

PROVINCETOWN RADICALS

WOMEN ARTISTS AT THE FRONTIERS OF MODERNISM

By April Kingsley

*"Helen Furr had quite a pleasant home. Mrs. Furr was quite a pleasant woman. Mr. Furr was quite a pleasant man. Helen Furr had quite a pleasant voice, a voice quite worth cultivating. She did not mind working. She worked to cultivate her voice. She did not find it gay living in the same place where she had always been living. She went to a place where some were cultivating something, voices and other things needing cultivating. She met Georgine Skeene there who was cultivating her voice which some thought was quite a pleasant one. Helen Furr and Georgine Skeene lived together there. Georgine Skeene liked travelling. Helen Furr did not care about travelling she liked to stay in one place and be gay there. They were together then and travelled to another place and stayed there and were gay there."*¹

Thus did Gertrude Stein open one of her very first word portraits. Its subjects were her friends Ethel Mars and Maud Squire, two American artists from Cincinnati who were, according to Alice B. Toklas, "habitués" of the Stein ménage on Rue des Fleurs in Paris during its early years — 1903-7. (Baltimore's Dr. Claribel Cone and her sister Etta were the other pair of close female friends in Stein's circle). In her "autobiography" Toklas relates that on the night she first met the two from Cincinnati (it was also



Fisherman, ca. 1916

Maud Hunt Squire

the first occasion of her meeting Matisse), Miss Mars and Miss Squire were discussing an entirely new subject — how to make up one's face. Ethel Mars had determined that faces could be categorized into two sorts, the decorative and the internalized. She declared that Fernande, Picasso's beautiful lover, possessed the former type of face while Mme. Matisse had the latter.

It comes as something of a shock to find artists we commonly associate with the Provincetown scene of 1915-1925 on such profoundly intimate terms with the most radical element in the Parisian art world during one of the most revolutionary periods in the history of art. But when a peek into the background of artist after artist in the distaff portion of the Provincetown art colony of those years produces similar surprises, the shock transmutes to pride. The pioneering printmaker Edna Boies Hopkins, whose most unusual arrangement with her husband permitted her to spend the over-

whelming majority of her time any place other than by his side, chose to spend much of it in Provincetown. She had taken Arthur Wesley Dow's pioneering design instruction at Pratt Institute before it revolutionized the teaching of art in America. Dow's axiom was "Line, notan² and color, this is the trinity of power." In essence he applied Japanese compositional ideas

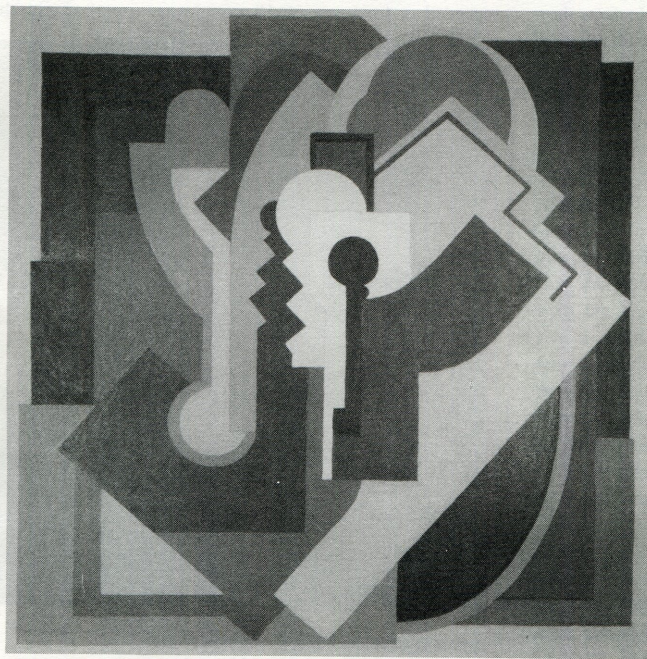
to everyday subject matter, creating a new abstracted kind of imagery that was the first of its kind in America. Taking Dow's cue Hopkins later proceeded to Japan to study their printmaking techniques. When she and her Provincetown friends formed the first woodblock print society in America in 1918, she had been at the forefront of American Japonisme for over a dozen years.

Among the trailblazing Provincetown printmakers, Blanche Lazzell and Agnes Weinrich also played critical roles in introducing Purist Cubism to America in the early twenties. They fought the tide of post-World War I neo-conservatism to study with the most uncompromising Cubist theorists in Paris and bring the word back to these shores. Their abstractions were among the first off American easels, as were the twenties paintings by Lucy L'Engle and Ada Gilmore, who also studied with Albert Gleizes and pored over the diagrams of Gino Severini. Aesthetic theories flew

fast and furiously in Provincetown. These four — Lazzell, Weinrich, L'Engle and Gilmore — were at the center of the maelstrom that accompanied the rise of Modernism here and which resulted in the great rift of 1928 between the Moderns and the Conservatives that split the Provincetown Art Association in twain. Though conventional art historical wisdom has always put Stuart Davis at the leading edge of American Cubism, these Provincetown women were on it as well, and in fact preceded him to Paris by five years.

Gertrude Stein's friends Ethel Mars and Maud Squire were far from being the only young women studying in Paris at the beginning of the century, but they clearly moved in very different circles than those who preferred the safe and refined setting of Mrs. Whitlaw Reid's club for American girls.³ Instead they aligned themselves with the Montmartre bohemians. Anne Goldthwaite⁴, an artist from the South who knew them when they first came to Paris as "nice middle-western girls in tight, plain gray tailor-made suits, with a certain primness," said that six months later she hardly recognized them.

"Miss Mars had acquired flaming



Painting #12, 1929, Collection Provincetown Art Association and Museum

Blanche Lazzell

*orange hair and both were powdered and rouged with black around the eyes until you could scarcely tell whether you looked at a face or a mask. The ensemble turned out to be very handsome, and their conversation, in public that is, became bloodcurdling. I went with them to the cafe where they pre-empted seats in the best corner, never drank but one cafe creme for eight sous and gave two sous pourboire. They paid their debts and in private led exemplary lives. I hope they will never read this last statement, as they would think I was offering them an insult — breaking down the legend they had laboriously built up!"*⁵

Aside from looking the part of the artist of the day, Mars and Squire were each genuinely involved with the latest developments in art. Squire had been influenced by Mary Cassatt's prints, but her work had a fresh, transparent look like that of a watercolor. Her vignettes of

Paris life were graphically bold and witty. Each line has to sing in a woodblock, each plane must work spatially, rhythmically, plastically and yet be recognizable as something real. The prints are deceptive in their simplicity — what looks childlike is actually arrived at by highly sophisticated artistry. Squire's *Fisherman*, 1916, for instance, con-

sists of a figure with three large, round buckets walking across three oval islands of sand on the flats. Looping linear rhythms swing round and round on broad curves, one of which is aligned with the edge of the fisherman's jacket to divide the composition in half, horizontally. Oars neatly bisect the top half of the picture. The man's feet are located on an imaginary line bisecting the bottom half so the surface is neatly divided into fourths, though the geometry is disguised by the dominating curves in units of three. The image is powerful, but not rigid.

Ethel Mars' early prints were flat and decorative. They look simple though they contain a great deal of incident. Back in 1900 she had been instructed by Edna Boies Hopkins' in the most advanced woodblock printing process. By 1906 Mars was ready to appreciate the simplified designs of Wassily Kandinsky's color woodcuts when it

seems she saw them at the Paris Autumn Salon. She must have been particularly impressed, then, by the lack of Orientalism in Kandinsky's work since her own work took a like direction. She was a member of the Societe Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris and served on the Salon d'Automne graphic arts jury between 1907 and 1913 where she had to have passed on Kandinsky's 1907 prints for exhibition. In those, his sources in fairy tale illustration are quite apparent. This is another reason why the deliberately child-like simplicity of his prints must have struck a sympathetic chord in Mars, as well as in Squire. In fact, they went on to spend a lifetime illustrating children's books — *A Child's Garden of Verse*, for instance — in a manner not at all distant from Kandinsky's 1906-7 woodcuts. Mars also began to use his two block method of printing, though she apparently didn't know of his experiments with a single block, monotype-like process. The Nabis (Bonnard and Vuillard) with their flat decorative patterning and poster-like design and their intimate, home-centered subject matter may also have had an effect on young Mars. It is discernible in her later work in Provincetown — images of garden parties, a mother sewing beside her child, her friends at home — orchestrated in large planes of color which have an almost Matissean intensity.

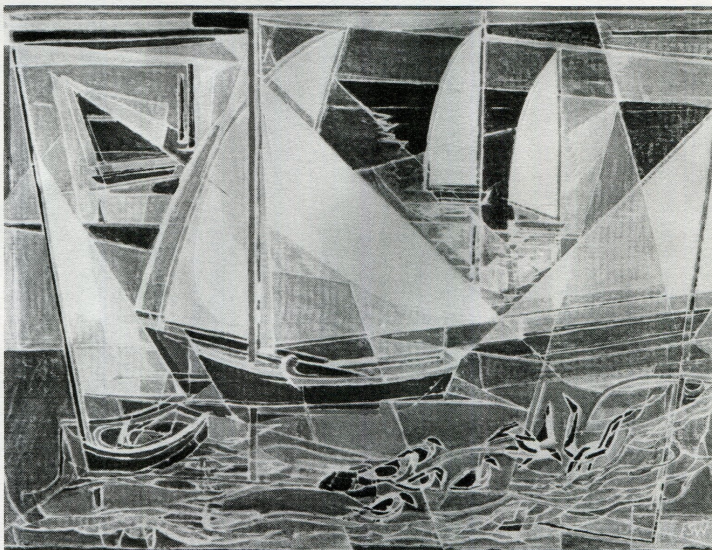
When Mars and Squire left Europe for America on the eve of the war Edna Boies Hopkins left too, and joined them in Provincetown. This West Virginia artist is crucial because of her early training with Arthur Wesley Dow when his Ruskin-inspired obsession with the hand-crafted was at its strongest. The woodblock prints which the Provincetown artists made their trademark art form in the late 'teens are distinguished by their craftsmanship, their decorative color and texture and their ornamental design — all qualities associated with the arts and crafts movement in Europe and America. This powerful, though largely subversive movement lies behind the personally designed look of everything from English country houses to Bauhaus rugs, from Whistler's Peacock Room to Frank Lloyd Wright's furniture. Dow put Ruskin's ideas into practice in the Pratt Institute curriculum as well as in his own summer art school in Ipswich, Massachusetts. There students learned weaving on Colonial looms and punched tin cans into Revere lamps, taking Dow's back-to-the-basics approach to crafts-oriented art colonies all over New England. Carving and printing the blocks for the Provincetown print was a slow, laborious

process you had to love, the kind of make-work situation dear to the heart of the arts and crafts movement.

Hopkins' graduated from Pratt in 1900 and went immediately to work transferring the design principles she learned to the next generation, including Ethel Mars. She made numerous studies for jewelry, books and utilitarian objects as well as for flower prints which were heavily influenced by the Japanese work Dow had shown her from his collection. Her process of forming an image was slow and painstaking, sometimes taking years. Many drawings and watercolors preceded a final set of 10 composite

*on the outer fibers only, the very whiteness of those below shining through and diluting it with light."*⁶

Hopkins' work from the first decade of the century is at its most Orientalizing between 1900 and 1905. In 1904 she married James R. Hopkins, an Impressionist who worked in Monet's orbit at Giverny. Their honeymoon was a trip around the world with stops in Egypt, India, China, and wherever else they wished to study the art. They spent the largest amount of time in Japan where Edna studied with some of the masters of Ukiyo-e woodblock prints Dow had worked with the previous year. She even



Provincetown Sails, 1973, Collection of the Provincetown Art Association & Museum

Ferol Sibley Warthen

studies from which she would choose the final composition. Then she would still feel it necessary to make many graphite and watercolor studies to set the tonalities before carving the block. None of the studies can compare with the resultant print, however, for it was there that the color was fully realized. She described her method of working this way:

"The most important part of the process is the printing which is done on moist paper with watercolors. The ink or color is applied with a brush, and the printing effected by hand pressure. To this procedure much of the beauty of the result may be attributed. By varying the depth of the color, the degree of moisture with which it was applied to the block, the degree of pressure and the use of paper of greater or less absorbent quality, it was possible to obtain tones so subtle, varying and transparent that no wash of watercolor laid on with a brush could approach them. Instead of soaking into the paper the color was often caught up, as it were,

had her own seal — a pea plant in a rectangle, like one of her works in miniature — to stamp on her prints as a signature in the Japanese manner. After settling back in Paris in 1905 her work gradually lost its Oriental look and she dropped the stamp. She placed oversize flowers or sprigs of flowers asymmetrically on a colored field which they now overwhelmed, and the grain of the wood was utilized for textural effect. Flatter and more brightly colored, Hopkins' pictures began to seem to have more to do with abstraction than with botany and to move closer to the assertive flowers of Georgia O'Keefe who, incidentally, also came under Dow's influence at Columbia Teacher's College in the 'teens.

The Hopkins's Paris studio was a focal point for visiting American artists of every modern persuasion for ten years until the outbreak of World War I. They returned to New York, James to begin his long and successful career as an art school administrator and Edna to set up

a life pattern of her own spending a good part of every year in New York, Kentucky, Maine and Provincetown. (After the war, Paris was again on her annual itinerary.) She dressed in slacks instead of skirts and dyed her hair a flaming red. Neither aspect of her persona was welcome in her husband's staid academic circles, so husband and wife would get together when it was convenient, usually in either New York or Paris, leaving Edna free to spend her time making art and enjoying the company of her friends. That famous first summer of 1914, these included Ada Gilmore who came from the school of the Art Institute of Chicago,

with beautiful, mysterious Helene Lungerich whom he helped stage one of the very first art "performance" pieces in America, *Living Japanese Prints*, real-life facsimiles in tableaux.

The following summer Blanche Lazzell and the remaining members of our radical group of women artists made their way to Provincetown as well. A reminiscing Blanche Lazzell said, "It was a glorious summer. To be in Provincetown for the first time, in those days, under ordinary conditions was delightful enough, but that summer of 1915, when the whole scene, everything and everybody was new, it was glorious

*wood to separate each color, and, in printing this left a white line which emphasized the design. With his invention he had produced a more beautiful picture and eliminated much work . . . Being able to see the complete picture on one piece of wood, like a painting on a canvas, gave new possibilities for creative work."*⁸

Painters like Nordfeldt, Lazzell and Weinrich were drawn to the woodblock print because of its close affinity to painting. Dow had always emphasized how much like painting the medium was. He urged that the plank be cut to show the direction of the brush in painting, and his flat color masses seemed cut out of space in the manner of painting. He called maximum attention to the materials that formed the picture by applying the watercolor unevenly, and by making the contours irregular. He wanted to avoid the smooth, unfelt look of Art Nouveau and did so by stressing the handcrafted aspects. The one block method of Nordfeldt vastly increased the number of colors it was practical to use in a given print. A single image could change from dawn colors to nighttime tones, from naturalism to near abstraction, or from lyricism to clashing stridency depending on the mood of the printer. "I use perfect freedom as to color and values," Blanche Lazzelle said, "I trust to my inspiration at the time I do the print."⁹ In addition to the degree of dampness of the paper, the artist could manipulate the density of the French watercolors and their textures by using sponges. She might use barely any pressure from her hand or a tool (usually the back of a spoon) or she might push the paper so forcefully that it went into the grooves and emerged embossed. No two prints need ever be the same yet the image might be re-used indefinitely.

Lazzell's prints are consistently the finest of the group whether she was working abstractly as she did in the twenties or with subjects such as the hills of West Virginia, the backstreets of Provincetown or the flowers in lush bloom on her deck. Rather than seeming an obtrusive graphic device, her white line takes on the character of light as it edges planes and defines spaces, making the hues glow on both sides. In her abstractions the woodgrain is subtly exploited to give planes a quality of transparency as though they were evanescent manifestations rather than tactile units. She doesn't use the grain for simulating the textures of objects the way the others often do. Her work tends to be more cerebral than anecdotal, and it has a

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Bicycles on Cape Cod,
Kalamazoo Institute of Arts

Ada Gilmore Chaffee

Lucy L'Engle who had been in Provincetown since 1911, Agnes Weinrich and her pianist sister Helen, as well as Mars and Squire. Helen Weinrich later married Karl Knaths, a painter 15 years younger than she, and all three lived happily together ever after, Agnes introducing Karl to Cubist Modernism and Helen providing a musical background in which both artists could structure their work.

In those days Provincetown was one-half quaint European resort, one-half Greenwich Village bohemia. Hutchins Hapgood recalled the "invasion" of 1914 in his memoir, *A Victorian in the Modern World* as spearheaded by revolutionists of all sorts — Anarchists, Wobblies, Socialists on the far left, militant females fierce on the subject of sexual freedom, Cubists and Post Impressionists. Charles Demuth was there in the summer of 1914 painting the dunes, as was young Stuart Davis who helped him home when the partying had gone on too wet for too long. Demuth was infatuated

indeed...Creative energy was in the air we breathed."⁷ So wonderful indeed, that some of the artists stayed on through the winter, living near one another and working together, mainly on woodblock prints which Ada Gilmore said "expressed a new modern note in design and color." Maud Squire, who excelled in color intaglio, developed a system of cutting a key block to design the composition as a whole. But the final step to the trademark single block Provincetown print was taken by B.J.O. Nordfeldt, the Swedish artist/actor. (He was one of the founders of the Provincetown Players, acting in their productions and designing sets.) Gilmore relates that Nordfeldt

"... soon became impatient with the mechanical labor of cutting so many blocks of wood (one for each color) before he could express his idea; one day he surprised the others by exhibiting one block, with his complete design on that, instead of parts of it being cut on five or six blocks. He had cut a groove in the

the studio one day and saying that he had "drained the pool" that morning.

Some of the architecture is derived from extant ancient monuments, though the whole is entirely a work of the imagination. But Father enjoyed talking about it as though it had had an actual history. It was, as he told Elaine de Kooning for *Art News*, a Roman ruin in Syria, built in 40 A.D., in a style which is a concoction of corrupted Corinthian, Doric and Ionic forms. The original French mansion was built, he said, about 1800 and the stone "silo" he went on, was alleged to have been built in 1600 and then replaced by the temple which, he explained, leans slightly because it was built on soft earth. Given the chance he even tilted a building! Finally he declared that the entire ruin had been bought in 1900 by a well-to-do Frenchman who landscaped and built a pool.

The *Ruin at Daphne* became well-known after the publication of the *Art News* article about it in 1949 and it was sometimes exhibited in its unfinished states until 1954 when it was declared done and was promptly purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In recent years it has been largely out of sight while the Metropolitan was building its new Lila Acheson Wallace Wing for twentieth century art. But since the opening of that wing in the spring of 1987 the "Daphne" is again on view and hanging beside it is *Two Figures*, painted in Provincetown in the 1920s.

The years spent on such demanding compositions as the *Ruin at Daphne* were not, of course, years spent on one piece alone. Father always spoke of the time spent on his large compositions not in terms of weeks or months, but in terms of "sittings" which were painting sessions of about three hours.

A composition of 1953, *Still Life, Lascaux*, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art brings together many of my father's life-long interests and characteristics as a painter.

In the summer of 1953 Father and I went to France and after some time in Paris we went south to see the great prehistoric paintings in the cave at Lascaux. Father was thrilled by them. His admiration was boundless and we stayed a week in the tiny town of Montignac while Father walked daily out to the cave in the rock hills beyond the village.

The next year, back in New York, he undertook an intricate still life which focused on the Lascaux animals. Starting with a china pot from his grandparents' house he replaced its nineteenth century patterns with great beasts from Lascaux. The octagonal pot is, of course, tilted forward at an eccentric angle and

seen in perspective below eye level. Beneath it is a piece of shiny zinc so bent as to provide several reflective surfaces in which the Lascaux Vase is mirrored. The cast image is, naturally, distorted both because of the zinc surface and because it is seen in perspective from yet another view point than that of the vase itself.

As my father described it, he took a vase and:

"... put beneath it, in which it was reflected, a piece of clear zinc which I had ruffled into the simulation of oily, smooth water, rippling. I did a pretty crude job on it, because I'm no tinsmith, but it was a shiny piece of stuff and sure enough, I could see the vase in it..."

In this painting the great Lascaux bulls are incorporated into a composition which features them and integrates them into a work which is highly representative of Father's life-long interests as a painter.

My father always felt a comradeship with other artists. He felt there is a bond inherent in being an artist which unites all artists of whatever style or era. His Lascaux Vase is in part an expression of his admiring kinship with his Cro-Magnon colleagues of fifteen thousand years earlier.

This is appropriate to my father's spirit and, I feel, to that of all artists. For very broadly speaking art is the things that people have made. And the things that people have made constitute far and away our greatest record of human history and endeavor. The written record is scant by comparison. I am proud that my father's work is part of the ancient, continuing and visible record of human history and aspiration. □□

Helen Dickinson Baldwin is the daughter of Edwin Dickinson. She teaches at Vanderbilt University, Department of Fine Arts, specializing in early medieval art.

Unless otherwise noted quotations are taken from interviews conducted by Carol S. Gruber, *The Reminiscences of Edwin Dickinson*, (unpublished manuscript, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, New York, NY, November 1957-January 1958).

Other quotations or references are to Katharine Kuh, *The Artist's Voice: Talks with Seventeen Artists* (New York, Harper & Row, 1960, 73), and Elaine de Kooning, "Edwin Dickinson Paints a Picture" (*Art News*, September 1949, 26-28, 50-51).

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dignified, almost austere presence as a result.

Once the block was carved, and she made more than 130 of them, Lazzell sometimes worked on an impression for as long as a week. The paper was attached to the top of the block and pulled down each time a color was to be printed. It was a highly convenient way of making art, especially appropriate for women who might not have studios to get away to. Many worked at home where domestic duties or other demands often interrupted their art activities. Women dominated the color woodcut artform whereas few women at this time etched or did lithography, neither of which was in widespread practice even among men in this country. But women have traditionally played a large part in the Arts & Crafts movement as it was manifested in America. Marguerite Zorach, who joined the Provincetown printmakers group in 1916, later turned to making paintings by embroidering them, needlework being another handy medium for a young mother. Blanche Lazzell and Ada Gilmore executed striking abstract imagery when they painted china, and the hooked rugs Lazzell designed in the twenties were among the first to be made here in forms that paralleled those of modern painting. Ethel Mars and Edna Boies Hopkins also did some excellent work in this largely ignored but important Feminist medium. Only recently has the climate changed to appreciate the radical, even subversive nature of their selection of such generally denigrated, non-high art media in which to express themselves. It turns out that Judy Chicago, Miriam Schapiro and the other contemporary Feminist artists had role models hidden in Provincetown all this time.

But Lazzell, Weinrich, L'Engle, Gilmore and Flora Schofield held their own as well in the fine-art sphere of French modernism. All became intensely involved with it in the early twenties, primarily through studying with Albert Gleizes in Paris. Gleizes was an inspiring teacher, fired with near religious fervor about painting's crucial role in the search for metaphysical principles of reality. Gleizes had spent time in New York after the war began and was enraptured by the rhythms of city life. In conjunction with the visual stimuli of Manhattan he had a true religious epiphany in, of all places, Pelham, New York when he "found God," and ever after art and spirituality were fused in his mind. The most exciting pictures of his life

were executed here, and when he returned to Paris he was obsessed by the search for plastic, kinesthetic equivalents for the great themes that had absorbed him in New York, a city which draws its life from the river, skyscrapers, bridges and elevated trains. Dissatisfaction with both the "old country's" ways of life and with art's quintessentially anarchic uncommittedness led him to pursue absolute order. He established a social utopian community which he called Moly-Sabata where art was pursued like a religion. Specific subject matter and perspective were deemed too limiting. Basing his ideas on Pascal's "Spirit of Geometry," he believed that painting could only be universal if it were grounded in essential rhythms. He taught his students to organize the painting in terms of the swinging movements of the chosen two-dimensional plane surfaces both front to back and side to side, synthesizing these two movements into more complex forms until they reached curves. The proportions of the Golden Section loosely guided the division of space, and color was flat, never modulated or shaded, so as to eliminate volumes which imply the three-dimensionality of Renaissance space. His was pure painting as a two dimensional artform. Even though Lazzell and the others studied with other modern theoreticians like Andre L'Hote, Fernand Leger and Gino Severini during this period, artists whose ideas closely paralleled those of Gleizes, it is his work which looks most like that of the Provincetown radicals.

Ada Gilmore and her husband Oliver Chaffee were particularly fascinated with Severini's ideas as stated in his *Du Cubisme Au Classicisme (Esthetique du compas et du nombre)* which are nearly identical with those of America's Jay Hambidge.¹⁰ Hambidge's *Dynamic Symmetry* had a host of artists in New York and New England in a tizzy over his "whirling rectangle" theory of concordances between nature, mathematics, and the art of the past as well as modern, dynamically symmetrical art based on the Golden Section. (That ratio, 1.618, describes the spiral phyllotaxis of a sunflower, Greek proportions of the human body, Egyptian temples and the arches of Notre Dame, among other things.) Flora Schofield, a friend of Ada Gilmore's who was studying with Severini, wrote to her that even he advised her not to overdo the measurement system. Schofield had studied in Provincetown during the 'teens and made color woodcuts which she showed at the Art Association with the other "woodpeckers" as they were termed by a self-appointed critic of

the early Provincetown Art Association shows.¹¹ It seems as though Schofield spent the twenties studying as well with all the available French masters from Friesz to Leger and even with the Russian Natalia Goncharova. Although her abstractions were the first ever exhibited in Chicago, where she became known as the "dean of women artists," and she is generally listed as one of our first Cubists, she also worked representationally in a tough-minded Cezannesque style. All through the twenties, her most productive period, Schofield lived in Paris with her children and exhibited her work frequently. She visited her husband, a prominent Chicago attorney, twice a year, on Christmas and July 4th. Upon returning to Chicago in the thirties she designed a modern house which became not only her home but the center of the city's artistic activity.

The austerity of Lazzell's mid-twenties abstractions was equal to that of any of the late Cubists in Paris. In fact, she was invited to exhibit alongside her instructors in the Salon d'Automne from 1923-30 and her work was included in the important international exhibition of abstraction, "L'Art d'Aujourd'hui," in 1925. Only a few curves and an occasional zig-zag or two interrupt the sequences of rectangular flat color planes canting off the vertical axis. A still life subject is implied by the format, but never exploited for its picturesqueness or content. Agnes Weinrich, on the other hand, is often more lyrical, more specific as to the objects being painted, and closer in spirit to early collage Cubism with which she was familiar in Paris.¹²

Like Lucy L'Engle, Weinrich seems to have been more interested in textural variegation than Lazzell in the latter's paintings and prints. Weinrich's prints are full of speedily sweeping curves. Even a sedate subject like a garden scene or a herdsman tending his flock is alive with swelling, near-bursting rounded forms. Though her work doesn't look like that of the German Expressionist Franz Marc, one feels some kind of spiritual affinity with it. In her hands the line reserved between colors becomes an abstract network, its rhythm seeming to connect only occasionally and then arbitrarily with the color planes. The results are less classically controlled than Lazzell's by far, but much more visually complex and eye engaging.

The artistic ferment taking place on Lazzell's flower-laden deck at the end of a wharf and in Weinrich's studio overlooking the bay at the very tip of the Cape came to a head in 1926 when the Modernists requested equal representation with the traditionalists on the Art Association jury. They didn't get it, and then, as if to rub salt in the wound, one of the old guard, Richard E. Miller, a successful Impressionist, perpetrated a hoax on the two near-Moderns who did manage to get on the jury. He slipped a faux-Cubist work of his own devising past them titled *Hence the Pyramids* and signed Ad Wolgast — a prizewinner. Embarrassment and chagrin on all sides resulted in a separate, genuinely Modern show to be held each year in addition to the usual juried exhibition. The Moderns subsequently infiltrated the controlling structure of the Association to such an extent that both shows began to look alike and in 1937 combined annuals were back for good. But by then the heady excitement of esthetic debate and dialogue on the frontiers of Modern art was already becoming a thing for art historians to try to recreate. □□

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1. Stein, "Miss Furr and Miss Skeene," *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p.563.

2. Notan is a Japanese principle concerning the harmonious arrangement of lights and darks.

3. I am indebted to Janet Altic Flint whose thorough research for *Provincetown Printers: A Woodcut Tradition*, National Museum of American Art (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983) has provided much information for this essay.

4. Goldthwaite was also part of Stein's circle. She studied with Othon Friesz, the Fauve painter, was later included in the Armory show, and went on to international renown as an etcher. She summered in Provincetown during the '20s.

5. Adelyn D. Breeskin, *Anne Goldthwaite: A Catalogue Raisonne of the Graphic Work* (Montgomery, Ala.: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), p.25, as quoted in Flint, p.11.

6. Quoted in *Edna Boies Hopkins: Color Woodcuts 1900-1923*, Mary Ryan Gallery exhibition catalogue, March 1986, p.2.

7. Quoted in Flint, p.14.

8. Quoted in Flint, p.15.

9. Quoted in Flint, p.20.

10. Hambidge's theories were less interesting to the purer Provincetown abstractionists who felt he applied them too exclusively to representational imagery.

11. During its first 15 years the exhibition catalogues were annotated by Miss Abbie Cook Putnam, the town librarian, pulling no punches about the "awful old style," "splendid, too modern, or rotten as usual" work she saw there.

12. If she studied with Gleizes prior to World War I, as is generally assumed, she was probably the force that guided Lazzell, L'Engle, Gilmore, et al to him after the war. Lively interchanges of ideas must have ensued upon their return.