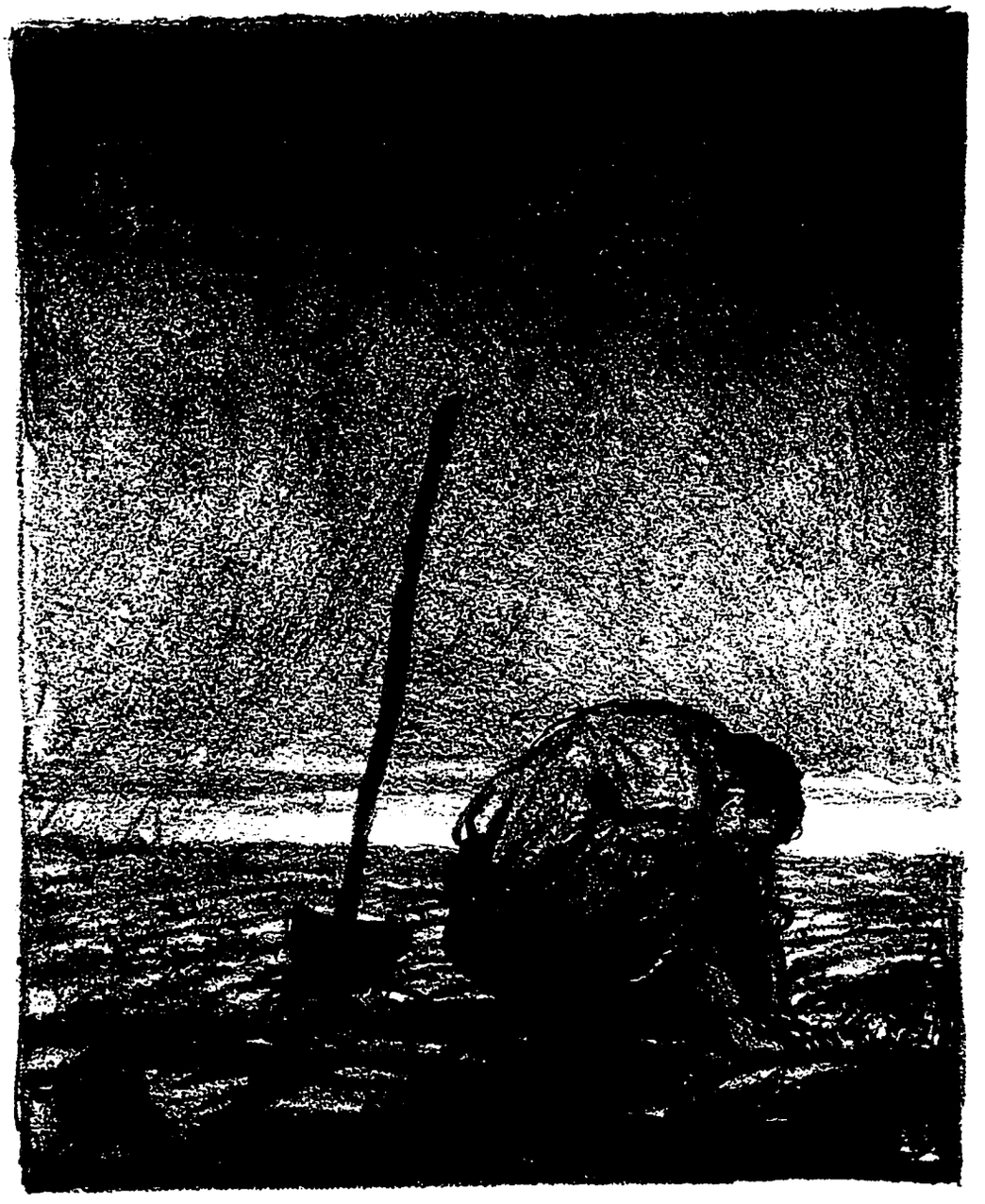


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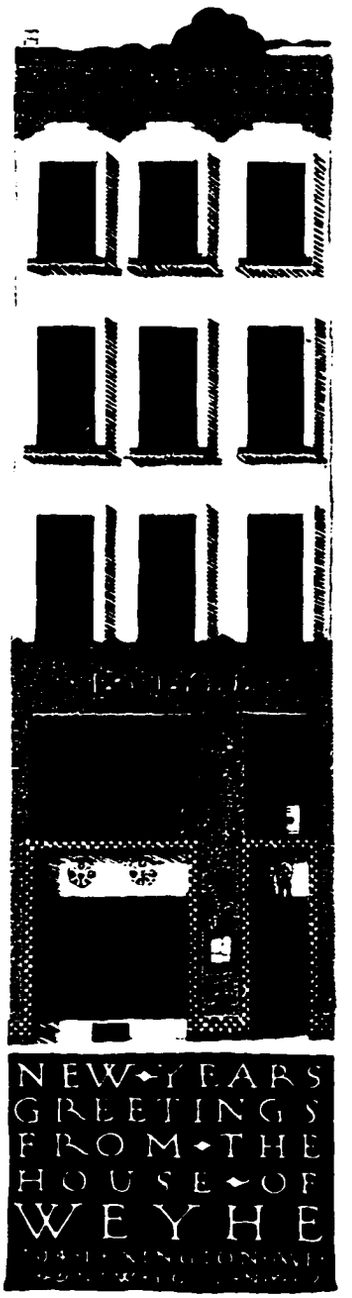


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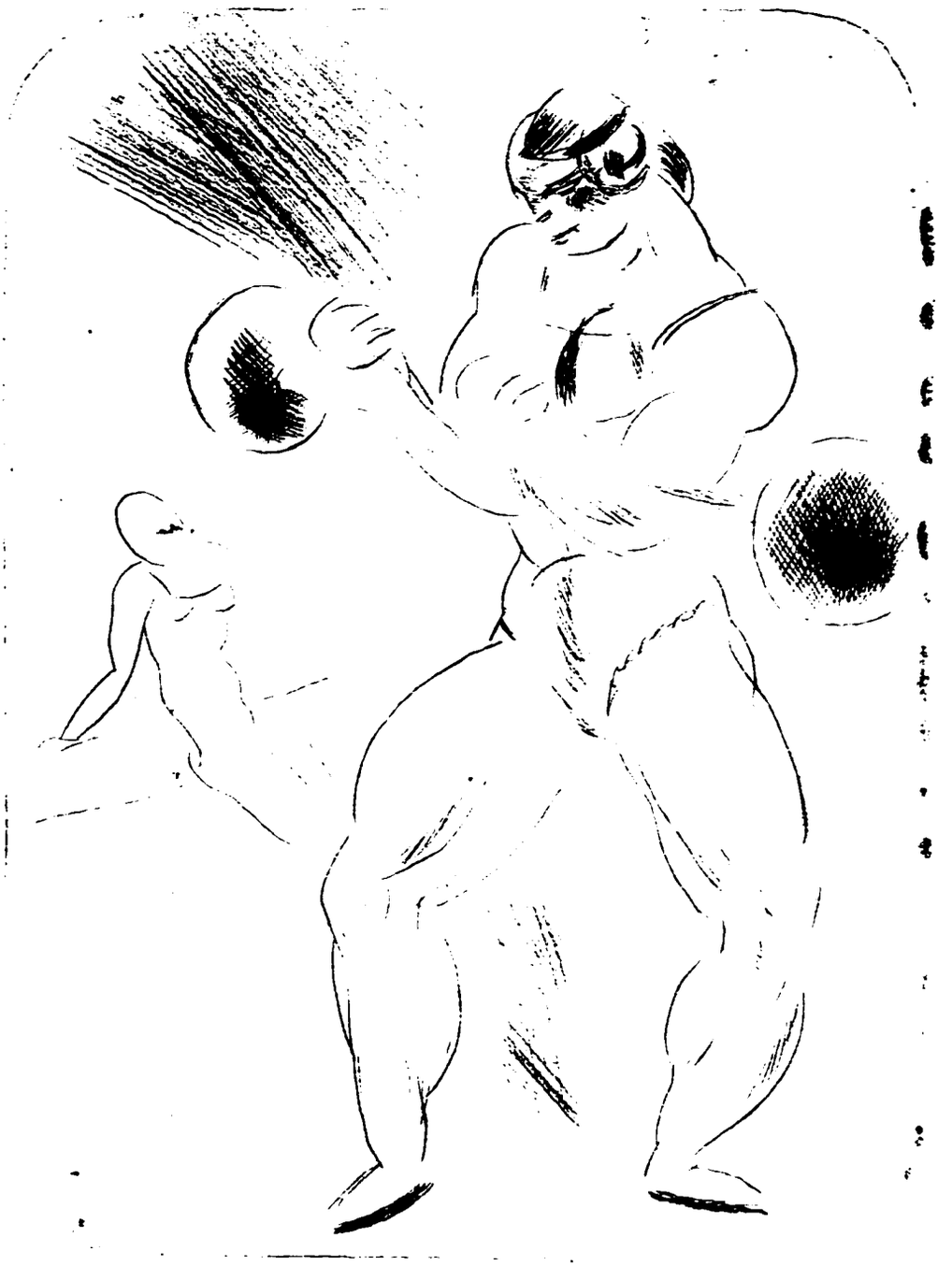


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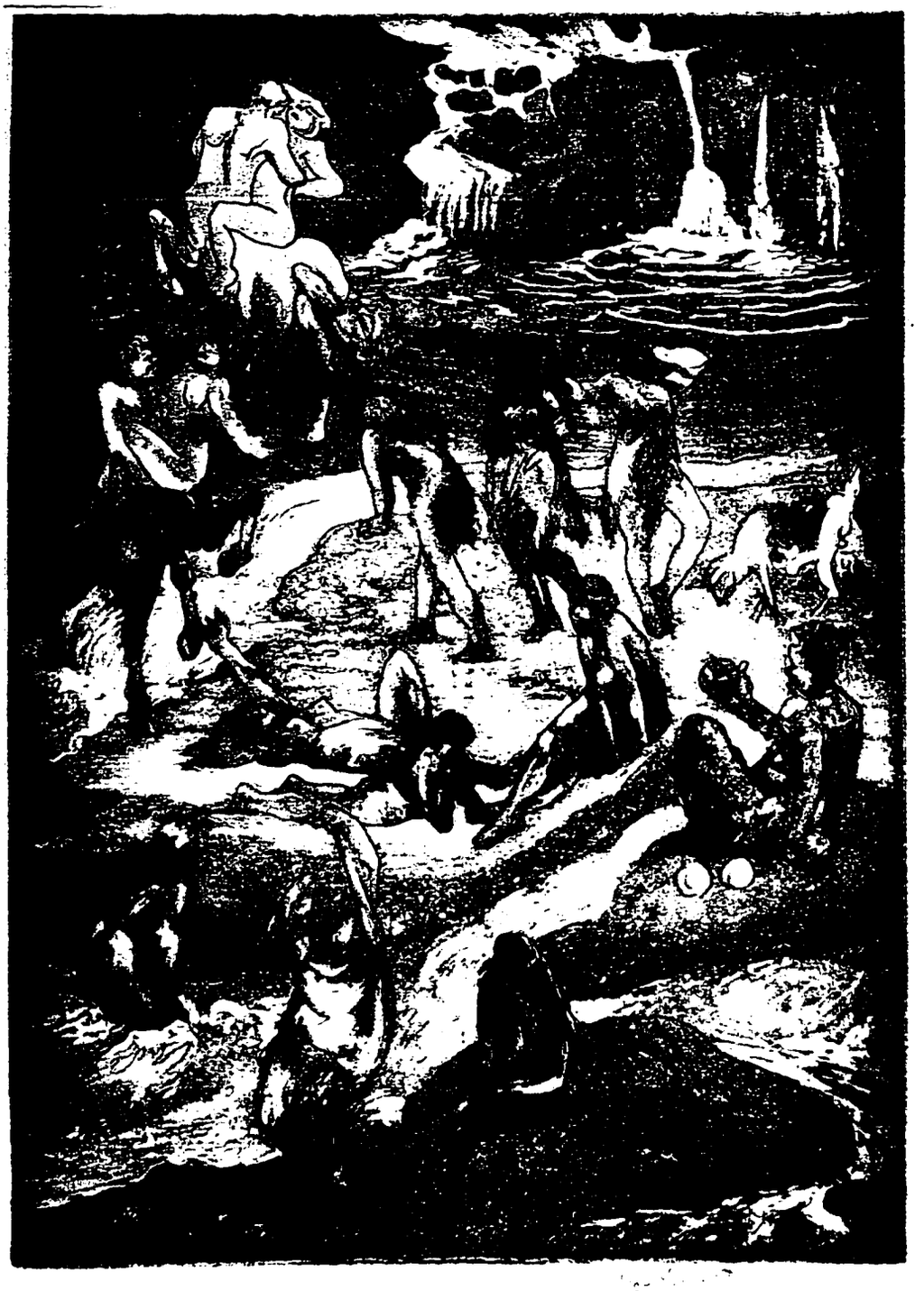


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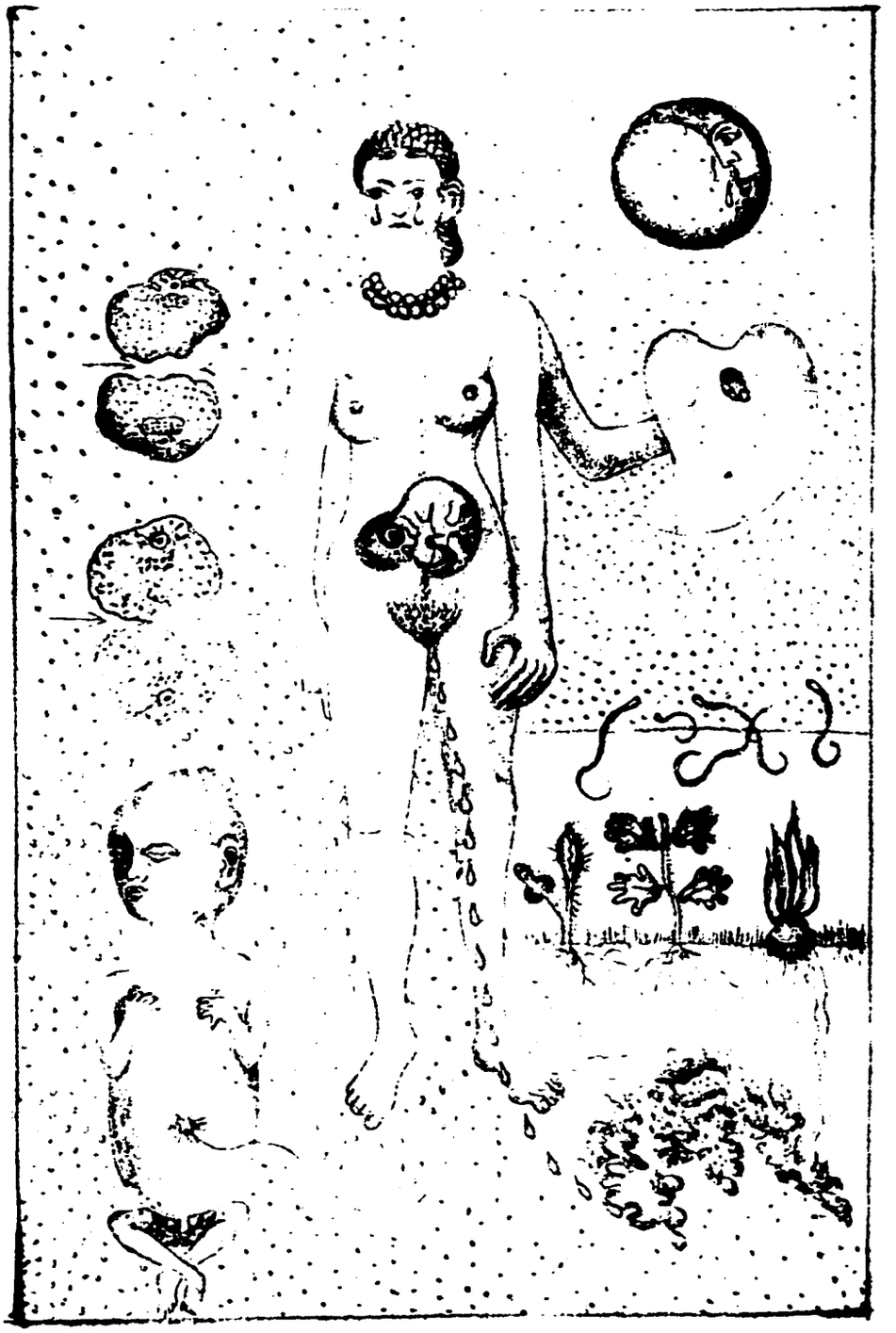


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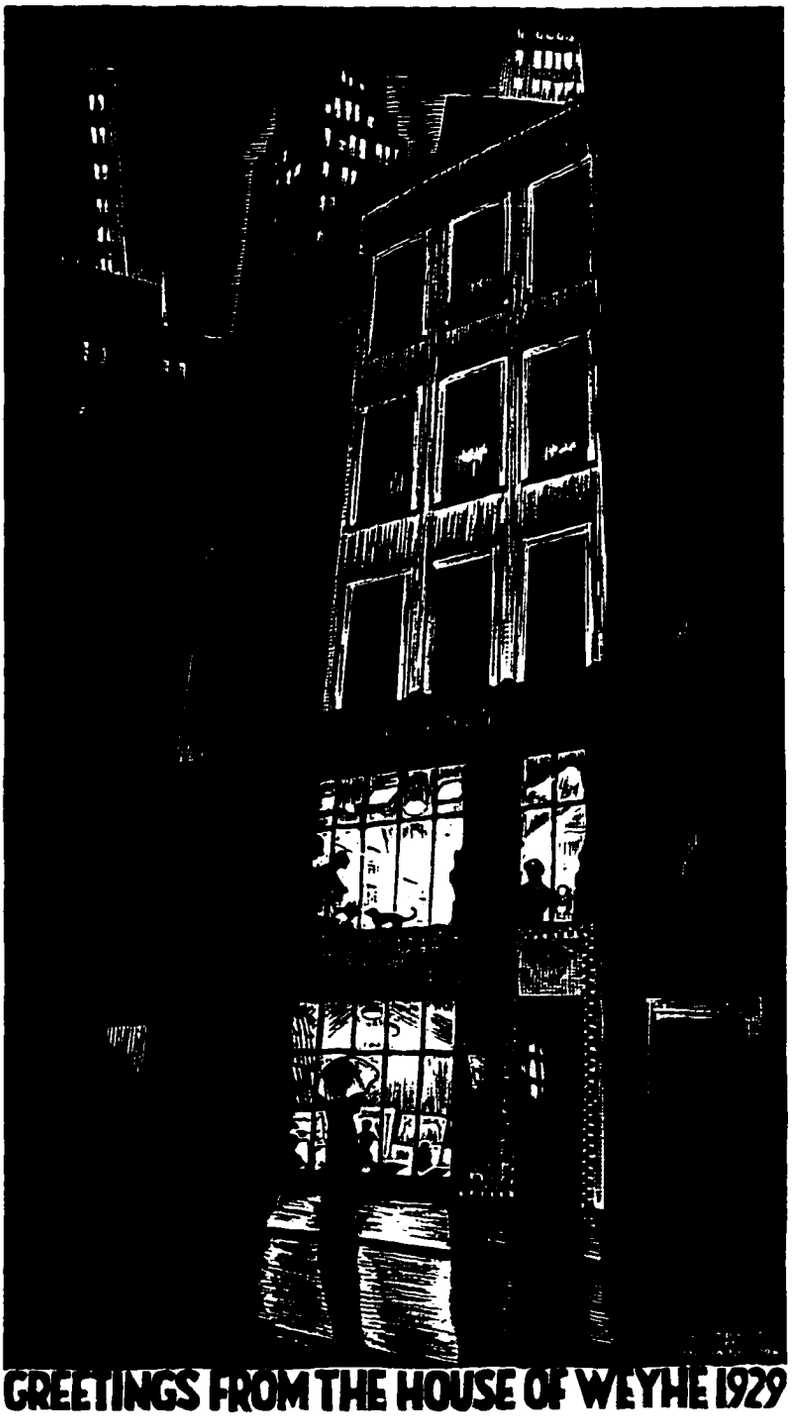


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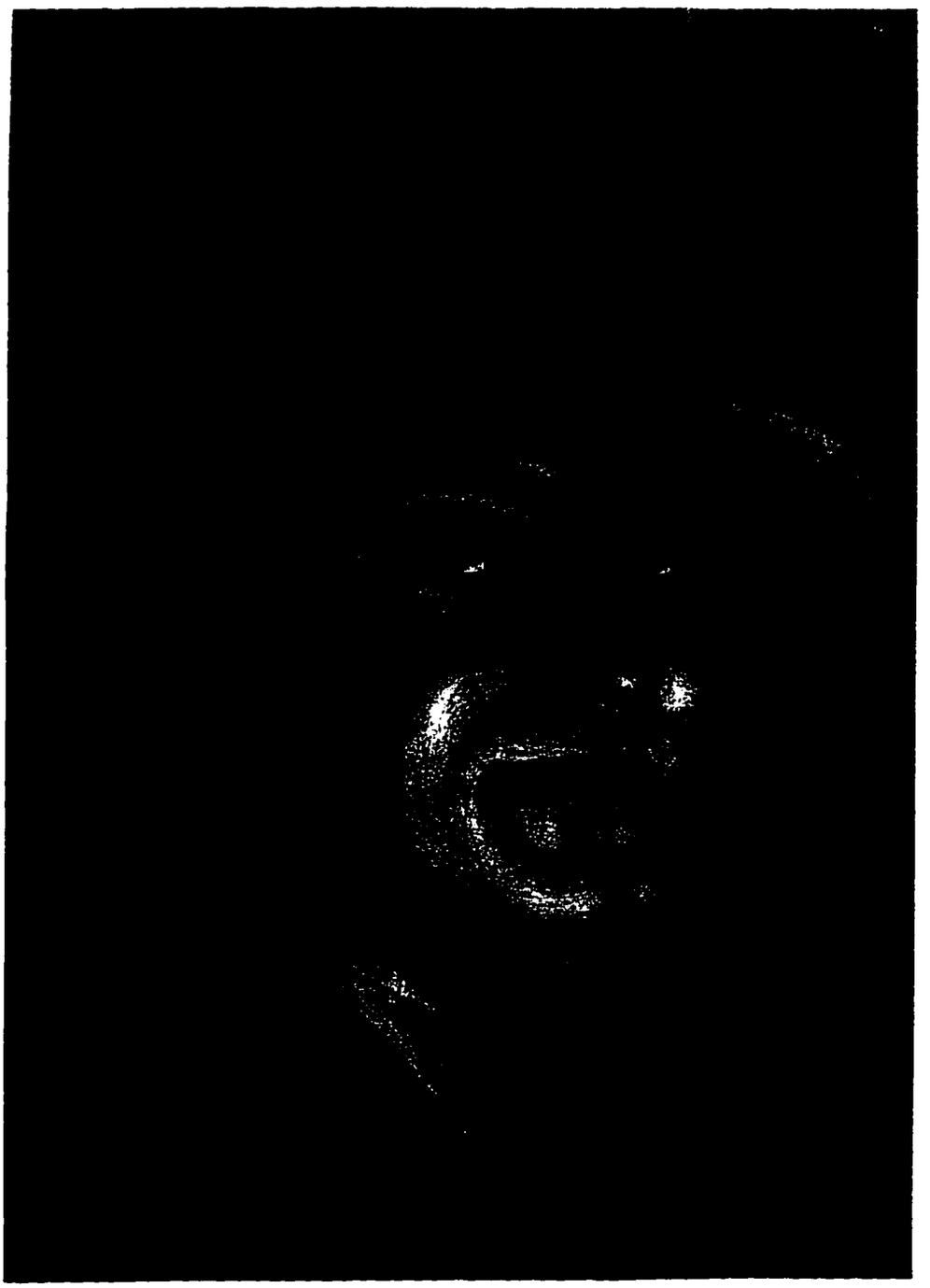


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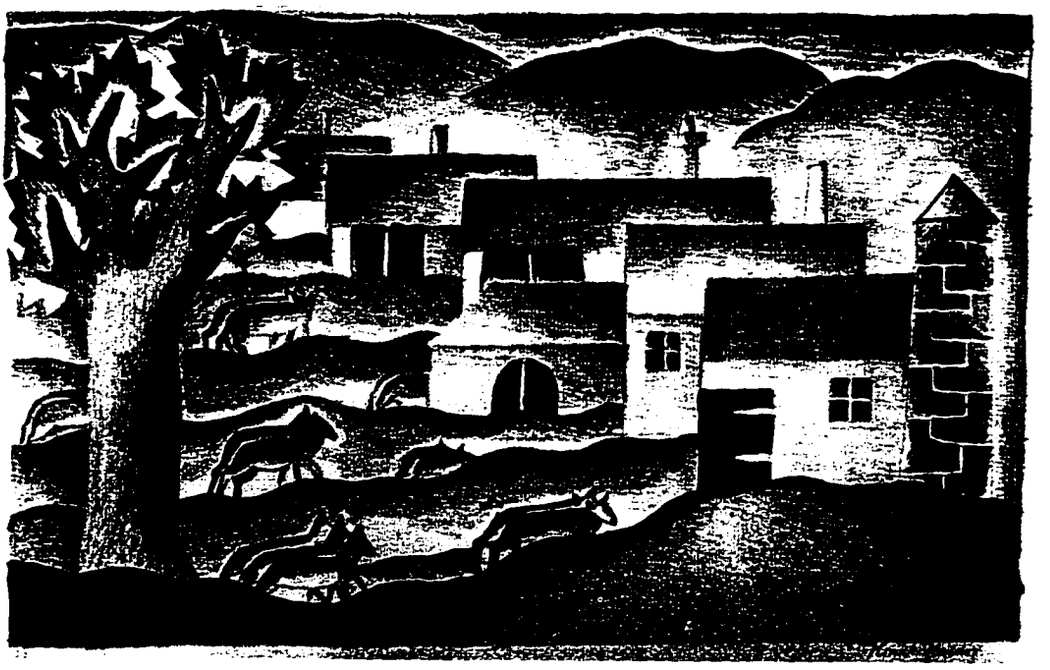


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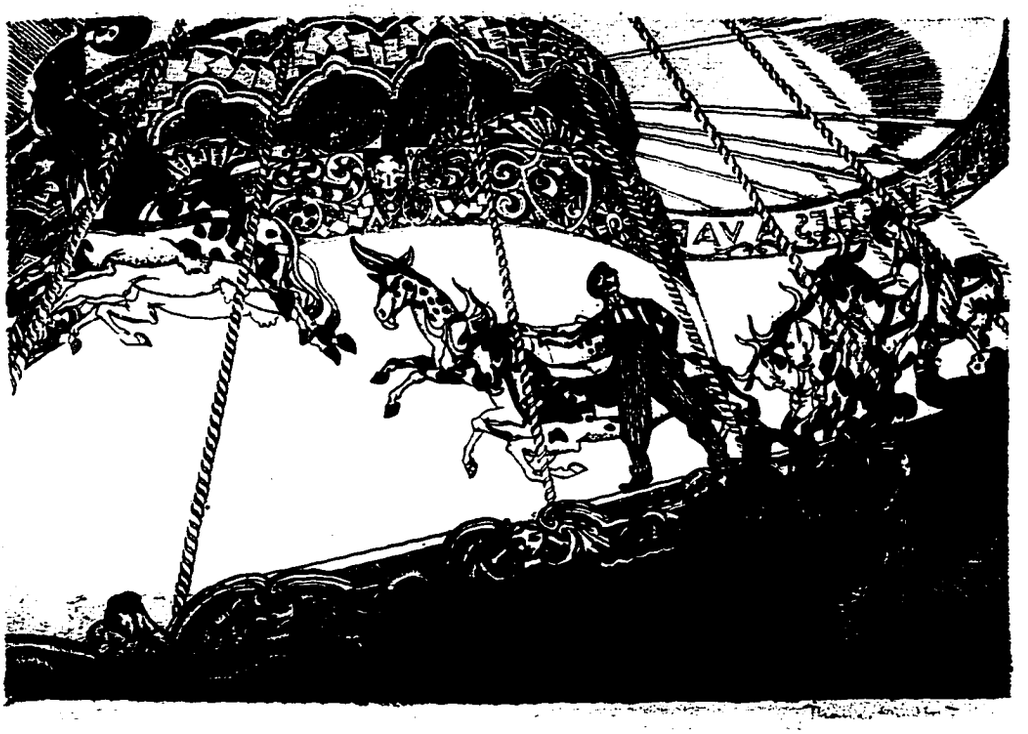


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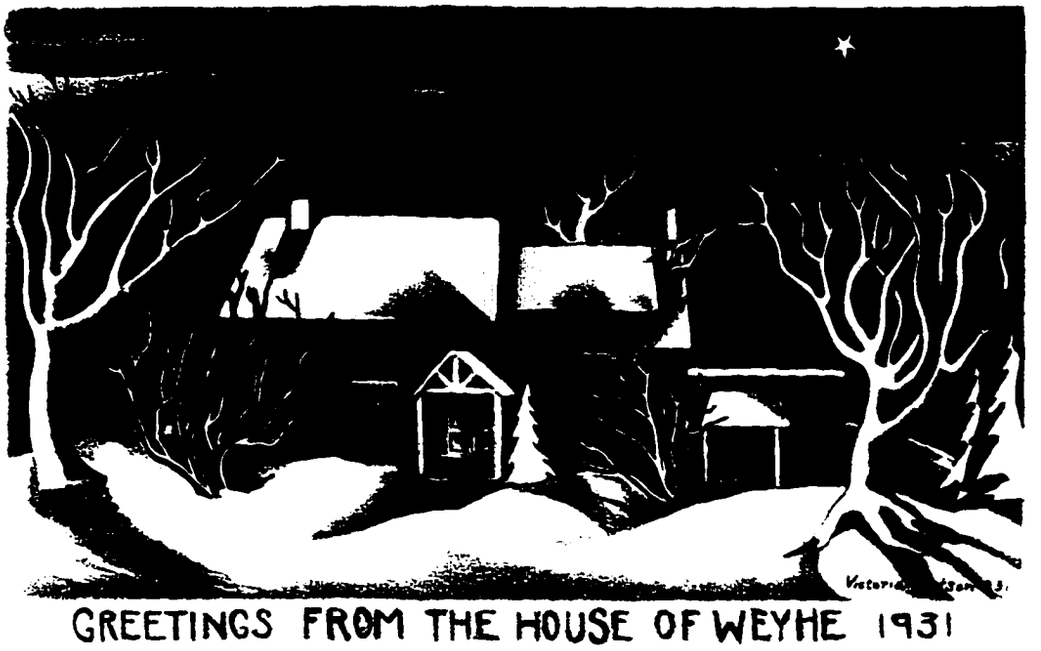


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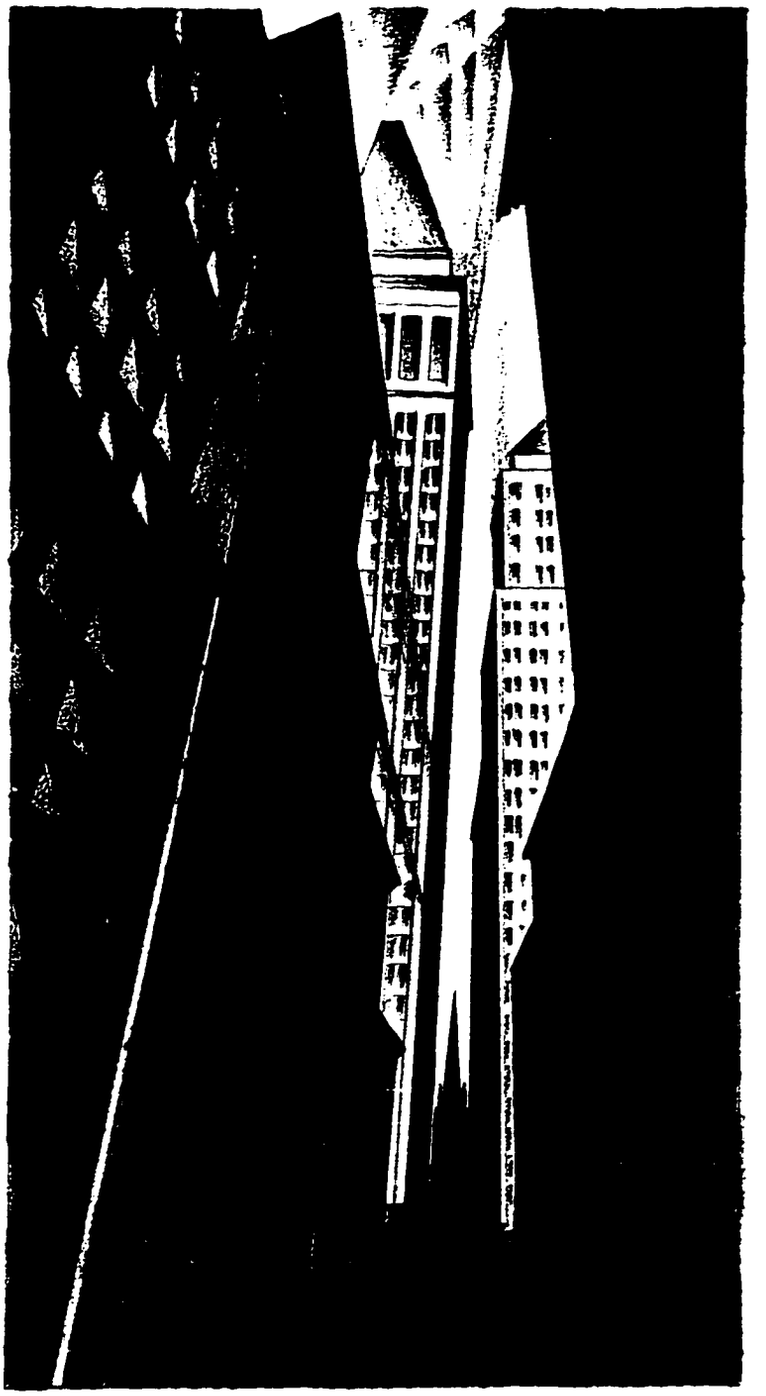


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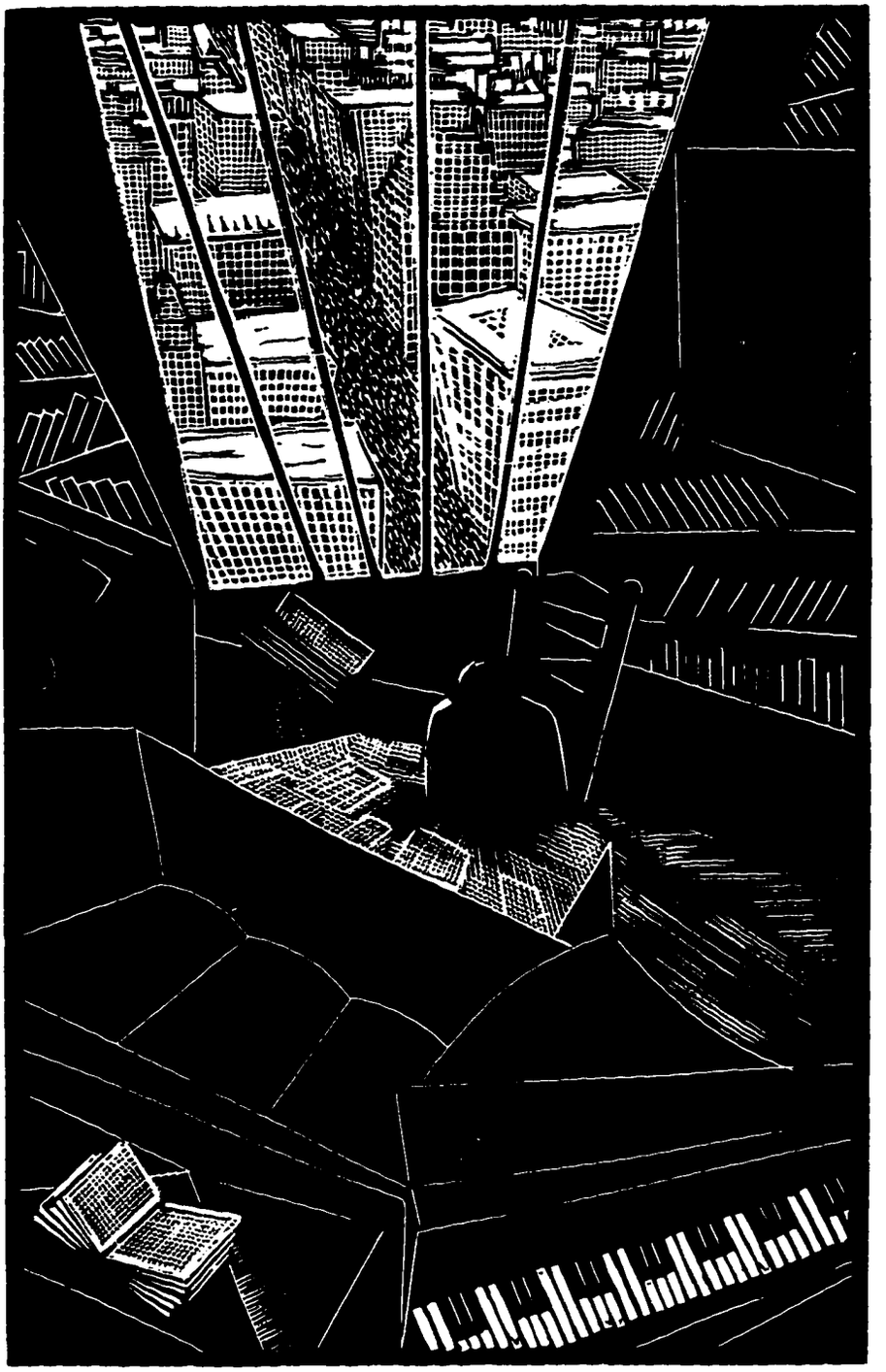


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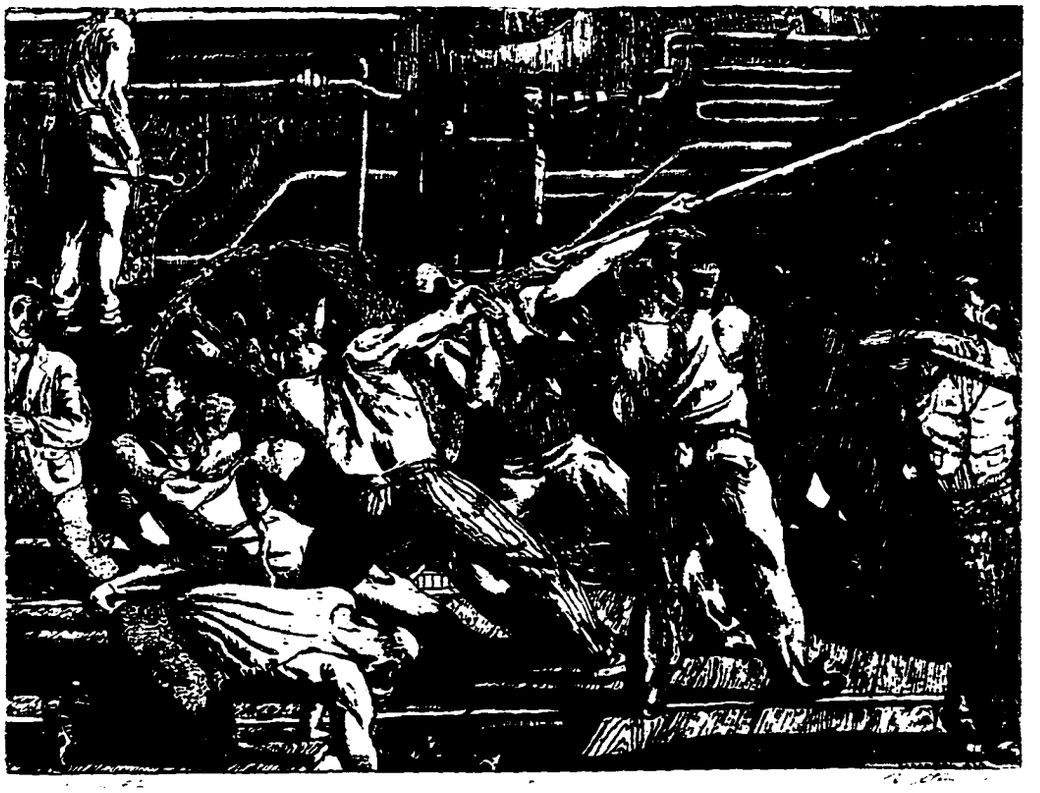


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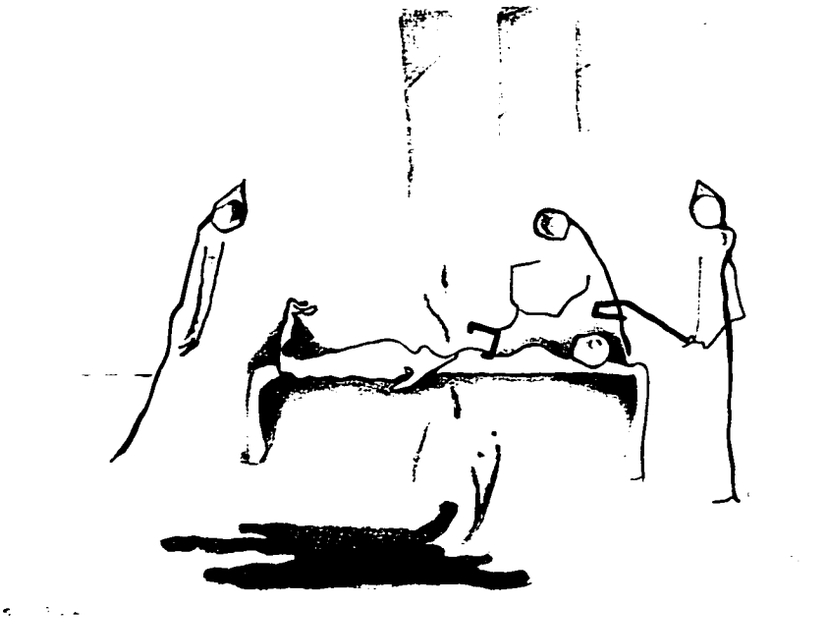


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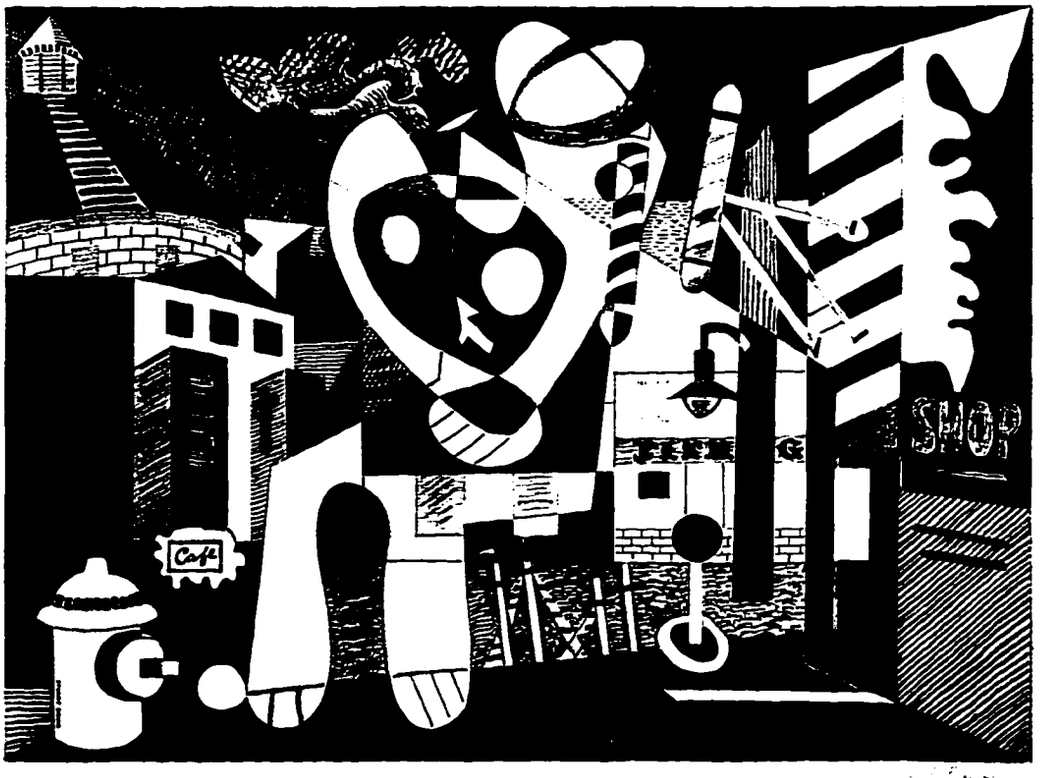


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