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**ROBERT HENRI AND THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST:
HIS WORK AND INFLUENCE**

by

VALERIE ANN LEEDS

**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**

2000

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

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

ROBERT HENRI AND THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST:
HIS WORK AND INFLUENCE

by

Valerie Ann Leeds

Adviser: Prof. William H. Gerdtz

American artist Robert Henri (1865-1929) has most often been identified as the organizer of the 1908 landmark exhibition of The Eight and leader of the progressive movement; however, his relationship to the American Southwest has been largely neglected in scholarly discourse. This dissertation examines and reevaluates the work from and impact of Henri's extended visits to the Southwest in 1914, 1916, 1917, and 1922. During these stays he produced a distinguished body of work that is among the creative pinnacles of his career.

Henri painted more than three-hundred and twenty-five works while visiting the Southwest; his principal mode of expression was portraiture of Native-, Asian-, and Hispanic-American subjects. His depictions of these multi-ethnic models is discussed in terms of his humanistic approach to portraiture. Issues of stereotypes, multi-culturalism, and his portrayal of the exotic is also addressed by exploring his artistic choices and

representation of these ethnic groups in the context of his overall production.

Henri's role in the development of the Santa Fe artist colony is also appraised. As a direct result of Henri's encouragement, Leon Kroll and George Bellows visited Santa Fe in 1917, and Randall Davey and John Sloan went in 1919. These artists brought their individual styles of New York realism to the Santa Fe art community. Henri's impact on the New Mexican work of these four artists has never been fully explored, as well as his association with the Taos art colony and the Taos Society of Artists, an organization with which he was affiliated from 1918 to 1922.

Though his Southwestern work forms a discrete body of work, many artistic concerns within this corpus directly relate to issues with which he grappled throughout his entire painting career, particularly in relation to his lifelong commitment to portraiture. Henri's Southwestern production will be examined regarding his choice of subject, interpretive approach, technique, and stylistic development, as well as the marketability and critical reception of this work. His Southwestern work is also placed and analyzed within the broader context of his career and oeuvre.

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V.A.L.

**Robert Henri and the American Southwest:
His Work and Influence**

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Robert Henri's Southwestern Work

"...I only want to find whatever of the great spirit there is in the Southwest. If I can hold it on my canvas I am satisfied..."

Robert Henri

Robert Henri (1865-1929) produced a distinctive and discrete body of work during four extended visits he made to the Southwest in 1914, 1916, 1917, and 1922. This aspect of Henri's oeuvre remains one of the least examined with the exception of a few well-known Native American portraits, and it has also been greatly underestimated in size and scope.² His concentrated production of over three hundred and twenty five recorded works executed during the four Southwestern visits, as well as numerous sketches, watercolors and pastels, makes this neglect surprising in light of the quality and copious productivity during this phase of his career.³ Henri's artistic reputation has been largely evaluated by his work produced in the context of the Ashcan School, which represents a small facet of his overall production; this earlier aspect of his career, which occupied a relatively short span of time, has overshadowed his Southwestern output, which has never been fully considered. Henri's work from this more mature period,

notably the portraits, is defined by its exceptional nature, even though it has been dismissed by some scholars as formulaic and superficial. This assessment, however, has been based on limited examples without a thorough review of his artistic production.⁴ His Southwestern portraits establish him as a superlative painter of distinct "types." These works include some of his most compelling and sensitive portrayals of individuals ever; they are remarkable for their coloration, characterizations, and overall artistic conception. His production is also extraordinary for its focus on portraiture, not commissioned efforts, but works painted for their own sake. His portraits are the embodiment of a personal philosophy which emphasized picturing the real world fused with his lifelong personal quest in representing the essence of each individual who posed for him.⁵

Henri's involvement with the Southwest commenced in June 1914 with a trip to California made at the suggestion of his friend and former pupil, Alice Klauber, who was a resident of San Diego. There he met and befriended Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, an ethnologist from the School of American Archeology in Santa Fe (and later director of the new Santa Fe institution, the Museum of Mexico) who was in charge of the art exhibits at the 1915 San Diego Panama-California Exposition. The acquaintance with Hewett proved to be significant to Henri and was instrumental in advancing his

interest in depicting southwestern subjects, particularly Native Americans. Hewett extended an invitation to Henri to visit Santa Fe, which he later accepted in 1916, marking the first of three working visits there.

After the work of the European avant-garde had been introduced at the 1913 Armory Show and generated a profound and explosive response, Henri found his artistic influence in the art world waning as he was no longer at the forefront of the avant-garde. Though he continued working outside of the newer modernist idioms, his subsequent residences in California and Santa Fe spanned important years in his own production.

Henri first visited the Southwest in 1914; he went to Southern California from June through September. Two summers later he first arrived in Santa Fe in July and stayed to mid-October. The following year he returned at about the same time and remained until December. In 1922, he went there in late June, left for California from August 31st until October, and then returned to Santa Fe and stayed until the middle of December. For the summer months, and often extending into the fall, Henri typically sought different and varied locales away from New York City and his teaching commitments which would provide him with stimulating subjects and an environment conducive for work. This time away from the city was often the most prolific period of the year for him when he would execute the better

part of his annual production.

It can be ascertained from the artist's record book, in which he recorded virtually every significant painting, that he created at least eighty-four works while in California, over one hundred during the first visit to New Mexico in 1916, and nearly the same amount during the subsequent 1917 stay. When Henri again returned to Santa Fe in 1922, he remained for a shorter time during which he produced about forty canvases.⁶ In addition, he also made an unknown number of sketches, pastels, watercolors, and drawings, principally of landscape scenes, which were not recorded. Scholars have long underestimated Henri's Southwestern production; nonetheless these four seasons of painting were to be among the most prolific and creative periods of his artistic life.⁷

Henri's stays in California and Santa Fe were not notable simply for his copious output. More importantly, though he never moved beyond the established parameters of realistic portraiture, he continually explored new directions in his painting. He was no longer regarded as a progressive pioneer on the contemporary art scene; yet, a number of the Southwestern portraits represent some of his most original and remarkable painting, culminating in a high point of his oeuvre in 1917. Although he painted some landscape scenes of California and New Mexico during these stays in the Southwest, portraiture was Henri's primary mode

of expression and the genre for which he achieved his reputation, and his portrayal of Hispanic- and Native-American subjects were his dominant artistic vehicle during these visits.⁷

The themes he chose to represent while in California during the 1914 trip introduce and forecast the work he would later produce when he visited New Mexico. It was in San Diego and La Jolla that he first began painting portraits of Hispanic- and Native-American subjects that have become associated with his Southwestern production. Specifically referring to the Southwestern portraits he painted in 1914, he explained what captivated him in these subjects was that

...all their lives are in their expressions, in their eyes, their movements, or they are not worth translating into art. I was not interested in these people to sentimentalize over them....I am looking at each individual with the eager hope of finding there something of the dignity of life...⁸

Henri was immensely productive during his time in California, finding fresh subjects which he would later resume when he visited New Mexico.

Henri's preoccupation with certain subjects was not unique to the work he produced in the Southwest. As a result of his democratic and humanistic views, his interest

in depicting diverse types of people became a continual pursuit that led him to travel to various places such as Monhegan Island and Ogunquit, Maine; Woodstock, New York; La Jolla and San Diego, California; Holland, Spain, and Ireland, in search of intriguing subjects. However, of the places he visited and painted, after his favorite European haunts of France, Spain and Ireland, Henri spent more time in Santa Fe than any place else.¹⁰ The attraction Henri had for this New Mexican town has been explained by the assumption that he felt it was similar to Spain--a locale for which he had a special fondness--yet he repeatedly referred to Santa Fe's own singular character.¹¹ However, one of the most significant aspects of Henri's attraction to Santa Fe was the varied pool of subjects the region offered in terms of ethnic diversity; this inspired him in his work which in turn engendered his enthusiastic response to the locality. To Henri, the individual was representative of humanity, but also of the place.

Humanist ideals prevail in the style of portraiture he practiced, as he related, "I am not interested in any one school or movement, nor do I care for art as art. I am interested in life."¹² Sublimating artistic ego and technical prowess in his portraiture, Henri instead features the subject, and lets the individual communicate through the representation. He portrayed people from all echelons of society, but was drawn to subjects who projected distinctive

character who were often of less fortunate circumstances. Henri's artistic philosophy was that the artist should cultivate an emotional connection to his subject:

an artist must first of all respond to his subject, he must be filled with emotion toward that subject and then he must make his technique so sincere, so translucent that it may be forgotten, the value of the subject shining through it.¹³

No matter the type of subject, he imbued each likeness with character and nobility, and was able to reveal the sitter's inner spirit through his skill in depicting the individual before him by gesture, expression, and nuance. Henri's interest was in painting portraits of individuals he viewed as representative of a "race" or a type of subject:

I find as I go out, from one land to another seeking "my people," that I have none of that cruel, fearful possession known as patriotism....My love of mankind is individual, not national, and always I find the race expressed in the individual.¹⁴

To Henri, the Southwestern subjects were of interest as part of the diversity of the human race. He treated these subjects just as he had always rendered likenesses of people from all walks of life, looking to locate the inner being of the individual who was before him in his portrayal. Henri's

artistry and egalitarian approach can be seen in his representations of subjects ranging from the lowly newsboy, housekeeper, gypsies, exotic dancers, fellows artists, friends, and family, to the occasional society portrait.

Henri consistently upheld humanist ideals in the portraits of Native- and Hispanic-Americans he executed in both California and Santa Fe. These works were not ethnographically inspired, nor were they intended to document the native inhabitants in the tradition of George Catlin, Elbridge Burbank, Joseph Henry Sharp, Bert Geer Phillips, and other pioneering western artists; Henri's work was motivated by his desire to represent the individual. Unlike these other western artists, he extensively represented the Hispanic-Americans who were also an intrinsic part of the societal fabric of this distinctive regional culture.

Henri's Southwestern work is defined by his unique painting style, and by the people and landscape of the region that he chose to render as subjects. He had artistically matured and evolved a signature portrait style long before 1914 when he arrived in California,¹⁵ and he then applied this established approach to the California and New Mexican subjects. The result was an original synthesis of a New York realist aesthetic with Southwestern themes. This work, which has received little recognition, should garner at least equal distinction as his earlier Ashcan

School efforts. The dark and formal full-length portraits Henri painted in his early years were strongly influenced by Manet and Old Masters painters, Velázquez, Goya, and Hals. These portraits elicited critical acclaim and initially established his artistic reputation, along with his efforts in launching the exhibition of *The Eight* and the independent movement. However, beginning with his work in California and continuing in Santa Fe, Henri shed the vestiges of historical reference in his portraiture. Heralding a new and original phase in his work, the brighter and more vivid coloration, multi-cultural heritage of the indigenous people, and distinctive Southwestern geography, yielded a powerful new visual effect on the work he produced there. Since Henri generally painted directly from life, when he departed California and New Mexico after each visit, the artist, however, left behind the Southwestern subjects and influences.¹⁶ However, the overall quality and scope of the body of work Henri produced in the Southwest stands as a testament to its importance in his oeuvre.

The unusual blend of cultures offered by California and New Mexico area proved alluring and influential for many artists and writers. With regard to New Mexico, however, it is to the historical development of Santa Fe that Henri was important; he played a key role in the town's establishment as an art colony.¹⁷ Joseph Henry Sharp first ventured to Santa Fe in 1883 under the influence of his teacher, Henry

Farny. Though some other artists settled there in the interim, it is Robert Henri whose reputation helped the town become more widely recognized as an artist mecca and achieve near parity in status with Taos. As the first of the New York realists to arrive there, Henri later induced others from his immediate circle to visit. With his passionate enthusiasm for the place he persuaded George Bellows and Leon Kroll to come in 1917, and John Sloan and Randall Davey in 1919. Both Sloan and Davey made long-term commitments to Santa Fe; Sloan returned to Santa Fe for extended stays every year through 1950 (except for 1933), and Davey became the only one of Henri's proteges to establish permanent residency there. Henri may have been also indirectly responsible for Stuart Davis visiting Santa Fe in 1923, and Edward Hopper in 1925. Yet in terms with the type of subjects they pictured, similarities between Henri's Santa Fe work and that of his disciples are few. Kroll, Bellows, Davey, and Sloan, became more entranced by the distinctive surroundings, while Henri's focus remained on portraiture.

Henri's importance to the art colony at Santa Fe was in its growth and development as a result of his residency there and his endorsement of the place; this combined with his effort on behalf of the museum, and by the examples of his work that were exhibited and became known to the region's artists. Despite what is considered the physical proximity of the Taos art colony to Santa Fe, Henri's

activities and interests were principally confined to the Santa Fe community. This was typical of artists who generally became identified with either one town or the other. Though Santa Fe and Taos are routinely conceived of as extensions of one another, in actuality, they are quite separate and distinct in character. However, due to Henri's reputation, forceful personality, acquaintance with many of the Taos artists, membership in the Taos Society of Artists, and the local exhibition of his work, his influence in artistic circles extended beyond Santa Fe to the Taos art colony as well.

NOTES

1. Robert Henri, "My People," Craftsman, XXVII (February 1915), p. 467.
2. The most in-depth examinations to date of Henri in Santa Fe are Valerie Leeds, Robert Henri and Santa Fe, exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1998); Patricia Broder, The American West: The Modern Vision (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), pp. 28-43, and Denise Melnick, "Art at the 'Mexican Front': Robert Henri, George Wesley Bellows and Leon Kroll in New Mexico 1916-1922," unpublished M.A. thesis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1970).
3. Artist's Record Books, Estate of Robert Henri, collection of Janet Le Clair. The number of major works Henri executed during the three visits can be determined through his careful documentation in the Record Books. However, a large portion of the works Henri painted in Santa Fe are no longer extant; Henri destroyed twelve of his Santa Fe works which are noted in the Record Books. He would occasionally destroy works that he felt did not measure up. However, the diminished number of extant Santa Fe works is the result of Violet Organ, the sister of Marjorie Henri (Henri's second wife), who inherited Henri's estate after Marjorie's death. With the best of intentions (she was devoted to both Henri and Marjorie), she felt that by winnowing down the size of the Estate by eliminating works that she felt were duplicates or of lesser quality, she could protect Henri's posthumous reputation and increase the value of the remaining artworks. The destruction of Henri's work by Violet Organ occurred in the 1930s.
4. See for example Van Deren Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment: 1882-1942 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), p. 40.
5. For more on Henri's artistic philosophy, see Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. by Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row). Especially related to his ideas on portraiture, in particular, see Henri's well-known 1915 Craftsman article entitled "My People" in which he addresses his interest in depicting all types of people in his portraits, Henri, "My People," pp. 459-69.
6. See the Artist's Record Books, collection of Janet Le Clair for the recorded works he executed while in the Southwest.
7. For example, see Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment 1882-1942, p. 40. He estimates Henri painted about thirty oil portraits. Also see Melnick, "Art at the

'Mexican Front': Robert Henri, George Wesley Bellows and Leon Kroll in New Mexico 1916-1922," pp. v, 4, 48; Patricia Trenton, Picturesque Images from Taos and Santa Fe, exh. cat. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1974), p. 110, and Broder, The American West: The Modern Vision, p. 39.

8. For a contextual view of Henri's Santa Fe works within a larger framework of his production, see Valerie Leeds, "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando: Orlando Museum of Art, 1994).

9. Henri, "My People," p. 462.

10. For more on Henri's life and work see William Innes Homer, Robert Henri and His Circle (1969; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988) and also Bennard B. Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1991).

11. William Innes Homer, Robert Henri and His Circle (1969; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), p. 202. Homer states that Santa Fe reminded Henri of Spain. However, Henri's correspondence repeatedly refers to Santa Fe as a unique place. For example, see Henri to his mother (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and Henri to Henry Lovins (24 September 1917), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

12. Robert Henri, "Foreword," The Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters, exh. cat. (New York: Anderson Galleries, 1916), p. 31.

13. Henri, "My People," p. 462.

14. Ibid., p. 459.

15. For the development of Henri's portrait style, see Leeds, "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, pp. 15-42.

16. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The only notable exception is a work Henri produced after he returned to New York from his 1917 Santa Fe trip. In January of 1918, he painted Hawaii and Navajo that depicted a Hawaiian girl, Paoli Irendinna, posed in front of an Indian chief blanket--a souvenir Henri evidently brought back from Santa Fe.

17. For more on the evolution of Santa Fe as an artist colony, see Ralph Emerson Twitchell, ed. The Leading Facts of New Mexican History, vol. V (Cedar Rapids: The Torch

Press, 1917, pp. 349-356; and Keith L. Bryant, Jr. "The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway and the Development of the Taos and Santa Fe Art Colonies," Western Historical Quarterly 9 (October 1978), pp. 436-43.

CHAPTER 2

A Contextual Overview of the Career of Robert Henri

Robert Henri's Southwestern work was the product of a mature and influential artist. At the time of his first visit to California, his introduction to the Southwest, he was forty-nine years old. By this point he had already achieved wide acclaim as an artistic leader and organizer, teacher, and portrait painter. The work Henri created while in the Southwest, which consisted principally of portraiture, was an important artistic development within his oeuvre and a point of departure; it represented a final break from the powerful sway that Old Masters and Edouard Manet had had over his early production. In order to better understand this aspect of Henri's production, an overview of the artist's career is necessary to provide a contextual framework.

Robert Henri was a complex man of great influence and personal magnetism, and a legendary force in the history of twentieth-century American art. His nearly mythic status has tended to overshadow his artistic production and his reputation has fluctuated in the nearly seventy years since his death. The lifelong campaign he waged to provide emerging artists with an alternative forum for exhibiting their work and his role as the organizer The Eight exhibition and the insurgency movement against the policies

of the National Academy of Design, earned him renown as the mastermind of an artistic rebellion. Moreover, Henri was one of the most influential teachers in America. Along with Thomas Eakins and William Merritt Chase, he shaped a generation of painters while teaching art privately and at a number of schools and organizations, including the School of Design for Women, Philadelphia, the New York School of Art, and the Art Students League. His charismatic personality and inspiring approach encouraged students to express their own artistic individuality, free from any preordained stylistic doctrine.

Henri's renown as a teacher and a leader of the anti-academic New York realist painters continues to eclipse his reputation as a painter, to this day. Yet the body of work he produced during a career of more than thirty years marks a turning point in American portraiture, for that was his primary mode of artistic expression. Building on the strong tradition of realism in American portraiture established by such predecessors as John Singleton Copley and Thomas Eakins, Henri pursued a more modern realist interpretation in his own portraits. Early in his career, he made a conscious decision to become a portrait and figure painter, though he continued to paint landscape subjects throughout his life. Landscape painting served as a diversion and was most often undertaken for his own pleasure.

Henri promoted the painting of life, and relied on

teaching for income so he could select subjects he was motivated to paint. The individuals he chose to render were from varied ethnic backgrounds and all strata of society; his criteria was that he must find them compelling subjects. Henri's portrait work was defined by his refusal to idealize subjects or paint superficially attractive compositions; this approach invoked frequent comparisons between his work and that of Edouard Manet.¹ Strong parallels can certainly be found between the early work of Henri and Manet, such as their shared approach to realism in portraiture, fascination with the culture and aesthetic of Spain, dark monochromatic palette, and strong Old Master influences.

An even more powerful influence on Henri's portrait work, however, can be found in the art of Thomas Eakins. Of Eakins, Henri wrote in 1917:

Eakins was a deep student of life and with a great love he studied humanity frankly....

In the matter of ways and means of expression--the science of technique--he studied most profoundly....His vision was not touched by fashion. He cared nothing for prettiness or cleverness in the life or in art. His quality was honesty....Personally, I consider him the greatest portrait painter America has produced.²

It was in this tradition of American realism that Henri fashioned his own course, away from the world of society

portraits, commissions, and commercial popularity. Guy Pène du Bois, a former student of Henri and an early advocate of his brand of realism, characterized his position:

Robert Henri seeks to express himself....Henri, the portrait painter, in American art is almost a solitary figure. That is why he is called a modern....He paints his own idea of the sitter--That is a method which since the eighteenth century, has gone out of fashion...America is shocked by Henri as Paris was shocked by Manet. He dares to express his opinion, and that is an error from the popular point of view. The populace demands pretty portraits.³

Like Eakins, Henri's particular mastery as a portrait painter was his ability to extract the spirit and essential personality of a subject, without flattery, and translate it into paint. Henri created this effect by establishing a relationship with the individual he was painting. He attempted to uncover a feeling of empathy with each sitter, and was drawn to subjects that evoked in him a personal response. As he declared in his most well-known article, entitled "My People," which appeared in Craftsman in 1915:

The people I like to paint are "my people," whoever they may be, wherever they may exist, the people through whom dignity of life is manifest, that is, who are in some way expressing themselves naturally along

the lines nature intended for them. My people may be old or young, rich or poor....But wherever I find them, the Indian at work in the white man's way, the Spanish gypsy moving back to the freedom of the hills, the little boy, quiet and reticent before the stranger, my interest is awakened and my impulse immediately is to tell about them through my own language--drawing and painting in color.⁴

To achieve a successful likeness, it was necessary for Henri to form an emotional connection to the subject he was rendering.

In its historical development, portraiture has traditionally been linked to the commissioned portrait. Unlike the notable and fashionable portraitists, William Merritt Chase and John Singer Sargent, Henri painted few commissioned portraits, and did not actively seek this type of work. He did periodically accept commissions, yet it was not an arena in which he generally excelled because of the artistic constraints that made it necessary for him to conform to the taste of the patron.⁵ A commissioned portrait is by its nature a complex construct which necessitates a distinct relationship between sitter and artist, and also possibly patron and artist.

The interpretation of the sitter's identity traditionally has been of central importance in portrait painting; the success of any individual likeness is

generally gauged by the artist's ability to perceive and translate the identity of the model to the viewer. As Richard Brilliant noted in his treatise on portraiture: "Historically, portrait painters have often sought to discover some central core of personhood as the proper object of their representation....That invisible core of self was always hard to grasp and even harder to portray."⁶ Henri's execution of gesture and expression of the sitter are key to his accomplishments in portraiture. While it is not imperative that the viewer be able to recognize the identity of the subject, prominent individuals of wealth and social position most often commissioned portraits. As Brilliant further observed:

Portraits make value judgements not just about the specific individuals as a category. The relative frequency of portraits in a given society may therefore be an indicator of personal wealth, or arrogant vanity, or of fashion and, collectively of the worth assigned to human life itself.⁷

However, identification of the subject is not essential to portraiture, nor does the individual have to be of social prominence. Brilliant has defined portraits as: "... art works, intentionally made of living or once living people by artists, in a variety of media, and for an audience."⁸ A portrait must depict a particular person; in that resulting image, the representation of that individual also, however,

documents the relationship between model and portrait painter. Brilliant further expounds on the nature of portraiture:

Naming focused on the imputed resemblance of the art work to the individual...portrayed, although anyone who analyses the imagery of the portrait in Western art soon discovers that portraits are not merely recognizable faces.....nor even likenesses in any common sense of the term....Alternatively, attention may be directed to the role of the portrait artist in creating a work shaped by his talent and craft, by the perspicacity of his interpretation, and by the affective relationship between himself and his subject, both as responsive human beings and as "artist" and "sitter."⁹

Resemblance and likeness still remain fundamental components of portraiture. If, however, a portrait cannot be identified by the viewer, is it not still a portrait if it indeed represents an individual? Henri's chosen subjects portray particular people, although not necessarily identifiable personalities. His likenesses redefine the more conventional notion of portraiture and while he portrayed particular individuals who could be recognized by their features, many subjects could also be identified as paradigms of racial or ethnic types.¹⁰ As he painted, so

he instructed his students:

The making of a good portrait is the use of intelligence of what is essentially the features of that person, the gesture to be painted. By that I mean the something that enables you to recognize your friends a block or two away.¹¹

Henri's portraits, bust, three-quarter, and full length, in some sense, can represent a bridge between traditional portraiture and figure painting, though his work generally belongs to the former category. At times, however, his approach focused on the figure itself, as exemplified by a group of paintings he did between 1915 and 1919. In these works he depicted professional models, often in three-quarter torso views, nude or minimally clad, at times with the visages partially obscured.¹² These sometimes sensual images of voluptuous models are distinct in conception from his portraits, as they are motivated more by formal issues rather than by rendering a likeness or capturing the personality of the subject.

Henri's approach to portrait painting was modern in conception: to him portraits were an artform and should be made for their own sake, and not for that of a patron.¹³ The intent of his portraiture, which represents the greatest part of his oeuvre, was to portray the essential emotional core of the human subject through defining physical traits, expression, and gesture. His portraits are also visual

manifestations of the very personal relationship he established with his sitters. In contrast to much of historic portraiture, Henri was not motivated by patronage, the subject's social prominence or wealth. Instead, his portraits present individuals he deemed worthy of consideration, many of whom would otherwise have remained unrepresented.

Between 1892 and 1894, before Henri's signature style emerged, he had worked in an Impressionist mode, painting bright landscapes with a light palette and abbreviated brushstrokes. In fact, his first critical successes were in landscape painting.¹⁴ Towards the end of the decade, he looked to the Old Masters in his adoption of a darker palette. With this sober coloration he produced a series of darker-toned landscapes in and around Paris and Brittany, exemplified by La Neige (The Snow) (1899; collection of The Louvre, Paris); Quay at Concarneau, 1899 and Night, Fourteenth of July, c. 1898 (Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery). However, by the end of the decade, few works by Henri exhibited even remnants of the Impressionist style, and he increasingly diminished his production of landscapes, turning his attention to portraiture. As early as 1898, he wrote to his parents from Paris that, "...I should like to see that popular "arrival" occur as soon as possible...If I could only get two or three portraits to do a year then all

would be well..."¹⁵

By 1902, he had long abandoned the light and airy impressionist style in favor of dark, monochromatic single figure portraits.¹⁶ However, even later in his career, Henri still had some ambivalence about his somewhat singular thematic approach. In The Art Spirit, he remarked that

...I regretted there was but one of me, for...if there were two, I could then paint both the people and the landscape. As it is, there being but one of me, I spend six to eight hours a day in actual painting and the rest of the time getting ready for the work, or resting...I see most beautiful landscape under rare effects slide by. And this is a true loss to me for I have the feeling, and have had considerable experience painting landscape.¹⁷

Though Henri continued painting landscape subjects throughout his life, he dedicated himself professionally to portraiture.

In the early years of his career, the most pronounced influences on Henri's portraits were exerted by the Old Masters--Diego Velázquez, Rembrandt van Rijn, Frans Hals, and Francisco Goya, whose paintings he had seen at the Louvre, the Prado, and museums in Holland and Belgium. In 1898, from Paris, Henri declared: "Here I have done five times more work already than I did all last winter. The

influences are the best--I go a good deal to the Louvre."¹³ References to Velázquez, Goya, and Hals appear in many other letters he sent from Europe.¹⁴ Two portraits from 1898, The Man Who Posed as Richelieu (fig. 2-1) and The Woman in a Manteau (both The Brooklyn Museum, New York), represent the genesis of Henri's signature portrait style. Though they superficially recall portraits by Velázquez and Manet, Henri had begun to define an individualized approach, abandoning broken Impressionist brushstrokes in favor of painterly brushwork and the dark palette of seventeenth-century portraiture. These works follow the three-quarter length portrait frequently seen in Spanish portraiture, and exhibit a certain stylistic aesthetic suggestive of Old Master portraits. Although Henri had begun to receive some complimentary reviews, the taste for Impressionist portraits of comely subjects still generally prevailed.

At this time, the artist was evaluating the future direction of his career, and attempting to outline his artistic course. He mused to his parents:

My work is not saleable now---it is unusual and not like other work. I am confident that it won't be long before selling will commence. It must be by those landscapes and figures pieces that I must make my money and the name must rest on both these and the portrait work. As a professional portrait painter I see no immediate success, and while I

want to paint portraits more than anything else I don't want to be tied hand and foot in portrait painting, as I would be should I work professionally. To succeed as a portrait painter, the artist must combine a certain distinction of work with concessions to the taste of his sitters, for he who pays must be pleased....I want to paint better portraits than can be done that way. It's hard enough to do portraits even when there are no other tastes to please.²⁰

Henri had made his initial reputation with landscapes, and though he wished to be a portrait painter, he expressed some hesitation early in his career in pursuing this as a means to earning a living. However, he inevitably later found a way to paint the sort of subjects who stimulated his interest and emotions, which was necessary for him to successfully realize a subject on canvas. Henri instead turned to teaching to earn a living and became one of the most influential art teachers; he would then supplement his teaching income with the occasional sales of paintings and portrait commissions. For the most part, he did not work as a portrait painter for hire, as the traditional portraitist had done. Though he did periodically receive commissions, he approached portraiture with a more modern view of painting likenesses for their own sake and in the interest of artistic expression.

Henri's style coalesced shortly after the turn of the century, and by 1902, he executed his first mature portraits which had shed a degree of the technical awkwardness evident in the portraits of 1898. Henri's first fully-realized, major full-length portrait was painted in 1902, Young Woman in Black (Art Institute of Chicago; fig. 2-2); it became the definitive work of his early portrait style which helped established his burgeoning career. The dark and formal composition depicts the professional model Jesseca Penn, who was to become a frequent model for him for some years. She was a type he preferred, tall and with red hair, and his second wife, Marjorie as well as Edna Smith, another professional model he often hired, also fit this paradigm. The largely monochromatic scheme is relieved only by brief flashes of color. The painting shows a transition away from the more direct influence of Velázquez and Manet in its softer blending and less somber disposition. This work reveals a confidence in approach that affirmed his place among the foremost American painters.

The critical and popular response Henri began to receive testified that he had by this time attained a certain stature as an artist. This portrait ultimately became one of his most widely praised, and it effectively launched his career. Shown at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts 1903 exhibition, Young Woman in Black was compared to the refined society portraits of Sargent:

Of all, not even excepting the Sargents, there is nothing better than Robert Henri's portrait of a girl in black velvet jacket, black skirt and hat, relieved by a glimpse of the white waist beneath her coat. Painted in the low key Mr. Henri delights in, the figure rounds out from the canvas in a masterly way and the delicate beauty of the face makes a vivid appeal to the spectator.²¹

Other critics concurred, pronouncing it one of the great portraits. When the painting was later presented in a 1904 group show, organized by Henri at the National Arts Club, which included works by Glackens, Luks, Sloan, Prendergast, and Davies, it was again lauded. Charles De Kay pronounced Henri a rival of Whistler:

Mr. Robert Henri may be said to lead this procession...so distinguished are the figures he offers. The Young Woman in Black has been seen at earlier exhibitions, but it is always a pleasure to look on it again. The sweet pensive face without a touch of commonplace...show[s] that there are others beside Lavery of the Glasgow artists who can run Whistler hard for honors.²²

The enthusiastic reviews that accompanied the frequent showings of Young Woman in Black created a wave of publicity which served to establish Henri's budding reputation.

By 1903, Henri's output chiefly consisted of portraits.

Drawing on the example of Whistler, Manet, and Velázquez, Henri continued to paint sober, full-length, life-size portraits in a grand manner intended to impress exhibition juries. Dramatically dark figures and backgrounds with intensely lit features mark these early efforts. The strength of these portraits derives from the minimal approach Henri used: plain, shadowy backdrops from which the figure emerges, with attention focused on the face. Henri believed that the figure should dominate the composition but function within the background. He felt that the background should be

more air than it is anything else. It is the place in which the model moves....The spaces on either side of the head and above the head can do so many things good and bad to the head and the figure...that it is remarkable how little attention is paid to them....From my point of view the simpler a background is the better the figure in front of it will be, and...the better the figure is the less the observer will need entertainment in the background.²³

Henri's Self-Portrait (Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery; fig. 2-3), painted in 1903, followed these precepts. Though at times Henri hired professional models, during this period he painted a series of portraits of friends, family, and acquaintances. Members of his family and close friends

served as models from time to time throughout his career, yet between 1904 and 1906, Henri used such sitters predominantly.²⁴ Between 1904 and 1906 Henri executed likenesses of his brother, his first wife, Linda, John Sloan, George Luks, Eugenie Stein, James Preston, William and Edith Glackens, Charles Grafly, James Preston, Thomas Anshutz, and Elmer Schofield. He was by now able to produce finished works quite rapidly, sometimes in one sitting, though generally they were executed over the course of two or three days.²⁵ Typical of Henri's portraits during the period from 1903 to 1906, the representations are forceful and dramatic, in part due to the intense gaze of the subject and the direct light source that casts half the face in shadow while the rest of the figure recedes into the darkness. These works convey a strong sense of the subject's physical presence through carefully delineated expression.

Another painting that proved critical to Henri's growing reputation was Lady in Black (Mrs. Robert Henri) (1904; Parrish Art Museum, fig. 2-4), a full-length portrait of Henri's first wife, Linda (Craig) Henri. The work was shown at the 1904 Society of American Artists exhibition, the 1904 Universal Exposition in St. Louis (where it won the Silver Medal along with Young Woman in Black), and at The Art Institute of Chicago in 1905, where it won the Harris Prize. It was also shown in 1906 at the

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts show; there it was one vote short of receiving the Temple Prize.²⁶ The painting generated praise in the reviews and recognition for Henri as one of the preeminent portrait painters in America. A notice from The Art Institute of Chicago's exhibition stated:

The natural first mention, and unquestionably the finest single canvas in the show, is the "Portrait of Lady in Black" by Robert Henri....Dignified and strong, executed with a masterly power over technical difficulties, and a searching insight for character, this work is nearly, if not quite, the last word yet said in American portraiture.²⁷

A review of the 1904 Society of American Artists show also proved flattering, favorably comparing Henri's Lady in Black to Sargent's Portrait of the Misses Hunter--the attractive and elegant type of society portraiture from which Henri became more and more removed:

the Sargent "Portrait of the Misses Hunter" attracts general attention....Everything about the canvas, its position, brilliancy of color and soft draperies around the frame tends to make it the dominant picture in the room. It is surpassed however, in real worth by another portrait that hangs near by. Robert Henri's full-length figure of a young woman. Painted in the familiar manner, the figure emerging from a dusky

background, it is vibrant with life and dignity. It is the finest thing in the room....¹⁶

Henri's portrait of his wife presents her in black silk, leaning on a brown high-backed sofa against an even darker ground, highlighting only her face and a border of white lace.

Henri became particularly associated with painting portraits of woman in monochromatic schemes of black or white through a number of works he executed between 1902 and 1904. These single-figure, large-scale portraits often generated pointed comparisons between his work and Whistler's, and sometimes that of Chase as well. Although Chase and Henri were to become adversaries, with Chase representing the academic establishment and Henri the radicals, both artists sometimes used similar idioms, particularly in their earlier work. Their formative influences in portraiture were similarly inspired by their regard for the Old Masters, and both also paid homage to Whistler's tonal abstractions, such as the noted Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl, (1862; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). However, neither the portraits of Chase or Whistler emphasize the character and identity of the subject to the same degree as Henri's. As Samuel Isham commented about Henri's portrait:

Their interest lies in their application, which in the present case has something of the tradition of Manet

and something of the sentiment of Whistler, both tempered by individual originality....Robert Henri is perhaps the most characteristic of this younger group, for although he is, strictly speaking, a portrait painter, his best works are not from the casual sitter..., but from carefully chosen models....The girls in "white" or "black" of Henri are modern, complex, and rather mysterious, as they stand slender and graceful with their faces showing bright against the dark background. The workmanship...is broad and sure, insistently masterly, with great richness of surface and harmony of tone in the simple schemes of black and white and flesh color.²⁹

Henri's portraits of this type conform to an ideal of femininity. This mode of representation of a female subject, may have in part derived from Whistler's monochromatic "Symphonies," "Harmonies," "Arrangements," and "Nocturnes," many of which depict women, but also precedent can be found in an earlier series Chase painted such as Portrait of Mrs. C (Lady in Black) (1888; The Metropolitan Museum of Art), Memories (Woman in White) (c. 1886; Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute), and Young Girl in Black (c. 1899; Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden).

Henri continued painting full-length portraits with the figure emerging from the background, though he experimented with variations in the conception and periodically added

some elements of visual interest. Other important portraits of the period were The Art Student (Miss Josephine Nivison) (1906; Milwaukee Art Museum, fig. 2-5), a portrait of Josephine Nivison who studied with Henri (and later married Edward Hopper), along with the Portrait of George Luks (1904; National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; fig. 2-6); both are naturalistic and casual in pose and conception. Nivison is depicted in a painting smock holding her brushes, and Luks is shown leaning against an empty frame while smoking a cigarette. This type of portrait that presents the subject engaged in activity was a precursor to Henri's Southwestern masterpiece of a decade later, Dieguito Roybal (1916; Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe), which shows the Indian Chief beating the drum for the Eagle Dance.³⁰ Henri rarely portrayed subjects in an active fashion, though the portrait of the Indian Chief is distinguished by the fact that it was a ceremonial rather than mundane activity. On occasion he did depict subjects in movement, especially in relation to dance themes as exemplified by such works as the two versions of Madame Vocleza as Salomé (1909; Mead Art Museum, Amherst, and Ringling Museum of Art), Ruth St. Denis in the Peacock Dance (1919; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), and a number of other portraits of dancers.

In 1904, Henri began to pursue a new avenue that would begin to define his lifelong preoccupation with depicting various "types." These types consisted of individuals from

various cultures, regions, and social classes. Late in 1904, Henri painted three full-length portraits of a model, Anna Maria Bustamente, dressed up in costume as a Spanish dancer, as in Spanish Dancing Girl (formerly private collection, fig. 2-7) and Spanish Dancer-The Cigarette (private collection). Spanish Dancing Girl is the first of the three versions. These works were influenced by his first trip to Spain in 1900, but were painted four years later in his New York studio. It was an unusual practice for Henri to dress up models in exotic costume to create an image later in his career, yet it was something he did occasionally in his early years. Spain had made an indelible impression on him, and would continue to play an important role in his art. When Henri first visited the Prado in 1900, he remarked sadly that if he had only known what was there, he would have gone there sooner.³¹ Becoming acquainted with the work of Velázquez and Goya, which he saw much of at the Prado, was to have a pronounced effect on Henri's own early development work in terms of selection and stylistic execution of subjects.

Henri's affection for Spain led to another visit there in the summer of 1906 with a New York School of Art class, and he stayed on in Madrid to paint after he finished teaching. His imagination continued to be stimulated by the Spanish aesthetic and culture which resulted in a copious amount of work. During the remainder of the summer, he

completed a number of important canvases, including Portrait of El Matador Felix Asiego (Estate of Robert Henri, fig. 2-8), La Reina Mora (Colby College Museum of Art. fig. 2-9) and Gypsy with Guitar (The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk), among others. These portraits exhibit a looser and more painterly style, and still reflect the inspiration of Velázquez, Goya, and Manet.

The portrait of Felix Asiego was to play a particularly significant role in Henri's future. He submitted Portrait of El Matador Felix Asiego, along with Portrait of Colonel David Perry (private collection) and Spanish Gypsy Mother and Child (location unknown), to the 1907 National Academy of Design Annual. The matador painting was dropped a grade by the Academy rating system, and he ultimately withdrew it, along with Spanish Gypsy Mother and Child.³² In addition, Henri believed the rejection of work by his associates, Williams Glackens, Rockwell Kent, George Luks, Everett Shinn, and Carl Sprinchorn, was unjust. This combination of events collectively became the catalyst for his revolt against the Academy and resulted in the formation of the alternative exhibition of The Eight held in 1908 at the Macbeth Galleries.³³

During the first half of 1907, in addition to his regular activities, he was preoccupied with planning The Eight exhibition, so Henri produced few works. Among those he did execute were a group of portraits of Jesseca Penn,

the same model who had posed for Young Woman in Black; she is seen in the first effort of the series in a full-length portrait wearing a yellow satin dress in Young Woman in Yellow Satin (Mississippi Museum of Art, fig. 2-10) which he entered in the Winter exhibition of the National Academy of Design, and subsequently sent to a number of institutions over the next couple of years.³⁴

Henri's composition is a traditionally restrained portrait in the grand manner. The lightness of the overall palette represents a departure from the predominantly somber tonal scheme of many of his earlier portraits. The work is a study of textures that highlights the model's hair, complexion, and the satin fabric of the dress. However, Woman in Yellow Satin is a clear likeness of Jesseca Penn and he was concerned with capturing an accurate representation of his model. Henri did not always use the subject's name in the title, however, he most often denoted the name of the individual who posed for him in his record book entry.

In the summer of 1907 Henri went to Holland to teach a New York School of Art class. After visiting Haarlem, Volendam, and Amsterdam, a new influence became evident in his work. The paintings he produced that summer reflect the direct influence of Dutch seventeenth-century masters, especially Frans Hals, as seen in works such as Dutch Fisherman (Westmoreland Museum of Art), Laughing Child

(Whitney Museum of American Art, fig. 2-11), Dutch Girl in White (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), Cori with Cat (Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis), and Martche with Hat (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, fig. 2-12). The broad brushwork, a liberated and abundant application of paint, earth tones, and the dark backgrounds that Henri used during this period mirror the stylistic traits he saw in the portraits of both Hals and Rembrandt. Henri wrote from Holland that "the people here are certainly mighty interesting looking....Frans Hals painted them--men and women--wonderfully and the pictures by Hals, Rembrandt, and many others...are a great treat to see."³⁵ Initially, he had not been impressed with Holland, perhaps because the memory of Spain was still so vivid, but he soon developed a warm appreciation for the country and its people:

I have been very busy--have found much to do. Last week I painted a head of a child every day. These little Dutch children are wonderful to paint. --No wonder Frans Hals painted such smiling people--all Holland has red apple cheeks, white heads, smiles--they are very kind--happy people--my old view of them is all changed.³⁶

His stay in Holland proved to be an important and productive time for Henri. He painted numerous small-scale portraits, many of children. Dutch Fisherman and Laughing Child, both executed in Haarlem, were later shown in The Eight

exhibition, and Laughing Child was purchased directly from the exhibition by the art patron Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney for her collection, and he entered Marche with Hat in the 1908 National Academy annual.

While in Haarlem, Henri's attention focused on two Dutch girls, Cori Peterson and Martche, who were a marked study in contrasts. Henri commented on Cori: "all the time I have been here I have painted over and over again a little roistering white headed red cheeked broad faced girl--I have done many heads of her, most of them laughing."³⁷ The Whitney painting is the first of a consecutive series of more than fifteen portraits Henri painted of Cori. Comparing the other model, Martche, as seen in Dutch Girl in White and Martche with Hat, to Cori, he said: "I have another little model--just the opposite type in character--thin, pathetic--pale--very interesting and just as Dutch as the other rollicking one."³⁸ Henri's different response to the two subjects is reflected in the contrasting manner of execution of their portraits. The depictions of Cori are roughly painted with thick pigment while the portraits of Martche are more delicate in appearance with paler, blended tonalities.

Henri returned to New York in the fall and began teaching art classes at the New York School of Art. After experiencing a surge of creative energy during the summer, he produced few portraits during the remainder of 1907.

However, one of his finest efforts was Eva Green (1907; Wichita Art Museum, fig. 2-13), painted on Christmas Day. His likenesses of this period, as in Eva Green, begin to display more emotional depth and a growing ability to achieve complex characterizations through details of gesture and expression than the works of several years earlier. Henri had previously depicted an African-American in the well-known Portrait of Willie Gee, (1904; Newark Museum, fig. 2-14). His interest in representing different types of people in his portraits can be traced to his deeply felt democratic views of humanity, and precedents can be found in the work of other artists he knew and admired, including his teachers, Thomas Hovenden and Thomas Anshutz, as well as Thomas Eakins and Winslow Homer. In California, in 1914, Henri would again paint with equal sensitivity, an African-American subject in his portrayals of Sylvester.

Henri revisited Spain again in 1908 with an art class. In fact, Spain was a place he returned to more often and stayed longer in than any other destination; he revisited there subsequently in 1910, 1912, 1923-24, and 1926. The emotional connection he felt for the country again emerges in a series of powerful portraits completed in the late summer and early fall of 1908. During the time in Spain, and again after his teaching ended, he returned to the subjects of his previous visit, particularly native gypsies, dancers, and matadors. The interpretation of the later

Spanish portraits is broader and looser in technique than those painted during his 1906 visit. By finding character and nobility in subjects of lesser social standing, particularly gypsies and peasants, Henri reveals his bond to Frans Hals, seventeenth-century Spanish artists, and Goya, who frequently depicted the downtrodden. Recalling similar subjects painted by Hals, Henri noted:

Frans Hals liked them all for what they were and he gave his best to each one. Every bit of Frans Hals' painting is sheer invention. Examine the structure in the strokes which make the heads....He saw life and people in his own peculiar way and he was a supreme master of the tools in his hand.³⁹

Many of Henri's lectures and writings refer to Hals, celebrating his technique and style. In Henri's own philosophy of art and subjective beauty, "the subject can be as it may, beautiful or ugly. The beauty of a work of art is in the work itself."⁴⁰ This exclusively formal emphasis, however, is not reflected in Henri's portraits, which frequently carry a strong affective message; moreover, the humble subjects he depicted were often his most emotionally stirring representations.

In May 1908 Henri secretly married Marjorie Organ, an illustrator, before he went abroad (his first wife had died in 1905). Following his return to New York in the fall, he

became involved with various exhibition activities and teaching opportunities that distracted him from painting. Marjorie, along with other women, served as model for a number of the full-length portraits he painted during 1909, 1910, and 1911. This cycle of portraits shows female figures elegantly garbed in shawls, kimonos, or long dresses that produce an attenuated effect. This group of works includes such compositions as The Blue Kimona (1909; New Orleans Museum of Art, fig. 2-15), Marjorie in a Yellow Shawl (1909; The Warner Collection, Tuscaloosa, Alabama), and The Masquerade Dress: Portrait of Mrs. Robert Henri (1911; The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

In addition to experimenting with painting portraits of different types and compositional arrangements, Henri also continually sought to learn and enlarge his knowledge of various techniques that would enhance his facility as an artist. His diary notes reveal that Hardesty Maratta called on him on June 7, 1909, with a set of paints for him to try.⁴¹ Maratta, an artist and theoretician, promoted the use of his paints in association with a theory of color usage, based on a scale of tonal gradations that would uniformly systematize the palette. Color theory became of immense interest to Henri, who was fascinated throughout the remainder of his life by various scientific approaches to painting and the visual effects produced from regulated color harmonies.⁴² The Blue Kimona, a portrait of Miss

Waki Kaji, which was executed on August 21, 1909, was Henri's first major effort after adopting the new method.⁴³ The overall brighter tonalities and unusual juxtaposition of colors represent Henri's tentative approach to the new paint system.

The Blue Kimona was entered in the Philadelphia Art Club's 1909 annual exhibition shortly after being completed and won the Gold Medal. The portrait was favored by Henri, and he exhibited it extensively throughout his life.⁴⁴ In subject, it relates to the Orientalist themes that many American artists, following the French lead, began to take up in the mid-1880s.⁴⁵

Dance and dancers were subjects of particular interest to Henri, and he attended many dance performances and consistently depicted them as models throughout his life. Many other artists have had a predilection for rendering dance and dancers because of the drama of movement, costumes, and graceful lines that favorably lend themselves to artistic representation. Painters, with whose work Henri must have been familiar, who have elected to picture dancers and dance themes include French artists Degas and Manet, and American artists John Singer Sargent and William Merritt Chase. Betalo Rubino, a dancer noted for her striking features and unusual dramatic costumes, became an important model for Henri during 1909 and 1910. He painted a series of portraits of her that include the three-quarter length,

Dancer in a Yellow Shawl, (1910; Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio) and a smaller, related work, The Red Flower (Betalo in Spanish Chair) (1910; formerly Estate of Robert Henri), The Red Shawl (Betalo Rubino) (1909; Baltimore Museum of Art), and Girl with Fan (1910; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, fig. 2-16), which is a later reprise of the same theme. Henri sent Girl with Fan to the 1912 Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Annual Exhibition, where it was acquired for the Permanent Collection,⁴⁶ adding to an already growing list of institutions that had purchased Henri portraits.

Henri again traveled abroad in the summer of 1910, this time without the responsibility of teaching. June and July were spent in Haarlem, where he painted numerous portraits, including one particular model he used repeatedly, Jopie van Slouten, seen in Dutch Joe (Jopie van Slouten) (1910; Milwaukee Art Museum, fig. 2-17), Jopie Laughing Boy (1910; Birmingham Museum of Art), and Jopie Giggling Boy (1910; private collection). Dutch Joe shows Henri's ability at capturing the exuberant personality of a subject. The young Dutch boy became one of Henri's most characteristic portraits. After spending time in Haarlem, Henri moved on to Volendam for July and August, and then back to Madrid for the remainder of August and September.

1911 was a transitional year in Henri's stylistic development. Maratta was a continual visitor during this

period, and color studies using the Maratta palette took up an increasing amount of Henri's attention. Although he painted a number of portraits, he produced few forceful images. Portraits of fellow artists, literary figures, and family had been a constant endeavor in earlier years, and Henri again looked toward his immediate circle for models. Among the notable subjects he painted during 1911 were Marjorie, portrayed in The Brown Wrap (1911; Lauren Rogers Museum of Art) and The Masquerade Dress (1911; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 2-18); and Carmel White, a former student and later editor of Harper's Bazaar, in Girl in Rose and Grey (1911; Graham Gallery, New York); and the artist Mrs. Eulabee Dix Becker as Lady in Black Velvet (1911; The High Museum of Art). Henri did not travel to Europe that summer, but instead visited Monhegan Island, Maine, in August with Marjorie, Davey, and Bellows. That summer, Henri, and Bellows as well, concentrated on painting varied views of the stark Maine coastline in numerous small panel paintings.

After Henri's return to New York, he executed a portrait of George Bellows (1911; National Academy of Design, fig. 2-19). The picture, intended for the National Academy of Design, was to satisfy the requirements for Bellows' Associate Membership.⁴⁷ Though conceived as a formal portrait for the Academy, it is a personal and restrained rendition of Bellows that stylistically recalls

Henri's earlier efforts of 1904. The generally dark tonality of the composition, with dramatic light modeling Bellows' face, looks to the Old Master sources Henri had relied on in his earlier work. Bellows saw Henri as a mentor and friend, crediting the older artist with guiding his formative artistic life.⁴ Henri's portrait of his former student, whose rapid success rivaled, and even surpassed his own, reflects the emotional warmth that existed between the two artists, as well as a sense of pride in Bellows' accomplishments.

When he returned to Spain again during the summer of 1912, Henri painted a strong and compelling group of portraits which further rejected established notions of society portraiture. This series includes The Old Model (Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas at Austin), Spanish Shepherd (Akron Art Museum), Blind Singers (Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Washington, D.C.), and Blind Spanish Singer (National Museum of American Art, fig. 2-20). He realized that paintings of this sort would not be salable, but he was nonetheless drawn to picture these non-traditional types of subjects. Of painting the blind women, Henri recounted:

It was an experience... There were two blind women, one thin, emaciated body moving forward in the act of singing and head thrown back, the eyes closed and hollow. The other...a big woman, head

always downcast. They sing in the street for a living--sing beautifully and with a sadness that belongs to blind singers--and a sweetness... While I painted--for 5 hours they sang and played the guitars. When I made them rest it was terrible--there was no rest from being blind. I had to get used to being alone with them in the studio.'

The tenor of these works derives from Henri's direct response to the subjects as well as a sense of melancholy he perceived in the Spanish temperament.

As with the previous summers since 1906, Henri travelled to Europe, a practice he continued until the outbreak of World War I. During these trips he sought out models to pose for him who were distinctive to the region and whom he felt were representative of a "type." Especially with Spain and Holland, Henri absorbed the culture and was influenced by the artistic traditions of the respective countries he visited. During this trip, Henri followed the inclination he had pursued during his prior stays in Spain and painted a number of canvases of the less fortunate, including peasants, gypsies, and beggars, with a sense of compassion and sensitivity. He may have found a precedent in images of the mendicant, especially those with physical deformities, in the work of Spanish artists, particularly Jusepe de Ribera and Goya, whose penchant for brutal realism and pathos in their work was well known.

Although Henri repeatedly painted such winsome subjects as The Green Fan (Girl of Toledo, Spain) (1912; Gibbes Art Gallery, fig. 2-21) and Spanish Girl of Segovia (1912; New Britain Museum of Art), two of a number of canvases devoted to a comely young Segovian girl, he was more often drawn to emotionally powerful, non-traditional subjects, though they were considered unsuitable by the academic establishment and patrons.

By 1913, although Henri was yet to produce much of his most original work, he found his influence and status waning within the art world. His marginalized role in the planning and presentation of the Armory Show and the overwhelming response generated by the innovations of the European artists' work shown there signified that Henri was no longer at the forefront of the progressive movement, nor a leading figure on the American art scene. His work was lumped together with the more conservative impressionist approach of his adversary, William Merritt Chase, and critically, his work received such barbs in the press as that which appeared in the New York American:

The Chase School and the Henri Academy...will go on doing business at the old standard. Sometimes the dead don't know they're dead--and its folly to expect them to bury each other.⁵⁰

The impact of the Armory Show had significant ramifications

for him, primarily the realization that American art was lagging far behind the European avant-garde, and that his style of realism, along with Impressionism, was being supplanted by the more contemporary styles of modernism, expressionism, and abstraction.

Amidst the continuing reverberations of the Armory Show, Henri decided to go abroad for the summer, and sailed for Ireland in June 1913 with Marjorie. His wife, Marjorie, was of Irish descent and the country had been recommended to him by his friend John Butler Yeats (father of the poet), who had often spoken "...of the something in Ireland found nowhere else."⁵¹ Henri related that it was simply a "happy accident" that led him to the remote island of Achill, in County Mayo, in northwestern Ireland, when he picked it out just by looking at a map.⁵² They stayed in Ireland until the end of September. After first producing sketches and some paintings of the landscape, Henri returned to portraiture. Among the engaging subjects he depicted were Johnnie Cummings and his wife in Himself and Herself (both 1913; The Art Institute of Chicago), numerous Irish children, and Brien O'Malley, a Gaelic storyteller, tourist guide, and one of the native eccentrics who proved to be an exceptionally interesting subject whom he depicted in several portraits including The Guide to Croaghan (Brien O'Malley), (1913; Cummer Gallery of Art) and My Friend Brien (Brien O'Malley) (1913; Mint Museum of Art, fig. 2-22). He

became deeply engaged with the resonant spirit he found in the Irish subjects he pictured, evidenced by the simple directness of the characterizations he realized in this first group of Irish portraits.

Henri's first venture to the Southwest was a trip to southern California in the summer of 1914. This trip began as did his other summer sojourns, in search of a visual change and seeking new subjects to paint. However, this trip commenced into what would become four extended seasons in the Southwest for Henri that resulted in a cohesive body of work inspired by the distinctive qualities of the region and the artistic bounty it had to offer him. Spain, and later Ireland, would similarly inspire thematically related groups of works over the course of some years at different points in his career. The Southwest differed from these other places in the diversity of its populace and its unique topography which Henri translated into his work during visits there in 1914, 1916, 1917, and 1922.

In 1914, Henri arrived in Los Angeles, but stayed only a couple of days before settling in La Jolla. This became an important turning point for Henri which led to a period of experimentation in his work. Though he executed a few landscapes, his attention was primarily focused on portrait subjects. He went to California with Marjorie and her sister, Violet Organ, known as Viv. The two women posed for portraits, alternating with Asian Americans, Native

Americans, and other models Henri found in the multi-ethnic communities of La Jolla and San Diego. The distinctiveness of the people and the ambiance had a pronounced effect on Henri's portrait style. The bright hues, variegated backgrounds, and a new sense of spatial openness infuse a look of modernity and freshness into the portraits he painted while in California. Henri's egalitarian and populist beliefs, qualities which translated to his previous essays of the Spanish gypsies and peasants, and the Dutch and Irish peasants, were also borne out in his portraiture of this period by the noble dignity he conveys even in ordinarily unremarkable subjects.

Critically, the work Henri produced during the stay in La Jolla elicited strong, positive comments and was recognized as some of the most creative and artistically distinctive he had produced. With the portraits Henri composed in California, the last conscious vestiges of Manet, Hals, and Velázquez disappeared from his work, and this period marks the advent of more original portraits, free of historical persuasion. These years represent a second zenith in Henri's career. Though no longer in the forefront of new developments in contemporary art, he continued to experiment and reevaluate the direction he pursued in his own work.

Though Henri had been working with the Maratta color system for a number of years, (since 1909), exceedingly

pronounced visual effects become even more apparent in the portraits of 1915 that he painted back in New York and subsequently in Ogunquit, Maine. These works reflect the artist's increasing involvement with the theoretical aspects of painting. Maratta, and later Denman Waldo Ross, another art theorist were to encourage Henri's pursuit of a more analytical and scientific method for painting. Henri's inquiring mind sought out theoretical approaches, and it is a testament to his skill as an artist that so methodically planned compositions have such an air of spontaneity and natural ease. Though Henri's initial employment of the Maratta tonal system was somewhat restrained and stilted, by the teens, his use of opulent color attained new expressive heights, and helped him to create some of the strongest images he ever executed.

Among the recurring subjects he painted in New York, which include a number of nudes, were portraits of a red-haired model, Edna Smith. This series of figure studies, many of which are three-quarter length, includes Edna (1915; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, fig. 2-23) and Edna Smith (1915; private collection); these compositions are less portraits, intended to delineate the character of the subject, than they are explorations of the figure in an abstract and formalistic sense. Edna, one of his most consummate portraits of Edna Smith, shows the complexity of the palette he was employing at this time, with a spectrum

of multicolored hues that ranges from the red of the model's hair to a blue-green ground. Additionally, the rendering of the colorful Japanese-style pattern of the purplish shawl against the white chemise shows Henri's technical facility.

Though the commissioned portrait was not an area in which Henri generally excelled, nor actively pursued, yet one of the most important works of his career was surprisingly a commissioned portrait of the art patron, artist, and philanthropist, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney) (1915-16; Whitney Museum of American Art, fig. 2-24). Though Mrs. Whitney was extremely wealthy and part of established society, she was also known for her bohemian lifestyle and personal flamboyance. For the portrait, she, rather than Henri, chose an elaborate, multicolored silk pants outfit which she had acquired in San Francisco and an unusual pose, in which she draped herself across the full length of a sofa, reclining in the classical pose of an odalisque.⁵³ The portrait, though highly stylized, faithfully captures her persona, as evidenced by photographs of her from the period.⁵⁴ Henri worked on this major composition for an extended period, beginning it in December of 1915 and completing it on June 21, 1916, just before he went to Santa Fe.⁵⁵ It was unusual for him to consistently work on a painting over such a long period of time. A major opus in his career, the portrait of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney is one of Henri's most complex endeavors

in terms of composition and palette, as well as the most genuine and convincing of his commissioned portraits.

Henri periodically received portrait commissions once his artistic status was established, though he did not actively cultivate this aspect of his career and preferred to rely on a modest income from teaching. His need for a sympathetic rapport with his portrait subjects often precluded successful results in his commissioned works. And because he could not select models he personally found interesting, the commissioned portraits usually appear lifeless, lacking the distinctive spark of vitality that distinguishes his finest efforts.

Besides Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Henri painted a number of other reclining figures, both nude and clothed, during 1916. He most often employed professional models, such as Edna Smith, and these compositions approach figure studies rather than portraiture. Betalo Rubino and Viv also posed for numerous portraits during 1915 and 1916, some of which are portraits and others are figure studies. One exceptional work in Henri's oeuvre is Betalo Nude (1916; Estate of Robert Henri, fig. 2-25), which is more resolved than many of his other nudes. This painting is a portrait, though not, as the title suggests, of Betalo Rubino; it instead presents the distinctive features of Henri's sister-in-law, Violet Organ.⁵⁶ Henri did periodically execute nudes in oil; another other famous example is Figure in

Motion (1912; Terra Museum of American Art) which Henri submitted to the Armory Show. From time to time, he would suddenly produce a number of nudes before moving onto another subject. These were perhaps inspired by a particular model or a mood. However, he appeared to draw nudes with more frequency than he elected to paint them.⁵⁷

New locations continued to be important for Henri's artistic renewal in the summers, for him the most productive season of the year. World War I posed a major obstacle, and limited Henri's choice of locales for his summer destination. With Europe regrettably out of the question, this was to profoundly affect Henri's options for places to go and subjects to paint. The West was too expensive and too far for the amount of time he had available, and so the Henris settled on Ogunquit, Maine, where George and Emma Bellows, and Leon Kroll were going for a summer of painting. Ogunquit was the site of a picturesque town and a small artist enclave, however, shortly after arriving, he lamented that:

The war and other attendant conditions have driven us to Maine. It is certainly not Spain or Holland but we are making it do....We have had some luck with getting models, but the children have none of the definitive established character that they had in Holland.⁵⁸

By August, Henri adjusted to the extreme weather, found an encampment of gypsies, the Cooper family, who served as

models, and settled in. Among the gypsies, Henri painted were Sam, Nelson, Patience, and her three-year-old cousin, Lily.⁵⁹ Writing about Ogunquit a few weeks later, he said, "it appears that after all our coming here will prove a rather good thing for I already have a few things that are very good. Particularly of a gypsy child laughing--I think it is one of my very best in this type of work."⁶⁰ The gypsy child, Lily Cooper, known as Lily "Cow," was one of Henri's favorite models that summer and posed for thirteen paintings.⁶¹

The portraits of the Ogunquit summer are decidedly less exotic in nature than Henri's European gypsies, yet this summer's work was especially outstanding in other respects. Formal issues of color and composition continued to be integral to the compositions of 1915, and continued into the subsequent year. Likely influenced by his exposure to the European Fauves and Expressionists at the Armory Show, Henri's experimentation with unusual and vivid palettes and color combinations reached a climax in the Ogunquit portraits, particularly in the more than twenty canvases of Maine gypsies with the similarly intense vibrant background colors seen in Village Girl (Lily Cow) (1915; Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, fig. 2-26).⁶²

In the summer of 1916, Henri first visited Santa Fe, returning the following summer, and again in 1922. Henri's letters from Santa Fe reflect his romanticized view of the

spirituality and mystery of Native-American culture."¹¹ Exposed to a diversity of ethnic traditions during his previous visit to California, in Santa Fe he immediately rekindled a sympathetic bond with the similar environment, a bond that translated into the portraits he painted in Santa Fe. He was also captivated by the region's distinctive landscape which he rendered in a number of compositions during his visits there.

After Henri returned to New York, he painted a portrait of his friend, the art critic and editor, Mary Fanton Roberts (1917; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 2-27). Roberts, who used the pseudonym Giles Edgerton, was a staunch defender of Henri and the insurgent movement in the early years of the century, and she continued to be an ardent advocate of Henri's work throughout his life, as well as a close friend. She served as editor of Craftsmen and Touchstone, journals that lent influential support to Henri and his cause. The portrait of her, painted in March 1917,¹² is more formal than the Native-American portraits Henri had been producing when he had been in Santa Fe earlier that year. Using contrasting deep and bright hues, the painting exhibits the full spectral range of colors.

The portraits Henri painted in Santa Fe in the summer of 1917 deviated from his established approach. Though he did not move beyond realism in his portraits, these works were unusually innovative. Intrigued with the culture and

art of the Southwestern people, he began to assimilate Native decorative elements into the design of a number of compositions. He focused more on the complementary space around the figures, and painted a number of portraits that incorporate the abstract ornamental quality of the Native textiles, shown either wrapped around or hanging behind the figures.

Through Bellows, Henri was introduced to the art theory of Dynamic Symmetry as outlined by Jay Hambidge in a series of weekly lectures that they both attended in 1917 after he returned to New York.⁶⁵ Dynamic Symmetry was a compositional theory that dealt with ratios and spatial relationships, and for Henri, this approach proved to be a natural extension of his interest in Denman Ross's Theory of Pure Design, a method whose use he had advocated for ten years.⁶⁶

Dynamic Symmetry, as practiced by Hambidge was so complex and offered so many artistic alternatives, that it is a virtually insurmountable task to decipher the manner or extent of the artist's implementation of the theory in his work.⁶⁷ In examining numerous portraits throughout Henri's career, however, certain telltale traits would indicate his reliance on Dynamic Symmetry. There is a frequent employment of conspicuous diagonals in many of the portraits, pointed examples include Jimmie Gerry (1921), and works Henri executed in the Southwest Bernadita (1922) and

Young Sport, Francisco (1922). Henri did, however, previously use some sort of geometricized compositional devices which are evident in earlier examples even prior to his exposure to Dynamic Symmetry, as seen in other Southwestern portraits such as Indian Girl (1916) and Portrait of Dieguito Roybal--Po-Tse-Nu Tsa (1916). Henri's employment of Dynamic Symmetry cannot be specifically ascertained, because he freely took from various theoretical approaches and did not strictly follow any single doctrine, instead adapting his ideas as each particular composition warranted. As he counseled:

Technique must be solid, positive, but elastic, must not fall into formula, must adapt itself to the idea. And for each new idea there must be new invention special to the expression of that idea and no other.⁶⁸

However, it is clear that Dynamic Symmetry was something he incorporated into his portrait work. For the most part, he assimilated such techniques with great success, unlike other artists such as Bellows, who could let themselves be carried away by art theory. As he instructed:

An artist must first of all respond to his subject, he must be filled with emotion toward that subject and then he must make his technique so sincere, so translucent that it may be forgotten, the value of the subject shining

through it. To my mind a fanciful, eccentric technique only hides the matter to be presented...⁶⁹

Henri was able to achieve a natural effect in his art though he utilized a complex array of theoretical principles in his compositional design and palettes; though appearing almost effortless, his paintings were highly structured and calculated.⁷⁰

1918 and 1919 were financially lean years for Henri with a severe depression in art sales resulting from the war.⁷¹ In the summer of 1918, Henri elected to revisit Monhegan Island, an inexpensive alternative to the Southwest. There he worked outdoors, principally producing landscapes of the surrounding verdant scenery of Cathedral Woods in a series of pastels. Rich color and lush textural surfaces characterize these pastoral scenes which resulted in an exhibition of forty pastels at Montross Gallery in December of 1918.⁷²

Henri's study and approach to the usage of color was undergoing constant reevaluation throughout his painting career. As he noted in a letter to his brother, his experimentation with color reached a second peak in 1919:

I have done a good deal of new study lately and I believe I will have an advance of considerable importance in my work as a result--richer and more beautiful color and form.⁷³

Though no specific reference defining the development is made, his portraits show a new opulence in his palettes. Non-traditional color combinations characterized by deeper, more intense hues appear in his canvases of this period. The unusual tonal innovations, however, led to results that the public and critics did not always perceive as effective.

Monumental works became fewer among Henri's portraits of the late years. However, the masterpiece of his late career is a life-size painting of the well-known dancer Ruth St. Denis in Ruth St. Denis in the Peacock Dance (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, fig. 2-28) painted in 1919. Henri's interest in dance as an art form brought him into contact with many noted dancers of the day, including Isadora Duncan, Roshanara (Olive Craddock), and Betalo Rubino, who all had modeled for him. The portrait of Ruth St. Denis engaged Henri's attention throughout the second half of February and the beginning of March of that year. Henri reported the story of the painting and his progress:

I am painting a portrait of Ruth St. Denis, the great dancer. Have had three sittings and am to have 3 more next week--it's a big piece of work getting on very well so far. She is in her dance of the "Peacock." The story is Egyptian princess very proud, etc. whose spirit is confined in a peacock. It is a very

wonderful dance and she is very beautiful in it.

Costume is naturally in the character and colors of peacock.

Henri made numerous sketches for the painting and lavished attention on every detail. Though he had routinely finished even large works in a few days, he was still refining the portrait in April.

Henri's fascination with movement and form reflected a natural affinity for dance. Ruth St. Denis in the Peacock Dance shows the dancer in a pose suggesting movement by the fluid sway of her body. The lush palette is of strikingly rich blues and greens, offset by red-purple accents.

Following the completion of this portrait, Henri began a painting of another dancer, Roshanara, later that spring. Again the dancer is pictured in an exotic and elaborate costume of multicolored veils and skirts of deep hues. The portrait is most clearly distinguished, however, by the unusual seated pose and the horizontal format.

In 1921, Henri's summer season was spent in the artists' colony of Woodstock, New York. Woodstock attracted many artists, and his close friends George Bellows, Eugene Speicher, and Leon Kroll also were there that summer. This summer and fall commenced a transition into the late phase of Henri's career.

In Woodstock, Henri began devoting himself to the painting of children, which represents the beginning of the

final chapter of his creative output. There he completed an ambitious and extensive series of canvases, as he noted: "here I am painting principally children. There is a good crop of them available and some are excellent."¹⁵ Among the youthful subjects that he found intriguing were Jimmie Gerry (1921; Scripps College, Claremont, fig. 2-29), who appears in seven portraits and the three Sleicher children, Agnes, Hans, and Carl, (Carl Sleicher, 1921; private collection, fig. 2-30), whom he repeatedly painted throughout his time there.

In the Woodstock portraits, color harmony and structural arrangements are intricately interwoven, nonetheless, Henri's primary focus is still the personality of the subjects in these works. After Woodstock, he renewed the theme of children in his last years of painting, which he spent in Ireland. The focus changes in his late Irish portraits, done between 1924 and 1928, in which formalistic concerns appear to dominate the conception of these portrait compositions.

The critical financial conditions that Henri had been battling for the preceeding several years were eradicated in 1923 when he received an inheritance following the death of his mother.¹⁶ Since World War I had ended and his fiscal situation now had greatly improved, he formulated plans to return to Europe, from where he had been absent since 1913. He first visited Paris before moving on to Madrid, where he

spent about eight months. As on the earlier visits to Spain in 1906, 1908, 1910, and 1912, he gravitated toward subjects of street people, local peasants, and gypsies. Working in a bold painterly style as he had been in 1912, he now developed an even warmer and richer palette based on earth tones. In reevaluating some of his earlier notions about the intensity and combination of colors, Henri wrote:

Derain...has done some beautiful work with earth colors. It is not easy to get color with a sober palette, but when it is well done the effect is remarkable. Sometimes it is with earth colors and one bright color that meaningful color schemes can be made....In reference to the beauty of low toned colors in backgrounds and accessories, the beautiful colors which can be made with red as the basic color should be remembered. These reds keep back but remain strong....Too many bright colors and too many different colors are often the cause of bad color in painting.⁷⁷

Henri's rethinking of the palette is evident in the red-orange tonalities of Dorita (Estate of Robert Henri, fig. 2-31), painted in Madrid in January 1924. The luminous warm hues contrast sharply with the cool whiteness and daring brushwork of the dancer's skirt. He painted several versions of Dorita, experimenting with different costumes and proportions, cutting down the size of the canvases in less successful attempts. Many of the paintings Henri

executed on this trip exhibit the same smoldering tonalities, though these works are distinguished by a harsher brush technique that leaves much of the pigment raw and unblended.

Following Madrid, Henri's peripatetic nature took him back to Achill Island, Ireland, where he returned for an extended stay, from April to November 1924. Henri began negotiations, which resulted in the purchase of Corrymore House, the place he had previously rented. Between 1925 and 1928, he returned every spring or summer for extended stays. Revisiting the youthful subjects on which he had begun to concentrate in 1921 back in Woodstock, in his remaining years, the children of the Irish fishing village of Dooagh became Henri's primary portrait subjects. His paintings of the Irish children capture and celebrate the spirited innocence and openness of the young Irish faces. Echoing in the numerous portraits painted toward the end of his career are his own words:

If you paint children you must have no patronizing attitude toward them. Whoever approaches a child without humility, without wonderment, and without infinite respect, issues in his judgement of what is before him....Paint with respect for him...He is the great possibility, the independent individual.⁷⁸

Emblematic of his universal and positive view of humankind,

children had a spirit and sense of optimism that had a powerful allure for Henri.

The late portraits form a distinct and cohesive body of work within Henri's oeuvre. Through repetition of subjects, Henri explored formal and abstract ideas of color and compositional harmonies in a virtual shorthand vocabulary. In these paintings, he used a more limited tonal range, with one or two foundation colors to build the composition. Against rich reds, blues, and greens, he juxtaposed dark earth tones of brown and gray, which comprise the color schemes of many of these portraits.

Henri's portraits document the offspring of many of the Irish village's families, including the Lavelles, O'Donnells, MacNamaras, Burkes, O'Malleys, and Cafferkeys, all of whom resided in Dooagh. The portraits record the children's maturation as Henri often returned to paint the same sitters in succeeding years.

Henri generally documented and supplied accurate titles or subtitles to reflect the identity of models, if not in the actual title of the work, and then generally noted it in his record book. However, with the Irish portraits, his titles became notably less reliable.⁷³ He painted numerous portraits that he titled "Tom Cafferty," though many of the portraits so titled actually depict another boy named Michael Cafferkey, as in Tom Cafferty (1924; Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester, fig. 2-32). The

Fisherman's Son: Thomas Cafferty (1925; Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, fig. 2-33) is a portrait of a relation of Michael Cafferkey's, Tom Cafferkey.⁴¹ This fact accounts for the physiognomical differences between Tom Cafferty, and The Fisherman's Son: Thomas Cafferty, which were painted only about one year apart. Stylistically, both works exhibit the painterly abandon and generous fluency of pigment that distinguishes the late portraits.

Mary Ann Cafferkey, sister of Michael, was also one of his most frequent portrait subjects during the last visits to Ireland.⁴² She modeled for Young Chevass (Mary Ann Cafferty) (1925; Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts) where she is somewhat boyish in appearance, though in a number of other portraits, as in Mary Ann, with Her Basket, (1926; Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire), The Pink Pinafore (Mary Anne Cafferty), (1926; Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska), The Pink Ribbon, (1927; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and Mary Ann Cafferty (1928; private collection, fig. 2-34), she appears in a more feminine guise.⁴³ However, Young Chevass (Mary Ann Cafferty) is distinguished by the complexity of the backdrop: a swirl of colors intimating drapery forms suggests backgrounds Henri had been employing in the teens and twenties, especially several portraits done in Santa Fe in 1917 of the Hispanic model, Juanita.

Henri's last important honor during his lifetime was the receipt of the prestigious Temple Gold Medal. The prize, awarded by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in January 1929, was for The Wee Woman (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, fig. 2-35), painted in Ireland in October 1927. Deep coloration and liberated brushwork are visible in this canvas, and the model, Mary Gallagher, who was pictured in a number of portraits, is recognizable by her straw-colored hair and gray-blue eyes.⁶³

Bridget Lavelle, older sister of Annie Lavelle, was the most frequently repeated subjects of Henri's last Irish portraits. He wrote in his diary of Bridget Lavelle, "this is the very good looking girl with the oval face...."⁶⁴ A cycle of portraits depicting Bridget Lavelle occupied Henri during his last season of painting in 1928, and he painted her intermittently from late July to mid-September. The series forms the final coherent exploration of a single subject in Henri's career.⁶⁵ Evident in Blond Bridget Lavelle (private collection, fig. 2-36) and the late portraits is Henri's use of the subject as a suggestive framework, a study of color and form that only focuses on the face. His tendency in his late work was towards increasingly abbreviated allusions to non-essential details, and his intellectualized conception of these works were studies in visual harmony; they represent Henri's closest proximity to abstraction. The torso and clothing of the

models become only minimal painterly intimations made by broad undefined strokes of the paintbrush. The doctrine Henri had advocated to his students is manifested most clearly in his own late work:

Gesture expresses through form and color the states of life. Work with great speed....Finish as quickly as you can. There is no virtue in delaying. Get the greatest possibility of expression in the larger masses first....Do it all in one sitting if you can. In one minute if you can....The most vital things in the look of a face...endure only for a moment.⁸⁶

The Irish portraits are defined by Henri's ability to rapidly capture the outward vitality of the model. Critical of the academic polish of such artists as William-Adolphe Bouguereau, he had advised his students:

Do not require of your work the finish that anyone may demand of you, but insist on the finish which you demand....

The demand we so often hear for finish is not for finish, but is for the expected. Judging a Manet from the point of view of Bouguereau the Manet has not been finished. Judging a Bouguereau from the point of view of a Manet the Bouguereau has not been begun.⁸⁷

Though the influences of Hals and Velázquez are no longer apparent in Henri's final portraits, the qualities he

admired in their work--their superb technique and ability to reveal so much with so little through economy of brushwork, form the conceptual underpinning of his late Irish portraits.

By the time of his death in 1929, Robert Henri had effected an enduring legacy through his actions and promotion of his ideals, but more importantly by the astonishing body of portraiture he had produced. Spanning the transitional period from the dominance of realism to the onset of modernism and abstraction, his portraits appear to occupy a middle ground in an era marked by rapid change. Though by reputation known as an arch-radical and a rebel, from a late twentieth-century perspective Henri's portraiture now appears to fall squarely within the mainstream evolution of realism. The artistic status he achieved was founded on portraiture, his principal mode of expression, which was defined by the candid perceptions of his "people" as revealed through incisive characterizations. Not for some time, if ever, has any artist successfully achieved a comparable rank with portraiture.

Though often technically adventurous, Henri's portraits never depart from representation. He remained more daring in the realm of theoretical and abstract ideas about art, which he passed on through teaching to the next generation. The view of Henri as out-of-step with the art world after

the Armory Show has left a shadow over his reputation. Though he had been resistant to contemporary changes in style and outlook, and was bewildered by the Armory Show, he ventured forward on his own path of artistic inquiry, which involved experimental ideas of color and compositional design.

Eschewing the polished technique of virtuoso painters such as Sargent or Chase, Henri instead featured the subject, sublimating ego and technical prowess in his representation. He let the sitter's character eloquently speak through the painting. Every nuance, gesture, and expression of an individual was captured in an attempt to reveal what lay beneath superficial appearances. Through he limited his portraits predominantly to single figures, either life-size or bust-length, that directly confront the viewer, Henri managed to exhibit a wide range of diversity and originality in his work through constant self-analysis, innovation and the embrace of various stylistic influences.

A strong biographical undercurrent as well as his democratic view of humanity is reflected in Henri's portraiture. He recorded the world in which he lived by painting the individuals he found there, whether intimates, acquaintances, or the exotic "types" he sought in his travels. The psychological empathy he developed for each individual seduced him, and as a result he endowed each portrait with a spark of life and a sense of the subject's

uniqueness:

I find as I go out, from one land to another seeking "my people," that I have none of that cruel, fearful possession known as patriotism....My love of mankind is individual, not national, and always I find the race expressed in the individual. And so I am "patriotic" only about what I admire, and my devotion to humanity burns up as brightly for [and]...just as completely as though each of these people were of my own country....Everywhere I see at times this beautiful expression of the dignity of life to which I respond with a wish to preserve this beauty of humanity.⁸⁸

NOTES

1. For example, see Guy Pène du Bois, "Robert Henri--Realist and Idealist," Arts & Decoration, 2(April 1912), p. 215. Du Bois notes that America is shocked by Henri's truth and realism as Paris was shocked by Manet.
2. Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 91.
3. Guy Pène du Bois, "Robert Henri--Realist and Idealist," Arts & Decoration, 2 (April 1912), pp. 214-15.
4. Robert Henri, "'My People': By Robert Henri," Craftsman, 26 (February 1915), p. 459.
5. Henri to his parents (19 December 1898), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
6. Richard Brilliant, Portraiture (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 67.
7. Brilliant, Portraiture, p. 14.
8. Ibid., p. 8.
9. Ibid., p. 30.
10. Henri, "My People," p. 459.
11. Quoted in Bennard B. Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), p. 143.
12. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Models such as Edna Smith and Helen Geary were among those who repeatedly posed for Henri during these years.
13. Portraiture as an art form began to develop during the Renaissance. See John Pope-Hennessy, The Portrait in the Renaissance (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), p. 257.
14. See for example, Riter Fitzgerald, "Robert Henri's Works: The Eccentric Artist Improving, Effective Landscapes," Philadelphia Item (1 December 1902), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair. The article's subtitle reads: "Should Give up Figure-Painting and Become a Landscapist."
15. Henri to his parents (11 September 1898), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

16. Charles De Kay, "Six Impressionists: Startling Works by Red-Hot American Painters," The New York Times, (20 January 1904), p. 9.
17. Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, p. 115.
18. Henri to his mother (4 September 1898), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
19. For example, see Henri to his mother (16 July 1906; 9 July 1907; and 15 July 1907); and during his first trip to Europe, Henri to Tucker (15 June 1890); Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. See also Henri, The Art Spirit, passim, for numerous references to these masters.
20. Henri to his parents (19 December 1898), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
21. William B. M'Cormick, "Seventy-Second Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy," New York Press (19 January 1903).
22. De Kay, "Six Impressionists."
23. Henri, The Art Spirit, p. 41.
24. Artist's Record Books, collection of Janet Le Clair.
25. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The family left Nebraska and adopted different names after Henri's father, originally named John Jackson Cozad, was brought up on charges of murder. The parents became Mr. and Mrs. Richard Henry Lee and their sons were referred to as adopted foster brothers and renamed Robert Earle Henri and Frank L. Southrn to disguise their identities. For a thorough recounting of Henri's early life, see "The Early Years," in William Innes Homer, Robert Henri and His Circle (1969; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), pp. 7-20; and also Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art, pp. 1-7. The portrait of his brother was begun on January 10, 1904; Henri worked on it for one hour the following day, and completed it on January 12.
26. Ibid.
27. John E.D. Trask, "Art Exhibitions of the Middle West," Book News (December 1905), p. 211, Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

28. "Glamour About Name of Sargent, Painter: His Work Draws All Eyes at the American Artists' Show. Yet Not as Good as Henri's," The New York Press (27 March 1904), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

29. Samuel Isham, The History of American Painting, with supplemental chapters by Royal Cortissoz (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), p. 506.

30. This is in fact Henri's only Southwestern portrait that depicts any activity. He produced some figurative pastels, watercolors and drawings that show scenes of Indian dances in progress.

31. Henri to his parents (4 May 1900), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

32. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

33. The following contemporaneous articles document Henri's break with the Academy: "National Academy Stirred by Mr. Henri's Withdrawal of Pictures," The Sun, New York (14 March 1907), p. 9.; "The Thirty and Mr. Henri: Why the Painter Withdrew His Academy Canvases," The Evening Post, New York (13 March 1907), p. 1; and "The Henri Hurrah," American Art News, 5 (23 March 1907), p. 4. Also see Elizabeth Milroy, Painters of a New Century: The Eight, exh. cat. (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1991) for more on the circumstances of Henri and his break with the Academy and the events surrounding the formation of The Eight exhibition.

34. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

35. Henri to his mother (9 July 1907), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

36. Henri to his mother (15 July 1907), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

37. Henri to his mother (28 July 1907), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

38. Ibid.

39. Henri, The Art Spirit, p. 191.

40. Ibid., p. 166.

41. Henri diary (7 June 1909), p. 159, collection of Janet Le Clair.

42. See Michael Quick, "Robert Henri: Theory and Practice," in "My People": The Portrait of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando: Orlando Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 47-62.
43. Henri diary (21 August 1909), collection of Janet Le Clair.
44. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
45. For example, see Whistler's Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen, and Le Princesse du Pays de la Porcelaine, (1864; 1863-64; Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), and Chase's The Blue Kimono (Girl in Blue Kimono) (c. 1898; The Parrish Art Museum, Southampton, New York), and The Japanese Print, (c. 1888; Neue Pinakothek, Munich).
46. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
47. Ibid. Henri notes that Bellows picked up the portrait for the National Academy of Design on November 27. The submission of a portrait of the artist was required to attain the Associate member status in the National Academy of Design. An example of the artist's own work was required to become a full Academician.
48. See George Bellows, "'The Art Spirit,' By Robert Henri," Arts & Decoration, 20 (December 1923), pp. 25, 87; Charles Morgan, George Bellows: Painter of America (New York: Reynal and Co., 1965), p. 37.
49. Henri to his mother (9 August 1912), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
50. "The First Great 'Clinic to Revitalize Art,'" New York American (26 January 1913), Museum of Modern Art Archives.
51. Violet Organ, "Robert Henri: His Life," unpublished manuscript, n.d., collection of Janet Le Clair, p. 96.
52. Mary L. Alexander, Daily-Times-Star, Cincinnati (10 March 1926), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair; and Henri to Alice Klauber (11 March 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
53. See Marjorie Henri to Helen Niles (undated), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. The letter, though undated, was written in 1915. Also see B.H. Friedman, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (Garden City, New York: Doubleday &

Company, 1978), pp. 374-75. Henri was paid \$2,500 to paint the portrait of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney.

54. Friedman, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, pp. 174-75.

55. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Also Henri to Helen Niles (22 June 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. In this letter Henri mentions that he completed the portrait the previous day.

56. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. It has been suggested by Janet Le Clair that Henri's mistitling of the painting derived from his sense of propriety. Another reclining nude portrait, Betalo Nude (Pink and White), (1916; collection of Janet Le Clair, Estate of Robert Henri), painted shortly before Betalo Nude, also depicts Violet Organ, and Henri's Record Book shows that he had done a number of other reclining studies of her prior to this painting.

57. Artist's Record Books, collection of Janet Le Clair.

58. Henri to Helen Niles (17 July 1915), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

59. Organ, "Robert Henri," p. 109.

60. Henri to his mother (19 August 1915), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

61. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair; also Janet Le Clair to the author (3 August 1992). Village Girl was painted on 16 August 1915. In Henri's Record Book, nine of the thirteen portraits of Lily were marked "destroyed" by Violet Organ.

62. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. See also catalogue entry on Village Girl (Lily Cow) in Catalogue of the Collection (St. Petersburg, Florida: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), pp. 164-65.

63. Henri to his mother (3 August 1917; 11 August 1917; and 19 August 1917); Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

64. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The portrait was given to Mary Fanton Roberts the following month.

65. George Bellows to Henri (16 November 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
66. See Michael Quick, "Robert Henri: Theory and Practice," in Valerie Leeds, "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando: Orlando Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 47-62.
67. With some artists, telltale visual evidence or preparatory drawings provide clues to the extent of the individual's involvement with this theory. As Michael Quick has pointed out, Henri left no such drawings, see Quick, "Robert Henri: Theory and Practice," pp. 56, 61.
68. Henri, The Art Spirit, p. 179.
69. Ibid., p. 148.
70. For example, see Henri's notes reproduced in Quick, "Robert Henri: Theory and Practice," pp. 51-5, 57-8. Henri's notes can be found in his papers housed at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
71. Henri to his mother (26 April 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
72. "Pastels by Henri Put on Exhibition," The Sun (9 December 1918), p. 9.
73. Henri to Frank Southrn (27 January 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
74. Henri to his mother (15 February 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
75. Henri to Helen Niles (8 August 1921), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
76. See for example Henri to Frank Southern (27 January 1919), and Henri to his mother (26 April 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
77. Organ, "Robert Henri," p. 123.
78. Henri, The Art Spirit, pp. 237-38, 246.

79. Henri to his mother (28 August 1913), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Henri wrote that Irish given names were excessively redundant, though no reason is known for his actual mistitling of the portraits.

80. Thomas MacNamara to the author (22 June 1994). MacNamara is currently a resident of Achill Island and has traced many of the subjects who posed for Henri.

81. Artist's Record Books, collection of Janet Le Clair.

82. Ibid. "Chevass" is a pet name, according to Thomas MacNamara.

83. Ibid.

84. Henri diary (28 July 1928), collection of Janet Le Clair.

85. Henri diary (17 August 1928), collection of Janet Le Clair. The entry also makes reference to the fact that there is a second Bridget Lavelle who has dark hair whom he refers to as "Black Bridget Lavelle." Henri noted that he believed that the two Bridgets were not related to each other, and that the dark-haired Bridget Lavelle was a niece of the O'Malleys.

86. Henri, The Art Spirit, pp. 26-7.

87. Ibid., pp. 181-82.

88. Henri, "My People," p. 459.

CHAPTER 3

Prelude to Santa Fe: Henri In California

The genesis of Henri's interest in the Southwest commenced with a painting trip to Southern California in the summer of 1914.¹ This was Henri's first and longest visit to California, lasting from June through September. He made the trip on the recommendation of his friend and former student, Alice Klauber, a resident of San Diego.

In 1913, the Armory Show had a profound impact on Henri's position in the art world. Arthur B. Davies, along with Walt Kuhn, assumed control of organizing this important independent exhibition. Instead of an American focus, they wished to include a stronger representation of European modern art; this idea was opposed by Henri and others in his circle of realist artists. Davies deliberately appointed Henri to an insignificant position on the Committee on Foreign Exhibits, and in this capacity, he was essentially uninvolved in the exhibition organization since the foreign works had already been selected by Walter Pach and Walt Kuhn. The Armory Show created a grand spectacle; Henri and the American realists found their art relegated to the sidelines and overshadowed by the revelatory nature of the works representing the art of the European avant-garde that was there first widely introduced to an American audience.² Following Henri's marginal role in the Armory Show, he found

his influence as a progressive artistic leader waning as he was consigned to the cultural establishment.

Despite what had transpired with the Armory Show, Henri embarked on an important new phase in his own work in the Southwest. Inspired by meeting Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, an ethnologist from the School of American Archeology in Santa Fe (and later director of the newly founded Museum of New Mexico), he developed a strong interest in Native Americans and other Southwestern "types" while in Southern California; there he produced his first representations of Native Americans in which he attempted to eschew the typical conventions of much other Indian portraiture. Henri also undertook portraits of a variety of ethnic models who were of Hispanic-, African-, and Asian-American backgrounds. His California work relates to that which he later did when visiting New Mexico, in 1916, 1917, and 1922, in subject type and style.

Aside from his art, the California trip was also significant in terms of Henri's exhibition activities. Between 1914 and 1916, Henri's California work received considerable exposure. Exhibitions of his California paintings were held in the West, at the Museum of History, Science, and Art in Los Angeles in September of 1914, and in the East, at the Macbeth Gallery in New York, in November of that year. The critical reception to the new work was generally positive in tone.

Henri was also involved in both 1915 California Expositions. Dr. Hewett, who was in charge of the art exhibits of the 1915 San Diego Panama-California Exposition, enlisted him to select the art for a contemporary exhibition, and he included his own work of which two were California subjects. Following the closure of this Exposition, the works by the eleven artists that Henri had assembled, which included his own entries, travelled to the museum in Los Angeles and were shown there early in 1916. He was also a participant and medal recipient in the 1915 San Francisco Panama-Pacific Exposition where two of his representative entries were also California subjects. Henri's involvement in both of these major efforts warrants further evaluation.

Henri's interest in visiting California, evident from his correspondence with Alice Klauber, dates to at least as early as 1912.³ However, it was not until March of 1914 that he firmly announced his intention to her of visiting there that summer, as he proclaimed:

Westward ho! We intend to come to California this summer--some time early I hope in May we shall start. We have been talking about it ever since we returned from Ireland in the fall and the more we talk the more we like the idea.⁴

He further noted that he had become convinced from Klauber's

reports that "San Diego is one of the most interesting and beautiful places in the world..."⁵ Henri had also always been drawn to sunny climates and spoke of the attraction that the warmth of California held for him.⁶ Additionally, an appealing ambiance would often result in a prodigious period of work and as he related to Klauber, he had great expectations for California:

I want to do a lot of work--I am always mad about painting and I look forward to California as a place where the sun will warm me up to the right heat of production where I can luxuriate in work and sunshine, fruit, flowers, good food, no dutys [sic], not have to dress, nor entertain or be entertained, nothing but work and sun and the aforesaid luxurys [sic].⁷

As a result of his high hopes for the allure of the region, he anticipated a lengthy stay in California, lasting possibly as long as six or seven months. An important aspect of Henri's motivation was to find new and different subjects, and he indicated to Klauber that, "of course I shall want to paint interesting people--I'm told you have them...",⁸ and expressed a preference for finding child models and locals to paint.⁹ Henri had previously painted youthful subjects from shortly after the turn of the century resulting in compositions such as Willie Gee (1904; Newark Museum). In 1913, on his first trip to Ireland, his

interest in painting children further developed and this trend continued to flourish in the work he did in the Southwest.

Alice Klauber, was a resident and the first native artist of San Diego. She was the daughter of a prominent merchant, studied art at the San Francisco Art Student's League, and later with Hans Hofmann and William Merritt Chase, and with Henri at the Art Student's League.¹⁰ To encourage their visit, Alice Klauber sent Henri and Marjorie information about the area and offered to arrange a rental for them, but Henri wondered whether San Diego would be the most suitable location. He envisioned exploring other areas including Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, and the coast, before deciding where to settle,¹¹ as he informed Klauber:

Yours with map just arrived. Be assured that we will not settle anywhere before we have seen the house you marked as our house. My inclination is all towards San Diego altho of course I should take a look at the coast from Santa Barbara down before settling so that I will know what I am missing as well as what I am getting.¹²

The Henris arrived in Los Angeles by rail on June 13th with a plan to stay there two days before travelling to San Diego.¹³ Upon reaching Los Angeles, Henri wrote to Miss Klauber recounting his trip out West, and first expressed an interest in the Native people:

We were tremendously interested in the Indians in NM and Ariz. The trip not as hard as expected altho [sic] killingly hot from NY to Chicago.¹⁴ He reached San Diego late on June 16th and notified Klauber that they were at the U.S. Grant Hotel.¹⁵ The Henris ultimately decided on the picturesque town of La Jolla, which is about 15 miles from the center of San Diego. Klauber worked to secure lodging for their stay that would suit their particular needs. Henri had underscored to Klauber that his location requirements would be "... where there are people whose character would be interesting to...paint, who would be willing to pose for wages," and "where...[he] could get a place, either a studio or a place that could be used or converted into such...with sun light."¹⁶ Klauber arranged a rental for them that was a mission-style house on the edge of the town of La Jolla; it was set into the hills and located just a few steps from the sea. The Henris were immensely pleased with the house and were most grateful to her for her efforts in finding them a place to stay.¹⁷ Henri and Marjorie relished the physical beauty and remoteness of La Jolla; they had not selected it for its cultural offerings. As Henri commented on his non-work activities, "our excitement in La Jolla is in one ice cream saloon and two movies."¹⁸

Henri was pleased with Southern California and gave glowing accounts to his friends back East. As he had hoped,

the sun and light proved beneficial to his work and his outlook. He wrote to his friends, the art critic and magazine editor, Mary Fanton Roberts, and her husband Bill, enthusiastic about his impressions of California:

We are doing finely...painting everyday and getting some things maybe--its a new experience to us--this West and summering in America is not usual--what a star of luck led us westward!....The color is fine--its [sic] not like Spain--they all think it is but it isn't--not so invigorating--not so silver and gold in light. There is a hot and brilliant sun but the mists both close and open the days...¹⁹

Henri routinely took some time to adjust to a new place before he set to work. By June 23rd, he noted that late that day he was contemplating mixing up some pigments in preparation for starting to paint the following day.²⁰ After a landscape and a portrait of Marjorie, both of which the artist later destroyed, he painted the portrait of Rita Perèz, a young local Hispanic-American woman from San Diego's old town; she was working as their maid and posed for four other canvases during the stay in California.²¹ One of the later versions Henri painted of her was exhibited at the Museum of History, Science, and Art, in 1914 and drew notice from the local critic:

The most complete picture in the gallery, the

most satisfying in every particular, to my mind, is "Rita," the portrait of Mrs. Henri's Mexican maid, who was fully alive to her own importance as a sitter for a famous painter, and who rose to the occasion nobly, donning her best gown of palest purple and her stylish new panama hat...Rita is delightful...²²

This assessment of Henri's likeness encapsulates the artist's democratic views, observing his ability to instill dignity in his subjects, regardless of their social position.

Henri sought out ethnic locals throughout his visit, though he also executed a number of portraits of Marjorie Henri, and her sister Viv, who often accompanied the Henris on summer excursions. Both Viv and Marjorie served as his models throughout the years up until about 1920 when the artist increasingly turned to painting portraits of children. Among his most striking efforts was a portrait of Marjorie known as The Beach Hat (Detroit Institute of Arts), painted in July 1914. It features his wife in a yellow straw hat with a purple band, white scarf, gold and blue pin, blue skirt and red waist with a light greenish varicolored background. The work was one Henri particularly favored and he showed it in the 1914 Los Angeles Museum exhibition and at a number of his exhibition circuit venues between 1915 and 1919 before it was entered in the

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annual in 1919 and then went to the Detroit Institute of Arts, where it was purchased for the collection in October of 1919.²³ The painting drew attention in the local press and was compared to the work of the noted British portrait painter, George Romney. The review stated that nothing was lovelier in the show than The Beach Hat which is:

... facile in the handling of pigments, graceful and gracious in its swaying lines, charming as a Romney in its feminine insouciance. Indeed, it is very like a Romney in both technique and arrangement.²⁴

Two similar compositions of that season also relate to The Beach Hat: "O" (Portrait of Mrs. Robert Henri) (San Diego Museum of Art, fig. 3-1) and a portrait of his sister-in-law, Viv in Blue Stripe (private collection, fig. 3-2). "O" (Portrait of Mrs. Robert Henri) (Henri sometimes referred to his wife, Marjorie Organ, as "O"), is a freely executed sketch of Marjorie in the same outfit and similarly posed as in The Beach Hat. It was painted in La Jolla in August, and Henri presented it to Alice Klauber on September 29, 1914 with the inscription: "souvenir of summer 1914. La Jolla and San Diego."²⁵ He had originally noted in his record book that he had inscribed the work with the comment that "this sketch is a souvenir of what has been to us a very happy summer."²⁶

Viv in Blue Stripe represents a marked departure from his previous work in the unprecedented impression of light and airiness created by the bright clothing, and pale yellow and blue undulating background. The black and blue striped bow provides a counterpoint to the vivid blue and white striped jacket and white hat. The stripes add an element of dynamic complexity to the composition that is atypical for Henri portraits; the artist tended to avoid this type of effect since it tended to distract attention from the subject.

The most notable feature of the new California work was the new and unusual juxtaposition of bright tonalities the artist began to exploit, particularly in the backgrounds. Though the specific reasons for this change cannot be ascertained, it can be surmised there were likely several forces that inspired this new change in coloration in his work: Henri's continued experimentation with theoretical color systems that involved assimilating ideas advocated by Hardesty Maratta came to a zenith;²⁷ the enduring impression left by the art of the European modern artists, particularly "the Fauves" to whose work he had been exposed the preceding year; and the effect of the brilliant clarity of the California sunlight, to which Henri repeatedly referred in his correspondence.²⁸ Direct sunlight had always been important to Henri for his painting, and this was among a number of reasons the artist particularly favored Spain; it

also represented a great part of his appreciation for California.²⁹ During the subsequent summer of 1915, when Henri visited Ogunquit, Maine, whose weather conditions he found wanting, he remarked to John Sloan:

...wish sometimes for the sun of California or Spain but think the light is very good here anyway. I doubt if this place is as picturesque...³⁰

Some critics found Henri's new approach to color difficult to appreciate. It was noted that if it was the artist's "...object to 'haunt, to startle and waylay' with his bizarre backgrounds, he may rest secure in the knowledge that he succeeds..."³¹ Though much painting in Southern California was typically bright in hue, the critical reaction to his vivid palette color usage may have been the result of the generally more conservative taste of the local arts writers and the fact that Henri did not work in the favored Impressionist style. Southern California artists' use of heightened colorism was in actuality not so far removed from Henri's strong palette.³²

In early August, Marjorie Henri related to her mother-in-law that "we like it here awfully well, still not as well as Spain, or Ireland."³³ The mixed ethnic diversity of Southern California yielded a variety of "types" for Henri's portrait subjects, and Marjorie also reported that "...painting going fine--good models but not plentiful like

last summer."³⁴ Though interested in painting Native Americans, Henri did not initially locate available models, however, Asian-Americans offered him a new artistic opportunity, and he painted a number of different subjects throughout the season. Alice Klauber, along with another former Art Students League student and friend, Lucie Bayard, located one young girl from San Diego who had previously modeled for them and agreed to come to La Jolla to pose for Henri.³⁵ The other subjects were also likely from San Diego and were convinced to come and sit for Henri in his La Jolla studio as Marjorie explained to her mother-in-law: "here models cost more. You have to pay them fare from San Diego out here [to La Jolla]."³⁶

Among the portraits Henri painted that summer were a number of Asian Americans in which young girls appear in Chinese-style jackets including Chow Choy (private collection, fig. 3-3), Chinese Girl with Fan (private collection, fig. 3-4), Machu (J.B. Speed Art Museum), Tam Gan (Albright-Knox Art Gallery, fig. 3-5), and Chinese Girl, (Grace) (private collection, fig. 3-6). The tonalities of these works are particularly vibrant which invited critical comment as did the unusual choices for portraits subjects:

This is really a collection of portraits..."Chow Choy" takes the place of "Mrs. X" and "Lady with Fan." The change is a little refreshing....these

Chinese maidens, dark haired little dolls made sympathetic by the artist's brilliant touch.³⁷

Chow Choy depicts a model whose name the artist noted was Mary, and though it is not a classic portrait subject, it displays an intensity and strength of character that often distinguishes Henri's portrayal of youngsters. It was works such as this that enhanced Henri's artistic reputation. He exhibited this picture consistently through 1917, and included it in the 1914 shows at the Los Angeles museum, the Macbeth Gallery, and at the 1917 Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annual.³⁸ One writer noted that:

Robert Henri, needless to say, is not a fashionable portrait painter, nor even a portrait painter at all in the usual sense. He paints the people who interest him, and no others....In other words, he "sees" characters and sees it with marvelous distinctness.³⁹

Chow Choy is exemplary of this series of canvases in the subject's demeanor and directness. As with many of the models he painted, Henri captured the essential character of the sitter through gesture and expression.

Like Chow Choy, Chinese Girl with Fan shows the subject holding an open fan. In an unusual pose, the sitter demurely gazes off into the distance. The work was one of his most outstanding efforts of the California trip, and Henri showed it frequently: in addition to the 1914 Los Angeles and

Macbeth Gallery shows, it was featured on Henri's exhibition circuit and was shown in Indianapolis, and Cincinnati in 1915, in Syracuse in 1916, and at Milch Galleries in New York in 1918. Critics repeatedly singled out the portrait as one of exceptional character in a number of contemporary reviews.⁴¹ In Los Angeles, it was called an "exquisitely charming" picture and was further commended:

The face is like a flower, and indeed, the whole picture has a delicate flower-like quality. All Henri's oriental maids are like pretty dolls...Yet paradoxically...they are very human and alive, too.⁴²

Prior to Chinese Girl with Fan, Henri completed another essay of the same model, Minnie, which he titled Machu (J.B. Speed Art Museum). The composition had originally been conceived as a three-quarter length composition, but the artist cut it down to 24 x 20 inches in 1924.⁴² She is posed looking off to the right. Her Chinese jacket, which is blue green in color, is juxtaposed against a rose-colored background. Henri also included this work in his major one-person shows and traveled it extensively until 1918.⁴³ The painting was lauded both in Los Angeles and New York; in Los Angeles the reviewer remarked that the model for Machu was "...a demure oriental, with foreign ideas as to the proper atmosphere for a lady sitting for her picture."⁴⁴ However, the exoticism of such a subject to an Eastern audience was

what drew particular remark:

We catch so few glimpses of Chinese children here in the East that we are strange to their exotic charm, and so the three that Mr. Henri has painted here have an effect of novelty that is as rich as their other qualities. The Chinese child in the blue jacket, posed against a pink background of luscious richness, will be voted "a dear" by every woman who visits the gallery.⁴⁵

Henri himself apparently thought well of both Machu and Chinese Girl with Fan. It is likely these works to which he referred in a letter to his mother:

I was painting my little Chinese girl this afternoon--she is a beauty and poses wonderfully--especially to the music of our victrola which Marjorie keeps running for her. One of the records we have is Chinese music, but she says she prefers the other music. Work is going well. I have some good things particularly of...this little Chinese...⁴⁶

In its simplicity of design Tam Gan is composed along similar lines to Girl with Fan. The bright background sets off the figure through startling contrasts. Chinese Girl - Grace may be a portrait of the same model though their facial features appear to differ; Henri repainted the portrait in 1915 which may account for the dissimilarity in

appearance.⁴⁷

One exceptional portrait of an Asian-American subject was Chinese Lady (Milwaukee Art Museum, fig. 3-7). Painted in August, the subject is an older woman whose ponderous size is in counterpoint to the delicacy of his portraits of the young girls. The critic William B. M'Cormick, however, found the painting to be exemplary of Henri's current style when he saw it at Macbeth Gallery:

The most characteristic illustration of this last phase of Mr. Henri's development is to be seen in the portrait of the fat elderly Chinese woman with the pendulous cheeks, the beadlike, inscrutable eyes, her "mountain of flesh" clothed with a characteristic native jacket of dark blue silk that is a miracle of painting.⁴⁸

M'Cormick favorably compared Henri's painting technique to Manet's Woman with a Parrot (1866; The Metropolitan Museum of Art). The composition is one of Henri's starkest, and the realism and directness with which the subject is presented, in a similar fashion as portraits by Manet, a visual tension is created between subject and viewer. This starkness is reinforced by the simplicity of the design and the stunning contrasts of the brilliant yellow background with the dark blue-black coloration of the subject's clothing. Shunning the manner of traditional portraitists such as John Singer Sargent or William Merritt Chase who routinely sought

attractive models or portrait commissions, Henri was clearly establishing his skill as painter of the common individual. He relied on earnings from teaching so he that could pursue less standard portrait subjects such as Chinese Lady and be free to paint them as he chose. He also promoted his unconventional style of portraiture by presenting them in exhibitions and annuals; for example, he showed this composition in the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego as well as at his 1914 New York gallery exhibition.⁴⁹

Throughout his painting career, Henri typically favored female models, though when he elected to picture a male subject, it was usually one of a compelling nature as in Jim Lee (The Vegetable Man) (Schwarz Gallery, Philadelphia, fig. 3-8). Henri found Jim Lee, a vegetable seller, in San Diego, though he was at first hesitant about his artistic potential as a model. He initially declared that "a chinaman--one sketch of him--hardly the type I wanted, too middle class and too American very little of the mystery of China..."⁵⁰ However, Henri painted three consecutive portraits of him, the first two in similar poses. As the artist noted, he depicted Jim Lee in the second version as "...more awake with expression of quizzical humor."⁵¹ He is shown in a straw hat with a cigarette dangling from his mouth. Henri must have been satisfied with the result for he entered it in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts 1915 annual, and toured it extensively through 1917. The

painting is an incisive character study which also resonated with the critics.⁵² Though several of the reviewers misunderstood Henri's intention, it was generally assessed as a skillful characterization, as a Los Angeles writer noted:

...Jim Lee, the good, kindly old vegetable
...[man] is a masterpiece of delineation. With
its cynical expression, the eyes mere slits and
the very American cigarette a prominent part of
the picture, ...[it] cannot but be popular for it
is so intensely human and [he] seems to be
laughing quizzically....Indeed Jim Lee "jollied"
the artist quite a bit before he was through
posing.⁵³

Henri's third portrait of Jim Lee was a torso-length portrait, originally 26 x 32 inches which he later cut down to 17 x 24 inches in 1920. It differs from the two other compositions in that the subject is represented without his hat and appears less culturally assimilated.⁵⁴ The three representations of Jim Lee were among Henri's last of Asian-American subjects before he finally secured the Native-American models he had so avidly sought.

It was not until July that Henri found a Native American to pose for him; he began painting the first of a group of six female Indian subjects he secured in La Jolla.⁵⁵ Of La Jolla and his first painting efforts he

wrote:

Everything going O.K. Models not plentiful but still there are enough and perhaps more coming. There is one canvas I have done of an Indian girl that I like. I wish there were more Indians available but "progress" has probably changed things very much here in the last few years--at least people say things have changed very much. La Jolla is a place of mixed S.[outhern] Cal.[ifornia] character.⁵⁶

Despite the ethnic diversity, Henri was seemingly frustrated by the lack of Native Americans available to pose. On August 3rd, Marjorie wrote to her mother-in-law that they were considering stopping at an Indian village on the way home to find models: "So far he has had only one Indian, and that because a very nice woman here loaned her maid when she'd just gotten her from an Indian School."⁵⁷ This first Native-American woman who sat for him was named May, and she posed for at least four portraits (destroyed, fig. 3-9).⁵⁸ Of the first Native-American portraits he painted in California, he noted that they were "Indians of Bishop Calif. Cannot fix true tribal name. They are Shoshneans, but this is a generic term covering whole family of tribes....These Indians are sometimes called Northern Paiutes..."⁵⁹ Each of the works was conceived as a large three-quarter length portrait (measuring 32 x 26 inches)

that shows either a direct or slightly angled perspective. The compositions are constructed with sharp diagonals created from Native textiles draped over the shoulder--a device that Henri also employed in many of his later Santa Fe Indian portraits. The Native-American portraits he painted in California foreshadow his later efforts, in style, composition, and subject.

From his first encounter with these native people, Henri romanticized the Native Americans he painted in La Jolla. A short time later, he wrote again of May:

Last week I painted two Indian pictures--portraits of an Indian girl. She is young, perhaps 18, a powerful Indian type, deep copper color, wide cheek bones, straight nose--and a look of the sphinx. I think I got the Indian in the portraits--and am greatly satisfied with them,--and the people who have seen them are all quite enthusiastic. My indian is scarcely on the war path as she is at present the maid of a Mrs. Dean....This girl has a noble carriage and beautiful face--not perhaps visible to any eye or at once--but there just the same. Nor is the beauty in her face that of the magazine cover--nor would the appreciators of the magazine covers ever see the beauty of which I speak--in fact they would declare her decidedly ugly--but they would

be either wrong or I am.⁶⁰

The noble spirit and exotic beauty Henri admired in these Indian models were qualities he continually sought in the Native subjects he painted. He reported to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts that:

I have had a fine Indian girl--a great piece of luck--to pose for me--she is a fine Indian (not such as the sentimentalists would and do choose) but a splendid human creature just as beautiful as she is ugly.⁶¹

Henri had disdain for the conventional stereotypes of the Native Americans, which were seen in the work of many Southwestern artists; he consistently attempted to avoid such cliché images in his own work.

Later in August, Henri undertook the portrait of a different type of subject, that of a Mexican man, Ramon Vasquez, which garnered much praise when it was shown.⁶² In a letter to his mother, he related that the subject was from Northern Mexico and had been in America for five years though spoke little English. "He looks like an indian and he looks like a gipsy [sic] but not exactly like either."⁶³ From the obvious similarities between Ramon and a number of portraits Henri executed over the years during many trips he made to Spain, Ramon Vasquez was a "type" to which Henri was repeatedly drawn, exemplified by works such as El Segoviano (1924; private collection, courtesy Owen Gallery). As with

Jim Lee, Henri achieved a responsive chord with this type of subject, as he penetrated the surface, achieving a deep emotional resonance in authentic characterizations.

Henri became commonly associated with portraits of multi-cultural subjects from all stratas of society since these were the works he exhibited extensively. In addition to the Los Angeles museum and Macbeth Gallery exhibitions of 1914, Henri also showed Ramon at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1917, and at the Society of Independent Artists in 1928. The personality depicted in this portrait captured the reviewers' imagination:

The head of this Mexican under his wide-brimmed hat reveals a finer type than we are used to think of these men, a character that is in itself a profound tribute to Mr. Henri's sympathy for and searching after the best elements in man rather than for its commonplaces.⁶⁴

Only one writer's opinion was critical, and noted a quality of superficiality about the work. Henry McBride wondered about

...Ramon the Mexican, who smiles and shows you his gold tooth. The passion in this painting mystifies us because the soul, the secret the representative quality, call it what you will, has not been sought for. Why get in a passion over...the shell?⁶⁵

Yet when the work was shown in 1916 in Grand Rapids, the exoticism of the subject was interpreted as a penetrating characterization, as highlighted in the local review:

"Ramon, the Mexican, dark and swarthy, in whose eyes are the smoldering fire of his race, touched with cruelty and romance..."⁶⁶ This same dramatic idealization also occurred with Henri's earlier portraits of Spanish gypsies; he tended to romanticize these type of subjects in his depictions.

In La Jolla and San Diego, Henri returned to painting portraits of other local types. These efforts were interspersed by an occasional landscape and likenesses of other Mexican models. In late July, Henri commenced painting three of his most effective California portraits that portray Sylvester Cunningham Smith, an African-American youngster who sold newspapers at the La Jolla train depot.⁶⁷ While Henri did not work in series, he often generated a number of variant images of the same model, working on several canvases simultaneously, as with Jim Lee and numerous other instances. The artist employed this practice when he was attempting to resolve an artistic problem or particularly favored a subject.

As part of Henri's democratic and egalitarian outlook of humankind, he painted portraits of types from diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, while attempting to infuse each likeness with nobility, sensitivity, and an expression of the individual. Henri painted a few African-American

subjects throughout his career, including two powerful characterizations from a number of years earlier: Willie Gee (1904; Newark Museum) and Eva Green (1907; Wichita Art Museum). The portraits of Sylvester, like these earlier efforts, express emotional depth and are perceptive characterizations. The images of Sylvester are the only representations of African-American subjects that he painted during his time in the Southwest. Precedents for Sylvester and Henri's other representation of African-Americans, can be found in the work of artists he knew and admired, including his teachers, Thomas Hovenden and Thomas Anshutz, as well as Thomas Eakins and Winslow Homer.⁶³ John Singleton Copley's Head of a Negro (1777-1778; Detroit Institute of Arts), Winslow Homer's Busy Bee (1875; Private Collection, New York), Thomas Eakins' Negro Boy Dancing (1878; The Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Whistling for Plover (1874; The Brooklyn Museum), all share with Henri the sensitive portrayal of African-American subjects, though with the possible exception of the Copley painting, racial stereotyping to some degree can be arguably read into these examples.

The first of the three versions of Sylvester, Negro Boy (Sylvester) (current location unknown), is a three-quarter length portrait of the young boy shown sitting very straight, with a white shirt, brown trousers with suspenders, and his bare knees showing. As he noted in his

record book, Henri repainted the background of the canvas in April of 1916 in a "deep gray-blue with a tree effect."⁵¹ The inclusion of a reference to nature in the background of a portrait is most exceptional for Henri, who most often employed monochromatic tones in gentle swirls of color. The second variation, Sylvester (Fraad collection, New York, fig. 3-10) shows the young boy posed more casually against a dark blue background, smiling and with eyes twinkling. He is dressed in the same outfit, and in both works, the stark white shirt creates a sharp contrast with the rich skin tones of the subject. This work was entered in the 1915 Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts exhibition. The third version, The Failure of Sylvester (Sylvester Asleep) (Cheekwood Museum of Art, fig. 3-11), depicts the young model with his head resting on his shoulder, asleep, while seated in a large upholstered chair from the artist's La Jolla studio. Henri related the circumstances of Sylvester posing for him to his mother:

I have also a good portrait of a negro boy laughing--great youngster....The victrola kept him awake and kept his feet patting the floor the last time he posed--before that when he posed he could not keep awake--I had him sitting like the prince of Africa in one of Mrs Richmond's beautiful high backed chairs, but he could not keep up the state of prince--fell into a deep sleep...He went to

sleep and I painted him so the picture might well be called the "Failure of Sylvester."

In all three paintings, Henri limited the range of tonalities to dark hues, using green blues, browns, grays, and blacks with the exception of the glaring whiteness of the boy's shirt, his teeth, and his eyes, which made for a dramatic composition. Henri showed the second rendition, Sylvester, in the 1914 exhibition at the Museum in Los Angeles and in the New York exhibition at Macbeth Gallery. In Los Angeles, though the critic generally praised the work, from a late twentieth-century perspective, the racially-charged language of the description colors the tone of the review:

"Sylvester," that happy-go-lucky grinning nigger boy, wears the proud and sonorous sobriquet of Sylvester Cunningham Smith on State occasions. This is not such a time, however, for he has been painted in his shirt-sleeves--and those sleeves are as cleverly done as anything on the wall. The head, too is laid in with superb ease, from woolly pate to the lit curled back and showing its dusky coral inner coast. Frans Hals might have done "Sylvester" and been proud of the achievement. The blue-black background, however, fine as it is by itself, doesn't suit the warm duskiness of Sylvester nor his white shirt. Had the background

been lighter in tone, however, how magnificently that grinning face, so alive, would have framed against it to challenge you from the other end of the long gallery.⁷¹

Henri's use of monochromatic color was misunderstood by the writer. At times, especially from some of his portraits that date c. 1902-1904, Henri frequently and intentionally painted dark subjects against dark backgrounds in some of his most accomplished portraits, including such works as Self-Portrait (1903; Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery), Portrait of John Sloan (1904; Corcoran Gallery of Art), and Portrait of W.J. Glackens, (1904; Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery).⁷² As is also evident in the likenesses of Sylvester, the artistic device of employing dark on dark tones instills a dramatic dynamism to Henri's portraits by highlighting the sitter's features.

On September 15th, Henri wrote to his mother from La Jolla: "...had to get back on acc[ount] of work tomorrow-- got some Indians to pose in San Diego and must not loose [sic] the chance."⁷³ Towards the end of his visit, Henri finally succeeded in finding a group of Native Americans in San Diego who were of the Tewa tribe who were able to pose for him which resulted in eight additional subjects, both men and women that he depicted in fourteen portraits.⁷⁴ Henri's record book notations often include the model who sat for each portrait, at times recording both their

Hispanic and Indian names, reflecting the mixed cultural heritage of the region. The subjects he represented include Yen Tsidi (Ground Sparrow), Povi Tamo (Dawn Flower)(Alfoncita), Tsi Ping (Agate Mountain), Po Tse (Water Eagle), Tom Po Qui (Water of Antelope Lake)(Ramoncita), On Wi Taa (By the Painted Rocks)(Crecencio), Juan Cruz, Florentino, and Julian.⁷⁵

The portraits of the Asian Americans and the Indian subjects that Henri executed towards the end of the California trip, surpass the richly saturated tonalities he had used in the initial portraits he had undertaken that season. Representing a departure from his previous palette, he employs more conspicuously brilliant and unconventional juxtapositions of hues.

The second group of paintings is best illustrated by Henri's most important early Indian portrait, Po Tse (Water Eagle) (collection of Kathleen and Gerald Peters, fig. 3-12), an image depicting a Tewa Indian named Julian, who modeled for at least five portraits.⁷⁶ Henri exhibited Po Tse (Water Eagle) in the 1914 Macbeth Gallery exhibition and included it among the six works he presented at the Panama-California Exposition, first in San Diego in 1915 and then in the traveling show held at the museum in Los Angeles in 1916. In his early Native-American portraits, exemplified by Po Tse (Water Eagle), Henri tended to emphasize the exotic nature of the Indian subjects by presenting them as

ethnic "types" of a foreign culture. In the second group of portraits, he highlighted their exotic and colorful Native American costumes, blankets, feathered headdresses, against brilliant background colors; these portraits were more decorative and flamboyant. This was noted by the critics and raised the issue of Henri depicting the Native people with the viewpoint of a tourist and an outsider to this world:

There is, frankly, for all but superficial eyes, a touch of tourist painting about this work. Some of the paintings, such for example, as Po Tse...are incredibly obvious. The characterization is strangely generalized..with all the points the tourists look for noted with phenomenal skill....They will please enormously those from whom their remarkable skill hides the glittering thinness of characterization."⁷

In Po Tse, Henri does not affect as penetrating a psychological portrait as in later Santa Fe portraits he painted of Native Americans. Instead, he concentrates on the novelty of visible characteristics in the facial features and ethnic garb with careful attention to detail.

Henri's ongoing quest for Indian models was a recurrent theme in his letters that summer. In September, he wrote to his friend Helen Niles:

We have been having a good and busy summer. Have

painted a good many Indians, Mexicans, Chinese &
 found it all mighty interesting....we have had a
 first rate time....I've been working as usual very
 hard and have some things I think good....I don't
 know when we will start back. I am now on the
 trail of some fine Indians and if I land them I
 will have a good season of work...⁷⁹

The unusual multi-cultural character of Southern California
 featuring the melding of Asian-, Hispanic-, and Native-
 American cultures proved to be interesting and stimulating
 to Henri as illustrated by the variety of subjects he
 depicted. The diversity of the region had a strong appeal to
 him, and was also likely reflected in his later attachment
 to Santa Fe.

Though primarily a portrait painter, Henri would
 typically execute a few landscapes when he would reach a new
 locale, as he did in California. In July, he remarked that
 "I have done nothing in landscape altho [sic] the landscape
 is very fine."⁸⁰ During the course of his time in
 California, Henri listed ten landscapes in his record book,
 though only six were of substantial dimensions, one of which
 was exhibited in the 1914 Los Angeles show and another was
 given to a friend in La Jolla, Mrs. Dean.⁸¹ As noted in the
 artist's record book, these scenes appear to record the
 stunning topography and beauty of the La Jolla bluffs and
 beach. Of the landscape subjects Henri did in California,

only five appear to be extant, though none have been located.⁸¹

Henri completed his summer's work with two sketches, one of his friend Alice Klauber, which he painted in her San Diego studio but subsequently destroyed, and a sketchy study of a young model, Mukie (San Diego Museum of Art), which he presented to Alice Klauber.⁸² As he noted to another friend and former student, Helen Niles, he had reached the end of the summer when:

At last I got tired and then things began to get important back here in New York and suddenly as usual I knew that my summers work was over--didn't even want to use the model planned for next day--began packing.⁸³

He promptly left California and returned by a strenuous railroad trip at the end of September. Henri had been apparently contemplating stopping off to visit Santa Fe on his return trip East. However, from San Diego in early October, Edgar Hewett wrote Paul Walter at the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe that Henri would be unable to stop there this time, but that he had made up his mind to come to Santa Fe next summer. He also noted that Henri was one of the "big men in art of this country, and...the world."⁸⁴ The return home from the West was arduous, and Henri observed that: "Trans-Continental RR trip is a horrible experience...and its only because there are some

very fine things out west there--in places--that I may feel like making the long journey again."³⁵ The distance and ordeal in traveling there certainly made visiting the Southwest difficult and it was in fact two years before he again undertook such a long trip to visit.

Although Henri's summer was fruitful in terms of work, and he and Marjorie enjoyed southern California, they were both disappointed in the overall lack of character of the region's people. Henri remarked that "...there seems to be little romance in the nature of these people of southern California...there is something in the air here that dries up and shrivels nature just as it does the skin."³⁶ Yet, later in the fall, he expressed appreciation to Alice Klauber for inspiring them to make the trip to California and for making:

...a wonderfully fine summers work possible for me. It was a wonderful summer and I think there is somewhat of its spirit reflected in the work I did.³⁷

And by March of 1916, Henri was recalling San Diego with great fondness, noting that:

I have been just about to write many times. I wish we had a bit of San Diego here these days. Its [sic] a blizzard outside...and the light is bad for work....We look back on our visit to San Diego with a great deal of pleasure. Physically

and spiritually San Diego stands as a bright spot in our memory."⁸⁸

Henri's dissatisfaction with the temperament of southern Californians, did not, however, compromise the overall quality of his California production.

In 1917, Henri turned down an invitation from Alice Klauber to stop at Richmond Court, their residence in La Jolla, after they left Santa Fe to return to New York. Henri noted that "your letter from La Jolla has a great call in it and I wish we could come back...",⁸⁹ though commitments in New York in the winter made it necessary for them to return directly. Henri did not return to California for any extended duration, though he did revisit Los Angeles twice to undertake portrait commissions, in 1922 and 1925.

Henri's visit to California was productive and resulted in eighty-four works over the course of nearly four months. His output was not as copious as on the subsequent 1916 and 1917 visits to Santa Fe, but it represented a substantial season's work.⁹⁰ The trip to California trip has received little scholarly attention and the body of work Henri executed there has been generally overlooked and underestimated.⁹¹ As typical of his production, he painted many more portraits of female models than male ones, and pursuant to his interests, he executed more portraits of Native-Americans, than of Hispanics or Asians.⁹²

One of Henri's most creative periods commenced while in

California; there he generated some of the most original and experimental portrait work of his career. The portraits he produced of the young Asian-American girls, Jim Lee, and Sylvester, are some of his most engaging efforts, the result of fully matured artistic skills when he was approaching a new zenith in his career. Upon arriving in La Jolla, Henri's work underwent a sharp visual departure from previous efforts; the most prominent features being an unorthodox use of brighter tonalities and unconventional new portrait subjects. The California work includes his first representations of Native Americans, in which he attempted to avoid the conventions of much other Indian portraiture. Stylistically and thematically, in coloration, subject matter, and stylistic execution, the canvases he painted in California foretell the path he would follow in his later Southwestern work.

Henri's California period marks the advent of a newly distinct style; his work there was divested of the last vestiges of influence from Manet, Hals, and Velázquez, and freed of historical reference. Critically, the California portraits elicited approval and were enthusiastically received; they were recognized as the most artistically inventive and advanced work that he had executed. When exhibited in both the East and the West, the compelling nature of these Southern California portraits was noted by

art writers on both coasts, and it was asserted that he was producing some of his finest work to date.

Henri was invited to hold an exhibition of his work in 1914 at the Museum of History, Science, and Art in Los Angeles by the director, Everett C. Maxwell. It was in this exhibition, with fourteen recent canvases, held in September of 1914, that he first publicly presented the artistic results of his summer in California.⁹³ Henri appeared pleased with the representation of his work and remarked to his mother that

The gallery is a fine big one and the pictures are well spaced--in the best end of the gallery. They looked strong and brilliant in color....there was only one change to be made before they were hung up. When they were hung up the effect was very satisfactory.⁹⁴

Brimming with confidence, Henri assessed his own summer's efforts after returning to New York: "I worked out there at top energy, worked everyday practically all my waking day,"⁹⁵ and he also affirmed that he too thought it among the best work he had done.⁹⁶

When his work was exhibited in California, Henri was deemed a "modern" painter and his use of brilliantly colored backgrounds repeatedly evoked comment. The unusual coloration was the most prominent trait in these paintings and drew the only negative reaction:

As attractive schemes of color, his backgrounds are often amazingly clever, strikingly beautiful, but they do not always agree with any pictorial portrait scheme--if he has one. Often they are absolutely irrelevant, at utter variance with the subject in hand, without quality--and at times they are not even clean and pure color, as in the portrait of the vegetable man...⁹⁷

However, major local reviews of the Los Angeles exhibition urged artists and the public to visit and study the works, which were described as of "splendid quality" and "the most interesting portraits you have seen for some time."⁹⁸

Everett C. Maxwell, the museum's director and a writer, later commented that "I think no one will dispute my statement that no single exhibit in our local art history aroused so much interest or challenged so high a standard of critical comparison."⁹⁹ In the journal Arts & Decoration, a publication with a national distribution, a review reported that the thirteen portraits Henri exhibited at the Los Angeles museum "created a great deal of interest."¹⁰⁰

On the heels of the Los Angeles exhibition, William Macbeth of the Macbeth Gallery, New York, expressed interest in holding a one-person exhibition of Henri's new work in his gallery. Due to the limited availability of Henri's canvases (works were already committed to both the San Diego and San Francisco Expositions, which ran for the entire year

of 1915), the exhibition included thirteen paintings, and was scheduled for November 17-December 7, 1914.¹⁰² Many of the same works that were shown in Los Angeles were also presented in New York; however, several alternate portraits were selected, and this show did not include any landscapes.¹⁰³ The exhibition drew media attention and was extensively reviewed by notable critics including Royal Cortissoz, Henry McBride, and Frank Jewett Mather.

The works were widely praised for their realism and sense of immediacy; their originality also generated comment. Royal Cortissoz stated that the work was "done with more than his usual directness and vitality..." and that the artist had "made a great forward stride."¹⁰³ The notices that appeared in the New York Herald, The New York Press, and The Evening Post, all indicated that this selection represented the finest work Henri had ever exhibited.¹⁰⁴ One perceptive New York writer, William B. M'Cormick, remarked on the uniqueness of the work:

They represent the extraordinary mixture of races that dwell along "the Coast"...and which, curiously enough, none of our painters who have gone West and come back again have thought to picture....Mr. Henri has selected Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, and painted them with a mastery of his medium and revelation of personality that far surpasses anything even he has done

before....The bravura that was Velasquez and the humor that was Hals have passed from Mr. Henri's work within the last year and his art has assumed a phase more solidly brilliant than anything that has gone before. What is left is something infinitely finer, graver, more wonderful in color and in technique.¹⁰⁵

Notices written by Frank Jewett Mather, Henri McBride, and Guy Pène du Bois, embodied the more negative critical views of Henri's work. Mather complained that the artist hid behind his skill:

Extremely effective and destined certainly to be among Mr. Henri's most popular work, they illustrate his striking facility much more favorably than they reveal his vision. That is why the sense of exhilaration, awakened on going into the gallery, is finally replaced by one of disappointment, a disappointment that comes only in the presence of work in which the standard of virtuosity is above the quality of vision.¹⁰⁶

McBride's review generally agreed with that of Mather, though he conceded that the California works were the strongest that Henri has shown for some years, and that they would also likely be popular with the public.¹⁰⁷ However, du Bois, Henri's former student, friend and supporter, offered the most forceful attack on the later work, declaring:

He becomes a technician. He paints a hundred heads in a year--children for the most part--and work, as though against his will he were forced to be an ethnologist, on Chinese, Indian and Negro physiognomies with no particular interest...Perhaps we seek in art an escape from life rather than a recollection of it.¹⁰⁷

du Bois' objection to Henri's later efforts mirrored some of the other criticisms of his Southwestern portraits, which were seen as exhibiting characterizations that were too superficial, as if he were merely exercising his painting skills.

Henri himself was again pleased by the tremendous response to the exhibition at Macbeth's, even though some reactions were less than enthusiastic. The intensity of Henri's new palette in this work did not create as much controversy with the New York critics perhaps owing to their exposure to modernist painting already seen for a number of years at Alfred Stieglitz's gallery "291" and at the 1913 Armory Show. He related to Alice Klauber that the exhibition is:

...drawing a heavy attendance and that there has been enthusiastic appreciators some who plunge right in and some who draw their swords. With the press there has been full and plenty said already. They are about equally divided as to whether I get

under the skin or whether I stay with technical brilliancy on the outside of it. They are so far so equally balanced on this question that the observer seeking guide can choose as he wishes...But of course the main thing is that many people are going to the show and a percentage at least...are judging...for themselves which is what I want them to do whichever way they go.¹⁰⁹

Throughout his career, Henri always sought and valued publicity, despite the point of view. He was also immensely adept at attaining press coverage as evidenced by the media blitz he orchestrated for the 1908 exhibition of *The Eight* at New York's Macbeth Galleries. He appeared to care little for the critical opinions, yet at the same time, he depended on resulting sales for additional income, as he related to Alice Klauber:

My show at Macbeth's closes today. It has certainly created its stir and has made friends and enemys [sic]. The attendance was very large. I don't know yet how financial the outcome is. I am hoping that that will be sufficient for my needs.¹¹⁰

Though his work created a strong response in the press, Henri failed to sell any of the work from the Macbeth exhibition. In fact, the only California work, besides The Beach Hat, that Henri sold during his lifetime was Tam Gan,

which was purchased by the Buffalo Museum of Fine Art (now the Albright-Knox Art Gallery) in September of 1915.¹¹¹

However, as the artist noted, the war years took a great toll all around on sales of artwork.¹¹²

In addition to his other exhibition activities, Henri developed an exhibition circuit, which was a useful means of introducing an artist's recent work to a wider audience. These exhibition venues, which presented the shows for a period of about two weeks, were generally presented in a city's art museum, but could also be held in libraries, exhibition halls or other civic spaces. In addition to his other exhibition commitments, Henri featured a number of his California portraits in the exhibition circuit of 1915 and 1916. The works he included in the 1915 circuit were Chow Choy, Ramon, Indian Girl, Machu, Jim Lee, and Chinese Girl with Fan. He later added an additional Native-American portrait, the Profile of Tom Po Qui, to a 1915-16 mid-western tour.¹¹³

Henri's other exhibition activities included a major role in the 1915 San Diego Panama-California Exposition and minor involvement in the 1915 San Francisco Panama-Pacific Exposition. The central theme of both expositions was the celebration of the historic and symbolic aspects of the opening of the Panama Canal which represented, as one article stated, "...a triumph of man over nature, a linking of the East and the West, a new step towards national unity,

a new act of national expansion."¹¹⁴

The San Diego Exposition was conceived on a more modest scale than the San Francisco Exposition, which turned into a vast international enterprise. However, it appears that San Diego first originated the idea of an exposition 1909, six months before San Francisco began to realize the possibilities of such a venture. After San Francisco entered the exposition market, the San Diego organizers decided to emphasize quality rather than size and endeavored to complement the larger undertaking.¹¹⁵ The principal aim of the San Diego Exposition was to present a view of the Central and South Americas with emphasis on Southwestern history, art, industrial developments, and culture.¹¹⁶ The site selected for the fair in San Diego was Balboa Park, just north of center city. The Exposition had a strong architectural emphasis, and the design of the buildings was a key component of the unified scheme, which was the creation of New York architect Bertram G. Goodhue. The whole project was a paradigm of architectural planning, and the particular significance of the Exposition was its wide introduction of the Spanish Colonial architectural style. The San Diego Exposition opened on midnight of December 31, 1914 and ran until midnight of December 31, 1915.

In retrospect, the concurrent presentation of expositions in San Diego and San Francisco was bound to create confusion, and did not ultimately well serve San

Diego. From a late twentieth-century perspective, the Panama-California Exposition is little more than a footnote and has been often confused with the Panama-Pacific Exposition, if not even entirely overlooked. In terms of far-reaching international publicity, the immense scale and breadth of the San Francisco fair eclipsed the more intimate conception of the one in San Diego. The current view of the Panama-California Exposition held that "the overwhelming competition from the San Francisco Exposition drowned out the appeal of the smaller fair. The similarity in names of the cities and the Expositions worked to the disadvantage of San Diego."¹¹⁷ However, in evaluating the contemporary critical sentiment of the fair at the time, it appears that the San Diego Exposition held up favorably in comparison to San Francisco. The limited size and scope offered educational advantages and combined with the beauty of the physical environment, both the landscaping and architecture, provided a more rewarding visitor experience. The experience of visiting the San Diego Exposition was evaluated by William Templeton Johnson:

The visitor at the San Diego Exposition will not be appalled by colossal bigness and leave exhausted, but rather he will be rested and inspired by the quiet beauty and harmony of one of the most successful examples of group planning which has ever been evolved.¹¹⁸

During a tour in July 1914, prior to its opening, Henri was also struck by the physical beauty and significant potential of the fair even in its preliminary state of construction.¹³³ Through the introduction of Alice Klauber, he was able to preview the Exposition with Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, the Director of the School of American Archeology (later known as the School of American Research) and the Museum of New Mexico, and an ethnologist, who was placed in charge of the art to be included in the 1915 San Diego Exposition. Hewett surely knew of Henri from his national reputation in addition to the strong recommendation of Alice Klauber. Henri tended to form a loyal following among former students who often later became friends and faithful acolytes and promoted their mentor even many years later, as in the case of Klauber. Henri's status in the art world must have impressed Edgar Hewett who likely saw the potential of Henri's involvement as an opportunity to draw publicity and public attention to the fair's art exhibition. For it was upon their first meeting that Hewett promptly enlisted Henri's assistance in locating artwork for an exhibition of contemporary art to be included in the Exposition.¹³⁴ The admiration was reciprocated by Henri, and a friendship evolved that would be important to both men. He wrote of Hewett to his mother:

He is a fine man with big ideas and his part of the show will be rarely fine. He wants me to help

him in regard to the exhibition of a small group of American art of today--he is coming out here to see me tomorrow afternoon at 5 P.M. when I will give him the information he desires.¹²¹

Two days later he wrote the first of an extensive series of letters to Hewett and Klauber (who chaired the Exposition's Fine Arts Committee) replete with great detail offering advice on arrangements, general organizational assistance, suggestions about installation, and contacting artists.

On July 29th, Henri sent Hewett a list of names and addresses of twelve artists and suggested that five works be requested from each.¹²² Hewett notified Henri that the exhibition plan was moving ahead and that the letters inviting the artists to participate went out on October 10th.¹²³ The formal letter inviting the participation of the twelve artists was sent out by the president of the Panama-California Exposition and requested from two to six examples of each artist's strongest work.¹²⁴ Henri was also concerned about confusion arising between the two Expositions on the part of the invited artists. He indicated that he would be involved in persuading the artists to participate:

I shall be as active in the matter as possible.

They [the artists] need to know the importance of the exhibition, some of them do not know even, that there is a San Diego Exposition, linking generally what they hear of it to the San

Francisco Exposition and giving the latter credit for the whole.¹²⁵

Through Henri's perseverance, almost total participation was obtained from the twelve artists invited to show. The final group whose works were presented at the Panama-California Exposition in the Fine Arts Building, located on the main quadrangle of the fair, included eleven contemporary artists: George Luks, Joseph Henry Sharp, Maurice Prendergast, William Glackens, Carl Sprinchorn, Guy Pène du Bois, John Sloan, Childe Hassam, Ernest Lawson, George Bellows, and Henri himself.¹²⁶

An invitation to Arthur B. Davies was extended, but Henri seemed to anticipate a negative answer when he noted that "I shall be sorry if he is not represented."¹²⁷ He also feared Davies' would influence others, especially Prendergast, and he expressed concern to Hewett that

Prendergast wrote me that he would send two [paintings]. He said the two in question were now in Davies' studio in New York. I do not know if Davies will influence him...he is a remarkable artist very unlike any others.¹²⁸

Aware of Henri's involvement in the Panama-California exhibition and due to the past ill will between them that culminated with Davies's role in the Armory Show, Davies's terse response to the formal overture made by G.A. Davidson, President of the San Diego Exposition, was: "regret I cannot

go in the Robert Henri pool with you."¹²⁹ Henri's fears about Prendergast were, however, unfounded as Prendergast did send the two works he had agreed to lend.¹³⁰

From a contemporary perspective, the artists Henri chose to represent contemporary American art included some idiosyncratic selections, but it is difficult to assess Henri's perspective from a modern vantage point. He noted that these artists "are all very important men...and their works are sufficiently varied to make each picture a new and valuable note in the ensemble."¹³¹ In explaining the selection process to Alice Klauber, he stated that:

Of course we have not thrown open space to but a single group decided upon by ourselves. The members happen however to be men, who on former or on like occasion have or would choose each other-- It will at any rate be a group exhibition demonstration from point of view of unity, fitness, etc.¹³²

Henri made it seem that there had been a democratic selection process, when in fact it had been his own choices that reflected longstanding loyalties to colleagues, old friends, and former students. He appeared to enjoy the role of mentor and often offered support and maintained friendships with artists who had formerly studied with him. Bellows was his most well-known and gifted protege, and he regarded his former student, Sprinchorn, as an artist of

exceptional talent. One selection that appears incongruous in comparison to the others was that of Joseph Henry Sharp. It has been stated that he was a later substitution for Arthur B. Davies when he turned down the request to show in the Exposition.¹³³ In fact, Sharp, the only Western artist to be included, was among the initial invitees, and Henri must have had a closer association or particular regard for him than has been previously recognized.¹³⁴

As well as the selections for the exhibition, Henri also became intensely involved in the physical presentation of the exhibition. Hewett had indicated to Henri that "we want to make this gallery a gem, and I shall appreciate any further suggestions you may have to make."¹³⁵ In a number of letters to Hewett, Henri voiced concerns about the show and outlined ideas about the installation and arrangement of paintings in the gallery. He recommended a choice selection of paintings, and wanted the show to offer a refined visual effect:

I still hold however to the idea of a broad spacing between the pictures--a small collection with plenty of space so that each picture will stand as a thing apart. Its a chance to have a beautiful and artistic presentation of pictures.¹³⁶

He was greatly concerned with the spacing of the paintings in the gallery, repeatedly intoning that each work should have enough room to be seen properly. In October he sent a

missive to Hewett:

I am hoping that in no case the exhibition will become crowded. In fact a part of my presentation of the matter to the artists has been the one line and wide space between pictures plan.¹³⁷

This approach to installation was in reaction to the National Academy shows where works were hung salon-style, and those considered to be of a less desirable nature were "skied." This philosophy went counter to Henri's egalitarian outlook. He also contributed ideas about exhibition design that included wall color and border patterns:

A tone, either a color applied or some drawing as a background to the pictures...The background extended from floor to say 12 or 13 feet high there bordered with green leaf garland--and above the wall remain the color it is. The introduction of the live green would add a charm and connect in a sense with the gardens without and judiciously applied could only help the effect of the pictures.¹³⁸

The suggestion of decorative details would seem atypical for Henri, who generally believed in not deflecting attention away from the art. However, cognizant of popular appeal and a master of publicity, he must have believed in the importance of such measures.

Henri was, of course, not able to view the final result of his efforts since he left for New York at the end of September, and the fair commenced on January 1st of the new year. He had depleted his creative energy for the season and needed to finalize arrangements for his November one-person exhibition in New York. Hewett had hoped to have Henri stop and visit Santa Fe on his way back from California, but plans for the Macbeth Gallery exhibition made his prompt return to New York a necessity.¹³⁹

Despite all of Henri's expended effort towards the planning and organization of the exhibition of the contemporary American artists, he received no public recognition of his efforts, which was in accordance with his wishes, as he informed Klauber:

I hope when the announcements for the San Diego show get out in the press there will be no special mention of the part I have played in forming the group as what would in a sense feature me and my desire is to have all the exhibitors presented on an equal plane with no more attention called to one than to another---This of course I have said before but perhaps it would be well to recall to Dr. Hewett again my feeling in this matter.¹⁴⁰

Alice Klauber was appointed Chairman of the Fine Arts Committee and Edgar Hewett was also listed as a member of the committee, though Henri was not named anywhere in the

official publications.¹⁴¹ In press notices, Hewett was the acknowledged director of art exhibitions, and was credited as the planner, though it was noted that "the eleven modern American painters are here through a sort of process of natural selection, and not through sheer merit alone."¹⁴² However, in the letter from the president of the Exposition that went out to the artists invited to participate, it was stated that "every detail of this proposed exhibition has been considered with Mr. Robert Henri..."¹⁴³ Therefore, the artists knew of Henri's voice in the selection process for the exhibition.

Henri showed six of his own paintings in the Panama-California Exposition. Hewett had requested he send Tom Po Qui (Water of Antelope Lake) and Po Tse (Water Eagle), two of his California subjects,¹⁴⁴ and he included four child portraits painted in 1913 during his first trip to Achill Island, Ireland. The four Irish works he initially proposed sending were Irish Lad, Irish Lass, Pat, and Sis. He later substituted Mary O'D, also an Irish painting, for Sis, among the final entries.¹⁴⁵ Henri reported to Hewett that

The group I have listed include as you see the two you have particularly asked for. My other four ...are pictures that I particularly like and they have variety and will foil well the two indians.¹⁴⁶

Six works were submitted by John Sloan, George Luks, and Guy

Pène du Bois, Joseph Henry Sharp, as well as Henri. The loans to the Exposition's exhibition were long term, requiring a one-year commitment; this precluded some artists from sending the full number of works requested. William Glackens sent five, George Bellows and Childe Hassam each sent four, Ernest Lawson sent three, Maurice Prendergast submitted two, and Carl Sprinchorn sent one work for the exhibition.¹⁴⁷

A catalogue was produced in conjunction with the exhibition which included an introduction by Arthur Jerome Eddy and a complete listing of the works exhibited by each artist with one reproduction and a biography. Henri remarked to Klauber that

Your catalogue seemed to me a very good one. I wondered at first sight of it if people would not misunderstand the quotation...from Eddy's "Post Impressionism," and mistake the pictures for a post impressionist manifestation rather than ...a perfectly free from "school" collection.¹⁴⁸

In his introduction, Eddy wrote about "Virile-Impressionism," a style of painting that he indicated exhibited realist tendencies, and he inferred that the work included in the exhibition was an extension of this mode of painting.¹⁴⁹ Henri remarked to Klauber that he thought Eddy's notion an interesting one.¹⁵⁰

This exhibition, which was designated as a

representation of contemporary American art, was an unusual one, among many others which were to focus on the arts and culture before Columbus in Central and South America. There were, however, other exhibits of art of the recent past on display in the California Building and the New Mexico Building.¹⁵¹ The publicity for the contemporary American art exhibition was therefore only a single facet of the Exposition presentation and as a result was lost among commentary on the overall program. Christian Brinton noted that the representation of contemporary art did not hold up well against the historical art exhibits, stating that:

On comparing these latter with the canvases devoted to native type and scene by Mr. Robert Henri, Mr. Joseph H. Sharp, and others in the Fine Arts Building, one is forced to conclude that the capacity for pictorial representation has diminished rather than increased with the advent of our latter-day art schools and academies.¹⁵²

The contemporary art exhibition garnered a mixed reception. To the critics it appeared to be inconsistent with the rest of the Exposition's thematic conception. Brinton indicated that the art exhibit represented the weak link in the Exposition:

You can hardly expect perfection, even in such an exposition as that at San Diego, and it is in the choice of paintings...that one may point to

a certain lapse from an otherwise consistently maintained standard. It is not that Mr. Henri and his coterie are not admirable artists. It is simply that they do not fit into what appears to be and in other respects manifestly is a carefully worked-programme.¹⁵³

In the Los Angeles newspaper, the exhibition was criticized for the selection of the art itself in some cases, as well as the New York orientation of the artists:

...a few of the paintings on the walls were atrocious, and I did not understand them in the least...The exhibition is extremely interesting and in parts extremely attractive...and is the efflorescence...of art native to American soil and American atmosphere. At least this distinction is claimed for it...The eleven modern American painters....oddly enough,...live in New York-- which must therefore be considered the most American city in the country. But is it?¹⁵⁴

The work of George Bellows was the most interesting to the Los Angeles writer, while that of Carl Sprinchorn and William Glackens proved the most objectionable. He labeled Glackens a "violent colorist... who has shattered the spectrum and made something of a mess of it. He scraped up all the blue there was, and he applies it with glorious abandon to his portraits and outdoor scenes."¹⁵⁵ He was less

harsh in his evaluation of Henri's work which he called "vital..., spirited and engaging," though he added that while the works were representative of his talent, they were not his best efforts.¹⁵⁶

Unfortunately, coverage of the Exposition's art exhibitions in the San Diego newspapers was negligible. The most laudatory review of the contemporary art exhibit was presented in a San Diego article that exclusively focused on Henri's work. About Po Tse (Water Eagle) and Tom Po Qui (Water of Antelope Lake), the author noted that Henri:

...is expressing to you not only his conception of the man and woman as members of a race, but the brilliancy and splendor of the atmosphere in which they live. He sees them in a setting of vivid California color, and in their adornment he expresses their reaction toward the free and primitive things. At the same time he indicates the national characteristics of reserve and impassivity. He sees in them the type of the Indian of the particular tribe to which they belong, and he also expresses his personal conception of the abstract human being.¹⁵⁷

The Native American portraits often elicited a more powerful response than even the consistently popular Irish portraits when publicly shown.

A letter from Henri to Klauber in August, indicates

that Everett Maxwell, of the Los Angeles museum, was interested in exhibiting the San Diego Exposition show of contemporary art at his institution.¹⁵⁸ In fact, the show was displayed at the museum in Los Angeles in a fairly complete recreation of the Exposition show that ran from January 18 to February 1, 1916, after the close of the San Diego presentation, with only one painting by Luks and four by Sharp missing.¹⁵⁹ The show also travelled to other cities including Seattle and Spokane.¹⁶⁰ While the art exhibition of the San Diego Exposition and its subsequent tour was fairly staid by eastern standards, it was actually among the earliest modern art exhibitions to be presented in the West.

When the exhibition was shown in Los Angeles, the same writer reevaluated the presentation, and again urged the public to visit to show and "...revive your pleasure--or discontent, for much of modern art compels us to take our pleasures sadly."¹⁶¹ Henri fared somewhat better in this second review which stated that his work was "very vital, though some of their passages have been painted by formula....Cleverness...is this painter's besetting sin, a too close concern with paint for its own sake."¹⁶² Yet, in a comparison between the work of Sharp and Henri and "the Expressionists," he remarked that

the expressionists have the advantage. You will see that they make things live, breathe and move. They have many faults, but they have the supreme

merit of life. Sharp's Indians are impeccably drawn, are nobly and even poetically felt and expressed, but they seem a trifle tame beside Henri's.

The critic promulgated the view that Sharp, though his work was excellent, did not fit in with "the New York men."

Henri was involved only in the selection of the contemporary art exhibition, which was a single component of the fine arts exhibits presented at the San Diego Exposition. In addition to the contemporary exhibit, there were many displays of ancient art and artifacts of various Pre-Columbian cultures, mural installations, a number by the New Mexico artists Gerald Cassidy and Carlos Vierra among others, and other painting exhibitions, notably representations of artists resident to Southern California and New Mexico. The exhibit of California artists was presented on the second floor of the Southern California building, and the works by New Mexican artists were shown in the New Mexico Building.

The 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition, held in San Francisco, was an enormous undertaking, and far surpassed in size and scope that of San Diego. While it was also a celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal, it contained a much wider variety of exhibits, including an immense international art exhibition devoted to the development of easel painting since its inception that included a strong

representation of American artists. Eugen Neuhaus, in his critical review of the Exposition remarked: "We are the hosts to the art of the world. Our own art is the newest, and yet occupies a large number of galleries most conspicuously..."¹⁶⁶ In fact, American art occupied nearly one-third of the entire Fine Arts Palace installation.

Henri served on the Advisory Board and Jury for the San Francisco Exposition in addition to his efforts in San Diego.¹⁶⁷ Surprisingly, the organizational arrangements for San Francisco's vast art exhibition seemed to trail behind the planning of San Diego. Henri remarked in September, after plans for the San Diego art show had already crystallized, that "...in regards to the Expo there [San Francisco] I being one of the advisory board, and so far wholly inactive."¹⁶⁸ Aware of the competition from the larger exposition, but making an effort to avoid favoritism, he expressed concern that the San Francisco Exposition be as well represented by the artists included in the San Diego Exposition as possible. He wrote to Klauber that:

There will now be some rivalry on the part of the San F. [sic] They know all about our San Diego ex. and there may be an effort at deflection of interest--in other words important canvases. I am anxious for the San Francisco Ex. to have as fine representation as possible...but I do not want the later San F. invitations to infringe on what San

D. has already done.¹⁷⁷

Due to the enormity of the San Francisco Fair, there was little need for concern, as its size, diversity, attendance, and extensive publicity made it the premier event.

Henri was represented in the San Francisco Exposition with seven paintings that included a variety of themes. He noted to Edgar Hewett that "I intend that my two exhibits, the one in San Diego and the one in San Francisco shall as nearly balance each other as possible."¹⁷⁸ In San Diego, his works were installed in gallery fifty-one. Two of the submissions were works he had executed the year before in California; both were portraits of females--one of an Asian-American and the other of a Native-American, Chinese Lady and Yen Tsidi (Ground Sparrow). His other entries included two Irish portraits of an older man and his wife: Himself and Herself, which were painted during Henri's first trip to Ireland in 1913. The remaining three entries depicted female subjects: Odalisque, Lady in Black (1904), and Blue Kimona (1909).

Henri was honored with a silver medal, though awards were plentifully bestowed on many at the fair.¹⁷⁹ He noted in August that:

I have heard, altho [sic] I have no official account of it that I rec'd a silver medal at the San Francisco fair, which if its [sic] true is part of my price of independence--if I were not

independent I should have a gold medal--I prefer independence.¹¹²

His outspoken and rebellious stance on artistic matters first came to public attention shortly after the turn of the century. Henri seemed to believe that his consistent and ongoing criticism of the National Academy, juried exhibitions, art prizes, and his promotion of emerging artists contributed to his lesser medal award. He also may have suffered an additional slight. As an elder statesman, though he had already achieved an established position of stature within the artistic community, he was not among the artists selected for one-man rooms in the San Francisco Exposition; American artists who were honored with their own galleries were: James McNeill Whistler, John Henry Twachtman, Joseph Tarbell, Edward Redfield, Frank Duveneck, William Merritt Chase, Childe Hassam, Gari Melchers, John Singer Sargent, and William Keith, who tended to be of an older generation and were stylistically inclined towards Impressionism; none represented a revolutionary position as had Henri.

The San Francisco art fair's wide scope and the sheer number of exhibiting artists precluded much publicity for Henri's individual entries, though it was noted in the catalogue that

In the work of Henri, Sloan, Glackens, Homer Boss, George Bellows...and Randall Davey there is

reflected something of that clear discerning intellectuality which is one of the characteristics of the Modern American.¹²³

Henri's pictures were grouped with those artists who were his friends and with whom he had shown in other exhibitions.

It is surprising that by as late as 1915, the critical view of Henri's work (as well as that of his circle) was perceived as being intensely modern and avant-garde when presented in the West. The Los Angeles critic who wrote of the San Diego Exposition painting show, as well as Eugen Neuhaus, impugned the work of Glackens and Henri. Neuhaus' assessment of Gallery fifty-one, which contained the work of Henri, Glackens, Arthur B. Carles, and Hugh Henry Breckenridge, singled out Henri and Glackens' work as radical, noting:

This magnetic collection comes somewhat as a shock to the public, who can't be blamed for its disapproval of the recent sensational experiments of Henri and Glackens.¹²⁴

The Western audience's appreciation for so-called modern art lagged far behind the perception in the East, where back in New York, Henri was no longer seen as a radical and had been already relegated for several years to the artistic mainstream.

While in California, Henri appears to have had little contact with other Southern California painters, with the

exception of the coterie of former pupils who visited him, which included, besides Alice Klauber, Kathleen (Happy) Houlahan of Seattle, Lucie Bayard of New York, and Bert and Meta Cressey of Los Angeles.¹⁷⁶ In 1914, the work produced by many artists in Southern California was mainly in an Impressionist or Post-Impressionist mode.¹⁷⁶ Capitalizing on the bounteous physical attributes of the region, landscapes dominated the output of California painters, which were most often executed *en-plein-air* with high-keyed color and loose brushwork. In figure painting, there was little of note that was produced, and in such cases, it was more oriented towards traditional portraiture, interior scenes with figures, or figures situated in a sunlit landscape in a conventional Impressionist manner. There appear to have been no other artists exploring indigenous people or racial types as Henri had during his time in California. The prevailing art scene in Southern California was still somewhat provincial and conservative because of its distance from the major art capitals,¹⁷⁷ and it was only the year preceding Henri's visit that the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art was completed.

The most preeminent artist residing in the San Diego area during the period spanning Henri's visit was Maurice Braun. Braun had settled in San Diego in 1909 because of his interest in the Theosophical Society, which had been established at Point Loma, and he subsequently founded the

San Diego Academy of Art in 1912. Braun primarily painted landscapes, many depicting the Point Loma area, situated on the western side of the entrance to the bay of San Diego; his landscapes are distinguished by sumptuous coloration and frequently employ rich blue and green tonalities.¹¹⁴ It is, however, doubtful that he had any influence on Henri's landscape work, though Henri probably became familiar with Braun's paintings while residing in the area. Henri was principally based in La Jolla, which is located some distance north of where Braun was working, so they did not necessarily have any contact. There was a one-person exhibition of Braun's work held in San Diego in the winter of 1914 though Henri had already departed the area by the time of its opening. Since none of Henri's California landscapes have been located, it is difficult to fully assess the similarities between the two artists' works, however, from the record book sketches, the style and palettes appear dissimilar.

In its artistic development, San Diego lagged behind Los Angeles, its larger nearby neighbor.¹¹⁵ William Wendt, George Gardner Symons, and Granville Redmond, were among the leading California Impressionists based in the Los Angeles area. All specialized in landscape subjects executed in vivid sun-drenched palettes. Henri's California landscapes, if any indeed are extant, are not available for comparison so the extent of similarities to the work of other landscape

painters cannot be assessed.

Henrietta Shore, a former Henri student from New York's Art Students League, also settled in Los Angeles, though she arrived the year following Henri's visit to California. Her work, which could include figures, was executed in a more Post-Impressionist style and had little stylistic resemblance to that of her former instructor. She achieved regional critical success, showing in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, and was active in the Los Angeles Modern Art Society, as was Helena Dunlap, another figurative painter. Shore and Dunlap became part of the growing modernist tradition that began to develop just after the time that Henri was in California.¹⁸⁰ The same could be said of the work of Rex Slinkard, another former Henri student from New York, who was also working in Los Angeles. He employed a unique style of symbolic modernism in his paintings that however, demonstrates little connection to the artistic style of his teacher.

Portraiture was Henri's major interest and constituted the majority of his California production, however, it appears doubtful that he found significant influences in any of the artists working in California. The most prominent figure painter in Los Angeles at the time was Jean Mannheim, but his conservative and more academic approach, which often depicted figures set into landscape compositions, bore no likeness to Henri's work.

The work of figure or portrait painters in Southern California was generally more traditional and exhibited few significant similarities to Henri's pursuit of ethnic types in portraiture. Both the San Diego and Los Angeles art communities underwent rapid expansion as part of a general cultural boom in the ensuing years after Henri's 1914 visit there.

Henri spent little of his time in California in the cities of San Diego or Los Angeles. During his summers away from New York, he attempted to take full advantage of the locale he selected and would devote himself to painting. He visited San Diego on his arrival and later toured the grounds of the Panama-California Exposition on a subsequent visit. He spent some additional time there, but it was for the purpose of securing subjects to pose for him. He was in Los Angeles for an even shorter duration; he stopped in the city on his arrival and departure from California, and visited there only on several brief occasions. He made one overnight stay during which he met with Everett C. Maxwell, director of the Los Angeles museum, to check on the installation of his one-person museum show.¹³¹

By this point in Henri's career he remained largely unaffected by the work of other artists he encountered. In the earlier years, he had looked to the Old Masters, and then came to develop his own style. After that point he rarely absorbed contemporary influences from other artists

as he had a staunch belief in his own artistic convictions.¹²² The local Southern California art scene therefore had no discernable enduring impact on his work.

When Henri returned to New York from California at the end of September he essentially left behind the Southwestern subjects and influence. This was typical of the artist's working method after his peripatetic summer sojourns. In New York over the course of 1915, Henri began experimenting with even more brilliant tonalities as well as new compositional forms. He produced numerous female figures, both nude and clothed, reclining and upright, such as Edna (Los Angeles County Museum of Art); Edna Smith (private collection); Edna Smith (The Regis Collection, Minneapolis), Viv, New York, and he began the most important portrait commission of his career, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney) (1915-16, Whitney Museum of American Art), who was a patron of the arts and had founded the Whitney Studio Club, later the Whitney Museum of American Art.

Edgar Hewett played a pivotal role in making Robert Henri an artist of the Southwest which culminated in his subsequent trips to New Mexico. Though it was Alice Klauber who served as the catalyst by first luring Henri to the Southwest with a visit to Southern California, it was Hewett who initially suggested to Henri, during the summer of 1914, the idea of coming to Santa Fe to paint. Learning of Henri's keen

interest in the culture of the Native Americans and his desire to render Indian subjects, Hewett strongly urged him to come to Santa Fe as his guest. The work Henri generated while visiting La Jolla and San Diego during the summer of 1914 foreshadowed his later Southwestern efforts that resulted from the later sojourns he made to Santa Fe in 1916, 1917, and 1922.

NOTES

1. Henri's visit to California remains largely unexplored with the exception of Martin E. Petersen, "Henri's California Visit," Fine Art Source Material Newsletter, I (February 1971), pp. 27-33, 41-42.
2. For more on the Armory Show, see Walt Kuhn, The Story of the Armory Show (New York: Walt Kuhn, 1938) and Milton W. Brown, The Story of the Armory Show (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988). For more on Henri's role in this important event, see Brown, The Story of the Armory Show, pp. 225-30.
3. Henri to Alice Klauber (20 November 1912; 30 December 1912), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive. Klauber had been one of the art students who accompanied Henri when he took a class to Spain in the summer of 1912; their correspondence followed in the winter of that year.
4. Henri to Alice Klauber (11 March 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
5. Ibid.
6. Henri to Alice Klauber (11 March 1914; 4 April 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
7. Henri to Alice Klauber (14 April 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
8. Ibid.
9. Henri to Alice Klauber (4 April 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
10. Bruce Kammerling, Selections from the Collection of the San Diego Historical Society (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1991), p. 38; and Bennard B. Perlman, The Immortal Eight and Its Influence, exh. cat. (New York: The Art Students League, 1983), p. 101.
11. Henri to Alice Klauber (4 April 1914; 27 April 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
12. Henri to Alice Klauber (27 April 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
13. Henri to Alice Klauber (27 April 1914; 13 June 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

14. Henri to Alice Klauber (13 June 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
15. Henri to Alice Klauber (telegram, 16 June 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
16. Henri to Alice Klauber (4 April 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
17. Henri to Alice Klauber (23 June 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive; and Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (17 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
18. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (17 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
19. Ibid.
20. Henri to Alice Klauber (23 June 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
21. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
22. Antony Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's 'Types,'" Los Angeles Sunday Times, III (27 September 1914), p. 4.
23. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
24. Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's 'Types,'" p. 4.
25. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The inscription appears on the face of the painting and is noted in the record book.
26. Ibid. Henri scratched out the first inscription in the record book.
27. For an examination of Henri's interest in theoretical approaches to color, see Michael Quick, "Robert Henri: Theory and Technique," in "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 47-62.
28. For example, see Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (17 August 1914); and Henri to his mother (22 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

29. For more on Henri and Spain, see Leeds, see "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, pp. 16-39; and M. Elizabeth Boone, España: American Artists and the Spanish Experience, exh. cat. (New York: Hollis Taggart Galleries, 1999), pp. 41, 45, 74-6.
30. Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (3 August 1915) as quoted in Bennard B. Perlman, ed. Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 225.
31. Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's 'Types,'" p. 4.
32. For more on the type of work produced by California artists of the period, see Patricia Trenton and William H. Gerdtz, California Light 1900-1930, exh. cat. (Laguna Beach: Laguna Art Museum, 1990; William H. Gerdtz and Will South, California Impressionism (New York: Abbeville Press, 1997); and Impressionism: The California View, exh. cat. (Oakland: Oakland Art Museum, 1981). For more on the conservatism of the art scene in Southern California, see Janet Blake Dominik, "Patrons and Critics in Southern California, 1900-1930," in California Light, 1900-1930, pp. 171-76.
33. Marjorie Henri to Mrs. Richard H. Lee (3 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
34. Ibid.
35. Henri to his mother, (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Alice Klauber and Lucie Bayard had studied with Henri at the Art Students League. The work of these two former Henri students is not widely known; only one work of Klauber's has been located, a scene of an Indian dance done when she later visited Santa Fe. By inference in correspondence it appears that both of them were more inclined towards figurative subject matter in their work.
36. Marjorie Henri to Mrs. Richard H. Lee (3 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
37. [Royal Cortissoz], "Exhibition and Other Matters of Fine Art, Recent American Work: Mr. Robert Henri Among Indians and Other Romantic Types," New York Tribune, III (22 November 1914), p. 3.
38. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

39. Antony Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's La Jolla Portraits," Los Angeles Sunday Times, III (20 September 1914), p. 5.

40. For example see the following, [Cortissoz], "Exhibition and Other Matters of Fine Art: Recent American Work--Mr. Robert Henri Among Indian and Other Romantic Types," p. 3; "California Types Painted by Mr. Robert Henri," Town & Country, 69 (28 November 1914), pp. 27, 38; Gustave K  bbe, "New Galleries Opening Feature of Busy Week in Art World and Exhibitions of the Old and the Modern are Held: Exhibition of Paintings by Robert Henri Contains Feminine Nudes," New York Herald, III (3 March 1918), p. 10; and "Henri's Canvases at Museum Breathe Spirit of the West," The Syracuse Herald (7 May 1916), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

41. Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's 'Types,'" p. 4.

42. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

43. Ibid.

44. Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's Types," p. 4.

45. William B. M'Cormick, "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," The New York Press, 8 (22 November 1914), p. 4.

46. Henri to his mother (3 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

47. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

48. M'Cormick, "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4.

49. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

50. Henri to Henry Lovins (July 1914), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

51. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

52. The portrait of Jim Lee was mentioned in the following reviews: Henry McBride, "What is Happening in the World of Art: Robert Henri's California Paintings," The Sun, III (22 November 1914), p. 5; Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's Types," p. 4; "Works from Brush of Artist Henri Reveal Unusual Skill," Grand Rapids Press (5 February 1916), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair; and

M'Cormick, "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4.

53. Unidentified Los Angeles clipping (September 1914), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

54. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

55. Ibid. According to the Record Book, none of these portraits is extant.

56. Henri to Henry Lovins (July 1914), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

57. Marjorie Henri to Henri's mother (3 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

58. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. May was probably the model for the first six Native-American subjects he painted in California, though Henri does not indicate who the model was in each image. None of the first group of Native American portraits from the visit appear to be extant or have been located.

59. Ibid. Henri also noted that A.L. Kraber of the Museum of Anthropology, University of California at San Francisco provided him with the information on the Native American tribes.

60. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

61. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (17 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

62. The work figured prominently in the following reviews: "California Types Painted by Mr. Robert Henri," Town & Country, 69 (29 November 1914), pp. 27-38; M'Cormick "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4; Anderson "Art and Artists: Henri's 'Types,'" p. 4; and "Works from Brush of Artist Henri Reveal Unusual Skill," Grand Rapids Press (5 February 1916), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

63. Henri to his mother (22 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

64. M'Cormick "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4;
65. Henry McBride, "What is Happening in the World of Art," The Sun, New York, III (22 November 1914), p. 5.
66. "Works from Brush of Artist Henri Reveal Unusual Skill," Grand Rapids Press (5 February 1916), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
67. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
68. For more on the representations of African-Americans in American art, see Guy C. McElroy, Facing History: The Black Image in American Art 1710-1940, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1990).
69. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
70. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
71. Anderson, "Art and Artists: 'Henri's Types,'" p. 4.
72. For more on Henri's use of monochromatic color in early portraits, see Leeds, "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 15-22.
73. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
74. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair; and Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (18 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
75. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
76. Ibid.
77. "Art Notes," The Evening Post: New York (21 November 1914), p. 9.
78. Henri to Helen Niles (8 September 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
79. Henri to Henry Lovins (July 1914), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

80. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The four smaller landscape subjects were color notes of minimal dimensions, and it remains perplexing as to why Henri recorded them in his record book.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Henri to Helen Niles (2 November 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

84. Edgar L. Hewett to Paul A.F. Walter (7 October 1914), Walter Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

85. Henri to Helen Niles (2 November 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

86. Henri to his mother (undated letter fragment, 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Also see Henri to his mother (19 August 1917) where he states that he, like Bellows, found California to be rather tame; and Marjorie Henri to Mrs. Richard H. Lee (3 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

87. Henri to Alice Klauber (23 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

88. Henri to Alice Klauber (9 March 1916), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

89. Henri to Alice Klauber (22 September 1917), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

90. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Unfortunately from the eighty-four works produced during Henri's California trip, only about twenty-two works are extant. Due to his dissatisfaction with their quality, Henri himself later destroyed sixteen of the canvases. However, the remainder were destroyed by Henri's sister-in-law Violet Organ (Marjorie's sister) who inherited the estate of the artist after Marjorie's death. With the best of intentions (however misguided, since she was devoted to the Henri and Marjorie), she felt that by winnowing down the size of the Estate by eliminating works that she felt were duplicates or of lesser quality, she could protect Henri's posthumous reputation and increase the value of the remaining works.

91. Many scholars have long underestimated the amount of work Henri produced while he visited California and New Mexico. On Henri's time in California, also see Petersen, "Henri's California Visit," pp. 27-34, 41-44, which is the most informative source on this period to date. Also Jean Stern, "Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," American Art Review, II (September/October 1975), pp. 108-117, which outlines the artist's involvement with the Exposition, but contains little about his work or the visit. The major biographical sources on Henri, William Innes Homer, Robert Henri and his Circle (1969; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Book, 1988), p. 254, contains a paragraph on the California visit; and Bennard Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), pp. 114-16, offer brief outlines of this time period. W. Jackson Rushing, Native America Art and The New York Avant-Garde (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), pp. 58-9, discusses Henri's Native American subjects though underestimates the size of his production while in California; and Patricia Janis Broder, The American West: The Modern Vision (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), p. 38.

92. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

93. The exhibition ran from September 14-30, 1914. The titles of the works shown were as follows: Indian Girl; Young Mexican; The La Jolla Beach; Indian; Rita, Mexican Girl; Chow Choy; Sylvester; Chinese Girl; Ramon; Machu; The Beach Hat; Tam Gan; Jim Lee; and American Chinaman. Paintings of Robert Henri, exh. cat. Los Angeles: Museum of History, Science and Art, 1914. Also see Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair; and Henri to his mother (3 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

94. Henri to his mother (15 September 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

95. Henri to Helen Niles (2 November 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

96. Antony Anderson, "Art and Artists: Robert Henri," Los Angeles Sunday Times, III (13 September 1914), p. 10.

97. Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's 'Types,'" p. 4.

98. Ibid., and Anderson, "Art and Artists: Henri's La Jolla Portraits," p. 5.

99. Everett C. Maxwell, "Art," Graphic, undated clipping, Museum Scrapbooks, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, as quoted in Gerdtz and South, California Impressionism, pp. 158, 249.
100. "Current Notes," Arts & Decoration, 5 (December 1914), p. 23.
101. Henri to Helen Niles (2 November 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
102. "Recent Paintings by Robert Henri," exh. cat. (New York: Macbeth Gallery, 1914), n.p. The works presented were Chow Choy; Ramon--A Mexican; Machu; Girl of the Tewa Tribe, Indian Girl; Chinese Girl with Fan; Tam Gan; Sylvester; Jim Lee; Yen Tsidi; Tom Po Qui; Profile of Tom Po Qui; and Po Tse (Water Eagle). Chinese Woman was sent to Macbeth's, but was not hung on the wall according to Henri's Record Book notes. However, the work was mentioned in a newspaper review, so Henri's records must be erroneous. See M'Cormick, "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4.
103. [Cortissoz], "Mr. Robert Henri Among Indians and Other Romantic Types," p. 3.
104. See "In Art Galleries," New York Herald (23 November 1914), p. 13; M'Cormick "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4; and "News of the Art World," The World (22 November 1914), p. 3M.
105. M'Cormick, "Mastery of Medium Shown in Henri's Exhibit of Far Western Types at Macbeth's," p. 4.
106. [Frank Jewett Mather] "Art Notes: Paintings by Robert Henri" The Evening Post, New York (21 November 1914), p. 9.
107. Henry McBride, "What is Happening in the World of Art," The Sun, III (22 November 1914), p. 5.
108. Guy Pène du Bois, "Exhibitions: Robert Henri," The Arts, 17 (April 1931), p. 499.
109. Henri to Alice Klauber (23 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
110. Henri to Alice Klauber (7 December 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
111. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

112. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (18 October 1914); and Henri to Alice Klauber (7 December 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
113. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
114. William Macdonald, "The California Expositions," The Nation, 101 (21 October 1915), p. 490.
115. Beatrice Chauvenet, Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 100.
116. For more on the two Expositions and the differences between them, see Christian Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," The International Studio, LV (June 1915), pp. cv-cx; Maurice Braun, "Art at Southern California Exposition," Fine Arts Journal, 33 (April 1915), pp. 371-76; William Templeton Johnson, "The Panama-California Exposition and the Changing Peoples of the Great Southwest," Survey, 34 (3 July 1915), pp. 303-07; Jerre C. Murphy, "San Diego's Evolutionary Exposition," Collier's, 54 (5 December 1914), pp. 20-22; and Mark S. Watson, "Fine Arts at the San Diego Exposition," Art and Progress, 6 (October 1915), pp. 446-55.
117. Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," p. 116.
118. Johnson, "The Panama-California Exposition and the Changing Peoples of the Great Southwest," p. 307. For other reviews that laud the success of the Panama-California Exposition, for example, see Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," pp. cv-cvi; and Macdonald, "The California Expositions," p. 492.
119. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
120. For the most thorough published account of Henri and the Exposition, see Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," pp. 108-17. For more on Dr. Edgar L. Hewett and the Panama-California Exposition, see Chauvenet, Hewett and Friends, pp. 97-108, and Paul A. F. Walter, "New Mexico's Contribution to the Panama-California Exposition," El Palacio, III (October 1915), pp. 3-16.
121. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

122. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (29 July 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
123. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (10 October 1914), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
124. Exposition President (G.A. Davidson) to twelve artists (10 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
125. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (18 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
126. See A Catalogue of Paintings, exh. cat. (San Diego: Gallery of Fine Arts, Panama-California Exposition, 1915).
127. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (25 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
128. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (25 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
129. Arthur B. Davies to G.A. Davidson (telegram 16 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive. Also see Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition."
130. See A Catalogue of Paintings, exh. cat. (San Diego: Gallery of Fine Arts, Panama-California Exposition, 1915).
131. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (7 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
132. Henri to Alice Klauber (7 December 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
133. See Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," p. 12.
134. President (G.A. Davidson) to invited artists (10 October 1914); Joseph Henry Sharp to President (G.A. Davidson) (telegram, 14 October 1914); and Joseph Henry Sharp to Edgar L. Hewett (16 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
135. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (10 October 1914), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
136. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (29 July 1914) Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

137. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (25 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive. Henri's ideas about the spacing of paintings are additionally found in letters from Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (29 July 1914; 3 November 1914; and 22 November 1914).
138. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (29 July 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
139. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (10 October 1914), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe; and Henri to Helen Niles, (2 November 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
140. Henri to Alice Klauber (7 December 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
141. See A Catalogue of Paintings, exh. cat. (San Diego: Gallery of Fine Arts, Panama-California Exposition, 1915), n.p. Other committee members were Mrs. Iver N. Lawson, Mrs. Henri W. Foote, Miss Alice Lee, Mr. Carleton M. Winslow, and Mrs. Fred Scripps.
142. Antony Anderson, "Art and Artists: Eleven American Painters," Los Angeles Sunday Times, III (31 January 1915), p. 15. For notices that indicate that Hewett was in charge of the exhibition, for example, see Walter, "New Mexico's Contribution to the Panama-California Exposition," p. 6.
143. President (G.A. Davidson) to invited artists (10 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
144. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (10 October 1914), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
145. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (18 October 1914; 22 November 1914; and 11 December 1914); and an undated list of works that Henri sent to Hewett, Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
146. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (22 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
147. See the Catalogue of Paintings, exh. cat. (San Diego: Panama-California Exposition, 1915).
148. Henri to Alice Klauber (1 August 1915), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

149. Arthur Jerome Eddy, introduction to A Catalogue of Paintings, exh. cat. (San Diego: Gallery of Fine Arts, Panama-California Exposition, 1915), n.p.

150. Henri to Alice Klauber (1 August 1915), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

151. The California and New Mexico Buildings each had representative displays of works by artists from the respective states. Also see Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," p. cviii ; Maurice Braun, "Art at Southern California Exposition," pp. 371-74; Johnson, "The Panama-California Exposition and the Changing Peoples of the Great Southwest," pp. 306-07; and Watson, "Fine Arts at the San Diego Exposition," pp. 451-55.

152. Brinton, "The San Diego and San Francisco Expositions," pp. cviii, cx.

153. Ibid., p. cx.

154. Anderson, "Art and Artists: Eleven American Painters," p. 15.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. E.W.F. (possibly Mrs. Henry W. Foote, a member of the Fine Arts Committee), "Art and Artists," (San Diego Union, undated, 1915), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

158. Henri to Alice Klauber (1 August 1915), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

159. Exhibition of Paintings Loaned from Gallery of Fine Arts, Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1916), n.p.

160. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The Record Book notes Seattle, Spokane, and Rochester. However, a letter to Alice Klauber (10 March 1916), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive, indicates that the exhibition was scheduled to travel to Seattle, until the 27th of March, Portland Art Association in April, Pullman, Washington in May, and Spokane, Washington in June. Neither Henri's record book, nor the letter to Klauber, cites where the exhibition was held in the cities. The exhibition was presented in Portland at the Museum of Art from April 4-24, 1916, and in Seattle at the Fine Arts Society, yet the

exhibition locations in the other cities appears not to have been the local museum. The travel schedule for this exhibition was not planned very far in advance and the venues were most likely irregular ones, such as libraries, commercial galleries, exhibition halls, stores, or small art centers, and not the major city art museums. The exhibition circuit which Henri frequently arranged for his travelling one-man shows and comparable travelling exhibition circuits such as that of the Taos Society of Artists, were also similarly placed in less conventional venues. Also see Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," p. 114.

161. Antony Anderson, "Art and Artists: Old Pictures Seen Anew," Los Angeles Sunday Times, III (23 January 1916), p. 4.

162. Ibid.

163. Ibid.

164. Ibid.

165. For more on the other art exhibitions presented at the San Diego Exposition see Braun, "Art at Southern California Exposition," pp. 371-76; Watson, "Fine Arts at the San Diego Exposition," pp. 446-455; and Walter, "New Mexico's Contribution to the Panama-California Exposition," pp. 3-16.

166. Eugen Neuhaus, The Galleries of the Exposition: A Critical Review of the Paintings, Statuary and the Graphic Arts in the Palace of the Fine Arts at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (San Francisco: Paul Elder and Company, 1915), p. 3.

167. Henri to Alice Klauber (23 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive; and Henri to his mother (15 September 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

168. Henri to his mother (15 September 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

169. Henri to Alice Klauber (23 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

170. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (22 November 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

171. See John D. Trask and J. Nilsen Laurvik, eds. Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts Panama-Pacific Exposition, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Paul Elder & Company, 1915), and Official Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts Panama-Pacific Exposition (Wahlgreen Company, 1915), p. 146. At the Panama-Pacific Exposition, medals were not awarded for the specific works of art entered, but for general achievement.

172. Henri to Alice Klauber (1 August 1915), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.

173. Trask and Laurvik, Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco, p. 10.

174. Neuhaus, The Galleries of the Exposition: A Critical Review of the Paintings, Statuary and the Graphic Arts in the Palace of the Fine Arts at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, p. 78.

175. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914; 22 August 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

176. For a survey of Impression and Post-Impressionism and the general California art scene, for example, see Gerdt and South, California Impressionism; Nancy Dustin Wall Moure, California Art: 450 Years of Painting & Other Media (Los Angeles: Dustin Publications, 1998); Trenton and Gerdt, California Light: 1900-1930; and Impressionism: The California View, Paintings 1890-1930; Paul Bockhorst, ed. Impressions of California: Early Currents in Art 1850-1930, exh. cat. (Irvine: The Irvine Museum, 1996).

177. See Dominik, "Patrons and Critics in Southern California 1900-1930," in California Light 1900-1930, pp. 171-76. Alma May Cook and Antony Anderson were two conservative critics who wished to preserve California from the more modernist tendencies in art. Also see Moure, California Art: 450 Years of Painting & Other Media, pp. 177-78.

178. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair and "Current Notes," Arts & Decoration, 5 (December 1914), p. 73.

179. Moure, California Art: 450 Years of Painting & Other Media, pp. 159-71, 177-78.

180. For more on women artists working in California see Patricia Trenton, ed., Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945, exh. cat. (Los Angeles:

Autry Museum of Western Heritage in association with
University of California Press, Berkeley, 1995), pp. 9-105.

181. Henri to his mother (15 September 1914), Henri Papers,
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University,
New Haven.

182. The only exception to this point was his interest in
color and compositional theories. The theorists whose ideas
influenced his work include, besides Hardesty Maratta,
Charles Winter, Denman Ross, and Jay Hambidge.

CHAPTER 4

Henri and Santa Fe: 1916

Henri's first encounter with New Mexico was in June of 1914 on the train trip from New York to Southern California. The Henris reached New Mexico on the morning of June 12th and were immediately impressed by the beauty of the mountains and the clear atmosphere. The Santa Fe Railroad route made a brief stop in Lamy, New Mexico, and then continued on to Albuquerque where Henri first observed Native Americans who reminded him of the gypsies he had seen and painted while in Spain. He kept a daily log of his impressions of the trip which he sent to his mother in letter form. He further noted that the "Indians come along the train when it stops...They are young and old and some are extremely good looking."

On his return from Los Angeles to New York in the fall of 1914, he was again fascinated by the Northern New Mexico terrain as he reported after his arrival home to Edgar L. Hewett:

We were mighty sorry to rush by Santa Fe. All our trip through New Mexico to Lamy was most stimulating--Its [sic] a noble landscape. Between you and I, I expect to be in Santa Fe early for a long summers [sic] work and I look forward to seeing you there--I say "between you and I" because I have found it necessary not to

announce beforehand where I shall pass the summer.

Henri did not return to the Southwest in the summer of 1915 as both he and Dr. Hewett had hoped.³ Instead he and Marjorie went to Ogunquit, Maine, where George and Emma Bellows had settled for the summer. Henri recounted to Alice Klauber how they decided on spending the summer in Ogunquit:

Our plans for the summer hung fire so completely that we could not decide--we had counted on going to New Mexico--but time passed and then we decided to take the simplest, handiest way to get out of the heat of New York. We had no definite idea but started off on a trip to Provincetown, Mass....but the place was uninviting....--and we came here because Bellows had already taken a place.⁴

In Ogunquit, Henri concentrated on a series of flamboyantly colorful portraits of a family of resident gypsies, the Coopers.⁵ However, in comparison to the models he located in Southern California, he initially found that the Maine subjects "...lack definition of character...Our little Chinese were definite...so were the indians."⁶ In comparison to the weather in Southern California, he was nostalgic for the California sun and the previous summer, finding some aspects of Maine

inferior, especially in matters of weather and available subjects:

...it rains here and gets soggy and damp and its sometimes chill and we miss the sun of San Diego and La Jolla and wish we had its warming influence and we miss you and our other friends of San Diego.'

A western destination for the following summer continued to be in the Henris thoughts in the fall of 1915.

Marjorie noted to Helen Niles that since they could not go abroad that year, they were considering Arizona, though nothing had yet been determined.³

The following spring Henri mentioned to Alice Klauber that he was considering visiting the West and that "I should not like to miss having a good high and dry sun baking this summer."⁹ He sent a telegram to Klauber on June 10th wanting to know if she had been to Santa Fe, what she knew of it, and if she would accompany them if they decided to go.¹⁰ Henri received an encouraging response from Klauber, who provided positive information and agreed to join them if they ventured to Santa Fe.¹¹ Serving on the Carnegie Institute's jury and a commissioned portrait of a young boy delayed their departure until at least July 1st.¹² However, Henri was anticipating the variety of subjects that would be available to paint in Santa Fe and declared that

I look forward to Santa Fe with hopes of interesting subjects, not especially indians, but all the people, and children, as usual, of course.--and to the climate. We are anxious for a good sun bake.¹³

Henri's fervor for painting all varieties of people was the central incentive for travelling to a place like Santa Fe. As he wrote in 1915, after returning from California-- another place of ethnic diversity, he declared:

The people I like to paint are "my people," wherever they may be, wherever they may exist, the people through whom dignity of life is manifest...My people may be old or young, rich or poor...But wherever I find them, the Indian at work in the white man's way, the Spanish gypsy...the little boy, quiet and reticent...my interest is awakened and my impulse immediately is to tell about them through my own language--drawing and painting in color.¹⁴

Though he felt that the subject matter he would find there would be immensely compelling and unique, the lengthy trip and the expense seemed to make him waver in his decision. However, in a letter to his brother later in June, Henri was still entertaining thoughts about

going to Santa Fe, and his intentions appeared to be crystallizing:

I have about decided to go to Santa Fe, New Mexico. Think it a good change, and high altitude would do me much good and although travel to such a distance is expensive, and Maine is cheaper in the end, it will equalize. The route is via St. Louis... expect to go just as soon as I get the Whitney picture, arrange some other picture matters and get packed up...If I go West I want as much time there as possible.¹⁵

Two days later he also wrote to Bellows, "I've got the out West idea but have made no plans so far."¹⁶ However, three days later, on June 22nd he seemed less certain, noting that

...finished the portrait of Mrs. Whitney. Began another portrait yesterday which I hope to do before leaving--Don't know where we will go--thinking of the West--New Mexico perhaps--where the sun shines....and especially now my desire is to get where there is sun high and dry--the convenient Maine is taboo on that account. You know I like to get well dried out...¹⁷

However, as late as early July, Henri still remained uncertain about Santa Fe due to possible deferrals in his

departure, and the length of time he had to spend. He explained to Klauber that

You know the trip is so far that we would not want to go unless I can stay until October, and the question now to be settled is whether I shall have to be in New York early in September.¹²

After a summer in Maine, Henri's particular interest was to paint interesting "types," and Edgar Hewett had already exerted considerable influence on Henri about the opportunities for finding varied subjects in the mixed ethnic composition of the Santa Fe community.

Henri's plans for the summer of 1916 began to fall into place once he finally established that Santa Fe would be his destination, though various delays ensued before he could leave New York. It appeared that there was eager anticipation in Santa Fe for the arrival of the celebrated New York artist, as notices in the newspaper heralded Henri's forthcoming visit.¹³

Dr. Hewett returned to Santa Fe from vacation on July 13th, and was disappointed to find the Henris not yet arrived. He wrote them fearing that a change of plan had occurred:

I sincerely hope that you have not changed you [sic] plans. If a personal word from me can have any influence in the matter, I hope

you will consider it said with all the cordiality of which I am capable....I really think you might find it a place of exceptional advantages along you [sic] particular lines.²⁰

Henri had cultivated his own expectations that he would find Santa Fe a favorable atmosphere where he would flourish and be productive in his work. This was perhaps the result of Hewett's fervent and persuasive convictions that Santa Fe offered artists a superior creative environment. To further convince Henri, Hewett offered him the use of one of four artists' studios available in the old Governor's Palace for as long as he stayed, and sought to involve him in the plans for the new museum that was scheduled to open the following year. The offering of studio facilities in the School to practicing artists was intended to imitate a practice seen in some European cities.²¹ As Hewett further added: "now, before things get much farther along I am tremendously anxious to have the ideals in art that you stand for brought into the ken of our people."²²

Finally settled on a summer in Santa Fe, Henri wrote Edgar Hewett of his anticipation of the forthcoming visit:

We plan leaving here about the middle of next week--the 19th or 20th. I look forward to a season of work in Santa Fe with great

enthusiasm--and to the pleasures of the climate....I hope this will prove to be only a first season for us at Santa Fe for I should like very much to so like a place that I would not have to worry every season over the question of "where shall we go!" Santa Fe may be the place for I fare well in high, dry and sunlit climates and I am sure there are people, children and Indians I shall want to paint and who will be willing to be painted.²³

Henri also followed up with Hewett, sending a telegram on July 18th to allay any fears that he had rethought his plans, stating that:

We start for Santa Fe this week absolutely on Friday 21st. We look forward to seeing you and to a fine season of work. I wrote you yesterday but am sending this more immediate message to assure you that we are coming.²⁴

When George Bellows heard of Henri's summer plans, he reflected on his friend's prospects for painting regional subjects, remembering the work Henri had produced during his California visit two summers ago. He urged Henri: "I hope you do the Indian dances, the landscapes [sic] and compositions. It would be great to see you in a 'period' of that kind again."²⁵ While Henri painted some landscapes later in the season and did some sketches of

Indian dances, he did no multi-figure genre compositions as Bellows suggested, though this type of scene was characteristic of the work of so many other Southwestern artists; instead as he anticipated, Henri concentrated on portraiture.

Bellows suggestion of subjects to Henri was typical of the artistic exchange that often transpired between Henri and his closest artist friends. Besides Henri, the circle of friends that developed over the years came to include George Bellows, Leon Kroll, Eugene Speicher, Randall Davey, and John Sloan. They would gather after a period of time in which they had been apart and critique each others' work. The group depended on each other for suggestions and evaluations of their work, with the ideas often deriving from Henri's teachings and philosophy of aesthetics. This routine developed back in the 1890s, when the weekly gatherings took place in Henri's Philadelphia studio, and it continued throughout the Santa Fe years as well with varying participants.

While Henri envisioned painting Native American subjects in New Mexico, he was not unaware of the other aspects of the cultural diversity present in the Santa Fe community.⁴² He later remarked on the demographics of the region:

They claim 10,000 people for Santa Fe but the
counter saw double and the 5000 who are here

are mixed...a good part of the 5000 Santa Fe inhabitants are Mexicans and their adobe houses save the town from American taste. The indians live in the pueblos some near some far.....There are none but indians in the pueblos... The artists live in the Spanish town.

The tri-cultural makeup of Santa Fe, composed of the Hispanic Americans, the Native Americans, and the smallest group, the Anglos, provided a complex social environment. As the area developed, relationships and attitudes among the different ethnic groups were constantly changing; the Hispanic Americans, whose cultural roots had closer connections to Europe and seemed less alien to the Anglos, were more fully integrated into the town's social fabric. The Native Americans, however, led a more segregated life that was centered in the pueblos, which were located considerably outside of town.¹⁴ Due to the population logistics of Santa Fe, Henri had less direct access to Native Americans and periodically had difficulty in locating models. He found an Indian School and also made frequent trips to the pueblos to find Native-Americans to pose for him.

In 1916, the community of Santa Fe into which Henri arrived included a number of professional artists, though

certainly none of Henri's reputation. Among those who were affiliated with the Santa Fe art colony as residents and visitors during 1916 included: Carlos Vierra, Paul Burlin, Kenneth Chapman, Burt Harwood, Warren E. Rollins, Grace Ravlin, Sara and Sheldon Parsons, Gerald Cassidy, Alice Olive Henderson, William Penhallow Henderson, Julius Rolshoven, Ernest Blumenschein, and Walter Ufer.²⁹

As Hewett noted to Henri:

Ufer is here, the Harwoods, Parsons, Miss Ravlin, Mrs. Skinner and a few others coming and going. There are about the usual number in the colony at Taos. All are having more or less to do with shaping the art ideals that are working along here but there is a great lack yet of that which is most vital of all.

However it is not altogether for selfish

reasons that we hope to see you in Santa Fe.³⁰

Hewett and the Museum of New Mexico were important to the development of Santa Fe in a manner comparable to role played by Mabel Dodge Luhan in the growth of Taos as a cultural center. Luhan lured art and literary figures as guests to her Taos compound, including D.H. Lawrence, Agnes Pelton, Marsden Hartley, John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, and Andrew Dasburg. The art community of Santa Fe orbited around Edgar Hewett and the Museum with the museum's artists' studios functioning as the nucleus.

Among the artists who utilized these facilities were, Burt Harwood, Paul Burlin, Gustave Baumann, Warren E. Rollins, Sheldon Parsons, and William Penhallow Henderson, Kenneth Chapman and Carlos Vierra, in addition to Henri.³¹

The Henris arrived in Santa Fe on July 25th, having departed New York on July 21st; they remained until October 13th.³² They checked into the Des Varges Hotel upon their arrival until they rented Judge Pope's house at 397 Palace Avenue.³³ Later in the summer, the Henris had to move rather suddenly due to the death of Judge Pope, but they found a new residence up the street at 601 Palace Avenue. The new place, known as the Safford house, was more to their liking though it needed a great deal of work before they were able to move in.³⁴ The house is no longer standing though it was recorded in a small sketch on paper that Henri did before he left that year.

Marjorie expressed their overall delight in Santa Fe to Alice Klauber, stating that "...this whole country is the greatest ever."³⁵ Henri found the ambiance and climate to his liking and wrote to friends Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts that

This is just to let you know that we are happy. Its [sic] a wonderful place so agreeable in climate...the sun is clear and

drying in the day...then a step into the shade is cool again. About every afternoon there are beautiful cloud formations, a downpour of rain perhaps for a little while, then sun again.³⁷

The growing art colony that Santa Fe boasted was not the enticement that had lured Henri to visit there. While he met and became acquainted with the artists in the small close-knit community that centered around Edgar Hewett, he did not pursue an active social life while in Santa Fe. During the summer, he typically kept much to himself, instead preferring the company of Marjorie, and Viv who had accompanied them to Santa Fe, and his former students and friends who often followed him on his summer retreats. Alice Klauber and Lucie Bayard were among those former students who came to visit the Henris in Santa Fe in 1916.

After settling in, Henri began his first formal effort on August 6th. When arriving in a new locale, he would generally commence with landscape painting; however, in Santa Fe, perhaps because he had so eagerly anticipated executing likenesses of the ethnic types offered by the new setting, he set right to work painting portraits.³⁸ Though Indian subjects figured prominently in his expectations for Santa Fe, however, his first model was a Santa Fe gypsy of Hispanic origin found by Marjorie and Lucie Bayard.³⁹ Henri reported to the

Robertses how pleased he was with the choice of this summer location in terms of its artistic potential:

The artists who have been here before--and there are several now--have not broken the way for models..., but...have started fair, altho [sic] not as yet with Mexicans or Indians but with my old friends the gipsys [sic]--Marjorie and Lucy [sic] found a beautiful girl--a real queen--but later we expect to have Indians and Mexicans--few of the former to be seen in Santa Fe but many of the latter....This is a fascinating country. We would be happier if we had more time before us for there is so much that might be done here.⁴⁰

The gypsy girl to which Henri referred was the subject of five additional compositions he worked on intermittently in the earlier part of that season including Gypsy Girl in White (Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, fig. 4-1).⁴¹ From Henri's record book, this model appeared to be the only gypsy Henri depicted before he turned to painting other ethnic types.⁴² The portraits of the gypsy girl are executed in Henri's standard small-size format (24 x 20 inches) in three-quarter length views. In all the versions, as in Gypsy Girl in White which is the fourth variation, the model wears a chain of golden coins, earrings, and has plaited hair. This particular work

appears to have been the one Henri preferred since he toured it extensively on his exhibition circuit from 1917 through 1919.⁴⁴ When it travelled to Detroit in the summer of 1919, it was highlighted in the local review as "certainly one of the loveliest of Robert Henri's works."⁴⁵ The artist featured a very similar version, entitled Mexican Gypsy Girl, completed later that season, in the Santa Fe presentation of the season's work where it was recalled in the local newspaper the following year as a powerful and brilliant portrait.⁴⁵ Henri also showed Mexican Gypsy Girl in the 1917 annual exhibition at Macbeth Gallery where it was highlighted among the other twenty-nine works in the show:

Robert Henri...whose cleverly characterized heads have been items of interest in nearly all large exhibitions for the last few years, never has shown a more serious design or one of greater psychological significance than the "Mexican Gypsy Girl."⁴⁶

The critic remarked on the growing tendency towards a more highly structured sense of design in Henri's work; this approach reached a pinnacle in the canvases he produced during his next season in Santa Fe.

Henri repeatedly painted many of the Santa Fe models in several or more slightly varied compositions, as he did with the gypsy who appeared in Gypsy Girl in White.

His approach to painting would often involve starting several versions of a subject before later returning to finish them; this was a lifelong practice he had adopted. In a particular instance, he sympathized with an artistic problem John Sloan was having, and confided to Sloan his own occasional frustration with certain artistic obstacles he encountered in his own work and the technique he used to overcome it:

I think I know all the troubles you have had--for your letters describe the situations of mind I have so often been in over a portrait. If by the time this reaches you you have not already landed the portrait...and you are still in the wrangle over it--holding on to one thing while you reach for another--you might do a good thing by laying off your sitter for a day--and have a private go--taking up a new canvas and laying it in just like the old with whatever composition changes you might think advisable.'

Henri also employed this approach for subjects he especially admired or felt he had not fully resolved.

Since Native-American subjects represent approximately half of the work Henri produced during the 1916 Santa Fe visit, his views of Native Americans as well as the other ethnic people he encountered should be

examined with regard to his artistic intentions.⁴² At the instigation of Edgar Hewett, Henri initially became intrigued with the idea of painting Native Americans, which he first attempted while in San Diego. Frustrated by his inability to find more available models in California, this became a significant factor in the motivation for visiting Santa Fe. However, additional determinants that figured into the decision to go west were the climate, the landscape, and the variety of ethnic people he believed were available to pose. He also became intrigued with Hispanic-American subjects.

Henri's primary vehicle for artistic expression was portraiture. As well as capturing accurate characterizations, to a degree, his figurative work serves as a social historical record of the Native culture, though this was not his motive or artistic goal. Henri differed from many of the earlier Western artists who wanted to document the Native Americans as a "vanishing race," as in the work of George Catlin, Henry Farny, Elbridge Burbank, Karl Bodmer, Charles Bird King, or the photographs of Edward Curtis.⁴³ These artists, and the Taos painters, Joseph Henry Sharp, Ernest Blumenschein, Eanger Irving Couse, Bert Geer Phillips, Oscar Berninghaus, Herbert Dunton, Walter Ufer, and Victor Higgins, were interested in a more literal representation of the Native Americans, their culture and

their way of life. This latter group of Southwestern painters also focused on a more scenic and narrative view of Native American life than did Henri whose objective was to render characterizations of individuals he felt were representative of the people. While his brand of portraiture developed out of the historical tradition of Western ethnographic portraits of Native Americans and had some connection to the more anecdotal depictions by the Taos artists, Henri's portraiture of the Native Americans derived from his already established portrait style, which he had already applied to a variety of other individual types in preceding years and was therefore uniquely his own.

Eugene Higgins, a colleague of Henri's who saw his 1917 exhibition at Knoedler Galleries which included a number of Native-American portraits, encouraged him to pursue the traditional approach to portraying Native Americans:

I would like to see big canvases by you with a half a dozen braves standing about their wigwams with squaws and babies. The world is sadly in need of an artist to record the dying race, and I feel you are the man.⁵⁰

Misreading Henri's artistic intention, Higgins was adhering to the prevalent manner in which western artists generally depicted Native Americans. Though Henri noted

of the Native people that "materially...they are a crushed out race, but even in the remnant there is a bright spark of spiritual life," nevertheless, he was interested in them as individuals and the spirituality of their inner life, and not in cultural documentation.

In his portraiture, Henri was seeking facets of the identity and personality of the subject that would contribute towards the realization of an artistic effect. In his own eyes, his success was measured by whether he had faithfully conveyed more than simply features and the general physical appearance, but endowed the portrait with something of the nature of the individual before him. The external appearance of the subject was of lesser importance, though it was part of the formal artistic effect. He sometimes painted subjects in their own native attire; however, most often he would ask models to his studio and supply them with clothing, accessories, and artifacts he had assembled. The same articles of clothing reappear repeatedly in portraits of different subjects. As he explained about his Southwestern portraits, if he had captured the essential character of the subject, he had attained his end:

I have been reproached with not adding to my study of these people the background of their lives. This has astonished me because all their lives are in their expressions, in their

eyes, their movements, or they are not worth translating into art."

Henri's portraits of Native Americans are separated from that of his predecessors by the close-up focus on the subject itself, which is most often devoid of background distractions. The frequently employed close-up frontal bust-length portrait with the model gazing out, confronts and directly engages the viewer with attention concentrated solely on the expression and character of the model.

In his avoidance of genre scenes, multi-figure compositions, and ethnographic tendencies, Henri's work also sharply contrasts with work produced by Southwestern artists. From an artistic viewpoint, the cultural context of the people he was painting was of little significance to him other than in general ambiance and the manner it was reflected in their visages. Henri's Southwestern portraits are a celebration of the individual, and it is this approach that separates his work from that of other western artists who depicted the Southwestern native people.

In most of his Southwestern portraiture, Henri was actively recording the exotic "other," as were all White artists who elected to portray Native Americans. He painted many Native-Americans while in the Southwest, but he also portrayed Hispanic Americans, as he had Asian-

and African-American subjects in San Diego as part of his overall humanistic philosophy. Henri himself best summarized his intent:

I was not interested in these people to sentimentalize over them, to mourn over the fact that we have destroyed the Indian....I am looking at each individual with the eager hope of finding there something of the dignity of life....I do not wish to explain these people, I do not wish to preach through them, I only want to find whatever of the *great spirit* there is in the Southwest. If I can hold it on my canvas I am satisfied...⁵³

The individual subject was what Henri found compelling for his art; there was no politicized agenda in his choice of subjects. As he further noted, "I find as I go out, from one land to another seeking 'my people,' that...my love of mankind is individual, not national, and always I find the race expressed in the individual."⁵⁴ In assessing his intentions, foremost are Henri's humanism and his practice of formalism. His writings and his art consistently support these convictions.

As noted by Roy Harvey Pearce in his study on the American Indian, Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind, there were two distinct periods in the development of American attitudes towards

Native Americans. The first period, prior to 1851, was characterized by little general interest or knowledge of the Native people; the second period, following that date, marks an era of great interest and investigation in the indigenous people.⁵⁵ As exemplified by Hewett, Henri, and later Sloan, this second outlook continued well into the twentieth century.

At the risk of oversimplification, throughout the course of American art, there have been two essential antithetical types of imagery depicting Native Americans. As characterized by Robert Berkhofer, author of The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present, there is the "bad" Indian whose traits are defined by aggression, treachery, laziness, and other traits in keeping with an "uncivilized" culture. The other concept is the

...good Indian who appears friendly, courteous, and hospitable...Along with handsomeness of physique and physiognomy...modest in attitude if not always in dress, the noble Indian exhibited great calm and dignity in bearing...⁵⁶

As Native Americans came to be seen as a "dying race," a sense of nostalgia for these indigenous people governed popular sentiment and the latter ideology became dominant. In his appreciation of Native Americans, Henri was a product of his times and largely identified with

the latter characterization.

In his art, Henri, as a visitor to New Mexico, was depicting an alien culture and at times he succumbed to the stereotypical White portrayal of the Native American as a "Primitive."⁵¹ In referring to the first Native American model who posed from him in La Jolla, he remarked that she had the "...look of the sphinx.... she is reticent 'as an Indian'--its mighty hard to get any words out of her but she seems a friend."⁵² In his humanistic outlook he strove to put aside common prejudices and inherent stereotyping of ethnics subjects. Henri's humanism naturally extended to Native Americans, and his interest was surely amplified by the direct exposure to the exotic foreignness of the people and their culture. This interest had been cultivated by Edgar Hewett and was further generated by his own intellectual curiosity.

By August 21st, the local newspaper, the Santa Fe New Mexican, extolled Henri's early efforts:

Art lovers will rejoice to hear that Robert Henri has consented to make an exhibit at the Old Palace. Since his arrival in Santa Fe Mr. Henri has been doing brilliant portrait work, both of Indians and gypsies, in his studio...⁵³

The first Native American he secured to pose for him was William Virgil, a resident of the Tesuque Pueblo, who

appeared in Tesuque Buck (Kirkpatrick Foundation, Oklahoma City, fig. 4-2) and thirteen other portraits that summer.⁶¹

The first likeness he undertook was a profile view (exceptional for Henri), while the other versions of William, including Young Buck of the Tesuque Pueblo (private collection, fig. 4-3), show him in frontal poses that were more standard for the artist. In a number of the portraits, he is dressed in the same red and white headband, blue shirt, and black and red blanket, and depicted wrapped in bright native blankets with variegated patterns and colors.⁶² Despite the strong coloration he used, the general character and mood of all the portraits Henri painted during the first season, both Native and Hispanic American, were sober and stately.

The profile pose as presented in Tesuque Buck and another profile portrait Henri painted the following season, Miguel of Tesuque, have been construed as part of the documentary tradition of the Native-American people, as seen in portraits by such painters as George Catlin and Elbridge Burbank.⁶³ Catlin and Burbank most often painted their subjects in close up bust-length frontal views, though executed profiles as well. In a general sense, Henri may certainly have been aware of and influenced by this traditional type of Indian portraiture; however, in the context of a broader view of

his work, throughout his career, though not with great frequency, he rendered profile compositions of various ethnic subjects. It is therefore inappropriate to read any deeper significance into his profile poses of Native Americans. As one contemporary critic observed of Henri's portrait compositions:

if he does not vary the design very much, that is because he has found one which admirably meets the demands of his taste...Mr. Henri's conclusion [is] that the best way to see a head is the three-quarter way, with the shadow on the offside...⁶³

Henri preferred slightly angled poses or straight-on frontal views of his sitters.

Henri's major painting of 1916, his most monumental Santa Fe work, and one of the masterworks of his career, is Portrait of Dieguito Roybal--Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa (Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 4-4), which he executed on September 15th. The portrait shows a Tewa Indian of the San Ildefonso Pueblo of advanced years dressed in ceremonial attire for the Eagle Dance.⁶⁴ In its grand conception, it even surpasses the portrait of Po Tse, (Water Eagle), Henri's major Native-American portrait of two years earlier. The Eagle Dance was performed by the Summer People of the north kiva of the San Ildefonso Pueblo, to which Dieguito was a member; and he was also a

Tewa Rain Priest."⁶ Hewett noted that his actual Native-American name was Potsonutse, which may be related to the word for water in the Tewa language."⁷ The picture is a life-size, seated portrait of the Indian Chief shown beating a ceremonial drum and dressed in colorful Native costume. The Native-American dances, often lavish and colorful spectacles, were a common subject essayed by many Southwestern artists, however, Henri in his orientation towards portraiture instead elected to paint only the Indian Chief, devoid of other dramatic activity.

Henri's record book entry on the preparatory sketch for the painting noted that it "was original memory sketch of Dieguito as he appeared when drumming and chanting for the Eagle Dance rehearsal. (The dance was rehearsed before going out to the Patio of the Old Governor's Palace for its performance)."⁸ Though Henri's notes on the painting are not especially illuminating, the implications of his carefully detailed record books, which include a sketch, measurements, media, exhibition history, sales, current owner, and physical description including palette notes on virtually every work he produced, indicate he had a belief in his own future success and possible fame. In light of this supposition, one must consider that he was in fact confident that these books would be later examined by other eyes, and that this information would be important; therefore, he

was an active participant in constructing an artistic identity. This conclusion could also extend to Henri's diaries and voluminous letter writing which was kept up with so many correspondents that it is difficult to fathom how he was also able to produce so much work, teach, organize exhibitions, and perform as such an effective advocate for struggling artists.

In his notes on the sketch for Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa (Portrait of Dieguito Roybal), Henri was attempting to convey the realism of the scene by indicating that the sketch was done from life and that the completed painting was intended as an accurate representation of the subject. The sketch and painting are among very few of Henri's portraits in which he captures a figure engaged in activity. The incisive characterization of the man pictured is endowed with a resonant emotional veracity that likely derives from the immediacy of the portrait sketch. Henri additionally executed two bust-length portraits of Dieguito which show him with an Indian blanket draped around his shoulders; the same one that appears on his lap in the large seated portrait.²²

Several months after the completion of the portrait of Dieguito, Henri concluded that:

Personally I have great satisfaction in the picture, particularly the head, and the gesture of the whole. I have a criticism on some

tonality of the lower part...--He is a little raw in color from the top of the drum down, but this I intend to correct...If anything I think better of the head than ever, and when I have made the correction...he will be one of my top knotch [sic] canvases."

Beyond capturing an essential quality of the individual in his portraiture, Henri's approach was strictly formal. He was an immensely rapid worker, painting directly on the canvas without underdrawing in an attempt at seizing a sense of spontaneity. He would often later retouch canvases that he felt did not measure up, and those works with which he felt an emotional rapport.

A letter sent to his close friends, Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts, is however far more revealing about Henri's artistic intent and conception of the work. In this communication, he discusses the aim of the portrait of Dieguito, the progress of his work in general, and places his own work in relation to current artistic trends:

I have painted some landscapes and water colors of the pueblos and ceremonial dances as well as some portraits. Among the portraits that of the Tesuque drummer chief Dieguito pleases me...

I have painted them as I felt without

regard to fashions old or new. I feel myself a decided modern though not of the modernistic school, and am egotist enough to give all my thought to what interests me. If it is art, all right, if it is not art, all right. If it is liked I am overjoyed, if it is not, I can't help it."

In Henri's statement a number of relevant issues must be considered. In this particular case, of primary importance is Henri's correspondent. Though the Robertses were intimate friends, the professional position of Mary Fanton Roberts cannot be disregarded. She was an influential editor and critic (who also published under the pseudonym Giles Edgerton) involved with the journals Craftsman and Arts & Decoration. She was an early supporter of Henri's ideas and work, and of many colleagues and friends in his artistic circle. While Henri was not a manipulative personality, his skill in obtaining press coverage and his awareness of its impact in promoting his own artistic doctrine and career cannot be readily discounted."

Following the introduction of the revolutionary European avant-garde art introduced at the 1913 Armory Show, Henri found that his position as the leader of American progressive artists had been usurped. Guy Pène du Bois, noted of Henri's position within the art world

that

All the rules of painting so long cherished, even his own newer ones...had been thrown overboard, discredited. From being a revolutionist, for he certainly was the leader of the Realist movement in this country, he had become considered almost an Academician. This sudden collapse of his fighting position could not have been easily borne by him. The man, however, perhaps because he so liked the revolutionary status, kept abreast of the new conditions, understood or tried to understand the new precepts, with a broadmindedness...⁷²

In the letter to the Robertses, the manner in which he referred to his place in the artworld following the Armory Show as "modern," though not of the "modernistic school" denotes his sensitivity about the more avant-garde styles that had sprung up on the art scene. Though he continued to have professional success in exhibitions and sales of his work, he surely was aware that his ideas and his work remained firmly rooted in the representational camp and that he was no longer viewed as a progressive force on the New York art scene, but was now a member of its older establishment.⁷³

An informal viewing of Henri's painting, Portrait of Dieguito Roybal (Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa), was held in Santa Fe at

the home of Dr. and Mrs. Hewett just before Henri left for New York. He was celebrated as "among the very foremost of American artists," as was the painting as "one of the great works of art in America."¹⁴ The local newspaper described the portrait as

An Indian...statuesque and with a countenance that characterizes the dreamer, the philosopher, of all races. His eyes are kindled with religious enthusiasm and his face is grave and sombre and yet alive in every fiber. The figure is life-size and is so realistic that it seems to step from the canvas. There is not a weak touch within the entire frame--from the background to the great drum between the Indian's feet, the brush of the master never faltered in arriving at the result sought...the composition...is throbbing with life and the beauty of strength.¹⁵

The notice offers a highly romanticized interpretation of Henri's portrait. To further dramatize the myth surrounding the painting, Dieguito was said to have exclaimed when he looked upon his completed portrait: "...now I will live forever!"¹⁶ In 1921, Hewett wrote Henri informing him of Dieguito's passing:

Notwithstanding what our old friend Dieguito said on the completion of the portrait that you

painted of him, we are painfully aware that the
 good old man is no longer with us in the flesh.
 I am sending you a photographic enlargement
 from your painting that I thought you might
 like to have."

Henri had also developed fond feelings for Dieguito. He
 began composing a response to Hewett, though the letter
 was apparently never sent:

I have intended writing every day, first to
 thank you for the fine photo of Dieguito. I
 was mighty sorry to hear that he had passed
 away. I shall always remember him as one of
 the great men I have known. The photo of the
 painting is now on my Woodstock Studio wall,
 and is very much noticed. Interest in it...has
 brought from me some accounts of the wonderful
 country in which it was painted, and I do not
 think the patriotic Woodstocker has always
 liked my enthusiasm for the south west [sic].⁷⁴

Henri's egalitarian outlook was, however, subject to
 some of the residual preconceptions generally held about
 Native Americans. The same allegation could also be
 levied at the local press in its views of Henri's Native
 American portraits, which included Portrait of Dieguito
Roybal (Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa):

The Indian portraits were superb in their

dignity, their spiritual qualities, the success with which the artist had sensed the mysteries of the Red Man's mind which glowed in their eyes and was reflected from their faces. The arrangement of blankets, of feather head-dress, the broad and yet definite treatment all combined to make each portrait a masterpiece.⁷⁹

While noting Henri's exceptional skills in bestowing character to a portrait, this review focuses on the cultural exoticism and spirituality of the subject as "Red Man." In the assessment of Henri's Native portraits, the writer was, like the artist, also an outsider of Native culture and was promoting stereotyping and pointing up the cultural dichotomy that existed between insider and outsider at the same time celebrating the genius of the white artist.

To honor Edgar Hewett, Henri gave the painting of Dieguito Roybal for the permanent collection of the new museum Hewett was building in Santa Fe. Hewett was immensely proud of the gift and organized a private viewing in his home from two o'clock to four o'clock in the afternoon for a week.⁸⁰ The painting was subsequently featured in the gallery installation when the museum opened the following year.⁸¹ Again, the local press extolled its virtues:

From the critic's standpoint, it is the

greatest and finest picture in the group and is one that will live long after many ambitious efforts are forgotten....His costume and blankets furnish a color combination and an opportunity to present fabrics...seldom so successfully done in art. In attitude, in lighting, in color nuances, in arrangement, it is unmistakably a masterpiece.⁶¹

Shortly after this time, the painting left Santa Fe on an extended tour in the Northeast where it was shown in New York, Boston, Rochester, Pittsburgh, and the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C. as part of the National Association of Portrait Painters exhibition.⁶³ According to Henri, the response to the painting was not as positive on the northern tour as it had been in Santa Fe, though the painting was featured in the press.⁶⁴ Henri noted in a letter to Hewett, the dilemma of showing Native-American subjects, such as Portrait of Diequito Roybal (Po-Tse-Nu Tsa), in the Northeast:

Diequito has made friends and enemies as usual....Some of the critics admire, some object to the bright colors (and there is an element in the East which objects to Indians at all) but he has had lots of attention from all sources and has figured prominently in the reviews in all instances.⁶⁵

Despite some negative notices, Henri was still quite satisfied with the publicity.

Not all national reviewers objected to Native-American subjects, though they tended to celebrate the talents of the artist over the subject matter. As an article in Arts & Decoration stated of the Portrait of Dieguito Roybal (Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa) in 1916:

Then one...is able to realize more fully than ever that it is the man behind the picture which makes the difference; that it is not the strong reds and greens and whites that make Henri's painting of his old Indian so dominant, but the way in which he thinks of these pigments, plus...his knowledge in the handling of them. Also it is because of the way he thinks about this veteran of...injustices. All these things matter to Henri, and it makes his work matter to other people.⁸⁵

However, two years after Henri's death on the occasion of the Henri Memorial Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which was organized by his close friend and fellow artist John Sloan, a reevaluation of Henri's career was occurring. When the Indian portraits were shown in a large metropolitan retrospective in the context of his entire artistic production, reviews targeted the Southwestern works for criticism, as exemplified by the sentiments of Edward Alden Jewell, the

conservative critic for The New York Times. Jewell disparaged the portrait of Dieguito and other works of that period in a review of the Memorial Exhibition that stated:

Other, less fortunate, interludes--all too frequent...--reveal Henri in the guise of just a facile, a sometimes almost cheap, illustrator. It was perfectly proper to include them in the memorial, for they are part of the man's production viewed in its entirety; but such lapses, if that be not too harsh a word, one prefers to forget--pictures like "Water Eagle," "Dieguito" and some of the portraits done between 1917 and 1924.⁹⁷

While Jewell did not elaborate on his objections to the portrait of the Indian drummer, he disapproved of Henri's ethnic subjects of the late teens and early 1920s that employed a more facile technique and a brighter palette. Some of the negative judgments of the Native-American subjects in the Memorial show echoed the criticisms of superficiality and tourist art from the 1914 exhibition reviews of Henri's first Southwestern work.

Other New York critics shared this determination, including Henri's friend and former student, the painter and critic, Guy Pène du Bois. du Bois had been an early supporter of Henri and his artistic cause, though he

avored the artist's early work and dismissed his later painting efforts, including the likeness of Dieguito. Of Henri's Memorial Exhibition, du Bois remarked:

The seventy-seven pictures...show a gradual diminution of real energy. They show that with a constant gain in manual facility there went an equal loss in expressive power...The difference between the Zenka of Bohemia done in 1904 and the Dieguito of 1916, though they are but twelve years apart...something happened to the painter.⁶⁶

The critical audience in New York and other northeastern venues may have viewed the southwestern subjects as too ethnographic and unconventional for urban taste. As part of Henri's exhibition circuit in 1919, an exhibition of thirty-two of his paintings was presented at the Detroit Institute of Arts. There they did not meet with much more acceptance than in the East. The show included some of the Southwestern portraits and one critic observed, lumping the various ethnic groups into one category: "His years in Spain...and later in New Mexico with the Taos group, have given him a love for the darker people..."⁶⁷ Another critic remarked on the overall quality of these works:

...many of the paintings shown are a disappointment. They are disappointing because

they give the impression of falling short of great work.....his style extends from the freedom, dash and vigor...to the rather right woodeny style of his New Mexican Indian portraits.⁹⁰

The reaction to the Native-American portraits may have been viewed as too remote from Henri's artistic roots as a New York realist recognized for painting less exotic American or European subjects. His early portraiture, which had been so widely praised, was based on European precedents and a style influenced by the work of master artists such as Frans Hals, Diego Velázquez, and Edouard Manet, and was also characterized by a similarly somber palette. These early works were immensely different in appearance and conception from ethnic subjects such as Portrait of Dieguito Roybal (Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa).⁹¹

Later in the 1916 season, Henri's canvases exhibit a discernable change in the use of more angular compositional divisions, stark contrasts, and an increasingly minimal approach with less decorative detail. The painting style of these works is distinguished by pigment that is lushly applied to the canvas' surface. In piercing psychological characterizations the underlying spirit of portrait subjects becomes the principal focus of his work at this time. An example of this new approach is Ricardo

(University of New Mexico Art Museum, Albuquerque, fig. 4-5) which is notable for the heavy-lidded eyes, sensual features and brooding intensity that are offset by the geometric linearity of the blanket's red, black and white zig-zag design. It was works such as Ricardo that contributed to the local acclaim for Henri's Indian portraits, and the model, a San Ildefonso Indian, appeared in seven portraits. A variation of the same subject, done later that season, is Ricardo--Indian of San Ildefonso, (private collection, fig. 4-6) that follows similar design principles. Here, the black and blue stripes of the blanket form a series of sharp parallel divisions that diagonally bisect the composition. This compositional device is then echoed in the placement of the feathers in the model's hair. There was an increasing emphasis on formalistic concerns in Henri's portraits of this period, and one critic contended that it detracted from the spiritual power of the characterizations and the overall quality of the artist's work:

Among the pictures here are some like..."Machu-Chinese Girl," in which the impression of life and the painter's liking for it override the artistry..In others here, among the more recent ones--"Ricardo--Indian of San Il Defonso,...--the forms are designed with

respect for synthesis and rhythm above the local accident, and the color...is almost purely subjective, an abstraction which loses connection with truth as the painter himself was accustomed to realize it. His has always been a realistic vision, inclined to optimism to be sure, but realistic, and now we find it adrift in foreign and puzzling waters.⁹²

Henri remained a realist throughout his career, though within the realist idiom his experimentation with design was perceived as too modernist for conventional taste.

Henri exhibited Ricardo--Indian of San Ildefonso, along with thirteen others, in his 1917 one-person exhibition at Knoedler Galleries in New York. Knoedler sold the painting that year, making it one of the few sales of the 1916 Southwestern works realized during the artist's lifetime.⁹³

Another portrait from 1916, Indian Girl (collection of Terry and Margaret Stent, fig. 4-7), is even more streamlined in conception than the portrait of Ricardo. The young Native-American model is pictured devoid of decoration. This composition has clearly constructed diagonals created by the blanket wrapped around the girl's shoulders that boldly bisects the canvas. The work is unembellished with the exception of the strategically placed arrow design marking the blanket.

More noticeable in Henri's record book sketch than in the finished work, is the other diagonal that is suggested by the placement of the white arrow. The vivid orange of the blanket posed against contrasting black and white, and a dark complementary blue-green background, visually draws attention to the model's face. Indian Girl is the only rendition of this particular model that Henri did and he did not note her name.³⁴ The subject bears an inscrutable expression, and intensity similar to that seen in the portraits of Dieguito Roybal and Ricardo.

Henri had a particular feeling for and interest in portraying young children--a recurrent motif in his portraiture. Regarding children, Henri remarked that, "I have never respected any man more than I have some children. In the faces of children I have seen a look of wisdom...with... such certainty that I knew it ...was the expression of a whole race."³⁵ During his three stays in Santa Fe, Henri devoted a considerable body of work to young Hispanic- and Native-American children. A group of portraits of young subjects garnered particular notice when the selection of Henri's 1916 Santa Fe production was put on display at the studio of Carlos Vierra at the end of the season.³⁶ The local critic noted:

It was in the portraying of children, however, that Mr. Henri appealed most to his audience.

It was a procession of dignified youngsters,

although impishness lurked in their eyes and roguishness played about their lips, that passed in review eliciting expressions of delight from all. There were Indians and Spanish Americans, all of this immediate vicinity, who have been glorified by the talent of the artist, the magic of his brush and the insight he has into human character.³⁷

As the summer progressed, Henri had become invigorated by some young subjects he encountered that resulted in a number of successful child portraits. As Marjorie Henri, who was a practicing illustrator and caricaturist in her own right, assessed her husband's progress to Alice Klauber: "Work is springing along better than ever--a few wonders since you left from a new batch of children, very fine."³⁸

One of the more vivid and elaborate of these portraits, is Tesuque Papoose (collection of Eiteljorg Museum, Indianapolis, fig. 4-8), which was done during the latter part of Henri's 1916 visit. The work portrays a young child swathed in a brightly colored red orange and blue striped silk shawl that reverberates against a variegated background, and incorporates carefully rendered ornamental details such as fabric design and Native jewelry--the silver necklace and chains of Indian beads. Tesuque Papoose is a static and symmetrical

composition in which the subject engages and confronts the viewer. The direct, head-on view of the young model is fairly unusual for Henri though he did use a similar approach in several other portraits of this period, as in Ricardo. It is particularly in the full-face portraits that Henri achieves the truest sense of the subject's individuality. The most compelling aspect of this work is the emotional intensity of the young subject whose poise and expression convey an impression of maturity beyond her years. Tesuque Papoose was an important example of Henri's Santa Fe work which he exhibited extensively between 1916 and 1921.⁹⁹

In a letter to Alice Klauber, Marjorie extolled the quality of the young portrait subjects Henri had been painting:

There were some high water marks reached in the stuff after you left--Some crack Indian children that I know you'd like. One particular--but not an Indian, a 3 1/2 year old Mexican boy with big Mex hat--the best we think.¹⁰⁰

The particular youngster to whom she referred was José, whom Henri painted in two slightly different versions, José - Mexican Boy and Juan (José No. 2, Mexican Boy) (location unknown; and Cheekwood Museum of Art, Nashville, fig. 4-9), both in blue overalls and white

shirt.¹⁰³ In the first completed variation, Juan (José No. 2, Mexican Boy), he has a pleasant expression while in the later image he appears to be pouting or angry. Knoedler Galleries sold the second version to Dr. George Woodward of Philadelphia in February of 1917.¹⁰⁴

The first national exposure of Henri's New Mexican portraits was a 1916 exhibition held at the Chicago Arts Club among which seven of his finer efforts were included.¹⁰⁵ However, a large group of the 1916 Santa Fe works, including Tesuque Buck and Portrait of Dieguito Roybal, were shown in Santa Fe before Henri departed there in the fall of 1916. An informal display of his paintings was held in the Santa Fe studio of his friend, Carlos Vierra, where Henri's work was celebrated by the local community.¹⁰⁶

The press notices Henri received while in Santa Fe were worshipful in tone, and his interest in painting regional subjects was greeted enthusiastically, as was the style of realism he practiced in the Southwestern paintings. The realism and sharp characterizations of the individual personalities in Henri's Native portraits were the particular qualities most singled out in the local press; "lifelike" was the accolade that was consistently applied to his work in describing his abilities as a portraitist.¹⁰⁷

The next exhibition of note that included a significant representation of Henri's Santa Fe production was a one-person exhibition held at Knoedler Galleries, which ran from January 15-27, 1917, and exhibited five Santa Fe works from his first season.¹⁷⁰ Of the five works, three were portraits of Native Americans: The Medicine Blanket-Florencia, (private collection) Ricardo, Indian of San Ildefonso and Tesuque Papoose. When Eugene Higgins, a fellow artist saw the exhibition, he wrote Henri in praise of his interpretation of the Native-American subjects:

I want to thank you for sending me an invitation to your exhibition in the Knoedler Galleries. I went down yesterday and saw it, and was very much impressed. My sensation on entering the room was one of somber richness....Also you have caught to a great degree the silent immobility that we associate with the American Indian, a thing that seems to have escaped the other painters that have tackled the subject.¹⁷¹

Over the course of the next few years, Henri more actively began introducing examples of his Santa Fe work in several New York gallery exhibitions, his 1919/1920 exhibition circuit, and the Taos Society of Artists travelling exhibitions, an organization of which he

became a member in 1918. Only a few of the works from 1916 were circulated or exhibited to any great extent during the artist's life; those in addition to Portrait of Dieguito Roybal (Po Tse-Nu-Tsa), were Tesuque Buck, Gypsy Girl in White, Rosemary, Brown Mexican Girl, Ricardo, Boy with Plaid Scarf, and Tesuque Papoose.¹⁰⁶

Though Henri's Southwestern works have currently gained in status, few sales of this work resulted at the time. Of the works produced in Santa Fe in 1916, Henri sold only one painting to a museum, Boy with Plaid Scarf (Mexican Boy), which was purchased by the Detroit Institute of Arts in the fall of 1919. Several paintings were sold to private collectors: The Medicine Blanket-Florencia in 1918; Ricardo-Indian of San Ildefonso in 1917; and Lucinda, Mexican Girl, in April 1917 after it was shown at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annual.¹⁰⁷

The atmosphere and artistic potential of Santa Fe met Henri's high expectations as a destination to pursue his art. It turned out to be a singular place that had a liberal and inviting ambiance that was conducive to work in his estimation:

Things are very interesting here....with the influence of Dr. Hewett and the excellent men about him. Santa Fe can become a rare spot in

all the world.

...one might say all cities and towns strive to be like each other and not to be like themselves. Under this surprising present influence Santa Fe is striving to be its own beautiful self.....

The painters are all happy. The climate seems to suit well the two temperaments--to work or not to work, and here painters are treated with that welcome and appreciation that is supposed to exist only in certain place in Europe. Being of the "to work" temperament myself I am having a fine time.¹¹³

During Henri's first season in Santa Fe, he painted over one-hundred-and-five major works in just over two-and-a-half months as recorded in his record book; ninety-five portraits, and ten landscapes, in addition to an unknown number of sketches in pencil, pastel, and watercolor--a copious production for even an artist known as a rapid and prolific painter.

As typical of Henri's representation in portraiture, he tended to undertake more female subjects than male, though during this initial visit, he did depict a substantial number of male models. He realized his objective in painting Native Americans, which comprised nearly half of his output for the time in Santa Fe.

William Virgil was his most repeated subject, appearing in fourteen works, and Ricardo appeared in seven compositions. Among the other favored subjects he found were two young Hispanic-American girls, Francesca who posed for thirteen portraits, and Lucinda, who appeared in eleven. Henri also painted three portraits of a Native-American girl, Florencia who with Lucinda were the only models who sat for Henri in 1916, and returned again to pose for him the following summer.¹¹¹

Unlike most of the work produced by artists working in the Santa Fe art colony, Henri almost exclusively executed close-up single portraits, most often bust-length compositions devoid of background contextualization; he instead generally employed a simple swirl of colors to offset the figure within the composition. This approach allows the subject to communicate artistic meaning purely through gesture and expression.

Henri painted portraits of individual Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and other locals. Portraits by other New Mexican artists tended to focus on the exotic Native dress, and "otherness" of these regional subjects; their work also does not seek to establish the type of emotional identification of the artist with the subject that Henri achieved in many of his Southwestern likenesses. For the amount of time

Henri spent in New Mexico and of the work he produced there, he showed a particular interest in the Hispanic-American population of Santa Fe, more so than most of the regional artists; during his first season in Santa Fe, nearly half of his portraits were devoted to Hispanic-American subjects.¹¹¹

In contrast to Henri, the artists who preceded his residence in Santa Fe painted mostly picturesque genre scenes of Native American life and the regional landscape. Among those of significance within the art community who worked in this mode were Carlos Vierra, Gerald Cassidy, Paul Burlin, Grace Ravlin, William Penhallow Henderson, and Sheldon Parsons. Carlos Vierra was the earliest artist to settle there, arriving in 1904. He became involved with restoration of the Palace of the Governors and building the new museum, but in his paintings he undertook scenic views of Santa Fe and the surrounding area. Gerald Cassidy arrived in Santa Fe in 1912. He primarily rendered Native Americans, both in portraits and genre scenes, in a style using bold and flat areas of color that derived from his background in illustration. Paul Burlin came to Santa Fe in 1913 from New York. Some of his work can be at times reminiscent of Henri's since he also painted Indian portraits, yet he undertook a variety of themes, including genre scenes and landscapes and employed a more modernist interpretation.

Like Burlin, William Penhallow Henderson's artistic approach to Southwestern themes reflected modernist principals, which he applied to various genres particularly landscape and portraiture. His artistic approach revealed a particular debt to Cézanne and the use of strong color in a stylized manner. Sheldon Parsons painted landscapes and scenes of local color in an increasingly post-impressionist style with broad brushwork and vivid colors. Grace Ravlin, originally from Chicago, became known for her renditions of the regional Indian dances in dynamic compositions filled with figures and activity. Of all the artists the Henris had met in the Santa Fe colony this season, the only one with whom they maintained an ongoing friendship was Grace Ravlin. Henri even had a joint exhibition with Ravlin in New York at the Macbeth Gallery in 1924.¹¹³

While however agreeable it was to have a collegial group of artists in Santa Fe, Henri garnered little influence from their work. His own artistic approach to portraiture had already been formulated prior to his arrival there, and he subsequently applied his own principles of painting to the new Southwestern subjects, continuing to develop along the lines he had already been following. The penetrating single portraits of the regional ethnic people were essentially Henri's sole province.¹¹⁴

After returning home to New York, Henri wrote to Helen Niles and summed up his experience in Santa Fe, declaring, "We had a fine summer at Santa Fe, enjoyed every side of it--did a lot of work Indians and Mexicans and children."¹¹⁵ Marjorie also was pleased with the outcome of their summer in Santa Fe and wrote to Alice Klauber about her husband's work:

The work looks fine in the studio, and the *Senor* feels he has had a great summer as far as comparisons with the San Diego work. You know how hard that would be....Well anyhow we had a fine time, and as far as we know now--will return next year to Santa Fe but much earlier.¹¹⁶

An artist of Henri's national reputation was an important asset for Santa Fe, and his arrival brought prestige for the town and helped to establish it as an art colony of significance. He was treated as a visiting dignitary and was viewed as the talented cosmopolitan artist who had come to the colorful province to commemorate the local picturesque sights in paint. There was surely the hope, which turned into an eventuality, that he would return and lure other New York artists to Santa Fe, and therefore insure the region's status as an art colony of national significance.¹¹⁷ At the end of his first season in Santa Fe, it was noted in the Santa Fe

New Mexican that

They [the Henris] will return in May of next year to remain until the end of November. It is a conquest of utmost significance and of which Santa Fe may well be proud. ...

Henri's arrival, at Hewett's invitation, and the founding of the Museum of New Mexico by Hewett, which opened the following year, were to make significant contributions to the development of Santa Fe as a center for art and culture.¹¹⁹

Stylistic advances were evident in the Southwestern portraits that Henri executed during his first season in Santa Fe. He built on the artistic foundation he had started in the work from the preceding years while in Maine, New York, and especially California. In comparing his California work of 1914 to the New Mexican paintings of 1916, it is evident that the clarity of his compositional designs became more assured as did his command of the varied ethnic types he was painting. The 1916 Native-American subjects have a less contrived and illustrative appearance than his efforts from two years earlier. Henri's work in Santa Fe commenced with some hesitation, but by September when he produced Portrait of Diequito Roybal (Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa), it is apparent that he found a clear direction which he followed throughout the season and would pursue the next summer with even greater

success. He became attuned to the singular environment and artistic opportunities of this unique place, and he thrived in it.

NOTES

1. Henri to his mother (12 June 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
2. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (18 October 1914), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive. Also see Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (3 November 1914), when he confessed that he was "already looking forward to next season in Santa Fe!"
3. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (10 October 1914), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
4. Henri to Alice Klauber (1 August 1915), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
5. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
6. Henri to Alice Klauber (1 August 1915), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
7. Ibid.
8. Marjorie Henri to Helen Niles (undated, fall 1915) Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
9. Henri to Alice Klauber (9 March 1916), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
10. Henri to Alice Klauber (10 June 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art Archive.
11. Henri to Alice Klauber (11 June 1916), San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
12. Henri to Alice Klauber (4 April; 27 April 1914), San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
13. Henri to Alice Klauber (11 June 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American art.
14. Robert Henri, "My People," The Craftsman, XXVII (February 1915), p. 459.
15. Henri to Frank Southrn (17 June 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

16. Henri to George Bellows (19 June 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
17. Henri to Helen Niles (22 June 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
18. Henri to Alice Klauber (4 July 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.
19. "Records of the Past; Old Palace Notes," Santa Fe New Mexican (28 June 1916; 16 July 1916).
20. Hewett to Henri (13 July 1916), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
21. "Art," El Palacio, IV (January 1917), p. 76.
22. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (13 July 1916), and Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (18 July 1916), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
23. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (15 July 1916), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe. Also see Henri to Edgar L. Hewett, (11 June 1916), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive. This letter reiterates the sentiments he expressed in the July 15th letter.
24. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (telegram, 18 July 1916), Henri papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
25. George Bellows to Henri (1 September 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. While Henri did paint Native-Americans on his 1914 trip to California, no drawings or canvases depicting dances or other events are recorded in his record book or have come to light.
26. Henri to Alice Klauber (11 June 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.
27. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
28. For more on the history and people of New Mexico, see Susan Reyner Kenneson, "Through the Looking-Glass: A History of Anglo-American Attitudes Towards the Spanish-Americans and Indians of New Mexico," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, 1978); and Chris Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe, (Albuquerque:

University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

29. "Records of the Past; Old Palace Notes," Santa Fe New Mexican (30 August 1916). This article recounts the second annual exhibit for the Santa Fe artist colony and those artists that participated. Also see Ralph Emerson Twitchell, ed. The Leading Facts of New Mexican History, V (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1917), pp. 335-36, 349, 353-56; and Paul A.F. Walter, "The Santa Fe-Taos Art Movement," Art and Archaeology, IV (December 1916), p. 330-38. For more on the artists see Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment 1882-1942; Arrell Morgan Gibson, The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900-1942 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983); and Edna Robertson and Sarah Nestor, Artists of the Canyons and Caminos: Santa Fe, The Early Years (1967; reprint, Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1996). Also see Kay Aiken Reeve, "The Making of an American Place; The Development of Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico, as an American Cultural Center, 1898-1942." (Ph.D. dissertation, College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University, 1977).

30. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (13 July 1916), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

31. Beatrice Chauvenet, Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 122.

32. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (telegram, 18 July 1916), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe; Edgar L. Hewett to Alice Klauber (telegram, 25 July 1916), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive; and Henri to Alice Klauber (telegram 25 July 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art. The telegram announces the Henris arrival in Santa fe. Also see "Week's Review of Society; What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5, which mentions that the Henris left Santa Fe for New York "last evening."

33. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated letter, August 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.

34. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated letter, 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.

35. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

36. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated letter, August 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.

37. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
38. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
39. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Also Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (15 July 1916), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
40. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
41. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. According to the notes only two of these paintings are extant.
42. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
43. Ibid.
44. Leonard Lanson Cline, "Paintings by Henri at the Art Museum," Detroit News (11 July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
45. "Notes of Santa Fe Art and Artists," Santa Fe New Mexican (1 September 1917), p. 2.
46. "Art at Home and Abroad: The Art Exhibitions Open During January," New York Times, V (21 January 1917), p. 12.
47. Henri to John Sloan (29 December 1911), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
48. An M.A. thesis has been devoted to this topic: Jennifer Lara Cohen, "Robert Henri: Portrait of the American Indian," (M.A. Thesis, Ohio State University, 1994). While this thesis raises some interesting ideas, it contains many erroneous and unsubstantiated facts and assumptions about Henri's oeuvre which make it problematic as a source on the subject. In particular, the author disputes Henri's own written views which are substantiated by both his work and writings. Instead of analyzing Henri's Native-American portraits within the context of his entire body of portraiture, conclusions are mistakenly drawn by only looking at a select few of his Native-American portraits.

49. Among the artists who documented Native Americans were George Catlin, Charles Bird King, Karl Bodmer, Winold Reiss, Elbridge Burbank, and W. Langdon Kihn.
50. Eugene Higgins to Henri (24 January 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
51. Robert Henri, "Robert Henri Calls Art the Manifestation of Race," The Art Quarterly, Milwaukee Art Institute, V (October 1916), p. 7.
52. Henri, "My People," pp. 466-67.
53. For Henri's views on Native-Americans, for example see, Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, compiled by Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), pp. 148-49, 187, 197. For his general humanistic philosophy see Henri, "My People," pp. 459-69.
54. Robert Henri, "My People," The Craftsman, XXVII (February 1915), p. 459.
55. Roy Harvey Pearce, Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind (1953; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 76-104.
56. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), p. 28.
57. See Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present, pp. 28, 72. "Primitivism" as discussed here derives from a European philosophy of civilization and is defined here as "people dwelling in nature according to nature, existing free of history's burdens and ...social complexity."
58. Henri to his mother (27 July 1914), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
59. "Records of the Past; Old Palace Notes," Santa Fe New Mexican (21 August 1916), p. 5.
60. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Henri executed forty-six Native-American subjects, and forty-nine Hispanic-American subjects during the 1916 season.

61. Ibid.
62. Cohen, "Robert Henri: Portrait of the American Indian," pp. 52-3.
63. "At the Art Galleries: Robert Henri's Place Among the Realists, as Shown by His Paintings at the Milch Gallery," The Evening Post, New York (9 March 1918), mag. sec., p. 7
64. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Also see "Week's Review of Society: What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5, which identifies the subject as Juan de Diego.
65. David Snow, "Dieguito Roybal," El Palacio, 88 (summer 1982), pp. 14-16. Snow states that the Eagle Dance is traditionally an early spring dance, however, Dieguito performed the dance on September 15th as Henri noted in his record book sketch. Dieguito was Navajo by birth. A kiva is a structure located within a pueblo that is used for sacred religious ceremonies.
66. See Edgar L. Hewett, Pajarito Plateau and Its Ancient People (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and the School of American Research, 1938), p. v., as quoted in David Snow, "Dieguito Roybal," El Palacio, 88 (summer 1982), pp. 14-16.
67. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The current location of the portrait sketch is unknown.
68. Ibid. Both of these portraits were later destroyed by Violet Organ. One painting was 24 x 20 inches, the other was 26 x 32 inches.
69. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (23 November 1916), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
70. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts as quoted in William Innes Homer, Robert Henri and His Circle (1969; reprint, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), pp. 203, 205. The letter, though undated, is probably from 1917.
71. See for example the bibliography in Homer, Robert Henri and His Circle, pp. 291-300, which outlines the extensive press notices Henri garnered during his lifetime. The publicity also includes fourteen articles Henri himself authored, as well as the popular book The Art Spirit which was published in 1923.

72. Guy Pène du Bois, "Exhibitions: Robert Henri," The Arts, 17 (April 1931), p. 499.
73. Henri had been in the forefront of the American avant-garde from 1904 until the Armory Show.
74. "Week's Review of Society: What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (9 July 1921), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
78. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (4 September 1921, unsent letter) Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
79. "Week's Review of Society; What Artists Are Doing: Artist Henri Delights Large and Appreciative Audience at Display of Beautiful Pictures," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5.
80. Ibid.
81. Henri to his mother (19 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
82. "Museum Exhibit Most Interesting As Showing Individuality of Artists Handling Same Themes," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 December 1917), p. 5.
83. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
84. See C. Owen Lublin, "Arts and Decoration," Town & Country 71 (20 November 1916), p. 33; Henry McBride, "New and Comment in the World of Art," The Sun, New York 5 (19 November 1916), p. 12; and Frank Jewett Mather, "Some American Realists," Arts and Decoration, 7 (November 1916), p. 14. In the articles by McBride and Mather, the portrait of Dieguito Roybal was prominently reproduced in each, though the work was not mentioned. No other reviews from this tour have been located.
85. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (23 November 1916), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

86. C. Owen Lublin, "Arts and Decoration," Town & Country 71 (20 November 1916), p. 33.
87. Edward Alden Jewell, "Drama of Current Week of Art in New York: A Memorial and a Reunion," The New York Times, IX (15 March 1931), p. 12.
88. Guy Pène du Bois, "Exhibitions: Robert Henri," The Arts, 17 (April 1931), pp. 496, 499.
89. H.L.H. "Paintings by Henri at Museum of Art Prove Startling Canvases," Detroit Times (undated, July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
90. "32 Paintings Show Progress of Henri," Detroit Free Press (11 July 1919); also see "Paintings by Henri at the Art Museum," Detroit News (11 July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
91. Valerie Ann Leeds, "My People:" The Portraits of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando: Orlando Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 15-28 for more on the reception of Henri's early portraits.
92. [Royal Cortissoz], "Random Impressions in Current Exhibitions: New Pictures by Robert Henri," New York Herald, III (21 January 1917), p. 3.
93. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The painting sold for \$900.00
94. Ibid.
95. Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 238.
96. See Edna Robertson and Sarah Nestor, Artists of the Canyons and Caminos: Santa Fe, The Early Years (1976; reprint, Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1996), p. 26. Since the Museum galleries were not completed until late in 1917, Vierra hosted the exhibition of Henri's paintings. Vierra built and designed a house in the old Santa Fe mission style which is located on the Old Santa Fe Trail at the south edge of town. The house had a two story studio, fireplace and balcony and so would provide adequate space for viewing Henri's work.
97. "Week's Review of Society: What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5.

93. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated letter, 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art. Marjorie Henri continued to practice as an artist, though from the time of her marriage her professional life became secondary to that of her husband.

99. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

100. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated, late fall 1916), Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.

101. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Her description matches the thumbnail sketches of this model.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid. The works included there were Lucinda, Mexican Girl, José, Mexican Boy, Tesuque Papoose, Tesuque Buck, The Medicine Blanket-Florencia, Indian, Alfonso No. 1, and Ricardo, Indian of San Ildefonso.

104. "Review of Society: What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5. Vierra was a friend of Henri's. He was among the earliest artists to settle in Santa Fe and was a principal figure on the Santa Fe art scene. A multi-talented individual, he was a painter, cartoonist, photographer, muralist, and amateur architect. He was chiefly responsible for the restoration of the Palace of the Governors and the later construction of the new Fine Arts Building in Santa Fe. Also see Edna Robertson and Sarah Nestor, Artists of the Canyons and Caminos: Santa Fe, The Early Years. (1976; reprint, Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1996), pp. 24-7.

105. For example, see "Records of the Past; Old Palace Notes," Santa Fe New Mexican (21 August 1916), p. 5; and "Review of Society: What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5.

106. Artist Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The works that were included in this exhibition were José, Mexican Boy, Tesuque Buck, The Medicine Blanket-Florencia, Ricardo, Indian of San Ildefonso and Tesuque Papoose.

107. Eugene Higgins to Henri (24 January 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

108. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

109. Ibid. Henri gave Dieguito Roybal-Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa to the Museum of New Mexico in the fall of 1916 and he gave a watercolor of the patio of the Governor's Palace to Violet Organ in 1917.

110. Henri to Henry Lovins (24 September 1917), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

111. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. No portraits of Francesca appear to be extant.

112. Ibid.

113. "Paintings by Robert Henri, N.A. and Grace Ravlin," (New York: Macbeth Gallery, 2-21 January 1924). Also see Ravlin-Henri correspondence (1918-1927), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

114. For more on the work of other artists working in Santa Fe at that time see Van Deren Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment 1882-1942, exh. cat. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1963); Picturesque Images from Taos and Santa Fe, exh. cat. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1974); and Edgar L. Hewett, "On the Opening of the Art Galleries," Art & Archeology, VII (January/February 1918), pp. 50-78.

115. Henri to Helen Niles (15 November 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

116. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated letter, late fall 1916) Klauber Papers, Archives of American Art.

117. Henri was directly responsible for luring New York painters George Bellows, Leon Kroll, John Sloan, and Randall Davey to Santa Fe. He also likely played an indirect role, through John Sloan, in attracting Edward Hopper and Stuart Davis among others to visit Santa Fe.

118. "Week's Review of Society: What Artists Are Doing," Santa Fe New Mexican (14 October 1916), p. 5.

119. Beatrice Chauvenet, Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 135. Also see Chris Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), pp. 110-45; and Reeve, "The Making of an American Place; The Development of Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico as an American Cultural Center, 1898-1942."

CHAPTER 5

Henri and Santa Fe: 1917

In the winter of 1917, Henri envisioned returning to Santa Fe early the following summer for a long season of work. The change of venue in the summers continued to be vital to his creative energy, since city life and his commitments there permitted little time for painting and the fresh sights stimulated him in his work. In a letter to his mother, he defended his need to get away in the summer, saying that "...the tonic of change of scene, interest and air--it will pay."¹

Henri was not able to depart that summer as early as he had wished. An announcement in the Santa Fe New Mexican appeared on July 3rd, declaring that he had arrived in Santa Fe the previous evening and stated that he would remain for the rest of the year.² He wrote to an acquaintance about the length of his stay that "I expect to return [to New York] about December 1st but the date is not yet fixed and it may even occur earlier than that. All depends on the weather and my feeling about what I am doing."³ The opening of the new museum, on which he was advising Edgar Hewett, was scheduled for the end of November and he likely planned to stay for the opening, especially if his work was proceeding well. The community of Santa Fe expressed gratification at the return of the nationally recognized

artist to their art colony and the newspaper pronounced that "here so famous an artist as Henri had found a country of as great and perhaps greater attraction to the artist than Spain itself."⁴

Henri himself also experienced renewed pleasure in being back in Santa Fe, away from New York and talk of the War. Though he found the trip out exhausting, he wrote to his mother shortly after arriving that:

We like this old place better than ever and I am sorry you did not come with us....Feel pretty good now. Was dreadfully tired the first 3 or 4 days owing to all that went before the trip and the trip itself. And it is quite a trip out here. We had a fine welcome from all our old friends here. There is not so much about the war here as in NY...⁵

The Santa Fe art colony remained largely unchanged from the previous summer; Grace Ravlin, William Penhallow Henderson, Paul Burlin (who married Natalie Curtis that summer), Sheldon Parsons, Warren E. Rollins, Carlos Vierra, and Kenneth Chapman, were again among those artists who were in residence in Santa Fe. Other artists and prominent figures who travelled through Santa Fe or spent part of the season there during Henri's residence were Julius Rolshoven, Walter Ufer, Victor Higgins, Joseph Henry Sharp, Eanger Irving Couse, Ernest Blumenschein, Mabel Dodge Luhan, and Georgia

O'Keeffe." Henri was surely acquainted with all of them with the exception of O'Keeffe and Luhan." O'Keeffe passed through Santa Fe on her way out to Boulder, Colorado, and visited the Museum on September 9th on her return trip. It was noted in the Santa Fe New Mexican that she was so delighted with Santa Fe that she would spend her next vacation there painting, though it was a number of years before she returned to the Southwest.⁸

Henri was increasingly involved with Edgar Hewett and the opening of the new museum in Santa Fe; nonetheless, the Henris largely kept to themselves. Violet Organ and Lucie Bayard again visited them for a lengthy stay in the summer of 1917.⁹ From the standpoint of social interaction, they did attend major community events and also frequented a number of Native American festivals and dances at nearby pueblos during which they mingled with the other local artists. Henri recounted how they generally spent their days in Santa Fe:

we get up about nine, it takes all morning to get ready for work and do the odds and ends. Then the model--some little Mexican comes and its [sic] work until evening. Then maybe we go to the movie or sit out in the swing seat on the lawn...¹⁰

He also noted that they went to the movies three or four times a week, and that in Santa Fe, "this is the whole show here nothing else."¹¹

The Henris rented the same house at 601 Palace Avenue that they had occupied on their previous stay. He described it to his mother:

The lot is about 200 feet on Palace Ave. Its [sic] about the best looking and best shaped place here the house being high up with great trees. Palace ave is the important residence street....The house is old adobe, but very livable, and wonderfully good looking (this being an asset to me). Water, bath, electric light, telephone and all such conveniences, 8 rooms and bath room, barn, fences, fruit trees and shade trees, garden, great views. The back part of lot climbs up a good hill.¹²

He had been again offered the use of the studio in the Palace of the Governors, but decided to let the studio go when he saw that with the replacement of a large window in one of the rooms, he could have an excellent studio right in the house.¹³ Since he no longer used the studio in the Palace of the Governors, he had that much less daily interaction with other artists. The construction of his own studio was reported in the local newspaper as was most everything he did while in Santa Fe.¹⁴

Another activity reported in the local newspaper was Henri's invention of a portable artist's palette that enabled a painter to work *en plein air* and carry 120 colors

for outdoor work. The palette was made of aluminum and had a shoulder strap for ease of transportation. The newspaper account noted that Henri planned to put it to its first practical use in New Mexico.¹⁵ Before he left for Santa Fe, he told John Sloan that

I had my palette made of aluminum at much cost both in money and energetic search for some one to do it. They all said it was impossible...As the area covered by the two trays is 15 x 24 there remains a strip of 5 x 24 of the supporting aluminum covered frame and this strip serves for mixing...As each tray has 12 compartments lengthwise and five across the two sum 120 compartments ushering in a new era in the history of outdoor painting...¹⁶

Since Henri generally worked on portraiture, which he most often did in his studio, his interest in such a device is somewhat perplexing, unless he had decided that he would like to pursue more landscape subjects and anticipated doing more outdoor painting. With the exception of his portrait of Dieguito, Henri's portraits were rarely inclusive of outdoor settings. However, in 1917, Henri did execute more landscapes than in any of the other years in the Southwest and it may have been that he designed this innovation with that precise intention.

Henri wrote at great length about his invention to

George Bellows, John Sloan, and Henrietta Shore.¹⁷ To Bellows, he sent elaborate sketches of the design and arrangement of the palette, and noted that "this will no doubt be the first time any artist has gone to work out of doors with an abundant set-palette of 120 notes."¹⁸ Bellows later had his own portable palette fabricated according to Henri's suggested specifications. Henri apparently made considerable use of the new invention when he painted some landscapes, as he confirmed to Bellows in August: "...the palette...proved to be a better and more easily practical thing than I even hoped. I am glad to hear that you also found it so."¹⁹ Henri also reiterated the usefulness and economy of the new invention to the Sloans:

I have found my pans--the aluminum divided pan...very practical and convenient. My notes have held better in this arrangement than in any of the previous water protected palettes...There is practically no waste of paint.²⁰

After a brief rest following his arrival, Henri began working in July, completing his first work on the 11th. In a letter to Sloan, he explained his slow beginning:

It took me some time to get settled down to work here. First there was a window to put in the big room of the house to convert it into a studio...Then I was not feeling in my usual state of energy--last winter was a hard one--I believe

the war has had its spiritual effect on many of us, far more than we have known. Anyhow I was run down and was only good for a few landscape sketches--of which one I think is good...²¹

Unlike 1916, Henri commenced with four scenes of the surrounding Santa Fe landscape using deep tonalities such as red orange, green, and purple to define the hills and sky. Of his first work of the season, he commented that "I have so far painted mainly landscape, the surroundings of our house being very beautiful--there are hills, mountains, great skies and a very picturesque grouping of old Mexican adobe houses."²² The compelling scenery of northern New Mexico left its impress on Henri and he noted that "wherever you go in this country you see a wild strange grandure [sic]."²³ A few days later he reported to his mother that "work is going ahead now and I am anxious to get some good things altho there has been nothing extra done as yet."²⁴

Within a month, Henri announced that he had "been working hard...am now painting some children of a half Indian half Mexican family. Very interesting youngsters....Work is going on now and a good deal has been done. Beginning to get into my stride and hope for good things."²⁵ The same day, however, he confided to George Bellows that "we have been here about six weeks, but I have very little done so far, but am at last launched and perhaps getting a grip on painting again."²⁶ Even one week later,

he still complained to Bellows that

...I'm sorry...I haven't done anything exceptional to show you so far. Shall have to work up or try to get one at least before you come...I was pretty well run down by last winters [sic] strife and have been crawling up vitality since. Enjoy work now and things may begin to happen.²⁷

Several days later, Henri announced that he had one 24 x 20 inch canvas to show Bellows and another that he hoped would be finished by the time he arrived in Santa Fe.²⁸ Henri had invited Bellows, who was working in California, to join him in Santa Fe and with his impending visit, he felt pressure to produce something of quality to show Bellows when he arrived.

Once Henri turned to portraiture, he did succeed in securing a steady stream of engaging new subjects, particularly young Hispanic and Native Americans, many of whom he repeatedly painted throughout the season. Those models who consistently reappear in numerous compositions in varying poses, costumes, and accessories, were Lucinda, Gregorita, Julianita, Florencia, Tilly, and Juanita. Of the models who sat for Henri during 1917, only Lucinda, a Hispanic-American girl, and Florencia, a Native American, had posed for him the previous summer. In September he noted that "...so far have been digging away at pictures of youngsters every afternoon and I think have a few that are

good."³⁰ To Alice Klauber he remarked that

Work has gone pretty well. At least we are having a good time, and a good time painting leaves its impress on the work generally. I am devoted to the Mexican children. Studio in our house and the youngsters like it better with the full freedom of lawn, swing, a victrola and the kitchen larder near.³⁰

One of the first 1917 Santa Fe portraits he completed was titled Maria (Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 5-1), which portrays Lucinda with her face averted. Henri, though he frequently made note of the model's correct name, sometimes gave paintings alternate titles to avoid confusion so he would have multiple canvases with the same title.³¹ In this work, as he had in Tesuque Papoose and other portraits of Gregorita and Julianita painted later that summer, he experimented with drapery, enveloping the sitter in a shawl. To counter the stark, formal whiteness of the draped fabric, Henri painted a vivid and varicolored background of red orange, orange yellow, yellow, and greens. In a letter to his mother, he related his growing productivity, and described his model:

"...I am fit and fine for a whole day's work and enjoy every minute of it. Have been working recently from a little girl whose name is "Lucinda"--Spanish girl. Nearly all the children

know but very little or no English....Lucinda is a fine little saffron colored queen of about six years. Last year she was not an enthusiast about posing but this year she likes to come.³²

Lucinda, his most recurrent Southwestern model, had posed for eleven paintings during the preceding year, and she sat for twelve additional portraits throughout the summer and fall of 1917 including Lucinda, Mexican Girl (private collection, Chattanooga, fig. 5-2). Florencia posed for three works in 1916 and four in 1917.³³

As in many of the portraits of this period, Henri experimented with different approaches to the same subject. In Lucinda, Mexican Girl, he used a dark, saturated palette in the background and shawl that is juxtaposed against intensely bright colors as in the red orange and orange yellow stripe in the background and brilliant rose at the neckline of Lucinda's dress. She is posed in a frequently employed three-quarter view that is also repeated in Little Girl of the Southwest (Delaware Art Museum, fig. 5-3), a work executed in the latter part of Henri's visit. In the later portrait of Lucinda, her features show more definition and maturity. By this time, Henri moved away from the warm richness of the colors he had used in Lucinda, Mexican Girl to lighter and more intense tonal values. Typically experimental, he varied his painting style from the painterly boldness of the former example to the feathered

brushwork and softer surface of Little Girl of the Southwest.

Throughout his career, Henri consistently favored female models over male ones. Though he had produced almost as many portraits of men as of women in 1916, in 1917 he produced many fewer of men--only eight. One of his finest and most sensitive efforts was also one of his first works that summer, The Goat Herder (Mexican Boy) (Collection of Bruce and Susan Lueck, Minneapolis, fig. 5-4). This work was included in an exhibition of paintings Henri circulated in 1919 and 1920, and was noted in several reviews. It was described as an "important" work in one review,³⁴ while another singled it out along with Tesuque Buck of the previous year:

....but most interesting are the many Mexican and Indian types more recently painted in the West. Painted in the broad strong style characteristic of this artist, no. 18 "A Mexican Boy" and No. 17 "Tesuque Buck" are among the very best interpretations of the rare type Mr. Henri so successfully portrays.³⁵

The serious intensity of the young boy's fixed gaze captures and unshakably holds the viewer. The simplicity of the composition illustrates how Henri can at the same time shed the decorative and picturesque aspects of portraiture, and yet succeed with one of his most powerful and sensitive

characterizations.

In the earlier part of his 1917 Santa Fe visit, Henri increasingly began to integrate Native decorative elements into his compositions, placing more emphasis on the complementary space around the figures. This often resulted in the creation of an environmental backdrop behind the subjects. He had assimilated Indian shawls and blankets into a number of his 1916 portraits as part of the subject's Native attire. However, he now assertively used the brightly-keyed and boldly patterned geometric textiles which he incorporated into fifteen images with the models wrapped in them or hung behind them for a more decorative effect.³⁶ Henri had traditionally emphasized simplicity in his backgrounds which he believed should be only an atmospheric setting that would not detract from the portrait subject. However, in these works the background design becomes infinitely more complex and decorative than anything he had previously undertaken; yet, they do not overwhelm the compositional balance and are harmonious and respectful of the subject. This experimentation with the backdrop represents a departure from Henri's standard approach, though does not completely break with the philosophy he advocated to his students:

When the model takes his place, the
background recedes and exists only as a compliment
to the figure. All the beauty that can exist

in the background rests in its relation to the figure. It is by looking at the figure that you can see this relation.³⁷

Henri's working method generally involved exploring new ideas for his portraits, such as the introduction of these distinctive backgrounds. He would not continuously grapple with a concept until it was resolved, but would repeatedly return to address a compositional issue in between working on other canvases. For example, though interested in using colorful and geometric patterns for backgrounds, he would vary this approach from portrait to portrait, sometimes using monochromatic and dull background colors in between some of his most elaborate compositions.

From his first portrait of the 1917 visit, Gregorita (current location unknown), and particularly in the other portraits of Gregorita and Julianita, the underlying compositional structure becomes increasingly evident. Most often employing a triangular structure with the head forming the peak, blankets with geometric designs and color divisions in the background serve to visually divide the composition into quadrants of varying proportions. In the blankets and drapery, a whole new spectrum of colors appears, from muted grays to acidic yellows and greens, especially in the portraits of Juanita and the Native Americans.

With the introduction of two particular models in 1917,

Gregorita and Julianita, who appear in an exceptional series of large format portraits, Henri embarked on a period of great artistic creativity and originality. Finally expressing satisfaction with some of his work, he noted to Bellows after his departure from Santa Fe, "have been doing some since you left--got some good ones--26 x 32 since you left. Got a line of very beautiful Indian girls."

Gregorita, a Native American from Santa Clara, posed for the first portrait Henri completed in Santa Fe in 1917, and emerged in another nine representations during the early part of the visit. Julianita, a San Ildefonso Indian, appeared in six portraits during 1917, and posed for Henri again in 1922 for four additional canvases.³⁹

Gregorita Baca, born in 1905, was attending an Indian school in Santa Fe where Henri selected her from a class and asked if she would pose for him. She readily agreed for it meant she would be excused from the strict classes she had to attend. She noted that Henri and his wife would pose her with clothing and accessories they had available in the studio. She also observed that the artist worked rapidly and that he finished a portrait each time she sat for him though the sessions required her to pose for several hours each time.⁴⁰

While some of the costumes and accessories clearly belonged to the portrait subjects, it is also apparent that Henri often furnished his models with costumes and

accessories for posing. Portraits of both Gregorita and Julianita, who were not acquainted with each other, exhibit the same rose-colored shawl and blue tunic with the red stripe.⁴¹ Lucinda, Florencia, Gregorita, and Julianita, all were depicted ensconced in a white blanket, and the same Native-American blankets appear in portraits of Macedonia, Julianita, Gregorita, Julianita, and Florencia.⁴²

The first in the succession of ornate and colorful compositions was Indian Girl of Santa Clara (Gregorita) (Phoenix Art Museum, fig. 5-5). Gregorita is shown in a three-quarter pose facing to her right. On the left side of the canvas, the blanket design reinforces the focus on her face. Her head is framed on the right by other decorative motifs; bright colors of yellow, green, pink, and yellow orange offset her composed expression and noble bearing. Henri was obviously pleased with the outcome of this work since he exhibited the painting frequently throughout his lifetime, even entering it in the 1926 Society of Independent Artists Annual Exhibition in New York.⁴³

The same model again appears in Gregorita, Indian of Santa Clara (Gilcrease Museum, fig. 5-6). The colorful pattern of the blanket used in the work provides visual diversion from the severe angularity of the folds in the white ceremonial blanket cloaking Gregorita. This composition shows more dimension, an effect produced by the

volumetric white cloth draped around the model and the Indian blanket that appears to undulate in the background. Another work that is a close variant of Gregorita, Indian of Santa Clara is Indian Girl in White Blanket (Julianita) (Corcoran Gallery of Art, fig. 5-7), which uses a similar palette and configuration of the figure enveloped in the white blanket. Here, in a less austere composition, Henri has encircled the head and covered the figure in soft folds of drapery that create a sense of depth. Yet another variation shows a full-face view of Gregorita draped in a blue silk wrap in Indian Girl in Blue Wrap (Gregorita) (Milikin University Art Gallery, Decatur, fig. 5-8). The white and deep red stripes that cross at the model's neckline are a device Henri often employs to center attention on the subject itself. Using a different palette from the other works, he skillfully renders the iridescent quality of the blue silk with a reflection of green highlights. The light texture of the fabric is revealed by the sharp folds delineated by defining brushstrokes.

In four paintings depicting Julianita, Indian Girl of San Ildefonso (Julianita) (Indianapolis Museum of Art, fig. 5-9), Julianita Ready for the Dance (collection of Betsy Bennett, Santa Fe, fig. 5-10), Julianita (private collection, Nebraska, fig. 5-11), and Julianita (private collection, courtesy Owen Gallery, fig. 5-12), some of Henri's varied approaches for framing his portrait subjects

are evident. In the first, he uses the squared motif floating around the figure's head, while in Julianita Ready for the Dance, a pale monochromatic gray sets off the brilliantly colored purple dress and the shimmering blue-purple and green silk wrap adorning her shoulder. In this work Henri introduced a note of realism with the suggestion of an environmental setting for the portrait, an approach he rarely employed. He places a flowering potted plant in the background behind her and has her holding sprigs of evergreen. Details such as the decorative beads and silk wraps add elements of visual interest and realism to both portraits. In the third composition (Julianita, private collection), he painted Julianita in an oversized reddish chair with a cushion, and she is wrapped in a rose-colored shawl completing a monochromatic palette of reds and oranges that is juxtaposed with the blue highlights of her dress. The red stripe of her bodice cuts a diagonal across the canvas and the chair cushion infers a horizontal division of the composition. In Julianita, the artist places the model in front of the Native blanket whose decorative designs enframe the figure's head. Highlighted by the varied array of tones including red, green, white, yellow, turquoise, and purple, a multitude of lines created by the blanket and model's clothing partition the composition into a complex series of bisecting angles and lead the viewer's eye around the composition. This version is the last he painted of

Julianita in 1917 and is closely related in structure to his first composition, Indian Girl of San Ildefonso (Julianita) (Indianapolis Museum of Art), though she is facing the opposite direction.

Henri's 1917 production reached its pinnacle in two ambitious portraits, Julianita (private collection, fig. 5-13) and Indian Girl of Santa Clara, NM (Gregorita) (location unknown, fig. 5-14), which show the subjects sheathed in probably the same Native blanket with the same ornamental blanket evident in the backgrounds.⁴⁴ The blankets exhibit a wide range of hues, and the bold geometric designs make these compositions powerful and dramatic images of Native Americans.

Two other likenesses Henri painted of Gregorita particularly stand out for their ornamentation. He rarely included decorative props of any kind in his portraiture, yet in one, he presents Gregorita holding a brown bowl with six apples in her lap, and in the other, Gregorita and the Santa Clara Bowl (Ulrich Museum, Wichita State University, fig. 5-15) she is shown with her hand resting on a large olla, an example of the black Native pottery that was used for holding water or grain. For formal reasons, Henri may have included examples of pottery or textiles in the portraits, yet, they may also have been symbolic manifestations of the Native people and their culture, as he espoused in his writing:

Here in the pueblos of New Mexico the Indians still make beautiful pottery and rugs, works which are mysterious and at the same time revealing of some great life principle which the old race had. Although some hands lead, the whole pueblo seems responsible for the work and stands for their communal greatness. It represents them, reveals a certain spirituality we would like to comprehend, explains to a degree that distinction which we recognize in their bearing.⁴⁵

In the portrait of Gregorita, he may have included the black olla as a synecdoche for the Native Americans. Henri saw the Native-American people and their art as culturally interconnected, as he explained:

Its [sic] a great mistake many people make when they believe "high" art is only on canvas. Some of these indians here get a rare evidence, not only of themselves but of their race into the simple decoration of a piece of pottery...through design as a means they succeed in self-revelation for that is their motive.⁴⁶

For his time, Henri's analysis of "fine" and "decorative" art offers a progressive outlook; clear distinctions were generally made between high art and utilitarian objects in that era. Henri sincerely believed in the merit and importance of the art forms employed by the indigenous

people and his inclusion of such objects was a manifestation of his beliefs. Henri continued painting portraits with some cultural context or varied backgrounds during 1917, particularly in the form of abstract and colorful designs taken from Native blankets, though he did not make any further attempts at including still life elements in any of the compositions.

Macedonia (Collection of Sarah Warren, Waco, Texas, fig. 5-16), one of Henri's final and most daring efforts from this cycle of works, depicts a different model whom he portrayed only once in this portrait. Though not executed in the vivid and acidic palette of some of his earlier compositions, the boldness of the patterns and colors competes with the incisive and regal characterization of this Native woman.

Henri's oeuvre consists primarily of single-figure portraits, though he did not adhere to a fixed compositional formula and attempted a variety of configurations. On occasion, he undertook double portraits, producing one in Santa Fe in 1916 of a San Ildefonso Native American woman and her baby, and two in 1917. Maria and Baby (Indianapolis Museum of Art, fig. 5-17), from 1917, the only extant Southwestern double portrait, emphasizes the Indian infant whose character Henri successfully realized.⁴⁷ In the same manner that he translates the personality of an older model into a portrait, here he suggests the essence of infancy.

Using vibrant color, the painterly application of paint onto the canvas offers a sense of squirming movement in the young subject. The full-face portrait of the child commands attention while focus is deflected away from the figure of Maria by rendering her in profile. Although Henri expressed a strong interest in painting children, especially in his later career, he actually painted relatively few babies; he did one Southwestern single portrait in 1916, Mexican Baby, Sofia, which is no longer extant.⁴²

Profiles were another rare occurrence in Henri's oeuvre likely because of the challenge in transmitting a penetrating characterization without a direct view of the eyes. Occasionally he undertook single-figure portraits rendered in profile as in Miguel, Indian of Tesuque (Anschutz Collection, fig. 5-18). This portrait, the first of two he did of this model, is similar in conception, tonalities, and subject, to the profile portrait he had done the season before of William Virgil as Tesuque Buck.

In August of 1917, Henri purchased a Ford motorcar, dubbed the "Henrietta," which he bought "because it will be of so much service in going about painting places..."⁴³ His initial justification for the expense was that he would devote more attention towards landscape painting. He later wrote to John Sloan justifying the purchase of the car:

The possibility of out of door sketching and the advantages of daily air, off of feet, and visits

to the near and far pueblos, and the possibility of getting practically all the investment back at the end of the season resulted in the purchase of a 5 seat Ford....It's a good thing and maybe it will prove a good investment as I feel very much like work after a morning's ride out somewhere in the country. And maybe it will bring about the painting of some landscape that would not otherwise be done....It's also good to go get interesting models who live at a distance.⁵⁰

Henri turned to landscape painting with more frequency during 1917, producing several series that totaled twenty-seven works, which were probably the result of having the use of a car. The vehicle greatly increased Henri's mobility and inspired him to vary and diversify his supply of portrait models, particularly Indian subjects, as well as painting local scenery. In October, he wrote to his mother about the benefits of the car:

We have been going everyday for the last week out to the Indian school to get little Indians to paint. It is a big government school about three miles out of town. Marjorie and I drive out in the Ford, pick out a youngster and get back at one o'clock. When work is over about 5 PM and when too dark in the studio but still light outside we drive back to the school.⁵¹

The car also ended up in providing transportation to remote areas, and as a result, Henri travelled around the region more in 1917, visiting nearby pueblos at Tesuque, Taos, San Ildefonso, Acoma, and Laguna. He noted that "last summer we did not go so far for the dances--went then to Santa Clara, Santa Domingo and San Ildefonso, all within a radius of fifty miles."⁵² Henri took many more local trips to see dances and festivals during the 1917 visit than he had the previous year.

Around October 1st, Henri made a visit to Taos to see the Fiesta de St. Geronimo; he had visited Taos once before in August of 1916.⁵³ This time in Taos he attended a sunset dance by the Indian pueblo which left a strong impression on him; he observed that it was

...a gorgeous piece of color. The indians were brilliant in their colors, from white like moors to every color known, many visiting indians...from hundreds of miles, some of them.⁵⁴

Later in August, Henri set out on a larger expedition to Acoma, on a trip of 350 miles, to see the important "Corn Dance," which celebrates the harvesting of crops; this trip also included side trips to the Enchanted Mesa, Laguna, and Albuquerque.⁵⁵ The following week, Henri, along with about a dozen others from the Santa Fe art colony, attended a dance at the San Ildefonso pueblo, followed several days later by a trip to the nearby Tesuque Canyon.⁵⁶ He also

noted that after he returned from the Tesuque Canyon trip he executed "one of the best canvases I have done here, perhaps the good air had something to do with the success of it."⁵⁵ Unfortunately, he did not record the work to which he referred. In mid November, Henri went to Tesuque again, this time visiting the pueblo, along with most of the Santa Fe art colony, to witness the Buffalo dance held to celebrate hunting season. He was captivated by the visual spectacle which he recounted to his mother:

I have seen no dance as beautiful as this one...The beating of the indian drums, the singing of the chorus, and the brilliant costumes in the sun as they came out in brave procession from the kiva were a sight to see. The men half naked with feathers on one side and a horn on the other side...The women in brilliant silks and ornaments in their hands, and decorated with symbols of festive color and design--The men carried bows and arrows, and two men had buffalo heads. The whole dance in its gestures symbolized the hunting of the buffalo, and was a prayer for good hunting...⁵⁶

It is likely that a pastel sketch Henri did of an Indian dance records this particular scene (collection of Kathleen and Gerald Peters, Santa Fe).

Although Indian subjects provided some of Henri's most

powerful images of 1917, Hispanic-American portraits dominated his output. He painted more Native Americans in the earlier part of the season, and then concentrated on Hispanic Americans in the latter part, which was possibly the result of availability of models.⁵⁹ In his work, Henri expressed a particular interest in the Hispanic Americans as portraits subjects in relative proportion to his overall Southwestern production. His treatment of the different ethnic groups in his portraits varies only in subtle ways; he renders both the Native-American and Hispanic-American subjects with compassion. The two groups of portraits differ from each other more in formal terms than in interpretation; the Native-American portraits are often more decorative due to the colorful and festive costumes. In the portraits of the Hispanic Americans, he tends to employ a more strident palette. However, from a psychological standpoint his portraits of both groups generally penetrate beyond superficial likenesses with perceptive characterizations that can be intense and stirring.

As Henri had repeatedly returned to painting the two Native American models, Gregorita and Julianita, he now selected two Hispanic natives: Tilly, who appeared in eleven portraits, and Juanita, in ten. In a letter to his mother, Henri described Tilly and his interest in her:

We have a little Mexican girl posing, play the victrola for her and she poses fine. Wild black

hair, eyes that have looked into the sun and a face well burnt by it. Her name is "Tilly" she speaks only Spanish, but we know enough...⁶³

In Tilly (Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami, fig. 5-19), she has a more subdued demeanor, though in some of the other versions, she has a wilder look. Tilly is repeatedly posed leaning against a brightly colored pillow, and he painted the sober-faced child in warm earth-tones, often juxtaposing complementary colors of fiery orange reds against green tonalities in numerous compositions.

For decorative relief, Henri generally used only items that were appropriate to the subject. In the Hispanic-American portraits, in place of Indian textiles he substituted other visual alternatives in costuming and backdrops. In two paintings of Juanita, his first portrait of her, Juanita (Collection of Lee E. Phillips III, Wichita, fig. 5-20) and a later version, Pepita (Juanita) (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, fig. 5-21), he adapts an abstract design from a patchwork quilt to enframe the figure in place of the motifs from Indian blankets that he had used similarly in portraits of Native Americans. The colors he selected for the background are not repeated or highlighted elsewhere in the figure or clothing, instead introducing a contrasting assortment of bright hues that set off and distinguish the figure from the flamboyant backdrop.

Pepita was one of two Hispanic-American subjects from

1917 that sold during Henri's life. The buyer was William Preston Harrison, a noted art patron who acquired the painting with the intention of presenting it to the museum in Los Angeles, which he did in 1920.⁵¹ Henri wrote Harrison about changing the title which he had originally named "Little Girl in Black Shawl." He subsequently suggested "Juanita of Santa Fe," but ended up retitling it Pepita, meaning "little girl."⁵²

In the sales of his 1917 Santa Fe portraits, Henri fared better than he had with work from the previous season. He sold six works over the next several years: Gregorita Indian of Santa Clara (Gilcrease Museum) was sold in 1918 by Babcock Galleries to a private collector; Indian Girl of San Ildefonso (Julianita) (Indianapolis Art Museum) was sold to Mrs. John N. Carey, Indianapolis; Indian Girl in White Blanket (Julianita) (Corcoran Gallery of Art) went to the Corcoran Gallery of Art in a trade for Willie Gee (1904; Newark Museum) plus additional cash arranged through the Macbeth Gallery (the reason for this exchange of works remains unknown); Indian Girl in Blue Wrap, (Gregorita) (Miliken University, Decatur) was sold to the Decatur Art Institute, probably sometime after 1921; Little Girl of the Southwest (Lucinda) (Delaware Art Museum) was sold after the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annual to the Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts in April 1920-- the asking price was \$1200 less a twenty-five percent

discount, which resulted in a \$900 sale; and Pepita (Juanita) (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) was sold to William Preston Harrison in July of 1918. Mr. and Mrs. Harrison had likely first seen the painting when they visited Henri in Santa Fe in October of 1917, and then apparently became intrigued by his Southwestern work.⁶³

Henri indicated that if he had sold some work at the time, he would have made an offer to buy the house in Santa Fe which they were renting.⁶⁴ He had inquired during the preceding year as to the owners' price for the house. They were asking \$3,500 though he thought he could probably buy it for somewhere between \$1,850 and \$2,500. Henri noted that he would have gone ahead with the sale, but that because of the War, sales of paintings were uncertain, and that

I shall need cash in hand before more comes in in these uncertain times. Of course I have no idea of tying myself down to a piece of ground but its good to have a place like this to come to.⁶⁵

He seemed to be drawn to the growing development of Santa Fe and wished to be a part of it.

Henri noted the impact of the new museum in Santa Fe which he felt would draw attention to the remote region: "this new museum and a big hotel which is to be put up will increase the importance of the town..."⁶⁶ With the goals he and Hewett had set out to attain, the museum, they felt,

would become a cultural magnet. He praised the new museum in its conception:

the museum has grown in its beauty and is likely that it will spread its healthy kind. Most museums are glum and morose temples...The museum here looks as tho' it were a precious child of the Santa Fe sky and the Santa Fe mountains. It has its parents complexion [sic], it seems warmly at home--as if it had always been here. Without any need of the treasures of art which to go into it it is a treasure of art in it self [sic].⁶⁷

Santa Fe's potential as a cultural and intellectual center began to be realized; in an article that appeared several years later, a writer noted that "Santa Fe has recently seen a great influx of artists, [and] writers...and is growing artistically in a way that no other city in this country has grown. The art spirit of Santa Fe, like the museum itself, is a thing peculiarly indigenous."⁶⁸ The museum garnered much publicity itself and even received some national attention. A writer echoed Henri's assessment of the museum's harmonious setting and design and lauded it for

Ideals of simplicity and strength found in the old Spanish-Indian architecture of the Southwestern United States [which] are given a strikingly beautiful embodiment in the new art museum at Santa Fe....Not often is the spirit of a natural

and historical setting so harmoniously reflected....The museum's effectiveness is due largely to the unity of its conception...⁶⁹

Henri had consulted with Hewett on many important aspects of the new institution including the physical appearance of the galleries and helping to shape the new museum's open exhibition policy. For example, in November of 1916, he wrote Hewett a long detailed letter about some lighting solutions he had investigated and noted that "I am telling you of this of course in regard to the gallery at Santa Fe."⁷⁰ In addition to the invaluable assistance Henri provided on various aspects of the inauguration of the new facility, his greatest impact can be seen in the resulting liberal exhibition policy devised for the new museum. It was largely due to Henri's liberal philosophy of an open exhibition policy without juries and prizes that the Museum of New Mexico became the centerpiece of the Santa Fe artist colony. The mission of the new institution stated that it:

...extends its privileges to all who are working with a serious purpose in art. It endeavors to meet their needs for a place of exhibition and as far as possible offers studio facilities...The artist is the judge of fitness of his work for presentation....The Museum seeks to reflect what is passing in the minds of the artists who are working in this environment. It wants to put

before the public in the most favorable light possible a view of the art that is being produced in the Southwest, to promote education in art by affording an opportunity to see all phases of modern work. The Museum thus becomes a forum for free artistic and intellectual expression, and must accurately reflect the cultural progress of our time.⁷¹

Hewett was immensely susceptible to the charismatic personality and celebrity of Henri, and was sympathetic to his artistic views. The exhibition policy ideals, as laid out by Hewett, bear Henri's unmistakable imprint. Many of the ideas in his statement mirror aspects of the artistic philosophy that Henri had been promoting throughout his life, especially regarding his militant campaign for free and open exhibition policies.⁷² In fact, the Museum of New Mexico's "open-door" exhibition policy, remained in effect until 1951, when spatial limitations necessitated juried exhibitions.

Hewett, known as a great promoter, advocated a guiding but active role for the new institution which he felt would bring attention to this beautiful, but remote regional outpost; he saw the new museum as the cultural heart of the Southwest:

There is a glorious future for art in the Southwest--for art in America. Fortunate are we

in having some part in it. This building we have erected expresses something of our gratitude for, and appreciation of, these artists. It is an effort to worthily display their works, to bring them to the attention of the world to the end that multitudes may share our pleasure....It will be the policy of this institution to provide all possible facilities to the artists who come to the Southwest....We feel that in encouraging the introduction of art and in bringing it into the lives of the people, we are doing our proper service to the world.⁷³

Several years later, word reached Henri in New York from Santa Fe artists that the Santa Fe newspaper, the Santa Fe New Mexican, had called for an "art censor" to decide what would be exhibited at the Museum of New Mexico. Henri wrote to Edgar Hewett and expressed his support of the museum, but also expressed his disappointment and concern about such a matter arising in Santa Fe, which countered everything he had worked for in helping to establish the exhibition policy of the museum:

I expected better things....I count on the west for fresh and modern and very American ideas, and above all on every one in Santa Fe, for since I have been there I have looked on Santa Fe as a hope. And I have regarded the Santa Fe Museum as

a forerunner of the kind of museum we are to have all over the country when we have grown wise enough to know the value of open forums in matters of art.⁷⁴

Henri had indeed shown evidence of a deep emotional investment in the development of the museum and the Santa Fe artist colony, and appeared to be personally disappointed and troubled by this episode. Envisioning great potential for the museum under the leadership of Hewett, he likely saw himself in some advisory role at the museum should he continue to maintain a presence in Santa Fe. In fact, the following year Henri was elected to the Board of Managers, and he remarked in his letter of acceptance, "I accept the honor with pleasure. My heart has been with you from the beginning."⁷⁵ He persevered, even in these later years, in a continuing battle consistently waged against juries, prizes, and restrictive exhibition policies. He continued to uphold the same liberal outlook on free and open exhibition forums that he had fought from the beginning of the century against the National Academy from which his reputation for insurgency originated.

Plans for the opening of the new museum kept Henri in Santa Fe for the dedication and the inaugural events scheduled around the Saturday of the Thanksgiving weekend.⁷⁶ The dedication of the new museum was one of the most important

cultural and social events to occur in Santa Fe and over twelve hundred people attended the opening ceremony. The program of festivities, receptions, addresses, and lectures, spanned several days. One of the inaugural events included a Thanksgiving dinner for the artists that was held on Thursday, November 29th.⁷⁷ Among the artists present for the opening of the Dedication Exhibition besides Henri were: O.E. Berninghaus, Julius Rolshoven, H. Paul Burlin, Arthur F. Musgrave, Sheldon Parson, Carlos Vierra, and Kenneth M. Chapman, among others.⁷⁸

In addition to his work on the inaugural exhibition and providing general policy, program and installation advice for the new museum, Henri was invited by Hewett to make a speech at the dedication and write a magazine article about the inaugural exhibition of Southwestern artists. Though flattered by the requests, he declined because he felt that it would take away too much time from painting.⁷⁹

The art exhibition was touted as the most complete representation of Southwestern art ever assembled.⁸⁰ Edgar Hewett, in his inaugural address, spoke of the intent of the show, and what he wanted the public to take away from the experience:

On throwing open to you this exhibition of Southwestern Art, I...express the deep sense of obligation that we in the Southwest feel toward the painters who are producing here the most

characteristic art of the new world....These artists are revealing to the world the beauty of the Southwest....The beauty of the Southwest is subtle, mysterious, elemental. We of the Southwest have rather silently felt it--the eternal character of these vast spaces, silent, but vibrant with life and color...and in it all, of it all, our people...We are particularly grateful that these artists appreciate our people. We know of nothing finer than humanity--nothing greater than the spirit of man striving to be in harmony with the forces about him.⁶¹

Henri had been instrumental in organizing the Museum's inaugural exhibition, known as the "Dedication Exhibit of Southwestern Art," which opened on November 24th. The local newspaper had made note of Henri's involvement and related the selection of Grace Ravlin's work, one of the more prominent artists of the Santa Fe artist colony:

Miss Grace Ravlin yesterday exhibited a number of her Laguna and Indian dance paintings to friends and several of the artist colony, including Robert Henri and George Bellows. Three canvases were selected for the dedication exhibit. Every one of the pictures is aglow with color and alive with motion...Miss Ravlin being the most successful among artists in depicting the Indian dance.⁸²

To round out the representation of work in the dedication exhibition, he enlisted a number of his friends and regional artists to participate, and was greatly involved in the selection process and installation of the exhibition.⁶³

Henri was certainly singularly responsible for the inclusion of works by Leon Kroll and George Bellows in the exhibition. He also showed fourteen of his own paintings in the exhibition: thirteen portraits, and one landscape.⁶⁴

Henri's principal exhibition of the work he produced in Santa Fe in 1917, aside from the inaugural exhibition at the Museum in Santa Fe, was a one person exhibition held at Milch Galleries in New York in March of 1918. He showed twenty-six paintings and four drawings that were mostly of recent creation, though some older works were included as well. Twelve of the 1917 Santa Fe portraits of Native- and Hispanic-American subjects were represented including: Maria (Lucinda), The Goat Herder, Tilly, Mexican Girl (Lucinda), Indian Girl with Apples, Gregorita, Gregorita, Gregorita Indian Girl of Santa Clara, Julianita Ready for the Dance, Indian Girl in Blue Wrap, Indian Girl in White Blanket, Macedonia, and Little Indian Boy.⁶⁵ The Southwestern works were critically well-received, though aspects of his style and the subject matter elicited some mixed reaction. In general, it was noted that he had grown measurably in his mastery; one review called this his best

show ever, and remarked of the Southwestern portraits, as had often been noted throughout his career, that "tame conventions carry no appeal to him."⁸⁶ Guy Pène du Bois, a friend, former student and early supporter of The Eight, indicated that Henri's style had developed from the more fixed realism to which he had adhered in his earlier years:

Mr. Henri has grown. He looks upon Nature now with other ramifications...He approaches her like a great master who...can discount a great deal that she shows him, can synthesize most of her forms, and can shrug his shoulders at the little deviations....His vision has grown large.⁸⁷

du Bois further contended that Henri's formalist tendencies kept his interpretations of types from being ethnological in their orientation, distinguishing them from the Native-American portraits of other artists of the region:

...this portrayal of the races, as might casually be supposed, does not in any sense prove him to be an ethnologist. The mere fact that he is more one than Mr. Burlin or Mr. Couse or Mr. Blumenschein proves nothing, for these men see Indians merely as symbols of poetical conclusions. And, Mr. Henri himself, ethnology notwithstanding, sees them as amiable or malleable objects or models for the ends of a design.⁸⁸

The Eastern critics for the most part tended to appreciate

the virtuoso style of his painting, but distrusted the foreignness of Henri's chosen subjects, particularly the Native-American images. Another writer declared that

...the chief characteristic ...is the brilliant ease with which the pigment is made to express form and character....The present exhibition includes full-length figures and a number of the half-lengths to which Mr. Henri has given so many canvases and so much science. The half-lengths are dangerously picturesque with the uncompromising inescapable picturesqueness of indian types, but the artist....affirms his genius for rendering character, while keeping himself free from the pose of the psychologist.⁸⁹

The writer, like du Bois, also noted Henri's penchant for compositional design and his repetitive poses, and that "if we give our painters titles according to their works, Mr. Henri would be the 'Master of the Indian Half-Lengths.'"⁹⁰

The review by Henry McBride in The Sun was typically somewhat unfavorable. He also reviewed a concurrent exhibition of Edmund Tarbell's work at Knoedler Galleries, though neither artist fared well in his estimation. He acerbically remarked of Henri's work:

...Mr. Henri pleases because he isn't refined. Mr. Henri has a great deal of vigor....Mr. Henri has one advantage..., his "punch" is still with him....Put Mr. Henri's

Indians beside the Raeburns and the Lawrences, whose color at least he seems to emulate, to see the difference between schoolroom studies and virile attempts to interpret life.⁹¹

McBride, however, indicated that he felt Henri artistically had nothing to contribute and he singled out Indian Girl of Santa Clara (Gregorita), one of his finest Southwestern portraits, stating that "I can take one glance at Mr. Henri's roughly painted, photographically felt Indian maiden and no more."⁹²

Macedonia, along with several of the most distinctive compositions of Gregorita and Julianita, were among those that Henri later selected for inclusion on his exhibition circuit of 1918 and 1919. These circuit exhibitions were one-person shows that were generally comprised of an artist's recent work, and were shown at sometimes unconventional sites for two-week intervals. Henri had an active exhibition circuit which frequently duplicated the same cities; Bellows also followed a similar course in publicly presenting his new work. It appears that the artists themselves arranged these tours, and Henri and Bellows may have worked together on developing an itinerary.⁹³ The shows were not scheduled very far in advance and were placed in whatever venue was found to be available; in many cases the site remains unknown unless an

accompanying checklist was published. These exhibition venues could be the local museum, libraries, art centers, halls or other unspecified locations. Henri's 1918-1919 circuit exhibition travelled to sites in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Springfield, Ohio, Detroit, Muskegon, Rochester, Memphis, Buffalo, Columbus, Baltimore, and Chicago.⁹⁴

In Detroit, on the second venue of his 1919 exhibition circuit, in a presentation of thirty-two of his paintings, his Native-American subjects were criticized for the unpolished and contrived appearance:

...many of the paintings shown are a disappointment...because they give the impression of falling short of great work when just a little more time and thought would have made the difference between mediocre productions and those of high merit....his style extends from the freedom, dash and vigor with which Detroiters are familiar...to the rather tight, woodeny style of his New Mexican Indian portraits...⁹⁵

Works such as Indian Girl of Santa Clara, N.M., Julianita Ready for the Dance, and Macedonia, which were included in the Detroit venue, depict somewhat formal poses that the local critic seemed to mistake for stylistic ineptitude. While Henri's work was generally appreciated in the Midwest, it is difficult to assess why these works, some of Henri's most accomplished Native American likenesses, were not more

highly regarded. When exhibited outside the Southwest, a group of Santa Fe portraits met with mixed reactions, as illustrated by this review from Detroit, the second venue on the exhibition circuit. For some of the audiences, Henri's new and more flamboyant sense of color proved controversial and provoked criticism:

The Indians of Taos with their brilliantly dyed blankets and robes seem to have offered Henri a means of expression which he seized avidly. And all this time the experiments in color have gone on, apparently indifferent to the decorative factor...Henri's example in color, his feeling for new fresh harmonies is the biggest thing in his art. But nevertheless one is dubious about the success of much of his painting. There are "chords" of color in this gallery that fairly hurt at first glance, and one cannot imagine becoming attuned to them in any length of time.⁹⁶

While the mid-western reviewers appreciated the Southwestern subject matter, it was Henri's unusual approach to color that was found objectionable. His interest in and use of Hardesty Maratta's color theory, to which he began to subscribe in 1909 and continued for the rest of his life, naturally played a part in the physical appearance of his Santa Fe work, yet he continued to investigate different palettes and employed a wider array of hues. Continually

questioning and experimenting with different methods and theories to achieve new visual effects, Henri, however, was never wedded to any single approach.⁹⁷ In fact, it was his experimental nature that sometimes incited negative critical reviews from those who came to have certain expectations about Henri's work.

Henri increasingly exhibited more Southwestern portraits at other national venues, widening their public exposure. He entered Gregorita (1917; Gilcrease Museum), and Indian Ricardo (1917; Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe) in his 1919 exhibition circuit and in the Taos Society of Artists travelling exhibitions. The following season he placed Florencia (1917; private collection) and Gregorita with Santa Clara Bowl (1917; Ulrich Museum, Wichita State University) on the 1920-21 Taos Society circuit, and the following year he selected Cinda (1917; current location unknown) for exhibition.⁹⁸

In light of the mixed response to his Southwestern work from the New York audience, Henri included only one Southwestern work, Tesuque Papoose of 1916, in his subsequent one-person exhibition in 1921, also held at Milch Galleries.⁹⁹ On the occasion of this exhibition, the critic Royal Cortissoz reacted a bit more favorably and commented that in Henri's interpretation

...there is a good deal of interesting
characterization. He has painted Spanish and

other exotic types, and they bring into the room a welcome contrast to the dull frou-frou of which we see so much. He paints with an infectious appreciation the rich southern physiognomy.¹⁰⁰

Also in 1921, he entered Tilly and in 1926 Indian Girl of Santa Clara, in the Society of Independent Artists annuals in New York. In the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts annuals, Henri submitted Santa Clara Indian Girl in 1919 and Little Girl of the Southwest in 1920, and he showed Julianita, Indian Girl in White Blanket in the 1923 Corcoran Annual.¹⁰¹ Among his most exhibited works from 1917 were principally portraits of the models he most favored: Indian Girl of Santa Clara - Gregorita, Tilly, Julianita, Indian Girl in White Blanket, Gregorita, Gregorita - Indian Girl of Santa Clara, Julianita Ready for the Dance as well as Goat Herder, Little Indian, and Florencia.¹⁰²

Santa Fe offered considerable insulation from worry and talk of the War, however, in his correspondence, some uneasiness in Henri's consciousness is still in evidence. He wrote Sloan in September:

I don't know how long we will stay here but it will be as long as we can. New York is not inviting in any sense now. I hope dame fortune will be good enough to us to let us have enough money to continue long on and doing our work until

this war is over--which matter is a very great gamble especially as one does not feel like going about currying popularity, or grabbing the opportunity to make profit out of the sacrifice.¹⁰³

The summer and fall of 1917, however, culminated in one of the most fruitful periods in Henri's work. In appraising the season's Santa Fe production, Henri took pleasure in his accomplishments, but noted his initial difficulties to his friend and fellow artist, Randall Davey:

My summer was an uncertainty--that is I did not know if I was getting things--and I didn't really get above average until towards the end--then things began to happen and they happened right along to the end--result was that I got some good ones. Had I quit at the end of the usual summer term I should have been nowhere.¹⁰⁴

Henri remained in Santa Fe until December of 1917 before returning to New York.¹⁰⁵ Though this was his longest visit there, he produced about the same quantity of work as the preceding year, probably because of his slow beginning. In the final result of the 1917 visit, Henri recorded executing over one hundred major works while in Santa Fe, seventy-six of which were portraits, and twenty-five were landscape subjects.¹⁰⁶ The canvases he painted during the summer and fall of 1917 include some of his most experimental and innovative efforts in portraiture and are the apogee of his

entire Southwestern production. The quality of his work reached a summit towards the middle of the visit, with the series of Native Americans, particularly the portraits of Julianita and Gregorita, and the Hispanic-American model, Juanita. As a mature artist of fifty-two, he was at the peak of his skills and creativity. This season also represented the final highpoint of his career; for the most part after this period he became less adventurous in his choice of subjects and less inventive in his technical approach to portraits, with the notable exception of his late major masterwork, Ruth St. Denis in the Peacock Dance (1919; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts).

NOTES

1. Henri to his mother (7 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
2. "Southwest Archaeology, Science and Art: Notes from Museum and Artists' Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (3 July 1917), p. 4.
3. Henri to Mr. Birnbaum (19 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
4. "Southwest Archaeology, Science and Art: Notes from Museum and Artists Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (5 July 1917), p. 4.
5. Henri to his mother (10 July 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
6. "Art and Literary Colony," El Palacio, IV (July 1917), p. 87.
7. Mabel Dodge Luhan's published writings contain no mention of Robert Henri, nor any mention of her appears in Henri's writings. This is rather curious since both of them were prominent figures and were acquainted with many of the same people, including the Burlins and the Hendersons. Luhan did not like Santa Fe, and only remained there a short time before moving on to settle in Taos. For example, see Mabel Dodge Luhan, Edge of Taos Desert (1937; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1987), pp. 19-24.
8. "Southwest Archaeology Science and Art: Notes from Museum and Artists' Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (10 September 1917), p. 4. Also see Roxana Robinson, Georgia O'Keeffe (London: Bloomsbury, 1989), pp. 189-90. There is no known meeting of O'Keeffe and Henri. O'Keeffe was well aware of Henri, and had heard him speak in February 1916 in New York; she found him immensely compelling and was deeply stirred by his talk. See Clive Giboire, ed. Lovingly Georgia: The Complete Correspondence of Georgia O'Keeffe & Anita Pollitzer (New York: Touchstone, 1990), pp. 133-34.
9. Viv was with the Henris for the better part of the summer; she returned to New York on September 6th. Henri to George and Emma Bellows (5 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

10. Henri to his mother (7 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
11. Henri to his mother (3 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
12. Henri to his mother (26 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
13. Henri to George Bellows (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
14. "Art and Literary Colony," El Palacio, IV (July 1917), p. 87.
15. "Southwest Archaeology, Science and Art," Santa Fe New Mexican (5 July 1917), p. 4.
16. Henri to John Sloan (23 June 1917), collection of Janet Le Clair.
17. Henri to Henrietta Shore (25 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (19 September 1917), collection of Janet Le Clair; Henri to George Bellows (25 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and Henri to George Bellows (13 June 1917), Bellows Papers, Amherst College Library, Special Collections.
18. Henri to George Bellows (13 June 1917), Bellows Papers, Amherst College Library, Special Collections.
19. Henri to George Bellows (25 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
20. Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (19 September 1917), collection of Janet Le Clair.
21. Ibid.
22. Henri to his mother (27 July 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

23. Henri to his mother (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
24. Henri to his mother (3 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
25. Henri to his mother (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
26. Henri to George Bellows (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
27. Henri to George Bellows (19 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
28. Henri to George Bellows (25 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
29. Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (19 September 1917), collection of Janet Le Clair.
30. Henri to Alice Klauber (22 September 1917), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art archive.
31. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Though Henri never specifies his reason for changing titles, an examination of the Record Books makes this the most likely deduction.
32. Henri to his mother (27 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
33. Artist's Record Books, collection of Janet Le Clair.
34. H.L.H., "Paintings by Henri at Museum of Art Prove Startling Canvases," Detroit Times (undated, July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
35. Harriet Kirkpatrick, "Art and Artists," Ohio State Journal (14 December 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
36. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The works were from the earlier part of his stay. He executed seven compositions of Gregorita, a Santa Clara

Indian, four of Julianita, a native of San Ildefonso, one of Macedonia, one of Florencia, and two of unnamed models.

37. Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 38.

38. Henri to George Bellows (17 November 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

39. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

40. Interview with Gregorita Baca Chavarria by the author (9 October 1998) and correspondence between Malinda Pekarick, daughter of Gregorita (20 October 1998).

41. Interview with Gregorita Baca Chavarria by the author (9 October 1998); and Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. For example, see Indian Girl with Apples, Gregorita (location unknown), Indian Girl in Blue Wrap, Gregorita (Milliken University Art Gallery, Decatur), and Julianita (Private Collection).

42. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

43. Ibid.

44. Though the current whereabouts of Indian Girl of Santa Clara, NM (Gregorita) are not known, the work is reproduced Bennard Perlman, Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 241 and Robert Henri in Santa Fe: His Work and Influence, exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1998), p. 91.

45. Henri, The Art Spirit, p. 187.

46. Henri to Henry Lovins (24 September 1917), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

47. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

48. Ibid.

49. Henri to his mother (19 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

50. Henri to John Sloan (19 September 1917), collection of Janet Le Clair.

51. Henri to his mother (21 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
52. Henri to his mother (27 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
53. Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916); Henri to his mother (2 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. The letter from Henri to his mother is misdated August 2nd as it describes events that transpired later in the season.
54. Henri to his mother (2 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
55. "Notes of Santa Fe Art and Artists," Santa Fe New Mexican (1 September 1917), p. 2, and Henri to his mother, (27 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
56. Henri to his mother (18 September 1917) Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
57. Ibid.
58. Henri to his mother (November 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
59. From his initial meeting with Edgar Hewett in 1914, Henri became interested in Native Americans and their culture and he repeatedly expressed interest in painting them and that, along with the warm weather, was in fact, a prime motivation for Henri visiting there. However, due to the fact that the Native Americans were largely settled in the pueblos, located outside of Santa Fe, Henri did not have as direct access to Indian models. For example, see Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
60. Henri to his mother (19 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
61. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

62. Henri to William Preston Harrison (20 May 1918), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

63. Henri to his mother (21 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

64. Henri to his mother (26 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Henri to Henry Lovins (24 September 1917), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

68. Rose Henderson, "Santa Fe's Art Museum," Arts & Decoration XII (February 1920), p. 296.

69. Ibid., p. 272.

70. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (23 November 1916), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

71. Edgar L. Hewett, "Art in New Mexico," El Palacio, X (15 June 1921), p. 13.

72. See for example, the following articles authored by Robert Henri: "The New York Exhibition of Independent Artists," Craftsman, XVII (May 1910), pp. 160-172; "The 'Big Exhibition,' the Artist and the Public," Touchstone, I (June 1917), pp. 174-77, 216; "An Ideal Exhibition Scheme--The Official One a Failure," Arts & Decoration, V (December 1914), pp. 49-52, 70; and "To Free Art From Prizes and Juries," Literary Digest, XLII (21 January 1911), p. 114. Also see "Art Notes," The Evening Post, New York (12 December 1914), p. 9. Similar phrasing can be seen in the museum's mission statement as in the articles authored by Henri.

73. Edgar L. Hewett, "On the Opening of the Art Galleries," Art & Archeology, VII (January/February 1918), pp. 51-2.

74. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (20 December 1920), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

75. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (20 September 1918), Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

76. The Santa Fe New Mexican (17 November 1917), as referenced in Edna Robertson and Sarah Nestor, Artists of the Canyons and Caminos: Santa Fe, The Early Years (Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, 1976), pp. 54-5.

77. "Museum Dedication Program to be Simple but Impressive; Eminent Speakers Here to Participate," Santa Fe New Mexican (27 October 1917), p. 3.

78. "When Dreams Come True," El Palacio, 4 (November 1917), p. 91.

79. Henri to his mother (21 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

80. "When Dreams Come True," p. 91.

81. Edgar L. Hewett, "Art Exhibit Reveals Beauty of Southwest: Address at Opening of New Museum Art Galleries," Santa Fe New Mexican, 2 (26 November 1917), p. 4.

82. "Notes from Museum and Artists' Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (15 October 1917), p. 4.

83. "When Dreams Come True," pp. 90-7. This article is devoted to the inaugural exhibition at the new Museum with a listing of works included in the show. Also see Henri to his mother (November 1917) Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; Dedication Exhibition of Southwestern Art, Preliminary Catalogue, exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1917) which printed an incomplete list of works; and "Southwest Archaeology, Science and Art," Santa Fe New Mexican (15 October 1917), p. 4. Among the other artists who participated in the exhibition were: Henry Balink, Paul Burlin, Kenneth M. Chapman, Gerald Cassidy, E. Martin Hennings, Alice Klauber, Leon Kroll, George Bellows, Sheldon Parsons, Grace Ravlin, Julius Rolshoven, Joseph Henry Sharp, Carlos Vierra, T. Van Soelen, Oscar Berninghaus, Ernest Blumenschein, Eanger Irving Couse, W. Herbert Dunton, Victor Higgins, Bert Geer Phillips, and Walter Ufer.

84. "When Dreams Come True," pp. 95. As noted here, the works Henri exhibited in the show were: Indian Girl of Santa Clara, Indian Girl in White Blanket, Mexican Boy, Lucinda in White, Tilly, Indian Girl in Rose-Colored Shawl, Indian Girl of San Ildefonso, Little Mexican Girl, Juanita in Blue, Indian Girl with Blanket, Santa Fe Marl, Diequito, Mexican Girl, and Gregorita. Also Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The record book lists thirteen works shown in the exhibition, though includes

several different titles: Santa Fe Marl, Maria (Lucinda), Goat Herder, Santa Clara Indian Girl (Gregorita), Mexican Girl (Lucinda), Indian Girl of Santa Clara (Gregorita), Indian Girl in Blanket, Gregorita, Indian Girl of San Ildefonso, Indian Girl in White Blanket (Julianita), Lucinda, Juanita, and Tilly.

85. See Frederick W. Eddy, "News of the Art World," The World, edit. sec. (3 March 1918), p. 5; "Art at Home and Abroad: Works by Henri, Tarbell, and Mahonri Young," The New York Times Magazine, V (3 March 1918), p. 12; Guy Pène du Bois, "At the Art Galleries: Robert Henri's Place Among the Realists," Evening Post, New York, mag. sec. (9 March 1918), p. 7.

86. Eddy, "News of the Art World," p. 5.

87. du Bois, "At the Art Galleries: Robert Henri's Place Among the Realists," Evening Post, New York, (9 March 1918), p. 7.

88. Ibid.

89. "Art at Home and Abroad," The New York Times Magazine (3 March 1918), p. 12.

90. Ibid.

91. Henri McBride, "View and Reviews in the World of Art: Tarbell at Knoedler's and Henri at Milch's," The Sun, Magazine sec. (8 March 1918), p. 22-23.

92. Ibid.

93. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Also see entries on Bellows and Henri in The Index of Twentieth Century Artists, 1 (New York: College Art Association, 1934), pp.118-20; and The Index of Twentieth Century Artists, 2 (New York: College Art Association, 1935), pp. 50-3.

94. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Though Henri's record are quite thorough and generally accurate, he did occasionally leave out locations, mistated which works travelled where, especially if substitutions had been made, and he did not cite the specific locations or dates of the exhibition circuit.

95. "32 Paintings Show Progress of Henri," Detroit Free Press (11 July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

96. Leonard Lanson Cline, "Paintings by Henri at the Art Museum: Color and Candor Shocking, But Underneath Evidence of Notable Rebel," Detroit News (11 July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair. Also see H.L.H. "Paintings by Henri at Museum of Art Prove Startling Canvases," Detroit Times (undated, July 1919); and "32 Paintings Show Progress of Henri," Detroit Free Press (11 July 1919), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

97. Henri's extensive writings often allude to his current ideas and experiments with color. His tendencies in this direction are visibly manifested throughout his oeuvre commencing in 1909. The greatest sources for exploring his ideas on color theory is his correspondence with John Sloan, George Bellows, and Helen Niles. Also see Michael Quick, "Theory and Practice," in "My People": The Portraits of Robert Henri, exh. cat. (Orlando: Orlando Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 47-62, for more on Henri's lifelong involvement with color theories.

98. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

99. Exhibition of Paintings by Robert Henri (New York: Milch Galleries, 28 February-12 March 1921). Tesuque Papoose was catalogue number 5.

100. Royal Cortissoz, "Interesting Americans: Robert Henri," New York Tribune, III (6 March 1921), p. 7.

101. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. According to Henri's records, the Corcoran Annual is not listed in the exhibition history of Julianita, Indian Girl in White Blanket.

102. Ibid.

103. Henri to John Sloan (19 September 1917), collection of Janet Le Clair.

104. Henri to Randall Davey (18 December 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

105. Henri to his mother (November 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Henri anticipates leaving Santa Fe by November 29th and returning to York by December 3rd.

106. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

CHAPTER 6**Henri and Santa Fe: 1922**

After Henri's prodigious visit to Santa Fe in 1917, he expressed the hope of returning again the following summer; however, the length of the journey and time he would have there did not make the trip feasible. In May, from New York, he conceded to his friend, the art collector and patron Preston Harrison that

Our own news is that we won't get west this summer. Will be held here until well into the summer so that the long trip would be for too short a stay. We will certainly be here as late as the 15th of June.¹

In June, he finally wrote to Paul Walter, who worked at the Museum of New Mexico, about his summer plans:

A long time I have delayed sending the final word--just because there was always a chance of coming anyway....But now it is a certain fact that we cannot come to Santa Fe this summer--and there is great regret in our midst because of it. We will miss being there but it can't be helped, and our plans have to go over to next season....please don't count us out of the family because we don't come home this summer!²

Henri's disappointment in not being able to return was also

echoed by many in the Santa Fe art community, particularly Edgar Hewett, who was trying to meet the challenge of maintaining the energy of the inaugural season at the museum. Hewett wrote to Henri later that summer:

We miss you greatly, from the Museum, this season. Please remember that there is a place here that no one else can fill, and we shall eagerly look for your coming next year. So far, I do not feel that the New Mexico art activities have quite held up to the level of last year...Please help us to keep from dropping back too seriously.³

Hewett, whose strength was as an organizer, educator, and a promoter, was not well-versed in art outside of non-western cultures. He had found it somewhat difficult to keep up the momentum of the new institution, and he continually looked to Henri to bolster his own and the institution's aesthetic vision.⁴ In the earlier part of the summer, Henri briefly visited his brother, who spent his summers on Chesapeake Bay; however, he did not find the area a suitable inspiration for his work. In search of more paintable subject matter, Henri returned to Monhegan Island, Maine, though Santa Fe remained on his mind throughout the summer. He wrote to Dr. Hewett from there in August, "we are always talking of Santa Fe. Its been a hardship not to come."⁵ The following month he again recalled Santa Fe: "there is just something in the rugged build of the Island that

reminds [us] of Santa Fe."⁶

Henri did not return to Santa Fe until 1922, yet the possibility of going there continually arose each season. In 1919, in a letter to Paul Walter, he expressed a pronounced ambivalence about the type of ethnic subjects that were available for him to paint in Santa Fe, though at the same time, he also seemed to want to go there for a visit:

As for ourselves we don't know yet. I am in much doubt. The case is like this. For both of us there is no place we would like to be in so much as Santa Fe--But for painting I want a change of subject--or rather a change of skin--light skin instead of red. --At Santa Fe we can hardly hope to extend our model supply much beyond what we already developed and our supply was confined to our Indian and Mexican friends. Last summer I did not paint people at all--only landscape (woods). Now I have a craving to do some fair skinned people and will probably go somewhere where I can get them...but nothing is decided. Don't think that we have cut allegiance to Santa Fe--we will come back for we love the place and our friends and all the atmosphere you put about us when we are there. What I would like would be to find a half dozen kids I might use to satisfaction and

import them to Santa Fe--have our old place back again, and paint the imported ones alternately with new paintings of our old group of Santa Fe subjects. --However I can't just arrange that.

After all I don't know yet what we will do--so there is nothing fixed--I'm really hungry for the sun, the feel and the look of Santa Fe.⁷

Though Henri's work in portraiture had its basis in a self-styled brand of humanism, he also had strong aesthetic opinions that informed his choice of subjects at any particular juncture. At this time, Henri may have been sensitive to the possibility that for him Santa Fe's artistic potential may have been exhausted by the two prior visits. With the exception of Spain and Ireland, Henri did not generally return to a place summer after summer. La Jolla, Ogunquit, and Woodstock, were places Henri found stimulating, but only for a single season.

Henri again expressed ambivalence in a letter to his mother, though he seemed more decided against going to the Southwest. His reasons were principally the limited subjects, time, and the costly trip amidst a period of financial difficulty; these factors were all of significance in his eventual decision not to go. However, in the end, it was Henri's artistic concerns that prevailed:

I haven't yet decided what to do. Have thought a good deal of the West for the summer but

do not want to go to Santa Fe because the subjects there are only indians and mexicans. Want white people now. Will probably not go west. The climate is fine, but the subject matter is doubtful, and the trip so long and expensive. Traveling in hot weather is not fun. The Sloans and the Daveys are going to go all the way to Santa Fe from New York in an automobile.⁸

The summer of 1919 ultimately became occupied with portrait commissions that took him to Lake Forest, Illinois, and Falmouth, Massachusetts, and he produced little noteworthy work during that summer.⁹

At Henri's suggestion, his two close friends, John Sloan and Randall Davey, arranged to visit Santa Fe together in the summer of 1919, though he did not join them. From Illinois Henri wrote them a greeting in Santa Fe, "welcome to Santa Fe. I am writing green with envy because we are not there ourselves--and being half way as it is."¹⁰ Though two summers had passed since Henri had visited, Davey reported back that he was still very much missed there: "...quite a gloom here because you two didn't come out this summer. Not only us but everyone from the museum and the artists..."¹¹ Not only Davey and Sloan, but Hewett particularly felt the extended absence of Henri in Santa Fe. Sloan related to Henri that

I believe you would be pleased to hear Dr. Hewett

speak of you--he does so much want you to come out this summer--he told me when I saw him yesterday that he was going to start his batteries on you in a couple of weeks hoping to persuade you to come--and we do wish he may succeed--you know you cant [sic] beat the climate anywhere on earth.¹²

Henri planned to return to Santa Fe in the summer of 1920 after completing portrait commissions in Buffalo and Hyannis.¹³ Yet again, circumstances made it unfeasible. In August, Henri wrote to Walter Ufer that

 I did think that if for only a short time we would get west this summer, but after I got the work cleaned up here and was about to start on a voyage of adventure my mother fell seriously ill and for more than a month we have done nothing but look after her and will not be able to leave for anywhere more than a few hours trip.¹⁴

The extended convalescence of his mother ultimately necessitated abandoning the idea of a trip to visit the Sloans, who had returned again to the Southwest. He appeared disheartened when he wrote to Sloan in September:

 As you know there was once a chance that we would drop in on you all at Santa Fe for a long or a short stay.

 That chance has passed. We haven't dropped in anyplace all. The summer except for the

portrait at Buffalo, and the other one at Hyannis, Cape Cod, Mass., has been nil.

We had no sooner returned from Hyannis, and were contemplating a long and wonderful trip which was to have taken Santa Fe and the new Sloan residence while on the wing, when we got a hurry call from Atlantic City telling us that my mother was very ill....

...I advise you to enjoy every minute you have left of beautiful Santa Fe and make up your mind that while you will come bodily to New York you will remain in the spiritual remoteness and aloofness which may be possible in Santa Fe.¹⁵

Further complications arose with his studio situation which was ultimately resolved by his purchase of the Gramercy Park residence he had been renting.

In the summer of 1921, the Henris went to Woodstock, New York, with the Bellows, the Speichers, and Leon Kroll. Henri wrote to Sloan, who went back again to Santa Fe, that this looks as if it will be a good summer if the models are available which we have not as yet fully investigated. It's beautiful weather...It's not as near my sort as Santa Fe is, however. I wish we could have come out there.¹⁶

During the years since 1917, which was the time of Henri's last visit to Santa Fe, he painted few works of any great

distinction, with the exception of Ruth St. Denis and the Peacock Dance. The summer he spent in Woodstock, however, was an immensely productive season, and while there, he painted numerous portraits of lively and engaging local youngsters including the Sleicher children, Agnes, Hans, and Carl, and another local child, Jimmy Gerry. These works, however, did not surpass, or even approach the level of achievement he attained in Santa Fe in 1917.

Henri finally returned to Santa Fe in the summer of 1922. He arrived on June 20th and was accompanied by Marjorie and his mother; Lucie Bayard and Viv, Marjorie's sister, came later and remained with them for part of the visit.¹⁷ Their arrival was again celebrated in the local press and the Santa Fe New Mexican reported that

Santa Fe art circles are fortunate in having Mr. Robert Henri here for the summer. He arrived on Monday accompanied by Mrs. Henri and his mother, and has taken the Lansing Bloom home near the Capitol. It has been several years since Mr. Henri was last in Santa Fe, but his movements have been followed with much interest and his exhibitions and successes have given his friends here much pleasure.¹⁸

To inaugurate Henri's return, the Hewetts held an open house for them on June 24th.¹⁹ It was a major social event in Santa Fe's art world, and Henri noted in his diary that it

was his birthday and that there was a "reception to us at Dr. Hewett's house. Met old friends and many new people. Big turnout."²⁰

The art community in Santa Fe had continued to develop with a steady influx of new artists from other places during Henri's absence of several years. In addition to artists, there was also a growing literary community who had come to experience and be inspired by the unique attributes of this southwestern cultural center; many of these new visitors returned annually and some also took up permanent residence.²¹ New arrivals to the Santa Fe art colony since Henri's last visit, besides Sloan and Davey, included Raymond Jonson and Arthur Krehbiel, of Chicago, Gustave Baumann, Olive Rush, Theodore Van Soelen, Andrew Dasburg, Bror Julius Ohlsson Nordfeldt, and the "Los Cinco Pintores": Jozef Bakos, Fremont Ellis, Willard Nash, Walter R. Mruk, and Will Shuster.²²

Founded in 1921, "Los Cinco Pintores," (the Five Painters) was a group who exhibited together for a number of years and whose individualistic styles drew upon modernist ideals introduced in Paris and New York in the previous years, though they pictured Southwestern subjects. However, of the artists Henri met in 1922, the most significant to him was Will Shuster with whom he became acquainted on his second day back in Santa Fe and became close friends.²³

Pleased to be back in Santa Fe, Marjorie related to

friends back East that "its [sic] more than wonderful out here."²⁴ In addition to the climate, scenery, and general ambiance, the Henris also now enjoyed the company of a wider circle of intimates. In addition to the Hewetts, Henri frequently socialized with the Sloans, the Daveys, and the Shusters. However, after spending the preceding summer in Woodstock with the Bellows and Speichers, George Bellows, who had returned to Woodstock again, indicated that he missed the Henris and observed that "it is totally too bad that Woodstock and Santa Fe aren't in the same place."²⁵

Throughout the period of June 21 to July 22, Henri's diary documents many more social activities and local trips than on previous visits. Since their closest friends, the Sloans and the Daveys, were also in Santa Fe, they tended to have more social interaction with them; Henri, however, accomplished little if any work during this period. He remarked to George Bellows on July 28th that "I am just about ready to start to work. Have been breathing the air so far, tripping, etc. Feeling fine and fit."²⁶ He also reported that he had bought a new Ford, since he had had to sell the one he had in 1917, and wrote of the trips he was taking with the car:

"...a new Ford, just bought...all the modern conveniences. John has one too.. Mine just getting broken in. I also. First trip was to Tesuque. Victory dance...Next trip to Santa

Domingo.²⁷

Henri visited Santo Domingo on June 26th and planned on returning there again later. He also visited Tesuque pueblo for a dance on July 22nd with a group including Lucie, Marjorie, the Sloans, and the Shusters.²⁸ Marjorie wrote to Bill and Mary Roberts in early August that

We've been going on so many trips....Bob has not started painting yet, he is simply taking it easy and driving his new Ford like a master.²⁹

Aside from travelling and socializing, another of Henri's distractions from work was his dissatisfaction with the Bloom house which they rented for this visit. Henri noted on June 24th that "we planning to leave the Bloom house if we can get the old Safford house."³⁰ By June 29th he declared, "hating the Bloom place more & more."³¹ Finally, after protracted rental negotiations, the Henris were able to move back to 601 Palace Avenue on July 15th, where they had stayed on their previous visits. Henri readily acknowledged that they were "happy to be back in the old place."³²

On August 9th, Marjorie wrote to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts that "Bob had planned to begin work this week...but today has been called to do a portrait, perhaps two portraits at Los Angeles...we will be gone for three weeks."³³ To the Robertses, she also acknowledged that "...we hate to go, but there is from \$6,000 to possibly

\$9,000 in it if all goes well, so that is nothing to sneeze at."³⁴ The lucrative commission in Los Angeles which took the Henris to California from August 31st until October was to paint the portrait of Mrs. Arthur B. Cecil. The portrait commission created another major disruption for Henri in terms being able to get down to the summer's work.³⁵

Marjorie wrote to the Robertses about their house and future plans:

...we are so crazy about this house that we want to buy it, and have it forever. Had we been mean business [sic] in 1917--we could have had it for \$3,500 but....now they want \$9,000 but we think they be willing to take \$6,500 cash--so we go to Los Angeles to get it.³⁶

Henri was paid \$3,000 for the 33 x 41 inch portrait of Mary Cecil; the source of Marjorie's exaggerated expectation of payment is not known.³⁷

Henri periodically did commissioned portraits, though these generally tended to be among his less successful endeavors. He did not actively cultivate this aspect of portrait work and instead tending to rely on teaching and the unpredictable sale of his work. His need for establishing an emotional rapport with his subjects could preclude successful results in commissioned portraits since he could not select models he personally found interesting; the commissioned paintings therefore can appear lifeless and

wooden, lacking the distinctive vitality that characterizes his finest pictorial efforts. However, Henri apparently found Mary Cecil a sympathetic subject, for she and her husband were immensely pleased by the portrait he painted of her, motivating Arthur Cecil to write Henri in appreciation of his work:

Ever since you left I have been enjoying the portrait so much that I thought I must write you and tell you, because not only is it the most beautiful picture I have ever seen, but it is to me a most striking likeness and evidently the work of a great master....I am inclosing [sic] herewith my check for \$2,000.00 which I believe is the balance of our account, but you must know that I fully realize that money is totally inadequate towards in any way compensating you for such wonderful ability.³⁸

The painting, which Henri executed at the Ambassador Hotel, where he resided during his stay in Los Angeles, shows a three-quarter length seated view of Mrs. Cecil attired in a simple black evening dress. Though the work's current whereabouts are unknown, the general conception of the portrait is visible in Henri's record book sketch.³⁹

Through this enterprise the Cecils and the Henris became friends and kept in touch in the ensuing years; Henri invited them out to Santa Fe for a visit later in the

season, and they subsequently requested he execute portraits of their two sons.⁴⁰

Before Henri left Santa Fe for California, he appears to have completed only one finished work--a still life--a rarity in his oeuvre.⁴¹ When he arrived back in Santa Fe in early October, he began working steadily, producing his first portrait of the season, that of a Hispanic boy, sometime before the 11th.⁴² Mixed race--Hispanic-Native American models, such as an unnamed male child, Berna Escudero, and Casimira, dominated Henris production throughout the fall and winter of 1922, though he also painted numerous Hispanic subjects, such as Josephina, Chico Lucera, Lola, and Francisco.⁴³

The most prominent subject of 1922 was Berna Escudero, a young girl of mixed heritage with dark coloring who sat for eleven portraits which Henri worked on throughout the season.⁴⁴ The compositions are simply structured with plain, dark backgrounds, and are most often three-quarter views of her face, as in Bernadita (San Diego Museum of Art, fig. 6-1), one of the early essays of her that season. In several of the compositions depicting Berna Escudero, Henri downplays her ethnicity by cloaking her in a nondescript overcoat with large buttons that has no particular cultural association, though he included a Native-American blanket which he draped over a chair in a few of the portraits. The cycle of paintings depicting this model is particularly

notable for her regal features and soulful expression which he artfully realized in each likeness. Like Berna Escudero, Lola (Denver Art Museum, fig. 6-2) also possesses a similar demeanor and refined features which is in contrast to the portraits of a young male subject, Francisco, whose spirited and impish disposition Henri also captured, as in Francisco (Young Sport) (collection of Lee Dirks, Santa Fe, fig. 6-3).

Other models, besides Berna Escudero, whom Henri used repeatedly in 1922 were largely Hispanic: Lola, who sat for three portraits, Josephina, and Francisco, who each posed for four.⁴⁵

The compositions of Berna Escudero, Lola, and Francisco, are related to Henri's prior essays of children, particularly those he painted in Ogunquit, Maine in 1915, and in Woodstock, New York in 1921. These representations of juvenile subjects are precursors to the final phase of Henri's painting career, which lasted from 1924-1928, and is almost exclusively devoted to portraits of young Irish children. Henri's ability to endow portraits of children with a sense of vivacity and spontaneity, which he translated from life onto the canvas, was one of his singular accomplishments during this last season of painting in Santa Fe, and it continued to define his direction throughout the remainder of his artistic life.

Henri's 1922 Santa Fe work is distinct from his production of 1916 and 1917 in several respects. In a

number of the 1922 portraits, as evident in Lola, he altered his technique to favor an overall smooth surface, accomplished with blended tones and a sensuous application of pigment to the canvas. He also continued to experiment with varied palettes and approaches to color. In 1919, he remarked in a letter to his brother that "I have done a good deal of new study lately and I believe I will have an advance of considerable importance in my work as a result--richer and more beautiful color..."⁴⁶ This new development in his work can be seen in the clarity and vivid coloration of Ruth St. Denis in the Peacock Dance, the most important painting of Henri's late career, executed later that same year. However, in many of the portraits from his 1922 Santa Fe trip, a transition in his color usage becomes evident showing a tendency towards warm but dark tones which can become muddy. An artist who ordinarily exhibited exceptional facility as a colorist, many of these portraits display murky hues that even make some of the images difficult to read. For the sake of contrast, however, Henri rarely fails to insert a bright blue, red, or white, to highlight the subject's face. The brilliant palettes of 1916 and 1917 were generally abandoned for more descriptive and naturalistic color in the work of 1922, though there are exceptions, such as the portrait of Lola in which an unusually wide spectrum of hues ranges from pale pink and blue to dark brown, creates a luminous effect.

At this time, Henri also forsakes the complex and decorative aspects of compositions seen in his earlier Southwestern paintings, exchanging them for geometrically simpler designs with somber multicolored backgrounds or pale monochromatic tonalities that are in counterpoint to the figure. Angular divisions of the composition are created by the positioning of the shoulders, arms, clothing, and occasional background props, such as a chair back. In previous years, Henri had rigidly kept cultural details true to the ethnicity of his portrait subjects, yet this season he included a Native-American rug in portraits of Hispanic-American models, Chico Lucera, and Francisco.⁴⁷

Another departure from Henri's earlier Southwestern work of 1914, 1916, and 1917, is the relatively few Indian subjects among the thirty-five portraits he painted during the fall and winter of 1922. The most successful efforts of this season, in addition to the likenesses of Berna Escudero, Lola, Chico Lucera, and Francisco, are five portraits of Native Americans, four depicting Julianita, and one of Manuel. Of Henri's 1922 portrait subjects only Julianita had previously modeled for him in 1917, and of these works, it appears that only one portrait of her is extant, Julianita (collection of Lee Dirks, Santa Fe, fig. 6-4) which the artist left unfinished.⁴⁸ This large portrait is built around tonalities of black and red. It clearly depicts a more mature woman than the girl who posed

for the artist in 1917, though she still has the same poised demeanor and pensive gaze. Rather than decorative Native blankets, she sports an elaborate silver squash blossom necklace that becomes the focal point of the composition. This group of portraits, executed during Henri's last painting trip to Santa Fe, forms the final refrain of Native-American subjects in Henri's oeuvre.⁴⁹

While the Santa Fe visits of 1916 and 1917 proved to be immensely constructive and creative periods in his career, it is evident that by 1922 Henri was artistically foundering. Since his departure from Santa Fe in 1917, he had consistently expressed interest in returning to further explore the regional subjects, but his 1922 work demonstrates a lack of focus and direction. He attempted to work along the same lines he had followed previously, but did not recover the inspiration in the type of subjects on which he had relied. Though he was aware of the change in his productivity that year as compared with the other Santa Fe visits, he still remained optimistic about the outlook for the season's work in late November, as he noted in a letter to Bellows:

As to work I haven't much to say. I haven't done anything like the amount of work normal and it takes a lot of work to get any good ones. However I am not complaining. And while I will not have a lot to show when we get home I am never the less

full of enthusiasm about how much better I am going to do presently.⁵⁰

This lack of artistic impulse was not usual for Henri, and Bellows responded that "I hope you have been painting more than reported in your last letter."⁵¹ Henri notified Bellows that he would be back in New York by December 20th;⁵² his last Santa Fe work, Berna Escudero (collection of Mr. and Mrs. Meyer Potamkin, fig. 6-5) is recorded as being painted on December 3rd.⁵³ Henri completed his Southwestern oeuvre with two portraits of Berna Escudero and four landscapes.⁵⁴

In 1922, he drew from an even more limited selection of models, and produced few notable images. The last Santa Fe portraits he painted do not reveal any new artistic ideas, nor do they realize the same level of achievement as his 1916 or 1917 production. Having previously expressed some hesitation about the type of portrait subjects he found in the Southwest, he may have realized that he had depleted the region's artistic possibilities.

After 1922, Henri curtailed his touring of the Southwestern paintings to a great extent.⁵⁵ In comparison to the Santa Fe portraits of 1916 and 1917, the works painted during Henri's 1922 visit were largely unseen by the public with only nine of the portraits appearing in any shows or exhibitions during his lifetime. He may have chosen to exhibit fewer

Southwestern works because of the uneven reception these paintings had elicited, though he may also have felt that the portraits he produced in 1922 were not of the same quality he had attained in the earlier Southwestern efforts. The works he showed were Berna, Chico, Bernadita, Francisco, Josephina, Berna in the Persian Scarf, Francisco, (Young Sport), Casimira, and Lucia. Lucia, an alternate title that Henri bestowed on this likeness of Berna Escudero, was entered in the annual Society of Independent Artists Exhibition in New York the year after it was painted, and he also entered Francisco and Chico in the 1923 Corcoran Annual.⁵⁶

Henri's next major exhibition was a two-person show held with Grace Ravlin, a colleague from Santa Fe, at the Macbeth Gallery in January 1924. He presented seven portraits, only one of which was from Santa Fe, Berna in a Persian Scarf (current whereabouts unknown); Ravlin showed eight works.⁵⁷ In a review, the portrait elicited a negative comment while the exhibition reaction was mixed:

Henri uses no symbols, and there is something very enjoyable about his obvious blues and reds. The slanting eyes of "Berna in the Persian Scarf" correct by their shape [is] one of Henri's least pleasant mannerisms.⁵⁸

Henri showed the Southwestern portraits with increasingly less frequency. In a group of twenty-three works circulated

in a one-person exhibition in 1926, he exhibited only two works from Santa Fe, both versions of *Berna Escudero*.⁵⁹

Bernadita was the one portrait that was extensively exhibited until 1926 when it was included in a show at Macbeth's and was subsequently sold by the gallery later that year to the San Diego Museum of Art. This was the only Santa Fe work from 1922 that sold during Henri's lifetime.⁶⁰

Henri considered returning to Santa Fe again in 1923, but in May, he wrote Will Shuster:

We have been in a wavering state over going abroad this summer or going out to you. The pull your way is strong but the European trip has finally won, so we will miss the great Ford trips and the fun with you and John.⁶¹

The incentive to go to the Southwest appears to have been more of a social nature than an artistic one. The Henris instead travelled to Europe for the first time in ten years. An inheritance from his mother gave the Henris financial independence and allowed them an extended stay abroad, from July 1923 through November 1924 and included visits to Paris, Madrid, and Achill Island, Ireland. He had not been back to Europe since his 1913 trip to Ireland, and the onset of the war and financial difficulties had prevented an earlier return. Henri had always been attracted to Europe, its culture and way of life, and though he felt strongly about Santa Fe, it is not surprising that the desire to

return to Europe superseded that of New Mexico. However, Henri wrote to the Sloans from Madrid still nostalgic for Santa Fe:

We talk now of the next time we go to Santa Fe--so you see New Mexico still has its grip on us. We missed it in spite of all the trip over here and we will be glad to be back again--although this has its uses and is well worth while.⁶²

The idea of purchasing the house in Santa Fe still remained in Henri's thoughts as late as 1924. While painting Dorita (collection of Janet Le Clair), a portrait of a café dancer in Spain, he noted, "I started painting the little dancer on Monday and hope the result will pay for the house I hope to have eventually in Santa Fe."⁶³ The Henris, however, never bought property in Santa Fe.

Edgar Hewett continually attempted to lure Henri back to Santa Fe. In the winter of 1925, he paid a visit to Henri in New York and laid out a plan for a summer program at the School in Santa Fe he envisioned in which Davey, Sloan, and Henri would be involved. Henri recounted that Hewett said "he hoped that we would not go always to Ireland, but would come to Santa Fe. Wants me to help in this school idea by giving at least three lectures during the summer."⁶⁴

In 1925, the opportunity to complete portrait

commissions of Preston Harrison's wife, Ada, and the Cecils' sons, Arthur and Cameron, in California, allowed Henri the chance to leave New York.⁶⁵ The commissions for Arthur Cecil had been under discussion since 1923, when he had first approached Henri. Henri appeared eager to return to California:

When we return to America nothing would please us better than to cut right across to Los Angeles, and first, really find a place with a proper light and settle ourselves in a furnished flat... and can not only do the boys [sic] portraits but can have a season of general painting from such subjects as Los Angeles offers, just as we do when we go to Santa Fe....Perhaps there may be something outside the city...a good environment for the extra subjects.⁶⁶

It was the spring of 1925 before Henri headed west. The commissions and an unforeseen tragedy prompted Henri to make the trip there. In early January, he experienced a tremendous shock with the sudden death of his very close friend, George Bellows. Henri experienced a profound sense of loss, and for one who was normally restrained and rarely mentioned personal events even in his diary, noted that the day after Bellows's funeral was "a hard day to pass."⁶⁷ Another close friend, Eugene Speicher, related to Leon Kroll that "Poor Henri is terribly cut up. The two days

immediately after he heard the news he was armed with a...handkerchief which he never put down."⁶⁸ On the way out to California, the Henris attempted to visit Kroll in Chicago, but a timing conflict prevented them from getting together, prompting Henri to write Kroll:

Here we are in Los Angeles--we were mighty sorry that you were away from Chicago for it was our great desire to see you--always a pleasure--but this time we wanted particularly to see you and talk about our dear old George....George should have lived on....It is all very well to talk of getting used to it--but we won't--for the whole thing seems too unfair to him and to us. For ourselves there is a great part of our world gone blank.⁶⁹

When Henri arrived in Los Angeles, he set to work on the Harrison commission. The portrait of Mrs. William Preston Harrison (Ada M. Sanberg) is one of his most notable commissioned efforts. Preston Harrison had been a supporter and patron of Henri's, and Henri liked the Harrisons immensely which undoubtedly contributed to the successful outcome of the picture.⁷⁰ The three-quarter length seated portrait, though more academic and formal than Henri's usual portrait compositions, is a sensitively conceived likeness that depicts Mrs. Harrison in a black dress with a fur-trimmed orange shawl and a fan (Portrait of Mrs. William

Preston Harrison, 1925; Los Angeles County Museum of Art). Harrison was tremendously pleased with the outcome, and thought it a fine example of Henri's work; the Harrisons gave the portrait to the Los Angeles Museum that same year.⁷¹ Henri completed the Cecils' portrait commissions (current whereabouts unknown), and Marjorie reported to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts from California the successful results:

Work has gone splendidly, Bob having knocked off in a day, what we both think is one of his top notch things--the portrait of the son of Dr. Cecil. A slender, poetic, brown eyed boy of 11--the picture is a beauty--and there was great rejoicing...making six portraits done beautifully...⁷²

Following completion of the commissions the Henris accompanied the Cecils on a two day trip to Tijuana, Mexico.

Henri returned to Santa Fe one final time, making a brief and little-known fourth visit there in the spring of 1925 on the return trip from California.⁷³ The visit was in the pursuit of solace and the company of close friends to help console his overwhelming grief over Bellows's death. On the way from California, the Henris made a detour to see Florence and Randall Davey and their other friends in Santa Fe; they arrived on March 28th and stayed through April 5th, though Henri later related that they had only stayed for two

days.⁷⁴ While there, they attended a reception in their honor held by the Daveys. It was noted in El Palacio that "practically every member of the art and literary circle of Santa Fe came to pay their respects."⁷⁵ They did not remain long in Santa Fe because they needed to return to New York in order to sail for Ireland.⁷⁶ Even the following year, writing to Will Shuster from Ireland, Henri still exhibited much affection for Santa Fe, noting that "Paris full of Americans. Santa Fe is more foreign. After all I think it is better to be in Corrymore or in S.F. [Santa Fe] Wish we could be in both at once."⁷⁷

Henri visited Ireland in the summers of 1927 and 1928, where he continued painting the local children of Achill Island and did much fishing on Keel lake. In 1928, he left Ireland for New York in November, complaining of neuritis. In December, the Santa Fe New Mexican reported that Henri was ill with neuritis in a New York hospital, but that he expected to visit the Southwest the coming summer.⁷⁸ Though he was never informed, by the summer of 1929, Henri was succumbing to prostate cancer from which he would not recover.⁷⁹ His 1925 visit to Santa Fe was merely a short social visit and he produced no work there; it was his last time in Santa Fe and the Southwest.⁸⁰

NOTES

1. Henri to Preston Harrison (20 May 1918), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Though there is no documented source, Bennard Perlman attributes Henri's inability to travel during the summer of 1918 because of financial constraints. See Bennard Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), p. 127. Nevertheless, the Henris did ultimately go to Chesapeake Bay to visit Henri's brother and then went to Monhegan Island for an extended stay.
2. Henri to Paul Walter (13 June 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe. Also see Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art, (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), p. 127.
3. Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (8 August 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
4. See Beatrice Chauvenet, Hewett and Friends (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983) for more on Hewett, his background and reputation.
5. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (12 August 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
6. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (20 September 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
7. Henri to Paul Walter (10 May 1919), Henri Papers, Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.
8. Henri to his mother (10 May 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
9. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
10. Henri to the Sloans and Daveys (11 July 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
11. Randall Davey to Henri (undated, September 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
12. John Sloan to Henri (3 July 1920) as quoted in Bennard Perlman, ed., Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 261.

13. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
14. Henri to Walter Ufer (21 August 1921), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
15. Henri to the Sloans (19 September 1920), collection of Janet Le Clair.
16. Henri to the Sloans (18 June 1921), collection of Janet Le Clair.
17. Ina Sizer Cassidy, "Week's News of Happenings in Society and Art Circles: Gossip of the Artist Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (24 June 1922), p. 5. Also see Ina Sizer Casssidy, "Week's News of Happenings in Society and Art Circles: Well Known Figures in Literary and Art Circle Here for Summer," Santa Fe New Mexican (17 June 1922), p. 3; "Artists and Writers in Santa Fe for Summer," El Palacio, XIII (1 July 1922), p. 11; and Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (27 August 1922), Margery Ryerson Papers, Archives of American Art.
18. Cassidy, "Week's News of Happenings in Society and Art Circles: Gossip of the Artist Colony," p. 5.
19. Ibid., and "Artists and Writers in Santa Fe for Summer," El Palacio, XIII (1 July 1922), p. 11. Also Henri Diary (24 June 1922), Cornell University Library Collection, Ithaca. The diary is a fragment covering activities during this period in Santa Fe.
20. Henri Diary (24 June 1922), Cornell University Library Collection, Ithaca.
21. "Hundred Painters Visit Santa Fe and Taos in Course of Year," Santa Fe New Mexican (8 September 1917), p. 2; Cassidy, "Week's News of Happenings in Society and Art Circles: Gossip of the Artist Colony," p. 5; and "Artists and Writers in Santa Fe for Summer," p. 11.
22. Ina Sizer Cassidy, "Week's News of Happenings in Society and Art Circles: Gossip of the Artist Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (24 June 1922), p. 5, and "Artists and Writers in Santa Fe for Summer," El Palacio, XIII (1 July 1922), p. 11. For more on "Los Cinco Pintores," and other artists involved in the development of Santa Fe as an artist colony, see Patricia Janis Broder, The American West: The Modern Vision (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1984), pp. 227-245.

23. Henri Diary (21 June 1922), Cornell University Library, Ithaca.
24. Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1922), Margery Ryerson Papers, Archives of American Art
25. George Bellows to Henri (10 October 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
26. Henri to George Bellows (28 July 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
27. Ibid. Henri had evidently planned on returning consistently to Santa Fe as he was paying for storage of his vehicle. For information relating to the storage and sale of the 1917 Ford see Henri to Paul Walter (13 June 1918); Edgar L. Hewett to Henri (8 August 1918); Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (20 September 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe; and Henri Diary (29 June 1922) Cornell University Library, Ithaca.
28. Henri Diary (26 June; 22 July 1922) Cornell University Library, Ithaca.
29. Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1922), Margery Ryerson Papers, Archives of American Art.
30. Henri Diary (24 June 1922), Cornell University Library, Ithaca.
31. Henri Diary (29 June 1922), Cornell University Library, Ithaca.
32. Henri Diary (15 July 1922), Cornell University Library Collection, Ithaca. Also see Henri to Alice Klauber (18 June 1917), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive, in which he discusses their various accommodations on their earlier visits.
33. Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1922) Margery Ryerson Papers, Archives of American Art.
34. Ibid.
35. Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (27 August 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

36. Ibid. Henri had also entertained the idea of buying the house in Santa Fe both in 1916 and 1917. See Henri to his mother (26 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

37. Dr. Arthur B. Cecil to Henri (2 October 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

38. Ibid.

39. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The current whereabouts of the portrait are unknown.

40. Dr. Arthur Cecil to Henri (21 September 1923), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

41. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. The still life is marked "destroyed."

42. Ibid. Neither the still life nor the portrait are extant. It is not certain that the still life was completed before he left for California because sometimes Henri reversed the numerical order of the works in his record book.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid. The first female portrait Henri completed in 1922 was of Josephine Miller. Three subsequent entries which Henri noted as "Josephina," a Hispanic girl that may be the same model. None of these portraits appears to be extant.

46. Henri to Frank Southrn (27 January 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

47. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. He also used the same Indian rug in several portraits of Berna Escudera, who was of mixed Hispanic- and Native-American ethnic origin.

48. Ibid. Of the 1922 Native-American subjects, only this work of Julianita appears to be extant.

49. Ibid.

50. Henri to George Bellows (26 November 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
51. George Bellows to Henri (9 September 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
52. Henri to George Bellows (26 November 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven.
53. George Bellows to Henri (9 September 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
54. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
55. Ibid. No definitive reason is known for Henri's less active exhibiting of his work, so conclusions can only be surmised.
56. Ibid. Henri likely gave the painting, entitled Lucia, an alternative name to distinguish it so as not to have multiple works of art with the same title of "Berna." Though the Corcoran Gallery records show that these two works were exhibited there, Henri's record book entry does not include that information.
57. Paintings by Robert Henri and Grace Ravlin (New York: Macbeth Gallery, 2-21 January 1924), n.p. By the titles, Ravlin appears to have been represented by two flower still lifes and six landscape or cityscape compositions, four of which depict New York City and two of Mallorca.
58. "Exhibitions of the Week," The New York Times, VII (6 January 1924), p. 13.
59. "Catalogue of Irish and Spanish Portraits by Robert Henri," exh. cat. (Rochester: The Memorial Art Gallery, 1926).
60. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
61. Henri to Will Shuster (29 May 1923), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
62. Henri to the Sloans (31 October 1923), collection of Janet Le Clair.

63. Henri to John Sloan as quoted in Violet Organ, "Robert Henri: His Life," unpublished manuscript, p. 124, collection of Janet Le Clair.

64. Henri Diary (27 December 1925), collection of Janet Le Clair.

65. Henri to Dr. Arthur Cecil (15 October 1923; 30 September 1924); Henri to Leon Kroll (2 March 1925), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

66. Henri to Dr. Arthur Cecil (15 October 1923), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

67. Henri Diary (11 January 1925), collection of Janet Le Clair.

68. Eugene Speicher to Leon Kroll (undated letter, probably February 1925), Kroll Papers, Archives of American Art.

69. Henri to Leon Kroll (10 February 1925), unsent letter, Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

70. Henri to Dr. Arthur Cecil (15 October 1923), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

71. William Preston Harrison to William Macbeth (18 February 1925; 27 February 1925; 25 March 1925), Macbeth Gallery Papers, Roll N, Mc 51, Archives of American Art. Also see Ilene Susan Fort and Michael Quick, American Art: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 262-63. The portrait is oil on canvas and measures 52 x 40 inches.

72. Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (14 March 1925), Margery Ryerson Papers, Archives of American Art.

73. None of the major references on Henri mention this 1925 trip to Santa Fe.

74. "Gathering of the Art Clans," El Palacio, XVIII (15 April 1925), p. 186; and Henri to Dr. Arthur Cecil (11 April 1925), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

75. "Gathering of the Art Clans," p. 186; Marjorie Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (14 March 1925), Margery Ryerson Papers, Archives of American Art, frame 1057; and Randall Davey to Henri, Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. The letter, though undated, refers to events that transpired in 1925.

76. "Gathering of the Art Clans," p. 186. The Henris had purchased Corrymore House on Achill Island, Ireland, the previous year.

77. Henri to Will Shuster (1 July 1926) Shuster Papers, Archives of American Art.

78. "People Coming and Going in Santa Fe," Santa Fe New Mexican (29 December 1928), p. 8.

79. Marjorie Henri to Emma Bellows (25 June 1929), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

80. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

CHAPTER 7

Henri's Southwestern Landscapes and Drawings, 1914-1922

Henri's artistic reputation had been initially achieved for landscape subjects.¹ Stylistically his work had evolved through several phases, first manifested in a series of brightly colored, light Impressionist scenes of the New Jersey coast in works such as Girl Seated by the Sea, (1893; collection of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Horowitz) and Beach at Atlantic City (1893; Phoenix Art Museum). He later continued painting landscapes in France, though with a darkened palette and hazy brushwork as in La Neige (1899; Musée D'Orsay), which he entered in the Paris Salon and was purchased for the permanent collection of the Musée Nationale de Luxembourg (now the Musée D'Orsay). After his return to New York in 1900, he executed somber cityscapes in murky tonalities exemplified by compositions such as East River Embankment (1900; Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution), Blackwell's Island, East River (1901; Whitney Museum of American Art), and On the East River (Hudson River Docks) (c. 1900-1902; Mead Art Museum, Amherst). By about 1900, however, he began shifting his concentration to portraiture. As a painter he felt compelled to focus on a single form of expression to define his reputation, which he ultimately decided would be portraits. Of his choice, he remarked:

I regretted there was but one of me, for as I said, if there were two, I could then paint both the people and the landscape. As it is, there being but one of me, I spend six to eight hours a day in actual painting and the rest of the time getting ready for the work...and in my passage to and from the studio where I paint people, I see most beautiful landscape under rare effects slide by. And this is a true loss to me for I have the feeling, and have had considerable experience, in painting landscape.²

Henri viewed landscape painting in a similar vein as he did portraiture, though to him, landscape had a more conceptual connotation and was expressive of a deep spiritual message:

Landscape is a medium for ideas....and so the various details in a landscape painting mean nothing to us if they do not express some mood of nature as felt by the artist. It isn't sufficient that the sky should be beautiful, and that the spacing and arrangement of the composition be correct in formula. The true artist, in viewing the landscape renders it upon his canvas as a living thing.³

During Henri's Southwestern sojourns, he executed landscapes with some frequency, in which he appeared to take a particular pleasure in rendering the beauty of the

distinctive regional scenery.⁴ As Charles Lummis, one of the Southwest's early promoters asserted in 1892, "we need not run to other lands to gratify our longing for the curious and the wonderful.... The whole West is filled with wonders."⁵ The magic of the Southwestern landscape, particularly that of northern New Mexico, captivated many artists, and Henri as a fairly early visitor to the area still found it relatively unspoiled. In 1911, one tourist noted of Santa Fe that it is "the only picturesque spot in America yet undiscovered by the jaded globe trotter."⁶

The colorful sights and unusual topography offered by both La Jolla and Santa Fe provided the stimuli for Henri to work on landscape subjects. It was particularly in the media of watercolor, pastel, and charcoal, that Henri rendered the unfamiliar pueblos and adobe structures, and even some exotic ceremonial rituals of Native-American life while visiting Santa Fe. Two Indian dance scenes in animated and lushly painted watercolors (c. 1916-17; Estate of Robert Henri, fig. 7-1) are typical of the ceremonial events he repeatedly witnessed in New Mexico, but rarely represented in his work. These works also demonstrate a spontaneous immediacy that is augmented by the fluidity of the medium and is a characteristic of Henri's works on paper.

This type of genre scene was typical of the work of many other artists working in the Santa Fe and Taos area, though Henri's compositions were more personal and informal

exercises, seemingly undertaken for his own interest and pleasure. Though few of Henri's Southwestern landscapes are extant, he recorded the scenic region in over fifty documented landscapes, plus numerous sketches, watercolors and pastels produced over the course of the visits to California and Santa Fe.⁷

Henri's first Southwestern landscape was executed in June of 1914 when he reached La Jolla and depicted a house situated on the La Jolla bluffs, done in oil; however, he destroyed the work the following month.⁸ A few weeks later, after completing several portraits, he undertook two smaller oils, done on Bristol board, of the La Jolla coastline; the second had two small figures, one with an orange parasol. The next major landscape Henri completed was The La Jolla Beach, a 20 x 24 inch landscape composition which he described as: "Warm Clouds filmy, in BG [blue green] sky B [blue] sea W [white] beach warm cliff [sic] in distance Greens & Reds in foreground."⁹ This work was the only landscape Henri showed in the 1914 one-person exhibition he had at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art.¹⁰ Some time later in the season, Henri did another La Jolla beach view, again with two figures. He noted that it had "blue varicolor sky, blue water, 2 figures on white beach one red the other blue. Orange cliffs, foregr. with greens and reds."¹¹ He inscribed the work and gave it to Mrs. Walter Dean, a La Jolla friend, on September 11th.¹² One of

Henri's last works from the 1914 California trip was a large landscape view, also of La Jolla beach, which he himself destroyed in July of 1916.¹³ He also made a number of very small color notes this season that were based on landscape subjects, and though these works were not fully conceived compositions, he entered them in his record book. During his stay in California, Henri executed ten landscapes; six were finished works and four were color studies. From the record book notations, only two of the major efforts appear to be extant though none have been located.¹⁴

Upon Henri's arrival in Santa Fe, he was first drawn to painting figurative subjects which had been the primary incentive for his trip there. It was well into his visit before he recorded any landscape subjects; the first effort was a small scene of the Old Governor's Palace patio. This was followed by a larger landscape, Landscape Agua Fria, which shows a figure in the doorway of a house set against the mountains.¹⁵

The scenes Henri painted in New Mexico encompass a variety of subjects including the portrayal of picturesque cultural rituals as well as pure landscapes. He was especially fascinated with the Native culture and lore, and his letters from Santa Fe often refer to the many different festivals, ceremonies, dances, and Indian pueblos he visited and sketched. He recounted being deeply moved by the Native celebrations during a side trip he made on the way back from

Taos shortly after first arriving in New Mexico:

We went...to the Pueblos of Santo Domingo and saw the "Green Corn Dance." It was hard to believe that the dance, the dancers, the costumes and the colors were actually being seen by our Gramercy Park eyes--and now its [sic] like something we dreamed.¹⁶

Later in 1916 he depicted a scene of the Eagle dance at the Governor's Palace in moonlight, a 26 x 32 inch canvas that he subsequently destroyed in July of 1917. He did seven additional documented landscapes in 1916, which appear to be the final works he did during that visit.¹⁷ These compositions include four small sketches of adobe houses in the hills, done on paper; a sketch of the Safford house--the place he was renting--and two watercolors he worked up later and gave to Violet Organ, both representations of the patio of the Old Governor's Palace.¹⁸ In 1916, Henri recorded eight landscapes, five of which appear to be extant, though none has been located and few of the unrecorded sketches have come to light.¹⁹

Of his trips to the Southwest, 1917 was his most prolific year for landscape subjects in which he recorded twenty-five, plus some additional scenes which have been identified. The more pronounced emphasis on landscape may have been largely the result of his purchase of a car which stimulated him to visit various destinations and sights

around Northern New Mexico, as well as the later arrival of Bellows. Unlike the previous season, Henri immediately produced four landscape scenes after arriving in Santa Fe in 1917 which are likely views of the area surrounding his house in Santa Fe.²⁰ Of these, Santa Fe Marl was the only work he exhibited, and was shown in the Santa Fe inaugural exhibition of 1917 and in Chicago in 1918.²¹ These local views are more typical of what Henri would generally undertake when arriving in a new locale. He would frequently begin with several loose sketches as he acclimated himself to different surroundings, using landscape painting as a way of familiarizing himself with a new place or concluding a season of painting.

In 1917, during Bellows' visit to Santa Fe, Henri related that "...Bellows and I have been driving out to various places in the country sometimes 20 or 30 miles away to make sketches of the landscape. Its [sic] been good to paint landscape again..."²² A few days later he further reported that

I want to do more things before returning so we will stay on. I have some landscapes as well as the figure work this time and I am hoping to have more landscapes. The Ford makes outdoor work very practical. I am glad I got it for it will very likely be part of my painting equipment hereafter.²³

Among the sites Henri depicted were three scenes of the Tesuque Valley, both 26 X 32 (though none is extant); he destroyed one in October of 1918, and Violet Organ later destroyed the other two.²⁴ Other landscapes he executed include three scenes of La Loma, several views of Tesuque, and a group of six Santa Fe landscapes that concluded Henri's 1917 Santa Fe trip.²⁵

Marjorie reported to Alice Klauber that Henri, for a period of time and perhaps under the influence of Bellows, had left studio work for awhile:

I wish you were here now. The Bellows have arrived and stay until the end of Oct.--work from models in the studio has ceased for a while, and every morning at 11--or before finds Mr. H. and Geo--off in their different cars....Well they hike off some times 30-50 miles away--stay until dark and return with 2 or 3 canvases each. Its [sic] a fine change for Mr. H. because as you know he always sticks close to the studio and now this plan keeps him out all day and when he wants to get back to the models--he'll be fitter than ever.²⁶

It is difficult to ascertain whether Bellows or Henri instigated these journeys, for it was Henri who had persistently written Bellows about painting the landscape and dances of the Southwest.

Later 1917 Southwestern landscapes included two scenes from trips he made with Bellows to Sanctuario, at Chimayo. Though neither of Henri's works are extant, from his record book sketches, they appear similar to the two works Bellows did of the same subject. Henri showed the first version, a horizontal view of the church at Chimayo set within the hills, in a 1918 Montross Gallery exhibition in New York.²⁷

Henri's final recorded landscapes of 1917 were three evening views of the rolling hills with scrub bushes, one of which is extant, Santa Fe Landscape (private collection, fig. 7-2), and two pastels, one of Tesuque and another depicting Santa Fe.²⁸ During 1917, he noted painting twenty-five landscape of which three appear to be extant and two have been located.²⁹

Henri's Santa Fe landscapes exhibit a diversity of styles that measurably differ from the portraits. In the landscape compositions he often applied brightly colored oil pigments that have been thinned to the point of translucence, producing a light and ethereal quality as seen in Santa Fe Landscape and Tesuque (1917; The Walker Art Collection, Garnett, Kansas, fig. 7-3). This is dissimilar from his portrait work, which is notable for the thick and luscious application of pigment to the canvas. At times, however, he also appears to have used richer and deeper tones that ranged from saturated oranges to blues and purples. Henri wrote Sloan about the effect of light and

glare resulting from the brilliance of the sun in Santa Fe: "a great many of the paintings I have seen of New Mexico have been dazzled into whiteness--when in fact New Mexico is very deep and strong in color."³⁰ Henri's own landscapes often realize the truer more vivid hues he observed in the Southwestern scenery without the sun's glare.

New Mexico's opulent palette is even more pronounced in Henri's pastels, which have dense surfaces composed by the building-up of layers of boldly applied color. Henri had advocated combining the best attributes of both pastel and oil in working with either medium, as he instructed:

If those who work in both pastels and oils could get a bit of the quality of the one into the other a good thing would happen. For instance, here is a pastel all gay and pale in its pastel lightness and there an oil deep in oily soginess. The pastel would benefit by a deeper note and textural unity of surface and the oil might come up out of the gloom into which you let it sink.

In too many cases pastel stays pale...³¹

Henri, particularly in the New Mexican pastels, appears to have mastered this technique, as seen in works such as Adobe Buildings, Santa Fe [Tesuque] (c. 1917; Wichita State University, fig. 7-4), and Indian Village (c. 1917; private collection, fig. 7-5). These pastels exhibit strong coloration using yellow, orange, green and red, with deep

black shadows.

One of the pastels, Adobe Buildings, Santa Fe (Tesuque) most likely served as a preliminary study for the oil composition, Tesuque. The work is oil on panel, originally measured 12 x 16 inches, and was virtually identical in design to the pastel; however, Henri cut the composition down on November 24, 1921, to 9 1/2 x 12 inches.³² The image now presents a close-up view of the left side of the original composition including the popular tree, though the figure which had previously been included to the right of the composition has been cut out. Henri's ability to approximate the aesthetic quality of pastel in oil paint is clearly manifested in Tesuque.

Adobe Buildings, Santa Fe [Tesuque], Adobe Houses, New Mexico, (c. 1917; Cheekwood Museum of Art, Nashville, fig. 7-6), and Indian Village were all likely executed during a visit Henri made to the Tesuque Pueblo on October 10, 1917. He remarked to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts that:

Geo [Bellows] & I are now going out daily on auto trips painting out of doors. Spent today in the pueblo of Tesuque north of here.³³

Henri appeared to do much sketching, either small oils on panel, charcoal or pastel, while on location, and sometimes these sketches would later result in finished oils he completed in the studio.

Some of Henri's Southwestern pastels employ looser and

more sketchy draftsmanship indicative of the immediacy of their execution or a scene of great activity. One such pastel sketch, Tesuque Pueblo, (1917; collection of Kathleen and Gerald Peters, Santa Fe, fig. 7-7), depicts a Pueblo dance in the village with snow-capped mountains in the distance. The image, drawn with gestural and frenetic lines, was likely inspired by witnessing the event and created on site. The pastel was undoubtedly the inspiration for a large landscape painting (which no longer exists) that Henri started in November of 1917, entitled Tesuque.³⁴ He was captivated by the Indian dance he saw at the Tesuque Pueblo, and wrote of it to his mother:

We went to the Pueblo of Tesuque to see the Indian Dance--It was the Buffalo dance...

I have seen no dance as beautiful as this one. The plaza is small--a few acres and the houses are compact about it. A little white church in the most primitif [sic] adobe form, beyond the houses the top forms of trees--now gold colored and beyond the rise of the pinion ...carved foothills and beyond a magnificent view of the "Blood of Christ" mountain range with Baldey Peak--and all this range white with snow--and green blue sky above. The beating of the Indian drums, the singing of the chorus, as they came out in brave procession...was a sight to

see.³⁵

Due to the immense size of the canvas, Henri must have worked on the painting in his studio using the pastel sketch as a study. This approach represented a departure from his usual method of working directly from the subject.

Henri's involvement with pastel was not unique to his Southwestern work. Throughout his active artistic life, he continually worked in a variety of media, often drawing with crayon, charcoal, and pencil, in addition to pastel. Earlier, he had even shown once, in 1911, in the second annual exhibition of The Pastellists, a work simply titled "Sketch."³⁶ Though it is not known precisely how frequently Henri worked in pastel since these works were not generally documented, it appears that he had a special facility for the medium which developed with time. Henri periodically turned to working in pastel for his own pleasure, the sake of variety. and for sketching on location.

In addition to some Southwestern subjects which have surfaced, during the teens Henri appeared to have a propensity for figurative subjects in pastel, most often nudes and dancers. In 1918, he again turned to using pastel during a visit to Monhegan Island during the latter part of the summer and fall, There, he commenced his most substantial and extended use of the pastel medium, resulting in an immense number of richly-toned pastel landscapes of

the area known as Cathedral Woods. The outcome of this season of work was an exhibition of forty pastels held at the Montross Gallery in New York in December of 1918.³⁷

In 1922, Henri commenced his stay in Santa Fe with portrait painting and did not undertake landscape subjects until later in the season. Completing five landscapes in 1922, as noted in his record book, he did one in the middle of the visit and concluded his season's work with four landscape compositions, one of which was a watercolor.³⁸ Unusual weather conditions as he described them to Bellows may have inspired his turn towards landscape subjects at the end of his stay:

Snow in Santa Fe. Much of it. Many clothes. All our clothes on at once....Under snow this looks a perfect wonder. Snow painters are missing an opportunity.³⁹

Indeed, the first landscape of the season that Henri undertook was Snow in Santa Fe (not extant, originally 20 x 24 inches). He noted in his record book that the sky had gray storm clouds with breaks of blue green.⁴⁰ The remaining four landscapes depict varying views of adobes set within the mountains, two of which were dusk scenes.⁴¹

Henri returned to the medium of watercolor for some of his landscape work in 1922. Sloan remarked on this to Henri: "...hope you are still in good working form. Shus [Wil Shuster] tells me you are making watercolors in addition to

your regular work in oils."⁴² These watercolors, only one of which is recorded, as with many of his landscape sketches, are fluid and freely executed and were also likely done *en plein air*, typified by similar images such as New Mexican Adobes, New Mexico Landscape (current whereabouts unknown), and Santa Fe Adobes (private collection, fig. 7-8).⁴³ These watercolor compositions exhibit a sureness in the artist's touch of the brush and a starkness that accords them a look of modernity.

Since so few of Henri's Southwestern landscapes have survived or have been located, it is difficult to determine stylistic influences or arrive at firm conclusions. In most cases, the only information that can be gleaned about the recorded landscapes is from the artist's vague descriptions, color notes, and thumbnail record book sketches. Based on the few extant works, Henri appears to have evolved a personal and unique approach to the landscape, and his Southwestern landscape compositions are distinct from any he had previously painted. During his time in California, he executed so few landscape compositions that it is difficult to deduce anything about specific influences. Though Henri was likely aware of the landscape work of the well-known Southern California painter, Maurice Braun, Braun's landscapes are more technically refined and tonalist in approach than Henri's.⁴⁴

Henri's pure landscapes, done in oil, pastel, or

watercolor, show little resemblance to the work of any other Southwestern artists. His sketches of Indian dances and festivals bear a distant relationship to the work of other Southwestern artists who undertook these common themes, such as Grace Ravlin, John Sloan, Randall Davey, and Wil Shuster, but, with the exception of Grace Ravlin, Henri's arrival in Santa Fe preceded these artists. His influence on their work is far more likely.

Landscape painting appeared to offer Henri an artistic and intellectual release from the constant rigors of portraiture. While in the Southwest, he painted a total of forty-four documented landscapes, plus many additional sketches and watercolors.⁴⁵ He would often turn to landscape subjects when difficulties arose with his portrait work, either in overcoming challenges or in finding suitable models. He also painted landscapes as a means of becoming acquainted with a new place or when completing a season's work before departing. Henri's interest in landscape was clearly secondary to portraiture; nonetheless, the scenes he produced in Santa Fe reveal an infatuation with the visual spectacle offered by the beauty of the region.

NOTES

1. For example, see Riter Fitzgerald, "Robert Henri's Works: The Eccentric Artist Improving: Effective Landscapes," Philadelphia Item (1 December 1902).
2. Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 115.
3. "What is Art? Answered by Henri, Art 'Insurgent'" The Philadelphia Record (25 December 1910), p. 3.
4. It is not possible to determine the extent of Henri's use of watercolor and pastel because he did not record these works in his record book unless he gave away or sold these works. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
5. Charles F. Lummis, Some Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest, 1892, as quoted in Ann Farrer Hyde, An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920 (New York: New York University Press, 1990), pp. 2-7.
6. As quoted in Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America (1957; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 160.
7. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. According to Henri's record book entries he painted eight landscapes in 1916, twenty-six in 1917 and five in 1922. The record book entries indicate that only ten of these are extant. Most of the landscapes documented in the record book are oil sketches although there are several pastels and watercolors. However, Henri noted that many of his watercolors, pastels, and sketches, were not recorded in the record book unless they were sold or given away. Almost all of the letters he wrote from Santa Fe make reference to different aspects of the region's physical beauty.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

14. Ibid. Though the record book notations are quite accurate, there have been discrepancies with works coming to light that were marked "destroyed," by Violet Organ.
15. Ibid.
16. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
17. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Henri to his mother (27 July 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. It is these scenes to which he was probably referring in the letter to his mother.
21. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
22. Henri to his mother (11 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
23. Henri to his mother (21 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
24. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
25. Ibid.
26. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (9 October 1917), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
27. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (14 September 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
31. Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, Margery Ryerson, ed. (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), p. 199.
32. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

33. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (10 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

34. Ibid. Henri's notations indicate that the canvas was immense, 54 x 74 inches, and was left unfinished. He stored it at the Museum in November of 1917. Though the circumstances remain unclear, the work was destroyed in October of 1919. Henri may have intended to return later to work on the picture, or more likely, he may not been satisfied with the composition, and offered the canvas along with his leftover supplies to Sloan and Davey when they went out to Santa Fe for the first time in 1919. See Henri to John Sloan (27 June 1919), collection of Janet Le Clair. Henri's notes indicate that Randall Davey used the large canvas in 1919 to paint a major composition depicting the Indian Snake Dance. Henri was not in Santa Fe in October of 1919, so he probably had Sloan or Davey destroy the work. See Randall Davey to Henri (undated, fall 1919), and Henri to Randall Davey (19 November 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

35. Henri to his mother (undated November 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

36. New York, Folsom Galleries. The Pastellists, Second Annual Exhibition, exh. cat. (9-30 December 1911).

37. For a review of the exhibition see "Pastels by Henri Put on Exhibition: Woodland Scenery in Maine" The Sun, New York (9 December 1918), p. 9.

38. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Only one of the recorded landscapes appears to be extant.

39. Henri to George Bellows (26 November 1922), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

40. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

41. Ibid.

42. John Sloan to Henri (15 November 1922), collection of Janet Le Clair.

43. The watercolor on board that Henri recorded in his record book is titled Santa Fe Landscape and measures 12 x 16 inches. It is compositionally similar to the watercolor known as New Mexico Landscape which is 10 x 14 inches;

however there is a possibility that despite the difference in measurements that they are the same work, or the smaller watercolor served as a study for larger composition. See Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair and Robert Henri in Santa Fe: His Work and Influence, exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1998), p. 165.

44. "Current Notes," Arts & Decoration 3, (December 1914), p. 73. Maurice Braun had an exhibition in San Diego later in 1914 following Henri's departure from California.

45. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. This number does not include the four landscape color studies he did while in California.

CHAPTER 8

Henri's Influence in Santa Fe:

Leon Kroll, George Bellows, Randall Davey, and John Sloan

Henri exerted a powerful influence, both directly and indirectly, on the art and artists of the Santa Fe Art Colony. He was particularly effective in promoting the development of the art colony by drawing other artists from the East into the community; Leon Kroll, George Bellows, John Sloan, and Randall Davey, were the most important artists who visited because of his encouragement. His former pupils, Alice Klauber and Lucie Bayard, also visited Santa Fe at Henri's invitation, and there may have been other artists who subsequently came there as a result of Henri's promotion of the area.¹

Henri was also indirectly responsible for the visits of Stuart Davis to Santa Fe in 1923 and Edward Hopper in 1925, though it was on John Sloan's advice that they ventured to the Southwest. Of New Mexico, Davis observed:

Just as John Sloan used to rave about Gloucester, and I went there on his recommendation, it was the same about New Mexico--but with a difference. I spent three or four months there in 1923--until late fall--but did not do much work because the place itself was so interesting. I don't think you could do much work there except in a literal

way....It's a place for an ethnologist, not an artist.²

Both Hopper and Davis were former Henri students who had studied with him at the New York School of Art and found him a compelling figure and an influential teacher. Hopper noted of Henri that:

No single figure in recent American art has been so instrumental in setting free the hidden forces that can make the art of this country a living expression of its character and its people....Of Henri's renown as a teacher everyone knows; of his enthusiasm and his power to energize his students I had firsthand knowledge. Few teachers of art have gotten as much out of their pupils, or given them as great an initial impetus.³

According to Hopper's wife, Josephine Nivison, (a former Henri student as well), Hopper, like Davis, also found New Mexico too picturesque. She recounted that he eventually found some suitable subjects to paint, resulting in seven New Mexican watercolors of buildings, trains, adobes, and the landscape.⁴ The New Mexico images of Davis and Hopper exhibit no stylistic similarities to Henri's Southwestern work and neither artist undertook portrait subjects during their visit there, instead preferring the distinctive natural landscape for their work.

Lucie Bayard visited the Henris in Santa Fe in 1916,

1917 and 1922.⁵ Though she was a former student of Henri's at the Art Students League, and an active artist, no works by her from the visits to the Southwest have surfaced. Alice Klauber visited the Henris in New Mexico in 1917, arriving sometime before the Dedication of the new Museum.⁶ She must have arrived some time prior to the November 24th because three of her works, including one titled Taos Afternoon (c. 1917) were included in the Dedication Exhibition.⁷ Taos Afternoon was reproduced in an article recounting the opening of the new galleries in the journal, Art & Archeology. The work appears to be a watercolor and depicts a scene of the Taos Pueblo in almost a modernist approach devoid of detail with simplified and flattened forms and spatial dimension, differing from Henri's landscape work.⁸

Kroll was the first of Henri's New York circle to arrive in Santa Fe in 1917. Though educated at the National Academy, the institution against which Henri had rebelled, Kroll was eventually adopted into Henri's intimate coterie of artist-friends. Kroll had been working in Colorado Springs, completing five portrait commissions for the Travis family there, but he did not find the region artistically inspiring. At Henri's urging, he decided to visit Santa Fe in search of an interesting place to paint, and to join Henri, and Bellows who was also planning to visit.⁹ Kroll was originally slated to meet Bellows in California where he

was completing a commissioned portrait of Senator Clark's son, Paul, in San Mateo.¹⁰ Kroll and Bellows were then to travel together to Santa Fe; however, Bellows alerted Henri from California: "have advised Kroll not to come here but to make for Santa Fe..."¹¹

Kroll reached Santa Fe on September 14th, 1917, which shortly anticipated George Bellows' visit, and he remained for about two weeks.¹² After arriving, Kroll accompanied Henri on a trip to the Tesuque Canyon, and stayed in Santa Fe through the San Geronimo Fiesta trip to Taos with Henri, Bellows and others; he left for New York on October 1st after the festival concluded.¹³

During his time in Santa Fe, Kroll painted the landscape, which resulted in two identified works, Santa Fe Hills (1917; Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 8-1) and a smaller variant also of the same title.¹⁴ The larger painting was featured in the "Dedication Exhibit of Southwestern Art," the inaugural exhibition of the new Museum of New Mexico, which opened in November 1917.¹⁵ Both of Kroll's compositions depict the arid northern New Mexico terrain and adobe-style architecture. The stark character and hues evident in the two landscapes show the profound visual impact the physical appearance of the region had on Kroll's painting style and palette. These works employ a more interpretive and proto-modernist approach than anything he had previously executed; they also differ markedly from

any of the landscapes Henri painted while in Santa Fe. There is a static quality and visible geometricism in these two works that the artist translated from the natural landscape itself.

Many years later Kroll recalled his visit to Santa Fe, and the large version of Santa Fe Hills, which he noted was "unique in a way...It is the only major work done in Santa Fe (what a beautiful city). I spent some weeks in 1917 with Henri, Bellows...and others there. A grand period."¹⁶ A week after his arrival, the local newspaper reported that Kroll "already likes Santa Fe so much better than Colorado Springs that he is looking around for a studio to work in next summer when he hopes to spend the entire season here."¹⁷ Evidently Kroll found Santa Fe of interest for he expressed hope in returning, though a second trip never did materialize.

As a result of his dissatisfaction with California and Henri's persuasive powers, George Bellows was the next to arrive in Santa Fe. Bellows complained to Henri that he found California tame and colorless:

I haven't been excited once....

...this country would be wonderful to live in for anybody but a landscape painter. There are fine hills and country but too darn placid.¹⁸

Henri convincingly recommended Santa Fe to Bellows, urging him to come as soon as he could:

You would like it here, and in a month or six weeks you would get some good things that it would be a pity to miss. Everybody would be glad to have you come and add yourself to the glory of New Mexico and in this case you would be called upon for an exhibit at the opening of the beautiful new museum. If you got here in time to do something it would be a great addition to the show and we are anxious to see it a great success (one gets to like New Mexico and Santa Fe...).^19

As Henri's involvement with arrangements for the inaugural exhibition escalated, he again urged Bellows to hasten coming to Santa Fe:

By all means manage to get here for long enough to paint a picture so that you will be represented in the first Museum ex[hibition] which is to be a historical event & well done with memorial illustrated catalogue, etc. If you paint a picture here you will be a painter of the So[uth]west--southern Calif[ornia] is not included.^20

Bellows welcomed the idea of a stimulating locale; however, he was scheduled to begin teaching at the Art Students League on October 1st. Problems developed when The League showed great reluctance in releasing him from his teaching commitment when he attempted to extend his visit in Santa Fe

through October. He then sought Henri's advice as to how he could postpone this obligation.²¹ While in California, Bellows unexpectedly got tonsillitis, requiring surgery in San Francisco, so he decided to write the Art Students League about his illness, and delay his return with a medical excuse. Bellows recounted to Henri that he had written The League on the hospital stationary in an effort to be convincing:

The opportunity of using this writing paper was not to be missed as a piece of excellent pretense for not being able to get back east as soon as expected and I used it with great artifice in a letter to the Art Students League which I hope will have the result of John Sloan teaching my class for a month.²²

Bellows hoped to be able to make it to Santa Fe by September 15th; however, with the onset of his illness, he was delayed for almost two additional weeks. His plan ultimately enabled him to remain there for nearly a four-week stay. According to the local newspaper, Bellows departed Santa Fe on the 24th of October.²³

Bellows greatly anticipated his visit to Santa Fe as he noted in September, "it was with feelings of profound joy that we hear of the arrival of A. L. Kroll in Santa Fe. We are looking forward to our adventure as to a very great occasion."²⁴ The Bellows' arrival in Santa Fe followed

thirteen days after Kroll's, on September 27th.²⁵ Bellows drove his car (a Buick) from California at Henri's suggestion, so that he would have it at his disposal for trips during the visit. Rental accommodations were found for the Bellows family by Henri and Paul Walter, who worked at the Museum of New Mexico, and the artist's studio in the Old Palace that Henri had occupied the year before was designated for Bellows's use.²⁶

In anticipation of his arrival, Bellows mused to Henri, "I wonder if I'll want big or little canvases for Santa Fe."²⁷ Once there, Bellows, like Kroll, turned to painting the new surroundings and unusual terrain of the Southwest in a series of oils that was surely prompted by the numerous daily painting trips in the car he and Henri took to surrounding areas.²⁸ As one of Henri's disciples, Bellows naturally had some inclination for portraiture, and indeed some of his strongest portraits were painted in the years preceding and subsequent to his visit to Santa Fe, though while he was there he painted no figurative subjects. The works he produced in Santa Fe were: Sanctuario (20 x 24 inches, Anschutz Collection, 8-2); Santa Fe Valley (18 x 22 inches, location unknown); The Cow (sketch) (18 x 22 inches, location unknown); Santa Fe Landscape, Adobe Huts (22 x 28 inches); The Cow (26 x 32 inches); Pueblo Tesuque No. 1 (34 x 44 1/4 inches, Anschutz Collection); Chimayo ("Chimio") (30 x 44 inches, Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 8-3);

and Pueblo Tesuque No. 2 (35 5/16 x 44 1/4 inches, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, fig. 8-4). A pencil study of the Pueblo Tesuque image has been identified that presents a more simplified composition with fewer figures than either of the completed oils. Bellows executed another work that relates to Santa Fe, entitled Santa Fe Valley, a watercolor done in January 1918, painted several months after he left Santa Fe. He also worked up another large oil of a Southwestern subject, Well at Quevado (38 x 52 1/2 inches, Minnesota Museum of Art, fig. 8-5), which was likely developed from a preliminary drawing (Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center) and watercolor (private collection), and also resulted in a lithograph of the same subject.²⁹ The complete oil composition is closely related to the drawing, differing only in details such as the subtraction of a bird in the foreground and an alteration of the mountain forms in the distant right background. The work is freely painted in Bellows's broad brush style and somewhat indistinct forms. Well at Quevado and Chimayo are good examples of Bellows's use of heightened colorism, seen frequently in the artist's work from this time onwards, instilling a supernatural visionary quality to some of the compositions.

Henri and Bellows at times undertook similar compositions, particularly when they visited the same locals; this was the case with works done at Sanctuario, Chimayo, and the Tesuque Pueblo. Henri made trips to the

Tesuque area once before September 18th and again in November, though there may have been other visits that resulted in three works depicting the Tesuque Pueblo. At these times, Bellows was not in New Mexico; however, during the period he was there, Bellows and Henri were making almost daily car trips to nearby areas, so there must have been an additional visit that resulted in Bellows's two paintings of the Tesuque Pueblo, and possibly Henri's as well.³⁰

Bellows rendered a church located near Chimayo in Sanctuario, which Henri and Bellows visited together on their way back from the trip to Taos. The church, which was built by a local family, was non-denominational and offered no services, functioning more as a shrine. When the group stopped there, the guardian lit candles so that they could see the interior which Henri found deeply moving.³¹ He described the visit there in a letter to his mother:

Near Chimayo we separated [from others in the group] as we wanted to go to see the church at Sanctuario...and it was at Sanctuario we saw a thing of the greatest beauty. The little church, across a little stream, behind great trees and against a mountain...itself a wonder of the old Spanish Indian type....From Sanctuario we took a rough mountain road rarely used by autos and rode through one of the wildest countries I ever saw in

the moonlight of Santa Fe.³²

Henri and Bellows both rendered images of the church. Henri produced two landscapes, Sanctuario, Chimaio [sic], oil on canvas, 20 x 24 inches, and Sanctuario, oil on canvas, 32 x 26 inches, as recorded in his record book, though both are marked "destroyed."³³ Bellows's painting, Sanctuario, is from October 1917.³⁴ The two artists must have returned to Chimayo for there was no time to sketch or paint when they passed through on the way back from Taos. A news item appeared in the Santa Fe New Mexican several days later noting that "Robert Henri and George Bellows of the Artist Colony motored to Chimayo yesterday to make sketches for landscapes."³⁵ It was likely from this return visit, made on October 4th, that Bellows' oils Sanctuario and Chimayo were produced, and Henri's two scenes as well.

Both Henri's and Bellows's paintings of the church show it from oblique angles, but from different perspectives. Since neither of Henri's canvases are extant, little stylistic information about the works can be gleaned from the thumbnail sketches in his record book. As typified by Sanctuario, Bellows's paintings of this period have a stylized and visionary quality, executed in bold, painterly strokes using a vibrant and saturated palette that begins to depart from literal representation.

Color usage was to become an artistic issue of increasing importance to both Bellows and Henri during these

years. It was not only Henri who exerted influence on Bellows, but it was also reciprocated with Bellows introducing Henri to new artistic ideas. In fact, just after Bellows returned to New York from Santa Fe, he encountered Jay Hambidge, an influential art theorist whose classes he attended. Bellows announced to Henri his discovery:

...a new star has arisen [sic] in the field of art analysis. Jay Hambidge...comes forth as a John the Baptist proclaiming the coming of a new understanding and the key to the Greek mysteries. I am attending a little class of his twice a week and think we're on the trail of something which may be worth while.³⁶

Hambidge and his theory of compositional design, known as Dynamic Symmetry, was to have a subsequently significant effect on the work of both Henri and Bellows.

As Henri had hoped, Bellows did indeed become a "painter of the Southwest," and was well-represented in the dedication exhibition of the Museum of New Mexico with five paintings and two lithographs.³⁷ Though it has been suggested that Bellows had not much enthusiasm for Santa Fe, his visit there was in fact quite productive, and he had hoped to return again the following summer. Unfortunately, Henri's plans for the next year fell through when other commitments prevented him from making an extended trip to

the Southwest that summer, and Bellows's second trip to Santa Fe was never realized.³⁶

Randall Davey and John Sloan first visited the Santa Fe art colony in 1919 at Henri's recommendation, after tiring of summers in Gloucester, Massachusetts. Henri wrote a letter of introduction for them to the Museum staff indicating that they would be arriving together by car about July 1st; he also requested studio space in the Old Palace of the Governors if any was available:

I think you must know them both very well by reputation and perhaps you know that they are very close friends of ours. Sloan is one of my lifelong friends and is a man of very great character, a strong and very original artist--painter, etcher, draftsman. Davey is of a younger generation. You will all like them, find them artists of the first order and they will be new and other interpreters of Santa Fe. I am very much interested in their going there and in seeing what will come of it in the way of work.³⁹

Henri's colorful descriptions of the place, and the six-week journey across the country that took them much longer than anticipated made the Sloans and Daveys very eager to arrive in Santa Fe.⁴⁰ Sloan later recalled that the Simplex car they used for the trip broke down in Watrous, New Mexico, and had to be shipped the rest of the way. The two couples

completed the last ninety miles of the journey by train, arriving in mid July.⁴¹

Though the trip out to Santa Fe was lengthy, exhausting, and expensive, when they finally got settled there Davey reported back to Henri that "we are delighted with Santa Fe. I think I could come back year after year. Never knew such a place for work and such variety. It suits me perfectly..."⁴² Henri's urging to visit Santa Fe was to significantly alter Davey's artistic life, for he promptly bought a house there and became a year-round resident--the only one of Henri's circle to do so.

Davey had been exposed to Henri's influence for many years; their acquaintance extended back as far as 1908 when Davey had enrolled in Henri's class at the New York School of Art and studied with him for a couple of years. After his schooling, he accompanied him on a 1910 trip to Holland and Spain, and assisted him on another trip to Spain in 1912. Extending from those early years, Henri's impact on Davey's art is still evident in the broad style of realism, skill in handling strong palettes with bold contrasts, forceful brushwork, and a continuing interest in portraiture that prevailed through the teens and early twenties. Davey reminisced about Henri that he "...was a kind of Christ in his way. He encouraged every avenue of investigation for his students."⁴³

By 1919, Davey still periodically consulted Henri for

advice on his work, though he had begun to establish his own individual style. His Santa Fe paintings exhibit few parallels to his former teacher's work other than in an essential approach to realism, particularly in his style of portraiture. Davey, more like Sloan than Henri, was initially interested in the ambiance and scenic potential he saw in the local sights of Santa Fe. The results of his early Southwestern impressions appear in works such as My House, Bulls, c. 1922, Spring in Santa Fe, (Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 8-6) and Winter Landscape, New Mexico (1923; Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 8-7), where he primarily painted landscapes and picturesque scenes, but showed little of Henri's affinity for portraits of Native and Hispanic Americans.⁴⁴ He occasionally painted some portraits of the local inhabitants and these examples can show Henri's residual influence, as seen in Señora Garcia (c. 1922, location unknown) and Western Man (n.d., The Harmsen Museum of Art). Davey excelled in portraiture, but he made a conscious choice not to pursue this artistic line when he chose to avoid the artistic mainstream, and settled in Santa Fe, as he explained:

...I know that if I chose to I could have more success with my work if I wanted to play their game. If I lived in a big city I could clean up on portraits. But I prefer to live here and paint for myself....That way I can feel free.⁴⁵

He became a permanent resident of Santa Fe and looked to his regional surroundings in much of his work. He did not, however, elect to exhibit these works back in the East. Later in his career, Davey's artistic interests turned towards a concentration of themes involving horses in racing and polo scenes, and these were the subjects with which he has become most closely identified.⁴⁶ Davey rarely dated his works, and other than on strictly formal criteria, establishing a chronology of his work is fraught with difficulty. His later work can be determined by looser execution, simplified and more stylized conception, with less resolved draftsmanship and descriptive detail.

Sloan and Davey were both greatly influenced by Henri in their work over the course of their lengthy association with him. Henri's endorsement of Santa Fe was to significantly impact the careers of Sloan, as well as that of Davey, for both maintained an enduring affiliation with the place. Similar to Henri, summer locations were also important to Sloan so that during those months he could focus on his painting. Sloan found Santa Fe a sympathetic place and favorable to work, as he informed Henri:

...I had got a streak of work and....

...have been going quite hard at it...I have thirteen canvases under way, all memory things. I have done nothing outdoors, contrary to my usual custom in Gloucester I have made no work in the

open. I see things, the life of Santa Fe, or landscape, and make them afterward from memory and I think it is producing results. Some of the things seem more like "works" and less like studies.

The people at the Museum have been most kind. I have the studio in the Palace which you had in 1917, and thanks to you there are plenty of canvases.⁴⁷

Sloan found Santa Fe inspiring and he concentrated on picturesque narratives in the work he produced there, but he also painted some pure landscape subjects that captured the Southwestern terrain in its unique atmosphere and coloration. The motivation for his Santa Fe landscapes came from the new environment he encountered there, as he later recounted in his book, The Gist of Art:

I like to paint the landscape in the Southwest because of the fine geometrical formations and the handsome color. Study of the desert forms, so severe and clear in that atmosphere helped me to work out principles in plastic design...I like the colors out here....Because the air is so clear you feel the reality of the things in the distance.⁴⁸

Sloan's ability to achieve astute characterizations in his figurative works, which derived from his early career in

illustration, translated into his landscape work, especially in his scenes of the Southwest, which evoke an explicit sense of place. Echoing the ideology espoused by Henri, Sloan proposed that artists should paint the world around them and that landscape should be seen as "a portrait of a place."⁴⁹ Van Wyck Brooks, a friend and early biographer of Sloan, noted that "no one who saw his [Sloan's] New Mexico landscapes could have wondered at his feeling that he should have been better known as a landscape painter."⁵⁰

Sloan sent Henri a list of the works he had underway by August 26th, showing a variety of picturesque subjects, oriented toward figurative narratives and landscapes distinctive to the region. As reported to Henri, the first thirteen compositions he undertook in 1919 were: two young girls in Old Portale, Santa Fe; Palace of the Governors; an interior view at Santo Domingo; Squaws in the Dance; Ancestral Spirits; Hotel Dance, Santa Fe; Santa Fe Daughters; Two Girls of Santa Fe; a scene of arroyo in evening; Street in Moonlight, Santa Fe; Santa Fe Canyon; a view of the Sangre de Cristo mountains; and Mother and Daughter, Santa Fe.⁵¹ Henri responded to Sloan's outline of his progress with great encouragement:

I am particularly glad to hear that you have been painting Santa Fe--or any thing else, from memory. You have an unusual gift of memory both of sensation and sight and while these several years

of more or less direct transcript--painting before the subject--may be considered the most excellent information gathering--and very useful--I'm quite certain your best work will come from dealing with the memories which have stuck...⁵²

Though Henri's interest in painting from life and skill in rapidly putting down his artistic impressions on canvas are well-known, it is often overlooked that he also consistently emphasized the importance of memory work.⁵³ At this juncture, Sloan took Henri's advice and executed work from memory, making great use of the studio made available to him in the Palace of the Governors. Anecdotal scenes dominate Sloan's first season of work in Santa Fe which was in part the result of his effort at working from memory. Sloan reminisced about what inspired this direction in his work:

On the whole, I saw the life of the people in...Santa Fe with an innocent artist's eye. Most of my subjects have shown the human family in moments of happiness, at recreation, what I have called "bits of joy in human life."....When I came out to New Mexico, I found the small town life of the Spanish people, and I observed the religious ceremonials of the Pueblo Indian.....I always had to see some human incident before wanting to paint a city picture. After coming to Santa Fe, I began to get ideas for human life subjects more often

than I did...That summer I was happy making a series of small-town-life paintings from memory.⁵⁴

Sloan liked to absorb the local color and atmosphere, and he often translated it into his work. By late August, Sloan had attended the Corn Dance at Santo Domingo and had made plans to go with Dr. Hewett to the dance at San Ildefonso.⁵⁵

These kinds of dramatic and picturesque cultural events found their way into compositions such as Squaws at the Dance (private collection), Koshare (Ancestral Spirits) (Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, fig. 8-8), The Eagle Dance, (collection of Frank C. Osborne), and Figures in the Dance (Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University). During his first summer in Santa Fe, Sloan effected a particularly industrious period of work that resulted in twenty-four paintings.⁵⁶ In appraising the work Sloan produced during his first visit to Santa Fe, Henri remarked to Edgar Hewett, "I think Sloan did some very fine things out there. I knew he would. And he did."⁵⁷

After Sloan discovered Santa Fe for himself, he continually attempted to persuade Henri to return with him. Letters from the Sloans to the Henris repeatedly contain entreaties for them to return to Santa Fe.⁵⁸ Henri's only overlapping stay there with the Sloans was, however, during the 1922 visit. Since the beginning of their acquaintance, dating to 1892, and throughout much of his career, Sloan would consult with Henri for artistic counsel. Even as a

mature artist, Sloan still looked to him for direction, though Henri no longer exerted a direct and visible impact on his work.

During Sloan's first season in Santa Fe, he elected to paint no portraits, but several scenes he produced, Tesuque Valley, Evening (John Sloan Trust), The Eagle Dance (collection of Frank C. Osborne), and Palace of the Governors (Cigna Corporation), were popular Santa Fe subjects that Henri had also previously undertaken in 1916 and 1917.⁵⁹ One oil landscape by Sloan, Adobe Houses in the Hills (1920; Gerald Peters Gallery) closely resembles a watercolor of Henri's done in 1917, Adobe Houses, New Mexico (Cheekwood Museum of Art, Nashville), though it is not known if Sloan was familiar with Henri's earlier composition.⁶⁰ In 1922, while Henri was visiting Santa Fe at the same time Sloan was there, their choice of subjects diverged, though a sketch and one of Sloan's paintings records a joint outing depicting the Sloans and Henris at the Parajito Plateau in Frijoles Canyon, south of Los Alamos in Party, Moonlight, Cave Dwellings (John Sloan Trust, fig. 9-9).⁶¹

Sloan, in fact, though he painted portrait subjects with some frequency, rarely undertook them while in Santa Fe. One exception is Alejandra, Santa Fe (John Sloan Trust), painted in 1923, which depicts a local woman who did housework for the Sloans, and who posed for Sloan, along with her sister. The composition bears some affinity to

Henri's, and also Davey's, candid style of portrait painting. In the Southwest, however, Sloan was largely inspired by either the landscape or the picturesque aspects of the human dramas he witnessed in town or in the Native-American communities he visited.

Sloan returned to Santa Fe the following summer and decided to purchase a house in order to make annual visits, which he made every year until 1950, with the exception of 1933.⁶² His summers there became an important refuge for him, and he remarked to Henri after having returned there for several seasons that "this land looked better than ever to me this time,--love for it has sprung up in place of surprise."⁶³

Sloan, like Davey, became an important fixture in the Santa Fe artist community, though Henri only returned for one last brief visit there in 1925. Sloan, who had always had strong political leanings, also became an important advocate for protecting Native Americans and their art and culture, and authored an article about the "Indian Dance," in which he expressed the

...hope that the value of the Indians to this country, their philosophy, their art, their dignity, their immense inspiration to modern artists and writers, will be recognized...and that what is left of a beautiful early civilization will be allowed to survive...⁶⁴

Sloan eventually achieved success in his career, though it happened late in his lifetime. When recognition eventually came to him, it was his New York genre scenes that garnered popular and critical attention and created his reputation. In the late 1940s, Sloan expressed the aspiration that other aspects of his oeuvre, particularly the Southwestern work, would eventually become more readily recognized and appreciated.⁶⁵

Henri's most significant influence on Santa Fe was in the expansion and recognition he achieved for the artists' colony by attracting New York artists there to paint the regional scenery. By the time Leon Kroll, George Bellows, Randall Davey, and John Sloan, arrived in Santa Fe, Henri's explicit influence on their work had ceased to be evident, but he continued to play a key role in the lives and careers of these four artists. Especially for Davey and Sloan, Henri was instrumental in introducing them to a new place that proved to be important to their artistic evolution.

NOTES

1. No other artists have been specifically identified as visiting New Mexico directly due to Henri's influence. Henrietta Shore, a friend and former Henri student, later visited the Santa Fe/Taos area, though it is not known whether Henri played any role in this decision. See Paul Bockhorst, ed., Impressions of California: Early Currents in Art 1850-1930, exh. cat. (Irvine: The Irvine Museum, 1996), p. 92.
2. As quoted in John Johnson Sweeney, Stuart Davis, exh. cat. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1945), p. 15. Sloan had convinced Stuart Davis to visit Gloucester Massachusetts in 1915, and Davis had found it a most agreeable place, returning there for many subsequent summers.
3. Edward Hopper as quoted in Lloyd Goodrich, Edward Hopper (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1971), pp. 17-18.
4. Goodrich, Edward Hopper, p. 85.
5. In letters written from New Mexico in 1916, 1917 and 1922, Henri makes periodic mention of Lucie Bayard presence there.
6. See Henri to Alice Klauber (2 August 1917; 22 September 1917); and Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (undated, 1917), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive.
7. See Dedication Exhibit of Southwestern Art, Preliminary Catalogue, exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1917); "When Dreams Come True," El Palacio IV (November 1917), p. 95; and Edgar L. Hewett, "On the Opening of the Art Galleries," Art & Archeology VII (January/February 1918), pp. 53, 66.
8. Edgar L. Hewett, "On the Opening of the Art Galleries," Art & Archeology VII (January/February 1918), illus., p. 66.
9. Leon Kroll, A Spoken Memoir, Nancy Hale and Fredson Bowers, eds. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Art Museum, 1983), p. 44. Also see Henri to George Bellows (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
10. George Bellows to Henri (undated, August 1917), Henri Papers Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Also see Charles H. Morgan, George Bellows: Painter of America (New York: Reynal & Company, 1965), pp. 211-12.

11. George Bellows to Henri (14 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
12. Henri to George Bellows (15 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Also see Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (19 September 1917), John Sloan Archive, Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington; and Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (10 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. This letter indicates that Kroll had stayed for about two weeks and had already left.
13. "San Geronimo Fiesta Begins Tonight; Artists Flocking to Quaint Old Pueblo," Santa Fe New Mexican (29 September 1917), p. 3; and Henri to his mother (18 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
14. The larger oil is 34 x 40 inches (Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe), and the smaller oil is 26 x 32 inches (Anschutz Collection).
15. "Dedication Exhibit of Southwestern Art," exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1917), n.p.
16. Leon Kroll to Edna Robertson (15 October 1967), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe. In the letter Kroll erroneously recalled that Randall Davey was there with them in Santa Fe at that time. However, Davey's first trip to Santa Fe did not occur until 1919.
17. "Kroll Likes Santa Fe," Santa Fe New Mexican (22 September 1917), p. 2. See also "San Geronimo Fiesta Begins Tonight; Artists Flocking to Quaint Old Pueblo," p. 3; and Leon Kroll to Denise Melnick (29 October 1968) from Denise Catherine Melnick, "Art at the 'Mexican Front': Robert Henri, George Wesley Bellows and Leon Kroll in New Mexico 1916-1922," unpublished M.A. thesis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1970), p. 43.
18. George Bellows to Henri (undated, August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
19. Henri to George Bellows (11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

20. Henri to George Bellows (25 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

21. George Bellows to Henri (August 1917; 14 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

22. George Bellows to Henri (undated letter, September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

23. "Southwest Archaeology, Science and Art: Notes from Museum and Artists' Colony," Santa Fe New Mexican (24 October 1917), p. 4. See also George Bellows to Henri (four undated letters, August and September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. These letters outline the onset of Bellows illness and the arrangements for his Santa Fe visit. A letter to Henri's mother dated October 30th states that a few days ago there had been a goodbye party which was held by the Hewetts for the Bellowses, and also indicates that they must have arrived back in New York by that time, see Henri to his mother (30 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

24. George Bellows to Henri (undated letter, September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

25. For Bellows' arrival, see Henri to his mother (26 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. This letter states that Bellows is expected the next day. This is the latest mention of his forthcoming arrival date since the date kept getting postponed and several different dates are mentioned in various correspondence.

26. Henri to George Bellows (19 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

27. George Bellows to Henri (undated 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

28. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (9 October 1917), Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive; Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (10 October 1916); and Henri to his mother (11 October 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

29. Bellows Record Book B, pp. 132-38, collection of Jean Bellows Booth. Also Jean Bellows Booth to the author (26 July 1996); and telephone conversation with Glenn Peck (8 July 1996). Santa Fe Landscape, Adobe Huts and The Cow are both noted in the Record Book as "destroyed." In Bellows' Record Book, the works are listed in order of their completion. The Record Book documents all of the paintings Bellows produced in Santa Fe with the exception of The Well at Quevado and the related watercolor. The oil painting was apparently based on a drawing (The Well at Quevado (Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center) and watercolor Bellows made while travelling from California to New Mexico. Also see George W. Bellows: His Lithographs (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 237.

30. Marjorie Henri to Alice Klauber (9 October 1917) Klauber Papers, San Diego Museum of Art Archive; and Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Henri executed three works depicting Tesuque. Two of them appear to have been completed towards the end of his stay in Santa Fe, probably after Bellows left New Mexico. Henri's thumbnail sketch of Tesuque, one of these work which is a pastel done on pulp panel and measures 20 x 24 inches, shows a similar configuration to that of Bellows's compositions. The other work was a large oil painting, measuring 54 x 74 inches, which Henri destroyed, and gave the canvas to Randall Davey.

31. Henri to his mother (2 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

32. Ibid. Although the date on this letter appears to be August 2nd, the letter must be misdated, for the events mentioned in it occurred about October 2nd.

33. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

34. Bellows's painting is oil on board and measures 20 x 24 inches as noted in his Record Book B, collection of Jean Bellows Booth.

35. "Artists Motor to Sanctuario," Santa Fe New Mexican (5 October 1917), p. 4.

36. George Bellows to Henri (16 November 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

37. "When Dreams Come True," El Palacio, 4 (November 1917), pp. 94-5. Bellows exhibited The Red Cow, Santa Fe Canyon, Sanctuario, Tesuque Pueblo, Road to Quemado [sic], A Stag at

Sharkey's (lithograph), and Artists Judging Works of Art (lithograph). Though no work is recorded in Bellows's Record Book as Santa Fe Canyon, this work is probably the oil listed as Santa Fe Valley.

38. Henri to Paul Walter (13 June 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe. The letter was written to inform Walter that Henri would not be visiting Santa Fe, and also states that "Bellows too...was looking towards a whole summer at Santa Fe." See also Melnick, "Art at the 'Mexican Front': Robert Henri, George Wesley Bellows and Leon Kroll in New Mexico 1916-1922," pp. 40-1, regarding Bellows supposed lack of enthusiasm for Santa Fe.

39. Henri to Paul Walter (10 May 1919), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe.

40. Randall Davey to Henri (6 July 1919), John Sloan to Henri (21 June 1919; 5 July 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Also see James Kraft and Helen Farr Sloan, John Sloan in Santa Fe, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), p. 27.

41. John Sloan to Henri (26 August 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and John Sloan, "Randall Davey," New Mexico Quarterly, 21 (Spring 1951), p. 23.

42. Randall Davey to Henri (undated, late summer or early fall, 1919); and John Sloan to Henri (26 August 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. The trip cost Davey and Sloan \$750.00 each.

43. As quoted in Sloan, "Randall Davey," p. 21.

44. Bulls and My House are currently unlocated; they were reproduced in William B. McCormick, "The New Randall Davey," International Studio, 75 (March 1922), pp. 57, 59. Winter Landscape, New Mexico and Spring in Santa Fe are in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

45. As quoted in Sloan, "Randall Davey," p. 25.

46. For example, see Clark S. Marlbor, The Society of Independent Artists: The Exhibition Record 1917-1944 (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1984), pp. 198-99; and Peter Hastings Falk, ed., The Annual Exhibition Record of the National Academy of Design 1901-1950 (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1990), pp. 160-61.

47. John Sloan to Henri (26 August 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
48. John Sloan, The Gist of Art (1939; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1977), p. 147.
49. Ibid., p. 146.
50. Van Wyck Brooks, John Sloan: A Painter's Life (New York E.P. Dutton & Company, 1955), pp. 157-58.
51. John Sloan to Henri (26 August 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
52. Henri to John and Dolly Sloan (14 September 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
53. See Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. by Margery Ryerson (1923; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1984), pp. 27-33).
54. John Sloan Notes, c. 1950, as quoted in James Kraft and Helen Farr Sloan, John Sloan in Santa Fe, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1981), pp. 30-31.
55. John Sloan to Henri (26 August 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
56. Rowland Elzea, John Sloan's Oil Paintings: A Catalogue Raisonné, vol. I (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), pp. 26-7, 231-39. For more on Sloan in Santa Fe, see Kraft and Sloan, John Sloan in Santa Fe; and Patricia Broder, The American West: The Modern Vision (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), pp. 45-65.
57. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (22 December 1919) Hewett Papers, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
58. John Sloan to Henri (4 June 1920; 3 July 1920); and Dolly Sloan to Marjorie Henri (9 June 1920), collection of Janet Le Clair.
59. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. For Sloan's work see Elzea, John Sloan's Oil Paintings, vol. I, pp. 231, 236, 238, catalogue nos. 599, 607, and 614.

60. Elzea, John Sloan's Oil Paintings, vol. I, pp. 240-41, cat. no. 621.
61. Elzea, John Sloan's Oil Paintings, vol. I, p. 255-56. Catalogue no. 670, Party, Moonlight, Cave Dwellings (John Sloan Trust) shows the Henris and the Sloans together on an outing. Sloan painted three other scenes of the cliff forms at Frijoles Canyon, catalogue nos. 661, 662, and 677, pp. 253-55. One of these paintings, Frijoles Canyon, catalogue number 667, is dated 6 August 1922 on the stretcher; Henri was in Santa Fe at this time in 1922.
62. For a more extensive view of Sloan's years in Santa Fe, see Kraft and Sloan, John Sloan in Santa Fe.
63. John Sloan to Henri (25 June 1925), collection of Janet Le Clair.
64. John Sloan, "The Indian Dance from an Artist's Point of View," Arts & Decoration, 20 (January 1924), p. 56. Sloan's political activities commenced around 1909 when he joined the Socialist party.
65. John Sloan unpublished notes, c. 1944-51 as quoted in Kraft and Sloan, John Sloan in Santa Fe, p. 36.

CHAPTER 9

Henri and Taos

In the development of New Mexico's art scene, the art colonies of Taos and Santa Fe have been commonly regarded as communities that function as extensions of one another. In reality the two towns are independent entities that function separately and are quite distinct in character from one another; they are also divided by over 70 miles of rough terrain.¹ The artists of the period who resided in Santa Fe and Taos periodically travelled between the two towns and a number of them painted in both locales, though most all of artists maintained an affiliation with either one town or the other. Henri's involvement was, however, principally with the Santa Fe Colony. He travelled around New Mexico visiting many of the surrounding areas; however, he was only in Taos on two occasions, once in 1916, and again in 1917, spending a total of a few days there.²

In August of 1916, Henri took his first trip to Taos as he related:

We took a 2 1/2 days auto trip to Taos about 75 miles North of here, a wonderful trip every bit of it filled with sensation, all mountain, canyon, rough and sometimes dangerous road--through pueblos, part way along the Rio Grande...Saw beautiful Indians and the pueblos of Taos was all

that one could wish for....The mountains back of Taos are as beautiful as I have ever seen....³

In 1917, he took a second trip to Taos with Leon Kroll and George Bellows, to see the "Fiesta de St. Geronimo," whose festivities lasted from September 29th through October 1st, and included an important Indian dance. In addition to Henri's group, which was composed of George and Emma Bellows, Kroll, Lucie Bayard, Jesse Nusbaum, Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon Parsons, George Smith (a friend of George Bellows), William Penhallow Henderson and his wife, over fifty other artists also attended the festival.⁴ Henri reported of the visit that

It was a great time to see the ancient pueblo with its two great community houses built up house upon house pyramid fashion. The houses were spotted with groups of brilliant spectators. The indians group themselves on the various roofs [sic]. The sun sent its last burning light and the big harvest moon came up.⁵

Though no particular examples of Henri's work have been identified from this excursion to Taos, his pastel of the Tesuque dance and Santa Fe adobes exemplify his interest in the type of picturesque surroundings and events he witnessed and recorded while in New Mexico.

Despite the proximity of Santa Fe to Taos, Henri's direct interaction with the Taos art colony was limited. As

illustrated by the few references contained in his correspondence from this period, he had little extended contact with any of the Taos artists, though he certainly became acquainted with those who passed through or visited Santa Fe on occasion during his tenure there. His residence in the area was well known since local publications including El Palacio, the Santa Fe New Mexican, and the Taos Valley News, reported the comings and goings of the inhabitants of the art colony, and Henri's activities always figured prominently in the reports.

After the 1917 trip to Taos Henri made with Bellows and Kroll, he remarked that "there are many artists at Taos and they were all anxious to entertain us."⁶ Among the artists he saw there were Victor Higgins, Bert Geer Phillips, and Julius Rolshoven. He and Bellows may have met Higgins in New York as early as 1911,⁷ and renewed the acquaintance when Henri and Bellows visited Taos on this occasion. Higgins found accommodations in Taos at a little Mexican house for Henri, Bellows, and Kroll, and they also visited the studios of Julius Rolshoven, with whom Henri was somewhat friendly, and Bert Geer Phillips.⁸

The work of some Taos artists shows similarities to Henri's Southwestern portraits. The corresponding aesthetic can be largely attributed to the regional subject matter that Henri and other Southwestern artists shared and also to a realistic style of painting. By reputation and through

local exhibitions Henri's work had become familiar to Taos artists, and the broader exposure of his paintings through Taos Society of Artists exhibitions, beginning in 1918, likely resulted in influencing some of the area artists. In particular, certain paintings by Ernest Blumenschein, Julius Rolshoven, Victor Higgins, and Walter Ufer, exhibit a general resemblance to Henri's Southwestern portraits in choice of subject and painterly style.⁹ In one instance, Henri's influence on Blumenschein was noted in a review of the Fourth Annual Taos Society of Artists exhibition:

E.L. Blumenschein has in the exhibit only one painting..."Albedia of Taos" is the portrait he exhibits, the girl stolid, almost Mongolian in type, hair so dark that it is an inky blue, an old oddly colored and striped blanket drawn closely about the shoulders and muffling the neck and part of the head, tones of brown and red gliding into purple--a striking canvas, interesting for its treatment of an ordinary subject. Blumenschein probably will resent to be told that several visitors before looking at the signature, pronounced it a Robert Henri, but there are strong resemblances between the superb portraits that Henri produced at Santa Fe the past two years, and this painting...¹⁰

Blumenschein and Henri were surely acquainted, and some

visual parallels are apparent in the subject and composition of Albedia of Taos, (c. 1918; Gerald Peters Gallery, fig. 9-1), and some of Henri's Native portraits.¹¹ Blumenschein chose a subject type that he rendered in a style and palette analogous to that seen in many of Henri's Southwestern portraits. He also used a geometric compositional background in a manner comparable to a that seen in a number of Henri's 1917 portraits. Rolshoven, like Blumenschein, also painted some portraits of Native Americans, such as The War Chief, Taos Pueblo, The Prince (Santa Domingo), c. 1918, and Santiago Naranjo, Elder Tribesman of Santa Clara Pueblo (c. 1917; Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe), that bear an indirect connection to some of Henri's portraits of 1916 and 1917. While Rolshoven's paintings are powerful images, they are more oriented towards the likeness and exotic dress than with the inner character of the subject. These examples by Blumenschein and Rolshoven suggest that Henri and his Santa Fe portraits may have exerted a degree of influence that extended to some artists working in Taos.

Henri did not maintain any especially close relationships with the Taos artists. He exchanged minor correspondence with the Taos Society officers on matters pertaining to Society business. During his most active period with the Taos Society, 1918-1922, Walter Ufer was Secretary and Treasurer of the organization, so therefore administrative matters were the focus of their interchange.

In a letter of August 21, 1921, however, Henri's tone became more personal when he witnessed a change in Ufer's work that he articulated to him:

I have had great satisfaction in seeing many of your pictures in the exhibitions. Along with an always developing skill, and you have naturally an abundance of that, I have seen a greater warmth of feeling creeping into your work, and I personally like this.¹²

As an outgrowth of Henri's years of teaching, he always expressed words of encouragement when he saw potential and advancement in the work of a fellow artist. This development in Ufer's work that Henri observed had been also been detected by Henry McBride in his Taos Society of Artists review from the previous year. He remarked that

...there is no recorded expression of deep feeling upon the part of the artists at these manifestations. Walter Ufer comes nearer than any of the others in sympathetic understanding of the Indian as he now is...¹³

Sharp, Higgins, Couse, Ufer, and some of the other Taos artists periodically undertook single-figure Native-American subjects, though unlike Henri's portraits, their figurative compositions were generally contextualized within a setting or landscape, and often have a narrative component. The single-figure, close-up portrait of a Native-American,

infused with emotional intensity, and most often with a straight-on gaze, was primarily Henri's domain. Henri conducted little active artistic dialogue with the artists residing in Taos, either in correspondence or in person, so his influence appears to have been spread by the exhibition of his works and his national reputation.

Though Henri was more closely affiliated with the art colony of Santa Fe, he later became involved with Taos through the Taos Society of Artists. The Taos Society of Artists was officially formed in July of 1915 with six founding members: Joseph Henry Sharp, Ernest Blumenschein, Bert Geer Phillips, Oscar Berninghaus, Eanger Irving Couse, and W. Herbert Dunton. The organization based its ideology on the Society of Western Artists, a larger enterprise to which Phillips, Berninghaus, and Sharp had belonged until it disbanded in 1914, and also on the Society of Men Who Paint the Far West, a more selective venture of eleven artists, including Couse and Blumenschein, who exhibited together in shows from 1912 to 1917. The primary missions of these groups had been to bring the work of its members to public attention through travelling exhibitions, a concept also adopted by the Taos Society of Artists.¹⁴

Henri's link to Taos was formalized by an invitation issued to him to join the Taos Society of Artists as an associate member, decided at the July 16th meeting in 1918;

he responded with a letter of acceptance.¹⁵ Fundamentally, however, he maintained his principal allegiance to Santa Fe and remarked to Edgar Hewett that, "naturally I accept, but shall nevertheless always consider myself primarily of the Santa Fe family of artists."¹⁶

An active movement had been underway to extend the scope of the Taos Society of Artists. Throughout its history, the Taos Society of Artists had a total of twenty-one members on its roster, which included eight associate members and two honorary members.¹⁷ It is probable that the extension of an invitation to Henri to become a member of the Taos Society of Artists was part of an effort to recruit an artist of his stature into the fold to advance the organization's profile.¹⁸ Henri's inclusion was part of the Taos Society of Artists' second phase of development; he was the second Associate Member asked to join, following Julius Rolshoven's invitation the previous year.

The Taos Society of Artists by-laws were amended to include the Associate status at the Third Annual Meeting, held on July 15, 1917.¹⁹ This category of membership was defined as

...those who qualify the same as active members excepting they do not practice their artistic vocation in Taos, New Mexico, or immediate vicinity, but in New Mexico or adjoining States for a period not less than three years or a part

of three separate years, providing each part thereof be not less than three months.²⁰

The expansion effort was publicized in press notices when it was announced the previous year that

A change was made in the constitution of the Society, creating an associate membership in order to widen the scope of the organization. This new feature will enable artists who do not come to Taos but whose work is done in the Southwest, to become members and by exhibiting with the Taos artists help them spread the message of a great field rich in artistic possibilities.²¹

The addition to the Society's by-laws was especially geared to include artists who were working in the Santa Fe art colony, though in a popular vote, the Taos Society declined to alter the group's name to the "Santa Fe-Taos Society of Artists."²² Reaffirming Taos's superior position to Santa Fe, Ernest Blumenschein proclaimed that

The Taos school of painting is famous, and probably has done as much as any other publicity agent in booming New Mexico. Santa Fe is so proud of the Taos art[ists] that she refers to this branch of painters as the Santa Fe--Taos school, but up in Taos, Santa Fe occupies the tail end of the hyphen. Nevertheless Santa Fe is dear to the Taos artists and they are proud to be included

with the ethnologists, and the politicians and the merchants and the spirited citizens of the classy little city.²³

At the time Henri was invited to join the Taos Society of Artists, he did not actually qualify in accordance with the guidelines as they were set out. By 1918, he had only visited New Mexico during two consecutive seasons. It seems clear that an exception was made in Henri's case since the inclusion of an artist of his reputation in their ranks would be advantageous and would greatly enhance the prestige of the organization.

It is also likely that from Henri's peripheral role as an Associate Member of the Society, he still exerted some degree of influence, though he never attended a single meeting of the Society.²⁴ It can be presumed that he was at least partially responsible for the 1921 invitations extended to John Sloan, B.J.O. Nordfeldt, and Randall Davey, to join the Taos Society, though the nominations officially came from Ernest Blumenschein.²⁵ Henri expressed pleasure to Ufer at their inclusion in the Society, noting "I am glad to hear that you are to have Sloan, Davey and Nordfeldt, and that there is to be an effort to make things go."²⁶

After becoming a member of the Taos Society of Artists, Henri began exhibiting with the group in the annual shows, beginning in 1918 and continuing through 1923.²⁷ In 1916, the Society began organizing touring exhibitions of the

members' work which were intended to cultivate a commercial market through wider national exposure.²⁸ This activity became the group's primary mission with the hope of augmenting sales of their artwork. According to Henri's records, he first showed in the Taos Society exhibition of 1918-19, after the show had premiered in New York, he joined up at the second venue in Detroit with one of the portraits of Tilly from 1917, known as Little Mountain Girl. The exhibition also toured to Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City and other stops.²⁹

In the 1919-20 Society show, Henri showed Gregorita (Gilcrease Museum of Art) and Indian, Ricardo, from 1917, and Francesca from 1916. This exhibition circuit began in New York at Babcock Galleries, from February 10-28, 1919, and included subsequent venues in Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Lincoln, Nebraska, and Worcester, Massachusetts among others.³⁰ During 1920-21, Henri chose Rosemary, Brown Mexican Girl, 1916, and Florencia (private collection) and Gregorita with Santa Clara Bowl (Ulrich Museum, Wichita State University), 1917, for the exhibition which travelled to even more cities after it opened in New York at the Kingore Galleries. In New York, the show ran from November 15th through the 27th before moving on to Dayton, Toledo, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Salt Lake City, Denver, Colorado Springs, San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Francisco, and Honolulu.³¹ This exhibition represented a

high point for the Taos Society travelling shows as Ufer, as Secretary succeeded in securing a prestigious Fifth Avenue site in New York for the exhibition. However, Ufer noted that

It was very difficult to get our exhibition into New York and Chicago among the dealers because our past exhibitions were not of high enough standing....It is urgent to keep in mind that the country and its people demand more and more of us as we get older and better established....³²

In the 1922 Taos Society circuit exhibition, which opened in New York at the Howard Young Galleries, Henri entered a portrait of Lucinda, known as Cinda which had been done in 1917. It remained on exhibition from November 4th until November 16th. The circuit was subsequently presented at the art museum in Worcester, Massachusetts in December, and then travelled to the Cleveland Art Museum in January 1923, the Traxel Art Company in Cincinnati in February, the H. Lieber Company Galleries in Indianapolis in March, the Noonan-Kocian Galleries in St. Louis in April, Conrad Hug Galleries in Kansas City in May, the Cyrus Boutwell Galleries, Denver in June, and Boutwell Galleries in Colorado Springs in July, followed by several undetermined venues.³³

According to his own records, during the course of Henri's affiliation with the Taos Society of Artists, he

only sold one work from any of the exhibitions.³⁴ Gregorita was purchased by a Philadelphia collector through Babcock Galleries of New York, in January 1919, prior to the opening of the first venue of the 1919 Taos Society's show there, so the work did not continue on the exhibition circuit. Henri was asked to replace the picture with a substitute for the remainder of the exhibition tour, though it does not appear that he did so.³⁵

Henri did not participate in the 1920 exhibition circuit which opened at the Milch Galleries in New York in January 1920.³⁶ He explained his reason for not showing with the group and expressed to Walter Ufer the hope that the present circumstances would be remedied for the upcoming Taos exhibition circuit:

I shall hope to be represented, and will if you succeed in making the galleries pay the expences [sic]. The reason I did not exhibit last year was that I did not see the sense in the artists submitting to any part of the exhibition, transportation or insurance expences [sic]. If such an exhibition of pictures by well known artists is not worth the full cost to the Galleries, or to the dealers who hold the exhibitions they should not have them. Even when a dealer does not sell from the show he gets a certain profit...³⁷

Additionally, the fact that Henri only sold one work over the course of his association with the Taos Society of Artists, plus the recurring dues and fees he was assessed for maintaining works while on the exhibition circuit, proved more of a burden and nuisance to him than a help at this point in his career. In a letter that Henri fired off to Walter Ufer in February of 1921, he conveyed his annoyance about expenses incurred by the Society for the transportation of works on the circuit and declined to send a picture to the next venue, noting:

It is a matter of principle with me. The amounts of disbursements are not serious but the principle is. It is enough for artists to paint the pictures, frame them, stand the rough handling both frame and picture gets in the best of handling, and to be without the picture for long periods. (From point of view of selling a picture I find that the more I keep them here in New York the better chance I have of selling them, and therefore this willingness to send out is inspired more by a desire to help than to profit).³³

1922 represented the end of Henri's active involvement with the Taos Society of Artists.³⁵ He was still listed as an associate member in the 1924-25 roster, though he had ceased paying dues, however, he never formally resigned from the organization.⁴⁰

Henri exhibited with the Taos Society of Artists in their annual shows from 1918 through 1922 with varying degrees of critical success. Though the Southwestern subject matter was somewhat alien to the New York audience, Henri's work often elicited comment. In his first New York exhibition with the Taos Society of Artists, a portrait of a young Hispanic-American girl was singled out for its exceptional characterization:

Robert Henri's "Francesca,"...is portraiture pure and simple, with the characteristic Henri glint to the large rolling eyes, a fascinating twist to the full lips, and of course, a brilliant and attractive color scheme....⁴¹

However the review of the Taos Society of Artists continued by expounding on the Eastern view of typically Southwestern ethnic subjects:

When it comes to Indian life, however, features count very little with the public,...blanket weaving, pottery making, scouting, hunting, all the activities of this alien life, which is the life of the original American, are of interest to us. Even good painting is not too exactlingly demanded. A painted Indian is a good Indian provided he does something the white man is curious about. These Indian pictures will be highly valued in the future, not for their

aesthetic quality...but because they are history. It is the modern way, as it was the way of the cave dweller, to "tell it with pictures" and waste no words about it.⁴²

The following year when the Taos Society of Artists presented their exhibition at the Kingore Galleries exhibition in New York, another writer again focused on the foreign quality of the themes presented in the Southwestern artists' work. The commentary also emphasized the documentary nature of much of the art depicting the Native American way of life that was seen as a casualty of progress. The writer noted that

The Taos painters are increasingly successful in escaping from the tyranny of the unfamiliar. Long as an Eastern white man may live among Indians the Indian aspect and customs remain unfamiliar and the paintings that have come from the regions still inhabited by the original Americans, frequently, and in spite of their variety, have seemed to say to us only, "Mark how strange and picturesque this subject is. We must paint it before it passes."⁴³

For the most part, the Eastern audience found the Taos paintings to be descriptive works that depicted an unknown way of life and were to be valued, not as fine art, but as a record for posterity. As an artist whose reputation and

success had been established as an Easterner, Henri had perhaps escaped this designation because his primary association was not as an artist of the Southwest and his work was less descriptive and ethnographic in its orientation than that of other of the Taos Society of Artists.

When Henri's work was shown in the 1920 exhibition of the Taos Society of Artists, it did not draw favorable comment from the noted critic Henry McBride. McBride, who was never a great supporter of Henri's, remarked of Rosemary, Brown Girl, Florencia, and Gregorita and the Santa Clara Bowl that "Robert Henri sends portrait studies of several little Western girls, painted in the dull and mannered style that has been his of late..."⁴⁴ More receptive than McBride was the critic for the New York Times who observed that "Mr. Henri...sticks to his last and finds little New Mexican girls with eyes as big and bright and lips as moist as any of his former models could boast."⁴⁵ McBride, as some other New York critics, was particularly critical of Henri's Southwestern work which were seen as contrived, artificial, and picturesque.⁴⁶ A 1922 review of the Taos Society of Artists exhibition at the Howard Young Galleries had a very different tone:

all of the artists who have visited Taos within recent years have chosen subjects for their pictures the Pueblo Indians. Their paintings have

been exhibited throughout the country in various shows and the types characteristic of the place are well known to art lovers all over the land. So popular have the picture of these Indians become that it is not possible for the artists to gratify half of the requests made upon them for their canvases for exhibition.⁴⁷

Though the notice, which may have been part of a publicity campaign, refers to the immense popularity in the public's reception of the Native-American subjects, it was, however, the lack of sales of the members' work that ultimately caused the demise of the Taos Society of Artists in March of 1927.⁴⁸

Since Henri did not return to the Southwest to paint the regional subject matter after 1922, he no longer had fresh work to exhibit with the Taos Society of Artists, so his lack of interest in the Society was also partially the natural result of the change in his focus which came to favor Irish over Southwestern subjects. His peripatetic nature and catholic interests prevented him from being exclusively devoted to any single type of subject. The artistic inspiration that had initially stirred his interest in the Southwest and its subjects was depleted by 1922, and his interest in the Taos Society of Artists therefore also dwindled. This decline may have also been related to the uneven critical reception and lack of commercial success

Henri's Southwestern work had engendered with his
association with the Taos Society of Artists.

NOTES

1. See for example Van Deren Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment 1882-1942 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963), and Arrell Morgan Gibson, The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900-1942 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983). The journal, El Palacio, produced by the Museum of New Mexico, also connected the towns, referring to the "Santa Fe-Taos Art Colony."
2. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916); Henri to George Bellows (15 September 1917); and Henri to his mother (2 August 1917; 26 September 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. These letters refer to Henri's Taos trips.
3. Henri to Bill and Mary Fanton Roberts (9 August 1916), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Also see Henri to his mother (3 August 1917; 11 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven; and Henri Diary (22 July 1922), Cornell University Library, Ithaca.
4. See "Artists Bound for Taos," Santa Fe New Mexican (22 September 1917), p. 2; and "San Geronimo Fiesta Begins Tonight; Artists Flocking to Quaint Old Pueblo," Santa Fe New Mexican (29 September 1917), p. 3. See also Henri to George Bellows (15 September 1917); and Henri to his mother (undated 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
5. Henri to his mother (2 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
6. Ibid. This letter dated August 2nd, actually reports events that occurred at the end of September and early October. Henri frequently mixed up the months when writing letters.
7. Dean Porter, Victor Higgins: An American Master (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1991), p. 25.
8. Henri to his mother (2 August 1917), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. Rolshoven was affiliated with both Santa Fe and Taos. See "Art and Literary Colony," El Palacio, 4 (July 1917), p. 87; and "Gossip of Society and Art Colony Doings in Santa Fe," Santa Fe New Mexican (8 December 1917).

9. See Coke, Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment, 1882-1942, pp. 39-40. Coke notes that Henri's leadership qualities imbued him with a degree of artistic influence on the artists of Santa Fe and Taos, though no definitive proof has come to light.

10. "Fourth Annual Exhibit of Taos Society of Artists," El Palacio, 5 (August 1918), pp. 83, 87-9.

11. Blumenschein spent several days in Santa Fe in July 1917 before going to Taos. His Santa Fe visit overlapped Henri's stay there. See "Art and Literary Colony," p. 87.

12. Henri to Walter Ufer (21 August 1921) Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Yale University, New Haven.

13. Henry McBride, "News and Reviews of Art--Interesting Works Shown at Exhibitions in the Galleries," The New York Herald, III (21 November 1920), p. 9.

14. Robert White, ed. Taos Society of Artists (1983; reprint. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), p. xviii.

15. Ibid., p. 55. The minutes from that meeting note that Henri was more closely associated with the Santa Fe Art Colony.

16. Henri to Edgar L. Hewett (12 August 1918), Museum of New Mexico Archive, Santa Fe. Henri was nominated to the Taos Society of Artists at their July 16, 1918 meeting. See White, The Taos Society of Artists, pp. 29, 55.

17. White, Taos Society of Artists, pp. 14-15. Edgar L. Hewett and Frank Springer were the honorary members.

18. The author wishes to acknowledge Dean Porter and Robert R. White for providing insights on Henri and the Taos Society of Artists. See White, The Taos Society of Artists, pp. 66, 70. The subsequent invitation extended in 1921 to Sloan and Davey to join the Taos Society of Artists was made for similar reasons. Also see Dean Porter, et al., Taos Artists and Their Patrons 1898-1950. (Notre Dame: Snite Museum of Art, 1999). This in-depth study of the Taos Society of Artists and patronage does not fully address Henri's association with the organization or his impact on the Northern New Mexico art scene.

19. White, The Taos Society of Artists, p. 27.

20. Ibid., p. 19.

21. "Taos Society of Artists," Santa Fe New Mexican (21 July 1917), p. 2; see also "Hundred Painters visit Santa Fe and Taos in Course of Year," Santa Fe New Mexican (8 September 1917), p. 2.
22. White, Taos Society of Artists, p. 29. The meeting during which this discussion occurred was the same one in which Henri was invited to join.
23. "Blumenschein is Interviewed," El Palacio 6 (1 March 1919), p. 85.
24. White, Taos Society of Artists, pp. 23-102. See the Taos Society of Artists' meeting minutes.
25. Ibid., p. 70.
26. Henri to Walter Ufer (21 August 1921), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.
27. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
28. White, Taos Society of Artists, p. 25.
29. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.
30. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Also see White, Taos Society of Artists, pp. 56-58. There are discrepancies between Henri's exhibition records, exhibition reviews, and the Minutes from the Taos Society of Artists. Record keeping on the part of the Society was casual, and works were sold from the shows and substituted throughout the tour making it difficult to determine what exactly was shown where.
31. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair. Also see Porter, et al., Taos Artists and Their Patrons 1898-1950, p. 44. This text notes that Gregorita with the Santa Clara Bowl appeared in a small Taos Society of Artists exhibition at the Mohr Art Galleries in New York, following the circuit tour, however, Henri's exhibition records note Honolulu as the final venue of his Taos Society entries for 1920-21 circuit.
32. White, Taos Society of Artists, pp. 72-73.
33. Ibid., p. 83.
34. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

35. White, Taos Society of Artists, p. 56. See also Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair; and Oscar Berninghaus to Henri (13 January 1919), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven. The Taos Society of Artists's 1919 Report of the Secretary indicates that Henri was one of three artists who sold a painting out of the New York show, though the work is not designated. It appears that the work was the portrait of Gregorita, though Henri did not record the painting as entered on the Taos Society of Artists exhibition circuit.

36. "Paintings by the Taos Artists," New York Times, VIII (25 January 1920), p. 10. Also see Artist's Record Books, collection of Janet Le Clair.

37. Henri to Walter Ufer (21 August 1921) Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

38. Henri to Walter Ufer (8 February 1921), Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

39. Artist's Record Book, collection of Janet Le Clair.

40. White, Taos Society of Artists, pp. 97-8, 101.

41. "Indian Pictures," New York Times, VII (23 February 1919), p. 12.

42. Ibid.

43. "The World of Art," The New York Times Book Review and Magazine (21 November 1920), p. 18.

44. Henry McBride, "Taos Society Exhibition," The New York Herald, III (21 November 1920), p. 9.

45. "The World of Art," pp. 18-19.

46. See Henry McBride, "What is Happening in the World of Art," The Sun, III (22 November 1914), p. 5; and Henry McBride, "Robert Henri One of the Strong forces in Art History," The Sun (14 March 1931), Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.

47. "Taos Society of Artists," New York Telegraph (5 November 1922).

48. White, The Taos Society of Artists, p. 102.

CHAPTER 10

Postscript and Conclusion

At the time of Henri's death on July 12, 1929, it had been four years since he had visited New Mexico, or anywhere in the Southwest. In a news release, Henri was called the "...first painter of international reputation to come to the Southwest to interpret Indian and Spanish life on canvas."¹

The Santa Fe and Taos art communities' enormous respect for him as an artist and educator was reflected in the prompt founding of the Robert Henri Memorial Association. In Santa Fe, only hours after Henri's death, an organizational meeting was held, with more than one hundred Santa Fe and Taos artists in attendance, to begin working on an endowment to build the Robert Henri Memorial Hall in New York. Among those who served on the organizing committee were, in Santa Fe: John Sloan, Randall Davey, Will Shuster and Dr. Edgar L. Hewett; in Taos: Walter Ufer; in New York: William J. Glackens, and Eugene Speicher. Others involved in the campaign included George Luks, Witter Bynner, Mary Austin, Andrew Dasburg and John Marin.² Though the initiative was ultimately never achieved, it symbolizes the deep regard which Henri engendered within the New Mexican art colonies during his relatively brief time there.³

However, another tribute to Henri that was realized was a Memorial Exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

in 1931. The effort was spearheaded by John Sloan and the exhibition opened March 9 and ran through April 19th and included seventy-eight works by Henri spanning his career, from 1898 to 1928, when he ceased painting.⁴ The works included in the show were taken from a list prepared by Henri of what he considered to be his best work.⁵ Among the seventy-eight works included in the Memorial Exhibition were a strong representative group from Henri's Southwestern visits: Sylvester (1914), Water Eagle (1914), and Beach Hat (1914) were included from Southern California, and Portrait of Diequito Roybal--Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa (1917), Indian Girl of Santa Clara (1917), and Julianita (1922) represented Henri's New Mexican subjects.⁶

Henri was not the earliest artist to venture West, nor was he the first to portray the landscape and native people of Southern California and New Mexico, but the work he executed while in the Southwest offers a unique view of that region that bears little semblance to any of his artistic predecessors. In portraiture, Henri did not set forth to document native cultures or a vanishing race, but to capture what he perceived as the unique qualities and character of individuals who were representative of their people.

The 1914 visit to Southern California represents a period of great innovation in Henri's work. He followed with two extremely productive seasons in Santa Fe in which

he continued working in the direction that he had initiated in California. An artistic highpoint for Henri culminated in the 1917 series of portraits he painted of the Native-American subjects, Gregorita and Julianita. These portraits are among the finest he produced at any time in his painting career, and they represent his last major extended period of creativity, though he still had twelve more active years of painting remaining. It is evident, however, that Henri had essentially exhausted the novelty of the Southwestern subject matter by 1922. Nonetheless, Santa Fe continued to have a strong emotional hold on him until it was eventually supplanted by Ireland during the last five seasons of his life.

Henri has ultimately become most closely identified with the Irish portraits he produced in Achill Island during his final years. By this time in his painting career, he had reached an artistic plateau that was defined by the narrow scope of the similar subjects he repeatedly painted in these late compositions. During his late years, he had also been increasingly consumed with theoretical approaches that focused on color harmonies; these technical systems could have an enervating effect on his portraits. He never again attained the continued dynamic originality of the 1916 and 1917 Santa Fe portraits. Santa Fe, therefore, represents the last important phase in the development of Henri's portraiture.

Inspired by Alice Klauber, Henri first visited Southern California. Edgar Hewett, whom Henri met in California, subsequently influenced him to come and work in Santa Fe; he was therefore the first of the New York Realists to arrive in Santa Fe, and he in turn lured other important artists to follow him. Along with Edgar Hewett, Henri made a great contribution toward establishing Santa Fe as a flourishing artist colony. The arrival of prominent New York artists Leon Kroll, George Bellows, Randall Davey, and John Sloan in Santa Fe, was the direct result of Henri's efforts, and though he did not exert a pronounced influence on the Santa Fe production of these four artists, he did profoundly effect the formation and development of their individual styles. Henri's artistic legacy, however, can be seen more directly in the work produced by many of the local Southern California, Santa Fe, and Taos artists who attempted to emulate his style of portraiture for many years to come, without his unique results. Artists such as Nordfeldt and Burlin, who worked in a more modernist vernacular than that employed by Henri, also, for example, painted Native Americans; yet their portrayals do not realize the same psychological depths as Henri's portraits. Following the summer of 1917, Henri summed up his approach and intentions during this important period in his career:

I have painted a few landscapes this summer but
mainly have devoted myself to such material as

Mexican and Indian children painting as I felt without reference to fashions old or new. Feel myself a decided modern but not of the "modernist school," egoist enough to give all my interest to what interests me....I'm having a wonderful time in my life. Human faces are incentive to great adventures. They seem to signify realities not yet attained. The pursuit is the thing...The picture is the trace of the adventure...."

NOTES

1. "Robert Henri, Head of Modern School, Dies," unidentified clipping, Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair.
2. "Robert Henri Dies; Ill Eight Months," The New York Times (13 July 1929), p. 15; "Move to Found a Robert Henri Memorial Hall," and "Robert Henri, Head of Modern School, Dies," unidentified clipping, Clipping Scrapbook, collection of Janet Le Clair. The endowment's goal was two million dollars.
3. Marjorie put a stop to the Memorial plan. See Marjorie Henri to Emma Bellows (21 August 1929), Bellows Papers, Amherst College Library Special Collections.
4. Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Work of Robert Henri, exh. cat., foreword by John Sloan. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1931.
5. Bennard B. Perlman, Robert Henri: His Life and Art (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), p. 137.
6. Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Work of Robert Henri, pp. 10-11.
7. Henri to Mr. Birnbaum (19 October 1917), unsent letter, Henri Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

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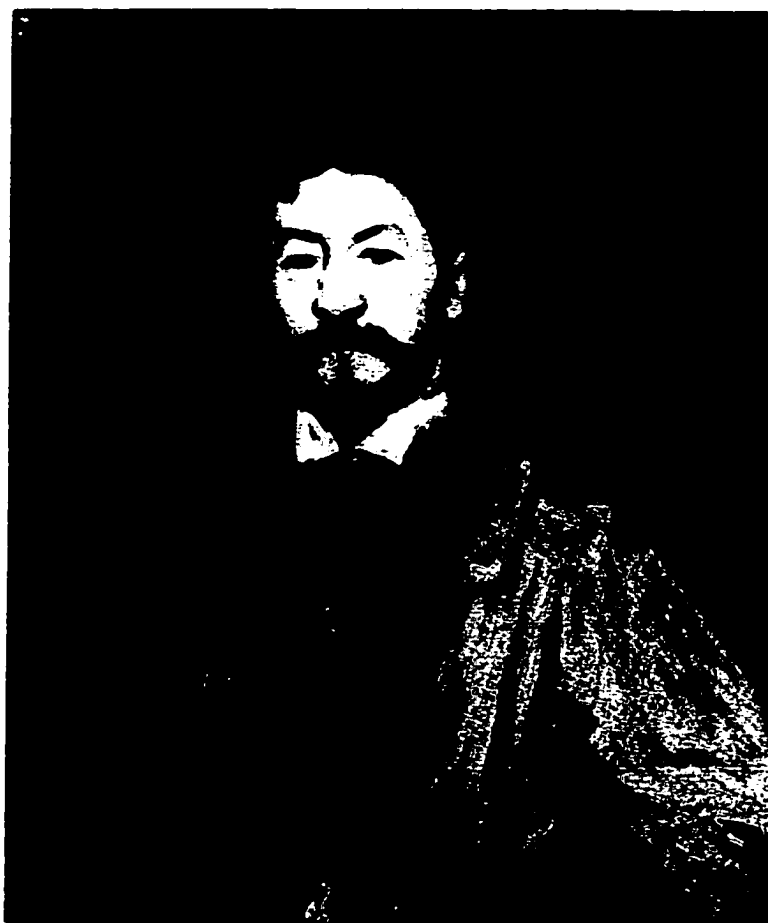


Fig. 2-1
Robert Henri
The Man Who Posed as Richelieu, 1898
Oil on canvas, 32 1/8 x 25 3/4 in.
The Brooklyn Museum of Art



Fig. 2-2
Robert Henri
Young Woman in Black, 1902
Oil on canvas, 77 x 38 in.
Art Institute of Chicago

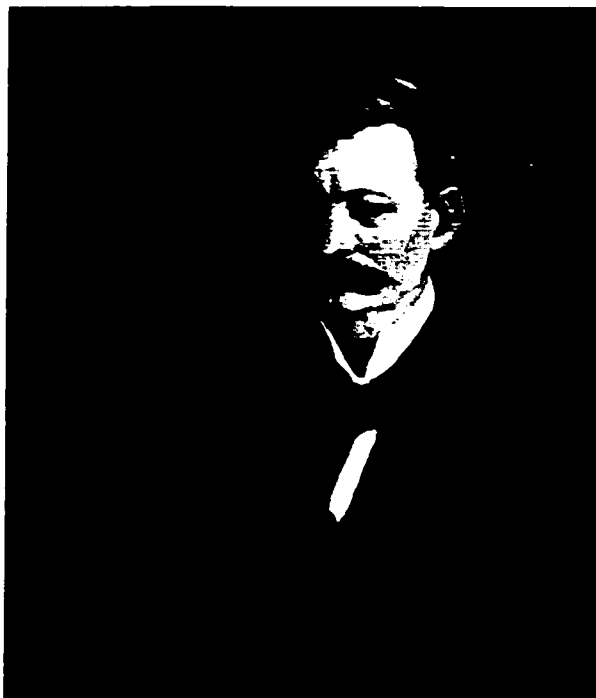


Fig. 2-3
Robert Henri
Self-Portrait, 1903
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, Lincoln, Nebraska



fig. 2-4
Robert Henri
Lady in Black (Mrs. Robert Henri), 1903
Oil on canvas, 78 x 38 in.
Parrish Art Museum

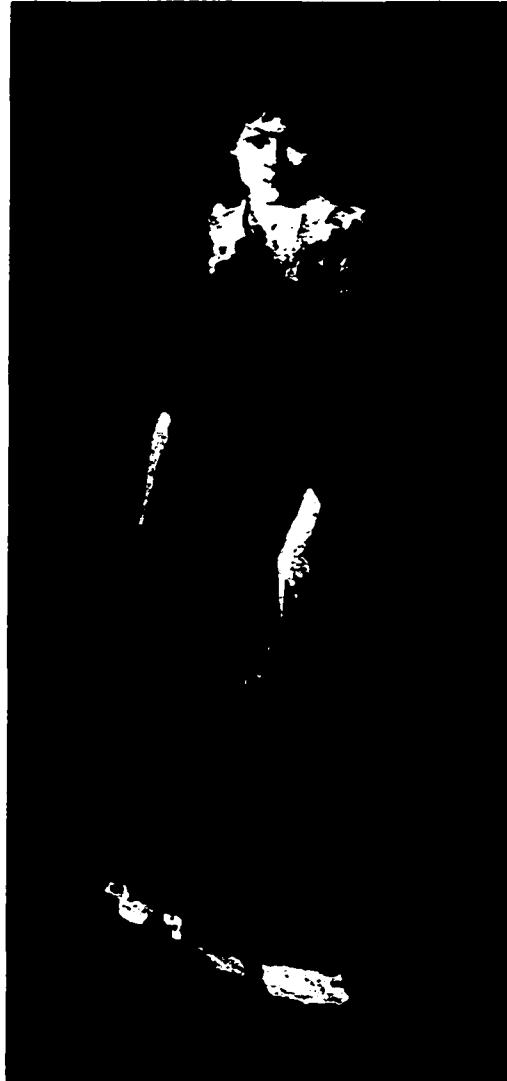


Fig. 2-5
Robert Henri
The Art Student (Miss Josephine Nivison), 1906
Oil on canvas, 77 1/4 x 38 1/2 in.
Milwaukee Art Museum



Fig. 2-6
Robert Henri
Portrait of George Luks, 1904
Oil on canvas, 76 ½ x 38 ¼ in.
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa



Fig. 2-7
Robert Henri
Spanish Dancing Girl, 1904
Oil on canvas, 85 x 49 in.
Formerly Private Collection

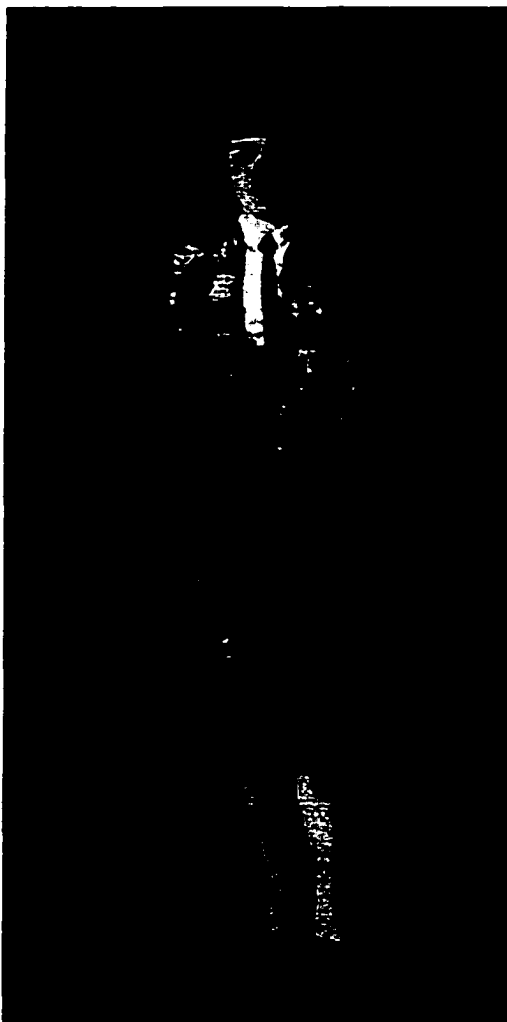


Fig. 2-8
Robert Henri
Portrait of Felix Asiego, 1906
Oil on canvas, 77 x 36 in.
Estate of Robert Henri



Fig. 2-9
Robert Henri
La Reina Mora, 1906
Oil on canvas, 78 x 42 1/16 in.
Colby College Museum of Art



Fig. 2-10
Robert Henri
Young Woman in Yellow Satin, 1907
Oil on canvas, 77 x 37 in.
Mississippi Museum of Art



Fig. 2-11
Robert Henri
Laughing Child, 1907
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Whitney Museum of American Art



Fig. 2-12
Robert Henri
Martche with Hat, 1907
Oil on canvas 32 x 26 in.
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

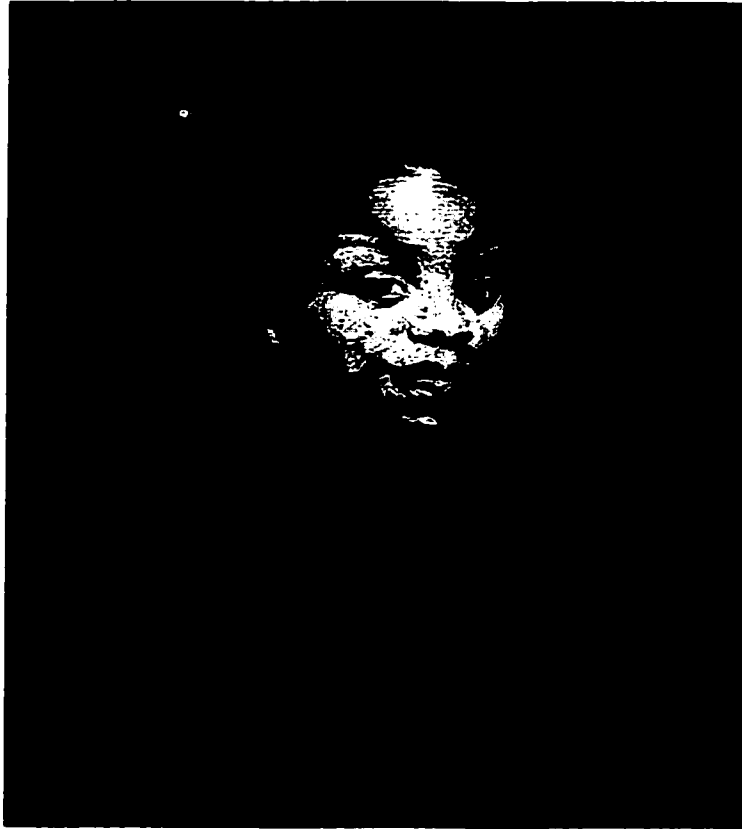


Fig. 2-13
Robert Henri
Eva Green, 1907
Oil on canvas, 24 1/8 x 20 1/4 in.
Wichita Art Museum



Fig. 2-14
Robert Henri
Portrait of Willie Gee, 1904
Oil on canvas, 32 1/4 x 26 1/4 in.
The Newark Museum



Fig. 2-15
Robert Henri
The Blue Kimona, 1909
Oil on canvas, 77 x 37 in.
New Orleans Museum of Art



Fig. 2-16
Robert Henri
Girl with Fan, 1910
Oil on canvas, 72 x 49 ½ in.
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts



Fig. 2-17
Robert Henri
Dutch Joe (Jopie van Slouten), 1910
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Milwaukee Art Museum



Fig. 2-18
Robert Henri
The Masquerade Dress, 1911
Oil on canvas, 76 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 2-19
Robert Henri
Portrait of George Bellows, 1911
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
National Academy of Design



Fig. 2-20
Robert Henri
Blind Spanish Singer, 1912
Oil on canvas, 41 x 33 1/8 in.
National Museum of American Art



Fig. 2-21
Robert Henri
The Green Fan (Girl of Toledo, Spain), 1912
Oil on canvas, 41 x 33 in.
Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston

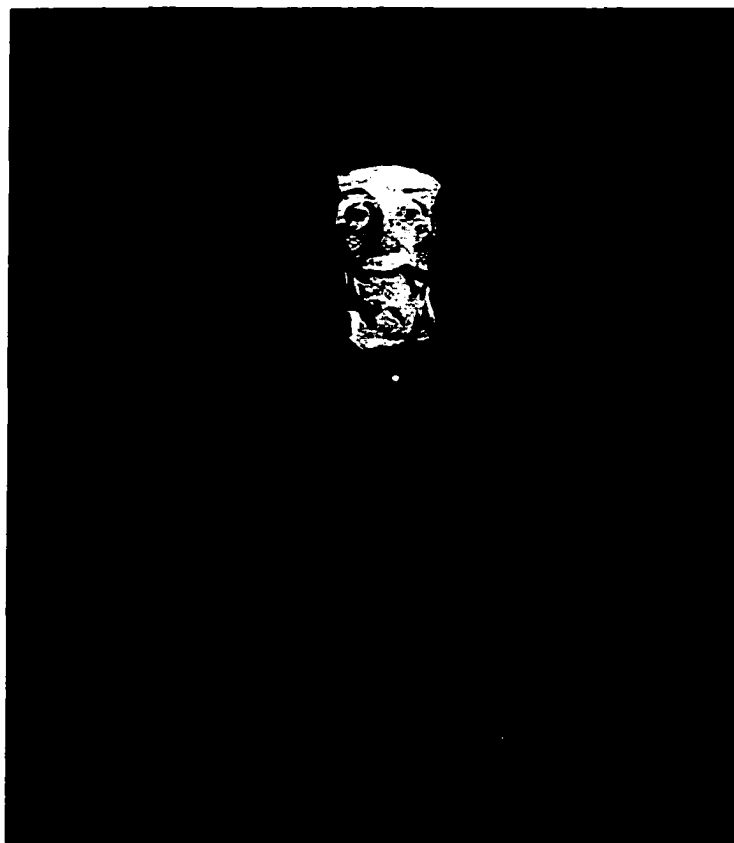


Fig. 2-22
Robert Henri
My Friend Brien (Brien O'Malley), 1913
Oil on canvas, 41 x 33 in.
Mint Museum of Art



Fig. 2-23
Robert Henri
Edna, 1915
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Fig. 2-24
Robert Henri
Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney),
1915-16
Oil on canvas, 50 x 72 in.
Whitney Museum of American Art



Fig. 2-25
Robert Henri
Betalo Nude, 1916
Oil on canvas, 33 x 41 in.
Estate of Robert Henri, Collection of Janet Le Clair



Fig. 2-26
Robert Henri
Village Girl (Lily Cow), 1915
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg



Fig. 2-27
Robert Henri
Mary Fanton Roberts, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 2-28
Robert Henri
Ruth St. Denis in the Peacock Dance, 1919
Oil on canvas, 85 x 49 in.
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts



Fig. 2-29
Robert Henri
Jimmy Gerry, 1921
Oil on canvas, 22 x 17 ½ in.
Scripps College, Claremont, California



Fig. 2-30
Robert Henri
Carl Sleicher, 1921
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection, Winter Park, Florida

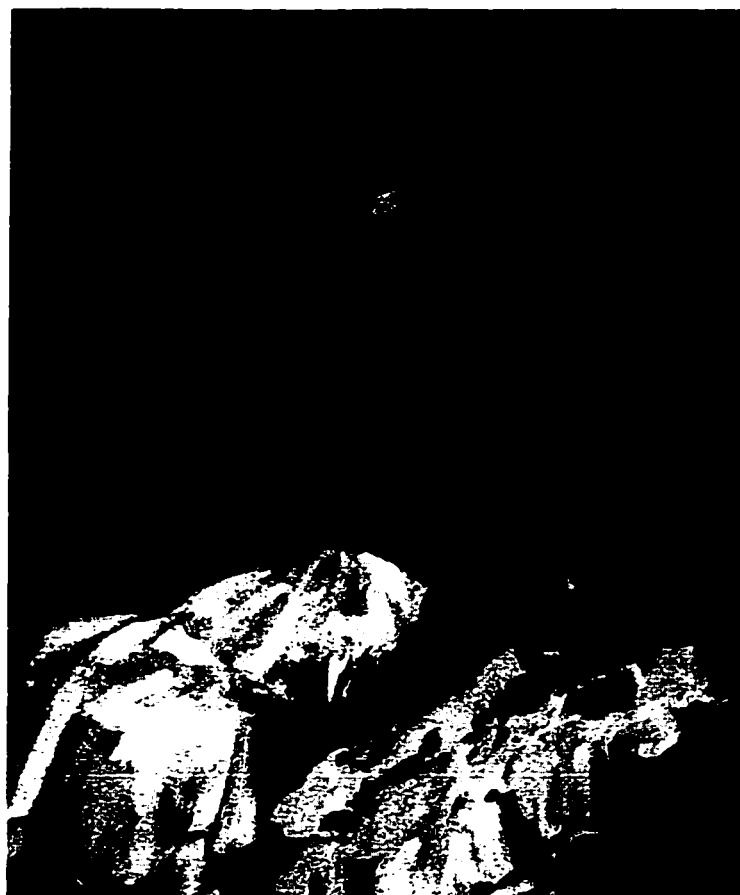


Fig. 2-31
Robert Henri
Dorita, 1924
Oil on canvas, 52 x 40 in.
Estate of Robert Henri, Collection of Janet Le Clair



Fig. 2-32
Robert Henri
Tom Cafferty, 1924
Oil on canvas 22 1/4 x 20 1/8 in.
Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester



Fig. 2-33
Robert Henri
The Fisherman's Son (Thomas Cafferty), 1925
Oil on canvas, 24 1/8 x 20 in.
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
Smithsonian Institution



Fig. 2-34
Robert Henri
Mary Ann Cafferty, 1928
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection

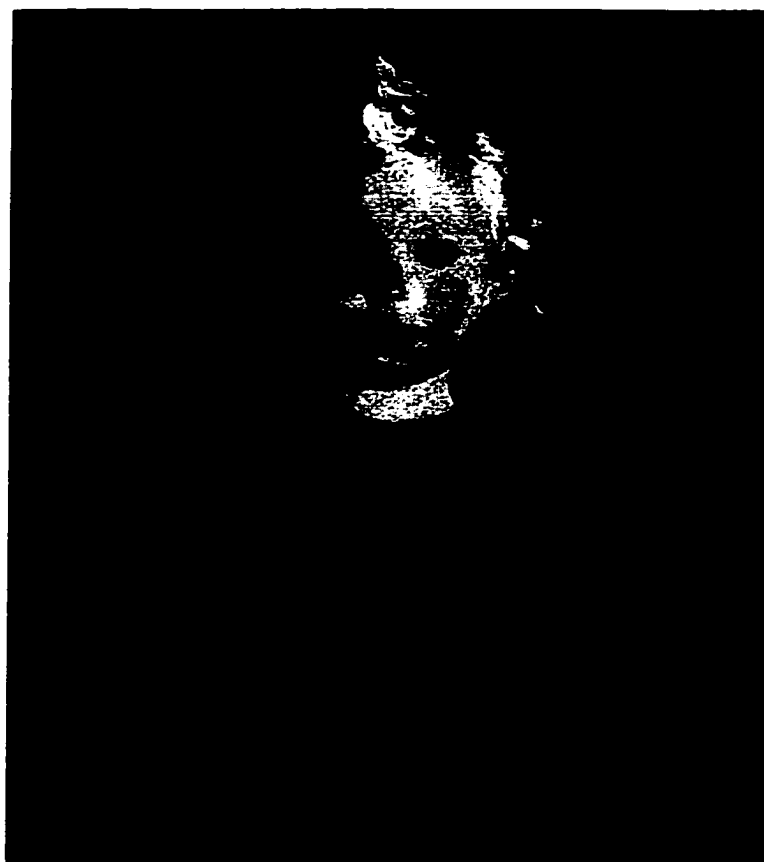


Fig. 2-35
Robert Henri
The Wee Woman, 1927
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts



Fig. 2-36
Robert Henri
Blond Bridget Lavelle, 1928
Oil on canvas, 28 x 20 in.
Formerly Private Collection



Fig. 3-1
Robert Henri
"Q" (Portrait of Mrs. Robert Henri), 1914
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
San Diego Museum of Art



Fig. 3-2
Robert Henri
Viv in Blue Stripe, 1914
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 3-3
Robert Henri
Chow Choy, 1914
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 3-4
Robert Henri
Chinese Girl with Fan, 1914
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 3-5
Robert Henri
Tam Gan, 1914
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Albright-Knox Art Gallery

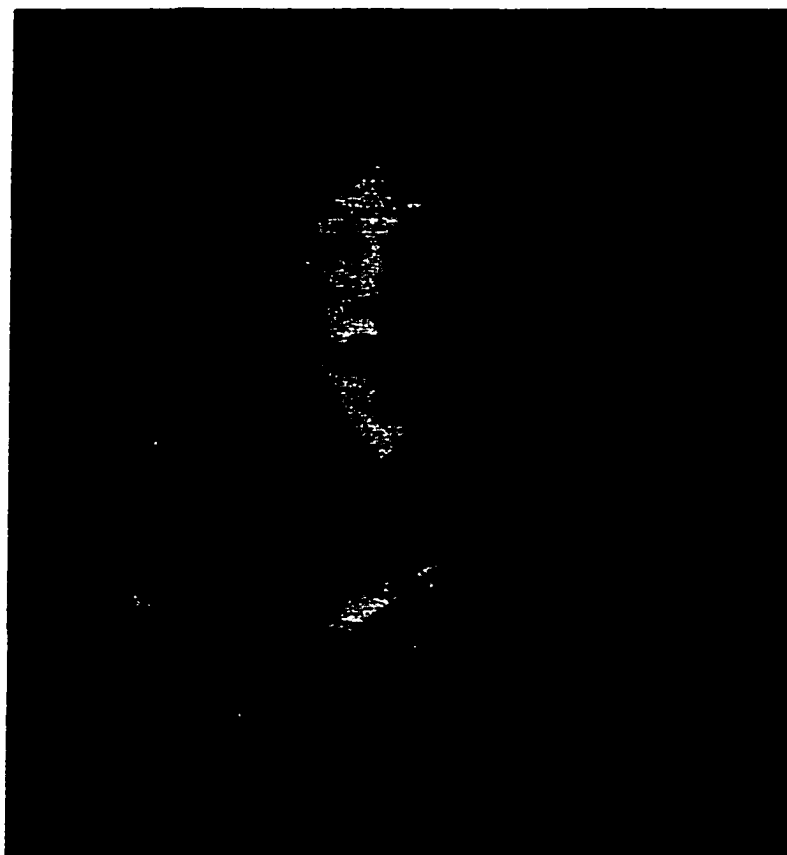


Fig. 3-6
Robert Henri
Grace (Chinese Girl), 1914
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 3-7
Robert Henri
Chinese Lady, 1914
Oil on canvas, 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Milwaukee Art Museum

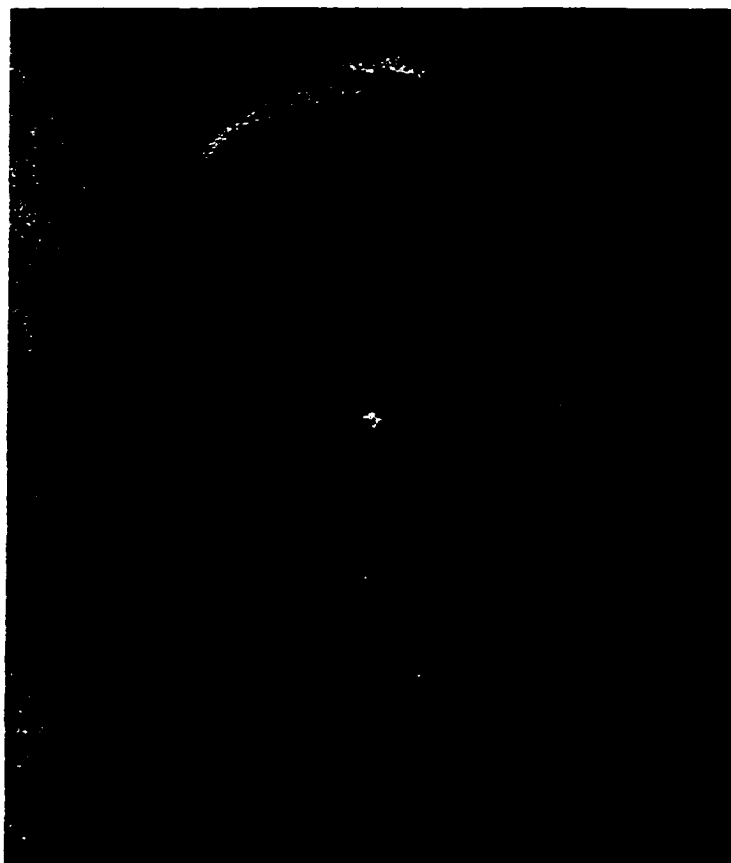


Fig. 3-8
Robert Henri
Jim Lee (The Vegetable Man), 1914
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Schwarz Gallery, Philadelphia



Fig. 3-9
Robert Henri
Indian Girl, 1914
Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in.
Not extant



Fig. 3-10
Robert Henri
Sylvester, 1914
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Fraad Collection



Fig. 3-11
Robert Henri
The Failure of Sylvester, (Sylvester Asleep), 1914
Oil on canvas 41 x 33 in.
Cheekwood Museum of Art



Fig. 3-12
Robert Henri
Po Tse (Water Eagle), 1914
Oil on canvas, 41 ½ x 32 in.
Collection of Kathleen and Gerald Peters

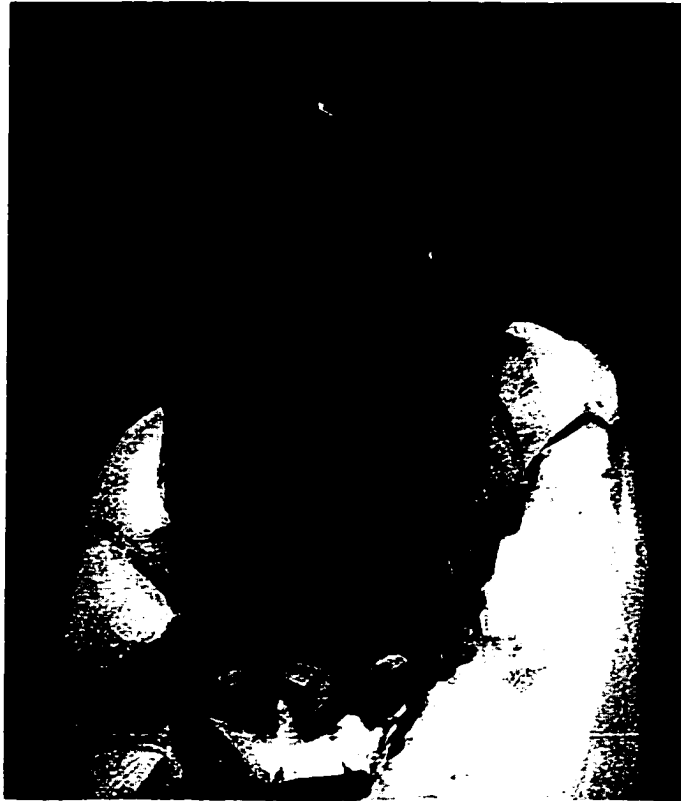


Fig. 4-1
Robert Henri
Gypsy Girl in White, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, Lincoln, Nebraska

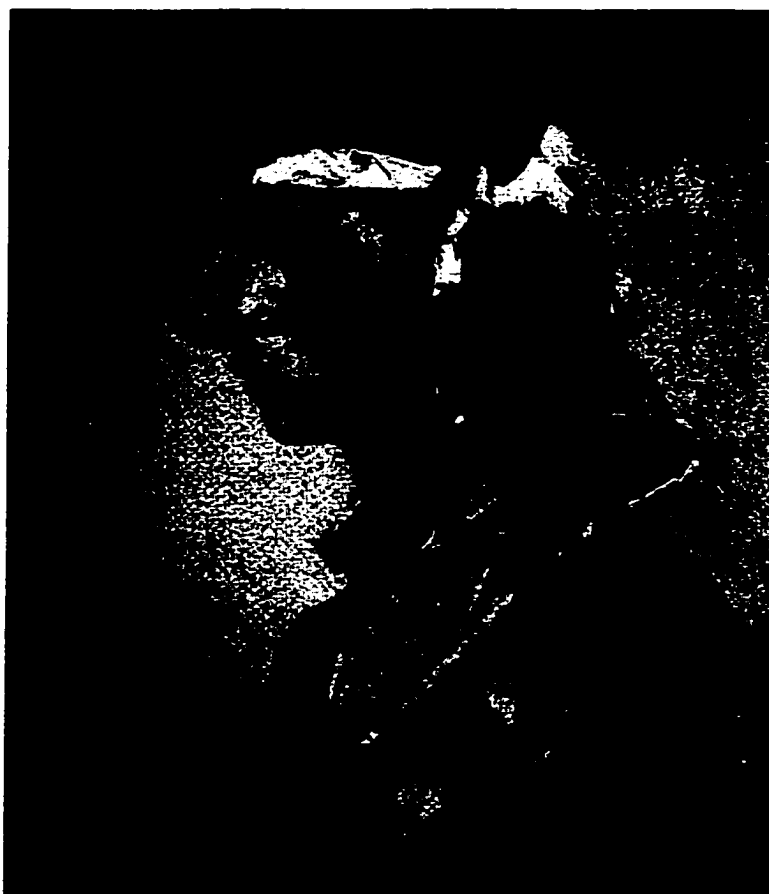


Fig. 4-2
Robert Henri
Tesuque Buck, 1916
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Kirkpatrick Foundation, Oklahoma

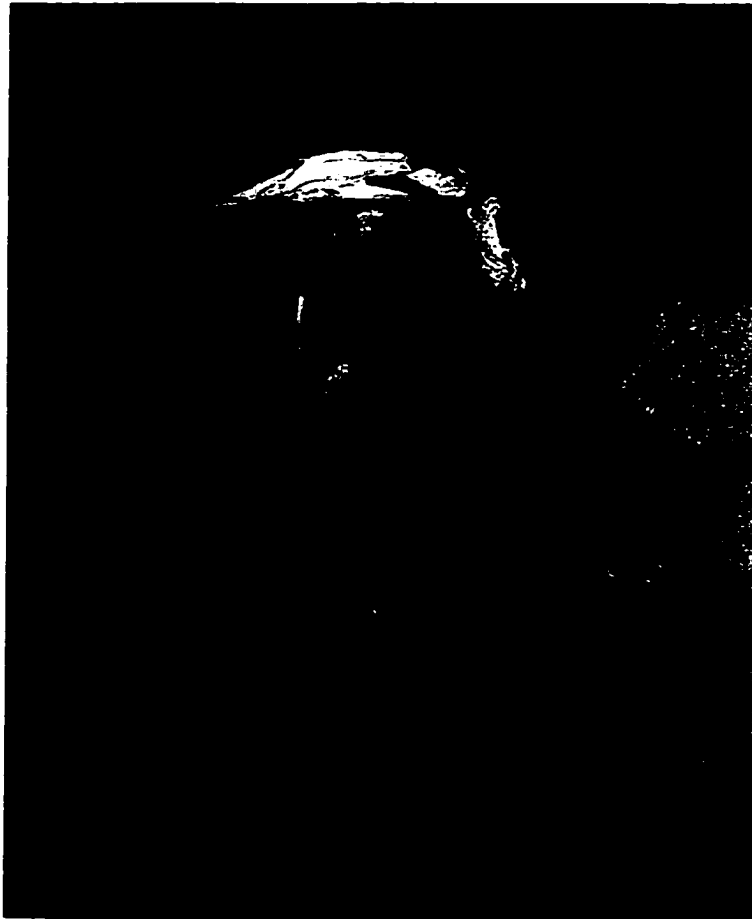


Fig. 4-3
Robert Henri
Young Buck of the Tesuque Pueblo, 1916
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 4-4
Robert Henri
Diequito Roybal-Po-Tse-Nu-Tsa, 1916
Oil on canvas, 65 x 40 1/4 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 4-5
Robert Henri
Ricardo, 1916
Oil on canvas, 28 5/8 x 24 5/8 in.
University of New Mexico Art Museum, Albuquerque



Fig. 4-6
Robert Henri
Ricardo-Indian of San Ildefonso, 1916
Oil on canvas, 24 x 19 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 4-7
Robert Henri
Indian Girl, 1916
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Collection of Terry and Margaret Stent



Fig. 4-8
Robert Henri
Tesuque Papoose, 1916
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Eiteljorg Museum, Indianapolis



Fig. 4-9
Robert Henri
Juan (José No. 2, Mexican Boy), 1916
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Cheekwood Museum of Art

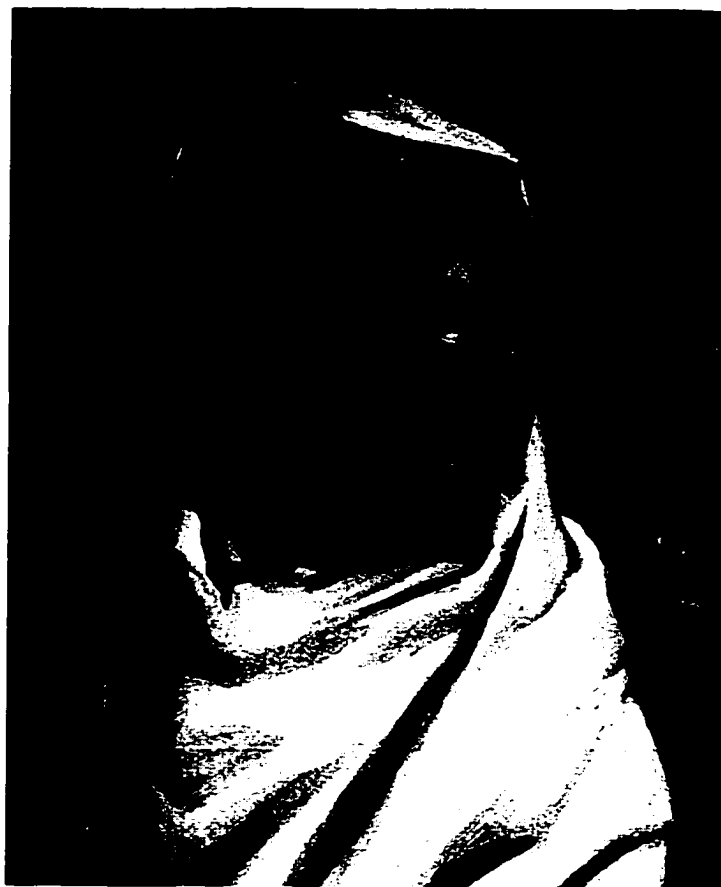


Fig. 5-1
Robert Henri
Maria, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 5-2
Robert Henri
Lucinda, Mexican Girl, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 5-3
Robert Henri
Little Girl of the Southwest, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Delaware Art Museum



Fig. 5-4
Robert Henri
The Goat Herder, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Collection of Bruce and Susan Lueck, Minneapolis



Fig. 5-5
Robert Henri
Indian Girl of Santa Clara (Gregorita), 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Phoenix Art Museum



Fig. 5-6
Robert Henri
Gregorita, Indian of Santa Clara, 1917
Oil on canvas, 36 x 26 in.
Gilcrease Museum



Fig. 5-7
Robert Henri
Indian Girl in White Blanket, (Julianita), 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Corcoran Gallery of Art



Fig. 5-8
Robert Henri
Indian Girl in Blue Wrap (Gregorita), 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Milikin University Art Gallery, Decatur



Fig. 5-9
Robert Henri
Indian Girl of San Ildefonso, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Indianapolis Museum of Art



Fig. 5-10
Robert Henri
Julianita Ready for the Dance, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Collection of Betsy Bennett, Santa Fe



Fig. 5-11
Robert Henri
Julianita, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Private Collection, Nebraska



Fig. 5-12
Robert Henri
Julianita, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Private Collection, Courtesy Owen Gallery



Fig. 5-13
Robert Henri
Julianita, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 5-14
Robert Henri
Indian Girl of Santa Clara, NM (Gregorita), 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Current whereabouts unknown



Fig. 5-15
Robert Henri
Gregorita and the Santa Clara Bowl, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Ulrich Museum, Wichita State University



Fig. 5-16
Robert Henri
Macedonia, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Collection of Sarah Warren, Waco, Texas



Fig. 5-17
Robert Henri
Maria and Baby, 1917
Oil on canvas, 32 x 26 in.
Indianapolis Museum of Art



Fig. 5-18
Robert Henri
Miguel, Indian of Tesuque, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Anschutz Collection



Fig. 5-19
Robert Henri
Tilly, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami



Fig. 5-20
Robert Henri
Juanita, 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 1/4 x 20 1/2 in.
Collection of Lee E. Phillips III, Wichita

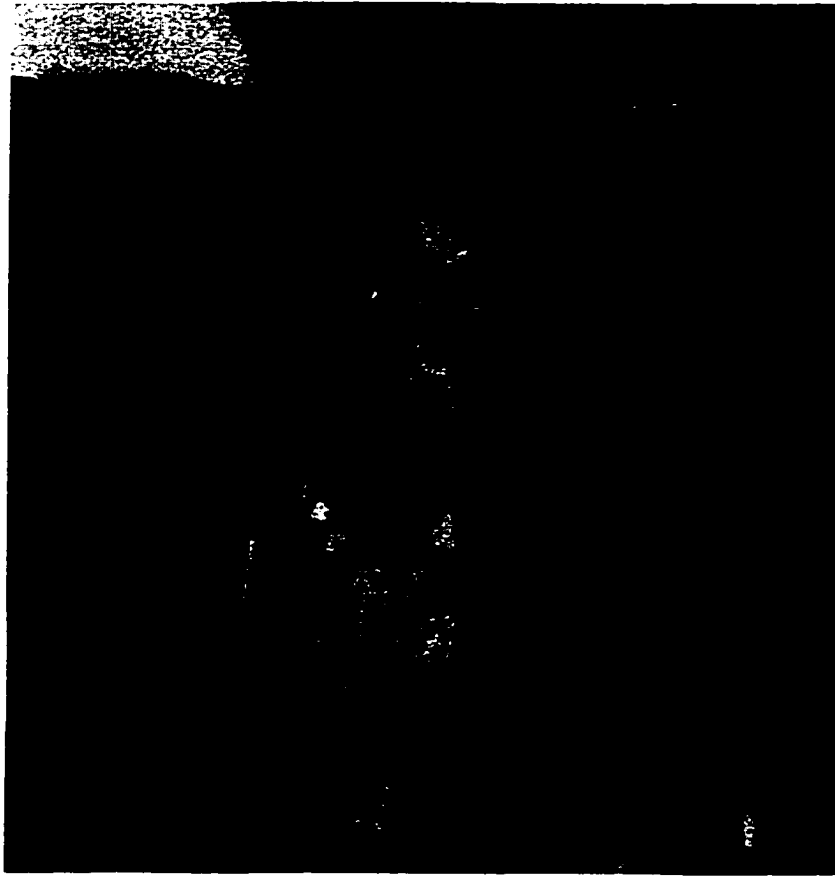


Fig. 5-21
Robert Henri
Pepita (Juanita), 1917
Oil on canvas, 24 1/8 x 20 in.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Fig. 6-1
Robert Henri
Bernadita, 1922
Oil on canvas, 24 1/8 x 20 1/8 in.
San Diego Museum of Art



Fig. 6-2
Robert Henri
Lola, 1922
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Denver Art Museum



Fig. 6-3
Robert Henri
Francisco, (Young Sport), 1922
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Collection of Lee Dirks, Santa Fe



Fig. 6-4
Robert Henri
Julianita, 1922
Oil on canvas, 32 x 1/4 x 26 1/4 in.
Collection of Lee Dirks, Santa Fe

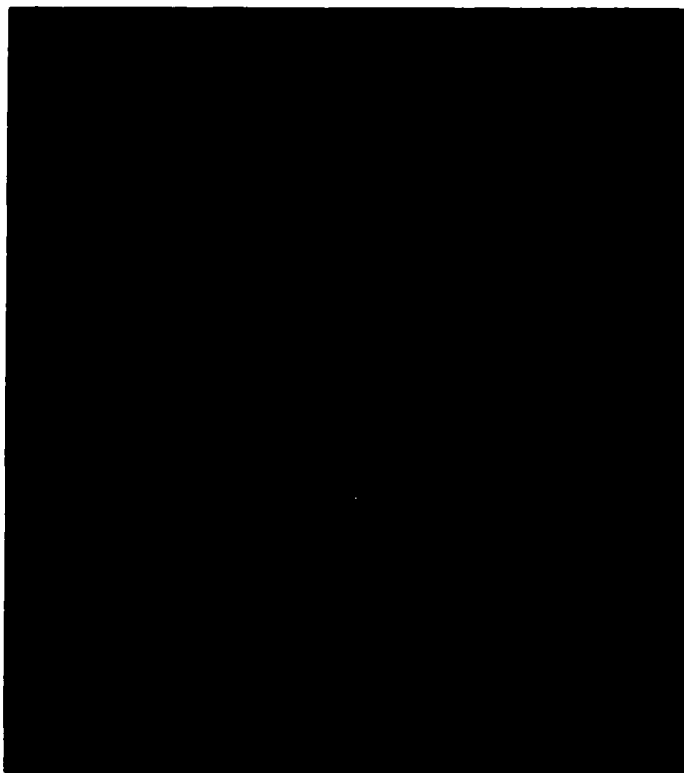


Fig. 6-5
Robert Henri
Berna Escudero, 1922
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Meyer Potamkin



Fig. 7-1
Robert Henri
Indian Dance, c. 1916-17
Watercolor on paper, 12 x 16 in.
Estate of Robert Henri, Collection of Janet Le Clair



Fig. 7-2
Robert Henri
Santa Fe Landscape, 1917
Oil on canvas, 20 x 24 in.
Private Collection, Courtesy Owen Gallery

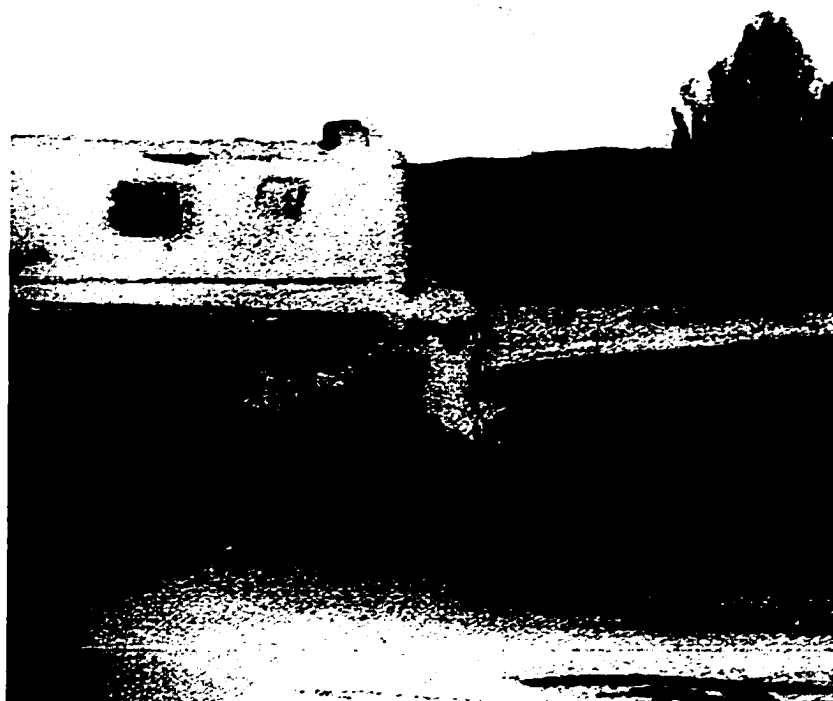


Fig. 7-3
Robert Henri
Tesuque, 1917
Oil on board, 11 ½ x 9 ¼ in.
The Walker Art Collection, Garnett, Kansas

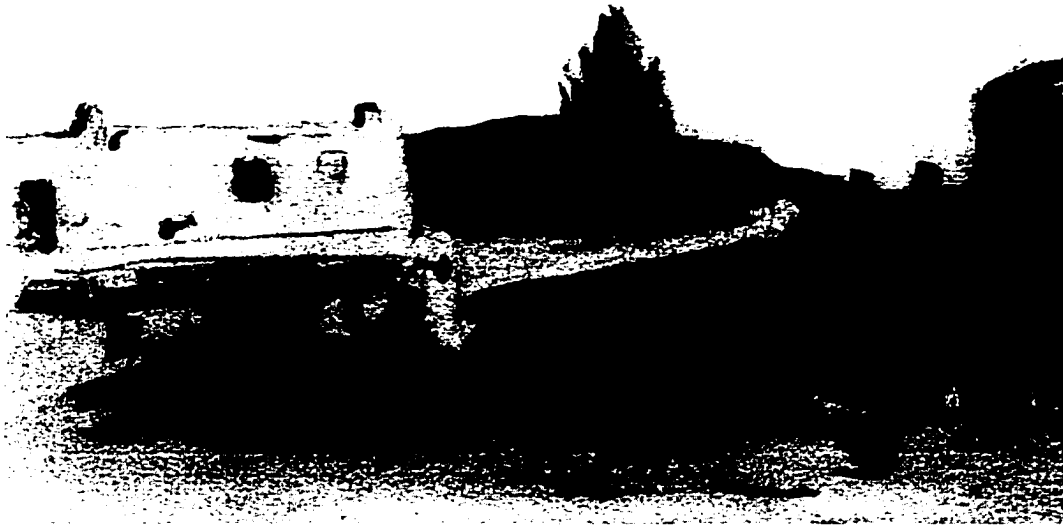


Fig. 7-4
Robert Henri
Adobe Buildings, Santa Fe [Tesuque], c. 1917
Pastel on paper, 12 x 19 1/4 in.
Ulrich Museum, Wichita State University



Fig. 7-5
Robert Henri
Indian Village, c. 1917
Pastel on paper, 12 1/4 x 19 1/4 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 7-6
Robert Henri
Adobe Houses, New Mexico, c. 1917
Watercolor on paper, 5 x 7 1/4 in.
Cheekwood Museum of Art



Fig. 7-7
Robert Henri
Tesuque Pueblo, 1917
Pastel on paper, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 20 in.
Collection of Kathleen and Gerald Peters



Fig. 7-8
Robert Henri
Santa Fe Adobes, 1922
Watercolor on paper, 10 x 14 in.
Private Collection



Fig. 8-1
Leon Kroll
Santa Fe Hills, 1917
Oil on canvas, 34 x 40 1/4 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 8-2
George Bellows
Sanctuario, 1917
Oil on canvas, 20 x 24 in.
Anschutz Collection



Fig. 8-3
George Bellows
Chimayo ("Chimio"), 1917
Oil on canvas, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 44 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 8-4
George Bellows
Pueblo Tesuque No. 2, 1917
Oil on canvas, 35 5/16 x 44 1/4 in.
Collection of Nelson Atkins Museum of Art

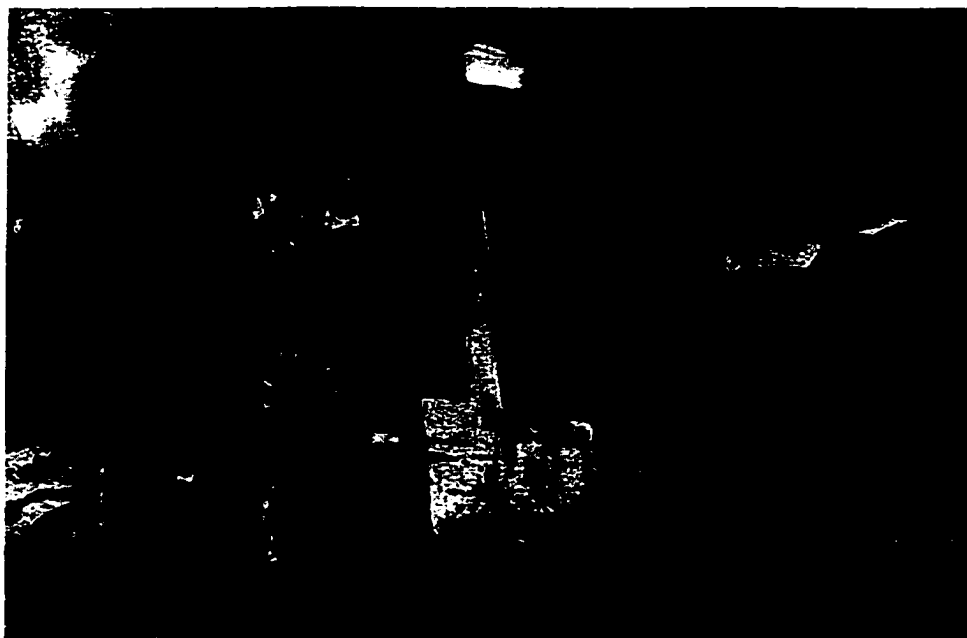


Fig. 8-5
George Bellows
Well at Quevado, 1917
Oil on canvas, 38 x 58 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Minnesota Museum of Art



Fig. 8-6
Randall Davey
Spring in Santa Fe, n.d.
Oil on masonite, 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 8-7
Randall Davey
Winter Landscape, New Mexico, 1923
Oil on canvas, 26 x 32 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 8-8
John Sloan
Koshare (Ancestral Spirits), 1919
Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe



Fig. 8-9
John Sloan
Party, Moonlight Cave Dwellings, 1922
Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 in.
John Sloan Trust



Fig. 9-1
Ernest Blumenschein
Albedia of Taos, c. 1918
Oil on canvas, 20 x 16 in.
Gerald Peters Gallery