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# A Mixed Reception for Modernism: The 1913 Armory Show at The Art Institute of Chicago

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The cubists are coming, ho, ho, ho, ho;  
The cubists are coming, ho, ho, ho, ho;  
The cubists are coming from stately Manhattan;  
The cubists are coming, ho, ho.

The art director has gone before,  
He's said goodbye for a month or more;  
The cubists are coming, and that's enough;  
He cannot stand the futurist stuff.<sup>1</sup>

With insipid verse and inflammatory prose, the Chicago press heralded the coming of the International Exhibition of Modern Art, more commonly known as the Armory Show, to The Art Institute of Chicago in March 1913 (see fig. 1). As the first major exhibition of avant-garde art held in this country, the show had taken New York by storm the month before, introducing the nation to the works of Post-Impressionists, such as Vincent van Gogh, Paul Cézanne, and Paul Gauguin, and their immediate European successors, up to and including the Fauves and the Cubists. Organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, the International Exhibition included works by contemporary American artists, but its notoriety was due to its focus on the most recent, “radical” innovations of European modernism.

While on view in New York, from February 17 through March 15, 1913, at the 69th Regiment Armory—from which the show took its more familiar name—the International Exhibition received an enormous amount of coverage from the local and national press. Although media accounts of the Association's enterprise were ini-

tially favorable, as the exhibition continued they became less flattering, characterizing the painting and sculpture of the Europeans as the work of degenerates and charlatans. Several Chicago newspapers sent correspondents to New York to cover the show, and their adverse dispatches, illustrated with reproductions of modernist painting and sculpture, appeared in the daily papers. As the opening at the Art Institute approached, the negative reviews continued, creating nervous anticipation and an atmosphere of intolerance in a city whose populace and press were hostile to the modern.

On March 20, 1913, four days before a scaled-down version of the New York show was to open at the Art Institute, the museum's director, William M. R. French (fig. 2), embarked for the West Coast on a combination lecture tour and vacation—a coincidence that was dutifully noted by the Chicago papers. French, by his own admission, did not appreciate the modernists, but his trip had been planned in November of 1912, before the museum ever became involved with the exhibition. And although he did not exactly flee from the International Exhibition of Modern Art as reported, he did not wel-

FIGURE 1. View of gallery 53 of the International Exhibition of Modern Art at The Art Institute of Chicago, 1913. The International Exhibition, which is more commonly known as the Armory Show, provided Americans with the most comprehensive gathering of art of the European avant-garde to date. After its initial showing at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York, the exhibition was on display at the Art Institute from March 24 to April 16, 1913. During this time, the show created a sensation among the Chicago press and public, and attracted 188,650 visitors to the museum. Among the artists represented in this gallery are Duchamp, Braque, Derain, Picasso, Archipenko, Duchamp-Villon, Gleizes, and Souza Cardoso. See fig. 14 for another view of this gallery.



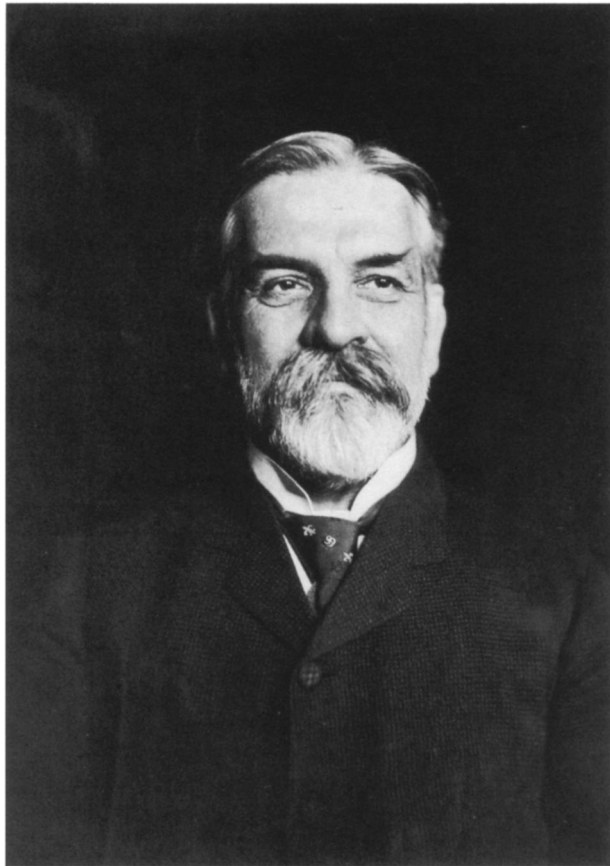


FIGURE 2. William M. R. French, director of the Art Institute at the time of the International Exhibition, was reluctant to bring the show to the museum because of his skepticism about the artistic merit of much of its contents and his concern about the effect that the exhibition might have on the students of the School of the Art Institute. Despite his reservations, however, he did allow it to come to Chicago and insisted that it include a representative sample of the art of the European avant-garde.

come it either. French was hardly in the minority, for it would be some time before either the Art Institute, the city of Chicago, or the nation was able to accept this innovative but controversial art.

The fact that modernism was not readily received in the United States, or, more particularly, Chicago, is not surprising, since there were limited opportunities for the public to become familiar with some of the more recent developments in European painting and sculpture. Twenty years before the Armory Show, works by Impressionists such as Cassatt, Degas, Manet, Monet, Pissarro, Renoir, Rodin, and Sisley had been displayed in the Art Palace of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Chicago's most significant international art exhibition to that date.

It was at the 1893 Exposition that Chicago attorney Arthur Jerome Eddy (fig. 3) became acquainted with the work of Whistler and Rodin. Eddy's fascination with these two artists subsequently led him to Europe, where he met them and commissioned portraits from them. Eddy shared his firsthand knowledge of these artists with the public through illustrated lectures he presented at the Art Institute and also through his book *Recollections and Impressions of James A. McNeill Whistler*.<sup>2</sup>

While incorporating Impressionism into the art-historical hierarchy, the city's official arbiters of taste—the Art Institute and its School—continued to cling to the conventions of academic art. In the years preceding the International Exhibition, the most advanced European painting that the Art Institute showed were examples of French Impressionism. In addition to an exhibition, “A Loan Collection of Selected Works of Modern Masters,” featuring works by several Impressionists from the Durand-Ruel Gallery in New York, the museum also received loans from Bertha Honoré Palmer and Art Institute Vice-President Martin A. Ryerson, Chicago's two foremost collectors of French Impressionism. By 1913, Manet, Monet, and Rodin, as well as the expatriates Cassatt and Whistler, were represented in the museum's permanent collection.

Even more prevalent than the paintings of the French Impressionists were the works of contemporary American artists, many showing an Impressionist influence, that could regularly be seen in local galleries as well as in the collections of the Art Institute. The museum routinely held special exhibitions featuring examples by these Americans, as well.<sup>3</sup> Even the most radical groups of painters in the United States—the “Ashcan School” and “the Eight”—were represented in these exhibitions.

“The Eight” had their own show at the Art Institute in the fall of 1908. Although the vernacular, urban subject matter of this work somewhat dismayed museum director French, he did realize its significance and acknowledge that it was “worth having”:

“The Eight” present rather a remarkable appearance. Spectators generally are much perplexed by them. Nobody so far as I know expresses much favorable opinion. When artists deny themselves all the ordinary elements of pictorial art, regularity of composition, motives of beauty, all classic and conventional principles, and limit themselves to the expression of very limited range of actual fact, they cannot expect the world to sympathize with them. The penetrating critic can see that they know how to paint, but even he wonders why they do not do it.

French was particularly disappointed that one of “the Eight” was Arthur B. Davies (fig. 4), a former student of

the School of the Art Institute. Davies would later become president of the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, and, in that capacity, was the principal organizer of its International Exhibition of Modern Art. Davies's art was less radical than his stance on art, which explains why he had a one-person show at the Art Institute in 1911 and why his work was acquired for the museum's permanent collection.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, almost one-third of the artists, most of whom were Americans, eventually included in the Chicago showing of the International Exhibition had previously exhibited at the Art Institute and would have been familiar to the viewing public. As extreme as some of these contemporary American artists may have seemed, there were even more radical developments taking place in the art of the nascent European avant-garde. And although the opportunities—short of a trip to the art centers of Europe, especially Paris—for Americans to see this modern art first hand were relatively scarce, they nevertheless did exist.

The most notable champion of modern art in the United States in the decade preceding the International Exhibition was the photographer and dealer Alfred Stieglitz. Beginning in 1908, Stieglitz, with the help of fellow photographer Edward Steichen, presented at his "291" gallery in New York the first American exhibitions of work by European artists such as Cézanne, Matisse, Picasso, and Henri Rousseau, and by American artists who had been to Europe and had been influenced by the modernists, including Hartley, Marin, and Weber. Chicagoans read about these events in an interview with Stieglitz in the December 11, 1911, *Chicago Evening Post*, in which he commented on the modernists and their reception in America. Stieglitz was not the sole purveyor of modernism, however, for other galleries in New York as well as in cities such as Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and Milwaukee were also displaying art by Americans working in a modernist vein.<sup>5</sup>

A show of works by the American artist Arthur Dove was presented at Chicago's W. Scott Thurber Gallery in March 1912, directly after its engagement at "291." Dove accompanied his works to Chicago and was on hand to take members of the press through the exhibition. Although some ridiculed Dove's work, others wrote favorable, perceptive reviews, making earnest attempts to understand the artist's intentions and, in turn, to explain them to their readers. Despite the good press, only one work was sold, not surprisingly, to Arthur Jerome Eddy. This purchase marked the beginning of his interest in collecting twentieth-century art.<sup>6</sup>

In January 1913, only two months before the arrival of the International Exhibition, the Art Institute hosted an "Exhibition of Contemporary German Graphic Art."



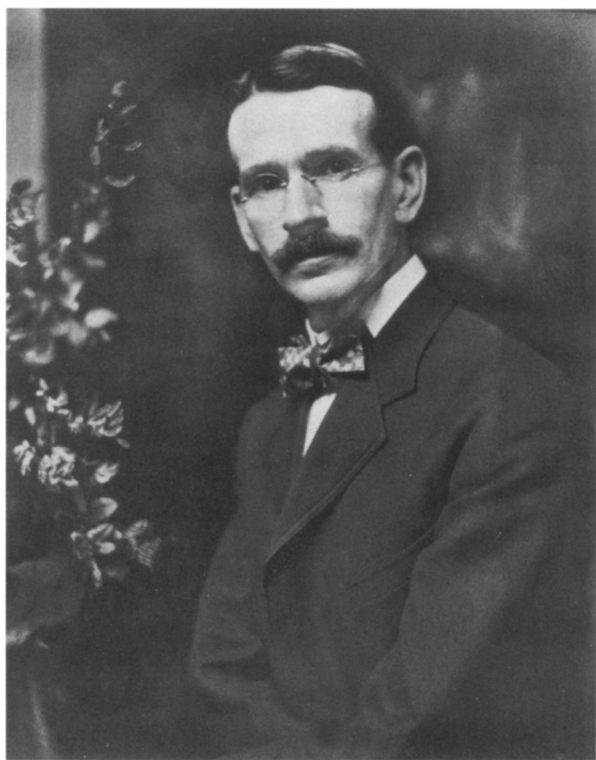
FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler (American, 1834–1903). *An Arrangement in Flesh Color and Brown (Arthur Jerome Eddy)*, 1894. Oil on canvas; 209.5 x 92.7 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection (1931.501). A Chicago attorney, Eddy first saw Whistler's art at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. The following year, he met Whistler in Europe and commissioned this portrait. Eddy purchased eighteen paintings and seven lithographs from the International Exhibition, including works by Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia, two of the show's most radical artists.

Included were works by Beckmann, Corinth, Feininger, Kandinsky, Kollwitz, Marc, Nolde, and Pechstein. Oddly enough, this exhibition seems to have escaped the wrath of the press and public; but a show that opened in February, an “Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art,” was not as fortunate.

Although the Scandinavian exhibition did contain works that could be considered Post-Impressionist, including six paintings by Edvard Munch, none of the works were nearly as radical as those by the contemporary German artists just seen at the museum or as those by the Fauves and the Cubists in the upcoming International Exhibition. However, some members of the Chicago press, anticipating the International Exhibition but not very knowledgeable about the art and artists it included, saw the Scandinavian show as representative of the new movements in art and seized the opportunity to attack them.

On February 27, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean* sounded the alarm with the headline “‘Futurists’ Startle by

FIGURE 4. Arthur B. Davies, president of the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, was responsible for organizing the International Exhibition. Photo courtesy of the Armory Show Files, Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation Papers, Collection Archive, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution.



Hideous Lines. . .Scandinavian Painters Do Not Inspire a Happy Mood. Devoid of Color and Charm.” Amy L. Paulding, author of the accompanying article, described the art as “weird, colorless, absolutely lacking in everything that is usually associated with the original conceptions of art; hideous delineations which look as if they were conceived in a nightmare and executed in a delirium.”<sup>7</sup>

The Scandinavian Exhibition became even more controversial when the Art Institute removed, “on moral grounds,” the painting *Summer Days*, depicting poultry in a sunlit garden, by the Norwegian Bernhard Folkestad. Since no illustrations or descriptions of this work seem to exist, we do not know what people found objectionable. The *Chicago Daily Tribune*, while choosing not to describe the painting in more than “generalities,” reported that, although some saw the public reaction as “silly prudishness,” others were shocked, and that “most of the women hurried away from it after the first glance.” When French became aware of the problem, he “ordered the picture ‘down and out’ or rather down in the basement. . .[to] gather. . .dust.”<sup>8</sup>

Three days after this incident, Chicago’s official art censor, Sergeant Jeremiah O’Connor, impounded a reproduction of Paul Chabas’s *September Morn* from an art store window. The image showed a naked young woman standing ankle deep in water, modestly trying her best, considering the circumstances, to cover herself. O’Connor claimed to have acted on the orders of Mayor Carter H. Harrison and, in his own defense, stated that “the picture is not conducive to good morals. It may be a work of art, but its moral tone is questionable. I believe that the only proper place for it is in the Art Institute, and not in the display window on Wabash Avenue.” Local artists condemned O’Connor’s actions and eventually the issue was tried in court.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* posed the question, “When is art art? When wicked?,” and the *New York Telegraph* speculated that a general ban on displaying images of nudes might precipitate a police raid on the Art Institute.<sup>10</sup>

This lack of sophistication about modern art and the apprehension that many felt toward it were what the Association of American Painters and Sculptors hoped to redress in presenting the International Exhibition of Modern Art. Formed late in 1911, the Association saw the need to shock America out of its artistic provincialism and complacency and to create more hospitable venues for showing the works of its members, as well as art by other modern artists.<sup>11</sup>

The Association wasted no time in trying to organize an exhibition. By late January 1912, its secretary, artist Walt Kuhn (fig. 5), was writing to various Ameri-

can museums, including The Art Institute of Chicago, to inquire whether they would be willing to hold an exhibition of works by members of the Association. French's reply could not have been too encouraging: "Our President, Mr. Hutchinson, and I conferred upon the matter, and all I can say is that our attitude toward your society is friendly, but we cannot arrange any additional exhibitions here for sometime to come."<sup>12</sup> The Art Institute's exhibition schedule may indeed have been full, but it is also likely that French and Hutchinson did not feel the need to hold yet another exhibition of contemporary American artists in addition to the museum's annual shows.

Soon after these initial inquiries, perhaps because of unfavorable responses like the Art Institute's, the Association abandoned this particular project. By April 1912, efforts were under way to rent the 69th Regiment Armory in New York City for a larger show that would include European art, but it was not until late in the summer that this alternate exhibition began to take shape. It was then that Arthur B. Davies saw the catalogue for the Cologne Sonderbund exhibition, which showcased the modernists and Post-Impressionists. It featured one hundred twenty-five works by van Gogh, twenty-six by Cézanne, twenty-five by Gauguin, and sixteen by Picasso; it also included a historical section of nineteenth-century precursors to modernism.<sup>13</sup> Davies decided that the Association's exhibition should be modeled after this show, and he sent the catalogue to Kuhn. Kuhn, realizing the urgency of the matter, quickly set sail for Europe and arrived in Cologne just in time to see the Sonderbund exhibition on its closing day.

Kuhn spent the following weeks traveling through Germany, the Netherlands, and France, meeting with dealers, collectors, and artists to secure loans for the International Exhibition, while also receiving a crash course on modern art. On October 25, he arrived in

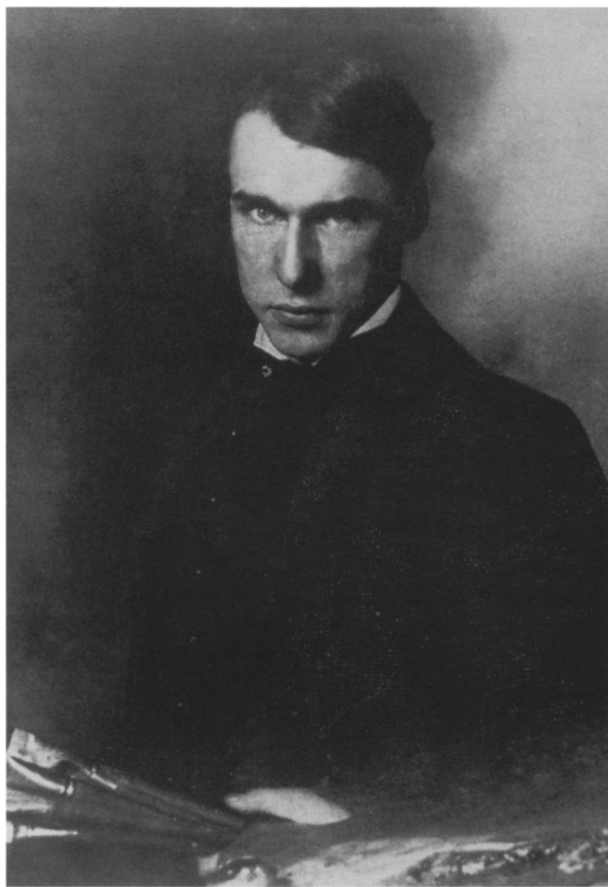


FIGURE 5. Walt Kuhn, secretary of the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, traveled to Europe to select works for the International Exhibition. He was in Chicago during the exhibition at the Art Institute, and was disappointed with the unfavorable reception it received from both press and public. Photo courtesy of the Armory Show Files, Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation Papers, Collection Archive, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution.

FIGURE 6. Walter Pach, European representative for the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, acted as the sales representative for the International Exhibition in New York and Chicago. Photo courtesy of the Armory Show Files, Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation Papers, Collection Archive, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution.

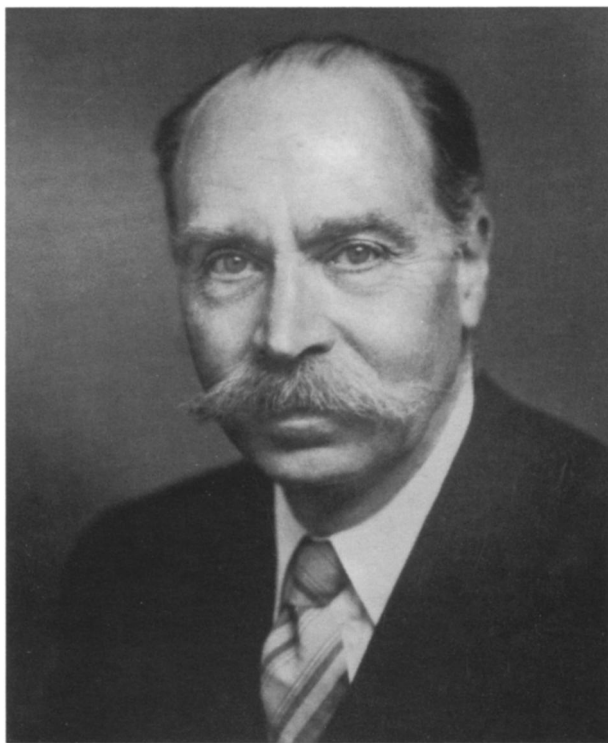




FIGURE 7. Arthur T. Aldis, Chicago arts patron and governing member of the Art Institute, was most responsible for bringing the International Exhibition to Chicago. He met Davies and Kuhn (figs. 4 and 5) in Europe while they were selecting works for the show, and told them that the Art Institute would host the exhibition after it closed in New York. At a time when patrons played a major role in shaping museum exhibitions, he was able to persuade the Art Institute to commit itself to this revolutionary enterprise. Photo courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society, Gift of the Commercial Club of Chicago, 1922.

Paris where, on November 6, Davies joined him. Through the help of the American painter and critic Walter Pach (fig. 6), a resident of Paris and soon to be the Association's European representative, Davies and Kuhn met the collectors and salon hosts Gertrude and Leo Stein and visited several artists in their studios, including Constantin Brancusi, the Duchamp-Villon brothers, and Odilon Redon.

Also in Paris, Davies and Kuhn were introduced to Chicagooan Arthur T. Aldis (fig. 7), which proved to be fortuitous for the Art Institute. Active in the affairs of the museum as a governing member and a director of the Friends of American Art auxiliary organization, Aldis became the Association's greatest ally in Chicago.

He took an immediate interest in the International Exhibition and promised Davies and Kuhn that the Art Institute would host the show after it closed in New York.<sup>14</sup> For Aldis to commit the museum to the exhibition without consulting either its director or trustees indicates that he must have enjoyed tremendous influence at the museum and was confident in his ability to get things done.

Exactly how Aldis effected a decision on the part of the Art Institute to take the International Exhibition is not known. French claimed that the trustees allowed him and Charles Hutchinson, president of the board, to do as they thought best concerning exhibitions, but during the greater part of the period that the International Exhibition was arranged and exhibited at the Art Institute, Hutchinson and Vice-President Martin A. Ryerson were traveling abroad.<sup>15</sup> This does not mean that, in this period, French was acting on his own, for throughout the negotiations for the International Exhibition, he often stated that he was following instructions from the Art Committee, comprised of several trustees and officers, including French, who met infrequently and settled matters by informal conferences.

The Art Committee's discussions about the International Exhibition were not recorded. The exhibition apparently did not require any official motion or vote by the full Board of Trustees, for there is no mention of the show in the board's minutes prior to its arrival in Chicago. It eventually became clear that French and several trustees were against having the show, but, even with this opposition, Aldis got the museum to commit to this exhibition of considerable cost and magnitude with less than five-months' notice. This was a time when individual trustees and patrons played an aggressive role in shaping the collections and exhibitions of American art museums. As his subsequent correspondence with the Art Institute and the Association indicates, Aldis certainly made his presence felt.<sup>16</sup>

Arthur Taylor Aldis and his wife, Mary, were well-known patrons of the arts in Chicago. Born in Vermont, Aldis earned college and law degrees from Harvard University and, in 1889, moved to Chicago, after working for five years as a rancher in Wyoming. He was soon heading the real-estate firm of Aldis and Company. At their country residence in Lake Forest, Illinois, the Aldises established an artists' colony called "The Compound." There, in 1910, Mary started the Aldis Playhouse, a predecessor to the "little theater" movement, where plays were presented by contemporary European and American playwrights, including her own works. While Mary devoted her energies to the theater both in Chicago and on the East Coast, her husband frequently traveled abroad in Europe and Africa.<sup>17</sup>



Aldis was very familiar with Paris, where his brother, Owen Franklin Aldis, lived with his wife, the Countess Marie Madeleine Dumas. On his visits, Aldis frequented art galleries and became acquainted with both artists and dealers. At the time he met Davies and Kuhn, Aldis attended the Salon d'Automne, which featured works by many of the European and American modernists, including some that the two American artists were trying to secure for the International Exhibition. So Aldis had a good idea of what the show would contain.

From Paris, Davies and Kuhn went on to London to arrange more loans and to view critic Roger Fry's second exhibition at the Grafton Gallery, a sequel to his first landmark show in England of Post-Impressionist and modern art.<sup>18</sup> For dealers considering an untested American market, it must have been reassuring to know that there would be more than one venue for the exhibition, and having the imprimatur of an established art museum such as the Art Institute was most likely beneficial to the Association in securing loans. Davies and Kuhn, enthused by all they had seen and accomplished in Europe, returned to the United States predicting great success for their project. Aldis, for his part, saw to it that Chicago would participate in this momentous event.

Soon after returning home, Aldis contacted French about the International Exhibition as well as about an exhibition of contemporary Spanish painters.<sup>19</sup> Although French considered Aldis "rather wild and radical in his taste, and precipitate in his actions," he promptly looked into both exhibitions.<sup>20</sup>

Knowing nothing about the International Exhibition other than what Aldis had told him, French wrote on November 19, 1912, to James B. Townsend, president of the New York-based journal *American Art News*, for more information:

One of our friends talks to me about some projected exhibition to be held in New York, apparently of foreign pictures of the most modern description. Understands that a large fund has been raised for the purpose. Supposes I know all about it, as it has been talked of in all the papers, etc. I have read Art Notes faithfully, but I do not remember seeing anything about this.<sup>21</sup>

Although Townsend's reply was informative, it surely could not have given French a favorable first impression of the enterprise:

Your informant probably had in mind the display that has been planned by the newly formed Society of American Painters and Sculptors and which is to be held in a large armory here, Feb. 15–March 15. This exhibition is really in opposition to the Academy of Design, and is being run by Gutzon Borglum [sic], Leon Dabo and Arthur B. Davies—all of whom, as you know, are trouble makers. It will be a good show, however, as they

have sent Davies and Walt Kuhn to Europe to get all the "freak" pictures, sculptures, etc., possible, to represent what they call "The Modern Movement in France and Germany."<sup>22</sup>

Apparently undeterred, French wrote to the Association on November 27 to begin negotiations for the International Exhibition. Because Davies and Kuhn were almost solely responsible for the administration of the exhibition and were overwhelmed with the arrangements for the New York show, now less than two months away, neither French nor Aldis, who was also corresponding with Davies and Kuhn, made much progress in arranging a Chicago showing.

While in New York in early January 1913, French conducted business with Davies and Kuhn in person. By January 13, French had returned to Chicago and had reported the results of his trip to Hutchinson, who scheduled a meeting of the Art Committee to discuss the exhibition. Although a contract was far from being realized, it was apparent that the Art Institute was fully committed to hosting the International Exhibition. On January 14, before the Art Committee met, French wrote to Davies that if "it becomes necessary for you to reach decisions, you can state to the association that the Art Institute will be glad to exhibit such part of the collection as you can send and we can accommodate."<sup>23</sup> The shipping and installation of exhibitions must have been much less complicated in those days than they are today, because French requested the exhibition for March 25, ten days after its closing in New York and the same day that two other exhibitions were scheduled to begin at the Art Institute!

On February 17, 1913, the International Exhibition of Modern Art officially opened in New York with over one thousand works of art. The media praised the Association for realizing an exhibition of such tremendous scale, but it was less than enthusiastic about the painting and sculpture of the European Post-Impressionists, finding the works of the Americans rational and sober in comparison. Harriet Monroe, founder of *Poetry Magazine* and art critic for the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, attended the press preview on February 16. Her review of the exhibition, while appearing under the headlines "Art Show Open to Freaks" and "American Exhibition in New York Teems with the Bizarre," was more favorable than most:

It is a live show, this International Exhibition. . . . It has the air of cosmopolitanism never before attained in this country except at world's fairs, and it is less bound by academic standards. . . .

Even the cubists seem to be playing interesting games with kaleidoscopic polygons of color; even Matisse is dancing a wild tango on some weird barbarous shore. We cannot always tell what they mean, but at least they are having a good time. . . .

The American exhibits, which outnumber the others, hold their own with complete assurance. Many of them come from radicals whom more conservative exhibitions have not appreciated. . . .

Most American exhibitions are dominated by the conservatives. Not so this one; the radicals are in control, and there are new voices in the chorus. . . .

Thus it is fortunate that Chicago is to see part of the exhibition. Arrangements are now complete for sending half of the exhibition to Boston and half to the Art Institute after the close of the show in New York.<sup>24</sup>

Aldis, unaware that Boston had also requested the exhibition, was alarmed by this latest development. Wishing to protect the Art Institute's interests, he sent an anxious letter to Kuhn, revealing a provincialist bias as well as a proselytizer's zeal:

I see by this morning's paper that your exhibition in New York is to be divided between Chicago and Boston.

Please be sure to give us a "square deal" in this. We were first to ask to come in. Let us have our full half of Cézanne, Gaguin [*sic*], Van Gogh, Matisse, and Picasso, et al., which our students and our public here would not otherwise have a chance to see. Boston is a seaport and a third nearer Europe, besides which Mr. Davies told me that the heart and genius of American Art were situated in the Middle West. Therefore, let's make 'em throb!<sup>25</sup>

Aldis concluded by saying that he would come to New York soon to see the show. On February 19, 1913, Kuhn wrote to Aldis to assure him of a "square deal" and to inform him that French was at the exhibition and "in the hands of Mr. Davies."<sup>26</sup>

It seems that French's visit to the Armory reinforced his previous misgivings about the International Exhibition, and about modern art in general. On his return train ride to Chicago, French recorded his impressions of the exhibition, along with a description of the installation, to be sent to Hutchinson in Europe (see Appendix at the end of this essay for the full text of French's letter):

The fraction of the exhibition comprising the real modernists—the post-impressionists, cubists, pointillists, futurists—six or seven galleries, is eminently satisfactory. Anything more fantastic it would be hard to conceive. Some of the works are mere unmeaning assemblages of forms, with gay color, conveying no idea whatever, but bearing such titles as "Dance" or "Souvenir." A few, more logically, have no titles, but merely numbers. As an appeal to curiosity this part of the show is a decided success. Sculpture does not lend itself to idealism of this class, and the statues are clearly explicable, sometimes good in spirit, but generally exaggerated or distorted. . . . I suspect we have here the representatives of the two classes of radicals. First, a few eccentrics, some of them, like Van Gogh, actually unbalanced and insane, who really believe what they profess and practice; secondly, the imitators, who run all the

way from sheer weakness to the most impudent charlatanism. The choice is between madness and humbug. How then should these artists have admirers among reasonable people! . . . With regard to the desirability of bringing the exhibition to Chicago, my opinion has changed. I at first thought it would be a good thing to satisfy the curiosity of the public, and as I visited the exhibition for the first time I felt a sort of exhilaration in the absurdity of it all. I still think it would be reasonable and right for us to exhibit a single gallery, perhaps fifty examples, of the most extreme works, so that our public may know what they are. But when it comes to bringing a large part of the exhibition here (we could accommodate about one-half), to incurring great expense, to turning the Art Institute upside down, . . . I hesitate. We cannot make a joke of our guests. It becomes a serious matter. As I visited the exhibition repeatedly I became depressed, to think that people could be found to approve methods so subversive of taste, good sense and education; of everything that is simple, pure, and of good report.

French concluded by singling out and assessing several of the European artists:

Matisse's work: If this work were submitted to me without explanation, I should regard it as a joke. It is asserted that he is an accomplished painter. I have never seen anything to show it, and I am of the opinion that if he ever did anything really distinguished it would now be exhibited. I think it probable that Matisse, failing to distinguish himself in regular lines, resorted to this work to attract attention. Certainly the work is without merit. It has no subtlety of line, no sweetness of color, no refinement of sentiment, no beauty of any kind.

Redon's work: This work gives more impression of a sincere but unbalanced mind. It is not without beauty and evidences of training, and yet it is irrational. Some of the flower painting, which is much admired, appears to me poor and ineffectual. Davies' work is somewhat akin to this, but technically better. . . .

Van Gogh's work: Not so good as I expected from some prints I have seen. Other people have done the same things better. It is well known that he was violently insane.

Duchamp and Picabia: The wildest of the cubists. Humbugs—not incapable.

Gauguin: Heavy and ugly.<sup>27</sup>

In hindsight, one is tempted to characterize William French as a reactionary or a philistine, unable to recognize the talent of these artists or appreciate what are now considered to be some of the seminal works of modernism.<sup>28</sup> Yet French, then sixty-nine years old, was an experienced art reviewer and lecturer and had been associated with the Art Institute's museum and school for over thirty years. His attitudes were not only consistent with what one would expect from the director of an established art school and museum—one whose job it was to teach and maintain accepted ideas and standards of "Truth" and "Beauty"—but also paralleled the tastes of the time.

French's younger brother, the noted sculptor Daniel Chester French, also visited the International Exhibition in New York and was equally unimpressed by what he saw. When Pach, acting as sales representative for the Association as well as Daniel French's guide through the Armory, compared Cézanne's handling of form to that of Giotto and the Italian Primitives, the sculptor replied, "I don't see that the Primitives, with the state of ignorance of the time when they lived, are any excuse for a man's doing the same thing today."<sup>29</sup> Although Pach attributed this aversion to modernism as being characteristic of an older generation, even those who made an earnest attempt to comprehend the new movements found them difficult to understand.

To accuse William French and his contemporaries of being anachronistic fails to take into account just how novel the works in the International Exhibition truly were. Pach himself struggled for more than half a year to reach a tentative understanding of Matisse's art, and Walt Kuhn experienced similar difficulties coming to terms with the paintings of Cézanne.<sup>30</sup> As his letter to Hutchinson indicates, French, too, was ambivalent about modernism, as well as the merits of the exhibition. His statements that he found the modernist section "eminently satisfactory" and the exhibition, as a whole, exhilarating, contradict his assessment of modern art as "madness and humbug" and his feelings of depression when contemplating the possible acceptance of the new art by the public. But as perplexed as French was by what he had seen at the Armory, he must have understood at some level the significance of the exhibition since, despite his hesitations, he did not resist bringing it before the public in Chicago.

After French had left New York, Newton H. Carpenter, the Art Institute's business secretary, stayed behind to negotiate a contract with the Association. Since French planned on being on the West Coast and Hutchinson was already abroad, the administration of the International Exhibition at the Art Institute was entrusted to Carpenter. Arthur Aldis and his friend George Porter, a fellow governing member at the museum, had also gone to New York to see the exhibition and were most likely involved in the negotiations.<sup>31</sup>

By February 28, 1913, a contract between the Art Institute and the Association was completed, with both parties agreeing to "do all they can to make the exhibition in Chicago as valuable and profitable to each other and the public as possible." According to the agreement, Davies was to select the works to be shown, subject to the final approval of French. The Art Institute was to pay \$2,500 to the Association for the exhibition and would receive half of the profits from the sale of catalogues, photographs, and reproductions of the works

exhibited. The Association was to provide its own sales agents and be the sole recipient of the proceeds from art sales. Should any officers of the Association come to Chicago to assist with the exhibition, both the Art Institute and the Association would split their travel and accommodation expenses. Finally, the Art Institute was to pay for the costs of insuring and transporting the art to and from Chicago and would also insure the works while at the museum.<sup>32</sup>

In the meantime, French had returned to Chicago to face the reception of the "Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art," which he described as "decidedly violent," and to try to arrange for adequate gallery space for the International Exhibition.<sup>33</sup> Left with no options other than taking down portions of the permanent collection and canceling previously scheduled exhibitions, French did his best to convince the scheduled exhibitors that they would benefit by not being associated with the modernists and portrayed himself and the museum as reluctant participants in the International Exhibition.<sup>34</sup>

On March 5, French wrote to Hutchinson in Paris, reiterating his previous assessment of the International Exhibition and reporting on the museum's current shows, including a "very refined exhibition of portraits of women" by John Alexander, president of the National Academy of Design, the organization with which the Association of American Painters and Sculptors was at odds. French was also delighted to inform Hutchinson of dissent within the Association, stating, "I am amused to learn that Gutzon Borglum, the Vice-President of the new Modernist Association in New York, has quarreled with Mr. Davies and the other officers, and resigned in a violent letter to the papers."<sup>35</sup>

While French apprised Hutchinson of the latest news, Aldis made his agenda known to Carpenter. In a letter of March 5, Aldis suggested that the opening date of the exhibition be moved forward one day, so that a fundraising reception could be held in the evening for Chicago "Society." More importantly, Aldis, lacking confidence in either French or Carpenter to properly install the exhibition, suggested that it be left to Davies and Kuhn:

Proper exhibition of this very mixed collection is an important and difficult matter, and as I believe the date for its necessary closing in Chicago is fixed, every day saved in opening the exhibition is that much gained, as it adds nothing to the expense and would add something to the receipts and the public benefit.<sup>36</sup>

Ever the businessman, Carpenter would have found this last suggestion appealing. Not only was he arranging to have the exhibition catalogue printed in Chicago at a savings of twenty-five percent, but he was also busy publicizing the exhibition in press releases and interviews:

All of the best works of the sensational exponents of the post-impressionists, futurist and cubist schools of art will be represented at the International Art exhibition. . . .

I can not describe a cubist. . .but I told one of the girls in the sculpture class that if she built a group of clay and let me stand off and hurl a brick at it for a while it would be a cubist piece of sculpture when I was through. If it was painted it would represent a cubist composition.

As for the futurist? Well, I can not say. But let me tell you this, that there are so many good pictures in the show that by the time you have looked at them all you will forget the cubists, post-impressionists and the vagueists—my own term—and remember good art only. It's to be a great show. It's the biggest thing Chicago has had this season.<sup>37</sup>

Carpenter may not have been the most informed spokesman for the exhibition—fortunately for the Association, Kuhn and publicist Frederick James Gregg were also working with the Chicago press—but he did provide good copy. He also made sure that French was aware of Aldis's suggestions concerning the installation.

Nevertheless, French had his own ideas about what should be included to make the exhibition as practical as possible to the Chicago audience. Rather than abdicate all responsibility for an exhibition for which he did not care, French conveyed his vision of the International Exhibition to Davies in writing:

Of course what we especially want is the more novel part of the exhibition, chiefly the things which come from Europe. . . . We might limit the American exhibitors to one work apiece. Some of them are permanently represented in our collections, such as Henri, Hassam, Weir, Beal, C. H. Davis, Cassatt, Davies, H. D. Murphy, Bessie Potter, etc., and there seems no good reason for going to the expense of transporting their works hither. . . .

There is another section of the exhibition that may well be omitted, and it is a troublesome and expensive part. . . . I mean the old paintings by the radicals and reformers of other days. Our public is well acquainted with these works, and we have examples in our permanent collection of Courbet, Manet, Monet, Delacroix, Goya, Corot and many others. It seems unnecessary therefore to send these here.

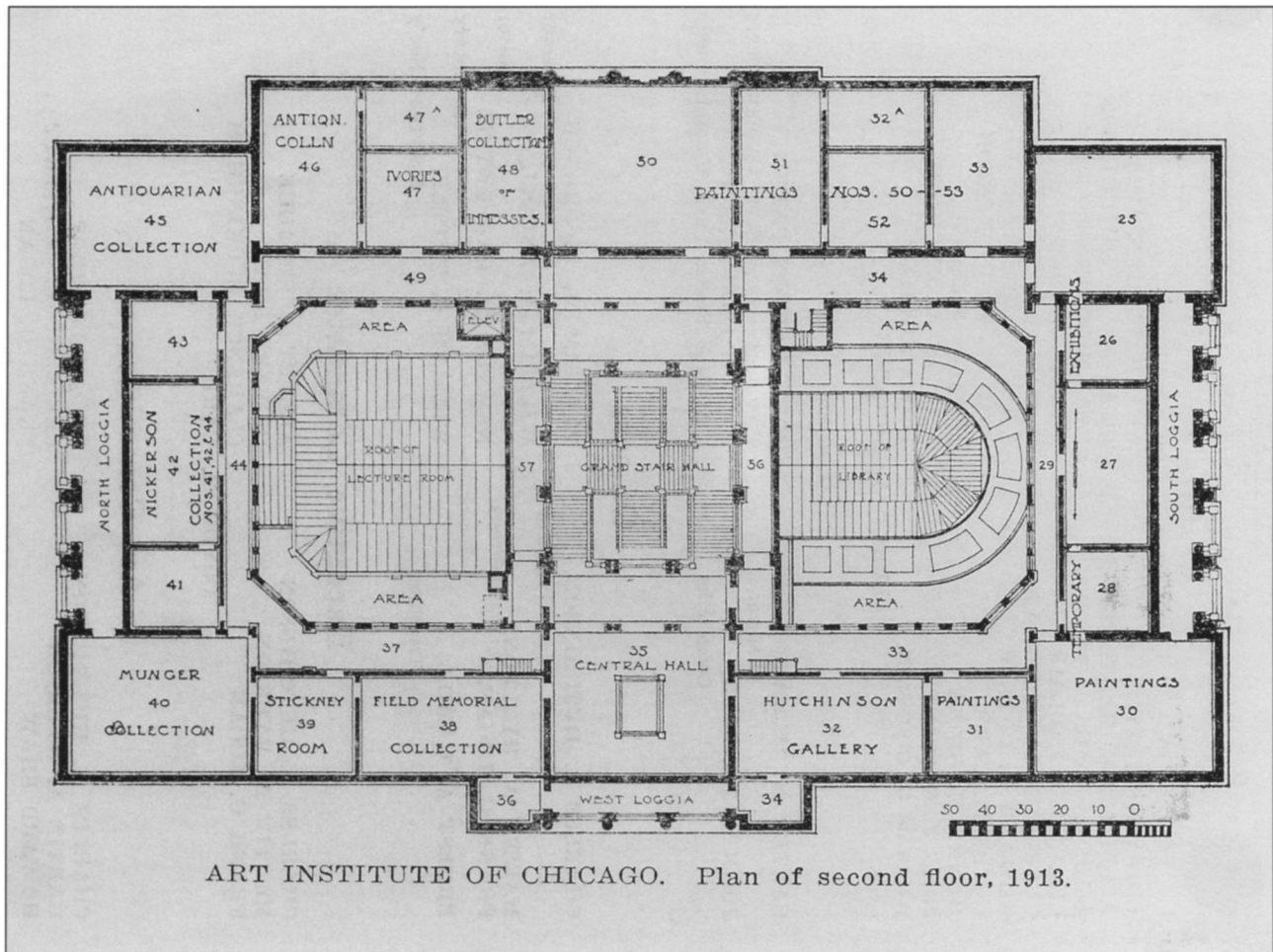
With regard to the rest of the exhibition, we want the works of Matisse, Gauguin [see fig. 8], Redon, Duchamp, Cézanne, Picasso, Van Gogh, Rousseau, John and the rest of the well known and extraordinary foreigners.

Probably the foreign sculpture, about fifteen pieces, had better come.<sup>38</sup>

Though Davies has always been credited with selecting the works exhibited, French clearly had a say in defining the exhibition's parameters. And, to his credit, despite his personal aversion to the work of the European modernists, French strongly supported their inclusion in the Chicago exhibition, demonstrating an understanding of



FIGURE 8. Paul Gauguin (French, 1848–1903). *Head of a Tahitian with Profile of Second Head to His Right*, c. 1891–92. Black and red chalk, selectively stumped and fixed, on wove paper; 35.2 x 36.9 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Mrs. Emily Crane Chadbourne (1922.4794). This was one of four works on paper by Gauguin lent to the International Exhibition by Emily Crane Chadbourne, a Chicagoan and part-time resident of Paris. Until this time, few (if any) works by Gauguin had been exhibited in the United States. This drawing was one of several works displayed in Chicago that later entered the Art Institute's collection.



the exhibition's educational aims and a sensitivity to the public's curiosity about the unknown European work.

On March 13, Davies submitted his final design for the exhibition at the Art Institute (see fig. 9). When the show was finally installed, the gallery designations varied slightly from Davies's written plans. The second-floor gallery at the top of the museum's grand staircase featured nine screens by the American painter Robert Chanler (figs. 10 and 11). Gallery 50 contained the works of some of the European modernists, including Bonnard, Denis, Segonzac, and Matisse (fig. 12). Gallery 51 was dedicated to works by English, Irish, German, and American painters. Gallery 52 was assigned to the Post-Impressionists Cézanne, Gauguin, van Gogh, and Rousseau (fig. 13), with gallery 53 designated for the Cubists (figs. 1 and 14). Galleries 25 (fig. 15) and 54 and, probably, 52A were reserved for the remainder of the American paintings. Thirty-seven works by Redon filled gallery 26 (fig. 16). It was decided that the sculpture in the exhibition would be dispersed throughout the gal-

FIGURE 9. Plan of the second-floor galleries, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1913. With 634 works, the International Exhibition was held in galleries 25–26 and 50–54, as well as a space between gallery 50 and the top of the Grand Staircase (see upper right of this map). A portion of the installation can be seen in figs. 1 and 10–16.

leries, and that some of the works on paper would be hung in the museum's print galleries.<sup>39</sup>

Aside from approving Davies's installation plans, French's participation in the planning of the exhibition had, at this point, mostly come to an end. The exhibition was in Carpenter's hands and, as its opening date approached (it was moved forward one day, as Aldis had requested, to the afternoon of Monday, March 24), he and several other Chicagoans were becoming increasingly nervous.

Arthur Jerome Eddy, whose law practice required him to live and work in both Chicago and New York, had seen the International Exhibition in New York and



FIGURES 10, 11. Two views of the entrance to the International Exhibition at the top of the Grand Staircase. On display in this space were screens by Robert Chanler and sculptures by Henri Matisse, Aristide Maillol, and Joseph Bernard.

FIGURE 12. View of gallery 50 of the International Exhibition. Works by Henri Matisse appear on the right wall. The large standing sculptural figures are by the German artist Wilhelm Lehmbruck. Among the smaller sculptures are works by the Romanian artist Constantin Brancusi.



FIGURE 13. View of gallery 52 of the International Exhibition. The major Post-Impressionists were featured in this gallery. On the left wall are paintings by Vincent van Gogh and on the right wall are paintings by Paul Cézanne. Works by Paul Gauguin were also displayed in this gallery.





FIGURE 14. View of gallery 53 of the International Exhibition. The second painting from the right, bottom row, is *Village (Rueil)* by Maurice de Vlaminck, and the fourth painting from the right, bottom row, is *Dances at the Spring* by Francis Picabia. Both were purchased by Arthur Jerome Eddy from the International Exhibition in New York. The painting by Vlaminck is now in the collection of the Art Institute as part of the Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection, and the painting by Picabia is now in the Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. See fig. 1 for another view of this gallery.





FIGURE 15. View of gallery 25 of the International Exhibition. Featured in this gallery were works by contemporary American artists. The painting on the right wall in the left corner, *Figure in Motion* by Robert Henri, depicting a standing nude woman, was the subject of much controversy. Henri's painting was deemed immoral by the press, the public, and even several of the Art Institute's trustees.

FIGURE 16. View of gallery 26 of the International Exhibition. This gallery featured works by the French artist Odilon Redon, who was virtually unknown in the United States at the time but proved popular among collectors who attended the exhibition.





FIGURE 17. André Derain (French, 1880–1954). *Forest at Martigues*, c. 1908. Oil on canvas; 82.6 x 100.3 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection (1931.506). Derain's *Forest at Martigues* was displayed in gallery 53 of the International Exhibition.

had purchased several works, including some of the most recent examples of European modernism (see fig. 17). On March 15, Eddy, in an effort to ensure that his patriotism would not be questioned while still cultivating his reputation as Chicago's most daring art collector, wrote to Davies and offered his own ideas regarding the Chicago installation:

I have told Mr. French. . .that all the pictures I purchased would come on to Chicago, and that includes the painting by Kroll; two by Taylor and one by Manigault, all Americans. I particularly desire that these pictures be exhibited with the foreign pictures I purchased, because taken all together they illustrate my attitude in art, which is exceedingly catholic. While if the foreign pictures alone were exhibited, it would naturally give rise to the inference that I had lost interest in the strong virile American pictures. . . .

It is needless to say that I also have in mind the fact that the exhibition of those American pictures will be of benefit to the artists who painted them.

Eddy also demonstrated his interest in making the art accessible to the public by requesting that the titles of all his pictures be translated into English.<sup>40</sup>

The galleries that would house the exhibition were emptied on March 15 and, by March 18, with the opening less than a week away and receptions already planned, Carpenter began to wonder when the exhibition would arrive and when he would receive a final draft of the catalogue that still had to be printed in Chicago (see fig. 18). Over the next few days, Carpenter

sent several letters and telegrams daily to Davies and Kuhn. When the Association was not ignoring these pleas, it was offering rather vague answers.

By March 19, the first representative of the Association, publicist Frederick J. Gregg, had arrived in Chicago and was briefing the press. Gregg's decision to use the literary stylings of Gertrude Stein as an analogy for Cubist painting was probably a mistake, for the press had a field day parodying Stein's prose.<sup>41</sup> Kuhn and Pach arrived late in the evening on Friday, March 21, and, on Saturday morning, they were at the Art Institute to supervise the installation of six hundred and thirty-four works of art. With the help of the museum's installation crew, Gregg, and the artist Robert Chanler, Kuhn, and Pach managed to install everything but the sculpture by evening's end.<sup>42</sup>

On March 24, before the International Exhibition opened to the public, Frank G. Logan, the acting president of the Board of Trustees in Charles Hutchinson's absence, toured the galleries and was not entirely pleased with what he saw. Logan convened a meeting of the trustees to discuss "the propriety and policy of taking out some of the pictures offered, before the opening to the public." The three paintings singled out as being offensive were: *Spirit of Evil* by Gauguin, *Figure in Motion* by Henri, and *Loverine* by Charlotte Meltzer.<sup>43</sup> The vote was close—three in favor to two against in the case of the Gauguin and Henri, with Logan casting a dissenting vote all three times—but it was decided that the paintings

would remain. It would not be long, however, before these works would come under fire once more.

At 3:00 that afternoon, the exhibition opened to Art Institute members, along with an exhibition of paintings by Pauline Palmer, whom French had been unable to dissuade from exhibiting with the modernists, and the annual exhibition of American watercolors.<sup>44</sup> Pach, Kuhn, Gregg, and Chanler were joined by American sculptor Jo Davidson, who had only one work in the show but was in town for an exhibition of thirty-five of his pieces at the Reinhardt Gallery. Together they did their best to explain the art to the bewildered public. Carpenter, in a letter to Hutchinson the following day, stated that the exhibition opened “in the finest kind of shape”:

Mr. Aldis, Mr. Eddy and myself were talking the matter over last night and all agreed that the exhibition looked very much better in Chicago than it did in New York. There were about 1500 at the afternoon reception and 302 in during the evening. I have never seen so many automobiles at the Art Institute as there were yesterday afternoon and evening. It seemed that every one of our best citizens who were in town were all here. . . . Mr. Kuhn, Secretary of the Association, and a number of others say they think that our exhibition looks better and is better as a whole than the New York exhibition.<sup>45</sup>

Charles H. Burkholder, French’s secretary, while not as enthusiastic as Carpenter, seemed somewhat amused by the events of the first few days of the exhibition as he related them in a letter to the director:

The hungry crowds are surely upon us. . . . The cubist room, which some have called the Cuban room and the “cubist,” referring to the baseball league, was so crowded yesterday that the faces of the visitors were almost against the pictures. In room 50 yesterday, I heard a man laugh at the top of his voice. He inflamed the entire company, and everybody roared. Even Pach, who was with me, became convulsed. The Art Institute is certainly being advertised, but whether to advantage or not, is a question.

Burkholder also reported that the lectures given in the museum’s Fullerton Hall by Eddy and Charles Francis Browne, President of the Society of Western Artists and former instructor at the School of the Art Institute, were filled to capacity, with hundreds being turned away. According to Burkholder, “the public wants to hear the ‘for and against’ or the ‘why of art.’”<sup>46</sup>

In contrast to these reports coming from the Art Institute’s staff, Kuhn’s letters back to New York reveal a different picture. Writing to Elmer MacRae, treasurer of the Association, about the opening day, Kuhn stated:

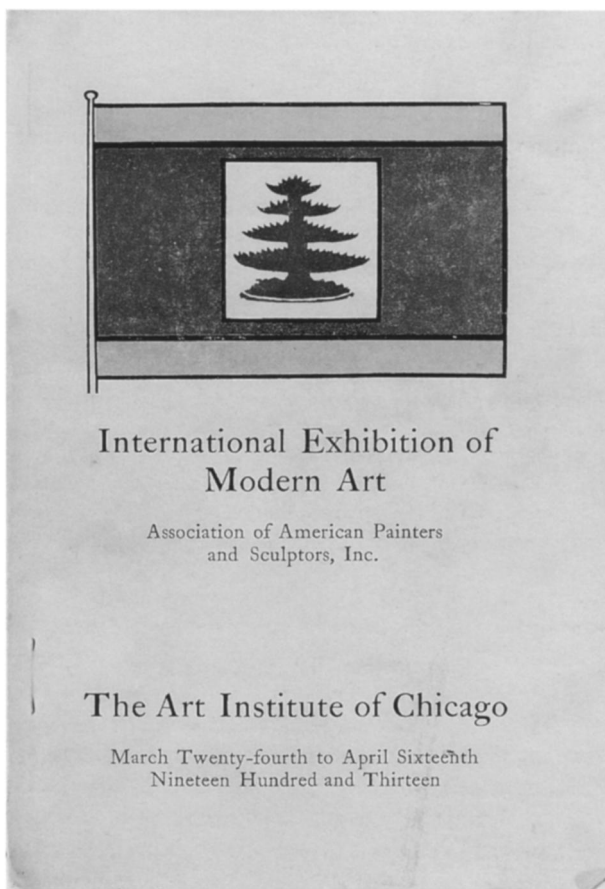
Last night was the opening reception, they charged a dollar a head admission to come in and see the “circus” as they call it. We were delicately informed that our presence was not

positively necessary. . . . but truthfully speaking we were not sorry. They did root up poor Pach about 10 P.M. to have him give a lecture. By the way, all the artistic lights in town are lecturing on Cubism.

The entire situation is different from N.Y. So far the best man is still Aldis, his motives are unselfish. Carpenter has turned out O.K. too, but Eddy has been a source of annoyance. It’s a lucky thing that we insisted on our preface to the catalogue otherwise this Chicago bunch would have claimed it all. It was only by strong team work. . . . that we prevented all kinds of cheap deals.<sup>47</sup>

Kuhn did not state exactly how Eddy was causing trouble, but no doubt he was busy making a name for himself as Chicago’s resident authority on modern art. What probably annoyed Kuhn most was the fact that Eddy seemed more interested in promoting himself than in explaining the new art to the public. In reviewing

FIGURE 18. Cover of the exhibition catalogue for the International Exhibition at the Art Institute. The pine-tree emblem of the Association of American Painters and Sculptors was adapted by Walt Kuhn from a flag used during the American Revolution. This emblem signified what Kuhn called the “new spirit”—that is, revolution—reflected in the modern art in the exhibition.



Eddy's lecture, entitled "The Cubists," the *Chicago Examiner* stated that, "Mr. Eddy shied from the fatal moment of dealing seriously with Cubism, and indulged in many moments of delightful persiflage. . .before he descended to the humdrum task of giving facts and imparting knowledge." According to the newspaper accounts, Eddy at times sounded more like a promoter of investments than of modern art:

The trouble with most persons, and particularly museums, is that they are about thirty years behind the times: Any of these Cubist pictures can be bought today, while the artists are starving for a few dollars. In thirty years they will be immensely valuable. The Metropolitan Museum in New York bought a Cézanne the other day for \$8,000 that it could have had years ago for \$150. When the entire world moves up to the value of a new school, then museums and collectors have to pay thirty [times the price].<sup>48</sup>

Eddy's own purchases from the show were noted in most of the newspapers; a few even erroneously reported that he had acquired Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*, the most commented upon work in the exhibition. Eddy, however, did claim to have found the actual nude figure in the painting and his diagram, indicating its exact location, was printed in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*.<sup>49</sup> On March 29, Kuhn told Davies that "Eddy had changed his tune," and that he was "endorsing the Association and asking fair play for the exhibitors."<sup>50</sup> In a repeat performance of his lecture on April 3, however, it was reported that Eddy was still congratulating himself for his astute purchases.<sup>51</sup>

While Eddy seems to have squandered his opportunities to defend the modernists, Browne succeeded in disparaging them. In an article under the seditious headline "Chicago Artist Starts Revolt," the *Chicago Daily Tribune* quoted excerpts from Browne's speech in which he related pathological details from the lives of van Gogh and Gauguin, and in a tactic commonly used to dismiss modern art, equated Matisse's art to that of a child's:

It is related of him [Matisse] that one day he left an unfinished canvas on his easel while he went to lunch. His child wandered in, took some brushes and painted haphazardly and daubed away. Was the child punished? No. Matisse surveyed the work, and exclaimed, "That's it!" and a new school of art was founded.<sup>52</sup>

Kuhn, discouraged by incidents such as these and the way the press covered them, informed his wife that, "the so called intelligent class here are a lot of self advertisers and ignoramuses. Gregg and I are pretty well hated by one or two of them. . . . There were a lot of funny newspaper stories in the papers today. They print anything you tell 'em."<sup>53</sup> Although a few writers had appealed to the reader

to approach the exhibition with an open mind—the *Chicago Evening Post* printed an editorial under the title "Fair Play for Insurgent Art"—Kuhn's assessment was regrettably accurate, as the press seemed to be mostly interested in sensational stories (see fig. 19).<sup>54</sup>

In addition to printing comments similar to Browne's, the newspapers were busy providing the public with reams of misinformation. For example, Herman Landon, writing for the *Chicago Record-Herald*, while describing the "seein'-things-at-night vagaries of the ultra-est of the world's Post-Impressionists, Futurists, Cubists, Exceptionists, and all the others," attributed Picasso's *Woman with Mustard Pot* to his dealer, Daniel Henri Kahnweiler, described Brancusi's sculpture *Mlle. Pogany* as a painting, and, without ever having seen the exhibition, discussed the works of the Italian Futurists, who in fact were not included in the show!<sup>55</sup> The *Record-Herald* also printed a mock appreciation of the modernists by Otto Nohn Behterr (ought to [have] known better), D.D.S. and Fellow of the Royal Veterinary Society of Honduras, praising the works in the exhibition that depicted animals, and the *Chicago Examiner* ran the headline "Cubist Art Severs Friendships, Institute Directors are Divided" with a reproduction of Marcel Duchamp's *King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes* and a caption stating that the painting was "threatening to cause domestic discord."<sup>56</sup>

The attitude of the Chicago press was probably best summarized by University of Chicago art history professor George B. Zug's assessment in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*: "As far as real artistic merit is concerned the International Exhibition is the poorest show of equal extent I have ever seen at the Art Institute, yet so far as fun-provoking elements go it beats the record."<sup>57</sup> Discouraged by the paucity of serious and substantive commentary in the Chicago papers, the Association printed a red-covered pamphlet entitled "For and Against" to sell at the Art Institute so that the public might have a chance to be better informed about modern art. Included in the sixty-four page booklet were articles by Gregg and Pach defending the exhibition; a fairly obtuse article, "Cubism by a Cubist," by the artist Francis Picabia; a reprint of a favorable review from the *Chicago Evening Post*; and two reviews criticizing the exhibition, one by noted artist and critic Kenyon

FIGURE 19. Review of the International Exhibition that appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 31, 1913. On the previous day, the exhibition drew a record 18,000 visitors to the Art Institute. The top photograph that accompanies this review shows gallery 53, the "Cubist Room," filled to capacity. See figs. 1 and 14 for other views of gallery 53.





FIGURE 20. Manierre Dawson (American, 1887–1969). *Helen Darrow*, 1911. Oil on panel; 81 x 59.4 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Gift of Manierre Dawson (1968.99). Having developed his own style of abstract painting with little knowledge of the avant-garde movements in Europe, the young Chicago artist Manierre Dawson felt a profound sense of affirmation upon seeing the modern art on display at the International Exhibition in Chicago. While Dawson's portrait of Helen Darrow, the sister-in-law of the lawyer Clarence Darrow, was not included in the International Exhibition, it is representative of the artist's style around the time of the show.

Cox and the other by Princeton art historian Frank Jewett Mather.

The newspaper stories took on a different tone when the commentary moved from the derision of modernist forms to the debate over moral content. On March 27, the *Chicago Record-Herald* reported that a Chicago high school art instructor, after having viewed the exhibition, intended to petition the Board of Education to ban all school children from the exhibition in order to protect them from the “lewd and demoralizing” art.<sup>58</sup> The three works singled out as the worst offenders were the paintings by Gauguin and Meltzer that had come under attack by the museum's trustees, as well as *Models* by Georges Seurat. In an effort to control the damage—and probably also for the sake of entertainment in the midst of all the insanity—Kuhn and Gregg, under the guise of

defending the reputation of artist Charlotte Meltzer, contacted the editor of the *Record-Herald*, demanding that he print a retraction by the teacher.<sup>59</sup>

Matters worsened when the Illinois Senate Vice Commission, after hearing of the various criticisms of the International Exhibition, chose to involve itself. M. Blair Coan, charged by the commission to investigate the exhibition, reported, “that he found ‘every girl in Chicago’ gazing at the examples of ‘distorted art’ and described *Luxury* by Matisse as a ‘distorted female form, with four toes on each foot.’”<sup>60</sup> On hearing Coan's report, at least two senators stated they would visit the exhibition, and letters to the editor appeared in the Chicago papers, condemning the Art Institute for housing such obscenities. The Art Institute eventually forced the Association to withdraw from sale a pamphlet enti-

tled "Noa-Noa," comprised of excerpts from Gauguin's journals, on the grounds that the text was immoral.

Adding to the spectacle of the International Exhibition was the Horticultural Society of Chicago's annual spring flower show at the Art Institute. This exhibit opened on April 1, and included, interspersed among the galleries, all types of plants and aquariums full of rare fish, courtesy of the Chicago Fish Fanciers Club. The combination of the International Exhibition and the flower show was definitely drawing crowds. Burkholder informed French that "everyone in town seems to be headed towards the Art Institute. The attendance on free days runs from 13,000 to 18,000 'souls.'" Burkholder also added that the Horticultural Society had wanted to use Gallery 50, occupied by the International Exhibition, but feared that "the pictures would kill the flowers," and practically every newspaper review of the flower show delighted in repeating similar anecdotes.<sup>61</sup>

Not all Chicagoans who visited the International Exhibition, however, ridiculed it or were opposed to the art displayed. Letters praising the Art Institute for presenting the new art were printed in the newspapers, and even Mayor Harrison claimed that the efforts and explanations of Eddy, Kuhn, and Pach had "made a modernist" of him.<sup>62</sup> But it was on certain members of Chicago's art community that the International Exhibition had its greatest impact.

The author Sherwood Anderson and his brother Karl, a painter who had one of his works in the show, visited the exhibition every day and were inspired by what they saw.<sup>63</sup> Floyd Dell, a writer and editor of the *Friday Literary Review* in the *Chicago Evening Post*, wrote a short story, "The Portrait of Murray Swift," for which he used the International Exhibition at the Art Institute as the setting.<sup>64</sup> The painter Raymond Jonson and the graphic designer E. McKnight Kauffer both spent time at the exhibition and stated that they were greatly influenced by the art they encountered.<sup>65</sup> But the Chicago artist who undoubtedly benefited the most from the International Exhibition was Manierre Dawson.

As early as 1909, Dawson, an architectural draftsman, had been experimenting with abstract painting, unaware of the modern movements abroad (see fig. 20).<sup>66</sup> In 1910, Dawson traveled to Europe, where he learned more about the Post-Impressionists and the modernists and sold one of his paintings to Gertrude Stein, his first sale ever. On returning to the United States, Dawson spent some time in New York and visited Davies in his studio. Davies remembered Dawson when the American section of the International Exhibition was being formed and invited him to participate, but the Chicagoan felt that none of the works he had on hand were ready to show, and did not send any works to New York.

Dawson visited the International Exhibition numerous times at the Art Institute and recorded the events surrounding the exhibition in a journal. After his first viewing of the International Exhibition, Dawson wrote on March 25: "It was with great difficulty that on coming out I could convince myself that I hadn't been through a dream."<sup>67</sup> Pach, noticing Dawson lingering in the galleries, engaged him in conversation and then recognized Dawson as the Chicago artist that Davies had asked Pach to contact. Dawson invited Pach to his home, where he saw Dawson's paintings and took an immediate interest in them.

In his journal entry for March 27, Dawson, while noting the significance of the International Exhibition, expressed regret over the needless commotion that it had caused:

I go to the Art Institute every day. This is the most important exhibition ever presented in Chicago. It is having terrific impact on the public. The turnstile count has never been so great. . . . The Chicago newspapers are putting out the strangest headings and the silliest comments. The articles in the newspapers sound far more crazy than are the pictures which they are shouting about. "Crazy-quilt," "lumber factory," "nasty," "lewd," "indecent," are the common descriptions. Such terrible misunderstanding when to me, there isn't an insincere work shown. . . . These are without question the most exciting days of my life.

Elated to see that his own artistic experiments were not unlike those of many of the painters represented in the International Exhibition, he wrote that, "I had thought of myself as an anomaly and had to defend myself many times, as not crazy; and here now at the Art Institute many artists are presented showing these very inventive departures from the academies."

Dawson became even more excited when Pach added one of his paintings, *Wharf Under Mountain*, to the American section of the exhibition in gallery 25. Dawson's journal entry of April 4 states:

Walter [Pach] said he had no trouble getting the painting hung, but if any of the staff should notice it, it might have to come down. He said that so far none of the boss men had come anywhere near the show. I bought every newspaper everyday and searched thoroughly for any mention of the added item. I could find none.

Dawson considered purchasing Picasso's *Woman with Mustard Pot*, but found the price of \$675 prohibitive. Instead, on April 7, he purchased a sketch of a nude by Duchamp for \$162, and, three days later, bought a painting, *Return from the Chase*, by the Portuguese artist Amadeo de Souza Cardoso, for \$54.<sup>68</sup> In his final assessment of the International Exhibition, Dawson stated, "I

have learned more from this exhibition than at any previous view of old masters. . . . This exhibition will in all probability have an effect on my painting as well as on thousands of painters throughout the U.S.”

Unfortunately, Dawson's enthusiasm was not shared by many Chicago artists. On March 27, the Chicago Society of Artists held a “Futurist Party,” lampooning the art in the International Exhibition. The participants came dressed as parodies of the modern painting and sculpture such as “Stewed Descending the Staircase,” and “Ace and Ten Spot Surrounded by Nudes.” Compositions by Maurice Ravel and Arnold Schoenberg “that everybody said sounded like a nude figure descending a staircase with the force of gravity augmented by the kick from a heavy boot” were played as examples of “Cubist” and “Futurist” music. Said one participant, “We are just showing Cubist and Futurist art as it is. If it is ridiculous, it's not our fault. It is true to the exhibits we have seen.”<sup>69</sup>

On April 2, the *Chicago Examiner* reproduced satiric works from a mock Cubist exhibition that was being held across the street from the Art Institute at the Cliff Dwellers, a prominent Chicago arts club. The *Examiner* reported that, “with two or three exceptions, the Cliff Dwellers are more or less violently opposed to the exhibition,” and quoted Earl M. Reed, chairman of the club's art committee, as saying, “the caricatures on our walls show infinitely better line and color composition than the works of the cubists and the rest of them, and there is not one [caricature] there that took twenty minutes to complete.”<sup>70</sup> Kuhn viewed this behavior by tradition-bound Chicago artists, who stood to lose if academic art fell out of favor with the public, as an act of self-preservation, stating that these artists were, “worried about their bread and butter.”<sup>71</sup>

Particularly troublesome, as far as Kuhn was concerned, was the stance of faculty members of the School of the Art Institute, who were swaying the students' opinions against modern art and the International Exhibition. In a letter to Davies, Kuhn stated that, “all the instructors are mad through, one even went so far as to take a big class of students into the French room and threw a virtual fit condemning Matisse. We three [Kuhn, Pach, and Gregg] stood in the hall and laughed at him. However, I had this stopped and after this the lecturing will be done outside the exhibition rooms.”<sup>72</sup>

Although Kuhn was originally optimistic about the prospects for the International Exhibition at the Art Institute, by April 5, he had returned to New York and was relieved to be out of “moral” Chicago. Discouraged by the reaction of the public, press, and most of the city's artists, Kuhn wrote to Pach, still at the Art Institute, that “our whole crowd here feels pretty sore about the way things began ‘in the beautiful city of the

lake’; it seems like a bad dream to me. The outlook for Boston is most encouraging and I hope that the dessert will make up for the bad middle course of the art banquet we furnished for America.”<sup>73</sup>

By this time, the Art Institute staff had apparently had its fill of the International Exhibition as well. Burkholder had sent French installation photographs: “You will get a fine idea of the hanging from these photographs. It is undoubtedly true that ‘hanging is too good’ for some of these pictures.”<sup>74</sup> In a separate letter to French, Bessie Bennett, an assistant in charge of textiles and decorative arts, was equally unkind in her assessment of the exhibition:

Our freak exhibit departs on date specified. I have reason to suppose that it is not altogether a success as the opposition to it has been quite outspoken, and after the first rush of curious visitors seems now to be falling off most decidedly. The gentlemen who came on here have done more harm than the exhibition, their personalities being most undesirable.

Bennett stated her belief that Hutchinson would not have approved of the events surrounding the International Exhibition and criticized Carpenter's abilities as acting director.<sup>75</sup>

Carpenter, to the contrary, painted a different picture to French, stating that, “nothing is suffering here. That is one of the peculiarities of this Institute. It does not make any difference who goes away, the Institute seems to get along just as well, if not better, without them.” Carpenter further reported that he and trustee Frank Logan, who was busy answering letters objecting to the International Exhibition, had decided to turn down the Association's offer to extend the exhibition six more days, and that Pauline Palmer had not suffered from exhibiting with the modernists, realizing \$2,500 in sales and receiving two portrait commissions. Carpenter also took credit for creating the Association's “For and Against” pamphlet and claimed to be responsible for organizing the lectures by Browne and Eddy:

I arranged these lectures as I was afraid that our students might get side-tracked in some way by the exhibition. They [Browne and Eddy] gave them a good talk and I feel that the exhibition will not only do them no harm but on the contrary will get them conversant with the movement, with which they will have nothing to do. Mr. Patten, the former architect of the school board, told me that the architects of the United States had to go through the same experience; that is, they studied the disturbance in architecture which arose in Europe only to repudiate them and go on with their work stronger than ever. He was of the opinion that this exhibition would have the same effect on the artists here.<sup>76</sup>

Indeed, there was no need to worry about the students of the school, for on April 16, the closing day of the



International Exhibition, they gathered outside the museum and demonstrated against the show, leaving no doubt that they had rejected the modernists (see fig. 21). The students held a mock trial of the artist Henny O’Hair Mattress (Henri Matisse), accusing him, “in the name of pure food laws and the committee of streets and alleys. . .of artistic murder, pictorial arson, total degeneracy of color sense, artistic rapine, criminal abuse of title, and general aesthetic abortion.” After finding the artist guilty and condemning him to death, the students, “in freakish garbs of every kind, from gaudy bath robes to paint-smearred aprons,” marched in a “Cubist” funeral procession, accompanied by “dime store music—the Streets of Cairo kind.”<sup>77</sup> The gathering was prepared to burn an effigy of Matisse, but, at the behest of Pach and Elmer MacRae, who had come from New York to conclude business with the Art Institute, Carpenter interceded, and copies after Matisse’s *Luxury*, *Goldfish* and *Sculpture*, and *The Blue Nude* were burned instead.

The following day, the *Chicago Evening Post* described the gathering of students as a riotous mob:

“Two hundred students of the Art Institute, hating even beyond the point of violence, screamed out such fearful imprecations that even the Michigan Avenue policeman became mildly arrested and more than a thousand persons flocked to the scene.” The *Post* also quoted one student who was not only enraged with the modernists but with Carpenter, as well:

“He has turned the Art Institute into a circus. He has gotten out big posters to advertise this thing, which is not art, while he would not exert himself for a real exhibit. So it was determined to present a public rebuke to Mr. Carpenter in particular and to all cubist art and artists in general.”<sup>78</sup>

In response to the protests, Pach, according to a *Chicago-Record Herald* article entitled “Cubist Art Exhibit Ends ‘at the Stake,’” “offered the opinion that students who yesterday burlesqued and criticized and satirized would, unless they changed their ideas, spend the remainder of their days ‘eating crow.’”<sup>79</sup>

With this demonstration, the Art Institute and the city of Chicago bade an unkind farewell to the International Exhibition of Modern Art. Over the next several days, the exhibition was dismantled, the modern European contingent was sent to Boston for a relatively uneventful showing at the Copley Society, and the remaining art works were shipped back to New York to be returned to either their artists or owners.<sup>80</sup> Carpenter, feeling that the Art Institute had paid more than its fair

FIGURE 21. On April 16, 1913, the closing day of the International Exhibition, students of the School of the Art Institute assembled outside the museum to protest the show. The gathering staged a mock trial of Henri Matisse, and burned copies of three of his paintings.



share of the expenses for the exhibition and that the Copley Society was receiving the show at a bargain rate, made the conclusion of business difficult for MacRae. In stating his grievances to Kuhn, Carpenter still remained congenial, writing that:

We have tried in every way to be very liberal in our business relations with the Association and hope that everything will be satisfactory to it. I feel under great obligation to the Association for making this collection and allowing it to come to Chicago. I say this, notwithstanding the adverse criticism which we have received on account of this exhibition. Our people have never wavered for a moment in the matter of having the exhibition here nor have they regretted it. We believe that what we have done has been for the best.<sup>81</sup>

Although Carpenter's claim that the Art Institute "never wavered for a moment" or regretted having the International Exhibition is untrue, the feeling prevalent among those at the museum was that the Art Institute had done a noble deed in presenting Post-Impressionist and modern art to the public. An article in the April issue of the museum's *Bulletin*, issued while the International Exhibition was still on view, commended the Art Institute for having sponsored the exhibition, even while discrediting the majority of the artists who were included:

Question had been raised in some quarters whether the Art Institute does right in exhibiting the strange works of the cubists and post-impressionists; whether a great museum ought not to adhere to standards and refuse to exhibit what it cannot be supposed to approve.

The policy of the Art Institute, however, has always been liberal, and it has been willing to give a hearing to strange and even heretical doctrines, relying upon the inherent ability of the truth ultimately to prevail.

In the present instance it is well known that the radicals and extremists in art have arrested a great deal of attention in Europe, and there naturally is a lively curiosity in art circles here to see their productions. There is no prospect of their being seen here in any comprehensive way unless the Art Institute exhibits them.

The present exhibition is very diverse. It is safe to say that the artists range all the way from the sincere, and usually eccentric, person who has revolted from conventionalism, and seeks relief in novel modes of expression, to the reckless, and often ignorant, fellow who seeks easy notoriety and hopes to impose upon the public.<sup>82</sup>

After returning to Chicago around April 25, French initially expressed fear that the exhibition would have an adverse effect on Chicago's art students, but he quickly felt comfortable dismissing the exhibition as any sort of threat:

There is this to be said in favor of the exhibition; that the Radicals cannot complain that they have not had a fair chance.

We have met them on their own ground, and I see no ill results farther than that some people are shocked that the Art Institute should have tolerated such things.<sup>83</sup>

The Art Institute's *Annual Report* for the year 1912-13 and the July issue of the museum's *Bulletin* also echoed the sentiment that the Art Institute, in a sense of fair play, had provided the modernists with the opportunity to present their arguments, which were soundly rejected by a discerning public. Both publications were happy to state that there was no detrimental effect on the impressionable students of the School of the Art Institute.<sup>84</sup>

Although, with museum hours extended from 9:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., the International Exhibition drew 188,650 visitors to the Art Institute during the course of its twenty-four day run, it appears, as reported by the Art Institute's publications, that the show did not effect immediate change in Chicago artists or the viewing public. Countering Pach's enthusiastic comment that "the impression on all classes of the big public of Chicago has been a profound one and that it will continue to grow for many years," was Dawson's sober assessment of the city's art scene in the wake of the International Exhibition.<sup>85</sup> On October 5, 1913, Dawson expressed regret in his journal that very few Chicago artists were

feeling around for something more than academic. However, the Art Institute is still hide-bound and even more so than before the Armory Show. Criticism was so severe. . . that those running the galleries are scared to death. Art stores along Michigan Avenue are dead set against anything resembling Cubism. One of the trustees of the Art Institute who thought of buying a Cézanne was talked out of it by ridicule of the examples shown in the International.

Besides Dawson and Eddy, very few Chicagoans bought art from the International Exhibition, and some of these purchases were made in New York, prior to the exhibition's arrival in Chicago.<sup>86</sup>

Of all Chicagoans, Arthur Jerome Eddy was most visible in patronizing modern art after the International Exhibition had departed. Before the exhibition had even closed, Eddy, having instantly acquired a reputation as a collector of the most extreme art, received requests for the loan of his collection from Midwestern museum officials who were hoping to give their public a chance to see what modernism was all about.<sup>87</sup> Eddy spent the summer of 1913 in Europe, seeking out avant-garde art and artists, and expanded his collection by more than one hundred works, including paintings purchased directly from Wassily Kandinsky in his Munich studio, and a bronze casting of a sculpture he had seen in the International Exhibition, Brancusi's *Sleeping Muse*.

Eddy not only expended his energies and income collecting the new art, but also worked at bringing mod-

ern painting and sculpture to the attention of the public. In 1914, he wrote *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, one of the first books published in America on modern art, in which he explained the latest trends in painting and sculpture and included illustrations of works in his collection, as well as excerpts from his correspondence with modern artists.

It was through the efforts of individual artists and patrons that the exhibition came into being, and it was these very individuals who continued to champion Post-Impressionist and modern art after the exhibition had ended. Besides Eddy, the International Exhibition served as an impetus for modern-art collectors such as Walter and Louise Arensberg (see, in this issue, the essay by Naomi Sawelson-Gorse), Albert Barnes, Katherine Dreier, and John Quinn, among others. And through the efforts of Quinn, attorney for the Association of American Painters and Sculptors, the existing tariff on importing contemporary European art in to the United States was rescinded by Congress in October 1913, spurring a rise in the number of American art galleries dealing in modern art.

Yet in spite of this increased activity among dealers and collectors, most American art museums were still reluctant to display and acquire modern art in the decade following the International Exhibition. The Metropolitan Museum in New York had purchased a landscape by Cézanne from the show, but it did not sponsor its first exhibition of Post-Impressionist art until 1921. During the 1920s, many American museums held their first exhibitions or made their initial purchases of Post-Impressionist and early modern art. It was also in this decade that Katherine Dreier formed the Société Anonyme, a forerunner to The Museum of Modern Art, New York, which itself was not established until 1929.<sup>88</sup>

As for The Art Institute of Chicago, the rate at which it accepted modern art was not much different than that of other American museums. In 1915, Arthur Eddy was able to interest the Art Institute in holding an exhibition of paintings by Albert Bloch, an American member of the Munich Blaue Reiter group. But after Eddy's death in 1920, the museum failed, despite the efforts of Aldis, to pursue actively the acquisition of Eddy's collection of modern art.<sup>89</sup> Finally, in 1931, the Art Institute accessioned twenty-three works, including some pre-twentieth-century objects, from what was once a collection of several hundred works, as the Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection (see figs. 3, 17, and 22).

In 1920, the Art Institute may not have been ready to accept the degree of modernity represented in Eddy's collection, but it was slowly beginning to acquire works



FIGURE 22. Amadeo de Souza Cardoso (Portuguese, 1887–1918). *The Stronghold*, 1912. Oil on canvas; 92.8 x 61 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection (1931.512). This is one of three paintings by Souza Cardoso purchased by Eddy at the International Exhibition while it was in Chicago. All three of these paintings are now part of the Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection at the Art Institute.

by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century avant-garde artists. In 1920, the Art Institute purchased Redon's collection of his own graphic work from his widow, a significant acquisition considering the fact that Redon's work was unknown in this country prior to the International Exhibition. During the 1920s, under the directorship of Robert B. Harshe, the museum also acquired, through the gifts of the Joseph Winterbotham Fund and the Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection, significant examples of Post-Impressionist painting, including outstanding works by Cézanne, Gauguin, van Gogh, Seurat, and Toulouse-Lautrec, as well as modern paintings by Braque, Friesz, Matisse, Modigliani, Picasso, and Segonzac.<sup>90</sup>

In his introduction to the catalogue for the 1915 "Exhibition of Modern Paintings by Albert Bloch of Munich," Eddy wrote as follows about the Art Institute:

Of all the public art galleries of the country the Chicago Art Institute had been the broadest in its views of what it owes the public; it has been the most alert to give the public an opportunity to see the latest developments in art in Europe. . . . The trouble with nearly all the other art museums of this country is that those in charge assert the right to say what the public shall and shall not be permitted to see. . . . In opening its doors to exhibitions such as the International and such as the present one of Bloch's, the Trustees of the Art Institute do so on the theory that its members and the public have the right to see and judge for themselves everything that is new and interesting in art, or—to put it in more practical language—the people of Chicago should not be compelled to go abroad to see the new pictures if it is within the power of the Institute to bring the pictures here.<sup>91</sup>

With these words, Eddy paid tribute to the museum for its role in bringing Post-Impressionist and modern art before the public. Despite The Art Institute of Chicago's initial ambivalence toward modernism and the International Exhibition, it was the only public museum in America to have taken the initiative to host this revolutionary show.

## Appendix

The letter from William French to Charles Hutchinson of February 22, 1913, assessing the International Exhibition of Modern Art in New York, is published below for the first time in its entirety. The text of this letter is taken from a transcript that can be found in the Department of Archives at The Art Institute of Chicago.

I have seen the International Exhibition of Modern Art. It consists of paintings, drawings, sculpture and a few objects of decorative art, screens, and porcelains (the last insignificant). It occupies eighteen galleries, formed by partitions in a great armory at Lexington Avenue and 25th St., (about 2100 ft. of linear space) and is well lighted and installed. To my surprise, nine galleries, a full half the space, is [*sic*] occupied by American works, some good, some bad, some extreme, some normal. Hassam, Lie, Borglum, Bellows, and Henri are not unexpected, but just what relation C. H. Davis, Weir, Bessie Potter, Fraser, Ruger Donaho have to this exhibition is not clear. Besides this American half there is another fraction given to radicals of former years,—Delaroche, Courbet, Goya, Corot, Manet, Monet, Degas, Puvis de Chavannes, Renoir—so that considerably less than half the exhibition is of the real foreign modernists, and of these some, like the Irish Hone and the English Conder, are scarcely peculiar enough to appear exceptional in any ordinary exhibition. Another considerable fraction of the works exhibited, if offered by themselves, would not arrest attention by any original or striking characteristics, but would appear simply incompetent, just plain bad; uncertain in drawing, crude and tasteless in color, careless and ignorant in execution. In one or two instances, such as Henri Rousseau of France, the artist has succeeded in imitating the naivete of childhood, but for the most part the works are plainly enough sophisticated and studied for effect.

The fraction of the exhibition comprising the real modernists—the post-impressionists, cubists, pointillists, futurists—six or seven galleries, is eminently satisfactory. Anything more fantastic it would be hard to conceive. Some of the works are mere unmeaning assemblages of forms, with gay color, conveying no idea whatever, but bearing such titles as "Dance" or "Souvenir." A few, more logically, have no titles, but merely numbers. As an appeal to curiosity this part of the show is a decided success. Sculpture does not lend itself to idealism of this class, and the statues are clearly explicable, sometimes good in spirit, but generally exaggerated or distorted.

I went over the exhibition with Mr. Davies, the President of the new Association, and with Mr. Kuhn, the Secretary; and also with Mr. Kenyon Cox and Mr. Frederick Crowninshield. I also met at the exhibition, Blashfield, Chase, Bellows, Redfield, and others. Mr. Davies is a sincere and attractive man, and as a painter an accomplished technician. His works are freakish, but

they contain fine passages of color and form, which any critic, however classical, will admire. He is eccentric, but his eccentricities are sanity itself compared with the works of the extremists. He however pointed out, with evident sincerity, in the works of such artists as Matisse beauties which I was unable to see. His associates of course expressed similar appreciations, but I saw in their own work no evidences of competency for criticism. I suspect we have here the representatives of the two classes of radicals. First, a few eccentrics, some of them, like Van Gogh, actually unbalanced and insane, who really believe what they profess and practice; secondly, the imitators, who run all the way from sheer weakness to the most impudent charlatanism. The choice is between madness and humbug. How then should these artists have admirers among reasonable people! In the same way the most irrational religious cults attract followers—Bahaism, Teedism, Theosophy, Mormonism, not to mention more fashionable present-day isms, all have respectable disciples. It is simply unaccountable. We have to give it up! Meanwhile the party that has the majority is by definition the rational one, and may venture to assert itself.

With regard to the desirability of bringing the exhibition to Chicago, my opinion has changed. I at first thought it would be a good thing to satisfy the curiosity of the public, and as I visited the exhibition for the first time I felt a sort of exhilaration in the absurdity of it all. I still think it would be reasonable and right for us to exhibit a single gallery, perhaps fifty examples, of the most extreme works, so that our public may know what they are. But when it comes to bringing a large part of the exhibition here (we could accommodate about one-half), to incurring great expense, to turning the Art Institute upside down, as has scarcely been done except in honor of Saint-Gaudens or the Société Nouvelle, I hesitate. We cannot make a joke of our guests. It becomes a serious matter. As I visited the exhibition repeatedly I became depressed, to think that people could be found to approve methods so subversive of taste, good sense and education; of everything that is simple, pure, and of good report. In this feeling I was confirmed by a conversation with Mr. Wm. M. Chase, whom nobody can call a bigot in art matters. I have scarcely ever seen Mr. Chase so serious on any subject. He pointed out that the inevitable inference for an art student, whose inexperience and sensitiveness to impressions must be fully recognized,—the only inference from the respectful recognition of such work, must be, that education and technical training are wholly unnecessary and useless. The whims of ignorance are just as good as the well considered productions of highly trained persons. In this I find myself in agreement with Mr. Chase.

Matisse's work: If this work were submitted to me without explanation, I should regard it as a joke. It is asserted that he is an accomplished painter. I have never seen anything to show it, and I am of the opinion that if he ever did anything really distinguished it would now be exhibited. I think it probable that Matisse, failing to distinguish himself in regular lines,

resorted to this work to attract attention. Certainly the work is without merit. It has no subtlety of line, no sweetness of color, no refinement of sentiment, no beauty of any kind.

Redon's work: This work gives more impression of a sincere but unbalanced mind. It is not without beauty and evidences of training, and yet it is irrational. Some of the flower painting, which is much admired, appears to me poor and ineffectual. Davies' work is somewhat akin to this, but technically better.

John's work: A good deal of the English John's work is exhibited. He is the only one who exhibits good, early academic studies, crayon heads, etc. These are good, without being exceptional. His latest work, figure pictures, are decidedly unacademic, but have no resemblance to the French freak works. They carry simplicity to an extreme, and may be described as imperfect rather than revolutionary.

Van Gogh's work: Not so good as I expected from some prints I have seen. Other people have done the same things better. It is well known that he was violently insane.

Duchamp and Picabia: The wildest of the cubists. Humbugs—not incapable.

Gauguin: Heavy and ugly.

# Notes

MARTINEZ, "A Mixed Reception for Modernism: The 1913 Armory Show at The Art Institute of Chicago," pp. 30–57.

I am grateful to Susan F. Rossen, Executive Director of Publications at the Art Institute, for her limitless assistance and patience in the completion of this essay. I also wish to thank Jack P. Brown, Executive Director of the Ryerson and Burnham Libraries at the Art Institute, for reading the manuscript in various drafts and providing insightful comments. Finally, I wish to thank Robert Cozzolino of the Art Institute Archives for his research assistance.

1. "Director French Flees Deluge of Cubist Art," *Chicago Record-Herald*, Mar. 21, 1913. All of the newspaper articles cited in these notes can be found in the chronological scrapbooks in the Art Institute's Ryerson Library.
2. For more on Eddy's role as an author, collector, and lecturer, see Paul Kruty, "Arthur Jerome Eddy and His Collection: Prelude and Postscript to the Armory Show," *Arts Magazine* 61, 6 (Feb. 1987), pp. 40–47. Rodin's portrait bust of Eddy, as well as the painted portrait by Whistler (see fig. 3 in the present essay), entered the Art Institute's collection in 1931 as part of the Arthur Jerome Eddy Memorial Collection.
3. The Art Institute's most important annual shows featuring American artists were: "The Annual Exhibition of American Painting and Sculpture," which included art by Americans working in Paris; "The Annual Exhibition of Works by Artists of Chicago and Vicinity"; and "The Annual Exhibition of Watercolors by American Artists." The museum often made purchases for its permanent collection from these and other exhibitions.
4. In a letter of Sept. 17, 1908, to Halsey C. Ives of the Museum of Fine Arts, St. Louis, French commented on the exhibition of "the Eight" and stated, "I think it a shame that so fine a man as Davies, who was one of our students, should so sacrifice himself to whimsicalities." Office of the Director, William M. R. French—Letter Books, box 10, vol. 2, 1908, The Art Institute of Chicago Archives (hereafter referred to as AIC Archives).
5. For more on Stieglitz and modernism in America prior to 1913, see Atlanta, High Museum of Art, *The Advent of Modernism: Post-Impressionism and North American Art, 1900–1918*, exh. cat. by William C. Agee, Peter Morrin, and Judith Zilczer (1986), pp. 13–42; and "The Silent Decade: American Art 1900–1910," *Art in America* 61 (July–Aug. 1973), pp. 32–79.
6. See Ann Lee Morgan, "A Modest Young Man with Theories': Arthur Dove in Chicago, 1912," in Sue Ann Prince, ed., *The Old Guard and the Avant-Garde: Modernism in Chicago, 1910–1940* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 23–37.
7. Amy L. Paulding, "'Futurists' Startle by Hideous Lines," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Feb. 27, 1913.
8. "Cast Out Picture; Stir Norwegians," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 11, 1913.
9. "Painting Shocks Police Censor," *Chicago Examiner*, Mar. 13, 1913. Fred D. Jackson, owner of the store, was charged with violat-

ing a municipal code according to which "no person shall exhibit, sell or offer to sell any picture or other thing whatever of an immoral or scandalous nature." The city ultimately failed to obtain a conviction in court and the city council judiciary committee recommended an ordinance making it "unlawful to display any picture 'representing a person in a nude state' where it can be seen from the street or in a public place frequented by children 'which is not connected with any art or educational exhibition.'" See "Aldermen Pose As Art Censors; Ban On The Nude," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Apr. 19, 1913.

10. "When Is Art Art? When Wicked?," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 14, 1913; and "Nude In Art O.K. In Proper Place," *New York Telegraph*, Mar. 15, 1913.
11. For a detailed account of the activities of the Association and the planning and showing of the International Exhibition, see Milton W. Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1988).
12. French to Kuhn, Feb. 1, 1912. French—Letter Books, box 15, vol. 1, 1911–12, AIC Archives.
13. The official title for the show was the "Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler" ("International Art Exhibition of the Federation of West German Art Lovers and Artists").
14. Aldis was introduced to Kuhn by the American sculptor and Association member Jo Davidson. On November 11, Kuhn wrote to his wife that he and Davies had "practically closed a deal with the Chicago Institute to have the show go on there after we close." Walt Kuhn to Vera Kuhn, Nov. 11, 1912. Walt Kuhn Papers, 1901–36, roll D240, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution (hereafter referred to as AAA).
15. French stated his and Hutchinson's role in planning exhibitions in a letter to Sara Hallowell, the Art Institute's European agent, who was based in France. French to Sara Hallowell, Dec. 21, 1912. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 1, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
16. As an example of the latitude that individuals were given in their involvement with the Art Institute's exhibitions, the Art Committee's minutes for April 18, 1911, pertaining to Hallowell and her role in obtaining works by American artists in Europe for the annual American Exhibition, state that specific "gentlemen members of the Art Institute, now in Europe, shall be invited to cooperate with Miss Hallowell in obtaining pictures for the exhibition." Board of Trustees Records, Art Committee Minutes, 1902–12, AIC Archives.
17. I am grateful to Mr. Roy E. Porter, the husband of Aldis's granddaughter Mary Cornelia Aldis, for valuable information on Aldis. See also the obituaries for Arthur Aldis in the *Chicago Record-Herald and Examiner* and *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Nov. 24, 1933. In her unpublished autobiography, Alice Gerstenberg, a playwright and participant in activities at "The Compound," described Aldis as "a rather awe-inspiring, large man, with grey whiskers and a self-assured manner of aristocratic bearing. . . and, not being a creative artist himself, he enjoyed by proxy experience mingling with those who were." Alice Gerstenberg, "Come Back With Me," Julia Gerstenberg Papers, Archives and Manuscript collections, Chicago Historical Society, p. 225.

18. The official title of the second Grafton Show was the "Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition." For more on the Grafton shows, see Brown (note 11), pp. 72–73; and Carol A. Nathanson, "The American Reaction to London's First Grafton Show," *Archives of American Art Journal* 25, 3 (1985), pp. 3–10.
19. Aldis asked Ethel L. Coe, an instructor at the School of the Art Institute, who, in 1912–13, was on a leave of absence to study with the painter Joaquin Sorolla y Bastida in Spain, to assemble an exhibition of contemporary Spanish painters. A letter of November 20 from French to Coe once again shows Aldis having taken the initiative to organize an exhibition without consulting anyone at the Art Institute: "Mr. Aldis has returned from Europe and tells me that he wrote to you, and encouraged you to visit Paris to get pictures by Spanish artists resident there." French to Coe, Nov. 20, 1912. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 1, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
20. French to Hallowell, Nov. 25, 1912. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 1, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
21. French to Townsend, Nov. 19, 1912. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 1, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
22. Townsend to French, Nov. 23, 1912. French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives.
23. French to Davies, Jan. 14, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 1, 1912–13, AIC Archives. For the correspondence of the Art Institute and the Association regarding the International Exhibition, see French—Letter Books, box 16, vols. 1 and 2, 1912–13; French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives; and Armory Show Records, 1912–14, rolls D72–73, AAA.
24. Harriet Monroe, "Art Show Open to Freaks," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1913. For more on the press coverage of the exhibition, see Brown (note 11), pp. 153–86.
25. Aldis to Kuhn, Feb. 17, 1913, Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.
26. Kuhn to Aldis, Feb. 19, 1913. Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.
27. French to Hutchinson, Feb. 22, 1913, French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives. For the full text of French's letter, published here for the first time in its entirety, see Appendix at the end of this essay.
28. Richard R. Brettell and Sue Ann Prince have written that "historians have frequently taken [French's] absence during the show as an indication of his inability to understand the modernists, his blatant uninterest, or his desire to escape confrontation" (Brettell and Prince, "From the Armory Show to the Century of Progress: The Art Institute Assimilates Modernism," in Prince, ed. [note 6], p. 209).
29. Walter Pach, *Queer Thing, Painting* (New York, 1938), pp. 198–99.
30. Peter Morrin, "An Overview: Post-Impressionism and North American Art," in Atlanta, High Museum of Art (note 5), p. 18.
31. Kuhn stated that "Mr. Aldis came from Chicago with a committee to secure the show for the Art Institute." Kuhn, *The Story of the Armory Show* (New York, 1938), p. 19.
32. When presented with the cost of the exhibition, the museum's trustees balked and asked Carpenter to renegotiate the contract so that the Art Institute would be the sole recipient of any profits realized from the sale of catalogues and reproductions. The Association refused to compromise, and the matter ended there. For a copy of the contract and more on the negotiations, see Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.
33. French to Coe, Feb. 28, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives. In November 1912, after returning from Europe, Kuhn saw the same Scandinavian exhibition in New York and described it as "very tame." Kuhn to Pach, Dec. 12, 1912, Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.
34. "I am, as usual, in a pack of trouble about exhibitions. It appears to be settled that we shall bring the great Post-Impressionist show from New York. . . . This is wholly unexpected to me. We need all the room we can get, and I doubt whether the company will be very good for you." French to Pauline Palmer, Mar. 3, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
35. French wrote to Hutchinson that, "Mr. Lund, the Norwegian artist who came to hang the Scandinavian pictures, thinks so little of Mr. Alexander's works that he is unwilling to talk about them. Alexander, also, I notice is silent about Mr. Lund's work, which in my judgement is, in fact, pretty decomposed." French to Hutchinson, Mar. 5, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives. On February 6, 1913, Gutzon Borglum, vice president of the Association and chairman of its sculpture committee, realizing that he was powerless in the face of Davies's strong executive control, resigned from the Association. See Brown (note 11), pp. 99–106.
36. Aldis to Newton H. Carpenter, Mar. 5, 1913. French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives.
37. "Hit Mud With Brick; Result, Cubist Art," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Mar. 9, 1913.
38. French to Davies, Mar. 6, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
39. Davies to French, Mar. 13, 1913. Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.
40. Eddy to Davies, Mar. 15, 1913. Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA. Among Eddy's purchases in New York were Derain's *Forest at Martigues*, Duchamp's *King and Queen Surrounded by Swift Nudes* and *Portrait of Chess Players*, Gleizes's *Man on Balcony*, Picabia's *Dances at the Spring*, Villon's *Young Girl*, and Vlaminck's *Village (Rueil)*. Eddy's purchases from both the New York and Chicago showings totaled eighteen paintings and seven lithographs at a cost of \$4,888.50, making him the second largest buyer, after John Quinn, the Association's legal advisor, from the International Exhibition. For more on purchases from the exhibition, see Brown (note 11), pp. 119–32.
41. "For the benefit of those stupid Chicagoans whose souls cannot open themselves and receive the soul expression of the cubist artists and sculptors, a special volume of explanatory literature has been sent to the Art Institute. It was written by Miss Gertrude Stein of Paris, first cubist writer in the world" ("Cubist Art Is Explained Clearly by a Post-Impressionist Writer," *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Mar. 21, 1913). Grace Gassette, a Chicago painter, offered

- for the Chicago showing of the International Exhibition her relatively straightforward portrait of Gertrude Stein, which French gladly accepted. It was even listed in the exhibition catalogue under no. 148½. Apparently, the Association vetoed this addition, for after the show French apologized to Gassette for the exclusion of her painting. See French to Gassette, June 7, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
42. See Kuhn to Vera Kuhn, Mar. 23, 1913. Walt Kuhn Papers, 1901–36, roll D240, AAA. Of the six hundred and thirty-four works exhibited, three hundred and twelve were oil paintings, fifty-seven were watercolors, one hundred twenty were prints, one hundred fifteen were drawings, and thirty were sculptures. The Art Institute of Chicago, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report for the Year 1912–13*, p. 89. Brown (note 11), p. 107, estimated that approximately one thousand three hundred works were displayed in New York.
43. Board of Trustees Records, Trustee Minutes, vol. 4, pp. 253–54, AIC Archives. The American artist William Zorach, who showed two works in the International Exhibition, described the Henri as “the most realistic and nudist nude I ever saw” (Utica, N.Y., Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, *1913 Armory Show 50th Anniversary Exhibition 1963*, exh. cat. [New York, 1963], p. 94).
44. Childe Hassam, David Milne, and Sydney Dale Shaw had the distinction of being represented in both the International Exhibition and “The Annual Exhibition of Watercolors by American Artists.”
45. Carpenter to Hutchinson, Mar. 25, 1913. French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives.
46. Burkholder to French, Mar. 27, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
47. See Brown (note 11), pp. 203–08.
48. Joan Candoer, *Chicago Examiner*, Mar. 28, 1913.
49. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 24, 1913.
50. See Brown (note 11), p. 208.
51. “President Wilson a Cubist? Sure! Art Collector Says,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr. 4, 1913.
52. “Chicago Artist Starts Revolt,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar. 26, 1913.
53. Kuhn to Vera Kuhn, Mar. 25, 1913. Walt Kuhn Papers, 1901–36, roll D240, AAA.
54. “Fair Play for Insurgent Art,” *Chicago Evening Post*, Mar. 24, 1913.
55. See review by Herman Landon in the *Chicago Record-Herald*, Mar. 23, 1913. An early press release from the Association stated that artists representing the Italian Futurist movement would be included in the exhibition. The Futurists purportedly declined to participate in the show because they would not be allowed to exhibit as a group. See Brown (note 11), p. 79.
56. Otto Nohn Behterr, “An Attentive Survey of the Cubists,” *Chicago Record-Herald*, Mar. 30, 1913; and “Cubist Art Severs Friendships, Institute Directors Are Divided,” *Chicago Examiner*, Mar. 28, 1913.
57. See review by George B. Zug, *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Mar. 30, 1913.
58. “May Bar Youngsters From Cubists’ Show,” *Chicago Record-Herald*, Mar. 27, 1913.
59. See Kuhn to Vera Kuhn, Mar. [?], 1913. Walt Kuhn Papers, 1901–36, roll D240, AAA.
60. “Futurist Art Included in State Vice Inquiry,” *Chicago Daily Journal*, Apr. 1, 1913. Brown (note 11), pp. 206–07, stated that it was actually Coan’s sister, Mrs. Maud J. Coan Josephare, who visited the exhibition and apprised her brother of its contents.
61. Burkholder to French, Apr. 2, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives.
62. See Kruty (note 2), p. 47 n. 40.
63. Sherwood Anderson, *Sherwood Anderson’s Memoirs*, ed. Paul Rosenfeld (New York, 1942), p. 234.
64. Floyd Dell, “The Portrait of Murray Swift,” Floyd Dell Papers, Collection of Modern Manuscripts, Newberry Library, Chicago. In his memoirs, Dell wrote that “modern art was as new to all except a few people in America as it was to me. Post-Impressionism exploded like a bombshell within the minds of everybody who could be said to have minds. For Americans it could not be merely an aesthetic experience; it was an emotional experience which led to a philosophical and moral reevaluation of life.” Idem, *Homecoming (An Autobiography of Floyd Dell)* (New York, 1953), p. 238.
65. See Ed Garman, *The Art of Raymond Jonson, Painter* (Albuquerque, 1976), pp. 23–24; and Mark Haworth-Booth, *E. McKnight Kauffer: A Designer and His Public* (London, 1979), pp. 13–14.
66. For more on Dawson’s development as a modernist painter, see Kenneth R. Hey, “Manierre Dawson: A Fix on the Phantoms of the Imagination,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 14, 4 (1974), pp. 7–12; and Mary Gedo, “Modernizing the Masters: Manierre Dawson’s Cubist Transliterations,” *Arts Magazine* 55, 8 (Apr. 1981), pp. 135–45.
67. The Dawson journal entries quoted in this article may all be found in the Manierre Dawson Journal, 1908–22, roll 64, AAA.
68. The Duchamp painting that Dawson purchased has since been renamed *Sad Young Man on a Train*. See Brown (note 11), pp. 264 and 318.
69. “Parody on Cubists,” *Chicago Record-Herald*, Mar. 27, 1913.
70. “‘Cliff Dwellers’ Satirize the Cubist Art in Pointed Caricatures,” *Chicago Examiner*, Apr. 2, 1913.
71. Kuhn to Vera Kuhn, Mar. 30, 1913. Walt Kuhn Papers, 1901–36, roll D240, AAA.
72. Brown (note 11), p. 209. There was at least one School faculty member who was sympathetic to the modernists, and that was Dudley Crafts Watson. As early as 1911, Watson had encouraged Dawson in his experiments with abstraction. Watson lectured on the International Exhibition and one can assume that his attitude toward the show was positive because, by December 1913, he had accepted the position of director of the Milwaukee Art Society, for



which he arranged, as one of his first shows, "Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture in 'The Modern Spirit,'" which displayed works by American modernists such as Dawson. Watson joined the staff of the Art Institute again as a lecturer in 1924.

73. Kuhn to Pach, Apr. 5, 1913. Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.

74. Burkholder to French, Apr. 8, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives.

75. Bennett to French, Apr. 10, 1913. French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives.

76. Carpenter to French, Apr. 7, 1913. French—Exhibition Correspondence, 1912–14, box 18, AIC Archives.

77. "Cubist Art Exhibit Ends 'at the Stake,'" *Chicago Record-Herald*, Apr. 17, 1913. Oddly enough, that same evening the students staged a protest against censorship with a mock trial of Chabas's *September Morn*.

78. "Students Wreak Vengeance Upon Cubist Designs," *Chicago Evening Post*, Apr. 17, 1913.

79. "Cubist Art Exhibit Ends 'at the Stake'" (note 77).

80. For more on the International Exhibition in Boston, see Brown (note 11), pp. 215–22; and Garnett McCoy, "The Post Impressionist Bomb," *Archives of American Art Journal* 20, 1 (1980), pp. 13–17.

81. Carpenter to Kuhn, Apr. 21, 1913. Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA.

82. "Exhibition of Modern Art," *Bulletin of The Art Institute of Chicago* 6, 4 (Apr. 1913), p. 51.

83. French to Ryerson, May 10, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives. For French's comments regarding the effect of the exhibition on the city's art students, see "Director French Fears Cubists' Chicago Effect," *Chicago Examiner*, Apr. 27, 1913.

84. The Art Institute of Chicago, *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report For the Year 1912–13*; "The International Exhibition of Modern Art," *Bulletin of The Art Institute of Chicago* 7, 1 (July 1913), p. 4.

85. Pach to Robert Koehler, Apr. 26, 1913. Armory Show Records, 1912–14, roll D72, AAA. Koehler, director of the art school of the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, who saw the International Exhibition in Chicago, exchanged letters commenting upon the lack of acceptance of the new art among Chicago's artists.

86. While Harriet Monroe confessed to Dawson that "she didn't understand the new things and that she hadn't seen anything good in the Armory Show," she did purchase one Redon lithograph. Mary Aldis purchased three other lithographs by Redon; George F. Porter bought paintings by James Pryde, Jack Yeats, and a screen by Robert Chanler. The Art Institute's Friends of American Art acquired a portrait by Mary Foote for the museum's collection. While in Chicago, Kuhn had tried, apparently in vain, to sell a work by Gauguin to Emily Crane Chadbourne, a Chicagoan and part-time resident of Paris, as well as an acquaintance of Gertrude Stein. Chadbourne lent four works on paper by Gauguin (see fig. 8 in the present essay) and a pastel by Redon to the International

Exhibition. See Kuhn to Vera Kuhn, Mar. 30, 1913. Walt Kuhn Papers, 1901–36, roll D240, AAA. For more purchases from the exhibition in Chicago, see Brown (note 11), p. 213.

87. See Burkholder to Eddy, Apr. 19, 1913. French—Letter Books, box 16, vol. 2, 1912–13, AIC Archives. For more on Eddy's activities following the International Exhibition, see Kruty (note 2), pp. 44–45.

88. For more on the assimilation of modernism into American museum collections, see Judith Zilczer, "The Dissemination of Post-Impressionism in North America: 1905–1918," in Atlanta, High Museum of Art (note 5), pp. 34–39.

89. In 1922, Aldis lobbied the trustees to exhibit Eddy's collection so as to get a better idea of how it would look in the museum. Aldis hoped that the trustees would want to acquire some of the works, but the issue was never voted upon. Office of the Director, Robert B. Harshe—Correspondence, box 1, 1921–22, folder 8, AIC Archives.

90. For more information on the Art Institute and its acquisitions of modern art, see Brettell and Prince (note 28), pp. 209–25.

91. The Art Institute of Chicago, *Exhibition of Modern Paintings by Albert Bloch of Munich*, exh. cat. (1915), p. 10.

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SMITH, "The Nervous Profession: Daniel Catton Rich and The Art Institute of Chicago, 1927–1958," pp. 58–79.

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1. Ernest L. Heitkamp, "Art Institute's New Chief, Just 34, Tells His Policies," *Chicago American*, May 12, 1938.

2. Ibid.

3. Much of the biographical material used in this article is drawn from an oral history that was conducted with Rich by Paul Cummings on November 11 and 23, 1970, in New York City, under the auspices of the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

4. See, in this issue, Andrew Martinez, "A Mixed Reception for Modernism: The 1913 Armory Show at The Art Institute of Chicago," pp. 30–57.

5. See, in this issue, Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, "The Art Institute of Chicago and the Arensberg Collection," pp. 80–101.

6. Agnes Mongan, "The Heavenly Twins," *Apollo* 196 (June 1978), pp. 477–79.

7. C. J. Bulliet, "Art World Mourns Harshe, Builder of Great Collections," *Chicago Daily News*, Jan. 11, 1938.