

379
N81
No. 695

ARTHUR GARFIELD DOVE'S LANDSCAPE ASSEMBLAGES: A UNIQUE
INTERSECTION OF EUROPEAN MODERNISM, AMERICAN
IDEAS, AND NATURE-BASED ABSTRACTION

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Shirley Reece-Hughes, B.A.

Denton, Texas

August 1993

379
N81
No. 695

ARTHUR GARFIELD DOVE'S LANDSCAPE ASSEMBLAGES: A UNIQUE
INTERSECTION OF EUROPEAN MODERNISM, AMERICAN
IDEAS, AND NATURE-BASED ABSTRACTION

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Shirley Reece-Hughes, B.A.

Denton, Texas

August 1993

sk

Reece-Hughes, Shirley, Arthur Garfield Dove's Landscape Assemblages: A Unique Intersection of European Modernism, American Ideas, and Nature-Based Abstraction. Master of Arts, (Art History), August, 1993, 191 pp., 46 figures, reference list, 89 titles.

In the middle of his career, Arthur Garfield Dove created a small yet novel body of landscape assemblages. They illustrate Dove's central interest in evoking nature--its motifs and rhythms--through imaginative associations of organic and man-made materials. These works represent Dove's synthesis of contemporary European stylistic and intellectual ideas as well as American philosophies and concerns. They also reflect the influence of Alfred Stieglitz and his circle and the artist Helen Torr, Dove's second wife. This study examines how Dove used a complex interplay of European theory and technique, American ideas and his own nature-based abstract style to create the landscape assemblages, works that are uniquely independent in the history of American art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Dr. Michael Heinlen, I offer my deepest thanks for providing the support, guidance, and thoughtful criticism necessary to complete this thesis.

I must also express my sincerest gratitude to the Richard York Gallery, Ann Louis Marquis at the Hirshhorn Museum, Erica Hirschler at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Joe Holbach at The Phillips Collection, and Barney A. Ebsworth for being so generous with their time and allowing me to study the works and their records. Judy Throng at the Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C. was especially helpful in finding vital materials for this study.

I would also like to express my appreciation to my friends and family for their encouragement and support during the course of my graduate studies.

Finally to my husband, thank you for your love, patience and being a constant source of strength for me throughout this process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	iv
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	
Methodology	
Review of the Literature	
II. ARTHUR GARFIELD DOVE BEFORE THE ASSEMBLAGES . .	23
Biographical Background: 1880-1910	
American Philosophy and European Aesthetic	
Theory in the Stieglitz Circle	
Summary	
III. THE DECADE OF THE ASSEMBLAGES--THE 1920s . . .	64
An Era of Change	
IV. THE LANDSCAPE ASSEMBLAGES	94
Introduction	
Analyses of the Assemblages	
Conclusion	
APPENDIX	139
REFERENCE LIST	185

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figures are listed numerically in order of their appearance in the text. Each figure description includes the name of the artist, the title and date of the work, media, and current location.

Frontispiece - Alfred Stieglitz, Arthur Dove, Early 1920s, Chloride print, Art institute of Chicago

Figure	Page
1. Arthur Dove, <u>Huntington Harbor</u> , 1924. Shells, corduroy, sticks, paper, magazine cut-out on painted wood panel with rope frame, 13 1/8 x 19 1/4 in. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.	140
2. Arthur Dove, <u>Sea I</u> , 1925. Chiffon on scratched aluminum panel, 13 x 21 in. The Lane Collection, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, MA.	141
3. Arthur Dove, <u>Nature Symbolized No. 1</u> , 1911/12. Pastel on paper, 18 x 21 1/2 in. Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York City.	142
4. Arthur Dove, <u>Based on Leaf Forms and Spaces</u> , 1911/12. Pastel; support not verified, 23 x 18 in. Unidentified Collection.	143
5. Arthur Dove, <u>Movement No. 1</u> , 1911/12. Pastel on canvas mounted on board, 21 3/8 x 18 in. Columbus Museum of Art, OH.	144
6. <u>Reds</u> , 1920s. Photographer unknown. William C. Dove, Mattituck, New York.	145
7. Arthur Dove, <u>Goin' Fishin'</u> , 1925. Bamboo, denim shirt sleeves, bark, and pieces of wood on wood support, 19 1/2 x 24 in. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.	146
8. Arthur Dove, <u>Huntington Harbor I</u> , 1926. Sand, wood, canvas, and oil on metal support, 12 x 9 1/2 in. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.	147

9. Arthur Dove, Long Island, 1925. Shells, twigs, sand, leaves, and magazine cut-out on painted cardboard, 15 x 20 3/4 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA. 148
10. Arthur Dove, Clouds, 1927. Oil and sandpaper on sheet metal support, 16 x 21 in. The Lane Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA. 149
11. Arthur Dove, Sea II, 1925. Chiffon and sand on scratched metal aluminum, 13 x 21 in. Barney A. Ebsworth, St. Louis, MO. 150
12. Arthur Dove, The Seaside, 1926. Pine cones, branches, bark, shells, and paint on wood support, 12 1/2 x 10 1/4 in. Richard York Gallery, NY. 151
13. Arthur Dove, Huntington Harbor II, 1926. Sand, cloth, wood chips, and oil on metal support, 10 x 12 in. Unidentified collection. 152
14. Arthur Dove, Rope, Chiffon, and Iron, 1926. Rope, chiffon, and coils on metal support, 7 x 7 in. Private collection. 153
15. Arthur Dove, Rain, 1924. Twigs and rubber cement on metal and glass, 19 1/2 x 15 5/8 in. Private collection. 154
16. Arthur Dove, Starry Heavens, 1924. Oil and gold paint on the reverse side of glass, with black paper, 18 x 16 in. Private collection. 155
17. Arthur Dove, Hand Sewing Machine, 1927. Oil and cloth on metal support, 14 7/8 x 19 3/4 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. 156
18. Arthur Dove, Portrait of Ralph Dusenberry, 1924. Wood, page from hymnal, folding ruler, and oil on canvas, 22 x 18 in. Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. 157
19. Arthur Dove, Plaster and Cork, 1925. Plaster, cork, wire mesh, blue cloth, and paint, 21 1/2 x 13 3/8 in. Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, TX. 158

Figure	Page
20. Arthur Dove, <u>The Lobster</u> , 1908. Oil on canvas, 25 3/4 x 32 in. Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, TX.	159
21. Arthur Dove, <u>Abstraction No. 2</u> , 1910/11. Oil on wood support, 8 3/8 x 10 1/2 in. Private collection.	160
22. Arthur Dove, <u>Abstraction No. 3</u> , 1910/11. Oil on wood support, 9 x 10 1/2 in. Private collection.	161
23. Arthur Dove, <u>Abstraction No. 5</u> , 1910/11. Oil on wood support, 8 3/8 x 10 1/2 in. Private collection.	162
24. Wassily Kandinsky, <u>Improvisation No. 27</u> , 1912. Oil on canvas, 47 1/8 x 55 in. Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.	163
25. Francis Picabia, <u>Ici c'est ici Stieglitz</u> , 1915. Pen, and red and black ink, 29 7/8 x 20 in. Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.	164
26. Arthur Dove, <u>Portrait of Alfred Stieglitz</u> , 1924. Lens, photographic plate, clock and watchsprings, and steel on plywood, 16 3/8 x 12 3/8 in. Museum of Modern Art, NY.	165
27. Francis Picabia, <u>Portrait of Poincaré?</u> , c. 1924-26. Ripolin, combs, cord, curtain rings, centimeter tape, toothpicks, pen points, and erasers on canvas, sandpaper and cardboard frame, 36 1/4 x 28 3/4 in. Private collection.	166
28. Georges Braque, <u>Still Life with Fruit Dish and Glass</u> , 1912. Charcoal, faux bois paper, on paper, 24 3/8 x 17 1/2 in. Private collection, France.	167
29. Juan Gris, <u>Violin and Engraving</u> , 1913. Oil and paper on canvas, 25 5/8 x 19 5/8 in. Museum of Modern Art, NY.	168
30. Joseph Stella, <u>Profile</u> , 1922. Paper collage, 10 3/4 x 7 in. Unidentified collection.	169

Figure	Page
31. Man Ray, <u>The Rope Dancer</u> , 1916. Oil on canvas, 52 x 73 3/8 in. Museum of Modern Art, NY.	170
32. Paul Strand, <u>Abstraction - Bowls</u> , 1915. Photogravure, The Witkin Gallery, NY.	171
33. Arthur Dove, <u>Waterfall</u> , 1915. Oil on masonite support, 10 x 8 in. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.	172
34. Arthur Dove, <u>Penetration</u> , 1924. Oil with board support, 22 x 18 1/8 in. Andrew Crispo Gallery, NY.	173
35. Georgia O'Keeffe, <u>Jack in the Pulpit IV</u> , 1930s. Oil on canvas, 40x 30 in. Collection of Georgia O'Keeffe.	174
36. Helen Torr, <u>Wing Forms</u> . Charcoal on paper, 15 1/2 x 12 in. Private collection.	175
37. Helen Torr, <u>Flower in Glass</u> , 1929. Oil on panel, 14 1/2 x 11 3/4 in. Mr. and Mrs. John Palmer Leeper.	176
38. Helen Torr, <u>Along the Shore</u> , 1932. Oil on canvas, 24 x 17 3/4 in. Grahm Gallery, NY.	177
39. Helen Torr, <u>Match Box with Lemon</u> , 1926. Oil on board, 10 1/4 x 8 3/4 in. Private collection.	178
40. Arthur Dove, <u>Rhapsody in Blue Part I</u> , 1926-27. Oil with watch coil on metal support, 20 1/2 x 15 1/2 in. Private collection.	179
41. Arthur Dove, <u>The Critic</u> , 1925. Cardboard, newspaper clippings, magazine cut-outs, cord, and velvet, 19 3/4 x 13 1/2 in. Whitney Museum of Art, NY.	180
42. Arthur Dove, <u>Ten Cent Store</u> , 1924. Artificial flowers, pipe cleaners, F.W. Woolworth price card, dried foliage on cardboard, 18 x 16 in. Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.	181
43. Pablo Picasso, <u>Still Life with Chair Caning</u> , 1912. Oil, oilcloth, and paper on canvas, with rope frame, 10 5/8 x 13 3/4 in. Musée Picasso, Paris.	182

Figure	Page
44. Alfred Stieglitz, <u>Songs of the Sky No. 1</u> , 1923. Silver print, 4 x 5 in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA.	183
45. Helen Torr, <u>Light House</u> , 1932. Oil work. Unidentified collection.	184



Alfred Stieglitz, Arthur Dove, Early 1920s

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Arthur Garfield Dove (1880-1946), one of the foremost abstract artists in America, created a small body of twenty-seven assemblages which includes portraits, still lifes, personal observations, and a unique group of twelve landscapes. As early as 1910, Dove had developed a non-representational style of painting by creating abstract equivalents for forms in nature. In 1924 Dove began to explore his fascination with nature-based themes in three-dimensional assemblages, producing some of his most inventive and imaginative interpretations of the land, sea, and sky. He constructed these assemblages by composing images with organic and man-made materials on flat backgrounds, designs that range from witty representations of the landscape to abstract evocations of nature.

Huntington Harbor (fig. 1) typifies a whimsical example in which Dove used brown fabric and blue paint to symbolize the sea shore and glued paper sails and a photograph of a yacht to represent people sailing. Sea I (fig. 2) is a more abstract work in which Dove tried to convey the essence of sun rays emanating over water by gluing chiffon to sheet metal and scratching forms upon the surface. As Eddie Wolfram documents in his extensive study of the history of

collage and assemblage, among the several precedents established by the twenties, there were few if any examples of landscapes.¹ Dove's twelve landscape assemblages were highly original expressions. They were a complex interplay of his nature-based abstract style, American and European philosophies and personal influences from the previous forty years of his life.

As Dove developed his art from his youth to adult years, he took courses in college, traveled abroad to learn about modern painting, and turned increasingly to nature as his primary source of creative inspiration. He grew up in Geneva, New York, where a neighboring amateur artist and natural philosopher, Newton Weatherly, taught him a love and respect for nature and art. He later studied art at Cornell University from 1901 to 1903. After graduation Dove married Florence Dorsey and earned a living as a magazine illustrator in New York, though he wanted to become a professional painter. In an effort to develop his painting, Dove traveled through France from 1908 to 1909 where he was exposed to European avant-garde art and theory. Ann Lee Morgan, author of the 1984 catalogue raisonné on Dove, records that during this sojourn in France Dove completed approximately thirty-six compositions, of which thirty-three

¹Eddie Wolfram, History of Collage: An Anthology of Collage, Assemblage and Event Structures (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1975), 15-138.

were landscapes in an Impressionist style.² Early in his career, Dove clearly preferred to paint the outside environment as opposed to the academic art traditions of history, still life or portrait painting. Dove's oeuvre reveals that from this formative period in France to the end of his life, his singular focus was to depict the rhythms, forms, and motifs of nature, and the landscape assemblages were a unique extension of this goal.

Scholars have connected Dove's interest in nature to nineteenth-century American art and philosophy. According to Morgan, the emphasis on individualism in nineteenth-century America nurtured Dove's independent expression of nature. Morgan explains that this focus on individualism stimulated philosophies such as Transcendentalism--the belief that nature is a spiritual extension of God--and that Dove accepted this moral view of nature.³ Sherrye Cohn, author of Arthur Dove: Nature as Symbol, links Dove's abstractions from nature with the work of the Hudson River School--a group of nineteenth-century painters who expressed transcendentalism visually in their mystical views of the American landscape. In Cohn's assessment, although Dove painted in a modern abstract style, refuting the past's emphasis on realism, his spiritual and analytical approach

²Ann Lee Morgan, Arthur Dove: His Life and Work with a Catalogue Raisonné (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984), 93-99.

³Ibid., 75.

to nature derived from the Hudson River School tradition.⁴ While Cohn and other scholars have not labeled Dove a transcendentalist, they have recognized that his view of nature as a spiritual force was rooted in this nineteenth-century philosophy. Because Dove's spiritual emphasis on nature had philosophical ties to transcendentalism, the landscape assemblages possibly reflect these ideas. In some of these assemblages, Dove explored themes ranging from the mystical to the sublime, suggesting his reverential apprehension of nature.

While Dove's roots in nineteenth-century American philosophy are relevant to the landscape assemblages, his abstract style and collage technique stemmed from European aesthetic theory. In 1910, Dove joined Alfred Stieglitz's New York coterie at The Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession--a center for progressive European art exhibitions and theoretical discussions--which significantly influenced his art, transforming him from a representational painter to a leading abstract artist.⁵ Stieglitz and members of the gallery, known as "291" for its address on Fifth Avenue, discussed and wrote about various avant-garde theories in their journal Camera Work. Stieglitz and writers for Camera Work often expounded on ideas stemming from Symbolism, a

⁴Sherrye Cohn, Arthur Dove: Nature as Symbol (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 3.

⁵Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 18.

European movement which replaced representing reality with expressing the spiritual world in art and literature.⁶ According to Morgan, Symbolism and its outgrowths such as Cubism and Wassily Kandinsky's expressionism stimulated Dove's interest in abstraction.⁷ His earliest abstract works exhibited at "291," a series of ten pastels later entitled The Ten Commandments (1911/12) (figs. 3-5), reflected the impact of these theories and established Dove as a leading modern artist in America.⁸ In this series, Dove extracted motifs from the landscape and used symbolic color and abstract line and form to express these ideas.⁹ William Innes Homer, who analyzed these works, notes the influence of Cubism in pastels where motifs are reduced into geometric forms and compressed into a shallow space and of Kandinsky in works where Dove evoked the vitality of nature through a few curvilinear forms and colors.¹⁰ Dove's

⁶The Phillips Collection, Washington, DC. Arthur Dove and Duncan Phillips: Artist and Patron, June 13-August 16, 1981, 14. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Sasha Newman, hereafter cited as The Phillips Collection, 1981. Cohn also discusses Symbolism and its affect on the Stieglitz circle in Nature as Symbol, 16.

⁷Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 74.

⁸William Innes Homer, "Identifying Arthur Dove's 'The Ten Commandments'," American Art Journal 21, no. 3 (Summer 1980): 21.

⁹Samuel Kootz, Modern American Painters (Norwood, MA: Brewer and Warren, 1930), 37.

¹⁰William Innes Homer, Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1977), 114-116.

awareness of European avant-garde ideas was vital to the creation of the assemblages since the Cubists first implemented the collage technique in fine art, examples of which were exhibited at "291," and shortly thereafter other modernists quickly expanded on the method. As early as The Ten Commandments, Stieglitz and the "291" atmosphere had clearly influenced Dove to apply European aesthetic theories and continued to affect his artistic development after these pastels.

Among the intellectual theories explored at "291," one of the most celebrated and significant for Dove was Henri Bergson's vitalist philosophy, extracts of which were published in two issues of Camera Work. Bergson, a nineteenth-century French philosopher, believed that artists should work from intuition rather than intellect to create an art that would bring man closer to reality. According to Bergson, the intellect of the mind rationalizes the externals of life and does not comprehend its deeper meanings, while intuition can perceive the inner spirit or essence of life.¹¹ Morgan notes that Dove's creative process, his attempt to understand and relate to objects intuitively to capture their essence in his art, paralleled

¹¹San Francisco Museum of Art, California. Arthur Dove, November 21, 1974-January 5, 1975, 33. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Barbara Haskell, hereafter cited as San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974.

Bergson's philosophy.¹² Arlette Jean Klaric, author of the 1984 dissertation "Arthur G. Dove's Abstract Style of 1912: Dimensions of the Decorative and Bergsonian Realities," states that around 1912 Dove developed the basis of his mature style, infused with a Bergsonian approach to creating art.¹³ The landscape assemblages represented his mature work, and his methods--working intuitively with any item he found at hand and using these literal objects as symbols to convey the reality of the landscape--mirrored Bergson's philosophy. While the assemblages reflect Bergson's ideas, some scholars suggest that Dove's decision to work in collage derived not from European theories but from the American preoccupation with creating indigenous art forms in the 1910s and 1920s.

The teens were years of change both for Dove, who was relatively unproductive, and for many artists and writers who began the critical debate over America's cultural identity. Dove had purchased a farm near Westport, Connecticut, around 1912 and with the demands of this life and an unsupportive wife, was virtually unable to paint.¹⁴ As Morgan has noted, at this time Dove did not participate in the Armory Show of 1913, one of the most important

¹²Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 79.

¹³Arlette Klaric, "Arthur G. Dove's Abstract Style of 1912: Dimensions of the Decorative and Bergsonian Realities" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1984), 10.

¹⁴Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 19.

exhibitions of modern art in America.¹⁵ This exhibition illuminated the difference between the progressiveness of European modernism and the status of American art, prompting the debate concerning America's artistic identity. As Sherrye Cohn notes, the Forum Exhibition of 1916, a show which displayed only American modernists including Dove, demonstrated a change from focusing on the European avant-garde to supporting and encouraging American artists.¹⁶ Although this changing atmosphere began to reject European aesthetics, Dove remained committed to abstraction even though his output was minimal at this time.

Around 1915, a younger generation of artists and writers, who addressed this concern for cultivating the country's cultural identity, joined Stieglitz's coterie and ultimately strengthened Dove's confidence. Among this group, the photographer Paul Strand and the artist Georgia O'Keeffe supported Dove's interest in creating abstractions from nature. Other new members included the critics Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld, whose writings emphasized that American artists need to express native experiences in their

¹⁵Morgan suggests that Dove probably did not exhibit in the Armory Show because he was too busy trying to support his family or perhaps since Stieglitz was not directly involved with the exhibition. *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁶Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 96.

art.¹⁷ Rosenfeld felt that Dove demonstrated this goal and devoted a chapter to him in his book Port of New York. Although Stieglitz closed "291" in 1917 because of financial and other problems caused by World War I, he and this circle continued to associate with one another. In letters to Stieglitz around 1920, Dove mentions evenings with Strand and Rosenfeld and with the authors Sherwood Anderson and Van Wyck Brooks, who also believed that artists should express contact with their land and history in art.¹⁸ Dove was thus directly involved with artists and writers who emphasized the creation of nativist art forms, and scholars imply that this atmosphere inspired his collages.

Some scholars have suggested that the preoccupation with nativist expressions, realism, and nostalgia for the past during the twenties influenced Dove's decision to work with collage. In her 1976 exhibition catalogue on Dove, Barbara Haskell states that the uncertainty caused by the war and the search for a cultural identity manifested a preference for realism in the arts. Haskell suggests that Dove's collages might have been a response to this atmosphere since they include actual objects from everyday

¹⁷Susan Noyes Platt, Modernism in the 1920s: Interpretations of Modern Art in New York from Expressionism to Constructivism (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 45.

¹⁸Ann Lee Morgan, ed., Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 68.

life.¹⁹ Dorothy Rylander Johnson, author of the 1967 thesis and exhibition catalogue Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage, compares Dove's assemblages to nineteenth-century folk art and Victorian constructions which had become popular again in the 1920s. According to Johnson, Dove had access to folk and Victorian art while growing up in Geneva and was probably aware of the renewed interest in these art forms with exhibitions such as the 1924 show of American folk art by the Whitney Studio Club in New York.²⁰

While these factors may have played an indirect role in Dove's decision to experiment with collage, another important influence during the twenties was his new relationship with the artist Helen Torr (fig. 6). In the early twenties, Dove began a new life with Torr whose creative methods may have inspired the landscape assemblages. Morgan documents that Torr and Dove had sketched together in the summer of 1921 and in the autumn of that same year, Dove left his wife and moved to a houseboat with Torr.²¹ Morgan suggests that Torr, nicknamed "Reds" for her red hair, was sympathetic to Dove's artistic goals and motivated his creative energy and enthusiastic return to

¹⁹San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 49.

²⁰Dorothy Rylander Johnson, "Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1967), 21, 25, hereafter cited as Johnson, "The Years of Collage."

²¹Morgan, ed., Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 77.

painting in the twenties.²² Torr kept diaries of their life together, recording daily activities and progress on their artwork.

From the information in these diaries and recent exhibition catalogues of Helen Torr's work, I suggest her working methods inspired Dove's assemblages. Torr documented her projects in the diaries; she was primarily a still-life painter, constructing compositions from objects she found such as shells, leaves, and feathers, and she also enjoyed sewing. In the twenties, Dove similarly began to search for natural objects such as shells and leaves and to use them along with fabrics to create his assemblages. Because Dove adopted these methods after living with Torr, it is possible she inspired his landscape assemblages and her role deserves evaluation in relation to these works.

Dove was one of the first American artists to display a definitive move toward abstraction, and while scholarship has addressed these contributions to early modernism, there are relatively few studies of the collages. When Dove exhibited these works along with compositions at the Intimate Gallery, Stieglitz's second gallery after "291," critics responded mostly to his paintings, offering little if any analysis of the assemblages. While there were exhibitions of the assemblages in 1955 and 1967, the only scholarly research on the works has either linked them to

²²Ibid., 75.

nineteenth-century traditions or focused on the portrait collages.²³ None of these studies has concentrated on the landscape assemblages and examined Dove's life through the twenties and his exposure to the European art, theory, and American ideas that affected these works.

Statement of the Problem

This study will analyze how Arthur Dove's twelve landscape assemblages produced between 1924 and 1927 exemplify an assimilation of European modernist and American ideas as well as represent the artist's life-long interest in nature as the focus of his art.

Methodology

In this paper I have tried to determine what factors may have influenced Dove's landscape assemblages and how these works exemplify his mode of expressing nature-based themes. To draw these conclusions, I examined Dove's life, ideas and art through the 1920s and conducted formal analyses of the landscape assemblages. My primary sources for this study included the landscape assemblages themselves, the correspondence between Arthur Dove and Alfred Stieglitz, edited by Ann Lee Morgan in Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, and the Arthur Dove-Helen Torr diaries and unpublished papers available at the Archives of American

²³For a discussion of the scholarship on Dove's assemblages, see "Review of the Literature."

Art in Washington D.C.²⁴ The letters, diaries and notes documented Dove's daily activities, relationships, artistic goals and philosophy of art. This material was used to investigate how the people and events in Dove's life influenced the landscape assemblages. From the diaries, for example, it was recognized that Helen Torr, who painted from found objects, may have inspired Dove to use these same materials in the landscape assemblages. Dove's writings, poems, and notes helped elucidate his objective to express nature artistically. This information was applied to the assemblages, and summations were made only after analyzing the works.

Eight of the twelve landscape assemblages were examined directly and the other four through reproductions, and the formal properties of each work were observed. I had direct access to the following assemblages: Huntington Harbor 1924 (Hirshhorn Museum, Washington D.C.); Goin' Fishin' 1925 (fig. 7) and Huntington Harbor I 1926 (fig. 8) (Phillips Collection, Washington D.C.); Long Island 1925 (fig. 9), Sea I 1925, and Clouds 1927 (fig. 10) (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Sea II 1925 (fig. 11) (Barney A. Ebsworth,

²⁴Helen Torr wrote most of the diaries which provide day-to-day records of Dove's work on paintings and the assemblages as well as notes about his interest in the weather, his friends, trips to New York, and the books and journals he read. The Arthur Dove-Helen Torr diaries and related papers are available through the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Microfilms from the Archives will hereafter be cited as AAA with roll number and frame noted.

St. Louis, Missouri); and The Seaside 1926 (fig. 12) (Richard York Gallery, New York). Huntington Harbor II 1926 (fig. 13) and Rope, Chiffon, and Iron 1926 (fig. 14) are in unidentified collections, while Rain 1924 (fig. 15) and Starry Heavens 1924 (fig. 16) are, at the present time, in private possession and not available for viewing. The assemblages were studied in relation to the diaries, letters, and notes to establish whether these compositions reflected any of Dove's life experiences. The materials Dove used to create the assemblages, such as organic objects, fabrics, glass, metals, and other man-made items were examined to understand how he related and composed these articles to express a particular theme and create lines, space, color, and form. Similarities and differences among the assemblages were observed and after formal analysis of the compositions, they were grouped thematically for this discussion.

The other primary data comprised Dove's artwork which was reviewed through reproductions and, whenever possible, actual examples. Ann Lee Morgan's catalogue raisonné provided images which illustrated Dove's stylistic development. Museums such as the Phillips Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Amon Carter, and Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts had a broad selection of Dove's paintings on view, and observing these examples helped my understanding of his abstract vision of nature. Three other

types of Dove's assemblages were studied directly--Hand Sewing Machine 1927 (fig. 17), Portrait of Ralph Dusenberry 1924 (fig. 18) (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and Plaster and Cork (fig. 19) (Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth)--which further exemplified Dove's facility with design and craftsmanship. Studying Dove's paintings, pastels, and other artwork helped define how the landscape assemblages were an extension of his objective to express abstractions of nature in different media.

The secondary data for this study included a large body of literature on Dove and exhibition catalogues of Helen Torr's work. Monographs from three retrospective exhibitions and a display at the Phillips Collection offered complete accounts of Dove's career. Dissertation Abstracts provided documented theses on Dove, and these detailed studies, such as Arlette Klaric's 1984 analysis of his abstract style of 1912, broadened my understanding of the complexity of Dove's art. Numerous articles and exhibition catalogues were found on Dove and a few on Helen Torr through art indices, the New York Public Library and Metropolitan Museum of Art Library Card Catalogues and vertical files from the Phillips Collection in Washington D.C., Museum of Modern Art in New York and the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth.

Other secondary data consisted of information on the Stieglitz circle, European modernism and nineteenth-century

and early twentieth-century American art. The history of the Stieglitz circle through the 1920s was studied, examining Dove's involvement with Stieglitz and members like Max Weber, Francis Picabia, Paul Strand and Georgia O'Keeffe. The Museum of Modern Art Artists Scrapbooks and essays in Camera Work provided information on exhibitions at "291," and the subject of European modernism and its impact on American artists was studied. From the documentation of European art exhibitions at "291" and Dove's accounts, I tried to establish which exhibitions he had the opportunity to view. Because some scholars suggest that American landscape painting inspired Dove's expression of nature, and others have suggested that his assemblages relate to folk art traditions, I also studied books on nineteenth-century American landscape painting, exhibition catalogues on folk art, and other books on the history of American art. This secondary data provided information on the historical and social context in which Dove created the landscape assemblages.

Review of the Literature

In light of recent and more complete accounts of Dove's career, the former prevailing views that he was either an eccentric worshiper of nature or a provincial and naive artist have begun to dissipate. These interpretations stemmed from the limited writings on Dove's art during his lifetime, which consisted primarily of brief newspaper and

journal reviews. While critics such as Paul Rosenfeld and Elizabeth McCausland analyzed his paintings, they often romanticized his art in effusive and flowery language. Suzanne Mullet Smith conducted interviews with Dove to complete the first detailed and more objective study of his work in her master's thesis, "Arthur G. Dove: A Study in Contemporary Art" in 1944.²⁵ A decade later, Alan R. Solomon curated Dove's first retrospective exhibition in 1954 and wrote a general overview of the artist's development in the show's catalogue.²⁶ Two major retrospectives ensued, one in 1958 by Frederick S. Wight,²⁷ whose monograph contains more detailed biographical information, and another in 1974 by Barbara Haskell, whose study began to illuminate Dove's intellectual diversity and included a chapter on the assemblages.²⁸

While these monographs provided thorough biographical data and increasing analysis of his art, in the 1970s the

²⁵Suzanne Mullet Smith, "Arthur G. Dove" (M.A. thesis, American University, 1944).

²⁶Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY. Arthur G. Dove 1880-1946: A Retrospective Exhibition, November 1954. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Alan Solomon.

²⁷Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Arthur G. Dove, September 30-November 16, 1958. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Frederick S. Wight, hereafter cited as Whitney Museum of American Art, 1958.

²⁸Haskell explores reasons why Dove may have tried collage technique and suggests that the assemblages have three levels of meaning: literal, formal, and metaphoric. San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 49-69.

interest in early modernism led to scholarly research on Dove's role in the American modern art movement and recognized his sophistication as an artist. Ann Lee Morgan's dissertation, "Toward the Definition of Early Modernism in America: A Study of Arthur Dove" (University of Iowa, 1973), established that Dove's abstract style was a manifestation of what she called "Early Modern consciousness."²⁹ According to Morgan, this consciousness was a reaction to early twentieth-century industrial society and its materialistic values. It strove to cultivate individuality and a return to a more natural way of living.³⁰ As Morgan states, the "Early Moderns" such as Dove demonstrated this consciousness in art by opposing illusionism and expressing their own interests and feelings largely through abstract form.³¹ Judith Zilcer's doctoral study "The Aesthetic Struggle in America, 1913-1918: Abstract art and Theory in the Stieglitz Circle" (University of Delaware, 1975) recognizes Dove's awareness of modern aesthetic issues and establishes the fact that though his expression was highly independent, he shared some of the same concerns as his European contemporaries. Zilcer states that Dove learned about new philosophies of artistic

²⁹Ann Lee Morgan, "Toward the Definition of Early Modernism in America: A Study of Arthur Dove" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1973), 2.

³⁰Ibid., 6.

³¹Ibid., 8.

autonomy and musical analogy while abroad and then later in the Stieglitz circle.³² Zilcer's study highlights the independent and multifaceted character of Dove's art.³³

Recent literature, from the 1980s, has focused on the role of nature in Dove's art, the development of his abstract style and his paintings which relate to music. Sherrye Cohn has written a dissertation, Arthur Dove: Nature as Symbol, and several articles on the dualistic concept of nature, both its mystical and scientific facets, which she believes underlies Dove's philosophy of art.³⁴ Cohn affirms that Dove's intellectual concerns ranged from striving to cultivate America's cultural identity to science and occultism.³⁵ Arlette Jean Klaric studied the evolution of Dove's abstraction, maintaining that his style evolved from decorative traditions and Henri Bergson's philosophy of

³²Judith Zilcer "The Aesthetic Struggle in America, 1913-1918: Abstract Art and Theory in the Stieglitz Circle" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1975), 201.

³³Ibid., 198-211.

³⁴Sherrye Cohn, "Arthur Dove and the Organic Analogy: A Rapprochement between Art and Nature," Arts Magazine, 59 June/Summer 1985, 85-89; "Arthur Dove and Theosophy: Visions of a Transcendental Reality," Arts Magazine, 58 September 1983, 86-91; "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove: Part I: Dove's 'Force Lines, Growth Lines' as Emblems of Energy," Arts Magazine 58 December 1983, 90-93; "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove: Part II: Dove and 'The Fourth Dimension'," Arts Magazine 58 January 1984, 121-25; "Painting the Fields of Faraday: Physics Inspired America's First Abstract Artist," The Sciences 25 (November/December 1985): 44-45.

³⁵Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 19-101.

intuition.³⁶ Donna Cassidy and Judith Zilcer have explored Dove's interest in synaesthesia by studying his paintings created to music.³⁷

While these studies have explored many aspects of Dove's paintings and pastels, there has been relatively limited critical analysis of the assemblages. During the 1920s, Dove exhibited these collage constructions at the Intimate Gallery, but the reviews of his shows rarely discussed these compositions. Critics of this era seemed baffled by Dove's intentions and treated the works with a superficial understanding. In response to Dove's 1926 showing, Murdock Pemberton characterized all the assemblages in one passage:

...bits of driftwood, pine cones, sticks and stones, sea shells, cork insulation, blue steel covered with chiffon. To say that some of them are pure beauty and some are not is to put our limited esthetic sense as final appraisal.³⁸

In 1955, Edith Halpert held a showing of the assemblages at The Downtown Gallery in New York City. The reviews of this show revealed a little more analysis by the critics. The

³⁶Klaric, "Bergsonian Realities," 1-23, 198-383.

³⁷Donna M. Cassidy, "Arthur Dove's Music Paintings of the Jazz Age," American Art Journal 20, no. 1 (1988): 4-23; Judith Zilcer, "Synaesthesia and Popular Culture: Arthur Dove, George Gershwin, and the Rhapsody in Blue," Art Journal 44, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 361-366.

³⁸M[urdock] P[emberton], "Art," New Yorker 1, no. 49 (January 23, 1926): 26.

review in Art News for November 1955, for example, drew connections between Dove's work and Dada constructions.³⁹

The first scholarship on Dove's assemblages did not appear until the 1960s, after which the works began to receive more critical attention. Dorothy Rylander Johnson completed her master's thesis, "Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage," for the University of Maryland in 1967. In addition, Johnson organized and wrote the catalogue for one of the first comprehensive exhibitions of Dove's collage production.⁴⁰ Johnson focused her analysis on the assemblages in relation to folk art and Victorian traditions. In 1975, Dickran Tashjian devoted some discussion to Dove's assemblages, which he believed were inspired by Dada, in his book, Skyscraper Primitives: Dada and the American Avant-Garde 1910-1925.⁴¹ Other documentation on Dove's assemblages can be found in brief descriptions of the works in group-exhibition catalogues such as the Andrew Crispo Gallery's Twelve Americans:

³⁹Frank O'Hara, "Reviews and Previews," Art News 54, no. 7 (November 1955): 52.

⁴⁰University of Maryland, College Park. Arthur G. Dove: The Years of Collage, March 13-April 19, 1967. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Dorothy Rylander Johnson, hereafter cited as University of Maryland, 1967.

⁴¹Dickran Tashjian, Skyscraper Primitives: Dada and the American Avant-Garde 1910-1925 (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 198-203.

Masters of Collage from 1977.⁴² Dove's collages, however, have been exhibited significantly less than his oil, watercolor and pastel compositions.

Emily Leland Todd's published master's thesis, "Pieces of Experience Literally Seized:" Arthur Dove's Symbolic Portraits in Collage, 1924-25 (1988), is the only other critical scholarship done in this area of the artist's oeuvre. Todd analyzes the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of Dove's work, and focuses on how the portraits represent identities.⁴³ No one has provided such a detailed analysis of the landscape assemblages.

⁴²Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York. Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage, November 17-December 30, 1977. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Gene Baro (Buffalo: Thorne-Sidney Press, Inc., 1977).

⁴³Emily Leeland Todd, "Pieces of Experience Literally Seized:" Arthur Dove's Symbolic Portraits in Collage, 1924-25 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 30-72.

CHAPTER II

ARTHUR GARFIELD DOVE BEFORE THE ASSEMBLAGES

Biographical Background: 1880-1910

The Formative Years

Arthur Garfield Dove, born on August 2, 1880 in Canadaigua, New York, was the eldest son of an upper middle-class family and enjoyed a privileged childhood. His father, William George Dove, moved the family to Geneva, New York in 1882.¹ When later recollecting his childhood, Dove stated, "For the first twelve years I was an only child and naturally spoiled in the way my family wished me to be."² At a young age, Dove attended private painting classes given by a local school teacher. According to Dove, however, the most influential figure in his life at this time was Newton Weatherly (1846-1935), a neighbor in Geneva.³

Newton Weatherly, a truck farmer whose wide range of interests included oil painting, philosophy, and natural history, fostered Dove's artistic ability and interest in

¹Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 11.

²University of Maryland, 1967, 3.

³Dove included Weatherly along with Jesus Christ, Albert Einstein and Alfred Stieglitz in his list of the four greatest men. Dove wrote this in a letter to Stieglitz in December 1934, cited in Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 12.

nature. From ages five to nine, Dove went hunting and fishing with Weatherly, who gave Dove scraps of canvas to stretch on home-made frames for oil painting.⁴ Dorothy Rylander Johnson notes in her 1967 exhibition catalogue of Dove's collages that Weatherly nurtured Dove's interest in art and the natural world. She states that together they identified plants and observed the forms and colors of nature.⁵ Dove's son, William, wrote a letter to Johnson in which he confirmed Weatherly's importance in his father's life, stating, "He was a definite influence on Dove's first serious thoughts of being a painter."⁶

After Dove graduated from high school in 1899, he attended Hobart College in Geneva for two years and then transferred to Cornell University in New York (1901-1903), where he studied art and developed an interest in illustration. In his first year at Cornell, Dove enrolled mostly in law courses, at his father's request, but in his senior year took more drawing and modeling classes and did illustrations for The Cornellian yearbook.⁷ Frederick S. Wight and Ann Lee Morgan, two noted Dove scholars, credit Charles Wellington Furlong, a Cornell instructor, with

⁴Whitney Museum of American Art, 1958, 25.

⁵University of Maryland, 1967, 3.

⁶William Dove's letter to Dorothy Johnson, December 5, 1966, cited in University of Maryland, 1967, 3.

⁷Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 12

encouraging Dove to become a professional illustrator.⁸ Wight describes Furlong as an explorer and amateur naturalist who reported and illustrated his adventures for various magazines. Barbara D. Gallati, who has studied Dove's career as an illustrator, adds that Furlong set the same example as Weatherly, teaching Dove that he could combine a love of nature with the study of art.⁹

After he received an A.B. degree from Cornell in 1903, Dove moved to New York City, began a prosperous career as a free-lance illustrator and, in 1904, married a Geneva neighbor, Florence Dorsey. Gallati notes that Dove was evidently successful early in his career, since his drawings of young women at play became a regular feature on the covers of The Illustrated Sporting News.¹⁰ Having thus established himself as an illustrator, Dove had no trouble receiving commissions from magazines such as Harper's, Scribner's, Collier's, the Saturday Evening Post and Life.¹¹ At this time, he and his wife settled in an apartment on Stuyvesant Square, and Dove became active in the community of illustrators in New York.

⁸Whitney Museum of American Art, 1958, 25, and Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 12.

⁹Barbara D. Gallati, "Arthur G. Dove as Illustrator," Archives of American Art Journal 21, no. 2 (1981): 13.

¹⁰Ibid., 14.

¹¹Ibid., 15.

Through his work for various periodicals and his membership in the Society of Illustrators, Dove became acquainted with prominent artists who encouraged his fine-art endeavors. Dove frequented the Café Francis and Mouquins's restaurant where such artist/illustrators as Robert Henri, Ernest Lawson, John Sloan, William Glackens and George Luks congregated on a regular basis.¹² Gallati states that in October of 1906, John Sloan's diary mentions Dove as an acquaintance, and by January of 1907, Sloan records that Dove was a regular of the circle, participating in discussions with the group and its leader, Robert Henri.¹³ Gallati believes that this circle, also known as the Ash Can School, influenced Dove's painting style, as demonstrated by Stuyvesant Square of 1907.¹⁴ Because Dove rendered this landscape directly from his window, using muted colors to capture the actual appearance of his New York neighborhood, his approach resembles the approach of the Ash Can School artists, who believed that truth was more important than beauty in art. Gallati also suggests that Sloan and Glackens probably inspired Dove to pursue his own artistic aims, since in the Spring of 1908 he left for

¹²Whitney Museum of American Art, 1958, 40.

¹³Gallati, "Dove as Illustrator," 15.

¹⁴Ibid., 15.

Europe to develop his art and remained there for eighteen months.¹⁵

European Sojourn

During his sojourn abroad, Dove spent most of his time in France associating with American artists who had contacts with the Parisian avant-garde community. At this time Dove established what was to become a life-long friendship with Alfred Maurer, who had been in Paris for ten years. Maurer probably introduced Dove to other American artists, including Arthur B. Carles, Max Weber, Patrick Henry Bruce and Jo Davidson.¹⁶ Ileana Leavens, author of From "291" to Zurich: The Birth of Dada, notes that Maurer, Weber, and Carles frequently visited Leo and Gertrude Stein's Parisian Salon, where painters and poets discussed the modern art trends and studied the Steins' art collection which included works by Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso.¹⁷ In her catalogue raisonné, Morgan notes that Dove probably did not visit the Steins' Salon, but that his experience of modern art derived mostly from Maurer, who introduced him to progressive galleries such as the Salon d' Automne.¹⁸ In

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 11.

¹⁷Ileana B. Leavens, From "291" to Zurich: The Birth of Dada, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 21.

¹⁸Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 15.

addition, Leavens states that Weber and Bruce were students of Matisse and that Dove was among this circle of Americans attracted to Matisse's art.¹⁹

Dove's contact with European aesthetic ideas clearly affected his painting style. Dove shifted from a realist approach, exemplified by Stuyvesant Square of 1907, to an Impressionist manner in which he used a lighter palette and a swifter brushstroke to render the various landscapes from his travels. Morgan notes that in the winter of 1908-9, Dove traveled south to Spain and Italy, but given his penchant for rural areas he spent most of his time in the coastal town of Cagnes, France. Here he produced several landscapes including Bridge at Cagnes (1908-09), which demonstrates his use of pure colors, applied with small touches from his paint brush, to capture the daytime atmosphere.²⁰

While Morgan believes that Dove's Impressionist landscapes attest to his knowledge of the work of Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir, she notes that by the end of his sojourn, Fauvism was the predominant influence on his art.²¹ One of Dove's most successful early works, The Lobster (fig. 20), which he exhibited in the Salon d'Automne in Paris in 1909, demonstrates this Fauve-inspired

¹⁹Leavens, Birth of Dada, 21.

²⁰Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 15.

²¹Ibid.

approach. Dove scholar Emily Todd also notes the influence of Paul Cézanne in this composition.²² With its luminous colors of pink, gold, green and red and ornate floral pattern of wall paper in the background, The Lobster resembles the Fauvist style of Henri Matisse. The still life subject matter of fruit and lobster arranged on a table, the dark outlines of the objects and solidity of forms are reminiscent of Cézanne's work. As Todd notes, The Lobster was an example of how, early in his career, Dove assimilated different techniques and interpreted them in his own manner.²³

Affiliation with the Stieglitz Circle

When Dove first arrived back in the United States in July of 1909 he was hesitant about his career. He spent weeks in the woods near Geneva, New York, trying to evaluate his future as an artist. In the fall, Dove returned to New York City to work for a few weeks as a newspaper illustrator, but the commercial atmosphere discouraged him, and he decided to try farming. In December of 1909 he purchased a house in Westport, Connecticut, which needed renovations, so Dove and his wife stayed in New York for six

²²Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 7.

²³Ibid., 8.

more months.²⁴ During this stay Dove, following Maurer's advice, went to meet the photographer and gallery director Alfred Stieglitz.

Stieglitz had originally established the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession, later known as "291," in 1905 to promote photography as an art form, but it quickly evolved into a center for avant-garde exhibitions. In trying to distinguish the camera medium clearly in their exhibitions, Stieglitz and fellow organizer Edward Steichen juxtaposed photographs with modern art. Leavens suggests that Stieglitz began to display more radical art forms since abstract work confirmed photography's superiority of recording reality over painting.²⁵ To chronicle the events of "291," Stieglitz produced a journal, Camera Work, which provided a forum for the discussion and criticism of modern art.²⁶ With its progressive exhibitions, "291" attracted young modernists like Dove who, after meeting Stieglitz, established a life-long personal and professional relationship with the gallery director.

While Stieglitz and Dove differed greatly in personality and experience, they maintained similar

²⁴Morgan notes that Dove and his wife had moved into the Westport home by the time they had their only child William in July 1910. Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 15.

²⁵Leavens, Birth of Dada, 16.

²⁶Marianne Fulton Margolis, ed., Camera Work (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1978), 7.

attitudes toward art. Morgan assessed their differences, noting that in 1910 Stieglitz was a renowned photographer, "Gregarious, argumentative, shrewd and autocratic...", while Dove, who had hardly begun his career, was "...gentle, contemplative, and somewhat ingenuous by comparison to Stieglitz."²⁷ Morgan has recognized, though, that both Dove and Stieglitz were critical of Americans' materialistic concerns, and both believed that traditional art could not express the values of modern life.²⁸ Morgan notes that Dove viewed art and life as one process.²⁹ In his American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression, Milton Brown describes how Stieglitz similarly perceived artistic creation to be the sole justification of life, and that art was the only expression of the individual in the modern, industrialized world.³⁰

Through his affiliation with Stieglitz and the intellectual circle at "291," Dove gained confidence as an artist. Sasha Newman, author of Arthur Dove and Duncan Phillips: Artist and Patron, describes the environment of "291" as follows:

²⁷Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 16.

²⁸Ibid., 17.

²⁹Morgan, "Early Modernism in America," 85-86.

³⁰Milton W. Brown, American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), 40.

Stieglitz wanted to establish a community of artists, writers, and critics who knew and understood radical European painting and to provide an atmosphere that would enable a uniquely American form of expression to assert itself.³¹

In March of 1910, Stieglitz entered The Lobster in the exhibition, "Younger American Painters," signifying Dove's acceptance in the "291" circle, which at the time included, among others, Arthur B. Carles, Marsden Hartley, John Marin, Alfred Maurer, Edward Steichen, Marius de Zayas, and Max Weber. Stieglitz thought of "291" as a "laboratory," and this laboratory inspired Dove to experiment, an important principle later stimulating his creation of the landscape assemblages. The initial impact of Stieglitz and his coterie is evident around 1910, when Dove abandoned his former representational style and moved definitively toward abstraction.

In 1910/11, Dove produced his first non-illusionistic compositions, Abstractions Nos. 1 through 6 (figs. 21-23), a series of six small oil studies. He created these paintings by extracting motifs from the landscape and converting them into relatively simplified shapes which echo organic forms, such as the silhouette of leaves. Morgan and Haskell have both recognized the importance of color in Dove's art.³² He used it to harmonize and give structure to his

³¹The Phillips Collection, 1981, 12.

³²Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 40, and San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 7.

compositions, as in Abstractions Nos. 1 through 6, where he employed mostly earth tones, such as green, yellow, brown, and red. He applied the colors with either short, overlapping or large, smooth brushstrokes to create patches of hues which evoke landscape elements. In Abstraction No. 5 (fig. 23), for example, Dove applied shades of browns in vertical, v-shaped forms on a horizontal layer of green, curving patches which suggests trees on the terrain. Dove sometimes delineated the forms, as in Abstraction No. 3 (fig. 22), where black lines among shaded planes of green and yellow allude to tree branches. Morgan documents that although Dove probably did not consider these six studies to be finished paintings, since he never exhibited them in his lifetime, they are his first recorded experiments with abstraction.³³

Abstractions Nos. 1 through 6 exemplify two central characteristics of Dove's art, fundamental to the landscape assemblages, which are the following: nature was his primary source of motifs, and he had a vanguard expression based on European ideas. According to Morgan, Dove's focus on nature stemmed from nineteenth-century American Transcendentalism, and his abstract style derived from European aesthetic theories.³⁴ As scholars have shown, Transcendental thought affected Dove's view of nature and

³³Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 40.

³⁴Ibid., 74.

his abstract style was a complex interplay of Symbolist ideas, Expressionism, Henri Bergson's philosophy, and Cubism. Dove formulated his artistic expression by adapting these European theories to his nature-based subjects. The landscape assemblages were, thus, a synthesis of American and European ideas, and Dove was exposed to these concepts mainly through Stieglitz, his circle, and exhibitions at "291."

American Philosophy and European Aesthetic
Theory in the Stieglitz Circle

Romanticism in America: Transcendentalism

According to scholars, much of Dove's philosophy of art derived from nineteenth-century Romantic concepts in America. Romanticism, rooted in eighteenth-century German philosophy, celebrated subjective feeling and intuition over objectivity and reason, basically emphasizing individualism. In America, Romantic thought inspired the philosophy of Transcendentalism, the belief that God is in nature and that through contemplation of the organic world one can transcend to a higher spiritual consciousness. Pragmatism, a movement which stressed applying ideas rather than theorizing, also arose from the nineteenth-century focus on individual thinking. Morgan states that both of these views affected Dove's ideas about art. Although Dove was not necessarily a transcendentalist, he clearly felt that things in nature

were symbols of a greater spiritual reality, and that through his art he could apply his beliefs practically.³⁵

Dove could have absorbed Transcendental philosophy at "291," where Stieglitz and his circle reinforced Romantic ideas. In her American Art Since 1900, Barbara Rose describes how Stieglitz's attitude reflected

Transcendentalism:

Stieglitz' fierce independence and relentless defense of the extreme and the radical were representative of...the introspective individualism and spiritual intensity of Thoreau, who chose to isolate himself from society...Like Thoreau, those closest to Stieglitz--Marin, Hartley, Dove, and O'Keeffe--all eventually sought refuge in nature.³⁶

Stieglitz believed that artists should truthfully render their innermost feelings from life experiences to create an individual style. As Newman notes, Stieglitz and his followers did not follow any fixed theories or manifestoes about their art, but their belief in independent expression was indebted to Romantic concepts.³⁷

Scholars have elucidated Dove's connection to American nineteenth-century traditions by linking his work to specific painters of that era. In her American Painting of the Nineteenth Century, Barbara Novak explains that the desire to contemplate nature for moral reasons stimulated a

³⁵Ibid., 75.

³⁶Barbara Rose, American Art Since 1900 (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1975), 31-32.

³⁷The Phillips Collection, 1981, 14.

demand for landscape painting in America.³⁸ Novak distinguishes aspects of Transcendentalism and Pragmatism--the mystical approach to and scientific analysis of nature--specifically in the art of the Hudson River School. Frederic E. Church (1826-1900) and Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902), for example, combined empiricism, studying light and atmosphere, with spiritual interpretations of the organic world to create factual and poetic paintings of the American landscape.³⁹ In her epilogue, Novak notes how Dove's art similarly reflects both his examination and what she calls the "contemplative quietism" of the natural environment, evident in the luminist work of Church and Bierstadt.⁴⁰ Sherrye Cohn supports this relationship, stating that Dove's reverential and analytical approach to nature stemmed directly from the Hudson River School artists.⁴¹ While Cohn notes that this link does not appear continuous, since Dove's modern abstract style was a rejection of the nineteenth century's emphasis on realism, she clarifies the connection as follows:

...the Hudson River School aesthetic must be kept in mind as the proper background for a consideration of Dove's art....his art is rooted in this tradition's

³⁸Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), 62.

³⁹Ibid., 94.

⁴⁰Ibid., 279.

⁴¹Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 2.

Edenic, spiritualized view of nature. While this bold move into abstraction was on one level a refutation of the past..., Dove gives the past (this Romantic vision of nature) new expression in modernist terms.⁴²

Because Dove's spiritual attitude toward nature infused all his art, some of the landscape assemblages reflect this Romantic vision. For example, in Sea I and Sea II, where sheer chiffon applied to sheet metal evokes poetic images of the sea, Dove interpreted the ocean as a vast, mystical essence. In The Seaside, Dove arranged pine cones, twigs, bark and a dried crab shell in an image of the seashore after a storm, which represented the Romantic concept of the sublime in nature. In the assemblages, Dove further exhibited his appreciation for nature by using actual organic objects for his expression. These works testify to Dove's reverential ideas about the natural environment, and they also demonstrate his awareness of European avant-garde theory and techniques.

In the exhibition catalogue, The Expressionist Landscape: North American Modernist Painting 1920-1947, Ruth Stevens Appelhof discusses how artists of Dove's generation

⁴²Ibid., 3. Cohn further suggests that Dove was influenced by theosophy--a mix of hermeticism, Eastern philosophy, and quasi-scientific thought--which proposes that one truth has existed since the beginning of mankind. According to Cohn: "For Dove it offered a means to project onto life a coherence and value which the contemporary culture could not provide. Given his Romantic temperament, his sequestered lifestyle, his early rejection of organized religion, and his need to believe in a transcendental reality, he was naturally susceptible to the promise and particular slant of theosophical thought." Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 54-55.

combined rendering the landscape with European modes of expression. Appelhof explains that like nineteenth-century landscape painters, early American modernists responded emotionally to nature and conveyed these feelings in their art. Unlike their predecessors, though, Dove and his generation used stylistic ideas stemming from Fauvism, Cubism, Expressionism, and other avant-garde theories to express the landscape abstractly. Appelhof affirms that European influences had an almost immediate impact on early modern artists in the United States.⁴³

Dove and Symbolism

European aesthetic theory essentially liberated Dove's artistic expression. In Europe, Romantic thought stimulated Symbolism, a movement which refuted the past's focus on representing visual reality and celebrated the exploration of the spiritual in art and literature. Cohn notes how Symbolist theory freed Dove from the realist style of the past, allowing him to express his feelings through a wider range of form. She also states that he was not a Symbolist artist.⁴⁴ Cohn compares Dove to Odilon Redon, a Symbolist who strove to objectify his emotional experiences and used

⁴³Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama. The Expressionist Landscape: North American Modernist Painting, 1920-1947, September 13-November 4, 1987, 8. Exhibition catalogue, essays by Ruth Stevens Appelhof, Barbara Haskell, and Jeffrey R. Hayes.

⁴⁴Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 17.

nature simply as a means to stimulate his imagination. Cohn states that though Dove's abstractions similarly conveyed his personal responses to the world, he grounded his art in nature, trying to evoke its spirit.⁴⁵ In his Abstractions Nos. 1 through 6, Dove tried to convey the underlying essence of nature rather than represent its objects. In Abstraction No. 3, while the black lines among patches of greens, reds, and yellows imply tree limbs and foliage, the curving patterns and shaded forms suggest the rhythm of growth in organic life.

Dove was exposed to Symbolist theory through writings and discussions at "291." Newman states that Symbolism reinforced the Transcendentalists' "romantic goal...to retrieve the natural and uncorrupted part of man," a belief which thrived in the Stieglitz circle.⁴⁶ The "291" artists then enthusiastically supported Dove's nature-based expressions. According to Newman, Stieglitz's writings and conversations about art often incorporated terms and concepts from the Symbolist idiom, such as "the Idea," Soul, Truth, and Reality.⁴⁷ Articles by Benjamin de Casseres, Marius de Zayas, Sadakichi Hartmann, and Charles Caffin in Camera Work often celebrated imagination and the subjective experience in art.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶The Phillips Collection, 1981, 14.

⁴⁷Ibid.

The effect of Symbolist ideology on Dove may be seen in his artistic goals. As Miriam Soffer explains, Dove did not paint objects or traditional subjects but wanted to communicate ideas or concepts through color and form.⁴⁸ The importance of Symbolist theory for Dove was that it validated his desire to render his own ideas through his own expression. Symbolism was not a formal style but a philosophy that stimulated new idioms. One such idiom was Wassily Kandinsky's expressionism, which paralleled Dove's belief in exploring his own subjective experiences to create an individual style.⁴⁹

Dove and Kandinsky

Because Dove's Abstractions Nos. 1 through 6 were the earliest non-illusionistic paintings produced in America and paralleled Kandinsky's simultaneous experiments with non-objective painting, scholars often compare the two artists. Cohn believes that Symbolist theory incited both artists to move toward abstraction.⁵⁰ Soffer states that twentieth-century scientific theories such as quantum physics and Sigmund Freud's study of the subconscious destroyed the belief in the appearance of things. As Soffer explains, this new perception of the world inspired Dove and Kandinsky

⁴⁸Miriam Soffer, "Arthur Dove: Twentieth-Century Pioneer," New York State Museum 9, no. 3 (Fall 1976): 16.

⁴⁹Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 75.

⁵⁰Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 105.

to shift from representational art to abstraction in order to convey underlying truths or forces in life.⁵¹ Morgan asserts that Kandinsky and Dove worked independently of one another. She suggests, though, that while in Paris, Dove may have seen Kandinsky's early paintings, works revealing his subjective responses to the landscape, not his non-objective work, at the Salon des Artistes Independants and the Salon d' Automne.⁵² Judith Zilcer also implies that Dove observed Kandinsky's expressionist landscapes, which she notes were on view in Paris from March 20 to May 2 and from October 1 to November 8 in 1908.⁵³

Dove was aware of Kandinsky's art and theory mainly through Stieglitz and "291." The July 1912 issue of Camera Work had reprinted excerpts from Kandinsky's theoretical treatise Concerning the Spiritual in Art, and Stieglitz had given a copy of The Blue Ryder Almanac, written by Kandinsky and Franz Marc, to Dove in November of 1913.⁵⁴ Morgan notes that Dove must have seen Kandinsky's abstract composition Improvisation No. 27 (fig. 24) at the Armory Show, a painting which Stieglitz later purchased. Morgan states, however, that by 1913, Dove had essentially solidified his own abstract style, which was highly

⁵¹Soffer, "Pioneer," 18.

⁵²Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 40-41.

⁵³Zilcer, "Aesthetic Struggle," 201.

⁵⁴Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 68, n. 14.

personal.⁵⁵ The significance of Kandinsky's work, that he had established an individual style based on his perceptions and emotions, was that it affirmed many of Dove's ideas in formulating his independent expression.

Dove and Kandinsky both began abstracting from nature but progressed in different directions. As Haskell notes, any formal similarities in their early abstractions exist because both artists extracted organic forms from the landscape. Haskell explains, however, that virtually all of Dove's art derived from the visible world while Kandinsky tried to visualize his inner states.⁵⁶ Kandinsky believed that an artist's choice of abstract color, shape, line, and space should reflect his spiritual self.⁵⁷ Dove expressed his feelings in his art, but used nature as a source of color and other formal qualities. Jim Jordan states that Kandinsky's progression toward abstract art was theoretical. Jordan points out that Kandinsky ascribed symbolic meaning to color and form, believing that color, for example, had psychic powers. As Jordan explains, Dove moved to

⁵⁵Ibid., 41.

⁵⁶San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 16.

⁵⁷Wassily Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, trans. M.T.H. Sadler (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977), 2.

abstraction through intuition, extracting what he felt were essences or truths from the external world.⁵⁸

Dove and Henri Bergson

As scholars have recognized, Dove's intuitive approach to abstraction closely paralleled Henri Bergson's vitalist philosophy. Bergson, a nineteenth-century French philosopher, believed that reality was found in time, specifically the phenomena of movement and change, and that the origins and continuation of life stemmed from a force he termed élan vital.⁵⁹ According to Bergson, because the intellect of the mind rationalizes the orders of life, the best means of comprehending life's constant flux was through intuition rather than intellect. Bergson believed that through intuition one could transcend outward appearances to comprehend the spirit of an object or being.⁶⁰ Morgan states that similar to Bergson's philosophy, Dove tried to understand and relate to objects intuitively in order to capture their essences.⁶¹ Haskell notes that Dove used the term "extraction" rather than "abstraction" to refer to

⁵⁸Jim M. Jordan, "Arthur Dove and the Nature of the Image," Arts Magazine, 50, no. 6 February 1976, 90.

⁵⁹Henri Bergson, Creative Evolution, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: Henry Holt, 1911), 87.

⁶⁰Ibid., 165.

⁶¹Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 79.

rendering the spirit of his subjects.⁶² Soffer also points out how Dove's ideas corresponded with Bergson's belief in élan vital:

Dove spoke of "growth lines" to designate the tensions within the object as opposed to its physical outlines. He wanted to communicate through color and form what the playwright Bernard Shaw called "life force" or what the philosopher Henri Bergson termed "élan vital."⁶³

In her dissertation, which discusses the Bergsonian dimensions of Dove's art, Arlette Klaric clarifies the similarities and differences between the artist and the philosopher. Klaric points out that like Bergson, Dove saw reality as an image of continuous motion, which he sought to express visually with forms and structures from nature.⁶⁴ Bergson thought that creating art brought man closer to reality.⁶⁵ According to Klaric, Dove shared this view in his attempt to capture "the reality of the sensation" through abstract equivalents.⁶⁶ As Klaric explains, Bergson believed that the aim of creating, however, was metaphysical, an attempt to affirm the existence of élan vital, while Dove was more concerned with aesthetics.⁶⁷

⁶²San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974.

⁶³Soffer, "Pioneer," 16.

⁶⁴Klaric, "Bergsonian Realities," 377-378.

⁶⁵Henri Bergson, Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic, trans. Cloudesley Brereton and Fred Rothwell (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1911), 157.

⁶⁶Klaric, "Bergsonian Realities," 374-375.

⁶⁷Ibid., 378.

While they did not share the same objectives, Bergson's belief that art could reunite man with nature and should convey the spirit of a subject, are ideas evident in Dove's landscape assemblages. In creating them, Dove had emotionally and physically interacted with nature, collecting stones, sand, sticks, and other items. Dove used these materials to represent nature literally and symbolically. For example, in The Seaside Dove combined pine cones and twigs, actual parts of trees, to allude to a forest, while speckles of sand in Huntington Harbor I depict a beach. Dove employed organic and manmade objects which to him expressed the spirit of a landscape motif, and this approach aligned with Bergson's philosophy.

Stieglitz expounded ideas which related to Bergson's theories, and Dove had access to the philosopher's writings through Camera Work. As Klaric notes, Stieglitz encouraged the "291" artists to rely on individual vision guided by intuitive responses.⁶⁸ Extracts from Bergson's Creative Evolution, an investigation into the origins of reality with an intuitive approach, and Laughter, his theory of art, were published in the October 1911 and January 1912 issues of Camera Work.⁶⁹ Todd points out that Dove was most aware of

⁶⁸Klaric, "Bergsonian Realities," 129.

⁶⁹Henri Bergson, "An Extract from Bergson [from Bergson, Creative Evolution, 1907]," Camera Work, no. 36 (October 1911): 20-21; "What is the Object of Art? [from Bergson, Laughter, 1901]," Camera Work, no. 37 (January 1912): 22-26.

the writings in Camera Work during the period of 1910-1915.⁷⁰ At this time, he probably read the extracts of Bergson's writings as well as essays on other modernist theory.

Dove and Cubism

Between 1910 and 1913, when Dove was crystallizing his mature style, he not only assimilated ideas stemming from Symbolism, Expressionism and Bergson's theory, but he was also exposed to Cubism. The "291" exhibitions and Camera Work articles of 1910-1911 illustrated the evolution of the Cubist movement. A show in November of 1910 included lithographs by Cézanne, whose watercolors were then on view in 1911.⁷¹ Cézanne broke nature down into geometries and then integrated these forms in representational pictures which prefigured the Cubists' geometric analyses of subjects and rejection of illusionism. The July 1910 issue of Camera Work provided two essays on Cubism by Max Weber entitled, "Chinese Dolls and Modern Colorists" and "The Fourth Dimension from a Plastic Point of View." In the first article, Weber discussed a structural approach to painting and the use of tribal art as models. The latter essay defined the "fourth dimension" as a justification for Cubism's abandonment of traditional perspective and

⁷⁰Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 10.

⁷¹Homer lists the exhibition schedule of "291" from 1902 to 1917 in the appendix of American Avant-Garde, 297.

distortion of objects.⁷² In January of 1911, Weber had a one-man show which included his Cubist experiments, and Marius de Zayas organized works by Pablo Picasso in the Spring.⁷³ Dove was undoubtedly aware of the circle's preoccupation with Cubism, especially since Weber and de Zayas explicated the principles of the movement to the "291" artists.

Through his experiences abroad, Weber had developed a sophisticated comprehension of European modernist aesthetics. Weber had been in Paris from 1905 to 1908, had attended various art academies, the Matisse class of 1907, and visited the Steins' Salon.⁷⁴ When Weber returned to America in 1908, he gravitated to the progressive milieu at "291." By late 1909, Weber was disintegrating objects and figures into multiple views and practicing the more abstract Analytical phase of Cubism.⁷⁵

At "291," Weber's art offered didactic models for Dove and the Stieglitz circle. In some of Weber's paintings, at his January 1911 "291" show, he applied Cubist form to nature. William Innes Homer suggests that these Cubistic

⁷²Max Weber, "Chinese Dolls and Modern Colorists," Camera Work no. 31 (July 1910): 51; "The Fourth Dimension from a Plastic Point of View," Camera Work no. 31 (July 1910): 25.

⁷³Homer, American Avant-Garde, 297.

⁷⁴Ibid., 126.

⁷⁵Klaric, "Bergsonian Realities," 143.

landscapes inspired Dove.⁷⁶ In Trees in the Park (1911), for instance, Weber combined elements of Cubism, its tenets of form and space, with a Fauvist palette, using luminous color, to create his own idiom. He reduced landscape motifs into curvilinear interwoven shapes of grays, greens, and blues, which allude to tree branches, foliage, and the sky. His example demonstrated to Dove and other artists who abstracted from nature, such as Marsden Hartley and John Marin, that they could adapt European artistic dialects to American sensibilities without being imitative. Weber's Cubist work also provided a preface to de Zayas' Picasso exhibition.

De Zayas recognized the revolutionary nature of Picasso's art and tried to relay these ideas through a display at "291." De Zayas' accompanying essay for the show, reprinted in Camera Work, explained the evolution of Cubism from the early experiments, as in the watercolor Head (1909) to the Analytical phase, exemplified by the charcoal drawing Nude (1910). In this discussion, de Zayas provided an informed explanation of Picasso's technique:

He receives a direct impression from external nature, he analyzes, develops, and translates it, and afterwards executes it in his own particular style, with the intention that the picture should be the pictorial equivalent of the emotion produced by nature.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Homer, American Avant-Garde, 114.

⁷⁷Marius de Zayas, "Pablo Picasso," Camera Work, nos. 34-35 (April-July 1911): 66.

The effect of Weber and Picasso, as well as Symbolism and Expressionism, on Dove is clearly detectable in his pastel series, The Ten Commandments, of 1911-1912. In these ten drawings, Dove abstracted imagery from nature, animals, and architecture. Homer suggests that Weber's work may have influenced some of the Cubist-inspired pastels in this series.⁷⁸ Morgan notes that Dove probably used Picasso's Head and Nude as sources for The Ten Commandments.⁷⁹ Dove followed Symbolist ideology by expressing his responses to the landscape through abstract form, and he created a personal idiom by adopting Cubist, Fauvist, and Expressionist principles to his own ends. Selecting Cubist tenets in Nature Symbolized No. 1 (fig. 3), for example, Dove reduced architectural and landscape motifs into semi-circles, triangles, and cylinders, and overlapped them in a compressed space. Unlike Cubism, Dove colored the spherical shapes iridescent blue, reminiscent of Fauvism, and the other forms brown and cream, shading them to suggest a light source. Early Cubist style used a minimum of color to enhance the simultaneity between form and plane and increase the spatial ambiguities, as in Picasso's Nude. In another pastel, Based on Leaf Forms and Spaces (fig. 4), Homer notes that Dove converted organic life into curvilinear forms

⁷⁸Homer, American Avant-Garde, 114.

⁷⁹Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 43.

which recall Kandinsky.⁸⁰ By repeating curvaceous shapes, Dove evoked the inner rhythm of plant life in an Expressionist manner. Similar to Cubism, he rendered these shapes in a shallow space, but he drew the forms as complete in themselves.

In a letter to Samuel M. Kootz in 1912, Dove explained how he created The Ten Commandments. His description reflects a Bergsonian creative approach in the following passage:

...one day I made a drawing of a hillside...I chose three forms from the planes on the sides of the trees, three colors, and black and white. From these was made a rhythmic painting which expressed the spirit of the whole thing. The colors were chosen to express the substances of these objects and the sky...There were nine others, each with its own different motive...⁸¹

Dove's objective to "express the spirit of the whole thing" and "the substances of these objects" clearly parallels Bergson's belief that art should capture essences in life.

As The Ten Commandments demonstrates, Dove synthesized sophisticated modernist concepts, implementing ideas which agreed with his sensitivity to nature. Cohn clarifies this point in her analysis of the Cubist-inspired Nature Symbolized No. 1. While in this work Dove simplified the landscape into geometric forms resembling Cubist structure, he did not explore Cubism's radical obfuscation of perspective and form. As Cohn explains, the Cubists were

⁸⁰Homer, American Avant-Garde, 116.

⁸¹Kootz, Modern American Painters, 37.

trying to eschew nature in their pictures, and this contradicted Dove's belief in "nature as the ground of art."⁸² As Morgan notes, when Dove exhibited The Ten Commandments at "291" and W. Scott Thurber Galleries in Chicago in 1912, his integration of advanced pictorial ideas in his own nature-based style established him as the American paragon of modernism.⁸³

Though Dove later abandoned Cubist principles in his paintings, his understanding of the style was relevant to the landscape assemblages. The Cubists were the first modernists to apply collage in fine art. In Collage: Critical Views, Katherine Hoffman explains how the application of Cubist ideas in painting evolved into collage:

Cubist painting began to portray simultaneity in time and space. Collage introduced an interaction between the pictorial surface and the 'real environment,' and freed the artist from technicalities of brushwork.⁸⁴

The Cubists' innovation of incorporating everyday articles into compositions opened the possibilities for other collage forms and assemblage. While Dove did not necessarily produce the landscape assemblages for the same reasons as the Cubists employed collage, he created them with a similar spirit of finding a new means of expression without

⁸²Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 94.

⁸³Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 18.

⁸⁴Katherine Hoffman, ed., Collage: Critical Views (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 6.

conventional media. Dove was probably not aware of the Cubist collage technique until Stieglitz exhibited early examples by Georges Braque and Picasso in December to January of 1914-1915. Before this, Francis Picabia had a dramatic impact on American art. As scholars have recognized, Picabia established significant artistic precedents for Dove's assemblages.

Dove and Francis Picabia

Francis Picabia came to New York for one of the largest and most important exhibitions of modern art held at the Sixty-Ninth Infantry Regiment Armory in 1913.⁸⁵ In the Armory Show, artists ranging from Goya, Ingres, Delacroix, Manet, and the Impressionists to all the major current figures--Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Marcel Duchamp, Picabia, and more--were on display.

Although Dove did not exhibit in this show, he had evidently established a reputation as an avant-garde artist, since critics recognized his art in relation to some of the French modernists. In June of 1913, Maurice Aisen, a poet and chemist, wrote an essay in Camera Work linking Dove, Picasso, Picabia, and Duchamp as all working toward the concept of pure painting.⁸⁶ Samuel Swift wrote an article

⁸⁵Platt, Modernism in the 1920s, 71.

⁸⁶Maurice Aisen, "The Latest Evolution in Art and Picabia," Camera Work Special Number (June 1913): 14-21, and cited in Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 18.

in which he compared Dove's The Ten Commandments with Picabia's Dances at Spring and Procession, both of 1912. According to Swift, when Dove and Picabia first saw one another's work at "291" in 1913, they immediately recognized an artistic kinship.⁸⁷

In 1913 Picabia joined the Stieglitz circle where he found a forum for his vanguard art and ideas. Picabia believed that abstraction was the best means of representing emotional and intellectual experiences.⁸⁸ Picabia thus reinforced the Stieglitz circle's contention for expressing subjective states through abstract equivalents.⁸⁹ Leavens has recognized that after Picabia joined the Stieglitz coterie, the circle began to focus less on whether a work was art, and more on whether it expressed contemporary life.⁹⁰

In his search for non-illusionistic idioms which evoked life experiences, Picabia turned to the technology of the machine age, experimenting with mechanical forms to represent human characteristics in 1913. He drew, for example, mechanomorphic portraits of Stieglitz (fig. 25) and

⁸⁷Samuel Swift, "Review of Picabia Show," New York Sun 18 (March 1913); reprint, Camera Work 42-43 (April-July 1913): 48-49, and cited in Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 18.

⁸⁸Leavens, Birth of Dada, 66.

⁸⁹Patrick L. Stewart, "The European Art Invasion: American Art and the Arensberg Circle, 1914-1918," Arts Magazine 52 May 1977, 108.

⁹⁰Leavens, Birth of Dada, 68.

Paul Haviland. For these drawings Picabia chose a distinct aspect of the individual's character and represented it with a machine-object. In a study of these portraits, William A. Camfield suggests that a broken camera symbolized Stieglitz's inability to reach his "ideal," and a portable lamp represented Haviland as a "source of light."⁹¹ With these unique images, Picabia visually and conceptually rebelled against traditional art forms. He thus communicated to "291" members that things considered non-art are acceptable in an art context.

As scholars have shown, Picabia's machine drawings inspired Dove's assemblages. As Rudolph E. Kuenzli notes, Picabia challenged American artists, like Dove, to shift from an aesthetic to a conceptual view of art.⁹² Robert Goldwater, Dickran Tashjian, and Kuenzli have all suggested that Picabia influenced Dove's composite portraits.⁹³ While Dove's personifications with three-dimensional media were more gentle-natured than Picabia's biting images, he had adopted his contemporaries' technique of transforming non-art objects into symbols of an individual's character.

⁹¹William A. Camfield, "The Machinist Style of Francis Picabia," The Art Bulletin 48, nos. 3-4 (September-December 1966): 314.

⁹²Rudolph E. Kuenzli, ed., New York Dada (New York: Willis, Locker and Owens, 1986), 2.

⁹³Robert Goldwater, "Arthur Dove: a Pioneer of Abstract Expressionism in American Art," Perspectives USA no. 2 (Winter 1952): 79-80; Tashjian, Skyscraper Primitives, 198; and Kuenzli, New York Dada, 2.

Like Picabia's machine-drawing of Stieglitz, for instance, Dove employed elements of a camera to describe the photographer's personality in Portrait of Alfred Stieglitz (1924) (fig. 26). Dove used a camera plate and lens to symbolize Stieglitz's ability to reflect on his artistic vision. In her thesis on Dove's portrait collages, Todd has noted how Picabia used a centimeter tape to represent a tree and nose in Centimeters (1924-25) and Portrait of Poincare? (1924-26) (fig. 27), and that Dove similarly used a ruler, in his first documented assemblage, Portrait of Ralph Dusenberry (1924), to recognize Mr. Dusenberry's architectural career.⁹⁴ Although Todd states there is no evidence to suggest that Dove saw the collages by Picabia, it is interesting to note how both artists saw the expressive potential of carpentry objects and incorporated them in a comparable context. Shortly after this first portrait, Dove began the landscape assemblages. While the landscapes have no direct link to Picabia, Dove created them in a related spirit, using organic objects as symbolic equivalents for landscape motifs.

Dove had many opportunities to familiarize himself with Picabia's art and theory. Besides Picabia's "291" exhibitions in March 1913 and January 1915, Leavens records that he visited "291" almost daily in 1913.⁹⁵ Stewart

⁹⁴Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 99.

⁹⁵Leavens, Birth of Dada, 165, n. 30.

states that Picabia and Dove participated in the coterie at the home of Walter and Louise Arensberg, one of the most important centers for the avant-garde in New York.⁹⁶ As Kuenzli notes, discussions at the Arensbergs' home anticipated the emergence of New York Dada.⁹⁷

Dada and Collage Precedents

Dada in America was not an organized movement or school; rather it consisted of attitudes and ideas interchanged in salons and galleries. In the circles of Stieglitz and the Arensbergs, modernists were expounding anti-art concepts by 1914. Leavens has recognized that as early as 1913, "291" had a distinctive Dadaist character. According to Leavens, de Zayas felt that modern styles, such as Fauvism and Cubism, were derivative, and he challenged the avant-garde to produce more radical efforts, which stimulated the concept of anti-art as an art form.⁹⁸ As Leavens explains, because "291" artists focused on expressing life experiences in their work, the issue of whether the work was art was no longer important. What was important was the work's ability to evoke contemporary life. The Arensberg circle was a forum for the exchange of anti-art ideas between Duchamp, Picabia, and several other

⁹⁶Stewart, "Arensberg Circle," 109.

⁹⁷Kuenzli, New York Dada, 1.

⁹⁸Leavens, Birth of Dada, 63.

American artists including Dove, Charles Sheeler, Marsden Hartley, Man Ray, John Covert, Morton Schamberg, Charles Demuth, and Joseph Stella.⁹⁹ According to Stewart, at the Arensbergs, European modernists encouraged the Americans to develop indigenous art forms by experimenting with non-conventional subject matter and materials. In doing so, the Europeans helped liberate the Americans from the confines of traditional art and motivated them to explore more radical non-art expressions.¹⁰⁰

Marcel Duchamp, a central figure of the Arensberg circle, was an important catalyst for the American avant-gardes' adoption of anti-art or Dadaist concepts. Duchamp promoted the intellectual aspects of art and de-emphasized its emotional and sensual qualities.¹⁰¹ He confronted and challenged traditional modes of expression with everyday objects elevated to fine art, called readymades, which essentially expanded acceptable subject matter and illuminated the artist's aesthetic process of choice. As Tashjian states, Duchamp basically shattered preconceived notions of art, encouraging nihilistic modes of expression.¹⁰²

⁹⁹Stewart, "Arensberg Circle," 109.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 112.

¹⁰¹Moira Roth, "Marcel Duchamp in America: A Self Ready-Made," Arts Magazine 51 May 1977, 94.

¹⁰²Tashjian, Skyscraper Primitives, 52.

According to Morgan, Dove was familiar with Duchamp's work and the two were probably acquaintances.¹⁰³ Dove had the opportunity to view Duchamp's work in New York; his readymade the Bicycle Wheel (1913) was exhibited in 1916, and the mixed media Chocolate Grinder (1914) displayed in 1915 and again at the Anderson Galleries in 1916. Duchamp worked on The Large Glass from 1915 to 1923, and during this time Dove may have heard about or seen the work develop. In The Blind Man, a periodical organized by the Society of Independent Artists intended to challenge the "blindness" of New York critics with new art forms, Duchamp articulated his views about the problem of defining art. Duchamp asserted that art should be based on the artist's own creative selection.¹⁰⁴ Duchamp's message, that artists should pursue more spontaneous, humorous and irreverent modes of expression, probably inspired Dove's landscape assemblages, which he sometimes created with a whimsical attitude.

Another source for Dada, and one which Duchamp helped to establish, was Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme, Inc., America's first museum of modern art founded in 1920. Susan Noyes Platt has noted that Dreier, believing modern art should be accessible to everyone, provided a didactic format

¹⁰³Morgan states that Duchamp had known Stieglitz since 1915 and that Duchamp and Dove were familiar with one another's work. Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 133, n. 4.

¹⁰⁴Tashjian, Skyscraper Primitives, 54.

for the exhibitions to help give credence to modernism in America.¹⁰⁵ According to Platt, Duchamp's association with the avant-garde contributed to the quality and diversity of art shown at the Société Anonyme which ranged from Cubism and Expressionism to Dada.¹⁰⁶ For Dove, this organization enabled further exposure not only to Picabia and Duchamp but artists such as Juan Gris, Albert Gleizes, Jacques Villon, Braque, Picasso, Man Ray, and Kurt Schwitters--all of whom were important, originating and expanding on the collage technique.

Picasso and Braque's earliest experiments with collage challenged conventional art by integrating "high" (traditional painting) and "low" (added materials like newspaper, bottle labels) cultures. By adding real materials to painting, Braque and Picasso re-defined what constituted fine art and interplayed fact and fiction in an artistic context. Braque, for example, explored the question as to where illusion begins and the truth ends by employing imitation oak-wallpaper to represent a wooden table in Still Life with Fruit Dish and Glass (fig. 28) of September 1912. From December 9, 1914 to January 11, 1915, Stieglitz exhibited drawings and paintings by Picasso and Braque which included some of the former artist's earliest

¹⁰⁵Platt, Modernism in the 1920s, 8.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 9.

collages.¹⁰⁷ According to the unpublished notes by Dove's second wife, Helen Torr, Dove evidently visited this display, which was undoubtedly an impetus for his assemblages.¹⁰⁸

Collage, as an art form, quickly spread in Europe with different modernists exploring its expressive possibilities. Similar to Braque, the Cubist Juan Gris used decorative wallpaper, but focused more on the formal aspects of his collages as in Violin and Engraving (1913) (fig. 29).¹⁰⁹ Wolfram notes that while living in the trenches during the first World War, Fernand Leger used whatever materials were available such as pasting paper on the top of ammunition boxes to create pictures like Horses in Village Quarters of 1915.¹¹⁰

The Futurists used collage to suggest speed, progress, and aspects of the modern era. According to Wolfram, Gino Severini, a central figure of the Futurist movement, had met Picasso and Braque in Paris and spread their collage ideas to Italy.¹¹¹ Another Futurist, Umberto Boccioni, advocated

¹⁰⁷Homer, American Avant-Garde, 298.

¹⁰⁸Torr made notes about Dove in a list entitled, "Reds' Reminiscences." In a brief passage about Dove's early assemblages, Torr stated, "at that time he'd [only] seen some newspapers pasted...[and] some of the French." AAA, Arthur Garfield Dove-Helen Torr unpublished papers.

¹⁰⁹Wolfram, History of Collage, 18.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 23.

¹¹¹Ibid., 22.

the use of mundane materials in sculpture instead of the traditional bronze and marble as early as 1912. He stated that by fusing everyday objects like glass, cardboard, and hair with contemporary materials like sheets of metal, one could evoke aspects of modern reality.¹¹² Although many of these examples were not available to Dove, they reflect the growing interest in the art community to explore unusual materials in an aesthetic context.

In America, a few of Dove's contemporaries explored collage for different purposes. Joseph Stella used the medium to make witty and bitter comments on modern America. His topics ranged from American advertising and technology to the plight of urban life, which he expressed, for example, by incorporating mutilated pieces of paper in works like Profile (fig. 30) (1922).¹¹³ John Covert created collages linked to Dada. Using non-art materials, Covert made conceptual art forms, such as Time, which related to the work of Duchamp.¹¹⁴ Man Ray, who participated in Dada activities with Duchamp, said that Picasso inspired his assemblages. In an interview with Man Ray, the artist commented on how his first exposure to Picasso's mixed media work at "291" inspired him:

¹¹²Hoffman, Collage: Critical Views, 8.

¹¹³Tashjian, Skyscraper Primitives, 193-194.

¹¹⁴Kuenzli, New York Dada, 2.

...a few charcoal lines on white paper with a piece of newspaper...whereas other criticized it as being unfinished, I thought: these are people who are free, and that's what I want.¹¹⁵

Man Ray had experimented as early as 1916 with The Rope Dancer (fig. 31) and the Revolving Doors series--collages in which the artist strove to create decorative works, complete within themselves and unrelated to their surroundings.¹¹⁶

The German artist Kurt Schwitters interpreted another realm of mixed media with his Merz constructions, assemblages produced from discarded material. Schwitters stripped junk items of their original meaning by juxtaposing these unrelated elements in a new context, where each piece lost its unique identity to become part of the whole expression.¹¹⁷ Schwitters essentially transposed refused objects of society into complex compositions. Dove had the opportunity to view Schwitters' work at the Société Anonyme in 1920 and 1921.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵Man Ray, "An Interview with Man Ray: 'This Is Not For America'," interview by Arturo Schwarz, Arts Magazine 51 May 1977, 116.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 118.

¹¹⁷Annegreth Nill, "Decoding Merz: An Interpretive Study of Kurt Schwitters' Early Work, 1918-1922" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1990), 3.

¹¹⁸Ruth L. Bohan, The Société Anonyme's Brooklyn Exhibition: Katherine Dreier and Modernism in America, ed. Stephen C. Foster (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 219.

Summary

Dove's art reflected two distinct facets, nature imagery and modernist theory. His nature-based philosophy of art stemmed from nineteenth-century American landscape painters, whose Transcendental approach inspired a reverential view of nature in art. Stieglitz and "291" members reinforced the idea that artists should turn to nature, but also be abreast of modernist ideas. Dove's connection with this avant-garde group exposed him to the concurrent influx of European theory in New York, which included Symbolism, Expressionism, Bergson's philosophy, Cubism and a few years later, Dada. Dove assimilated modernist techniques which harmonized with his sensibilities toward nature to create a unique abstract style. His synthesis of American Transcendental philosophy and European modernism formed the theoretical foundation of his painting and landscape assemblages. Created at a mature period in his life and art, Dove's landscape assemblages reflected the diversity of ideas he had been exposed to up to that time. As the next chapter will discuss, America's focus on indigenous art forms, which revitalized the interest in folk art, and Stieglitz and Helen Torr's influence in the 1920s, would all have a decisive effect on Dove's decision to employ assemblage.

CHAPTER III

THE DECADE OF THE ASSEMBLAGES--THE 1920s

An Era of Change

During the 1910s, Dove endured tremendous economic hardship and produced few paintings. His family refused to assist him financially because he continued to work in a radical style.¹ He had been working on his Beldon Pond Farm near Westport, Connecticut, since 1912, raising chickens, growing vegetables, and working briefly as a lobsterman, but he had to return to illustration by 1916 to supplement his income. In 1917 his wife, Florence Dove, tried to assist financially by opening and operating the Turnpike Tea House in partnership with another artist's wife.² As Morgan notes, because of the demands of farming, illustration, and an unsupportive wife, Dove was virtually unable to paint.³

While the artworks from this period are mainly additions to The Ten Commandments, Dove did enter sixteen paintings in a significant show, the "Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters" of 1916. The works Dove submitted

¹Gallati, "Dove as Illustrator," 18.

²Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 19.

³Ibid., 19.

were all abstractions from the group Nature Symbolized of 1911-12.⁴ The purpose of the Forum Exhibition was to illuminate the accomplishments of American artists, who had felt eclipsed by European modernists ever since the Armory Show. A committee of Dr. Christian Brinton, Robert Henry, W.H. de B. Nelson, Dr. John Weichsel, Willard Huntington Wright, and Stieglitz organized the display.⁵ According to the exhibition catalogue, this show highlighted only "the very best examples of the more modern American art" with one hundred ninety-three paintings by seventeen artists.⁶ Cohn explains that the Forum Exhibition reflected the shift in consciousness in the New York art world, from focusing on European modernism to defining what is American, in a search for the country's cultural identity.⁷ Dove was aware of this preoccupation with developing the nation's arts, especially through Stieglitz and his circle, and was among the artists forging a cultural awakening.

⁴Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 16.

⁵Whitney Museum of American Art at Phillip Morris, New York. The Forum Exhibition: Selections and Additions, May 18-June 22, 1983, 5. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Anne Harrell.

⁶Anderson Galleries, New York. Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters, March 13-25, 1916, n.p. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Mitchell Kennerly.

⁷Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 96.

Dove and the Stieglitz Circle

At about this time in 1916, changes in the Stieglitz circle symbolized this shift of emphasis from promoting European artists to advancing American modernists. A younger generation of artists and writers had gravitated to Stieglitz by 1916--the photographer Paul Strand, the artist Georgia O'Keeffe, the critics Paul Rosenfeld and Waldo Frank, and others--who saw the need for a new cultural consciousness. In the last two seasons at "291," from 1915-17, Stieglitz displayed only one European modernist, the Italian Gino Severini, while the other shows highlighted American artists like Abraham Walkowitz, Hartley, Marin, Strand, and O'Keeffe.⁸ Stieglitz closed "291" in 1917 because of financial and other problems caused by World War I. After the war, he changed from advocating both European and American artists to supporting American modernists exclusively. Stieglitz focused his energies on developing the small circle of Dove, Strand, O'Keeffe, Hartley, Marin, and Charles Demuth.

While Dove virtually did not paint between 1917 and 1921, his involvement with Stieglitz's small entourage seemed to revitalize his confidence to experiment again in the 1920s. When referring to this new circle, Cohn notes that "Dove grew great strength from his association with

⁸Homer, American Avant-Garde, 298.

this group...."⁹ Dove and Strand had the opportunity to exchange ideas in Westport. Newman states that Strand, who in 1915 resided in Westport, shared with Dove the desire to study the formal relationships of objects when detached from their natural context.¹⁰ Morgan notes how Dove's images of magnified mechanical parts in paintings from the 1920s, as in Lantern (1922), were similar to Strand's photographs of machine-objects from 1914 and 1915.¹¹ In his photographs of 1915, Strand used close-up camera angles on his subjects, creating abstract rather than representational images which concentrate on the formal relationships of the elements. Newman recognizes a relationship between Strand's emphasis on sculptural quality and weight in the abstract photograph Bowls (fig. 32) and the dense, cropped image of swirling forms in Dove's painting Waterfall (fig. 33) of 1925.¹²

While Strand and Dove shared similar artistic concerns, of all the artists in the Stieglitz circle Dove felt the deepest affinities with O'Keeffe. Dove met O'Keeffe during the summer of 1918 on one of his trips from Westport to New York. Before their introduction, though, O'Keeffe had already admired Dove's work as revealed in the following:

⁹Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 99-100.

¹⁰The Phillips Collection, 1981, 38.

¹¹Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 49.

¹²The Phillips Collection, 1981, 38.

I discovered Dove and picked him out before I was discovered. Where did I see him? A reproduction in a book, the Eddy Book, I guess, a picture of fall leaves.¹³

As Susan Fillin Yeh notes, in the example from Arthur Jerome Eddy's book, Based on Leaf Forms and Spaces (1911/12) (fig. 4), Dove magnified plant leaves into abstract curvilinear forms which anticipated O'Keeffe's later exaggerated treatment of flowers, also cropped by the canvas.¹⁴ Dove and O'Keeffe both extracted motifs from organic subject matter. O'Keeffe's education under Arthur Wesley Dow had taught her to distill images from nature for her art.¹⁵ Dove similarly began abstraction by distilling motifs in nature, rendering the color condition of things or what he termed the "condition of light," which to him represented the essence of that object or being.¹⁶ Both artists rendered the natural color, space, and form of what they observed.

Because Dove and O'Keeffe shared some of the same pictorial techniques and objectives, there are often formal resemblances in their work. Cohn believes that the artists not only exchanged ideas, but actually borrowed motifs and

¹³Susan Fillin Yeh, "Innovative Moderns: Arthur G. Dove and Georgia O'Keeffe," Arts Magazine 56, no. 10 June 1982, 69.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., 71

¹⁶San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 7.

techniques from one another.¹⁷ Formal affinities are clearly evident when Dove and O'Keeffe addressed the same themes. In Movement No. 1 (1911/12) (fig. 5) Dove contrasted simplified plant shapes, blown up and shaded in different degrees of light and dark to illuminate the abstract quality of organic life. In Abstraction by O'Keeffe, one of the few paintings Dove owned, she had similarly reduced stems and leaves into a few elemental forms, magnified to fill the canvas and juxtaposed according to opposing light and dark areas. Dove's Penetration (1926) (fig. 34), where an abstract bud-like shape permeates the canvas and O'Keeffe's study of blooming flowers in the Jack in the Pulpit series (1930s) (fig. 35) exemplify how both artists created simple yet universal shapes which evoked germination. Yeh, who has studied the relationships between the work of Dove and O'Keeffe, suggests that their likenesses may be due in part to the artistic approach encouraged by Frank and Rosenfeld.¹⁸

Frank and Rosenfeld fervently believed that in order to cultivate the country's cultural identity, artists had to relate to the American environment and express these experiences directly in art. Wanda Corn explained their stance in the following passage:

¹⁷Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 100.

¹⁸Yeh, "Innovative Moderns," 70.

Neither rejected Europe or European modernism. But they clearly believed that the kind of modern art needed in America could only develop if artists stayed at home and cultivated an explicit sense of their locale, if they put down roots in their own country.¹⁹

According to Corn, Rosenfeld and Frank believed that the artists and writers forging a new cultural consciousness included, among others, Sherwood Anderson, Carl Sandburg, and William Carlos Williams in literature; Randolph Burne and Van Wyck Brooks in criticism; and the Stieglitz circle in art. Rosenfeld and Frank believed that as critics they were integral to the country's cultural rebirth, discovering and relaying the significance of modern American art to the public. As Corn notes, Rosenfeld and Frank ultimately believed that a new national culture would make people come to appreciate their lives emotionally and spiritually rather than monetarily.²⁰

As Platt points out, Rosenfeld and Frank selected Walt Whitman, whose poetry personified an original nativist art, as the model for the Stieglitz artists to follow.²¹

Whitman's unique style of poetry expressed his celebratory feelings toward the natural American environment, and his work had been popular with the American avant-garde since

¹⁹Wanda M. Corn, "Apostles of the New American Art: Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld," Arts Magazine 54 February 1980, 162.

²⁰Ibid., 160.

²¹Platt, Modernism in the 1920s, 45.

before 1910.²² Stieglitz and Dove had always been committed to Whitman's belief in the sacredness of individual expression. Rosenfeld and Frank's preoccupation with artists' developing indigenous art forms reinvigorated their interest in Whitman.

Rosenfeld and Frank felt that Dove, as well as Marin and O'Keeffe, were pioneers of a new spirituality in art, working in modern idioms in relation to the American soil. In his book Port of New York (1924), Rosenfeld composed fourteen profiles of artists and intellectuals whom he felt reflected a new spirit in American culture. Rosenfeld devoted a chapter to Dove and stated that all of his art conveyed "some love and direct sensuous feeling of the earth."²³ Frank saw Dove's art as a "seed of vision," deceptively simple on the surface but much deeper and prophetic in meaning.²⁴ Rosenfeld also felt that Dove

²²William Innes Homer discusses how Robert Henri was deeply influenced by Walt Whitman, teaching the poet's beliefs in individuality, national spirit, and expressing contemporary life to the Ash Can School members. Because Dove was involved with the Henri circle around 1907, he may have developed his interest in Whitman at that time. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington. Avant-Garde Painting and Sculpture in America 1910-1925, April 4-May 18, 1975, 11. William Innes Homer, editor and contributor, hereafter cited as Delaware Art Museum, 1975.

²³Paul Rosenfeld, "Arthur G. Dove," chap. in Part of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924), 168.

²⁴Waldo Frank, "The Art of Arthur Dove," The New Republic 45, no. 582 (January 27, 1926): 269.

revealed the "obscurer contents of his own psyche" which set him apart from the group.²⁵

In Westport, Dove associated with the artists and writers preoccupied with developing a new American culture. Significant residents and visitors to Westport included Strand, the actor William Hart, and the writers Van Wyck Brooks, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Sherwood Anderson and Rosenfeld.²⁶ As Morgan notes, Dove became close friends with Rosenfeld and Anderson.²⁷ Dove's letters to Stieglitz reveal his association with the affluent people of Westport during the 1910s and early 1920s. In a letter from August 26, 1920, Dove reported that, "We had a very nice evening with Sherwood Anderson, Rosenfeld and Van Wyck Brooks at the Kanes."²⁸

²⁵Paul Rosenfeld, "The World of Arthur G. Dove," Creative Art 10 (June 1932): 426.

²⁶Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 15.

²⁷Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 57.

²⁸Ibid., 68. Johnson suggests Sherwood Anderson's and Van Wyck Brooks' philosophies were relevant to Dove's collages. She suggests that the ideas in their novels-- Anderson's discussion of the lack of spiritual substance in modern society and Brooks' belief that American culture was shaped by puritanism--related to folk art and were important to Dove. Johnson makes her point as follows: "The common materials of native collage, prudently selected and arranged by economical makers, refer to a time before machine-age conformity, when a craftsman instinctively identified his own essentials, using his own hands to give form to his own vision. For both Dove and these craftsmen, things reflected deeper realities, and doing oneself was fun." Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 21-22.

Dove's involvement with these writers, who fervently appealed to artists to cultivate ties with America's soil and to convey these ties in art, may have inspired his landscape assemblages. Through the landscape assemblages, Dove directly expressed his reverential relationship with nature. With assemblage, Dove could incorporate actual natural and man-made objects from his surroundings which followed Whitman's method of interacting and creating from one's environment. Platt affirms that Frank, Rosenfeld and Whitman's model clearly inspired Stieglitz's more mystical appreciation of the environment in his work of the 1920s, exemplified by his "Equivalents," a photographic series of cloud images which Stieglitz equated with emotional states.²⁹ While the critics' petition for native interpretations may not have been the immediate impetus for the landscape assemblages, these writers probably encouraged Dove to continue exploring his connection with nature. Brooks and Rosenfeld admired Dove, and Anderson felt he was the most important modern artist of the era.³⁰ They undoubtedly helped to revive Dove's confidence after years of financial strain and lack of creativity.

²⁹Platt, Modernism in the 1920s, 14.

³⁰Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 68.

American Scene Realism and Folk Art

Although some scholars have linked Dove's assemblages to the preoccupation with naturalism and the revival of folk art, their connections are usually unsubstantial. While the emphasis on Americanism prompted the Stieglitz circle to express the native environment through modern idioms, other artists and writers had turned to realism or folk traditions to convey indigenous experiences. The disillusionment following World War I sparked a nationalistic fervor in which many Americans rejected anything seen as a foreign influence.³¹ Because abstract art was viewed as a foreign innovation, the public generally repudiated non-objective painting in the 1920s.³² The post-war feelings of uncertainty manifested a preference for naturalism, since what was recognizable and familiar provided a sense of security to a restless society.³³ American scene realism was popular both in literature, for example in the novels of Ernest Hemingway and Sherwood Anderson, and in the visual arts, as in the paintings of Edward Hopper and Charles Burchfield who depicted views of isolated small-town

³¹Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties (New York: Harper and Row, 1931), 28-29.

³²Delaware Art Museum, 1975, 28.

³³San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 44.

life.³⁴ Haskell even suggests Dove may have created the assemblages in response to this atmosphere:

It ...could be that Dove was reacting unconsciously to the national mania for the literal. Since collage incorporates actual pieces of everyday reality, it is the ultimate in literalness or "super-realism."³⁵

The assemblages may have indirectly reflected the vogue for realism, but it is clear that Dove did not succumb to the nationalistic pressures to change his mode of expression during this era.

Dove was one of the few early American modernists who remained committed to abstraction and did not revert to representation. Max Weber and Abraham Walkowitz, for example, both began to render more realistic detail in the 1920s, experimenting with a Neoclassical figural style.³⁶ Although Dove believed in developing nativist art forms, he felt that indigenous qualities were inherent in artists and not attainable through style or subject matter. In a conversation with Maurer and Helen Torr, Dove explained his views as follows:

When a man paints the El, a 1740 house or a miner's shack, he is likely to be called by his critics American. These things may be in America, but its what is in the artist that counts. What do we call 'American' outside of painting? Inventiveness, restlessness, speed, and change. Well then, a painter may put all these qualities in a still life or an

³⁴Ibid., 47.

³⁵Ibid., 49.

³⁶Delaware Art Museum, 1975, 28.

abstraction, and be going more native than another who sits quietly copying a skyscraper.³⁷

As this passage reveals, Dove reacted against the idea that a realist painter of the American scene could convey native qualities better than an abstractionist. Dove followed his own ideas about art, and he was generally not interested in realism. As the diaries reveal, besides his contact with other modernists like Strand, Dove kept abreast of the latest trends in the modern movement through periodicals like Cahiers d'art and transition, some of the most intellectually avant-garde journals of the 1920s.³⁸ Dove responded to the challenge to create an original nativist art not by resorting to naturalism but by applying his own modernist style to the landscape.

Some scholars have also argued that since the assemblages paralleled the resurgence of interest in folk art, these native traditions influenced Dove's assemblage compositions. The accent on defining America's cultural identity and the disenchantment of the post-war years created an immense nostalgia for the past and its

³⁷Whitney Museum of Art, 1958, 62, and Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 16.

³⁸Morgan notes that besides reading transition regularly, Dove was abreast of current art and theories through The Dial, New Yorker, Harper's, Atlantic and received copies of Cahiers d'art from Torr's sister, Mary Torr Rehm, who lived in Paris. Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 52 and 71, n. 63.

customs.³⁹ American modernists probed native art traditions in an effort to stimulate contemporary inventiveness. The European avant-garde similarly looked to primitive art for creative impetus, as in Picasso's widely known interest in African sculpture, which affected his formal invention of Cubism. In America, art collectors and modernists rediscovered the pictures and sculptures of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century amateur craftsmen, often referred to as folk art. Produced by artisans with relatively little, if any, artistic training, folk art appealed to modernists because of its freshness, simplicity, and unaffected qualities.⁴⁰

Folk art became increasingly popular in the 1920s and 1930s through collections, exhibitions, and articles.⁴¹ By 1920, Hamilton Easter Field had assembled one of the first significant compilations of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century native art, crafts, and furniture, and he had founded the Onunquit School in Maine where artists could

³⁹San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 49.

⁴⁰The Museum of Modern Art, New York. American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America 1750-1900, November 1932, 5. Exhibition Catalogue, essay by Holger Cahill.

⁴¹Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. The Flowering of American Folk Art: 1776-1876, February 1-March 24, 1974, 10. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Jean Lipman and Alice Winchester, hereafter cited as Whitney Museum of Art, 1974.

study his collection.⁴² In 1924, the Whitney Studio Club, established by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, presented "An Exhibition of Early American Folk Art," with forty-five items donated by modernists including Juliana Force, Charles Sheeler, and Charles Demuth, among others.⁴³ Articles in Art in America and Antiques, and Holger Cahill's landmark exhibition "American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man" (1932) at the Museum of Modern Art in New York helped establish folk art as historically important.

In her 1967 thesis, "Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage," Dorothy Rylander Johnson compares Dove's assemblages to folk and Victorian art. Johnson states that Dove had access to eighteenth-century and Victorian arts and crafts at the Geneva Historical Society and Museum during his adolescence.⁴⁴ She also posits that Dove was probably aware of the Whitney Studio Club's 1924 showing of native art.⁴⁵ Johnson concluded that an indirect relationship existed between Dove and folk artists. According to Johnson, Dove used an associational or thematic approach to assemblage which paralleled folk artists' techniques.⁴⁶

⁴²Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 25, and Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 86.

⁴³Whitney Museum of Art, 1974, 10.

⁴⁴Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 22.

⁴⁵Ibid., 25-26.

⁴⁶Ibid., 19.

For example, similar to nineteenth-century mixed media constructions, Dove employed materials that related to one another like sand, sticks, and leaves.

There were other influences in Dove's life, past and present that were close in spirit to folk artists' methods. Newton Weatherly's tutelage, which taught Dove a respect for nature and materials, was comparable to nineteenth-century customs. Similar to traditional concerns for quality goods, Stieglitz demanded high standards of craftsmanship from his artists, reflected in Dove's skillful production of assemblages and frames.⁴⁷ The resemblances between Dove's assemblages and folk constructions, though, are superficial. Dove's collage application clearly reflects a more sophisticated sense of abstract design,⁴⁸ and when the assemblages were originally exhibited, critics addressed them as modern art.

The reviews of the assemblages in the 1920s reveal no reference to the current folk art revival. In response to the 1925 show "Seven Americans" at the Anderson Galleries,

⁴⁷Brown, Armory Show, 40.

⁴⁸While Johnson notes the similar characteristics between Dove's assemblages and nineteenth-century art, she also recognizes the differences. She states: "Dove's aims and skills were clearly broader and deeper than those displayed by folk or Victorian mixed-media work; the wide range of his imagination and the abstract pictorial unity of his work separate it from the majority of both." Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 20.

in which Dove first exhibited the assemblages, the New Yorker featured the following:

You don't know what 10 A.M. March 24 interpretation of modern is until you have dwelt a while with Georgia O'Keeffe, Arthur Dove and John Marin...A couple of years from now the work of these famous seven may still be classed as pioneer stuff...We are not liberated enough for the watch springs...and other media that Arthur Dove utilizes for his compositions...⁴⁹

In 1926, when Dove showed another group of assemblages at the Intimate Gallery, Murdock Pemberton noted the advanced ideas in these works saying, "...Arthur Dove is off on a path where few can follow."⁵⁰ Another review from 1927 reveals the same respect for Dove's assemblages and illuminates a critical difference between his work and folk art:

Out of a Gershwin Rhapsody or an outboard motor he evokes a work of art. He has no concern with realism and even less with natural appearances. Something he sees suggests to him a fine design. He puts it down in color and line and the result is harmony and beauty.⁵¹

Folk or self-trained artists aimed at visual likenesses using simplified shapes because they lacked the academic training to render natural appearances, and they often worked from memory rather than close observation.⁵² As an

⁴⁹"Art," New Yorker 1, no. 6 (March 28, 1925): 17.

⁵⁰M[urdock] P[emberton], "Art," New Yorker 1, no. 49 (January 23, 1926): 25.

⁵¹Deoch Fulton, "Exhibitions in New York: Arthur Dove at the Intimate Gallery," Art News 24 (December 24, 1927): 9.

⁵²Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 20.

illustrator, Dove was clearly adept at rendering scenes illusionistically, but as the critic explained, he used an abstract approach to compose his assemblages. Dove was aware of the avant-garde's collage applications, and his assemblages reflected these modernists' concerns as well as his sensitivity to nature.

While the recognizable objects and homespun characteristics of Dove's assemblages may parallel the revival of realism and folk art, these movements apparently did not have a direct influence on him. Dove was not interested in implementing a realist style and he once said "...the past is not great enough," indicating that he probably did not care to imitate past folk traditions.⁵³ Probably one of the most significant influences on Dove in the 1920s, however, was his new companion Helen Torr. Torr's use of glass, textiles, and natural or domestic items for her paintings was a direct creative stimulus for Dove.

Dove and Helen Torr

By 1918, Dove had given up farming and returned to a career in illustration full time, but had rarely painted since 1913. He spent the winters in New York, working on magazine assignments, and the summers in Westport. As Morgan notes, by 1920, Stieglitz wondered if Dove would ever

⁵³Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 91.

paint again.⁵⁴ Florence had never supported her husband's desire to be an artist, and this strain not only hampered Dove's ability to work, it apparently ended the marriage.

Around 1921, while living in Westport, everything began to change for Dove. A number of artists had moved to the area, including a political cartoonist, Clive Weed, and his wife, Helen Torr, otherwise known as "Reds" for her red hair.⁵⁵ Torr and Dove evidently felt an immediate attraction to one another, exchanging ideas on sketching trips in Westport around 1919-1921.⁵⁶ Dove first mentioned painting again in a letter to Stieglitz from the summer he spent with Torr in 1921, in which he enthusiastically said he was working from "outside things."⁵⁷ In June, the death of Dove's father, who had never accepted his son's chosen vocation, seemed to release Dove from an internal conflict.⁵⁸ In autumn of that same year, both Dove and Torr left their spouses and moved to a houseboat moored off upper Manhattan.⁵⁹ Although Clive Weed agreed to give Torr

⁵⁴Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 74.

⁵⁵The Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. Arthur Dove and Helen Torr: The Huntington Years, March 3-April 30, 1989, 14. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Ann Cohen DePietro, hereafter cited as The Heckscher Museum, 1989.

⁵⁶Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 77.

⁵⁷Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, August 1921, cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 75.

⁵⁸Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 20.

⁵⁹Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 77.

a divorce, Florence refused to give Dove one or allow him to see his son.⁶⁰ Yet Dove and Torr went on with their lives and by November of 1922 had purchased a forty-two foot yawl named Mona.

Having been to arts school to pursue a painting career of her own, Torr sympathized with Dove's artistic goals. The daughter of a middle-class family, Torr attended Philadelphia's Drexel Institute from 1902-05, where she received academic training and two honorable mentions for her artwork. Later she accepted a scholarship to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, became friends with Charles Demuth and married Clive Weed in 1913.⁶¹ Torr shared with Dove a love of nature and the willingness to give up material comfort for the pursuit of artistic aspirations.⁶² Torr recorded her life with Dove in journals, and although she rarely disclosed any detailed information, the diaries reveal their closeness and common interests.

A few qualities in Torr's paintings are comparable to Dove's art, but she had her own mode of expression. Both

⁶⁰Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 20.

⁶¹Grahm Gallery, New York, New York. Helen Torr 1886-1967: In Private Life, Mrs. Arthur Dove, March 25-May 17, 1980, 3. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Sandra Leff, hereafter cited as Grahm Gallery, 1980.

⁶²Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 78.

artists used elements of nature for subject matter.⁶³ Torr occasionally depicted a landscape, seascape, or a motif from her immediate environment. In her occasional non-objective studies, Torr sometimes evoked an organic rhythm, like Dove, as in the charcoal drawing Wing Forms (fig. 36), in which an abstract silhouette suggests multiple images like a bird's wings or tree branches. Torr experimented less with abstraction, though, since she was primarily a still-life painter. She rendered everyday objects, as in Quince on Hand Dish (1930) and Flower in Glass (1929) (fig. 37), with a stylized illusionism, depicting the items so they are recognizable, but often flattening or shading them to her own sensibilities. Torr was obviously aware that Dove was one of the leading abstractionists of his generation, but she did not try to imitate his art. In one of the first studies of Torr's work, Eva Ingersoll Gatling notes her individual character in the following statement:

It is a measure of Helen's strength (A strength she never seems to have realized) that from the small body of work which remains, a definite personality, quite apart from Arthur Dove's, comes through.⁶⁴

In Dove's correspondence with Stieglitz, several of his comments indicate his respect and support for Torr as an artist. Dove expressed the fulfillment he felt with her in

⁶³The Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. Helen Torr 1886-1967, June 3-July 9, 1972, 3. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Eva Ingersoll Gatling, hereafter cited as The Heckscher Museum, 1972.

⁶⁴Ibid.

a letter to Stieglitz on October 4, 1923: "This unity of interest is marvelous, so we are very happy."⁶⁵ When Dove wrote to Stieglitz about his own progress, he also often remarked on Torr's creative endeavors. On May 17, 1926, for instance, Dove wrote: "Reds is working, 'space,' spirit and more color in the real sense."⁶⁶ In another passage from June of 1928, Dove described Torr's realization of an idea:

Reds captured a beauty yesterday and has discovered that she is a miser. That is when the materials cost nothing the work is much freer. She was making what she thought a sketch for a painting in oil on paper. I told her the first thing she knew something fine would happen, and sure enough, there it is on paper. She is doing it over on wood with some changes in mind.⁶⁷

In a letter to Stieglitz from July 21, 1927, Dove revealed how proud he was of her art: "You have seen Reds' work and know by now what she is made of. She is anyway what I have always felt."⁶⁸ It is clear from Dove's statements, as Sandra Leff observes in her 1980 catalogue, that Torr and Dove's relationship was a mutually supportive one.⁶⁹ With this reciprocated admiration and the confining quarters on the Mona, it seems highly probable that they influenced one another's art. In fact, Torr's artistic methods were a creative impetus for Dove's assemblages.

⁶⁵Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 98.

⁶⁶Ibid., 26.

⁶⁷Ibid., 150.

⁶⁸Ibid., 140.

⁶⁹Grahm Gallery, 1980, 4.

Torr's images sometimes superficially resemble the look of a collage. In her paintings, Torr rendered close-up views of her subjects, often giving them a flat and layered appearance on the canvas. In Along the Shore (1932) (fig. 38), for instance, Torr rendered the central image of a shack on a pier with a flatness and frontality which make the hut appear as if it was cut out and pasted on the composition. Leff suggests that Torr's style was possibly influenced by Synthetic Cubism or Futurist collage.⁷⁰ An example which suggests such a connection is Match Box with Lemon (1926) (fig. 39). Torr painted a lemon on top of a match box with other objects inside a delineated frame, but she rendered the boxes with a three-dimensional appearance, with one extending outside the frame for a trompe-l'oeil effect. Torr's selection of random objects, associated in an artistic context, and carefully placed so the opposing shapes create a unified design, parallels the look of a collage. Torr recorded in the diaries that Dove liked Match Box with Lemon so well that he framed it and hung it on the wall.⁷¹

In the same year Torr completed Match Box with Lemon (1926), Dove created three assemblages, of which Huntington

⁷⁰Ibid., 5.

⁷¹In the June 19, 1929 diary entry, Torr noted "A[rthur] said its nice to leave a painting up--likes my 'match box' one." AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 497.

Harbor I has affinities with Torr's compositional style. Dove used only a few geometric forms--a square of sand placed on top of a triangular-shaped cloth and lines--to evoke a mast and horizon. Dove glued the cloth and sand on the backdrop in shallow layers, resembling the flatness and frontality Torr often used in her paintings. Dove, however, employed recognizable material and expanded its meaning. In this case, he cut and glued the oil cloth in the shape of a triangle possibly to suggest a sail, and molded the sand, which still retained its identity, into a square to evoke the sense of a beach.

While Torr's style of painting may have had an affect on Dove, more importantly, her routine of looking for and gathering articles to use in her still lifes clearly stimulated Dove's interest in employing found objects in his assemblages. From the notations in the diaries, Torr evidently enjoyed going out and collecting items such as shells, feathers, leaves, lace, and glass to use as painting subjects. She collected diverse things, recording for example, that she "painted from [a] garbage pail."⁷² In the diaries, Torr would often make brief notes about gathering items; for example, on May 28, 1925, Torr wrote, "...got shells and flowers on beach."⁷³ These objects

⁷²AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for April 15, 1925, frame 92.

⁷³AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 95.

reappear frequently in her still lifes, such as Shell, Stone and Feather with Bark. In discussing the differences between Dove's and Torr's art, Leff points out that while Dove had always gone out to discover a subject in nature to paint, Torr went out to collect things to paint.⁷⁴ Before Dove lived with Torr, he had never employed found objects in his art or worked with collage technique. Thus, Torr's creative methods undoubtedly inspired Dove to invent his assemblages.

Dove followed Torr's practice of collecting natural and man-made materials when he created the landscape assemblages. In his first collage of a landscape, Huntington Harbor (1924), Dove incorporated shells, corduroy, sticks, paper, and rope--objects he apparently found with Torr on the beach or items at hand on the Mona. In March of 1925, Torr's diary mentions picking out shells and then painting from them in the following weeks.⁷⁵ At this time Dove was similarly working on Long Island, an assemblage composed mostly of twigs and shells. On October 7, 1926, Torr mentioned the following excursion: "Ashore on Beach there and got wood, stones etc., for paintings. Swell

⁷⁴Grahm Gallery, 1980, 6.

⁷⁵In the March 18, 1925 diary entry Torr noted "Ocean grand, got shells." On May 20, 1925, Torr wrote "started painting of shell" and on May 27 she noted "Painted on 'shell' all day." AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frames 90, 94, and 95.

day!"⁷⁶ In 1926, Dove completed The Seaside, an assemblage made predominantly of raw materials from the beach including a horseshoe crab shell, pine cones, twigs, bark, and broken bits of glass. In another example, though not a landscape, Torr documented that Dove "Found [a] wire mesh on [the] Marshall Field dump and put it in beautiful collage." Dove employed this wire in his abstract Plaster and Cork collage of 1925. When Brancusi visited Dove's 1926 show at the Intimate Gallery, he commented that this work was one of the most beautiful things he had seen in America.⁷⁷

As the diaries indicate, Torr was dexterous at sewing, and her handicrafts appear to have inspired some of the assemblage themes. Torr often made her own clothing, a skill reflected in some of her paintings. She sometimes sketched complete small pictures and wove them into a pattern for one painting, creating a quilt effect in works such as Composition (1935).⁷⁸ In the diaries, her frequent notes about sewing probably gave Dove the idea to compose the assemblage, Hand Sewing Machine, what he referred to as his "best 'thing painting' yet" (Dove almost always referred to the assemblages as "things").⁷⁹ At one point, when Torr

⁷⁶AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 192.

⁷⁷AAA, Dove-Torr papers, unpublished papers and cited in Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 143.

⁷⁸The Heckscher Museum, 1972, 4.

⁷⁹Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 134.

and Dove were in desperate financial straits, Torr tried to earn money by making designs for wallpaper and fabric. Dove mentioned her efforts in a letter to Stieglitz on September 6, 1929, saying "Torr is in fine shape...Doing some...designs she hopes to sell for materials."⁸⁰ Mary Torr Rehm, Torr's sister, noted finding a large box of these with "lovely patterns of flowers and leaves woven into the designs."⁸¹ Torr also made Christmas card collages from pressed flowers and leaves, bright bits of paper, and attractive designs which recipients framed as works of art.⁸² In his final collage, Italian Christmas Tree (1931), Dove's subject and frame made of ornate wrapping paper indicates Torr's influence.

Torr's creative use of fabric and flowers must have given Dove the idea to explore the expressive possibilities of dried plants and textiles in his assemblages. In his portrait collage Grandmother (1925), Dove utilized a needlepoint section, Bible page, pressed flowers, and a fern. Although Torr used these materials for decorative purposes, Dove selected them as symbols for his grandmother's personality. In the journal entries for the

⁸⁰Ibid., 176.

⁸¹Mary Torr Rehm, "It's All Too Late, Too Late," in Arthur Dove and Helen Torr: The Huntington Years, Exhibition catalogue, essay by Anne Cohen DePietro (Huntington, N.Y.: The Heckscher Museum, 1989), 83.

⁸²Ibid., 85.

spring of 1925, Torr frequently noted stitching a blouse. According to the diaries, on May 27, 1925, Dove was working on his landscape assemblages, Sea I and Sea II, in which he communicated the translucence of water through the sheerness of blue chiffon. On June 11, 1925, Torr's diary entry mentions going "To Huntington for 50¢ hat and blue chiffon for A[rthur]." ⁸³

Torr was not only inspirational to Dove, she evidently gave him advice concerning his art. On sketching trips, Dove would make quick impressions in watercolors and then later, with the help of Torr, decide which ones to enlarge mechanically by pantograph. In her exhibition catalogue, Arthur Dove and Helen Torr: The Huntington Years, Anne Cohen DePietro states, "...he often consulted her when looking over his watercolors; the decision was mutual as to which should become large paintings." ⁸⁴ Furthermore, Torr would help Dove evaluate which paintings he should exhibit. In preparation for one of his annual shows at the Intimate Gallery, Dove wrote the following to Stieglitz on September 6, 1929: "There are now about 12-15--not all finished but well along. This month and next ought to tell. Have one, now two that Torr thinks the best...." ⁸⁵ Dove clearly

⁸³AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 96.

⁸⁴The Heckscher Museum, 1989, 23.

⁸⁵Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 176.

respected Torr's opinion, and her creative suggestions must have had a decisive impact on his art.

Torr's assistance to Dove and frequent illness, however, apparently hampered her own career. The evidence in the diaries suggests that Torr spent a large portion of her time modeling for Dove's magazine illustrations. Torr made repeated references to posing for Dove's drawings with phrases like, "Arthur drew, I posed till dark at 3:30."⁸⁶ For example, on every journal entry from January 11th to the 17th of 1925, with the exception of the 14th, Torr wrote "posed" or "posed all day."⁸⁷ Scholars have noted that with Torr's intermittent periods of sickness she was virtually unable to pursue her painting.⁸⁸ DePietro made the following assessment:

Unfortunately, Reds frequently suffered headaches and depression, and spent days at a time in bed. These interruptions, coupled with her making over housekeeping chores and sewing...seriously restricted the time she had for painting. Her own insecurity about her work, expressed frequently in the diaries, was apparently a psychological deterrent.⁸⁹

As the diaries reveal, Torr was too self-deprecating to transcend feelings of incompetence about her work. In her journal, Torr would often note the phrase "no good" after

⁸⁶AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for November 20, 1924, frame 85.

⁸⁷AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 85.

⁸⁸Grahm Gallery, 1980, 4.

⁸⁹The Heckscher Museum, 1989, 23.

mention of whatever she was painting at the time.⁹⁰

DePietro notes about Torr, "Easily discouraged, she went through phases when she simply didn't paint at all."⁹¹ In 1927, Torr recorded that Stieglitz said her works were "too frail for the room...not good for me to show with Arthur."⁹² The impact of this comment on Torr is evident in her diary entry for the following day: "I feeling rather sunk over my work..."⁹³ Between the daily chores of living on a boat, posing for Dove's illustration assignments and often debilitating herself with psychosomatic illnesses, Torr did not allow herself the time or energy needed to concentrate on reaching her potential. Thus, artistic recognition eluded her during her lifetime.⁹⁴

⁹⁰AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52.

⁹¹The Heckscher Museum, 1989, 23.

⁹²In the diaries, Torr noted that Stieglitz had viewed her work with favorable comments. In 1927 Torr had hoped to exhibit with Dove at the Intimate Gallery but Stieglitz responded with this remark. AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for November 11, 1927, frame 297. In the same year, O'Keefe organized a show at the Opportunity Gallery and included fifteen of Torr's paintings. Cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 145.

⁹³AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for November 12, 1927, frame 297.

⁹⁴Torr had one joint exhibition with Dove in 1933 at Stieglitz's third gallery, An American Place. In 1935, Torr sent her work to Stieglitz with the understanding she would again exhibit with Dove. Stieglitz, however, said the space was too small and refused to show Torr's art. Cited in Grahm Gallery, 1980, 4-5. After 1935 when Dove was bedridden due to heart disease, Torr devoted all her time to caring for him. After his death in 1946, Gatling noted that Torr "could no longer bring herself to paint." Cited in The Heckscher Museum, 1972, 5.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANDSCAPE ASSEMBLAGES

Introduction

Possible Reasons Why Dove Worked With Assemblage

Art historians have suggested various reasons why Dove implemented the collage technique. The prevailing opinion is that the working conditions on the Mona, the cramped space and climate at sea, inhibited Dove's painting, and he thus began to experiment with materials. The tallest interior part of the Mona's cabin was not high enough for Dove or Torr to stand erect, so both artists often worked on lap desks. Suzanne Smith suggests that being out at sea constricted Dove's painting, since the salt in the air, the dampness of the climate, and the drastic temperature changes distorted the results of oil on canvas.¹ As Johnson points out, however, this explanation overlooks the fact that Dove did produce some good-sized canvases while living on the boat before he attempted collage in 1924.² He had produced fourteen paintings by April of 1924 and had finished fifteen

¹Suzanne Mullett Smith, "Arthur G. Dove" (M.A. thesis, American University, 1944), 13.

²University of Maryland, 1967, 13.

more by the next season.³ In October of 1924, Dove had finished six more paintings about which he wrote: "Have certainly broken through something. They are awfully beautiful...."⁴ Todd proposed that rather than because of cramped conditions, Dove used the collage technique to overcome his creative block from the teens and as a way to maintain his reputation as an avant-garde artist.⁵

As Todd notes, Dove may also have experimented with assemblage to see whether its literal imagery was more discernible to viewers.⁶ Dove's frustration with the fact that critics and spectators often found his abstract paintings elusive, and that Marin and O'Keeffe were achieving much more financial success,⁷ may have motivated him to explore different forms of expression. Just before Dove began working on the assemblages, he wrote to Stieglitz on October 7, 1923, explaining how he wanted to make his art more accessible:

...it occurred to me that it would be interesting to write down all the experiments in painting that I have made, and to publish them in book form illustrated with specific paintings. Concrete examples might be a more direct way of making people see....⁸

³Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 101.

⁴Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, October 3, 1924, cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 101.

⁵Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 75.

⁶Ibid. 77.

⁷Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 136.

⁸Ibid. 77.

While Dove never did any work on such a project, shortly thereafter he began experimenting with assemblage and explored other methods of communicating his ideas.

Dove based the assemblage Rhapsody in Blue Part I (fig. 40) on George Gershwin's jazz composition, for example, hoping that the reference to music would help explain the visual imagery. As Donna Cassidy notes, Dove and other modernists of the 1920s sought inspiration from jazz, an original American music which echoed the fast pace of contemporary life.⁹ Scholars note that Dove's belief in synaesthesia, the theory that one type of sensory perception stimulates another subjective sensory response, inspired his method of painting to music.¹⁰ Dove created this assemblage while listening to the jazz composition "Rhapsody in Blue," as an homage to Gershwin.¹¹ He rendered an abstract vision of music using metallic paints on an aluminum backdrop with a spontaneity which captures the improvisational nature of jazz. He painted the background a predominantly blue tint, adding highlights of yellows, purples, and greens, and delineated these hues with three major verticals of fluid black lines, swirled and criss-

⁹Donna M. Cassidy, "Arthur Dove's Music Paintings of the Jazz Age." American Art Journal 20, no. 1 (1988): 4-23.

¹⁰San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 29.

¹¹Judith Zilcer, "Synaesthesia and Popular Culture: Arthur Dove, George Gershwin, and the Rhapsody in Blue," Art Journal 44, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 364.

crossed, resembling the notes a composer draws on sheet music. Dove added an uncoiled clock spring, a symbol of time, to allude to the music's tempo. As Judith Zilcer notes, Dove purposely chose Gershwin's popular rhapsody as a subject, hoping the music's familiarity would make his abstract vocabulary accessible to a larger audience.¹²

Dove described this intention in a letter to Stieglitz, and he noted how his friends responded to the assemblage in the following passage:

They have waxed enthusiastic over a 'thing' of mine being done from Gershwin's 'Rhapsody in Blue' not as yet completed, but I feel it will make people see that the so-called 'abstractions' are not abstract at all. R. [Henry Raleigh] said that in describing it to some people who had heard the music, he found that they understood this even though they had objected to my other 'things.'¹³

Although Dove had worked with collage technique for more than two years before he invented Rhapsody in Blue Part I, it seems part of his objective in working with assemblage was to make his abstract ideas understandable through a new idiom.

As scholars suggest, the assemblages may have simply ensued from Dove's own natural inclination to experiment. The decade of the 1920s was one of Dove's most inventive periods. He used such unorthodox materials as cardboard, plywood, tin, zinc, and aluminum. As Haskell notes,

¹²Ibid., 364.

¹³Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, October 30, 1926, cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 129.

"Texture was of primary importance to Dove and...this interest led him to experiment..."¹⁴ One critic, reviewing Dove's last retrospective exhibition of 1975, made the following assessment:

Dove makes his art, which depicts the ephemeral, as physically present and objectlike as possible, and the strongest paintings have a woven, carpentered and constructed appearance. It was inevitable that he would make collages and assemblages. They're the natural extension of what he was doing in paint...¹⁵

Those close to Dove explained that he used assemblage because of his interest in combining unusual media and for economic reasons. In a letter written to Dorothy Rylander Johnson on October 25, 1965, Georgia O'Keeffe described Dove's methods as follows:

I think he worked with collage because it was cheaper than painting and also it amused him--once he started on it one thing after another came to him very easily with any material he found at hand.¹⁶

When later reminiscing about her life, Torr described how Dove decided to work with assemblage:

One day [Dove] said, "I'm tired of putting brushstrokes on canvas." After the next walk we took on the other side of the water in Halesite he collected leaves and things and made his first collage.¹⁷

¹⁴San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 49.

¹⁵Sanford Schwartz, "On Arthur Dove," Artforum 14, no. 6 (February 1976): 30-31.

¹⁶letter from Georgia O'Keeffe to Johnson, October 25, 1965, quoted in "The Years of Collage," 13.

¹⁷AAA, "Reds' Reminiscences," Dove-Torr unpublished papers, and cited in Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 143.

There are obviously a number of possible explanations that can be conjectured as to why Dove chose collage. As discussed in the previous chapters, there were various influences in Dove's life--the European modernists' collage applications, the 1920s emphasis on creating art forms which expressed the native environment, and Torr's direct influence of using found objects in her compositions--which clearly stimulated his interest in assemblage. As O'Keeffe and Torr revealed, through this medium Dove was able to explore a new means of expression with accessible materials which he easily composed in unique designs.

The Different Types of Assemblages

From 1924 to 1931, Dove produced a total of twenty-seven assemblages, completing two-thirds of them between 1924 and 1926, and the last one in 1931. While Dove constructed a few of these works in the tradition of a collage, cutting out and pasting paper and other two-dimensional media on a surface, most of them are assemblages, since they consist primarily of three-dimensional objects affixed to a level ground.¹⁸ These twenty-seven assemblages roughly break down into the following categories: seven portraits, twelve landscapes, three still lifes, four textural experiments, and one collage based on George Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue." As

¹⁸Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 49.

Morgan notes, the assemblages represent a group in terms of their construction, "...but they vary considerably in intent and meaning."¹⁹

Dove's portrait collages often reflect his wry sense of humor. In the portrait of The Critic (fig. 41), for example, Dove parodied the literary opponents of modern art. He cut the shape of a man out of a newspaper review titled "Paintings on View by Eakins, Luks, and Sargent" by Forbes Watson,²⁰ possibly referring to how conservative critics gave more attention to traditional artists like Thomas Eakins, rather than modernists like himself. Dove gave the figure a hole for a head, adorned with a top hat and dangling monocle while he skates in a gallery holding a vacuum cleaner. This empty-headed figure is unable to see because of his fallen monocle and is possibly too unbalanced, as the skates suggest, and too antiquated an elitist, as the top hat implies, to assess the current art world accurately.²¹ The critic is thus relegated to trying to glean pieces of information from gallery talk which he picks up through the vacuum. Many interpretations of this collage have been offered, thus demonstrating Dove's ability to create a thought-provoking image with everyday materials.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 63.

²¹Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 50

Dove's still lifes and textural experiments make up a smaller part of his collage oeuvre but also attest to his imaginative statements with the medium. In still lifes like Ten Cent Store (fig. 42), Dove displayed his aesthetic sense of design by compiling a dried fern, artificial flowers, and a Woolworth price tag on a cardboard backdrop. The experimental collages are usually evasive, composed of such disparate things as monkey fur or a razor blade, yet Dove's unusual associations create arresting designs. In Plaster and Cork, for example, Dove experimented with sensory reactions by juxtaposing palpable substances with opposing textures. He cast the grainy surface of cork in the smooth surface of plaster, and placed a rough wire mesh next to a sheer piece of silk. By observing the materials in this work, the tangible feeling of each object creates a synaesthetic experience. The use of sight invokes the sense of touch.

Of all the assemblages, the landscapes were the most integral to Dove's central artistic concern, communicating the essences of nature. He constantly strove to feel closer to his environment, devoting his entire life's work to conveying the spirit of the organic world, rarely if ever diverging to paint other subjects. Dove submitted an essay to his 1927 Intimate Gallery show, which revealed his artistic objectives as follows:

...I should like to take wind and water and sand as a motif and work with them, but it has to be simplified

in most cases to color and force lines and substances, just as music had done with sound.²²

For his landscape assemblages, Dove could use the actual "substances" which inspired his art. He explored the expressive potential of organic objects like shells, stones, sand, and pine cones as well as the aesthetic possibilities of aggregating natural and man-made materials together.

In the following analysis, I have grouped the landscape assemblages according to themes, discussing the subject matter, formal qualities, and possible influences of each work.

Analyses of the Landscape Assemblages

Whimsical Interpretations of the Landscape:

Huntington Harbor (1924) and Long Island (1925)

When Dove began creating the assemblages, his approach vacillated between whimsy and reverence. While his first landscape assemblage of 1924, Huntington Harbor, demonstrated his capricious application of collage technique, his succeeding nature-based assemblages, Starry Heavens and Rain, were reflective studies of the sky. A year later, however, Dove composed Long Island in the same lighthearted vein as Huntington Harbor.

Huntington Harbor and Long Island were two of four assemblages inspired by the coastal area of Long Island, New

²²"An Idea," in the Intimate Gallery, New York. Arthur G. Dove Paintings, December 12, 1927-January 7, 1928.

York. In Huntington Harbor, for instance, Dove glued a small photograph of people sailing to refer amusingly and literally to the work's subject of yachting. In Long Island, the cut-out image of a car with chauffeur reflects Dove's witty impression of his world. From 1924 until 1933, with the exception of one winter, Dove and Torr moored the Mona at Halesite, on the north shore of Long Island Sound. In Huntington Village, about a mile and a half away from Halesite, Dove and Torr could shop and take the train to Manhattan.²³ As DePietro notes, while living near Huntington, Dove and Torr "both produced enduring works that capture the character of this harborside community."²⁴ Dove sought constant inspiration from the external world, and these two assemblages display how he observed his immediate environment.

For the subjects of Huntington Harbor and Long Island, Dove facetiously depicted the lifestyles of the wealthy who resided on the Island. His jocular mood toward these themes possibly stemmed from his anti-materialistic stance. As Newman notes, Dove and Stieglitz opposed modern America's focus on capitalism. They reveled in the romantic notion of the artist as an outsider, uncompromised by the values of the ruling classes.²⁵ The economic prosperity of the

²³Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 103.

²⁴The Heckscher Museum, 1989, 19.

²⁵The Phillips Collection, 1931, 32.

twenties made it an era of excess, a climate which may have inspired these parodies. In letters to Stieglitz, Dove would sometimes describe the enormous estates on the Long Island shore. He seemed to feel more at ease with the caretakers than the owners of such homes, reporting to Stieglitz that "the servants seem very pleasant."²⁶ As Morgan notes, Dove and Torr were uncomfortable in large social situations but were very warm to individuals and enjoyed small gatherings.²⁷ They evidently preferred the privacy and remoteness that living on a boat provided as revealed in Dove's statement, "--That is the beauty of a boat. We can pick any estate we want to live by. And are probably far happier on the outside looking in."²⁸ As described in this letter, Dove had a physical proximity to but an emotional detachment from the Long Island community, and this reflected in Huntington Harbor and Long Island.

In Huntington Harbor, Dove created an image of the rich delighting in a recreational and uncomplicated life. He designed the scene with a two-dimensional topographical view. The assemblage measures 13 x 19 1/4 inches, and Dove composed it with paint, rope, paper, corduroy, wire mesh, magazine clippings, a shell, and a paint brush handle. Dove

²⁶Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, August 15, 1924. Cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 105.

²⁷Ibid., 77.

²⁸Ibid., 106.

applied brown corduroy in layers to suggest the shape of hills and the recession of space. Below and above these hills Dove painted the sea and sky a bright teal blue. From the view in this landscape, Dove apparently observed people yachting and enjoying the coastal area in a leisurely way. He used clippings from advertisements to represent boats, modeled the ads in the shape of sails, and glued them on the left side of the composition. He pinned a shell on the left sail as if to symbolize the reality of the coast. The word "yachting" is inscribed on this same sail, and Dove repeated this printed term just above the hill on the right side, emphasizing the subject of pleasure sailing. Dove sheered the bottom of a magazine image of people on board a yacht, to suggest the rippling of water, and placed it on the right next to the paint brush or sign post. Behind the brown corduroy, Dove added semi-circular shapes, which are disproportionately large, and which echo the curvature of the hills. He similarly used two oversized paper sunflowers, which he painted yellow and red, cut out, and superimposed over the image with pins. Dove's amusement in composing this assemblage, evident in the luminous colors, magazine ads, and looming yellow and red sunflowers, paralleled the sporting and relaxing life he was describing in the image.

Dove designed Long Island with a similarly playful spirit. He covered a cardboard surface, measuring 15 x

20 3/4 inches, with sand to create a tall, flat hill. To simulate a forest, Dove glued and tacked twigs, leaves, and shells in the foreground overlaying the sand. A cut-out photograph of a lavish car with a driver and passenger added to the hill refers to the affluent residents of Long Island Sound. Dove mentioned these chauffeurs to Stieglitz in a letter from September of 1929:

We still have the little 1925 Ford Coupe that we had in Pratt Islands...These millionaires' chauffeurs down here drive like such fiends that they fairly blow our little outfit off the road.²⁹

From some of the design techniques Dove used in Huntington Harbor and Long Island, one can infer his feelings of economic and social separation from the wealthy community. In Huntington Harbor he modeled a sign out of a Long Island railroad schedule.³⁰ The subtle cropping of the words, "Long Islan" and "Ra...road" possibly suggest that Dove felt slighted by the residents of this area. Dove employed a wire mesh to represent a fence in the forefront of this scene, which divides him from the sumptuous illusion he has created. Dove was under constant monetary pressures, working as an illustrator and at odd jobs to cope with economic burdens. His impoverished status financially segregated him from the people whose lifestyles he described

²⁹Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, September 7, 1929, cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 179.

³⁰Ronald G. Pisano, Long Island Landscape Painting Volume II: The Twentieth Century (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1990), 18.

in these assemblages. As an artist, he felt further estranged not only by society, but also by his family, who refused to support him. In a letter from July of 1921, Stieglitz noted how he and O'Keeffe had recognized Dove's condition as follows:

....We both more than realized what you were experiencing.--Don't we ourselves know all about the artist and his status in the community?--In one's own family!--The absolute lack of sympathy.--There is more for a dog--or cat--even a stray diseased cat....³¹

The fortress-like design of the sticks and shells in the foreground of Long Island also gives the impression that Dove felt alienated. The "forest" barricades the magazine cut-out of the car, as if Dove was saying he could observe the life of the leisure class but never attain that kind of comfortable existence.

In terms of modernist influences, Huntington Harbor has affinities with Picasso's early collage techniques. Dove framed the assemblage with a rope, recalling Picasso's first collage, Still Life with Chair Caning (fig. 43) of May 1912.³² Although both artists chose hemp rope for essentially the same purpose, there are significant differences. Picasso's application of this everyday material was paradoxical; he was imitating the scrolls of a

³¹Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, July 1921, cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 73.

³²Morgan notes the comparison between Picasso's use of a rope as a frame and Dove's similar application of that material. Cited in Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 70, n. 46.

real gilt wood frame. Dove comparably adopted it as a border, but his frame served as a boundary for this unrealistic and elusive world. Dove probably employed the rope because it was a material he found at hand on the Mona, and as an instrument for rigging a sail it related directly to the subject. Though it is difficult to say whether Dove had seen Picasso's Still Life with Chair Caning at this time, he was employing non-art objects in an approach similar to Picasso's example. Primarily concerned with formal structure and space, the Cubists had initially incorporated "low" materials to interplay real and illusionistic planes in their collage compositions.³³ While in Huntington Harbor Dove similarly mixed symbols of fantasy, such as the looming sunflowers, and reality, like the shell, he was not trying to expand fine art boundaries like the Cubists. Dove's primary goal in the landscape assemblages was to express his nature-based abstract visions.

Dove framed Huntington Harbor, Long Island, and other assemblages in a method which paralleled traditional folk art tableaus. As Johnson notes, Dove encased many of the assemblages with a wooden back, side panels, and a glass top-

³³Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York. Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage, November 17-December 30, 1977, 3. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Gene Baro (Buffalo: Thorne-Sidney Press, Inc.).

cover similar to early American artists' shadow-box art.³⁴ Torr often documented in the diaries that Dove made his own frames, a practice he treated as an art form in itself. Although he framed his own works to save money, his craftsmanship was probably of a better quality than what a shop could produce.³⁵ His shadow-box moldings aesthetically complemented assemblages like Long Island, Goin' Fishin', and The Seaside, where the encasing secured and further synthesized the design of the objects.

While Long Island and Huntington Harbor demonstrated Dove's witty view of his world, other assemblages of 1924 exhibited his more reverential approach to the environment.

Studies of the Sky: Rain (1924)

and Starry Heavens (1924)

Dove was an avid observer of the forces of nature. While living on the Mona this hobby became a necessity since inclement conditions dramatically affected Dove and Torr's means of survival. Torr would sometimes note in the diaries that Dove would wake her up to examine the moon or watch the sun rise.³⁶ While at sea, Dove recorded the weather, such as temperature, wind speed and direction, and barometric pressure. At the back of his 1925 ship logbook, he drew a

³⁴Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 39.

³⁵The Heckscher Museum, 1989, 65.

³⁶AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for November 13, 1924, frame 71.

circular dial, took notes from the newspaper as to the changes in climate, and recorded these fluctuations in his own system of symbols and numbers.³⁷ He drew his observations of the ocean, from wind currents to cloud formations, and used these sketches as ideas for his paintings and assemblages. Dove expressed this intimate connection with the atmosphere in the next two consecutive works, Starry Heavens and Rain.

According to Cohn, Dove was a novice astronomer, reading books on the subject and borrowing a neighbor's telescope to watch the stars, and this interest clearly inspired Starry Heavens.³⁸ Using oil metallic paint, Dove depicted the Little and Big Dippers and the moon on a round piece of glass attached to a black backdrop that measured 18 x 16 inches. In this assemblage, Dove recreated his telescopic glimpse of the constellations by using circular glass which simulates the instrument's circumscribed view of the stars. He painted the astral bodies on the reverse side of the glass and attached it to a dark, night-like background.

While Johnson states that painting on glass recalls a folk art practice, Dove's use of this technique was probably more indicative of his constant experimentation than a

³⁷AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll 38-40, ship's logbook, frames 360-363.

³⁸Cohn, Nature as Symbol, 1.

result of his imitating a traditional method.³⁹ As Justine Wimsatt notes in her conservation studies of Dove's art, he held an ardent interest in technical procedures and executed works in a diversity of media, including watercolors, tempera, wax emulsion, pastels, oils, and textural additives.⁴⁰ In Starry Heavens, Dove painted the glass deep blue, represented the stars with touches of gold, and added definition to the moon and dippers with black shading. While the gold illuminates the astral figures, its metallic sheen is soft, and with the blue hue it produces a subtle, yet vibrant surface effect. The matte finish of the glass, superimposed over the black backdrop, captures the dense and mystical feeling of the night sky. In his next assemblage, Rain, Dove similarly tried to evoke another aspect of the firmament.

Conceptually, Rain was one of Dove's most evocative assemblages, and both he and O'Keeffe were impressed with its results. O'Keeffe purchased the work for her own collection, of which she said:

I bought Rain when it was first shown. I still own it and it has been hanging where I live most of the time

³⁹Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 35.

⁴⁰Justine S. Wimsatt, "Wax Emulsion, Tempera or Oil? Arthur Dove's Materials, Techniques and Surface Effects," in American Institute for Conservation of History and Artistic Works, 10th Annual Meeting in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Kensington, MD: Washington Conservative Studio 1983), 183.

since I bought it--longer than any painting I have had around.⁴¹

Rain elucidates Dove's ability to convey, with a simplicity of means, an essence in nature. He composed the assemblage out of twigs, rubber cement, metal, and glass. Using the latter two materials for the backdrop, which measures 19 1/2 x 15 5/8 inches, Dove arranged the branches so they flowed upward in the same direction as the ascending fine-grained metal. Rubber cement applied in drops to the twigs simulates the effect of dewfall which captures the essential rhythms of rain.

Rain illustrates how Dove applied the same approach he used for his paintings, extracting a motif from nature as a singular theme, to his assemblages. Dove physically implemented this technique for Rain by selecting organic objects from his environment. In his paintings, after choosing a thematic element, he then tried to simplify its substance, working to convey its inner spirit. In Rain, Dove realized this goal by using a simplicity of means--the twigs, rubber cement, and metal backdrop--to convey the impression of rainfall.

Stieglitz's photographs of clouds, the "Equivalentents" (fig. 44), may have inspired Rain. Torr's diary noted that during a trip to New York in December of 1924, Stieglitz

⁴¹Letter from Georgia O'Keeffe to Johnson, October 25, 1965, cited in Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 35-36.

showed her and Dove the "Equivalents."⁴² Torr documented that a week and a half after their visit, Dove produced the assemblage on Saturday, December 13, 1924.⁴³ The "Equivalents" reflected Stieglitz's Symbolist convictions. Through abstract images of clouds, Stieglitz was trying to create photographic equivalents for his internal thoughts and feelings. Similarly in Rain, Dove tried to express an idea through a simplified image of the ephemeral in nature. In the "Equivalents" and Rain, Dove and Stieglitz aimed to inspire the viewer to transcend the representation of the object to achieve a higher awareness. Newman discusses the artists' comparable intentions in the following passage:

Both Alfred Stieglitz and Arthur Dove attempted to abstract the essence of the object as an independent thing...through simplification and reduction of detail. They perceived objects in nature as the source of spiritual constitution. The artist must return to the material world in order to express his emotions: spirit is derived from matter.⁴⁴

While it is difficult to affirm whether the "Equivalents" were the direct impetus for Rain, Dove was probably inspired by Stieglitz's evocative images of the sky. In fact, as the diaries reveal, Dove sketched clouds in 1924, produced a

⁴²In the diary entry for December 5, 1924, Torr wrote, "To Stieglitz's room...showed us cloud photographs--." AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 75.

⁴³In the diary entry for Saturday, December 13, 1924, Torr wrote, "Arthur finished 'Rain.'" AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 76.

⁴⁴The Phillips Collection, 1981, 36.

series of storm paintings in 1925 and an assemblage on the theme in 1927.

Around December 5, 1924, Dove and Torr took his paintings and a group of assemblages to Stieglitz at the Anderson Galleries in preparation for the "Seven Americans" exhibition of March 1925. According to the diaries, this was the first time Stieglitz had seen Dove's assemblages, and upon viewing them he said, "Wait until Duchamp sees this."⁴⁵ As Morgan notes, Stieglitz's response, that the assemblages would be of interest to the radical Duchamp, indicates their vanguard nature at the time Dove created them.⁴⁶

In "Seven Americans," Dove presented a major body of work including his first group of assemblages. The show included 159 works by Stieglitz, O'Keeffe, Marin, Hartley, Strand, and Charles Demuth, and it forecast the agenda of artists who exhibited in the following years at the Intimate Gallery.⁴⁷ Since this was Dove's most significant showing to the public in thirteen years, it seemed appropriate that he disclose a sample of his avant-garde assemblages. By the 1920s Joseph Stella and Man Ray had experimented with collage expressions related to Dada; however, collage

⁴⁵AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for December 4, 1924, frame 75, and cited in Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 39, and Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 51.

⁴⁶Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 51.

⁴⁷Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 110.

technique was still a relatively unexploited art form in the United States. Dove's 1925 showing of his vanguard assemblages, then, was similar to his introduction to the public in 1912 when he displayed what were considered the first abstractions by an American. In "Seven Americans," Dove exhibited the assemblages he had completed at that time which included the landscapes Huntington Harbor, Long Island, Starry Heavens, and Rain.

In reviews of the show, critics seemed perplexed by Dove's assemblages and devoted little analysis to the works. The most appreciative of the group was Deoch Fulton who concluded:

Dove seems to me the poet of the group, a poet with a sense of humor, who constructs both sonnets and limericks....it is ridiculous to suppose that a man who painted some of the canvases in Dove's section is less than an artist because he also made...things from the ten-cent store pasted on cardboard...⁴⁸

One review in the New York Times derided Dove's use of unorthodox materials as follows:

Arthur Dove is using anything for his purpose, wood, sticks, stones, shells, glass, glue, and he would use kings, surely if he needed one for just the right word...⁴⁹

Although the critics were ambivalent toward Dove's assemblages, it did not deter him from continuing his three-dimensional constructions. In fact, it might have motivated

⁴⁸Deoch Fulton, "Cabbages and Kings," International Studio 81, no. 336 (May 1925): 146-147.

⁴⁹"Art: Exhibitions of the Week," The New York Times, March 15, 1925, sec. 8.

him to work on developing his expression since in the following year he created Goin' Fishin', considered by most scholars to be the most successful work of his collage oeuvre.

Goin' Fishin'

Scholars have expressed different views about the subject of Goin' Fishin'. In the diaries, Torr described the work as "Negro goes fishing," suggesting a motif with a person.⁵⁰ In Todd's opinion, "Goin' Fishin' must be regarded as one of Dove's portrait collages."⁵¹ In her thesis, Johnson grouped the work under "Earth, Sea, and Sky" themes.⁵² Newman characterizes it as follows: "Goin' Fishin' describes at once a person, an activity, and a highly specific locale."⁵³ Upon viewing this work, one sees how it transcends the compilation of its parts to suggest an abstract vision of a person on a dock, at a lake, casting a fishing pole over head. In my opinion, Goin' Fishin' is much more than the image of a person; it clearly alludes to the sport of fishing and the environment in which that takes place. Since an essential part of its theme is

⁵⁰AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entry for July 21, 1925, frame 100.

⁵¹Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 47.

⁵²Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 38.

⁵³The Phillips Collection, 1981, 41.

the outdoors, I believe Goin' Fishin' deserves an evaluation in the context of Dove's landscape assemblages.

In Goin' Fishin', Dove used color and texture to suggest a fisherman and the milieu of a lake at night. Dove utilized bamboo poles, paint, a denim shirt, pieces of bark, buttons, and nails to compose the assemblage on a 19 1/2 by 24 inch wood panel. The arched bamboo implies the movement of a cast fishing pole. Dove positioned the sleeves from the denim shirt, one vertically and the other slightly angled horizontally, as if someone's arms were raising to cast the rod. In the center of the composition, rough-hewn bark evokes the earth and possibly represents a dock pole. Iridescent blue-grays, greens, and yellows, painted in the areas between the poles and on top of the fabric, intimate water and an evening sky. Dove visually harmonized the assemblage by coordinating the colors throughout the image. The semi-circular bamboo also gives the impression of hills, and in the upper right corner a painted circular piece of wood evokes the moon, adding to the work's twilight mood. Dove evenly distributed the bamboo and fabric, wrapping some poles with strips of denim and using a small stick for the button on one cuff sleeve. He encased the work with a brown, curved molding and glass cover which aesthetically unifies the composition.

Goin' Fishin' also has an anthropomorphic quality. For a central motif, Dove angled five bamboo sticks like fingers

and nailed them to the horizontal sleeve. The sticks emanate outward like the extension of a person's hand while the denim sleeves suggest the movement of arms. On the right side of the assemblage, three upright poles serve as supports for the arched bamboo above. Further to the right of these vertical poles, five sticks with dash marks spread toward the edge of the composition to echo the shape of the central "fingers." These repetitive motifs--the patterns of five, markings on the sticks, vertical and semi-circular poles--create rhythms which clearly suggest organic movement. On the bark, Dove placed a painted button which appears to be the "eye" of a person's face. Through abstract symbols, Dove successfully created the impression of a person fishing at a lake. Goin' Fishin' was thus one of Dove's most integrated conceptions in an assemblage.

While Goin' Fishin' did not receive sympathetic reviews during its first showing at the Intimate Gallery in 1926, critics later demonstrated a deeper understanding of the work. At the time of its original exhibition, one reviewer stated:

Part of the danger of using familiar objects for new purposes is that the spectator cannot free himself from the usual associations of an object. A button will always hunt a buttonhole.⁵⁴

In 1937 Dove's friend, the art critic Elizabeth McCausland, referred to the work as follows:

⁵⁴"Independent Materials," The New York Times, January 17, 1926, sec. 8, 12.

The masterpiece, Nigger Goes A-Fishin' 1925, recently acquired by the Phillips Gallery, is important for several reasons. First, it is a surrealist work made before the doctrine reached these shores. It should be noted that plastically Dove is a pioneer; things he did intuitively were done later by self-conscious and cerebral artists who won more acclaim, but invented less than he.⁵⁵

As noted in this passage, the title of the assemblage has changed over the years. At the 1926 Intimate Gallery show, it was exhibited as Fishin' Nigger. During Dove's lifetime his only significant patron was Duncan Phillips who in 1937 purchased Goin' Fishin' for \$2,000, at the time the highest amount Dove had ever received for his work.⁵⁶ The Phillips Collection listed the assemblage as A Nigger Goes A' Fishing.⁵⁷ Morgan documents that Herbert J. Seligmann, a friend of Dove and Stieglitz, wrote the following about the initial title of the work:

It should be stressed that the title of Arthur G. Dove's painting "Nigger Fishing" was given in accordance with the colloquial use of the time...Both Dove and Stieglitz were entirely free of color prejudice.⁵⁸

Morgan states that Dove's son, William, supported Seligmann's explanation that the word "nigger" did not denote for Dove's generation the derision it did later, and

⁵⁵Elizabeth McCausland, "Dove: Man and Painter," Parnassus 9 (December 1937): 5.

⁵⁶Morgan, Catalogue Raisonné, 31.

⁵⁷Todd, Symbolic Portraits, 47.

⁵⁸Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 133.

he convinced his father to change the title.⁵⁹ McCausland corroborated Seligmann's discussion in her 1937 review and added that the original name suggested the following:

The word nigger, fraught with history, does not imply race discrimination...Dove uses it as naturally as he calls his father "my old man." This is the cadence of Huck Finn, the cadence which makes Dove's written word peculiarly indigenous.⁶⁰

Phillips made the same association when he wrote that the assemblage "...[makes us] think of Mark Twain."⁶¹ As McCausland noted, Goin' Fishin' was not only an avant-garde conception, it had a distinctive indigenous quality. Thus, in this landscape assemblage, Dove had fused modernist ideas with his native sensibilities to fulfill the request of critics, like Rosenfeld, to create American modernist expressions. After Goin' Fishin', Dove continued experimenting with assemblage and expanded his interpretations into companion works.

Companion Pieces: Sea I and Sea II (1925) and
Huntington Harbor I and Huntington Harbor II (1926)

In the middle of the 1920s, Dove completed two sets of companion assemblages. The first works, Sea I and Sea II (May 1925), are abstract visions of the ocean. In the second group of 1926, Dove again depicted the topic of the

⁵⁹Ibid., 133.

⁶⁰McCausland, "Man and Painter," 6.

⁶¹Duncan Phillips, "Arthur Dove, 1880-1946," Magazine of Art 40, no. 5 May 1947, 194-95.

Huntington harbor area. In both sets, Dove used a central motif in the initial expressions and expanded the views in the second versions. He also used more materials in the succeeding interpretation of each pair.

Dove composed Sea I and Sea II from an unusual juxtaposition of materials. He designed both versions on the same sized aluminum panel measuring 13 x 21 inches and covered each with glass. In Sea I a small paper circle at the top-center of the work symbolizes the sun or moon. At the bottom of this astral body, Dove scratched lines into the aluminum to evoke the sense of rays emanating out over the ocean. In both images, Dove applied chiffon to the metal backdrops. With this fabric alone he suggested space, color, and line in these compositions. Exploiting the sheerness of the blue chiffon, Dove folded it on top of itself to make patches of darker color and to create more than one spatial plane to suggest depth. By pleating it in horizontal patterns, he created shapes that suggest islands or waves.

Unlike the first interpretation, in which the view spans out over the water, Sea II implies an underwater scene. The weaving of the fabric on top of the metal illuminates a range of hues from blue-greens to gray, conveying the various tones of the ocean. In the bottom left corner, Dove modeled the chiffon into repeated v-shapes to imply the swaying of underwater plants. At the bottom of

the image, Dove added sand for texture, which, combined with the folded patches of chiffon, suggests rocks and the ocean floor. In both of these abstract interpretations of the sea, Dove expressed the essence of the ocean's forms and rhythms with only fabric and metal.

The success of these works is evident in both Dove's remarks and a critic's description. In a letter to Stieglitz from June 1925, Dove wrote: "Have done a few new 'things' and have a painting under way. One of the 'things' of the sea is as good as 'Rain' I think."⁶² After the 1967 exhibition of Dove's collages at the University of Maryland, one critic distinguished Sea I and Sea II as "...there are at least two collages in the show--'The Sea I' and 'The Sea II' which are stunningly beautiful and even stylish near abstractions."⁶³

While Dove's second set of companion assemblages, Huntington Harbor I and Huntington Harbor II were more serious than the 1924 version of this theme, Huntington Harbor, all three were visual equivalents of Dove's immediate environment. O'Keeffe once commented that Dove's forms were always descriptive of the area in which he was working.⁶⁴ In Goin' Fishin' Dove captured the atmosphere

⁶²Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 133.

⁶³James R. Mellow, "Sticks and Stones and Human Hair," The New York Times, January 17, 1971, sec. 8,9.

⁶⁴San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974, 77.

of a locale with an abstract design. In this assemblage pair Dove similarly invented simplified symbols which recall the milieu of Huntington harbor.

In Huntington Harbor I and Huntington Harbor II, Dove lyrically evoked the bay area through shapes and materials. A square piece of sand overlaying a section of triangular cut canvas creates a prominent figure in the center of Huntington Harbor I. Dove used a smaller version of this same image on the left side of the background of Huntington Harbor II. In both works, the natural color of the metal backdrop enhances the creamy blue-grays, referring to cloudy skies or the ocean and the gray-green tones of the land. Dove created a more illusionistic scene in Huntington Harbor II, where the canvas section is on a demarcated horizon, and wood chips on hills represent a fence in the foreground. In both assemblages, Dove translated his impressions of the harbor into poetic evocations of the sea, beach, and sky.

Although the month in which Dove worked on these assemblages has not, to my knowledge, been identified, Torr's diary entry for August 5, 1926 may have recorded this project: "A. got 2 lighthouse things started--canvas, sand on zinc."⁶⁵ Dove was not working on another assemblage pair at the time and since these companion pieces consist of the exact materials Torr described, it is likely that she was referring to the Huntington Harbor assemblages.

⁶⁵AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, frame 177.

Although scholars often identify the dominant abstract motif in these two works as sailboats, they may symbolize a lighthouse. While Torr and Dove were still living in the Long Island area, Torr rendered an illusionistic view of a lighthouse (fig. 45) in 1932. Her depiction revealed that the lighthouse was actually two connecting buildings, the one in front being taller, so that its profile resembled the shape of a sail or one half of a pyramid. Dove drew a right angle on top of the canvas piece in Huntington Harbor I and made a cross-like figure on the same fabric in the second assemblage. This figure drawn on the canvas may have been the line to differentiate the two buildings. In any event, whether he was trying to render a sailboat or a lighthouse, Dove's abstract images were intended to allude to the coastal area.

In the abstract Huntington Harbor I, Dove's use of a triangle, a square, and horizontal and vertical planes in a shallow space recalls Cubist techniques. Like Picasso and Braque's paintings, Dove broke down the formal structure of the Huntington landscape into a geometric vocabulary. Dove's assemblage is comparable to the early stages of Braque's synthetic Cubism, when the latter artist introduced real materials, such as fabric and newspaper, into his paintings. In Braque's words, he was trying "to get as close as I could to reality."⁶⁶ Dove was essentially doing

⁶⁶Wolfram, History of Collage, 16.

the same thing in Huntington Harbor I and Huntington Harbor II by incorporating actual pieces of experience from his surroundings to symbolize his immediate environment. Unlike Braque and Picasso who tried to blur the lines between reality and fantasy with their inclusion of ordinary objects, however, Dove's materials retained their identities. For example, in the Huntington assemblages the sand implies the beach, and the wood chips represent a fence.

Duncan Phillips, who purchased Huntington Harbor I in 1928, recognized the fusion of modernist ideas and indigenous qualities in Dove's assemblages, as he stated:

It was many years ago that he played with these compositions called 'Collage' by the sophisticates in Paris. How dated today seem those early cubist stunts by Picasso and Gris! What is it that makes the somewhat similar devices by Dove seem totally different. Wholesome in spirit and significance they seem poetic and redolent of life on the farm or along the shores of the lake.⁶⁷

Dove's assemblages were thus regarded as vanguard in technique but clearly expressive of the American environment.

As these two different sets of companion assemblages demonstrate, Dove often explored variations of a single theme. Dove similarly focused on a distinct theme--thunderstorms and their effect on external conditions--in his next assemblages.

⁶⁷Quoted in The Phillips Collection, 1981, 41.

Interpretations of the Sublime: Rope, Chiffon, and Iron,
(1926) The Seaside (1926), and Clouds (1927)

The diary entries for 1926 imply it was a year of inclement weather, and the themes of Dove's art reflected these atmospheric conditions. In the winter months, Torr noted the strong winds and snow.⁶⁸ On August 14 Torr wrote "terrible thunderstorm," and beginning two days later she listed "rain" almost daily until the end of that month.⁶⁹ In the fall the harsh weather continued with Torr listing "rough and windy" on several occasions.⁷⁰ In response to these seasonal changes, Dove painted a series of five compositions entitled Storm at Sea numbers one through five, followed by Sea Thunder. In the same year, he composed the assemblages Rope, Chiffon, and Iron and The Seaside, which conceivably refer to sea shores after a tempest.

Although the title of Rope, Chiffon, and Iron offers little insight to its topic, one can infer from the work's interplay of color, rough textures, and tattered materials, that it suggests a ravaged landscape. As in the sea assemblages, Dove layered blue chiffon on a backdrop of sheet metal measuring 7 x 7 inches. This juxtaposition of

⁶⁸AAA, Dove-Torr Diaries, roll N70-52, diary entries for January 22, 1926, and February 4, 1926, frames 128 and 131.

⁶⁹Ibid., diary entries for August 14, 16-25, 1926, frames 179-182.

⁷⁰Ibid., diary entries for October 7, 24, and 31, 1926, frames 192, 197, and 198.

soft fabric and metal creates deep hues from blue-greens to brown-rust, tones which allude to the land, sea, and sky. Coils attached at the base of the work hang loosely in arched positions and can denote the bending of trees. Dove echoed these curves with a rope glued in a semi-circular position from the right corner of the composition almost to the top of the left edge, which may again refer to sloping limbs. The separated rope ends may represent ragged foliage, deteriorated by a storm. In the bottom right corner, unraveled rope applied in a clump may symbolize brush, while a singular piece at the left implies a fallen limb. While Dove combined an odd mixture of abstract materials, his treatment and association of these frayed objects intimates the worn vestiges of a landscape.

In Rope, Chiffon, and Iron, Dove's choice of machine aesthetic items, like metal coils and iron, was Dada in spirit. The Dadaists employed non-art media in an effort to destroy traditional conceptions of art. While Dove mirrored Dada philosophy by disregarding preconceived artistic notions and openly using disparate materials, he did not have the same objectives as the Dadaists. As Tashjian notes, New York Dadaists used the machine, a subject that was peculiarly American and unaffected by artistic ideals, to explore a new realm of creativity.⁷¹ In the mechanomorphic drawing Fille née sans mère, Picabia sketched

⁷¹Tashjian, Skyscraper Primitives, 7.

disconnected springs, rods, and wires to suggest an organic body. Dove similarly used machine parts, wire coils, and the metal surface to imply an organic environment in Rope, Chiffon, and Iron. Through anti-art forms, Picabia, though, was ultimately trying to assault art and culture, while Dove was exploring these forms in terms of liberating his own expression. Dove consistently followed his sensitivity to nature, as in Rope, Chiffon, and Iron, converting the metal forms to suggest the image of a landscape. In a discussion of Dove's treatment of machine subjects, as related to Dada, Tashjian wrote:

Although many of Dove's collages as well as his paintings are devoted to nature, he occasionally treated the subject of the machine as well...he derived this iconography in large part from Picabia and Duchamp...His treatment of the machine has actually the same organic emphases as his abstract natural forms.⁷²

Thus, Dove's use of unorthodox machine-like materials was an idea stemming from Dada, but he transformed it to meet his own nature-based creative vision.

Continuing the theme of storm effects, Dove suggested the essence of a ravaged coastal area in The Seaside. He selected crude articles from the shore, including pine cones, branches, bark, the shell of a horseshoe crab, and broken glass, and arranged these on a wood panel which measures 12 1/2 x 10 1/4 inches. Perhaps Dove collected these items after a storm had passed through the coastal

⁷²Ibid., 200.

area. Expanding the meanings of these objects through association, Dove glued pine cones to the tops of sticks to represent trees and chose a piece of bark, with a clump of shrubbery on it, to allude to a forest. The crab shells were originally part of a living crustacean, but in this assemblage they may abstractly refer to marine and organic life in general. The back panel of creamy white tones and blue accents resembles clouds, and Dove painted these same colors on the bits of glass and portions of the crab claws to harmonize the composition aesthetically. The jagged forms of the glass, pine cones, and crab claws symbolize the destruction caused by a thunderstorm or strong gale.

The design and materials in The Seaside imply other aspects of nature as well. The bark in the middle of the work has "trees" and crab shells on either side, encircling it like the petals of a flower around its nucleus. At the top of this central bark motif, pieces of twigs and painted chunks of glass emanate in a semi-circular motion evoking an organic rhythm. These objects' rough-hewn properties and bulb-shaped arrangements convey a quality of germination. The materials almost fill the entire composition, extending in an upward movement as if they are trying to burst out of their boundary. With its association of raw organic materials in a bud-like design, this image evokes a quality of organic growth.

Dove completed the largest number of the landscape assemblages in 1926. In the following year, he produced two assemblages, Clouds and Rhapsody in Blue Part I, which were predominantly paintings with one added component. In Clouds Dove continued to explore his various impressions of the firmament. In a letter to Stieglitz a few years earlier, Dove had conveyed his fascination with the subject in his usual elusive terms:

Have been trying to memorize this storm all day so that I can paint it. Storm green and storm grey. It has been too dark and nerve stained to paint, so did three illustrations this morning just to keep from cutting that rope through by thinking so hard about it.⁷³

After his literal translation of storm effects in The Seaside, Dove completed a more romantic version of the topic in a painting entitled Sea Thunder, where curving bands of color evoke the rhythms of stratus clouds. Dove combined the ideas of these last two artworks in Clouds where the visual drama of a painted sky interplays with the added texture of sandpaper as the earth.

In this assemblage, layered bands of muted yellows, greens, and browns, shaded with black, evoke the sublime quality of nimbus gathering before a thunderstorm. Painted on sheet metal, the smooth surface possibly facilitated Dove's brushstrokes to capture the swirling motion of clouds better. The gray metal backdrop serves as an appropriate

⁷³Letter from Dove to Stieglitz, October 24, 1923, cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 97.

undertone for the subject, while the grainy texture of sandpaper demarcates the land and possibly alludes to the roughness of nature's storms.

Dove's choice and treatment of the sublime aspects of nature is reminiscent of nineteenth-century American Romantics. Theodore Stebbins states that in Clouds Dove paid homage to the work of Albert Pinkham Ryder.⁷⁴ The surface richness and ominous feel of the atmosphere in Clouds recalls Ryder's typical dusk-like settings, in which his landscapes allude to deeper mystical realities. Similar to Whitman, another nineteenth-century Romantic, Dove reverentially expressed the essence of the awe and power of a tempest. Whitman's sonnets on the subject are filled with spiritual connotations, referring to the sky as the "heavens." In his poem "The Mystic Trumpeter," Whitman parallels Dove's visual translation of the storm's drama in the following verses:

Hark, some wild trumpeter, some strange musician,
 Hovering unseen in air, vibrates capricious tunes
 tonight.
 I hear thee trumpeter, listening alert I catch thy
 notes,
 Now pouring, whirling like a tempest round me,
 Now low, subdued now in the distance lost.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Lane Collection: 20th Century Paintings in the American Tradition, April 13-August 7, 1983, 11. Exhibition catalogue, essays by Theodore Stebbins, Jr. and Carol Troyen.

⁷⁵Walt Whitman, Walt Whitman: The Complete Poems, ed. Francis Murphy (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975), 497.

Both Whitman and Dove were expressing the romantic concept of the sublime by celebrating the awesome and inspiring elements in nature.

Completed in 1927, Clouds was Dove's final landscape assemblage. As Johnson noted, since Clouds was a painting on metal with one added material, it marked a transition between the assemblages and Dove's return to pure painting of nature-based themes.⁷⁶ Dove completed Hand Sewing Machine in 1927, a few more textural assembled experiments in 1928, and then produced one last collage, Italian Christmas Tree, in 1931.

The End of the Assemblages

Dove's reasons for concluding the assemblages are unclear, but perhaps the events in his life provide some explanation. In 1927, due to Torr's constant illness, Dove decided they would not spend another winter on the Mona. They moved into a house in Halesite but returned to the boat in the summers.⁷⁷ In the winter of 1928, he and Torr moved to Pratt Island, near Norton, Connecticut, to work as the caretakers of A. W. Pratt's home. They returned to Halesite and spent the following three winters living rent-free on the top floor of the Ketewomoke Yacht Club in exchange for

⁷⁶Johnson, "The Years of Collage," 40.

⁷⁷Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 144.

maintaining the clubhouse.⁷⁸ Dove continued to exhibit at the Intimate Gallery in 1927 and 1929. Although he still had financial problems, after 1929 Dove decided it was not worth his time to search for magazine assignments and quit illustration.⁷⁹ In the same year his wife Florence, who had never given Dove a divorce and had banished him from his son, died suddenly. After her death, Dove was able to re-acquaint himself with his son William and to marry Torr in 1930. Duncan Phillips began paying Dove a stipend of \$50 a month in 1930 with the agreement that he had the first selection of art from Dove's shows. In 1928, Phillips wrote the following to Dove, "paint more pictures in the conventional way with brush and pigment...."⁸⁰ Dove desperately needed financial assistance, and since Phillips was his sole patron, I suggest his instructions to concentrate on painting may have caused Dove to abandon assemblage. The same year of Phillips' advice, 1928, Dove essentially ended his experiments with assemblage.

⁷⁸Dove never enjoyed any economic security, but his friends were evidently willing to help him financially. On August 25, 1928, Stieglitz sent Dove \$200, and in October of 1928, Dove wrote to Stieglitz saying that Henry Raleigh had offered him \$5,000. Cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 155 and 158.

⁷⁹Morgan notes that there was virtually no longer a market for Dove's drawings and after 1929, except for rare occasions, Dove no longer continued his career as an illustrator. Cited in Morgan, Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove, 176.

⁸⁰The Phillips Collection, 1981, 59.

In the 1930s, although Dove endured further hardship he continued to paint. While the Intimate Gallery closed in 1929, Dove had annual spring shows at Stieglitz's successor gallery, An American Place. The death of Dove's mother in 1933 left him with family debts, and he and Torr moved to Geneva, New York, to try to salvage the estate. Dove and Torr remained there until he suffered a heart attack in 1938. They then moved to Centerport, Long Island, to reside in a one-room post office, built over the water, where Dove died in 1946.

Conclusion

The landscape assemblages illuminate Dove's central creative concerns and broaden our interpretations of these ideas. They are a distinct yet integral body in Dove's oeuvre, illustrating the principal facets of his art, his spiritual view of nature, and modernist approach to expression. Usually composed from organic objects, the assemblages prominently display Dove's reverential interaction with nature. They are often abstract designs, reflecting Dove's imaginative interplay of materials to suggest layers of meaning. To Dove, art and life were inextricably woven together, and the assemblages literally convey this view. To compose them, Dove chose actual objects from his everyday experiences--rope, canvas, and other items at hand--and incorporated these articles into inventive compositions. Through the landscape assemblages,

we can observe not only his deeply mystical view of life, but his wit and delight in creating art. From the romantic Clouds to the whimsical Huntington Harbor, the assemblages embody Dove's range of interests. He stated his objectives as follows:

I should like to enjoy life by choosing all of its highest instances, to give back in my means of expression all that it gives to me in form and color the reaction that plastic objects and sensations of life from within and without and have reflected from my inner consciousness.⁸¹

The assemblage themes and the pieces of reality in them exhibited Dove's pleasure with both life and art.

Created at a mature period, the landscape assemblages reflected forty years of Dove's experience. His nature-based themes were inspired by nineteenth-century artists who expressed Transcendentalism in their landscape paintings. Dove, however, conveyed his spiritual values through abstraction, an idiom stemming largely from European styles and theory. Stieglitz and "291" members were similarly looking for new ways to visualize ideas, and they nurtured Dove's development. At "291," Dove was exposed to current avant-garde art and theory including Symbolism, Cubism, Expressionism, Dada, and Bergson's philosophy of intuition, all of which are discernible in the landscape assemblages. The Stieglitz circle's increasing emphasis on artists interacting with their native land paralleled Dove's

⁸¹The Forum Exhibition, 1916, n.p.

selection of organic materials for the assemblages. At the same time, Dove was rejuvenated by his companionship with Torr, whose working methods directly inspired his decision to use found objects artistically. By the 1920s, Dove had synthesized many of these ideas, and they are thus reflected in the landscape assemblages.

With collage technique, Dove could fuse pieces of reality within a theme, adding more layers of meaning to a composition. In the landscape assemblages, Dove communicated the oneness he felt with nature by wedding the real organic objects of his spirituality with his artistic vision of the world. He often used materials literally--a pine cone represents itself--or metonymically: twigs and leaves suggest a forest. An unpublished poem by Dove reveals how he associated thoughts of nature with ordinary objects:

Could you understand
 Drawing thoughts stretch like
 rubber bands.
 Thoughts of wool and steel, boards
 which do not feel
 Thoughts of water, clouds and
 heavy thoughts like sand.⁸²

By intuitively working with materials, Dove expanded his creative interpretations and could approach his art with a new perspective.

⁸²AAA, Dove-Torr unpublished papers.

In the "Seven Americans" exhibition, Dove introduced the assemblages to the public and wrote a poem, "A Way to Look at Things," for the showing:

We have not yet made shoes that fit like sand
 Nor clothes that fit like water
 Nor thoughts that fit like air.
 There is much to be done--
 Works of nature are abstract,
 They do not lean on other things for meaning
 The sea-gull is not like the sea
 Nor the sun like the moon.
 The sun draws water from the sea
 The clouds are not like either one--
 They do not keep one form forever.
 That the mountainside looks like a face is
 accidental⁸³

In this poem, Dove was revealing the awe-inspiring power he felt for the organic world and how he viewed things in nature as entities--independent, unique, and abstract. By using natural objects and combining them with man-made materials in constructions he made from start to finish, Dove was evidently working in a self-fulfilling manner and this became the most inventive period of his career.

At the time of their production, the landscape assemblages were some of the most original expressions in collage. European modernists originally employed the collage technique--Cubists mostly implemented it in still lifes, the Futurists used it to suggest characteristics of the modern era, the Dadaists explored its possibilities in portraits and absurd conglomerations, while Kurt Schwitters

⁸³"A Way to Look at Things," in Anderson Galleries, New York. Seven Americans, March 2-29, 1925.

used discarded materials to refer to urban living. Only a few of Dove's American contemporaries, Man Ray, Joseph Stella, and John Covert, had seriously employed the medium, but their work was linked more to the anti-art gesture of Dada. Similar to Dove's introduction to the artistic community with The Ten Commandments series, considered the earliest documented abstractions by an American artist, the landscape assemblages were clearly unprecedented conceptions in the collage medium.

Throughout his oeuvre, Dove primarily sought to express his spiritual view of nature in abstract terms. In the landscape assemblages, Dove evoked his belief that spirit derived from matter by fusing these materials with the aesthetics of color, line, space, and form to achieve an expressive union of life and art.

APPENDIX

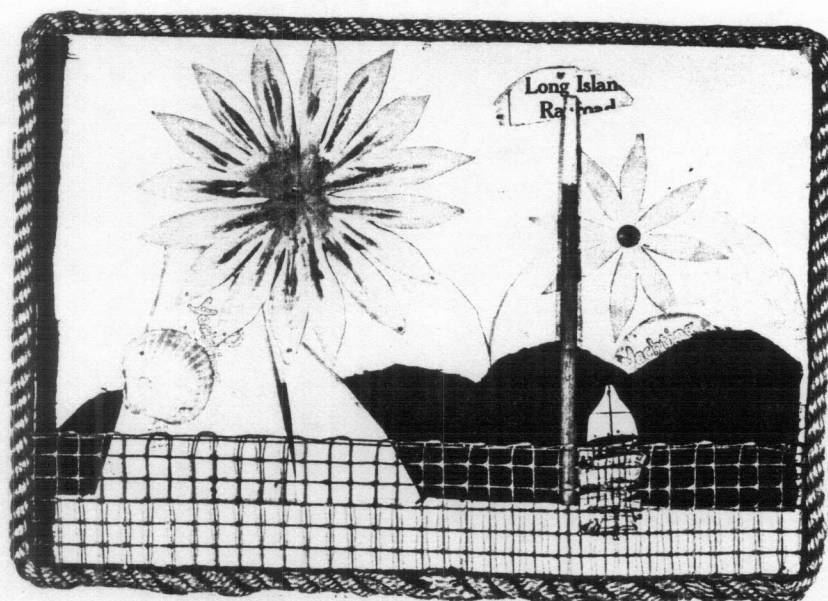


Fig. 1 Arthur Dove, Huntington Harbor, 1924

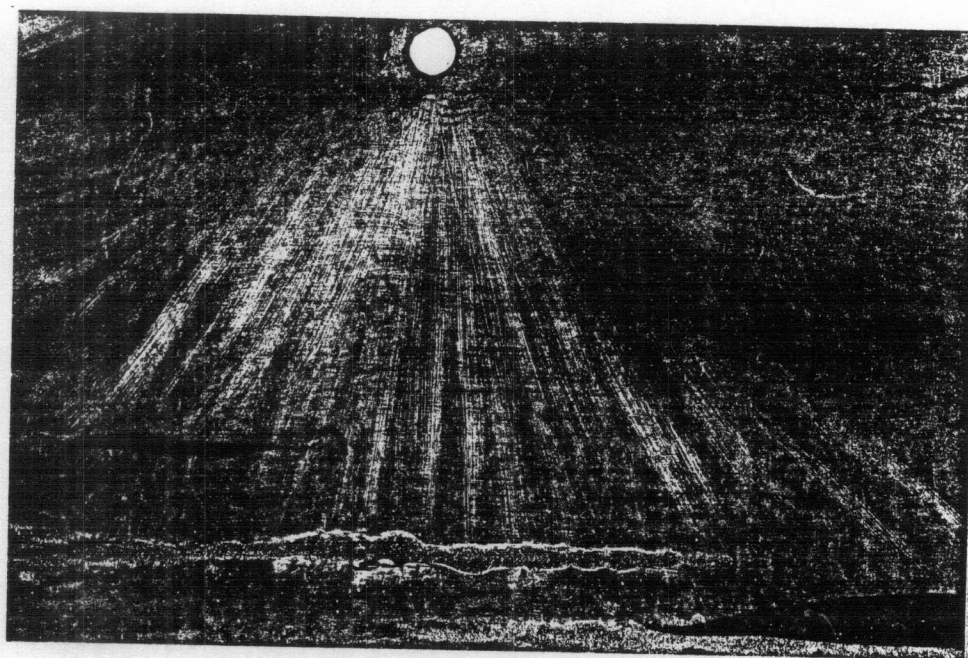


Fig. 2. Arthur Dove, Sea I, 1925

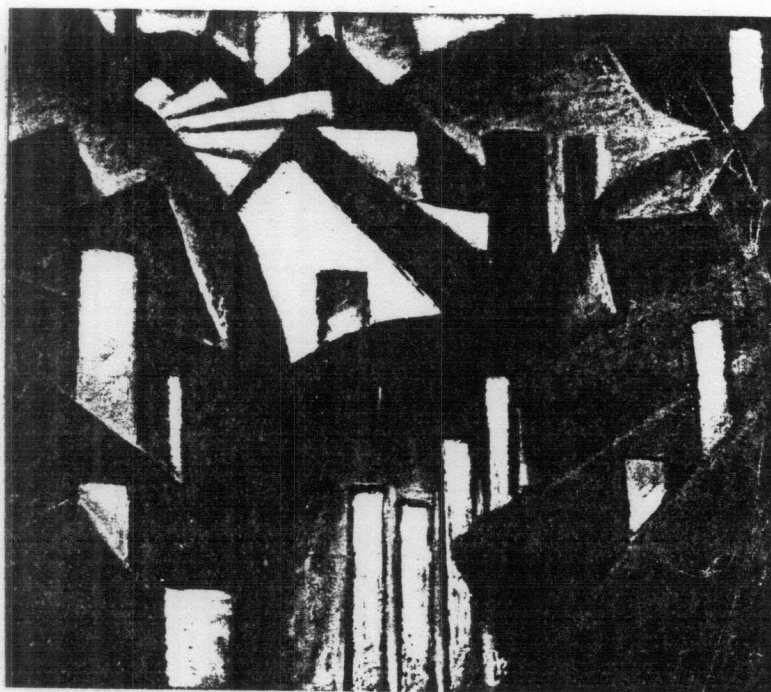


Fig. 3. Arthur Dove, Nature Symbolized No. 1, 1911/12

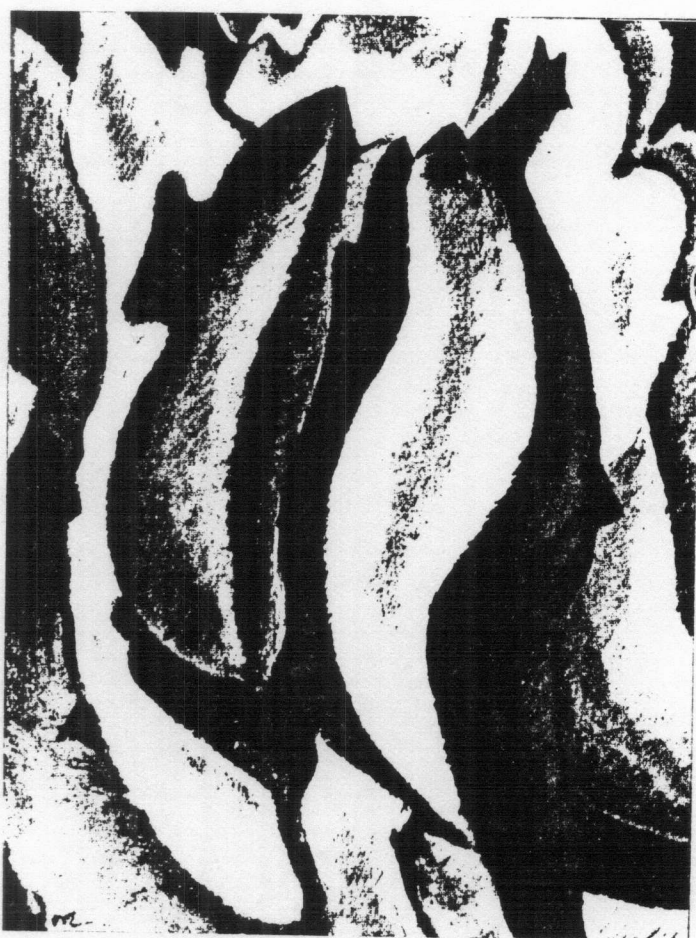


Fig. 4. Arthur Dove, Based on Leaf Forms and Spaces,
1911/12

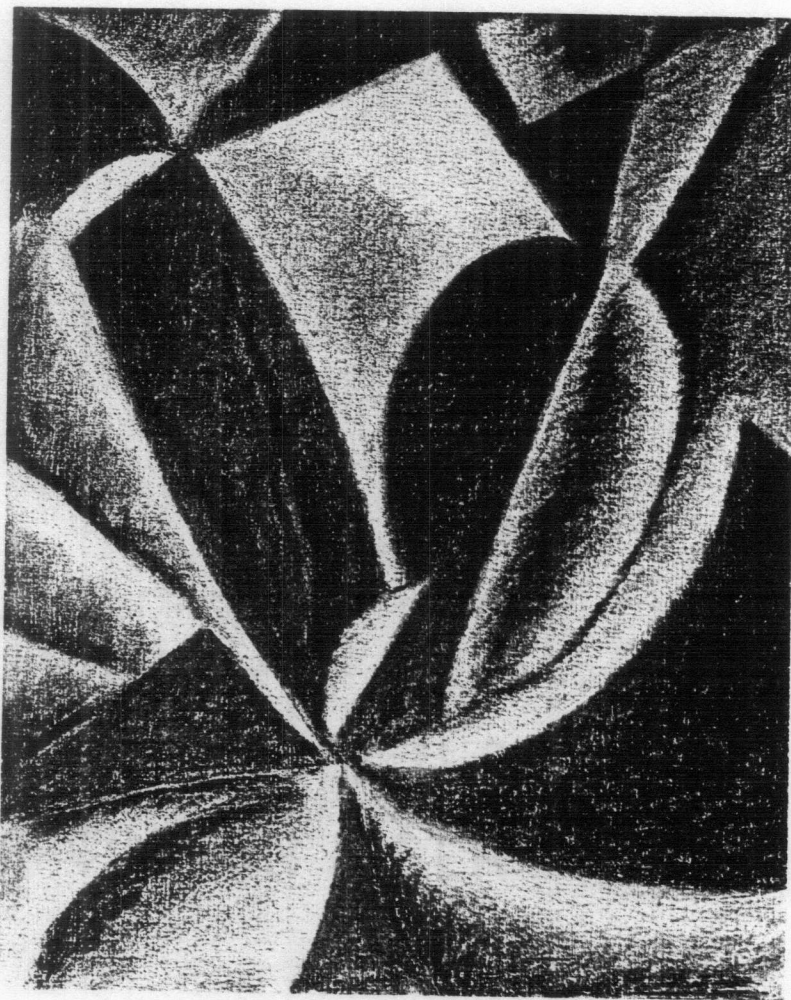


Fig. 5. Arthur Dove, Movement No. 1, 1911/12

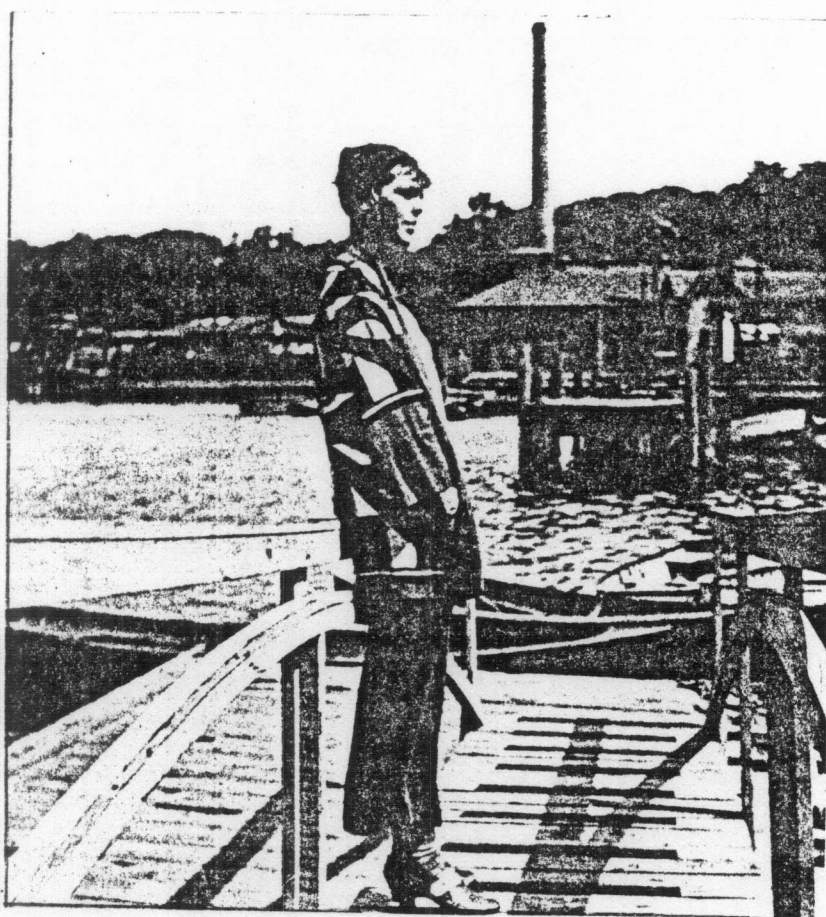


Fig. 6. Reds, Photographer Unknown

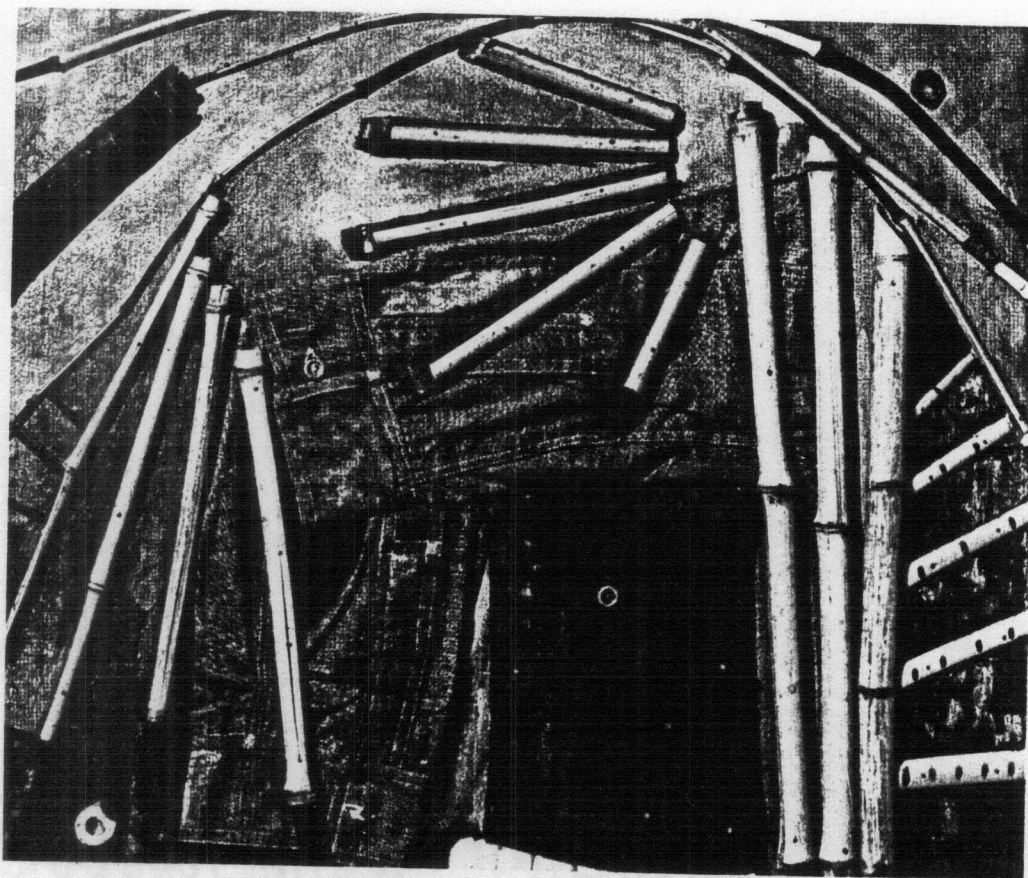


Fig. 7. Arthur Dove, Goin' Fishin', 1925

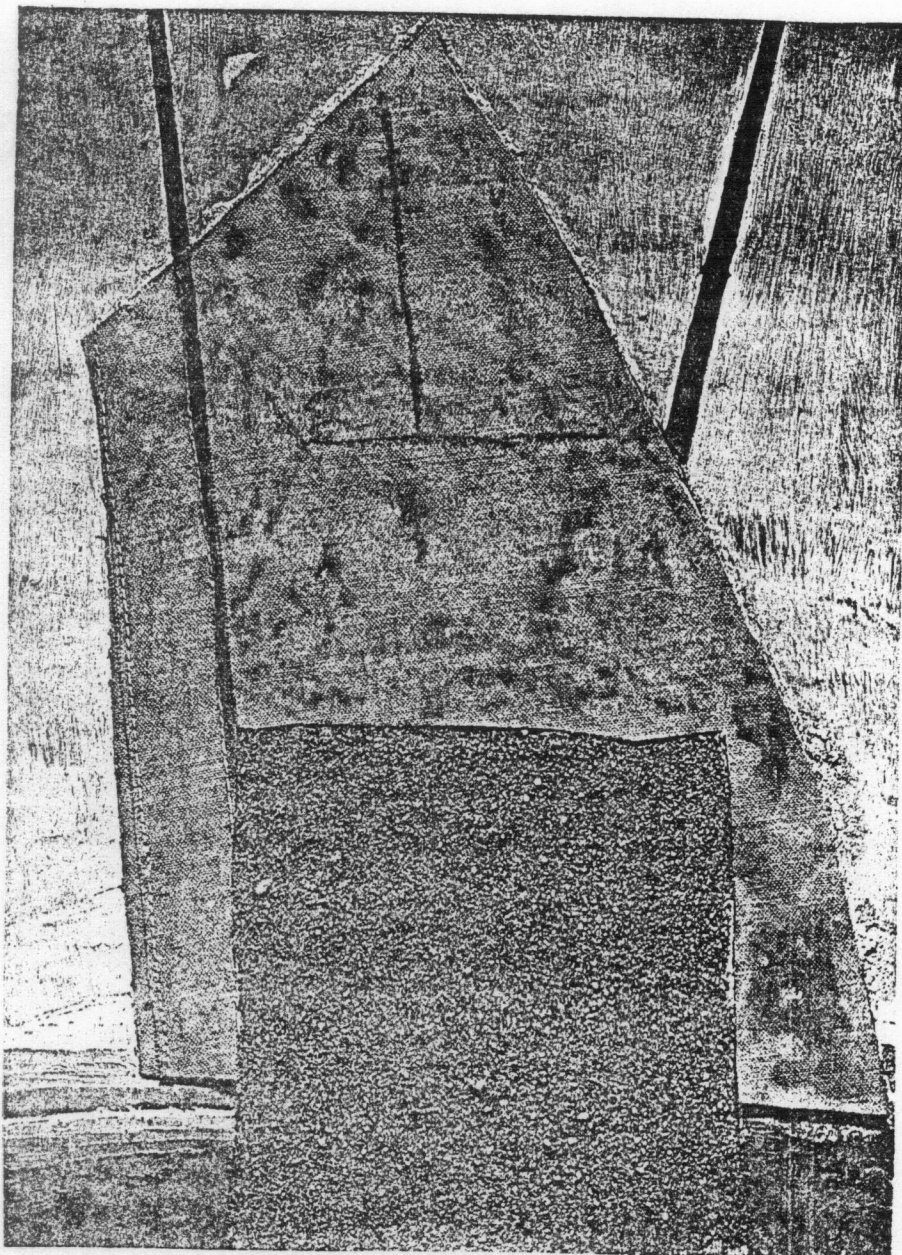


Fig. 8. Arthur Dove, Huntington Harbor I, 1926

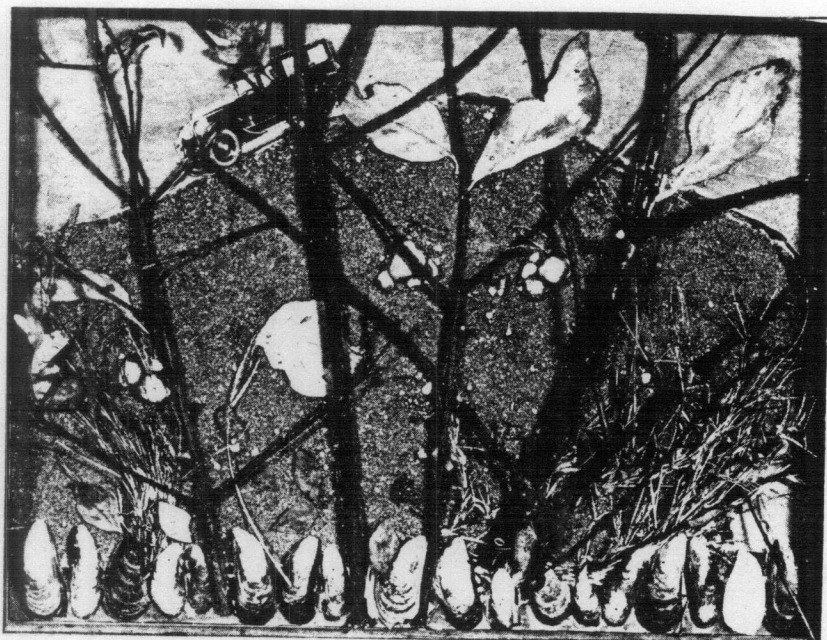


Fig. 9. Arthur Dove, Long Island, 1925

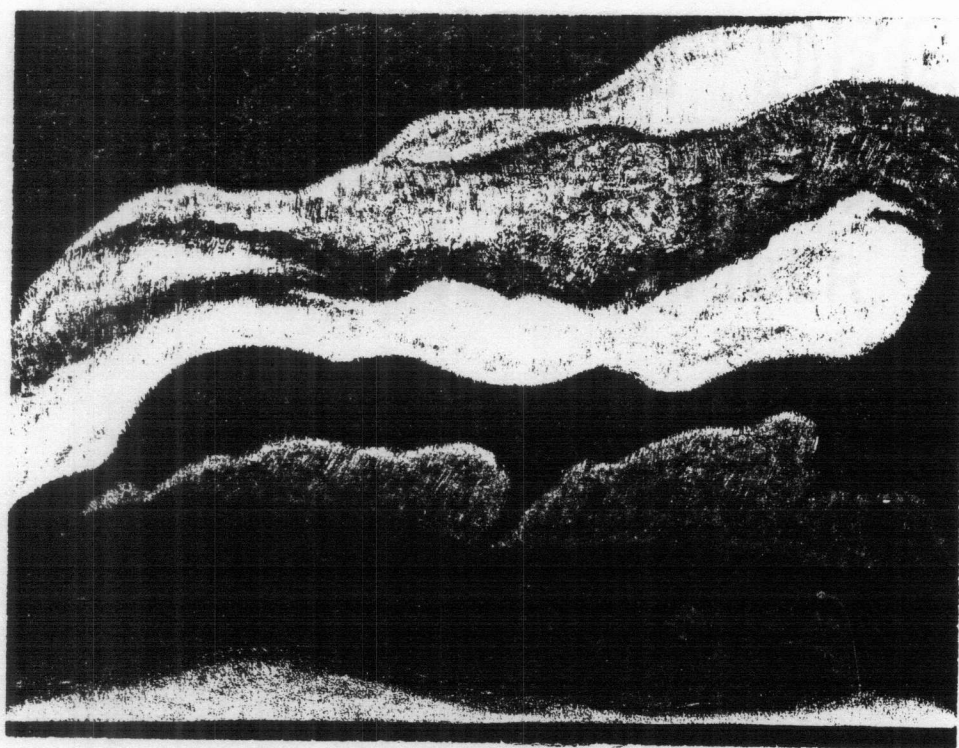


Fig. 10. Arthur Dove, Clouds, 1927

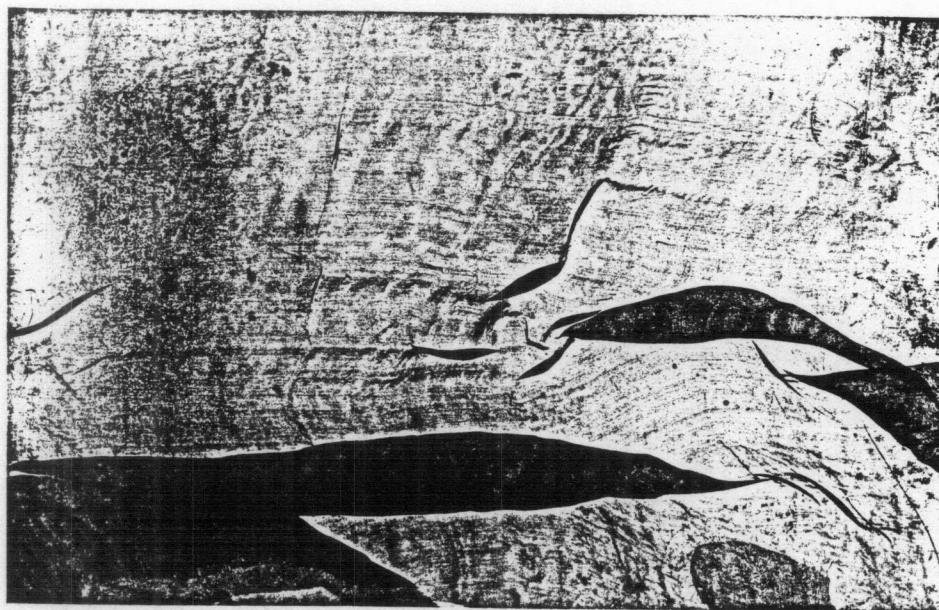


Fig. 11. Arthur Dove, Sea II, 1925



Fig. 12. Arthur Dove, The Seaside, 1926



Fig. 13. Arthur Dove, Huntington Harbor II 1926

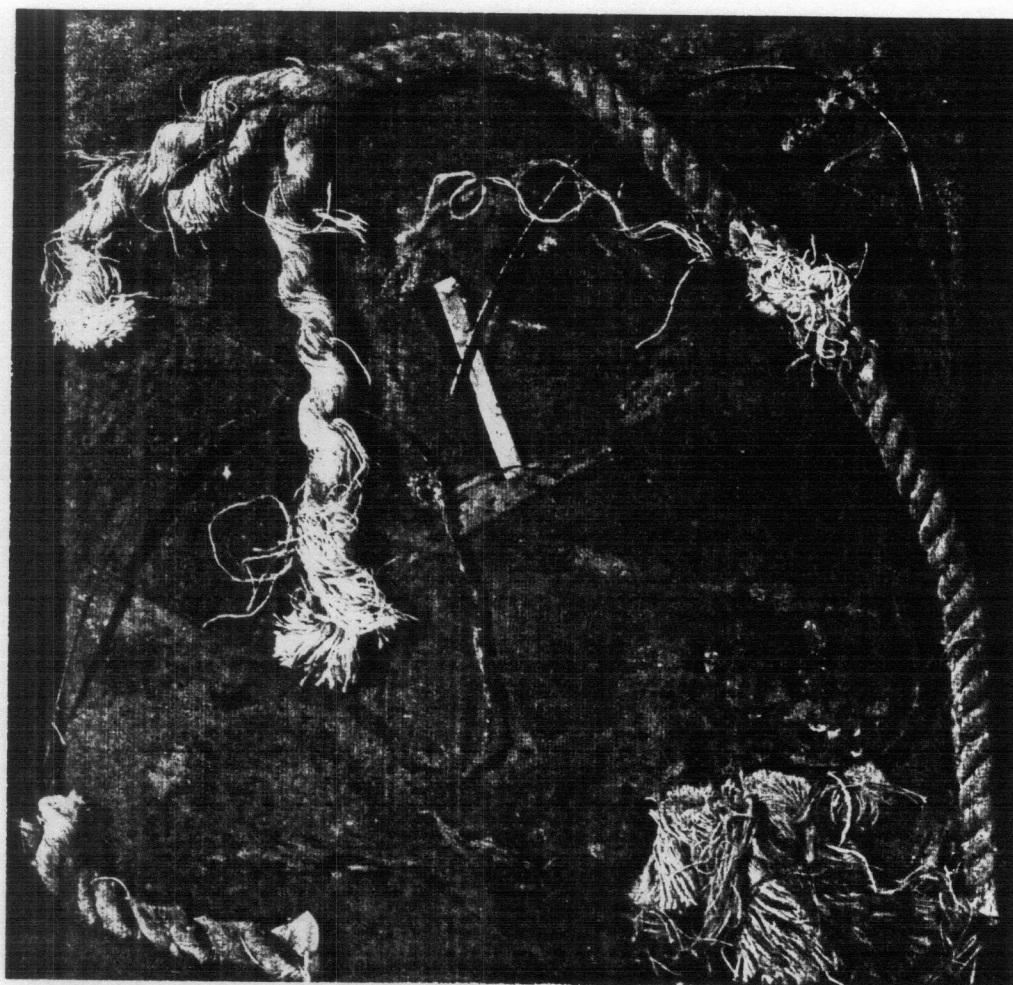


Fig. 14. Rope, Chiffon, and Iron 1926

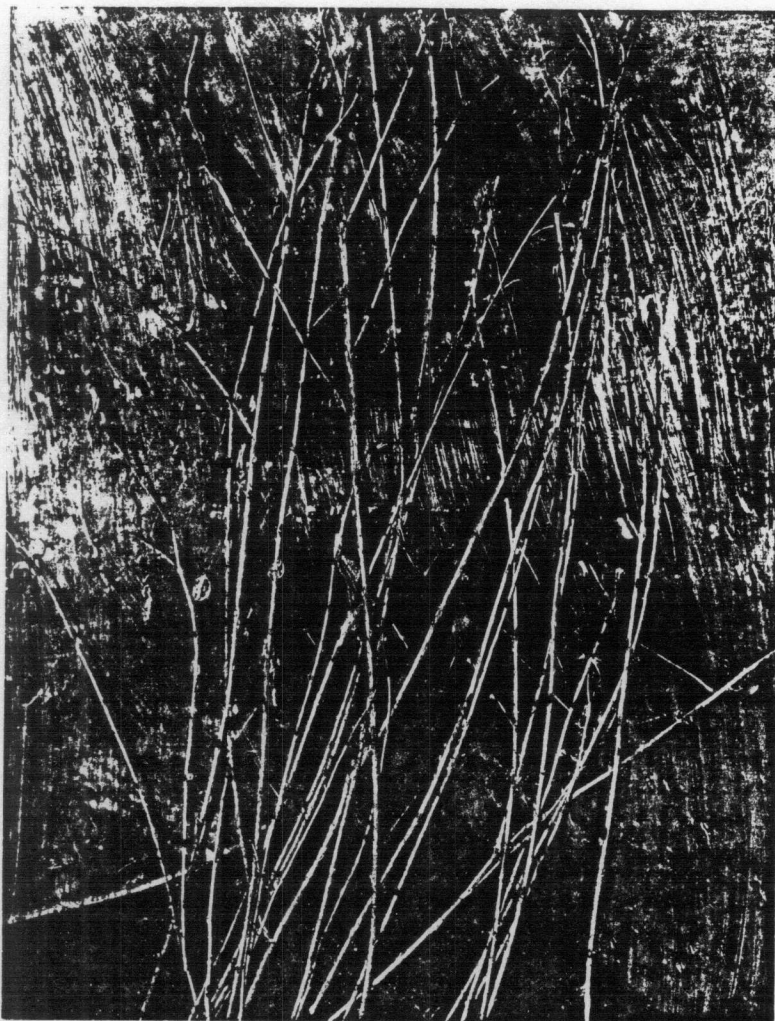


Fig. 15. Arthur Dove, Rain, 1924

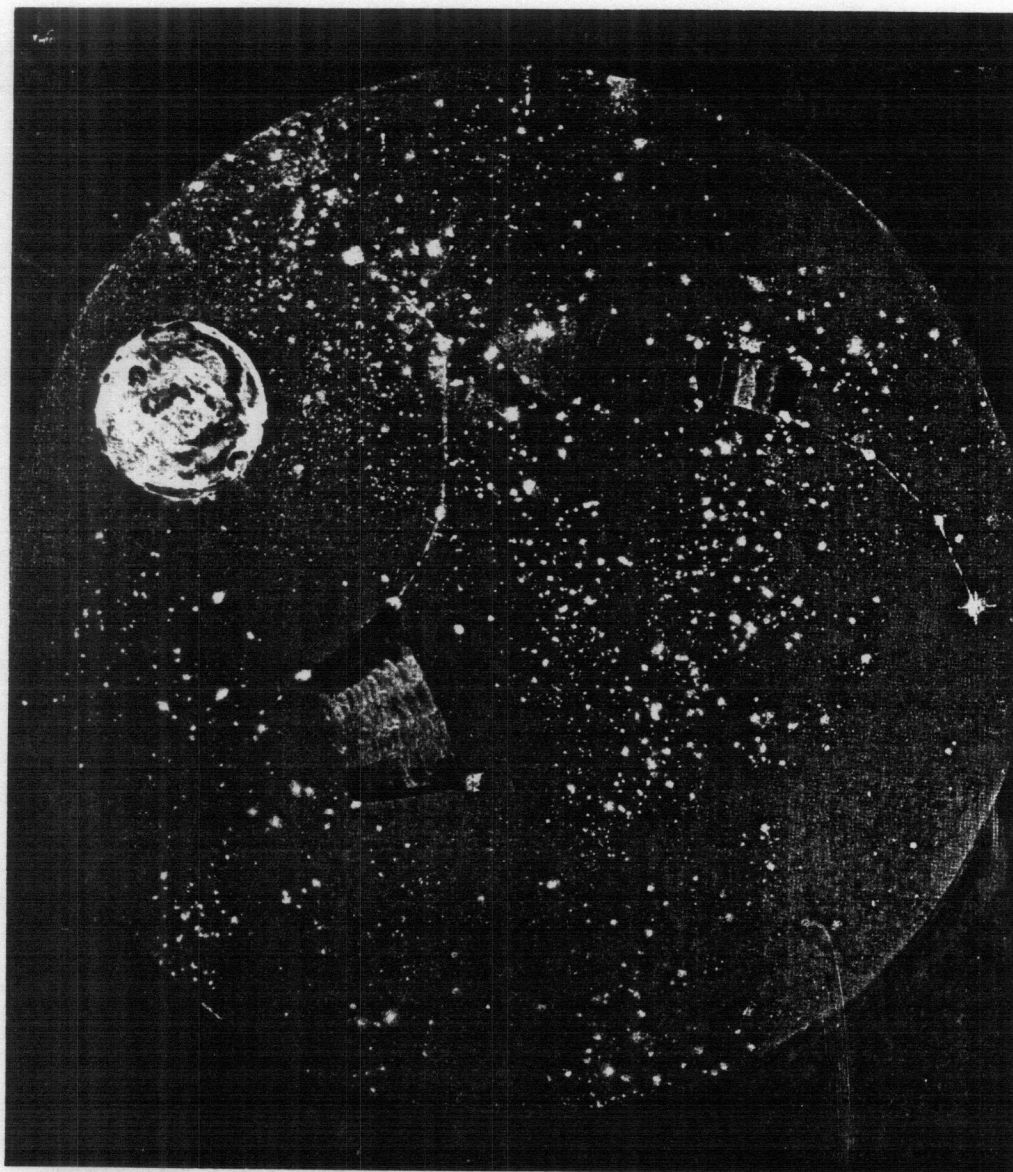


Fig. 16. Arthur Dove, Starry Heavens, 1924

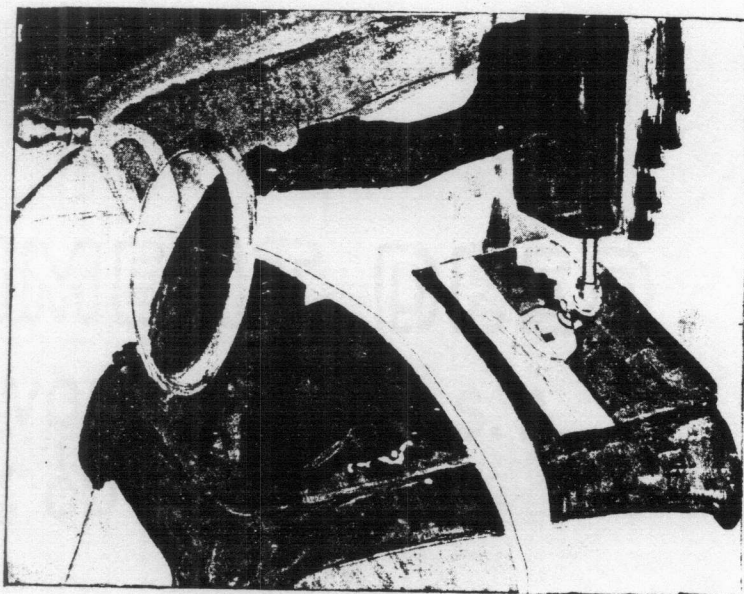


Fig. 17. Arthur Dove, Hand Sewing Machine, 1927



Fig. 18. Arthur Dove, Portrait of Ralph Dusenberry, 1924

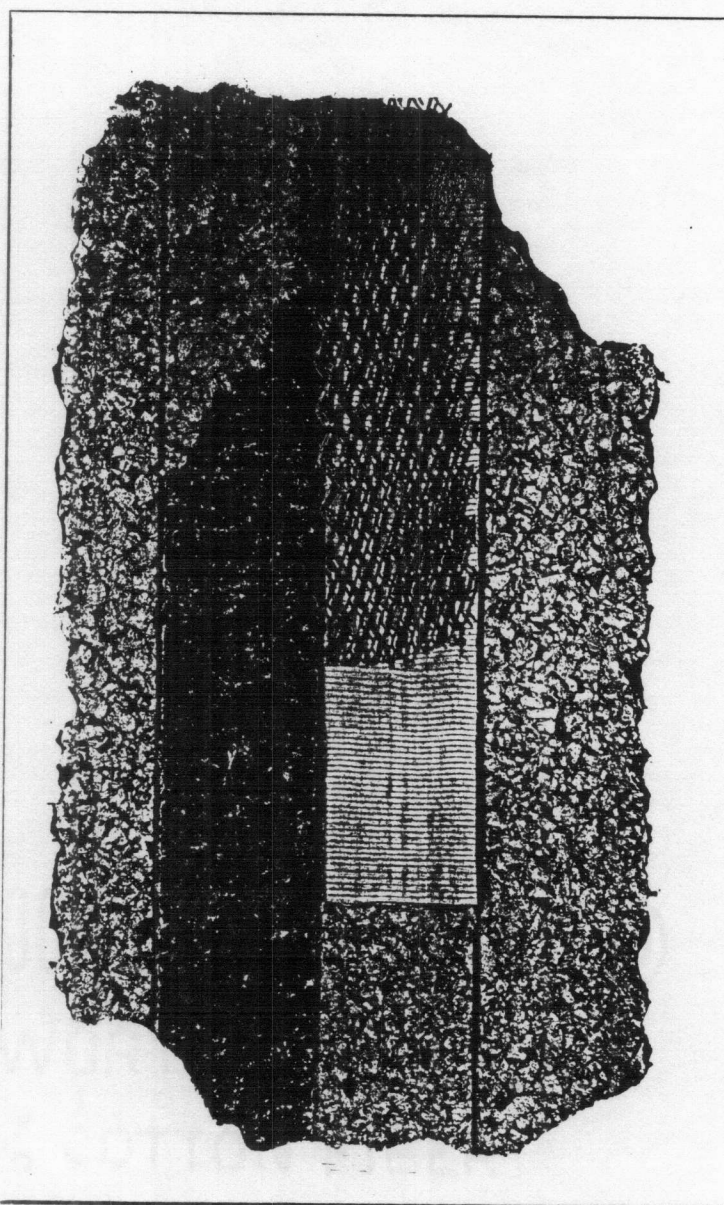


Fig. 19. Arthur Dove, Plaster and Cork, 1925



Fig. 20. Arthur Dove, The Lobster, 1908

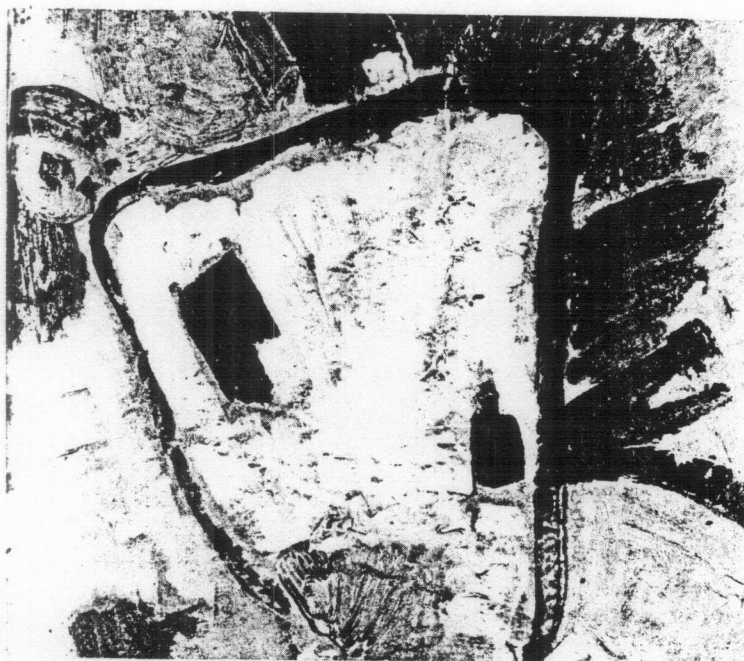


Fig. 21. Arthur Dove, Abstraction No. 2, 1910/11



Fig. 22. Arthur Dove, Abstraction No. 3, 1910/11

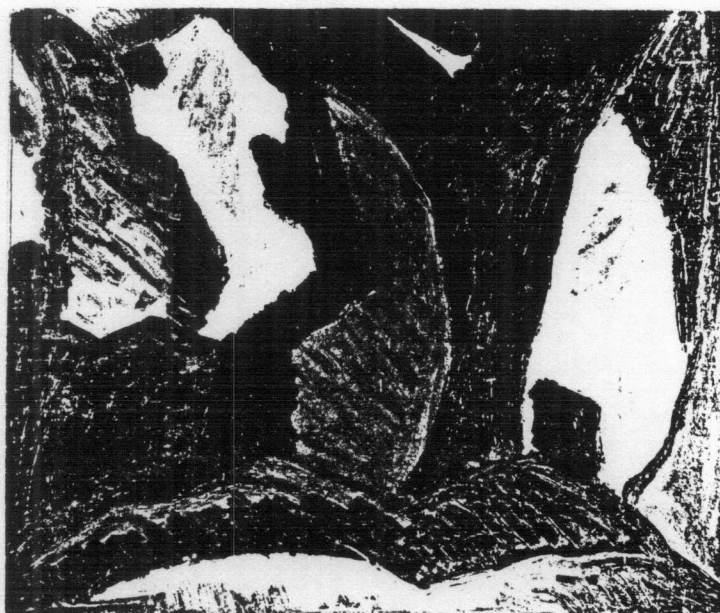


Fig. 23. Arthur Dove, Abstraction No. 5, 1910/11



Fig. 24. Wassily Kandinsky, Improvisation No. 27, 1912

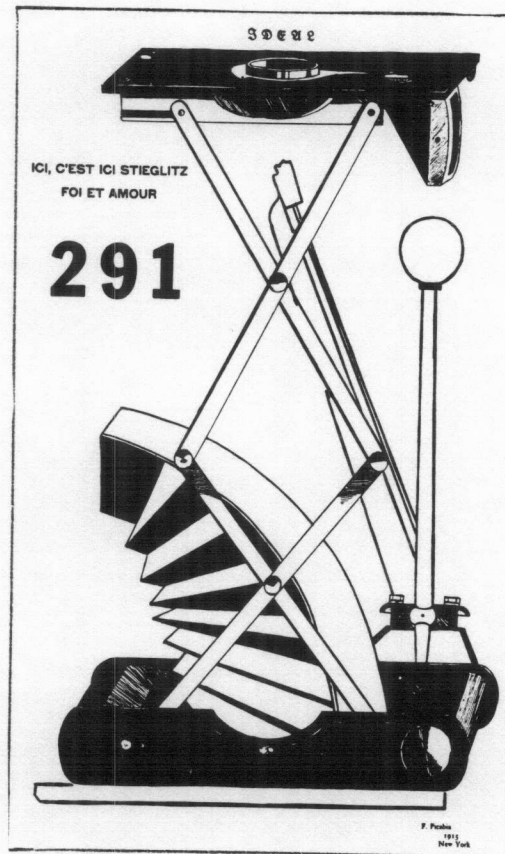


Fig. 25. Francis Picabia, Ici, c'est ici Stieglitz, 1915

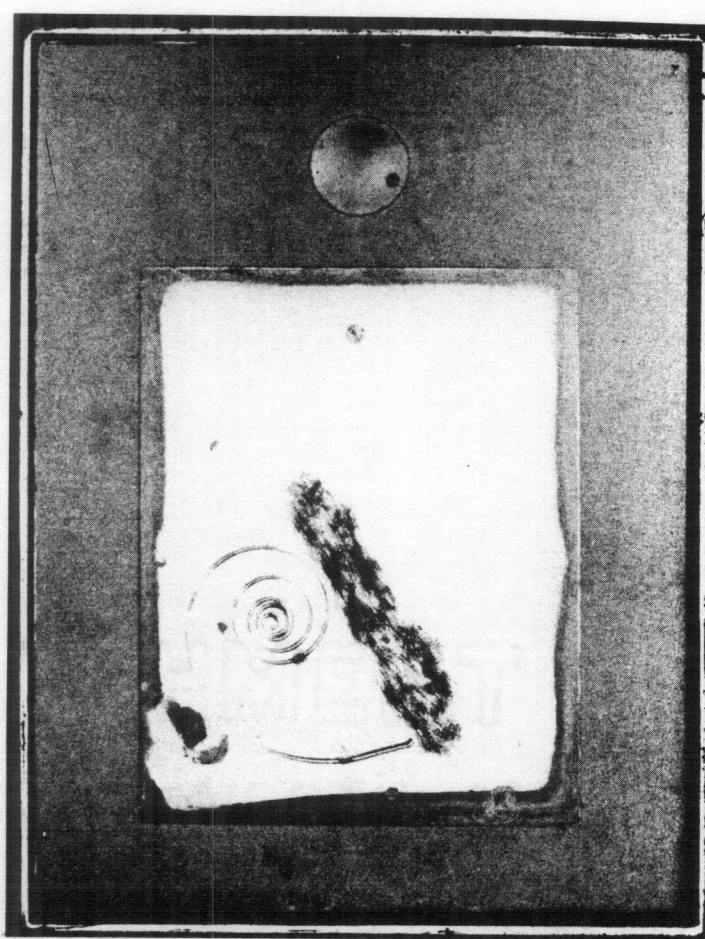


Fig. 26. Arthur Dove, Portrait of Alfred Stieglitz, 1924



Fig. 27. Francis Picabia, Portrait of Poincaré?, 1924-26

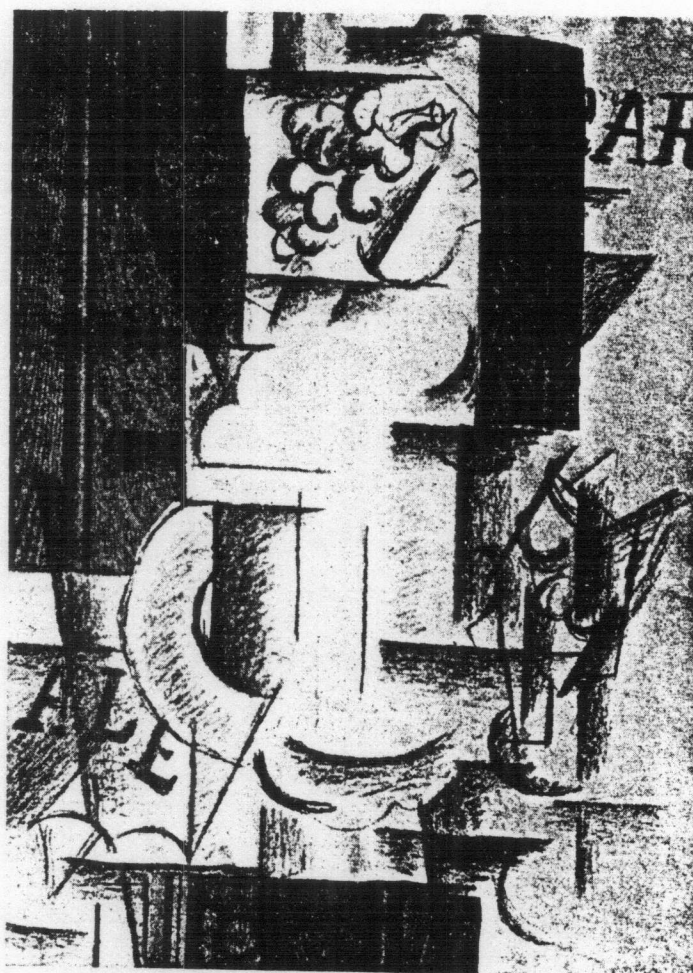


Fig. 28. Georges Braque, Still Life with Fruit Dish and Glass, 1912

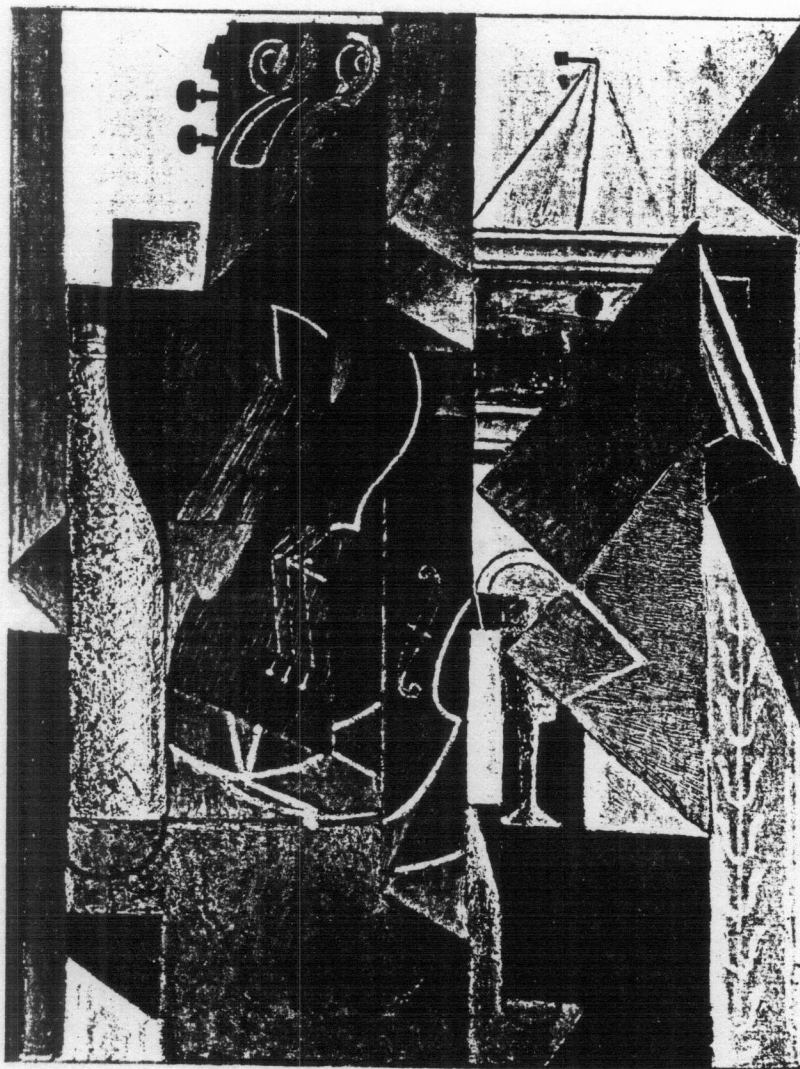


Fig. 29. Juan Gris, Violin and Engraving, 1913

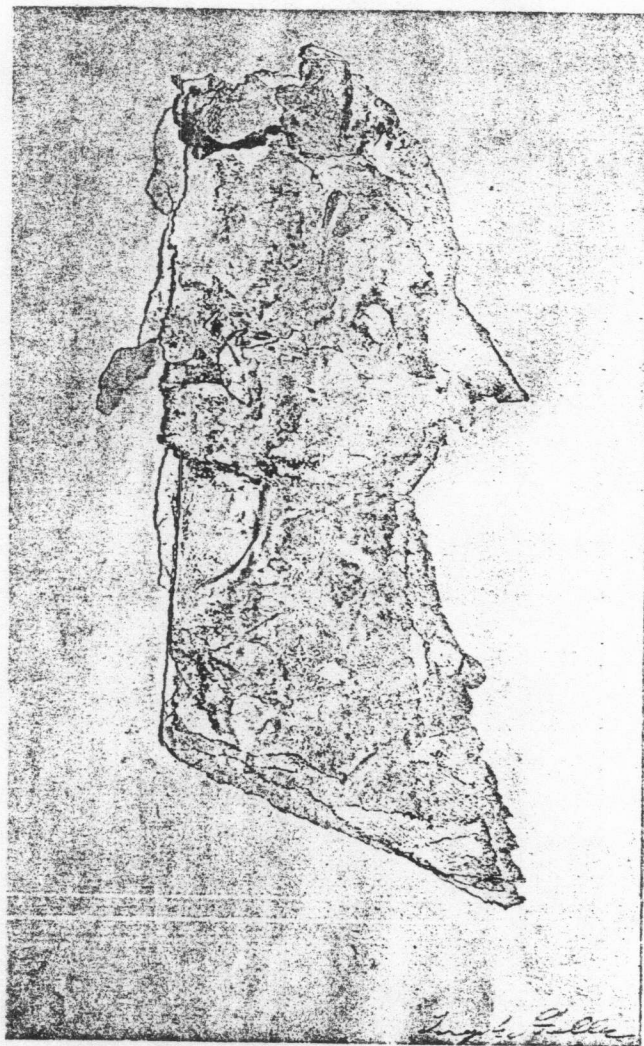


Fig. 30. Joseph Stella, Profile, 1922

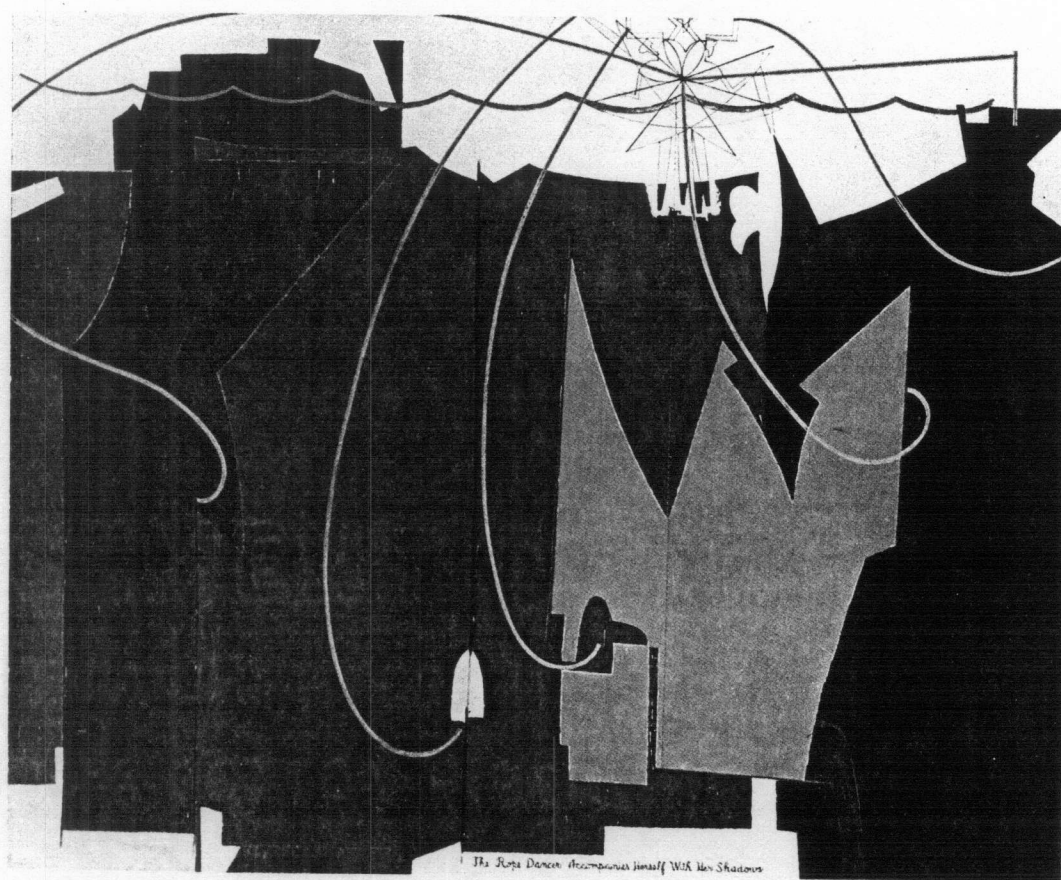


Fig. 31. Man Ray, The Rope Dancer, 1916

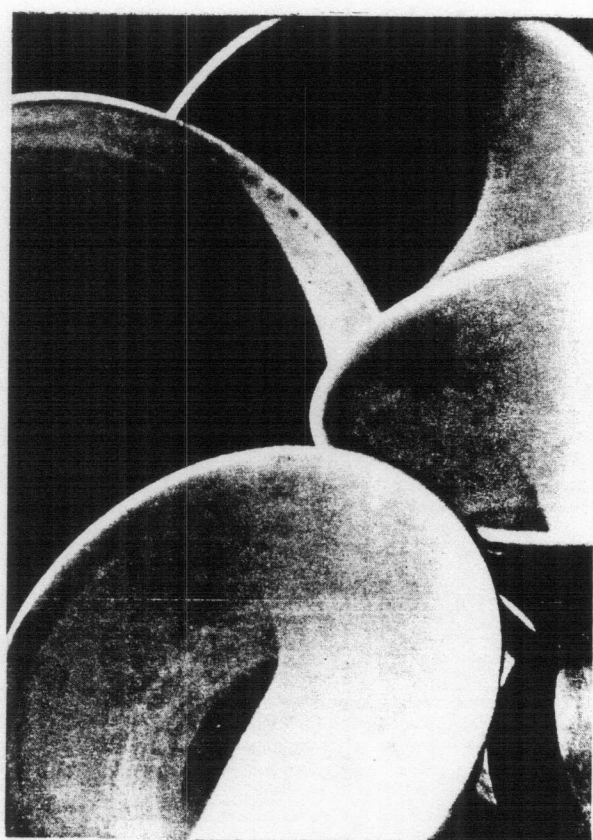


Fig. 32. Paul Strand, Abstraction-Bowls, 1914-15



Fig. 33. Arthur Dove, Waterfall, 1925

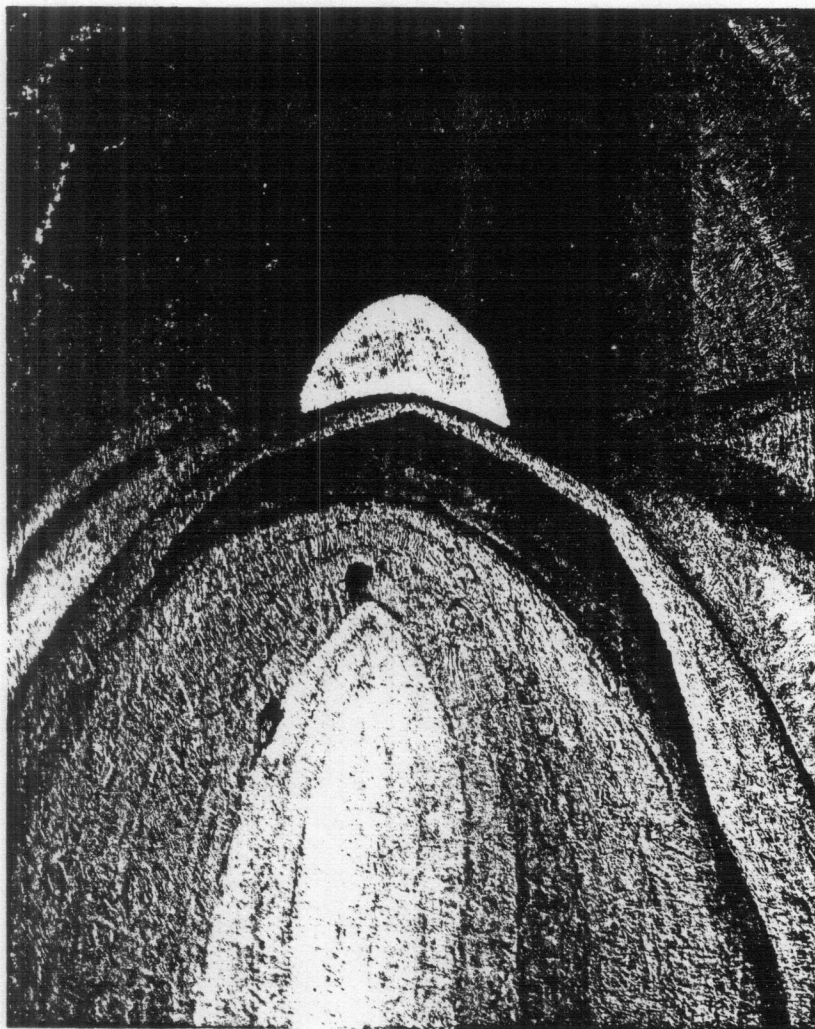


Fig. 34. Arthur Dove, Penetration, 1924

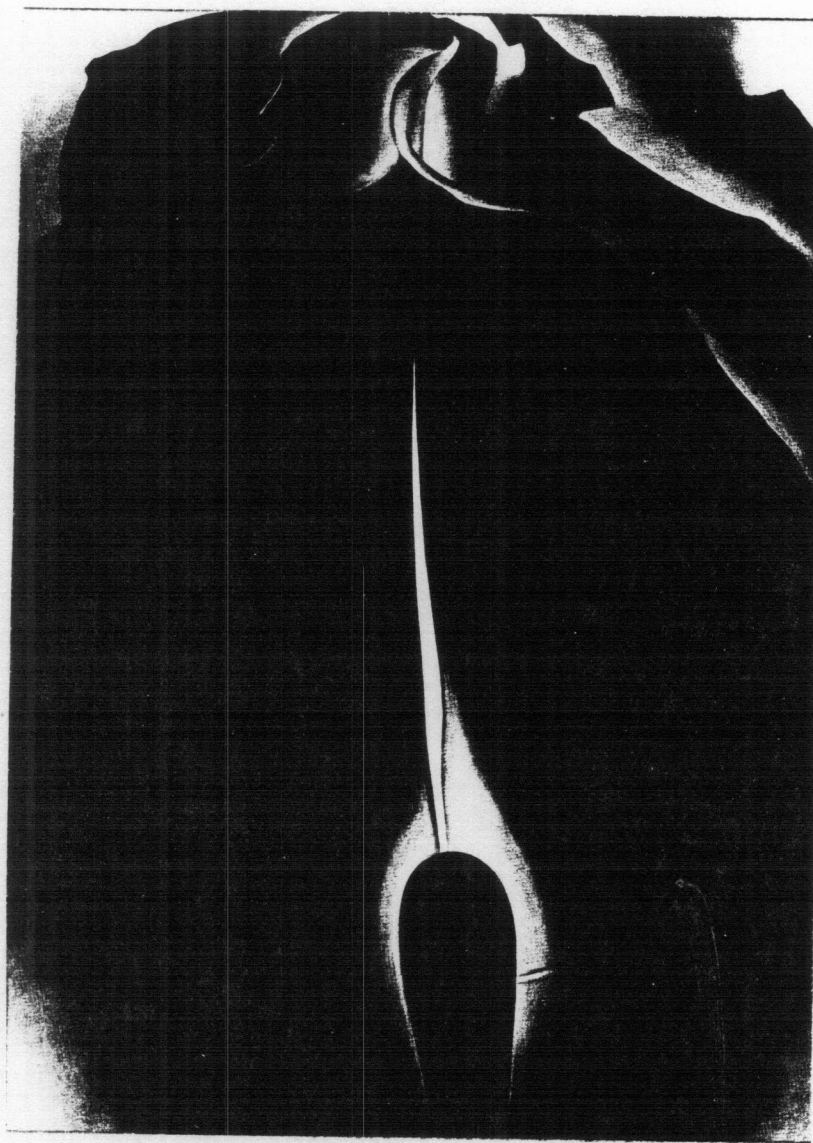


Fig. 35. Georgia O'Keeffe, Jack in the Pulpit IV, 1930

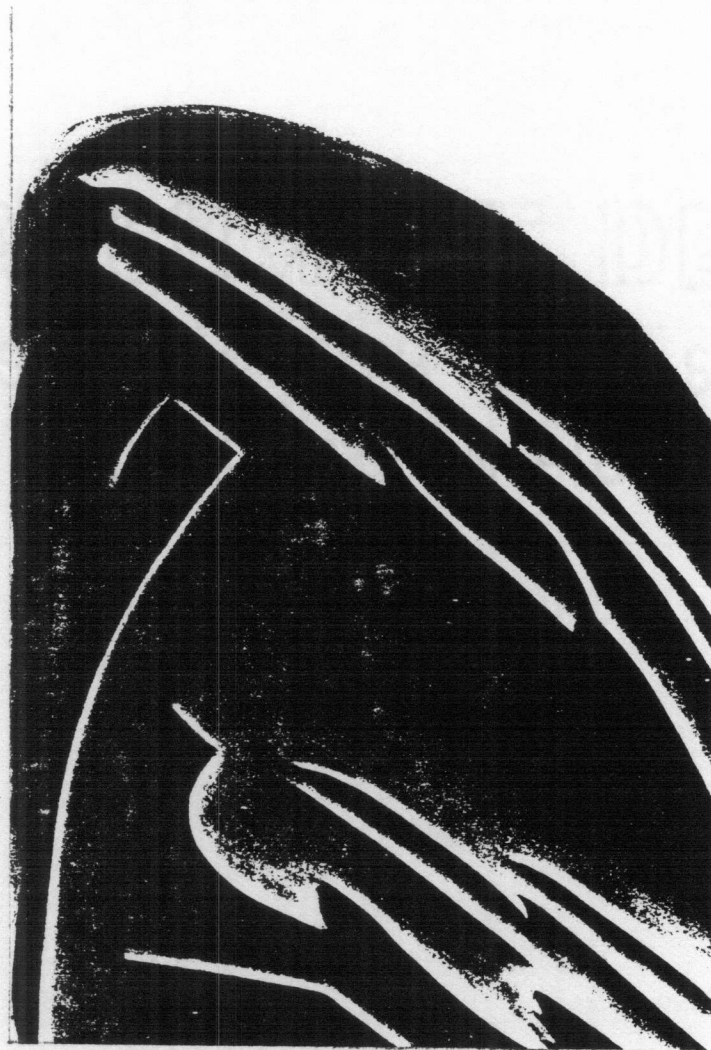


Fig. 36. Helen Torr, Wing Forms

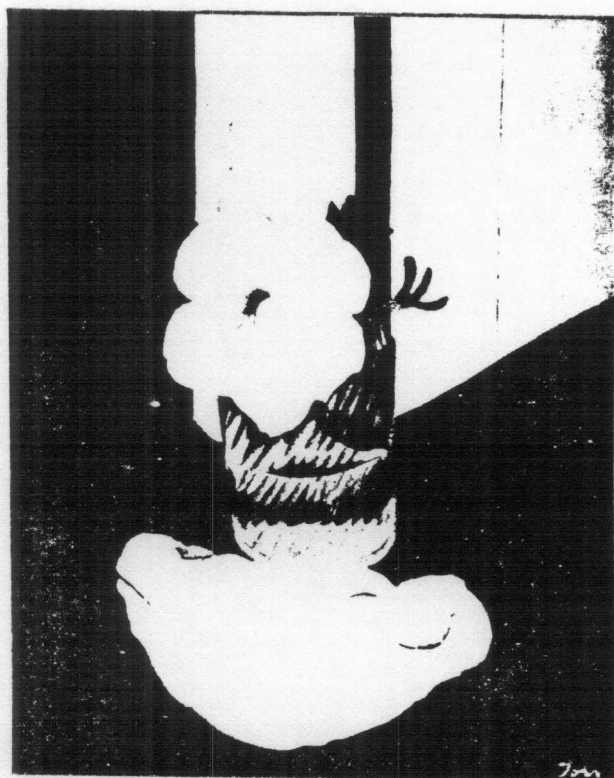


Fig. 37. Helen Torr, Flower in Glass, 1929

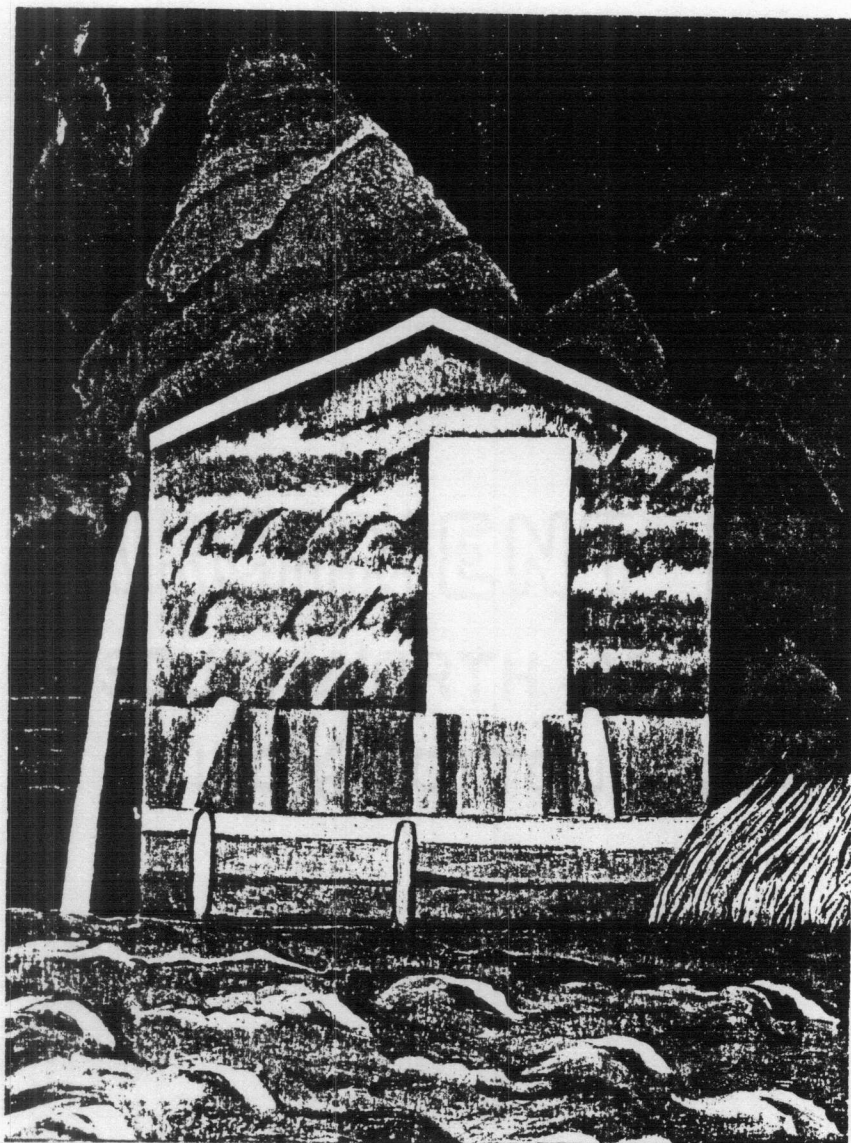


Fig. 38. Helen Torr, Along the Shore, 1932

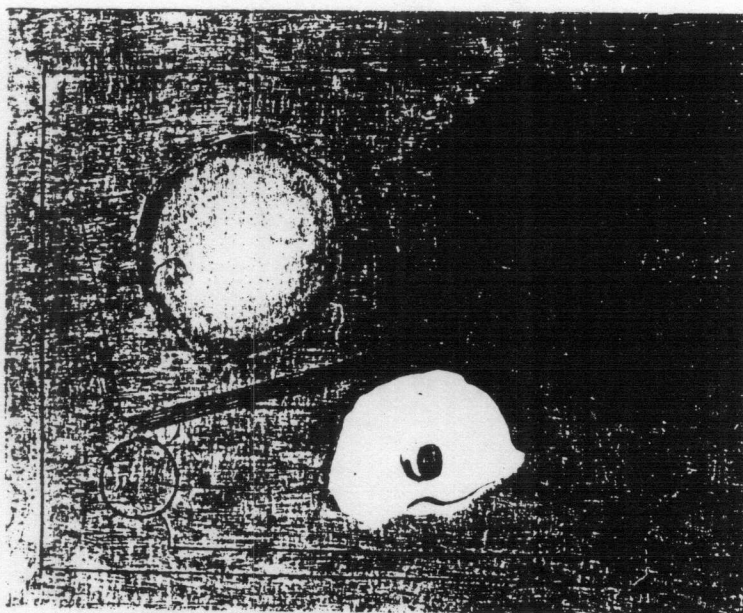


Fig. 39. Helen Torr, Match Box with Lemon, 1926



Fig. 40. Arthur Dove, Rhapsody in Blue Part I, 1926-27

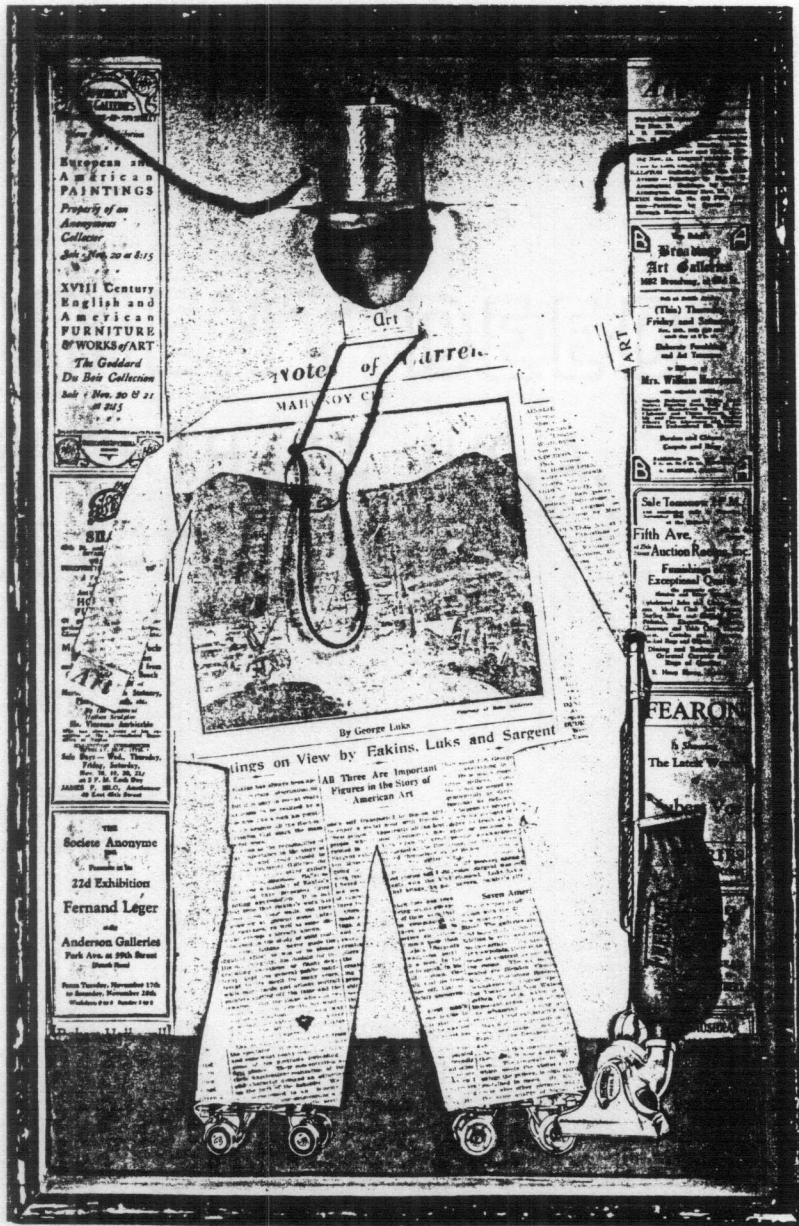


Fig. 41. Arthur Dove, The Critic, 1924



Fig. 42. Arthur Dove, Ten Cent Store, 1924

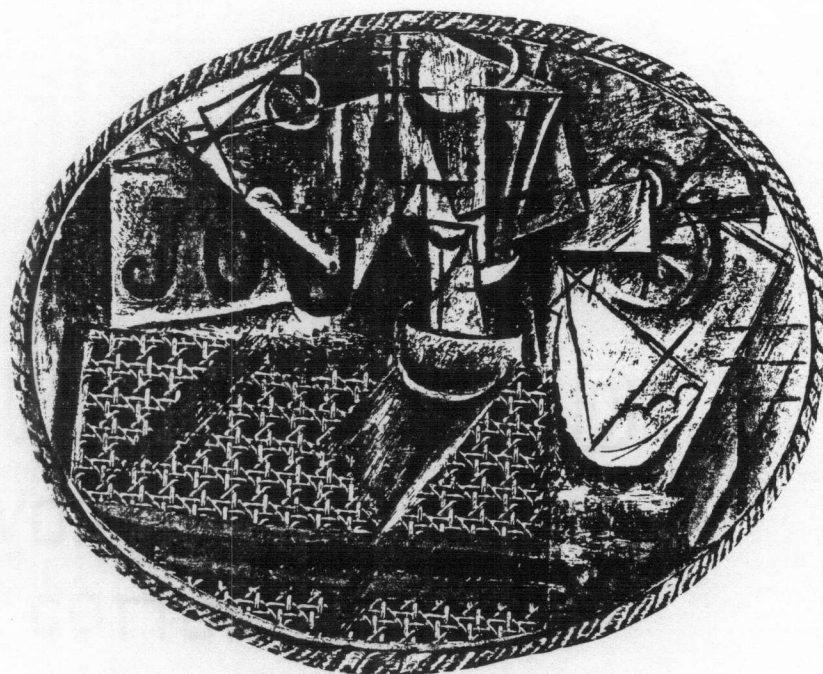


Fig. 43. Pablo Picasso, Still Life with Chair Caning, 1912

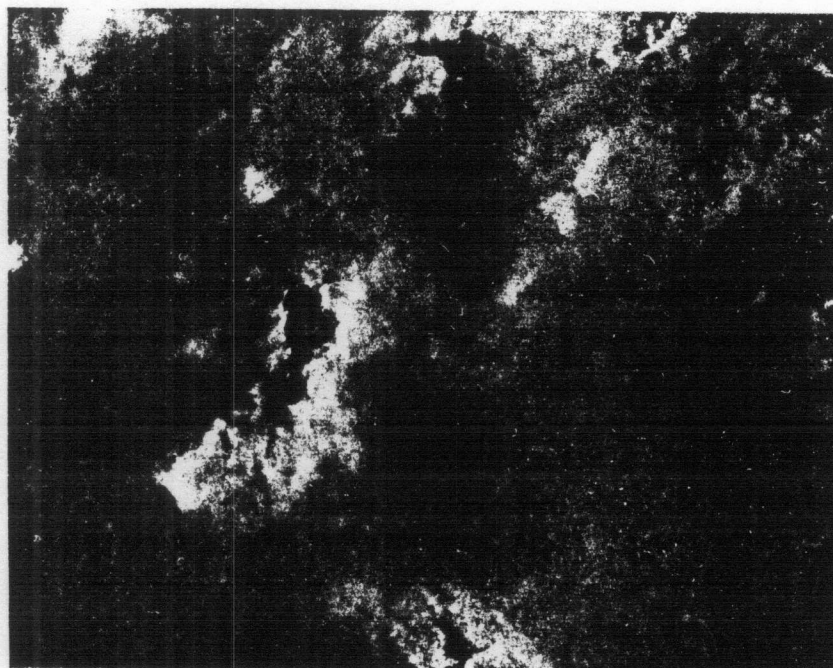


Fig. 44. Alfred Stieglitz, Songs of the Sky No. 1, 1923

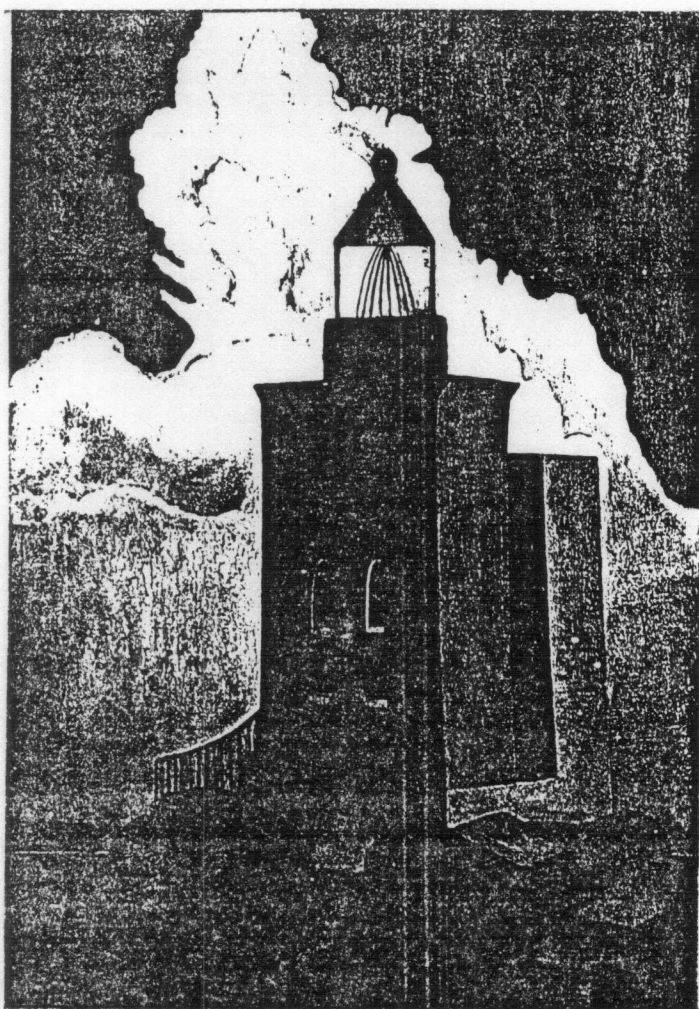


Fig. 45. Helen Torr, Lighthouse, 1932

REFERENCE LIST

Writings by Arthur Dove

Anderson Galleries, New York. Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters, March 13-25, 1916. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Mitchell Kennerley and statements by the artists.

Dove, Arthur. "A Way to Look at Things." In Anderson Galleries, New York. Seven Americans, March 9-29, 1925.

_____. "An Idea." In the Intimate Gallery, New York. Arthur G. Dove Paintings, December 12, 1927-January 7, 1928.

Writings about Arthur Dove

Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. contains the following microfilms: Arthur Garfield Dove-Helen Torr Dove Diaries, 1924-29, roll N70-52; 1930-39, roll 38-40. Arthur Garfield Dove and Helen Torr Dove, unpublished notes and papers.

"Art." New Yorker 1, no. 6 (March 28, 1925): 17.

"Art: Exhibitions of the Week." The New York Times, March 15, 1925, sec. 8, 11.

Cassidy, Donna M. "Arthur Dove's Music Paintings of the Jazz Age." American Art Journal 20, no. 1 (1988): 4-23.

Cohn, Sherrye. "Arthur Dove and the Organic Analogy: A Rapprochement between Art and Nature." Arts Magazine 59, no. 10 June/Summer 1985, 85-89.

_____. "Arthur Dove and Theosophy: Visions of a Transcendental Reality." Arts Magazine 58, no. 1 September 1983, 86-91.

_____. Arthur Dove: Nature as Symbol. Studies in Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, edited by Stephen C. Foster. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.

_____. "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove: Part I: Dove's 'Force Lines."

Growth Lines' as Emblems of Energy." Arts Magazine 58, no. 4 December 1983, 90-93.

_____. "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove: Part II: Dove and 'The Fourth Dimension'." Arts Magazine 58, no. 5 January 1984, 121-25.

_____. "Painting the Fields of Faraday: Physics Inspired America's First Abstract Artist." The Sciences 25, no. 6, (November/December 1985): 44-45.

Frank, Waldo. "The Art of Arthur Dove." The New Republic 45, no. 582 (January 27, 1926): 269-70.

Fulton, Deoch. "Cabbages and Kings." International Studio 81, no. 226 (May 1925): 144-47.

_____. "Exhibitions in New York: Arthur Dove at The Intimate Gallery." Art News 24 (December 1927): 9.

Gallati, Barbara D. "Arthur G. Dove as Illustrator." Archives of American Art Journal 21, no. 2 (1981): 13-22.

Goldwater, Robert. "Arthur Dove: A Pioneer of Abstract Expressionism in American Art." Perspectives USA, no. 2 (Winter 1952): 78-88.

The Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. Arthur Dove and Helen Torr: The Huntington Years, March 3-April 30, 1989. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Anne Cohen DePietro.

Homer, William Innes. "Identifying Arthur Dove's 'The Ten Commandments'." American Art Journal 21, no. 3 (Summer): 21-32.

"Independent Materials." The New York Times, January 17, 1926, sec. 8, 12.

Johnson, Dorothy Rylander. "Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage." Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Maryland, 1967.

Jordan, Jim M. "Arthur Dove and the Nature of the Image." Arts Magazine 50, no. 6 February 1976, 89-91.

Klaric, Arlette. "Arthur G. Dove's Abstract Style of 1912: Dimensions of the Decorative and Bergsonian Realities." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1984.

- McCausland, Elizabeth. "Dove: Man and Painter." Parnassus 9 (December 1937): 3-6.
- Mellow, James R. "Sticks and Stones and Human Hair." The New York Times, January 17, 1971, sec. 2, 27.
- Morgan, Ann Lee. "Toward the Definition of Early Modernism in America: A Study of Arthur Dove." Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1973.
- _____. Arthur Dove: Life and Work with a Catalogue Raisonné. Newark: University of Delaware press, 1984.
- Morgan, Ann Lee, ed. Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988.
- O'Hara, Frank. "Reviews and Previews." Art News 54, no. 7 (November 1955): 52.
- P[emberton], M[urdock]. "Art." New Yorker 1, no. 49 (January 23, 1926): 25-26.
- The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C. Arthur Dove and Duncan Phillips: Artist and Patron, June 13-August 16, 1981. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Sasha M. Newman. Published in association with George Braziller, Inc., New York.
- Phillips, Duncan. "Arthur Dove, 1880-1946." Magazine of Art 40, no. 5 (May 1947): 192-97.
- Rosenfeld, Paul. "Arthur G. Dove." Chapter in Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924, 167-74.
- _____. "The World of Arthur G. Dove." Creative Art 10 (June 1932): 426-30.
- San Francisco Museum of Art, California. Arthur Dove, November 21, 1974-January 5, 1975. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Barbara Haskell. Published by New York Graphic Society, Ltd., Boston.
- Schwartz, Sanford. "On Arthur Dove." Artforum 14, no. 6 (February 1976): 28-33.
- Soffer, Miriam. "Arthur Dove: Twentieth Century Pioneer." New York State Museum 9, no. 3 (Fall 1976): 16-18.
- Smith, Suzanne Mullett. "Arthur G. Dove." Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, American University, 1944.

Swift, Samuel. Title unknown. New York Sun, 18 March 1913. Reprinted in Camera Work, nos. 42-43 (April-July 1913): 48-49.

Todd, Emily Leland. "Pieces of Experience Literally Seized:" Arthur Dove's Symbolic Portraits in Collage, 1924-25. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988.

University of Maryland, College Park. Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage, March 13-April 19, 1967. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Dorothy Rylander Johnson.

Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, Cornell University, New York. Arthur G. Dove 1880-1946: A Retrospective Exhibition, November 1954. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Alan R. Solomon with foreword by Duncan Phillips.

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Arthur G. Dove, September 30-November 16, 1958. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Frederick S. Wight with foreword by Duncan Phillips. Published by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Wimsatt, Justine S. "Wax Emulsion, Tempera or Oil? Arthur Dove's Materials, Techniques and Surface Effects." In American Institute for Conservation of History and Artistic Works, 10th Annual Meeting in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Kensington, M.D.: Washington Conservative Studio, 1983: 183-188.

Yeh, Susan Fillin. "Innovative Moderns: Arthur G. Dove and Georgia O'Keeffe." Arts Magazine 56, no. 10 (June 1982): 68-72.

Zilcer, Judith. "Synaesthesia and Popular Culture: Arthur Dove, George Gershwin, and the Rhapsody in Blue." Art Journal 44, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 361-366.

Related Writings

Aisen, Maurice. "The Latest Evolution in Art and Picabia." Camera Work Special Number (June 1913): 14-21.

Allen, Frederick Lewis. Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties. New York: Harper and Row, 1931.

Andrew Crispo Gallery, New York. Twelve Americans: Masters of Collage, November 17-December 30, 1977. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Gene Baro. Published by Thorne-Sidney Press, Inc., Buffalo.

Bergson, Henri. Creative Evolution. Translated by Arthur Mitchell. New York, Henry Holt, 1911.

_____. "An Extract from Bergson." Camera Work, no. 36 (October 1911): 20-21.

_____. Laughter; An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic. Translated by Cloudesley Brereton and Fred Rothwell. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1911.

_____. "What is the Object of Art?" Camera Work, no. 37 (January 1912): 22-26.

Birmingham Museum of Art, Alabama. The Expressionist Landscape: North American Modernist Painting 1920-1947, September 13-November 4, 1987. Exhibition catalogue by Ruth Stevens Appelhof, with the assistance of Cumbee Wilson. Published by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1988.

Bohan, Ruth L. The Société Anonyme's Brooklyn Exhibition: Katherine Dreier and Modernism in America. Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, edited by Stephen C. Foster. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982.

Brown, Milton W. American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955.

Camfield, William A. "The Machinist Style of Francis Picabia." The Art Bulletin 48, nos. 3-4 (September-December 1966): 309-22.

Corn, Wanda M. "Apostles of the New American Art: Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld." Arts Magazine 54 February 1980, 159-63.

Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington. Avant-Garde Painting and Sculpture in America 1910-1925, April 4-May 18, 1975. Exhibition catalogue, William Innes Homer, editor and contributor.

de Zayas, Marius. "Pablo Picasso." Camera Work, nos. 34-35 (April-July 1911): 65-67.

Eddy, Arthur Jerome. Cubists and Post-Impressionism. Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1914.

Graham Gallery, New York, New York. Helen Torr 1886-1967: In Private Life, Mrs. Arthur Dove, March 25-May 17, 1980. Exhibition catalogue by Sandra Leff.

- The Heckscher Museum, Huntington, New York. Helen Torr 1886-1967, June 3-July 9, 1972. Exhibition catalogue by Eva Ingersoll Gatling. Traveled, Graham Gallery, New York, New York.
- Hoffman, Katherine, ed. Collage: Critical Views. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989.
- Homer, William Innes. Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1977.
- Kandinsky, Wassily. Concerning the Spiritual in Art. Translated by M. T. H. Sadler. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977.
- Kootz, Samuel. Modern American Painters. New York: Brewer and Warren, 1930.
- Kuenzli, Rudolf E., ed. New York Dada. New York: Willis Locker and Owens, 1986.
- Leavens, Ileana B. From "291" to Zurich: The Birth of Dada. Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde, edited by Stephen C. Foster. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983.
- Margolis, Marianne Fulton, ed. Camera Work. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1975.
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Lane Collection: 20th Century Paintings in the American Tradition, April 13-August 7, 1983. Exhibition catalogue, essays by Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr. and Carol Troyen. Traveled, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, TX.
- The Museum of Modern Art, New York. American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America 1750-1900, November 1932. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Holger Cahill.
- Nill, Annegreth. "Decoding Merz: An Interpretive Study of Kurt Schwitters' Early Work, 1918-1922." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1990.
- Novak, Barbara. American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969.
- Platt, Susan Noyes. Modernism in the 1920s: Interpretations of Modern Art in New York from Expressionism to Constructivism. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985.

- Ray, Man. "An Interview with Man Ray: 'This is Not For America'," interview by Arturo Schwartz. Arts Magazine 51 May 1977: 116-121.
- Rehm, Mary Torr. "It's All Too Late, Too Late," in Arthur Dove and Helen Torr: The Huntington Years, Exhibition catalogue, essay by Anne Cohen DePietro, 81-91. Huntington, New York: The Heckscher Museum, 1989.
- Rose, Barbara. American Art Since 1900. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1975.
- Roth, Moira. "Marcel Duchamp in America: A Self Ready-Made." Arts Magazine 51 May 1977: 92-96.
- Stewart, Patrick L. "The European Art Invasion: American Art and the Arensberg Circle, 1914-1918." Arts Magazine 52 May 1977: 108-112.
- Tashjian, Dickran. Skyscraper Primitives; Dada and the American Avant-Garde 1910-1925. Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1975.
- Weber, Max. "Chinese Dolls and Modern Colorists." Camera Work, no. 31 (July 1910): 51.
- _____. "The Fourth Dimension from a Plastic Point of View." Camera Work, no. 31 (July 1910): 25.
- Whitman, Walt. Walt Whitman: The Complete Poems. Edited by Francis Murphy. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1975.
- Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. The Flowering of American Folk Art: 1776-1876, Exhibition catalogue, essay by Jean Lipman and Alice Winchester. Published by Viking Press in Cooperation with the Whitney Museum, 1974.
- Whitney Museum of American Art at Phillip Morris, New York. The Forum Exhibition: Selections and Additions. May 18-June 22, 1983. Exhibition catalogue, essay by Anne Harrell.
- Wolfram, Eddie. History of Collage: An Anthology of Collage, Assemblage and Event Structures. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1975.
- Zilcer, Judith. "The Aesthetic Struggle in America, 1913-1918: Abstract Art and Theory in the Stieglitz Circle." Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1975.