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Women of the 1913 Armory Show : their contributions to the development of American modern art.

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WOMEN OF THE 1913 ARMORY SHOW:
THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF
AMERICAN MODERN ART

By

Jennifer Pfeifer Shircliff
B.F.A., Murray State University, 1976
M.A., University of Louisville, 1994

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A Dissertation Approved on

March 26, 2014

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband

Jim Shircliff

and to our daughters

Corey Shircliff and Audrey Shircliff

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I would like to thank the members of my committee for their invaluable help and support, especially as this project entered the home stretch. Additionally, there are some special people at the University of Louisville's Hite Art Institute that deserve acknowledgement. I am grateful for art librarians Gail Gilbert and Kathy Moore, who patiently assisted me with requests and renewals. Also, I tremendously appreciate the support of the Institute's Chair, Ying Kit Chan, who kept me moving forward. Finally, I'm not sure I could have completed this project without the care and encouragement of my family and friends. I offer my deepest gratitude to all.

ABSTRACT

WOMEN OF THE 1913 ARMORY SHOW: THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN MODERN ART

Jennifer Pfeifer Shircliff

May 10, 2014

This dissertation is the first comprehensive study of women's involvement in the 1913 Armory Show as financial backers, art collectors, and artists. The Association of American Painters and Sculptors organized this seminal exhibition, which represents a pivotal change in the course of artistic developments in the early twentieth century. For the first time in American history, the public could view contemporary works of art created by both Europeans and Americans in a huge exhibition. Due to the new abstract work on display, the show sparked controversy and debates about art and challenged both American artists and collectors to reconsider artistic production and consumption.

The Armory Show has been celebrated over the past century as a watershed moment in the history of art. However, most of the art historical discourse has championed the work of the men artists and organizers to the exclusion of women, thus portraying the Armory Show as a gendered event and thereby rendering women's participation in the development of American modern art as negligible. This study reveals that women participated in the Armory Show as critical financial backers, influential art

collectors shaping visual culture, and artists who exhibited their work alongside their male colleagues.

The purpose of this dissertation is to reclaim the valuable work of women who were ardent supporters and producers of modern art and whose lives intersected at this colossal event. Before, during, and after the Armory Show, women were highly visible participants in modern society, moving into public spheres that empowered them as creators of cultural capital at a transitional time in history. The inclusion of these women and their work is needed to tell a complete story of both the Armory Show and the development of modern art in this country.

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INTRODUCTION

The International Exhibition of Modern Art held in New York City in 1913 was the single most pivotal event in the history of American modern art. Better known as the Armory Show because of its venue, the 69th Regiment Armory, this sensational exhibition introduced the American public to the avant-garde work coming out of Europe. Three hundred artists exhibited roughly 1,300 works of art from February 17 to March 15. The show then traveled to Chicago and Boston. The organizers, the American Association of Painters and Sculptors (AAPS), succeeded in putting together an extraordinary show that was highly attended and that garnered a tremendous outpouring of art criticism. The Armory Show made its impact in three important ways: it enlightened American artists and challenged them to reconsider their own work; it changed the way collectors viewed the contemporary art of their day and thereby transformed the body of work they held; and it engendered a public discourse about art at a level never seen before.

While scholars have celebrated the Armory Show's lofty place in the history of art, no comprehensive study of the important work women did in conjunction with the exhibition has been undertaken. Most of the relevant scholarship written since the event applauds the work of the men behind the scenes and marks the trajectories of male artists' careers afterwards, while the contributions women made to the Armory Show have remained largely invisible. The purpose of this dissertation is to address the significant

ways in which women were involved – as artists, collectors, and financial supporters. An examination of their work at the Armory Show provides us with a microcosm of women’s contributions to American modern art both before and after the event. Moreover, this study contributes to the recent scholarship that broadens the definition of modern art, separating “modern” from “avant-garde” – terms that became conflated over the course of the twentieth century.

The AAPS was comprised of men who were frustrated with the limited exhibition venues for living artists in New York. Additionally, the group disdained the control of the prestigious National Academy of Design (NAD) over artistic production in the United States and rejected that group’s jury system for selecting works shown in its annual exhibition. Originally, four men met in late 1911 to discuss the dilemma and they began planning a show that would focus on late-nineteenth-century progressive works of art as well as contemporary work by European and American artists. These four men invited a dozen more to become charter members of the AAPS and in January 1912 they formally established the association and elected officers. Arthur B. Davies emerged as President, Gutzon Borglum was Vice-President, Walt Kuhn served as Secretary, and Elmer MacRae became Treasurer. Kuhn acted as an emissary to Europe, traveling to Germany and Holland to procure works of art for the exhibition. He also visited American artist Walter Pach who was living in Paris and who helped guide him and Davies to art galleries and studios where they selected French works to be included in the exhibition.

The AAPS intended the Armory Show to be a radical departure from NAD’s exhibitions in New York City. To express this revolutionary concept, they adopted “The New Spirit” as a slogan and an uprooted pine tree as a logo. Walt Kuhn designed the

logo, drawing inspiration from the Massachusetts flag that had been carried into battle during the American Revolutionary War.¹ On January 3, 1912, an article in the *New York Times* announced the formation of the AAPS with the headline: “Artists in Revolt, Form New Society.”² Thus began the characterization of the Armory Show as a modernist rebellion in the visual arts.

American critics saw the show as a scandalous success. Indeed, nearly 90,000 people attended the exhibition in New York and it attracted nearly 200,000 visitors when the AAPS mounted the show in Chicago, its second venue. (Only 14,000 people attended a much-reduced version of the exhibition at its third venue in Boston). The show’s scandalous perception emerged because the Armory Show presented a largely uninformed public with a vast array of abstract art that many found appalling. One painting in particular, *Nude Descending a Staircase* (1912) by noted French artist Marcel Duchamp, became the focal point for the ridicule that critics hurled at the European avant-garde works on display. The press parodied the shocking, Cubo-Futurist painting as depictions of “a staircase descending a nude” or “an explosion in a shingle factory.”³ The *American Art News* offered a prize of ten dollars to anyone who could “find the lady” in Duchamp’s painting.⁴ Referring to both this painting and Duchamp’s *King and Queen Surrounded by Nudes* (1912), James Pattison claimed, “In justice these are not pictures at all but puzzles painted in oils, nor do we understand why they should be called ‘Art.’”⁵

¹ Shelley Staples, “As Avant-Garde as the Rest of Them: An Introduction to the 1913 Armory Show,” Virtual Armory Show, accessed January 18, 2014, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Museum/Armory/intro.html>.

² “1913 Armory Show: The Story in Primary Sources,” Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institution, accessed January 18, 2014, <http://armoryshow.si.edu/>.

³ Milton Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show*, 2nd ed. (Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation in conjunction with Abbeville Press, 1988), 137.

⁴ “The Armory Puzzle,” *American Art News*, March 1, 1913, 3.

⁵ James William Pattison, “Art in an Unknown Tongue,” *Fine Arts Journal* 28, no. 5 (May 1913): 298.

Kenyon Cox, a conservative artist and art critic, referred to the Cubist works on display as nothing short of “pathological” and “hideous.”⁶ In a 1913 article for *Harper’s Weekly*, Cox referred to Cubism as “the total destruction of the art of painting.”⁷ Even former President Theodore Roosevelt weighed in. When he visited the Armory Show, Roosevelt confessed that he did not understand the new art and stated that Duchamp’s *Nude Descending a Staircase* reminded him of a Navajo rug in his bathroom and that “the Navajo rug is infinitely ahead of the picture.”⁸ The press often referred to the Cubist display in Gallery I at the Armory Show as a “Chamber of Horrors.”⁹

Of course, the sensational descriptions voiced in the popular press and spread by word of mouth served to promote the show and attract the curious – it became a must-see exhibition in both New York and Chicago, even if viewers could not appreciate much of the artwork on display. The debates about the new art served to enlighten those viewers at the Armory Show who had mastered what sociologist Pierre Bourdieu refers to as a cultural code, that is, a deciphering tool born out of the knowledge of the cultural period in which the work exists. According to Bourdieu, viewers use this code to “read” a work of art and it enables them to move beyond the surface of the work toward “a stratum of secondary meanings . . . the level of the meaning of what is signified.”¹⁰ Seemingly, many of the critics at the Armory Show had not acquired the necessary code and thereby

⁶ Kenyon Cox interview, “Cubists and Futurists Are Making Insanity Pay,” *New York Times*, March 16, 1913, SM1.

⁷ Kenyon Cox, “The ‘Modern’ Spirit in Art: Some Reflections Inspired by the Recent International Exhibition,” *Harper’s Weekly*, March 15, 1913, 6.

⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, “A Layman’s Views of an Art Exhibition,” *The Outlook*, March, 29, 1913, 719.

⁹ Brown, *Armory Show*, 136.

¹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 2.

found themselves “in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason.”¹¹

Still, not all of the reaction was negative. In 1913 art critic Christian Brinton wrote in praise of the new art at the Armory Show, declaring, “There are no revolutions in art. . . . at bottom it is the infinitely more deliberate process of evolution to which [art enthusiasts] are paying tribute.”¹² Brinton’s thoughts are echoed in the words of one “W. P.” in a pamphlet that the AAPS distributed at the exhibition, who wrote:

The spirit of art is the same throughout the ages, the forms of art forever change as the needs of the new eras succeed one another. What seems a total break with the past may be only a readjustment to accord with what [noted art historian] Elie Faure speaks of as “the unknown well-springs that the incessant evolution of the world opens up each day in adventurous brains.”¹³

Writer J. Nilsen Laurvik suggested in 1913 that the new movement in art, as witnessed at the Armory Show, should be considered as an intellectual experiment by artists who are indebted to the past but forced “into the service of the new ideal.”¹⁴ Laurvik’s colleague, art historian Frank Jewett Mather, wrote that, while he did not understand much of the new work on display, “The Association has done a valuable service in bringing over a full representation of this latest eccentric work. . . . Now we have the pictures and sculpture and may test ourselves by them.”¹⁵ Indeed, seeing the work and making conclusions on their own about the art is exactly what the AAPS hoped viewers would

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Christian Brinton, “Evolution Not Revolution in Art,” *International Studio* LXIX, no. 194 (April 1913): XXVIII.

¹³ W. P., “Hindsight and Foresight,” in *For and Against: Views on the International Exhibition held in New York and Chicago*, ed. Frederick James Gregg (New York City: Association of American Painters and Sculptors Inc., 1913), 30.

¹⁴ J. Nilsen Laurvik, *Is It Art? Post-Impressionism, Futurism, Cubism* (New York: The International Press, 1913), 31.

¹⁵ Frank Jewett Mather, “Old and New Art,” in Frederick James Gregg, *For and Against: Views on the International Exhibition held in New York and Chicago* (New York: Association of American Painters and Sculptors Inc., 1913), 57.

do. An enlivened discussion about the contemporary art of the day would further the recognition of art and artists and lessen NAD's control over artistic practice.

Literature Review

The Armory Show has been described as a canonical event in American modern art. For example, in 1999 one art historian noted the significance of the exhibition, asserting that, "The Armory Show has come to stand as the singular moment at which the 'new' vanquished the 'old' in American culture with a single and stunning revolutionary blow."¹⁶ At the same time, much of the past century's historiography maintained a privileged place for the men who both organized the exhibition and displayed their work – all in line with the stereotypical gendering of modern art as a masculine enterprise, that is, as innovative work undertaken by men to the exclusion of women. This masculinized notion was still apparent at the fiftieth anniversary of the exhibition, when Milton Brown wrote what has been considered the event's bible, *The Story of the Armory Show*, an important book that remains one of the most complete narratives of the event. At the time, Brown was working on a different book, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*. However, when Elmer MacRae's and Walt Kuhn's papers surfaced in the 1950s and plans for a fiftieth anniversary exhibition came to light, Brown turned to writing his account, telling how the Armory Show came to be; discussing the people involved and the financial transactions; and giving complete lists of the exhibited works, the donors, and the buyers. This was a huge undertaking for the author. At the time, he would have had access to the database *Art Index*; however, that source only contained journal articles published after 1929 and additional indexes were obscure; hence, Brown

¹⁶ JoAnne M. Mancini, "'One Term Is as Fatuous as Another': Responses to the Armory Show Reconsidered." *American Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (December, 1999): 834.

had to conduct a lot of primary research.¹⁷ Yet in his ground-breaking account, Brown barely mentions the women who were involved in the Armory Show and when he does, his comments serve to marginalize their efforts. On the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1988, Brown published a second edition of *The Story of the Armory Show*, but women – who are such an important part of the story – remained unaddressed.

While Milton Brown's book stands out as a seminal account of the Armory Show, others have contributed to a large body of scholarship over the twentieth century. Much of the art historical discourse about the show took the form of exhibition catalogs, often published in conjunction with shows that marked various anniversaries. Walt Kuhn penned one of the earliest descriptions of the exhibition in his booklet, *The Story of the Armory Show*, published in 1938 on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary. Kuhn charts the logistics of the exhibition from its first inception to the closing of the financial records at its end. In his concluding remarks, he exclaimed, "The Armory Show affected the entire culture of America."¹⁸ Kuhn submits that Arthur Davies urged collector Lillie Bliss to establish a new museum but adds, "She wasn't ready."¹⁹ After Davies' death in 1928, Kuhn kept pleading with her until she finally relented. Bliss asked him to "steer the ship," a task he did not feel up to, saying, "I was not made for that sort of thing."²⁰ Though Bliss may have discussed the possibility of creating a museum of modern art with Davies and Kuhn, she turned to her colleagues Abby Rockefeller and Mary Sullivan to help her establish the Museum of Modern Art in 1929.

¹⁷ I wish to thank Gail Gilbert, the University of Louisville's art librarian, for her assistance regarding the *Art Index*.

¹⁸ Walt Kuhn, *The Story of the Armory Show* (New York: Self-published, 1938), 24.

¹⁹ Walt Kuhn, *The Story of the Armory Show*, 25.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Forty-five years after the Armory Show, Amherst College mounted a small anniversary exhibition. Frank Trapp, who served as director of the school's museum, observed that the real contribution of the Armory Show was still being debated in 1958. In his essay, he asserts that the true character of the Armory Show can be ascertained by examining the great works of art on display along with the "very juxtaposition of the great and the negligible which made it a show-down, and not just a show."²¹ Trapp congratulates the men who organized the exhibition, but fails to mention any of the women involved.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Armory Show was a much larger celebration. In 1956 Edward Root, the art consultant for the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute in Utica, New York, suggested that the Armory Show might be reconstructed for a 1963 exhibition there. The show that the Institute mounted also traveled to New York City where it took place at the original Armory site. The Institute, with the sponsorship of the Henry Street Settlement, displayed more than three hundred works of art from the 1913 exhibition. Milton Brown wrote his account of the Armory Show (noted above) in conjunction with this celebration and contributed a short essay for the catalog. Brown does not mention any women in his essay, but the catalog lists forty-eight women whose works were on display and includes reproductions of work by twelve of them.²²

Also in 1963, the Whitney Museum of American Art celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Armory Show by hosting an exhibition of American work done between 1910 and 1920. In his essay about the exhibition, curator and museum director Lloyd Goodrich acknowledges Armory Show artist Marguerite Zorach as one of the

²¹ Frank Trapp, "The 1913 Armory Show in Retrospect," *College Art Journal* 17, no. 3 (Spring 1958): 295.

²² *1913 Armory Show 50th Anniversary Exhibition 1963*, exhibition catalog (New York: Henry Street Settlement and Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, 1963).

contributors to American Fauvism.²³ Additionally, he notes the work of Armory Show patrons Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Katherine Dreier, and Lillie Bliss in amassing significant collections now housed in important institutions.²⁴ Goodrich chronicles the developments in art from Post-Impressionism to Dada and credits the Armory Show for beginning a transformation in American art as it moved from conservative representations to experiments in form and color.²⁵ His recognition of women's contributions is one of the earliest.

Two decades later, the Nassau County Museum of Fine Art in Roslyn Harbor, New York held an exhibition entitled, "The Shock of Modernism in America: The Eight and Artists of the Armory Show." This show displayed the paintings of The Eight (a group of men painters associated with the Ashcan school) that also were included in the Armory Show, along with works completed both before and after the show, with the hope that viewers could assess the changes in their styles. Edith Dimock is the sole woman mentioned, but only because she married artist William Glackens.²⁶

Bennard Perlman also examined the Armory Show within the context of The Eight. His book examines American artists from Thomas Eakins to those at the Armory Show in a survey-like format. Perlman includes a few woman artists from the time period addressed, five of whom were associated with the Armory Show. Although he refers to Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney as a "sculptor-socialite," he does acknowledge her important work as a patron of modern American art and he briefly mentions Mary

²³ Lloyd Goodrich, *Pioneers of Modern Art in America: The Decade of the Armory Show, 1910-1920*, exhibition catalog (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1963), 12.

²⁴ Goodrich, *Pioneers of Modern Art*, 40.

²⁵ Goodrich, *Pioneers of Modern Art*, 68.

²⁶ Constance H. Schwartz, *The Shock of Modernism in America: The Eight and Artists of the Armory Show* (Roslyn Harbor, NY: Nassau County Museum of Fine Art, 1984).

Cassatt. Perlman refers to three other Armory Show women artists, Edith Dimock, Marjorie Organ, and May Wilson Preston, because they married high-profile artists.²⁷

Discussions of the Armory Show also figured as chapters within books on modern American art. Art historian Barbara Rose examined twentieth-century art in her book, *American Art since 1900: A Critical History*, published in 1967. In her chapter on the Armory Show, Rose declares that the exhibition was not as influential on American art as most people assume.²⁸ She claims that Marguerite Zorach's work, along with a few others, "were remarkable only because they were early examples of modern painting in America, not because they were successful Cubist pictures."²⁹ Furthermore, she states that the work of Armory Show sculptor Abastenia Eberle was unimaginative because it was tied to the Ashcan school.³⁰ Like others, Rose saw modern art in America as weak compared to the avant-garde work in Europe, limiting her definition of modern art to a narrow vein of artistic practice.

Katherine Dreier and Mable Dodge are the only female Armory Show patrons mentioned in Barbara Haskell's massive book, *The American Century: Art & Culture, 1900-1950*. She includes a short discussion of the Armory Show and its organizers and artists. The book was published in 1999; it is surprising that by this late date, women's activities at the Armory Show were still marginalized.³¹

²⁷ Bennard Perlman, *The Immortal Eight: American Painting from Eakins to the Armory Show, 1870-1913* (Westport, Connecticut: North Light Publishers, 1979), 178.

²⁸ Barbara Rose, *American Art since 1900: A Critical History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967), 80.

²⁹ Rose, *American Art since 1900*, 86. Generally, Zorach's work was first considered Fauvist; her later paintings were more influenced by Cubism.

³⁰ Rose, *American Art since 1900*, 238.

³¹ Barbara Haskell, *The American Century: Art & Culture, 1900-1950* (New York: The Whitney Museum of American Art in association with W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 104-108. Haskell and Lisa Phillips wrote the companion book, *The American Century: Art & Culture, 1950-2000*.

In her 2005 book, *Pre-Modernism: Art-world Change and American Culture from the Civil War to the Armory Show*, JoAnne Mancini devotes a chapter to the Armory Show and examines it from a different perspective – from a review of the criticism written about the exhibition. She argues that the “language of crisis” that surrounded the show is out of proportion to the reality. The Armory Show did not represent a sudden break with the past, but was a gradual outgrowth of both professionalization and the rise of radical politics which struck the art world as well as other fields, including medicine and law. Mancini asserts that one of the stories of the Armory Show that has not been told is the one about the misleading negative criticism surrounding the exhibition that continued to be emphasized after 1913.³²

Another unique perspective comes from Martin Green in his book, *New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant*. Green links the Armory Show with a high-profile pageant that took place that same year and examines the Armory Show within the context of labor reform. Pageant organizers sought to both publicize and help underwrite the silk workers’ strike then going on in Paterson, New Jersey, a strike that was emblematic of the current labor unrest across the nation. Green brings radical art together with radical politics and places the salon established by Mabel Dodge at the intersection of the two. Dodge’s salon became the center of debate on topics such as art, suffrage, birth control, immigrant issues, and labor reform. She actively participated in staging the pageant at Madison Square Gardens in June 1913.³³

³² JoAnne Mancini, *Pre-Modernism: Art-World Change and American Culture from the Civil War to the Armory Show* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 133-157.

³³ Martin Green, *New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1988). Mabel Dodge’s salon is furthered discussed in Chapter Two.

Several institutions celebrated the Armory Show's recent centennial anniversary by hosting exhibitions. The Montclair Art Museum in New Jersey presented one entitled, "The New Spirit: American Art in the Armory Show, 1913." The catalog that accompanied the exhibition contains essays by various scholars that examine the American artists and collectors at the show. By revealing both the quality and variety of American works of art, this exhibition sought to rectify the myth that American work appeared provincial when compared to that of the European avant-garde. Laurette McCarthy, who curated the show along with Gail Stavitsky, wrote two essays in the catalog, one on American artists and the other on American collectors. She acknowledges several of the women artists and claims that the American art displayed by both men and women "held up quite well beside their European counterparts in the press of the time."³⁴ Additionally, McCarthy applauds the work of women collectors at the Armory Show for amassing modern works of art that served to legitimize American art for a new generation.³⁵ Her examination furthers the recent discussions about women and modern art that are addressed in the following chapters.

Additionally, the New York Historical Society hosted a centennial exhibition that included both American and European artists, entitled, "The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution." The catalog published for that event is a hefty tome comprised of essays by nearly thirty scholars that range from discussions about the organizers of the show to its legacy. Charles Musser, wrote an essay entitled, "1913: A

³⁴ Laurette McCarthy, "American Artists in the Armory Show," *The New Spirit: American Art in the Armory Show, 1913*, exhibition catalog (Montclair, NJ: Montclair Art Museum, 2013), 91.

³⁵ McCarthy, "American Artists," 103-106, 109.

Feminist Moment in the Arts,” which addresses several of the Armory Show women artists within the context of the suffrage movement and early film.³⁶

In recent years, feminist reconsiderations of the Armory Show’s women artists and patrons have emerged. For example, Janet Wolff discusses feminist revisionism – reclaiming women artists and incorporating them into the art history canon – and compares it to the analysis of gender constructions in the field of modern art. She examines the work of women artists from the early twentieth century who were part of the Whitney circle, that is, the women who participated in exhibition venues created by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney in the years leading up to the establishment of the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1931. Two Armory Show women artists are included in her study, Anne Goldthwaite and Marguerite Zorach. Wolff submits that the gradual disappearance of these women was not due to gender prejudice but because abstract work was privileged over realist and figurative work, a bias that affected both men and women artists, especially after World War II.³⁷ She argues that gender exclusion was not at work as much as the gendering of figurative and realist work as a feminine practice. (Indeed, Wolff’s acknowledgments of this feminine view of figurative and realist art actually supports the notion that gender bias was at work.) Wolff makes a case study of Armory Show artist Kathleen McEnery, examining her “disappearance” alongside her commitment to figurative work.

A chief claim of this study is that women at the Armory Show helped to shape visual culture. Diane Macleod clearly makes an argument for the significant cultural

³⁶ Charles Musser, “1913: A Feminist Moment in the Arts,” in *The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution*, exhibition catalog (New York: The New York Historical Society, 2013), 169-179. See Chapter Four for more about Musser’s essay.

³⁷ Janet Wolff, *AngloModern: Painting and Modernity in Britain and the United States* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 35.

work done by women art collectors in her 2008 book, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture, 1800-1940*. Macleod examines the connections between people and objects, particularly as they relate to art collectors. She claims that women were “active agents” who used art collecting as a means to establish independent identities and that their roles as consumers allowed them to inject themselves into the male-dominant market place. Macleod’s examination includes the collecting practices of Armory Show patrons Katherine Dreier, Lillie Bliss, Agnes Meyer, and Gertrude Whitney. Furthermore, Macleod contends that both art collecting and patronage continue to empower women and give them “an entrée into the public sphere and a venue for the shaping of culture.”³⁸

In *The Gender of Modernity*, published in 1995, Rita Felski critiques the cultural and historical landscape of the twentieth century, although she does not deal with art or the Armory Show per se. Felski examines literary and cultural theories in order to reveal the neglect of gender issues and argues that these theories have focused on a masculine norm that excludes women’s lives and experiences. Felski concludes that history is being transformed as the “landscape of the modern” adjusts to a different, broader set of perspectives.³⁹

In recent years new information and materials emerged that have renewed scholarly interest in the Armory Show. In the *Archives of American Art Journal*, published in conjunction with the Armory Show’s centennial anniversary, Laurette McCarthy highlights some of the errors and omissions in Brown’s account of the exhibition and laments that both editions of his book privilege the work of Walt Kuhn

³⁸ Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture, 1800-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 220.

³⁹ Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

and Arthur Davies over Walter Pach. Recently, McCarthy found important installation photographs that were thought to be lost. She comments on new discoveries and states:

New scholarship is demonstrating a more comprehensive viewpoint, encouraging more multidisciplinary approaches, and revealing that the circumstances surrounding the exhibition were much more fluid than previously thought. But there are still a few mysteries.⁴⁰

I submit that one of those mysteries surrounds the women involved in the exhibition. The literature reviewed here reveals a fragmented historiography regarding women's participation in the Armory Show and in the development of modern art. A comprehensive examination of their work is timely, if not long overdue.

Methodology

My interest in this venture started when I learned that fifty of the three hundred artists who exhibited work at the Armory Show were women. Other than Mary Cassatt, Gwen John, Marie Laurencin, Jacqueline Marval, and Émilie Charmy, none of their names were familiar to me. My research further revealed that most of the financial support came from women and that a significant number of women loaned art works to or bought art from the Armory Show – and many of their purchases became part of significant collections of modern art in the United States. My curiosity led me to conduct research about these women and examine how their activities could have impacted the development of modern art in America.

I found vertical files on twenty-eight of the Armory Show's fifty women artists in the Archives of Women Artists at the National Museum of Women in the Arts and seven more of the women in files and on microfilm at the Smithsonian Institution's Archives of American Art (AAA). Throughout my research, I relied on the AAA's vast digital

⁴⁰ Laurette McCarthy, "Armory Show: New Perspectives and Recent Rediscoveries," *Archives of American Art Journal* 51, no. 3-4 (Fall 2013): 32.

collection, particularly the Walt Kuhn, Kuhn family papers, and Armory Show records. Additionally, I read the Robert Henri papers at the Archives of the Delaware Art Museum. Henri was a well-known Ashcan school artist and teacher who brought radical politics into his classroom; many of the Armory Show women artists were his students. The Katherine S. Dreier Papers, housed at Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, yielded important information regarding women artists, collectors, and financial supporters. Dreier was both an artist and a collector at the exhibition. Additionally, my interview with art historian Vivian Barnett proved fruitful. Barnett is a former curator at the Guggenheim Museum in New York and an expert on artist Vasily Kandinsky. Her research on art collector Arthur Eddy, who bought several works of art at the Armory Show, led to her interest in the women collectors there. Secondary sources on the Armory Show abound. Beyond Milton Brown's book, I have gone to the many newspaper and journal articles and critical essays, and the few extant books on some of these women.

To organize so much information – on fifty women artists and another sixty-six women collectors and financial supporters – I built a database from which I have been able to mine significant material. This tool has enabled me to delve into the multiple and fascinating connections among these women and has provided me the means to keep the Armory Show as a central focus while examining their lives and work before, during, and after this historic event. In the following chapters, I discuss women's various activities related to the Armory Show in hopes of securing them a significant position in any reevaluation of the event as well as in the development of modern art in this country in the early twentieth century. In the first chapter, I examine the cultural environment in

which the exhibition took place. In Chapters Two and Three, I examine the financial supporters and art collectors respectively. The women artists involved in the Armory Show are discussed in Chapter Four. Here, I include nineteen tables assembled from information I collected in my database. These tables reveal the many exhibition venues, educational opportunities, and art associations that these women shared. In Chapter Five, I offer a summation of the findings. Throughout this project, I was able to shed light on the women involved in the Armory Show in various capacities and demonstrate that they made significant contributions to the visual culture of their time.

Before proceeding to my analysis, I wish to highlight some words used in this study that had different meanings in 1913 than they do today. One such word is “decoration.” Today, that word denotes “mere decoration,” an idea that implies superfluous or meaningless ornament. At the time of the Armory Show, the word “decoration” held a loftier position in artistic discourse. A person might refer to a painting as a “lovely decoration” but not intend that comment to be condescending. Another word is “picture.” We often associate the word “picture” with a photograph or perhaps a snap-shot. But in 1913, the term “picture” was synonymous with a two-dimensional work of art. The descriptor “Futurist” did not refer to the Futurist movement that took place in Italy; rather both art critics and the general public collapsed the term with either Cubism or any new abstract artwork.

The words “taste” and “tastemaker” can also be confusing. I encountered references to taste throughout my research, generally in a positive light. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, some saw taste as a gendered term, one that was associated with femininity. Women described as “creators of taste” could be assigned to a lower

level than their male colleagues in a hierarchy of modern culture. For example, women may have exhibited good “taste” as they acknowledged and purchased existing works of art, but it was thought that men were doing more important work, exploring new cultural territory at the forefront of change.⁴¹ Bourdieu defines taste as the acknowledgement of difference and that possessing taste imbues a confidence in anticipating future trends. Thus, in exercising one’s taste, Bourdieu believes that a person is building cultural capital, the kind of investment that brings a different kind of profit – a self-assurance of one’s place in the world.⁴² The little-known women who participated in the Armory Show defined taste and distinction in their own terms and were about the business of producing this cultural capital.

The Armory Show took place in an environment that was ripe and on the cusp of major cultural changes. This study examines the women whose experiences and work intersected at the most exciting and important art exhibition ever held in the United States. I hope the following pages will acknowledge them in a way that brings them to the forefront of modernist discourse on art and culture in the early twentieth century in America.

⁴¹ Bridget Elliott and Jo-Ann Wallace, *Women Artists and Writers: Modernist (Im)positioning* (London and NY: Routledge, 1994), 96.

⁴² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 466.

CHAPTER I

THE CULTURAL CLIMATE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

In order to fully understand American modern art in the first decades of the twentieth century, one must first set the stage by examining the sociopolitical climate from which such art – and the Armory Show – emerged. Tremendous changes were occurring in industry, politics, marketing, and the domestic sphere as Americans sought to forge both an individual and a collective identity. The modernist period not only impacted visual artists but also performing artists, writers, and social scientists, all of whom made unique contributions to the vitality of life and art in the early 1900s. A review of this electrifying moment in history reveals the rich environment in which the women financiers, collectors, and artists involved in the Armory Show negotiated their lives and work.

It is worth noting the remarkable parallels between the tumultuous events of the 1910s and those of the 1960s. Both of these decades dealt with counterculture, war, mandates for sexual freedom, feminism, and social and political reform. Both decades can be seen as reactions against the old guard – modernism against the Victorian bourgeoisie and the Peace and Love generation against the conservative, post-war climate of the 1950s. Several scholars have drawn the same conclusions. For example, historian Daniel Singal suggests that the bohemian lifestyle found in Greenwich Village in New

York in the 1910s (and perhaps one could include the bohemian districts of Montmartre and Montparnasse in France as well as the Bloomsbury circle in England) foreshadowed the development of a countercultural mindset in the 1960s that became “a virtual parody of its earlier self.”⁴³ Literary scholar James McFarlane notes three stages of cultural development: early rebellion, fragmentation, and finally, the merging of ideas previously thought incompatible.⁴⁴ He further suggests that the 1960s witnessed a new generation of rebels who were “riding the crest of a cultural tidal wave” that had originated in the modern period.⁴⁵ If World War II was, in some ways, a continuation of World War I, as some historians have suggested, then perhaps the mid-twentieth century can be seen as an interruption in many of the social changes that started in the 1910s and that were later revisited in the 1960s.⁴⁶

The previous Victorian era (1837-1902) was characterized by order – in all things. Among the middle class, at least, men and women lived in separate spheres: he was outside earning an income; she was inside tending to home and hearth. This order was maintained by an overarching moral code that kept women in “protective custody.” It was considered immoral for women to be out in the evening unaccompanied and disrespectful for them to be seen dining in cafes or smoking cigarettes in public. Men could socialize in clubs and dine and smoke in public, as well as make financial decisions for the family.

⁴³ Daniel Joseph Singal, ed., *Modernist Culture in America*, American Society and Culture Series (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1991), 3.

⁴⁴ James McFarlane, quoted in Singal, *Modernist Culture*, 9.

⁴⁵ McFarlane, quoted in Singal, *Modernist Culture*, 20.

⁴⁶ See, for example, “The Second World War,” History World, accessed December 31, 2013, <http://www.historyworld.net/wrldhis/plaintexthistories.asp?historyid=ac31>.

This period is also referred to as the Gilded Age, a time of tremendous economic development in the United States. Growth took place in the railroad business, coal mining, and the building of factories. Yet, this prosperous period was riddled with problems: crime, poverty, child labor, and pollution. Mark Twain and his colleague, Charles Dudley Warner, first coined the term “the Gilded Age” to describe the prosperity and complacency of the period – gilding over social ills with a thin layer of gold.⁴⁷ The last decade of the nineteenth century earned labels such as “the gay nineties,” the decadent “Mauve Decade,” (named after the new and popular purple-pink dye), and the celebrated “*fin de siècle*.”

At the same time, gender relations began to change as women started to threaten the male dominance of the period by getting involved in politics and professional careers. Many women believed that they possessed a superior moral conscience that compelled them to be the “social housekeepers” responsible for cleaning up the corrupt mess men had made of society.⁴⁸ Women asserted their shared experiences as females and invoked a gender-conscious, “universal sisterhood.”⁴⁹ The roots of twentieth-century American feminism lie here.

A rise in both production and consumption of material goods continued into the early twentieth century, a period tagged the Progressive Era (1890-1920). Corporations underwrote the first skyscrapers that cast shadows over elegant Fifth Avenue mansions. On a visit to New York City in 1904, expatriate novelist Henry James commented that

⁴⁷ “The Gilded Age,” LibriVox: Acoustical Liberation of Books in the Public Domain, accessed December 18, 2013. <https://librivox.org/the-gilded-age-by-mark-twain-charles-dudley-warner/>.

⁴⁸ Gail Bederman, “‘The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough’: The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism,” *American Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (September 1989): 437.

⁴⁹ Mari Jo Buhle quoted in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 174.

the tall buildings stood up like “extravagant pins in a cushion already overplanted” and lamented that the spire of Trinity Church was “cruelly overtopped.”⁵⁰ And there were drastic changes in everyday life. The automobile forced the horse and buggy to share the road; the first department stores opened their doors to consumers of mass-produced items; electric lights replaced gas lamps; and, many Americans began using telephones to communicate.⁵¹

The “woman question” paralleled these developments. Debates abounded on whether women could be equal to men in both physical and intellectual endeavors. Could women join the workforce? Could they own their own property? Could a woman seek a divorce from an oppressive husband or limit the size of her family by gaining access to birth control measures? And, of course, did women have the right to vote or hold office? The suffrage movement spread from Europe to the United States and grew over the course of several decades. The length of the debate was caused in part by differences among women themselves. “Suffragists” sought constitutional reform while “suffragettes” demanded immediate action, couched in the militant activism of feminist Emmeline Pankhurst and her colleagues. In his book, *Republic of Dreams: Greenwich Village, the American Bohemia, 1910-1960*, Ross Wetzsteon submits that while some women believed that voting would allow them to express their ideas, others feared that enabling women to vote would involve them in a corrupt process and that electoral politics would have little impact on the conditions that had caused women’s oppression.⁵²

⁵⁰ Henry James, *The American Scene*, facsimile of the 1907 original, with introduction and notes by Leon Edel (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1968), 76, 78.

⁵¹ “Telephone History,” The Telephone Museum, accessed December 31, 2013. <http://www.telephonymuseum.com/History%201901-1940.htm>.

⁵² Ross Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams: Greenwich Village, the American Bohemia, 1910-1960* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 164.

Many members of both sexes worried that women engaging in politics spelled the dissolution of the family unit, a chronic anxiety that colored much of the twentieth century in various waves as women entered the job market. Historian June Sochen marks a significant change that occurred in the suffrage movement itself as it transformed from an anti-male movement in the late nineteenth century to being a more harmonious effort that engaged both male and female feminists in the early twentieth century, marking a brief period of enlightenment in gender relations.⁵³ Beginning in 1910, several states adopted legislation allowing women to vote. Thus, people at the Armory Show in 1913 – the organizers, artists, collectors, and attendees – were caught up in a web of fiercely debated issues surrounding the suffrage movement. The federal government finally passed the 19th Amendment in 1920.

At least a dozen Armory Show women participated in the struggle for women's right to vote. For example, sculptor Abastenia Eberle joined the Woman's Political Union and led a contingent of women sculptors in a suffrage parade that took place on New York's Fifth Avenue in 1911. Approximately 3,000 women marched in this "Petticoat Pageant" with thousands of people lining the route, many of whom jeered.⁵⁴ As one reporter observed at the time, "It took courage to march."⁵⁵ Additionally, Katherine Dreier gave speeches on women's right to vote. She complained about a suffrage parade in a letter to her sister in 1911:

I had a resentment well up in me against the Government for making us do it – Why should we year after year spend ten thousand dollars to work up such a procession when women and children are starving. Think of it, ten

⁵³ June Sochen, *The New Women: Feminism in Greenwich Village, 1910-1920* (New York: Quadrangle Books, A New York Times Co., 1972), 70.

⁵⁴ Louise Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle, Sculptor (1878-1942)*, exhibition catalog (Des Moines: Des Moines Art Center, 1980), 13.

⁵⁵ Unknown *Harper's Weekly* reporter, quoted in Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 13.

thousand dollars. And nine months of work – for what? To me it is a very grave question what will happen if women don't soon get the vote...⁵⁶

Undoubtedly, most women fighting for the right to vote shared Dreier's concerns.

Art and feminism were deeply intertwined during this period. However, cultural debates were not limited to feminist circles or artistic ones. The early twentieth century witnessed debates among men and women about politics and social issues as well as art and feminism. In 1939 Hutchins Hapgood, at the time a noted journalist, author, and anarchist, recalled the influence exerted by women on this dialectic, suggesting, "When the world began to change, the restlessness of women was the main cause of the development called Greenwich Village, which existed not only in New York but all over the country."⁵⁷ Known as an artistic, Bohemian community to us now, New York's Greenwich Village at that time was also a hotbed of radical thought. Certainly, Villagers took up the woman question with fervor. Floyd Dell, a writer who Hapgood described as "one of the most characteristic personages of Greenwich Village,"⁵⁸ supported equal rights for women, stating in his *Confessions of a Feminist Man*:

So long as any woman is denied the right to her own life and happiness, no man has a right to his; and every man who walks freely in his man's world, walks on an iron floor, whereunder, bound and flung into her dungeon lies a woman-slave.⁵⁹

Walter Lippmann, a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist, was less dramatic, claiming in 1914, "It is no longer possible to hedge the life of women in a set ritual, where their

⁵⁶ Katherine Dreier to Mary Dreier, September 19th, 1911, Katherine Sophie Dreier papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, YCAL MSS 916, Box 78, folder 2019-2020.

⁵⁷ Hutchins Hapgood, *A Victorian in the Modern World*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), 314. Hapgood's words reflect those of Virginia Wolff, who wrote in 1924, "On or about December 1910 human character changed." See Daniel Bell, "Modernism Mummified," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 122.

⁵⁸ Hapgood, *Victorian*, 314.

⁵⁹ Floyd Dell, quoted in Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 162. Ironically, Dell was known as a womanizer; he likely took advantage of the climate of female sexual liberation.

education, their work, their opinion, their love, and their motherhood are fixed in the structure of custom.”⁶⁰ However it was expressed, many men living in New York at the time supported equal rights for women.

Women’s sexual liberation became part of the campaign for equal rights and debates were not limited to heterosexual relationships. In the charged debate about sexual experimentation and self-expression, many of the single women in the Village (and elsewhere) experimented with androgyny and/or lesbian associations. The emerging ambiguity of gendered spheres influenced the push and pull women experienced in determining the course of their own lives as sexual beings.⁶¹ Many women feared that marriage would subsume their individuality. Edith Wharton once proclaimed that, “On her wedding-day [the American woman] ceases, in any open, frank and recognized manner, to be an influence in the lives of the men of the community to which she belongs.”⁶² Wharton biographer Shari Benstock argues that the fear of being cut off from society caused many American women to shun marriage and form close associations with other females.⁶³ Thus, it was not unusual for two independent, single women to live together in what has come to be known as a “Boston marriage,” a relationship that could be either platonic or sexual. The term was coined by Henry James in *The Bostonians*, his 1886 novel that dealt with a long-term relationship between two unmarried women.⁶⁴ Felski suggests that the lesbian symbolized a feminine modernity, echoing Walter

⁶⁰ Walter Lippmann, quoted in Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 162.

⁶¹ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 245-296.

⁶² Edith Wharton, quoted in Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 66.

⁶³ Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, 66.

⁶⁴ Joan Johnson Lewis, “Boston Marriage: Women Living Together in the 19th Century,” About.com: Women’s History, accessed January 24, 2014, http://womenshistory.about.com/od/bostonmarriage/a/boston_marriage.htm.

Benjamin's philosophical argument that, because she defied traditional gender roles and rejected her "duty" to bear children, the lesbian was the heroine of modernity.⁶⁵

Women's issues dominated the mission of the Heterodoxy Club, a radical feminist group founded by Marie Jenney Howe in 1912. Howe proclaimed that women were "sick of being specialized to sex," and added, "We intend simply to be ourselves, not just our little female selves, but our whole, big, human selves."⁶⁶ The Heterodoxy Club had more than one hundred members; roughly thirty-five to fifty of them participated in the bi-weekly debates held in Greenwich Village cafés over nearly thirty years. Members gathered not only to share ideas about the controversial issues of the day but also to break down walls of isolation and provide emotional support.⁶⁷ Mabel Dodge was a member of the Heterodoxy Club and described her fellow members as "fine, daring, rather joyous and independent women . . . women who did things and did them openly."⁶⁸ Approximately one out of five members of the club was a lesbian; Dodge, who was bisexual, would have enjoyed their camaraderie.⁶⁹ Several other women involved in the Armory Show engaged in lesbian relationships and/or Boston marriages.

Along with feminists, suffragists, and suffragettes, the New Woman emerged as a highly visible entity in society. She shunned the popular feminine ideal fostered by the Gibson Girl. Made famous by Charles Dana Gibson's illustrations in the 1890s, the Gibson Girl typically was tall and tightly corseted and wore her hair piled high atop her

⁶⁵ Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 20.

⁶⁶ Marie Jenney Howe, quoted in Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 177.

⁶⁷ Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 174-175.

⁶⁸ Mabel Dodge, quoted in Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), 90.

⁶⁹ Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 180.

head. In contrast, by sporting bobbed hair and flowing, comfortable dress, the New Woman made fashion statements that revealed her disdain for convention.

Beyond outward appearances, the New Woman in the early twentieth century challenged the status-quo by forging new liberties. She joined her male colleagues in debates about sexual freedom, birth control, labor and immigration issues, and education reforms while dining or smoking cigarettes in Village cafés (such as Polly Halliday's) and attending rallies and salons. The New Woman had gone public, demanding that her voice be heard.

However, despite her advances, the New Woman was a conflicted being. For example, issues surrounding sexual freedom were problematic as couples who experimented with open marriages struggled with jealousy. Women often felt it dangerous to expose themselves to multiple lovers: emotionally, they feared humiliation and rejection; physically, they dreaded the thought of unwanted pregnancies and venereal disease. Equally, the New Man (a vague concept at best) enjoyed women's sexual liberation but often harbored fears of the consequences of female sexual power.⁷⁰ New Women struggled to discover themselves as they journeyed into uncharted social waters. Could they nurture both their sexuality and their maternal instincts? Could they manage a professional career while rearing their children? Could they leave the comfort of traditional social roles and embrace the unknown? Women, including many involved in the Armory Show, faced these kinds of questions as they negotiated their private lives and their public aspirations.

As women worked to affect social change, the settlement movement emerged as one of the arenas where they could have an impact. Jane Addams established Hull House

⁷⁰ Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 177.

in a poverty-stricken district of Chicago in the late nineteenth century. Writer Christine Stansell notes that by 1910 there were approximately four hundred such centers across the country. With a mission to aid the integration of the growing immigrant population into American culture, these centers housed both educated American citizens and poor immigrants who lived and worked side-by-side. Middle-class settlement workers embraced the concept of “vital contact,” a spirit of goodwill that reached across class lines. The secular nature of the movement was a radical departure from the Victorian concept of charity, one that was characterized by aiding the less-well-off from a safe distance and often in the name of God. Stansell suggests that when the first Russian revolution took place (1905-1907), American social workers in the settlement houses were jolted into a new appreciation of their immigrant colleagues, many of whom had fled governmental restraints and prejudices.⁷¹ Strikes by Russian workers culminated in a government attack on unarmed demonstrators that resulted in a massive number of deaths. Known as “Bloody Sunday,” the violence sparked socialist debates in the United States – anarchist Emma Goldman reported that New York’s Lower East Side was in a “delirium” of public meetings and café debates.⁷² This climate of social activism and heightened political debates colored the years surrounding the Armory Show.

Stansell further proposes that, as women emerged as strong elements within politics and society, a backlash by their male counterparts surfaced in the form of a masculinity crisis – a negative reaction to what men saw as a “feminization of culture” that undermined their self-esteem.⁷³ She suggests that men “faced the question of how to

⁷¹ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 60-64.

⁷² Emma Goldman, quoted in Stansell, *American Moderns*, 65.

⁷³ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 32.

be culturally potent at a moment when women seemed to be the bearers of change.”⁷⁴ In a 1912 article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, Earl Barnes worried not only about women’s public presence but also their dominance over men, stating:

Who, fifty years ago, could have imagined that to-day women would be steadily monopolizing learning, teaching, literature, the fine arts, music, the church, and the theatre? And yet this is the condition at which we have arrived. . . . Step by step women are taking over the field of liberal culture. . . .⁷⁵

Barnes then suggested that this feminization resulted largely from women gaining access to higher education and he offered some telling numbers. In 1910, 41.1% of undergraduate degrees went to women. Of the 602 institutions of higher learning Barnes examined, 142 were for men only, 108 for women only, and 352 were coeducational institutions. (Scholar Carroll Smith-Rosenberg reminds us that to attend a coeducational school, a woman had to be courageous. She had to forfeit her place in “proper society” and endure comments from men who protested her presence in the classroom.⁷⁶) Barnes then laments that, because so many women had infiltrated the teaching field, school curriculums were being weakened by female influence.⁷⁷ He overlooks the fact that women who had careers as teachers suffered from gender bias. For example, New York City law required women – but not men – to report any change in their marital status to school administrators. Henrietta Rodman, a feminist schoolteacher, protested this discrimination by publicly announcing that she had not told her employer about her recent marriage; the press made her bold stance well-known.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 270.

⁷⁵ Earl Barnes, “The Feminizing of Culture,” *Atlantic Monthly* 109 (June 1912): 770.

⁷⁶ Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, 250-251.

⁷⁷ Barnes, “The Feminizing of Culture,” 773.

⁷⁸ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 79.

The number of women taking degrees in 1910 may be surprising. However, more startling is the fact that the percentage of women college students and professors was higher in 1920 than in 1960.⁷⁹ Additionally, in 1910 ten percent of all PhD degrees in America went to women; by the end of the decade, that figure rose to fifteen percent.⁸⁰

For many other men like Earl Barnes, the educated and self-assured New Woman was frightening. She represented instability and uncertainty and stood in stark contrast to the moral Victorian woman they had come to know. Genteel magazines published many “anxious articles” during the 1890s that pondered how the advancement of women would affect men.⁸¹ Noted philosopher George Santayana, in a well-known indictment against women, wrote that American intellectual life suffered at the hands of genteel ladies, who “floated gently in the backwater” while men busied themselves with inventions and commerce.⁸² Commenting on this backlash, Columbia University scholar Andreas Huyssen suggests that male dread of an “engulfing femininity” was projected onto the masses – “the male fear of woman and the bourgeois fear of the masses [became] indistinguishable.”⁸³ The New Woman challenged the balance of familiar patriarchal relationships by showing up in countless places that had previously been reserved for men, such as universities and political debates. As Stansell suggests, the New Woman upset “the soothing hum of men’s bonhomie, competing with [men] and discouraging them with her infernal drive to matter.”⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 163.

⁸⁰ Sochen, *The New Women*, ix.

⁸¹ Bederman, “The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough,” 437.

⁸² George Santayana, quoted in Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 12.

⁸³ Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 52.

⁸⁴ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 31.

Coupling the feminization of culture with the closing of the western frontier and the exchange of traditional labor for new Fordist business practices, many men felt emasculated. Theodore Roosevelt (President, 1901-1909) called for men to return to the “strenuous life.” His cowboy persona and exuberance characterized his manly activism. Another masculinist response came in the founding of the Boy Scouts of America in 1910, a group that celebrated male youth as they engaged in physical, outdoor activities. The Boy Scouts offered an alternative for boys away from the feminine influences of home and hearth, school and church.⁸⁵ In the religious environment, a reaction came from the Men and Religion Forward Movement (MRFM), a group that decried the influence of women over the Protestant church. Meetings took place all around the country in 1911 and members organized a six-day Congress that was held in New York in 1912. Although it was a relatively minor movement that fizzled out by 1914, in the years bracketing the Armory Show over one million people attended MRFM events throughout the United States. Historian Gail Bederman suggests that the movement “illuminates the complex interconnections between gender and culture during the Progressive Era, and the way those gendered cultural meanings shaped people’s’ actions.”⁸⁶

And yet, a more positive note came from many men. In 1913 journalist and social critic Randolph Bourne wrote to a female friend about the New Women in New York, stating, “They are of course all self-supporting and independent; and they enjoy the adventure of life; the full, reliant, audacious way in which they go about makes you wonder if the new woman isn’t to be a very splendid sort of person.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Harry Brod, *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 148.

⁸⁶ Bederman, “The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough,” 458.

⁸⁷ Randolph Bourne, quoted in Stansell, *American Moderns*, 231.

All of these issues – changes in the workplace, the suffrage movement and the New Woman, immigrant issues and revolution – charged the atmosphere of the Armory Show. The exhibition, a pivotal event that went on to alter the artistic production of the twentieth century, was part and parcel of these complex forces. Moreover, a close examination of the Armory Show within this historical and cultural context provides us with a microcosm of people living and working in a fluid, vibrant age. Today, a reformulation of the male-oriented, avant-garde-only definition of modern art is necessary – our histories must include the contributions women made in art’s development. Both the cultural context and the oversimplification of the Armory Show in the historiography of subsequent decades come into sharp focus in this examination. Revisiting the exhibition, I critique the phallogentric principles embedded in modernism and insert women into their rightful place in both the exhibition and the development of modernism.

This reevaluation of the Armory Show has consequences for the various ways in which modernism is defined. Singal suggests that, “Modernism should be properly seen as a *culture* – a constellation of related ideas, beliefs, values, and modes of perception.”⁸⁸ And, as he further clarifies, early twentieth-century modernism arose out of a period of modernization – industry, urbanization, social and economic development – as a process that began centuries earlier.⁸⁹ The word “constellation” is particularly fitting because, although modernism has been seen as a masculine enterprise, women held key positions at various points – not only by collecting and making art but also by supporting new music and theatre, working for both immigrant and education reform, and fighting for the

⁸⁸ Singal, *Modernist Culture*, 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

right to vote. Additionally, Irving Howe's consideration of modernism is important to note – he suggests that modernism be defined “in terms of what it is not: the embodiment of a tacit polemic . . .”⁹⁰ His inversion of the definition is helpful in rethinking artistic practices in the early twentieth century.

While women's participation in several modernist arenas – for example, the women founders, writers, and illustrators of “little magazines”⁹¹ – has been reclaimed in recent years, women's participation in the Armory Show has not been addressed collectively. In the following chapters, I consider the women – the financial contributors, art collectors, and artists – against the dynamic, cultural backdrop painted in this chapter. They had diverse experiences, backgrounds, and careers and yet their paths intersected at one major event in the history of art – the Armory Show of 1913. My work corrects the omission of women involved in the exhibition and thus reconfigures that larger, cultural constellation, the zeitgeist of the first two decades of the twentieth century. The pivotal turn in artistic production evidenced at the Armory Show, as well as the changes in other fields, is part of a much larger pattern of change. The director of the Metropolitan Museum, Sir Caspar Purdon Clark, declared publicly in 1908: “There is a state of unrest all over the world in art as in all other things. It is the same in literature as in music, in painting and in sculpture.” Unhappily, he added, “I dislike unrest.”⁹² For the women of the Armory Show, this state of unrest made way for their entrance into the visual culture of their time.

⁹⁰ Irving Howe, *The Idea of the Modern in Literature and the Arts* (New York: Horizon Press, 1967), 13.

⁹¹ See, for example, Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible, eds., *Little Magazines & Modernism: New Approaches* (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007).

⁹² Sir Caspar Purdon Clark, cited in Lloyd Goodrich, *Pioneers of Modern Art in America*, 16.

Several modern visual artists made connections between art and music. Certainly, painter Vassily Kandinsky felt an affinity for musical themes in his “Improvisations,” as James McNeill Whistler did earlier in his “Nocturnes” and “Symphonies.” French painter Francis Picabia saw modern art as a parallel to the music of Richard Wagner, with its leitmotifs and “tones of colour or shades.”⁹³ Wagner’s use of the concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, “total work of art,” in his operatic compositions was ground-breaking – he blended poetry, drama, music, and the visual arts in epic works such as *Ring of the Nibelung*, *Parsifal*, and *Leopold and Isolde*.⁹⁴ Armory Show women Lillie Bliss and Katharine Nash Rhoades championed Wagner’s music and Bliss, along with Gertrude Whitney and Mabel Dodge, lent their patronage to avant-garde music as well as to art.⁹⁵ An accomplished musician, Bliss studied piano with the experimental Kneisel Quartet and went on to support that group financially. Whitney was a major benefactor of Edgard Varese’s New Symphony Orchestra and introduced New York to the “ultra-modern camp” of European composers, including Igor Stravinsky, Erik Satie, and Darius Milhaud.⁹⁶ Other musical innovators of the time included Arnold Schoenberg, with his atonal work, and experimental composers Leo Ornstein and Charles Ives.⁹⁷ Despite the fact that men seemed to dominate the field of music, musicologist Carol Oja asserts, “at its core were women.”⁹⁸ Indeed, in 1923 Walter Damrosch, the conductor of the New York Symphony, wrote, “I do not think there has ever been a country whose musical

⁹³ Francis Picabia, quoted in Robert Crunden, *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism, 1885-1917* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 364.

⁹⁴ Richard Wagner, bio.true story, accessed December 14, 2013, <http://www.biography.com/people/richard-wagner-9521202?page=1>.

⁹⁵ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 135.

⁹⁶ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 172.

⁹⁷ Paul Schweizer, Priscilla Siegel, and William Rasmussen, “The Rise of the Avant-Garde in America: Issues and Aesthetics,” in *Avant-garde Painting & Sculpture in America 1910-1925*, exhibition catalog (Wilmington, DE: Delaware Art Museum and University of Delaware, 1975), 9.

⁹⁸ Carol Oja, quoted in Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 158.

development has been fostered so almost exclusively by women as America.”⁹⁹ In addition to Bliss, other Armory Show women provided abundant opportunities for modern musicians through financial support and by volunteering on their behalf.¹⁰⁰

Modern dance influenced Abastenia Eberle and Bessie Vonnoh, two of the Armory Show’s women sculptors. Isadora Duncan, a New Woman who ran in Mabel Dodge’s circle, exhibited perhaps the boldest form of dance in both her choreography and her free dance technique. Louise Noun notes the inspiration of Duncan and her fellow dancer, Loie Fuller, on Eberle in her sculptures, *Bacchanale* (1909) and *Dancing Girl*, also known as *Duncan Dancing* (1914).¹⁰¹ Vonnoh admired Duncan’s free movement and flowing dress, emulating the latter in her 1910 piece, *The Fan*, which depicts a woman wearing a flowing, Greek tunic.¹⁰²

Classical ballet was at the other end of the musical spectrum. Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova first danced in New York in 1910.¹⁰³ A few years later, Eberle exhibited sculptures depicting classical dancers at an exhibition at the Macbeth Gallery, entitled, “The Dance as Interpreted by American Sculptors,” a show she helped organize.¹⁰⁴

The Armory Show took place on the eve of significant changes in theatre – some see 1915 and 1916 as the two most significant years in the development of American

⁹⁹ Walter Damrosch, quoted in Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 172.

¹⁰⁰ Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s*, accessed January, 11, 2014, http://books.google.com/books?id=cVKLKpDRH4MC&pg=PA227&lpg=PA227&dq=carol+oja+making+music+modern+women+patrons+and+activists&source=bl&ots=HNYjTpoQK&sig=aT_s3WpEQKZKQyfv9ixWY8bUvzs&hl=en&sa=X&ei=r7DRUrKRLMiorgGsroD4CQ&ved=0CEwQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=carol%20oja%20making%20music%20modern%20women%20patrons%20and%20activists&f=false.

¹⁰¹ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 11.

¹⁰² Kristie Landing, “Isadora Duncan: A Revolutionary Dancer,” Broad Strokes, National Museum of Women in the Arts, accessed January 12, 2014, <http://womeninthearts.wordpress.com/2012/06/15/isadora-duncan-a-revolutionary-dancer/>.

¹⁰³ “Anna Pavlova,” Dance Heritage Coalition, http://www.danceheritage.org/treasures/pavlova_essay_weeks.pdf, (March 1, 2014).

¹⁰⁴ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 11.

drama.¹⁰⁵ Theatre aficionados connect Eugene O'Neill's early career with the Provincetown Players, a theatre group that became known for its modernist productions. However, women writers such as Mary Heaton Vorse, Susan Glaspell, and Neith Boyce (Hapgood's wife) were some of the early leaders of this group before O'Neill, who arrived in Provincetown in 1916 shortly before the group relocated to Greenwich Village.¹⁰⁶ The Provincetown Players originally started at the artists' colony on Cape Cod, which became well-known among both the New York and Chicago writers who gathered there in the summers. The first plays were one-act dramas performed on simple sets and written as spoofs on each other's lives – self-critical and analytical, but mostly entertaining.¹⁰⁷ Sochen suggests that the Provincetown Players functioned as Greenwich Village's mirror, and, while this group was highly visible, there were other precedents for experimental work in the Village's little theatre movement, including the Washington Square Players and the Liberal Club Theater.¹⁰⁸ The little theatre concept gained momentum as playwrights and actors became dissatisfied with a New York theatre scene that consisted mainly of vaudeville, melodrama, and farce. They turned for inspiration to modern writers who used the theatre as a vehicle for social change, such as Henrik Ibsen, Oscar Wilde, and George Bernard Shaw.

Mabel Dodge visited Provincetown in 1915 with her lover, the noted writer and activist Jack Reed. Dodge seemed always on the fringes of drama: at Provincetown, in the Paterson Strike Pageant, at her salon, and in her personal life (see Chapter Two). However, Dodge and other New Women were important sponsors and financiers for

¹⁰⁵ Crunden, *American Salons*, 397.

¹⁰⁶ "Theater milestones," Historic Provincetown, Provincetown, Massachusetts, accessed December 15, 2013, <http://www.provincetown-ma.gov/DocumentCenter/Home/View/876>.

¹⁰⁷ Sochen, *The New Women*, 85.

¹⁰⁸ Sochen, *The New Women*, 86.

struggling artists. Bobby Jones, one of the most innovative stage designers in modern theatre, credited Dodge with literally saving his life; he lived in a back room of her apartment during a period of personal financial crisis.¹⁰⁹

The first productions by the Provincetown Players in the fall of 1916 included Floyd Dell's satire, *King Arthur's Socks*, Louise Bryant's *The Game* (with sets designed by Armory Show artists William and Marguerite Zorach), and O'Neill's *Bound East for Cardiff*.¹¹⁰ Hapgood later recalled that the Provincetown Players were a unique group of modernist intellectuals. He commented, "They were really more free in all ways than many elements of Greenwich Village" and they had a conscious desire to "express themselves unconventionally."¹¹¹

The theatre was one of the few places open to female participation, likely due to gender bias. As Huyssen observes, "acting was seen as imitative and reproductive, rather than original and productive."¹¹² Moreover, theatricality – both on stage and in music like Wagner's – was negatively perceived by some as mere spectacle and connoting a decline in culture. Philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, once a friend and colleague of Wagner's, repudiated him later as being corrupted by adoring women and mass culture. Huyssen argues that, for Nietzsche and his followers, "Wagner, the theater, the mass, woman – all [became] a web of signification outside of, and in opposition to, true art."¹¹³ This is, of course, a false notion – before, during, and after the Armory Show, women were critical to the advancement of "true art."

¹⁰⁹ Lois Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 84.

¹¹⁰ "A History of the Provincetown Players," Provincetown Playhouse, accessed December 15, 2013, <http://www.provincetownplayhouse.com/history.html>.

¹¹¹ Hutchins Hapgood, quoted in Crunden, *American Salons*, 397.

¹¹² Huyssen, *After the Great Divide*, 51.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

Women in the Armory Show also had important links to the literary community.

Many artists and would-be artists in New York aspired to be writers. Stansell comments:

New York in the 1910s was a writer's city, literature the paramount art form. Downtown, books and magazines were the chief forms of entertainment and obsession, not painting or music, and bohemian conversation sooner or later settled on what the talkers were reading that week.¹¹⁴

In Greenwich Village, the mingling by members of both sexes led to a new level of intellectual debate. Further, for Villagers, writing went hand-in-hand with drinking alcohol. Part of the allure was that men and women could drink together in public – drinking became “an elixir of modernity.”¹¹⁵

Prior to the turn of the century, several female writers emerged whose books were popular among a female audience. As early as 1855, Nathaniel Hawthorne lamented their impact on his marketability. His oft-quoted tirade reads, “America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash – and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed.”¹¹⁶ Marketability aside, women novelists joined their male colleagues in publishing some of modernism's most vital works, from the early work of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Louisa May Alcott to the later writings by Kate Chopin, Willa Cather, Edith Wharton, and Susan Glaspell, to name just a few.

In the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth centuries, the work of women writers reflects a transitional period, not only for themselves, but also for the female characters they offered to the reading public. At the time, several novels appeared that

¹¹⁴ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 147.

¹¹⁵ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 82.

¹¹⁶ Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1855 letter to his publisher, cited in PAL: Perspectives in American Literature, accessed December 16, 2013, <http://www.csustan.edu/english/reuben/pal/chap3/hawthorne.html>.

glorified “the American Virgin” or “the American Girl.” Authors, both men and women, embraced the Gibson Girl ideal, yet their work reveals some ambivalence toward their female protagonists, most of whom paid for their assertiveness with humiliation or death. Henry James developed a controversial character in *Daisy Miller* (1879) a beautiful, young American girl abroad who flirts with both men and convention, behavior that ultimately leads to her death from malaria. James followed that book with *The Portrait of a Lady* in 1881. His protagonist, Isabel Archer, is an independent American woman traveling in Europe, who attracts a great number of people, including men who vie for her hand. However, she falls prey to two cunning and deceitful people in the characters of Gilbert Osmond and Madame Merle. *Sister Carrie*, written in 1900 by Theodore Dreiser, features a young girl from the country going to the big city, a tale that many thought to be a sordid, too-real account about urban life, working women, seduction, and the theatre.

Edith Wharton created Lily Bart in *The House of Mirth* (1905), where a young girl again falls from grace and dies prematurely. She contrasts her with Undine Sprague in *The Custom of the Country* (1913), a novel about a conniving young woman’s attempts to elevate her position in society.¹¹⁷ Willa Cather emerged on the writing scene in New York in 1906 when she accepted an editorial position with *McClure’s* magazine, a publication known for its muckraking journalism. *McClure’s* serialized her first novel, *Alexander’s Bridge*, in 1912. Cather’s trilogy about Western life followed: *O Pioneers!*, *The Song of the Lark*, and *My Ántonia*.

The publication of little magazines surged in tandem with the little theatre movement. Armory Show artist Kathleen McEnery Cunningham had her work published

¹¹⁷ Richard Guy Wilson, *The American Renaissance: 1876-1917*, exhibition catalog (New York: the Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 46.

in *The Dial*, which first appeared in the mid-nineteenth century as a transcendentalist magazine edited by Margaret Fuller and later by Ralph Waldo Emerson. By the 1920s, it had evolved into an arts magazine that published poetry, prose, and drama, along with reproductions of modern art, such as work by Charles Demuth, Gaston Lachaise, and Odilon Redon. Several men and women involved with the Armory Show, including John Sloan, Mable Dodge, and Robert Henri, saw their work published in *The Masses*, an influential publication edited by Max Eastman that blended art and politics. It began in 1911 as an illustrated socialist monthly that earned the infamous label, “the most dangerous magazine in America.”¹¹⁸ Writers for *The Masses* championed both the vote for women and access to birth control and reprinted lectures given by Emma Goldman.¹¹⁹ Just after the Armory Show, Margaret Anderson founded *The Little Review* in Chicago. According to the writers at the Modernist Journals Project’s website, *The Little Review* did more to promote modernism than any other American journal. It ran until 1922.¹²⁰

Village poets became enamored with free verse and its lack of pattern or structure. Generally, artists and writers who championed free verse had also read the works of Walt Whitman (1819-1892) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). At the Armory Show, Dodge championed this new trend in writing by distributing copies of Gertrude Stein’s word portrait, “Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia.” Its obscure word associations written in a stream-of-consciousness fashion was parodied in the press and linked to the new art.

One writer for the *Chicago Tribune* wrote:

¹¹⁸ “The Masses,” Research Guides, New York University Libraries, accessed January 1, 2013, http://nyu.libguides.com/tamiment_serials.

¹¹⁹ Sochen, *The New Women*, 63-64.

¹²⁰ “The Dial Magazine: 1920-1929, a Brief History,” *The Dial*, accessed December 16, 2013, <http://virtual.clemson.edu/groups/dial/dialhist.htm>. See also “The Modernist Journals Project, a joint project of Brown University and the University of Tulsa,” accessed December 16, 2013, <http://modjourn.org/index.html>.

I called the canvas Cow with Cud
And hung it on the line,
Although to me 'twas vague as mud,
'Twas clear to Gertrude Stein.¹²¹

Additionally, Imagist poets enjoyed greater visibility around this time. In 1912 Harriet Monroe founded *Poetry* magazine. She worked as a poet and art critic and reviewed the Armory Show for the press. Monroe purchased a print by Odilon Redon when she saw the show in New York. *Poetry* magazine published modernist works by T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, Ezra Pound, and Carl Sandburg, among others.

Much of the discourse in academic crowds and urban intelligentsia circled around several popular topics: Nietzsche's existential philosophy, the move away from organized religion, and the new psychological treatments espoused by Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. Armory Show women Mary Foote and Alice Lewisohn joined Jung in Zurich and were active in editing his papers.¹²² At the height of their friendship and collaboration, Freud and Jung participated in a series of lectures at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1909.¹²³

While religion held together for the most part in the early twentieth century, the progressive ideas surrounding Darwinism grew. Some people became atheists, while others turned to alternative forms of spirituality to ease the sense of vacancy they felt beneath the surface of their lives.¹²⁴ Several Armory Show women were followers of

¹²¹ Cited in Shelley Staples, "The Virtual Armory Show," American Studies at the University of Virginia, accessed December 31, 2013, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MUSEUM/Armory/armoryshow.html>.

¹²² Peter Falk, Audrey Lewis, Georgia Kuchen, Veronika Roessler, *Who Was Who in American Art, 1564-1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1999), 1115.

¹²³ "The Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung Lectures at Clark University," Clark University, accessed December 16, 2013, <http://www.clarku.edu/research/archives/archives/FreudandJung.cfm>. The two men's differences soon emerged and by 1912, they had parted ways completely. See "The Well-Documented Friendship of Carl Jung and Sigmund Freud," Historacle.org, accessed March 1, 2014, http://historacle.org/freud_jung.html.

¹²⁴ Wilson, *American Renaissance*, 27.

Theosophy, an ancient form of spirituality that saw a revival in the mid-nineteenth century with the work of Helena Blavatsky and her peers. Followers of Theosophy sought to add meaning to their lives by gaining wisdom through spiritual rather than intellectual means, striving for a state of consciousness that would lead to a “direct, supra-conceptual, perception of Truth.”¹²⁵ This concept is not too far from the philosophy of Henri Bergson, whose ideas also were popular at the time. Bergson followers, including several people involved in the Armory Show, attempted to arrive at the *élan vital*, a regenerative, vital impulse. Dodge referred to this impulse either as “IT” or the “life-force.” Bergsonian belief catered to an intuitional experience characterized by individuals “opening up to world experience” – something most Victorians had feared.¹²⁶ Dodge biographer Lois Rudnick links these spiritual developments with the revolutionary atmosphere of Greenwich Village in the early twentieth century, commenting:

Postimpressionism, anarchism, feminism, Bergsonism all proclaimed the power of the individual to shape the self and the environment in terms of an inner vision. . . . [These ideas set] the prevailing tone of the “new” magazines, books, and plays as well as the manifestoes, art exhibitions, and political rallies between 1912 and 1917.¹²⁷

The Armory Show was touted as a revolutionary departure from Academic restraints in the art world. The exhibition also brought together a diverse crowd of people who subscribed to different theories on politics and social reform – from nationalism to socialism and anarchy. Activist and art critic Alan Antliff suggests that anarchists’ support of modern art at the exhibition was intrinsically linked with the notions of individualism and freedom of expression that were pitted against the Academy’s “dead

¹²⁵ “About Theosophy,” The Theosophical Society in America, accessed December 16, 2013, <http://www.theosophical.org/theosophy>.

¹²⁶ Singal, *Modernist Culture*, 7.

¹²⁷ Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan*, 64.

aesthetics of beauty.”¹²⁸ He claims that Robert Henri had an “anarchist brand of modernism” and that the early feminist movement benefitted from anarchism’s revolt against the conventional feminine attitudes of the bourgeoisie.¹²⁹ Henri even taught at the Ferrer Center, the anarchist epicenter of New York, from 1911 to 1918. The Center conducted a day school for children and evening classes for adults, held lectures and debates, and maintained a reading room.¹³⁰ Additionally, Ross Wetzsteon, long-time theatre editor for the *Village Voice*, notes the feminist dimensions of “anarchism, socialism, Freudianism, pacifism, and bohemianism” in the prewar Village, observing:

Rigid bourgeois codes were cracking under the demand for more flexibility, more alternatives, more freedom. The byword of the teens was “new,” epitomized by Woodrow Wilson’s New Freedom, but also by the New Society, the New Arts, the New Morality, the New Psychology, and, of course, the New Woman.¹³¹

Modern art was often linked with extremist social theories; the revolutionary nature of the Armory Show reflects these experiments with radical thought and the new approaches to artistic production and consumption.

Finally, there were two people, Alfred Stieglitz and Gertrude Stein, who wielded enormous influence on the Armory Show, although neither was directly involved. Just as Stieglitz’s Gallery 291 was a magnet for New York’s avant-garde, Stein’s Paris apartment became a mecca for many of the Armory Show’s artists and collectors traveling in Europe. Four women Armory Show artists were closely associated with Stieglitz and his circle, though it’s likely many more visited his gallery, and more than a

¹²⁸ Alan Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism: Art, Politics, and the First American Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 47.

¹²⁹ Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 16.

¹³⁰ Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 27. See also, “History of the Modern School at Stelton,” Rutgers University Libraries, accessed January 12, 2014, http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/rul/libs/scua/modern_school/modern.shtml.

¹³¹ Wetzsteon, *Republic of Dreams*, 163.

dozen Armory Show women are known to have visited Gertrude Stein's apartment in Paris. Indeed, historian Kathleen McCarthy marks the account of women in modern art as a progression from Gertrude Stein's salon to the founding of the Museum of Modern Art in 1929 by Lillie Bliss and her colleagues.¹³²

This was the exciting but fraught atmosphere in which the Armory Show women found themselves. Emerging modernism in America was born out of this charged, transitional period in our nation's history.

¹³² Kathleen McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 180.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS AT THE ARMORY SHOW

The Armory Show financial records reveal exactly how crucial women were to the realization of the exhibition. In his book, *The Story of the Armory Show*, Milton Brown lists twenty-four financial contributors – surprisingly, *all but five* were women.¹³³ Brown overlooks this fact and its significance in telling his story of the Armory Show. Women were not just present at the exhibition – they were fundamental to the show’s success. Without the promotional work and financial support of these women, Arthur B. Davies and the AAPS would have had difficulty getting the show off the ground.

This chapter attempts to correct the dearth of attention given to women financial supporters and addresses their motivation for underwriting and promoting this revolutionary exhibition. Research suggests that these women responded to the possibility of something exciting and different in which they could participate. They did not feel threatened by the cultural changes going on around them in post-Victorian America. Instead, they boldly embraced the restlessness of this transitional time. Supporting the Armory Show was one way these women could claim a part of modernity for themselves. While many of them came from wealthy families headed by their fathers or husbands, most of these women made independent decisions regarding their monetary gifts. And, while large donations did come from rich women, some of the contributions

¹³³ Brown, *Armory Show*, 333.

came from women who donated as little as five dollars. (That amount may seem insignificant, but five dollars in 1913 had the same buying power as about \$178 today.¹³⁴ In 1913, you could have a cup of coffee and a bowl of corn flakes for less than fifteen cents. An automobile cost about \$600 and gasoline was eight cents per gallon. A loaf of bread cost about six cents.¹³⁵)

The total cost of the Armory Show was \$10,050. Of this amount, women are on record as donating \$4,800, indicating that women patrons contributed 48% of the total funds. However, there is one female patron who is not included in the financial records – American art collector Lillie Bliss. It has been suggested that, because of her close ties to Arthur Davies, Bliss funneled money through him out of her desire to support the exhibition and yet remain anonymous. Indeed, there is a short biography of Bliss on MoMA’s website (Museum of Modern Art) claiming that she was a financial contributor to the Armory Show.¹³⁶ If the donations made by Davies did indeed come from Bliss, we arrive at a more dramatic picture of female financial support, one that amounts to \$8,850 out of 10,050, or 88%.¹³⁷ While that may not be a secure assumption to make, one still arrives at a picture of women investing monies somewhere between 48% and 88% for the Armory Show – an astounding amount of female financial support.

Given the exhibition’s crucial importance, it is curious that so little has been written about female patronage and the Armory Show. Though several scholars have

¹³⁴ Consumer Price Index inflation calculator, June 28, 2013, <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl>.

¹³⁵ “Beyond the Numbers,” United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed January 25, 2014, <http://www.bls.gov/opub/btn/volume-2/average-food-prices-a-snapshot-of-how-much-has-changed-over-a-century.htm/>. See also The Cost of Living, <http://thecostofliving.com/index.php?id=157&a=1>.

¹³⁶ “Bliss, Lillie P. (1864-1931),” *Modern Women: A Partial History*, accessed July 17, 2013, http://www.moma.org/explore/publications/modern_women/history#lexicon4.

¹³⁷ Bennard Perlman, *The Lives, Loves, and Art of Arthur B. Davies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 216.

recognized particular women patrons of modern art who may or may not have been involved in the exhibition, research reveals only fragmentary scholarly contributions that, while commenting on the significance of these particular women patrons, do not address their collective impact. After a review of this scholarship, I turn to a discussion of the individual women – their lives, their roles in the Armory Show, and the impact they had on the development of modern art in America.

Although Milton Brown rarely mentions women in *The Story of the Armory Show*, he does acknowledge the fund-raising efforts of the unconventional and energetic gallery owner, Clara Davidge, stating, “Some of the credit must go to this woman [Davidge] who was one of the unsung heroes of the Armory Show.” At the same time, Brown ridicules Mabel Dodge’s characterization of Davidge as “animated, eccentric, [and] rattle-brained,” suggesting that “Mabel Dodge’s describing someone else as ‘rattle-brained’ is a gem of kettle-calling.”¹³⁸ The brevity of his comments and his condescension marginalizes the work of the women art patrons involved in the show. Indeed, Brown describes Arthur Davies as a fitting president partly because he had social connections and “knew a lot of rich old ladies” whom he could count on when funds were needed.¹³⁹

Walt Kuhn commented on the revolutionary nature of the show in his booklet entitled, *The Story of the Armory Show*, equating its effect to that of the Salon des Refusés in Paris in 1863, the exhibition that took place in response to the rejection of hundreds of works submitted to the annual Salon.¹⁴⁰ He also wrote about the lack of

¹³⁸ Brown, *Armory Show*, 94-95.

¹³⁹ Brown, *Armory Show*, 82.

¹⁴⁰ Walt Kuhn, “The Story of the Armory Show,” Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, accessed June 22, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/viewer/story-armory-show-14549/40491>.

exhibition opportunities for new American artists and how little the American public knew about art, and then suggested:

Perhaps it would be fitting at this point to give credit to two American women. Mrs. Gertrude V. Whitney and Mrs. Clara Potter Davidge. Mrs. Davidge conducted a small gallery at 305 Madison Avenue of which Henry Fitch Taylor, a painter, was the director. . . . A small group of younger artists were given free exhibitions at this gallery.¹⁴¹

Although complete records of the Madison Gallery do not exist, several sources (including Kuhn's booklet) maintain that Davidge's Madison Gallery was financed, at least in part, by Gertrude Whitney. Although he did "give credit" to women, Kuhn did not fully explore the roles of Davidge and Whitney in the launching of the Armory Show.

Kathleen McCarthy suggests that women art patrons can be seen as pioneers in their acceptance of novel work. They campaigned to bring new art into the "nation's artistic canon" and promoted artistic causes that male connoisseurs did not back.¹⁴² In contrast, historian Robert Crunden marginalizes female support and criticizes the Armory Show in general in his book, *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism, 1885-1917*. He states:

Like most publicity triumphs, the Armory Show had less to it than met the eye. It became an instant cliché. Although many of its works of art were relatively conventional and even conservative, it drew in masses of people and many incompetent journalists who focused on a small number of paintings, working themselves into paroxysms of adjectival eruption and doggerelic effusion.¹⁴³

Crunden devotes a chapter to Mabel Dodge, her salon, and her promotional efforts for the Armory Show in a way that continues his acerbic rhetoric, emphasizing Dodge's penchant for dramatic self-promotion over her genuine contributions to the Armory Show

¹⁴¹ Kuhn, "The Story of the Armory Show," 5.

¹⁴² McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 179.

¹⁴³ Crunden, *American Salons*, 357.

in particular and to modern art in general (Crunden, 385-391). Despite this characterization, it is clear that the Armory Show's women financial supporters enthusiastically embraced the exhibition's revolutionary spirit and courageously risked their reputations by adding their names to the list of contributors. These women clearly were about the business of shaping visual culture.

Perhaps one reason a study of the women who funded the Armory Show has not been undertaken is the challenge of identifying them. On his list of donors, AAPS treasurer Elmer MacRae formally assigns the prefix "Miss," "Mrs.," or "Mr." to each donor. Listings with "Mr." include the man's first name, but the identities of most of the married women are concealed behind their husbands' names. For example, Mary Averell Harriman is listed as Mrs. E. H. Harriman and Helen Coolidge Mansfield is listed as Mrs. Howard Mansfield; the identities of Mrs. Victor Morowitz and Mrs. John J. Milburn remain a mystery. Additionally, several of the single women's first names are not recorded. Despite this difficulty, an examination of these individuals reveals remarkable connections among them and with the larger art world.

Brown's list of contributors includes the names of the persons to whom the donations were given. Of the twenty-four donors listed, eighteen made donations through Clara Davidge (1858-1921) – fifteen from women and three from men. Of those men, two were Davidge's stepbrothers, Edwin S. Clark and Stephen C. Clark,¹⁴⁴ and the third, banker William Salomon, employed her brother, Alonzo Potter.¹⁴⁵ Clearly, Davidge was the most ardent and valuable ally the AAPS had among its supporters. Nevertheless, this

¹⁴⁴ "Bishop Potter's Widow is Dead," *New York Times*, March 5, 1909, 9. Clara's mother died in 1901. Her father married Elizabeth Clark in 1902.

¹⁴⁵ John William Leonard, *History of the City of New York, 1609-1909* (New York: The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, 1910), 529, June 25, 2013, <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=4486AQAIAAJ>.

lone patron's dedication to the promotion of modern American art has gone largely unnoticed. Davidge truly was, and has remained, an "unsung hero."

Even before the Armory Show, Clara Davidge was one of the pioneering patrons of modern art. The daughter of New York City's well-known and well-connected Episcopal bishop, Henry Codman Potter, Davidge inherited her father's interest in charity and appreciation of the arts. Potter's connections with the Astor, Harriman, and Whitney families later benefitted Clara when she knocked on doors soliciting money for the Armory Show.¹⁴⁶ In addition to promoting the art and artists of her day, Davidge fashioned a career as an interior decorator and was one of the first women to achieve success in this nascent field.¹⁴⁷ Her first marriage was short-lived – Mason Davidge, whom she married in 1892, died just eight years later of complications from tuberculosis.

Personal information on Clara Davidge is scarce; much of what we know about her comes from the recent scholarship of Christine Oaklander, who pieced together information about her from the surviving correspondence with Davidge's colleagues and from press clippings. Oaklander suggests that rather than dwell on her husband's untimely death, Davidge immersed herself in several social and professional activities.¹⁴⁸ Until she opened her gallery on Madison Avenue in 1909, Davidge ran her decorating business from her home in Greenwich Village, where she also hosted gatherings attended by writers, artists, and politicians (including fellow Armory Show supporter Mabel

¹⁴⁶ Christine I. Oaklander, "Clara Davidge and Henry Fitch Taylor: Pioneering Promoters and Creators of American Modernist Art" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1999), 45.

¹⁴⁷ Oaklander, "Pioneering Promoters," 50. Although records of Davidge's design career are limited, there is evidence that she was responsible for the decoration and restoration of several hotels, clubs, and homes, including her own residences in Manhattan and on Staten Island.

¹⁴⁸ Oaklander, "Pioneering Promoters," 51.

Dodge).¹⁴⁹ Additionally, she frequently exhibited the work of her artist-friends in her home. At her later Madison Avenue location, Davidge devoted one room for her business office and used the other as a gallery. According to Oaklander, Davidge ran her gallery on a non-commercial basis. She was more interested in giving artists an opportunity to exhibit and sell their work than in making money from the enterprise.¹⁵⁰ This support was critical at a time when exhibition space in New York City was exceedingly sparse. Moreover, Davidge offered housing and financial assistance to many of these artists, even when she did not have large sums of money at her disposal to do so. At times, she curtailed her own spending to help support her artist-friends, a characteristic trait that she likely inherited from her family's legacy of charitable work.¹⁵¹

Some parallels can be drawn between Davidge's efforts to promote contemporary art at the Madison Gallery and the similar work of Alfred Stieglitz at his gallery, 291. Not only did they both display contemporary art, but they also provided material support for artists. Both venues served as gathering places for artists and writers. However, Stieglitz exhibited the work of European avant-garde artists (such as Pablo Picasso, Henri Matisse, and Auguste Rodin) while Davidge exclusively promoted new American art – and, most importantly, it was in her gallery that the first talks about launching the Armory Show took place.¹⁵² Art historian William Inness Homer suggests that, “Knowing Stieglitz's distaste for large, public displays, it is not surprising that the plans for the Armory Show

¹⁴⁹ Oaklander, “Pioneering Promoters,” 53.

¹⁵⁰ Christine I. Oaklander, “Clara Davidge's Madison Art Gallery: Sowing The Seed for The Armory Show,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 46, no. 3 / 4 (1996): 21.

¹⁵¹ Oaklander, “Pioneering Promoters,” 62.

¹⁵² “Association of American Painters and Sculptors meeting minutes,” 1911 Dec. 19-1912 Jan. 2, accessed June 22, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/viewer/association-american-painters-and-sculptors-meeting-minutes-14154/40206>.

should have been laid [at the Madison Gallery] rather than at 291.”¹⁵³ Davidge’s gallery also served as headquarters for the AAPS until larger quarters closer to the exhibition’s venue became necessary¹⁵⁴ and the AAPS initially used her gallery’s address on its letterhead.¹⁵⁵

Although the Madison Gallery operated for just three years, Davidge helped launch the careers of many little-known artists, including several Armory Show artists: J. H. Twachtman, William Meritt Chase, Childe Hassam, J. Alden Weir, Elmer MacRae, Ernest Lawson (first solo exhibition in a New York gallery), George Bellows (first solo exhibition), John Sloan, William Glackens, Jerome Myers, Mary Foote (first solo exhibition), and Walt Kuhn.¹⁵⁶ Davidge also exhibited the work of painter Henry Fitch Taylor at the Madison Gallery, eventually hiring him as business manager. Their business relationship grew into an intimate one and they married on March 20, 1913, just after the Armory Show closed in New York. The couple took their honeymoon in Boston, where they helped negotiate the details for the Armory Show’s final venue at the Copley Society.¹⁵⁷

Oaklander suggests that the closing of the Madison Gallery can be regarded as a fortuitous move for the Armory Show organizers because Davidge and Taylor could then devote their time and energies to their project. She notes that of the sixteen charter members of the AAPS who met at the Madison Gallery in 1911 to discuss the Armory

¹⁵³ William Innes Homer, “The Armory Show and its Aftermath,” in *Avant-garde Painting and Sculpture in America, 1910-1925*, exhibition catalog (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum and University of Delaware, 1975), 15.

¹⁵⁴ Oaklander, “Sowing the Seed,” 29.

¹⁵⁵ Letterhead, MacRae papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Microform, reel 4131, frame 838.

¹⁵⁶ Oaklander, “Sowing the Seed,” 37.

¹⁵⁷ Oaklander, “Pioneering Promoters,” 146.

Show, twelve had exhibited at the Madison Gallery.¹⁵⁸ Thus, we have a direct connection between Clara Davidge's enthusiasm for modern art and the mounting of the Armory Show. The AAPS recognized Davidge's ability to raise money by naming her an honorary treasurer. The donation slip that accompanied donors' checks listed her name and title at the bottom, along with the address of her gallery.¹⁵⁹ Taylor, one of the founding members of the AAPS, hosted that group's first meeting at the Madison Gallery and served on several AAPS committees.

The financial records for the Armory Show document the success of Davidge's promotional efforts. MacRae kept detailed records of donations, expenditures, and receipts, but his duties as AAPS treasurer did not include fundraising. Davidge and Davies shared that responsibility. In an innovative approach, Davidge publicized the Armory Show to people who could be counted on to give small amounts of money that collectively would make a significant financial impact. She persuaded her friends to invite potential backers to dinner where they would be given the opportunity to make donations.¹⁶⁰ On March 1, 1913, MacRae entered amounts from fifteen donors in his ledger, crediting Davidge as the collector of each one. Of those contributions, ten are in the amount of twenty-five dollars or less, including Davidge's own gift of five dollars.¹⁶¹ This suggests that her strategy for mixing dinner with a sales pitch was highly successful. Beyond raising money, Davidge was instrumental in organizing the gala opening and used her skills as a designer to embellish the vast Armory hall.¹⁶² The hall was divided by

¹⁵⁸ Oaklander, "Sowing the Seed," 29.

¹⁵⁹ MacRae Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Microform, reel 4131, frame 837.

¹⁶⁰ Oaklander, "Pioneering Promoters," 143.

¹⁶¹ MacRae Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, reel 4132, frame 727.

¹⁶² MacRae Papers, reel 4132, frames 666 and 669. Davidge is listed in MacRae's ledger as receiving \$1,100 for the purpose of decoration, as well as \$6.60 for a screen.

burlap-covered partitions into a series of octagonal galleries. Adhering to the slogan, “A New Spirit in Art,” Davidge carried the uprooted pine tree motif into the exhibition space, using shrubs and potted plants throughout. One reporter likened the setting to an Italian garden.¹⁶³ While she was reimbursed for expenses, Davidge provided her time and talent gratis, ever the enthusiastic and tireless Armory Show volunteer.¹⁶⁴

At her death in 1921, Clara Davidge’s friends publicly acknowledged her contributions to the Armory Show and to modern American art. She is fondly remembered in a letter to the *New York Times*’ editor signed by artists George Bellows, D. Putnam Brinley, Walt Kuhn, Ernest Lawson, Elmer MacRae, Jerome Myers, and Allen Tucker:

In the death of Clara Potter [Davidge] Taylor American art has sustained a loss and American artists must mourn a friend. . . .

It was in [her Madison Gallery] that the first meeting of the American Painters and Sculptors was held, that meeting where liberal artists of varying efforts but of one hope for live art gathered. Mrs. Taylor was in entire sympathy with this movement and helped it in every way. From this meeting grew the exhibition at the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory in 1913 – the first exhibition of modern art held in this country, the effects of which were far reaching.

Clara Potter Taylor’s vitality, her splendid optimism, are gone, but the work she did is bearing fruit today, and we who among others benefited by her generosity and her affection cannot let her pass without a public recognition of our deep respect.¹⁶⁵

While Clara Davidge was a connoisseur of modern American art, her Armory Show colleague Mabel Dodge (1879-1962) was not. Dodge was more interested in the exhibition’s revolutionary spirit. The two women shared a passion for the exhibition that drew them together in active supporting roles, but their upbringings and personalities could not have been more different. The daughter of a wealthy banker, Dodge grew up in

¹⁶³ Oaklander, “Sowing the Seed,” 31.

¹⁶⁴ Oaklander, “Pioneering Promoters,” 145.

¹⁶⁵ “Mrs. Henry Fitch Taylor,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1921, 11.

a lavish but stifling environment in Buffalo, New York. She keenly felt her father's lack of affection and her mother's cool regard. Biographer Lois Rudnick noted the household turmoil and illustrated the marriage of Dodge's parents: "[Her father's] feelings for his wife were summed up in his only recorded exhibition of a sense of humor: whenever [she] returned home from a trip, he would lower the monogrammed flag he flew on his front lawn to half-mast."¹⁶⁶ It is not surprising that Dodge would want to escape such an atmosphere. She married Karl Evans at age twenty-one and gave birth to a son. After her husband died in a hunting accident (leaving Mabel a widow at twenty-five years of age), and after she had a scandalous affair with her gynecologist, her mother sent her to Europe, along with her son and two nurses. Mabel met architect Edwin Dodge while traveling; they married in 1904 and settled in Florence, Italy at the Villa Curonia, which Mabel decorated with Italian Renaissance art and furnishings.¹⁶⁷

In Europe, Dodge frequently visited collectors Leo and Gertrude Stein in their Paris apartment. There she experienced the avant-garde art the Steins had on display, met Picasso and Matisse personally, and developed a close and sometimes tumultuous relationship with Gertrude, due in part to sexual tensions between the lesbian Stein and the bi-sexual Dodge. By introducing Dodge to the Post-Impressionists and the revolutionary spirit of their art, the Steins helped her break with the past and enter the twentieth century. Dodge drew inspiration from Gertrude's independence and confidence in buying art.¹⁶⁸ She noted in her memoirs that if a work of art pleased [Gertrude], then

¹⁶⁶ Lois Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 6.

¹⁶⁷ Lois Rudnick, "Radical Visions of Art and Self in the 20th Century: Mabel Dodge and Gertrude Stein," *Modern Language Studies* 12, no. 4 (Autumn, 1982): 52.

¹⁶⁸ Rudnick, "Radical Visions," 53.

“she loved it for that reason. . . . It made her daring in a snobbish period of art.”¹⁶⁹ Stein’s influence is seen in the modern works of art Dodge later collected in America, which included the work of Marsden Hartley, Max Weber, and Andrew Dasburg.¹⁷⁰ Dasburg spoke of his indebtedness to Dodge in a 1974 interview, saying “she had an independence. . . . what seemed to interest her most was what would be coming, not what had already been accomplished.”¹⁷¹ Mabel Dodge’s support of modern American artists parallels that of Clara Davidge and exposes a new trend in patronage – that of patrons and artists forming personal relationships.

Although Dodge surrounded herself with art, artifacts, and interesting people in Florence, she felt trapped in her beautiful villa and wrote that the house had become a frame that was more important than the contents.¹⁷² The emptiness she felt led to her involvement in several romantic affairs and, eventually, an attempt at suicide.¹⁷³ After seven years in Europe, Dodge returned with her family to New York City to enroll her son in an American school. Subsequently, she separated from her husband and, acting on her “anarchic energies,”¹⁷⁴ traded her conventional marriage for a more bohemian lifestyle.

As soon as Dodge heard about the plans for the Armory Show, she contacted Arthur Davies and enthusiastically volunteered to assist him. About the same time, she wrote to Gertrude Stein describing the upcoming exhibition and declared that she had

¹⁶⁹ Mabel Dodge Luhan, *European Experiences*, vol. 2, *Intimate Memories* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935), 325.

¹⁷⁰ Patricia R. Everett, “Andrew Dasburg’s ‘Abstract Portraits’: Homages to Mabel Dodge and Carl Van Vechten,” *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, Vol. e, no. 1 (Winter, 1989): 78.

¹⁷¹ Andrew Michael Dasburg, interview by Paul Cummings, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, March 26, 1974, accessed June 22, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-andrew-dasburg-13243>.

¹⁷² Dodge, *European Experiences*, 447.

¹⁷³ Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan*, 40.

¹⁷⁴ Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan*, 53.

discovered a reason for being back in New York, “Somehow or other I got right into all this. I am working like a dog for it. I am all for it. [emphasis hers] I think it splendid. . . . There will be a riot and a revolution and things will never be quite the same afterwards.”¹⁷⁵ Dodge enjoyed the new sense of power she felt in challenging the status quo. Her chauffeur drove her around New York City to the homes of her art-collecting-friends. She later recalled, “I felt dignified in people’s drawing rooms designating what I wanted.”¹⁷⁶ After sending a \$500 check to Davies, Dodge exclaimed:

I felt as though the Exhibition were mine. I really did. It became, over night, my own little Revolution. I would upset America; I would, with fatal, irrevocable disaster to the old order of things. . . . I was going to dynamite New York and nothing would stop me. Well, nothing did.¹⁷⁷

Dodge sent a note along with that check to Davies, which he reprinted on cards for distribution at the show. It read, in part:

I’ll be delighted to help in any way in the exhibition, because I think it the most important thing that ever happened in America, of its kind. Anything that will extend the unawakened consciousness here (or elsewhere) will have my support. . . .The majority are content to browse upon past achievements. What is needed is more, more and always more consciousness, both in art and in life.¹⁷⁸

Davies formally thanked her for her support in a letter dated March 17, 1913:

I wish to thank you personally, as well as on behalf of the Association, for the aid you gave us in making the International Exhibition a success, not only in a material but a logical way. Such it could not have been if persons

¹⁷⁵ Dodge to Stein, January 24, 1913, Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. YCAL MSS 196 Box 15.

¹⁷⁶ Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Movers and Shakers*, vol. 3, *Intimate Memories*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936), 36.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Dodge states that she wrote a check for \$500. MacRae’s check book has a stub dated 1/23/1913 in that amount from Dodge but on his official list of donations, there is no such amount assigned to her name, only one entry for \$200 that was logged on March 1. The entry of Mrs. John Jay Chapman’s donation of \$100 on January 11, 1913 is followed by a January 21st entry in the amount of \$500, but no name is attached. Though there are no apparent ditto marks, Milton Brown credits that \$500 to Mrs. Chapman on the list of financial contributors in his book. To add to the confusion, Brown states in his text that Dodge raised \$500 from her mother. See Brown, *Armory Show*, 95.

¹⁷⁸ Luhan, *Movers and Shakers*, 37.

like yourself had not realized that they had a real duty to the public as owners of beautiful things. I think we have reason to congratulate ourselves that as borrower and lender we have been associated in a unique enterprise, the results of which will effect [*sic*] art here for all time to come.¹⁷⁹

Reading her memoirs, one gets the sense that Dodge was proud of Davies's personal thank-you note, yet research reveals that it was a form letter that Davies sent out to several donors. He wrote an identical letter to Mrs. F. S. McGrath, the only record of this mysterious donor to be found.¹⁸⁰ Either her donation was part of the money that anonymously came through Davies or she did not follow through with a check.

Perhaps the biggest name that Mabel Dodge created for herself in conjunction with the Armory Show came via an article she wrote about Gertrude Stein for the March 1913 special issue of *Arts & Decoration* magazine, which was devoted entirely to the modern visual culture surrounding the Armory Show. Written in response to criticism surrounding the unconventional use of language exemplified in Stein's word portrait, "Portrait of Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia," Dodge's article marked the beginning of Stein's recognition in America. Dodge revealed her excitement when she wrote to Stein on January 27, 1913, "Already people tell me that everywhere on account of my judicious scattering of the portrait everyone is saying 'Who is Gertrude Stein? Who is Mabel Dodge at the Villa Curonia?'"¹⁸¹ Dodge's article appeared in *Arts & Decoration* alongside those written by Arthur B. Davies, collector John Quinn, artists William Glackens and Jo Davidson, and art critic Frederick James Gregg. Editor Guy Pène du Bois introduced her short essay:

¹⁷⁹ Davies to Dodge, March 17, 1913, Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers. YCAL MSS 196, Box 2, folder 44.

¹⁸⁰ Davies to McGrath, March 24, 1913, Artists and Lenders Correspondence: Domestic, K-R, 1912-1913, Walt Kuhn papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Box 1, Folder 13.

¹⁸¹ Dodge to Stein, January 27, 1913, Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. YCAL MSS 196 Box 32, folders 927-930.

Post-impressionism, consciously or unconsciously, is being felt in every phase of expression. This article is about the only woman in the world who has put the spirit of post-impressionism into prose, and written by the only woman in America who fully understands it.¹⁸²

In elucidating Stein's eclectic approach to writing, Dodge claimed that Stein "is doing with words what Picasso is doing with paint."¹⁸³ She suggested that Stein used fragmentary phrases to equip language with new meaning and to introduce her audience to an altered state of consciousness. Armory Show organizers distributed Dodge's article at the exhibition, along with Stein's word portrait and, in June 1913, Alfred Stieglitz reprinted both pieces in his "special number" of *Camera Work*, a journal he published that was devoted to new expressions in European and American art. Dodge made further contributions to *Camera Work* after the Armory Show. In conjunction with the 291 exhibition of Marsden Hartley's paintings, Stieglitz published a catalog that included Dodge's "Forward," an essay that Stieglitz reprinted in his November 1913 issue,¹⁸⁴ and she was one of sixty-eight contributors to a special issue of *Camera Work*, writing on the theme "What 291 Means to Me."¹⁸⁵

Dodge made another significant contribution to New York culture when she established her salon. In late January 1913, she began hosting her "Wednesday Evenings." A diverse assortment of people – the "movers and shakers" of the day – gathered in her apartment and debated avant-garde ideas in art, politics, and society. Attendees included the Freudian psychologist, A. A. Brill, prominent writers and activists such as Walter Lippmann, Max Eastman, and Lincoln Steffens, and birth-control

¹⁸² Guy Pène du Bois, Editor's note, *Arts & Decoration* 3, no. 5 (March 1913): 172.

¹⁸³ Mabel Dodge, "Speculations, or Post-Impressionism in Prose," *Arts & Decoration* 3, no. 5 (March 1913): 172.

¹⁸⁴ Mabel Dodge, "Exhibition of Recent Paintings by Marsden Hartley," *Camera Work*, nos. XLII-SLIII, dated July-April, published in November 1913, (New York: Rogers & Co.), 16.

¹⁸⁵ Mabel Dodge, "Mirror," *Camera Work*, no. XLVII, dated July, 1914, published January, 1915, 9-10.

advocate Margaret Sanger, as well as political anarchists and proponents of free love.¹⁸⁶

William Innes Homer observes:

Dodge saw that a revolution was taking place in the literary and visual arts, and she intuitively sensed the importance of these changes. She seems to have been caught up in the creative spirit of the new movements, although she was fundamentally interested in how people affected her and her effect upon them.¹⁸⁷

Dodge fashioned her salon after that of Gertrude and Leo Stein, yet she made it uniquely her own. She wanted to bring people together “to see if it would prove *constructive* or *creative*; just humans meeting together with no attempt at organizing, directing, or controlling the energies present.”¹⁸⁸

There was another popular salon that took place during this same period in the Upper West Side apartment of collectors Louise and Walter Arensberg, but the atmosphere was unlike the one at Dodge’s salon. At the Arensbergs’ salon, attendees wore formal dress, listened to classical music, and sipped cocktails, whereas Dodge’s mix of artists and intellectuals wore anything they chose and engaged in discussions about new forms of art and poetry, sexual freedom, and labor reform, and once even experimented with peyote.¹⁸⁹ According to Stansell, “Differences, arguments, open antagonisms were allowed, even encouraged.”¹⁹⁰ Dodge presented herself as an “artist of talk” and felt she acted as a “vessel through which creative communications could flow.”¹⁹¹ In her memoirs, she wrote about her evenings, boasting:

¹⁸⁶ Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan*, x.

¹⁸⁷ William Innes Homer, “Mabel Dodge and Her Salon,” in *Avant-garde Painting & Sculpture in America 1910-1925*, exhibition catalog (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum and University of Delaware, 1975), 19.

¹⁸⁸ Dodge, *Movers and Shakers*, 93.

¹⁸⁹ Dodge, *Movers and Shakers*, 265-279.

¹⁹⁰ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 103.

¹⁹¹ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 100.

I kept meeting more and more people, because in the first place I wanted to know everybody, and in the second place everybody wanted to know me. I wanted, in particular, to know the Heads of things. Heads of Movements, Heads of Newspapers, Heads of all kinds of groups of people. I became a Species of Head Hunter, in fact. It was not dogs or glass I collected now, it was people. Important People.¹⁹²

The success of Dodge's salon illustrates her ability to take an idea and turn it into reality. She used this skill in several other ways during her time in New York. For instance, she supported labor reform through her involvement in the Paterson Strike Pageant;¹⁹³ she aided Margaret Sanger and the Women's Birth Control League, opening her home for meetings of the Sanger Defense committee after Sanger and her husband were arrested for distributing information about birth control;¹⁹⁴ and she openly supported Frank Tannenbaum who was arrested after he publicly protested the lack of government action regarding the rise in unemployment among the poor.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter One, Dodge rallied support for feminist causes through her membership in the Heterodoxy Club.

Mabel Dodge was not without her critics. Several people saw her involvement with the Armory Show and her salon as part of a self-promotional agenda. Emma Goldman could not abide what she saw as Dodge's pretentiousness and her friend Walter Lippmann criticized her "messy intellect."¹⁹⁶ However, Stansell suggests that while Dodge had a flair for the dramatic and may have been more interested in the "flash and dazzle" of the Armory Show than in the art itself,¹⁹⁷ her contributions to early modernist

¹⁹² Dodge, *Movers and Shakers*, p. 83-84.

¹⁹³ "The Paterson Strike Pageant Program." *History Matters: the U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, accessed January 31, 2013, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5649>.

¹⁹⁴ Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan*, 86.

¹⁹⁵ Dodge, *Movers and Shakers*, 96-116.

¹⁹⁶ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 108-109.

¹⁹⁷ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 103.

culture should not be ignored. She claims, “There *was* passion along with the pose. Dodge believed the milieu she created would foster political and aesthetic creativity among a new metropolitan elite, insiders and outsiders comingling.”¹⁹⁸

Mabel Dodge developed a strong, independent spirit through her endeavors as a *salonnière*, writer, art patron, and activist. Yet throughout her life, that independence was mitigated by her reliance on men. Mabel needed the stability of her marriage to Edwin Dodge after the premature death of her first husband; the intellect and activism of her lover, John Reed (whom she felt she inspired); the neediness of her third husband, artist Maurice Sterne, and the multiple, flirtatious relationships with several other women and men, including her son’s young tutor, Paul Ayrault. She felt that, as she lent her mind and energy to men and their pursuits, she was becoming more powerful herself. This mindset drew from the Victorian environment in which she was raised and characterizes her as a woman in transition – struggling between the limitations placed on her by society and the need for a secure anchor as she searched for her own identity and embraced the independence and sexual liberation that characterized the New Woman. As art historian Kristin Swinth points out, Dodge was a significant, cultural force in the second decade of the twentieth century:

[Her] energetic circulation through bohemian and avant-garde circles reveals the spirit of exploration, the self-conscious creation of heterosocial worlds, and the disregard for codes of respectability that characterized Greenwich Village in the teens.¹⁹⁹

Along with Clara Davidge’s gallery and Mabel Dodge’s salon, there was a third important New York establishment that was connected with the Armory Show – Gertrude

¹⁹⁸ Stansell, *American Moderns*, 108.

¹⁹⁹ Kristen Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists & the Development of Modern American Art, 1870-1930*, (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 176-177.

Vanderbilt Whitney's various studio and gallery venues that eventually became the Whitney Museum of American Art. Whitney's patronage and influence as a collector are fully discussed in Chapter Three. However, the wealthy heiress and sculptor was a financial supporter of the Armory Show as well as a key player in the development of American modern art. She gave Clara Davidge a check for \$1,000 before she left for Europe in January 1913. Because she did not return until May, Whitney was not able to attend the exhibition.²⁰⁰

Clara Davidge collected another \$1,000 from Gertrude Whitney's sister-in-law, Dorothy Whitney Straight (1887-1968). Like the women mentioned thus far, Straight stepped out of the prescribed role for a woman of her class and sought a new identity as a willful, independent woman who had the energy and means to turn ideas into reality. She not only supported the arts, but she also became involved in politics and social welfare. Dorothy was the youngest child in her family; her brother, Harry Payne Whitney (Gertrude's husband), was fifteen years older and only marginally involved in her life. Both of her parents died, leaving her orphaned at age seventeen. Her father's will allowed her \$50,000 a year and a guardian in the person of Beatrice Bend, who influenced her life much more than Harry or Gertrude. Dorothy relied on Bend to guide her education and her interest in social causes. Despite having several suitors, Dorothy was hesitant to marry. Instead, she focused on volunteer work with the Junior League of New York, becoming president of that group in 1907.²⁰¹ In his book, *The Refuge of Affections: Family and American Reform Politics, 1900-1920*, Eric Rauchway described the Junior

²⁰⁰ Oaklander, "Pioneering Promoters," 144.

²⁰¹ Eric Rauchway, *The Refuge of Affections: Family and American Reform Politics, 1900-1920*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 35. The Junior League was founded by Mary Harriman Rumsey, whose work as an art collector is discussed in Chapter Three. Dorothy Straight was the League's fourth president and went on to serve as president of the Association of Junior Leagues International.

League stereotypically as, “a group of women who identified themselves chiefly as debutantes and who knew that so far as their families were concerned, they existed principally to ornament their fathers’ and husbands’ checkbooks.²⁰² However, in stark contrast to that prescribed role, Dorothy Straight guided the Junior League towards a more serious agenda of social reform. She was the driving force in the establishment of the Junior League House, an apartment building created to house three hundred working women. It was designed to eventually become a self-supporting enterprise.²⁰³ According to Rauchway, Dorothy repeated this pattern of helping others to become independent in other ventures— an ideal she shared with Willard Straight, whom she married in 1911. Willard was the son of two educators, artistically inclined, and ambitious – but not a man of wealth. He lost both parents to tuberculosis and had to work his way through Cornell University.²⁰⁴ Many of those in Dorothy Straight’s circle saw Straight as a fortune hunter and an outsider. She found in him a kindred spirit and, defying the social conventions for a woman of her class, she married him in a small ceremony in Switzerland.²⁰⁵ Willard Straight served as a vice-consul in Manchuria and represented a group of American bankers trying to procure loans in China. Just after their marriage, the Chinese emperor abdicated the throne, a move that escalated the 1911 Chinese revolution and forced the newlyweds to leave China. They returned to the United States and moved into Dorothy’s Long Island home. Beginning in 1913 the couple worked with Herbert Croly (author of *The Promise of American Life*) and Walter Lippmann to establish a liberal, progressive magazine they christened *The New Republic*. It was Dorothy’s money that enabled the

²⁰² Rauchway, *Refuge of Affections*, 33.

²⁰³ Rauchway, *Refuge of Affections*, 36.

²⁰⁴ Rauchway, *Refuge of Affections*, 39.

²⁰⁵ Rauchway, *Refuge of Affections*, 48.

publication and, while she wanted the journal to offer opinions within the context she created, she saw this enterprise as a joint venture with her like-minded husband.²⁰⁶ Rauchway recognizes her as a modern woman balancing her independence with her position in society, commenting that both her marriage and the magazine gave her the “institutional cover” she needed as she became involved in masculine politics.²⁰⁷ Again, we witness a woman navigating between two worlds in the transitional, early decades of the twentieth century.

When the United States entered World War I in 1918, Willard Straight joined the United States Army. In one of the many letters he wrote to Dorothy, he compared the scene in Europe with a painting they had seen together at the Armory Show, commenting, “We’re going along in convoy...some of [the ships] remarkably camouflaged – looking...like ‘The Nude Descending the Staircase.’ [sic]”²⁰⁸ In Europe, Straight was promoted to the rank of major and helped arrange the arrival of American representatives to the Paris Peace Conference. Lippmann was helping him in Paris when both men fell victim to the influenza epidemic. Lippmann recovered after five days but Willard Straight died of complications at the age of thirty-eight.²⁰⁹

After her husband’s death, Dorothy Whitney Straight continued her philanthropic endeavors and her work at *The New Republic*. In 1920 she met Leonard Elmhirst, an Englishman and student at Cornell with whom she worked on her husband’s bequest to

²⁰⁶ Eric Rauchway, “A Gentlemen’s Club in a Woman’s Sphere: How Dorothy Whitney Straight Created the New Republic,” *Journal of Women’s History*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1999, 61-62, accessed June 3, 2013, <http://muse.jhu.edu.echo.louisville.edu>.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ W. A. Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1980), 375.

²⁰⁹ Rauchway, *Refuge of Affections*, 153.

the University.²¹⁰ Like her late husband, Elmhirst was idealistic and creative and he had philanthropic interests in the East. Dorothy married Elmhirst five years later and moved, with her three children, to England, where the couple bought “the handsome but crumbling” Dartington Hall in Devon.²¹¹ Dorothy Straight continued to impact visual culture in her “Dartington Experiment,” a project attracted artists, writers, and musicians, including Igor Stravinsky, George Bernard Shaw, and H.G. Wells.²¹²

Clara Davidge collected one other contribution in the amount of \$1,000 from a more conventional but equally energetic woman, Mary Williamson Harriman (1851-1932), widow of railroad magnate Edward Henry Harriman. Biographer Pearl Campbell wrote of the Harrimans’ mutual devotion and philanthropic interests, including the Boys’ Club in New York, which they founded; several public health enterprises; and land exploration and preservation.²¹³ When Mr. Harriman died in 1909, he left his entire estate – valued at \$100,000,000 (a sum worth roughly 2.4 billion dollars today)²¹⁴ – to his wife. In her husband’s stead, Mary Harriman carried on both the railroad businesses and their joint charitable work. Her interest in the fine arts led to her patronage of both contemporary art and music. Harriman financially supported several young artists and musicians; gave several works of art to the Metropolitan Museum; and organized the

²¹⁰ Rauchway, *Refuge of Affections*, 168. Willard Straight’s will included a request that Dorothy use some of his money to make Cornell “more humane.” She underwrote the building of the student center, Willard Straight Hall, at Cornell over the protests of Cornell professor Wallace Notestein, who complained about her interference and commented, “Our whole country...is today in danger of being run by women.”

²¹¹ Swanberg, *Whitney Father, Whitney Heiress*, 465.

²¹² “Dartington – the story so far,” Dartington, accessed February 28, 2014, <http://www.dartington.org/about-the-trust/the-story-so-far>.

²¹³ Persia Campbell, *Mary Williamson Harriman*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). After her husband’s death, Mrs. Harriman continued to support the Boys Club, the Trudeau Tuberculosis Sanatorium and Research Laboratory, and the naturalist John Muir in his efforts to preserve Yosemite Valley. Of the six children born to the Harrimans, the eldest daughter, Mary Harriman Rumsey, shared her mother’s interest in modern art, buying four works of art at the Armory Show. She is discussed in Chapter Three.

²¹⁴ “Mrs. E. H. Harriman Dies at Age of 81,” *New York Times*, November 8, 1932, 21.

1926 Tri-National Exhibition of Contemporary Art – an exhibit of English, French, and American artists that opened at the well-known Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris and later traveled to London and New York. A writer for the *New York Times* reported:

Ambassador Houghton, who opened the exhibition in London, called it a “really true angle of international approach,” and said Mrs. Harriman, by making it possible to bring together annually the work of younger French, British and American artists, rendered “a distinct service not only to art but in politics and provided an effective means of promoting a sympathetic and helpful understanding between our peoples.”²¹⁵

Arthur B. Davies, Walt Kuhn, Jo Davidson, Gertrude Whitney, and Charles Sheeler were among the American artists who showed their work at the Tri-National Exhibition. With the exception of Whitney, all had exhibited at the Armory Show.

It is curious that Mary Harriman gave Clara Davidge two separate checks for the Armory Show, both recorded in MacRae’s ledger with the date March 1, 1913. Three scenarios are possible: Harriman may have had a sudden change of heart and decided to increase her gift (possibly to match the Whitney women’s gifts); she may have written the checks from two separate bank accounts; or she may have received monies from a third party and written a check on that person’s behalf in the interest of anonymity.

The women discussed above, Clara Davidge, Mabel Dodge, Gertrude Whitney, Dorothy Straight, and Mary Harriman, maintained high profiles in the early twentieth century, which has enabled this examination of them. Most of the other women supporters of the Armory Show were less well-known and a

²¹⁵ “Art of Three Nations on Exhibition Here,” *New York Times*, January 26, 1926, 8. Although it is described here as an annual exhibition, there is no evidence that it was repeated. See Campbell, *Mary Williamson Harriman*, 57.

challenge to research. My investigation exposes some interesting connections between supporters and artists and reveals a dynamic community of creative women.

Elmer MacRae recorded two donations from women (both collected by Davidge) in the amount of \$100. One came from Elizabeth Astor Winthrop Chanler (Mrs. John Jay Chapman, 1866-1937), a descendent of the wealthy and aristocratic Astor family and of John Winthrop, Puritan leader of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Elizabeth's brother, Robert Chanler, was a popular artist; he became friends with Gertrude Whitney and painted murals in her Long Island studio.²¹⁶ Chanler exhibited nine decorative screens in the Armory Show, one of which was loaned by Chapman. The second \$100 donation came from Florence Meyer Blumenthal (Mrs. George Blumenthal, 1875-1930). Her sister-in-law, Agnes Ernst Meyer was a buyer at the Armory Show, a member of the Stieglitz circle, and close friend of two Armory Show artists, Katherine Rhoades and Marion Beckett.²¹⁷ Florence Blumenthal and her husband were art patrons and philanthropists who lived much of their lives in Paris and supported French artists and causes.²¹⁸ In honor of her charitable work, the French government bestowed the Legion of Honor on her and named a Paris street after her, the "Rue

²¹⁶ Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 328.

²¹⁷ Jessica Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity in the Stieglitz Circle: Agnes Ernst Meyer, Katharine Rhoades, and Marion Beckett" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2009), xix. See Chapter Three for a discussion on Meyer and Chapter Four for a discussion on Rhoades and Beckett.

²¹⁸ Michele Siegel, "Florence Meyer Blumenthal," Jewish Women's Archive, Jewish Women, A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia, accessed June 11, 2013, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/blumenthal-florence-meyer>.

Florence Blumenthal.”²¹⁹ In spite of their French connections, the Blumenthals gave much of their collection to New York’s Metropolitan Museum.²²⁰

The group of women who donated twenty-five dollars or less – all collected by Davidge and dated March 1 in MacRae’s ledger – share similar kinds of connections. Agnes Whitney Cromwell (Mrs. Seymour Cromwell, (?-1959) was the first woman to serve on the New Jersey State Board of Education.²²¹ Armory Show artist Mary Foote painted Cromwell’s portrait, which was part of the 1916 Allied Artists Annual exhibition at Knoedler Galleries in New York and was displayed at the Detroit Museum of Art the following year.²²² Mary Foote’s cousin, Miss Marian Hague (1874-1971), was a donor. Helen Coolidge Mansfield (Mrs. Howard Mansfield, 1860-1957) was a philanthropist whose name appeared often in the press regarding her financial support of the arts. The family connections continue: Davidge collected donations from her niece, Frances Davidge Rumsey (Mrs. David Rumsey, 1884-1922)²²³ and from Gertrude Whitney’s cousin, Miss Ruth Twombly (1885-1954).²²⁴ Four other women donors

²¹⁹ Daniel M. Madden, “America in Paris: Quai de Passy, Renamed for Kennedy, is Latest Street with U.S. Ties,” *New York Times* (1923-Current file); March 29, 1964: XX1.

²²⁰ Siegel, “Florence Meyer Blumenthal.”

²²¹ Cited in *George Eastman: A Biography*, by Elizabeth Brayer (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 479, accessed June 12, 2013, http://books.google.com/books?id=HJdnqdfICUC&pg=PA479&dq=%22agnes+whitney+cromwell%22&hl=en&sa=X&ei=uu24UfqOqeBygG_niHoDA&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22agnes%20whitney%20cromwell%22&f=false.

²²² *Catalogue of the Third Annual Exhibition of Selected Paintings by American Artists*, Detroit Museum of Art, April 9th to May 30th, 1917, accessed June 12, 2013, http://www.dalnet.lib.mi.us/dia/collections/dma_exhibitions/1917-4.pdf.

²²³ “A Day’s Weddings,” *New York Times*, March 28, 1906, 9.

²²⁴ “Miss Ruth Twombly Succumbs in Paris,” *New York Times*, September 2, 21.

from this March 1st group have been difficult to locate: Miss Husted, Mrs. Victor Morowitz, Mrs. John J. Milburn, and Miss Luques.²²⁵

While Clara Davidge seemingly had her hand out everywhere seeking support, money also came in through Davies, as mentioned, and AAPS member John Mowbray-Clarke. Elizabeth Sage Goodwin (later Hare) gave Davies \$500. She lived in New York City but maintained a second residence in Colorado Springs, where she was an ardent supporter of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center.²²⁶ Perhaps most interesting is the fact that Goodwin and Davidge were close friends; thus, Elizabeth Goodwin would have known of Davidge's work for the Amory Show.²²⁷ Indeed, Goodwin's grandson later claimed that his grandmother was one of the Armory Show organizers.²²⁸

John Mowbray-Clarke collected donations from two women patrons, Miss Lydia S. Hays (1850-1916) and Miss Alice Lewisohn (1883-1972), each in the amount of \$100. Lydia Hays was an art collector, who made a significant bequest of her prints and drawings to the New York Public Library.²²⁹ Alice Lewisohn was a member of a prominent New York family. She developed an interest in drama, organizing classes at the Henry Street Settlement House and often taking

²²⁵ Milton Brown incorrectly listed Miss Luques' name as "Miss Luquer." See MacRae's list of donors, MacRae Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, reel 4132, frame 727.

²²⁶ Alan Ferg, ed., *Western Apache Material Culture: The Goodwin and Guenther Collections* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 39-40.

²²⁷ Oaklander, "Pioneering Promoters," 145.

²²⁸ Grenville Goodwin and Neil Goodwin, *The Apache Diaries: A Father-Son Journey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 7.

²²⁹ "Spring Exhibition of Prints," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library: Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations*, vol. 21, January to December 1917, 237, accessed June 30, 2013, http://books.google.com/books?id=L153rGiQwlsC&pg=PA237&lpg=PA237&dq=%22miss+lydia+s.+hays%22&source=bl&ots=M_3tw32OBj&sig=QbLTAmwa4hAivX48s3WFyD8DAu4&hl=en&sa=X&ei=RSy_UY-BFqGzyQHJ44HQDg&ved=0CDoQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=%22miss%20lydia%20s.%20hays%22&f=false.

the stage herself.²³⁰ Her gift, dated September 1912, is the earliest one recorded by MacRae (after Davies's initial contributions). Lewisohn married Armory Show artist Herbert Crowley in 1924 and moved with him to Zurich.²³¹ Mowbray-Clarke added his personal, substantial gift of \$700 on February 7, 1913.

These women promoted and financially supported the Armory Show for various reasons. One thing they had in common, of course, was their money. But, to quote art historian Wanda Corn, "Where did they get their moxie?"²³² I argue that the women who supported the Armory Show financially contributed to an artistic endeavor that granted them a certain pedigree outside of money and status. Giving money to an exhibition that was touted as revolutionary was a brave move, but also an empowering one that reflects the freedom and independence they exerted in their lives and in their patronage. These women maneuvered through a transitional period in American history. They were pioneers in their negotiation between the limits of the recent Victorian past and the young century's new freedoms. They actively moved out of the domestic sphere to become part of a public domain, where they could add their voices to artistic discourse as well as to the socio-political debates of the day. They were, as Mabel Dodge said, "movers and shakers" – women who acted on their ideas boldly. The Armory Show organizers benefitted enormously from their "moxie."

²³⁰ "Miss Alice Lewisohn is Now an Actress: Member of Well-Known Family on the stage as Eleanora Leigh," *New York Times*, November 14, 1906. 1.

²³¹ "Alice Lewisohn a London Bride," *New York Times*, December 16, 1924, 2.

²³² Wanda Corn, "Art Matronage in Post-Victorian America," in *Cultural Leadership in America: Art Matronage and Patronage* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Fenway Court, vol. XXVII, 1997), 23.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN COLLECTORS AT THE ARMORY SHOW

The new spirit of the Armory Show stimulated both men and women in their collecting endeavors. Major collectors, such as Arthur Eddy, John Quinn, and Lillie Bliss bought works at the exhibition that became part of significant collections of modern art. Eddy was a Chicago attorney with a passion for early modern art; works from his collection are housed at the Chicago Art Institute in their Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection. Quinn, a New York lawyer, had a huge collection that was dispersed to several museums at his death. Bliss's collection laid the foundation for the Museum of Modern Art.

Women have worked as art collectors throughout time and the late nineteenth century witnessed several women emerging as significant art collectors. Catharine Lorillard Wolfe (1828-1887) is one example. She was a devoted collector and patron of the arts, collecting works by European modern masters, including French Academy painter Alexandre Cabanel, as well as commissioning work from artists of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, such as William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones. Wolfe became an important benefactor for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in its early years and bequeathed much of her collection to that institution at her death.²³³ Martha Reed

²³³ Inge Reist and Rosella Mamoli Zorzi, *Power Underestimated: American Women Art Collectors* (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2011), 79-99.

Mitchell (1818-1902) is another example, impacting the art world far from the New York art scene in Milwaukee. Mitchell worked to showcase the work of women in her collection and educate Midwesterners and, according to an *Evening Post* reviewer, elevated the “taste for art in the West.”²³⁴ The collecting activities of Boston’s Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840-1924) are likely more well-known. She collected work by the Old Masters, such as Titian and Peter Paul Rubens, but she also championed the work of contemporary artists John Singer Sargent and James McNeill Whistler.²³⁵ Gardner’s colleague in Chicago, Berthe Potter Palmer, became an important art collector who wielded tremendous influence at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition. As president of the Board of Lady Managers, she guided that group in its mission to advance women artists via the Woman’s Building.²³⁶ These women set important precedents for the Armory Show’s women collectors.

Bliss and the other female collectors at the Armory Show made up a dynamic group of women who displayed fierce independence in the decisions they made. They not only loaned works of art from their private collections but also made significant purchases at the exhibition. As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu submits that art collections function as cultural capital. He adds that collecting art grants the owner a sense of distinction and legitimacy that justifies his or her work as a tastemaker and “an *arbiter elegantium* whose transgressions are not mistakes but the annunciation of a new fashion, a new mode of expression or action which will become a model.”²³⁷ This concept parallels the self-assertion the women collectors at the Armory Show possessed in

²³⁴ Unknown writer, cited in Reist and Zorzi, *Power Underestimated*, 43.

²³⁵ Charlotte Gere and Marina Vaizey, *Great Women Collectors* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 1999), 123-130.

²³⁶ Gere and Vaizey, *Great Women Collectors*, 130-133.

²³⁷ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 255.

recognizing and appreciating new art as they forged roles as cultivators of culture. Their commitment and investment in modern art allowed them to influence cultural policy, guide aesthetic sensibilities, and create a legacy for modern art in America.

Twenty of the seventy people who loaned works of art to the Armory Show were women. A review of those works reveals the lenders' prompt embrace of late-nineteenth-century progressive art. Several women owned French Post-Impressionist work, such as paintings by Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, and Paul Cézanne. Others displayed an early interest in James McNeill Whistler, Odilon Redon, and Auguste Rodin. Art patron Bridget Guinness contributed the oldest work loaned by women, a portrait by Edouard Manet. Her colleague Bird Gans loaned a work by Matisse. At the time, most Americans considered Matisse's work extremely radical. When the Armory Show traveled to Chicago, students at the Art Institute actually put Matisse on "trial," found him guilty of "artistic murder, pictorial arson, and total degeneracy of color sense," and they were prepared to burn him in effigy. Instead, they burned three reproductions of his work.²³⁸ As Bourdieu observes, "Aesthetic intolerance can be terribly violent."²³⁹ Finally, several women already owned works by living American artists Robert Chanler and Maurice Prendergast, which they loaned to the Armory Show.

Of the seventy-seven people who purchased works of art at the exhibition, women made up nearly half. They favored European works over those by American artists by a margin of four to one. Women buyers preferred Symbolist paintings over all of the others, purchasing nineteen works by Redon, nine by Maurice Denis, and six by Gauguin.

²³⁸ Andrew Martinez, "A Mixed Reception for Modernism: The Armory Show at the Art Institute of Chicago," in *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies, One Hundred Years at the Art Institute: A Centennial Celebration* 19, no. 1 (1993): 53, accessed July 3, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4108763>.

²³⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 56.

Men purchased twelve works by Redon but favored Edouard Vuillard, buying eighteen of his paintings. The reason for Redon's popularity among both men and women is due, in part, to the fact that more of his work was on display than that of any other artist. Only one woman collector, Helen Loewenstein, purchased a work by a female artist – a painting by French artist Émilie Charmy. Men purchased work by three women artists, Charmy, Kate Cory, and Edith Dimock.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, women collectors received little attention from historians. This lack of recognition served to further marginalize female involvement in the development of modern art and helped to promote its masculinized definition. Frank Crowninshield, one of the founding trustees of the Museum of Modern Art and a writer who had visited the Armory Show, was one of the few critics who acknowledged women's interest in new art. In 1936, he commented:

It was, on the whole, the women who reacted most spontaneously and appreciatively to the French exhibits at the Armory. Indeed, it has been the women who have always accorded the modern movement its earliest recognition and patronage.²⁴⁰

However, this kind of recognition was rare. Twentieth-century historiography lacks a thorough, critical review of female involvement in the making of modernity – a neglect that contributes to the narrow definition and masculine conception of modern art.

Meyer Schapiro remarked about the role women played in the Armory Show in his 1952 essay, "Rebellion in Art," but he echoed Crowninshield's comments about female patronage:

²⁴⁰ Frank Crowninshield, "The Scandalous Armory Show of 1913" *Vogue*, September 15, 1940, 115, accessed June 27, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/Proof-of-Frank-Crowninshield-Article-for-emph-render-italic-Vogue-emph--228170>.

Women, it is worth noting, were among the chief friends of the new art, buying painting and sculpture with a generous hand. Art as a realm of finesse above the crudities of power appealed to the imaginative, idealistic wives and daughters of magnates occupied with their personal fortunes. But what is in question here is not simply the quicker disposition of American women to the fine arts, but *their response to novel forms*. [italics mine] At this moment of general stirring of ideas of emancipation, women were especially open to manifestations of freedom within the arts.²⁴¹

Female involvement is far more important than merely “worth noting.” As mentioned, women like Bliss and Whitney used their collections to found new art museums. Several others donated works of art to important institutions. For example, Emily Chadbourne donated most of her collection to the Art Institute of Chicago and much of Sarah Choate Sears’s collection is held in Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts. But the question that remains is why they took such an interest in “novel forms.”

Recently, art historians have started to address this interest and the impact of women’s early embrace of modern art. For example, in her virtual Armory Show created for the Internet, scholar Shelley Staples devotes one section out of six to female participation, delving into both their production and consumption of modern art. Staples notes the emergence of a different kind of art collector around this period, both male and female, who preferred new, contemporary art over the art of the past. Additionally, many collectors enjoyed having direct contact with the artists whose works they collected. For example, patrons Walter and Louise Arensberg were devoted to Marcel Duchamp, among others, and, as noted in Chapter Two, AAPS president and artist Arthur B. Davies enjoyed the patronage of Bliss.²⁴² As Macleod suggests in her book on women collectors, women in the Progressive Era claimed “cultural authority” and not only purchased

²⁴¹ Meyer Schapiro, “Rebellion in Art,” in *America in Crisis: Fourteen Crucial Episodes in American History*, ed. Daniel Aaron. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 228.

²⁴² Staples, “The Part Played by Women,” Virtual Armory Show.

contemporary art but also participated in its production by financially supporting living artists.²⁴³ In addition to Bliss, Macleod examines Armory Show patrons Mabel Dodge,

Katherine Dreier, and Agnes Meyer. She refers to them as:

female ambassadors of modernism [who] sacrificed much of their leisure time in launching vanguard initiatives. They served as unpaid members of arts organizations, hosted experimental salons, mentored and nurtured little-known artists, and swallowed their pride by fund-raising.²⁴⁴

Despite their cultural authority, the lack of documentation on the extent of women's art collecting at the Armory Show has persisted over the last century.

Macleod notes the freedom with which women pursued their interests, observing:

Collecting had a liberating effect on affluent American women, beginning in the antebellum period and continuing through the transitional Gilded Age into the Progressive Era. The intimate contemplation of art empowered many women and led to their active involvement in shaping American cultural and political life.²⁴⁵

The recent scholarship of Macleod along with Inge Reist and Rosella Mamoli Zorzi is important to this discussion. Reist and Zorzi co-edited *Power Underestimated: American Women Art Collectors*, a book that looks at the activity of women patrons throughout time. The book also addresses the motivation of women in the modern period for collecting art in general, whether it came from a desire for personal social status, philanthropic aspirations, or from a compelling urge to educate the public about modern art.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 156.

²⁴⁴ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 135.

²⁴⁵ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 1.

²⁴⁶ Reist and Zorzi, eds., *Power Underestimated*.

In her examination of female patronage, Kathleen McCarthy suggests that men saw women's collecting as a uniquely female endeavor and chose to ignore it.²⁴⁷ Additionally, the press rarely promoted modern art – critics often ridiculed it even before the Armory Show. In a 1907 article in the *New York Times*, Charles de Kay described modern artists at odds with the National Academy of Design as “cross, snarling, meanspoken outsiders” and “killjoys.”²⁴⁸ One might think comments like these would keep collectors from purchasing contemporary work, yet women bought new art in spite of the bad press. At the same time, museums had not yet embraced the new art. When curator Bryson Burroughs purchased a Cézanne painting at the Armory Show for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, he was nearly dismissed from his job.²⁴⁹

McCarthy also submits that economics factored into women's interest in early modern art. Wealthy male connoisseurs could drive prices of old masterpieces beyond what women could manage to pay; thus, women turned to collecting modern works because they were more affordable. However, I doubt that price would have made a significant impact on their decision-making processes, since most women collectors had access to large bank accounts. Instead, I suggest that these women coupled their aesthetic taste with a sharp eye for a bargain, thereby making some smart investments. Scholars have acknowledged that women were prudent and independent in their collecting, suggesting they were not just rich women arbitrarily spending their fathers' or husbands' money.²⁵⁰ In 1997 Wanda Corn commented on this independence,

²⁴⁷ McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 179.

²⁴⁸ Charles de Kay, “Wolves That Stalk the Academic Sheepfold,” *New York Times*, May 19, 1907, SMA 7.

²⁴⁹ Michael Kimmelman, “An Early Champion of Modernists,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1994, C27.

²⁵⁰ McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 180.

suggesting that women have had a “powerful and directorial role in the country’s cultural landscape” for the past one hundred years.²⁵¹ Christine Stansell concurred, adding that women collectors had “artistic authority” as tastemakers of visual culture.²⁵²

Despite their activities in shaping culture, women who collected objects of art were trivialized because it was thought that they did not follow what was understood to be the standard – and male – pattern of collecting, one that proceeded in a logical fashion within a preconceived plan.²⁵³ However, it is clear that many women collectors at the Armory Show did pursue a logical plan in their collecting agendas. Wendy Steiner suggests that one reason modernist women collectors have not been appreciated is that, throughout time, both women and art have been objectified as ornaments decorating the home – and modernism holds anything decorative as “mere ornament.” Thus, as Steiner suggests, ornament “joined woman as a modernist outlaw.”²⁵⁴

Thus, we arrive at a picture of liberated women acting independently, while avidly collecting modern works of art in an endeavor that is not taken seriously by most of their male counterparts. One can imagine the condescension they must have faced in light of their preference for new and “inauthentic” art over older, “legitimate” works. For example, even sixteen years after the Armory Show, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. dismissed

²⁵¹ Wanda M. Corn, “Art Matronage,” 23.

²⁵² Christine Stansell, “Women Artists and the Problems of Metropolitan Culture: New York and Chicago, 1890-1910,” in *Cultural Leadership*, ed. Wanda Corn, 26-27.

²⁵³ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 6.

²⁵⁴ Wendy Steiner, *The Trouble with Beauty* (London: Heinemann, 2001), 57. Ironically, many male modern artists incorporated elements of decoration in their work. Henri Matisse’s *Decorative Figure on an Ornamental Ground* is one example. In addition, artist Maurice Denis, whose work was popular with women collectors at the Armory Show, took ownership of ornament and ascribed a broader definition of the term, claiming that through the color, tones, and use of lines a painting should be an ornament. See Steiner, *The Trouble with Beauty*, 61.

his wife's work in the establishment of the Museum of Modern Art as "Abby's folly."²⁵⁵ Struggling against these odds, women continued to promote modern art and pushed boldly ahead in building their collections. Their embrace of modern art was likely due to a combination of factors – women had gained new liberties that allowed them to publicly see and consume new art; they relished their independent decision-making and the power that ownership bestowed; they had aspirations both to learn and educate others about modern art; and, quite possibly, they had a genuine appreciation of and connection to ornament in its broadest sense. By examining the kinds of art they owned and determining, if possible, where their purchases are held today, we can see the impact women had on the development of American modern art.²⁵⁶

For purposes of discussion here, I have divided the women collectors at the Armory Show into two main groups. First, I discuss several of the women who built significant collections now housed in noted institutions: the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney Museum of American Art – both of which were founded by women – the Yale University Art Gallery and other collegiate institutions, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. Next, I examine women who not only shaped modern visual culture by purchasing works of art from the Armory Show but who also impacted modernity by pursuing their own careers and actively engaging in the socio-political issues of the day – immigration, health, education, and suffrage. Rather than list the

²⁵⁵ McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 202.

²⁵⁶ Locating the current location of a particular work of art can be a challenge, especially with regard to lithographs because in their case neither the edition quantity nor the number of a particular print in that edition is known. Additionally, titles of particular works have changed over the past one hundred years, making them difficult to trace.

additional women patrons who made less significant contributions to the Armory Show, I have marked their input in footnotes.

Significant Collections

Lillie Bliss (1864-1931) was one of the collectors at the Armory Show who made a significant and enduring impact on modern art in America. As noted, in 1929 she worked with Abby Rockefeller and Mary Sullivan to establish MoMA. All three women shared a passion for modern art that brought them together in this enterprise. Bliss donated her art collection; Rockefeller provided critical funding; and Sullivan, a former art teacher, supplied a knowledge of art that established the educational mission of the museum.²⁵⁷ Apparently, Bliss attended the Armory Show exhibition every day²⁵⁸ and over its run, purchased nineteen works of art from the exhibition, the highest number after John Quinn and Arthur Eddy.²⁵⁹ While Bliss has been described as one of the most influential women of her generation, scholarship on her is lacking because, at her request, her papers were destroyed after her death. Tamara Follini suggests that this desire may be due to her hesitancy to have her name linked to something as radical as avant-garde art (see also Chapter Two regarding the possibility of her anonymous monetary gifts). Follini hails Bliss as a visionary and states that her desire to remain behind the scenes may have

²⁵⁷ "Modern Women, a Partial History," Museum of Modern Art, accessed January 4, 2014,

http://www.moma.org/explore/publications/modern_women/history.

²⁵⁸ Shannon Vittoria, "Lillie Bliss," The Armory Show at 100, New York Historical Society, accessed July 16, 2013, <http://armory.nyhistory.org/lillie-p-bliss/>.

²⁵⁹ Art historian Laurette McCarthy puts the number of Bliss purchases second to Quinn's. See her essay, "Collectors of American Art from the Armory Show," in *The New Spirit: American Art in the Armory Show*, exhibition catalog, eds., Gail Stavitsky, Laurette McCarthy, Charles H. Duncan (New Jersey: Montclair Art Museum, 2013), 101. Counting the exact number is difficult because of the sets of prints sold in addition to single prints.

been her way of “tactfully negotiating the tensions” between her public ambitions and her private life.²⁶⁰

The daughter of a wealthy textile merchant who served as a member of President McKinley’s cabinet, Bliss remained single throughout her life and lived with her conventional parents. They did not approve of her artistic taste and insisted she keep the bulk of her collection out of sight in a separate room.²⁶¹ However, word of her collection not only spread around New York but also in Europe. In 1922 noted art dealer Germain Seligman wrote Bliss that he had heard of her collection and would like to see it.²⁶² When she received such requests, Bliss would hire a man from the Macbeth Gallery to bring the works down from storage one at a time and place them on an easel for viewing.²⁶³ Macleod suggests that her parents’ bias against modern art only strengthened Bliss’s resolve to collect such works.²⁶⁴

Bliss also had a keen interest in music and, had she not shunned public performance, could have been a professional pianist. Her interest in music led to her patronage of musicians, particularly the Kneisel Quartet, a pioneering chamber music group that performed works by both European masters and contemporary American composers. In 1907, when financial problems nearly forced the group to disband, Bliss saved the day by guaranteeing them \$35,000 a year.²⁶⁵ Years later, Monroe Wheeler, director of exhibitions and publications at MoMA, recalled asking a former classmate of

²⁶⁰ Tamara L. Follini, “Lillie Bliss (1864-1931): An Independent Collector,” in *Power Underestimated*, 189.

²⁶¹ Rona Roob, “A Noble Legacy,” *Art in America*, November 2003, 78.

²⁶² Seligman to Bliss, Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institution, accessed June 21, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/BI--286522>.

²⁶³ Sharon Zane, “Interview with Elizabeth Bliss Parkinson Cobb,” The Museum of Modern Art Oral History Program, July 6, 1988, 2, accessed September 21, 2013, http://www.moma.org/docs/learn/archives/transcript_cobb.pdf.

²⁶⁴ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 158.

²⁶⁵ Andrea Olmstead, *Juilliard: a History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 35.

hers how Bliss had come to appreciate such “outlandish pictures.” He wrote, “She answered me in two words – ‘modern music.’”²⁶⁶

Bliss became interested in art after seeing Arthur Davies’s paintings at the Macbeth Gallery. According to her niece, she “fell in love with them” and asked William Macbeth to arrange a meeting with Davies. The two became good friends – Bliss played the piano for him and Davies, with his knowledge about the new movements in Europe, taught her about art.²⁶⁷ Davies led a double life – while he was married and had a family in upstate New York, he also had a common-law wife and child in New York City. One art historian suggests that Davies kept this from Bliss, but both her niece and his biographer stated that Bliss was one of only three people who knew his secret; the other two were William Macbeth and Walt Kuhn.²⁶⁸ Because Bliss bought many of Davies’ paintings, some have suggested that he guided her purchases. However, in a letter written to Louis Comfort Tiffany, Bliss declared, “I yield to no one in my love, reverence and admiration for the beautiful things which have already been created in painting, sculpture and music.”²⁶⁹ Reading her own, rare words in print gives us a sense of her strength and conviction. Additionally, at Bliss’s death, Eleanor Belmont eulogized her friend as “absolutely independent in her taste and courageous as to her method of doing things.”²⁷⁰

Bliss’s niece, Elizabeth Cobb, claimed that the purchases her aunt made at the Armory Show marked the beginning of her work as an art collector.²⁷¹ Though some titles are either missing or confusing, it appears that seventeen of the nineteen works

²⁶⁶ Monroe Wheeler, “I Remember MOMA,” *ARTnews* 78, no. 8 (October 1979): 126.

²⁶⁷ Zane, “Elizabeth Bliss Parkinson Cobb,” 6-7.

²⁶⁸ Zane, “Elizabeth Bliss Parkinson Cobb,” 12. See also Bennard Perlman’s *The Lives, Loves, and Art of Arthur B. Davies* (New York: SUNY Press, 1998), 206.

²⁶⁹ Bliss letter to Tiffany, quoted in Wheeler, “I Remember MOMA,” 126.

²⁷⁰ Eleanor Belmont, quoted in Follini, “Lillie Bliss,” 191.

²⁷¹ Zane, “Elizabeth Bliss Parkinson Cobb,” 6.

Bliss bought at the Armory Show were part of her initial gift to MoMA. Notable among them are two Cézanne lithographs, three Denis lithographs, and two paintings by Redon, *Roger and Angelica* (1912) and *Silence* (1911). At the time of her bequest, Bliss had over one hundred works of art in her possession, including nineteen more by Cézanne, eleven by Picasso, four by Matisse, and one lithograph by the lone female artist in her collection, Armory Show artist Marie Laurencin.²⁷²

Bliss, Rockefeller, and Sullivan each had an official role in the museum enterprise, but they chose A. Conger Goodyear to serve as its first president. Rockefeller's biographer, Bernice Kert, suggests that the trio felt the "establishment would not rally behind a woman in an experiment of such magnitude."²⁷³ Yet Kert asserts that Bliss and her two female colleagues were solely responsible for establishing MoMA. Macleod comments that "they embodied the spirit of sisterhood that characterizes the female promoters of modernism in the Progressive Era."²⁷⁴ They were not radicals, but visionary women – "reformers" according to Macleod²⁷⁵ – who worked alongside their male colleagues and saw the need to support the artists of their day and to educate the public about modern art. Lillie Bliss died in 1931, just two years after MoMA opened – too soon to fully comprehend the tremendous success of her efforts as a major collector of modern art.

Unlike Lillie Bliss, Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875-1942) was able to relish the success of the museum she created, the Whitney Museum of American Art. Her

²⁷² 1933 Press Release, Museum of Modern Art, accessed July 17, 2013, http://www.moma.org/docs/press_archives/170/releases/MOMA_1933-34_0037.pdf?2010.

²⁷³ Bernice Kert, *Abby Aldrich Rockefeller: the Woman in the Family* (New York: Random House, 1993), 275.

²⁷⁴ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 157.

²⁷⁵ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 160.

involvement in the Armory Show was most significant as a financial contributor (see Chapter Two), but she also loaned a work from her collection for the exhibition, a Robert Chanler screen, *Leopard and Deer* (n.d.).²⁷⁶ Moreover, her collecting activities from both before and after the Armory Show make her worthy of consideration here. The sculptor and heiress worked from a studio in Greenwich Village, where she also held small exhibitions of contemporary art. She expanded this space in 1912 to become the Whitney Studio, closed that venue in 1918, and reopened it as the Whitney Studio Club, an exhibition venue but also a gathering place for local artists. In 1928 the Club was replaced with the Whitney Studio Galleries, which Whitney and her assistant, Julianna Force, transformed into the museum that opened in 1931.

Gertrude Whitney was born into a wealthy family and was able to use her financial independence to both support causes important to her and assist the artists in her circle. Like Armory Show supporter Clara Davidge, she was a connoisseur of American modern art and forged her own career. Gertrude did not work as an artist until after her 1896 marriage and the births of two of her three children, studying sculpture with Hendrik Christian Anderson and later with James Earle Fraser. She created both small and large scale sculptures, the latter belying her thin, seemingly fragile physique. Among her most well-known sculptures are: the 1913 design of the Titanic Memorial, a thirteen-foot-tall monument installed in Washington, D.C. in 1930 to honor the men who sacrificed their lives to save women and children onboard the ship; the life-size

²⁷⁶ Robert Chanler was a popular artist whose decorative depictions of animals recall Whistler's Peacock Room decorations. Whitney also commissioned him to paint murals at her studio. There were nine Chanler screens exhibited at the Armory Show. Of them, four came from women: Whitney, Louisa Potter Delano, Kathryn Brady Harris, and Elizabeth Chanler Chapman (the artist's sister). Elizabeth Chapman gave her screen to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See "The Armory Show at 100," New York Historical Society, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://armory.nyhistory.org/armory-show-1913-complete-list/>.

equestrian statue of Buffalo Bill created in 1924 for the city of Cody, Wyoming; and the 1926 monument in St. Nazaire, France, commemorating the U. S. forces who landed there during World War I.²⁷⁷

As she started her artistic career, Whitney also began exploring ways to establish herself as an art patron. Her husband, Harry Payne Whitney, had his own preoccupations (horseracing, tennis, and polo games) and she had nurses to attend to her children.

Whitney brainstormed ways she could help the cause of new American art in her journal, musing to herself:

Take Harry into your confidence. . . . He has no real sympathy for your modeling. He may be right not to have – it is only developing a little talent and leaving your real power, which is your money and position, out of account. Why do what is fitting for Jane Smith when you are not Jane Smith? . . . This road through life is the only one for you. Do not sink into a nonentity when the path for other things is open to you. And it is open.²⁷⁸

These words reveal Whitney's need for a sense of purpose beyond that of wife, mother, and socialite, as well as her personal energy and motivation for supporting new art.

Because of her work as an artist, she was particularly sympathetic to the needs of young American artists – the struggle for the exhibition of their work and the stress of developing a career with limited resources.

In 1907, acting on the ideas formulated in her journal, Whitney organized her first exhibition at the Colony Club, an exclusive social club for women that was established in

²⁷⁷ B. H. Friedman, with research collaboration of Flora Miller Irving [Whitney's granddaughter], *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1978). Friedman reveals that her monument at St. Nazaire was destroyed in 1941 by Nazis who used the area as a submarine base, an act induced by their opposition to "Franco-American friendship." (see page 654) The monument was rebuilt in 1989. See also the John McAuliffe note, "87th Infantry Division," accessed September 20, 2013, http://gallery.87thinfantrydivision.com/keyword/gertrude%20vanderbilt%20whitney/142189560_D5TzBSg%23!i=142189560&k=D5TzBSg#!i=112018203&k=ghwZdxX.

²⁷⁸ Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 213.

New York in 1903. She exemplified her support of new American art by purchasing paintings from that show by Arthur B. Davies, Ernest Lawson, and Jerome Myers.²⁷⁹ As her interest in the public debates between NAD and the new independent art movement grew, and despite her ties to elite society, Whitney began to promote and support non-academic artists and their work.²⁸⁰

At the 1908 exhibition of *The Eight* at the Macbeth Gallery, Whitney purchased the work of several contemporary painters, including Lawson, Henri, and George Luks, all associated with the Ashcan School and later with the Armory Show. According to Janet Wolff, these additions to her nascent collection reveal her taste for “early-twentieth-century American realism of a type that was, in fact, considered progressive in its time.”²⁸¹ That same year Whitney took sculptor Arthur Lee and painters Barry Faulkner and Morgan Russell (her former model and one of the founders of Synchronism) to Europe. She commented on how much she enjoyed the artistic banter on that trip, exclaiming, “My golly how keen they all were. It was bully...”²⁸² While it is not well-documented, her material support was widely known among artists. Russell wrote a note of appreciation to her in 1913, stating, “You have made it possible for me to arrive at a personal vision.”²⁸³ Whitney was also sensitive to the plight of her female colleagues. Eleven of the women artists exhibiting at the Armory Show also exhibited under the

²⁷⁹ Patricia Hills and Roberta Tarbell, *The Figurative Tradition and the Whitney Museum of American Art: Paintings and Sculpture from the Permanent Collection*, exhibition catalog (Wilmington: University of Delaware Press, 1980), 12.

²⁸⁰ Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 240.

²⁸¹ Janet Wolff, *AngloModern*, 29.

²⁸² Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 255.

²⁸³ Morgan Russell, quoted in Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 329.

Whitney umbrella of venues. Overall, female artists created between thirty and thirty-five percent of the works Whitney exhibited.²⁸⁴

Whitney's Greenwich Village studio placed her amid all types of artists and bohemian radicals and removed her from the elite society she encountered at any of her homes – on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, at the Breakers retreat in Newport, or at her summer home on Long Island. When Whitney started exhibiting work by her Village colleagues, they began to see her as a friend of the contemporary art world and as someone who could help them establish their careers. These artists accepted her as both artist and patron. In contrast, while her high-society peers respected her as an art patron, they generally dismissed her work as an artist. While she acknowledged the importance of her status and wealth, Whitney felt she had something more to offer through both her sculpture and her patronage. She addressed the difficulties she faced as a wealthy woman artist in a 1919 *New York Times* interview:

When I first started the sculpture work, my friends took the attitude of a group of people watching one of their number performing a difficult parlor trick. It half amused them, half interested them, but few of them took the thing seriously. . . . They neither could nor would understand why anybody who didn't have to work, who didn't have to spend a number of hours over a mess of clay, should do so of her own volition. . . .

I had to fight, fight all the time to break down the walls of half-sympathetic and half-scornful criticism based on no other concept than the one that it wasn't done by people in my position. . . .²⁸⁵

Sculptor Malvina Hoffmann visited the Whitney Studio in the Village and witnessed the seriousness with which Whitney pursued her career as both artist and patron. She described her workplace as well-lit and fully equipped with “glistening saws

²⁸⁴ Wolff, *AngloModern*, 23.

²⁸⁵ De W. C. Ward, “Poor Little Rich Girl and Her Art: Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney's Struggles to Be Taken Seriously as a Sculptor Without Having Starved in a Garret,” *New York Times*, November 9, 1919, SM4.

and chisels” and commented that she “worked tirelessly but was never too busy to help young sculptors.”²⁸⁶

Whitney’s fortune also worked against her when groups came to her with a project and assumed that, due to her wealth, she could work *pro bono*. This she would not do; she felt it was an unfair advantage for her in winning commissions and took work away from other deserving sculptors. She saw herself as a professional and insisted on being paid adequately for her work.²⁸⁷

As artist, supporter, collector, and gallery owner, Whitney energetically made things happen. She shaped her exhibition enterprise out of her feminist viewpoint, one that was influenced by the liberated women she encountered in Greenwich Village. Macleod comments, “Whitney created a gendered environment that was defined and controlled by women, inverting tradition by demoting men to the role of assistants and appointing an indomitable female director, Juliana Force.”²⁸⁸ Additionally, painter Alexander Brook served as assistant to Force beginning in 1923 at the Whitney Studio Club.²⁸⁹

In 1929, when Whitney had collected over 600 works of art, she sent Juliana Force to the Metropolitan Museum of Art to offer her collection to them, along with the promise of financing a new wing in which to house the work. When that offer was flatly refused, Whitney began making plans to build a new museum. She and Force worked closely together to shape the museum, plan its exhibitions, and guide its collections. At the opening of the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1931, Whitney remarked:

²⁸⁶ Malvina Hoffman, quoted in Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 246.

²⁸⁷ Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 438.

²⁸⁸ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 172.

²⁸⁹ Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 456.

For twenty-five years I have been intensely interested in American art. I have collected during these years the work of American artists because I believe them worthwhile and because I have believed in our national creative talent. Now I am making this collection the nucleus of a museum devoted exclusively to American art – a museum which will grow and increase in importance as we ourselves grow.

In making this gift to you, the American public, my chief desire is that you should share with me the joy which I have received from these works of art. It is especially in times like these that we need to look to the spiritual. In art we find it. It takes us into a world of beauty not too far removed from any of us.²⁹⁰

The Whitney Museum of American Art is one of the best museums devoted to American art and continues to mark Whitney's legacy.

Like Whitney, Katherine Dreier (1877-1952) amassed an inspired collection. The Armory Show wielded a tremendous influence on Dreier's life and work, both as artist and collector. Dreier loaned a van Gogh painting, *Mlle. Ravoux* (1890), to the Show and added to her collection by buying two works there, a Gauguin and a Redon, now part of the collection she bequeathed to the Yale University Art Gallery. She also exhibited two of her own paintings, a landscape and a figurative work. After the exhibition, Dreier began to experiment with abstraction in her paintings, revealing the influences of both the Armory Show and her exposure to avant-garde art in Europe. Although she continued to paint for many years, Dreier is better known for her advocacy of modern art. According to McCarthy, she "carried the message of the avant-garde into the 1920s, inheriting Stieglitz's mantle after 291 closed in 1917."²⁹¹

Katherine Dreier was born in Brooklyn to German parents whose commitment to social reform deeply affected her and her siblings. The Dreiers campaigned for women's right to vote and for labor laws to protect women, and they worked to further the

²⁹⁰ Friedman, *Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*, 558-559.

²⁹¹ McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 189.

settlement house movement. Katherine was a delegate to the Sixth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Stockholm in 1911 and later headed the German-American Committee of the Woman Suffrage Party in New York City. Additionally, she founded the Little Italy Settlement House in Brooklyn.²⁹² However, art was her first and foremost interest. She began painting as a child and later studied at the Brooklyn Art Students League and the Pratt Institute. She also studied with Gustav-Henri Collin in Paris (where she also saw Gertrude and Leo Stein's collection) and with Gustav Britsch in Munich. In the exhibition catalog from her 1933 Academy of Allied Arts exhibition in New York, Dreier recalled:

It was only by working with Professor Britsch that I learned to discriminate and to recognize intellectually the impressions that came through the sense of sight. Thus I could intellectually and emotionally grasp the great power of a Rubens, the contribution of a Hodler or Cézanne.²⁹³

In the early 1900s, Dreier married Edward Thrumbull, but their marriage was quickly annulled when she discovered he already had a wife and child.²⁹⁴ Remaining single for the rest of her life, she immersed herself in establishing modernism in America. Dreier's family background contributed to her interest in German avant-garde art, an interest that could have removed her from American artistic circles that privileged French modernism, yet she was well-connected enough in the art world to balance her German (as well as Russian) inclinations with New York's "French drift."²⁹⁵ According to

²⁹² Eleanor Tufts, ed., "Katherine S. Dreier," in *American Women Artists 1830-1930* (Washington, DC: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987), entry 26.

²⁹³ Leo Nadon, "Katherine S. Dreier, the Painter," in *Katherine S. Dreier*, exhibition catalog (New York: Academy of Allied Arts, 1933), 4.

²⁹⁴ Clark, "Katherine S. Dreier," 4.

²⁹⁵ Dickran Tashjian, "'A Big Cosmic Force': Katherine S. Dreier and the Russian/Soviet Avant-Garde," in *The Société Anonyme: Modernism for America*, exhibition catalog (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Yale University Art Gallery, 2006), 52.

Jonathan Walz, Dreier persisted “in her endeavors to comprehend the most advanced developments in modern art. Her intellectual curiosity led to a complete fixation on Vincent van Gogh’s biography and technique” as well as to her purchase of the van Gogh painting she loaned to the Armory Show.²⁹⁶ In November 1913, Dreier translated *The Personal Recollections of Vincent Van Gogh* as part of her effort to popularize his work.²⁹⁷

After the Armory Show, Dreier began a long friendship with Marcel Duchamp. The two met through their mutual involvement with the Society of Independent Artists (SIA), a group that Dreier helped establish in 1916. McCarthy suggests that the two made a “compelling team” because Dreier’s determination was balanced by Duchamp’s wit “in ways that brought out the better qualities in both.”²⁹⁸ Dreier was nine years older than Duchamp and had taken on a matronly persona by the time she and Duchamp began working together. In contrast, the carousing Duchamp was taking advantage of New York’s late-night social life.²⁹⁹ She may have served as Duchamp’s anchor, but Dreier also drew inspiration from his creative energies.

In 1917 the SIA staged a huge display of art at the Grand Central Palace in New York – 2,500 works of art by 1,200 artists who, after paying a modest fee, could exhibit any work of art, regardless of style or subject matter.³⁰⁰ This “Big Show” was the venue where Duchamp infamously submitted his controversial work, *Fountain* (1917) – the

²⁹⁶ Jonathan Frederick Walz, “Performing the New Face of Modernism: Anti-Mimetic Portraiture and the American Avant-Garde, 1912-1927,” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2010), 85.

²⁹⁷ McCarthy, *Women’s Culture*, 190.

²⁹⁸ McCarthy, *Women’s Culture*, 191.

²⁹⁹ Jennifer Gross, “Believe Me, Faithfully Yours,” in *The Société Anonyme: Modernism for America*, exhibition catalog (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Yale Art Gallery, 2006), 125.

³⁰⁰ William Clark, “Katherine Dreier and the Société Anonyme,” *Variant* 2 14, (Winter 2001): 4.

white urinal, signed “R. Mutt.”³⁰¹ SIA members, including Dreier, voted not to display that piece – many thought it was indecent and most did not consider it an original work of art.³⁰² George Bellows saw the entry as a joke that mocked the SIA’s no-jury policy.³⁰³ As a result of the hanging committee’s decision, Duchamp resigned from the SIA. Dreier, after gaining an understanding of Duchamp’s intent (and trying to preserve their friendship), pleaded with him to withdraw his letter of resignation:

To me . . . it was simply a question of whether a person has a right to buy a readymade object and show it with their name attached at an exhibition? Arensberg tells me that that was in accord with you [*sic*] “Readymades,” and I told him that was a new thought to me as the only “readymades” I saw were groups which were extremely original in their handling. I did not know that you had conceived of single objects. . . . I hope, therefore, that you will seriously reconsider . . .³⁰⁴

Duchamp did not reconsider and Dreier herself resigned six months later.³⁰⁵

Dreier’s biggest contribution to modern art began in 1920 when she worked with Duchamp and artist Man Ray to launch the Société Anonyme: Museum of Modern Art, touted as “America’s first ‘experimental museum.’”³⁰⁶ Their goal was to educate the American public about modern art through exhibitions and lectures. Dreier organized more than eighty exhibitions, first on the third floor of her home on East 47th Street and later in various museums.³⁰⁷ Jennifer Gross states that the Société Anonyme introduced seventy artists, eighty-five programs, and thirty publications to the American public – “a

³⁰¹ John Angeline, “Dreier the Painter,” *Art in America*, June/July 2006, 102.

³⁰² Walz, “New Face of Modernism,” 91-92.

³⁰³ Clark, “Katherine Dreier,” 5.

³⁰⁴ Walz, “New Face of Modernism,” 92-93.

³⁰⁵ Ruth Bohan, “Joseph Stella and the ‘Conjunction of WORLDS,’” in *The Société Anonyme*, 18.

³⁰⁶ Jennifer Gross, “An Artists’ Museum,” in *The Société Anonyme*, 1.

³⁰⁷ Bennard Perlman, *American Artists, Authors, and Collectors: The Walter Pach Letters, 1906-1958* (New York: SUNY Press, 2002), 144.

tour de force campaign to bring modernism to America and nurture an international artistic exchange.”³⁰⁸

Dreier’s two co-founders left for Europe in 1921, allowing her to shape the society’s agenda on her own terms.³⁰⁹ The Société Anonyme’s International Exhibition of Modern Art held in 1926 at the Brooklyn Museum was one of her largest undertakings. With 308 works by 106 artists from twenty-three countries, the exhibition attracted over 52,000 visitors over seven weeks before it traveled to Manhattan, Buffalo, and Toronto.³¹⁰ William Clark argues that the Brooklyn exhibition was “one of the most successful, well-curated and highly attended exhibitions in America in the twentieth century.”³¹¹ However, her exhibition, sandwiched chronologically between two landmark artistic events – the Armory Show and the establishment of MoMA – has not endured in art historical discourse. Unlike the Armory Show, the Société’s exhibition featured diverse modernist works of art that included the German and Russian avant-garde, response to which was not on a par with the public’s reception of new French art. And Dreier’s inclusion of both noted and lesser-known artists led to what some perceived as a chaotic presentation, a criticism she contested. She believed the exhibition was unified because she emphasized the relationship between modern art and modern life throughout the show.³¹² Indeed, she designed four of the galleries to look like rooms in a house. A local department store loaned traditional, middle-class furniture for these galleries, allowing Dreier to emphasize the universal appeal of modern art and demystify

³⁰⁸ Gross, “An Artists’ Museum,” in *The Société Anonyme*, 2.

³⁰⁹ Gail Levin, “The Changing Status of American Women Artists, 1900-1930,” in *American Women Artists 1830-1930*, Eleanor Tufts, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987), 16.

³¹⁰ Clark, “Katherine Dreier,” *Variant*, 6.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² Kristina Wilson, “‘One Big Painting,’ A New View of Modern Art at the Brooklyn Museum,” in *The Société Anonyme*, 87.

the avant-garde.³¹³ This homey presentation, seen earlier in the use of furniture, screens, and plants at the Whitney exhibitions,³¹⁴ amplified the feminization of culture and the gendering of modern art by couching the exhibition in terms of a domestic setting – long considered the realm of women. According to Macleod:

Dreier’s commitment to the gendering of modernism can be read in the emphasis she placed on the home as the locus of values, as well as her support of women artists and feminist causes. But she also demonstrated the focus and ambition typical of male collectors in her single-minded promotion of aesthetic modernism.³¹⁵

Dreier’s ideas about gender stemmed from her Theosophical beliefs. Followers of Theosophy believed that gender was irrelevant, that there was a similarity between men and women based on karma and reincarnation.³¹⁶ Vassily Kandinsky was a Theosophist and his art and writing deeply affected Dreier’s beliefs and work. Kandinsky and Dreier became lifelong friends – she put together his first one-man show in the United States in 1923 and wrote a monograph on him that was published by the Société Anonyme.³¹⁷ As Gross observes, “Kandinsky’s voice – his Theosophical belief in the cosmic forces of art, his stance against the evils of American materialism, his zeal for abstraction – also echoes in [Dreier’s] lectures and writings.”³¹⁸

Dreier promoted a kind of modernity that was inclusive, that is, she remained open in her consideration of novel works of art and embraced work that others rejected.

Works on display at the Brooklyn exhibition included those by established artists, such as

³¹³ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 148.

³¹⁴ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 172.

³¹⁵ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 149.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ William Henry Fox, *Katherine S. Dreier: Lecturer and Painter*, undated pamphlet, Katherine Sophie Dreier Papers. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Uncat MSS 916. Fox is listed as Director Emeritus of the Brooklyn Museum. His pamphlet contains a list of books written by Dreier that includes the monograph on Kandinsky, as well as one on Joseph Stella, and her *Western Art and The New Era: An Introduction to Modern Art*.

³¹⁸ Gross, “Believe Me, Faithfully Yours,” in *The Société Anonyme*, 128.

Kurt Schwitters, Joseph Stella, and Marcel Duchamp, alongside works by artists who were not well-known, such as Norwegian Ragnhild Keyser and Icelandic artist Finnur Jónsson.³¹⁹ In her later discussions with organizers of Chicago's Arts Club regarding a possible exhibition there, Dreier became angry at their insistence on showing only the work of recognized artists from her collection. She exclaimed, "I do not go by name, but by quality. The pictures I would send would be of high standing, quite regardless as to name."³²⁰

The Société Anonyme struggled financially over the twenty years of its existence, yet it was able to promote some of modern art's celebrities, including Paul Klee, Fernand Léger, and Joan Miró, along with Kandinsky. Furthermore, Dreier managed to put together a solid collection of work by both recognized and little-known artists.³²¹ With the establishment of MoMA in 1929, Dreier's dream of establishing a permanent museum in New York for her collection perished. Yet it is curious that she did not collaborate with Lillie Bliss and her two colleagues.³²² Bliss and Dreier traveled in the same artistic circles and it seems certain that their paths would have crossed. Bliss frequented the Macbeth Gallery, where Dreier had a solo exhibition of her paintings in 1913.³²³

³¹⁹ Gross, "Believe Me, Faithfully Yours," in *The Société Anonyme*, 82-83.

³²⁰ McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 192.

³²¹ McCarthy, *Women's Culture*, 190.

³²² I wish to thank Michelle Harvey, an archivist at MoMA, for assisting me. Her office was able to contact Rona Roob, a scholar on Lillie Bliss. Roob did not have information on whether Bliss and Dreier knew each other directly. Harvey relayed to me that part of Dreier's collection was bequeathed to MoMA after her death (probably through Duchamp's hands) and the Museum exhibited over sixty of those works in a special summer exhibition in 1953. See

http://www.moma.org/pdfs/docs/press_archives/1728/releases/MOMA_1953_0058.pdf?2010

³²³ *Exhibition of Paintings by Katherine S. Dreier, October 14-October 27, 1913*, The Macbeth Gallery, exhibition catalog, accessed September 20, 2013,

http://www.libmma.org/digital_files/macbeth/b16417367.pdf.

Trying to find a home for her collection, Dreier then attempted to create a “country museum” by using her home in Connecticut to accommodate her collection and provide an opportunity for non-urbanites to learn about modern art. She stated:

As far as I know there has never been a Country Museum – combining Art in the home and garden – showing people that Art is and must be a part of everyday life, if it is to exert any influence on us. It must be brought into the lives of our rural community, who can come and see art at leisure under surroundings which they know and without undue exertion.³²⁴

Her desire to blend art with home and garden and her inclusive approach in exhibiting art can be read as an “outlaw” stance, notions that ran counter to the snobbish “genius in the studio” mentality that was being heralded at the time. Due to financial constraints, Dreier was not able to underwrite her country museum. In 1941 she gave part of her collection of modern art to the Yale University Art Gallery and bequeathed much more of it to that institution before she died in 1952.³²⁵ According to a *Boston Globe* writer, Dreier’s gift transformed the gallery, which previously had shown little interest in modern art.³²⁶

Beyond MoMA, the Whitney Museum, and the Yale Gallery, the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (MFAB) also benefitted from female collectors involved with the Armory Show. Sarah Choate Sears (1858-1935), like Dreier, was an artist as well as a collector. She studied art at the Cowles Art School and the School of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. She earned recognition during the last decade of the nineteenth century for her watercolors, winning prizes at the Columbian Exposition in 1893 and the Pan-American

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Gross, “An Artists’ Museum,” 2. On December 12, 2012, the Yale University Art Gallery celebrated a new wing with an exhibition that featured the Société Anonyme’s collection.

³²⁶ Sebastian Smee, “Yale University Art Gallery is a Masterpiece,” *The Boston Globe*, December 13, 2012, accessed August 9, 2013, <http://www.bostonglobe.com/arts/theater-art/2012/12/13/yale-university-art-gallery-opens-its-expanded-space-and-masterpiece/iCsepRYDchUH5BoL2GLuYK/story.html>.

Exposition in Buffalo in 1901.³²⁷ Like Gertrude Whitney, Sarah Choate was independently wealthy – even before her marriage to J. Montgomery Sears in 1877, one of the most affluent men in Boston. Privileged and independent, she had the freedom to pursue her artistic interests. However, like Whitney, her fame as a wealthy woman precluded discussions about her artistic abilities.³²⁸

Like many women of the period, Sears developed an interest in photography. She was an enthusiastic supporter of the camera as a tool for making fine art. According to Erica Hirshler, the leading photographers of the day admired the high quality of Sears's work just as much as they appreciated her financial support.³²⁹ She began to exhibit her work internationally, including in the London exhibition, "The New School of American Photography" in 1900, and in a Paris exhibition organized by her colleague, photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston. The British pictorialist group, The Linked Ring, extended membership to Sears; she exhibited with them on several occasions.³³⁰ As much as that of the pictorialists, Sears admired the romantic imagery of Julia Margaret Cameron and gained inspiration from her work.³³¹

Sears challenged her friend, photographer F. Holland Day, to establish an annual exhibition of photography at MFAB. When approached, the director of the museum, Charles G. Loring, was hesitant to exhibit photographs and insisted on additional support from an established photographic organization. He suggested that the involvement of

³²⁷ Catherine B. Hurst, "Sarah Choate Sears and John Singer Sargent," Dateline: Boston 1905, updated July 23, 2009, <http://boston1905.blogspot.com/2009/07/sarah-choate-sears-and-john-singer.html>.

³²⁸ Erica Hirshler, "The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears," *The Magazine Antiques* 160, no. 3, (September 2001): 323.

³²⁹ Erica Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1940* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2001), 57.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Hirshler, "The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears," 323.

Alfred Stieglitz's New York Camera Club would lend authenticity to such an enterprise. However, Stieglitz saw Day as his rival and would not support him or his efforts, particularly in a city that was not New York. A further strain between the New York and Boston factions emerged when a critic denounced Sears's work in an issue of the Camera Club's *Camera Notes*, the most significant photographic journal of its time, as being the "unprofessional product of a '\$1,000,000 woman,'" implying that Sears's money eclipsed her art.³³² Yet as she began to join photography groups, eventually including Stieglitz's new Photo-Secession, her relationship with Stieglitz improved. He purchased two of her portraits, *Julia Ward Howe* and *Mary* and published them in the April, 1907 issue of *Camera Work*.³³³ Sears's 1890 photographic portrait of John Singer Sargent is one of the few images of that artist that exists.³³⁴ In turn, Sargent painted portraits of both Sarah and her daughter, Helen.

Sears and Isabella Stewart Gardner were prominent cultural leaders in Boston in the early twentieth century. Hirshler suggests that Sears's enthusiasm for modern art went far beyond that of most of her Boston colleagues.³³⁵ As a patron, she built a collection of art that included works not only by Manet, Cézanne, and Sargent, but also contemporary works by John Marin, Charles Demuth, Braque, and Matisse.³³⁶ Additionally, Sears financially supported artists, particularly fellow Bostonians Elizabeth Copeland (a noted

³³² Joseph T. Keiley, quoted in Hirshler, "The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears," 325-326.

³³³ Alfred Stieglitz, ed., *Camera Work* 18, (April 1907): plates I and II.

³³⁴ *John Singer Sargent, Sarah Choate Sears*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, accessed August 10, 2013, <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=42595>.

³³⁵ Hirshler, "The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears," 328.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* See also Hirshler, *A Studio of Her Own*, 55.

metalwork artist) and Maurice Prendergast (her monetary gifts allowed him to travel Europe extensively.)³³⁷

Several works from Sears's collection are housed at MFAB, along with her own photographs and other collectibles – including a box of pastels given to her in 1908 by Mary Cassatt.³³⁸ Sears had established a friendship with Cassatt who, like Sargent, did a portrait of her daughter. She took it upon herself to introduce Cassatt to Leo and Gertrude Stein. Apparently, Sears anticipated Cassatt's rejection of both the people gathered and the art displayed in the Stein's apartment – Sears kept her driver at the door in order to take the disenchanted artist home, which, indeed, she demanded.³³⁹

To the Armory Show, Sears loaned a painting by Cézanne, *Le Vase Bleu Sombre, II* (1880), which is now in the private collection of Ann and Gordon Getty.³⁴⁰ In addition to MFAB, other works from her collection are available to the public at the Milwaukee Art Museum, the National Museum of American Art in Washington, DC, the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Addison Gallery of American Art at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. The Harvard Museum of Art holds many of Sears's photographic works.³⁴¹

The Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) benefitted from the patronage of Emily Crane Chadbourne (1871-1964), who amassed a tremendous collection over her lifetime. Between 1918 and 1957 the AIC received more than 2,200 works of art from

³³⁷ Prendergast Archive and Study Center, Williams College Museum of Art, accessed August 10, 2013, <http://wcma.williams.edu/collection/prendergast/biographies/>.

³³⁸ Collections Search, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, accessed August 10, 2013, <http://www.mfa.org/search/collections?keyword=sarah+choate+sears&page=1&rows=32>.

³³⁹ Hirshler, "The Fine Art of Sarah Choate Sears," 327.

³⁴⁰ "The Armory Show at 100," The New York Historical Society, accessed August 10, 2013, <http://armory.nyhistory.org/le-vase-bleu-sombre-ii/>.

³⁴¹ Harvard Art Museums, accessed August 10, 2013, http://www.harvardartmuseums.org/art/search?field_artist_search=Sarah%20Choate%20Sears.

Chadbourne's collection.³⁴² Her aesthetic pursuits as a collector were widespread – from Persian textiles to the French avant-garde.

Chadbourne grew up in Chicago, the daughter of a wealthy manufacturing magnate who founded Crane Elevator. Her mother died when she was only fifteen years old and her father's strict and overbearing nature resulted in her developing a reticent personality and little in the way of social skills.³⁴³ Chadbourne's reserved nature is apparent in the portrait painted of her by Léonard Tsuguharu Foujita, especially when compared to Robert Henri's portrait of Gertrude Whitney. Both portraits depict the women reclined in a way that recalls Manet's *Olympia* (1863), but Whitney appears open and approachable while Chadbourne seems closed and stiff; she looks out coldly at the viewer. Emily Crane fled the stifling atmosphere of her home, marrying lawyer Thomas Chadbourne in 1896. However, the marriage was an unhappy one and only lasted a few years. Emily insisted on a divorce after her husband became interested in another woman. Disgraced by the stigma of her husband's indiscretion and the divorce, Chadbourne left Chicago for Europe, where she spent most of the next twenty years.³⁴⁴ Despite her devotion to the AIC, she rarely returned to Chicago.

While in Paris, Emily met Ellen La Motte – perhaps at the Stein's apartment – and they became partners for life.³⁴⁵ According to Macleod, "Chadbourne played Alice

³⁴² Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 196-197. Chadbourne's gifts to the AIC included textiles, furniture, decorative art, and paintings by several male modernists.

³⁴³ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 194.

³⁴⁴ Robert Nelson, "The Art Collecting of Emily Crane Chadbourne and the Absence of Byzantine Art in Chicago," in *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*, Christina Nielsen, ed. (Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 133.

³⁴⁵ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 193. La Motte studied nursing at Johns Hopkins at the same time that Gertrude Stein had studied medicine there. After working as a field nurse in World War I, La Motte left nursing to devote herself to writing. Emily and Ellen shared a deep interest in exposing China's opium market, both writing and lecturing on the subject after the war.

[Toklas] to La Motte's Gertrude [Stein]."³⁴⁶ Chadbourne spent a good deal of time at the Steins' home and she frequently brought visiting Americans with her, including fellow patron Sarah Sears.³⁴⁷ In Europe and later when she returned to the United States, Chadbourne maintained her friendship with Gertrude Stein. In 1920 Stein wrote a poem entitled "Emily Chadbourne" that features the poet's typical erratic word play. Stein's influence on Chadbourne as an art collector is evident in the sixty-six works the latter amassed by Gauguin, Matisse, Rousseau, Whistler, and Dalí, among others, all of which she gave to the AIC.³⁴⁸ To the Armory Show, Chadbourne loaned a drawing and three watercolors by Gauguin and a pastel by Redon that is now in the Dallas Museum of Art.³⁴⁹ With the advent of the Great Depression, Chadbourne, who relied on money from the then-struggling Crane Company, had to curtail her spending and travels. She and La Motte moved back to Chicago in 1955 for the last few years of their lives.³⁵⁰

In addition to Dreier, three other women involved with the Armory Show were patrons of institutions of higher education. The Eliza G. Radeke Museum of Art at the Rhode Island School of Design (RISD) opened in 1926 and its memorial gardens were added six years later.³⁵¹ Funding for the museum came from Eliza Radeke's brothers in honor of her devotion to RISD. Radeke (1856-1931) graduated from Vassar College in 1876 and married Dr. Gustav Radeke, a German immigrant. Radeke initially assisted her

³⁴⁶ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives*, 195.

³⁴⁷ Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas Papers. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, YCAL MSS 76, Box 101.

³⁴⁸ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 197.

³⁴⁹ Search Collections, Dallas Museum of Art, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://dallasmuseumofart.org>. I wish to thank Martha MacLeod, the curatorial administrative assistant for the European and American Art Department at the Dallas Museum of Art, for confirming the provenance of Redon's pastel now in their collection.

³⁵⁰ Nelson, "The Art Collecting of Emily Crane Chadbourne," 145, 148.

³⁵¹ Eliza G. Radeke records, RIAMCO: Rhode Island Archival and Manuscript Collections Online, accessed August 9, 2013, <http://dl.lib.brown.edu/riamco/render.php?eadid=US-RPD-02.01.7&view=biography>.

mother, Helen Metcalf, who was one of the founders of RISD in 1877. Both Eliza and her husband maintained active roles in support of the school. She served on the Board of Directors beginning in 1886 and was RISD's first female president, serving for nearly two decades.³⁵² Additionally, Radeke was a member of the school's Museum Committee for over forty years, working closely with artists, dealers, and museum directors to develop the museum's art collection. Her purchases at the Armory Show for this collection included a Matisse drawing and two watercolors by Signac. Furthermore, Radeke was a member of the advisory council of Pembroke College (the women's college coordinate to Brown University at the time) and a trustee of the Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women.³⁵³

At the University of Rochester, Emily Sibley Watson (1859-1938) founded the Memorial Art Gallery in memory of her son, James Averell (nephew of Armory Show financial supporter Mary Averell Harriman, see Chapter Two), who died from typhoid at the age of twenty. Emily and her second husband, James Sibley Watson, were socialites in Rochester and were said to have one of the finest private art collections in the country.³⁵⁴ At the Armory Show, Watson purchased a painting by Edward Adam Kramer. Her other philanthropic interests included support of needy college students at the University of Rochester and financial assistance for its Hochstein Music School, plus additional support for Rochester's Genesee Hospital.³⁵⁵

³⁵² Diversity Overview, RISD, accessed August 9, 2013, <http://www.risd.edu/Students/Diversity/>.

³⁵³ "Eliza G. Radeke Dies; A Leading Art Patron," *New York Times*, March 18, 1931, 21.

³⁵⁴ L. McCarthy, "Collectors of American Art," 104.

³⁵⁵ "Mrs. James S. Watson, Art, Music Patron, 89," *New York Times*, February 9, 1945, 15. Both Walt Kuhn and Elmer MacRae list Watson as "Mrs. James E. Watson," yet the notes she wrote to MacRae clearly identify her as "Mrs. James S. Watson." See her letter to Elmer MacRae, MacRae Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, reel 4131, frames 1026 and 1029. Furthermore, both Kuhn and MacRae note her address as "11 Prince Street, Rochester," which was the address of Mrs. James S. Watson.

Vassar College received part of the collection of Peggy Cottier Williams (Mrs. Lloyd Williams, 1887-?) in 1940, including the two Albert Pinkham Ryder paintings that she had loaned to the Armory Show.³⁵⁶ Ryder and Williams's father, artist and art dealer Daniel Cottier were close friends. Ryder gave Peggy his painting, *The Lovers* (n.d.), as a wedding present.³⁵⁷ Williams was active in the Woman's Party, serving as a vice-chairman during the 1940s when that group was protesting legal discrimination against women.³⁵⁸ Other works in her collection now housed at Vassar include those by Anthony Van Dyck, Camille Corot, and J. Alden Weir.³⁵⁹

Two other Armory Show women made some significant but little-known contributions to art institutions and both shared an interest in Redon's work. Lydia Hays participated as a collector as well as a financial supporter.³⁶⁰ She purchased a print by Redon and a drawing by Rodin. There are currently nineteen prints in the New York Public Library that came from her collection, though the Redon is not among them. She also collected Japanese artwork and gave sixty-six of those works to the Museum of Fine Art Boston and additional works to the Carnegie Museum in Pittsburgh.³⁶¹

Ethelyn McKinney (1872-1954) purchased Redon's oil painting, *Papillons* (1908), at the Armory Show, a work that she later loaned to the Museum of French Art's 1922 exhibition of Redon's work.³⁶² She also donated a notable work by Childe Hassam,

³⁵⁶ Albert Pinkham Ryder, The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY, accessed August 12, 2013, http://flacfm.vassar.edu:16080/fmi/iwp/cgi?-db=Collections_Management&-loadframes.

³⁵⁷ "Collection of Art is Given to Vassar," *New York Times*, March 24, 1940, 30.

³⁵⁸ "Campaign Mapped for Equal Rights," *New York Times*, December 9, 1940, 21.

³⁵⁹ "Collection of Art is Given to Vassar, 30."

³⁶⁰ See Chapter Two regarding Hays's financial contributions.

³⁶¹ I wish to thank Vivian Endicott Barnett for leading me to information about the Hays collection.

³⁶² The Museum of French Art was affiliated with the French Institute (Alliance française in New York from approximately 1918 to 1936. I wish to thank Vivian Endicott Barnett for information on this museum.

Allies Day, May 1917, from her collection to the National Gallery of Art in memory of her brother, Glenn Ford McKinney.³⁶³

The women noted above came from varied backgrounds but had a common bond in their passionate activities in collecting (and sometimes making) works of art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Without that passion, the institutions that benefitted from their gifts would be far different storehouses of modern art and in some cases, might not exist at all. We are indebted to their aesthetic tastes, their immense energy, their vision, and their generosity. These avid pioneers in modern art in America have not received the credit they so deserve in promoting and preserving modern art nor have they been recognized for the roles they played in the development of modern art in America.

Building Cultural Capital

This discussion now turns to those women who loaned to or made purchases from the Armory Show but for whom art collecting may not have been their central focus – they also spent time as writers, musicians, poets, dramatists, activists, and philanthropists. One collector was a physician and three others worked as artists. Through their efforts in art and other fields, these women made unique contributions to the cultural environment. Like the significant collectors discussed above, they left enduring legacies. Here, they are organized by their similar interests.

Writers. At the Armory Show, Agnes Ernst Meyer (1887-1970) purchased a landscape painting by western artist Francis McComas. According to art historian Douglas Hyland, Meyer also took an interest in John Marin's watercolors at the Armory

³⁶³ Childe Hassam, "Allies Day, May 1917," National Gallery of Art, accessed August 14, 2013, <http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collecton/art-object-page.30115.html>.

Show but waited to buy them until after the exhibition closed in Boston. Marin exhibited his work at 291 and, because of Meyer's allegiance to Alfred Stieglitz, she preferred to purchase the watercolors through him rather than through the AAPS.³⁶⁴ Of the ten Marin works on display at the exhibition, Meyer later bought seven.³⁶⁵

Agnes Meyer attended Barnard College (the all-women's school affiliated with Columbia University at the time), paying her own way by earning scholarships and working at outside jobs. During her school years, she submitted articles to the *New York Sun*; after her graduation, she worked there full-time.³⁶⁶ In her autobiography, Meyer recalled, "When I announced to my family just before graduating from Barnard that I intended to do newspaper reporting, my mother wept and my father said solemnly: 'I would rather see you dead.'"³⁶⁷ Meyer's interest in art began when she interviewed Stieglitz at 291 for the *Sun*. Stieglitz nicknamed her "the Sun Girl," a moniker that endured even after she left the newspaper. Meyer and her colleagues Katharine Rhoades and Marion Beckett (both Armory Show artists, see Chapter Four) became known as "The Three Graces" at 291 and constituted a female presence within the Stieglitz circle. There they came into contact with avant-garde art. Though they were a viable part of that circle, these three women are not well-known to most art historians. Art historian Jessica Murphy suggests that one reason for this lack of recognition stems from the age-old problem of the objectification of women as ornament – perhaps they were considered mere "hangers-on." Comments such as, "she is seriously interested in her work – also she

³⁶⁴ Douglas Hyland, "Agnes Ernst Meyer, Patron of American Modernism," *American Art Journal* 12, no. 1 (Winter, 1980): 70-71, accessed March 8, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1594208>.

³⁶⁵ Brown, *The Armory Show*, 290. See also Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Hyland, "Agnes Ernst Meyer," 40. Meyer was one of the first female reporters to work at the *New York Sun*.

³⁶⁷ Agnes Ernst Meyer, *Out of These Roots* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company in association with the Atlantic Monthly Press, 1953), 65.

is awfully pretty isn't she?" worked to disqualify their contributions in the early twentieth century.³⁶⁸ Meyer lamented that her intelligence ran second in importance to her beauty. In 1909 she wrote to a friend, "It is an undeniable fact dear that a woman must never have more intelligence than her appearance can bear."³⁶⁹

Macleod refers to Meyer as "the prototype of the fiercely independent second-generation New Woman."³⁷⁰ Her work as a reporter stands as one example. She also exhibited a strong independent spirit in her relationship with wealthy banker Eugene Meyer, who was determined to forge a permanent relationship with her. Despite their mutual admiration, Agnes decided to spend a year abroad to travel and to study at the Sorbonne. She visited photographer Edward Steichen (whom she had met at Stieglitz's gallery) at his home in France; he, in turn, introduced her to Leo and Gertrude Stein in Paris. She enjoyed visiting the Steins, but she connected more with Leo and his discussions on modern French art than with Gertrude. Always aware of fashion and the way she presented herself, Meyer disliked Gertrude and her "monklike habit of brown corduroy," adding that she "always distrusted masculine women, and found their self-assertion distasteful" – a statement full of irony, considering Meyer's own self-assertive character.³⁷¹

Meyer also met Auguste Rodin, who discussed his aesthetic philosophy with her and escorted her to the Louvre to show her his favorite pieces. Meyer enjoyed their

³⁶⁸ Belle da Costa Greene, quoted in Jessica Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity in the Stieglitz Circle: Agnes Ernst Meyer, Katharine Rhoades, and Marion Beckett," (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2009), 3. Greene was a librarian who worked for J. P. Morgan.

³⁶⁹ Agnes Meyer, quoted in Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 28.

³⁷⁰ Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects*, 143.

³⁷¹ Meyer, *Out of These Roots*, 81. Meyer's daughter, Katherine Meyer Graham, who led *The Washington Post* from 1963 until her death in 1991, recalls her mother's "enormous ego" in her autobiography. See her *Personal History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 44, 50.

intellectual banter and felt herself his equal, despite being warned by Steichen of the possibility of Rodin's having an ulterior motive. Her self-confidence, naiveté, and strong desire to develop a well-rounded intellect were characteristic of Meyer in her youth.³⁷²

While in Paris, Meyer enrolled in fencing classes. At the time, she wrote, "My fencing makes me feel like a Greek boy, so slim and strong."³⁷³ She further embraced her masculine side with additional physical exertion, completing a twenty-two mile hike in the Dolomite Mountains in Austria. For this adventure, Meyer dressed in trousers and a turtleneck sweater, an act that earned her the nickname "Jonny" among her fellow hikers.³⁷⁴ However, when the persistent Eugene Meyer visited her in Paris, Agnes reverted to her former, feminine self. He took her to galleries and artists' studios and they discussed modern art. She was impressed that he included her in the process of building his art collection and that he asked her opinion about the art they viewed.³⁷⁵

Initially, Meyer had difficulty accepting modern art. In New York, she had admired Stieglitz for both his bold displays of new European art and his disdain for all things academic, but she claimed she could not understand Matisse.³⁷⁶ Her appreciation of modern art grew over the next few years.

Agnes returned to the United States in 1909 and married Eugene Meyer one year later. In her memoirs, she remembers worrying that marriage would "flatten" her out and cast her into a stereotypical, female mold. She wanted a family but she also sought to

³⁷² Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 62. Rodin did try to seduce Meyer, but Murphy states that Meyer was able to deflect his advances without offending him and they remained friends. See page 63.

³⁷³ Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 81

³⁷⁴ Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 92. Other women on this hiking expedition wore long skirts.

³⁷⁵ Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 67.

³⁷⁶ Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 59.

break out of traditional social expectations.³⁷⁷ She continued her work as an art patron, arranging for African sculptures (which she had admired in Europe) to be exhibited at 291. Additionally, she and artists Marius de Zayas and Francis Picabia, along with writer Paul Haviland, worked together to found the magazine, *291*, in an attempt to bring more interest to avant-garde art. However, its radical Dadaist ideas appealed to few readers; more copies were given away than sold. This, coupled with production expenses, forced the magazine to close after just twelve issues.³⁷⁸ By that time, Meyer and de Zayas had distanced themselves from Stieglitz. The two opened a new exhibition venue, the Modern Gallery, which they saw as “a logical extension of 291.”³⁷⁹ However, Stieglitz saw the new gallery not only as competition but also as a hostile act. In its two short years of existence, the Modern Gallery attracted many art collectors, including Lillie Bliss and John Quinn. In 1918, when Eugene was asked to serve on a government committee for President Hoover, the Meyers moved to Washington, D.C. There, Agnes further developed her interest in Chinese art and parlayed that interest into a working relationship with Charles Lang Freer.³⁸⁰

At the end of the Hoover administration, Eugene Meyer bought the struggling *Washington Post* newspaper. Throughout the next several years, Agnes continued her writing, publishing articles in *The Post* and authoring four books: her autobiography, a scholarly tome on Chinese Art, a book on her reflections of World War II entitled, *Journey through Chaos*, and a book on education reform. Her lobbying efforts in Washington helped to establish the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as well

³⁷⁷ Meyer, *Out of These Roots*, 98.

³⁷⁸ “291 Description,” Index of Modernist Magazines, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://sites.davidson.edu/littlemagazines/291-description/>.

³⁷⁹ Hyland, “Agnes Ernst Meyer,” 79.

³⁸⁰ Hyland, “Agnes Ernst Meyer,” 81.

as federal aid for education. Later, President Lyndon Johnson credited Meyer for influencing his education policies.³⁸¹

After the Armory Show, Meyer purchased works by American artists Max Weber, Marsden Hartley, and Abraham Walkowitz. The European works she collected included those by Cézanne, Picasso, Manet, Renoir, Brancusi, and Rodin. Brancusi particularly benefitted from the Meyers's patronage when they arranged for his one-man show in New York in 1914.³⁸² During her lifetime, Agnes Meyer donated works of art to MoMA, the National Gallery of Art, and the Freer Gallery.³⁸³

The brilliant “sun” girl exhibited unmatched energy as art patron, political activist, and writer. For all her independence, it is curious that she did not support the women's suffrage movement. She did not take part in feminist groups and she found suffragettes distasteful. She wrote to a friend, “Nothing can be gained by this idea of yours of extending a man's liberties to women – at least not until centuries to come – as the influence of such a life on women is dreadful.”³⁸⁴ Rather than paint Meyer as a prototypical New Woman, I suggest she be characterized as a conflicted but smart and independent woman negotiating her identity in the transitional climate of the early twentieth century.

Like Meyer, Harriet Monroe (1860-1936) had an interest in both art and writing. She worked as an art critic and freelance correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune* and covered the Armory Show in New York for that publication. Monroe added her voice to

³⁸¹ “Agnes Ernst Meyer,” The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, George Washington University, accessed September 14, 2013, <http://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/mep/displaydoc.cfm?docid=erpn-agnmey>.

³⁸² Hyland, “Agnes Ernst Meyer,” 71.

³⁸³ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 14.

³⁸⁴ Meyer to Merkel quoted in Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 72.

the debate about the revolutionary exhibition, claiming that either the art was good and would survive the test of time, or it was not and would fade away. She added:

All of us, conservatives and radicals, Philistines and anarchists, Republicans, Progressives, and middle of the road Populists, have the pleasure and benefit of intellectual exercise. We are discussing, even to the point of excitement, a question which has nothing to do with money, floods, reforms, clothes, or any of the usual trials and preoccupations of our little corner of the world. We are fighting one of those battles of the intellect . . .³⁸⁵

At the Armory Show in Chicago, Monroe purchased a print by Redon, which she kept on the wall of her office.

Though she worked as a journalist, Harriet Monroe is better known for her work in poetry. To celebrate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America, Monroe was commissioned to write a poem to be delivered at the opening ceremony of Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893.³⁸⁶ When the *New York World* published that poem without her permission, she filed a lawsuit against them, setting a precedent for artists' rights. She was awarded \$5,000 from that suit, a sum that greatly relieved her chronic financial struggles. In 1911 Monroe became convinced that a new outlet for emerging poets was both necessary and possible. With help from publisher Hobart Chatfield-Taylor, she convinced one hundred Chicago business leaders to commit fifty dollars a year for a five-year subscription – a concept that recalls Clara Davidge's fundraising efforts for the Armory Show. Monroe secured enough money to launch a new journal, entitled *Poetry*, in September 1912, which is still in publication today. By 1925 she had published the works of dozens of world-renowned poets, including T. S. Eliot,

³⁸⁵ Harriet Monroe, "Cubist Art a Protest Against Narrow Conservatism," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 6, 1913: B5.

³⁸⁶ *Dedicatory and Opening Ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago: Stone, Kastler, and Painter, 1893, 134, accessed September 20, 2013, <http://archive.org/stream/dedicatoryopenin00worl#page/134/mode/2up>).

Robert Frost, Ezra Pound, and Carl Sandburg.³⁸⁷ Monroe gave voice to emerging American artists, doing for poetry what the Armory Show did for the visual arts.

An outdoors enthusiast, Monroe hiked with the Sierra Club and supported that group by arguing for land preservation before congressional committees.³⁸⁸ She died at the age of 76 when she suffered a cerebral hemorrhage while hiking to Macchu Picchu in Peru. Monroe is another outstanding example of a woman characterized by conviction, initiative, and energy.

Also engaged in writing, Helen Correll Loewenstein (1864-1936) was something of a Renaissance woman with additional interests in medicine, art, music, languages, engineering, and agriculture. Like Monroe, she was involved with the 1893 Columbian Exposition. As a representative of the German government, she served as a jurist there for textiles and crafts. While in Chicago, she wrote articles for six newspapers about the exposition, earning enough money to finance her medical schooling. She graduated from the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children in 1898 and eventually served as head of the physio-therapy department of the New York Orthopedic Dispensary and Hospital, where she treated young polio patients.³⁸⁹ At the Armory Show, Loewenstein purchased paintings by Charles Camoin, Émilie Charmy, and Jacques Villon. After her retirement from medicine, she continued to write articles

³⁸⁷ "Biography: Harriet Monroe, 1860-1936," Poetry Foundation, accessed August 6, 2013, <http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/harriet-monroe>.

³⁸⁸ Robert W. Righter, *The Battle over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), vii, accessed September 20, 2013, http://books.google.com/books?id=X5OBqCUf6ZsC&dq=sierra+club+harriet+monroe&source=gbs_navlinks_s.

³⁸⁹ Steve Hockstein, "Keepers of the Castle," Inside Jersey, accessed August 14, 2013, http://www.nj.com/inside-jersey/index.ssf/people/keepers_of_the_castle.html.

for medical publications. Loewenstein was a member of both the New York Academy of Medicine and the American Medical Association.³⁹⁰

Carolyn Hunt Rimmer (1851-1918) wrote and illustrated two instructional books for children on figure drawing and animal drawing, both of which featured her anatomical sketches.³⁹¹ She inherited her interest in drawing from her father, Dr. William Rimmer, an artist and anatomy instructor. Carolyn donated four of his drawings to the Armory Show. While the titles of those works are not known, it is likely that they made up part of her bequest of more than eighty works to the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, most of which were anatomical studies.³⁹² In 1915, Carolyn Rimmer donated her father's sculpture, *The Falling Gladiator* (1861), to the Smithsonian American Art Museum.³⁹³

Musicians and Dramatists. Like Lillie Bliss, Gertrude Watson (1859-1938) was an accomplished pianist, but unlike her, Watson frequently gave concerts. She came from an established Buffalo family, remained single throughout her life, and immersed herself in art and music. She established a summer camp for New York working girls on her large farm in Pittsfield, Massachusetts that ran for eighteen years.³⁹⁴ At the Armory Show, Watson purchased two Denis lithographs and paintings by Redon and Signac.

³⁹⁰ "Mrs. Loewenstein, Physician, 72, Dies," *New York Times*, September 8, 1936, 27.

³⁹¹ Caroline Hunt Rimmer, *Drawing Children (Figure Drawing for Children)*, accessed August 8, 2013, <http://www.drawingbooks.org/rimmer/index.html>. Originally published in 1898, this book was made available online in 2013 by Drawingbooks.org. See also a description of "Lincoln Kirstein and Richard Sherman Nutt Research Material on William Rimmer," Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institution, accessed August 9, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/lincoln-kirstein-and-richard-sherman-nutt-research-material-william-rimmer-8322>.

³⁹² Collection Search, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, accessed August 8, 2013, <http://www.mfa.org/search/collections?keyword=caroline+hunt+rimmer&artist=William%20Rimmer>.

³⁹³ William Rimmer, "Falling Gladiator," Smithsonian American Art Museum, accessed August 9, 2013, <http://www.americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artwork/?id=20966>.

³⁹⁴ In addition to Bliss and Watson, four other women collectors shared a love of music: Minnie Karl Untemyer, Edith Clark Fincke, Caroline Astor Wilson, and Ellen Torbert Snyder. Untemyer was one the leaders of the Guarantors committee, a group of wealthy women brought together to support the New York Philharmonic in 1909. They succeeded in bringing Gustav Mahler to New York to conduct the

In addition to Emily Chadbourne, the Art Institute of Chicago also benefitted from the generosity of Armory Show patron Mary Reynolds Aldis (1872-1949) and her husband, Arthur. He was a governing member of the AIC and a real estate developer who frequently traveled abroad. He met Arthur Davies and Walt Kuhn in Europe while they were securing works of art for the exhibition and promised that the AIC would host the show after its New York run.³⁹⁵ Both Arthur and Mary were well-known arts patrons. Together they created an artist's colony at their summer home where, in 1910, Mary established the Aldis Playhouse, an early version of the "little theater" that was beginning to emerge in various cities.³⁹⁶ Not only did she develop a unique theater venue, but she also worked as a playwright. Of her published plays, *Mrs. Pat and the Law* (1915) is the most well-known; it is included in her book, *Plays for Small Stages*.³⁹⁷ In the preface to that book, Aldis wrote cleverly of her enthusiasm for drama:

No one can deny the present Dramatic Renaissance. Plays profitable and unprofitable, popular and unpopular, proper and improper, plays priggish and plays profane, are being presented, read, discussed, revised, written about and quarreled over. The Drama is furiously to the fore and, in spite

struggling orchestra. Like Watson, she too purchased work by Denis, Signac, and Redon. See "Samuel Untermyer: A Man for All Seasons," Untermyer Gardens Conservancy, accessed August 21, 2013, <http://www.untermyergardens.org/samuel-untermyer.html>. Fincke served as chairman of the Schola Cantorum advisory committee, a group that sponsored a series of musical events in the homes of high society women. She purchased a pastel by German Expressionist Franz Maria Jansen entitled, "Ragusa." See "Society Attends Schola Cantorum Musicale Today," *The New York Sun*, January 22, 1930, 26, accessed July 29, 2013, <http://fultonhistory.com/Newspaper%2018/New%20York%20NY%20Sun/New%20York%20NY%20Sun%201930/New%20York%20NY%20Sun%201930%20-%2000896.pdf>. Caroline Astor Wilson had an interest in opera and held musical events in her home to support various charities. See "Mansion to House India Diplomats," *The New York Times*, December 12, 1948, 6. Wilson purchased a Morton Schamberg landscape and Snyder bought a Paul Rohland still life at the exhibition.

³⁹⁵ Martinez, "A Mixed Reception," 36.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, See also "Little Theater," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed September 12, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/344217/little-theatre>. Chicago's "Little Theatre" was established in 1912.

³⁹⁷ "Mary Aldis," *The Greenwich Village Bookshop Door: a Portal to Bohemia 1920-1925*, accessed September 15 2013, <http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/bookshopdoor/signature.cfm?item=75#1>.

of the “Movies,” continues to hold the absorbed interest of an increasing number of people.³⁹⁸

Mary Aldis was a poet as well as a dramatist and published her work in Harriet Monroe’s journal, *Poetry*, and in *Flashlights*, a collection of her poems. An energetic and independent New Woman, Mary lived alone intermittently while still married to Arthur and had romantic relationships with other men.³⁹⁹ At the Armory Show in New York, she purchased three lithographs by Redon. Additionally, works by Foujita (the artist who painted Chadbourne’s portrait, noted above), Aristide Maillol, and Odilon Redon were included in her gifts to the AIC.⁴⁰⁰

Social Reformers. A number of the women collectors at the Armory Show participated in the heated social and political debates of the day –the settlement movement, women’s suffrage, education reform, and other issues of importance to their gender.

Mary Harriman Rumsey (1881-1934) was the daughter of railroad magnate E. H. Harriman and Armory Show financial supporter, Mary Averell Harriman (see Chapter Two). Like Meyer, she attended Barnard College, where she learned about the settlement movement and became interested in social causes.⁴⁰¹ Her community concerns and activities ultimately led her to establish the first Junior League in 1907 and she served as

³⁹⁸ Mary Aldis, *Plays for Small Stages* (New York: Duffield & Company, 1915), xiii, accessed June 2, 2013, <http://archive.org/stream/playsforsmall00aldirich#page/n3/mode/2up>.

³⁹⁹ “Aldis, Mary, b. 1872 (1872-1949),” Lake Forest College Library Archives and Special Collections, accessed September 15, 2013, <http://archon.lakeforest.edu/?p=creators/creator&id=61>.

⁴⁰⁰ The AIC lists one lithograph by Redon as a gift from Mary Aldis, entitled, “The Buddha” but it is not one of the three she purchased at the Armory Show. See Collection of Art, Art Institute of Chicago, <http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork-search/results/aldis?page=2>. Also, Bridget Williams-Bulkeley Guinness was a patron of both art and theater. She briefly served as president of the Stage Society of New York, a group established in 1912 by drama enthusiasts interested in staging new plays in a noncommercial setting. She loaned her Manet painting and a landscape by Philip Wilson Steer to the Armory Show. See “The Stage Society,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1914, 8.

⁴⁰¹ Mary Harriman Rumsey and Agnes Ernst Meyer were students at Barnard College around the same time.

that group's first president. She began by pulling together eighty young women and organizing them to work on the poor living conditions of immigrants on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Winthrop Palmer, who served as Junior League president in the late 1920s, described Rumsey as, "a girl in the shadow of the Mauve Decade flinging across America a web as vibrant, taut, electric as her father's network of steel."⁴⁰² An energetic and independent woman, Rumsey drove her own carriage to Barnard's campus, parking several blocks away so that she could walk the rest of the way and not be recognized as a member of the privileged class.⁴⁰³ Junior League historian Nancy Beth Jackson wrote about Harriman's commitment to community:

Mary Harriman [Rumsey] pushed her friends to learn more and do more about the social problems of the city and extended their work beyond the Settlement programs. While going to college, she chaired League committees on tenement houses, parks and playgrounds, and neighborhoods. Her volunteer work led her to write her senior thesis on the needs of one public school district in the city. She then divided League membership into boards to survey neighborhood school districts. They investigated school conditions and provided recreation activities and tutoring for the students.⁴⁰⁴

Rumsey used her deft organizational skills to her advantage when she entered politics. She served on the Roosevelt administration's National Emergency Council and was considered a driving force in the development of the New Deal program. In 1933 Rumsey started a pro-New Deal newspaper that eventually merged with, and then took control of, the weekly news magazine, *Newsweek*.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰² Nancy Beth Jackson, *The Junior League: 100 Years of Volunteer Service*, 16, accessed August 9, 2013, <http://www.ajli.org/ama/orig/100YearsService.pdf>.

⁴⁰³ Jackson, *The Junior League*, 18.

⁴⁰⁴ Jackson, *The Junior League*, 22.

⁴⁰⁵ "From Hoover to Roosevelt: the Federal Reserve and the Financial Elites," The Ludwig von Mises Institute, accessed September 19, 2013, <http://mises.org/pdf/Rothbardreaders/Part3.pdf>. It is interesting to note that Rumsey and Agnes Meyer were on opposite sides of the political fence. Rumsey attempted to purchase the *Washington Post* but the Meyers beat her to it. While Rumsey promoted Roosevelt's New Deal, Agnes Meyer published articles opposing the program. See Meyer's *Out of These Roots*, 139.

In 1910, Mary Harriman married artist Charles Cary Rumsey with whom she shared a love of horsemanship. Her husband exhibited three works at the Armory Show and she made several purchases there: two lithographs by Cézanne, a print by Gauguin, and a painting by Howard Coluzzi. By 1917, Mary Harriman Rumsey had purchased works by American Armory Show artists Arthur Davies, John Marin, James Whistler, Jerome Myers, and Charles Demuth, among others.⁴⁰⁶ Sadly, Charles died in an automobile accident in 1922 at the age of forty-three, and Mary died in 1934 when she went down with her horse during a hunt.⁴⁰⁷

Political activist Mary Potter Bush (1862-1954) purchased a painting by Redon entitled, *Fleurs (fond rouge)* (1905). She was one of the women who organized the Woman Citizens Corporation, a group that published *The Woman Citizen*. This publication initially focused on women's suffrage; after 1920 and the passage of the 19th amendment, it expanded its coverage to include child labor and women's political education. The group renamed the publication *The Woman's Journal* in 1927 and, just four years later, was forced to shut down the publication due to financial difficulties.⁴⁰⁸ Mary Bush and her colleague Emma Hirth later established the Bureau of Vocational Information to promote women, "their education, their opportunities, their status, and the work to be done for them and by them."⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ L. McCarthy, "Collectors of American Art," 104.

⁴⁰⁷ "Mrs. Rumsey Dies after Hunt Injury," *New York Times*, December 19, 1934, 1. Katherine Isham Farwell also had a deep interest in the settlement movement. She worked with the Eli Dates Settlement House in Chicago for fifteen years. At the exhibition, she purchased a Max Mayrshofer drawing.

⁴⁰⁸ "The Woman Citizen," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed August 1, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/646755/The-Woman-Citizen>.

⁴⁰⁹ Eugenia Wallace, "The Girl in the Watch Tower," *Woman's Journal* 7, no. 17 (1923): 11, accessed August 1, 2013, http://gerritsen.chadwyck.com.echo.louisville.edu/fulltest/fulltext.do?area=documents&id=Gerritsen-GP205.1_Volume_7_Issue_17-35&pagenum=1&resultNum=18&entries=1&source=config.cfg&queryId=../session/1375367407_12935&backto=RESULTS&fromPage=searchResults. Jeanie Watson Norton was also active in the suffrage movement. She bought an oil painting by

Bird Stein Gans (1868-1944), Gertrude Stein's cousin, loaned her Matisse painting, *Flowers* (n.d.), to the Armory Show. A graduate of Columbia University, the New School for Social Research, and New York University, Bird Gans was a pioneer in the field of parent education, cofounding in 1888 the Society for the Study of Child Nature, a group that aimed to aid parents in the rearing of children through the study of child psychology and physical health. In 1924 that group became the Child Study Association of America. Gans served as president and traveled around the country and abroad to further parent education.⁴¹⁰ Her Matisse painting now resides in the Brooklyn Museum, a gift of her daughter, Marion Gans Pomeroy.⁴¹¹

Artists. In addition to Whitney, Dreier, and Sears, five other women who participated as patrons in the Armory Show worked as artists. Elizabeth S. Cheever (1855-1925) bought an oil painting by Amadeo de Souza-Cardoso entitled, *Pecheur* (1912). She was one of five women who in 1889 founded the National Association of Women in the Arts, which, at the time, was called the Woman's Art Club. NAD had barred each of these five women from full participation. The Woman's Art Club organizers lamented the lack of professional training for women and argued that

Redon and a lithograph by Denis. Fellow Armory Show collector Gertrude Watson was her sister. See John William Leonard, ed., "Norton, Jeanie (Mrs. Porter Norton)," *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915* (New York: The American Commonwealth Co., 1914), 603, accessed August 28, 2013, <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.3901502607417;view=1up;seq=595>.

⁴¹⁰ "Bird Stein Gans," Jewish Women's Archive, Jewish Women: a Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia, accessed July 28, 2013, jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/gans-bird-stein.

⁴¹¹ Collection search, Brooklyn Museum, accessed September 16, 2013, https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4792/Flowers_Fleurs/set/9fedbaeb1299c50451521f3075be7a6c. Eliza Miller Guggenheimer was another buyer at the Armory Show interested in supporting parents. She was one of the founders of the Widowed Mothers' Fund Association, Inc., a group that strove to support poor widowed women so that they could keep their children in the home instead of placing them in a public institution. See *The New York Charities Directory* (New York: Charity Organization Society in the City of New York, 1911), xxviii, accessed July 30, 2013, <http://books.google.com>.

achievement in art “need carry no sex distinction.”⁴¹² From the onset, the group strove for a level of professionalism. They held classes and exhibitions and gave out their own awards. To exhibit, artists’ works had to be evaluated by a jury.⁴¹³ In 1913, the group changed its name to the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, which, in 1941, became the National Association of Women Artists, Inc., an organization still active today.⁴¹⁴ Ten of the women artists at the Armory Show were members of this group.⁴¹⁵

Photographer Gertrude Käsebier (1852-1934) loaned seven drawings and a small bronze by Rodin to the exhibition. She acquired several of the drawings in 1906 when she met the sculptor and took his photograph. It is likely that she purchased more drawings by Rodin from his exhibition at 291, held the following year. Rodin gave Käsebier the bronze as a gift. Exactly which of the drawings Käsebier loaned is unclear and, although Brown lists the bronze in his book, he notes that archival documents suggest the bronze was not displayed.⁴¹⁶

Artist Mary Livingston Willard (1850-1926) wrote to the AAPS after seeing the Armory Show, hoping the organizers realized the benefit viewers received from the show.⁴¹⁷ She made several purchases at the Armory Show: a drawing by Robert Henri⁴¹⁸

⁴¹² Karen Rosenberg, “Women Determined Not Only to Make Art but Also to Have It Seen,” *New York Times*, May 21, 2009, accessed September 21, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/22/arts/design/22pres.html? r=0>.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ History, National Association of Women Artists, Inc., accessed July 27, 2013, <http://thenawa.org/node/8>. NAWA is not directly linked to NMWA, the National Museum of Women in the Arts.

⁴¹⁵ See Chapter Four.

⁴¹⁶ Brown, *The Armory Show*, 311.

⁴¹⁷ Willard to AAPS, March 19, 1913, MacRae Papers, Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institute, reel 4131, frame 1039.

⁴¹⁸ I wish to thank Heather Campbell Coyle, curator of American Art at the Delaware Art Museum, whose assistance led to my discovery of Milton Brown’s error in assigning Willard’s drawing by Henri as the one

and oil paintings by Russell, Twachtman, and Redon. Willard grew up in New York City, studied at the Art Students League, and exhibited her landscape paintings with the Society of Independent Artists in 1919 and 1920.⁴¹⁹ Having inherited her wealth from a cousin, Willard remained single all of her life and frequently traveled to Europe. She was one of the founders of the Art Alliance of America, a group that sought to connect artists with buyers.⁴²⁰ She loaned *The Red Boat* (n.d.), a painting by Redon that she owned, (along with other works from her collection by Cassatt and Signac) to the Second Annual Exhibition of American and European Art sponsored by the Dallas Art Association in 1921.⁴²¹ Additionally, Willard loaned *The Red Boat* to the 1922 exhibition of Redon's work at the Museum of French Art.⁴²² Before her death in London, Willard bequeathed two paintings from her collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. One was a work by Mariano Fortuny Marsal. The other was Monet's *Apple Trees in Bloom*, the first Monet to be accessioned by the Met.⁴²³

Two of the five women artists who loaned works to the Armory Show were also among the artists who exhibited there. (A comprehensive discussion of their artistic work

held in their collection. Item #838 is a drawing by Henri now housed at the Delaware Art Museum, but it is not the one that Willard purchased. She purchased item #839, "Drawing," now possibly titled "Sanguine Nude." See Bennard Perlman's *Robert Henri: His Life and Art*, 107 and Coyle's essay, "The Forgotten Side of the Armory Show: A Drawing by American Robert Henri," *Master Drawings* 50, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 157-160.

⁴¹⁹ Clark S. Marlcor, *The Society of Independent Artists: The Exhibition Record, 1917-1944* (Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press, 1984), 577.

⁴²⁰ "Clearing House for Art Products Started," *New York Times*, November 8, 1914, SM8.

⁴²¹ Second Annual Exhibition American and European Art, The Adolphus Hotel, April 7-21, 1921 (Dallas: The Dallas Art Association, 1921), exhibition catalog, accessed August 14, 2013, http://www.dallasmuseumofart.org/idc/groups/public/documents/web_content/dma_496115.pdf.

⁴²² "The World of Art: Exhibitions and Still Exhibitions," *New York Times*, April 9, 1922, 54.

⁴²³ Charles S. Moffett, *Impressionist and Post-impressionist Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 10, accessed August 14, 2013, <http://books.google.com/books?id=2Yj2ZQq6SbMC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>. Other works by Monet had been exhibited prior to this time at the Met, but those were loaned works of art. See also "Wills Art to Museum," *New York Times*, January 29, 1926, 18.

appears in Chapter Four.) Sculptor Nessa Cohen loaned a drawing by Maurice Becker that has since been destroyed. Edith Dimock Glackens loaned a work by Maurice Prendergast and purchased a drawing by Walt Kuhn.⁴²⁴

Philanthropists. Many of the women involved in the Armory Show were known for their philanthropic activities. They supported causes ranging from orphanages to the Girl Scouts of America. Additionally, they had interests in education reform and healthcare issues. At the exhibition they each purchased one work of art. These women include Nanine Lawrence Pond (who purchased a painting by Van Dearing Perrine), Llewellyn Swayne Parsons (who purchased a painting by Jacques Villon), Florence Gibb Pratt (who loaned a painting by Whistler), Cora Burr Hardon (who purchased a pastel by Redon), Annie Stevens Tison (who purchased a painting by Gauguin), Edith Olcott van Gerbig (who purchased a painting by Arthur Freund) and Annie Burr Jennings (who purchased a painting by MacRae).⁴²⁵

Conclusion

Recently, art historian Vivian Barnett completed research on collectors at the Armory Show that helps to expand the story of the exhibition and includes the work done by women, particularly the little-known women. In an interview, she remarked on the diversity of their backgrounds, their ages (ranging from nineteen to sixty-four), the regions from which they came, their levels of education, as well as the amounts they paid for individual works –from ten dollars to \$1,350.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ Brown, *Story of the Armory Show*, 246, 283.

⁴²⁵ I wish to thank Vivian Endicott Barnett for her assistance in uncovering the full names of these women and their activities.

⁴²⁶ Author's interview with Vivian Endicott Barnett, September 6, 2013.

Several of the Armory Show women believed in establishing new homes for their collections that would serve to educate the public about modern art – and still do today. Other women, interested in viewing and buying new art, vibrantly engaged with their times to make changes in a wide range of activities – from politics and education to poetry, art, and music. This chapter addresses forty-four of the forty-nine women who participated as buyers or lenders at the Armory Show, both those who are well-known and those who remain obscure. Perhaps the mere handful of women collectors that have not been mentioned here might fit into the mold that Meyer Schapiro suggested – wives and daughters of magnates occupied with personal fortunes. Certainly, the Armory Show was the kind of big event that attracted the social elite – those who may briefly appear on the art world grid and quickly vanish. However, the vast majority of the women collectors were passionate, civic-minded, energetic – even entrepreneurial – in their collecting agendas. Their collections and generous gifts not only preserve much of the early modernism in America but also better our understanding of the turbulent times in which they lived and in which they made a difference. As Harriet Monroe wrote, “I used to tell myself and God that I was to be ‘great and famous’ – I cannot remember the time when to die without leaving some memorable record did not seem to me a calamity too terrible to be borne. . . . I would ‘prefer art to life.’”⁴²⁷ Monroe’s determination is echoed throughout the lives of the women whose passion for art brought them together at the most important art exhibition in America. The cultural capital they earned before and after the Armory Show remains relevant, as we are the beneficiaries of their grit and their passion for modern art.

⁴²⁷ Harriet Monroe, *A Poet’s Life: Seventy Years in a Changing World* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), 55.

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN ARTISTS AT THE ARMORY SHOW

Fifty women artists showed their work at the Armory Show and nearly all of them remain unknown. The AAPS organizers intended to exhibit only the work of invited artists and they asked thirty women to participate. However, “owing to the great demand by the uninvited”⁴²⁸ (both men and women), the AAPS formed the Domestic Committee to review American works of art.⁴²⁹ Overall, 120 American artists submitted their work for review to this committee. Of the eighty-five men who submitted, forty-two were accepted. Twenty out of thirty-five women had their work accepted.

The vast majority of these fifty women showed their work in various venues both before and after the Armory Show. Several of them studied at well-known institutions such as the Art Students League in New York City and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Many traveled to Europe to further their studies. Research reveals some remarkable connections among them regarding their teachers, schools, gallery affiliations, exhibitions, and professional memberships. Undoubtedly, many of these women knew each other in some capacity and shared ideas about art as well as information on upcoming exhibition possibilities. Like the women collectors at the

⁴²⁸ Walt Kuhn quote in Domestic Art Committee Records: Record Book, 1913, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, accessed November 15, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/Record-Book--228102>.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

Armory Show, the women artists were a varied group, ranging in age from nineteen (Frances Simpson Stevens) to sixty-nine years of age (Mary Cassatt). Moreover, they came from a broad spectrum of locales across the United States. Twelve women artists were natives of New York City, but others came from California, Iowa, Missouri, Ohio, Kentucky, Alabama, and Georgia. Several of these women moved to New York to study and exhibit their work; some split their time between the City and their hometowns. Others eschewed life in New York and forged artistic careers outside of New York altogether. Five women artists were European, coming from France, Germany, and Wales.

I argue that these women must finally be recognized, not just because they were active artists whose work was included in the Armory Show but, more importantly, because including their artistic production in art historical discourse expands our understanding of modern art in America in the early twentieth century and specifically addresses the underlying structures of women's experience at that time. An examination of their work and lives provides us with a unique microcosm of modern visual culture, enabling us to view the multiple strains of expression that emerged as the production of art broke away from the rigid control exerted by the National Academy of Art. However, in light of the continual gendering of modern art as male, women's artwork has been excluded from artistic debate. Self-expression, individualism, and experimentation were all coded masculine – that is, exclusively signifying the endeavors of men. It becomes necessary to invert the debate to address the ways in which women were included as artists.

We do not know much about the women artists whose work was exhibited at the Armory Show. Their lack of recognition in the show and in the larger art world at the time is a two-fold problem. Women artists faded from view with the male gendering of avant-garde art before and especially after World War I and they were excluded from art history annals because of the narrow definition of “modern art” in terms of male self-expression and masculinized abstraction in art that continued for much of the twentieth century. My research reveals an active, vibrant community of women who saw themselves as full participants in the development of early modern art in America.

Recently, art historians have been calling for a broader definition of early modern art in America, one that allows for the consideration and inclusion of artistic work that falls both inside and outside the narrow, male-avant-garde definition. The women artists at the Armory Show represent a case in point. They were a vital group of artists with varying styles, subject matter, and content. They engaged in the art and aesthetic dialog of their time and were one of the most important links connecting late-nineteenth-century visual culture with that of the twentieth century. Yet there remains a gaping hole in the historiography that omits the contributions of these women artists. This chapter works to reclaim these women and their work by examining the many different paths they forged to get their work in the Armory Show as well as what they accomplished afterward. After a collective review of their education, their membership in art associations, and the exhibition of their work in galleries and museums, I address the lives and work of individual Armory Show women artists.

Janet Wolff, an art historian and author of the recent book, *AngloModern: Painting and Modernity in Britain and the United States*, notes that, in terms of visibility,

women artists achieved some level of equal footing with their male colleagues in the early twentieth century.⁴³⁰ The press coverage of the day provides some evidence. For example, a May 1913 *New York Times* reviewer commented on a display of work by both men and women, including May Wilson Preston, Bessie March Brewer, Edith Dimock, Marjorie Organ, Hilda Ward, Amy Londoner, and Florence Barkley, whose works were hung alongside that of Maurice Becker, George Bellows, Andrew Dasburg, and Robert Henri.⁴³¹ All of these artists, men and women, had displayed their work at the Armory Show just two months earlier.

Still, the situation is a complicated one. As Christine Stansell points out, women had to struggle to get into the Armory Show. She notes the lines of sexual difference that hindered women in their attempt to come out from under the stigma of amateurish “women artists” as opposed to the professional “artist” – a label gendered “male” – and she describes women artists as the “disorderly women of a troubled age,” a determined group that fought for inclusion in an environment characterized by dramatic shifts in the arts, society, and politics. Stansell suggests that the gender gap confined women to conservative traditions in art and worked to “disqualify them from the avant-garde.” Yet she also submits that women artists did not see themselves inhabiting a lower level on the hierarchical scale of artistic production. She observes, “Female artistry might betoken something new and modern for women, an engagement with polyglot city crowds, sexual freedom, and professional independence, not effete amateurism and domesticity.”⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Wolff, *Anglo-Modern*, 35.

⁴³¹ “An Exhibition of Drawings, &c., Which Shows Present-Day Tendencies of American Art,” *New York Times*, May 11, 1913, SM14.

⁴³² Stansell, “Women Artists and the Problems of Metropolitan Culture,” 26.

Women artists pursued careers without much regard for whether their work was considered avant-garde or not.

Modernism in art came to be characterized as the realm of genius – a resurgence of the ideal artist that was so prevalent during the Renaissance. Since genius – like artist – was gendered male, women artists had to negotiate their place in the art world. A woman either had to surrender her femininity and become a surrogate male or keep her feminine identity and not be credited as genius.⁴³³ In 1905 Otto Weininger wrote about genius in his screed against women’s intellect, *Sex and Character: An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*; it was translated into English two years later. Weininger argues that masculinity is an innate quality of genius, therefore women cannot be geniuses. He wrote:

Historical research is obliged to agree with the popular saying . . . “The longer the hair, the smaller the brain.” . . . To many easily dazzled, mediocre minds, particularly *women*, wit and genius generally amount to the same thing. . . . in truth, women are unable to appreciate genius.⁴³⁴

Forced to acknowledge that there had been some remarkable women artists, Weininger submits that great women were themselves masculine and cites Rosa Bonheur as one example. Surely, many readers would have found his ideas irrational – but these kinds of notions had their impact on the gendering of modernity.

An investigation of the women artists whose work was on display at the Armory Show does, indeed, reveal an ambitious body of work. And, as with the women financial supporters and collectors, a stylistic review of their work illustrates again that transitional period between their prior limitations in a private domestic sphere and their bold entrance

⁴³³ Elliott and Wallace, *Women Artists and Writers*, 95.

⁴³⁴ Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character: An Investigation of Fundamental Principles*, facsimile of the 1905 edition (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2005), 60, 91, 98.

into a public one – in open defiance of the stereotypes set before them. Their work and lives need to be considered in the development of American modernism. As feminist art historian Griselda Pollock points out:

Historical recovery of women who were artists is a prime necessity because of the consistent obliteration of their activity in what passes for art history. We have to refute the lies that there were no women artists, or that the women artists who are admitted are second-rate and the reason for their indifference lies in the all-pervasive submission to an indelible femininity – always proposed as unquestionably a disability in making art.⁴³⁵

But it is not enough to simply add these women artists to an art historical matrix. It is obvious that women struggled with preconceived notions and labels that undermined their work. After all, they had to deal with suggestions from critics that the high quality of expression in their work meant they painted or sculpted as well as a man. These women challenged the status quo and were determined to establish themselves in the art world.

Of the women artists exhibiting at the Armory Show, Mary Cassatt, Gwen John, Marie Laurencin, and Marguerite Zorach are the most well-known. This means that forty-six other women artists remain largely invisible. After one hundred years of relative anonymity, the important contributions these women artists made to modern art must be recognized.

Scholarship on Women and Modern Art

In the wake of the 1970s feminist movement, scholars began to address the contributions of women artists throughout time.⁴³⁶ Certainly, the Guerilla Girls brought

⁴³⁵ Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," *Vision and Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 77.

⁴³⁶ To note a few: Eleanor Tufts authored *Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists*, London 1974; Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin put together the catalog, *Women Artists: 1550-1950*, for

publicity to the lack of documentation and the exclusion of female practitioners. Linda Nochlin's popular essay, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" fueled the debate as well. More recently, a reevaluation of women in modern art in particular has emerged. For general discussions on women, gender, and art, I have relied on scholarship that includes that of Wolff, Stansell, and Felski; Wanda Corn and Gail Levin ("Women Building History" and "The Changing Status of American Women Artists, 1900-1930," respectively, in *American Women Artists 1830-1930*, published in 1987 in conjunction with the inaugural exhibition at the National Museum of Women in the Arts); Gill Perry (*Gender and Art*, Yale, 1999); and Carolyn Burke ("Getting Spliced: Modernism and Sexual Difference," in *American Quarterly*, 1987). Specifically, for the discussion of women artists in the Armory Show, I have turned to the work of Staples's examination of women artists and collectors in her "Virtual Armory Show," <http://xroads.virginia.edu/>, and Charles Musser, who wrote about early feminism and the Armory Show in *The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution*, recently published in conjunction with the New York Historical Society's centennial exhibition. In her discussion of women artists, Staples sheds light mostly on the "modernist" women at the Armory Show, those whose work could be regarded within that narrow definition of modern art in a way that implies tokenism. Musser's essay contains several errors: the incorrect identification of a female artist, the misplaced suggestion that many of the women earned entrance to the

the Los Angeles County Museum of Art's exhibition in 1976 that included short biographies of the women included in that show. In the same year, Karen Peterson and J. J. Wilson wrote *Women Artists: Recognition and Reappraisal from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. In 1978, Donna Bachman and Sherry Piland put together a feminist bibliography of women artists and Elsa Honig Fine wrote *Women and Art: A History of Women Painters and Sculptors from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*; and, Germaine Greer discussed women painters in her book, *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Women Painters and their Work* in 1979.

Armory Show via their artist husbands, and the wrong number of Robert Henri's women students who participated. Additionally, he seems to suggest that politics and deal-making accounted for much of the female artistic participation. For example, Helen Niles, one of Henri's students, introduced her mentor to anarchist Emma Goldman; Musser condescendingly muses that perhaps that might have won her "a slot in the Armory Show as a way to repay this debt!"⁴³⁷ Both of these scholars overlook the fact that women were whole-heartedly engaged in artistic production along many lines of aesthetic leanings and regardless of their social connections.

Debates on women and difference in art took place at the time of the Armory Show as well. For example, critic Mary Fanton Roberts, writing under the pseudonym Giles Edgerton, wrote an article that appeared in the *Craftsman* in 1908, entitled, "Is There a Sex Distinction in Art? The Attitude of the Critic toward Women's Exhibits." In the article she suggests that male and female artists naturally express themselves differently because of their dissimilar life experiences, but she rails against women-only exhibitions and suggests that women's art should be hung next to men's art and judiciously critiqued with the same unequivocal eye, regardless of gender. She asserts that women-only exhibitions invite sentimental labeling and undermine the work of professional women artists who are reluctant to participate in segregated exhibitions.⁴³⁸ In fact, in 1910 at the pivotal Exhibition of Independent Artists put together by Henri and his colleagues (and seen as a forerunner of the Armory Show), women represented

⁴³⁷ Charles Musser, "1913: A Feminist Moment in the Arts," 169-179.

⁴³⁸ Giles Edgerton, "Is There a Sex Distinction in Art? The Attitude of the Critic toward Women's Exhibits," *Craftsman*, June, 1908, 239-251.

twenty-eight of the ninety-seven artists whose work was on display.⁴³⁹ Eleven of those women went on to participate in the Armory Show. The women artists who participated in both shows are listed in Table One below. Armory Show artist Edith Haworth sold a drawing on opening night at the 1910 exhibition— one of just three sales that evening.⁴⁴⁰

Table 1. Armory Show Women Artists Included in the 1910 Exhibition of Independent Artists

Florence Barkley
Bessie Marsh Brewer
Edith Dimock
Edith Haworth
Amy Londoner
Josephine Paddock
Louise Pope
May Wilson Preston
Mary Rogers
Hilda Ward
Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*

* *Patron of the Armory Show but not an Armory Show exhibitor*

Source: Mary Ellen Connor, "The 1910 Exhibition of Independent Artists," (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1990) and Peter Falk, Audrey Lewis, Georgia Kuchen, Veronika Roessler, *Who Was Who in American Art, 1564- 1975: 400 Years of Artists in America* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1999).

(Author's note: All of the tables in this chapter come from information garnered from my database, which I compiled from various sources. Each table lists the Armory Show women artists who participated in a particular venue, school, or association, revealing their connections both to the art world and to each other.)

Certainly, the 1910 exhibition was not the first display of modern art by women. The rise in the number of women exhibiting their work grew rapidly at the turn of the century. When William Macbeth (1851-1917) opened his gallery in New York in 1892, he welcomed work by both women and men. The first printed catalogue for a Macbeth

⁴³⁹ Mary Ellen Connor, "The 1910 Exhibition of Independent Artists," (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1990).

⁴⁴⁰ Gail Levin, "The Changing Status of American Women Artists," 13.

Gallery show listed three women participants out of a total of twenty-four artists.⁴⁴¹

Additionally, Gertrude Whitney exhibited the work of her female colleagues in her studio in the years leading up to the Armory Show.⁴⁴² Elsewhere, five of the twenty-four Armory Show women who displayed work at annual shows at PAFA (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts) did so at least ten times; eleven of them showed their work in 1911 and nine did in 1913. Of those artists, six were included in both years. Thus, it is likely that the women knew of each other and were familiar with each other's work.

Key Changes in Art Education that Impacted Women's Careers

In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, women who intended to pursue art as a career faced a great deal of gender bias. Ellen Clayton, a pioneer in the study of the Victorian woman artist, observed:

Although many ladies of rank and consideration were distinguished by their skill as amateurs in drawing and painting, an odd prejudice existed among some heads of families and schools against young girls learning art. It was regarded as "a waste of time."⁴⁴³

One reason women artists became more visible in exhibition venues at the turn of the century is because of the meteoric rise in the number of women artists, which was largely due to the changes in artistic education in both the United States and Europe that allowed large numbers of women to enroll in art schools. The idea of the professional woman artist was one of the hallmark types of the New Woman who challenged the conventional gender divide.⁴⁴⁴ In 1897 Candace Wheeler, a longtime patron of women in the arts, gloated that, "there are today thousands upon thousands of girl art students and women

⁴⁴¹ Gwendolyn Owens, "Hidden Histories" in Marian Wardle, *American Women Modernists: The Legacy of Robert Henri, 1910-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 140-141.

⁴⁴² See Chapter Three for Whitney's exhibition program.

⁴⁴³ Ellen Clayton, cited in Pamela Geraldine Nunn, "The Mid-Victorian Woman Artist: 1850-1879," (PhD diss., University College, London, 1982), 10.

⁴⁴⁴ Stansell, "Women Artists," 28.

artists, where only a few years ago there was scarcely one.”⁴⁴⁵ One need only to look at the art and architecture of the Woman’s Building at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition to witness the largesse of female artistic practitioners. Some have equated the Woman’s Building as the prototype for the National Museum of Women in the Arts established nearly one hundred years later.⁴⁴⁶

Despite the new access to art schools, women continued to work at a disadvantage to men. In France, the *École des Beaux-Arts* did not allow women in its entrance competition until 1897 – ironically, by that time, that institution’s bloom was fading and its standing in the art world was losing significance. Initially women were not allowed access to the nude model in life drawing classes; when they finally were, they often had to study a draped model in a separate classroom for women only. The *École Nationale pour les Jeunes Filles* encouraged women to pursue careers in the decorative and applied arts rather than participate in what was seen to be the more masculine arena of high art. *Académie Julian* provided separate studios for women and men and was one of the few places where women could study from the nude, but, like the *École des Beaux-Arts*, its fees for female students were twice those of male students. By 1900, the *Académie Colarossi* was competing with the *Académie Julian* as one of the most popular academies for women students.⁴⁴⁷

Studying art in Paris became a badge of authenticity for any art student. Women students studying abroad claimed a male privilege as their own and to embark on such a study was a bold move for them. An American woman had to separate from her family

⁴⁴⁵ Candace Wheeler, quoted in *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ Wanda Corn, “Women Building History,” in *American Women Artists 1830-1930* (Washington DC: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987), 26.

⁴⁴⁷ Gill Perry, *Women Artists and the Parisian Avant-Garde: Modernism and ‘feminine’ art, 1900 to the late 1920s* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 16-17.

and by going to Paris, she indicated that she was preparing for a serious career when she returned to the United States.⁴⁴⁸ Of the fifty women artists at the Armory Show, nineteen – both American and European – traveled to Paris to study art at some time during their lives. Many of the Americans belonged to the American Girls' Club in Paris. The idea for this group emerged in the 1880s as the concern for American women's welfare abroad reached its peak. Reverend and Mrs. Newell started the Club with Elizabeth Mills Reid, wife of an American diplomat. Beginning as a rented apartment to house female art students, the Club grew exponentially after it moved into larger quarters at a former boys' school. Much like a monitored college dormitory, women lived in individual rooms and had common areas for dining, reading, and socializing. The American Girls' Club was safe and affordable, although it could house only fifty students.⁴⁴⁹

At the same time, women in the United States gained access to important academies during the 1860s. For instance, Mary Cassatt studied at PAFA, a conservative institution that had to turn to female students to fill out its rosters as male students went off to fight in the American Civil War. One other Armory Show woman artist studied at PAFA – Florence Esté – although not during the same time period. (Esté was sixteen years younger than Cassatt.) Twenty additional women artists at the Armory Show displayed their work at PAFA exhibitions. (See Table Two)

The conservative institution, the National Academy of Design (NAD), served as the American version of the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Founded in 1826 under the auspices of Thomas Cole and his cohorts, NAD eventually became the old-school institution of choice to rebel against in the early twentieth century, a rebellion that gave rise to the

⁴⁴⁸ Kristen Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 39.

⁴⁴⁹ Mariea Caudill Dennison, "The American Girls' Club in Paris: The Propriety and Imprudence of Art Students, 1890-1914," *Woman's Art Journal* 26, no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 2005): 32-37.

independent artists' movement that advocated no-jury, no-prize exhibitions. NAD did not permit women to attend anatomy lectures until 1914, although female students could attend separate life drawing classes with a draped nude model as early as 1871. However, from its inception until the middle of the twentieth century, the number of women artists granted full or associate membership amounted to only seventy-five out of a total membership of 1,300.⁴⁵⁰ Two of the Armory Show's women artists took classes at NAD. Seventeen additional women artists had their work accepted at NAD's annual exhibitions. Only three women were granted membership (see Table Three). Of the nineteen artists listed in this table, ten were sculptors. In general, American sculpture at the Armory Show was not considered particularly progressive and the conservative nature of these women sculptors' work likely helped them gain access to what was considered a prestigious venue, especially before 1913.

In contrast to both NAD and PAFA, the New York Art Students League emerged as the most liberal art school in New York. Since it was founded by a group of artists that included several women, female students were accepted from its inception.⁴⁵¹ Additionally, art historian Gail Levin suggests that once male artists started to separate from the closed system of juried exhibitions at NAD, they became more accepting of female artists.⁴⁵² In addition to Henri and Chase, artists John Sloan, Bryson Burroughs, Kenyon Cox, James Fraser, J. Alden Weir, George Grey Barnard, Arthur Wesley Dow, and Gutzon Borglum taught classes at the Art Student Leagues in which seventeen

⁴⁵⁰ Levin, "Changing Status," 13. See also Julie Graham, "American Women Artists' Groups: 1867-1930," *Woman's Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1980): 8.

⁴⁵¹ "Founded by Artists, For Artists," The Art Students League of New York, accessed March 9, 2013, <http://www.theartstudentsleague.org/About/History.aspx>.

⁴⁵² Levin, "Changing Status," 13.

Armory Show women artists were enrolled (see Table Four). Of these men, all but Burroughs, Cox, Dow, and Borglum were included in the Armory Show.

Table 2. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Exhibition Dates</i>
Marion Beckett	1911, 1913, 1921
Edith Woodman Burroughs	1896-97, 1900-1902, 1907-1911, 1913, 1916
Mary Cassatt†	1876-1912, 1915-1917 (total: 17 times)
Nessa Cohen	1913, 1917, 1924
Aileen Dresser	1934, 1938
Florence Dreyfous	1903, 1904
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle	1905-1913, 1916, 1919, 1922, 1940-1941
Florence Esté†	1877, 1879, 1880, 1883, 1887, 1900
Mary Foote	1906, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1915
Anne Goldthwaite	1911-1944 (14 annuals)
Margaret Hoard	1913-1916, 1920
Margaret Huntington	1895-1899, 1919, 1922, 1926
Grace Mott Johnson	1911, 1913, 1915, 1917, 1926-1927
Carolyn Campbell Mase	1903, 1924, 1931-1932
Kathleen McEnery	1911-1913
Myra Musselman-Carr	1911, 1914, 1915
Ethel Myers	1920, 1933
Josephine Paddock	1914-1915, 1935-1936
Agnes Pelton	1930, 1932 (solo)
May Wilson Preston	1903, 1906-1911 (4 annuals)
Sarah Choate Sears*	1892-1899, 1902, 1903
Bessie Potter Vonnoh	1894-97, 1899, 1903-06, 1912, 1914-17, 1921, 1927, 1931
Enid Yandell	1899-1911 (6 times)
Marguerite Zorach	1930-1964 (12 times)

* *Patron of the Armory Show but not an exhibitor*

† *Student at PAFA*

Source: Peter Falk, ed., The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania of Fine Arts, 1876-1913, vols. 2 & 3 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1989).

Table 3. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the National Academy of Design

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Exhibition Dates</i>
Edith Burroughs	1897, 1907 (prize for “Circe”), 1907-1912, 1914, 1915
Mary Cassatt	1874-1878, 1909 - Associate
Nessa Cohen	1911, 1912, 1919, 1923
Abastenia Eberle±	1907 (prize), 1908-1910 (prize), 1911-1932 (12 times)
Mary Foote	1903-1920 (18 times)
Anne Goldthwaite†	1914-1927 (8 times)
Mary Hoard	1912, 1914, 1917, 1919, 1920
Margaret Huntington	1920
Grace Mott Johnson	1909, 1911, 1912, 1918
Carolyn Campbell Mase	1913
Myra Musselman-Carr	1911, 1912
Ethel Myers	1918, 1925, 1928-1930, 1932
Josephine Paddock	1912, 1914, 1934, 1935, 1938, 1942
Louise Pope	1906, 1908
May Wilson Preston†	1907-1911 (4 annuals)
Bessie Vonnoh§	1905, 1906, 1910-1916, 1918, 1921(gold), 1926
Gertrude V. Whitney*	1907, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1927
Enid Yandell	1899, 1902, 1903, 1908, 1912
Marguerite Zorach	1947

* *Patron of the Armory Show but not an exhibitor*

† *Student at NAD*

± *Elected as associate member*

§ *Elected as full member*

Source: Peter Falk, ed., The Annual Exhibition Record of the National Academy of Art, 1901-1950 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1990).

Table 4. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the New York Art Students League

<i>Student Name</i>	<i>Dates Attended</i>
Bessie Marsh Brewer	dates unavailable
Fannie Wilcox Brown	dates unavailable
Edith Woodman Burroughs	1888-89, 1891
Emily S. Cheever*	1900
Nessa Cohen	dates unavailable
Kate Thompson Cory	1886-87, 1888-89, 1901-02, 1904-05
Edith Dimock	1895-96, 1896-97, 1898-99
Florence Dreyfous	1902-03, 1903-04, summer 1904
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle	1899-1900, 1900-01
Florence Esté	1883-84
Margaret Hoard	dates unavailable
Margaret Huntington	1884-85, 1885-86, 1890, 1895-96
Grace Mott Johnson	1904-1905
Hermine Kleinert	1902-03, 1903-04, 1904-05
Amy Londoner	1925
Agnes Ernst Meyer*	1893-94, 1895-96, 1898-99, 1899-1900, 1900-01
Myra Musselman-Carr	dates unavailable
Helen J. Niles	1893-94, 1894-95
Josephine Paddock	dates unavailable
May Wilson Preston	1894-95, 1895-96, 1898-99
Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*	1903-04

* *Patron of the Armory Show but not an Armory Show exhibitor*

Source: Art Student League Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, reels NY59-20 and NY59-21.

Additionally, private schools emerged in New York City. The Chase School of Art, run by painter William Merritt Chase, accepted both men and women; it later became the New York School of Art, one of the venues where Robert Henri taught. Both Chase and Henri were known for their astute teaching abilities. According to artist and writer Guy Pène du Bois, “The Henri class at the New York School of Art was the seat of the sedition among the young. Chase . . . preached art for art’s sake; Henri, art for life’s sake. The difference was monumental.”⁴⁵³ Typically, students took classes from the older

⁴⁵³ Guy Pène du Bois, *Artists Say the Silliest Things* (New York: American Artists Group, Inc., Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc., 1940), 84.

Chase before enrolling in Henri's classes.⁴⁵⁴ Henri first taught at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women in 1892, then at the Chase School from 1902-1909. He opened his own school in 1909 and later taught at the Ferrer Society from 1911 to 1916 before joining the staff at the Art Students League.⁴⁵⁵ Allan Antliff suggests that Henri "upset the patriarchal applecart" by admitting both men and women students to his classes, wherever he taught.⁴⁵⁶ It would be difficult to overestimate the influence Henri had on his women students' careers. Out of fifty women artists at the Armory Show, sixteen had studied with him. (see Tables Five and Six) However, while he supported both women artists and the suffrage movement and socialized with women artists, Henri still ascribed to a male-dominated ethos of the art world, famously stating, "Be a man first, be an artist later."⁴⁵⁷ It is likely that Henri's female students read "be a man" as "be an individual," yet such statements added to the gendering of modern art as male.⁴⁵⁸ Kristen Swinth comments, "From the beginning . . . radical artists purveyed artistic manhood while ignoring the actual New Women sitting across café tables from them."⁴⁵⁹ Other notable, educational institutions that Armory Show women artists attended include the Pratt Institute, Cooper Union (Female School of Design), and the Cincinnati Art Academy.

⁴⁵⁴ Betsy Fahlman, "The Art Spirit in the Classroom: Educating the Modern Woman Artist," in Wardle, *American Women Modernists*, 107.

⁴⁵⁵ "Robert Henri," New Britain Museum of American Art, accessed October 30, 2013, http://www.nbmaa.org/timeline_highlights/essays/henri.html.

⁴⁵⁶ Alan Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 15.

⁴⁵⁷ Robert Henri, quoted in Wardle, *American Women Modernists*, 5.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 170-171.

Table 5. Robert Henri’s women students at the Armory Show

Florence Howell Barkley
Marion Beckett
Bessie Marsh Brewer
Kate Thompson Cory
Florence Dreyfous
Edith Haworth
Margaret Huntington
Amy Londoner
Kathleen McEnery
Ethel Myers
Helen Niles
Marjorie Organ
May Wilson Preston
Mary Rogers
Frances Simpson Stevens
Hilda Ward

Source: Falk, Who Was Who.

Table 6. William Merritt Chase’s women students at the Armory Show

Edith Dimock
Lily Everett
Edith Haworth
Margaret Huntington
Ethel Myers
Helen Niles
Josephine Paddock
May Wilson Preston

Source: Falk, Who Was Who.

The Emergence of Art Associations

The end of the nineteenth century witnessed an increase in the collection activity of wealthy American industrialists. For example, J. Pierpont Morgan was known for his “infamous appetite for art.”⁴⁶⁰ American artists who sought to take advantage of the booming art market began forming associations – and women often had difficulty gaining membership. Swinth suggests that much of the opposition to female membership was due to the reluctance of the male artists to have their work judged by female artists.⁴⁶¹

In response, women began forming their own art associations. The Woman’s Art Club was one of the most successful female groups. Established in 1889, the Club was founded by Armory Show patron Emily Cheever and four other women after they were barred from full participation at NAD and at the Society of American Artists (a group

⁴⁶⁰ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 64.

⁴⁶¹ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 68.

that merged with NAD in 1906). The Woman's Art Club changed its name in 1913 to the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, establishing a female version of the all-male AAPS (American Association of Painters and Sculptors), and changed its name again in 1941 to the National Association of Women Artists (NAWA), which is still active today.⁴⁶² NAWA directly countered discrimination against women and became an important pioneer in the establishment of women artists' groups.⁴⁶³ In 1914 NAWA had five hundred members in forty states. In the 1920s the group was a major player in holding group exhibitions – its 1924 show included the work of notable artists Mary Cassatt, Käthe Kollwitz, Suzanne Valadon, and Marie Laurencin.

In 1925 Armory Show artists Anne Goldthwaite, Margaret Huntington, and Ethel Myers, along with their peers, established the New York Society of Women Artists (NYSWA). As NAWA's influence diminished in the late 20s, NYSWA emerged as a more progressive group of artists, although its membership was capped at only fifty artists.⁴⁶⁴ Ten women associated with the Armory Show were members of NAWA and five were members of NYSWA. (see Tables Seven and Eight)

⁴⁶² "N.A.W.A. History," The National Association of Women Artists, Inc., accessed October 31, 2013, <http://thenawa.org/history>.

⁴⁶³ Graham, "American Women Artists' Groups," 10.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid. See also Edward Alden Jewell, "142 Entries Seen in New Art Show," *New York Times*, May 14, 1946, 31.

**Table 7. Armory Show Women Artists
Affiliated with the National
Association of Women Artists**

Emily S. Cheever*
Nessa Cohen
Kate Thompson Cory
Mary Foote
Anne Goldthwaite
Margaret Hoard
Margaret Huntington
Grace Mott Johnson
Carolyn Campbell Mase
Agnes Pelton
May Wilson Preston

* Patron of the Armory Show but not an
Armory Show exhibitor

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

**Table 8. Armory Show Women Artists
Affiliated with the New York
Society of Women Artists**

Anne Goldthwaite
Margaret Huntington
Ethel Myers
Marjorie Organ
Marguerite Zorach

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

Additionally, women artists at the Armory Show also participated in groups that had both male and female members. Six of the nine women sculptors at the Armory Show were members of the prestigious National Sculpture Society (NSS). (see Table Nine) Founded in 1893, the NSS promoted figurative and realistic sculpture.

**Table 9. Armory Show Women
Artists Affiliated with the
National Sculpture Society**

Edith Woodman Burroughs
Nessa Cohen
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle
Grace Mott Johnson
Bessie Potter Vonnoh
Enid Yandell

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

**Table 10. Armory Show Women
Artists Affiliated with the
MacDowell Club**

Florence Howell Barkley
Bessie Marsh Brewer
Margaret Huntington
Amy Londoner
Kathleen McEney
Mary Rogers

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

Six of Robert Henri's students who participated in the Armory Show also showed their work under the aegis of the MacDowell Club, one of many such clubs around the country founded to promote art and music in commemoration of composer Edward MacDowell. (see Table 10) Henri was approached by a member of the Club in New York about organizing exhibitions in their gallery that would put his no-jury, no-prize concept into practice. The aim was to plan exhibitions showing the work of eight to twelve artists at a time on a rotating schedule. These small groups of exhibitors came together to organize their own shows and disbanded as a group after the work came down. Despite some drawbacks relating to the venue's space and privacy, the MacDowell Club continued for eight years.⁴⁶⁵

Additionally, four of the Armory Show women artists were affiliated with the Allied Artists of America, a group formed in 1914 for the advancement of American art. Five women were members of the National Arts Club, a group established in 1898 by Charles De Kay (a writer, poet, and art critic for the *New York Times*) as a "gathering place to welcome artists of all genres as well as art lovers and patrons."⁴⁶⁶ Four women were members of the New York Watercolor Club and three more were members of the American Artists Professional League, an association formed in 1928 to advance American representational art.⁴⁶⁷

Just three years after the Armory Show, a large group of independent artists began displaying their work together under the banner of the Society of Independent Artists

⁴⁶⁵ William Innes Homer with assistance from Violet Organ, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), 165-166.

⁴⁶⁶ "National Arts Club History," The National Arts Club, accessed November 4, 2013, <http://www.nationalartsclub.org/Default.aspx?p=DynamicModule&pageid=337064&ssid=235561&vnf=1>.

⁴⁶⁷ "History," American Artists Professional League, accessed November 4, 2013, <http://www.americanartistsprofessionalleague.org/about.htm>.

(SIA). Armory Show artist Mary Rogers and artist/patron Katherine Dreier joined twenty-four of their male colleagues in 1916 to form this group, which was inspired by France's Société des Artistes Indépendants. The mission of the SIA was to achieve a sense of continuity in New York's art scene by providing large annual exhibitions, not just one-time events like the Armory Show. Many of the artists in the Armory Show became involved with the new Society, including Walter Pach, William Glackens, John Sloan, Maurice Prendergast, and Marcel Duchamp. Armory Show patrons Dreier, Mary Rumsey, and Gertrude Whitney were among the financial backers. Any artist who paid the yearly membership fee could exhibit any piece they desired in the no-jury, no-prize annuals. The Society held its inaugural exhibition in 1917 – “the Big Show” of over 2,000 works of art where (as discussed in Chapter Three) organizers struggled with Duchamp's controversial entry, *Fountain*. Opening night drew throngs of viewers who crowded into a compact space to see art hung three levels high with little space in-between. Women represented 414 out of 1,235 exhibitors at this huge affair.⁴⁶⁸ Twenty-three of those women had shown their work a few years earlier at the Armory Show. (See Table Eleven) The SIA held annual exhibitions until 1944; a total of thirty-one Armory Show women artists displayed work in those shows during their careers.

⁴⁶⁸ Clark S. Marlor, *The Society of Independent Artists: the Exhibition Record 1917-1944* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1984).

Table 11. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Society of Independent Artists Inaugural Exhibition, 1917

Florence Howell Barkley	Grace Mott Johnson
Marion Beckett	Edith Lawrence King
Fannie Wilcox Brown	Hermine Kleinert
Nessa Cohen	Myra Musselman-Carr
Kate T. Cory	Helen Niles
Katherine Dreier	Agnes Pelton
Aileen Dresser	Harriet Phillips
Florence Dreyfous	Katharine Rhoades
Mary Foote	Mary C. Rogers
Anne Goldthwaite	Frances Simpson Stevens
Edith Haworth	Marguerite Zorach
Margaret Huntington	

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

Finally, the Salons of America included the participation of fourteen women artists from the Armory Show. (see Table Twelve) Artist Hamilton Easter Field founded this group in 1922 after he parted ways with the SIA over issues of financial management and publicity methods.⁴⁶⁹ A *New York Times* reviewer described the Salon’s Board of Directors amusingly as “radicals, conservatives and those on the fence.”⁴⁷⁰

Table 12. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Salons of America

Marion Beckett	Carolyn Campbell Mase
Florence Dreyfous	Myra Musselman-Carr
Anne Goldthwaite	Edith Myers
Edith Haworth	Josephine Paddock
Margaret Huntington	Agnes Pelton
Amy Londoner	Katharine Nash Rhoades
Hermine Kleinert	Marguerite Zorach

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

⁴⁶⁹ “Salons of America: A New Art Society,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1922, 12.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Participation in Gallery and Museum Exhibitions

Beyond the exhibitions sponsored by these artist groups, many of the Armory Show's women artists found themselves at the same gallery and museum exhibitions, both before and after the Armory Show. At Alfred Stieglitz's gallery, 291, Katharine Nash Rhoades and Marion Beckett had a duo exhibition of their work in early 1915. Beckett, along with Katherine Dreier and Abastenia Eberle, also displayed work at the Macbeth Gallery; Eberle had a solo exhibition at Macbeth in 1907 and Dreier had a solo show there a few months after the Armory Show closed. The Knoedler Gallery, one of the oldest New York galleries, also exhibited work by women. Six Armory Show women artists showed their work at this venue.⁴⁷¹ (see Table Thirteen) Ten Armory Show women had work exhibited at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. (see Table Fourteen)

Table 13. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Knoedler Art Gallery

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Dates Exhibited</i>
Mary Cassatt	1917
Mary Foote	1916
Anne Goldthwaite	1944 (memorial)
Ethel Myers	1920
Agnes Pelton	1917
Marguerite Zorach	1944 (solo)

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

⁴⁷¹ "Knoedler Gallery Archive," The Getty Research Institute, accessed November 6, 2013, http://www.getty.edu/research/special_collections/notable/knoedler.html.

Table 14. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Corcoran Gallery

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Dates Exhibited</i>
Mary Cassatt	1907-1926, 1957
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle	unavailable
Mary Foote	1908, 1910, 1919-1923
Anne Goldthwaite	1916, 1930-43
Margaret Hoard	unavailable
Margaret Huntington	1916, 1928
Ethel Myers	unavailable
Josephine Paddock	1914, 1937
Bessie Potter Vonnoh	1910, 1919 (solo)
Marguerite Zorach	1930-1945 (4 times)

Sources: Falk, *Who Was Who*; Joan A. Lemp, *Women at Work: Sculpture from The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1897-1947*, exhibition catalog (Washington DC: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1987).

Nearly half of the Armory Show women artists displayed their work at the Art Institute of Chicago, thirteen of them before 1913 and nineteen afterwards. The years between 1891 and 1945 witnessed a rise in the number of women artists at AIC that approaches fifty percent. (see Table Fifteen) And in France, five American women artists at the Armory Show had work accepted at the prestigious Paris Salon, achieving “real” recognition as an artist. (see Table Sixteen).

Table 15. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Art Institute of Chicago

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Dates Exhibited</i>
Edith Woodman Burroughs	1912, 1916
Mary Cassatt	1904-1939 +
Nessa Cohen	1912, 1916, 1918, 1920, 1923
Edith Dimock	1912
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle	1911, 1912, 1916, 1921
Florence Esté	1900, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1922, 1924
Mary Foote	1911, 1913, 1914, 1916
Anne Goldthwaite	1914-1943 (18 times)
Margaret Hoard	1916
Margaret Huntington	1920
Grace Mott Johnson	1912, 1916, 1917
Edith Lawrence King	1915
Marie Laurencin	1921, 1926, 1927, 1931, 1932, 1938
Carolyn Campbell Mase	1916, 1928
Myra Musselman-Carr	1911, 1912
Ethel Myers	1920, 1930
Helen Niles	1911
Josephine Paddock	1913, 1914, 1915, 1938
May Wilson Preston	1907
Bessie Potter Vonnoh	1903, 1911, 1912, 1916, 1921, 1925, 1928, 1939
Hilda Ward	1914, 1915
Enid Yandell	1891, 1916
Marguerite Zorach	1929, 1930, 1935, 1939, 1945

Source: Peter Falk, ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1888-1950* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1990).

Table 16. Armory Show Women Artists Included in Paris Salons

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Salon Years</i>
Mary Cassatt	1874, 1875, 1876
Florence Esté	1888, 1889, 1892, 1894
Grace Mott Johnson	1910
Josephine Paddock	1951*
Enid Yandell	1897, 1898, 1899

Source: Lois M. Fink, *American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons* (DC: National Museum of American Art with Cambridge University Press, 1990); Falk, *Who Was Who*.

*I wish to thank Shana H. Fung, Reference Associate at the Frick Art Reference Library in New York, for her assistance in confirming Paddock's exhibition date.

Two significant exhibitions took place soon after the Armory Show. Women artists participated in a show held at the Macbeth Gallery in 1915 to bring awareness to the suffrage campaign; eleven of them were Armory Show artists. (see Table Seventeen) That same year, ten Armory Show women artists were included in the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, a world's fair held in San Francisco. (See Table Eighteen) Twelve of the Armory Show women displayed work at the Whitney Studio Club and the Whitney Museum of American Art.⁴⁷² (see Table Nineteen)

Table 17. Armory Show Women Artists at the 1915 Suffrage Exhibition

Edith Woodman Burroughs
Katherine Dreier
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle
Anne Goldthwaite
Kathleen McEnery
Myra Musselman-Carr
Ethel Myers
Agnes Pelton
Louise Pope
May Wilson Preston
Hilda Ward

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

Table 18. Armory Show Women Artists at the Panama-Pacific Exposition

Edith Woodman Burroughs
Edith Dimock
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle
Anne Goldthwaite
Margaret Hoard
Grace Mott Johnson
Edith Lawrence King
May Wilson Preston
Bessie Potter Vonnoh
Marguerite Zorach

Source: Falk, *Who Was Who*.

⁴⁷² Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney's role in supporting American art and women artists is discussed in Chapter Three.

Table 19. Armory Show Women Artists Affiliated with the Whitney Museum of American Art

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Dates Exhibited</i>
Edith Woodman Burroughs	1924, 1925
Edith Dimock	unavailable
Aileen Dresser	1918, 1926-1928
Abastenia St. Leger Eberle	1940
Anne Goldthwaite	1922-1928, 1932-1934, 1938
Edith Haworth	1918-1927 (8 times)
Grace Mott Johnson	1919, 1922
Hermine Kleinert	1936
Myra Musselman-Carr	1928
Edith Myers	1918, 1925-1928
Agnes Pelton	unavailable
Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney*	1918-1941 (15 times)
Marguerite Zorach	1932, 1940, 1951, 1952

* *Patron of the Armory Show but not an Armory Show exhibitor*

Source: Peter Falk, ed., The Annual and Biennial Exhibition Record of the Whitney Museum of American Art, 1918-1989 (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1991).

A close review of the forty-two women artists represented in the tables above suggests that the women whose paths crossed at the Armory Show were highly visible and among the most active artists, at least in New York's artistic circles. For example, ten of the Armory Show women artists appear in at least five of the eighteen tables presented. Painter Anne Goldthwaite is a member of eleven of these groupings, most of which are exhibition venues; illustrator May Wilson Preston displayed her work at seven venues; Marguerite Zorach's work was exhibited at nine; and sculptor Grace Mott Johnson's work was exhibited at six. As an educator, Robert Henri's influence on the Armory Show's women artists is readily apparent: four of the Armory Show women artists studied with both him and William Chase; five women who studied at the Art Students League were also Henri's students; and seven of the eleven women who participated in the 1910 Exhibition of Independent Artists were his students.

Additionally, the increased success of Armory Show women artists is indicated by a comparison of the 1910 Exhibition (Table One) and the 1917 SIA Exhibition (Table Eleven). Eleven of the fifty Armory Show women artists showed their work in the 1910 exhibition; twenty-three of the fifty did so in 1917 – more than double the number of women artists in a period of just seven years. This analysis reveals a definitive rise in the number of Armory Show women artists who participated in modern art exhibitions before and after 1913.

Many of the Armory Show women artists who lived and worked outside of the greater New York City area lost contact with the New York art world but established their careers in other locales. Kathleen McEnery serves as one example; she left New York City in 1914 at the age of twenty-six and moved to Rochester, New York with her husband. Despite family obligations, she continued to paint and became an active supporter of the arts in Rochester. The absence of some of the Armory Show women artists from the New York art scene is one reason why they have remained unknown to art historians. Thus, it is important to look, at least briefly, at the available biographical information on the Armory Show's women artists to determine the ways in which they, like Kathleen McEnery, negotiated their professional and personal lives.

Before launching into individual biographies, the myth that many of the women artists at the Armory Show gained entrance into the exhibition because their husbands were involved needs to be rectified. Nine artist couples displayed their work at the show and eight additional women were married to men either outside the art world or to male artists not participating in the Armory Show. Charles Musser suggests that AAPS members, in light of the feminist atmosphere, “appear to have turned over some of their

designated Armory Show exhibition space to their wives.”⁴⁷³ He goes on to condescendingly suggest that three of the husbands chose to show fewer works than their wives as a “feminist gesture of some weight.”⁴⁷⁴ Musser provides no documentation for these statements. Of the Armory Show couples, Marguerite and William Zorach and Bessie and Robert Vonnoh worked side-by-side, each nurturing the other’s career. May and James Preston worked together to found the Society of Illustrators, a group that is still extant.⁴⁷⁵ Edith Dimock married William Glackens but used her maiden name in exhibitions; however, she was less active as a painter after her marriage. Marjorie Organ stopped working as a cartoonist after becoming Robert Henri’s second wife, but she did continue to exhibit her paintings during the 1920s. Grace Mott Johnson retained her maiden name after she married painter Andrew Dasburg. She demanded evenly split responsibilities for raising their son both during their marriage and after their divorce so that she could continue to work.

While marital status is sometimes hard to determine for some of the other women artists, there is no doubt that over half of the Armory Show’s women artists were single in 1913 and most of them remained single throughout their lives. In general, these women made this choice deliberately in order to pursue their careers. For instance, Mary Cassatt once declared, “I am independent! I can live alone and I love to work.”⁴⁷⁶ Anne Goldthwaite commented that courtship was difficult in her hometown, so she “took to art as a serious career and abandoned matrimony.”⁴⁷⁷ At her uncle’s suggestion,

⁴⁷³ Musser, “A Feminist Moment,” 174.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 3, 2661.

⁴⁷⁶ Mary Cassatt, quoted in *The Creative Woman* (Spring/Summer 1888): 12.

⁴⁷⁷ Anne Goldthwaite, quoted in Adelyn Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Graphic Work* (Montgomery: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 19.

Goldthwaite went to New York to study and pursue her career as a single woman.⁴⁷⁸

Most of the women artists at the Armory Show did not have children. Psychoanalyst Helene Deutsch observed that “a culturally productive woman may regard her intellectual product as her child.”⁴⁷⁹ This could certainly ring true for those women who, like Cassatt, painted or sculpted images of motherhood. Yet at the Armory Show, only six women favored this subject in their work. Some women artists might think of their canvases as their “offspring,” but men artists could just as well. While Alfred Stieglitz may not have considered his own work as his children, he did consider Georgia O’Keeffe’s painting as their progeny. He had a hard time parting with O’Keeffe’s work and saw himself as its guardian. O’Keeffe had to urge Stieglitz each spring to part with a few of their “children.”⁴⁸⁰

Armory Show Women Artists: Biographies

Painters. It is not surprising that most of the women artists at the Armory Show were painters – they represent thirty-six of the fifty exhibiting women. The majority of their seventy-four paintings were done in oils; seven women submitted watercolors and three showed pastels. Their subject matter was evenly distributed among portraits, landscape paintings, and figurative works – including two of the female nude. Two works depicted animals and only two were still lifes. This is surprising because there are such strong precedents for female still life painters that go back nearly five hundred years.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁸ Charlotte Rubinstein states that Goldthwaite moved north after her “beau” was killed in a duel. See Rubinstein, *American Women Artists*, 178. I was unable to confirm this elsewhere.

⁴⁷⁹ Helene Deutsch, quoted in Kathryn J. Zerbe, “Mother and Child: A Psychobiographical Portrait of Mary Cassatt,” *Psychoanalytic Review* 74, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 50.

⁴⁸⁰ Laurie Lisle, *Portrait of an Artist: A Biography of Georgia O’Keeffe* (New York: Seaview Books, 1980), 152.

⁴⁸¹ See, for example, the mid-to-late-sixteenth-century work, *Still Life with Peaches in a Porcelain Bowl* by Fede Galizia or Giovanna Garzoni’s *Plate of White Beans*, or the Flemish/Dutch work of Clara Peeters,

Women artists confined to the home due to family obligations or societal mores would have found still life one of the most accessible subjects. Additionally, the women artists at the Armory Show displayed a broad range of styles, from traditional, delicate miniatures to works that employed aggressive paint application and strong colors.

Research has provided information on some extraordinary women who, despite creating some remarkable work, have not been acknowledged. Mary C. Rogers (1882-1920) is one such case. As noted earlier, Rogers was one of the first directors of the Society of Independent Artists. She served on the board for that group from 1917 until her premature death in 1920.⁴⁸² Born in Pittsburgh, Rogers traveled to Paris after high school to study art, staying with family friends. Upon her return to the United States, she enrolled at the School of Design and at the Art Students League in Pittsburgh. In 1905 she moved to New York City with her sister and studied with Henri and Kenneth Hayes-Miller. She returned to Europe in 1907 and stayed for five years, studying art and traveling around the continent.

Rogers's association with Henri brought her into the circle of Armory Show organizers. Indeed, her signature is on the restaurant menu, along with many men's, from the famous beefsteak dinner sponsored by the AAPS for members of the press on March 8, 1913.⁴⁸³ (At the time, beefsteak dinners were typically jocular events attended by

Rachel Ruysch, or Maria van Oosterwyck from the seventeenth century. See Nancy Heller, *Women Artists: An Illustrated History* (New York and London: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2003), 22-43.

⁴⁸² *Catalogue of the First Annual Exhibition of The Society of Independent Artists*, exhibition catalog, unpaginated.

⁴⁸³ Diane Lesko, *Mary Rogers and the Roots of American Modernism*, exhibition catalog (St. Petersburg, Florida: Museum of Fine Arts, 1994), unpaginated. See also "Armory Show beefsteak dinner menu signed by guests, 1913 Mar. 8," Walt Kuhn, Kuhn family papers, and Armory Show record, 1859-1978, bulk 1900-1948, Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institution, accessed November 7, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/viewer/armory-show-beefsteak-dinner-menu-signed-guests-5986>. While it is difficult to read her name at the lower right-hand corner, the signature resembles those on her paintings.

conventioneers and businessmen. Mary Rogers apparently was in attendance.) Rogers lived with her niece in Greenwich Village in an apartment that was “always open to artists and writers.”⁴⁸⁴ In 1917 Rogers, faced with financial difficulties, began working full-time as a designer for an advertising agency, which limited the time she could devote to her painting.

Sadly, Mary Rogers suffered from an unknown terminal illness, acknowledging, “I have so little time.”⁴⁸⁵ Following her death, the Society of Independent Artists devoted one room for Rogers’s work as a memorial to her during their 1921 annual. The *New York Times* reported Henri’s remarks on her work:

When the work of Mary Rogers was shown to me by her sister, I realized that she was not only an artist of ability but of importance. She evidently received the influence of all the older movements. No doubt she learned a great deal from the study of such as Renoir and Cézanne, but I find in her work all these influences serve only as advantages to a definitely original and personal expression.⁴⁸⁶

Henri further commented on Rogers in his signature book, *The Art Spirit*:

Mary Rogers’ approach to nature was purely a spiritual one. . . . [She] was one of those who had the simple power to listen to the song and to create under the spell of it. . . . She was master. Her work is a record of her life’s great moments.⁴⁸⁷

Two other memorial exhibitions were held for Rogers that same year at New York’s Dudensing Gallery and at the Anderson Galleries.

Diane Lesko, curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg, Florida, observed Rogers’s talents and contributions during her brief lifetime on the occasion of an exhibition of her work at that museum in 1994:

⁴⁸⁴ Lesko, *Mary Rogers*, unpaginated.

⁴⁸⁵ Mary Rogers, quoted in *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ Robert Henri, cited in “Art: Exhibitions of Paintings,” *New York Times*, February, 13, 1921, X8.

⁴⁸⁷ Robert Henri, *The Art Spirit* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958 ed.), 44-45. Reprinted article first published in *International Studio*, May, 1921.

Mary Rogers was an important participant in the artistic and intellectual life that shaped this country's awakening interest in early modernism and its roots in European art. . . . New discoveries, or rediscoveries – such as the art of Mary Rogers – enhance our understanding of the past and provide knowledge and inspiration for the future.⁴⁸⁸

What was unique about Rogers's work and why doesn't it have a place in modern art historical discourse? Of course, her brief life span is one reason – she died at just thirty-eight years of age. (Yet, as Lesko reminds us, Georges Seurat died at the age of thirty-two and his legacy has continued.) Additionally, most of Rogers's extant works are privately owned. At the 1994 showing of her work, twenty-nine works – including her Armory Show painting – were exhibited, all gathered from family members with one exception, which came from the museum's collection. Rogers's painting at the Armory Show, *Portrait* (now called *Nurse and Children*) of 1911, does not appear to be breaking new ground except perhaps for her gestural brushwork – not surprising since she studied with Henri. But it did not garner much attention from the critics. Over the next seven years, however, as Rogers turned to watercolor, her artistic sensibilities gained ground. One reviewer, lamenting her early death, compared her work to that of John Marin, and rightly so.⁴⁸⁹ In her watercolors, she left much of the paper untouched and sparingly flowed saturated colors into abstract shapes to describe various landscapes, capturing a translucent, spiritual essence. For one of her landscapes in watercolor, rather large for that medium at 30" by 25," Rogers reveals her admiration for Cézanne, entitling the work, *Untitled (Homage to Cézanne)*. (fig. 1)

⁴⁸⁸ Lesko, *Mary Rogers*, unpaginated.

⁴⁸⁹ Herbert J. Seligmann, "American Water Colours in Brooklyn," *International Studio* 73-74 (March 1921): clix.

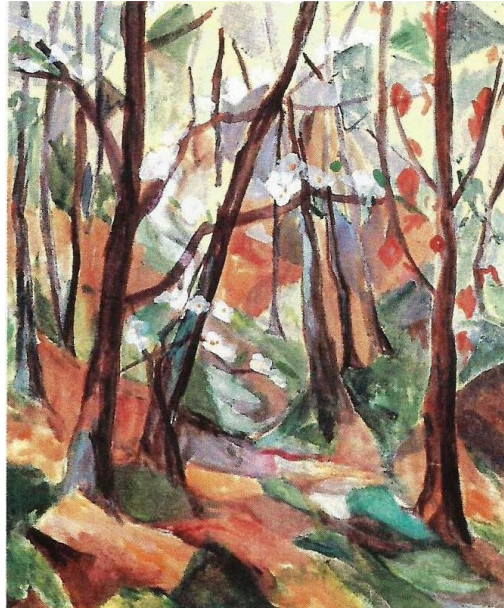


Figure 1. Mary Rogers, *Untitled (Homage to Cézanne)*, watercolor, n.d.

Some considered Margaret Wendell Huntington (1867-1958) a “brilliant watercolorist” who painted “luminous” still lifes,⁴⁹⁰ yet she was just as accomplished in landscapes painted in oil. Her work reveals an amazing understanding of light and color and the likely influence of van Gogh. At the Armory Show, Huntington displayed a landscape entitled, *Cliffs, Newquay*. While this painting’s whereabouts are unknown, we can see her 1918 oil painting, *Cornwall Cliffs*, (now housed at PAFA) as evidence of her mastery as an artist. In this work, the artist’s point of view is from high above. (fig. 2) Her blue-green sea is reflected up into the turbulent clouds; the lavenders there are repeated in the cliffs and in the waves. Deep orange dwellings dot the dramatic cliffs, stepped back in size toward a distant shoreline. Abbreviated strokes denote tiny people on the beach in the foreground. The entire painting is charged with active brushwork, creating a dynamic work of art.

⁴⁹⁰ Jules Heller and Nancy G. Heller, “Margaret W. Huntington,” *North American Women Artists of the 20th Century, a Biographical Dictionary* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995), 268.

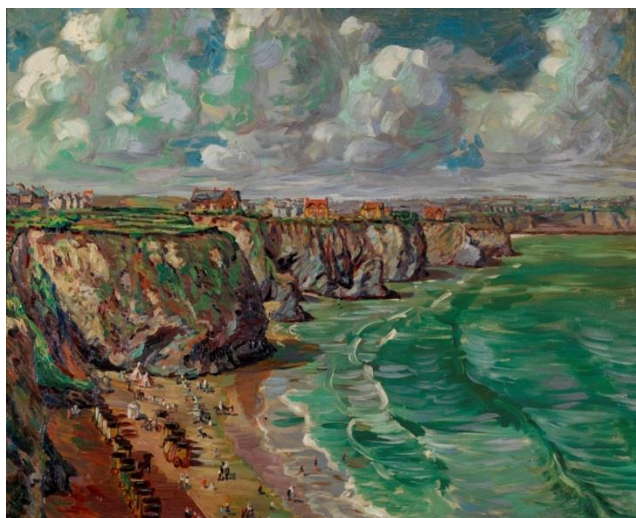


Figure 2. Margaret Wendell Huntington, *Cornwall Cliffs*, oil, 1918.

Huntington studied with William Chase and J. Alden Weir at the Art Students League, with Robert Henri in Spain, and with Lucian Simon in Paris.⁴⁹¹ We know little of her personal life except that she remained single, lived to the age of ninety-one, and wrote a book of poetry for children.⁴⁹² Like Mary Rogers, her work recently resurfaced. It was included in NAWA's "Centennial Exhibition: 1889-1989," which was held in Gainesville, Georgia in 1990. And in 2003, her landscape painting, *Nantucket Houses* (n.d.), was restored; it resides in the Campbell Collection at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia.⁴⁹³ Throughout her long life, Huntington had several solo shows in New York City.⁴⁹⁴ In 1914 she had a solo exhibition in Boston that featured more than 150 of her drawings and paintings. A reviewer in the *Boston Transcript* observed:

Many-sided is the art of Miss Margaret Wendell Huntington. She is not merely versatile, she is kaleidoscopic. Her exhibition at Copley Hall,

⁴⁹¹ Wardle, *American Women Modernists*, 205.

⁴⁹² Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 2, 1666.

⁴⁹³ Wesleyan College, accessed October 18, 2013, <http://www.wesleyancollege.edu/about/index.cfm>. Wesleyan College was founded in 1836 and claims to be the "first college in the world chartered to grant degrees to women."

⁴⁹⁴ "Margaret Huntington," *New York Times*, April 19, 1958, 21.

opening day, is not so much like a solo as it is like the performance of a whole orchestra. . . . A very flexible talent is Miss Huntington's; she is susceptible to many varying currents of modern tendency in pictorial art; and no period of her career thus far is wanting in ardor, vigor, gusto.⁴⁹⁵

Additionally, Huntington displayed her work in a group show of landscape painters in 1920 at the Ehrich Galleries in Manhattan and several times as a member of NAWA.

Florence Howell Barkley (1880-1954) is another little-known landscape painter. Her Armory Show painting, *Jerome Avenue Bridge* (1910-11) is just as active and dramatic as Huntington's landscape, perhaps more so. (fig. 3) Her palette in this work is limited to neutral, warm colors and her brushwork is loose and impressionistic. The sky takes up more than half of the canvas and recalls the turbulent skies in J. M. W. Turner's work from the 1840s. The entire painting emits a fascinating, silvery light. It is now housed at the Museum of the City of New York⁴⁹⁶ and was recently exhibited at the Armory Show's centennial exhibition at the Montclair Art Museum in New Jersey. The catalog features Barkley's painting as a full page illustration.

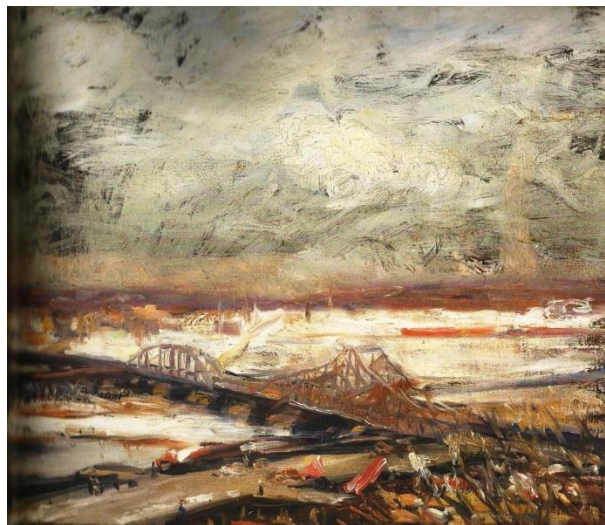


Figure 3. Florence Howell Barkley, *Jerome Avenue Bridge*, oil, 1910-11.

⁴⁹⁵ "Miss Huntington's Works," *The Boston Evening Transcript*, January 19, 1914, 11.

⁴⁹⁶ I wish to thank Lindsay Turley, archivist at the Museum of the City of New York for confirming that the painting is in their current collection.

Barkley was born in Maysville, Kentucky and studied at both the Cincinnati Art Academy and at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women with Robert Henri.⁴⁹⁷ She moved to New York to work as an illustrator for *The World* and as a free-lance artist.⁴⁹⁸ In 1909 she won praise for her miniatures⁴⁹⁹ and two years later won a prize for the landscape noted here. Like Huntington, Barkley remained single throughout her life; she died in Massachusetts at the age of seventy-three.⁵⁰⁰

Anne Goldthwaite (1869-1944) was a prolific artist who approached a wide variety of subjects. Holger Cahill wrote in the catalog for her memorial exhibition in 1944 that Goldthwaite was “one of the two or three leading women painters in this country, and . . . the leading painter of the South.”⁵⁰¹ She was born in Montgomery, Alabama and moved to New York to study both at NAD and with artist Walter Shirlaw. In 1906 she traveled to Europe and after a brief visit to Germany, settled in Paris at the American Girls Club, where she remained for seven years. (She painted a canvas depicting the club’s exterior that is now in the Whitney Museum’s collection.⁵⁰²) While in Paris, Goldthwaite studied with Charles Guérin and helped to organize the Académie Moderne, a group of students who gathered regularly for critiques.⁵⁰³ Guérin introduced Goldthwaite and her classmates to Cézanne’s paint handling and his modeling of form through color. The Académie held annual exhibitions in the spring and sent the best

⁴⁹⁷ Falk, *Who Was Who*,” vol. 1, 207.

⁴⁹⁸ “Florence Barkley,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1954, 23. Barkley also illustrated the short story, “Kari Assen in Heaven” by Johan Bojer published in *The Bookman* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Company, 1921), 327-333.

⁴⁹⁹ “Cooper Union Art Shows Excellence,” *New York Times*, June 2, 1909, 6.

⁵⁰⁰ “Florence Barkley,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1954, 23.

⁵⁰¹ Holger Cahill quoted in *Ibid*.

⁵⁰² Dennison, “The American Girls’ Club in Paris,” 34.

⁵⁰³ Adelyn D. Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite 1869-1944*, exhibition catalog (Montgomery, AL: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1977), 13-14.

works from these shows to the Salon d'Automne, where they showed their work as a group.⁵⁰⁴ Additionally, Goldthwaite saw Matisse's work when she met Gertrude Stein, whom she described as "a large, dark woman . . . who looked something like an immense dark brown egg."⁵⁰⁵ She recalled that when she first visited the Steins' apartment, Gertrude asked her what she thought of the paintings. Unsure what to say, she replied that it was hard to see them in such light, whereupon Stein had her climb onto the long "refectory table" in the studio and walk up and down to exam the work. She recalled, "This was my introduction to what we now call Modern Art, made some six days after my arrival in Paris."⁵⁰⁶ Goldthwaite recalled how American women artists arrived in Paris in tailored, gray suits but dramatically transformed their dress into looser, more flowing attire. She remembered that Marguerite Zorach's "gray suit became a bit more flowing each day and her blouse a little brighter blue, and by the time I met her back in New York . . . you could have sworn she was a true Mother of Israel."⁵⁰⁷ Indeed, by the time of the Armory Show, Zorach was wearing long robes and jumpers.

The threat of war forced Goldthwaite to return to New York in 1913. She immediately submitted five works to the AAPS's Domestic Committee – they accepted two oil paintings, *The House on the Hill* (1911) and *Prince's Feathers* (n.d.).⁵⁰⁸ The location of the latter work is unknown, but *The House on the Hill* (fig. 4) is part of the

⁵⁰⁴ Patricia E. Phagan, *Advent of Modernism: Post-Impressionism and North American Art, 1900-1918*, exhibition catalog (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1986), 91.

⁵⁰⁵ Anne Goldthwaite, quoted in Holger Cahill, "Biography," *Anne Goldthwaite*, exhibition catalog (New York: M. Knoedler and Company, 1944), unpaginated.

⁵⁰⁶ Anne Goldthwaite, quoted in Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite*, 24.

⁵⁰⁷ Anne Goldthwaite, quoted in Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite*, 25. It is unfortunate that Goldthwaite's comment on Zorach's change in attire is marred by an anti-Semitic remark.

⁵⁰⁸ Domestic Art Committee Records: Record Book, 1913, Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institution, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/Record-Book--228102>.

private Blount Corporate Art Collection.⁵⁰⁹ According to Patricia Phagan, Cézanne’s influence on Goldthwaite is apparent in this landscape, “It is Cézannesque not only in subject, vantage point, and palette but also in the use of color as a modeling tool.”⁵¹⁰ Still, Goldthwaite’s assertive, active brush stroke is distinctly her own.

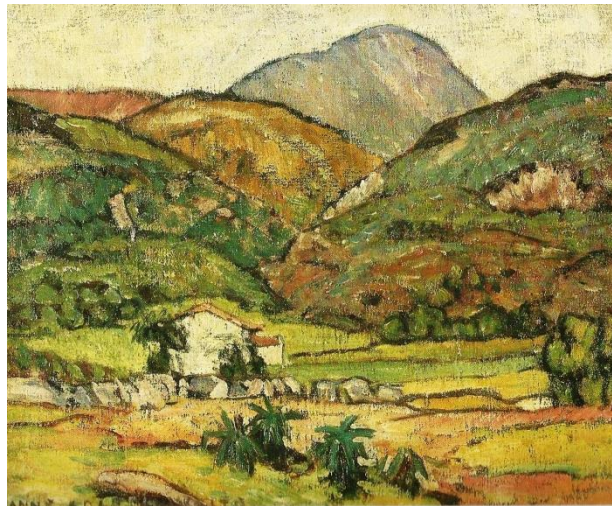


Figure 4. Anne Goldthwaite, *House on the Hill*, oil, 1910.

Shortly after the Armory Show, Goldthwaite visited Katherine Dreier at her Connecticut home. Goldthwaite had already painted a portrait of Dreier’s sister, Dorothea, and she painted one of Katherine during this visit. Dreier invited her to stay longer and paint the countryside; Goldthwaite agreed and turned one end of a barn into a makeshift studio. The two women became lifelong friends.

⁵⁰⁹ “Armory Show 1913 Complete List,” The Armory Show at 100, The New York Historical Society, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://armory.nyhistory.org/armory-show-1913-complete-list/>.

⁵¹⁰ Phagan, “Anne Goldthwaite,” 91.

In 1915 Goldthwaite showed her work at the Berlin Photographic Company's Galleries, where her work was praised as having fresh European influences.⁵¹¹ Six years later, another reviewer commented on her work:

[Her] subjects, ranging from portraits of men of position and authority to sketches of Alabama negro women, from cockfights to Egyptian dancers, from West Tenth Street to Montmartre, gives a clear idea of the artist's admirable technical equipment and originality of vision. . . . The exhibition should be seen by those who think and freely say that American art lacks distinction, since in each department distinction is the ruling quality.⁵¹²

In an exhibit at the Downtown Gallery in 1929, critic Elisabeth Luther Cary observed sardonically that Goldthwaite was not touched by "the love of ugliness . . . the weight of massive form has not enticed her, nor has she denied normal anatomy in the effort to emphasize freedom from representational taint."⁵¹³ Though Goldthwaite's work could not be seen as avant-garde, neither was it academic – the influence of the Post-Impressionists on her work is readily apparent.

Goldthwaite began teaching art classes at the Art Students League in 1922 and continued to do so until just before her death in 1944.⁵¹⁴ She established a pattern of living in New York from fall through spring, returning to Montgomery for the summer months. This kept her in touch with many of her artistic contemporaries. In 1935 she participated in a group show that included John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, Charles Sheeler, and William Zorach.⁵¹⁵ She was surprised when people referred to her as a modernist, claiming, "I knew I was painting, not according to any school, but according to the way I saw my subject. Perhaps I *was* modern, but if it were true, I was so innately

⁵¹¹ "A Modern Painter with a Strong Sense of Style," *New York Times*, October 24, 1915, SM21.

⁵¹² "Art: The Galleries Through November," *New York Times*, November 6, 1921, 75.

⁵¹³ Elisabeth Luther Cary, "Pictures and Quality: Anne Goldthwaite," *New York Times*, January 6, 1929, 124.

⁵¹⁴ Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite*, 15.

⁵¹⁵ "Group Show Opens of American Art," *New York Times*, October 26, 1935, 13.

and not by conscious effort.”⁵¹⁶ Her comment supports the idea that women artists in the early twentieth century worked without regard to stereotypical labels.

Like Mary Cassatt, Goldthwaite added printmaking to her artistic oeuvre. Adelyn Breeskin lists 321 etchings and lithographs in the *Anne Goldthwaite Catalog Raisonné* that she published in 1982; Breeskin notes that the Metropolitan Museum of Art maintains copies of sixty-three of those prints. Goldthwaite must have felt some measure of success when, in 1938, the Met purchased her oil painting, *Window at Night* (1936).⁵¹⁷ The museum later received three additional oil paintings and two watercolors as gifts, either from her estate or family members. At Goldthwaite’s memorial exhibition, art critic Edward Alden Jewell observed that Goldthwaite strove for “simplification – a reduction to the essential” in her work and he referred to the humor that is “evident in the sketchiness of treatment so often encountered in her delicious Southern scenes.”⁵¹⁸

Goldthwaite’s colleague Marguerite Thompson Zorach (1887-1968) painted in a more abstract style. She has been referred to as a pioneer American modernist and one of the first to bring Fauvism to the United States in the twentieth century’s second decade. The amount of scholarship on Zorach and her artist husband William Zorach has increased in recent years. The couple frequently displayed their work together and they both had work in the Armory Show. Originally from Santa Rosa, California, Marguerite Zorach studied in Paris from 1908-1911 and traveled to Egypt, Palestine, India, and

⁵¹⁶ Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite*, 30.

⁵¹⁷ “Metropolitan Gets 3 Current Works,” *New York Times*, April 21, 1938, 21.

⁵¹⁸ Edward Alden Jewell, “Diverse Art Shows,” *New York Times*, October 24, 1944, 21 and “Goldthwaite Art Placed on Display,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1944, X8.

Japan. In Paris, she participated in the American Girls' Club annual exhibition in 1910, along with fellow Armory Show artists Kathleen McEnery and Anne Goldthwaite.⁵¹⁹

On her return to the United States, Zorach began painting brightly colored Fauvist landscapes, some of which depicted her favorite subjects – the Sierras and Yosemite. (fig. 5) She had met her husband, artist William Zorach, in Paris; they married in 1912 and moved to Greenwich Village. There she experimented with Cubist forms in her landscapes. Her painting at the Armory Show was simply titled, *Study* (n.d.).

At the 1916 Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters, Zorach was the only woman whose work was exhibited – and the only artist excluded from the catalog. Gail Levin suggests that the organizers thought she was represented by her husband's inclusion in the publication.⁵²⁰ Marsden Hartley omits discussion of Marguerite Zorach in his 1921 book, *Adventures in the Arts*, although he was well-acquainted with her work as part of their mutual involvement in the Provincetown Players. The women artists he discusses include only Sonia Delaunay, Marie Laurencin, and Georgia O'Keeffe.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ Dennison, "The American Girls' Club, 35.

⁵²⁰ Levin, "Changing Status," 15. Furthermore, Levin observed that Jo Nivison Hopper thought William Zorach, unlike her husband, Edward Hopper, worked to promote his wife's art.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

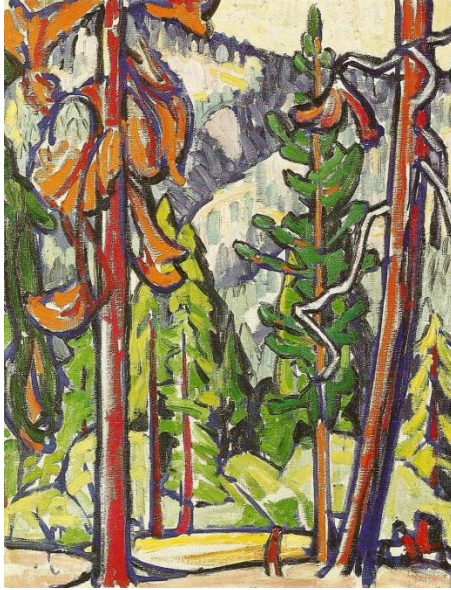


Figure 5. Marguerite Zorach, *Man Among the Redwoods*, oil, 1912.

Zorach's artistic production declined after the birth of her two children and she transitioned from painting to working in textiles. While both Zorachs were considered important artists, Marguerite's career diminished while William's grew. Although her husband helped with domestic chores, Marguerite still lacked sufficient time to paint. Her needlework tapestries allowed her to work at home and she combined this traditionally feminine pursuit with her unique artistic expression. Moreover, the sale of her tapestries helped to support the family. Christine Stansell points out that Marguerite "was inevitably demoted from the status of avant-gardiste to that of a woman artist dabbling in crafts."⁵²² Despite this, Zorach continued working as much as she could. Katherine Dreier included her work in the notable 1926 International Exhibition of Modern Art at the Brooklyn Museum⁵²³ and Zorach continued to exhibit her work through much of the mid-twentieth century. Both Goldthwaite and Zorach painted murals during the Depression:

⁵²² Stansell, *American Moderns*, 261.

⁵²³ Levin, "Changing Status," 16. See Chapter Three for a discussion of Dreier's exhibition.

Goldthwaite's are in both Atmore and Tuskegee, Alabama; Zorach's murals are in the Fresno, California post office and courthouse.⁵²⁴

According to art historian Peter Falk, Agnes Pelton (1881-1961) became an "avant-garde abstractionist."⁵²⁵ But in 1913 the work she displayed at the Armory Show was more indebted to Arthur Davies and the Symbolist movement. Two of her oil paintings were included in the Armory Show, *Vine Wood* (1910), now located in the Agnes Pelton Estate's collection in Cathedral City, California, and *Stone Age* (n.d.). In the first painting, Pelton depicts a willowy female figure alone in a wooded area, seemingly emerging from a lighted opening situated between dark, tangled vegetation – an ethereal, dream-like image. (fig. 6)



Figure 6. Agnes Pelton, *Vine Wood*, oil, 1912

Born to American parents in Germany, Pelton spent her early childhood in Europe. Agnes moved to Brooklyn with her mother, a classical pianist who established a music school there. Her father suffered from depression and remained mostly in Europe;

⁵²⁴ Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite*, 15.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*

he died of an overdose of morphine when Agnes was ten years old.⁵²⁶ Pelton lived in a household with her strict mother and grandmother, all of whom were deeply affected by the scandalous affair and adultery trial of Pelton's grandmother, Elizabeth Tilton, with the famous preacher Henry Ward Beecher. Although the affair and trial happened before Agnes's birth, the notorious events were a dark cloud always present in Pelton's life.⁵²⁷ Pelton and her mother attended the Armory Show together on several occasions.

Pelton devoted her entire life to her career as an artist. At the age of fourteen, she began taking classes with Arthur Wesley Dow at the Pratt Institute. She then studied with Hamilton Easter Field and W. L. Lathrop, who exposed her to the work of Arthur Davies and other Symbolists. She had her first solo exhibition in 1911 in Ogunquit, Maine. Walt Kuhn saw her work there the following summer and later suggested to Davies that her work be included in the Armory Show.⁵²⁸

After the Armory Show, Pelton's work was exhibited several times in New York City, including her participation in the suffrage exhibit at Macbeth's in 1915. She had a studio in the city and one on Long Island – surprisingly, located in a windmill. She attended Mabel Dodge's salon and took up an interest in Theosophy and mysticism, which influenced her later work. Furthermore, Pelton visited Dodge in Taos and the two discussed therapy in their letters to one another – Pelton suffered from depression and

⁵²⁶ Nancy Strow Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life: the Art of Agnes Pelton" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2000), 20.

⁵²⁷ Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life," 37. In the 1870s, Henry Ward Beecher, a highly respected clergyman, was accused of having an adulterous affair with Mrs. Elizabeth Tilton, a member of his church. Subsequently, there were multiple confessions and retractions ending in a lawsuit brought against Beecher by Tilton's husband. After a high profile trial, Beecher was exonerated. Mr. Tilton moved to Paris; he was unable to earn a living after the scandal. See Beecher-Tilton Scandal, Brown University Library http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/University_Library/exhibits/RLCexhibit/beecher/beecherms.html.

⁵²⁸ Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life," 47.

had sought professional treatment⁵²⁹ and Dodge had embraced psychoanalysis in her sessions with Dr. Brill. Both Pelton and Dodge both experienced a lonely childhood without a paternal presence in their lives; Pelton's somber home life with its stifling overtones stood in sharp contrast to the white walls and ambience of Dodge's New York apartment in which the artist delighted.⁵³⁰ In addition to Dodge, Pelton considered Dow, Davies, and Field among her close friends.⁵³¹

Pelton also displayed work at several venues in the West, including a solo exhibition of pastels at the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe. Her travels included Italy, Hawaii, and the Near East. By 1929, Pelton had begun experimenting with abstraction. She settled in California around 1931, painting representational desert scenes as well as mystical abstractions. Pelton was one of the founding members of the Transcendental Painting Group and she displayed her abstract art throughout California in the 1940s and 50s.⁵³²

Because Pelton relocated so many times and expressed herself in art that ranged from flower paintings to complete abstractions, scholar Nancy Sheley sees her career as one of "willful displacement" – constantly moving, experimenting, struggling with and recommitting to her art. Pelton herself has been displaced from art historical discourse for over fifty years. Sheley describes Pelton as both a genius and a pioneer who was driven "toward a star of her own design."⁵³³

Like Mary Rogers and Margaret Huntington, Agnes Pelton's work is being reevaluated today. In a review of Pelton's 1995 retrospective show at the Montclair Art

⁵²⁹ Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life," 26.

⁵³⁰ Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life," 30, Footnote 42.

⁵³¹ Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life," 42.

⁵³² Heller and Heller, *North American Women Artists*, 434.

⁵³³ Sheley, "Bringing Light to Life," 2.

Museum, William Zimmer noted that Pelton's career closely followed that of Georgia O'Keeffe: both women studied with Dow; both of them painted flowers, desert landscapes, and abstractions; and both retreated to the West and lived a reclusive lifestyle.⁵³⁴ However, O'Keeffe – probably because of her alliance with Stieglitz – remained within the public's eye both during and after her lifetime. O'Keeffe alluded to this:

I have been very fortunate, much more than most people. I can imagine myself being a much better painter and nobody paying any attention to me at all. But it happens that the things I have been doing have been in touch with my time so that people have liked it. But I could have been much better and nobody notice it. . . . Some people seem luckier than others.⁵³⁵

There was no Stieglitz in Pelton's life. Her removal from the New York art world worked against her in garnering national recognition. Pelton's works are held in several private and public collections, including: the Oakland Museum of California, the Palm Springs Art Museum, the New Mexico Museum of Art, and the San Diego Museum of Art.

Mabel Dodge had yet another connection with an Armory Show artist, Mary Foote (1872-1968). Foote was a portrait painter who ran in Dodge's circle. She has often been confused with noted Western illustrator and writer, Mary Hallock Foote, who depicted miners and their families for magazines, such as *Harper's* and *Century*, and who illustrated her own stories about life in small Western towns.⁵³⁶ The Mary Foote whose

⁵³⁴ William Zimmer, "Abstractions Brimming with Spirit and Life," *New York Times*, August 20, 1995, 14.

⁵³⁵ "Remembering Georgia O'Keeffe," Angelos – Summer 2012, accessed November 10, 2013, http://www.onlinedigeditions.com/display_article.php?id=1093412.

⁵³⁶ This misidentification happened again recently in the New York Historical Society's large and handsome book published in conjunction with their 2013 exhibition celebrating the Armory Show's centennial. In his article on the feminist activities happening around the Armory Show, Charles Musser states: "A group of artists may have been invited as counterpoints to the Armory Show's dominant New York-Paris axis. Among the women, painters Mary Hallock Foote (1847-1938) and Kate Thompson Cory (1861-1958) were associated with the Western United States." Not only does he credit the wrong artist but he also suggests (and I think wrongly) that the reason these "western" women artists were included was so that the AAPS organizers could claim a wide geographical representation. It seems Cory's work was well-known enough

work was included in the Armory Show was Mary Hallock Foote's niece.⁵³⁷ Foote and Dodge were good friends – they corresponded frequently and Foote painted a portrait of Dodge that now hangs in Yale's Beinecke Library reading room. Their mutual interest in art and their experimentation in sexual identity may have formed the basis of their friendship. At one time, Foote wrote to Dodge about a possible living space:

I was overjoyed to get your fine long letter – long to see the new home which sounds much too grand and expensive for me to aspire to alone – cant [*sic*] seem to get any one woman into my life & it's too late for a man – so I am rather hopeless about it as an abode for me.⁵³⁸

Obviously, Foote and Dodge shared the kind of friendship that allowed for such personal remarks.

Mary Foote was born in Guilford, Connecticut and was orphaned at the age of twelve.⁵³⁹ She studied art at the Yale Art School and was awarded a prize that allowed her to continue her studies in Paris. She remained there for seven years and was part of a celebrated crowd that included Henry James, John Singer Sargent, and Augustus St. Gaudens. Her three-year love affair with her teacher in Paris, the sculptor and expatriate Frederick MacMonnies, ended when she moved to New York and opened a portrait gallery, where she earned a comfortable living from her commissions.⁵⁴⁰ Her first solo exhibition was held in Clara Davidge's Madison Gallery in 1912.⁵⁴¹ She also participated in shows held by the National Association of Portrait Painters, along with Cecilia Beaux,

to have been invited to exhibit; her name is not listed in the Domestic Committee's record book of accepted and rejected work.

⁵³⁷ Darlis A. Miller, *Mary Hallock Foote: Author-Illustrator of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 239.

⁵³⁸ Foote to Dodge, September 25, 1927, Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. YCAL MSS 196 Box 15.

⁵³⁹ "Mary Foote," John Pence Gallery, San Francisco, accessed October 16, 2013, <http://www.johnpence.com/visuals/estates/foote/index.htm>.

⁵⁴⁰ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 1, 1153.

⁵⁴¹ Oaklander, "Sowing the Seed," 37.

John Singer Sargent, and fellow Armory Show artists George Bellows, William Glackens, Robert Henri, George Luks, and J. Alden Weir.⁵⁴² In 1916 Foote had a solo exhibition at the Knoedler Galleries; a reviewer commented that her “work is well known in this city” and noted among her sitters a Mrs. Seymour Cromwell, who was a financial supporter of the Armory Show.⁵⁴³

Milton Brown notes that Foote’s painting at the Armory Show, “Old Lady,” is now in the Art Institute of Chicago’s collection. However, a search indicates that the painting was at auction in 2011.⁵⁴⁴ Many of her paintings are privately held and she disappeared from the art world in 1927 because of ill health – two possible reasons why her work is not known today. Her portraits of suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt and Broadway actress Ruth Draper are now housed at the National Portrait Gallery.

Like Agnes Pelton, Kate Thompson Cory (1861-1958) lived and worked in the West and her work can be viewed alongside O’Keeffe’s, although with a twist – Cory lived among the Hopi Indians for seven years. She has been described as a woman who “demonstrated plucky independence and rejection of social conformity.”⁵⁴⁵ Her painting, *Arizona Desert*, was exhibited in the Armory Show and purchased by W. Clyde Jones. It is difficult to trace that particular painting – Cory rarely titled or dated her work, or if she did it was vaguely called “landscape” or “untitled.” (fig. 7) Her western landscape

⁵⁴² “Active Members,” *National Association of Portrait Painters, 1916-1917*, exhibition catalog (New York: National Association of Portrait Painters, 1916), 6.

⁵⁴³ “Art Notes: Portraits by Mary Foote,” *New York Times*, May 3, 1916, 12. See Chapter Two regarding Cromwell’s financial contribution.

⁵⁴⁴ Brown, *The Armory Show*, 267. See also “Mary Foote Portrait Painting,” Live Auctioneers, accessed October 16, 2013, <http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/10039490>.

⁵⁴⁵ Sarah Moore, “No Woman’s Land: Arizona Adventurers,” in *Independent Spirits: Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945*, Patricia Trenton, ed. (Berkeley: Autry Museum of Western Heritage in association with the University of California Press, 1995), 133.

paintings, her work done in isolation in the west, and her longevity (she lived to be ninety-seven), all recall the life and career of O’Keeffe.



Figure 7. Kate Cory, *Hopi Country* (?), oil, n.d.

Cory was born in Illinois. Her Canadian father, James Young Cory, bought and edited the Waukegan Gazette after he moved to that state. A personal friend of Abraham Lincoln and an ardent abolitionist, Cory’s father was involved with the Underground Railroad, helping runaway slaves reach Canada. His social awareness of people of color would influence Kate’s later work.⁵⁴⁶ The Cory family moved to New York City in 1880, where Kate studied art at Cooper Union and at the Art Students League with Henri and Weir. A fellow student piqued her interest in Arizona’s Hopi Indians, considered the last of the “noble savages” in the country at that time, and in 1905 she traveled there to visit Arizona’s high mesas with the idea of establishing an artists’ colony. Although that did not work out, she decided to remain in Arizona, having found her place among the Hopi. Cory was the first white woman to live among the tribe and study their culture. She lived in two small rooms accessed only by “ladders and little stone steps.”⁵⁴⁷ Although she

⁵⁴⁶ Robert Stragnell and Jim Willoughby, “Pioneer Women: Arizona History Through Art,” accessed October 12, 2013, <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/9aa/9aa61.htm>.

⁵⁴⁷ Kate Cory, cited in Moore, “No Woman’s Land,” 134.

struggled with limited equipment and supplies, Cory sketched, painted, and took hundreds of photographs, capturing the Hopi people in both their ceremonial rituals and everyday life.

Cory moved to Prescott in 1912. During a brief return to New York during the war she joined the Women's Land Army, a project on Long Island where women worked in gardens to increase food production for the war effort.⁵⁴⁸ Additionally – and in another unique twist – she became known for her camouflage designs for airplanes.⁵⁴⁹ During her time in New York, Cory participated in an exhibit hosted by the Society of Independent Artists.⁵⁵⁰ Many of her photographs and sketches of the Hopi are now in the archives of various Prescott museums and many of her paintings are in their collections.⁵⁵¹

Furthermore, her photographs are featured in a 1986 book, entitled, *The Hopi Photographs: Kate Cory, 1905-1912*.⁵⁵²

Kathleen McEnery Cunningham (1888-1971) is another artist who, once she moved away from New York City, worked without much recognition – until recently. She was born in Brooklyn and grew up in Massachusetts. As a young girl, she spent one year studying in a convent in Belgium. She returned to New York and studied first at the Pratt Institute and then with Henri, who left an indelible mark on her early work. She traveled to Spain as a member of Henri's painting class there in 1906 and 1908 and stayed for an additional two years in Paris to study art.

⁵⁴⁸ Stragnell and Willoughby, "Pioneer Women."

⁵⁴⁹ Ginger Johnson, *Kate T. Cory* (Prescott: privately published booklet, 1996).

⁵⁵⁰ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 1, p. 741.

⁵⁵¹ See for example, The Smoki Museum's Permanent Collection, accessed October 12, 2013, http://www.smokimuseum.org/permanent_collection.htm.

⁵⁵² Kate Cory, Marnie Gaede, Barton Wright, Marc Gaede, *The Hopi Photographs: Kate Cory, 1905-1912* (La Cañada, California: Chaco Press, 1986).

Back in New York, McEney opened a studio and began exhibiting her work. She painted with bold colors and created strong compositions that fused the figure with the background, both of which, according to Marian Wardle, signaled her portrayal as a modernist.⁵⁵³ Before the Armory Show, McEney participated in group shows several times in New York and Philadelphia, alongside Stuart Davis, Robert Henri, George Bellows, and Edward Hopper, and she was active in the MacDowell Club. A reviewer of the 1911 MacDowell exhibit observed, “As might be expected, the one really modern note in the exhibition is struck by a woman who disguises her nationality under the cognomen of Kathleen McEney.”⁵⁵⁴ Both of her paintings in the Armory Show depict nudes. And, while they are of a realist nature, they reveal more of the lessons she learned in Europe than those of Henri. Her figures fill the canvass, are cropped at the edges, and only slightly modeled in fleshy yellows, blues, and lavenders. The space is flattened and the negative shapes of the background come forward to compete for attention. One of these works, *Going to Bath* (1912), is now housed in the Smithsonian American Art Museum.⁵⁵⁵ (fig. 8)

⁵⁵³ Wardle, “Kathleen McEney Cunningham,” *American Women Modernist*, 1.

⁵⁵⁴ “The Fine Arts: In the New York Galleries,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 7, 1911, cited in Wolff, *AngloModern*, 53.

⁵⁵⁵ See “Kathleen McEney, *Going to Bath*,” Smithsonian American Art Museum, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artwork/results/index.cfm?rows=10&q=Kathleen+McEney&page=1&start=0&x=34&y=5>.



Figure 8. Kathleen McEnery, *Going to Bath*, oil, 1912.

One year after the Armory Show, McEnery married Frank Cunningham, a businessman whose company manufactured coaches and cars. Her marriage placed her in a well-established, well-off Rochester family but removed her from New York City. Many years later, McEnery's friend, Herbert Stern, tried to imagine "her fear in 1914 at arriving among 'philistines' after having spent considerable time in Paris and New York."⁵⁵⁶ In Rochester, McEnery, who retained her maiden name professionally after her marriage, continued painting, while balancing family and society obligations. In 1915 she showed her work at both the MacDowell Club and at Rochester's Memorial Gallery (founded by Armory Show patron Emily Sibley Watson in 1913 and discussed in Chapter Two). She took part in the afore mentioned suffrage exhibition in 1915, participated in shows held by the Society of Independent Artists in 1920 and 1922, and later at the Ferargil Galleries. Thus she was able to keep her connections, while tentative, to the New York art world as she made her work known in Rochester. A profile of McEnery in a

⁵⁵⁶ Herbert Stern, quoted in Wolff, *AngloModern*, 56.

Rochester newspaper was headlined, “Mrs. Cunningham: Real Artist and Real Wife and Mother,” – the writer described McEnery as someone who could not be content just being “so and so’s” wife.⁵⁵⁷

McEnery was a tireless worker in the Rochester art world, serving as a member of the Memorial Gallery’s board, teaching art classes, and hosting a salon at her home. When George Eastman established a music school, theater, and orchestra in Rochester, the city witnessed a huge influx of artists and musicians, several of whom sat for portraits in McEnery’s studio. At her death in 1971, the Memorial Art Gallery hosted a retrospective show of her work. Sixteen years later, her work was included in the inaugural exhibition of the National Museum of Women in the Arts.⁵⁵⁸ And recently, the Hartnett Gallery at the University of Rochester held a solo exhibition of her work.

Art historian Janet Wolff has worked to bring attention to McEnery and her career and has used that work to reevaluate modernism in the early twentieth century. In the catalog for the Harnett’s 2004 show, Wolff lamented McEnery’s disappearance from art historical discourse:

[Her] exclusion was compounded by the tendency by museums, critics, and art historians to privilege modernist work over realist and figurative art in the twentieth century. Only towards the very end of that century were there signs of a revisionism that began to re-assess the realist artists of the Ashcan School and other non-modernist painters, and to narrate the story of American art in such a way as to re-admit artists who had been accorded secondary status at least since the 1950s.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ Unknown reporter, cited in Wolff, *AngloModern*, 64.

⁵⁵⁸ Eleanor Tufts, “Kathleen McEnery (Cunningham),” in *American Women Artists 1830-1930* (Washington: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1987), cat. no. 55.

⁵⁵⁹ Janet Wolff, “The Art of Kathleen McEnery,” in *The Art of Kathleen McEnery*, exhibition catalog (Rochester: Hartnett Gallery, 2003), 11. Wolff uses the narrowly defined form of “modernist,” meaning European avant-garde.

Wardle discusses McEnery in her book, *American Women Modernists: the Legacy of Robert Henri, 1910-1945*, and features McEnery's self-portrait on the cover.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, there were two women artists at the Armory Show, Marion Beckett (1886-1949) and Katharine Nash Rhoades (1885-1965), who associated with Alfred Stieglitz. They are often linked together in discussions because they were former schoolmates and close friends, they traveled abroad together to study art, and, with Agnes Ernst Meyer, they constituted the "Three Graces" in the Stieglitz circle. Both came from well-established New York families and participated in high society events; as debutantes, they both "came out" in 1903.⁵⁶⁰ Beckett and Rhoades shared a unique bond of sisterly affection for each other, supported each other emotionally, and were empathetic critics of each other's work. Both of them remained single. Their long-time companionship closely fits the definition of a Boston marriage, although they did not always live together and they were not sexual partners.⁵⁶¹

Current literature on these two artists typically treats them as romantic interests for men artists rather than as artists themselves. They certainly engaged in the bohemian milieu as New Women and were muses for artists Edward Steichen, Marius de Zayas, and Marsden Hartley, as well as for Stieglitz. Along with Meyer, Rhoades and Beckett were noted for their beauty, always aware of their self-image, and even described themselves as flirts.⁵⁶² In her 2009 dissertation on portraiture and feminine identity in the Stieglitz circle, Jessica Murphy, while placing Rhoades and Beckett within the cultural context of women in transition, observes, "In their feminine self-fashioning, they were also reshaping the longstanding tradition of the muse and blurring the line between artist

⁵⁶⁰ Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 113.

⁵⁶¹ Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 170-171.

⁵⁶² Meyer, *Out of These Roots*, x.

and subject.”⁵⁶³ She further asserts that they were significant artists because their work revealed their search for a feminine identity within a modern landscape.⁵⁶⁴

Because Beckett and Rhoades were young and single, possessed striking good looks, and traveled in bohemian circles, they both suffered from gossip about their personal lives that affected their work as artists. Marion Beckett and Edward Steichen became close friends; Beckett displayed her portrait of him in the Armory Show along with a painting of her mother. Beckett’s relationship with Steichen became suspect in the eyes of his troubled wife, Clara, enough so that in 1919, Mrs. Steichen filed suit against Beckett, accusing her of the “alienation of her husband’s affections.”⁵⁶⁵ Both Steichen and Beckett were distraught over the charge of infidelity and the exposure in the press. The case went to trial and, after hearing from witnesses on both sides, the jury took just fifteen minutes to decide in Beckett’s favor.⁵⁶⁶ Murphy suggests that the scandal caused by this event “eclipsed [Beckett’s] identity as a painter.”⁵⁶⁷ While there is no documentation on whether the two actually engaged in a sexual liaison, we might find some evidence of it in Beckett’s portrait of Steichen. (fig. 9) Beckett depicts the

⁵⁶³ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 6.

⁵⁶⁴ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 158.

⁵⁶⁵ “Artist’s Wife Sues for Loss of His Love,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1919, 9. Novelist Emily Mitchell wrote a fictionalized account of the alleged Steichen/Beckett affair in her book, *The Last Summer of the World*, published by W. W. Norton & Company in 2007.

⁵⁶⁶ Penelope Niven, *Steichen: A Biography* (New York: Clarkson Potter/Publishers, 1997), 397, 484.

⁵⁶⁷ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 317.



Figure 9. Marion Beckett, *Portrait of Mr. Edward J. Steichen*, oil, n.d.

photographer and painter from the waist up holding flowers against a white background. He looks out at the viewer (or at Beckett) with intensity – large blue eyes, tousled dark hair, and a shadow of a smile on his face. His expression is not exactly an indictment, but it does suggest some level of intimacy. Her brushwork is loose and expressive and her palette is limited to cool greens, white, and flesh tones against which two bright red blooms pop forward. Steichen was also known as a gardener who cultivated flowers, particularly delphiniums. Thus, it is not surprising that Beckett included these in her portrait. Furthermore, Steichen, Rhoades, and Beckett engaged in a private floral language: Rhoades referred to herself as “Geranium” and to Beckett as “Petunia.” This so-called “language of flowers” was not a new concept. In the Victorian era several index-like books were published that assigned meanings to specific flowers. We do not know the connotations that Steichen and the two women assigned to geraniums, petunias or delphiniums. However, in a large mural project that Agnes and Eugene Meyer commissioned from Steichen for the foyer of their home, entitled “Exaltation of

Flowers,” the artist included stylized images of Rhoades holding geraniums and Beckett with pink petunias.⁵⁶⁸

Marion Beckett’s parents disapproved of her associations with avant-garde artists.⁵⁶⁹ They were dismayed when, between 1909 and 1912, Beckett, along with Rhoades and sculptor Malvina Hoffman, traveled to Paris without a chaperone. The women immersed themselves in the Parisian avant-garde circle around Leo and Gertrude Stein. For Beckett, Matisse’s paintings greatly influenced her own work.⁵⁷⁰ Beckett also attended the International Exhibition of the Sonderbund in Cologne, the same 1912 show that inspired Walt Kuhn and Arthur Davies as they planned the Armory Show. In a critic’s review of an exhibition held by a group known as “The Pastellists,” Beckett won praise for her style – “exquisite and with a certain sensitive force.”⁵⁷¹ This immersion in the avant-garde and encouragement from critics boosted her determination to pursue an artistic career. In 1912 Beckett wrote to Stieglitz that she was excited about beginning a new work, “with nudes!”⁵⁷² Moreover, the Armory Show itself had a direct impact on her aesthetic concepts. She wrote:

For the past ten days I have been trying to make something that seemed a true definition to me, as to what painting – art – beauty etc. are – It struck me at the Armory Show that it was very foolish to try to think about pictures without the base of a conscious definition to spring from.⁵⁷³

She concluded that art is a force, a new life born from two other forces: man and nature.

She discovered that beauty “is entirely existent in the observer’s own personality” and

⁵⁶⁸ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 134.

⁵⁶⁹ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 119.

⁵⁷⁰ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 175.

⁵⁷¹ “Art at Home and Abroad,” *New York Times*, January 15, 1911, XM15.

⁵⁷² Beckett to Stieglitz, December 17, 1912, Alfred Stieglitz/Georgia O’Keeffe Archive, Yale Collection of American Literature. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, YCAL MSS 85, Box 4.

⁵⁷³ Beckett to 291, March 19, 1913 in *ibid.*

that representation is not a necessity in painting.⁵⁷⁴ Of course, philosophers, writers, and artists have discussed the nature of beauty throughout time. It seems Beckett was in awe of defining art and beauty in her own terms.⁵⁷⁵

In 1915 Beckett was asked to lecture on “Modern Art” for a women’s club in Williamstown, Vermont, her family’s hometown. She thought that the spectacle of her educating others about art was humorous. She wrote to Stieglitz to see if he could send some photographs of work he exhibited in his gallery to assist her.⁵⁷⁶ Beckett continued to exhibit her work between 1917 and 1922: at the Modern Gallery, the National Arts Club, the Society of Independent Artists’ annuals, and in a Salons of America exhibition.⁵⁷⁷

Beckett’s artistic output faded by the early 1920s. She relocated to Rye, a town about twenty-five miles north of New York City, and spent summers in Vermont. In 1923, she adopted a newborn boy and two years later adopted a baby girl. This was highly unusual for a single woman at the time, but her family’s money gave her the means to do so. Beckett’s friendship with Rhoades endured through the years. In the 1930s the two women traveled together to London, Switzerland, the Southwest, and Mexico.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Wendy Steiner suggests in her book, *The Trouble with Beauty* (2001), that beauty is not the property of some object, but a form of communication between the perceiver and the object, yet she declares that the aesthetic object also plays a role – “[it] turns out to be no shrinking violet.” Steiner suggests that avant-garde modernists vilified beauty – both art and audience were reduced to things and the artist became the genius – “the wizard hiding behind the curtain.” She contends that we are only now coming to terms with the idea that the perception of beauty in art is a pleasurable experience. See pages xix-xx.

⁵⁷⁶ Beckett to Stieglitz, October 4, 1915, Alfred Stieglitz/Georgia O’Keeffe Archive, Yale Collection of American Literature. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, YCAL MSS 85, Box 4

⁵⁷⁷ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 1, p. 257.

⁵⁷⁸ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 334.

Katharine Rhoades, described by one art historian as a “rich rebel,”⁵⁷⁹ also came under suspicion about her relationship with Steichen. However, at that time she was developing a close relationship with Alfred Stieglitz. Between 1911 and 1916, Stieglitz and Rhoades engaged in active letter-writing and in 1914 their letters took the form of “Freuding.” Then a fashionable form of entertainment among the intellectuals of Greenwich Village, Freuding entailed delving into one another’s deepest thoughts about life, work, and love in a way that incorporated Freud’s ideas about psychoanalysis.⁵⁸⁰ Rhoades saw Stieglitz as a mentor and father figure (he was twenty-two years her senior) and she enjoyed both their intellectual discussions and his encouragement of her work as an artist. They employed phrases such as “the vital thing,” “a true Vision” (always capitalized), and a “greater consciousness.”⁵⁸¹ However, at the peak of their Freuding activity, Stieglitz began pushing for a physical intimacy as well as a psychological one. He believed that Rhoades could only achieve her potential if she opened up to him in a sexual relationship, believing that she needed to resolve her “arrested sexuality as a step toward self-realization.”⁵⁸² Because of her patrician upbringing and fear of disgrace, Rhoades was not able to expose herself in physical intimacy with Stieglitz, writing, “One pays so heavily – in getting one thing, one loses another. . . . And so one hurts, and one suffers.”⁵⁸³

Kathleen Pyne suggests that Stieglitz was not just engaging in a program of seduction. He was actively searching for a woman modernist who embodied his idea of a

⁵⁷⁹ Heller and Heller, “Katherine Nash Rhoades,” *North American Women Artists*, 467.

⁵⁸⁰ Kathleen Pyne, *Modernism and the Feminine Voice: O’Keeffe and the Women of the Stieglitz Circle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 134-135.

⁵⁸¹ Pyne, *Modernism and the Feminine Voice*, 127.

⁵⁸² Pyne, *Modernism and the Feminine Voice*, 136.

⁵⁸³ Katharine Rhoades, quoted in Pyne, *Modernism and the Feminine Voice*, 140.

“woman-child,” someone who saw the world through the eyes of a child yet embraced her own sexuality. Furthermore, writer Penelope Niven suggests that Stieglitz was sincere in his insistent pursuit of Rhoades:

She was for him that exotic, irresistible, and prophetic combination of struggling artist and beautiful, vibrant, intelligent woman. His love for Katharine left such a stamp on Stieglitz that he confessed in old age that if he had been a “real man” with “strength and sinew,” he would have transported her to “some mountaintop, built a little house for her, given her children and let her paint.”⁵⁸⁴

Later, Stieglitz confessed that his relationship with Katharine Rhoades prepared him for Georgia O’Keeffe’s entry into his life in 1916.⁵⁸⁵

At the Armory Show, Rhoades displayed a landscape painting that she had done while abroad, called, *The Talloires* (n.d.). She was a poet as well as an artist and Stieglitz published her literary work in *Camera Work*.⁵⁸⁶ He also arranged for an exhibition of Rhoades’s paintings, along with Marion Beckett’s, at 291 in January of 1915. Most reviews in the press were favorable. A critic for the *New York Times* described the two artists as, “fighting under the post-impressionist banner. They have not studied with anyone, but they have been in Paris, and that has been enough.”⁵⁸⁷ (Actually, Rhoades studied art with Robert Henri at the Velin School in New York and with Isabelle Dwight Sprague-Smith in Paris and Beckett studied briefly with Henri.⁵⁸⁸) However, in her review Agnes Meyer stung both Rhoades and Stieglitz when she wrote:

⁵⁸⁴ Niven, *Steichen*, 392. Alfred Stieglitz interview with Nancy Newhall in 1942, quoted in “Notes for a Biography,” in *From Adams to Stieglitz: Pioneers of Modern Photography* (New York: Aperture, 1989), 58.

⁵⁸⁵ Pyne, *Modernism and the Feminine Voice*, 188.

⁵⁸⁶ For example, see Katharine N. Rhoades, “Beyond the Wind” and “Vision” in *Camera Work*, No. XLVI, dated April, 1914, published October, 1914 and “There is Always a ‘More’ – a Greater Vision – a Greater Realization” in *Camera Work*, No. XLVII, dated July, 1914, pub. January, 1915.

⁵⁸⁷ “Art Notes,” *New York Times*, January 30, 1915, 8.

⁵⁸⁸ Murphy, “Portraiture and Feminine Identity,” 168-169.

[Rhoades's] mind is subjective and wholly inductive and her method is one of analysis before the fact. This method is necessarily dependent upon a deep sympathy and understanding of the universe, upon experience and the ability to express that experience. When so young a painter as Miss Rhoades uses it, her early work will inevitably show a lack of complete domination of her medium...the possibilities of her art are bounded only by her own.⁵⁸⁹

Meyer suggests that Rhoades's work was intrinsically linked to her deep, cognitive pursuits, yet intimates that she was neither aesthetically nor sexually liberated, a kind of liberation that marked a true modernist in New York at the time. Of course, there had been much gossip about the relationship between Rhoades and Stieglitz at 291. In response to Meyer's remarks, Rhoades retreated to her family's country home in Connecticut, where she remained for most of that year.

Katharine Rhoades continued to paint but her correspondence with Stieglitz dropped off sharply after O'Keeffe's arrival on the scene. She began working with Charles Lang Freer as a secretary and assistant, cataloging his large collection of Asian art.⁵⁹⁰ In April 1915 Rhoades contributed an illustration for an issue of Meyer's journal, *291*, in a style that is far different from her paintings. This feminist-themed issue dealt with the recent suicide of a single woman who had given birth to an illegitimate child. Simply entitled, *Drawing*, Rhoades inserts a large, abstract pistol between a sperm cell and an ovum, dramatically commenting on the possible violent consequences of free love. Pointing downward, the gun's handle at the top appears to be shielding the egg from the wandering sperm cell at the bottom.⁵⁹¹ (fig. 10)

⁵⁸⁹ "Marion H. Beckett and Katharine N. Rhoades," Mrs. Eugene Meyer, Jr., *Camera Work*, No. XLVIII, October, 1916.

⁵⁹⁰ Meyer, "Marion H. Beckett and Katharine N. Rhoades," 166-167. Rhoades was instrumental in establishing the Freer Gallery at the Smithsonian Institute. Both Meyer and Beckett shared her interest in his collection.

⁵⁹¹ Meyer, "Marion H. Beckett and Katharine N. Rhoades," 164.

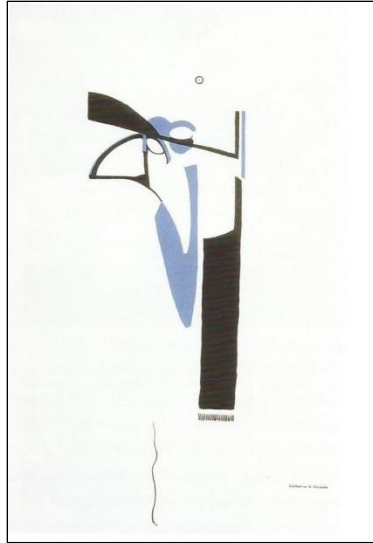


Figure 10. Katharine Rhoades, *Drawing*, 1915

Rhoades also participated in shows held by the Society of Independent Artists and the Salons of America and she had a solo exhibition at New York's Delphic Studios in 1935. Shortly before her death in 1965, she destroyed most of her paintings, perhaps as a symbol of her disappointment in her painterly endeavors. Murphy laments that the small amount of existing scholarship on the "Three Graces" is still either "Stieglitz-centered or O'Keeffe-derived."⁵⁹² Not enough scholarship has been devoted to their work as artists or to their contributions to New York's visual culture in the early part of the twentieth century.

Two other women artists at the Armory Show could be discussed in terms of the interesting lives they led outside of the Armory Show: Frances Simpson Stevens (1894-1976) and Edith Lawrence King (1884-1975). Like Rhoades and Beckett, Frances Simpson Stevens was associated with the Stieglitz circle, although she did not exhibit there. Surprisingly, this young woman, who came from a conventional background,

⁵⁹² Murphy, "Portraiture and Feminine Identity," 22.

became affiliated with the radical Italian Futurists. At their International Exhibition of Futurism held in 1914 in Rome, Stevens was listed as the “sole representative of Futurism among ‘*nordamericani*.’” She displayed seven paintings and one drawing there; photographs are all that remain of three of them: *Rhythm of Venice* (1913-14), *Dynamism of a Printing Press* (1914), and *Dynamism of Pistons* (1914).⁵⁹³ Her only known extant work, *Dynamic Velocity of Interborough Rapid Transit Power Station* (1914-16), is in the Arensberg Collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Stevens was born in Chicago. Her mother, Ellen Welles Hubbard, took pride in the long history of her family in London and her prominent forebears, a love of pedigree that Frances inherited.⁵⁹⁴ This likely had some bearing on her when she left the art world to marry a Russian prince. She graduated from Dana Hall School, a prestigious girl’s school in Wellesley, Massachusetts, where she excelled in horsemanship, hockey, and French.⁵⁹⁵ She enrolled in Robert Henri’s summer class in Madrid in 1912 when she was only eighteen years old. During this trip, she completed the painting that was included in the Armory Show, *Rooftops of Madrid* (1912); it is thought that Henri suggested that she submit the work to the AAPS’s Domestic Committee. At the Armory Show, Stevens met Mabel Dodge, who encouraged her to study in Italy and assisted in making arrangements there for her in the Florence home of poet Mina Loy.⁵⁹⁶ In Italy, Stevens (only twenty years old) and Loy, both showy, attractive women, drew the attention of Marinetti, the founder of the Futurist movement. One historian stated:

⁵⁹³ Francis Naumann, “A Lost American Futurist,” *Art in America* 82, no. 4 (April, 1994): 105-106.

⁵⁹⁴ Carolyn Burke and Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, “In Search of Frances Simpson Stevens,” in *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁵ Richard Jay Hutto, *Crowning Glory: American Wives of Princes and Dukes* (Macon, GA: Henchard Press Ltd., 2007), 255.

⁵⁹⁶ Burke and Sawelson-Gorse, “In Search of Frances Simpson Stevens,” 107.

The two women's ensuing involvement with the Futurists mingled flirtation, debate and gradual artistic conversion. They followed Marinetti's whirlwind public-relations campaign, studied the Futurist manifestos and tried their hands at painting modern life from a Futurist perspective.⁵⁹⁷

Stevens's experimentation with the masculine, machine-oriented themes of the Futurists placed her in a heady group. While much of the Futurist manifesto is bombastic and misogynistic, she may have aligned herself with the positive aspects about the machine aesthetic. Not only was Stevens the only American to exhibit with the Futurists in 1914, she was the only woman.⁵⁹⁸

When Stevens returned to Florence from Rome, she became engaged to the Marchese Salimbeni, a member of a noble Florentine family, but they did not set a wedding date. Stevens then traveled with Dodge, Loy, and writers Neith Boyce and Carl Van Vechten to a mountain resort, but when war broke out, the group scattered. Stevens remained in Europe, eventually breaking her engagement and moving back to the United States – a move that also ended her connection to the Futurists.

In her association with Stieglitz, Stevens worked as an agent for Mina Loy, securing her poetry for publication in *Camera Work*. As she had dabbled with Futurist painting, Stevens also dabbled in her own identity. For instance, she experimented with androgyny in her attire – at least for her picture accompanying a 1917 magazine article, entitled, "Sometimes We Dread the Future." Standing next to one of her canvases, she is shown wearing men's pants and a necktie with boots and an overcoat. The caption refers to her as "fresh from a discreet New England boarding-school" and reports that "Brussels

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Francis M. Naumann, "A Lost American Futurist," 104-115, 136, 141.

sprouts and other things [were] thrown at her work by the enraged Academicians.”⁵⁹⁹

Other artists pictured with her include Marcel Duchamp, Albert Gleizes, and Stanton MacDonald-Wright.

Yet, at around the same time, Stevens asserted a feminine side as she began creating painted hat rests – she donned typical female dress for a photo promoting that line of work. Not as avant-garde as one might think, Stevens protested Margaret Sanger’s public campaign for birth control and held a romantic view of sex that the radicals of the Village disdained. According to historians Carolyn Burke and Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, “Stevens’s work became inflected by a concern with masculinity and femininity as differently coded artistic and social positions.”⁶⁰⁰ Still, Stevens was well-established in New York art circles, enough so that Stieglitz asked her to contribute to a special issue of *Camera Work*.⁶⁰¹ Furthermore, she had a solo exhibition at the Braun Galleries in Manhattan in 1916 and participated in three group shows the following year. In the catalog for the Braun show, the curator sardonically penned:

Miss Stevens, in her preface to this leaflet, informs us that the pictures have color, - lots of it! – motion – plenty of it! And that they bespeak life as it is to-day. To a very great extent we agree with her, though we may not approve of her thus reminding us of life’s unattractiveness.

We, therefore, disclaim any responsibility for the feelings, upon entering our Galleries, of those who do not like color and are not overfond of motion.⁶⁰²

⁵⁹⁹ “Sometimes We Dread the Future,” *Every Week*, April 2, 1917, 14, cited in *Art in America* 82, no. 4 (April, 1994): 104.

⁶⁰⁰ Burke and Sawelson-Gorse, “In Search of Frances Simpson Stevens,” 112.

⁶⁰¹ Frances Simpson Stevens, “What 291 Means to Me,” *Camera Work*, No. XLVII, dated July, 1914, published January, 1915: 30.

⁶⁰² Philippe Ortiz, “Avis aux gens scandalisés,” *Futurist Paintings by Frances Simpson Stevens*, exhibition catalog (New York: Braun Galleries, 1916), unpaginated.

At a dinner party Stevens met Prince Dmitri Golitsyn, a Russian nobleman whose wife had been executed by the Bolsheviks a few months previously. He appealed to Stevens's romantic ideals. She and the prince married in 1919 when Stevens was twenty-five years old. Richard Hutto asserts there were no children from this union because "Frances was assumed to be homosexual."⁶⁰³ The marriage did not provide financial or emotional stability for the artist – the couple left for Siberia to support the anti-Bolshevik forces in their failed attempt to defeat the revolutionary government. She lost her citizenship in the United States and her money and the former prince was forced to take up carpentry in a Paris school for destitute Russian noblemen. Stevens returned to New York, where she received financial support from her mother. After a brief attempt at regaining a career as a painter, Stevens took up photography and turned to her love of horses for subject matter. A reporter with the *London Daily Graphic*, perhaps intrigued by a princess who was once a Futurist artist and Russian nationalist, wrote an article on Stevens. Commenting on her new work with equine photography – perhaps a new type of pedigree for Stevens – he wrote, "Many princesses are busy women these days, but among the bearers of that title, the first real hustler I have met is Princess Galitzine."⁶⁰⁴ Stevens remained in New York for at least another year. However, her whereabouts over the next two decades remain a mystery. She finally surfaced in California, where she contacted Walter and Louise Arensberg. Their reunion was documented through the correspondence of Steven's enigmatic daughter, whose existence and paternity remain undocumented.⁶⁰⁵ Stevens's life from this point on went sharply downhill. She ultimately

⁶⁰³ Hutto, *Crowning Glory*, 256.

⁶⁰⁴ Mr. London, quoted in Burke and Sawelson-Gorse, "In Search of Frances Simpson Stevens," 115.

⁶⁰⁵ When Stevens died in 1976 at the age of eighty-two, she had no next of kin. See Hutto, *Crowning Glory*, 257.

became a ward of the State of California and lived in a residential care home, where she tried to convince anyone who would listen that she was once a princess.⁶⁰⁶ Her life as a privileged boarding school student, avant-garde artist, Russian activist, princess, and penniless nursing home resident is the stuff of novels.

Edith Lawrence King's artistic abilities surfaced early in her childhood. She studied at the Rhode Island School of Design and as a special student at the Women's College at Brown University, although her rebellious nature and "brutally frank tongue" did not endear her to her professors.⁶⁰⁷ King was a poor student and not much interested in higher education. She took art classes as an unofficial student at MIT, where her mother worked as a librarian. She developed a close friendship with Charles and Maurice Prendergast and traveled with them, along with her mother and sister, to Capri, where Maurice painted her portrait. That painting is now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. King's association with the Prendergasts greatly influenced her own work.

Of her early life, King stated that "my aunt told my mother I was no good in the world, just sitting around drawing pictures, so I sadly set out to earn my living."⁶⁰⁸ She began teaching at the Buckingham School in Boston, where she met Dorothy Coit – the two women worked together in theater productions and later left Boston to establish their own school in New York, the King-Coit School and Children's Theatre, which ran from 1923 to 1958 and where King became known for her teaching abilities.⁶⁰⁹ She taught art

⁶⁰⁶ Burke and Sawelson-Gorse, "In Search of Frances Simpson Stevens," 113.

⁶⁰⁷ Ellen Rodman, "Edith King and Dorothy Coit and the King-Coit School and Children's Theatre," in *Spotlight on the Child: Studies in the History of American Children's Theatre*, Roger Bedard, John Tolch, eds. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1989), 56.

⁶⁰⁸ Edith Lawrence King, quoted in Rodman, "Edith King and Dorothy Coit," 53.

⁶⁰⁹ Rodman, "Edith King and Dorothy Coit," 51.

classes there and designed sets and costumes. At the Armory Show, King showed four watercolor landscapes that she had painted during her trip to Capri.

Much less dramatic is the life and work of Florence Esté (1860-1926). Esté was a noted landscape painter who came from Cincinnati. She studied art with Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and later enrolled in classes at the Académie Colarossi in Paris. In 1888 Esté permanently moved to Paris, where she worked as both an artist and a teacher. Beginning in 1884, she took up etching and, like Anne Goldthwaite and Mary Cassatt, participated in a revival of that medium during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁶¹⁰ Moreover, Esté was part of a network of American women – including Cassatt, Cecelia Beaux, and Emily Sartain – who were working in Paris. They frequently got together to discuss art and critique one another’s work.⁶¹¹ One Paris reviewer noted that Esté was a “prominent” painter that had “remarkable decorative talent.”⁶¹² At the Armory Show, Esté displayed two watercolor paintings. Her work was also exhibited both before and after the Armory Show at venues that include: the Brooklyn Art Association, the Boston Art Club, the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, and the Paris Salon.⁶¹³ The French government purchased some of her work for the Luxembourg Galleries.⁶¹⁴ The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art and the Art Institute of Chicago also have her work in their collections. Her extremely active and successful life as a painter makes her anonymity today all the more puzzling.

⁶¹⁰ Phyllis Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, exhibition catalog (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1988), 55.

⁶¹¹ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 55-57.

⁶¹² “American Pictures to Excel This Year,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1910, C2.

⁶¹³ Peet, *American Women of the Etching Revival*, 57.

⁶¹⁴ “Miss Esté, Painter, Dies,” *New York Times*, April 27, 1926, 25.

Mary Cassatt (1844-1926) is one of the few women artists at the Armory Show with name recognition – and at sixty-nine years of age, she was the oldest woman artist represented there. Scholarship on Cassatt’s life and work abounds, therefore, my discussion of her is limited. Not surprisingly, both of her works at the Armory Show depicted a woman and child; one was an oil painting and the other a watercolor. Because of her link to French impressionism, the AAPS hanging committee placed her work in the Armory Show’s gallery O, which was given over to French artists. By 1913 she was in poor health, suffering from diabetes, rheumatism, and neuralgia – and she was losing her eyesight. However, she remained active as a painter until the following year.⁶¹⁵ According to Eleanor Tufts, Cassatt displayed a “touch of feminism” when she enthusiastically agreed to have eighteen of her works hung at New York’s Knoedler Galleries in an exhibition to benefit the suffrage campaign in 1915.⁶¹⁶

Because Cassatt was so closely associated with French Impressionism, this is a good place to segue way to a discussion of the European women represented at the Armory Show. French artist Émilie Charmy (1878-1974) displayed four oil paintings. One of them, entitled, *L’Estaque* (1910), reflects a Fauvist approach in its use of color and flattened shapes. Her dealer in Paris, Emile Druet, loaned this painting and the three additional ones to the exhibition.

Charmy was born in Saint-Etienne, France. Her parents died when she was only five years old; her older brother became her guardian and moved with her to Lyon. Before the Armory Show, Charmy’s work was exhibited at the Salon des Artistes

⁶¹⁵ “Mary Cassatt Biography,” Mary Cassatt: The Complete Works, accessed October 11, 2013, www.marycassatt.org/biography.html.

⁶¹⁶ Eleanor Tufts, “Mary Cassatt,” *American Women Artists 1830-1930*, 6. See also, “Exhibition for Suffrage Cause,” *New York Times*, April 4, 1915, SM14.

Indépendants in 1904. She began showing her work at the Salon d'Automne in 1906 and became a member in 1910.⁶¹⁷ Druet sponsored her first solo exhibition in 1912 at his gallery. That same year she met her future husband, painter George Bouche.⁶¹⁸ Parisian critics helped to promote her work – critic Roland Dorgelés likened Charmy's painting to that of a man because of her thick application of paint and works depicting female nude models. Despite her presence among the European avant-garde, few of her paintings are known because most of them are in private collections.⁶¹⁹ Art historian Sylvie Carlier observes Charmy's "rich impasto" and describes the paint as "dense" and "brutally applied." She sees Charmy as an independent woman searching for a female identity – a much repeated theme in this project.⁶²⁰

As of this writing, a major retrospective exhibition of Charmy's work is being held in the United States.⁶²¹ Her Armory Show landscape painting, *L'Estaque*, is now housed at the Art Institute of Chicago.⁶²² Others of her paintings are in the collections of the Museum of Beaux-Arts in Lyon, France as well as in two Paris Museums.

Unlike Charmy, Marie Laurencin (1883-1956) was a well-known woman within French avant-garde circles in the early twentieth century, yet she gets credit more as a muse to poet and Cubist art critic, Guillaume Apollinaire, than for her own work as an artist. The muse label misrepresents Laurencin's work and marginalizes her artistic

⁶¹⁷ "Émilie Charmy," *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, Oxford Art Online, accessed March 1, 2012, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com>.

⁶¹⁸ "Archives Émilie Charmy," accessed September 20, 2013, <http://emiliecharmy.fr/en/biography.php>.

⁶¹⁹ Sylvie Carlier, *Suzanne Valadon, Jacqueline Marval, Émilie Charmy, Georgette Agutte: Les femmes peintres et l'avant-garde, 1900-1930*, exhibition catalog, (Paris: Somogy: Villefranche-sur-Saône: Musée Paul-Dini, 2006), 16.

⁶²⁰ Carlier, *Les femmes peintres et l'avant-garde*, 17.

⁶²¹ Charmy's retrospective exhibition was held at the University of Virginia's Fralin Museum of Art in Fall 2013 and hosted by the Chicago Arts Club in Spring 2014. See Émilie Charmy, accessed September 30, 2013, <http://www.emiliecharmy.org/>.

⁶²² Collections search, Art Institute of Chicago, accessed September 30, 2013, http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/9010?search_no=1&index=0.

production. Born to a single mother who worked as a seamstress, Laurencin came from modest circumstances. Four decades later, she had sold enough of her paintings to be able to live comfortably in her Paris apartment and maintain a house in the country.⁶²³ As a child, Laurencin painted images of her cat, Pousiquette – her idea that the cat had the face of a woman led her to self-portraiture. She claimed, “After I began to paint myself my own portrait has always kept me busy.”⁶²⁴ Laurencin completed twenty-six paintings formally titled, *Self-Portrait*; her image appears in countless more figurative works.⁶²⁵

Laurencin studied at the Académie Humbert, initially interested in pursuing a career in porcelain painting. But after she met Georges Braque at the Académie and he introduced her to the circle of artists around Picasso at the Bateau Lavoir, she broadened her horizons.⁶²⁶ She showed work alongside the Cubist painters several times between 1907 and 1913. Gertrude Stein purchased one of her most famous paintings, *The Guests* (1908) which depicts Laurencin, Apollinaire, Picasso, and his lover, Fernande Olivier. Olivier, who discounted Laurencin’s place in that circle of friends, later suggested that Stein bought the painting at Picasso’s urging “mainly for fun” and as an act of generosity on Stein’s part.⁶²⁷ However, the work was on display in the Steins’ apartment alongside the work of the male avant-garde and thus was visible to the countless artists and collectors who frequented there.

Laurencin ended her relationship with Apollinaire in 1913 and hastily married Otto von Wätjen, but the marriage was always shaky. When war broke out in Europe, the

⁶²³ Bridget Elliott, “The ‘Strength of the Weak’ as Portrayed by Marie Laurencin,” *Genders* 24 (December 31, 1996): 70.

⁶²⁴ Marie Laurencin, quoted in Elliott and Wallace, *Women Artists*, 111.

⁶²⁵ Elizabeth Louise Kahn, *Marie Laurencin, Une Femme Inadaptée in Feminist Histories of Art* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), 21-28.

⁶²⁶ “Marie Laurencin,” accessed March 1, 2012, *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*.

⁶²⁷ Fernande Olivier, quoted in Elliott and Wallace, *Women Artists*, 103.

couple fled to Spain. Though Laurencin missed Paris, in Spain she was able to study the work of Goya firsthand. She divorced her alcoholic husband in 1920, returned to Paris, and never remarried.⁶²⁸

There is abundant scholarship on Laurencin. However, because her art has been largely gendered “feminine,” – charming and soft – much of that literature comes in the form of exhibition catalogs or glossy coffee-table art books, suggesting that her work was popular (read marketable) and accessible, but perhaps not serious or experimental in its expression.⁶²⁹ According to modernist historian Bridget Elliott, Laurencin “experienced a constantly shifting and ambivalent relationship to the cubist avant-garde that was both enabling and alienating.”⁶³⁰ Laurencin boldly asserted that her work was modern and “completely feminine” at the same time.⁶³¹

Elliott suggests that one reason Laurencin was recognized in her time is because she, like her male colleagues, admitted journalistic interviewers into her home studio and was pictured in the press.⁶³² She further observes that Apollinaire was not “consigning Laurencin to some sort of feminine ghetto but instead urged artists of both sexes to take up the new decorative aesthetic and its commercial opportunities.”⁶³³ Apollinaire’s support of Laurencin and her work might be seen as the French equivalent of Stieglitz and Rhoades (or O’Keeffe) in his search for feminine creative values and a quest for purity. Apollinaire defended Laurencin and saw her as emblematic of what women artists could bring to modernity. Emily Grenauer submits that Laurencin was comfortable with

⁶²⁸ Heather McPherson, *Marie Laurencin: Artist and Muse*, exhibition catalog (Birmingham, AL: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1989), 29.

⁶²⁹ Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 70-71.

⁶³⁰ Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 72.

⁶³¹ Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 74.

⁶³² Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 77.

⁶³³ Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 82.

her feminine appeal, observing, “Her own personality was essentially feminine and exquisite rather than intellectual and dynamic . . . she swept clear of [the Cubists’] sphere of influence, and developed what she considered her true character as an artist.”⁶³⁴

However, Laurencin had critics who saw her work as anti-modernist. Elliott comments, “Because Laurencin refused to play the usual model/lover role allotted to women in the avant-garde, she was dismissively characterized as a young bourgeois girl playing the role of avant-garde painter.”⁶³⁵ She also suggests that Laurencin exemplified the idea that her social conformity concealed a personal strategy and held “alternative meanings.”

Since they were obscure in their day, these meanings got lost over time.⁶³⁶ Biographer Elizabeth Kahn is perhaps more direct about Laurencin’s personal strategy. She suggests that the artist hid her lesbian identity in her feminine subjects and laments that most of the people who have written about Laurencin’s life have missed that fact entirely.⁶³⁷

Many of her canvasses allude to her sexual identity as they depict lithe women dancing together or embracing each other. Whether ultra-feminine, avant-garde cubist, or decorative, the artist’s work has been difficult to categorize. Writer, poet, and art critic André Salmon heralded her work, commenting:

It would be unfortunate if Marie Laurencin had no other role to play than that of adjunct to our decorators. May the public, reassured as to her artistic morality, . . . knowing her to be so fragilely associated with wicked demolishers of convenient systems, with the terrorists of modern art, deign to take better note of her, and, ultimately, to look at her canvases without preconceived ideas.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁴ Emily Grenauer quoted in Renee Sandell, “Marie Laurencin: Cubist Muse or More,” *Woman’s Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (Spring/Summer, 1980): 27.

⁶³⁵ Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 89.

⁶³⁶ Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 100.

⁶³⁷ Elizabeth Kahn, *Marie Laurencin: Une Femme Inadaptée in Feminist Histories of Art* (Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), xxii.

⁶³⁸ André Salmon, quoted in Elliott, “The Strength of the Weak,” 86.

In order to earn a living, Laurencin had to crank out at least two portrait commissions a month. She complained about this but it did allow her a measure of independence within the avant-garde.⁶³⁹ She also wrote poems and short articles for magazines to supplement her income and left us with a poetically penned autobiography, *Le Carnet des Nuits*.⁶⁴⁰

Laurencin displayed two portraits in the Sonderbund exhibition in 1912,⁶⁴¹ where Walt Kuhn would have seen her work. Additionally, her name appears on the list that Picasso gave Walt Kuhn, suggesting some European artists to include in the Armory Show. Out of the ten artists listed, she is the only female.⁶⁴² Seven of her works were included in the Armory Show, including watercolors, drawings, and oil paintings. Her painting, *Les Jeunes Filles* (fig. 11), depicts four graceful, elongated women staged in the foreground of a cubist landscape. Her compositions around this time often placed multiple figures together in a way that recalls one of Picasso's most famous works, *Les Femmes d'Alger*.

⁶³⁹ Elliott, "The Strength of the Weak," 92.

⁶⁴⁰ Elliott, "The Strength of the Weak," 96. See also Kahn, *Marie Laurencin*, 159.

⁶⁴¹ Printed Material and Memorabilia: Internationale Kunst-Aussellung des Sonderbundes Illustr. Katalog, Cologne, 1912, Walt Kuhn Family Papers and Armory Show Records, 1859-1978, Bulk 1900-1949, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, accessed October 25, 2013, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/container/viewer/-emph-render-italic-Internationale-Kunst-Ausstellung-des-Sonderbundes-Illustr-Katalog-emph-Cologne--228134>.

⁶⁴² "Picasso's List, 1912," Walt Kuhn Family Papers and Armory Show Records, 1859-1978, Bulk 1900-1949, Archives of American Art, The Smithsonian Institution, Box 1, Folder 83.



Figure 11. Marie Laurencin, *Les Jeunes Filles*, oil, 1910-11

Laurencin disappeared from art historical discourse after her death in 1956. With the establishment of the Marie Laurencin Museum in the 1980s in Tokyo, her work is again being considered. In the introduction to the catalog produced for the retrospective exhibition of Laurencin's work at the Birmingham Museum of Art, Heather McPherson observes that Laurencin's aesthetic was not particularly fertile ground for feminist theorizing and that her elegance, decoration, and pastel palette "sounds like a litany of everything that is wrong with women's art."⁶⁴³ Today her work can be found in multiple public institutions, including the Museum of Modern Art, the National Gallery of Art, and the Tate Gallery in London.

Jacqueline Marval (1866-1932) was born as Marie-Joséphine Vallet and experienced a troubled childhood. She was briefly married to a traveling salesman; after her divorce she worked in Grenoble as a tailor. In 1895 Marval moved to Paris with her companion, painter François Girot. There she met several avant-garde artists, including Matisse, Albert Marquet, George Rouault, and Jules Flandrin who quickly replaced Girot

⁶⁴³ McPherson, *Marie Laurencin: Artist and Muse*, 9.

and became her companion for the next thirty years. She took the pseudonym “Marval” from the first three letters of her first and last names.

Marval had ten paintings included in the Salon des Indépendants in 1901 – all of which were purchased by Ambroise Vollard, the dealer who also represented Cézanne, Degas, and Picasso. That same year art dealer Berthe Weill included her work in an exhibition along with Matisse, Flandrin, and Marquet, all artists in the Armory Show. An independent woman, Marval once said that she was not a woman artist, but “a painter, that is all...”⁶⁴⁴ Her painting, *Odalisques au miroir*, was the only work by a woman in the Armory Show to be reproduced on postcards that were sold at the exhibition.⁶⁴⁵ The painting is now at the Musée de Grenoble in France.⁶⁴⁶

Much has been written about the English artist, Gwen John (1876-1939). She traveled to Paris in 1898 and studied art at the Académie Carmen with James McNeill Whistler. She moved to Montparnasse (the bohemian equivalent of Greenwich Village) and supported herself by working as an artist’s model for both painters and sculptors, including Auguste Rodin. She moved to Meudon, a Paris suburb, where Rodin also had a studio. Her love affair with the sculptor lasted from 1904 to 1914. John later converted to Catholicism and became extremely religious, seeking spiritual guidance from philosopher Jacques Maritain and his wife Raïsa. She became obsessed with Raïsa’s sister, Vera, but her affections were not reciprocated. Her search for a spiritual life led to her reclusive

⁶⁴⁴ Jacqueline Marval, quoted in Sylvie Carlier, *Les Femmes Peintres et L’avant-garde*, 27.

⁶⁴⁵ MacRae papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institute, reel 4132, frames 16, 17, and 890. Several scholars have confused Marval’s painting, *Les Odalisques*, with her Armory Show entry, *Les Odalisques au miroir*. MacRae’s papers contain a poor-quality, black-and-white image of the correct painting. See also *Jacqueline Marval, 1866-1932* by François Roussier, Association Lucien Mainssieux, Thalia édition, Paris, 2008.

⁶⁴⁶ François Roussier, “Jacqueline Marval,” *Jacqueline Marval, Painter 1866-1932*, accessed October 20, 2013, www.jacqueline-marval.com.

existence.⁶⁴⁷ Like Marval, Gwen John was something of a tangent to modernity – Jacques Derrida suggests that the artist developed a kind of “participation without belonging – a taking part in without being a part of, without having membership in a set.”⁶⁴⁸ Her genre subjects included quiet interiors, portraits, and images of her beloved cats.

Both Gwen and her brother, artist Augustus John, were supported by collector John Quinn, whose financial assistance Gwen desperately needed – a rift with her father prompted her to refuse his financial help.⁶⁴⁹ Quinn lent her painting, *Girl Reading at the Window* (1911), to the Armory Show. It now resides at the Museum of Modern Art.

Olga Oppenheimer (1886-1941) was a German expressionist painter and printmaker associated with the Expressionists in Germany’s Rhineland area. At the Armory Show, she displayed six woodcuts, which were hung alongside Munch’s prints in Gallery K.⁶⁵⁰ Like Laurencin, she showed her work at the Cologne Sonderbund in 1912, where Walt Kuhn would have seen her work, and again in 1913. Oppenheimer was one of the founders of the Gereon Club in 1911, along with fellow Armory Show artist Franz Jansen and her colleague Emily Worringer. The Club was an art educational center that housed a school run by Oppenheimer and served as a major exhibiting venue for the avant-garde in the Rhineland.⁶⁵¹ Oppenheimer’s work was deeply influenced by French art, something that German critics disdained. She worked in Paul Sérusier’s studio in Paris in 1909 and her earlier two-tone woodcuts reveal the influence of French artist Felix

⁶⁴⁷ “John, Gwen for Gwendolen Mary,” *Benezit Dictionary*, accessed March 1, 2012, Oxford Art Online.

⁶⁴⁸ Jacques Derrida, quoted in Maria Tamboukou, *Nomadic Narratives, Visual Forces: Gwen John’s Letters and Paintings* (New York: Peter Lang, 1910), 12.

⁶⁴⁹ Tamboukou, *Nomadic Narratives, Visual Forces*, 9.

⁶⁵⁰ Staples, “Gallery G: English, Irish, and German Paintings and Drawings,” The Virtual Armory Show.

⁶⁵¹ “Wolfgang Delseit (Cologne): Franz M. Jansen (1185-1958),” Literatur-Archiv-NRW, accessed October 21, 2013, accessed October 21, 2013, http://www.literatur-archiv-nrw.de/lesesaal/Essays/Wolfgang_Delseit_K_In_Franz_M_Jansen_1885_1958_/seite_1.html.

Vallotton.⁶⁵² In 1913 she married Emily's brother, Adolf Worringer and had two sons with him before the couple divorced.

Oppenheimer had to give up her artistic career due to severe depression. She spent more than twenty years in a psychiatric institution before being sent to a concentration camp in Lublin in 1941. She died that same year during the Holocaust.⁶⁵³ Her mental health issues and demise at the hands of the Nazis cut short a promising artistic career.

This discussion now turns to the least-known women painters at the Armory Show. Two of them Aileen Dresser (1890-?) and Edith Dimock (1876-1955) were married to Armory Show men artists and immersed themselves in New York's bohemian culture, taking both work and play seriously. Dresser has been described as an "actress-painter," but little else is known about her or her work. Her name surfaced in an amusing anecdote about the infamous Blind Man's Ball in 1917, an event sponsored by the Dada publication, *The Blind Man*, which she attended. She and a group of friends went to the Arensberg's apartment after the ball at three o'clock in the morning for scrambled eggs and wine and then retired to Marcel Duchamp's room there. She slept in his bed along with Duchamp, "Dada Mama" Beatrice Wood, Mina Loy, and Charles Demuth.⁶⁵⁴ At the Armory Show, she displayed a landscape painting, *Quai de la Tournell, Paris* (n.d.)

Dimock showed several watercolors at the Armory Show. Collector John Quinn purchased two of them and a set of six was purchased by George E. Marcus. After her marriage to William Glackens, Dimock continued to exhibit under her maiden name, but

⁶⁵² Shulamith Behr, *Women Expressionists* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 9.

⁶⁵³ Rheinische Expressionistinnen: Trude Brück, Lisa Hartlieb-Rilke, Fifi Kreutzer, Marie von Malachowski, Olga Oppenheimer, Lotte B. Prechner, Marta Worringer, exhibition catalog (Bonn, Germany: Verein August Macke Haus, 1993), 114-121. I wish to thank Marc Born for his assistance in translating this German text.

⁶⁵⁴ Steven Watson, *Strange Bedfellows: The First American Avant-Garde* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991), 320-321.

over time, her career became overshadowed by that of her husband's. In a 1904 exhibition of the American Water Color Society, one reviewer admired the "mischief" in her work, stating, "Miss Dimock is not orthodox at all. She comes to her world very unconventionally."⁶⁵⁵ One story supports the unconventional world in her personal life. While playing a "frog game" at the Café Francis in New York, Dimock's "drawers" fell to the ground just as her iron disc landed in the frog's mouth. She stepped out of them and folded them into her purse and went on to score again, amid much applause.⁶⁵⁶ Edward Alden Jewell reviewed a 1933 exhibition, entitled "Painting and Sculpture by Wives of Painters and Sculptors," and observed her influences, commenting, "Edith Dimock must at least have dusted a canvas or two by Mr. Glackens, on the maid's day off, though one somehow feels she may have dusted also a few things by the late Mr. Prendergast."⁶⁵⁷ Dimock worked as both artist and illustrator and showed her work at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Panama-Pacific Exposition, the Society of Independent Artists, and the Whitney Studio Club.⁶⁵⁸

Five more of the women artists we know little about studied with Robert Henri. Edith E. Haworth (1878-1953) showed two oil paintings, *The Birthday Party* (n.d.) and *The Village Band* (n.d.) at the Armory Show. In 1916 she participated with other Armory Show artists, including Carl Sprinchorn, Jerome Myers, Ethel Myers, and Florence Dreyfous – in a show one reviewer described as "tingling with modernity."⁶⁵⁹ At her death in 1932, the Morton Gallery held a show of her work; a reviewer described her paintings as "fascinating documents of New York in the first decade of the twentieth

⁶⁵⁵ Anonymous reviewer, quoted in Fahlman, "The Art Spirit in the Classroom," 101.

⁶⁵⁶ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 175.

⁶⁵⁷ Edward Alden Jewell, "Wives Without Husbands," *New York Times*, September 24, 1933, XX6.

⁶⁵⁸ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 1, 920.

⁶⁵⁹ "Art Notes," *New York Times*, May 27, 1916, 10.

century.⁶⁶⁰ Haworth had ties in Michigan. She was a founding member and the first treasurer of the Detroit Society of Women Painters and Sculptors and she displayed her work at the Detroit Institute of Art (DIA) on numerous occasions between 1905 and 1924.⁶⁶¹ In 1903 Haworth began teaching classes at the DIA, including a life drawing class.⁶⁶²

Amy Londoner (1878-1953) was born in Missouri. She showed her work in the 1910 Exhibition of Independent Artists, with the Society of Independent Artists, and at the MacDowell Club. At the 1918 MacDowell exhibition, Londoner's work was hung in a group that included Henri, Sloan, Edward Hopper, and Marjorie Organ.⁶⁶³ One critic praised Londoner as "always a talented painter [who] shows marked advance in her art and has evolved a personal expression in the last few years."⁶⁶⁴ At the Armory Show, Londoner displayed four pastels depicting beach scenes. In 1922 she wrote to Henri, "You have always been awfully nice to me about my work and I am sure if you did not believe in me I would not have the will to go on."⁶⁶⁵ Like Henri, Londoner taught art classes at the Ferrer Modern School in New York City.⁶⁶⁶

Louise Pope (?-?) is mentioned frequently in both Henri's and John Sloan's letters. Many of her colleagues thought she would have been Henri's choice for his second wife and were surprised when he married Marjorie Organ. Pope had a studio in the Village on Washington Square.⁶⁶⁷ Her work was included in the Salon d'Automne in

⁶⁶⁰ "The Week in New York," *New York Times*, February 21, 1932, X10.

⁶⁶¹ Wardle, *American Women Modernists*, 201.

⁶⁶² "The Art Museum and Local Notes," *Detroit Free Press*, March 8, 1903: A5, Detroit Free Press Archives.

⁶⁶³ "Water Colors, Pastels, and Drawings at the MacDowell Club," *New York Times*, May 5, 1918.

⁶⁶⁴ "Six Artists at Touchstone Galleries," *American Art News*, March 13, 1920, 2.

⁶⁶⁵ Londoner to Henri, Robert Henri Papers, Beinecke Library, YCAL MSS 100, box 6, folder 144.

⁶⁶⁶ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 2, 2052.

⁶⁶⁷ Bruce St. John, ed., *John Sloan's New York Scene: From the Diaries, Notes and Correspondence, 1906-1913* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 83.

Paris in 1912.⁶⁶⁸ When she displayed her work in the suffrage exhibition in 1915, she was described as a Cubist. A reviewer described her work as “incoherent and quite barbarous” and as “prophecies of subway explosions.”⁶⁶⁹ Little is known about her personal life and none of her work survives.⁶⁷⁰ At the Armory Show, Pope displayed an oil painting, *Portrait of Mrs. P.* (n.d.).

Hilda Ward (1878-1950) had two pastels in the Armory Show, *The Hound* (1910) and *The Kennel* (1910). Earlier, she had written and illustrated a humorous book, entitled, *Girl and a Motorcar*. She remained active as an artist until about 1916. More is known about Ward’s parents than about her. Her father was Rear Admiral Aaron Ward of the United States Navy, who served as naval attaché in Paris, Berlin, and Petrograd during the late 19th century and her mother, Annie Willis Ward, was a “favorite at court functions” throughout Europe as she traveled with her husband. Both were fluent in several languages.⁶⁷¹

Florence Dreyfous (1868-1950) displayed two watercolors at the Armory Show. One of them, her painting, *Mildred* (n.d.), reveals Henri’s influence in its loose, gestural brushstrokes. Dreyfous maintained a close friendship with Armory Show artist Carl Sprinchorn, as evidenced in her correspondence with him.⁶⁷²

Although she was not one of Henri’s students, Helen James Niles (1864-1940) was his good friend and she corresponded frequently with Henri from her home in

⁶⁶⁸ “Individual Note in Autumn Sale,” *New York Times*, September 30, 1912, 4.

⁶⁶⁹ Unknown critic, quoted in Dennison, “Babies for Suffrage,” 26.

⁶⁷⁰ Marian Wardle indicated that Pope married Dr. Robert Ticehurst in 1936, but his obituary says that his wife, Louise Pope, RN, died in 2004. She can’t be the early twentieth century artist unless she lived for well over 100 years. This kind of error reveals the difficulty in locating many of these obscure women artists.

⁶⁷¹ “Mrs. Ward, Widow of Admiral, Dead,” *New York Times*, January 13, 1926, 27.

⁶⁷² Carl Sprinchorn papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, microfiche reel 304, frames 1017-1023.

Ohio.⁶⁷³ She was active as a painter for only a short time – between 1900 and 1913, exhibiting at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Society of Independent Artists.⁶⁷⁴ In the Armory Show, Niles showed her oil painting, entitled *Phyllis* (n.d.).

The correspondence between art dealer William Macbeth and Carolyn Campbell Mase (1880-1948) reveals a struggle that many artists faced. Sometime between March and November, 1913, Mase wrote a letter to Macbeth about the possibility of showing some of her work. The letter sounds a desperate note:

I have hung often in various shows, including the “International” last march – If you do think of having a showing of Pastels by American artists, or Water Colors, will you allow me to send something. I am ready to give almost any percentage on sales, in order to push my work . . .⁶⁷⁵

Macbeth’s reply on November 24, 1913 was not particularly encouraging and he referred to her as “Mr. C. C. Mase” several times before finally addressing her as “My dear Miss Mase.”⁶⁷⁶ Their letters back and forth continued through at least 1932; perhaps Mase finally gave up. Her pastel, entitled *September Haze* (n.d.), was exhibited at the Armory Show.

Little could be discovered about the following Armory Show women painters: Charlotte Meltzer, whose oil painting, *Loverene*, was considered offensive when it was shown in Chicago (its current location is unknown);⁶⁷⁷ Josephine Paddock, who like Margaret Huntington, has work in the Campbell Collection at Macon’s Wesleyan College; Harriet Sophia Phillips (1849-1928) who we know studied in Berlin and Paris; and, Hermine E. Kleinert, who displayed a portrait study in oil.

⁶⁷³ Robert Henri papers, Beinecke Library, YCAL MSS 100, box 6, file 165 and box 7, files 166-176.

⁶⁷⁴ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol.2, 2427.

⁶⁷⁵ Mase to Macbeth, n.d., Macbeth Gallery records, 1838-1968, bulk 1892 to 1953. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Box 56.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ Martinez, “A Mixed Reception for Modernism,” 46.

Illustrators. Several artists, both men and women, worked as illustrators during the early twentieth century. Indeed, the period is often referred to as the Golden Age of Illustration. Edward Hopper, John Sloan, Robert Henri, and a host of other men and women paid the bills by illustrating articles for magazines and other publications, including: *The Century*, *Harper's*, and the *Craftsman*.

Originally from Toronto, Bessie Marsh Brewer (1884-1952) moved to Greenwich Village and studied art with Robert Henri. In 1906 she illustrated an article about Henri's classes for *New York World* written by Izola Forrester entitled, "New York's Art Anarchists." Her illustration depicted women from the slums "recovering from a wild night of partying."⁶⁷⁸ Forrester commented on Brewer's subjects – sweatshop women, bare-foot Italian children, and card-playing men – as "strange work for a girl to be turning out." Brewer countered that she was going after the "grand and virile" life in the city and referred to some of her pastels of pretty girls as "what Mr. Henri calls mush."⁶⁷⁹ Yet she had to produce "mush" in order to earn money from a more conservative clientele. She married journalist and businessman Sam Brewer and the couple socialized with John and Dolly Sloan in the Village.⁶⁸⁰ At the Armory Show she displayed three drawings. That same year she showed her work at the MacDowell Club and later with the Society of Independent Artists and the Brooklyn Art Association.⁶⁸¹ In 1924 Brewer won a prize for her entry at Pratt's New York School of Design for Women exhibition. She illustrated articles for several magazines, created theatrical posters (one advertising a

⁶⁷⁸ Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, 15.

⁶⁷⁹ Izola Forrester and Brewer quoted in Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ St. John, *John Sloan's New York Scene*, 83, 224.

⁶⁸¹ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 1, p. 435.

Sarah Bernhardt performance), and illustrated several works by Charles Dickens.⁶⁸² In the 1932 obituary of her husband, Bessie Marsh Brewer is referred to as “a well-known etcher.”⁶⁸³

Marjorie Organ (1886-1930) is known more for being Robert Henri’s second wife (his first wife died in 1905) than for her work as an illustrator and cartoonist. A native New Yorker, Organ studied at the New York School of Art with Henri and with Dan McCarthy. She was one of the first female newspaper cartoonists in America. Born in Ireland, she moved with her family to the United States in 1899. At the young age of sixteen, she began earning her living as a cartoonist for the *New York Journal*, creating the cartoons: “Reggie and the Heavenly Twins,” “Strange What a Difference a Mere Man Makes,” and “The Wrangle Sisters.” She married Henri, twenty years her senior, just three weeks after they met; the marriage ended her career as a cartoonist.⁶⁸⁴ Organ displayed her work with the Society of Independent Artists and the New York Society of Women Artists. She had six drawings in the Armory Show. Robert Henri died in 1929 at the age of sixty-four; she died just one year later at the age of forty-four.

May Wilson Preston (1873-1949) studied art at Oberlin College, the National Academy of Design (which she left because she was not allowed to attend life drawing classes), the Art Students League, and the New York School of Art with teachers Henri and Chase. In Paris she took a class with James MacNeil Whistler. Her first husband died just two years after they married, prompting her to begin a career as an illustrator.

Sometime during this period, she shared a studio with Edith Dimock and another female

⁶⁸² “Bessie M. Brewer, an Etcher, Painter,” *New York Times*, April 30, 1952, 27. See also “Bessie M. Brewer,” *Art Digest* 26 (June 1952): 11.

⁶⁸³ “S. S. Brewer is Dead; Insurance Official,” *New York Times*, July 6, 1932, 19.

⁶⁸⁴ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 2, 2475.

colleague. Housed in the Sherwood building in New York, the “Sherwood Sisters” became known for the high jinx that took place in their weekly studio open house.⁶⁸⁵ In 1903 she married James Moore Preston and together they founded the Society of Illustrators. For years she was the only female in this group. She created illustrations for magazines, such as *Harper’s Bazaar*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Ladies Home Journal*. At the height of her career, she was one of the highest paid illustrators in America.⁶⁸⁶ Her book illustrations include those done for F. Scott Fitzgerald’s novels. Beyond her illustration work, she also showed her personal work frequently. At the Armory Show, she displayed one oil painting, *Girl with Print* (n.d.). Preston was celebrated for her illustrations in *The Saturday Evening Post*.⁶⁸⁷ (fig. 12)



Figure 12. May Wilson Preston, *Saturday Evening Post* illustration.

⁶⁸⁵ Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, 175.

⁶⁸⁶ “May Wilson Preston,” AskART: the Artist’s Bluebook, accessed January 12, 2014, <http://www.askart.com/AskART/artists/biography.aspx?searchtype=BIO&artist=25094>.

⁶⁸⁷ Barbara Delatiner, “5 Women in Show Who Led America Into Impressionism,” *New York Times*, January 6, 1985, 13. A few sources confirm that Preston founded the Society of Illustrators with her husband; others suggest that she was only an early female member.

Sculptors. Sculpture became a popular field of study for women artists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. If students of painting learned about modern trends in modern art at the Steins' apartment, students of sculpture found a counterpart in Auguste Rodin's studio. The work of these women ranges from classical subjects to dynamic genre scenes of everyday life and from highly finished surfaces to roughly-hewn work.

Enid Yandell (1870-1934) was the oldest female sculptor at the Armory Show and her work reflects the conservative influences of her training. However, the monumental size of much of her work was surprising to many who felt such sculpture required a man's physical strength. Enid was born in Louisville, Kentucky. Her father was a prominent physician and professor at the University of Louisville's Medical School in the late nineteenth century. Her mother was a social worker and likely a strong influence on Enid's later years, when she worked for social causes in the aftermath of World War I. She studied sculpture at the Cincinnati Art Academy and later in New York with Karl Bitter and in Paris with Frederick MacMonnies. She returned to Paris several times and consulted with Rodin about her commissions.

Her career began when she was hired (along with Armory Show artist Bessie Potter Vonnoh) to work at the World's Columbian Exposition beginning in 1891. There she created the twenty-four nine-foot-tall caryatids that supported the roof garden of the Women's Building and a statue of Daniel Boone for the Kentucky Building. She also worked on Lorado Taft's designs for the Horticulture Building. Yandell wrote a short book, entitled, *Three Girls in a Flat*, which was a fictionalized account of her time working at the Exposition. Additionally, an amusing interaction between Yandell (then

only twenty-two years old) and the wife of former President Grant, Julia Dent Grant, has been documented. Mrs. Grant seemed shocked that Yandell “cut marble.” She stated that every woman was “better off at home taking care of husband and children.” When Yandell asked what a woman should do if she had no husband, Grant replied, “Get one,” adding, “Can you make any better housewife for your cutting marble?” Yandell responded, “Yes, I am developing muscle to beat biscuit when I keep house.”⁶⁸⁸

For the Tennessee Centennial International Exposition in 1897, Yandell sculpted a statue of Athena that stood forty-two feet tall – it was placed in front of the full-scale replica of the Parthenon in Nashville. Sculpted in plaster, it has not survived the test of time.⁶⁸⁹ At the Armory Show, Yandell displayed two pieces, *The Five Senses* (n.d.) and *Indian and Fisherman* (n.d.). She had another important commission from Paul Bajnotti for a fountain to memorialize his wife, Carrie Brown. It is located in Providence, Rhode Island and measures roughly twenty feet tall and thirty feet wide and depicts a large, winged, female figure wrestling out of the grasps of smaller-scale male figures. Yandell stated that she wanted to show, “the attempt of the Immortal Soul within us to free itself from handicaps and entanglements of its earthly environments. It is the development of character, the triumph of intellectuality and spirituality, I have striven to express.”⁶⁹⁰ On a much smaller scale, Yandell created a tankard, called “The Kiss,” for Tiffany and Company to reproduce and market. It depicts a young boy crouching on the vessel’s lid

⁶⁸⁸ Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981), 159-163.

⁶⁸⁹ May Brawley Hill, *The Woman Sculptor: Malvina Hoffman and Her Contemporaries*, exhibition catalog (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, Inc., 1984), 12, 14.

⁶⁹⁰ Enid Yandell, cited in Richard Ladegast, “Enid Yandell, the Sculptor,” *Outlook* (January 1902): 82.

and peering down over the side. As the lid is raised, the boy “kisses” the mermaid on the handle who is peering up at him.⁶⁹¹

Yandell was in Paris when World War I broke out. That catastrophic event induced her to change careers. She produced little art after the war, but turned instead to assist the *La Société des Orphelins de la Guerre*, which supported French orphans, and *Appui Aux Artists*, a group that provided meals for artists deprived of work by the war. Yandell described the situation thus: “After the war there was no art. There was nothing but agony and sorrow and a great striving to help.”⁶⁹²

At the Armory Show, sculptor Edith Woodman Burroughs (1871-1916) showed her portrait bust of New York statesman John Bigelow. (fig. 13) She began studying drawing with Kenyon Cox and sculpture with Augustus Saint-Gaudens at the Art Students League when she was only fifteen years old. After three years there she began supporting herself in New York City as a teacher and a sculptor – mostly making decorative pieces for Tiffany and Company and some sculptures for churches. She married fellow student Bryson Burroughs – who described his wife’s work as “somewhat baroque” – and accompanied him to Paris, where she continued to study sculpture for two more years.⁶⁹³ The work of Aristide Maillol inspired her while on a second trip to Paris in 1909.⁶⁹⁴ Burroughs was astute in capturing the character of the model in her portrait busts. One *New York Times* reviewer noted that quality in her bust of artist John La Farge

⁶⁹¹ Hill, *The Woman Sculptor*, 14.

⁶⁹² Enid Yandell, quoted in Nancy Baird, “Enid Yandell: Kentucky Sculptor,” *The Filson Club Quarterly* (January 1988): 28.

⁶⁹³ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 1, p. 517.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

and commented that Burroughs's work maintained a balance between a "classic spirit and modern realism."⁶⁹⁵



Figure 13. Edith Woodman Burroughs, *Portrait of John Bigelow*, bronze, 1910.

Burroughs was particularly active in 1915, exhibiting her work at the Berlin Galleries (a solo exhibition), the Gorham Gallery, the Architectural League's annual, and in the exhibition to benefit the suffrage campaign.⁶⁹⁶ She died in 1916 from influenza, cutting short her career at the age of forty-five. Like several of the painters discussed here, Burroughs's work has recently resurfaced. In 1984 her work was included in a show to celebrate the Brearly School's centennial.⁶⁹⁷ Burroughs's work is in several collections, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Newark Museum, and Brookgreen Gardens in South Carolina.

⁶⁹⁵ "Exhibition of Sculpture by Women Contains Much Work Embodying Individual Ideas," *New York Times*, April 24, 1910, SM15.

⁶⁹⁶ "Art Notes," *New York Times*, November 30, 1901: 9; "The Water Color and Other Art Exhibitions," *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 1915, SM 21; "Architectural League Exhibits Sculpture," *New York Times*, February 7, 1915, SM 2; Mariea Caudill Dennison, "Babies for Suffrage: 'The Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture by Women for the Benefit of the Woman Suffrage Campaign,'" *Woman's Art Journal* 24, no. 2 (Autumn, 2003-Winter, 2004): 25.

⁶⁹⁷ Vivien Raynor, "Art Bronzes by Women at Berry-Hill Galleries," *New York Times*, November 9, 1984, C26.

Sculptor Grace Mott Johnson (1882-1967) grew up on a farm in New York State and was schooled at home by her widowed father, a New York City Presbyterian minister. On the farm she gained a love for animals that would inform her artistic production. Johnson was known for her independent spirit. She rode her bicycle into the City unaccompanied and enrolled in sculpture classes with Gutzon Borglum at the Art Students League. She was soon recognized for her ability to capture the animal form and its character. In 1907 she became acquainted with the painter Andrew Dasburg, who, according to Charlotte Rubinstein, was so impressed with her talent that he "regarded her as his mentor."⁶⁹⁸ Johnson and Dasburg married in a civil ceremony in London, but traditional vows were not exchanged because Johnson wanted her relationship with Dasburg to be a "completely free alliance."⁶⁹⁹ The two lived independent lives – when Dasburg was working in Woodstock, Johnson lived with her colleague in New York City, sculptor Lila Wheelock. When their son was born in 1911, the couple took six-month turns in caring for him so that Johnson – who was becoming well-known for her animal sculptures – could pursue her career. Rubinstein observes, "While Dasburg was introducing cubism to the American scene, Johnson was haunting the circus to study elephants and other animals."⁷⁰⁰ Dasburg and Johnson frequented Mabel Dodge's salon, but when Dasburg became infatuated with Dodge and followed her to Taos, Johnson and Dasburg amicably separated. Johnson modeled her animals from memory in an attempt to capture their vitality and she gave the surface a "sketchy quality."⁷⁰¹ She displayed a study of Percheron horses at the 1910 Paris Salon. She is represented at the Armory Show

⁶⁹⁸ Charlotte Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors: A History of Women Working in Three Dimensions* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1990), 228.

⁶⁹⁹ Grace Mott Johnson quoted in *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰¹ Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors*, 239.

by three bronzes and one plaster relief, all depicting animals. Additionally, Grace Mott Johnson was an early civil rights activist and stayed at the Harlem YMCA whenever she visited New York City. Her daughter-in-law referred to her as a “one-woman liberation army.”⁷⁰² On one occasion, Johnson insisted that her black friends be admitted to a segregated beach. Her art reflected her sympathies of black people during the 1930s. A bronze bust that she created of a black child is in the Whitney Museum. After losing her studio during the Great Depression, Johnson lived with various friends and family members and eventually suffered a “breakdown,” which left her unable to produce art in the last twenty years of her life.⁷⁰³

Several sculptors at the Armory Show produced small bronzes. These small pieces were extremely popular in the early twentieth century, especially because the sculptures could easily be displayed in private homes and gardens. In 1913 the National Sculpture Society brought together nearly two hundred small bronzes for a traveling exhibition. One critic described the reaction to the show:

The responsive interest was as immediate as it was unexpected, and thousands of people gave expression to their pleasure in seeing what had hardly been known to exist. In Chicago alone, for instance, over thirty thousand people visited this first exhibition.⁷⁰⁴

Both male and female sculptors created small bronzes, taking advantage of their marketability.

Sculptor Bessie Potter Vonnoh (1872-1955) was born in St. Louis, Missouri. Her father died in a railroad accident when she was two years old. At about the same time, Vonnoh became afflicted with an undiagnosed ailment that plagued her throughout her

⁷⁰² Ibid.

⁷⁰³ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁴ Hermon A. MacNeil, “Small Bronzes,” *Art and Progress* 4, no. 5 (March 1913): 911.

childhood. Physicians disagreed about treatment, finally gave up, and told her mother to prepare herself for her daughter's death. Mysteriously and gradually however, Vonnoh began to mend, although the disease stunted her growth – as an adult, she stood only four feet, eight inches tall. She decided to become a sculptor at the age of fourteen and, after a move to Chicago, she met Lorado Taft at the Art Institute. He recognized her talent and allowed her to work in his studio on Saturdays. On Taft's advice, Vonnoh enrolled at the Art Institute and by her second year, began exhibiting her work. She earned enough money to pay for a summer in New York City, where she met sculptors Augustus St. Gaudens and Daniel Chester French. In Chicago, Vonnoh was asked to work on sculptures for the Columbian Exposition under Taft's direction and as part of a group of women sculptors nicknamed the "White Rabbits." When they got their first paychecks, as the story goes, they celebrated by carpeting the floor of their apartment with cash.⁷⁰⁵ Vonnoh created an eight-foot-tall sculpture for the Illinois Building.

Vonnoh referred to herself as a "radical" who disdained Classical sculpture, recalling, "What I wanted was to look for beauty in the every-day world, to catch the joy and swing of modern American life, using the methods of the Greeks but not their subject matter."⁷⁰⁶ Vonnoh's statuettes became popular and the money she earned enabled her and her mother to visit Europe, accompanied by Lorado Taft and his sister. During the trip, she visited Rodin in his studio. William Merritt Chase painted her portrait in 1895, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁵ Brooke Bailey, *The Remarkable Lives of 100 Women Artists, 20th Century Series* (Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams, Inc., 1994), 188.

⁷⁰⁶ Bessie Potter Vonnoh, "Tears and Laughter Caught in Bronze," *The Delineator*, October, 1925: 9.

⁷⁰⁷ William Merritt Chase, "Bessie Potter," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed October 26, 2013, <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/10472>.

In Chicago, Vonnoh formed a group of artists and writers in her studio, called, “The Little Room,” a group that included Harriet Monroe. As her immersion in Chicago culture continued, Vonnoh turned to marble and bronze sculptures and received good reviews of her work, comments such as, “She has feminine quality; yet strength.”⁷⁰⁸ She moved to New York City and earned two important commissions – a bust of Major-General S. W. Crawford in Philadelphia and a life-size figure of popular actress Maud Adams for the Paris Exposition of 1900, which was cast in gold and titled “The American Girl.” She also created a bust of Vice President Sherman for the Senate Chamber and later, she was commissioned to create the Roosevelt Memorial, for which she sculpted a bird fountain in his memory.⁷⁰⁹

In 1921 Vonnoh was elected as a full member of the National Academy of Design, at a time when only one woman sculptor and two women painters were members. She and her husband, the painter Robert Vonnoh, became the first artist couple to become members. At the Armory Show, Vonnoh displayed one bronze entitled, *Dancing Figure* (n.d.). Her two terracotta pieces, *Nude* and *Study*, appear in the catalog but were not exhibited.

Like Mary Cassatt, Bessie Vonnoh celebrated women and children in her art but did not have children of her own. Recently, her sculptures have gained recognition. In late 2008 and early 2009, the exhibit “Bessie Potter Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women” was shown at three venues: the Florence Griswold Museum in Connecticut, the Cincinnati Museum of Art, and the Montgomery Museum of Fine Art, and a handsome catalog was published in conjunction with the exhibition. Many of her sculptures are in private

⁷⁰⁸ Unknown critic, quoted in Vonnoh, “Tears and Laughter,” 78.

⁷⁰⁹ Vonnoh, “Tears and Laughter,” 80-82.

collections as well as public institutions, including the Art Institute of Chicago, the Smithsonian American Art Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Nessa Cohen (1885-1976) was a prolific sculptor. She was born in New York City and showed her work there, in Chicago, and in the Netherlands, where she received a medal in an exhibition at the Ninth Olympic Games in Amsterdam. She attended Barnard College, graduating in the same class as Mary Harriman Rumsey and two years ahead of Agnes Ernst Meyer. It's likely that they knew each other. She later studied sculpture with James Fraser at the Art Students League. Cohen traveled to Paris and studied there with Charles Malfroy and the "forerunner of modernism" in sculpture, C. A. Despiau.⁷¹⁰ Along with Burroughs and nine other Armory Show colleagues (both men and women), Cohen was included in the National Academy of Art's 1912 exhibition; a reviewer noted her "rugged" work, entitled *Navajo Watching Women at Work* (n.d.). Her interest in Western themes was also reflected in one of her two Armory Show entries, *Sunrise* (1911), which depicts a lone Native American in a spiritual pose. The other piece, entitled, *Age* (n.d.), was the companion piece to her *À La Gare* (n.d.), now lost, which depicted a huddled, old woman waiting for a train.⁷¹¹ Cohen taught art history at several private schools and lectured on art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁷¹²

Abastenia St. Leger Eberle (1878-1942) was successfully established as an artist in New York before the Armory Show – her small bronzes were especially popular and sold well at the Macbeth Gallery. One reviewer commented that, "with Abastenia St.

⁷¹⁰ Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors*, 240.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² "Helen Nessa Cohen, 92, Painter and Sculptor," *New York Times*, December 18, 1976, 26.

Ledger [sic] Eberle we come into the full swing of modernity.”⁷¹³ AAPS organizers invited her to exhibit at the Armory Show. She displayed two pieces, *Girls Wading* (1913) and her own contribution to controversy at the exhibition, *White Slave* (1913). (fig. 14) The latter piece, depicting a coarse-looking man auctioning off a young, nude girl with her head lowered and her hands tied behind her back, was Eberle’s response to the evils of organized prostitution – something she had seen firsthand when she lived and worked in lower Manhattan. White slavery, the term in the early twentieth century for child prostitution, was a “real and terrifying prospect” and much in the press at the time. The so-called “purity” crusades brought attention to this social ill and helped to get legislation enacted between 1902 and 1910 to suppress it.⁷¹⁴ The tremendous force that Eberle’s *White Slave* conveyed is evident in the comments of one Armory Show viewer, “I was passing through the room of the exhibit when suddenly I faced it – I could not go on. I had vaguely realized that this horrible thing was in the world, but it had never touched *me*. I sat there for perhaps an hour, thinking – thinking.”⁷¹⁵ When the piece was used as an illustration on the cover of a liberal magazine, *The Survey*, subscribers deluged the editor with letters protesting the child’s nudity.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ “Exhibition of Sculpture by Women Contains Much Work Embodying Individual Ideas,” *New York Times*, April 24, 1910, SM15.

⁷¹⁴ Susan P. Casteras, “Abastenia St. Leger Eberle’s ‘White Slave,’” *Woman’s Art Journal* 7, no. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1986): 33.

⁷¹⁵ Anonymous, quoted in Christina Merriman, “New Bottles for New Wine: the Work of Abastenia St. Leger Eberle,” *The Survey* 5 (May 3, 1913): 198.

⁷¹⁶ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 9.



Figure 14. Abastenia Eberle, *White Slave*, bronze, 1913.

Eberle was born in Webster City, Iowa to Canadian parents of French descent, but due to her family's financial instability, she had to move several times throughout the Midwest before she graduated from high school. Her initial study in art was with an instructor at the YMCA in Canton, Ohio. Determined to make a career as an artist, Eberle moved to New York City to study at the Art Students League. Her teachers there included George Grey Barnard and Kenyon Cox and she earned enough in scholarships and prizes to pay for her schooling.⁷¹⁷ Although Barnard discouraged her from studying in Europe, fearing that she would "become bogged down in technique and academic polish,"⁷¹⁸ Eberle did later travel to Italy, where she became the first woman to work at the Naples foundry while getting some of her pieces cast. Her fierce independence and commitment to her work are evident in her recollection:

⁷¹⁷ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 2-3.

⁷¹⁸ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 4.

At first [the foundry workmen] often discussed quite frankly whether or not the sculptures were really my work. Only after I had had to take them to task pretty sharply a few times for slighting their part of the work did they come to the conclusion that I knew what I was about and was competent to direct them.⁷¹⁹

Eberle returned to New York in 1907 and briefly lived and worked at the Lower East Side's Music School Settlement while she maintained a studio in the Village. The sculptures she produced during this time captured the daily lives of immigrants living in area tenements, especially the children. In a possible reference to Gauguin, Eberle stated, "What many go to the South Seas to find, I found here."⁷²⁰ Her figurines included depictions of women sweeping doorways, rag pickers, and dancing children. Because of her subject matter, her work has been loosely associated with the Ashcan school, although she was never directly affiliated with that group. Still, Eleanor Tufts refers to her as the "sculptural counterpart of the Ashcan School of painting."⁷²¹ One of her sculptures, entitled *Unemployed* (n.d.) reveals her concern for disadvantaged people – it portrays a man standing with his hat at his side, looking gaunt and dejected. Louise Noun observes that this work foreshadowed the later artwork that exposed human suffering during the Great Depression.⁷²²

Eberle's social consciousness extended to women's rights. She was an ardent advocate of the suffrage campaign. As a member of the Woman's Political Union, she led a contingent of women sculptors in that group's 1911 suffrage parade in New York. In 1915, after the suffrage exhibition at Macbeth's, she stood on street corners with other

⁷¹⁹ Abastenia Eberle, quoted in Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 6.

⁷²⁰ Abastenia Eberle, quoted in Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 7.

⁷²¹ Tufts, *American Women Artists: 1830-1930*, 118.

⁷²² Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 8.

women to advocate for the vote before the November referendum, which failed. She felt that art and life could not be separated, stating:

The artist has no right to work as an individualist without responsibility to others. . . .More than almost any other sort of work is art dependent on society for inspiration, material, life itself; and in that same measure does it owe society a debt. The artist must see for people – reveal them to themselves and to each other.⁷²³

In the spring of 1912, Eberle took long-term leases on two tenements in the Village, eventually adding two neighboring units and renovating all of them into a living space and studio for herself as well as additional apartments that she rented out to artists and writers. These properties provided financial stability for several years, but became a burden to her during the Depression.⁷²⁴ In 1914 she worked in two rooms on the Lower East Side; one room was her studio and the other she transformed into a playroom for the area's children, most of which were Eastern European Jewish immigrants. She sketched and modeled the children as they played and her rooms became a popular haunt.⁷²⁵

Eberle suffered from a heart condition that slowed her production beginning around 1915. She closed the two rooms on the Lower East Side and began working only from her studio in the Village. In 1922, and at just forty-four years of age, she was so ill that she thought she might die, prompting her to donate twenty-one of her sculptures to the Kendall Young Library in Webster City, Iowa.⁷²⁶ Growing tired of the city, Eberle moved to a new home in Connecticut around 1920. She found friendship and much-

⁷²³ Abastenia Eberle, quoted in Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 14.

⁷²⁴ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 10.

⁷²⁵ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 15.

⁷²⁶ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 16.

needed aid from Virginia Hart, who lived with Eberle in Connecticut in the summer and who shared her New York apartment with Eberle during the winter months.⁷²⁷

Beyond the Armory Show and her association with the Macbeth Gallery, Eberle displayed her work at several additional venues, including New York's Gorham Gallery, the National Academy of Design, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the National Sculpture Society, and the Woman's Art Club. One of her most famous works, *Windy Doorstep* (1910) is in the collection of South Carolina's Brookgreen Gardens. Museums that own her work include the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Corcoran (which recently showed her work as part of their exhibition, "American Bronzes from the Corcoran Gallery of Art"),⁷²⁸ the Whitney Museum, and the Smithsonian Museum of American Art.

Sculptor Margaret Hoard (1880-1944) also came to New York City from Iowa. Hoard studied at Columbia University and at the Art Students League with James E. Fraser, George Gray Barnard, and Arthur Wesley Dow. Peter Falk refers to her as a "modernist,"⁷²⁹ yet, ironically, she became more well-known as a wallpaper designer.⁷³⁰ At the Armory Show she displayed a small bronze entitled, *Study of an Old Lady* (n.d.). A small marble figure of hers, *Eve*, is in the collection at the Metropolitan Museum.⁷³¹

Myra Musselman-Carr (1880-?) was a sculptor from Georgetown, Kentucky. She studied at the Cincinnati Art Academy before moving to New York to study at the Art

⁷²⁷ Noun, *Abastenia St. Leger Eberle*, 17.

⁷²⁸ "American Bronzes from the Corcoran Gallery of Art: January 31, 1980-September 1, 2013," Corcoran Gallery of Art, accessed November 10, 2013, <http://www.corcoran.org/exhibitions/past/american-bronzes-corcoran-gallery-art>.

⁷²⁹ Falk, *Who Was Who*, vol. 2, 1578.

⁷³⁰ "Mrs. Prescott D. Hoard," *New York Times*, October 31, 1944, 19.

⁷³¹ Collection search, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed October 18, 2013, <http://www.metmuseum.org>.

Students League. In Paris, she studied with Antoine Bourdelle. She was a direct carver whose method was influenced by William Zorach. She was a co-founder of the Ferrer Modern Art School on Washington Square.⁷³² She displayed two pieces at the Armory Show, *Electra* (n.d.) and *Indian Grinding Corn* (n.d.).

Ethel Klinck Myers (1881-1960) was a sculptor from Brooklyn. She was born Lillian Cochran, orphaned, and later adopted by a couple who changed her name. Initially, Myers studied painting, but after 1906 she developed an interest in modeling clay. She took classes at the Chase School of Art with Chase, Henri, and Kenneth Hayes Miller; her classmates included Edward Hopper and Joseph Stella.

Myers married fellow Armory Show artist, Jerome Myers, and they both created art in the Ashcan tradition, working out of the same studio. Her specialty was small bronzes that captured everyday people on the streets, modeling them with loose, expressive gestures. Myers revealed her great sense of humor in many of her satirical characters and gave them titles, such as *Fifth Avenue Gossips* (n.d.) and *Miss Broadway* (n.d.). In the March 1914 issue of the *Craftsman*, a reviewer praised Myer's statuettes then on display at the Folsom Gallery, observing that while the artist had a great understanding of psychology, she was not making a statement about these individuals so much as she was revealing "their own point of view about themselves," which was part of their witty nature.⁷³³ She had the ability to capture personalities through the figures' form and attire; their faces remain rather vague.⁷³⁴

At the Armory Show, Myers displayed nine pieces. One was a bronze depicting Armory Show patron Mrs. Daniel H. Morgan, who loaned the work to the exhibition.

⁷³² Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors*, 240.

⁷³³ Unknown critic, "Notes of General Interest," *Craftsman*, March, 1914, 725.

⁷³⁴ Rubinstein, "Mae Ethel Klinck Myers," *American Women Sculptors*, 218.

While she did exhibit her work in New York after her marriage, most of her energies went into promoting the work of her husband; after his death in 1940, she organized a retrospective of his work and lectured about it around the country. Additionally, her daughter, Virginia, was a child prodigy dancer (much like Shirley Temple) and Ethel worked to support her dancing career.⁷³⁵

In line with her sculptural interests and aesthetics, Ethel Myers supplemented the family's income by working as a dress designer, managing a shop with several seamstresses. She became well-known for the hats she designed for celebrities.⁷³⁶ From 1949 until just before her death in 1960, Myers worked as the director of the art and ceramic department at the Christodora House, then a community center for low income youth.⁷³⁷ Much later, The Robert Schoelkopf Gallery on Madison Avenue displayed her figurines. In that show's catalog, art historian Leslie Katz asserts that each of Myers's statuettes were "an epitome, an archetype."⁷³⁸ She adds:

The sculpture of Ethel Myers, discovered and shown fifty years after it was made, tells us more about ourselves, and is more alive and contemporary, than much other sculpture celebrated in her own time and ours. . . . These sculptures embody, as no others do, the spirit of vaudeville, burlesque, musical comedy and the sidewalks of New York.⁷³⁹

Myers' solo exhibitions include: the Berlin Gallery in 1914, the Knoedler Gallery in 1920, and the Carnegie Hall Gallery in 1940.⁷⁴⁰ Today her work is held in several private

⁷³⁵ Rubinstein, *American Women Sculptors*, 220.

⁷³⁶ Wardle, *American Women Modernists*, 216.

⁷³⁷ Wardle, *American Women Modernists*, 220.

⁷³⁸ Leslie Katz, "The Sculpture and Drawings of Ethel Myers," *An Exhibition of Sculpture & Drawings by Ethel Myers*, exhibition catalog (New York: Robert Schoelkopf, 1966), unpaginated.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁰ "Ethel K. Myers (1881-1960)," Spanierman Gallery LLC, accessed October 21, 2013, <http://www.spanierman.com/Myers,-Ethel/bio/thumbs/biography>.

and public collections, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Delaware Art Museum.

As we can see from this diverse body of work, there was no overarching style, theme, or approach to the art of these fifty women, nothing that uniformly marked their work as feminine. Their artistic sensibilities were as different as the lives they led – from studying in Europe to enrolling in classes at the YMCA; from remaining single to choosing to marry and have children; from supporting themselves (and perhaps their families) through the sale of their work to taking on additional kinds of work to earn money; and from immersing themselves fully into the charged atmosphere of the Village to secluding themselves away from society. They lived, they loved, they suffered, and they laughed. Above all, they made art, the wide variety of which bears witness to the broad spectrum of modern art in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

After the exhibition in New York City closed, the Armory Show moved on to Chicago (March 24-April 16) and Boston (April 23-May 14). The organizers took the next several months to return loaned works and settle sales and shipments, and much longer to close out the financial records. The AAPS never organized another exhibition and the Association was inactive over the next two years before it dissolved officially in 1916.⁷⁴¹ Today, one hundred years later, the Armory Show is still designated as the most important art exhibition held in the United States and scholars still herald its impact on the development of modern art in America.

Clara Davidge and her husband, Henry Fitch Taylor, continued to back contemporary art. They gave material support to several people, including Armory Show artists William and Marguerite Zorach, Mary Foote, and Elmer MacRae. The Taylors participated in other modernist ventures, such as the Penguin Club, an art organization founded in 1916 by Walt Kuhn; the Sunwise Turn, a bookstore that promoted modern literature; and Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme. In 1920 Davidge and her husband moved from New York to Santa Fe, New Mexico to help establish a commune devoted to

⁷⁴¹ Brown, *Armory Show*, 233.

art and spiritualism.⁷⁴² Mabel Dodge moved to Taos, New Mexico in 1919 and met and married Native American Tony Luhan. Their home became a destination for Armory Show women like Davidge and Foote, as well as several other artists and writers. The Mabel Dodge Luhan House now serves as a conference center and hotel. Dorothy Whitney Straight settled in England, where, with her second husband, Leonard Elmhirst, she founded Dartington Hall, a center for the arts and social justice. Mary Harriman remained devoted to modern art after the Armory Show. She organized the Tri-National Exhibition of Contemporary Art and financially supported sculptors, such as James Earle Fraser and Malvina Hoffman.⁷⁴³ These are examples of the women whose lives came together at the Armory Show and who continued to impact visual culture in various ways and in different locales beyond the exhibition.

The dynamic scene in the New York City art world changed after 1920. The charged, bohemian atmosphere of Greenwich Village faded after World War I. Many women activists continued to fight for women's equality, but with the right to vote won, the feminist movement lost its *raison d'être*. In the roaring twenties, the feminist became the flapper; by the 1930s, the New Woman, who was not so new anymore, faded from view.

As these pages testify, the Armory Show owes much of its success to the women who financially supported it. These women were highly diverse in terms of motivation and background. While most of the women who opened their wallets to the AAPS organizers had substantial expendable income, roughly one-third of them had much less. Clara Davidge provided the spark to which many of these women responded. She was a

⁷⁴² Oaklander, "Pioneering Promoters," 268, 278, 307.

⁷⁴³ Campbell, *Mary Williamson Harriman*, 54.

woman of tremendous importance to the Armory Show organizers, exhibiting an unquestionable faith in the work of the artists in her circle – and, more importantly, beyond that circle. Her motivation for devoting so much of her energy to securing the critical funding needed to mount the exhibition was deeply rooted in her passion for the contemporary art of her time. It seems her passion was contagious. Nineteen women fearlessly committed money to what they knew would be a revolutionary enterprise. They are vivid examples of women stepping out of the private sphere of their mothers' generation to boldly assert themselves as women embracing changes in visual culture.

It would be difficult to overstate the accomplishments of the women collectors at the Armory Show, many of whom collected out of their resolve to make a difference in the art world of the early twentieth century. Because of their work, the world can now enjoy the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum of American Art, both of which continue to advocate for early modern works and extend the dreams of Armory Show organizers by promoting the work of living artists. The Art Institute of Chicago, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art can today celebrate major works of art that Armory Show women donated to their collections. Institutions of higher education, such as Yale University, the Rhode Island School of Design, the University of Rochester, and Vassar College, now have collections from which both students and their larger communities can learn about modern art. The commitment these women made in their time empowered them as they worked to influence modern culture, guide aesthetic sensibilities, and create a legacy for modern art in America.

A review of the art created by the Armory Show's women artists reveals the wide scope of artistic practice taking place in the early twentieth century. These women artists

must finally be recognized, not just because they were active artists whose work was included in the Armory Show, but, more importantly, because including their artistic production in discourses about the history of art expands our understanding of the development of modern art in America and specifically addresses the underlying structures of women's experience at that time. An examination of these women provides us with a unique microcosm of how they lived and worked in those first two to three decades, enabling us to view them as various stars within a vast constellation of artistic practice. The development of modern art was not limited to either avant-garde abstraction or masculinist endeavors. Rather, it was practiced along a wide spectrum of the contemporary experiences of both men and women living in an electrifying moment of time and engaging in a rich and fluid environment.

The work of well-known Armory Show women artists continues to be exhibited. Of course, Mary Cassatt's popularity has endured over the years. The European women artists have also enjoyed recent exhibitions. For example, the University of Virginia's Fralin Museum of Art mounted a retrospective of Émilie Charmy's paintings in 2013⁷⁴⁴ and Pallant House Gallery in Chichester, England exhibited Gwen John's paintings in 2012. Moreover, several of the little-known American women artists who participated in the Armory Show are garnering the attention of art curators today. Table Twenty, below, lists some of the women whose work has recently been exhibited. Several of them had their work on display as part of the recent centennial exhibitions. This list is certainly not conclusive.

The women discussed in this project came from dissimilar places and traveled various paths to the Armory Show. Afterward, they dispersed to continue their life

⁷⁴⁴ Émilie Charmy Retrospective, accessed January 30, 2014, <http://www.emiliecharmy.org>.

journeys. But in 1913, they came together – working for, exhibiting at, and collecting from the historic Armory Show. Their work, both at the exhibition and in the development of modern art, has not been acknowledged collectively in the historiography of the last century. Few scholars have addressed the fact that the meaning of the word “modern” was wide-ranging at the time of the Armory Show. This inclusive nature (promoted by patrons like Katherine Dreier) declined as the exclusive, male-oriented concept of modern art came to the fore.

In 1913 the women who participated in the Armory Show were not invisible. They were actively engaged in shaping the visual culture of their time. Much more scholarship is needed to remedy the gap in art historical discourse and reclaim the work of these women.

Table 20. Recent Exhibitions of Work by Armory Show Women Artists

<i>Artist</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Venue</i>
Florence Barkley	2013	“The New Spirit: American Art at the Armory Show, 1913,” Montclair Art Museum
Marion Beckett	2004	“Marius de Zayas & The Stieglitz Circle,” Metropolitan Museum of Art
Bessie Marsh Brewer	2013	“The Armory Show at 100,” Swan Auction Galleries
Edith Woodman Burroughs	2007	“The Reingold Collection: 100 Years of American Sculpture,” Rago Arts and Auction Center
Émilie Charmy	2006	“Les Femmes Peintres et L’Avant-Garde, 1900-1930,” Musée Paul-Dini, Villefranche Beaujolais
Nessa Cohen	2007	“The Reingold Collection: 100 Years of American Sculpture,” Rago Arts and Auction Center
Abastenia Eberle	2004	“How NY Transformed Sex in America,” Museum of Sex, NYC Inaugural Exhibition
Anne Goldthwaite	2012	“Auburn Collects: Selections from the Ed Hayes Collection,” Jule Collins Smith Museum of Art, Auburn University
Gwen John	2008	“Gwen John, Mère Poussepin and the Catholic Church,” University of Birmingham, England
Grace Mott Johnson	2013	“The New Spirit: American Art at the Armory Show, 1913,” Montclair Art Museum
Marie Laurencin	2013	“Marie Laurencin,” Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris
Jacqueline Marval	2006	“Les Femmes Peintres et L’Avant-Garde, 1900-1930,” Musée Paul-Dini, Villefranche Beaujolais
Kathleen McEnery	2005	“Thoroughly Modern: The ‘New Woman’ Art Students of Robert Henri,” Brigham Young University’s Museum of Art
Ethel Myers	2013	“The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution,” New York Historical Society
Josephine Paddock	2000	“A Touch of Light: American Tonalist Masters,” Mattatuck Museum, Waterbury, CT
Agnes Pelton	2013	“The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution,” New York Historical Society
Bessie Vonnoh	2009	“Bessie Potter Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women,” Cincinnati Art Museum
Hilda Ward	2013	“The New Spirit: American Art at the Armory Show, 1913,” Montclair Art Museum
Marguerite Zorach	2010	“Marguerite Zorach and William Zorach,” Michael Rosenfeld Gallery, NYC

Sources: Metropolitan Museum of Art, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/488418> (January 30, 2014); “Bessie Marsh Brewer,” MutualArt.com, <http://www.mutualart.com/Artist/Bessie-Marsh-Brewer/B5CE065A0E763DA0> (January 30, 2014); “Edith Woodman Burroughs,” <http://www.mutualart.com/Artist/Edith-Woodman-Burroughs/D39CF1208FAED454>; “Permanent Collection,” The Smoki Museum, http://www.smokimuseum.org/permanent_collection.htm (January 30, 2014); “Kate T. Cory,” http://www.smokimuseum.org/kate_t_cory.htm (January 30, 2014); “Eberle, Abastenia St. Leger,” Women in Art, <http://www.women-in-art.com/artists/item/855-eberle-abastenia-st-leger> (January 30, 2014); “Auburn Collects,” MutualArt.com, <http://www.mutualart.com/Exhibitions/Auburn-Collects-Selections-from-the-Ed-/E27F6CC54E679E8A#info> (January 30, 2014); “Les Femmes Peintres et L’Avant-Garde, 1900-1930,” <http://www.villefranche-beaujolais.fr/> (February 21, 2014); “Marie Laurencin” at the Musée Marmottan Monet in Paris,” <http://us.rendezvousenfrance.com/events/marie-laurencin-musee-marmottan-monet-paris> (February 21, 2014); “The New Spirit: American Art in the Armory Show, 1913,” <http://montclairartmuseum.org> (February 21, 2014); “Thoroughly Modern: The ‘New Woman’ Art Students of Robert Henri,” <http://kathleenmcenery.com/exhibitions/> (February 21, 2014); *The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution* (New York: New York Historical Society,

2013); "Bessie Potter Vonnoh: Sculptor of Women," <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn09/bessie-potter-vonnoh-sculptor-of-women> (February 21, 2014); "Marguerite Zorach and William Zorach," <http://www.michaelrosenfeldart.com/exhibitions/marguerite-zorach-and-william-zorach> (February 21, 2014).

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