

Arthur G. Dove: Illustrations and Abstractions: 1903-1933

Melanie Kirschner
New York, New York

B.A., Tufts University, 1991
M.A., University of Virginia, 1996

A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Art and Architectural History

University of Virginia
May, 2016

© Copyright by

Melanie Kirschner

All rights reserved

May, 2016

Acknowledgements

This project, as manifested here, is the result of two leaps of faith: my own conjecture that an artist of Arthur Dove's caliber could not possibly create hundreds of drawings without them being meaningful in some way; and Elizabeth Hutton Turner's faith in my judgment. I am extraordinarily grateful for her initial support and her subsequent guidance and encouragement. She has continued to graciously and generously share her invaluable insights and wisdom over many years, and her suggestions have always been fruitful. I could not have begun this project, or brought it to completion, without her support.

I am indebted to Howard Singerman and Paul Barolsky both for their challenging and motivational teaching and their substantial insights during the discussion of this project. Lawrence O. Goedde provided valuable feedback on this manuscript for which I am extremely grateful. The comments and suggestions of Shilpa Davé were additionally extremely helpful, and I am grateful for her participation. I thank the McIntire Department of Art for its early financial support, and the Department Chairs for their enthusiasm and patience.

In addition to those already mentioned, I was equipped for this endeavor by the nuanced pedagogy of David Summers, Christopher Johns, Daniel Ehnbohm, John Dobbins, Matthew Affron, and the late Lydia Csató Gasman at the University of Virginia. At Tufts University, the late Margaret Henderson Floyd was an inspiring scholar of

American Art and Architecture. I also owe Douglas Fordham and Sheila Crane at the University of Virginia immeasurable thanks for their assistance.

The devotion of the late Roger B. Stein to American Art and to rigorous inquiry provided me with tools for which I am eternally grateful. In retrospect, the seeds for this particular project were sewn many years ago by a class he taught at the University of Virginia with guest lecturer Susan Rainey, on the publication *Pictorial America*. Everyone who participated in that seminar additionally deserves my gratitude.

Thanks to Joseph Wilensky at Cornell University for crucial research assistance. Thanks also to John Marks, Curator of Collections and Exhibits at the Geneva Historical Society, for allowing me access to their collection of Dove's original illustrations and drawings. The librarians and staff at the New York Public Library, The New York Society Library, and The Thomas J. Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum of Art were crucially helpful, as was Keith Robertson at the McIntire Department of Art.

The Archives of American Art, with their holdings of Dove's papers and many of his pre-1908 illustrations, were an essential resource for this project. The ever-expanding sweep of the Hathi Trust Digital Library brought pre-1923 volumes from across the country directly to my laptop and filled some of the few gaps in the physical holdings of the New York libraries.

Perpetual thanks to my parents, Roberta and Bill, and to my sister, Cindy, who has lived with this project from afar with patience and good humor. Thanks to Howard, Nancy, Susan, Ethan and the late David Perlstein for their support. My children's growing interest in my work was remarkable to watch and enormously encouraging. My

husband, Steven Perlstein, has been an enthusiastic booster, and I am ever grateful for all that he does.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: An Ambitious Illustrator: 1899 – 1904.....	23
Chapter 2: Illustration: 1905 – 1908.....	55
Chapter 3: Abstraction after Illustration: 1910 – 1917.....	93
Chapter 4: Illustrating and Abstraction in the 1920s.....	120
Chapter 5: The Late 1920s: Part II.....	166
Conclusion.....	189
Figures.....	193
Appendix: Arthur G. Dove: Published Illustrations.....	282
Selected Bibliography.....	319

Introduction

Arthur G. Dove, America's first abstract artist, also created close to one thousand wholly representational illustrations for books and magazines between 1903 and 1930. He drew teachers and cowboys, flappers and shop-clerks, city streets, swamps and courtrooms. His illustrations were published in *Collier's*, *Life*, *The American Boy* and over two dozen other periodicals. They were in tens of thousands of American homes. And yet, as varied and prolific as it was, Dove's illustrating career has most often been presented as a brief and insignificant prequel to the abstraction that remains his legacy.

When Dove began illustrating in 1903, it was presumably with the intention of building a career as an illustrator. He was thoroughly engaged with the process of developing his illustrating skills, and as time progressed, with exploring how those skills could translate into other media. When Dove left for Europe in 1908, the roughly Impressionist style of the painting he had begun to do in New York, while not advanced, would have been considered reasonably current. When he returned to illustrating in 1918, five years after the Armory Show, right at the end of World War I, after almost ten years of trying to support his art farming, his relationship with the work was necessarily more complicated. In 1918, Dove could rely on his already acquired illustration skills as money in the bank, but as his long absence from the field clearly demonstrates, he was reluctant to do so. The world at large and the art world had changed. Most of all, Dove had changed.

From 1903 to 1908, the way Dove drew magazine illustrations was the way he painted, once he began painting. After Europe, after the exhibition of his breakthrough “Ten Commandments” and after his ten years in Westport, Connecticut, making some art but more or less not illustrating, Dove returned to illustration understanding himself to be an artist, falling back on representational illustrating for the money. He was no longer in the phase of building a reputation as an illustrator, but rather had established some reputation as a modern artist.

However, throughout the 1920s, Dove was illustrating, almost prolifically, for the entire American family: his work appeared regularly in *Elks* for dad, *Pictorial Review* for mom, *American Boy* for the kids, and *Life* for everybody. The well-thumbed monthly issues of *American Boy Magazine* from 1920-1925 currently held by The New York Public Library are each individually stamped “Children’s Room” with the address on 42nd Street and 5th Avenue, twelve blocks from Alfred Stieglitz’s former gallery 291. On any given day in the mid-twenties, even as the *Seven Americans* exhibition opened at The Anderson Galleries, a child could have sat in that library and enjoyed Dove’s cover art or vigorous drawings. Another thirty-five blocks North, the librarians at the New York Society Library on 79th Street can still bring you one of the eighty-five issues of *Life Magazine* from the 1920s containing Dove’s work before you can take off your coat.

It is in these same years that Dove’s inventive impulses first reemerged and then accelerated into the mid and late 1920s with the creation of his assemblages, abstractions, and music paintings. Considering this simultaneity, and the enormous volume of Dove’s drawn output, some dialogue between Dove the illustrator and Dove

the artist is virtually inevitable. While Dove's illustrating obviously took time, by the mid-1920s, he was often at his most creative and productive in his personal work during periods when he was simultaneously illustrating heavily.

Yet Dove's illustrations of the 1920s have received even less attention than the illustrations of his early years, and have remained virtually unlocated, uncollected, and unexamined. With current interest turning toward an integration of artistic mediums, Dove's originals for his illustrations are beginning to surface from inside Museum collections. However, they are rarely fully identified and dating can be inaccurate by two decades.

With the slightest of linguistic shifts, Dove's "illustrations," indeed those of an entire era, become "drawings," as Dove and Torr referred to them in their diaries. With the observation that these works often included water-color, gouache, or lithography, they become "works-on-paper." Drawings, prints, and works-on-paper are, of course, a traditional component of an artist's total *oeuvre*. Continuing to disregard the still loaded term, "illustration," and further pressing the question of what, in fact, these works are, reveals very simply that they are commissioned works-on-paper, created at the behest of a patron, within certain parameters of subject matter and current social and artistic conventions and standards, for a specific audience of viewers. In this conception, they are not radically different from a commissioned portrait.

The drawing and prints of Winslow Homer for popular periodicals in the 1860s have long been considered part of his body of work, and those of John Sloan and

William Glackens have been integrated into their bodies of work in recent decades.¹ However, Homer's illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* are closely related visually and in subject to paintings like "The Sharp Shooter." Likewise, Sloan's and Glackens' illustrations of New Yorkers at work or play covered the same physical territory as their paintings, and with the same degree of visual realism.

By contrast, Dove's works on paper for American periodicals, at first glance, seem wholly unrelated to the abstraction that established him as one of the most significant American artists of the first decades of the Twentieth Century. At second glance, certain commonalities of style, hand, and attitude can and have been discerned.² But Dove's drawings, lithographs and mixed media works on paper for magazines remained in the narrative, "realist" mode expected by his patrons, the Art Editors, even as the work he created for himself and for a different set of patrons, moved in both giant leaps and small steps inexorably towards abstraction. His drawings from fiction were resolutely, virtually by definition, figural; his personal abstraction was almost entirely non-figurative. The apparent visual discordance between Dove's commissioned works and his personal work, particularly after 1910, has obscured the discernment of any continuum in his artistic practice and any dialogue between the two types of finished picture.

¹ Michael Lobel, *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014). Heather Campbell Coyle and Joyce K Schiller, eds. *John Sloan's New York* (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 2007); Nancy E. Allyn and Elizabeth H. Hawkes, *William Glackens: A Catalogue of his Book and Magazine Illustrations*. (Wilmington, DE: Delaware Art Museum, 1987). Avis Berman, ed. *William Glackens* (New York: Skira Rizzoli Publications, Inc., 2014).

² Barbara D. Gallati, "Arthur G. Dove as Illustrator," *Archives of American Art Journal* v.21 (1981): 13-22, Ann Lee Morgan, *Arthur Dove: Life and Work* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1984): 12, Phyllis Peet, "Arthur G. Dove," *American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920, Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 188 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1998): 74-81.

However, viewing Dove's work in the aggregate, gathering his nearly one thousand works on paper for books and magazines, and positioning them alongside his abstractions, does make visible multiple thematic, technical, and conceptual continuities and interactions which can substantially enhance our understanding of the artistic process embodied in his abstractions. Taking an additional step back, to address the instrumental role of illustration in allowing Dove to make the leap into abstraction, requires the assistance of two closely related methodologies.

Hans Belting's proposal of a "fundamental interrelation (and even interaction) of image, body, and medium as components in every attempt at picture-making,"³ provides a frame in which to locate the essential continuity between Dove's illustrations and his personal work. Further, Belting's conception of a "picture" as that which makes a physical absence, previously only extant as an internal "image," present in a "medium,"⁴ defines precisely what Dove, as an illustrator of fiction, was doing upon his entry into the art world in 1903, and what he knew and intended himself to be doing in his abstractions after 1910.

Rachel DeLue provides the language "picturing," which can be seen both as the process of arriving at the image, and of translating the image into a medium, and thereby a "picture."⁵ Viewed through these two lenses, Dove's illustration and his abstraction come into focus as two sides of the same coin. On the illustration side of the

³ Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011): 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3-10.

⁵ Rachel Z. DeLue, "Picturing: An Introduction," in DeLue, ed. *Picturing* (Terra Foundation for American Art, 2016): 10-40, p. 22.

coin, he is “picturing,” or “figuring,” making visible, the absent characters and settings described in a story by the abstract system of written or spoken language. On the abstraction side, he is making visible, “picturing,” the invisible forces of nature or modern technology. In both cases Dove is the receiver, translator, and transmitter. The difference is that in “picturing” his commissioned works, he is using a different “culturally and chronologically contingent cohort of ideas and hypotheses,”⁶ than in his avant-garde work. The mental act of translation, of making visible that which cannot be seen, of “figuring” the absent figure in the medium, thereby pointing to its absence in the “real” world,⁷ remains a constant throughout his work across time and medium.

From our early Twenty-First Century perspective, Dove’s illustrations are almost literally, physically, buried, hidden, almost entirely obscured by the ephemeral nature of the magazines in which they most often appeared. For one hundred years they have largely been either deliberately ignored, overlooked, or dismissed as of little consequence. Dove’s early career as an illustrator in New York is a standard component of his narrative. This period is usually relegated to a scant few sentences that stress his rejection of illustration in 1908. His work of the 1920s was rarely mentioned. This changed slightly after Dove’s diaries, log books, and several folders of published illustrations that Dove had kept were donated to the Archives of American Art around 1980. These documents not only contained some of the work, but also revealed the continuation of Dove’s illustrating activity through the 1920s. Barbara Gallati

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Belting, 2011, 6.

discussed Dove's illustrations shortly afterwards in the *Archives of American Art Journal*. They have since been digitized. Indeed, the ongoing digitization of American media has made this a viable project. While many periodicals still remain unscanned, it is newly possible to find many of the periodicals that predate 1923 on line. It is due to the generosity of the many institutions that have allowed their fragile, early-twentieth century volumes to be scanned that at least this portion of this material is now publicly available. It is still an ongoing process. Due to copyright restrictions, periodicals published after 1923 are unlikely to be digitally available in the near future. These still needed to be retrieved from the physical magazines themselves.

I have documented here approximately 950 individual illustrations drawn by Arthur Dove over twenty-five years. They are listed in the Appendix. A few additional works may well remain scattered among the enormous production of illustrated fiction from the beginning of the Twentieth Century. However, I believe that the works gathered here are sufficiently representative of Dove's illustration that they can stand for the as yet unexcavated sum. It is the purpose of this dissertation to introduce this larger compendium of work, and to discuss its relevance for Dove's larger artistic project.

Review of the Literature

There are two components to a review of the literature on Dove as an illustrator: the first is a review of the Dove literature: the books and articles that focus on the individual artist and address his illustration work as a component of his artistic

enterprise; the second is a review of Dove's changing inclusion in, or exclusion from, the literature on American illustrators.

There have been two articles which specifically discussed Dove's illustrations and their relationship to his abstractions: Gallati wrote insightfully and thoughtfully on Dove's illustrating work in 1981 for the *Archives of American Art Journal*, and Phyllis Peet in 1998 provided an additional accounting of Dove as an illustrator for *The Dictionary of Literary Biography, volume 188: American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920*. Both pieces reveal a great deal of detective work and are extremely (insightful) and valuable treatments of Dove's illustrations.

In 1981 Barbara Gallati published the first serious consideration of Dove's illustrations in the *Archives of American Art Journal* based on the Dove papers in the Archives of American Art. Gallati mentions Dove's college yearbook work, and discusses his covers for the *Illustrated Sporting News*, noting their reliance on the American Poster Style and suggesting the vastly popular Edward Penfield as an influence.⁸ She credits Wight⁹ for placing Dove within the artists of the cafe society of New York in these years¹⁰ and examines Sloan's diary for its informative, though infrequent mentions of Dove. She notes that between 1905 and 1908 Dove used varied media and indeed varied styles. Most interestingly, she notes that one set of oil illustrations for *Pearson's Magazine* shows the influence of Robert Henri's painterly

⁸ Gallati, 14.

⁹ Frederick Wight, *Arthur G. Dove*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958).

¹⁰ Gallati, 14.

style.¹¹ She also observed that Dove often used the pen and ink sketch for more humorous stories¹² and mentioned Florence Scovel Shinn and May Wilson Preston as practitioners of a similar pen and ink style.¹³ She points out that some of Dove's illustrations share a similarity of "vision" with the work of the artists of the New York Scene and suggests that Dove's interactions with these artists who worked both as illustrators and "serious" painters, encouraged Dove to explore pushing himself as an artist.¹⁴ Gallati reports that there exists some ambiguity as to the dates of Dove's return to illustration after his trip to Paris. She reports that he took a brief job as an illustrator for a newspaper whose name remains unknown without citing a source.¹⁵ Gallati discusses some his illustrating in the 1920s, briefly noting a connection between his use of varied media and succinct expression in his drawings and in his assemblages of this period.¹⁶ She did not seem to be aware of all of his magazine work in the 1920s, particularly his run at *American Boy* magazine. In discussing Dove's illustration work in the 1920s, Gallati focuses on Dove's attitude towards illustrating and the logistics of getting the work done while painting.¹⁷ Gallati's article is quite insightful about Dove's stylistic development as an illustrator and provides a balanced view of how Dove felt about the illustrations himself. However, it was by necessity limited by what she had access to and by length.

¹¹ Ibid., 15.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 21

¹⁴ Ibid., 16.

¹⁵ Ibid., 17. Nothing comes up in Library of Congress Chronicling America newspaper database, but that doesn't mean he wasn't there uncredited.

¹⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹⁷ Ibid., 20.

Peet's publication, in a gigantic set of reference volumes (on the cusp of becoming a printed dinosaur) was somewhat outside the mainstream of Dove scholarship and apparently attracted less notice than it deserved. The biggest hurdle to finding Peet's entry on Dove, of course, would be conceptualizing Dove as a book and magazine illustrator in the first place, and essentially all the Dove literature up to Peet's article has pushed against that classification. All of the entries in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* volume on American Book and Magazine Illustrators begin with a list of selected Books and Periodicals illustrated. The list provided by Phyllis Peet for Dove adds considerably to what Gallati discussed, but is, as is inevitable, not complete. Peet focuses initially on making a connection between Dove's early style at Hobart and Cornell and the English illustrator Philip William May, who is not mentioned by Gallati. She sees May as the source of Dove's Poster Style inclinations and maintains that Dove also studied George Cruikshank, Thomas Rowlandson, Theophile-Alexandre Steinlen, and Honore Daumier, among other Europeans,¹⁸ but the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* as a whole is not footnoted, so we do not know if she had a record of this or if it is simply suggested by the work. She adds to Gallati's analysis by pointing out that by 1907 Dove's work was occasionally featured as stand alone art, revealing considerable status as an illustrator.¹⁹ Peet attributes Dove's use of calligraphic line, simplified shapes, and humor to his experience illustrating.²⁰

¹⁸ Peet, 75.

¹⁹ Ibid., 76.

²⁰ Ibid., 80.

There is good reason that Dove's career as an illustrator was historically overlooked or minimized until the last decades of the twentieth century: Steiglitz, and Dove were focused on establishing Dove's bona fides as a serious, modern artist. By the late-1930s illustration's reputation had been considerably diminished. Identification as an illustrator had the perceived potential to taint Dove's artistic reputation.

Herbert Seligmann's account of room 303 in 1926 shows us Stieglitz telling virtually everyone who walked in the door of the Dove exhibit that Dove had been cut off financially by his father for giving up the good salary of illustration in favor of painting.²¹ Stieglitz provides good reason for all involved to resent the entire notion of illustration. He neglects to mention that, in fact, at the very same moment that Dove was creating the works on exhibit, he was continuing to illustrate for *Life*, *American Boy*, *Pictorial Review*, and other magazines.

Some of the earliest serious criticism of Dove's work, indeed his promotion, was written by Stieglitz's friend Paul Rosenfeld. When Rosenfeld in his article, "American Painting" in *The Dial* in 1921 and in *Port of New York* in 1924 was promoting Dove's art as the purest American expression of the masculine in art, and our deepest expression of the land, the soil and the animal in painting Dove's illustrations were at best besides the point, at worst the precise opposite of what Rosenfeld was promoting. Rosenfeld never mentions Dove's work as a magazine illustrator, but in 1921 he does expound on what Dove's art does not contain, "After having seen so much art made exclusively by man and for man as bourgeois society has chosen to view him, it is good to see work

²¹ Herbert J. Seligman, *Albert Stieglitz Talking* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966): 13.

that, like, this, is made with the full consent of the portions of the human frame which middle-class society is eager to ignore and forget. "No vulgar laughter is here; no shamefulness and guilt, no titillation."²² No art was aimed at bourgeois society and the middle-class more directly than magazine illustration. While not acknowledging that Dove participated in that world, this remark by Rosenfeld may be a direct address to those who were familiar with his illustrations, declaring a very clear separation, a demarcation that this art is not at all like the art of the Arthur G. Dove you may be familiar with from *Pearson's* or *Collier's Weekly*.

Frederick Wight in 1958 reported that Dove painted water colors and one oil landscape at Cornell, and drew from casts. He cites Charles Wellington Furlong as an influential instructor and further reports that Dove attended the Art Students League in New York for five days before taking an advertising job for \$15 a week.²³ As would become standard, he relays that Dove developed an illustration career after college, citing his work in those magazines that maintained a considerable reputation in the 1950s: *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and "the old *Life*."²⁴ Dove's run at *Life* was indeed one of the longest in his career. With that exception, Dove had longer and more considerable engagements with other magazines such as *Pearson's*, *Cosmopolitan* and *American Boy*, which were less well recalled by mid-century. Wight was in contact with Helen Torr and William Dove, so this information, which associated Dove with the most popular, long running and therefore high status

²² Paul Rosenfeld, "American Painting," *The Dial* v. 71 (November 1921): 665.

²³ Wight, 25.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

magazines, may have been a standard part of his own presentation of his illustrating work to potential employers. Wight is astute about Dove's illustrations, citing their "instinctive legible humor" and lack of awkwardness as accounting for their demand and noting that Dove apparently "had his fill of the human figure as an illustrator."²⁵ Wight's final word on Dove's illustration is that in contrast to Alfred Maurer, Dove "knew how to escape when illustration pursued."²⁶ He later discusses Dove's continuing consciousness of vitality of line, but does not connect it to Dove's illustrations.²⁷

Wight's summary remained the basis for mention of Dove's illustration until Ann Lee Morgan's work of the 1980s. In 1961 in a large pamphlet produced for an exhibition of Dove paintings and watercolors from the William H. Lane Foundation at the Worcester Art Museum, Daniel Catton Rich summarized Dove's illustration career in one sentence, stating that he drew for popular periodicals and gave it up in 1907. Barbara Haskell, for Dove's traveling solo exhibition catalogue in 1975 repeated the outline from Wight, adding only that Dove's income as an illustrator was about \$12,000 a year.²⁸

In her 1984 *Catalogue Raisonne* Ann Lee Morgan lays out the general shape of Dove's history as an illustrator: Cornell, coursework with Charles Wellington Furlong, illustration in New York, acquaintance with Sloan and Lawson, and departure for France. She reproduced a Calendar page illustrated by Dove in 1905, and an illustration from the *Century* (April 1907). These two illustrations became almost the

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 27.

²⁷ Ibid., 37.

²⁸ Barbara Haskell, *Arthur Dove* (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974): unpagged.

standard token Dove illustrations in discussion of the early part of his career. She noted that Dove's illustrations in this time period were lively, lucid and could well express Dove's sense of humor as caricature or cartoon.²⁹ Intriguingly, she notes that William Dove told her that his father worked as an illustrator for a newspaper in New York for a few weeks in 1909 or 10, but he couldn't recall the name of the paper. She further reports that Dove grew dissatisfied with the commercialism of illustration before his move to Westport and returned full time to magazine illustration in the Fall of 1918, moving back to New York City for the winters.³⁰ She further notes that he continued to illustrate through the 1920s, and gave it up in 1928, only to be surprised by a commission in 1929 for *Liberty* magazine.³¹

Sasha Newman, *Arthur Dove and Duncan Phillips: Artist and Patron* recites the same narrative, with the same list of periodicals as Wight, and adds an untitled, undated or sourced illustration from the Geneva Historical Society and stresses the influence of Henri's "insistence upon the individual's cultivation of personal sensation" on the Ash Can artist/illustrators and theoretically on Dove.³²

The catalogue for the 1997 traveling Dove retrospective, with essays by Elizabeth Hutton Turner, William Agee, and Debra Bricker Balken,³³ maintained this narrative of Dove's illustration career as a brief prelude to his later work. It did however, include several of Dove charcoals alongside his paintings and assemblages. Further, in

²⁹ Morgan, 1984, 12-3.

³⁰ Ibid., 15-9.

³¹ Ibid., 22.

³² Sasha M. Newman, *Arthur Dove and Duncan Phillips: Artist and Patron* (Washington D.C.: The Phillips Collection, 1981): 25.

³³ William C. Agee, Debra Bricker Balken, and Elizabeth Hutton Turner. *Arthur Dove: A Retrospective*. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997.)

this exhibition and its catalogue, Elizabeth Turner brought the first sustained attention to Dove's watercolors, highlighting their function in Dove's artistic process, along with their formal dependence on line and their humor.³⁴ In casting a wider net and pointing to new aspects of Dove's total process, she laid the groundwork for the current study. My own 1998 work on Dove's watercolors,³⁵ occasioned by an internship at the Phillips Collection just prior to this retrospective, and generously encouraged by Dr. Turner, also neglected to examine the connection between Dove's illustrating and his painting.

While past scholarship on Dove has not often focused on Dove's illustrations, it has illuminated the artistic, philosophical, and scientific influences on Dove's approach to his own artistic endeavors, forming the basis for all further work on Dove. The most recent Dove scholarship, by Rachael Z. DeLue, *Arthur Dove: Always Connect*,³⁶ released coincident with the completion of this dissertation, adds to past scholarship by studying in detail Dove's interests in language and the transmission and translations of sound and weather, in addition to several other new explorations. It also, however, does not address Dove's magazine work.

Illustration and Magazines at the Turn of the Century

Aside from historical notes in the magazines themselves, the earliest study of American magazines was Frank Luther Mott's five volume, *A History of American Magazines*, partially published in 1938 and completed in 1968. Mott gives a detailed

³⁴ Turner in *Ibid.*, 101.

³⁵ Melanie Kirschner, *Arthur Dove: Watercolors and Pastels*. (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1998).

³⁶ Rachael Z. DeLue, *Arthur Dove: Always Connect*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016).

and insightful history of the business, editorial, and literary developments of individual magazines that remains a significant source for contemporary studies of American magazines. While he often acknowledges the role of illustration in changes of magazines' direction or circulation, and lists the most popular illustrators, his analytical focus is on the written content.

Will Bradley wrote "Will Bradley: Notes Toward an Autobiography," telling his own personal story, with its unique focus on type, printing, posters and later, magazines, in 1954. This relatively brief insider's account appears to have been published only in the 1970s, when interest in the Golden Age of American Illustration revived.³⁷ Several other studies, in particular those by Linda Ferber, Rowland Elzea, Dorey Schmidt, Elizabeth Hawkes, Walter and Roger Reed, and Judy Larson have since focused on the illustrators of the decades surrounding the turn of the century.³⁸

The most in-depth recent studies of American artists and their relationships with commercial work, Michele Bogart's *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*, and Rebecca Zurier's *Picturing The City: Urban Vision and the Ash Can School*, provide extremely thorough research and insightful analysis with regards to the popular press

³⁷ Will Bradley, "Notes Toward an Autobiography," in Clarence P. Hornung, ed. *Will Bradley: His Graphic Art* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1974): xxxvii.

³⁸ Linda Ferber, *A Century of American Illustration* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1972). Elzea Rowland and Dorey Schmidt, *The American Magazine: 1890-1940* (Delaware Art Museum, 1979). Elzea Rowland and Elizabeth Hawkes, *City Life Illustrated. Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Shinn -- their Friends and Followers* (Wilmington, DE: Delaware Art Museum, 1980). Judy L. Larson, *American Illustration 1890-1925*. Glenbow Museum, (Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 1986). Reed, Walter. *The Illustrator in America 1860-2000*. (New York: The Society of Illustrators, 2001).

and American artists at the beginning of the Twentieth Century.³⁹ Along with Michael Lobel's book on Sloan's illustrations and the recent Glackens monograph edited by Avis Berman, these authors illuminate the history and development of the magazines and their illustrators in this unique episode in American media history.

When Dove arrived in New York City in 1903 he was entering a world of commercial illustration that had been thriving for two decades. In the second half of the nineteenth century expanded literacy and increased leisure time among the ever-growing American middle class led to enormous demand for recreational reading material. Magazines were numerous and widely enjoyed.⁴⁰ Some magazines focused more on politics and news, some on fiction, some on humor, but most included some amount of each. Some magazines were created specifically for women or children. At the turn of the century the industry was still expanding. While by the 1890s photography was encroaching on the illustrators' position in newspapers and some nonfiction magazine reporting, it dominated fiction illustrating and some general opinion writing in the magazines.⁴¹ Many new general interest magazines, started in the 1890s, among them *Ladies Home Journal*, *Collier's*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Pearson's* and *Life*, offered abundant opportunities to illustrators.⁴²

³⁹ Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Rebecca Zurier, *Picturing the City: Urban Vision and the AshCan School* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

⁴⁰ Larson, 19.

⁴¹ Zurier, 157.

⁴² Bogart, 5.

Magazine prices were affordable. *McClure's* was successful at 15 cents, and most magazines in 1903 sold for less than 10 cents a copy. It would not be unusual for a household to receive several magazines. *Puck* and *Judge* were the humor magazine choices of upper classes.⁴³ *Harper's*, *Scribner's* and the *Century* also had well-educated readers and demanded quality fiction and news coverage, *McClure's* had slightly less demanding content.⁴⁴ Circulations for top magazines reached one million copies around 1900.⁴⁵ At the height of the magazines' popularity, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an established magazine could expect each issue to be seen by as many as two million people.⁴⁶

Illustration's role in the appeal and success of popular magazines was such that it was well remunerated even in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Popular illustrators made their own contracts and became known for their wealth as well as for their art.⁴⁸ It was clearly advantageous for magazine publishers to promote their illustrators, and they did so throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century and first decade of the twentieth century by publishing books of American illustration,⁴⁹ making originals available for purchase, and exhibiting illustration.

While the most well established illustrators, such as Charles Dana Gibson and Frederic Remington, were sought after by art editors and sometimes urged to sign

⁴³ Gambone, 8.

⁴⁴ Mott, v.IV, 5-6, quoted in Rowland, 1972, 8.

⁴⁵ Larson, 35, 42.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 35.

⁴⁷ Bogart, 26. Larson, 20.

⁴⁸ Bogart, 26, 41. Zurier, 157.

⁴⁹ Bogart, 29.

exclusive contracts, most illustrators were their own promoters.⁵⁰ Illustrators worked freelance, soliciting work from the individual magazines. While prominent Editor-in-Chiefs, such as George Horace Lorimer at the *Saturday Evening Post*, Norman Hapgood at *Collier's* and later *Harper's Weekly*, and Edward Bok at *The Ladies' Home Journal*, set the direction of their magazines, the Art Editor, or Art Director, controlled the illustrating assignments. Bogart describes the rather tedious process of looking for work as one in which the illustrator made the rounds of the magazines' and publishers' offices, samples in hand, hoping to find the Art Editor available, and with available and appropriate work.⁵¹ Persistence, especially for a new illustrator, might count almost as much as ability in securing those first commissions.⁵² While magazines were abundant, so were prospective illustrators, and some seem to have received work infrequently. Readership was vocal and editors kept an eye on their incoming letters. An illustrator who elicited a positive response from readers was apt to be used again. Personal relationships with the Art Editors certainly helped. The Society of Illustrators was formed in 1901 with William T. Smedley as the first president, and Gibson, Howard Pyle, N.C. Wyeth, Glackens and Shinn among the membership, in part to provide social evenings to introduce illustrators and editors.⁵³ A few illustrators crossed into editing: Edward Penfield was head of the art department at *Harper's* early in his career when he

⁵⁰ Bogart, 33.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Larson, 31. Bogart, 35.

designed the first American art poster advertisement for a magazine in 1893,⁵⁴ Howard Pyle was an Art Director of *McClure's* for five months,⁵⁵ Will Bradley had a significantly longer turn as an Art Editor at *Collier's* and other popular magazines.⁵⁶ The popular and financially successful Gibson was part owner of *Life* in the 1920s. Hoping to use his popularity to build bridges, Gibson had also served as President of the Society of Illustrators from 1909 to 1921.⁵⁷

Dove's Inclusion in, and Exclusion from, the Literature on American Illustration

By most measures, Dove was successful at acquiring illustrating commissions in his first years in New York City. He appeared in the magazines almost 100 times between 1903 and 1910, including those with the largest circulations, such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Harper's* and *Collier's*. (see Appendix A) In addition to his frequent illustrations for fiction, he occasionally provided featured stand alone illustrations alongside some of the most popular American illustrators, such as Joseph Pennell and Gibson. He was promoted by the magazines as an illustrator whose work would be seen in forthcoming issues. In some months his work appeared in as many as six different magazines simultaneously. And he made enough money to save for his trip to France. However, Dove appears in the literature on American illustration only

⁵⁴ David W. Kiehl, "American Art Posters of the 1890s," in Kiehl, et al. *American Art Posters of the 1890s in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987): 11-20, p.13.

⁵⁵ Bogart, 55.

⁵⁶ Hornung, 27.

⁵⁷ Bogart, 61.

sporadically. His virtual disappearance from the illustrating scene in 1909 and subsequent ten year absence from the field may well have played a role in this oversight.

Perhaps his comparative lack of book illustration also played a role in his initial absence from the literature on American illustrators. Monroe Wheeler's 1936 *Modern Painters and Sculptors as Illustrators* for The Museum of Modern Art limited itself to book illustrators. In 1938, a book entitled *Book Illustrators* included 123 American artists, among them Homer, Glackens, Sloan, and Dove's friend Henry Raleigh, but did not include Dove. As it appears Dove only illustrated four books, these may have been reasonable exclusions. To the extent that these volumes were sources for later work, their strict categorization may have contributed to Dove's absence in much of the following literature.

In 1972, The Brooklyn Museum *Survey of A Century of American Illustration* included Sloan and Raleigh, but did not include Dove or Glackens.⁵⁸ The 1979 Delaware Art Museum study of *The American Magazine 1890-1940* did not mention Dove, despite articles titled "That was Life (and its artists)" and "Magazines and their Illustrations."⁵⁹ Neither the 1980 *City Life Illustrated: Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Shinn -- their Friends and Followers*, nor *Picturing the City* mentions Dove, reinforcing the

⁵⁸Ferber.

⁵⁹Rowland and Schmidt.

general impression that despite Dove's occasional appearance in Sloan's diary, he has been very much considered on the periphery of this group.⁶⁰

Again, Gallati's 1981 article may have brought Dove's contribution to magazine illustration into broader view. Dove was included with one drawing in the *American Illustration* exhibition and catalogue at the Glenbow Museum in Canada in 1986.⁶¹ By 2001, in Walt Reed's *The Illustrator in America*, Dove is included on the list of illustrators working 1900 - 1910, with sixty-five names, it is the largest list for any of the decades included.⁶² However, Dove does not appear at all in *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*.

In the Twenty-First Century the direction is toward inclusion rather than exclusion, equation rather than distinction. Institutions like MoMA have eliminated the traditional departments that differentiated painting from drawing and prints, and more institutions are including drawings and illustrations in the works from their collections that they make available online. Major studies have been done on the illustrations of Sloan, Glackens, and Everett Shinn. This issue is necessarily complicated however, when the artist's drawings, or illustrations, manifest an entirely different approach to interpreting the world through representation than does his or her "other" art. This is the case for very few Twentieth-Century artists, as it is for Dove.

⁶⁰ Elzea and Hawkes.

⁶¹ Larson, 36.

⁶² Reed, 2001, 86.

Chapter 1: An Ambitious Illustrator: 1899-1904

A close study of Dove's illustrations from 1899 to 1904 shows an artist exploring the traditions that preceded him and the directions of popular contemporary illustration, and integrating these over several years to develop a personal style. Spanning the turn of the century, Dove's first published illustrations, in his college yearbooks, reveal an artist with one foot in the nineteenth century, seeking to take advantage of the most useful aspects of the art and design of that exact *fin-de-siecle* moment, while looking steadily towards the future. His first true professional work, published in popular magazines in 1903 and 1904 strove to master the professional finesse of the illustrators of the day, while looking both to the past and to the future in composition and design.

From his college illustrations through his first years as a professional, Dove worked to reconcile the elaborate Art Nouveau and simplified, bold American poster style so popular at the end of the nineteenth century, with a more naturalistic style that remained a current in nineteenth century illustration and ultimately dominated the illustration of the first decade of the twentieth century. Dove's earliest work in college reveals the illustrators he sought to emulate even before his first college art classes, and shows how quickly his work developed.

Dove had relatively little professional training when he entered the art world as an illustrator in New York City in 1903. While he took several studio art classes in college, they were hardly equivalent to a few years of training at the Academy, or the Art Student's League. Much of his growth as an artist took place in his first four years after

college. He learned on the job. If we know an artist studied at the Academy or took classes with Thomas Eakins or William Merritt Chase, we have a reasonably good idea what that means in terms of the artist's training, in methods and in artistic outlook. We don't know what it meant for America's first abstract artist to have begun his career illustrating fiction for popular magazines and the occasional book. There are no documentary sources to describe Dove's working methods in New York before 1909. We can only extrapolate his process from that of others, from his own documentation of his methods of the mid-late 1920s, and from his work. This chapter will look at how Dove's first experiences as an illustrator, in college and in New York, laid the formal and conceptual groundwork for his notions of how to make pictures. It will also discuss how Dove's earliest choices of subjects reveal interests that persist throughout his career.

Dove's choice of illustration as an initial career move was itself a decision to participate in a quintessentially modern endeavor. Developing his own skills and looking at the accomplished illustrators in the magazines, Dove quickly learned that to be successful as an illustrator you had to be precisely of the moment artistically, and preferably, have a unique personal style. Through his illustration work for periodicals with different expectations, and for stories with different moods and characters, Dove honed his artistic skills: broadening his stylistic range, achieving fluency with the multiple mediums typically used in commercial illustration, and developing particularly acute habits of observation. For Dove, his first years of professional illustration effectively took the place of traditional art school.

A Formal Education -- Hobart College and Cornell University

Dove began his college career at Hobart College in Geneva in 1899 and transferred to Cornell University in 1901. He clearly thought of himself as an artist from the beginning of his college career, contributing four illustrations to the 1899 Hobart Yearbook, *The Echo of the Seneca*. While other students provided more illustrations for this volume, Dove had the first full page in the book. Phyllis Peet has observed that Dove's Hobart work reveals the influence of English illustrator Philip May, in addition to Georges Cruikshank, Thomas Rowlandson, Theophile-Alexandre Steinlen, and Honore Daumier, citing May's sinuous line and use of caricature and cartoon.⁶³ Indeed, Dove's final illustration for the 1899 Echo "Patronize our Ads" (fig. 1) showing a bearded man in a sandwich board ad appears to be a straight borrowing from May. (fig. 2) Peet notes that in 1900 Dove also adapted May's typical full-length, profile, smoking figure for his caricature of the Hobart golf coach.⁶⁴ Clearly, Dove was basing at least some of his Hobart Yearbook illustrations on the work of Philip May. Barbara Gallati calls Dove's Hobart illustrations, "interesting products of an enthusiastic, creative spirit, expressions of an untrained hand guided by an unsophisticated eye."⁶⁵ She also observes that "several exhibit the sinuous forms and strong contours that were characteristic of the art nouveau style."⁶⁶ One illustration from 1899 in particular, "Anna Lytica" is so different from the others and distinctly *fin-de-siecle* in style that were it not for an almost fully camouflaged A.G.D. monogram it might not be identifiable as Dove's. In his first years

⁶³ Peet, 75.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Gallati, 13.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

of college, Dove is clearly imitating the recent masters of illustration, shaping his images through the materials and styles of others.

Dove transferred to Cornell University in 1901. In his first appearance in the *Cornell Class Book* the caption beside his serious photo welcomed him for bringing “some small artistic talent and a little dog.” (fig. 3) It is indicative of Dove’s everyman demeanor that the dog was named Schlitz, presumably after Schlitz beer.

Dove’s Cornell Registration card reported that his classwork at Hobart included English, American History, Geometry, Algebra and four credits in Classics.⁶⁷ At Cornell, Dove split his coursework between law classes taken to please his father, and studio art classes, with the only exceptions being a year of History of Art, Spanish, German, and one semester of Physics. He most likely had a science requirement, which he filled with the Physics class. Dove’s yearbook participation reveals that he already considered himself an artist. His choice of physics over an anatomy class is therefore striking and strongly indicative of Dove’s interests. The influence of scientific theory in Dove’s paintings has been extensively discussed by Sherrye Cohn.⁶⁸ It is clear from Dove’s coursework that his interest in light, optics and general physics dates back at least to his years at Cornell.

While at Cornell Dove also provided illustrations for both his Junior and Senior yearbooks. While May will resurface as an influence on Dove’s illustration in a few

⁶⁷ Thanks to Joseph Wilensky

⁶⁸ Sherrye Cohn, *Arthur Dove: Nature as Symbol*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985; "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove; Part I: Dove's 'Force Lines, Growth Lines' as Emblems of Energy," *Arts Magazine* 58 (December 1983): 90-93; "Arthur Dove and the Organic Analogy: A Rapprochement Between Art and Nature," *Arts Magazine* 59 (June 1985): 85-89; "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove; Part II: Dove and 'The Fourth Dimension,'" *Arts Magazine* 58 (January 1984): 121-125.

years, in these drawings Dove quite literally turns his back on his style from Hobart. The 1902 *Cornellian* illustrates the listing of Arts & Sciences faculty with a drawing of the back of a man in a baggy suit and proper hat, standing outside at the bottom of a small flight of steps leading to a stone building with a notice on the door. (fig. 4) With one foot slightly forward but hands shoved in pockets, the man is moving toward his future cautiously and thoughtfully. Perhaps this is the first time we see Dove figuring himself, as he transitions from his hometown school to the much larger University. Dove depicted his subject and his environment entirely with line, often doubled, only a bit of diagonal hatching and the solid black of the man's hair suggest changes in color. The double line recalls the popular illustrator Elizabeth Shippen Green, indicating Dove's increasing inclusion of American models in his illustrating. The man with his back to the viewer, allowing that viewer to identify with him as he contemplates ascending the steps to knowledge, is an unusual composition, and a thoughtful one for a college student. It may be our first indication that Dove is naturally attuned to the liminal, moments of transition and growth.

Dove provided seven additional illustrations for the 1902 *Cornellian*: a frontispiece for the Various Views section (fig. 5), an illustration for the Bench and Board club, (fig. 5a) one for the club Undine, and one each for the Sophomore Cotillion, (fig. 6) Sophomore Smoker, and Sophomore Banquet. His work closes the yearbook with an illustration of the same figure as his Sophomore Cotillion drawing, this one captioned simply, "The End." Dove's illustrations for Bench and Board and Undine were reused the following year in the 1903 *Cornellian*, and joined by an illustration for The Mummy

Club. In the yearbooks, Dove was using at least two versions of his monogram to sign his drawings: one vertical, stressing the “v” as a graphic element, and one horizontal. Both were surrounded by a rectangle with rounded corners in a form reminiscent of Japanese prints and both were considerably more intricate and stylized than his later, straight-forward signature.

Although Dove took art classes in college, his illustrating style during school and when he graduated Cornell in 1903 was awkward and stylistically indistinct compared to his fluidity and diversity just a few years later. As stands to reason, his illustrations for his college yearbooks also reveal the influences of popular illustrators of the day and of Dove’s childhood. His illustrations from the Cornell yearbooks can be roughly divided into three styles, although one dominates. His frontispiece for *Various Views* is classic Art Nouveau: a woman’s face, detailed and shaded, adrift in a sea of graphically patterned, swirling hair, nestled in a *tromp-l’oeil* riveted frame. (fig. 5) While aspects of the Art Nouveau occasionally crept into Dove’s later work when he deemed it appropriate or necessary, this appears to have been Dove’s first and last serious engagement with the style.

The illustrations for the Bench and Board and Undine clubs share a style with Dove’s uncaptioned opening drawing of a man at the steps. The figures in all three are stark white with clothes detailed with continuous, doubled, sinuous lines, with no shading. The double outline disappears from Dove’s work after this set of drawings. Both club illustrations depict an interior with windows with lattice shutters that provide a geometric graphic that anchors the compositions. The illustration for Bench and Board

shows two seated figures around a table, flanked by the windows. The surrounding chunky furniture and window frames, in contrast to the figures, are done in mottled grays to suggest depth. While traces of the Art Nouveau remain in the serpentine smoke of a pipe and the reflection of light on the water outside the window, these illustrations move firmly into the concrete, modern world and attempt a more naturalistic line. In the single figure drawing for Undine the lattice shutters are partly open to reveal an abstracted nighttime landscape clearly still rooted in the Art Nouveau.

Dove used a third style for his illustrations for the Sophomore class functions. These drawings are generally more awkward than the “Art Nouveau” drawings. Perhaps Dove completed them first, or perhaps he had more experience with the popular style of his youth. His drawings for the Sophomore Cotillion, Smoker and Banquet move away from the nineteenth century and strive for a less stylized, more naturalistic realism. In these works, we can see Dove working out how to model facial features and suggest draping in fabric. Of these, Dove’s illustration for the Sophomore Banquet is most like his work for the clubs, depicting a single male figure in an undefined space. However, this drawing dispenses with the doubled line that defined the folds of the mens’ suits in the other works. The man’s face and clothing are depicted without shading, relying on a heavier single line for definition. While this figure is smoking in a darkened room like one of the figures in the Bench & Board illustration, there is no smoke visible here. There are no grays in this composition, only a stark black and white.

In Dove's college illustrations, from Hobart through Cornell, we see him working from depicting a figure outside of a real space to a more engaged approach to the figure in an environment. In these last few illustrations for the sophomore class events, interiors play a significant role in the overall composition. That largely drops out in his later magazine illustration. Dove's illustration for the Sophomore Banquet hints at his later approach. The figure leans on the corner of a bar, suggesting a location, without depicting all the details of the wall treatment, as his other three illustrations in this style do. In Dove's two illustrations of a woman in a gown, he avoids dealing with shading drapery by patterning the skirt with large irregular blocks of black, creating an abstract field that contrasts with her precisely and carefully depicted face. (fig. 6)

Presented with a large handful of Dove's college illustration work, we naturally want to attribute his development in these works to his college art classes and instructors. The most prominent member of the art faculty, Charles Wellington Furlong, a renowned, a very naturalistic illustrator and explorer, was on leave for the first year Dove attended Cornell, leaving him one possible year of influence. Gallati has noted that Furlong's style was considerably more realistic than Dove's and presumably had little influence on him.⁶⁹ Another member of the faculty, Victor Tyson Wilson, attended the Graduate School of Industrial Art in Philadelphia and published a book on lettering in 1903. Dove was explicitly experimenting with using lettering to reinforce the style of his illustrations for the yearbooks: each of his illustrations which incorporates a title uses a different text style, seven in total. Perhaps he took a class with Wilson.

⁶⁹ Gallati, 13.

However, most of Dove's illustrations were created for his first yearbook at Cornell and therefore reflect, at most, his first year, or even one semester, of classes.

The only new illustration Dove provided for the 1903-4 *Cornellian* was for the Mummy Club. In this drawing, only the mummy has a face while the modern figure rests his head on his arm, which in turn rests on the upright sarcophagus. This switcheroo is perhaps our first glimpse of the humor that would surface regularly in Dove's drawings in years to come. Technically, the modern figure, in his rumpled, cuffed suit, is shaded slightly more naturalistically than any of Dove's pieces from the previous year. The mummy is vigorously patterned, with a door open in the chest, revealing several bottles, perhaps the "mummification" elixirs. While this appears to be a second year drawing for Dove it certainly does not appear bounds more sophisticated than those that preceded it. A dark area under the figure's arm, presumably intended to be shadow, remains awkward, as does the face of the mummy. It does, of course, raise the issue of what is hidden, or absent, implied, in the visual representation of the club's activities.

An Emerging Professional: New York City: 1903-1904

Dove graduated from Cornell in Spring of 1903 and soon moved to New York City to seek employment as a commercial illustrator. Despite his new residence on Livingston Street overlooking Stuyvesant Square, Dove's illustrations did not begin to reflect his urban surroundings for over a year. In hindsight, American popular commercial illustration would only continue as a significant component of popular

culture until about 1930, by which time it was increasingly supplanted by photography. While illustrators in the first years of the new century were aware that more jobs were going to photography, and in fact photography had already replaced illustration in the newspaper industry, magazine and book illustration was still in its so-called “Golden Age.”⁷⁰ At the turn of the century, however, illustration remained a respectable and potentially lucrative outlet for a fine artist or a career illustrator.⁷¹ Dove was therefore not misinformed in the first years of the new century in perceiving illustration as distinctly modern and American profession for an artist. American publishers of the era advertised their pride in the high quality and distinctly “American” achievement of magazine illustration, and occasionally held exhibitions of illustrations, equating them with the other art shown in New York galleries.⁷² The catalogue for a 1905 exhibition of the Collier Collection trumpeted America’s, “acknowledged pre-eminence in the field of contemporary periodical illustration,” proof that “(in) this . . . what is good enough for Europe is not invariably good enough for America.” It immediately further decreed with regard to the work of established illustrator and Art Editor, Arthur B. Frost, that his work was “the art of America before America discovered Europe.”⁷³ The catalogue represented many of the artists included with a full page photo of the artist at work, generally at an easel, in his studio, each studio a carefully composed collection tasteful

⁷⁰ Rowland, 1972, 7.

⁷¹ Bogart, 72.

⁷² Larson, 35.

⁷³ American Art Association, Managers, *Catalogue of the Collier Collection (on Exhibition November 1-8, 1905)* (New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1905) np.

furniture and the accoutrements of the artist.⁷⁴ In the case of Henry Reuterdaahl, who often illustrated naval scenes, a ship's steering wheel and a background field of flag-like stars surround the casually attired artist. (fig. 7) The magazine editors clearly understood that it was in their best interests to promote their artists and their illustrations as American Art in the most nuanced, sophisticated, and current embodiment of the classical artistic tradition. In exhibitions, and in announcements and features in the pages of their magazines, the editors burnished the public image of American Illustration. From the artist's perspective, to be engaged as a working artist in media illustration at the turn of the century was to be participating in the newest development in the role of the artist in society. It is easy to see how illustration could be conceived by potential practitioners as a forward looking, contemporary pursuit. Dove was able to secure commissions soon after graduation and quickly began developing his talent.

The First Challenge: Picturing Motion: *The Illustrated Sporting News*

Dove's first major illustrating job after graduation, perhaps his first ever publication outside of university publications, was in *The Illustrated Sporting News*. His first illustration, a pencil depiction of a horse-drawn carriage speeding through a domesticated rural landscape with a driver and a tense female occupant, appeared in the December 12, 1903 issue. (fig. 8) The drawing, an illustration to the story "A Sin of My Youth," by Carla Morris, uses a diagonal road to define the composition, a

⁷⁴ Jessie Wilcox Smith is photographed working from nature at an easel, under a picturesque brick arch, in keeping with contemporary conventions about women, nature and domesticity. Her entry is also intended to stand for the other women illustrators, whom it mentions.

somewhat impressionistic treatment of the foliage, and shows Dove paying careful attention to using a full range of gray tones, both as solid ‘colors’ and as modeling in the landscape. The drawing reveals its maker’s relative inexperience in a section in the center of the rocky foreground that suggests repeated erasures and remains vague and unresolved, and in the tiny, cursory features of its female protagonist. The horses leading the carriage are, by contrast, fully realized, if foreshortened a bit awkwardly.

Magazine illustrators generally chose the moment in the story they wanted to depict. At the very moment of Dove’s entry into the New York art world he chooses a moment depicting motion and speed, something he had not confronted in his yearbook work. He indicates the speed of the carriage in part with the stance of the horses and a cloud of dust on the road. The manes of the horses, the scarf of the passenger, and a whip, still in its holder, blow back in the wind, as the trees alongside remain unruffled, effectively “picturing” the motion and speed of the carriage.

The drawing’s challenges and minor shortcomings aside, the scene is none-the-less a comfortable starting point for Dove, newly arrived from the country, with its securely familiar subject matter. It was clearly sufficient to earn Dove a recurring cover assignment for the journal.⁷⁵ Dove completed no less than seven covers for the magazine between December 13, 1903 and January 6, 1905, undoubtedly his first substantial run at a popular periodical. The visibility of Dove’s work on the cover and the journal’s willingness to use him repeatedly would surely have helped him establish his reputation and gain more commissions.

⁷⁵ Gallati, 14.

No longer illustrating for the yearbook, Dove is conspicuously trying to make a name for himself in the New York illustrating world. He is clearly aware that the cover of a general interest periodical is a more demanding medium than the inside of a college yearbook, and he attempts to adapt his conception to an audience awash in illustration. It seems fair to presume that less than a year out of school, Dove would have initially looked at the covers of the issues that preceded his for guidance. The covers of *The Illustrated Sporting News* were consistently bold black and white, with a single focal point of solid cadmium red and the occasional minor accent in the same color. The primary initials of the journal's masthead often repeated the red, as did some cover text. The covers typically featured a single athlete engaged in a significant action in their sport, with little or no suggestion of landscape or surroundings. It seems that when at all possible, as in the cover highlighting the Paris-Madrid Race, women were chosen for the cover.

Within this compositional focus on the solo athlete and bold depiction, the cover artists demonstrated their varied personal styles and artistic strengths. Robert Wagner's cover for v.1 of the Paris-Madrid Race is a polished, dynamic depiction using simple lines to convey the concentration of the female auto-driver and washes and spattering to reveal the speed of the graceful automobile and the dust that enveloped it. The massive, solid and rather static elegance of the golfer on the September 19, 1903 cover, and the more detailed football player of Will Bradley, could also have provided models for Dove's entry into the world of cover art. Aspects of these works appear sporadically in Dove's picturing of his illustrations over the next year or two, as he

becomes acquainted with the technical and stylistic conventions of the medium of illustration in 1904.

Bradley by this time was a significant figure in the world of illustration, having briefly printed his own magazine and published numerous magazine illustrations, covers and poster advertisements for American magazines. While his covers for *The Illustrated Sporting News* hew towards the naturalistic, Bradley had been pivotal in the development of the American Poster Style in the mid-1990s.⁷⁶ Barbara Gallati has noted that the covers of *The Illustrated Sporting News* generally reveal the ongoing effect of the American Poster Style and that many of Dove's efforts for the magazine reflect that moment.⁷⁷ Dove's exposure to the early *Illustrated Sporting News* covers must have encouraged him to draw on his attraction to the American Poster Style evident in several of his yearbook illustrations. In a few years Bradley would be art editor of numerous popular periodicals,⁷⁸ so their mutual association with *The Illustrated Sporting News* was additionally an important networking connection for Dove.

As interested as he may have been in the styles of the covers that preceded his, with his first cover, Dove asserts the presence of a new cover artist by breaking with the magazine's conventions, filling the entire space with a complete interior of a gymnasium, with four female ball players. (fig. 9) Again, Dove chooses to illustrate a moment of vigorous activity. It is *The Illustrated Sporting News*, after all. One of the three foreground figures is also moving into the scene, this time from outside our frame,

⁷⁶ Kiehl, 15-17.

⁷⁷ Gallati, 14.

⁷⁸ Will Bradley, "Notes Toward an Autobiography," in Hornung, ed., xxxvii.

cut off on the left, the fourth is slightly in the background, running towards the center. Yet another of the main figures is seen from behind, cut off at the hips, extending the space of the image into the reader's space. The use of the three moving figures, and their interaction with the frame of the drawing is clearly an attempt to adapt some of the conventions of Japanese print composition to the magazine cover in order to create a more dynamic space. The clothes of the three large figures form curvilinear blocks of solid color, two red and one black, further evoking the print aesthetic.

In addition to looking to prints in "picturing" motion in his first cover, Dove also attempted to confront the advantages and limitations of photography. By not using a figure artificially isolated in space as did many of the magazine's covers, Dove was clearly evoking the ability of contemporary photography to represent a moment of captured action that activates the full rectangular frame. Dove's composition, however, aims to achieve what photography could not yet -- a stop action shot with multiple points of focus. Still, Dove is either falling back on traditional atmospheric perspective to shape his space, making the figure at each depth back from the foreground less detailed, almost more fuzzy, in addition to making them smaller, or envisioning this more as equivalent to the focused and unfocused areas of the photographic image. The framing, action, and approach to focus of this drawing clearly place it in dialogue with the photographic image.

Dove was clearly attempting to integrate multiple influences and sources in this first cover illustration. While the women's sports attire is clearly executed with the solid massing of a woodblock print, their faces and hair are carefully modeled, creating a

somewhat discordant overall effect. The central figure in the composition, reaching up toward the ball, is obviously modeled on the popular idealized, delicate, "Gibson" style of female depiction, and in this illustration Dove shows himself to be reasonably proficient at the type. The other two women whose faces we see are slightly more labored. There is a marked contrast between the painstakingly detailed pencil shading Dove uses to depict the elaborate coiffures of the three women in the foreground and the unmodeled, inked masses of their clothes. Dove must have been aware of this disjunction as he made some effort to resolve it in later covers. In this first cover, he is looking to previous and current artistic models and forming his image through them, deliberately and consciously, in order to demonstrate his grasp of the conventions of illustrations and a familiarity with the most modern composition.

His next cover, for January 2, 1904, moved a little closer to the conventions for the magazine, but again struck an independent note. This time Dove created a single figure composition, but with an incredibly ambitious setting: His subject, a young woman, is steering the sailboat in which she reclines. (fig. 10) Once again, the features of the woman are more delicate and detailed than any other aspect of the design. It retains the full use of the space from Dove's prior cover, but radically slices it in half on the diagonal along the mast. The suggestion of a billowing white sail fills the upper right, reading as virtual negative space, while the lower left is considerably more active and visually heavy. The diagonal of the ellipse of the boat coming into the composition contributes to a sense of motion. The sailor, reclining on red and white cushions heavily outlined in black, clutches the rudder and holds her tam on her unmoving hairdo, while

her scarf blows backwards in the wind, as did the scarf of carriage driver in Dove's first illustration for the magazine. With this boater, Dove continues to use cropping to imply motion but strives to elaborate on that solution.

While Dove's previous cover seems to have been executed partly in pencil or charcoal with ink for the solid masses, this image was laid down in watercolor or diluted ink wash. The interior of the boat is depicted in dry strokes of black and brown wash that create texture by allowing the paper to show through, and must be intended to suggest sea spray washing over the prow of the boat. The washes convey translucency and speed. This seemingly rough finish was unusual for *Illustrated Sporting News* covers, both before and after Dove's sailor. Dove also introduces a brown, red, black mix, not seen before on *The Illustrated Sporting News* covers, and more varieties of grays. Previous *Illustrated Sporting News* covers had sought to express motion in ink drawings through diagonal placement or notations of flying dust. Dove introduces a new combination of materials in the service of better picturing the experience of sailing, translating his idea through the layers of ink and transparent wash. Even in 1904, Dove marshals the materials of the illustrator to his own ends, striving to go beyond a static picture of a woman reclining in a boat, to convey in his picturing all the natural forces and sensations attendant to the scene. His effort to picture the wind, the salt spray, the motion of the boat, and the experience of the woman in the boat, reveals, at the absolute beginning of his career as an artist, a conception of experiencing the world that would drive his art for the next four decades.

Perhaps Dove himself chose the subject for this second cover, a rather curious one for midwinter. From our perch a century later, the sharp diagonal composition and the subject matter cannot help but call to mind Dove's 1912 pastel *Yachting*, (fig. 41). Boating, and the quieter areas of the sea where the water meets the land would be a constant touchstone in Dove's art and his life. Dove made deliberate moves to the sea twice in his life, in 1921 and in 1938. Both were moments of wrenching personal transition for Dove and he perhaps sought succor in the sea and the shore. It is indeed possible to argue that both moments provided the impetus and inspiration for radical growth in his art. Boats and the sea appeared repeatedly in Dove's large paintings, his assemblages, his watercolors, and his illustrations. With this early cover illustration we have the first expression of Dove's life-long engagement with the nautical life.

Dove's initial experimentation with multiple styles of illustration can best be seen in the interior illustration he provided for this issue of *The Illustrated Sporting News*. The magazine was always subtitled on its cover "With a Department Devoted to Drama," and in the January 2, 1904 issue Dove provided the visual recap of the Fall season with a double page vertical illustration titled, "The Irony of the Theatrical Season -- Animals Win." (fig. 11) American theatre was a common subject in the magazines, though Dove engaged with it on only a handful of occasions. This assignment, representing figures from different shows in the same drawing must have given Dove pause, and he solved the problem by omitting any suggestion of setting, background or horizon, distributing the figures around the white space of the two pages. The figures in

question: The cowardly lion and scarecrow from The Wizard of Oz,⁷⁹ Mother Goose with her goose, a pensive gentleman in a stylish top hat and a rather less solid looking woman pointing at him, encompass the beginnings of the different styles Dove would use moving forward, and contain some elements that he rarely used again.

The two non-humorous human figures are deftly illustrated in accordance with contemporary norms, she is all idealized delicacy and flowing folds, in this case with almost no shading, he is more individualized, but still smoothly represented, darker, moodier and executed with crisper, more angular rumpling in his suit. These two figure types, the idealized young woman and the more individualized, somewhat more awkward and angular male figure, remained part of Dove's illustrating vocabulary for years to come. They were joined by other "types" also seen in this work: the older, or haggard, man or woman, executed with no flattery or subtlety but rather with a quick set of facial lines that bestow individuality while denying beauty, here embodied in Mother Goose; and the rough, unsophisticated humorous character, drawn in an equally sketchy, rough style, starting to be developed here for the ever humorous scarecrow. Mother Goose's goose gets a realistic head and sketchy feathers, but the most unusual figure in this illustration is none other than the cowardly lion. What a dilemma a person in a lion costume must have been for Dove, who was so adept at drawing animals. If he struggled with the figure we can't see it in the final illustration, except perhaps in his decision to split the difference -- in thirds. We see a realistic, if squat, leonine hindquarters, a loose, saggy suit around the midriff and one visible front leg, and an

⁷⁹ The Wizard of Oz opened as a musical on Broadway in 1902.

amused, spectacled, head surrounded by a flowing mane unmistakably executed with the repeated line of Japanese prints. The lion's body is shaded with a diagonal sweep to a mid-tone gray, the face left white. The spectacles, the stylization of the mane and the two different "colors" of the costume highlight its artifice and the easy removal of the lion's head. While the Japanese aspect of the lion's head is rarely, if ever, seen again so literally in Dove's future work, this quotation of the style confirms his familiarity with the idiom and suggests that it was at least in the back of his consciousness years later when he often used repeated line in his abstract paintings. The implication of "Animals Win," that perhaps the lowest common denominator, the least sophisticated theatre, the most "cute" is dominant, does not seem to have substantially shaped Dove's conception of this challenging composition, which still places the man in the top hat in the center.

Materials and Methods

From his first job in New York, Dove was fully engaged in the contemporary illustrators' exploitation of multiple materials for their gradations of tone and texture when reproduced. It was not unusual, for an illustrator to combine "wet" and "dry" media, such as watercolor and charcoal or gouache and graphite in a single drawing. Indeed, it was not unusual for an artist to use three or four different materials in the same work. While in reproduction it is sometimes difficult to tell that an illustration contains crayon, gouache, and graphite, the skilled illustrator knew how to extract the most subtle effects from each material to create a unified but nuanced and animated

picture surface.⁸⁰ As Lobel has noted in discussing John Sloan's illustrating career, Joseph Pennell's 1896 *The Illustration of Books* stressed that the student of illustration master a variety of mediums, "oil (in monochrome at least), water colour, wash and body colour, pen and ink, chalk, etching, lithography."⁸¹ While Dove's college illustrations stuck to pencil, charcoal, and pen and ink, in his first commercial work he is clearly trying his hand at the range of materials promoted by Pennell, and he would continue to expand his experiments and skills with respect to materials in his illustrations over the next two years. The challenge of creating diverse, reproducible atmospheric and communicative effects for magazine and book illustration must have pushed Dove from the first moments of his artistic career to consider the potential of the full range of artistic materials. In Dove's first cover illustrations we explicitly see him striving to master the multiple challenges of illustration from several directions at once: "style," composition, and materials. The direct communicative potential of these structural components of the visual arts would continue to engage Dove throughout his career. Dove clearly was aware of the multiple means he was expected to use, and began working with them immediately.

This early illustrating work reveals an artist trying to accommodate his own still undefined style to an existing set of expectations, assimilating styles from predecessors and peers, and experimenting with combining multiple mediums in the same image. Dove, at this point, is clearly less confident in his depiction of faces than his figures, and his attempts to merge a classic "Gibson Girl" facial depiction with his more stylized

⁸⁰ Larson, 151-58.

⁸¹ Pennell, 16, quoted in Lobel, 8.

figures are somewhat awkward. Newly arrived on the scene, Dove is attempting to involve himself in an established industry with a small handful of “popular” expected “styles” of illustration. Even a casual perusal of the magazine would make clear to a novice that within each general style or “type” there are several dominant practitioners. Dove’s first mission is to develop a skill set and to find out what general “type” he is, and then establish an individual reputation in it. In early 1904, Dove is still working on fluency and distinctiveness in his draughtsmanship and is looking primarily to the most refined and detailed illustrators such as Charles Wellington Furlong, Gibson, and Pennell. His focus would soon change.

Picturing

The same week Dove’s windswept sailor appeared on the cover of *The Illustrated Sporting News*, January 2, 1904, the first issue of the new year, the cover of the mainstream, well-established *Collier’s* magazine was provided by John Sloan.⁸² The contrast between the two could not have been more striking. Their only significant common feature is the diagonal composition. The early training and work of John Sloan, William Glackens, and Everett Shinn with Robert Henri, and their careers as newspaper illustrators in Philadelphia in the 1880s, and magazine illustrators in New York is a well-documented and discussed aspect of the development of American art at the turn of the century.⁸³ By 1904, Sloan was a well-established commercial artist with a long history of published work and associations with other artist/illustrators. Dove, by

⁸² Sloan’s cover is discussed in Lobel, 42-47.

⁸³ See Zurier, Coyle, Lobel, and Berman for the most recent discussions.

comparison, was a newcomer who had taken an entirely different road to the same destination. While Sloan arrived in New York more or less contemporaneously with a group of friends and colleagues all with experience in commercial illustration, Dove arrived solo as a brand new college graduate, with college course background in arts and law, and a portfolio that must have consisted primarily of course work and his yearbook illustrations.

One can presume that as an ambitious, newly minted cover artist himself, Dove would have been scrutinizing the covers and illustrations of the major publications of the day. He may well have noticed the discrepancy in the level of “finish” and sophistication between his cover and Sloan’s. If he had been uncertain previously about a direction for his drawing talents, Sloan provided a clearly marketable guideline. While only seven years older than Dove, Sloan had ended his formal academic schooling in 1888, and had been working in newspaper illustration since 1892, well before Dove even began his first college yearbook drawings. Dove hastened to acquaint himself with those in the know in the magazine world and joined the Society of Illustrators in 1904.⁸⁴ In a few years, he would be on friendly social terms with Sloan, Glackens and a broad circle of artists and illustrators in New York. While Sloan’s January 2, 1904 *Collier’s* cover was particularly carefully drawn and refined⁸⁵ the varied quick, humorous, suggestive, rather than descriptive, styles often used by Sloan, Glackens and Shinn in their magazine work would have provided Dove with an intriguing and fresh alternative to Furlong and Gibson.

⁸⁴ Gallati, 14.

⁸⁵ Lobel, 47.

For the rest of 1904, however, Dove, still new on the illustrating scene, and apparently not yet personally acquainted with a large circle of New York illustrators, continued developing his skills in the style he had first used in *The Illustrated Sporting News*. He published three more covers of *The Illustrated Sporting News*, provided four illustrations for Clive Holland's novel, *A Japanese Romance*, and published work in *The Evening Mail* and *Judge*.

Dove's illustrations for Holland's novel show a significant step forward in technical skill from his earliest work for *The Illustrated Sporting News*. These illustrations, two reproduced with green and amber accents, are consistent in style within the book and show Dove's growing ability to work in a refined, modeled, naturalistic style. Faces, in particular, are more fully three dimensional and realistic than in Dove's previous work. Still, they reveal an illustrator at the beginning of his development, still experimenting with styles and motifs heavily influenced by others.

They may also reveal an illustrator cognizant of his own limitations. Three of the four illustrations for *A Japanese Romance* depict standing couples; in the other illustration one person stands, bending slightly, the other sits. While it is not an adventure story, there is some action and movement in the novel. However, Dove chooses to show us essentially static, vertical figures. While the vertical orientation of a book may have suggested the orientation of the drawings, horizontal compositions in book illustration were hardly unusual, and one senses that Dove kept the action deliberately uncomplicated to simplify the task. In at least one drawing, there is a distinct feeling that the viewer is looking at an illustration of a suit jacket, rather than of a

figure in a suit jacket. The vast majority of Dove's illustrations to this point had been single figure compositions; with these illustrations we can also see Dove faced with the challenge of expressing the interaction and relationships between couples. The narrative contains more conflict than romance, likewise, not one couple in Dove's drawings makes eye contact, underscoring the absence of true connection.

Dove's covers for *The Illustrated Sporting News* focused on women, so in the Holland novel we get our first opportunity to examine the evolution of the college man Dove drew so often in the *Cornellian*. These gentlemen are considerably less rumpled, calling for a crisper, less undulating execution of line, although some blockiness remains when Dove is depicting darker colored clothing. These men also have real, individual faces, of a much more distinguished and handsome type than the pranksters he drew at Cornell. The two Japanese women depicted are idealized to the point of being indistinguishable, a common fate for young women in the era of the "Gibson Girl." The one British woman depicted does manage to retain some individuality, however. She is shown in one of the two black and white illustrations, this one taking place in a dark shipboard cabin, lit only by a porthole.

As one would imagine, much of the story in *A Japanese Romance* takes place in Japan. For the three illustrations of these scenes Dove used a consistent composition borrowed from Japanese prints. In all three, a large branch, or even half a tree, move into the illustration from the top right corner. (fig.12) The patterns of foliage play a considerable role in these pictures and Dove drew pink cherry blossoms, ginkgo leaves and at least two other types of foliage in the drawings, as he sought to evoke the absent

place through the art commonly associated with it. The diversity of the trees serves to suggest the change of exact location, and shifts in time. While a bit of drawn line demarcates some of the foliage, these bits of landscape are rendered in considerably more Impressionistic style, dependent on color in two of the drawings, and the weight of the grey in the black and white. The rest of the landscape around the figures is similarly a combination of some drawing and more suggestion. In another nod to the Japanese print, and Impressionism, the railing is curved slightly upward, looking more like a footbridge than an interior railing in ship's cabin.

The drawings for *A Japanese Romance* are more detailed and complete compositions than many of Dove's past and future illustrations, leaving less to the imagination of the viewer. With the figures in these illustrations, Dove strove to master a particularly detailed, tight, delicate style of illustration that was clearly popular and commercial. Dove had never been to Japan. In 1904 he had never been on a trans-oceanic voyage. In striving to "picture" Japan, Dove relies on his "image" of the country, derived from its familiar prints, expecting that his audience will possess the same "image" and make the appropriate association. To "figure" the characters in the novel, enmeshed in a somber romantic triangle, Dove called on all his images of serious late nineteenth century American and European illustration, evoking Furlong with a touch of Gibson in the women. He "figures" the American onto the Japanese, as a disjunction, an imposition, echoing the text, where the American's sojourn in Japan is ultimately unwelcome and disadvantageous, particularly, to the Japanese.

In November 1904, a Dove illustration appeared on the cover of the Supplement to *The Evening Mail* (fig.13). The most striking aspect of this work, in the context of Dove's career as an illustrator, and his development as an artist more generally, is its combination of naturalistic representational style with Poster style or Art Nouveau elements. Just a year out of Cornell, Dove has recombined the Arts and Crafts diamond latticed window from his drawings for the Bench & Board and Undine clubs, with the paneling from his Sophomore Cotillion drawing, to picture a cozy, domestic interior for the woman basting a turkey just before Thanksgiving for *The Evening Mail*. The reused interior elements highlight the extent to which his composition is still influenced by Art Nouveau and Poster style design. The window is cropped at upper right, and the silhouetted black cat in lower left was a common *fin-de-siecle* motif. A curvilinear, solid dark shadow, that approaches a whiplash form, at the lower right continues the Poster style aspect. However, *The Evening Mail* cover reveals the significant improvement in Dove's draftsmanship skills, also seen in some aspects of the Japanese Romance illustrations.⁸⁶ Throughout his career, Dove would return to motifs and ideas that interested him, but here perhaps he is simply reusing some elements that felt appropriate to the mood of the scene to allow him to focus on developing other aspects of the composition. His subject's face, hair and dress are more "realistic" and up to date, not as stylized or idealized as his previous depictions of women had been. Her hair and face, and indeed the sense of a real body under the clothes reveal a significant improvement over the Cornell drawings.

⁸⁶ Gallati, 14, noted an improvement over the college drawings in *The Illustrated Sporting News* covers.

The Evening Mail Supplement cover and *The Japanese Romance* illustrations together exhibit Dove's grounding in the artistic explorations of the late nineteenth-century of his youth. While Dove would continue to capitalize on the balanced contrast of dark and light, the sweeping line, and the compositional innovations of the Japanese print, his use of these elements would be much more subtle moving forward. Clearly by 1904 both the European Art Nouveau and American Poster Styles were beginning to seem a little dated, and Dove took the lessons and elements he needed from them and inserted them into a more contemporary approach. While both jobs exhibit Dove's newly heightened skill, it seems likely that *The Evening Mail Supplement* cover would have had a significantly larger audience among both the general public, and the most important audience for Dove at this point, art editors.

Up to this point Dove's illustration commissions, with the exception of his review of the theatre season, remained decidedly non-urban. His winter sports cover illustrations, exotic Japanese landscapes, and cozy domestic interiors were nostalgic even as they were going to press. Dove had moved to the city at a moment of rapid technological change at the individual and commercial level previously unseen in human history. In the pages of the magazines in which Dove strove to place his illustrations, horse-drawn carts grudgingly shared the streets with cantankerous, erratic automobiles, while progress in conquering the skies, by blimp and biplane, was breathlessly reported in word and photograph. Advertisements highlighted the allure of having the first phone on the block and the time saving advantages of the washing machine. With his illustrations for *Judge* published in December 1904, Dove keeps one

foot lightly planted in the country, and with the other ventures out onto the streets of the big city, in subject and attitude.

His first appearance in *Judge* also appears to be his first published joke since his college yearbooks. Taking aim at the poor shooting of an amateur sportsman, Dove's first joke takes place in the country, and leans on his usual V shaped landscape. The figures are heavily modeled with an enormous amount of attention to the folds of their clothes. It is not entirely clear from his clothes that the butt of the joke is a city gentleman attempting to partake of rural indulgences, but one suspects as much. The beagle, front and center, comes close to stealing the show, and recalls the "little dog named Schlitz" that Dove brought to Cornell.

Dove's second drawing for *Judge*, (fig. 14) published as a full page in the December 1904 issue, is possibly his most ambitious illustration to date, and the one that most clearly positions itself simultaneously as a "serious" visual image and a contemporary wink/wink. The highly finished, multi-figure composition is set in the tightly receding space of a dark theatre entrance. Unlike illustrations which isolated figures in empty or barely suggested environments, every inch of Dove's rectangular composition has been touched by the artist and made an active part of the image. With four large figures in the foreground demonstrating a facility with both fashionably refined and more expressive facial "types," and a lush charcoal finish detailed with white pencil, this composition is the nearest Dove's illustrating has approached to the appearance of a finished oil painting. Tightly detailed above, the bottom third of the image partially dissolves into drawn lines that are clearly used to suggest both motion, and

brushstroke. In the context of this discussion they call to mind the mane of Dove's Cowardly Lion. The illustration illuminates a central contradiction of Dove's work as an illustrator; like Pictorial Photography, this drawing aspires to the status of "fine art" by appropriating its conventions of finish and composition. However, its presence in *Judge*, a satirical magazine, and the nature of the joke itself, which reads: AFTER THE OPERA. "They say he lives like a Lord." "Yes, he lives on his wife's relatives.", a cliché for the period, allows the audience to poke fun, if not at "high art," then at least at some of its consumers. While the caption clearly positions the reader as a member of a class that does not live like Lords, the illustration provides them with the art of the elite without distinction.

This image is the first time we see Dove making an image so dependent on charcoal and its exceptional blackness. With the exception of the ship interior in *A Japanese Romance* this drawing also appears to be Dove's first depiction of modern artificial light. It is certainly his first work in which artificial light presents itself as a significant shaper of the environment and the image.⁸⁷ The subject, the nighttime environment and Dove's desire to create a major work in charcoal must have necessitated this new focus on light. In the line illustration Dove sometimes used previously, and certainly would in the future, light is not really a factor. The Opera drawing is virtually an inversion of most of Dove's previous illustrations; it is darker and heavier, using light as accent, indeed as line in place of a graphite or ink line. While Dove's character depictions would change considerably in the next few years, he

⁸⁷ David Nasaw, "It Begins with the Lights," in Patricia McDonnell, *On the Edge of Your Seat*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002): 46-59.

returned to the dense charcoal drawing in his illustrating in 1906 and in the 1910s. Indeed, the multi-figure charcoal “scene” became almost a signature for Dove, acting as a foil to give depth and context to his seemingly more rapidly drawn, line based illustrations. The deep grays and velvety blackness of charcoal would likewise play a substantial role in Dove’s picturing of his images in the 1910s and early 1920s. One year into his career as a commercial illustrator, Dove may well have hoped this bravura piece would promote his talents to a wider range of art editors, as indeed it may well have, based on the volume of his work published in the second half of the following year.

Dove arrived in New York City essentially a college educated young man from the country, and jumped right into the established illustrating scene. In all of Dove’s published work from 1904, his first year in New York City, we see him striving to master a very traditional style featuring idealized women, abundant shading, and fully detailed backgrounds with a noticeable touch of Japanese print and Poster Style in composition. While his skills improve during the year, the style: of drawing, of composition, of attitude, does not change significantly. He is clearly still looking to the most “successful” illustrators of the past two decades, of his youth and his education. He has illustrated some covers, some fiction, some “jokes.” The covers, perhaps, allowed him the most choice of subject within the parameters of the magazine. It is there that we see most clearly the long arc of his artistic mission, but he is still developing his artistic process, and his personal approach to illustration.

The Julio-Claudian calendar can sometimes feel arbitrary, and history suggests that the twentieth century was particularly late to arrive, not embracing its trajectory until 1913. The New York City Dove found in 1904 was arguably experiencing the last gasp of the nineteenth century, as the technology and philosophy of the twentieth century struggled to gain traction across disciplines. In retrospect, Will Bradley described the first years of the century as “carrying a Gibson Girl hangover from the Gay Nineties.”⁸⁸ Like some other illustrators in 1904, Dove remained loosely tied to the illustrating practices of the nineteenth century, in style and in subject matter. While he had begun to experiment with combining the reproduced tones and textures of various mediums, he was not yet a master of the mixed media illustration. In a few short years, he would have mastered several more contemporary, and more personal, “styles” of illustration to be deployed when appropriate. However, by the end of 1904, Dove’s unique styles of illustration had yet to appear in print. In 1905 we will begin to see his illustration maturing in technique, engaging with the most current practices of his day, and reaching for a yet undetermined future.

⁸⁸ Horning, 26.

Chapter 2: Mastering Fictional Figuration: 1905-1908

The period between 1905 and 1908 was one of enormous growth in Dove's skills and his conception of himself as an artist and a creator. By the beginning of 1905, Dove had been focused on a career in illustration for over a year. He was increasingly successful getting work from popular magazines. Gaining skill and confidence, Dove becomes adept at populating his illustrations with figures that are quickly apprehended by the reader as believable representations of the absent actors of the fictional narratives. Beginning in the middle of 1905, and more fully during 1906 and 1907, Dove experiments with the most current ideas of a generation of artists just a decade older than he, many of whom he comes to know. Some of their pictorial strategies he quickly incorporates into his own approach to picturing a story or a scene; others he experiments with but ultimately leaves behind. As Dove conquers the medium of magazine illustration in the first decade of the Twentieth Century, he develops an easier fluidity in his line, masters the handling of charcoal, gouache, pen and ink, and grease crayon⁸⁹ and begins experimenting with lithography. The materials endemic to his medium become an intrinsic part of the "picturing." This chapter examines how Dove's relationships in New York affected his formal and conceptual development as an artist, and looks closely at his magazine work of these years to explore how his evolving process of figuring absence and picturing fiction shaped his understanding of his role as receiver, translator, and transmitter of abstract information.

⁸⁹ Peet, 77.

In 1904 Dove had married Florence Dorsey from Geneva, and rented an apartment on Stuyvesant Square on the East Side of Manhattan. He had presumably made contact with the Society of Illustrators, established in 1902, by then, and found his way to Mouquin's, the French restaurant on 6th Avenue and 28th Street that served as New York's great artist/illustrator meeting place of the day.⁹⁰ Dove must have been the quiet man in the room. While several artists' memoirs mention his presence at Society of Illustrators meetings and dinners in restaurants or even their homes, there are no tales of heated arguments or humorous escapades.⁹¹ While Dove begins to socialize with other illustrators in New York in 1905, including those of the Ashcan School who had started their careers as newspaper sketch artists in Philadelphia in the last decades of the nineteenth century,⁹² and while he absolutely learns from them, his entry into the professional art world was notably different from theirs. Newspapers had already moved heavily into photography by 1903, prompting the Philadelphia newspapermen to abandon that city for New York. Magazines and book illustration, fiction illustrating, remained the work with potential. Dove did not begin his career, as they did, racing to capture the actual details of an event on the street. He did not begin by seeking to make decent likenesses of known politicians and criminals and actresses. He did not even come from a city. Dove had entered the art world in New York in 1903 giving

⁹⁰ Gallati, 14.

⁹¹ Jo Davidson, *Between Sitzings: An Informal Autobiography* (New York: The Dial Press, 1951): 29.

⁹² Gallati has pointed out that Dove is first mentioned in Sloan's Diary in October 1906, so at least by then he was acquainted with the group. Gallati, 14.

visual form to the imaginary characters of fiction and creating idealized images of women playing sports. He may have watched a women's basketball game in the Fall of 1904, but his most important sources, in that year, seem to have been pictorial sources, drawn, painted, or photographed, as he searched for an effective language for getting his images down on paper, for "picturing" his ideas.

There are no documentary sources to describe Dove's working methods in New York before 1909. We can only extrapolate his process from that of others, from his own documentation of his methods of the mid-late 1920s, and from his work. The city itself, its streets and buildings, does not seriously enter his work until 1907, and then only briefly. Prior to that, Dove's illustrating work focused almost entirely on people, not on places. Unlike most of his fellow illustrators, Dove was not, primarily, drawing what he had seen, he was drawing an image he had created in his mind from the abstract language of what he read. It seems like splitting hairs but it is a fundamentally different process from that undertaken by the newspaper illustrators, turned magazine illustrators, turned painters of the Ashcan school who looked first, processed second and drew third. Dove read first, processed second, and drew third. As in Belting's construction, he formed an image in his mind of an absent person from the abstract language of the author. Then he "pictured" or "figured" that image, using the tools of the illustrator's trade, to create a presence that at once filled the absence for the viewer, and alerted them to it by the artifice of its construction. Sloan and Glackens gathered sketches on the street.⁹³ Other illustrators had studios full of props, and neighbors they

⁹³For Sloan see Lobel, and Coyle; for Glackens see Berman.

typically used as models, maybe even photographed in appropriate clothes and poses. Dove doesn't seem to have had any of those things. He worked from the text, and his image. The longer he illustrated, the more he personally had a bank of types in his mind and the more easily he could figure them into a narrative.

Figuring Fiction

Early in 1905, Dove began working for *Pearson's Magazine*, which would be a significant source of steady jobs for him for the next two to three years. He also began receiving jobs from *Success Magazine* and the *American Illustrated Magazine* (formerly *Leslie's Monthly*.) While his work during his first year in Manhattan had primarily reflected influences from his youth and education, leaning on styles current in the late nineteenth century, his illustrations suggest that during and after 1905 he was looking intently at the current illustrations in the magazines in which he wanted to place his own work. It was in these Dove began untangling his influences and developing several distinct personal illustrating styles, each consistent within itself.⁹⁴

In seeking commissions to illustrate fiction in magazines, Dove, especially as a relative newcomer in New York, would have happily taken what the magazines' art directors offered.⁹⁵ The first four jobs he received from *Pearson's Magazine*, published in the Spring and Summer of 1905, all take place in the world of big business, and wouldn't warrant publication without a tale of malfeasance or cowardice. In these

⁹⁴ Peet, 75.

⁹⁵ Bogart discusses the drudgery of seeking jobs from magazine art editors, hoping to catch them in their offices, with appropriate work available. Bogart, 33.

pictures Dove considerably reduced the most obvious Poster Style and Japanese Print influences in his illustrations, bringing them into the Twentieth Century world of realism and serious business. All consistently aspired to fully rendered three-dimensional figures, with detailed attire and unique physiognomies and expressions. (fig. 15) The characters are almost all men in heavy suits, filled in with solid charcoal, the one woman in attendance so lightly rendered by comparison as to seem almost an apparition. The possible truth of the stories, their presumed basis in the real world, is reinforced by the realism of Dove's figuring.

With these stories for *Pearson's*, Dove turned his attention to the dramatic possibilities of human expression -- a necessity in stories where all the action takes place over a desk. Even in the first of the four, "Rooney and the Sixty-Six," (fig. 16) which results in a train wreck extravagantly described in the text, Dove focuses on the emotions and expressions of the people involved. In his two illustrations that include the train itself, it is a minor player, even once derailed the train is a small element of the background. Dove's draughtsmanship style at this point, while competent, is still rather generic, not yet a distinct individual style. In picturing the outdoor scenes with the train, Dove clearly took time with shading and traditional perspective, studying utility poles and railroad tracks receding into distance.⁹⁶

Dove's use of a line of receding utility poles to indicate distance in Rooney and the 66, is particularly striking, as in 1905 they were still very much a sign of progress. In

⁹⁶ Certain similarities around the eyes, nose, and chin, and the sophisticated level of shading in this figure only, suggests that Dove may have used his own face as a model for the disheveled main figure in the train wreck scene.

the context of this story the utility poles suggest the reach of modernization into the heart of the country. From some of his earliest work, Dove pictures the transmission of sound and electricity, readily converted into light, from place to place, even across long distances. The prevalence of utility poles in Dove's illustrations from 1905 through the 1920s, and in his paintings of the 1920s and 1930s, is a clear representation of his interest in the role of technology in expanding the reach of the senses. Although they are in a group of three, these utility poles have two cross bars each and abundant and prominent wiring, suggesting they may, at this early date in Dove's work, actually represent utility poles alone without the religious connotation they would often carry in his later work.

For the July 1905 *Pearson's* Dove was given the story "The Artist & the Elephant," by Mary Roberts Rinehart. (fig. 17) Dove clearly recognized that the near slapstick humor in the story would be ill-served by his more staid illustrating style. In these drawings we see a completely different approach to the depiction of figures and their surroundings. Peet has noted that Dove's illustrations for *The Echo of the Seneca* in 1899 suggested that he was influenced early in his artistic development by Philip May.⁹⁷ Dove's drawings for "The Artist & The Elephant" seem to reach back into Dove's own history to revisit May, whose influence is not readily apparent in Dove's previous illustrations. By this point, Dove had possibly also made the acquaintance of May Wilson Preston, whose popular illustration style was almost entirely composed of jaunty ink drawings that relied exclusively on line. Ms. Preston's cheerful style also seems

⁹⁷ Peet, 75.

influenced by Philip May, and may have pointed Dove back in May's direction when he was confronted with an article too lighthearted for his current style.⁹⁸ May Wilson Preston was the former roommate of Glackens' wife, and May and her husband James socialized frequently with the Glackens'. While Dove's acquaintance with the Eight and the Prestons may not have been personal until Fall 1906 or later, her work appeared often in the same magazines as Dove's. Additionally, the American illustrator Harry Furniss, whose pure cityscapes resemble Dove's, published *How to Draw in Pen and Ink* in 1905, exhorting would be illustrators to look closely at nature and human nature.⁹⁹ As Dove was just beginning to draw in pen and ink in 1905, he may reasonably have perused a copy. While Preston always drew in a recognizable hand, varying her medium only slightly between pen and pencil, Dove retained the denser, more painterly approach in his repertoire, and used the two as he saw fit.

It was a truism in the illustrating world in the beginning of the twentieth-century that to establish a public reputation you needed to develop a popular style and subject matter and stick with it. Whatever it was: society ladies, animals, westerns, theatre, architecture, kids, as long as you did it the same way every time, the editors knew when they needed you. Lacking an easily tagged subject matter, a consistent style would do; the same materials, the same line, the same approach to composition, a visual signature style.¹⁰⁰ A more flexible approach might allow you to pick up more odd

⁹⁸ Gallati, 21, footnote 14, and Peet, 75. Both note a similarity of the May Wilson Preston/Dove pen and ink style beginning around 1906.

⁹⁹ Zurier, 189.

¹⁰⁰ Gambone, 159.

assignments,¹⁰¹ but it would not generate demand on its own. Paging through two decades' worth of magazines, it is quickly apparent that Dove was one of the very few to exploit the intrinsic texture and handling of several different materials for their own sake, rather than shaping them into homogeneity in service of a fixed visual "style."

For Dove, working in the medium of illustration, the material becomes and remains an intrinsic part of the "picturing," and therefore of the expressive and communicative potential of the picture.¹⁰² Dove does not limit himself to mastering a specific type of material or even a specific combination of materials because that would limit his ability to apprehend and picture images of the fictional characters he is hired to depict. Throughout his career as an illustrator, from the very beginning, Dove constantly experiments with different materials, and different combinations of materials, intuitively understanding that the intrinsic formal qualities of each material, and the associative meanings of some of them, will carry much of the communicative force of his image. In the following decades this attention to the formal and associative qualities of materials, shaped by his illustrating, will push him to continually experiment with different types of traditional and non-traditional paints, pastels, and non-traditional art materials.

By the middle of 1905 Dove's commissions had increased considerably and in the Fall he had illustrations appearing in multiple magazines in the same month. His jobs that Fall were for *Pearson's Magazine*, *Success Magazine*, *American Illustrated Magazine*, *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, and the old and esteemed children's periodical, *St.*

¹⁰¹ Lobel, 47.

¹⁰² Belting, 2011, 11.

Nicholas. He also received additional commissions from the Frederick A. Stokes Lithographic Company,¹⁰³ the publisher of *A Japanese Romance*, including one for a calendar for 1906. The page reproduced by Morgan¹⁰⁴ shows a well modeled, baby bird going after a caterpillar and features the lettering Dove finessed for his Cornell yearbook.

While Dove's commissions were never exclusively for one type of story, by early 1905, after his run on *The Illustrated Sporting News* cover, Dove had clearly found a niche for himself in illustrating tales of corporate intrigue, which largely played out indoors. It was certainly not uncommon for artists to specialize, or be pigeonholed by art editors, but Dove was just beginning to branch out as an illustrator. Based on what is currently available, it appears that with the exception of his exterior of the Opera, Dove did not publish an urban cityscape until he had been in the city for almost two years. That began to change in July 1905 with one of his drawings for *Success Magazine's* "How Fortunes are Made in Advertising."

Picturing New York

In this drawing the emphasis is on a top-hatted gentleman peering intently at what appears to be a framed Kodak advertising poster on an exterior wall. The poster directs the viewer's attention to the modern form of the city covered in printed advertisement posters, and sets up a contrast between Dove's drawn illustration and the photography referenced in the poster. In a novel composition for Dove, his subject

¹⁰³ Peet, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Morgan, 1984, 13.

is placed in profile on the sidewalk with a gas or electric light-post behind him, pointing us down the middle of the street. Leaving the space around the figure blank, Dove provides just a few competently suggested buildings and signs receding into the distance (fig. 18). There are no other people visible in what is admittedly a small illustration of a small moment in the narrative.

The history of American press illustrations of vignettes of city life that step back from their human subject to allow the street and the architecture to play a role goes back at least to the 1880s.¹⁰⁵ While there is only a snippet of city in this illustration, it does have a distinctly light style, suggesting a familiarity with the urban illustrations of Frank Furniss and Joseph Pennell.¹⁰⁶ Dove's editing of the street to include only his main character, and the delicacy of the draughtsmanship, serve to demonstrate the artistic potential of drawing verses the photography referenced in the Kodak poster, while that detail also suggests the idea of veracity and appropriates it for Dove's semi-fictionalized city street.

After executing this small, essentially architectural background, Dove may have been eager to try out a full-fledged cityscape. He seizes the opportunity for the November 1905, "The Pursuit of a Teapot" in *The American Illustrated Magazine*. (fig. 19) The vast majority of this story takes place inside assorted New York City municipal buildings and police stations, so Dove could reasonably have pictured all of his illustrations inside if he had so desired. However, there is also the requisite amount of scurrying between places and Dove chose to illustrate one location described vividly, if

¹⁰⁵ Zurier, 94-6.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 189-90.

briefly, in the text. This was his opportunity to engage with the life of the street. He could have chosen differently, his protagonist also takes the el, and the subway, and a car, but Dove chose to work with the crowded street-scape of Mulberry Street. The main character, again a top-hatted gentleman, is obviously out of his element and distressed at having to make his way through Little Italy. For this story, rather than the vacant street depicted in "How Fortunes are Made in Advertising," Dove went with full, evocative detail: a tub of fruit, a pickle barrel and an open pushcart practically allow the viewer to smell the neighborhood, and identify it as a busy commercial center. Mocking children, as described in the text, sense an outsider by instinct, and small groups of adults, executed in less detail as they recede into the background, shop and congregate.

The architectural structure of the street, the details of the rhythmic windows and the vertical edges of the buildings themselves give definition and order, even as they are interrupted by signs and a streetlight. As in his previous illustration of a street scene, Dove drew in most of the architecture carefully but lightly, while he used dark hatching in his main figures and the objects in his foreground, the buildings are predominantly line only. In this more elaborate work the stylistic evocation of the cityscapes of Furniss is more apparent. Certainly, Pennell was one of the most prolific architectural illustrators of the period, extending back to Dove's youth, and there is some suggestion of Pennell's light touch in this drawing as well. has probably published the most of this type before 1905, Sloan, even Glackens at this date, focused more closely on one or two figures and a smaller section of street.

Coincidentally, during the Fall of 1905 while Dove's work was appearing in three issues of *The American Illustrated Magazine*, the magazine also published, in the same issues, twice sharing a page with Dove's assignments, an extended series by the critic Charles Caffin titled, "The Story of American Painting."¹⁰⁷ It was an extremely thorough and abundantly illustrated series, discussing the work of numerous American artists. It is an extremely interesting series for Dove to have read and seen so early in his career as an illustrator, as he was still developing his own style and his professional goals. Caffin cited Whistler learning from Velasquez that "beauty of color is not dependence on brilliance of hue but that in blacks, whites, and grays, and faded rose there are possibilities of most exquisite tones and harmonies."¹⁰⁸ He proposed further that "the painter cannot get away permanently from what is at once the strength and the disability of his art--the necessity of representing the appearances of objects."¹⁰⁹ The December 1905 subtitle read in part, "The work of Whistler and Sargent whose Aim it was to Express in their Pictures the Essence and the Spirit rather than the Material."¹¹⁰ Dove may well have internalized Caffin's challenge regarding the appearances of objects. His work would shortly move very dramatically and obviously towards expressing "the essence and the spirit."

Figuring "Fact:" "True" Crime: 1906

¹⁰⁷ Charles Caffin, "The Story of American Painting," *American Illustrated Magazine*, v.60 no.5 (September 1905): 479-495; v. 60 no. 5 (October 1905): 651-665; v. 61 (November 1905): 23-36; v.61 (December 1905): 190-196;

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 190.

In January 1906 Dove rolled out a completely different type of illustration in *Pearson's*, for a different type of story. From January through August his illustrations accompanied a series of crime mysteries by M.F. Goron, later collected in a book with Dove's illustrations. In the illustrations for this series, Dove depicted guilt, unscrupulousness, righteous indignation, fear, resignation, and insanity. For each installment, Dove provided a few crisply drawn illustrations which seem to merge the two styles he relied on in 1905, and one or two full page, dramatic, moody "portraits" that appear at least partly painted, possibly a combination of ink and gouache, possibly even in full or part in oil, even when reproduced in black and white. (figs. 20, 21) The "portraits" hewed to portraiture conventions by "picturing" each individual alone, usually facing the viewer, centered in a vertical composition. Almost all of them hewed to the magazine convention of placing a portrait of the author or subject of an article, when it was used, as a frontispiece before the first page of text.

Of course, Dove could not be painting actual portraits of the calculating middle-class wives or conniving con-artists in Goron's stories of Parisian crime. He is "figuring," making a fictional character visible. However, by presenting one character for each story in a recognized portrait format, Dove furthered the illusion that these were, in fact, "true stories." The medium, and the manner of presentation, as a frontispiece, is crucial to the effectiveness of the "picturing" in these works. Dove is complicit in vouching for the truth of the fictional stories. Perhaps Dove intentionally showed his hand in the end product; in four of the six "portraits," the bodies, the "figures" themselves, however, are practically abstract form, black shapes that often recall the

symbolism of the nineteenth Century in their whiplash outline. Only their position under a head allows them to read as bodies. In making these characters visible, Dove has virtually conjured them from smoke, denying them a fully realistic figuration. They are presented, simultaneously, as distinct individuals having very bad days, and as apparitions, not as “real” as their expressions might imply. However, when the reader turns the page, there they are again, obviously sketched illustrations. Dove and the art editor may have hoped these sketches would glean some credibility from newspaper illustration, but in effect the transition from one type of “picture” to another highlights the constructed nature of the “images,” and blows everyone’s cover.

When thinking about depicting the unscrupulous characters in the Goron stories, Dove must have sought to use the portrait format and a richer, deeper black with glaring light to forefront the high, if concealed, emotion over the details of action or surrounding. Formally, they may have had precedent in Dove’s illustration, in charcoal, in the *American Illustrated Monthly* of December 1905, above the title of “Peter Potter: Business Privateer.” In this high contrast drawing, the figure is backed by his shadow, and by a swirl of lines which would absolutely evoke the romanticism of the Poster Style were it not for the gritty realism of the man’s no longer youthful face. Barbara Gallati has noted that these Dove illustrations appear influenced by the Henri school of expressive portraiture and slashing brushwork.¹¹¹

However, they also bear a striking resemblance to the black and white portrait photography of Alvin Langdon Coburn published in *The Century* the previous year,

¹¹¹ Gallati, 15.

particularly in their use of dramatic lighting effects. (fig. 22)¹¹² Mottled or haloed background light emanating from behind and seemingly within the subject appears in several of both Coburn's and Dove's portraits, and the play of light and dark on the faces of several of Dove's figures, beginning with the Peter Potter drawing, nearly mimics the facial lighting effects in some of Coburn's portraits. It is quite possible that desiring to exploit the vigor of opaque paint to create a dark, dramatic image, and seeking a solution to the particular problem of creating a painting specifically for reproduction in black and white, Dove looked back to images already successfully reproduced in the magazines around him. Rather than finding a solution in the work of other illustrators, he could easily have found Coburn's substantial feature in *The Century*. The knowledge that the "portraits" would be seen in black and white would additionally have suggested photography as a model for Dove. The presumption that people who have been photographed actually exist would have assisted in his intent to embody the fictional individuals. His abstract portrayal of their bodies then, serves to sow doubt. Dove might alternately, and perhaps more likely, have been impressed with the Coburn photographs when the magazine was issued in May; he could have been experimenting with oil techniques while waiting for an appropriate assignment. While Dove's work did not appear in *The Century* until April 1907, the work of many of the most popular illustrators appeared there regularly during 1905 and 1906, and with its focus on the arts it would most likely have been part of Dove's survey of the current periodicals and job opportunities.

¹¹² Alvin Langdon Coburn, "New Portraits of a Group of British Authors," *The Century* v. 70 no. 1 (May 1905): 11-17.

These earliest of these works were most likely executed in the late Fall of 1905 while Caffin's "History of American Art" ran in American Illustrated Magazine, though Dove's first and possibly second set of pictures were probably turned in before Caffin's installment on Whistler and Sargent. The "portrait" for the April installment, however, is unique and clearly indicates that Dove was looking at Whistler's portraits when contemplating this depiction. (fig. 23) The solid, empty mid-gray background, with the edge between wall and floor barely delineated, and the slim, precisely dressed figure, "pictured" in profile just turning his head to the viewer absolutely recall Whistler's portraits. In this case, an imprecise shadow hints at a something hidden.

It is difficult to determine precisely when Dove began working with heavier paint. By late 1905 Dove was most likely acquainted with the artists of the Ashcan School who also traveled in the world of the New York Illustrator, and they may have encouraged him to try paint. Even if we do find evidence of Dove taking art classes in the city in this period, here we see him using opaque paint beginning at the end of 1905 as a way to make his illustrating more effective. If he first experimented with oils as a way to deliberately imitate the light effects of photography reproduced in magazines, that would be quite an interesting introduction to oil painting. Dove would not be introduced to Stieglitz for another five years, but if we accept that these photographs from the magazines prompted or contributed to this experiment in oil for Dove, then we are seeing direct evidence of Dove's interest, as early as late 1905, in depicting the world not as it is, but as it appears through a lens. He is paying careful attention to modern techniques and ideas regarding how artists represent or present their ideas in print.

William Agee has noted that Dove engaged with photography throughout his career.¹¹³

At the onset of his long career as an artist, Dove in 1905 is clearly taking the artistic possibilities of reproduced “illustrations” quite seriously and exploring of expressive potential of different mediums, even for illustration. Even more relevant for his work over the next four decades, Dove has cultivated an interest in transferring the innate effects of one medium or set of materials to another.

While Dove’s picturing of these images with the deepest blacks may have been prompted by Coburn, other photography, or by the content of the narratives, formally the vast areas of black and the extreme dramatic contrasts of black and white that Dove uses to picture the Goron crime stories had been building in his work since his illustrations for the *Cornellian*, and his 1904 appearance in *Judge*. He continues to shape his picturing with substantial patterning of extreme dark and light, or dark, light and a range of greys, when it suits the mood of the piece. Dove does retain a type of illustrating that contains nothing but drawn line, which he used for quick character sketches, or often for funnier stories. When he does not use that look, however, he consistently uses more large solid areas of black or charcoal than virtually all the other illustrators appearing in the magazines.

Un-Figuring

In numerous of Dove’s illustrations from 1905 -1907, he alerts the sensitive reader to the artifice of his figural creations. Often, as in several of the Goron stories, a

¹¹³ Agee, in Greenough, 427 and Agee, 2001, 42.

picture frame or two marks a wall behind the characters. In “The Letter of the Contract” published in *Pearson’s* in the previous June, Dove had placed a small, oddly horizontal picture high on the wall. This picture, in a thick frame, suggested just two black shapes, but gave the impression of a body of water moving through two areas of trees. Thereafter, the contents of the frame vanish almost entirely from Dove’s illustration, while the frame multiplies. When drawn on an otherwise unbounded, or unadorned, space, the frames serve spatially to indicate the presence and height of a wall, extending the size of Dove’s picture. In other instances they provide geometric structure and pattern to contrast and “frame” his figures. It is shorthand, of course, a sign for a wall, and a picture, and a middle-class situation that commands framed pictures, and mirrors, and diplomas. It is also however, an empty frame, an empty mirror, maybe even a blocked window. It is the frame that belongs around the picture the artist has created, an absolute indicator of artifice. It is the empty portrait, the absence of reflection, of the non-existent person figured in the picture. Often, the number of frames matches the number of individuals in the picture, even touching their heads. In his illustrations, Dove is repeatedly “picturing” the actual absence of the individuals whose images he supplies with his ink and charcoal.

In the very first of the “portraits” for the Goron stories, an empty frame hovers just to the left and above the woman’s head. (fig. 20) Her hat actually overlaps the bottom of the frame, connecting her to its absent contents. She is also “framed” by the outline of a door; the intersection of the corners points rather suspiciously at her head. A few pages, two men stand in front of two empty frames. (fig. 24) Dove continues to use the

device throughout his illustration up to 1909, and occasionally into the 1920s, not figuring the space inside the frame until his drawings for the aptly named *Pictorial Review* in 1924.

Figuring Fact

When Dove did have the opportunity to illustrate a piece of non-fiction from life, he made sure the reader knew about it. In February 1906, *American Illustrated Magazine* published a non-fiction piece titled "The Square Deal with Children: Judge Mack and the Work of the Chicago Juvenile Court." The same hand that wrote the magazine name along the top of the sheet in the Archives of American Art copy of this page added "in Chicago," with a vibrating line above and below for emphasis after the word "court." Under the author's byline, the text reads in small capitals, "With drawings made from life for this article by Arthur G. Dove." After a year of illustrating tales of deception Dove must have relished the opportunity to observe and portray the workings of a respected judge. Having essentially missed the era of newspapers sending illustrators on assignment to depict the news, he must also have relished to opportunity to travel to Chicago on assignment. The caption of the first illustration, a profile portrait of a young boy positioned next to the title of the story is headed, "Overheard by the artist." Dove made sure the reader knew he was really there -- a significant change from the fiction he normally illustrated. Dove took extra care with these illustrations. His portrait of the Judge shows him leaning over his bench listening intently and sympathetically, with a slightly bemused expression. It is thoughtful, sensitive drawing,

individualizing the Judge's soft chin, mustache, cowlick and drawn eyebrows. (fig. 25)

His full page pencil drawing is his most naturalistic multi-figure composition to date. Each of the seven boys featured, even the one only seen from behind, is given individual features, expression and personality. The single cut off, empty rectangular frame on the wall, provides a geometric counter-weight to the naturalistic, rumpled boys. Dove shaded the work carefully establishing a rhythm of dark and light. Sadly, there appears to be no record of what else Dove made time for in Chicago.

Success

Magazines of the period commonly boasted of their forthcoming writers and illustrators in advance to boost sales and subscriptions. By the end of 1905, Dove's reputation was such that in an announcement of the art department for 1906, essentially an advertisement for the magazine, *Success* included him in its short list of illustrators. The magazine's October 1906 issue listed Dove among the artists who would "handsomely illustrate" the Thanksgiving number. The full page Editorial Announcements for 1907, in the December 1906 issue, featured a border of miniature portrait photos of writers and artists for the upcoming year. Dove's photo, while not in the top row, partially occupied by J.D. Leyendecker and J.J. Gould, much more established illustrators, was prominently placed as the next photo down on the left.¹¹⁴

In 1906, Dove's work was seen frequently in numerous popular magazines. His illustrations appeared in eight times in *Pearson's*, five times in *Success*, four times in

¹¹⁴ *Success* v. 9 (December 1906): 905.

American Illustrated, and four times in *Cosmopolitan*, all monthlies; and at least three times in the weekly *Saturday Evening Post*. Several one-time appearances in other magazines rounded out the year. Dove was hitting a wide slice of the market, often appearing simultaneously in different magazines. Notably, Dove always signed at least one drawing in each assignment, usually most of them, though he did monogram some smaller pieces AGD. Illustrators' signatures varied in the magazines, from the tiny and tight, to the illegible scrawl, many were smallish and in the right bottom corner. After Dove's experimentation with elaborate monograms in college, his was one of the larger, more legible and easily recognized. The vast readership of American popular magazines would most likely have seen Dove's work, bylined and signed, periodically throughout the year.

Mastery: 1907-1908

During 1907 and 1908 Dove's illustrations appeared in over a dozen magazines and at least two newspapers. Viewing his illustrations from 1907 together makes it clear that it was a transformative year in Dove's skill and ambition level. While his published illustrations from the Winter of 1907 are a clear, simple progression from his work of 1906, over the course of the year his work developed dramatically in multiple directions.

In the winter of 1907 Dove continued to receive work in *American Illustrated Magazine* and *Cosmopolitan*, and appeared once in *Everybody's*. He also began appearing regularly in *Collier's Weekly*. In addition, Dove illustrated three installments

of Alfred Henry Lewis's "Wolfville Tales" for *Times Magazine*. His jobs for *Times Magazine* follow the pattern he established in *Pearson's*; he provided one large, highly shaded, multi-figure charcoal composition, and several pen and ink character sketches or smaller multi-figure studies. While his first installment of "Wolfville Tales" was printed in the usual black and white, his second features coarse, tan paper with black charcoal and the occasional bright white accent. These are some of the standard illustrators' materials, typically reproduced in half-tone and thus reduced to shades of gray, here reproduced in their original colors. His illustrations for the third installment, "The Off-Wheelers Conversion," also appeared in color, similarly drawn in charcoal on tan paper, with the addition of details in red as well as the white grease pencil he had used previously. (fig. 26) The color scheme seems well suited to the Western narrative -- one can imagine the artist, by now well versed in the materials of illustration, suggesting it to the editor as a complementary pairing.

Lewis had been publishing his *Wolfville Tales* Westerns in books and magazine installments since the end of the nineteenth century. One early volume was illustrated by Frederick Remington, an obvious choice for the subject matter.¹¹⁵ Dove's selection as illustrator for the *Times Magazine* installments probably reflected the newness of the magazine -- Dove's illustrations appeared in the first three issues -- with a budget that would not manage Remington. His selection may also represent a desire to offer a fresh take on Lewis' fiction by highlighting the humor and the personalities in the stories

¹¹⁵ Lewis, Alfred Henry. *Wolfville*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1897 was illustrated by Remington. The Lewis volume which reprints these stories, *Wolfville Folks*, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1908, is unillustrated with the exception of a frontispiece.

-- Remington not being known for the humor of his illustrations. If Dove was selected for his humor, he lives up to expectations,

Collier's Weekly, one of the more popular weeklies at the beginning of the twentieth century, was a significant source of commissions for Dove in 1907 and 1908, and provides a window into his colleagues during his years as an illustrator in New York City. In *Collier's*, Dove appeared in some of the best company in American commercial illustration. In the two years prior to Dove's first appearance in the magazine, *Collier's* ran an appreciation of Charles Dana Gibson and featured covers by Edward Penfield and Maxfield Parrish. Perhaps more significant to Dove, in the years before, during, and after his publication, John Sloan, William Glackens, Everett Shinn, and his wife Florence Scovel Shinn were frequent contributors. Arthur B. Frost was appointed to the magazine's Art Staff a year before Dove was first retained, as announced in a profile in the magazine's October 14, 1905 issue written by Royal Cortissoz. May Wilson Preston would become an extremely popular illustrator in *Collier's*, first appearing seven months after Dove in August 1907. *Collier's*, in these years, was an integral component of what would later be called "The Golden Age of American Illustration," commissioning, printing, and promoting a substantial amount of illustration for fiction and stand-alone featured art-work.

At this point in his career, Dove's drawings were becoming as ambitious compositionally as the American genre paintings and Impressionist paintings of everyday life of the late-19th century. Many of these also present a more perspectival space than previously seen in Dove's illustrations, as he experiments with both

traditional linear and atmospheric perspective. As opposed to his vignettes of individuals or small groups in an undefined space, these works fully activate a rectangular space. In finish and completeness they are more similar to the compositions typically associated with painting than with drawing. Indeed, some of these drawings pass “multi-figure” and venture into the depiction of the crowd, or a small crowd, at least, and further reveal Dove’s interest in the paintings and illustrations of the artists’ of the “Ash Can School,” in particular of William Glackens, who had been sought after for his crowd depictions since his newspaper days in Philadelphia.¹¹⁶

Picturing New York: 1907

The weeks before Christmas in 1907 showcased this new direction in Dove’s illustrations. One of the most revealing is his cover for *Harper’s Weekly* from December 14, 1907, titled “The Beautiful Snow.” (fig. 27) Dove’s drawing depicts a grocer enthusiastically partaking of a snowball fight with an ebullient pack of children across a New York City street. Possibly Dove used photographic sources for the faces of some of the children. The grocer’s overcoat is swinging open over his white apron and the basket rests next to him, clearly he has interrupted a delivery from his shop, just behind him, to ally with the children on his side of the street. The elevated train track connects the buildings on either side of the street into an H, and with a giant round water tower and wash lines crisscrossing the sky, the modern urban setting is clearly established.

Published over two years after Dove’s depiction of a nervous visitor to Mulberry

¹¹⁶ Heather Campbell Coyle, “The Character and Rhythm of Modern Life: Glackens as an Illustrator,” in Avis Berman, ed. *William Glackens*. New York: Skira Rizzoli Publications, Inc., 2014, 50. Zurier, 192.

Street for “In Pursuit of a Teapot,” (fig. 19) this cover reveals both Dove’s increased familiarity with the dynamic life of the street and its denizens, and his increasingly relaxed, fluid, and nuanced style. While both drawings look down the middle of the street, that is virtually their only commonality. In comparison, the street depicted in the earlier drawing looks almost French with its perfect repeating windows divided by rows of balconies and cornices stretching infinitely into the distance, with a perfect street lamp as punctuation in the mid-ground. His earlier street was an idealized city street, Mulberry Street or not, rendered only in delicate outline, only a bent fence rail betraying any age or abuse.

By contrast, the 1907 *Harper’s* cover depicts the buildings that line the street as masses of weighted grays, some with the irregular fenestration often seen on the unadorned sides of city buildings. The rags or rope ends, and what may even be a shoe, hanging from the crossed laundry lines, and the irregular clumps of snow hanging from the rooftops reinforce the imperfection of the scene. Our sense of specific place is enforced by the highlighted, elevated rail track centered in the composition, and specified by the sign for “Irving Market” hanging above a row of poultry dangling by their feet. Irving Place is physically and culturally a fair bit “uptown” from the Little Italy of Dove’s earlier illustration, but in this drawing Dove provides a grittier, seemingly more authentic, picture of the city street. Presumably Dove had more freedom of subject in this drawing, as it did not have to hew to character descriptions or narrative. Dove clearly chose to align himself at this moment in 1907 with an “Ash Can” aesthetic.

This was Dove's neighborhood in these years and he was surely more involved in the rhythm of these streets after two years in New York than he had been when he did his earlier street scenes. Still, the pattern of receding rooftops on the left, and the balcony at top left, marked with a x as a side rail, remain virtually identical to that in his depiction of Mulberry Street. Dove's *Harper's* cover, and his other works of Winter 1907 are the closest he comes to picturing the city in a manner similar to the "Ash Can" realism of fellow illustrators Sloan, Glackens, Shinn and Luks.

Dove's contribution to the 1907 "Christmas Collier's," also dated December 14, could have originated in the same sketching session. Titled "A Christmas Offering" (fig. 28) it similarly shows a group of children in a snowy New York City street, again in front of a grocer, but this time, the children and adults are sharing a brief quiet moment in the commotion as all eyes turn to a younger, coatless, boy offering a well dressed girl a lick of a giant candy cane. Even the dog with a bucket tied to his tail watches reverently, and a small boy dashes across the street to see why the crowd has gathered. The group of figures to the left by the girl accepting the lick are, like her, all better dressed than the group to the right, some of whom are wrapped in blankets for warmth, some without coats at all, adding an aspect of class rapprochement to the holiday scene. It is a sweet image that lacks any edge in its class distinctions, mapping an example of an across class social interaction. While this image does not highlight racial or ethnic differences, it is an extreme example of the "urban picturesque" presented in narrative

and illustrations in the first decade of the century to soothe reader anxiousness about immigration and class difference.¹¹⁷

While Dove's *Christmas Offering* is more focused on the sentimental human interaction than his depiction of the snowball fight, it is also explicitly situated in the city (and within the "ashcan" tradition) and highlights a moment of city life. The framework for a grocer's awning and a grid of signs provides structure to the left background, while the right background is evocatively empty except for an open, horse-drawn wagon filled with grocer's barrels marking the street. In a detail characteristic of Dove's acquaintances among the AshCan School, open shutters at the top of the illustration frame a woman hanging a small mattress out of the window to clean it. In this work and the Christmas Colliers he may well have been looking at the work of Everett Shinn¹¹⁸ By 1904 Shinn had annual exhibit of drawings in crayon and pastel on Fifth Avenue.¹¹⁹ While Dove did significantly fewer of these drawings than others like Sloan and Glackens. "A Christmas Offering" does show him participating at the periphery of this social project. He could not have offered a more poignant holiday image of social *detente*, than this drawing of a street urchin offering to share a sweet with a girl from "uptown."

The *Collier's* Christmas issue of 1907 featured multiple stand-alone drawings by popular illustrators. It is significant that Dove was included, and even more significant that when you turned the page on his illustration, you were presented with a double

¹¹⁷ Bramen, 2000, 446-9.

¹¹⁸ Zurier. 156.

¹¹⁹ Wong. 73.

page full color drawing by Edward Penfield. In the course of a single year, Dove had transitioned within *Collier's* from an artist whose byline could be incorrect *repeatedly*, to appearing in a privileged position adjacent to one of America's most popular illustrators. Appearing the same week as his cover for *Harper's Weekly*, it prominently cemented Dove's arrival as an accomplished and well-respected draftsman.

Dove must have submitted another drawing from the same set to *Harper's* that autumn. In the January 4, 1908 issue of *Harper's*, Dove's drawing "The Pied Piper," (fig. 29) occupied a full page with a virtual parade of children following a circus cart being drawn by a man in a cap. Dove's signature anchors the composition below a small fire of scraps gathered on the side of the road at the right. Perhaps placing his signature under the fire, he is figuring himself in the picture, and equating his role as creator of the image with the creator and giver of light and warmth. "A Christmas Offering," and "The Beautiful Snow," both prominently featured illustrations, highlight the influence of Glackens' illustrations on Dove's development over the course of 1907. In May and July 1907 *Collier's* had published large Glackens illustrations of exuberant crowds.¹²⁰ Dove's late 1907 street scenes adapts and modifies Glackens' angular shorthand for multiple children playing. In 1907 Dove dabbles in picturing the New York of his fellow illustrators and friends, but he is completely uninterested in the issues of urban spectatorship that pervade their work.¹²¹

¹²⁰ "May Day in Central Park," *Collier's* v. 39 (May 4, 1907); "Patriots in the Making", *Collier's* v. 39 (July 6, 1907).

¹²¹ Zurier, 4. Lobel, Coyle for Sloan.

By the middle of 1906 Dove had a small repertoire of comfortably finished styles for illustrating a few characters in a narrative scene, but had not illustrated any major group or urban crowd situations. The “crowd” as depicted by several artists at the beginning of the century, most prominently Prendergast and Glackens was considered a modern, significant subject.¹²² Clearly, Dove looked to Glackens in formulating his own depictions of the friendly urban scrum.

Dove’s several multi-figure compositions of children playing outside, following his experience illustrating children in the juvenile court in Chicago, recall Homer’s *Snap the Whip*, 1872 and connect Dove’s work with the history of American paintings of children playing and working in family agriculture common from the 1840s through the Post-Civil War years.¹²³ Dove’s illustrations, like the paintings of some of his twentieth-century colleagues such as Prendergast and Glackens, move the childhood experience into the city. As his work is becoming artistically more sophisticated, indeed, picturing modernity through the recognizable lens of painting subjects of the recent past, it is embraced by the magazines of the day. At this moment, for Dove, as for society more generally, the distinction between the “highbrow” culture of oil painting and the “lowbrow” culture of the popular magazine was considerably less distinct than it would be in a few years. Indeed, he and his fellow illustrators may deliberately have sought to bring the full range of artist subjects and compositions to the seemingly limited medium of magazine illustration.

¹²² Zurier, 192-7.

¹²³ Patricia Hills, *The Painters’ America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910*. NY: Whitney Museum of American Art and Praeger Publishers, 1974, 74-5.

Dove's growing ambition as an artist can further be seen in a magazine feature he must have completed towards the end of 1907. The January 1908 issue of *Pearson's Magazine* ran a feature portfolio, announced on an entire page as "Pictures of Stage Scenes; Plays and Players, from Drawings by Arthur G. Dove, Charles S. Chapman and from Photographs." (fig. 30) These full page drawings are among the most ambitious Dove published in magazines. Each one is a complete composition with full depth of scene and multiple vignettes, moodily executed with multiple shades of gray indicating depth and modeling as well as differences in color. Dove is clearly thinking ahead to his trip to France. Where Dove's Christmas feature of just a month before demonstrated the influence of his American contemporaries, these works effect their picturing of the backstage theatre scene, through the model of Degas and Toulouse-Lautrec, perhaps inevitably. Compared to Dove's January review of the theatre season four years earlier for *The Illustrated Sporting News*, these drawings reveal a vastly increased sense of mastery of the space of the picture plane, and the development of a clear, confident, consistent personal artistic style. Dove clearly felt ready to take the next step.

In 1908, McClure's published three stories illustrated by Dove, the first, the "The Radical Judge," appearing in May 1908, quite possibly after Dove had set sail for France. Presumably, he submitted the illustrations before he left. These *McClure's* illustrations take yet another leap in complexity and refinement as Dove contemplates his departure from America.

Where Dove's cover for *Harper's Weekly* in December and his theater drawings in *Pearson's* in January, had given equal weight to the figures in the compositions and their environment, in some of Dove's 1908 drawings for *McClure's*, the interior and the landscape dominant the drawing, with the figural subjects diminutive parts of the overall composition. Anticipating his departure, turning his attention to the landscape.

In particular, Dove's illustration captioned "Forever turning back to kiss him, with her hands full of flowers and with the peacocks trailing beside," presents tiny foregrounded figures, in a landscape composition obviously related to Dove's painting of Stuyvesant Square, now at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, from 1907. The painting, an ariel view of the park, with its dominant, brightly hued church across the way, and smattering of delicately branching trees just beginning to leaf a delicate spring green, suggests that Dove has been eyeing the city scenes of Pissarro and Monet. The drawing reveals the extent to which his own image of a picture is being reshaped by the French painters, and points to his turn to nature as the object of his attention. Dove retained the elevated point of view and the view of the architecture through the trees from his Stuyvesant Square painting, but minimized the size of the manor house in the distance and filled his composition with the trees, one in particular on the right seemingly modeled on the tree on the right of his painting.

"The Radical Judge" takes place in the post-Reconstruction American South. The description in the narrative of the scene Dove illustrates calls for a garden of poplars, magnolias, and boxwoods. The scene Dove has pictured features the New York City street trees common to the Stuyvesant Square painting, backed by two lines of what

appear to be the distinctive cypress trees of late nineteenth century Monet. In forming his image of the scene, the cypresses must have suggested someplace other than the Northeast, a more temperate climate and a more formal garden.

The garden illustration for “The Radical Judge” provides a bridge between Dove’s painting of Stuyvesant Square and the landscapes and still-lives Dove executed in France. Both the trees in Dove’s landscapes in the French countryside and in the wallpaper reproductions of trees in *Flowered Wallpaper* and *The Lobster* are strikingly reminiscent of the trees in this illustration; the familiarity of the line may have drawn Dove to the wallpaper as a subject, or the line of the trees from the drawing may have naturally expressed itself in the French paintings. Only a few paintings by Dove from the year before he sailed for France still exist. The illustrations from this period provide valuable additional insight into the directions he was exploring in his art as he prepared to go abroad.

In his illustrations for “The Decree Made Absolute,” in *McClure’s*, (fig.32) published slightly later in 1908, Dove chose to highlight the sentimental tragedy of the narrative by picking his figures in sharp light of a dark background, even though as interiors in a stately home, they would certainly have been well lit. In choosing to work from a dark ground to light, Dove presented unique and dramatic images. Dove may also have chosen to illustrate this story in this way because he felt it was time to exhibit his skills with a lithographic press. While Dove’s lithographs have been virtually unknown, John Sloan’s exclamation of delight at his temporary stewardship of Dove’s

lithography press while Dove was in Europe, and his report of Dove's visit to reclaim it, have been used as the best source of precise dating for the Doves' sojourn abroad.

As a group, a large and diverse group, the illustrations Dove executed in New York before he went to France, before 1909, are primarily, essentially "straight" illustrations. While they often provide engaging, one might say gently humorous, character sketches, most of them were not executed as intentional social comedy or stand alone jokes. Dove's engagement with social commentary at this point was limited. In this period, Dove appeared to be putting his full artistic impulses into the execution of his illustrations, even when illustrating someone else's narrative. He was able to use the provided subject matter to explore composition, medium, and line. From what we have of Dove's surviving work from this period, it does not appear that the art he was creating outside of his commercial endeavors was substantively different than the work he created for the magazines.

In 1903 Dove arrived in New York City as a tentative illustrator, sticking to simple, safe compositions, and executing them with charm, and occasionally a bit of awkwardness. By the time he sailed for France in 1908 he had mastered the fully detailed landscape and interior scene, the multi-figure composition, and the incisive and insightful character sketch. He had honed his technical skills and his powers of observation. He was ready for the next step, and magazine illustration had gotten him there.

Figuring the Self: Paris

In 1908 Dove and his wife sailed for Paris.¹²⁴ His work continued to appear in *McClure's* and *Collier's* in the Summer and Fall, probably jobs he had finished and turned in before he set sail. However, in short order for the era in which all things crossing the Atlantic travelled by ship, for the Saturday November 14, 1908 issue of *Collier's*, Dove appears to have sent illustrations from France. Capitalizing on his voyage, Dove's editor assigned him a three part serial by Samuel Hopkins Adams: "The Discovery of Paris --Part I," in November and in December and January, "Paris through a Prism." In a touch unique in Dove's entire artistic career, the artist added "Paris '08" under his signature in five of the six illustrations for the first two articles. (fig. 33) By including his location with his name, Dove vouches for the veracity of his representations, but also, figures himself and his presence in the image, out of excitement at his arrival in the then undisputed art capital of the world.

Dove's first illustrations from Paris, obviously executed in the first few months of his arrival, are not dramatically different in style, or subject, from his last drawings completed in New York. While they show Dove applying his skills of observation and attention to telling detail to a new environment, they do not illuminate a radical breakthrough in his thinking or his technique. While he chooses to illustrate aspects of the narratives that allow him to dip into iconic Impressionist subjects, he does so within a conventional representational and spatial structure. This is consistent with the

¹²⁴ Agee, Balkan, Turner, 34. The best dating we have of Dove's trip comes from Sloan's diary.

paintings he completed during his time in France, which develop in skill from his last paintings in New York, but only shift slightly in conception from straight Impressionism, to an ever so subtle engagement with Cezanne in *The Lobster* and *Flowered Wallpaper*. These paintings themselves continue Dove's treatment of the landscape, particularly the trees, in his illustrations for *The Radical Judge* and his painting of Stuyvesant Park. The drawings signed from Paris allow us to see some of the environment the artist was experiencing in France, but, created for a specific purpose and audience, they do not represent a significant change in his artistic expression.

The first illustration Dove signed Paris '08 (fig. 33) illustrates a scene described in the narrative showing a decent sized crowd gathered around two gentlemen seated awkwardly on the sidewalk recovering from a collision. Among the collection of Parisian "types" Dove has added to his repertoire is the matron in a large, lumpy feathered bonnet who provides the humor in the scene, and its caption, by consoling the impish, white "*pauvre petit canichon*," placed front and center in the drawing and seemingly wearing a large ruffled collar. The rest of the crowd is a diverse cross-section of the expected Parisian society: two uniformed gendarmes, working people, fashionable members of society, all distinguishable by their clothes, hats and posture. The street scape barely suggested in the background, with Dove's mandatory single lamp post and a cluster of thin tree trunks, does little on its own to distinguish Paris from New York. Only the figures' attire locates the scene in Paris. In this first illustration from Paris, an emphatic underline points out the artist's new location.

For the illustrations for "Paris Through a Prism," published in December 1908, Dove ventures deliberately into the city he had now had the opportunity to get to know. While depicting a jaded but debonair Metro rider, Dove enthusiastically packs the inside of the train with figures, their belongings, and the text on the walls of the train (fig. 34). In a compressed space, he shows the viewer, positioned as a rider on the opposite end of the car, the floor, the end of the train, and the ceiling in the same image, allowing the viewer to feel the enclosure, the crowding of the train, and the textures of each surface. There is no absence in this picture, except perhaps that of the implied viewer. The picture depicts a full range of grays, with rich blacks and bright white. (It is presumably his often repeated combination of ink, watercolor, gouache and crayon, unless he has located a lithographic press to use in Paris.) Dove must have been pleased with the picture -- not content with merely signing his name in the bottom right with Paris '08 underneath the signature, he monogrammed the purse of the Metro rider on the left, "AGD."

For the same story, above the caption, "A part of the "politest-people-on-earth" myth," (fig. 35) Dove places his self-image directly in front of the American reader. Dove clearly indicates the Parisian nature of the scene with an thonet chair at an outside table, a streetlight extending from the exterior wall, and a silhouette, executed in gentle wash, of Second Empire architecture with mansard roof and cupola, and a hint of an arched window. In the picture, a gentleman at the curb tips his straw hat to a passing woman in an elaborate hat, who scowls over her shoulder at him as she bustles past with her package and French bulldog leading the way. The faces and figures in the

crowd are roughly sketched. The woman's glare is indicated with wash and Dove's expressive line. The gentleman tipping his hat is drawn carefully in profile, his face modeled with wash, his clothes carefully detailed, with gleaming white shirt peeking from his suit jacket and a shine on the shoes beneath his cuffed pants. It is none other than Dove himself, on the street in Paris, fully present, "figured" in his own creation, wearing the same suit he was photographed in on that trip. (fig. 36) In the photo with the bust, Dove has inserted his face into an empty frame. In the illustration for *Collier's* he has inserted his image into his picture, occupying that frame.¹²⁵ He declares his identity as an artist in Paris, and the self the essential subject of the artist. He has filled the empty picture frames which populated his illustrations.

There is conveniently "absence" in this text in which Dove could easily insert himself; "Paris through a Prism" is a series of the authors' observations of nameless types, not a story about specified characters; Dove simply assumed a role on the boulevard. While his signature, "Arthur G. Dove. Paris." is placed on the right under the skirt of the woman, it is connected to Dove, pointed out by his image, in fact, by the sharp, black vertical of his walking stick, which leads from his left hand to the sidewalk, landing directly before the A in Arthur. The walking stick may further be read as a surrogate for the tools of the artist, the implement with which he has signed his name. The year is notably absent from this signature. Maybe the year '08 present alongside his other signatures from Paris was cropped off in printing; or maybe he chose to leave it out in his self-portrait in Paris to assert the perpetual nature of the experience: once

¹²⁵ Many thanks to Elizabeth Hutton Turner for pointing out this connection.

the artist has been to Paris, he has always been to Paris. In the pages of *Collier's Magazine*, which did claim "One Million Every Week," Dove has figured himself, asserting his presence in the city of the artist, and his place at the center of his art.

Chapter 3: Abstraction after Illustration: 1910-1917

Dove returned from France with his artistic agenda entirely unsettled. While nothing in his paintings from France suggests a radical break with representational painting as practiced by the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, he was done with it. After a very brief period trying to reclaim his previous life as an illustrator in New York City,¹²⁶ Dove left. In 1910 -11, Dove fully and instantaneously effected a total transformation in what he chose to picture and why he chose to picture it. This was the giant leap into abstraction. However, while Dove sought to leave his past work entirely behind, he ultimately reclaimed the artistic process he had established as an illustrator: taking abstract, non-visible information from the world, shaping it into a visible image in his mind through the formal and material vocabularies of his chosen medium, and realizing that image in a picture through the materials attendant to that medium. This chapter, then, will examine how the dual processes of additive interpretation and material expression that Dove internalized as an illustrator, structured his transformation into an abstract artist.

There are two aspects of Dove's artistic development from illustrating to his breakthrough "avant-garde" work of the early teens: rupture and continuity. The rupture is more obvious than the continuity, and more deliberate on the part of the artist. With the creation of the abstract oils of 1910 and the pastels of 1911-12, Dove intended to discard entirely the representation of surfaces in the service of someone else's narrative, and the optical picturing of Impressionist painting. These works constitute a

¹²⁶ Morgan, 1984, 15, ft. 13 p. 35 Conversation with William Dove.

rejection of realistic representation as it had been practiced in Western Art for approximately half a millennium. The continuity has been largely overlooked, in part because it is harder to find, especially from a small sample of Dove's illustrations. With a larger set, however, trends and continuities do become visible. While the specific magazine illustrations that Dove executed in the teens were few and essentially incidental to his larger artistic project in those years, the skills he had developed as an illustrator, conceiving an image from a narrative, fleshing it out with observation, and picturing it in the diverse materials of the illustrator, created the framework for his artistic direction, in this decade, and those that followed.

From 1910 to 1917 or 1918 Dove lived in Westport, Connecticut and sought to support his art through farming, but in reality farming left him little time for his artistic work and his production was extremely small. Dove probably ended up in Westport specifically because of its established population of New York magazine illustrators. The sculptor Jo Davidson noted that in 1910, Dove introduced him to the Carlos Cafe on West 25th Street, then "frequented by newspaper men, artists, and writers."¹²⁷ However, while living in a society of exurban New York illustrators, Dove largely resisted illustrating during most of the teens. He must not have been alone among New York illustrators to quit the field around 1910. Even as Dove left for France in 1908, the Golden Age of Illustration had started to lose some of its gleam -- in one 1907 article Charles Caffin declared that where American illustration had just a few years previously

¹²⁷ Davidson, 65.

been “a real artistic treat,” editorially demanded repetition had stifled innovation and allowed European illustration to surpass it in creativity.¹²⁸ If the flexibility of the illustrator was indeed increasingly restricted towards the end of the decade, just as Dove’s proficiency peaked, the allure of illustration for him may well have started to fade. In 1913 in *The Nation*, Bradley wrote, “the better men tend inevitably to be forced from a field which grows constantly more uncongenial in the demands it makes, and the competitive conditions it imposes. . . . we have now the spectacle of the ablest men starting to paint as soon as they are pecuniarily able to do so.”¹²⁹ He could have been writing specifically about Arthur Dove.

Moving Dove socially, as he did move in these years, from the world of Sloan, Glackens, the Prestons and the New York City illustrators, to the Westport artistic and literary world, and toward the crystallization of the Second Stieglitz Circle,¹³⁰ bolsters the idea that these works were also a rejection of the commercialism and constraints of illustration. The new relationships Dove forged over the decade, with Stieglitz, with the literary community of the Seven Arts, with the illustrators of Westport, with Paul and Rebecca Strand, would become his life-long sustenance, personally and professionally.

The precise chronology of Dove’s activities in 1910 is unclear. One of the long standing uncertainties is when exactly did the artist meet Alfred Stieglitz, and under what circumstances. While the exact answer to that question appears unattainable, it is generally accepted that Dove met Stieglitz after he returned from Paris, most likely

¹²⁸ Charles Caffin, “A Note on American Illustration,” *The Independent* v.63 (November 1907): 1217.

¹²⁹ W. A. Bradley, “The Art of Illustration,” *The Nation*, v.97 no. 2506 (July 10, 1913): 43.

¹³⁰ Corn, 1999, 16.

through the intervention of Alfred Maurer, and presumably before he left New York City for Connecticut.¹³¹ In 1919, Waldo Frank, in his chapter on New York in his book *Our America*, declared of Alfred Stieglitz, “At a time when Europe was still groping toward it, Stieglitz had found the true *abstract* of art:--not in the avoidance of representation nor in the ignoring of detail, but in their mastery and fusion to an essential vision.”¹³² Dove, newly returned from Europe, and struggling to reconcile his experience as an illustrator with his dissatisfaction with the post-Impressionist painting style he had developed in France, must have understood that Stieglitz had himself resolved a similar conflict. The Second Stieglitz Circle’s self-proclaimed mission to save the country from increasing materialism¹³³ may well have already been a topic for Stieglitz in 1910. His ability to articulate and reinforce what had perhaps been Dove’s vague dissatisfaction with the increasing materialism and commercialism of illustrating in the city would have additionally brought them together. Clearly, the men’s initial meeting and their strengthening relationship throughout the decade had multiple impacts on Dove’s thinking about his work.

In some ways Dove was ever the rugged Individualist of American lore. In 1910, after France, Dove sought to find his own artistic expression, one that was not shaped by past art, or by someone else’s narrative. As a result, he consciously and deliberately turned his back on illustrating, on completing the fictional inventions of other people. However, Dove’s entire artistic experience up to this point had been five years of

¹³¹ Morgan, 1979, 37.

¹³² Frank, 181.

¹³³ Corn, 1999, 18.

illustrating with diverse materials in New York, and eighteen months of painting landscapes and still-lives with a relatively Impressionist finish in France. Technically, the influence of his broad experience and skills as an illustrator on the work of the teens is inevitable. Further, Dove's process of creating a picture, of constructing what he would put on paper, was formed by the particular conditions of illustrating fiction.

For five years, his first five years as a working artist, Dove did not decide what to picture by looking, he decided what to picture by reading or hearing the abstract system of language shaped into a story. Dove effected his figuring from the abstraction of language, basing his image first on non-visual information, perhaps containing a set of visual cues, adding to it the experience and empathy of his own body, before possibly seeking a model to help supply the details. Starting entirely from the visual, from a thing present in the world, as in landscape painting, was actually a change for him.

Sometime after Dove returned from France, he returned to the woods around Geneva, perhaps in the company of Newton Weatherly and executed a number of oil paintings,¹³⁴ which were entirely unlike anything he had previously done in Manhattan or France. (Figs. 37) Some of these six works retained the heightened color of Dove's Post-Impressionist inspired works from France, and some retained fragments of the black outline of the illustrator. In all other ways, however, they may be seen as a wiping of the slate, "artistic arson" if you will, a complete repudiation of the aims and techniques Dove had painstakingly built over the last decade, clearing the way for a new structure. With these works, Dove discarded the "disorderly methods" of

¹³⁴ As with the chronology of Dove's life in 1910 generally, the exact timing of this trip is undetermined. Morgan suggests Summer 1909.

Impressionism,¹³⁵ the fixation with the representation of depth and perspective that had dominated Western Art for half a millennium, traditional shading, and the subject matters of the New York periodicals and cosmopolitan France. He retained color, and the barest suggestion of form. At times, his quick brush strokes even aspire to blur the distinction between areas of colors, denying a discrete shape. At other times, forms from his past, even his future, remain visible; the trees in *Abstraction No. 3* (Newark) echo those in the wallpaper of *The Lobster*, and in his illustrations from *McClure's* in 1908 and his painting of Stuyvesant Square from 1907; a barn takes shape in *Abstraction No. 4*.¹³⁶ (fig. 37) However, as much as Dove's forms contain traces of reality to eyes accustomed to his work and to Twentieth-Century abstraction, in 1909-10 they appeared stripped of much more than they retained, and those traces would hardly have been apparent. Dove never sought to include these works in any of his many later exhibitions, suggesting that to him they were an act, a process, not a product. Dove had burned down the Victorian with its formal rooms and its gingerbread, but he needed to rebuild.

Presumably, if Dove had been wholly satisfied with these works, he would have continued working in the same vein. In the oils of 1909 or 1910 Dove had eliminated virtually all of what he had learned about making art. With the works that followed, he began to selectively reclaim the components of "picturing" that he deemed most useful.

¹³⁵ Dove to Arthur Jerome Eddy, published in Eddy, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, 1914, reproduced in Haskell, 1975, Appendix, np.

¹³⁶ Herbert R. Hartel, Jr., "What is the Subject of Arthur Dove's 'Abstraction No. 2' (1910-1911)?" *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, v. 31 no. 1 (Fall 1911): 37-42 discusses the source of Dove's imagery in "Abstraction No. 2."

While retaining his refusal visually “realistic” depiction, Dove’s pastels of 1911-12 reveal him carefully and deliberately using the artistic techniques he had mastered as an illustrator to give structure and definition to the edifice he was creating to replace his vanished Victorian.

Figuring 1910

While Dove is said to have briefly resumed illustrating after he returned from France, including one stint at a newspaper,¹³⁷ if he did find additional work, it was not in the journals he had appeared in previously, with rare exceptions. After 1908, Dove’s illustrations only appeared sporadically: in *Collier’s* in January 1909, finishing a run that had begun in November 1908; *Putnam’s and the Reader* in May 1909; *McClure’s* in May 1910; and *Harper’s Weekly* in March 1913. Presumably, the 1909 illustrations were done in Paris. After 1913, there do not appear to be any published illustrations until Dove rented a room in New York and resumed illustrating seriously in 1918. Given the abundance of Dove’s published illustration both before and after this period, its absence during these years may be the strongest argument that Dove sought to reject it as part of his artistic practice.

The only set of Dove illustrations for a work of fiction published after 1909 and before 1918 currently located was published in *McClure’s* in May 1910. “The Education of King Peter,” by Edgar Wallace, took Dove into new territory -- Africa and the depiction of Africans. While images of African-Americans appeared in American publications, Dove personally had had little to no occasion to portray people of African descent until

¹³⁷ Morgan, 1984, 15.

this commission. “The Education of King Peter” takes place in an unnamed African colony of Great Britain and attempts to be a poignant and slightly humorous tale of colonial administration. Dove had certainly never been to Africa. The *Musee d’Ethnographie du Trocadero* in Paris, if he visited it, was likely his most exposure to the dress and objects he depicted in these illustrations. The collection of illustrations that resulted from this commission is mixed between pen and ink character studies of the European characters, which stick to Dove’s most recent style and conventions, sensitive charcoal depictions of the nine year old King Peter and an elderly tribal spokesman, and somewhat more stereotyped depictions in heavy ink of the less sympathetic African characters. In this work Dove actually figures the characters differently depending on their described behavior. The characters who had been written as stereotypes he draws as stereotypes. The child who was written as thoughtfully trying to do an adult’s job he depicts as realistically as he can with pen and charcoal. Visually, next to the story, it is actually a little confusing, but it reveals how Dove’s figuring of a character was primarily dependent on his image of the character, rather than on a visual source for the character.

Abstraction 1911-12

Arthur Dove’s reputation as “America’s first abstract artist,” is based on the exhibition in 1912 of the pastels, later known as the Ten Commandments that he executed in 1911 and 1912, presumably in Westport. In the teens, Dove struggled to find balance: balance in his life, and balance in his art between picturing what he saw in

nature, and picturing what he understood of nature from within himself. Exploiting gentle geometric and organic forms, repetition, and vivid color, The Ten Commandments are his first public statement of his new balancing of nature and self. Shown in New York and Chicago, the pastels were widely reviewed and acknowledged as the most advanced statements of American art.

William Inness Homer's determination of Dove's Ten Commandments is generally accepted as *Movement No. 1*, (fig. 38) *Team of Horses*, *Nature Symbolized No. 1 (Roofs)*, *Nature Symbolized No. 2 (Wind on Hillside)*, *Nature Symbolized No. 3 (Steeple and Trees)*, *Plant Forms*, (Fig. 39) *Sails*, *Based on Leaf Forms and Spaces*, *Cow*, and *Calf*,¹³⁸ all dated 1911-12, except *Movement No. 1*, dated 1911. Originally, and throughout the 1910s, most of these pictures were exhibited with the titles *Nature Symbolized*, without distinction. The descriptors were added later.¹³⁹ The appellation, *Nature Symbolized*, indeed suggests that in these works, Dove was leaning more on visible nature, and a distillation of it, than on the non-visible aspects of the world that he would focus on later.

Materials further come to the forefront of Dove's work at this moment as he chooses to make his innovative abstract statement in pastel. Certainly, there was a history of substantial work in pastel in the first decade of the century and Dove almost certainly would have been familiar with Shinn's exhibited pastels of New York.¹⁴⁰ However, his expertise with the materials of illustration and his internalized

¹³⁸ Homer, 1980, 21-32.

¹³⁹ Morgan, 1984, 18.

¹⁴⁰ Yount, 91 and Wong, both discuss Shinn's creative use of pastel. Wong notes that by 1904 Shinn had annual exhibitions of drawings in crayon and pastel on 5th Avenue. Wong, 73.

understanding of the carrying power of materials for their physical and associative sympathies, also shaped his decision to work primarily in pastel in these works.

If the date of *Movement No. 1* as 1911 is accepted as suggesting that it predates all the others currently dated 1911-12, then following the exercise with the oil paints in the woods, Dove returns, ever so briefly, to the restricted means of charcoal drawing, with the addition of two shades of blue. The deep blue, in this case, is essentially used as a solid tone, with a lighter, brighter blue used as a sparse highlight, although it may also in places have formed a base layer under the darker blue. The dark shading that gives the image a three-dimensional quality is the relatively dense shading of charcoal illustration. *Movement No. 1* is only one step away from being a charcoal drawing.

Dove was clearly not inexperienced with oils at this point in his career, having exhibited oils at the Paris *Salon d'Automne*. Therefore, his decision to use pastel in this next group of works must have been deliberate. When he adds more color, as in the other nine pastels, he still restricts it, describing it to Samuel Kootz as three colors plus black and white.¹⁴¹ Dove described it to A.J. Eddy as discarding the “disorderly methods” of Impressionism with its “innumerable little facts,” seeking instead the “simple motif” in which a “few forms and a few colors sufficed for the creation of an object.”¹⁴² In choosing pastel, Dove capitalizes on the optically powdery, matte, not shiny finish of the dry medium. Locating Dove’s Ten Commandments in a longer personal history, not close to the beginning of his artistic development, but rather following nearly a decade of heavy illustrating work, presents another aspect to his choice of materials.

¹⁴¹ Samuel Kootz, *Modern American Painters* (Brewer & Warren, Inc., 1930) 37.

¹⁴² Agee, 2001, 430.

This new frame allows us to see that in addition to being a conscious choice to exploit the unique visual tactility of charcoal, the choice of pastel for these works was also a deliberate reclamation of the precision and linear strength of a drawn medium. Having eliminated all the conventions within which he used to work, the first thing Dove puts back is control: controlled color, controlled line, controlled structure. To get that control he turns to pastel. The controlling black line, the solid blocks of color, the shading effected with black charcoal applied in strokes with more or less space between them, even the white as a discrete color applied in lines not daubs, these are the tools of the illustrator.

While finish remained a theme in Dove's exploration of paint mediums throughout his career, implicating its importance even here, the choice to return to charcoal, plus restricted color, was for an illustrator, a return to drawing over painting, to concentrating on line and rigorous form. The images on which Dove based the Ten Commandments were by definition controlled and shaped by the media available to him. Picturing them with the materials of illustration (and some of the color of post-Impressionism), without the representational or narrative conventions of that medium, is a leap that allows Dove to visually structure and communicate the expansiveness of nature.

Illustration 1913: Mediums and Messages

Dove published one illustration in 1913. In that year, and only that year, George Bellows, Stuart Davis and John Sloan were regular contributors of full page, stand alone, illustrations for *Harper's Weekly*. By this time they were all regular contributors to

The Masses. Harper's art editor may have been trying to glean some currency from the hire.¹⁴³ In the week ending September 6, 1913 the headline page highlighted a note from the editors entitled, "Our Artists." It stands as a clear statement of the intentions of the editors in veering from past practices:

"One group of men who are doing much of the drawing on this paper, including Bellows, Davis, Sloan, Morgan and Cesare, represent the point of view that seeks not merely pleasantness or decorativeness or the suggestion of a sympathetic anecdote, but rather the sincere representation of life as seen by men of character, humor, and insight. Being artists, they seek their expression in drawing and composition, rather than in appeals to sympathies lying outside their art, but they always seek to express something and to express it truthfully."¹⁴⁴

In *Harper's*, Sloan continued his portrayals of contemporary life, though without the proletarian striving to which he would soon devote himself. Bellows, likewise, drew aspects of modern life in a style similar to the vigorous realism of his paintings. Davis, however, while depicting modern-life in his illustrations, used several "styles" all much more naturalistic than his geometric, abstracted mature style. Davis at this early point in his career was still working in a style influenced by Sloan. The fact that Dove was essentially hauled out of retirement from illustrating by an art editor who was simultaneously working with Sloan and his illustrators for *The Masses*, reinforces the extent to which, in 1913, he was still associated with them in the memories of the magazine establishment. Dove contributed just the one drawing, in March 1913,

¹⁴³ Robert Hunter, "The Rewards and Disappointments of the Ashcan School: The Early Career of Stuart Davis" in Sims, Lowery Stokes. *Stuart Davis American Painter*. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Abrams, 1991): 38.

¹⁴⁴ *Harper's Weekly* v.58 Saturday, September 6, 1913 get page

perhaps as a trial, perhaps to fill an emergency hole in his own budget. Indeed, this appears to have been Dove's final appearance in *Harper's*.

This illustration, to date his only located published illustration of the mid-teens, pictures a line of disheveled men dozing on a row of park benches obliviously, as the city bustles around them in the background. It is captioned "The Line of Least Resistance." (fig. 40) The caption may be interpreted as referring both to the path taken by his dozing subjects, and the artist's capitulation to the lure of illustration's paycheck and the persuasive powers of the esteemed art editor at *Harper's*. Under pressure, whether financial or persuasive, Dove's line of least resistance would have been to submit a illustration. Depending on the precise dates of the execution of his drawings for "The Education of King Peter," published in 1910, this may be the first illustration Dove created after his breakthrough abstractions of 1910 to 1912. Coming on the heels of his exhibition of pastels at 291 and The Thurber Gallery in Chicago in 1912, the narrative, naturalistic illustration must have felt like a capitulation. Formally, it appears almost completely unrelated to Dove's other artistic work of 1913, like the abstractions, *Pagan Philosophy*, and *Sentimental Music*. Only the weight of the black outline of the figures and the smooth curve of a tree, repeated in *Sentimental Music*, just barely suggest the same hand at work.

The caption, "The Line of Least Resistance," begs the question: to what? In 1913 New York City, the answer might be, to modernization, to increasing commercialization, to changing job opportunities, and as always, the pressures of family expectations. The late-middle-aged gentlemen figured sleeping on the bench have

opted out in their way; Dove in 1913 had opted not for the line of least resistance, but for a rather more difficult resistance, one in which the execution of this drawing is but a slight compromise. Dove's illustration of his own road not taken is a general declaration of intent, his intent to carve out a path that is neither fully ruled by the strictures of the modern city, nor ruined by them. In 1926, Dove wrote about why he left the city in 1922; this drawing from 1913 suggests his motives for leaving in 1910.

Lobel has noted that Sloan painted similar groups of "park benchers," in his painting *Recruiting in Union Square*, 1909 and numerous other works.¹⁴⁵ Dove may well have been familiar with Sloan's pictures, and with newspaper photographs reporting the phenomenon. This particular commission, for Dove as well as for the Editor, clearly aligned him with the Ashcan School. The men in the drawing are rendered in Dove's usual, evocative manner in predominantly heavy, solid blocks of darker grays. The most interesting visual aspect of this illustration is their contrast with the delicate, refined cityscape behind them. The diagonal of the park bench relative to the grid of the streets and the very specific patterning of rectangular and arched windows on the surrounding facades suggests a specific, rather than generic, location. The mid-toned grays of the facades, their rendering in tone rather than line, with a slight lack of focus, and the shading of the park trees further suggest that, in his absence from the city, Dove may have based his rendering of the city on a photograph. Dove's picturing of the scene, the imposition of the bedraggled group, very obviously drawn, on the pristine, seemingly photographed city, calls the viewer's attention to the hand of the

¹⁴⁵ Lobel, 128-138.

artist and the expressiveness of the drawn representation.¹⁴⁶ The discordant mediums, actual and implied, of drawing and photography also alert the viewer to the exclusion of the artistically rendered figures from the mirage of the perfectly ordered city, and the imposition of their raggedness on its refinement. The medium that Dove adapts to his own image, photography, carries information in two ways, both as its subject and intrinsically, as do all mediums. Borrowing the visual and pictorial appearance of photography, he also effectively appropriates both parcels of information: the look of a line of facades, and the intrinsic implication of truth.¹⁴⁷

In hindsight, too, Dove's drawing of a seemingly unaware group of society's less enfranchised, as his only magazine illustration of the mid-teens, potentially calls to mind his friend Paul Strand's street photographs of 1916. While Dove may have been associated with Sloan, Glackens and Shinn in the memories of New York City Art Editors, in Westport he associated with a different group of illustrators and writers. Charles Brooks, Van Wyck Brooks's son, and Sherwood Anderson are the most often cited of Dove's Westport acquaintances. Dove's illustration, like the illustrations by Sloan and Davis for *The Masses*, all without a fictional narrative as source material, assume the illustrator's role as newspaper reporter, and for the entirety of the twentieth century, caught in an ever changing exchange of purpose with photography. Mark Whalen has discussed Strand's 1916 photographs as a radical development in notions

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Dove appears to use this same picturing strategy in late 1923 in "Jibby Jones and the Anarchist," *The American Boy*, v. 25 no. 2 December 1923.

of public privacy and photographic responsibility, ethics, and artistic expression.¹⁴⁸

Strand's discomfort at photographing people unnoticed in public had years of precedent in the street sketches of the illustrators of the first decade of the century. The writers who coalesced around the Seven Arts in 1916 merged socially with commercial illustrators in Westport, and Dove remained in touch with many of them for years. Whalen discussion the photographic interest among the Seven Arts writers and photographers in capturing the moment of social exchange -- what Dove and illustrators had been doing for fiction, and in big street scenes for years. There was a whole illustrator society in Westport, perhaps this was really a mutual development. While the writers of Westport remain under serious scholarly discussion, some currently less well remembered figures may have been as significant in the ongoing discussions between the illustrators and the writers. In 1916, the popular and successful Henry Raleigh sold Dove the entire stock of his chicken farm for \$75¹⁴⁹ and Dove and Raleigh remained close long after Dove left Westport. These illustrators may have been helpful when Dove resumed looking for work in 1917-8.

Abstraction: 1913-1917

Dove's letter to Samuel Kootz is much quoted. In a part of the letter that is less often reiterated, Dove recognizes that his process is not primarily visual, "Feeling that the "first flash" of an idea gives its most vivid sensation. I am at present in some of the

¹⁴⁸ Mark Whalan. "The Majesty of the Moment: Sociality and Privacy in the Street Photography of Paul Strand," *American Art*, 25 (Summer 2011): .34-55.

¹⁴⁹ Morgan, 1988, 48.

paintings trying to put down the spirit of an idea as one would a bell. It is the form that the idea takes in the imagination rather than the form as it exists outside.”¹⁵⁰ The form the idea takes in the imagination, like the forms of the absent characters in fiction, remains the most important part of picturing for Dove even as he leaves figurative work behind.

Dove had several motifs and subjects that reappeared regularly in his work throughout the 1920s, 1930s and even into the 1940s. Most of them originated, for Dove, in his painted work. However, perhaps the first and most striking direct re-examination of a subject from his illustrating work comes in Dove’s 1912-13 pastel *Yachting*. (fig. 41) Not believed to be one of the Ten Commandments exhibited in 1912-13, *Yachting* is none-the-less similar in size, materials, and in the organic handling of form and composition to those pastels. If not executed at the same time, it was certainly done shortly after. It is well established that Dove was drawn to boats and the sea, but at this early point in his career he had not created many images of the water. While many of the pigments Dove used in *Yachting* are either identical or very closely related to those in pastels such as *Plant Forms*, c.1912 (fig. 39) and *Sails*, 1911-12, maybe even the same sticks of color, *Yachting*’s overall impression is both brighter and more colorful, and more reliant on contrasts of black and white. It is not primarily the dominant black, white, and red impression of the work, however, but the striking diagonal composition that suggests that in *Yachting*, Dove is looking back specifically to one of his earliest *Illustrated Sporting News* covers (fig. 42, detail) and reworking the

¹⁵⁰ Kootz, 38.

subject within the parameters of his current artistic development, so radical for 1912 America.

While the subject matter would naturally suggest some similarities in approach, the compositional similarities between the 1903 and 1912 images are striking, even if they are primarily reversed as in a mirror-image. While the direction of the diagonals in the compositions is reversed, Dove retains the black and white diagonals and a crimson red which is much purer and brighter than the red in his other pastels. In those works the red is toned down with brown to a more earth-toned hue. That sienna-red, also seen in Dove's cover for the *Illustrated Sporting News*, is still here, but the bright nautical red has a starring role. The lumpy, folded form at the bottom of the *Illustrated Sporting News* cover remains. In the 1912 pastel a pattern of black rectangles within a yellow wedge reads as a suggestion of cabin windows, but next to the 1903 composition, the black rectangles too closely echo the shapes of the boater's sleeves and dress to dismiss the idea that Dove had this illustration with him when he was making *Yachting*.

In the *Illustrated Sporting News* cover, Dove was clearly struggling with the depiction of movement and speed, even of flowing water. This set of covers had been an ambitious early undertaking, calling on a relatively inexperienced illustrator to create substantial cover images in three colors. Dove was obviously pushing himself with this work to create a radical composition, and to suggest multiple natural forces within the conventional vocabulary of 1903. This composition may have remained unresolved and unsatisfactory in the back of his mind for nearly a decade. However, in seeking to

picture the experience of yachting, rather than the sight of yachting, even Dove's 1903 illustration was dependent on his mission to depict the forces of nature that cannot be simply and visually apprehended. In the vocabulary of form he develops in his pastels of 1911-12, he discovers a means to revisit the subject and resolve it in a more personally satisfactory manner. The image Dove is seeking to depict remains the same; the "culturally and chronologically contingent cohort of ideas and hypotheses" has been radically altered.¹⁵¹ No longer working within the confines of the medium of early twentieth century illustration, with its attendant requirements of a degree of figural and spatial realism, and its historically shaped conventions for that representation, Dove has the freedom to re-picture his original conception, his image, through his new method of picturing and with new materials.

Dove's most important work of the teens was that which was most processed through his "ideas." The more Dove shaped what he saw, added to it, the more he pulled nature through himself before putting it on paper or canvas, the more relevant the work became for his future direction. In 1916, for *The Forum Exhibition* catalogue, Dove wrote, "I should like ... to give in form and color the reaction that plastic objects and sensations of light from within and without have reflected from my inner consciousness."¹⁵² By 1916, at least, Dove recognized that the important part of picturing, for him, was his *reaction* to the sensations of the world around him, not the

¹⁵¹ DeLue, 2015, 22.

¹⁵² *Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters*. Exhibition, Anderson Galleries, New York, 1916 quoted in Messinger, 2012, 106

precise play of light on a leaf. Dove remained, in the teens, an illustrator of language, a depicter of the essentially non-visible.

Materials, and specifically his mastery of charcoal, remained a critical control for Dove in the teens. With the exception of *Movement no. 1*, the works that constitute the Ten Commandments of 1911-12, while essentially non-representational, all have a sense of a horizon or an object in a space. When Dove returns to the all-over patterning and elimination of depth of *Movement no. 1*, two years later in 1913, in *Drawing (Sunrise II)* and *Pagan Philosophy* (fig. 43) he once again returns to charcoal alone or charcoal plus one color. For the *Illustrated Sporting News* in 1903, and *Times Magazine* in 1907 Dove used charcoal, plus white and red. In 1913 the choice of color varies, but remains restricted.

Even the lushness of *Sentimental Music*, 1913 (fig. 44) is achieved with black, white, brown, blue-gray, and a single, mid-value rose tone. Dove continued his black and white plus three pastel colors here, but the colors, certainly the brown and the blue, are very close to black and gray. In this composition the rose functions, not as solid color, but as part of the continuum of shades of gray, while adding warmth and suggesting the sentimentality of the title. Notably, in *Sentimental Music*, Dove continues his illustrator's exploitation of the formal qualities of various materials. For this pastel, Dove applied "an exceptionally thick and uneven layer" of the traditional pumice or marble dust, creating a "highly irregular, lumpy surface."¹⁵³ Freed from the burden of

¹⁵³ Rachel Mustalish in Messinger, 2011, 109.

reproduction, Dove extends his experiments into the three dimensional, as he would continue to do in some of his “music paintings” of the 1920s. Picturing music, sound waves, and the reaction sparked by them in his mind and body, Dove enhances the physicality of the established medium of pastel. This image is not created just in the mind, but also in the body, and in order to empathetically engage the body of the viewer, Dove activates the tactile qualities of his surface. Adding a textural component to the normally smooth medium of pastel, he strives to make the unheard music not only seen, but tangibly felt. The music itself, like his fictional protagonists, is absent. The artist has made a visual picture of that which previously had no physical form. By 1913, Dove had undoubtedly read Kandinsky, if at this point from the original German, and was aware of his synaesthetic theory.¹⁵⁴ Picturing a visual and physical image of an auditory phenomenon with innovatively manipulated artist’s materials, Dove virtually enacts Belting’s proposal of “a close and fundamental interrelation...of image, body, and medium in every attempt at picture-making.”¹⁵⁵ His process of receiving abstract, non-visible information and picturing it through his chosen medium and materials, parallels his process of illustration.

Dove’s surviving paintings in oil from the mid-teens are scant, and their dating is generally broad. In *Music*, the one painting typically dated to 1913, the same year as *Pagan Philosophy* and *Sentimental Music*, Dove’s palette is again restricted. While fan forms repeat from *Nature Symbolized No. 1*, *Roofs*, the vibrant color of that pastel is

¹⁵⁴ Messinger, 2011, 109 and Donna Cassidy, “Arthur Dove’s Music Paintings of the Jazz Age,” *The American Art Journal* v. 20 No. 1(1988): 11. Cassidy also discusses the influence of Francis Picabia’s 1913 music paintings on this work.

¹⁵⁵ Belting, 2011, 3.

entirely absent. Painted in black, brown, and a dull yellow-ochre, that almost suggests buff paper, this work seems to have explicitly removed the color of *Nature Symbolized No. 1* in order to explore the form, and the concentrated expression of a relatively monochrome image. The heaviness and darkness of the paint in *Music* additionally recalls Dove's 1906 work in oil for the Goron serial, intensely dramatic, moody work meant to be reproduced in black and white. It is as if, after years of illustrating, Dove pictured abstract concepts first with the dark and light contrast of that medium, before adding color.

In all of these works of 1913, Dove relies on the basic underpinning of an image that must do all of its artistic work, formal and communicative, with black, white and the shades in between them. Considering the vibrancy of some of the Ten Commandments, and *Yachting*, the actual lack of color in so much of Dove's surviving work of the mid-late teens is striking. Painting was more expensive and required a larger, sustained time commitment than charcoal, but Dove could have returned to his proficiency in pastels from the Ten Commandments. Instead, he continued his experiments in black and white.

Dove's art was always changing. Perhaps in looking for a way past the remarkable achievement of the Ten Commandments, he was drawn back to the more starkly expressive potential of black and white. Dove minimizes the variables in his composition, moving closer to the most basic tools of the illustrator, to allow himself to concentrate on the most essential aspects of his conception. He relies on the confident hand, techniques and skills he mastered as an illustrator to grant him the freedom to

quickly and flexibly capture his own ideas about abstraction and illusionistic space.

However, by transforming the content of his images so thoroughly, stepping away from the description of incident and social interaction, Dove has rendered those tools essentially unrecognizable.

In the mid-teens, presumably after completing most of the charcoals of 1911-13, Dove executed at least one painting that sought to merge the realistic details of illustration with his new methods. It seems that in a small oil painting now known as *Study in Still Life (Chinese Bowl)* and given the broad date of 1912-1916, (fig. 45) Dove decided to paint a traditional still-life from an arrangement of objects on a table. The abstracted shapes would do little to betray their origins and position in space were it not for the clear form of a tabletop, and the incongruously detailed objects behind the bowl of the title. The largest object, the book or large box, is decorated on the cover with a brusquely drawn and colored landscape which, while largely obscured by the forms in the foreground, clearly follows the Japanese print format Dove had used in *A Japanese Romance* a decade previously. The green foliage of a tree-top comes into the foreground from the right side, while a more delicate figure and distant barn, silo and fence, or even a lighthouse and beach, occupy the left. The rectangular object to the left borrows the language of Chinese brush and ink flower painting, reinforcing the notion that Dove was experimenting with including those signifiers of the Orient in his evocation of a Chinese bowl. The clash between the abstraction of the forms of the table and the bowl, and the details of the other objects suggest Dove was using two different modes of picturing. In the case of the bowl he was painting his idea of the bowl

in space. For the books and boxes in the background, he was painting the visible surface of the objects he had chosen and arranged, in order to include their cultural associations. While this may have been an attempt to reclaim some expressive utility from illustration, Dove apparently found this particular juxtaposition of two distinct modes of representation in different sections of the painting unsatisfactory, as he never repeated it. If Dove still had any notions that his future lay in painting what he saw around him, as it was, static, this painting surely disabused him of that idea.

There is no neat shift in Dove's art and life to correspond with the year 1920. His transition away from his life in Westport may be seen as beginning in late 1917 or early 1918 when he returned to living and illustrating in the city for six months of the year. However, there is some uncertainty about the dates of many of Dove's abstract charcoals of the teens. Most of his abstracted charcoals not affirmatively dated to 1913, are currently dated 1917-20. Other charcoals are sometimes placed earlier due to their compositional similarities with the Ten Commandments. The subject of his barn interiors implies that they were done in Westport, but that could have been anytime before late 1917, or summers thereafter. The handling of the charcoal in the *Barn Interiors*, and the level of detail and drawing in a few of them, such as *Barn Interior #3*, and *Gear* (fig. 46) are strikingly similar to Dove's illustrations from 1918. These charcoals may have preceded Dove's return to illustration, or they may have been Dove's summer time antidote to the constrictions of illustration.

Regardless of the precise sequence in which Dove executed his charcoals in the teens, they share a reliance on the illustrator's sensitivity to weights of gray and to line,

and a rejection of the illustrator's subjects and sentimentality. From his earliest days as an illustrator Dove used weights of gray to suggest "color" and provide variety and rhythm to his charcoal and pencil illustrations. His lithographs from 1908 in *McClure's* (fig. 32) are particularly sympathetic with the linear contrasts of the late teens barn interiors.

Viewing Dove's work of the teens in the context of his magazine publications of the previous decade we can also locate specific instances of Dove seeking inspiration, a jumping off point, in other images in the magazines. In 1908 shortly after Dove's Paris illustrations, *Collier's* published "The Edge of the Future in Science: Transportation and the Gyroscope: Louis Brennan's Mono-Rail Car," by Cleveland Moffett, illustrated by Andre Castaigne. (fig. 47) Castaigne's frontispiece, executed in charcoal and white like many of Dove's illustrations, appears to have made an impression on him; the basic structure of the composition and weight of the shading seem to reappear in Dove's work several years later in his charcoal *Abstraction Untitled*, (fig. 48) one of the few works Dove found time for while farming in Westport.

Both works, executed with the familiar materials of illustration, use repeating dark, charcoal arches that set off intense patches of light. The repeating lights emanating from the windows of the speeding train in Castaigne's illustration are echoed by the rectangular patches of light coming through the balcony of Dove's barn, as are the larger areas of light in the bottom half of the composition. One diagonal beam in Dove's barn, running from the middle of the drawing to the upper right, opposite the dominant direction of the roofs curvature precisely echoes another diagonal of light in

Castaigne's drawing. In the largest bright area of Dove's drawing, there even appears to be the suggestion of a faint trestle structure, suggestive of the structure of Castaigne's bridge.

While the compositions are unquestionably formally similar, they represent opposite ends of the past/future rural/urban dichotomy. Castaigne's depiction of speeding future technology within its mechanical, urban infrastructure seems to have pointed Dove towards an abstract use of similar forms even as he "represented" the most nostalgic artifact of rural America, the barn. In Dove's *Barn Interior*, the pattern of repeating lights piercing the darkness, their size, placement, the arching beams of the roof, and the sense of quiet enclosure suggest the interior of a Cathedral. Despite their similarities, it is harder to get that feeling from the speeding train of the Castaigne, until you notice that its arched bridge springs from the top cornice of a city building. With the arch and the lights of the train elevated into the sky, the imaginative conception of the transportation infrastructure creating the Cathedral of the future city does not seem so far-fetched, certainly it would not have been for Dove. In his own picturing, however, Dove has relocated the spiritual space of the Cathedral from the canyons of the city to an icon of rural work, paralleling his own physical move.

In Westport, Connecticut between 1911 and 1920, Arthur Dove created some of the most abstract, most "avant-garde" work made anywhere in that decade. He was able to create that work, in part, because he was not dependent on a visual source in the natural world. He had no predisposition to make pictures that solely conveyed

physical resemblance. The mental act of translation, of picturing more of the world than could be apprehended by sight alone, was practice and habit for him. In 1926, writing retrospectively about his decision to leave New York in 1921, Dove referred to himself as a “man of ideas, an inventor.” In the 1910s, Dove’s inventions were simultaneously conceptual, as he determined what to picture; formal, as he decided how to picture; and material, as he explored what stuff to use to picture. All three explorations were built on predispositions and skills he had developed as an illustrator. Transforming his life again in the 1920s, he took these inventions with him, and built on them.

Chapter 4: Illustrating and Abstraction in the 1920s Figuring the Individual/Picturing the Landscape

On paper, Dove returns to illustrating in 1918 much as he had left it: in *Collier's* magazine, drawing a humorous incident in Paris. However, Dove's understanding of his purpose and intention as an artist and creator had been thoroughly transformed. Almost a decade earlier, he had re-invented himself as an artist, creating and exhibiting non-figural, non-representational work that took the artist's relationship with nature and the world around him as its primary subject. It had been a difficult period, however, and his artistic production had been comparatively slight. He had barely illustrated, by choice. In the 1920s, then, Dove's illustrating and his avant-garde work coexist for the first time. At first, in the late teens, Dove is almost exclusively illustrating, a bit awkwardly at first, getting back in the game. Moving into the early 1920s, his illustrating jobs increase in number and complexity. At this point, he also begins his innovative artistic journey of the 1920s, creating new vocabularies of abstraction, new representations of pictorial space, and assemblages that redefine the act of portraiture. Counter intuitively, in these years Dove was often at his most innovative and creative in his avant-garde art while he was illustrating most heavily. While he maintained a strict emotional and mental division between his personal work and his commissioned work, the production was tightly interwoven. There are numerous points of intersection between the two mediums: formal, thematic, and conceptual. Some Dove must have been aware of; others perhaps not. This chapter will delineate the arc and scope of Dove's illustrating in these years, as this information has been previously unavailable. It

will also follow several thematic threads in the tapestry of Dove's total production, demonstrating specific linkages between the illustrations and the avant-garde work. Ultimately, it will examine how the conception of picturing that Dove formed as an illustrator and enlarged in his avant-garde work, of receiving abstract information in the form of narrative language, sound, sensation, even sight, before manifesting his constructed image on a sheet of paper or a piece of tin, is the foundation of all of his work of the 1920s, the illustrations and the abstractions.

The linkages between the illustrations and the avant-garde are many. Dove responds to the increasing expectations of art editors of the 1920s, and the increasing demands on his time, by using some of his illustrating as an experimental area. In these works, Dove uses his time spent illustrating to explore the picturing of space in the art of the last one hundred years, as he seeks a two-dimensional expression for his own unique understanding of space. He uses other drawings as the opportunity to inject a bit of himself into his commercial work, leaving markers of himself and his ideas for those in his audience who know him well enough to see them. As always, Dove exploits the physical qualities of the materials of illustrating to help communicate his reception of the text, his images, using different materials to contain and convey different moods and ideas. In the twenties this purposeful flexibility with materials that Dove had acquired as an illustrator pours over into his personal work, as he harnesses the intrinsic qualities of different materials to his own expression.

The Magazine Work: 1918-1928

Dove's work first reappeared in his old stomping ground of *Collier's* magazine (by then merged with *American Illustrated*, another of his past "employers") in the January 5, 1918 issue. By this time, it had become apparent to Dove that he could not support his art with farming¹⁵⁶ and he turned back to his old skill set. Perhaps he also hoped that illustrating would leave more time and energy for painting than the physically more rigorous farm work. While he stopped appearing regularly in *Collier's* in the middle of 1919, that year he picked up regular assignments from *The Century* and *The Country Gentleman*. In the late teens Dove's illustrating projects resemble those he completed before 1907 in complexity. As the twenties progress, the assignments he takes on are vastly more demanding, consistently requiring multiple figures and elaborate settings. In 1920 he began a long relationship with *The American Boy*, contributing between three and five illustrations to virtually every issue through 1924, and a few in 1925, in addition to providing several covers. In 1921 he added a regular appearance in *Life*, contributing approximately eighty-five drawings during the decade. His work appeared in at least ten issues of *Elks Magazine* between 1922 and 1928. He created at least four large and elaborate sets of illustrations for the popular *Pictorial Review* in 1924, and at least another nine before 1929.¹⁵⁷ Throughout the 1920s he had occasional assignments from other publications such as *Scribner's*, *Everybody's*, *Success*, and *Youth's Companion*. In 1926, Dove was present at the creation in Huntington of the

¹⁵⁶ In May 1917 Dove describes himself financially to Stieglitz as "in the last trench." Morgan, 1988, 54.

¹⁵⁷ Gallati proposes 13 stories in *Elks*, and at least 15 in *Pictorial Review*. p. 22, footnote 34.

yachting magazine *Fore An' Aft*, creating the covers the magazine used for the first eighteen months of its existence and a few interior drawings. Altogether, Dove had a full slate of illustrating work and a somewhat predictable, if sometimes small, stream of income.

After essentially a decade out of illustrating one has to wonder how much Dove's old connections in New York or his illustrator friends from Westport helped him get back into the illustrating world in 1918. Certainly his relationships with art editors would have been important. Even in the late 1920s, Dove made the rounds of the magazine offices on trips into the city, looking for commissions. Perhaps his friends were able to open some doors for him in his first year back. The Westport illustrator Henry Raleigh, who Dove remained friends with for many years, had work appearing in *Collier's* at least from late 1917 through 1919.¹⁵⁸ Clive Weed appeared in *Collier's* in 1918 and 1919. It is also suggestive that the story preceding Dove's in the June 1918 issue of *Collier's* was illustrated by William Glackens,¹⁵⁹ as was the story following Dove's that September. Dove and Glackens don't appear to have corresponded in the 1920s. However, their work had appeared together often in the past; perhaps their similar styles simply appealed to the same editors.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Morgan, 1988, 48.

¹⁵⁹ James B. Connolly, "Our Dauntless Destroyer Boys," *Collier's* v.61 (June 15, 1918): 8. All drawings signed Glackens but no credit line.

¹⁶⁰ When Dove stopped appearing regularly in *Collier's* in 1919, Raleigh, Weed, and Glackens remained. "Convers" Wyeth, later known as N.C. Wyeth then appears with a frequency once belonging to Dove.

Figuring Fiction: 1918-1919

After his prolonged absence from the illustrating world, Dove's first contribution to *Collier's* magazine since his return from France in 1909 was three illustrations in the January 5, 1918 issue for Veta Hurst's, "The Case of Uncle Marcel." He must have solicited the job and done the work in 1917.¹⁶¹ *Collier's* was a prestigious commission. The illustrators appearing in it regularly in these years are still considered some of the best of their day and the bottom of the cover of each issue read "more than a million every week." As noted previously, it is essentially impossible to be certain all of Dove's published illustrations from any period have been found; if *Collier's* was indeed Dove's first foray into illustration since the lone 1913 *Harper's* cartoon, it was an auspicious return.

Interestingly, "The Case of Uncle Marcel," takes place in Paris, suggesting that art editors are still associating Dove with his trip to France a decade before. (fig. 49) Dove's illustrations for this story, possibly his first in many years, feel ever so slightly experimental, as if Dove is striving to stretch and modernize his old style. His line and his shading is more angular than it had been or would be in the near future. In the first illustration a cafe tabletop projects out of the space from the bottom edge, and the hat of the woman who dominates the space is nearly cubist in its faceting. A great plume from the hat trails behind her. She is all points and angles, as "sharp" as they come. Body

¹⁶¹ According to Ann Lee Morgan, in the Fall of 1918 Dove returned to his old apartment in Manhattan for the winters and resumed illustrating full time. Dove may have completed the 1918 work from Westport. Morgan, 1984, 19.

language, and the style, tell the story of the encounter; she leans in to share a significant bit of rumor, her companion recoils stiffly. This drawing feels swiftly and roughly executed in heavy pencil or charcoal as if it were a reporter's sketch, an appropriate choice for a crime story. The following two drawings, more conventional in composition, seem a little more labored. Following his hiatus from illustrating, Dove must have felt the need to resharpen his illustrating line, which he had not really exercised in his charcoals of the previous years, and to update his style. As a result, Dove's illustrating "style" underwent a rapid shift in *Collier's* in 1918-19. At first, he tries several approaches, some of them looking back to the first glory days of illustration in the 1890s.

For the June issue Dove provided one drawing which is almost symbolist in feeling. (fig. 50) Delicately shaded with washes, the central figure, an almost Gibsonesque young lady, sits contemplating an escape from the boring Midwest, as she threatens to escape the page, her legs dangling outside the picture into the reader's space. Reminders of what she will leave behind surround her: the family home, almost ghostly in its blurred grey, recedes sharply at an angle to the left side; an upright but headless and armless statue, with a bit of Greek-like text on the base, stands in for her college years on the right side. The softening branches of a tree cut in from the top, almost gloomy in their dark patterning, and screen her vision from the future. The branches and their placement recall the composition of Japanese prints and Dove's work in *A Japanese Romance* from 1903 and "The Radical Judge."

By Summer 1918, with the immanence of the end of the war in the air, the magazine was dominated by war themed content, which persisted for several months after the armistice in November. The illustrations by Raleigh, Wallace Morgan, Gruger, and even Glackens in this period, reflected their wartime subjects and general gloom by utilizing more dark, heavy shading, than humorous, lively line. There is, of course, still some line work, by Dove and the others, but it is more stylized than when Dove left the commercial world.

However, Dove wasn't assigned war themed stories, rather illustrating lighthearted romance and "business stories," harking back to his early days at *Pearson's* and *Success*. In seeking to regain his bearings in the commercial market and keep his illustrations "up to date," however, Dove may well have surveyed the work of his friends and colleagues in the magazines.

By September, Dove had settled, at least temporarily, on a style that capitalizes upon and extends his experience with charcoal in the preceding decade. For his next several groups of illustrations, Dove used a heavier charcoal than he had used before the 1910s, not pen and ink. Trying to make the best of his need to work on others' projects rather than his own, Dove directed his experience and interest in creating expression with abstract gradations of dark and light towards his illustrations. This way of working may have been more natural and intuitive for him at this point, and being able to work this way may have softened the sense that illustration was entirely divorced from his main artistic project. Clearly, in this group of works, Dove's "avant-garde" practice, impacts his illustrations, if only in the vocabulary of medium and balance.

Picturing Nature: Thunderstorms

While Morgan has noted that Dove didn't really resume painting until 1921 despite his return to illustration in the late teens, this period between 1917 and 1920 when Dove resumed illustrating heavily, coincides with the dating given to some of the most abstract work of his early career. Charcoals like *Thunderstorm*, 1917-20 (fig. 51) and *#4 Creek*, ca. 1919 manifest a complete shift in point of view from the humorous illustration of gentleman farmers in a fix. It appears that while Dove was illustrating, for a fairly considerable amount of time, perhaps as long as two years, he continued drawing in his more "personal" avant-garde mode, before he returned to painting. He is not doing less illustrating in 1921 when he again begins painting. He may indeed be doing more. Thereafter, for the duration of the 1920s, Dove's illustrating and his painting, or "inventing" would occur either simultaneously, or in short, alternating bursts, interspersed with extended periods of necessary boat maintenance, and happy frame-making.

Dove did, however, make several large, abstract, charcoal drawings while he was predominantly illustrating. Only a few of these later became paintings. But in those few, Dove leaves clear remnants of his illustrator's strategies and his illustrator's materials in his abstractions. One of the constant points of interest in Dove's work is his use of media and materials that were unconventional in American art at the beginning of the twentieth century. This characteristic of Dove's artistic exploration is most often

attributed to an interest in dada and European assemblages¹⁶² and a focus on the visual tactility of some mediums. However, in looking at Dove's originals for his magazine illustrations alongside his abstract charcoals and his early metallic paintings, an additional source presents itself.

Dove's later charcoals, clearly executed after he resumed illustrating, such as *Mowing Machine*, 1921, and *Thunderstorm* (fig. 51) are on a tan paper and include significant highlights in white pencil. They have significantly higher internal contrast than most of his charcoals that are dated securely to the Westport years. The tan paper, charcoal and white pencil were, of course, the very same materials Dove used in the originals of the drawings he submitted to the magazines. It is entirely feasible to imagine Dove after a morning of figuring people and things for *Collier's* magazine, finding himself in a late afternoon New York summer thunderstorm and picking up his tools from his illustrations and a new sheet of paper from his pad in order to picture the storm. Sometime later, he transformed it into a painting. (fig. 52)

However, Dove's *Thunderstorm* is not, of course, a depiction of what the thunderstorm looks like. Even as an illustrator Dove was not in the habit of drawing precisely and primarily what he saw with his eyes, but rather what he perceived and shaped with his mind and his body. As Dove had rejected, in his art, the repetition of "innumerable little facts," *Thunderstorm* is not about depicting minute telling details. It is not about the randomness and chaos of a storm, but rather about processing and conveying the essential, most salient aspects of a thunderstorm over the water,

¹⁶² William Agee, "New York Dada, 1910-1930," in Thomas B. Hess and John Ashbery, ed. *The Avant-Garde*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1968: 105-113, p. 113.

simplified to an iconic set of signs that transcends visual observation. Dove's image reduces and simplifies the sights, sounds and feel of the storm to three or four iconic shapes. It rejects a terrestrial, landscape tradition even in its verticality, forcing a refocus on the connection between earth (sea, here) and sky. Borrowing the association of the vertical image with portraiture, *Thunderstorm* strives to create an iconic image of the lightning at its center. At this early date, the painting reveals the intersection of some of Dove's numerous ongoing interests: the sea, the transmission of light, electricity, sound, the timelessness of the instant. In depicting a storm over the water, Dove paints the light, but names the work after the sound.

The thunderstorm works exemplify the circularity in Belting's conception of image, medium, picture. Dove, in his body, his mind, has created an image of a thunderstorm. That image, apparently, is predominantly black and reflective light. He has created his image in the medial vocabulary of the illustrator. That image, and therefore, his final picture, is conditioned by that medium. Dove's thunderstorm drawing is in the materials of illustration, and those materials, in turn, have shaped the formation of the image. *Thunderstorm*, while adapting the illustrator's means, reveals Dove intention to replace the time and place specific details of illustration with the creation of universally communicative form.

The two thunderstorm works offer a nearly unique opportunity in Dove's production to track the translation of a charcoal drawing into a painting, and at a critical point in his artistic project, as he makes the transition from farmer to full-time illustrator to artist who also illustrates. In the 1921 oil and metallic paint on canvas *Thunderstorm*,

the dark black of the charcoal remains as black paint, as does the texture of the original charcoal feathering into the ground, as they would in so many of Dove's paintings of the next decades. The white pencil highlights, so prominent in many of Dove's larger illustrations, persist, indeed multiply, as white oil highlights within the silver metallic paint. Most notably, and most striking when the two works are seen next to each other,¹⁶³ the rough tan of the inexpensive illustrator's sketch paper retains its color, but acquires a sheen through Dove's use of metallic gold paint. The similarity in hue between the tan paper and the gold paint suggests that the paper may have been an inspiration for the metallic paint. If that was the case, if the tan paper is even slightly responsible for the gold paint, Dove has metaphorically transformed the proletarian dross of his workday drudgery into gold. The discovery of the utility of the metallic paint, leading to the use of the actual metal surface, was a significant step in Dove's exploration of the expressive potential of different mediums. In twentieth century art, choices made about surface are not necessarily superficial, especially for Dove.

The early 1920s

The first year of the new decade appears to have been a slow time for Dove's illustrating, with work published in *American Boy* and *Everybody's* in 1920. If this was by choice, Dove quickly decided that it was not a sustainable situation and began taking on more work in 1921. This was a tumultuous period for Dove. His father passed away, and the artist left his wife for Helen Torr. By the end of the year Dove and Torr were

¹⁶³ As in Agee, Balkan, Turner, 58-9.

living together on a houseboat on the Harlem River. In 1922 they upgraded to a large sail-boat, the Mona, and in 1924 they moored the boat near in Halesite, near the town of Huntington, on the North Shore of Long Island.

In *Terrible Honesty* Ann Douglas discusses the mid-1920's artists and writers love/hate relationship with New York City,¹⁶⁴ and Wanda Corn details that sentiment among the artists in contact with Stieglitz in the 1920s.¹⁶⁵ She determines that, "Their dilemma was how to be modern and antimodern simultaneously, or ... how to be cultural leaders of machine age America without succumbing to its perceived evils."¹⁶⁶ Dove himself consciously left Manhattan twice in his career: once in 1910 and again in 1921. Writing retrospectively in 1926 in *Fore An' Aft* about his decision to get out of Dodge in favor of a simpler life on the water, Dove described his recollection, five year later, of his motivations in 1921:

"Suppose for example that you were sitting on the top of a Fifth Avenue bus and had, say a hundred in cash, and out of the clear sky came the word "Boat."

Being a professional person, inventor, artist, or at any rate someone interested in something further than just the accumulation of money; would you proceed to pay seventy-five dollars a month for a room with a bath, or would you try to find some way of existing while you worked out your ideas. We will take it for granted that you care enough for your ideas to work for them; and do not care enough for steam heat, elevators, and landlords to work for them."¹⁶⁷

While Dove did not identify the moral hazards of the city as his motivation for leaving, as some artists did, he was in sync with his contemporaries in finding the

¹⁶⁴ Douglas, 24.

¹⁶⁵ Corn, 1999, 24.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Arthur Dove, "Before and After," *Fore An' Aft*. v. I (June 1926): 35.

expense of supporting a Manhattan existence a distraction from his “ideas.” Certainly, though, he had spent enough time living in the physical heart of Manhattan to mine his experience for the magazines, even while living on a boat off the shore of Long Island. Corn connects Dove’s assemblages and his jazz paintings to the dilemma of being simultaneously modern and anti-modern.¹⁶⁸ His illustrations, however, participated directly in one of the media being redefined in the 1920s as one of the “perceived evils.” Illustrating jokes for *Life*, and stories with contemporary themes for *Elks* and *Pictorial Review*, Dove was constantly engaged with the perceived dislocations and attendant humor of a culture in flux. Even on a boat in the Long Island Sound, Dove was immersed in reflecting and creating popular culture. As divided as his attention was, he may well have sought, consciously or unconsciously, to reconcile popular and advanced art in his work.

While life on the boat was ostensibly removed from land, in truth, in Huntington, Dove and Torr were very much connected, socially and physically, to their friends and to New York. They went into the town of Huntington frequently, sometimes twice a day, to shop, eat and see people. They could take the train into the city, see an exhibit or two, have lunch with Stieglitz and anyone else in the gallery, pick up a few things and be back in Huntington in half a day. They had visits on the boat from Stieglitz’s niece, Sue Davidson and her husband, from Dove’s old friend the illustrator Henry Raleigh, from the Van Wyck Brooks, and from local friends. Mail was twice a day, bringing letters from friends and family, and jobs from the magazines, and taking away the same. From

¹⁶⁸ Corn, 1999, 25.

mid-March through the beginning of Summer they were hard at work spiffing up the boat. Dove spent an enormous amount of time repainting all parts of the Mona, the engines, and the rowboats, every year. In the Winter he made plans for changing the masts or enlarging the cabin. From Torr's diaries it appears painting and illustration in the 1920s happened in bursts during quiet periods in boat maintenance. Turner has noted that in Geneva in the 1930s Dove had a consistent routine over the course of a year, going out for ideas part of year; painting part of year.¹⁶⁹ In Huntington, in the 1920s Dove doesn't have that regular routine yet. The day is shaped by the demands of the boat; illustrating gets done when they need money; and painting slips into the spaces in between.

Figuring the Self: 1922 and 1923: *Life*

Throughout the 1920s most of Dove's magazine work remained the illustration of fiction, in which the narrative dictated the subject. However, one significant job for him begun in January 1921 allowed him more leeway. In the pages of *Life* magazine, we see Dove address the changing role of women in society, prohibition, and commerce.

In 1905, Charles Dana Gibson, arguably one of the most popular illustrators of the first decades of the century, "retired" from illustrating and sailed for Europe to paint.¹⁷⁰ He returned in 1907 when a financial crisis affected his reserves and he resumed illustrating. In 1920, he purchased the humor magazine, *Life*, with the aid of a

¹⁶⁹ Turner in Agee, Balkan, Turner, 101.

¹⁷⁰ Lobel, 11.

few investors.¹⁷¹ In twelve years the name *Life* would be purchased by Mr. Conde Nast and the magazine with that name turned into an icon of American publishing and photography. In the 1920s, however, *Life* remained essentially a well-known black and white humor magazine, featuring an ever-modernizing stable of American illustrators. Each issue of *Life* under Gibson featured either a Gibson portrait, usually of an actress, or a humorous scene by Gibson, plus illustrated fiction and stand-alone illustrated jokes.

Between January 1921 and August 1928 **eighty-five** issues of *Life* included one or more captioned illustrations by Dove. *Life*'s motto during these years, on the masthead of every issue, was "Where there is Life, there's Hope." Dove must have felt some of this hope as he cashed his monthly check during these financially strained years. Gibson was in many ways the ultimate insider, an illustrator turned owner. His selection of Dove as a featured artist, and his continued patronage for seven years suggests the extent of Dove's reputation as an effective communicator within the community of illustrators. Having himself ventured into painting, Gibson must further have had an appreciation and respect for the compromise of the artist making his living as an illustrator.

Dove's illustrations for *Life* were visually some of the most refined, sometimes almost delicate of his illustration career to this point. This job was different from almost all of his other illustrating work in that rather than illustrating three or four moments in a narrative written by someone else, Dove was providing a single, stand-alone drawing with a witty caption. Dove was primarily given the captions, which he and Reds referred

¹⁷¹ Catherine A. Hastedt, "Charles Dana Gibson" in *American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920*, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 188: 135.

to as “jokes” in their diaries, by the editor, although at least by the late 1920s the diaries also contain “ideas for jokes” on endpapers. Dove may have conceived of this as a simpler assignment, but by not providing context, many of the “jokes” required more creative input from the artist. Others were as simple as finding an interesting way to depict two people talking to each other, which perhaps grew challenging with its repetition over time. Some of the jokes reflect a sense of humor so precisely tuned to the language and issues of the 1920s that they don’t quite click from a twenty-first century vantage point.

Dove lived outside Manhattan for most of the time he was drawing his cartoons for *Life*. While some of his illustrations for *Life*, especially in the late 1920s, expound on the divergence of understanding between city folk and country folk, the majority are decidedly urban in focus, reflecting the era’s idealization of the city, New York in particular.¹⁷² However, Dove was, in fact, on trend with the advanced artistic world in leaving the city. New York City in the 1920s was widely perceived by artists as providing essential, occasional inspiration and source material, a necessary place to socialize and do business, but also as too intense, too expensive and potentially too toxic.¹⁷³ With the exception of Stieglitz himself, all of the artists affiliated with him eventually choose to spend most of their time outside of Manhattan. Douglas has vividly reported the intense, hustling, and hurtling 1920s, breaking new ground in all mediums and all social conventions.¹⁷⁴ Dove may indeed have tried to escape that

¹⁷² Douglas, 13.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 24.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 18.

culture with his move to the boat. But his drawings for *Life* reveal him still engaged with popular culture and the popular humor used to defuse the sting of rapid change in the 1920s. The drawings then only allow us a peek into Dove's interpretations of contemporary culture, albeit, his thoughts on contemporary culture as he perceived they would be appreciated by the editor and audience of *Life*.

Stylistically, Dove's first three drawings for *Life* retain much of the depth and shadow of his earlier work, though they add considerable detail. As jokes, they establish some of the themes we will see over and over in Dove's contributions to the magazine: the first pokes gentle fun at the "grown-ups" busy with a youngster's new toy; in the next, two modern women discuss a romantic relationship; and in the third, a rude salesclerk gets his due. Along with the comedy of Prohibition and the sometimes baffling modernization of the city, the astuteness and innocence of children, the changing gender relations of the 1920s, and the vagaries of commerce, these themes show up over and over in Dove's drawings for *Life*.

In the July 27, 1922 issue of *Life* Dove took what may have been a generic joke and made it personal. (fig. 53) In the drawing, a woman on the right sits at an easel, a huge artist's palette in one hand, a brush working on a painting in the other. She glances over her shoulder at a man in tails standing confidently and imperiously behind her. Topcoat draped over one arm, he holds a small painting the reader cannot see, his stance wide and his nose in the air, with a squint through the monocle perched over one eye he turns toward the artist, "Why do you hang this picture upside down?" She replies, according to the caption, "I sold it that way."

The work on the artist's easel, which the reader **can** see, is unquestionably Dove's *Gear*, typically dated c.1922, (fig. 54) unique among his *oeuvre* in its inclusion in Stieglitz's oft-reproduced portrait of Dove of the same year. Dove's signature is at the bottom right, under the easel and the artist's forward shoe, taking ownership of the painting. While the far right wasn't an unusual spot for Dove's signature, his signature did appear in different spots in his illustrations, so it was a deliberate decision to position it as he did.

While Dove claims authorship of the painting, "figuring" himself in the drawing, he also uses the drawing to engage in the popular sport in the commercial press of simultaneously mocking the pretensions of the consumers of "high" art, and the avant-garde art itself, a focus at least since the days of the Independent Exhibitions of the Impressionists. Thus, within the established structure of a common "joke," Dove is able to express his personal frustration as an abstract artist at making a connection with his audience, as even willing patrons may not be entirely of the same mind as the artist, preferring the work hanging upside down. In 1922, Dove was only too aware of the many commercial compromises incumbent upon an artist seeking a financially viable career, and he directs the viewer to them here.

Gear has long been assumed to have been significant to the artist, and Stieglitz, in 1922 because of its inclusion in Dove's portrait by the photographer. Dove's choice to place it before the much larger audience of *Life* magazine, directing that audience to this particular work, further suggests the extent to which, at the time, he felt it represented an important direction in his work. However, with a few exceptions, this

kind of close up depiction of mechanical objects, related perhaps to the coincident close-up photography of his good friend Paul Strand, quickly dropped out of his painted work. While we will not see the artist or the gentleman holding the painting in Dove's illustrations again, a similar gentleman will resurface in his other work.

In the pages of *Life*, Dove continued to dabble in subjects that would reappear in his work for the next two decades.¹⁷⁵ Dove's cartoon for *Life* printed in the March 1, 1923 issue, (fig. 55) puts a clear generational stamp on the adoption of radio. He depicts a young boy, straddling a radio set, headphones on, having extended his radio wires to the top of each parent's twin bed frame. He exclaims, "What stupid parents! I wish they would stop snoring. I was just getting Havana." The child is drawn as an intrinsic component of his symmetrical radio setup, fully wired in, his body continuous with the receiver. A male ancestor's portrait hangs on the wall above the boy, a slight upturn in his lips perhaps indicating approval at the technological progress of his presumed grandson. The sleeping parents unintentionally interfere from atop the bedframes that make a perfect antenna. They provide the means, but only the child understands the potential for communication across vast distances, and his ability to channel sound directly into his mind. Dove has, perhaps, figured himself again, not visually, not his face, but metaphorically, with the innocence of a child, receiving the messages of the universe, his parents, having provided some of the means, now uncomprehending and a bit meddling. In this reading, the man in the oval frame, notably occupied unlike

¹⁷⁵ For discussions of Dove's work from the radio see: Donna Cassidy, *Painting the Musical City* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997): 92 and Parsons, Jennifer Settler, "Absence and Presence: Arthur Dove's Paintings 'From the Radio,'" *Archives of American Art*, 2012. www.aaa.si.edu/essay/jennifer-parsons

Dove's previous empty frames, would be Dove's Geneva friend and mentor, Newton Weatherly, who taught him to appreciate nature, and to paint. Dove has created a depiction, an overly literal depiction perhaps, of Belting's contention nearly a century later that "our bodies themselves operate as a living medium by processing, receiving, and transmitting images."¹⁷⁶ In *Collier's*, fifteen years earlier, Dove declared himself an artist in Paris; in *Life*, in 1923, Dove declares himself a receiver and transmitter of the invisible forces of the universe. In 1930 he would write to Stieglitz, "Just feel that a small "4 x 5" drawing this afternoon may open up the way to self-portraiture in painting which after all is what painting is."¹⁷⁷ In his drawings for the magazines, Dove inscribed a conception of himself as the subject of all his work, perhaps before he could consciously articulate the idea.

Figuring: American Boy

With his illustrations for *Collier's*, *The Country Gentleman*, and *The Century* in 1919, Dove had created work for the well-informed farmer and the urban sophisticate. In 1920, he added the kids as well. From the middle of 1920 through 1925, Dove had an extended and lucrative run of work in *American Boy*. Distinct from *The Boy Scouts of America Magazine*, *American Boy* was a large format monthly, featuring illustrated fiction, often serials, and small how-to articles. On the masthead, under the words "American Boy", it called itself, "The Biggest, Brightest, Best Magazine for Boys in All the World." Dove did a handful of covers for *American Boy*, most at the beginning of his

¹⁷⁶ Belting, 2011, 5.

¹⁷⁷ Morgan, 1988, 194.

time there, assuring that his presence as an illustrator in the magazine was announced. More significantly, he did approximately 170 illustrations for 55 stories in the magazine over five years. His illustrations appeared in virtually every issue from May 1920 through October 1924, and in four issues in 1925. Peet feels that these illustrations must have been Dove's favorites, as they were numerous and prominent in his sample book.¹⁷⁸ In *American Boy*, Dove continued his previously brief engagement with the American genre tradition of images of the adventures and exploits of children. He also vastly expanded his experience with the drawn landscape composition, as he increasingly created detailed and complicated environments for the children he depicted. In his last years at the magazine, the adventures of the boys he drew took them on tours of factories and into the city, allowing Dove to create industrial and urban architectural environments that clearly participated in the Precisionist impulses of the mid-1920s.

Dove's run at *American Boy* began in May 1920 with three illustrations for Joseph Kessel's story, "Baseball and Bonanza." Two of these first illustrations were relatively complicated, multi-figure, virtually slapstick compositions with a minimal landscape component, just a bare horizon line and a suggestion of a leafless tree or two. (fig. 56) While in *Collier's* from 1918-1919, Dove had cycled through several different "styles," some of them experiments in modernizing styles from the end of the nineteenth century, his work at *American Boy* is remarkable consistent, becoming more

¹⁷⁸ Peet, 78.

confident and complex, but sticking with a vigorously drawn and roughly shaded “style,” throughout his five years of illustrating for the magazine.

The June 1920 issue promptly featured Dove's first cover for the magazine, again a baseball illustration. (fig. 57) The similarity of the children's attire suggests this was done with the previous drawings, but had to be held for the cover the following month. Dove's four covers for *American Boy* consistently featured figures isolated on an empty background, reminiscent of Dove's first covers for *The Illustrated Sporting News*. They often project one or more of the figures into the reader's space by encroaching the drawing on the masthead, or text along the bottom edge of the magazine, in the classic manner of breaking the frame. While this baseball cover, and his last, featuring a skier, empathize with some of the anxiety of childhood sports, the other two are straightforward celebrations of good old American fun.

This first cover establishes the standard for Dove. It focuses on a pitcher, a batter, and the space between them. The pitcher is foregrounded to the left of the cover, almost stepping out of the magazine space, while the batter is in the upper right, his distance from the pitcher shown by his smaller size, his head just breaking the frame of the masthead, pushing the image out of the flat space of the cover. Both slightly bedraggled boys are coiled, awaiting the moment of action, their bodies echoing each other in opposing S curves, and Dove focuses our attention on their anxiety and their awkwardness. The batter, facing the viewer and the pitcher, is hunched in a reverse S, knees bent, back rounded, elbows up, bat low, anchored either by feet that are too big for his body or boots that are too big for his feet. Dove uses just four tiny marks, two

raised angled eyebrows, and two forehead furrows to indicate his highlight his nerves as he waits for the ball the pitcher is about to release. The pitcher is the embodiment of concentrated potential energy, ball clasped overhead, knees and elbows up, squinting with a slight grimace, ready to let the ball fly. His too loose pants are tied on tight with his belt, one elbow pops through a hole in his sleeve and in the force of the moment, one knee-sock has slumped around his ankle, while the other remains up tight. By contrast his glove looks much too small, perhaps a sensation with which his young viewers could identify. These are real boys playing in their street clothes, not an exclusive, polished, little league team. It is an accessible, not aspirational image. The pitcher's shadow is explicitly a formless scumble of paint. If it were not clearly stitched onto its owner's foot like Peter Pan's own shadow, it could be easily mistaken for a suggestion of pitching mound, a base, or just plain dirt. Consciously or not, this interjects of a tiny bit of abstraction into an already stylized image. In seeking to express the essence of boyhood sports, all coiled energy and nerves, Dove has turned back to the curved line of the nineteenth-century, disguised in the details of a contemporary game. The elasticity of the figures in this cover set the tone for much of Dove's coming work inside the magazine. Perhaps Dove observed a schoolyard game before making this picture and the baseball illustrations inside the magazine. However, the stylized, abstract figures of the boys, and the yawning, undefined space between them suggests that Dove's memory of playing baseball, the feel of it in the body and the mind, the batter's nerves in the face of the dynamics of the pitcher, was more important

to the artist than technicalities of anatomy and realism. Dove “figures” the children, but “pictures” the experience of the game.

American Boy and the American Landscape

Dove’s move into the landscape can be seen in his second serial in the magazine, illustrations for five installments of “Turkey Bowman” by Homer Croy. The Turkey Bowman serial was a classic, if sometimes humorous Western. Dove had illustrated Westerns before in *Times Magazine* in 1907, but had focused on the individuals in the stories. As Dove moves into the Turkey Bowman series, he begins to include more landscape, built and natural, in some of his drawings.

Cowboys and Indians

In picturing a dramatic moment in the October installment of “Turkey Bowman,” Dove seizes the opportunity to revisit the heavily shaded charcoal technique he had used in some illustrations before 1908 and in his work of the teens. He also chooses to picture his subject by creating an active sky like those that will repeat in his paintings throughout the late 1920s into the 1930s. Dove depicts the moment of sinking recognition that the prairie is on fire, with the implication that a battle is coming. The subject matter must have almost automatically suggested the medium. (fig. 58) Rather than depicting an interaction of a motley group as had many of his previous illustrations for Turkey Bowman, Dove places his figures against the larger landscape. The two figures in the illustration, while central, are small relative to the total composition, and

almost silhouettes against the smoky horizon. A dark cabin, echoing Dove's charcoal barns of the teens, pushes into the foreground, while a shape that we know from the story and it's opening illustration is a well, looks suspiciously like a gallows against the plumes of smoke and fleeing birds. Literally filled with smoke, the sky is made solid menace and foreboding, as Dove pictures the unseen threat. The sides of the cabin, streaked with light and dark, are a more rough hewn version of Dove's more abstract charcoals (figs. 46, 48) of the same period. The smoke wisps are soft but sinister, punctuated by barely perceptible highlights of flame that appear to have been created by a rubbing technique, as their parallel lines are too precise to have been done freehand. The smoke plumes borrow lightly from the whiplash line of Dove's youth, and foreshadow the return of organic lines and an activated sky to Dove's picturing. *Seagull Motif (Violet and Green)*, 1928 (fig. 59) is not so distantly related. Dove's prairie drawing is by no means the tight, geometric study of form that he was creating simultaneously in his avant-garde work around 1920, but it borrows the techniques and mood of those charcoals, while the subject gave him the freedom to experiment with a loose, more abstracted treatment.

For the November installment, Dove depicted the grand battle of the series: a melee of rifle wielding cavalrymen versus Native Americans wielding knives, and wearing little more than enormous feather headdresses in a rocky landscape. (fig. 60) While Dove had been depicting Native Americans throughout the serial, the challenge of the battle scene must have prompted him to seek inspiration and compositional guidance from the Nineteenth Century master, Eugene Delacroix. Dove's illustration

clearly adapts and compresses the composition of *The Death of Sardanapalus*, (fig. 61) a work whose theme was certainly as appropriate to Dove's subject as the composition. While the themes of the Delacroix are somewhat more complicated, the basic conflict of "natural" innocents versus an overpowering, "civilized," military, made for a logical equivalence of the two scenes.

Dove borrows the high on the left, low on the right diagonal composition, changing the setting from a bedroom to a rocky hillside and compressing it into an almost square frame. He also keeps the light pooling in the center, contrasting with the shadow of the bottom third of the composition. In Dove's drawing, the bright mound of Sardanapalus's knees under a sheet becomes the rocky hillside. Figures punctuate the diagonal of Dove's drawing at similar intervals to Delacroix's, the figures in both reaching across at the bottom right, and skyward at the top. Figures crowd in abruptly, cut off by the frame on the left in both. Delacroix's bejeweled white horse in the bottom left corner facing right into the center is replaced in Dove's illustration by the panicked horse of a stoic Native American. Dove's horse faces left out the image, but it is similarly about to meet its end, in the Dove at the hand of a man whose rifle points a diagonal to the upper right, as does the arm of the horse's executioner in the Delacroix.

Unlike the Delacroix, Dove's drawing has no naked women. It does have traditionally dressed Native Americans who presented Dove with the challenge of depicting more of the naked body than he was accustomed to revealing. In Dove's drawing, Delacroix's central grouping of a naked, brightly lit woman, about to be stabbed by a soldier, is transformed into a near naked Native American similarly about

be stabbed by a soldier, possibly with his own weapon. In *The American Boy* the soldier is in front of his victim, rather than behind, and the Native American attempts to defend himself, but the essence of the naked figure's form is the same. Dove may even have deliberately emphasized the connection, for those in the know, by including an upper arm cuff on this central figure, matching the one worn by the concubine in the Delacroix. In consolidating the composition, Dove moved this grouping into the spot where the dead concubine sprawled on Sardanapalus's bed in the Delacroix. The play of light and dark, the arrangement of figures, all borrow from Delacroix's composition. Dove must have been consciously adapting the structure of the composition to solve the problem of depicting a hand-to-hand battle of unevenly matched forces, a new subject for him. He may also have hoped that the form would carry with it the implied content of the picture, either through actual association by an audience familiar with the painting, or through the intrinsic form. Or perhaps Dove simply needed a tool in his own mind to form a fixed image of the battle, and turned to Delacroix's picture of a similar subject. In this instance, Dove pictures his subject through Delacroix's image.

With Dove's illustrations, it is essentially folly to declare anything a "first time," as so much may yet remain outside scholarly eyes, but it seems fair to say that Dove has not been obviously in the habit of adapting the compositions of known masterpieces so directly in his work prior to this. However, Dove's adaptive reuse of Delacroix's composition has at least two precedents within the traditional Academy. Copying from the masters was a long-standing methodology of the old Art Academies. Here, Dove adapts the practice to his own ends, adapting a composition that suits his purpose,

allowing him to study it experientially. This illustration in *American Boy* reveals that by the middle of 1920 at the latest, Dove was looking carefully at masterpieces of the not so distant past. Certainly, he made a deliberate and purposeful compositional study of the Delacroix. His precise replica of the composition suggests that he was working directly in front of the painting, or a reproduction, rather than from memory. As both versions of *The Death of Sardanapalus* were in private hands in these years, and while Dove was in France, he is likely to have done the drawing from a reproduction. In mid-1920 Dove was doing a little, but very little, non-illustrating work. Illustration, even in the early 1920s, is functioning for Dove as an alternative to the traditional academy, prompting Dove to carefully study works of the past that might have remained more casually in his background.

In addition, during the 1890s, lampooning or caricaturing, even reenacting, works exhibited in the Pennsylvania Academy's Annual Exhibition had been a vogue among the students, who even organized a parallel exhibit of spoofs for several years.¹⁷⁹ Dove may well have heard tales of these artistic exploits from Sloan or the other Philadelphians turned New Yorkers in the beginning of the century. The idea may have lingered until Turkey Bowman presented a compelling opportunity. While it does not seem to become a habit, this is also not the last time Dove would allude to other well-known works in his illustrations.

¹⁷⁹ Wendy Wick Reaves, *Celebrity Caricature* (New Haven: National Portrait Gallery in Association with Yale University Press, 1998): 30.

The Cross on the Hill

In 1906 in *Pearson's Magazine*, and beginning again with the second installment of Turkey Bowman in August 1920, (fig. 62) Dove's small town America is liberally sprinkled with telephone poles, some in crooked pairs, some marching in tipsy lines into the distance. They are rarely precisely straight and vertical, but clearly pull the towns out of the nineteenth-century, into a fragile twentieth-century of electric light and connectedness. From this point on, the utility poles will remain a repeated element in his work, in all mediums. Their constant repetition implies their significance to the artist. Dove's naming of "the few great ones," "Christ, Einstein, and Stieglitz,"¹⁸⁰ forces the question of the utility poles obvious formal similarity having any resonance to the cross for the artist. Indeed in "The Rose-Colored Cat," published several months after Turkey Bowman in the January 1921 issue of *American Boy*, (fig. 63) three utility poles cluster at the top left of the composition, directly over the heads of the main characters, looming over the town and a barren hillside. One of the poles, with only a single crossbeam and its attendant diagonal cables, has the exact form of a crucifix, even bowing forward organically in the middle. Dove must have found in the utility poles a conflicted reference to the abiding faith of small town America, America's new religion of progress and modernization, and the anticipated Judgement of that new religion. For Dove they are the road to the future and his *memento mori*.

¹⁸⁰ Morgan, 1988, 319.

Back to the Land

It is possible that tackling Delacroix's masterpiece further increased Dove's ambition for his drawings. Certainly, his illustrations in *American Boy*, beginning with Turkey Bowman and continuing through his next several stories, in 1921 and 1922 are increasingly complex compositions located in fully detailed environments. While Dove continues to do drawings that focus on groups of progressively more detailed figures with only a hint of their surroundings, the natural and built environment plays an ever-growing role, and by the middle of 1921 Dove starts creating some illustrations which position figures in a substantial landscape. It is notable that Dove's increasing attention to the landscape in these stories roughly coincides with his move to a houseboat in the Harlem River in 1921.¹⁸¹ With their detailed landscape or interior environments filling a full rectangular space and roughed in, brushwork like tone, these illustrations appear almost as drawings of paintings, rather than as drawings created as drawings. They read less as contextualized vignettes and more as traditional landscape painting.

Dove's extended series of illustrations for Ellis Parker Butler's Jibby Jones stories began running in June 1921, in an issue that also featured a Dove cover. The exploits of Jibby Jones and his gang, many of which were collected in two book volumes with Dove's illustrations, gave the artist the opportunity to reconnect with the rural countryside of his childhood. The boys clearly got around: Dove drew mountains, swamps, rivers, lakes, and waterfalls. After three years of "figuring" individuals for stories in *Collier's*, and even *The Country Gentleman*, Dove may well have relished the

¹⁸¹ Thanks to Elizabeth Hutton Turner for noticing this connection.

opportunity to get back into the soil and leaves that had been his earliest source of personal “ideas.” Perhaps, from his boat, Dove found inspiration in shorelines less developed than the city they surrounded. But the areas bisected by the Harlem River and the North Shore of Western Long Island where Dove and Torr sailed are notably lacking in the mountains, lakes and waterfalls that dominate Jibby Jones’ stomping ground. Dove must have found some of his images elsewhere. To “picture” Jibby Jones’s environment, Dove had to look to his own memories or to the pictures of others.

In some of these drawings for Jibby Jones, from 1921-24, Dove explores compositional structures from the history of landscape painting, and develops landscape motifs that will continue to be seen in his work through the 1930s. His explorations seem to have a purpose: after trying out a few pictures with academic perspective and a long view into a distant horizon in 1921 and early 1922, Dove begins to tighten up the pictorial space in his illustrations, almost pulling the background up to the surface of the picture plane. This is not to say that he rejects perspective or the idea of representing a three-dimensional space entirely, or in all of his drawings. In many pictures he continues to suggest interior spaces by placing furniture on an angle, or creates the impression of distance outdoors with a bit of atmospheric perspective. In others, however, he creates more ambiguous spaces, experimenting for himself with visually merging his personal perception of space with the conventions of representation in the magazines. These conventions were surely more flexible in the 1920s than they had been before The Armory Show, and Dove capitalizes on the presumed

sophistication and flexibility of his middle-class audience to gain for himself a bit of space in which to “picture” differently.

Early in 1921 in Dove draws a bedraggled swamp with a tree pulled down horizontal to the ground to provide a fishing perch, (fig. 64) and drawing of a boat with a gentle, vague atmospheric background. (fig. 65) The boat illustration is clearly Impressionist inspired in subject and composition, retaining the angled boat placement and slightly elevated viewpoint often seen in the French paintings, particularly when it is more interesting to see into a boat than look at its hull. At the end of 1921 for the January 1922 installment, “Jibby Jones’ Treasure Trove,” Dove draws a classic balanced landscape composition that rises dramatically on either side with a low horizon in the center, with trees on the right balancing the mountain on the left. (fig. 66) This picture would mimic the space of the grand American landscapes of Frederick Church and Albert Bierstadt were it not for the parade of townsfolk streaming along a line of utility poles towards the small group of figures seen from behind on a hill in the right foreground. The viewer is clearly meant to anticipate the onslaught of demanding humanity with the story’s main characters. Still, it remains a traditional, perspectival space. Dove uses essentially the same composition one or two more times in Jibby Jones, and then moves on. In July, for “Jibby Washington Jones,” (fig. 67) Dove sneaks in a little abstract patterning, depicting the mountainside in the middle-ground of the scene in jagged clusters of rough edged charcoal similar to that in *Drawing (Sunrise)*, 1913. The hatching ascends along a plain paper spine not unlike the vertical

spine in *Sentimental Music*. This drawing is a partial landscape, with a middle ground only on the right.

In the next installment, "Jibby Jones and the Scooter Cup" Dove creates a completely different landscape, (fig. 68) a heavily drawn, dark river scene, with buildings and boats shining light against the dark foliage and river bank, which shimmer with dappled light. The leisure scene, of toy boats being launched mid-river with adjacent waterside buildings, and the dappled light effects, inevitably call to mind Impressionist precedents, especially when the straw-hatted, white bearded gentleman in a boat sneaking in diagonally on the lower left is noted. However, the painting denies all depth and distance by crowding foliage, in a dappled dark-light pattern segmented by tree trunks up close to the river. The tree trunks in the center spring from mounded earth or rock, moving them higher on the picture surface. The landscape and foliage allow no sky or horizon, filling all the available space on the surface of the picture. The geometry of the clustered buildings on the shore, and the layering of boats behind each other give the only hints of spatial recession. Dove seems to have combined a post-Impressionist texture and approach to light with an early cubist massing of buildings and all-over patterning, as he explores the representation of actual space on a pictorial surface. He is also clearly using the illustration to work out an idea of the solid nature of space, its lack of emptiness and its adherence to the surface of the picture.

***Red Barge*, 1931**

Almost a decade later, in *Red Barge*, 1931 (fig. 69) Dove seems to have returned to this scene, simplifying it by removing the boats in the foreground and all of the people. What is left is a barge, its cabin on the right, the trees, a few shore buildings, some thin verticals associated with the buildings in the drawing, and no horizon. In the painting, the houses have moved from the left to the right and the picturing of the trees has evolved from Impressionist dappling into Dove's signature organic shapes of vibrating, growing "force lines," patterned in contrasts of dark and light. The geometry of the buildings is simplified to one-sided facades, further refusing three-dimensionality. The space in the water occupied in *American Boy* by the boys' sailboats and the canopied boat from which they launch them, is filled in the painting by the reflection of the barge and the landscape, in the water. A doubling of the back hull of the red barge, suggesting vertical movement in the painting, recalls the layering of boats on the left in the drawing. The contrast of dark and light, so dominant in the pencil drawing in *American Boy*, remains in the painting, even focusing the light similarly on the left side of the barge's cabin. Maybe Dove still had the original or the reproduced picture from Jibby Jones and it prompted him to revisit the composition. Maybe the original Jibby Jones illustration was based on a sight from Dove's experiences on the water, maybe even one he photographed. Published in August 1922, the drawing would have been submitted in May or June at the latest. Thus, it may well have been a scene spotted from Dove and Reds' first boat, on the Harlem River, or from their earliest

days on the Mona. By the time Dove painted it again, in 1931, it was a memory, perhaps jogged by glancing at the drawing, an “idea for painting.” The year before Dove had written to Stieglitz, “we keep on going, to find often that we are passing a tree that we marked some years back. These moving circles in which we walk are what we call work and thought.”¹⁸² This time, the barge near the shore is his marked tree, an “image” that Dove pictures twice, nine years apart, in different media, using different “material, cultural, and social contingencies,” two different “culturally and chronologically contingent cohort(s) of ideas and hypotheses.”¹⁸³ In one he creates a picture of a boat race for the editors and readers of “Jibby Jones and the Scooter Cup” in 1922, working within those parameters of realism, narrative, and reproducibility. In the other, he creates a picture for himself, one that takes the fully activated pictorial space from the drawing, but distills the image to its essential components, seeking to convey the growth and movement in nature through line, form, brushstroke and the dramatic contrasts of light and dark, warm and cool.

Dove was apparently scrutinizing all of European and American Art History for inspiration. By Spring 1923, Dove’s pictures the eerie swamp in *Jibby Jones and the Ghost* (fig. 70) through the lens of Albert Pinkham Ryder, adapting Ryder’s softer organic patterning of extreme dark and light to his own. Carrying its images and evocations in a generally restricted palette, Ryder’s work may have had an intuitive familiarity and appeal to an artist who spent a good part of his time drawing in black and white. Ryder’s contribution to Dove’s picturing would become publicly apparent several

¹⁸² Morgan, 1988, 199.

¹⁸³ DeLue, 22.

years later, in work such as *Waterfall*, 1925,¹⁸⁴ and *Clouds*, 1927 (fig. 72).¹⁸⁵ This sympathy with Ryder contributed to Duncan Phillips' crucial, initial, and sustained, support of Dove's work.¹⁸⁶

When generalizations are made, Dove is categorized as a painter of landscape based abstractions, as are his colleagues in the Second Stieglitz circle. However, with the exception of Dove's earliest paintings and pastels, the latest being the Ten Commandments from 1911-12, the vast majority of Dove's landscapes were painted after 1925. The landscapes that he did paint between 1907 and 1910 in New York City and France were essentially genteel, picturesque, and domesticated, following the conventions of nineteenth century landscape painting. His paintings of the early 1920s, such as *Gear*, (fig. 54) are overwhelmingly vertical, focused on tightly seen objects or the meeting of sky and sea at a prodigious moment. While Dove had delved into the interior of the forest around Geneva in 1910, and done some abstractions from the farm landscape in Westport, in *Jibby Jones* and *American Boy*, Dove addressed the American landscape in all of its wildness and diversity for the first time.

Dove's involved landscape work between 1920 and 1924 in *American Boy*, and his interiors in *Pictorial Review*, may be seen as a deliberate study of historical landscape representation, an exploration of ways of shaping the landscape and depicting pictorial space, within the confines of the narrative assignment. That process points the artist back to the broad landscape he had rejected as subject matter perhaps

¹⁸⁴ Turner, 1995, 16.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. and Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., and Carol Troyen. *The Lane Collection* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1983): ill. 12, np.

¹⁸⁶ Turner, 1995, 16.

as early as 1910, but certainly after 1912. Even when Dove returns to a more expansive landscape in his non-illustration work, he doesn't initially choose to address the landscape in paint. It is as if, even as he is becoming more and more technically adept and sophisticated in his landscape drawing for *American Boy*, he is determined to avoid the clichés of American Landscape Painting in his art.¹⁸⁷ Elizabeth Hutton Turner points out that Dove uses assemblage to find an acceptable personal solution to the representation of three dimensional space on a two dimensional surface (find this in Beth's lit) Indeed, it is not until his assemblage of *Huntington Harbor* in 1924 that Dove takes a step back to encompass a larger view.

Figuring (out) Pictorial Space: *A Bar at the Folie-Bergère*: 1924

Confronted with a need to need to move beyond picturesque space, even beyond Cubist space, it appears that Dove hit the books. One of the common subjects of *Life* magazine's jokes was misunderstandings between adults and children; puns, or plays on words often played a role in these exchanges. "Humorous" mocking of modern art styles also appeared periodically, but Dove only referenced modern art directly once or twice in his drawings. In the April 17, 1924 issue, however,¹⁸⁸ Dove snuck his own version of an up-to-date, American Bar at the Folies-Bergère into the pages of *Life* magazine, disguised as a soda counter. (fig.73)

¹⁸⁷ Thanks to Elizabeth Hutton Turner for this idea.

¹⁸⁸ This issue may well have arrived on the news-stands while the *Pictorial Review* for April 1924, with Dove's first work for that magazine for "Growing Pains," was still available.

In Dove's drawing, two figures face each other from opposite sides of a striated counter. As in Manet's painting (fig. 74), tall containers of beverages mark either end of the counter, a bowl of round food, fruit (or possibly bread), is just off center, next to a half-full glass placed in front of the customer. Just off center in the image, a model sailboat with vertically striated sails, hangs over their heads, taking the place of Manet's chandelier. The dominant reflective surface in Dove's drawing is not Manet's mirror, however, but the grid of mullioned storefront windows, that surround the counter, creating a virtual diagram of Manet's painting on the surface of the image. The square window panes inevitably recall the grid sometimes used by artists to enlarge or transfer a picture. In *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* the mirrors reflect not only the crowd, but also the white globe lights, sometimes perfectly round, sometimes not. Dove's windows do not obviously reflect any figures, the soda fountain customer may be alone, but they do contain numerous shapes that match up with the Manet.

To diagram Dove's diagram of the Manet, from the far right side: There is, at the top, and clearly behind the mullions, or through the glass, a black rectangle in the same position as the top hat in Manet's painting. The rectangle brushes the backwards script at the top of Dove's drawing, the sign for the store or an advertisement for its contents, also on the far side of the glass, corresponding to the reflected chandelier brushing the man's hat in the Manet. Just below the rectangle and a bit to the left, is a large gray oval, in the place of the head of the barmaid to the right in the Manet. Below both in the drawing, barely included in the space of the "illustration," is a scrawl of various weights of line that seems to make no sense at all; until it becomes obvious that it is a clear sign

for the assorted bottles arrayed on the right of the counter in *A Bar at the Folie-Bergère*.

To the left of the large oval is a thickened window support, a dark vertical taking the place of the woman on the right, under the reflection of the chandelier. As a structural component of the window framing, it may be seen as on both sides of the glass at the same time. One grid space to the left is perhaps the most ambiguous item in Dove's drawing: in the context of the 1920s it must be read as a reflection of the bar stool directly in front of it, but in reflection it has picked up a rather lumpy curvaceousness and horizontal alignment with the counter that simultaneously identifies it as Manet's footed compote of fruit, moved from the counter space, into the reflected space of the glass. Staying on the glass, two gray ovals hover under the boat/chandelier, which hangs in front of a thick column, in Dove's moved to the left from Manet's. Further to the left, there is another oval and another column, accounting for the same elements in the Manet.

Not to leave the mirror out entirely, Dove provides an oval mirror, only partly seen, behind the counter. Manet's marble counter parallels the picture plane. In the most significant switch from the original in this drawing, Dove angles his counter in traditional space as he had before in numerous counter scenes, providing a space for the counter's customer to take a seat, while making the scene accessible to his contemporary magazine audience and subtly obscuring its connection to *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*.

However, a glance at the 'barmaid' in Dove's drawing should have made the relationship with the Manet crystal clear to those with a knowledge of the French

painting. Dead center in Manet's painting is the dramatic expanse of the barmaid's white *decolletage*, framed in a low, square neckline that is extended by a generous trim of white lace. Dove modernizes the style but retains the color and shape, giving his barmaid a flared, square collar that exactly mimics the shape of Manet's neckline. Hatching on the barmaid's collar and blouse in the Dove hint at lace or embroidery, like that in the Manet, and tiny buttons run in a closely spaced line down both bodices. Manet's model wears a fitted, black velvet jacket over her white blouse: Dove's wears modern, fitted black suspenders. Both women wear hanging earrings, hold their arms symmetrically away from their sides, and fail to make eye contact with either the counter patron, or the viewer. Dove's barmaid is in a much better mood, however, laughing with her eyes squeezed shut at her exchange with her customer. In Manet's painting we don't see the customer, only his reflection: a mustached gentleman in a top hat and pointed collar, one hand extended to the barmaid. Dove's customer, a boy, maybe seven years old, wearing a sailor suit and beret, seated on a stool, points to the sailboat hanging from the ceiling, the other hand resting on the counter. He inquires, "How much for the boat?" She replies, "It's not for sale, sonny." He responds, "I won't sail it." The exchange remains unconsummated, there has been a misunderstanding, the goods are not for sale.¹⁸⁹

The pun at the heart of Dove's drawing draws our attention unavoidably to the role of text in the illustration, and in the context of an explicitly art historical exploration

¹⁸⁹ Ruth E. Iskin, "Selling, Seduction, and Soliciting the Eye: Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*," *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 77 no.1 (March 1995): pp. 25-44. Also, Carol Armstrong, "Counter, Mirror, Maid" in Bradford R. Collins, ed. *12 Views of Manet's Bar* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996): 25-47.

on Dove's part leads inevitably to the word play of Picasso and Braque in their high analytical cubist *papier-collés* and paintings. In this case, it is perhaps just a tip of the proverbial top hat, as Dove places what appears to be a mirror in a sturdy, wooden, oval frame behind the bar, and writes "MON" (not backward) on it. There is another vertical line to the right of the N, but it is cut off by the frame of the mirror. At the time Dove and Reds were, of course, living on their sailboat, MONA. In the name as written on the mirror, only the triangular, sail-like A is missing, the word completed by the actual A like sails of the toy sailboat presiding over the exchange. Following up on the idea of cubist (even surrealist) word play, if the missing A were to be reinserted imprecisely, perhaps over the O, which does have a rather suspicious sloppy tail, we have MAN, an obvious abbreviation of Manet, and perhaps a marker for the man who is missing from the scene, a reflection of the boy's future. Additionally, if we do reverse the lettering, because it is in a mirror, MON becomes NOM, the French word for name, making Dove's boat's name "A NAME," in combined English/French, backwards. Dove is once again, this time indirectly, figuring himself, his abode, perhaps even his new happy domestic situation, in the picture. He may even be making "a name" for himself.

Aside from the looping script on the window, the only other visible text in the image is the words LIME CRUSH (or SLUSH) on one of the large soda dispensers on the end of the counter on our left, where four bottles of champagne sit in the Manet. The soda dispenser, while excessively rotund, even echoes the bulbous corks on the champagne bottles with a round knob at the top.

In Manet's *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, the customer, even if he could not procure all of the objects of his desire, could at least, we assume, obtain a grown-up alcoholic beverage. In Dove's reinterpretation for *Life* magazine in 1924, four years into Prohibition, the gentleman customer has turned into a child in a sailor suit, playing at being a grown up, laughed at by the barmaid, who serves him a lime soda. Not only can the American "sailor," six years after The Great War, not get the girl, he can't even get a drink. In Dove's American version the bar customer is infantilized and emasculated. Dove's other "jokes" for *Life* about Prohibition stuck to old saws: the crooked Prohibition Bureau bureaucrat, the hard-drinking cop. In appropriating the composition, and with it the implied content of *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, Dove provides much more cutting commentary for those who recognize his reference.

Dove's seemingly innocent, yet subversive version of *A Bar at the Folie-Bergère* for *Life* additionally reveals that he was, in early 1924, making a careful study of one of the acknowledged masterpieces of spatial ambiguity in the recent Western past. In shaping his own exploration of the Manet, Dove intervenes in Manet's structure, shifting objects in pictorial space: for example, from on the counter to in the reflection, and from parallel to the picture plane to oblique. Additionally, he removes some of the figures populating Manet's painting, leaving reminders of their absence in markers on the reflective surface. In the case of the rectangular remainder of Manet's gentleman, Dove places that marker behind the glass in his own painting, rather than in the glass, suggesting possible readings in which the gentleman is indeed in the space behind a second counter, or in which his image has passed into and through the mirror. The

absence of the gentleman is balanced by the new presence of the boy, assuming his role as customer, in a spatial relationship to the counter that is clearly within the bounds of the medium of early twentieth-century American illustration. With all the remnants of the contents of Manet's painting concentrated on the right, the two figures, the scrawl of bottles on the bottom, it is as if Dove pivoted the picture in space along the center, leaving markers of the original figures and objects in their original locations in pictorial space on the right, while swinging them around to be newly embodied in 1920s America on the left. The space of the picture, far from being flat, is circular like the planet, spinning in space and time.

All Together Now: *Pictorial Review*: 1924 - 1928

In the middle of 1924, while still working steadily for *American Boy* and *Life*, Dove added *Pictorial Review* to his roster. *Pictorial Review* was also a large format magazine, thicker than *American Boy* at close to 200 pages per issue. The magazine sought to be the ultimate "Women's Magazine." Each issue contained four or five pieces of substantial and elaborately illustrated fiction by authors such as Edith Wharton, non-fiction articles on politics and current events, house plans, a few short columns related to efficient and effective home and child keeping, and a cut-out paper doll, or pop-up theatre for the kids. The articles had a decided feminist bent, urging women to participate in the political process and even start their own businesses. Practicing what it preached, the magazine used a significant number of women illustrators, as well as those who only used first initials. The second half of the magazine was pages and

pages of drawings of the latest fashions for women and children, with the patterns, of course, available for purchase for 5 cents each. There are no “character sketches” or suggestions of interiors in the illustrations in *Pictorial Review*. Touched with color, its illustrations were consistently highly detailed, lush evocations of the moment. The drawings Dove did for this magazine are among the most detailed in his career.

When Dove began these drawings, Torr was keeping her diary on the Mona. By the middle of 1924, Torr’s diaries regularly report, “A drew. I posed.”¹⁹⁰ Torr remained his most constant model for his illustrations. During the short bursts when Dove was illustrating most prolifically for multiple magazines they were working together every day -- in Torr’s diary the business of Dove’s illustrating takes on the feeling of a Mom & Pop enterprise. Dove and Torr had different roles; Torr often read the stories out loud, and she posed while Dove drew, but they were together. Between 1924 and 1928 Torr never noted anyone else posing for an illustration, while she often reported that she had posed for multiple figures for a drawing. She posed for the kids. She posed for the men.¹⁹¹ It seems likely that she had been posing for many of his figures since they began living on a boat in mid-1921. Dove may have sketched other people in town or guests, he may have reused faces from his drawings before 1910. On one occasion, Reds reported that he sketched office chairs while in Huntington.¹⁹² With Reds posing to give the basic form to virtually all of his figures, in the cabin of the boat, Dove obviously had to be creative with the details, supplying far more from the image in his mind than

¹⁹⁰ Torr Diary, November 20, 1924, AAA 1:52:8.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. June, 25, 1927, AAA 2:1:8; October 11, 1926, AAA 1:54:72; June 30, 1927, AAA 2:1:47.

¹⁹² Ibid. May 31, 1927, AAA 2:1:40.

an illustrator working with a collection of models and props. His figuring is based almost entirely on text and his sole model. Dove's *Pictorial Review* illustrations were so demanding that they reveal Dove pulling out everything he had in his illustration tool chest, technically and conceptually.

Torr's presence in all the figures in Dove's *Pictorial Review* drawings is best seen in their universally long, lean figures, and often undifferentiated features. Every one, man, woman and child, is tall and slender, and many of them, particularly the women, but even some of the men, look very similar to each other. A few distinctive physiognomies, either caught in town, in Dove's clippings file, or in memories of his past work, vouch for the reality of the scenes. In several works, Dove's empty frames of his years before France are populated: An elegant musician is framed neatly before an elaborately frame in her home (fig. 75), a performer, depicted in classic Poster Style on a advertisement, is ogled by a young man depicted in a much more angular, sketched style. (fig. 76) Artful lives are pictured with artful drawing.

There is little absence in *Pictorial Review*, and a significant amount of presence. Dove had always paid attention to the details of a coat or hat that denoted class, but in *Pictorial Review*, a magazine dedicated to selling fashion, his clothes are detailed, textural, and up to the minute. Torr reported bringing home copies with Dove's drawings in them; he must have used them to source the clothes for the next stories. The drawings of the fashions in the magazine showed them as if on mannequins, scattered over a page. Dove's drawings bring the mannequins to life, modeling fabulous, happy people, living fabulous lives, in fabulous clothes. (fig. 77) Dove still

uses the drawings for his own purposes, though. As in *American Boy*, Dove's visual representation of pictorial space is more compressed and daring in these pictures than one might expect in a popular magazine. His most robust interiors are crowded with repeating shapes made up of tied curtains, the leaves of giant house plants, and in one case, enormous violins painted on a stage curtain. (fig. 78) His floors, periodically composed of a black and white checkerboard pattern, a grid, tilt up sharply to meet the backgrounds. As in Dove's landscape paintings of the late twenties there is no empty space in these spaces. Perhaps that is not at all surprising for an artist drawing a jazz club from the cabin of his boat.

Chapter 5: The 1920s Part II: Picturing the Individual: Charting Pictorial Space

The late 1920s were one of the most vibrantly creative periods in Dove's career. Never content to let his work stagnate, in this period Dove expanded the boundaries of American art, tossing overboard limits on form and medium. This chapter will first examine how Dove's process of illustrating narrative fiction is transformed in his assemblage portraits of the middle of the decade. Next, it will explore the remarkable statement of artistic intention that Dove pictured on the cover of a local yachting magazine. Finally, it will explore how Dove's conception of himself as receiver, translator, and transmitter shaped his work at the end of the decade and beyond.

Picturing the Individual: Assemblage

The innovative assemblages that Dove created in the middle of the 1920s, primarily from 1924 through 1927, arguably constitute the artist's best known works, and are credited as being among the first works in American Art to incorporate non-traditional art materials for their associative content.¹⁹³ By contrast, his magazine illustrations from 1918 through the 1920s, are arguably his least known works. Between 1924 and 1926, Helen Torr wrote often that she read Dove a *Pictorial Review* story while he wrote notes for drawings.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, in 1924, the year Dove began working with non-traditional art materials, he was also collecting regular checks from *American Boy*, *Life*, *Success*, *Pictorial Review*, and *Elks*. He was illustrating as much as he had

¹⁹³ Dorothy R. Johnson, *Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage* (College Park: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1967).

¹⁹⁴ Torr Diary. For example: January 7, 1925; AAA 1:53:12;

in the lead up to his trip to Europe in 1907-08. While the assemblages of the mid-1920s at first glance seem little related to the illustrations, as they minimize the traditional mark made by the hand of the artist, they were created in a period when Dove was illustrating steadily and intensely. However, the process of translation by which Dove converted language, read or spoken, into depictions of fictional individuals, can be seen as the foundation of his conception of symbolic representation. In addition, the impact of Dove's immersion in mass cultural production for the six years prior to his first works in assemblage in 1924 cannot be negated.

Dove's assemblages may be roughly, and crudely, divided into two types. One type, primarily the "symbolic portraits," uses materials for their associative or literary content as well as their tactile or formal qualities. These exploit the associations and meanings of their materials in a witty, humorous way. The other group of assemblages, such as *Rain*, *Sea I*, *Sea II*, *Plaster and Cork* strive for a universality like that seen in Dove's paintings, and generally rely on the formal traits of the combined materials more heavily than on their social meanings.

The March 1924 issue of *American Boy* contained two of Dove's more unusual drawings for Jibby Jones: a moody, dark, precise charcoal, virtually a silhouette of the interior of a steel plant, with much greater attention to the architecture and machinery than the tiny cluster of figures on the tour (fig. 79), and a small sketch of a cube of ice full of hair pins (fig. 80). The focus of the steel plant image is clearly consistent with Dove's interest in modern technology and machinery, and in the subject matter, with the Precisionist subjects of the 1920s. The chunk of ice full of hair pins illustrates a simile;

the caption, pulled from the text reads, “That’s How I Felt--Like a Chunk of Ice Stuck Full of Wire Hairpins.” Rather than illustrate the scene, or boy with a stunned expression on his face, Dove sketched the chunk of ice full of bent wire hairpins. It may be the only illustration in all of his 170 drawings for *American Boy* not to include even a tiny figure. It just sits in the middle of a page of text, the ultimate improbable, ephemeral Dada object. For it to be published in the March issue, Dove must have submitted it in January or February of 1924, the same year he created his portrait of Alfred Stieglitz in steel wool, watch spring and photographic plate (fig.81), and began his sustained production of works in assemblage.

Dove had never previously opted to illustrate Jibby’s colorful language so directly. The chunk of ice full of hairpins certainly bolsters the argument made by William Agee, that Dove’s mindset on the cusp of undertaking his assemblages was predominantly influenced by dada.¹⁹⁵ The impact of dada and American Folk Art on Dove’s assemblages has been extensively explored.¹⁹⁶ Dove was obviously well read in the avant-garde art movements and theory of the day. He didn’t need Jibby Jones to introduce him to figurative language or object portraiture. Surely he was already familiar with Dada theory when he chose to picture Butler’s simile, his “figurative” description, “like a chunk of ice full of hair pins” instead of a boy with goosebumps. However, he had not previously ventured into dadaist or symbolic representation himself.

What that chunk of ice full of hairpins marks for Dove, then, is a shift in his conception of depiction from literal depiction, to symbolic depiction; from depicting a

¹⁹⁵ Agee, 1969

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. and Agee, 2001, 431-3, Johnson., 9-12.

person with a head, body, two arms and two legs, to depicting an idea of the person through objects or forms that represent them, through time, or in the moment: a block of ice full of hair pins, a lens and some steel wool, a scrap of sheet music and a nautical flag. The figurative language of Jibby Jones prompts Dove to remove the figure from his picture of the individual.

Drawing the chunk of ice stuck full of hairpins and discovering through it a way to reverse his process of depiction, was essentially a modernist act. The decision to submit it to the magazine was practically subversive. Dove obviously saw the potential in his new conception as he continued to work with it. The chuckle he must have gotten from having that drawing accepted and printed early in 1924, must have been additional encouragement to push forward with his inventions with actual physical non-traditional art materials later that same year.

Over the next two years, in his assemblages, Dove continued symbolically “picturing” people he actually knew, or had seen, with signs made from found materials, reversing the process of literally “figuring” fictional characters, previously only described in the abstract system of language. This was not a new concept in the art world. But for Dove it was a neat reversal of the operation he performed in his head in order to pay the bills. His choice to depict friends and acquaintances, in the case of the portraits, was actually a means of appropriating, of owning, the process of picturing the individual that he had been engaged in for 20 years, for a series of art editor patrons. That he reverses the conception of the depiction, removes it from accepted commercial practice, and makes it his own. The importance for Dove of removing the “figure” from the

picture, reversing the abstraction to figure equation, might also be seen by arranging his assemblage portraits by his degree of esteem for the subject. In these assemblages, Stieglitz, *Reds*, and his friends the Strands, even *Grandmother* are entirely without the slightest suggestion of a body, depicted with abstract collections of tactile signs, non-figural. *The Critic*, *Ralph Dusenberry*, and *Miss Woolworth*, however, retain a recognizable degree of figuration, not having ascended in Dove's image to the plane of pure, physically unencumbered existence.

The personalities inherent in the artist's materials had always been of the utmost importance for Dove. He routinely exploited their formal effects, alone or in combination, in the service of picturing his "image" or idea. Ink was fast and funny, charcoal was brooding and dramatic, metallic paint was ethereal. Previously, though, Dove's materials stayed within the accepted vocabulary of "artistic" materials, and allowing the image a stronger role in the picture.¹⁹⁷ In the assemblages, Dove makes clear that he is picturing a conceptual image of a person, perhaps evoking a signature physical characteristic, but essentially denying superficial figuration. His materials insist that he is not trying to make pictures that look like their subjects, or evoke their physical form.

The materials also, by virtue of their non-art, non-traditional, extraordinarily tactile nature, assert their presence and thereby the constructedness of the picture. Thus they emphatically insist upon the distinction between the image and the picturing. They not only force the viewer into a more active mental position vis-a-vis the picture,

¹⁹⁷ Belting, 2011, 16.

requiring a more active reconstruction of the image offered by the artist, they additionally insist on the empathetic participation of the viewer's body,¹⁹⁸ calling upon memories of the feel of the objects that compose the picture to effect that reconstruction. The actual physical sensation of the objects however, is presumably absent, forcing the viewer to contemplate the ability of the mind to recreate those sensations even in their absence. In insisting on this level of viewer participation, Dove commands for his work a level of attention above and beyond that demanded of the magazine reader who inspects the illustrations for "likeness" to his or her own mental image of the characters.

For Dove, the specific, personal assemblages he made in 1924-5 would have breached the hard line between the two worlds of popular culture and avant-garde art, giving him a tool for moving beyond figuration. Dove's drawings for *Life* and *Elks* from the early 1920s allowed him, indeed required him, to engage with popular culture and to indulge his sense of humor, even while he sought to express more profound and universal sentiments in works like *Thunderstorm*. In his assemblages Dove claimed as his own, subjects that he had addressed in his illustrations, but not in painting. Assemblage can be seen as an overt attempt to create a dialogue between these two worlds, using the materials, indeed detritus of "popular" culture to create work that, in the tradition of cubist collage/papier colle and dada juxtapositions.

While Dove never participated seriously in his drawings in the personal, individual caricature vogue of the early 1920s dominated within the Stieglitz orbit by

¹⁹⁸ Belting, 2005, 302.

Marius de Zayas.¹⁹⁹ His drawings did however pay similar attention to how you “sign” a “type” as opposed to an individual. In his illustration, Dove was attuned to the details of dress that quickly identified a character type to the reading public: the appropriate hat, the cut of a jacket or skirt, distinguished class, profession and generation in Dove’s drawings. In his assemblages, seeking to picture individuals or types in a way that revealed more than superficial appearance, he maintains that attention to the telling detail, transferring the content from the significant mark to the significant object or material.

In several of Dove’s assemblages, he specifically adapts a subject from his popular, commercial art and converts it into avant-garde art. Interestingly, after he addressed them in the assemblages, he did not touch those subjects in the avant-garde art again. Since 1903, Dove had been creating drawings focused on the personalities of individuals, their interactions with others, and the social structures in which they lived their lives. His paintings, pastels, and charcoals, had stayed rigorously in the world of the natural and built environment, with never a person to be seen. The assemblages of 1924-26 become his first and last attempt at a non-figural picturing of the personality, character, or social position of another individual.

The forms and content of Dove’s assemblage, *The Critic*, 1925 (fig. 82) can be directly traced to two of his illustrations, adding considerable nuance to our understanding of Dove’s intention with the work. The critic with his nose in the air in *Life* in 1922, (fig. 53) returns more acerbically in assemblage in 1925. In *Life*, the critic

¹⁹⁹ Reaves, 98.

pauses at the door, the coat still on his arm revealing his haste. In the assemblage he wears roller skates, with the same monocle and a top hat standing in for formal dress. In the *Life* drawing, the artist and the art had shared the limelight as independent figures with the visiting critic. Three years later, the artist has vanished, and the art has been transported off the easel onto the body of the critic, who sports a George Luks painting as Dove's similarly top hatted yearbook character had sported a sandwich board pleading, "Patronize our Ads," in the Hobart yearbook 25 years prior (fig. 1)²⁰⁰ The Luks painting is promoted as a commodity by the critic/salesman/sidewalk hustler, who begs for patronage, while idiomatically wearing "Art," on one sleeve, as it flies "off the cuff" of the other.

According to Douglas, the social transformation of the 1920s was dependent on dethroning the Victorian matron and her moral authority.²⁰¹ While Dove's assemblage, *Grandmother* gives no hint of hostility, Dove had spent much of the last three years illustrating jokes for *Life* which highlighted and poked gentle fun at the new social mores. By 1925 Dove was 45 years old; not a member of the youngest generation of adults enjoying the social liberation of the 1920s, whom he needled in his drawings, but hardly a Victorian. His *Grandmother* is a gentler depiction, a personal antidote to the extreme change seen in the generation Dove depicted in his drawings. Dove is clearly aware that the Victorian "grandmother" is a topic of interest, if not admiration, in his own time, and he depicts her more sympathetically than he could have for *Life* or *Elks*, where the present moment was always triumphant. Assemblage functioned not only as

²⁰⁰ Dove borrowed this composition in the yearbook from Phil May.

²⁰¹ Douglas, 22.

one of several peaks in Dove's creativity, but also provided him with creative space and an interlude in which to integrate all the things he had been doing on all levels and create a synthetic mode with which to move forward.

In 1925, the year in which Dove completed his portrait of Stieglitz, and *The Critic*, Dove's illustrations seem to have only continued to appear in *American Boy* and *Pictorial Review*. The journal kept by Torr in these years suggests that Dove worked on those assignments into February 1925, but not again until the last week of July 1925. In 1926, Dove was again illustrating steadily, and his illustration and assemblage took place simultaneously, interwoven through a week or even a day.

Charting Pictorial Space: *Fore An' Aft*

Perhaps the most personal of Dove's magazine illustrations were those he created in the Spring of 1926. In May 1926, William Atkin and Henry D. Bixby began publishing a magazine entitled *Fore An' Aft*, out of Huntington, NY, a barnacles throw from where Dove and Torr were docked at Halesite. In February 1926, Dove had gone into Huntington to consult Atkin about his plans to redo the mast and sail of the *Mona*, and according to Torr's diary, "Had a fine time."²⁰² Torr also noted that Dove paid Atkin \$5.00 "which he didn't want to take." In March, Atkin and his wife visited Dove and Torr to ask Dove to do a cover for the new magazine. They brought the lettering over the next day and Dove completed the cover, returning it to Atkin the following day with a

²⁰² Torr Diary. February 19, 1926 AAA 1:54:15.

letter for the engraver.²⁰³ Three weeks later the Atkins brought the covers back to Dove and he “put colors” on them.²⁰⁴ The magazine used Dove’s cover in a different color every month for the first year and a half of the magazine’s publication, through December 1927. Directly under the Contents heading in most issues was an effusive credit line: “The charm of the cover lies in the artistic genius of *Arthur Dove*, cruising man and artist.” (italics original)

Significantly, Dove did not illustrate the cover. Rather, he choose for the cover a navigation chart of a section of the North Shore of Long Island, further East than Huntington, but an area Dove had mentioned visiting by boat in his log.²⁰⁵ (figs. 83-85) The abstract patterning of the chart, composed of lines that map the depth of the water, follows the highly jagged and articulated coast. Their repeating undulations recall Dove’s use of repeated line, and the force lines of the Italian Futurists, perhaps reminding us that the original “force lines” were those involved in the creation of the very topography of our environment. Depth readings are sprinkled like sand, pitting the surface, and a segment of a compass is cropped in the upper right corner.

The map is itself simultaneously a drawn construct, a visual record of a system of measuring and taming the world, and a mariner’s tool, a mundane, everyday object Dove would have consulted whenever he moved the boat on which he lived. In fact, the journal book used by Helen Torr in 1925, contained maps of the world as an insert. While there is no map of the North Shore of Long Island, there is an insert of Hawaii,

²⁰³ Ibid. March 10-12, 1926 AAA 1:54:20.

²⁰⁴ Ibid. March 31- April 1, 1926 AAA 1:54:25.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. “A decided upon piece of chart” AAA 1:54:20. Dove and Torr took the boat through the area of the Long Island Sound pictured on the map in August 1925. Ibid., August 19, 1925, AAA 1:53: 36.

which shows up on the cover later. These are not nautical maps, and are thus distinct from the maps on Dove's covers, but they do suggest the proliferation of the printed map in Dove's environment in the mid-1920s. As a magazine cover, the map is therefore a found object in the tradition of Duchamp; Dove crops it, and colors it, and proffers it to the publisher, who happily accepts it.

As an image, the map, a piece of paper, Dove's choice for the cover, is a resolutely flat depiction of three-dimensional space. A depth chart is, in fact, an accepted historical system of notation for representing three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional surface, revealing what is beneath the surface of the water, rendering visible in pictorial space that which is invisible in actual space. Depth is marked on the chart not only through the sprinkling of numbers, but also through the repeating lines that delimit the drop-offs of the sea floor. A compass, of course, works by registering the earth's magnetic field, reaching around the globe to point to the earth's magnetic North Pole. Here, it directs the viewer's attention simultaneously to the continuous and enveloping magnetic field, unseen yet ever present in the never empty sky, and to the breadth and vastness of the spherical planet.

If, mentally shifting the image vertically in space, the cover is read, not as a map, but as a landscape with a horizon, as the mountain-like form of the coast suggests, then the sea becomes the equivalent of the sky, and the tiny numerical depth readings become stars falling to earth alongside a radiating moon. The indication of a road, the tidy lines of plot boundaries and straight rows of trees testify to the domestication of the landscape. In either view, the repeated lines along the edge of the land present a

precise visual analog of Dove's own system of picturing motion, growth and the invisible forces of nature with repeating layers of tonal color. Seen from this perspective, particularly in the deeper colors, the estuary that separates the peninsulas of land, becomes a craggy fissure in the earth, leaving space for things to grow, take root, before they erupt into the light, anticipating Dove's intensely biomorphic paintings of the mid-1930s. The rings of the compass moon precisely echo the celestial forms in Dove's paintings from before this work, until long after. Once seen, the two viewpoints continually switch back and forth, as in an optical illusion, calling attention to the role of the viewer in perceiving the picture, and again, as in his drawing from *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, suggesting the spherical continuity of space and time, now from below the surface of the ocean into the heavens.

At this particular moment in Dove's work, in 1926, however, there are no painted landscapes. Dove has not yet returned to the landscape based abstraction he discovered in 1911. All indications are that he did not do so in a sustained way until 1927, after his series of music paintings executed the following winter. He may alter a found chart to diagram his understanding of landscape space and its depiction, but it remains absent in his painted work. The choice of this section of the chart may also testify to and correct an additional absence in Dove's life; there is nothing remotely resembling the mountains of his native Geneva in the flat topography of Long Island. By lifting this distinctively articulated segment of coastline and transforming it into a mountain, Dove conflates his current home with the memory of his childhood home.

The navigational chart, as an object and an image, may have initially had resonance for Dove as a coinciding of his avowed big three: Jesus, Einstein, and Stieglitz. To a man of faith, science, and art, the chart pictures: God's creation; the scientific discovery and knowledge of that creation; and the making visible, re-presenting, "picturing" of that knowledge, on a piece of paper. In its appropriation of a non-art object, its reconception of the fluidity of actual space in pictorial space, and its making visible that which is invisible to the naked eye, the cover comes close to being the quintessential modern art object.

While it is not technically an "illustration" in the sense that it is not drawn, rather it was selected, arranged and colored by the artist, the cover of *Fore An' Aft*, is, by definition, a commissioned work on paper for an American periodical. It was also an extremely generous gesture. With this one work, Dove effectively exhibited and made available, to the public, for a year and a half, a clear statement of his conception of abstract landscape, his schematic of the relationship between Nature, God, Science, and Art, and his intentions for the future direction of his work. He put it all out there, on the news-stand; for 35 cents an issue, \$4.00 for the year, it could be yours; art for the masses. That same year, while these magazines were being sold, Dove had his first one person show since 1912 at Stieglitz's Intimate Gallery, and saw his work included in the International Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the *Societe Anonyme* at the Brooklyn Museum.

The chart's system for defining form and the concentric rings of the compass are echoed throughout Dove's work. His vibrantly colored painting *Sunrise*, 1924, painted

after several years of life on the water, with its radiating, roughly parallel bands, reaching out from the earth towards the moon on the right (fig. 86) may be closest in chronological proximity and in both conception and compositional and formal execution. In *Sunrise*, the celestial bodies have already taken on the banded quality that Dove must have recognized in the drawn compass, and which he used consistently in his paintings of moons, and suns for the next twenty years. (fig. 86) In 1929 in his watercolor, *Distraction*, lines radiate out from the sun like marks on the dial of the compass. *Naples Yellow Morning*, 1935, Dove's picturing of morning in Geneva, is just one of his works from the 1930s that formally revisits the image

The second issue of *Fore An' Aft*, for June 1926, published a reminiscence and guide to undertaking the boating life by Arthur Dove. It opened with his explanation, discussed previously, to acquire a boat and leave Manhattan in 1921, the better to devote his resources to his ideas instead of his landlord. The rest of the essay discusses, with some humor, the particulars of not losing all your money and time to shipyards and boat maintenance. Dove chose one point of his essay to illustrate, or added it to the essay in order to illustrate it, a quote from "an old sea captain friend," "If she leaks, leave one foot out of the bunk, and when you feel the water, wake up and bale 'er out." We must assume the accompanying illustration is a self-portrait, the artist asleep, grimacing in a pile of plaid blanket, one foot dangling through fringed bunk curtains to hover over a puddle that has not yet reached his toes. (fig. 87) The contrast with the cover could not be more pronounced. Dove figures himself in the magazine, trapped in a tidy box of conventional space.

The magazine contained numerous plans for boats, both the practical and the extravagant, and articles on boat building. Dove completed at least three drawings for the magazine during the second week of April.²⁰⁶ In virtually every issue for the first two years it was published, the first few pages of the magazine ran an illustration, which appears to be initialed “ad” in large lower-case letters, of three men working on the elevated framing of boat. The angle of the viewer to the structure of the boat, and the composition generally, is quite similar to Dove’s January 24, 1924 illustration for *Life*. Some of the framing, and the position of the figures has changed, but Dove’s earlier drawing was clearly a source for this recurring image. Maybe the first drawing had called him to the attention of the *Fore An’ Aft* publisher. Regardless, Dove here reworked an idea in illustration as he often did in his paintings. Within a few pages there was also, in most issues, a small, detailed “marine still-life,” an arrangement, seemingly hanging on a wall or from a ceiling, of a life ring, two different forms of anchors, a fish scale and numerous fishing floats. It calls to mind bait and tackle shop merchandising or a yacht club decoration. It is, however, in its own way, a collection of found objects, drawn at the same time Dove’s personal work was almost entirely sea-themed assemblages of found objects. This drawing, like another drawing of a man with a duffle that also repeated in the magazine, is initialed “ad.”

While most of Dove’s drawings for the magazine are signed “ad” without a credit, Dove is by no means anonymous in the magazine. On the contrary, the publisher tried valiantly, at least in the early months, to use Dove’s presumed renown to the advantage

²⁰⁶ Ibid. AAA 1:54:27.

of the magazine, first with the effusive credit for the cover on each table of contents. Additionally, in August 1926, the magazine tried out a new feature, "Famous Fore An' Afters" which devoted a full page to two sketches, the "fore" and "aft" of "Al" Roselle of Halesite, L.I.. These sketches were signed Arthur Dove and "agd," and the layout included a block of type in all capitals which read, "Above poses sketched by Arthur Dove at enormous expense to your publishers." Al Roselle was a steady friend of Dove and Torr in these years, appearing in Torr's diary to share a meal or a drink regularly from 1924-1926. The feature did not reappear, and the magazine remained devoted to fairly straight boat building news and features.

In effect, each issue of *Fore An' Aft* represented both the most conventional and "popular" aspect of Dove's work in illustrations of shipbuilding and shipboard life, and the most "elite" or esoteric in his designation of the topographic map as cover art. In this sense, it would have been a fitting way to wrap up the 1920s, but more commissions were still to come.

In March 1926 when Dove created the cover for *Fore An' Aft*, his work was in flux. A handful of assemblages, among them his two Huntington Harbor assemblages, done during the summer, his assemblage portrait of Reds, and one pastel, are all that definitively remains of his work from this year, which seems to have been dominated by assemblages focused around the sea, many now lost. When Dove began painting again in earnest in December 1926, he moved immediately into a period, not of landscape painting, but of near total abstraction with his music paintings; rendering

visible the experience created by invisible sound waves moving through space and body, as radar waves move through water.

Music Paintings

On November 29th, 1926 Dove and a friend finished installing electric light in the Mona. Torr was quite pleased. Dove worked on drawings for *Pictorial Review* for the next few days, including all afternoon on December 1st. That night, after supper, Dove “did handsome spirited “music” with almost everything in sight to Gershwin’s “Rhapsody in Blue.”²⁰⁷ The next day, he went back to the drawings. On December 6th Dove took the train to New York to deliver drawings to the *Pictorial Review* offices; on December 8th, he started “Sewing Machine.”²⁰⁸ For the rest of that Winter of 1926-27 and into the early Spring, Dove continued to create some of his most important and most discussed works. At the same time, he was illustrating constantly, often on the same day he worked on his assemblages or music paintings. For example, between January 8th and 10th, Helen reported “A painted big jazz, beautiful. I to Huntington to get Gershwin or Stravinsky records. Later I put on records and A did the things from them. I deposited *Life* checks (fig. 88) Letter from *Youth’s Companion*,” and “A did Gershwin ink ... story came from *Pictorial Review*. Read it aloud in evening.”²⁰⁹ The next day he started “An Orange Grove in California.” The rest of the winter proceeded similarly. To

²⁰⁷ Ibid. December 1, 1926, AAA 1:54:85. Dove’s music paintings have been extensively discussed in the Dove literature, for the music paintings specifically see: Cassidy, 1988 and 1987, Harry Cooper, “Arthur Dove Paints a Record,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Winter 2005): 70-7, Rachel Z. DeLue, “Arthur Dove, Painting, and Phonography,” *History and Technology*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (March 2011): 113-121. Judith Zilcher

²⁰⁸ Torr Diary. December 6-8, 1926, AAA 1:54:87.

²⁰⁹ Torr Diary. January 8-10, 1927, AAA 2:1:4.

read Torr's account, it was an intense and productive period, with both of them painting, and Torr reading stories out loud, and then posing, while Dove drew. Dove also made frames as they went along. He illustrated steadily through March 1927, for *Youth's Companion*, *Everybody's*, *Life*, and *Pictorial Review*, mailing drawings out on March 30th and April 4th.²¹⁰ On April 6th, he worked on "I'll Build a Stairway to Paradise." On April 24th Dove took all his paintings to Stieglitz. The music paintings of 1927 were complete. He continued illustrating for the rest of the Spring and Summer. Dove's illustrations and his music paintings, which he hastened to call "illustration" of music, could not be more formally different, but their creation was obviously far from mutually exclusive.

Dove's music paintings, of course, are the most obvious products of a mind and temperament conditioned to picturing the non-visible. Dove wrote to Stieglitz about *Rhapsody in Blue*, "I feel it will make people see that that the so-called "abstractions" are not abstract at all. ... It is an illustration."²¹¹ This quote is often read in its precise context to mean that the music paintings are illustrations of the sounds of the music and his emotional response to it.²¹² Taken even more broadly, however, and consistent with Dove's hopes that the painting will make people see "the so-called abstractions" differently, Dove could be suggesting that the abstractions are not abstract at all in that they are, rather, precise visual analogs of the effects of non-visual things, such as music, or electricity, or gravity, in the world and in the body. He means to picture not

²¹⁰ Ibid. March 30 – April 4, 1927, AAA 2:1:18-26.

²¹¹ Morgan, 1988, 129.

²¹² Cassidy, 1997, 85-6.

just a correspondence to the music, or his emotional response to the music, but to make visible and physically apprehensible the entire bodily experience of hearing and feeling the music, perhaps even of the song's extraction from the record and journey through the air to him.²¹³ The music paintings do not "abstract" from something, they make visible, "illustrate," something that was not previously visible, as his illustrations had for twenty-five years. Dove's inclusion of "almost everything in sight"²¹⁴ reinforces the idea that he intended the picture to provoke a tactile sympathy in the body.

By the late 1920s, through his assemblages, through his music paintings, through, I would argue, his experiments in *American Boy*, Manet's *A Bar at the Folie-Bergère*, and the cover of *Fore An' Aft*, Dove had expanded his conception of picturing to the depiction of the vast, unseen, invisible components of the space around him.

Virtually any of Dove's paintings from 1928-1933, *The Park*, 1927, *Seagull Motif (Violet and Green)*, 1928, *Fog Horns*, 1929 can be viewed as an example of Dove's desire to picture, for himself, and for his hoped for audience, his perception of the forces in the world that cannot be perceived visually in a single moment. Dove described his process in the teens as extraction, but essentially, it is an additive process. To the expected visual snapshot of a scene or an object at the moment, Dove adds his understanding, his conception, of movement through time, of sound traveling through space, of gravity effecting every molecule on earth simultaneously, of air as a solid through which all things leave a trail as they pass. In his mind, he forms all these

²¹³ Belting, 2005, 302.

²¹⁴ Torr Diary. December 1, 1926, AAA 1:54:85.

components into an image, his perception, his understanding of the place or thing, and that image, translated through paint or pastel, becomes the picture. His space is never empty. It is all filled with forces past, present and future. Simply looking at something and painting a picture of it is never enough for Dove. His training, his conditioning, his work for the first five years of his artistic career was of creating an image from the abstract input of language. As early as 1904 he perceived the expression of movement as a fundamental challenge. By the mid-1920s, after exposure to Kandinsky, Einstein, and Bergson, he has a clear understanding of his self-conception as a receiver, translator and picturer of the non-visible components of the world, natural and man-made.

The Late Illustrations: 1926-1930

In the late 1920s, Dove continued to stop by the magazine offices when he was in the city, either to see Stieglitz, or expressly to drop off finished drawings. However, demand for illustration was falling in the late 1920s, as it was replaced by photography, and the magazines more generally by other media. Dove remained perhaps more interested in his illustrating than he would admit; in May 1927 Torr noted that he was “working on new medium for ills.”²¹⁵ Ever experimenting with his materials, Dove continued to look for new ways to capture his images on paper, and keep his work fresh. Dove was never content for his art to stay the same for long. Maybe somehow these new materials nudged him towards his embrace of watercolor around this time.

²¹⁵ AAA May 23, 1927 2:1:38

Ann Lee Morgan has written that Dove's commissions for *Life* and other magazines eventually dropped off because his style had become ironically old-fashioned.²¹⁶ The viewer can begin to feel this just a little at the end of the decade in *Life* and *Pictorial Review* where some other illustrators begin to feature a more direct, linear, cartoonish, almost space age simplification. The delicate geometries of work by illustrators such as Al Held in *Life* and Erick Berry in *Pictorial Review* was more influenced by the 1920s vogue for the "stylish manipulation of line and form" of caricature²¹⁷ than were Dove's drawings. Dove did respond by sharpening his style in his last years as an illustrator. In the late 1920s, Dove's illustrating responds to the character of the story and the reputation of the individual magazines with nimble flexibility. His work for *Pictorial Review* and some of his drawings for *Scribner's* after 1926 is stylistically more "modern," stylized, and attenuated. (fig. 89) The look of the figures is more "upper class," even streamlined and Art Deco. Conversely, in "Tarnished" for *Scribner's* two crudely drawn bank robbers approach the bank with the same V-shaped stance as the cowboy criminals in shoot in *American Boy* several years before. The delicacy of his late figures may be partly dependent on their model: Torr did pose for virtually all of the figures in Dove's illustrations of the late 1920s, at least since 1924. Despite these tweaks, Dove's drawings were not as "mid-Century" in appearance as those of some other artists. However, while Dove's more detailed, nuanced and subtly expressive drawings do retain a connection to illustration from the beginning of the century, they had several imitators at this point. In fact, his illustrations

²¹⁶ Morgan, 1984, 22.

²¹⁷ Reaves, 12.

become more difficult to spot in a second's glance in *Pictorial Review* because of the other artists whose work so closely resembled his. The more "modern" illustrations still stand out in the late 1920s because they are the exception. It may well be that demand for Dove's work fell not simply because he was not "modern" enough, but because his drawings were no longer either cutting-edge or unique, his popularity had spawned enough imitators that he was no longer needed. There was no abrupt end to the work however, in a letter to Stieglitz from October 1929, shortly after Dove traveled to Westport following the sudden death of his first wife, Florence, he writes of an immanently due five part job from *Liberty*.

In the same letter to Stieglitz he writes, "The pure paintings seem to stand out from those related too closely to what the eye sees there. To choose between here and there--I should say here."²¹⁸ When Dove chooses to work not as the artist painting what he sees, there, but as the artist painting his understanding, his image, of all the sensory input available to him, inside himself, here, he is more satisfied with what he creates.

Looking Ahead

Dove began sketching in watercolor in 1928, just as his work illustrating was winding down a bit. Maybe he just couldn't stop drawing, and to free his drawing from the representational tightness and otherness of illustration he began to draw with watercolor (often started as pencil sketches). Maybe the pattern of alternately drawing and painting was too ingrained so Dove unknowingly transformed his previous practice

²¹⁸ Morgan, 1988, 180.

of drawing for someone else and painting for himself into one in which the drawing was also for him and his work. The impulse to process, to notate, his ideas by drawing them, never left his artistic practice. When Dove went out into the world looking for ideas for paintings, he and Torr referred to them as “ideas,” not scenes, not things.²¹⁹ Getting an idea was not as simple as seeing something interesting, Dove had to form an image from all the sensations of the moment. While some twentieth century artists sometimes began from an illustrational or naturalistic drawing and made it progressively more “abstract” in successive iterations, Dove did not work that way. Dove did not “extract” or “abstract” from his watercolors. The ideas he noted in watercolor while out and about were complete perceptions as they were being created. Dove simply selected which he felt would make paintings that best expressed his artistic goals and then he translated them to heavier paint mediums fairly faithfully. Some more representational images made the cut. Others did not.

It is easy to spot the representational remnants in Dove’s paintings of the early 1930s in boats or cars or dock equipment. But to limit the discussion of his experience illustrating to the visible residue of the representational conventions of that medium is to miss how his work as an illustrator actually shaped his freedom from the limits of the visible subject, and his understanding of himself as fabricator of a more complete picture of reality.

²¹⁹ AAA 2:1:72 September 5, 1927.

Conclusion

By the time Dove's illustrating commissions tapered off around 1930 he had been actively illustrating for almost twenty years. He had created almost one thousand works-on-paper for over two dozen popular American periodicals and a handful of books. He had garnished a substantial reputation as an illustrator, with a significant income to match; and had walked away from it to devote himself to avant-garde art; only to return to illustrating when finances demanded a steady source of income. As his reputation as an abstract, modern artist eclipsed his reputation as an illustrator, both in his lifetime and after, these figural illustrations were segregated from his artistic production, essentially disregarded. Gathering these pictures and re-integrating them with Dove's avant-garde work reveals that rather than being incidental to Dove's abstract project, his practice of illustrating created the technical and conceptual scaffolding upon which he built his abstract practice.

At its most basic and technical, the work of being an illustrator encouraged Dove to embrace strategies of line, modeling and composition, his own and those influenced by illustrators past and present, that continued through his artistic practice into the 1940s. Illustrating further required a pragmatic flexibility with artist's materials, which Dove embraced with enthusiasm. His internalized illustrator's desire to extract the most subtle nuances from his combination of pictorial materials stayed with him naturally throughout his career, as the combinations of charcoal, ink and gouache of the illustrator became the pastel, metallic paint, and wax emulsion of the painter. Through

his illustrating, Dove also acquired an appreciation of the intrinsic and associational qualities of materials, using ink to suggest speed, oil paint to suggest seriousness. This sensitivity to the carrying content of the materials with which pictures are made was crucial to his inventions in abstraction and assemblage in the 1920s.

Usually restricted in the subject of his illustrations by the narrative assignment, Dove nonetheless inserted components of his understanding of the world into his work. He pictured the spread of modernity and the persistence of faith repeatedly in his small town utility-pole crucifixes. Dove quite literally figured himself in his illustrations, from time-to-time. In Paris, as a part of a radio set, boxed in on his boat, Dove depicted his understanding of his position as an artist at critical junctures in his artistic development, inscribing himself as the subject of his art even before he could consciously articulate that conception. These declarations were simultaneously extraordinarily public, in large circulation magazines, and entirely hidden, as Dove did not make his identity in the picture known, even when he hinted at it. Other images from his illustrations were so significant to him that he returned to them in his avant-garde art many years later.

In the early 1920s, Dove used his illustrations to explore past artistic conventions for representing space pictorially, and for experimenting with his own conception of space, working out on paper what he would later commit to paint. By the mid-1920s he would diagram his conception of the spherical continuity of time and space inside, and on the covers of, the magazines.

However issues of line, material innovation, and the representation of pictorial space may inform our understanding of the particulars of Dove's artistic project and

come to bear specifically on individual works, the impact of illustrating on Dove's avant-garde practice is more-overarching and conceptual. Dove entered into the world of artistic work not as a portrait painter, not as a landscape painter, not as a sketch reporter for a newspaper. He entered the world of artistic creation primarily as an illustrator of fiction, summoning from the abstract system of language, and from within himself, the figural images with which to populate his pictures. Even when working from a model, Dove gave form on paper to an absent actor, an image that was at essence a joint invention of his mind, the author's text, and the visible conventions of illustration at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus conditioned by five years of making visible for the magazine reader his images of the absent characters and settings of narrative, Dove intuited a parallel process for his avant-garde art, making visible the ordinarily non-visible components of the natural world around him.

While Dove's abstract art from 1910 through the 1940s had many philosophical, artistic, and scientific influences, this process of apprehending and picturing the non-visible abstract components of the world brought them all together. Seen in the context of Dove's illustration, his portrait assemblages newly reveal themselves to be reversals of his usual process of figuration, as he pictures abstract, non-figural images of the very real people he holds in highest esteem. With the passage of time, Dove understood that his process had always been one of depicting his own perceptive and synthetic capacity: in his landscapes and music paintings, the artist shapes works that visually

and tactilely transmit his image of waves of sound and heat, growth, and magnetism, transformed through the artist's mind and body.

In the first years of the Twentieth Century, Arthur Dove arrived in New York City to try his hand as a professional illustrator. As the inky black lines and pools of the illustrator ebbed and flowed through his innovative abstract work over many years, his illustrator's process, of replacing visual absence with concrete presence,²²⁰ remained constant. Trained by his work as an illustrator to grasp and picture that which was not visibly apparent before him, America's first abstract artist left behind the shop-clerks and the gangly teenagers, to attend to the sun, the moon, the sea, and the self.

²²⁰ Belting, 2011, 6.

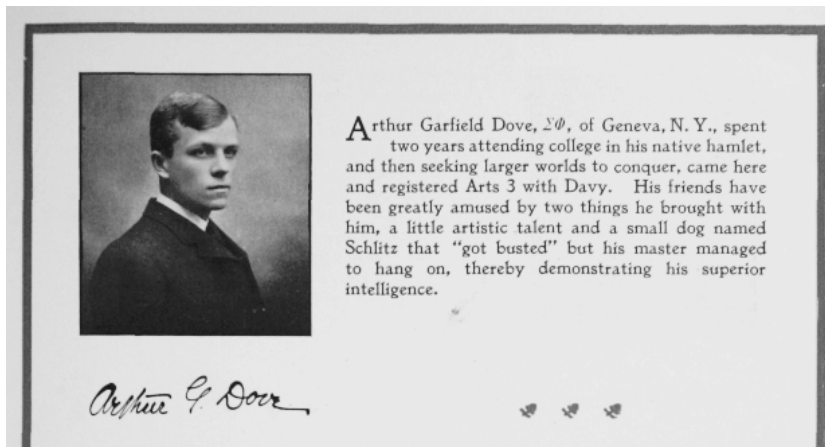
Figures



1. "Patronize our Ads," *Echo of the Seneca*, 1899, np.



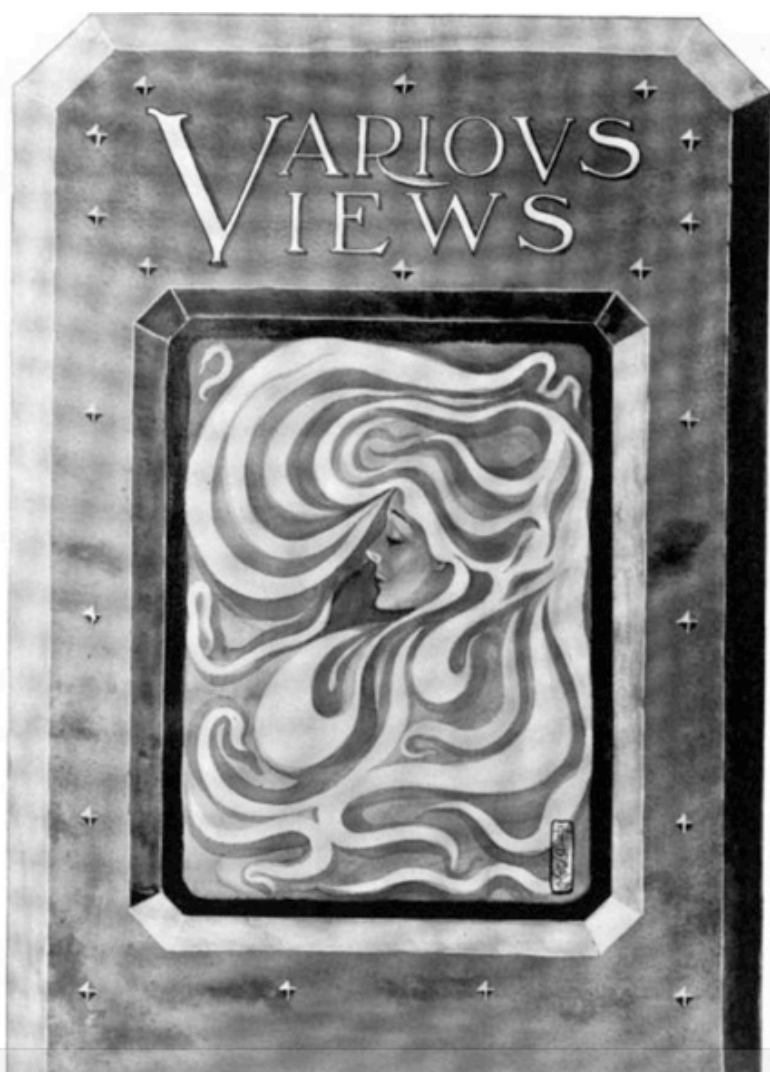
2. "Suits," by Philip William May, *Humorous Masterpieces: Pictures by Phil May* London: Gowan & Gray, Ltd, 1908.



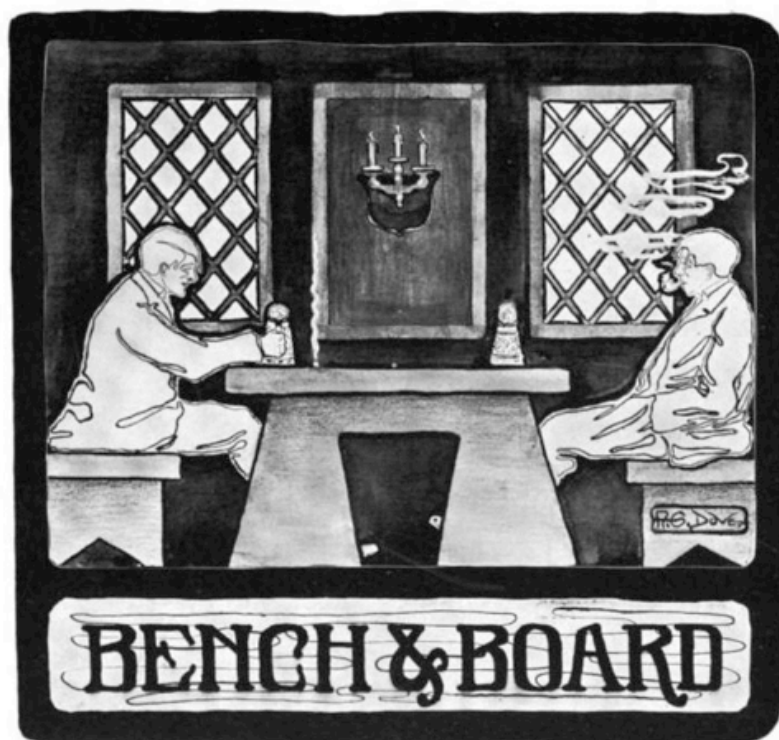
3. The 1903 Class Book, Cornell University, Cornell Digital Archives



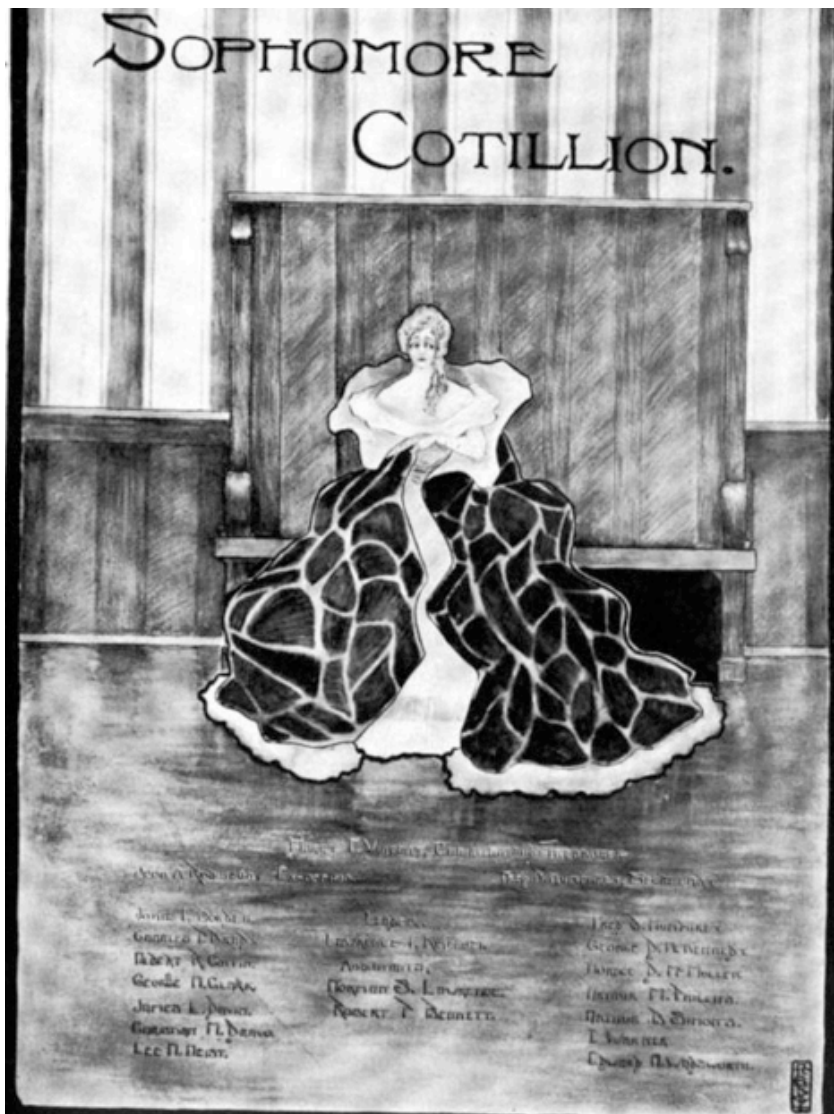
4. *The Cornelian*, V. 34 1902, p. 16



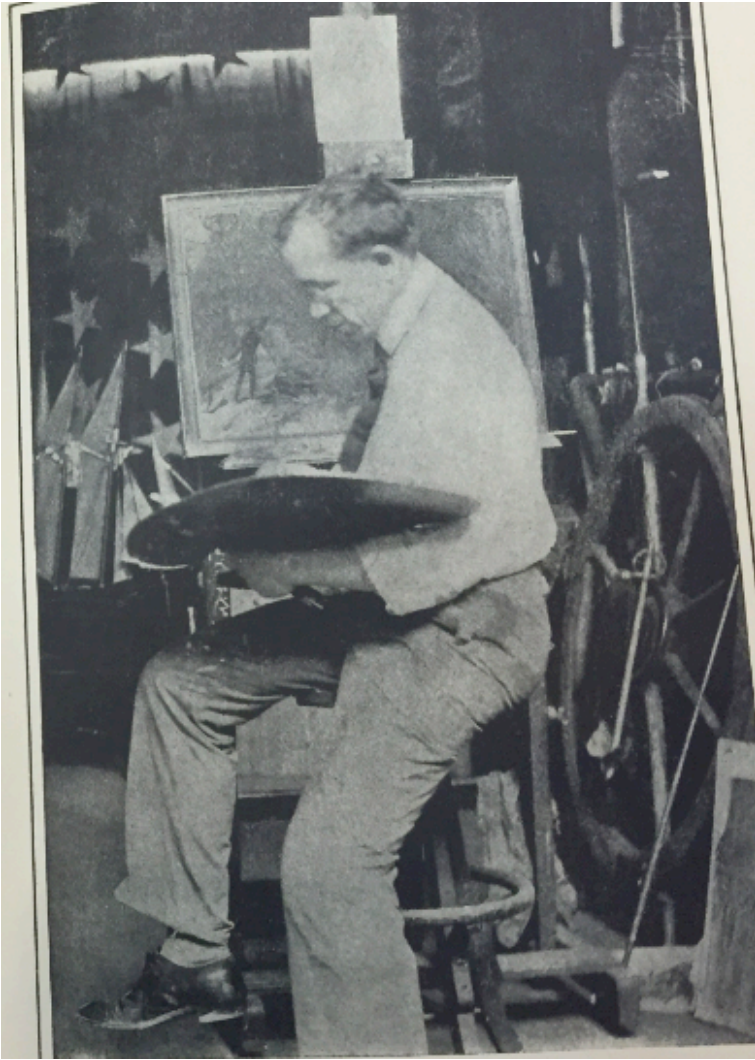
5. "Various Views," *The Cornelian* v. 34 1902, p.151.



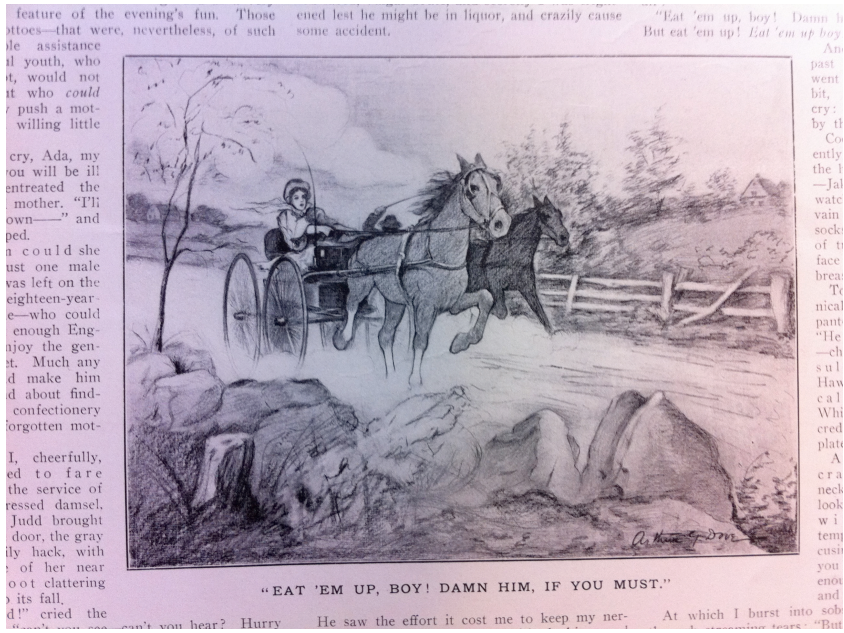
5. "Bench & Board," *The Cornellian*, v. 34 1902, p. 260.



6. "Sophomore Cotillion," *The Cornellian* v. 34, 1902, p. 309.



7. Henry Reuterdaahl, in American Art Association, Managers. *Catalogue of the Collier Collection*. (on exhibition Nov 1-8, 1905) The American Art Galleries, Madison Square South, New York copyright 1903 P.F Collier and son.



8. From "A Sin of My Youth," by Carla Morris, *Illustrated Sporting News* v2 no31 Dec 12, 1903 p.43



9. Cover, *Illustrated Sporting News*, v.2 no.32 Dec 18, 1903.



10. Cover, *Illustrated Sporting News*, v. 2 no. 34, January 2, 1904.



11. "The Irony of the Theatrical Season —Animals Win." *Illustrated Sporting News*, v.2 no.34, January 2, 1904: 12-13.



"TO SHOW HIM WHERE THE BEE HAD STUNG HER."

—Page 63.

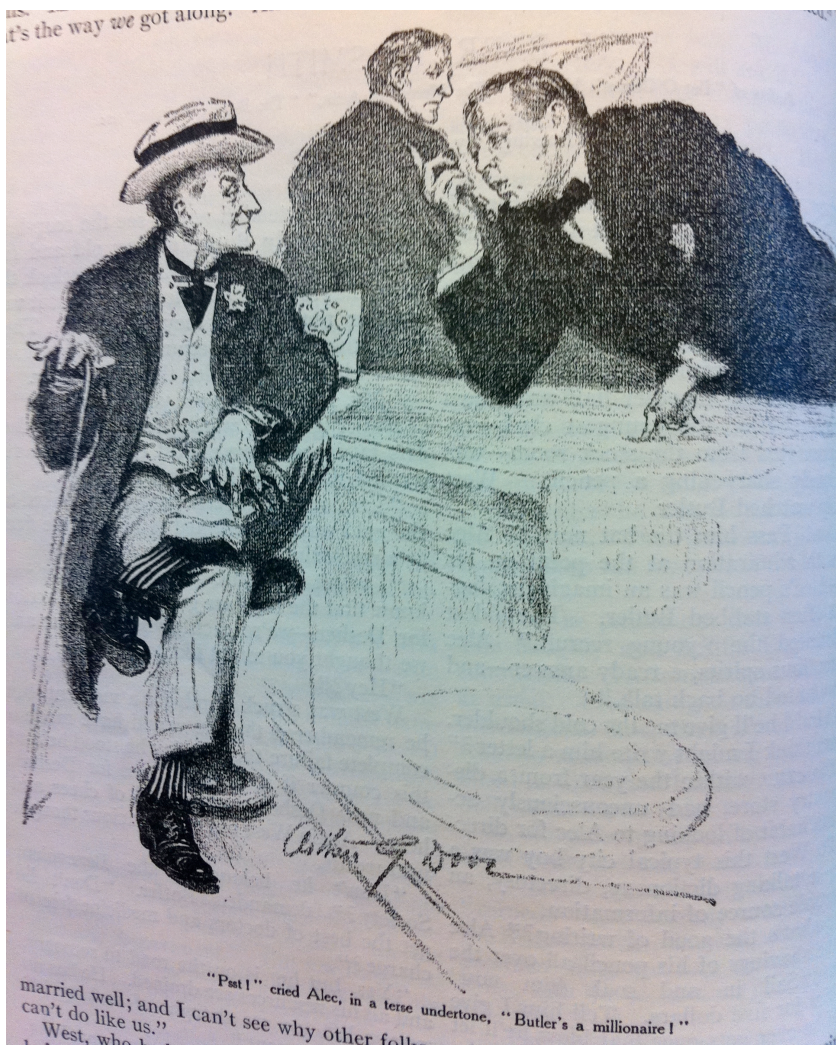
12. from Clive Holland, *A Japanese Romance*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1904:
Frontispiece



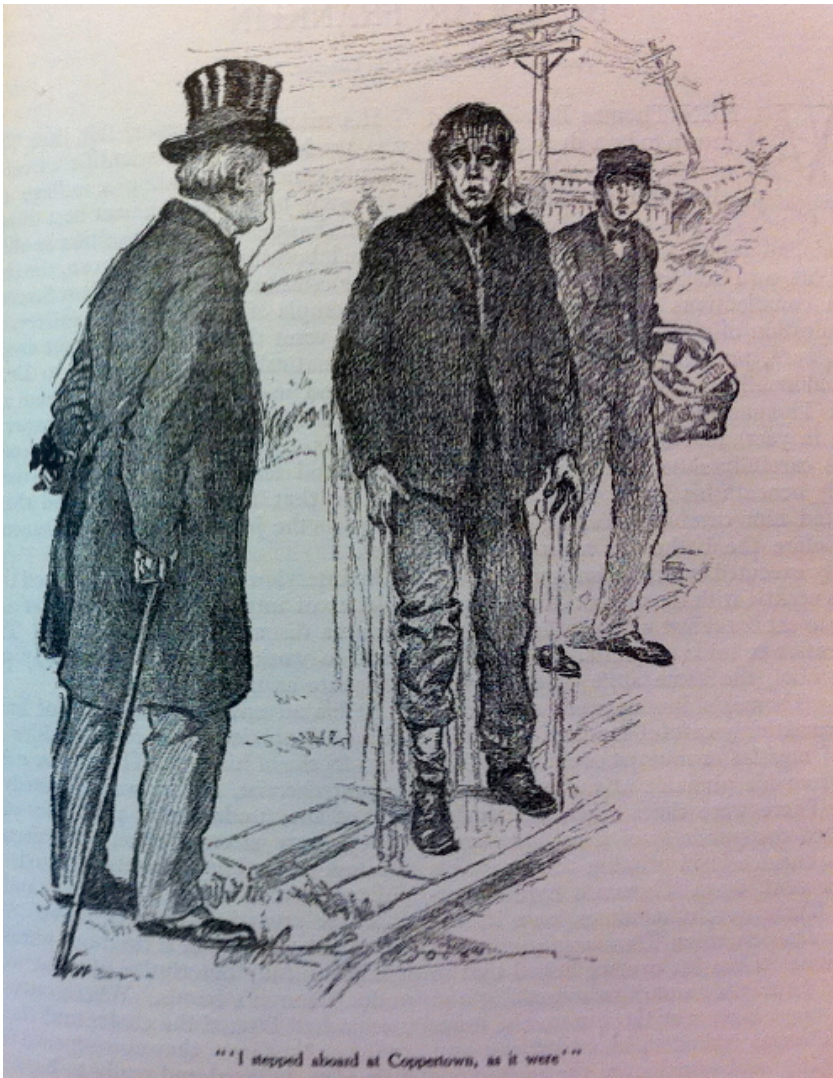
13. Cover, *The Evening Mail: Illustrated Saturday Magazine*, November 19, 1904
Image: AAA 2:26:15



14. AFTER THE OPERA. "They say he lives like a Lord.", "Yes, he lives on his wife's relatives." *Judge* v. 47 December 31, 1904. Image AAA 2:26:15



15. "Psst! Cried Alex, in a terse undertone, "Butler's a millionaire!" in "The Superintendent's Brother" by H. Barrett Smith *Pearson's Magazine*, v. 14 no 1 July 1905, p. 59-66.



16. "I stepped aboard at Coopertown, as it were," from "Rooney and the Sixty-Six" by E.F. Stearns *Pearson's Magazine*, v. 13 no. 3 March 1905: 284-289.



17. "Cathryn ran as she never had known she could run," from "The Artist and the Elephant" by Mary Roberts Rinehart, *Pearson's Magazine* v.14 no.4 October 1905: 389.

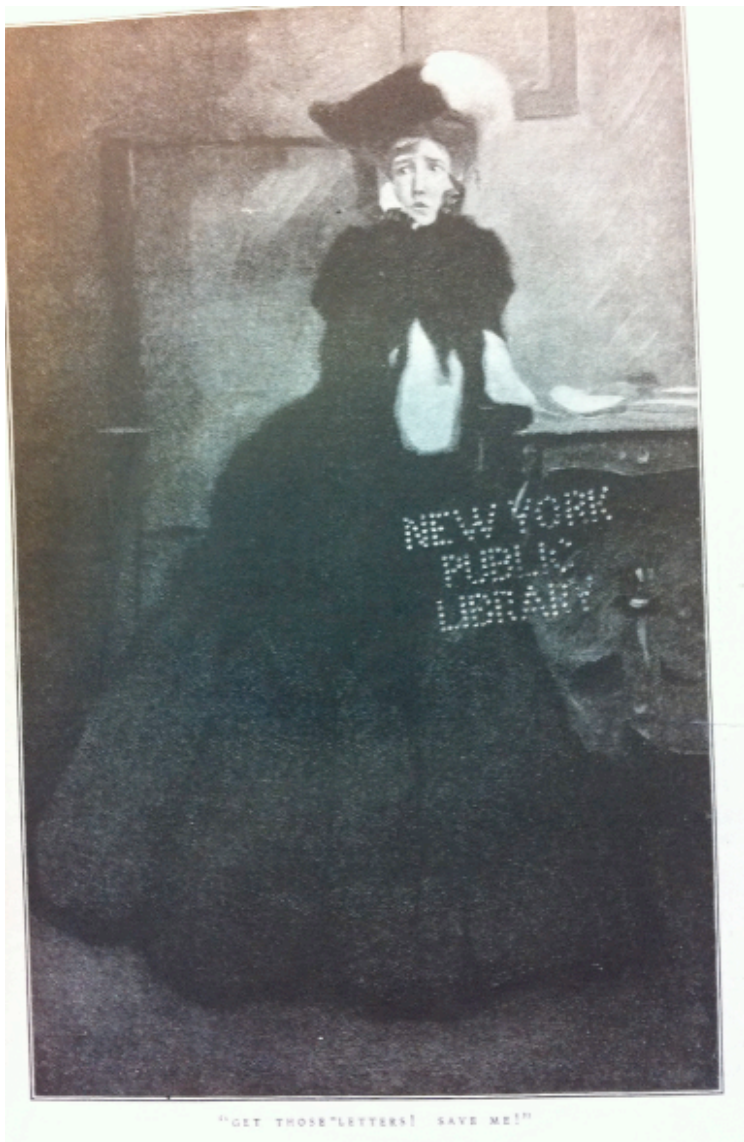


"ONE HAS ONLY TO LOOK ABOUT
HIM TO RECOGNIZE THE FACT"

18. "One has only to look about him to recognize the fact," from "How Fortunes are Made in Advertising." by Henry Harrison Lewis, *Success Magazine* v. 8 July 1905, p.466



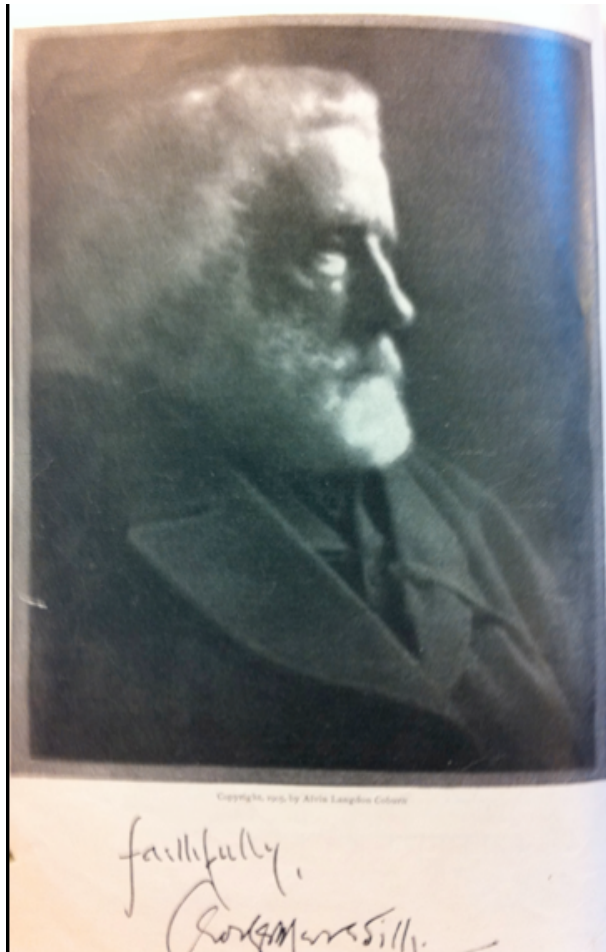
19. "The small boys pass comments upon his appearance," "The Pursuit of a Teapot" by Arthur Train, *The American Illustrated Magazine* v. 61 November 1905, p.37 Image: AAA 3:26:60



20. "Get those letters! Save me!" "The Scar: A Page from a Detective's Diary" by M.F. Goron, *Pearson's Magazine* v.15 no.1 January 1906 p. 3



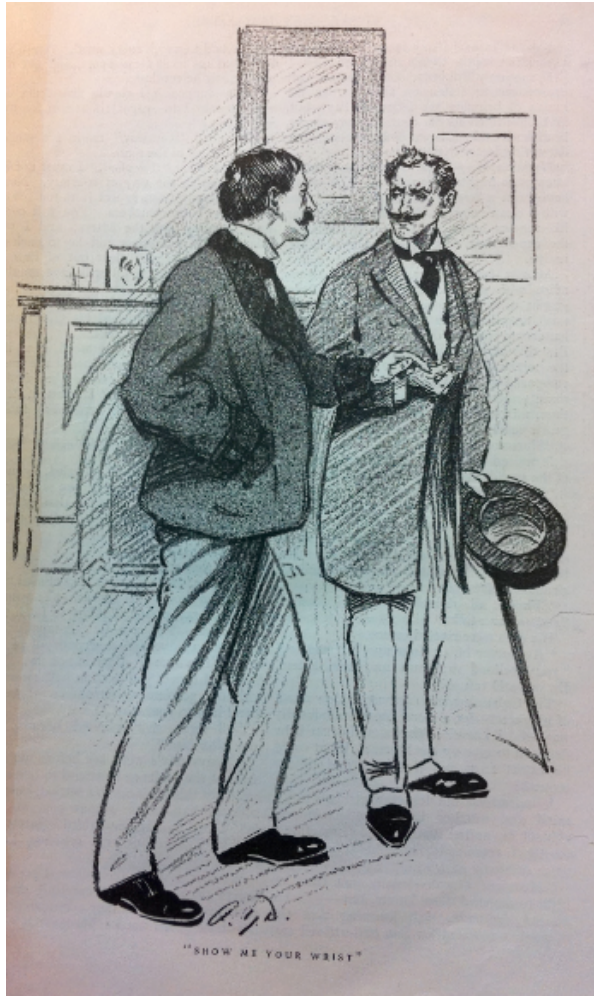
21. from "The The Soirée at the Rue de Prony: pages from a detective's diary"
by M. F. Goron edited by Albert Keyser *Pearson's Magazine* v. 15 no. 2
February 1906: 190.



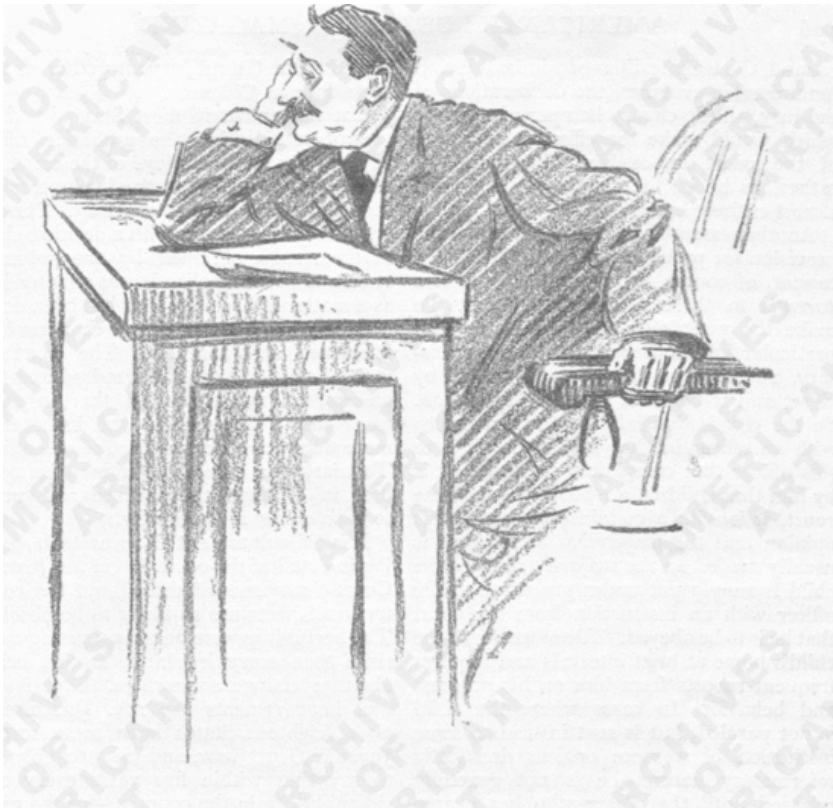
22. from Alvin Langdon Coburn, "New Portraits of a Group of British Authors,"
The Century v. 70 no. 1 (May 1905): 11-17.



23. "Charles Vernet had remained in the background, and now moved slowly toward the door," from "An Ugly Case" by M.F. Goron ex chief of the Paris police *Pearson's Magazine* v. 15 no. 4 April 1906: 416-424 p.416



24. "Show me your wrist," from "The Scar: A Page from a Detective's Diary" by M.F. Goron, *Pearson's Magazine* v. 15 no.1 January 1906. p. 5.

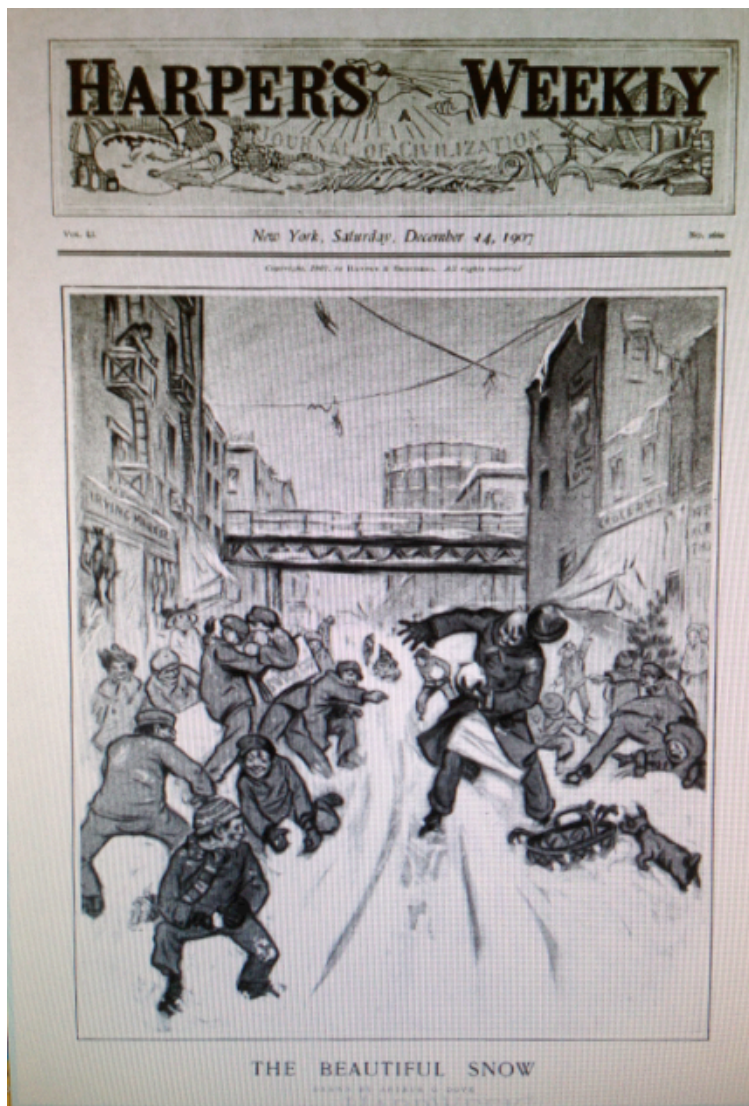


25. untitled, from "The Square Deal with Children - Judge Mack and the Work of the Chicago Juvenile Court," by Henry Kitchell Webster *The American Illustrated Magazine* v. 61 February 1906 p. 394 Image AAA: 3:27:15



*"It's a mighty sight awfuller than that. The
Off-Wheeler's joined the church"*

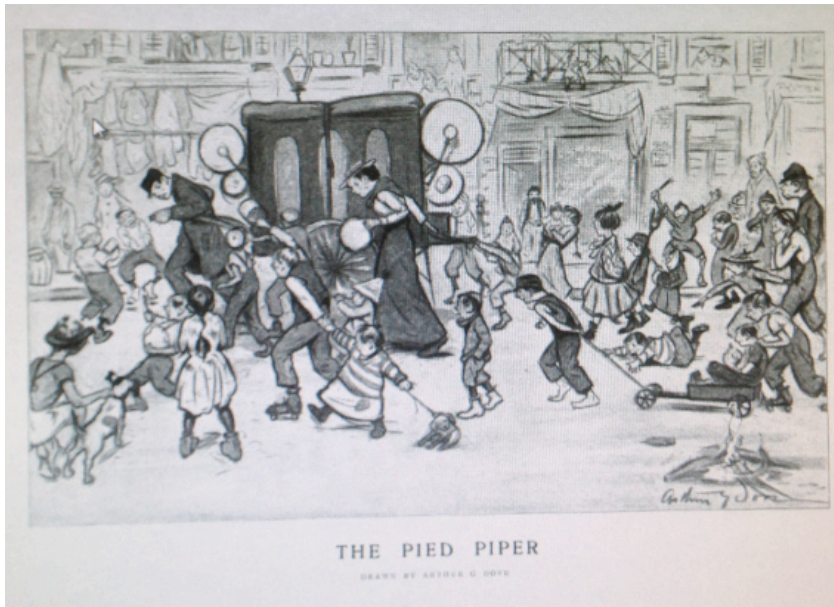
26. from "Wolfville Tales: The Off-Wheelers Conversion" by Alfred Henry
Lewis *Times Magazine*, v.1 March 1907 p. 415



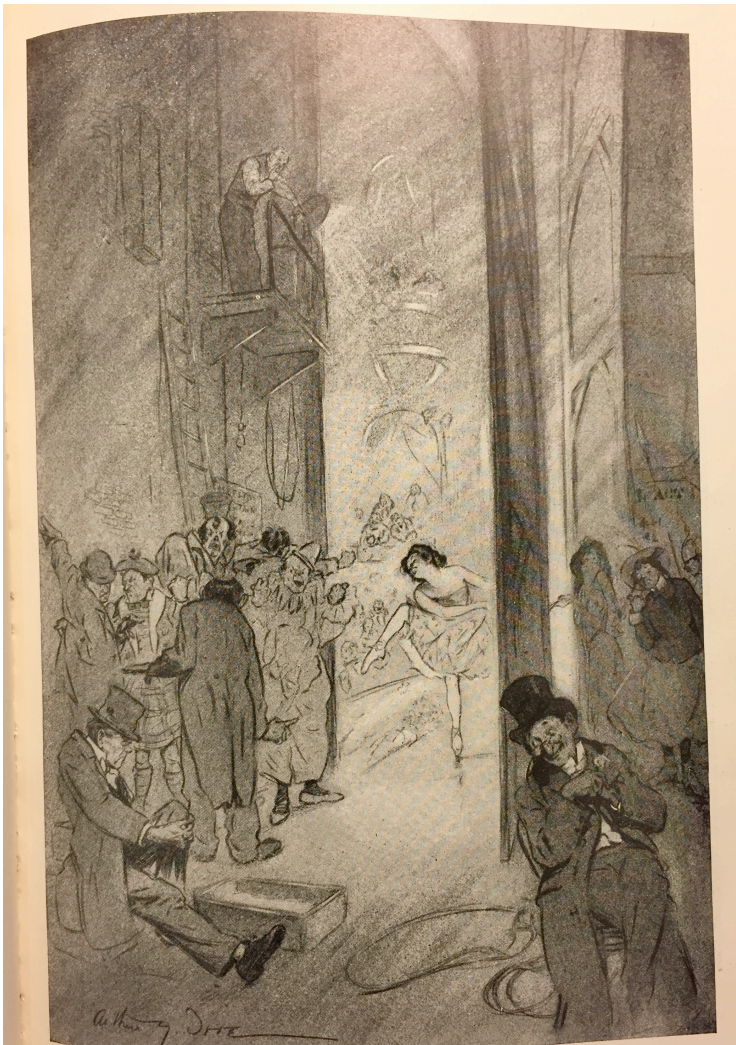
27. "The Beautiful Snow," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 51 Saturday, December 14, 1907.



28. "A Christmas Offering," *Collier's Weekly* v. 40 December 14, 1907, p. 20.



29. "The Pied Piper," *Harper's Weekly* v. 52 January 4, 1908, p.17



30. "The Encore: The Little Dancer's Success Excites Varying Emotions among the Other Members of the Company," from "Pictures of Stage Scenes, Plays and Players" *Pearson's Magazine* v. 19 (January 1908): np.



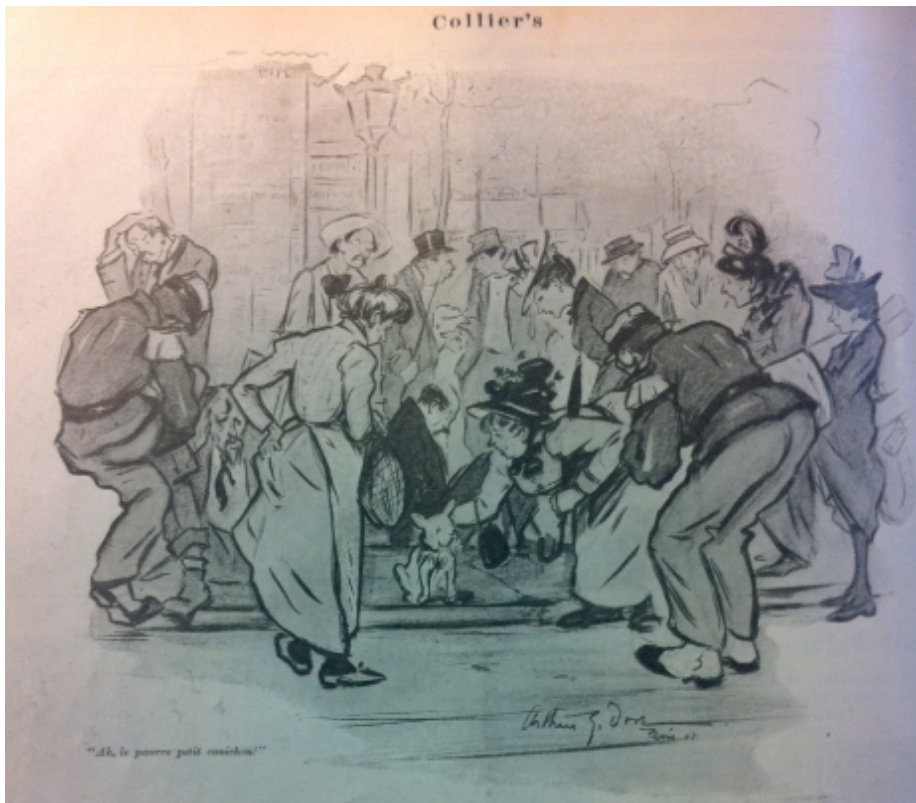
"FOREVER TURNING BACK TO KISS HIM, WITH HER HANDS FULL OF FLOWERS, AND WITH THE
PEACOCKS TRAILING BESIDE"

31. "Forever turning back to kiss him, with her hands full of flowers and with the peacocks trailing beside," from "The Radical Judge" by Anita Fitch McClure's *Magazine*, v.31 p.69

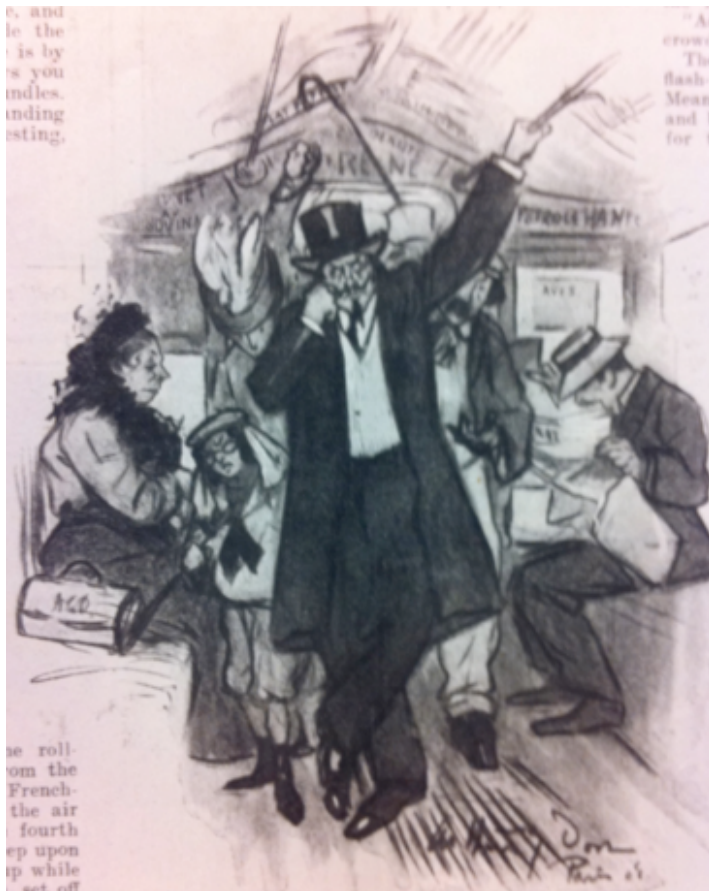


"HE REMINDED HIMSELF THAT FLOSSY, WICKED, UNGRATEFUL FLOSSY, HAD DISAPPEARED OUT OF HIS LIFE"

32. "The Decree Made Absolute," by Marie Belloc Lowndes, *McClure's* v.31 June 1908 p.133.



33. "Pauvre petit canichon," from "The Discovery of Paris--Part I" by Samuel Hopkins Adams, *Collier's* v. 42 no. 8 Saturday, November 14, 1908, p.18.



34. from "Paris Through a Prism" by Samuel Hopkins Adams, *Collier's* v. 42, Saturday, December 19, 1908 p.12.



35. "A part of the "politest-people-on-earth" myth," from *Paris Through a Prism*" by Samuel Hopkins Adams, *Collier's* v. 42, Saturday, December 19, 1908 p.12.



36. Arthur Dove in Paris, 1908-09, Arthur Dove estate; Image from Agee, Balkan, Turner, p. 16



37. *Abstraction No. 4* 1910/11. Private Collection, Image from Agee, Balkan, Turner, p.38.



38. Arthur Garfield Dove, "Movement No. 1, 1911,
Columbus Museum of Art
pastel on canvas
21 3/8 in. x 18 in. (54.29 cm x 45.72 cm)
Gift of Ferdinand Howald
1931.166
Image: www.columbusmuseum.org

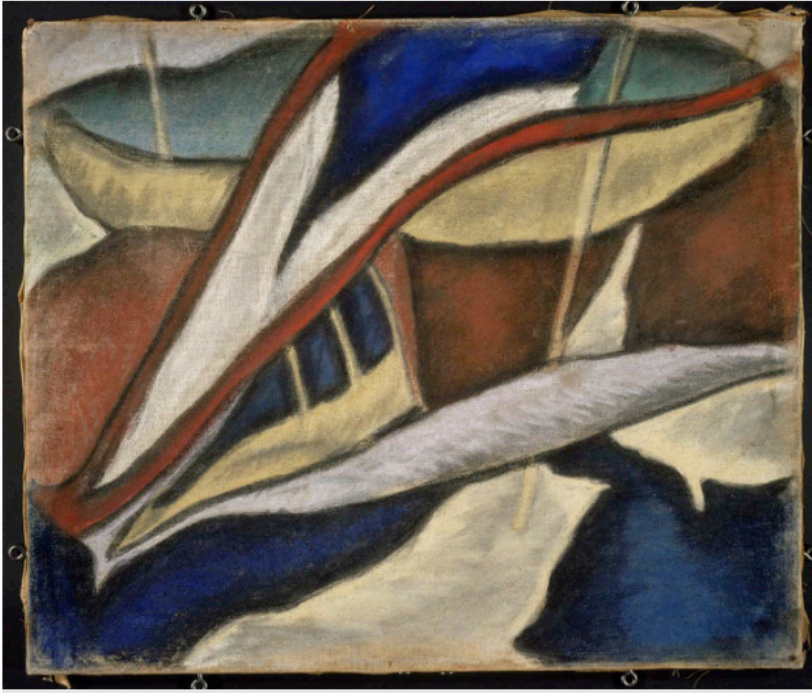


39. Arthur G. Dove, *Plant Forms*, c. 1912, pastel on canvas, 17 ¼ x 23 7/8 inches, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; Purchase, with funds from Mr. and Mrs. Roy R. Neuberger 51.20 Image: www.collection.whitney.org

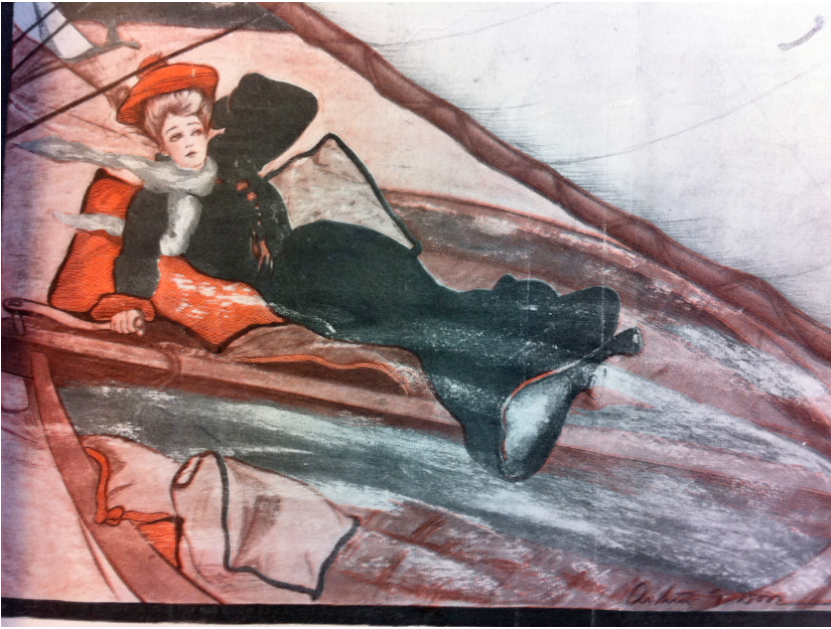


THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE

40. "The Line of Least Resistance," *Harper's Weekly*, v. 57 March 22, 1913, p.13



41. Arthur Garfield Dove, *Yachting*, about 1912, Pastel on canvas, 18 x 21 ½ in.
Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Gift of the William H. Lane Foundation, 1990.400 Image:
www.mfa.org/collections/object/yachting-35070



42. cover, *Illustrated Sporting News* v.2, January 2, 1904 detail.



43. Arthur Dove, *Pagan Philosophy*, 1913, Pastel on paperboard, 21 3/8 x 17 7/8 inches
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection 49.70.74 Estate of Arthur Dove.
Image: www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/488521



44. Arthur Dove, *Sentimental Music*, c. 1913, Pastel on paperboard 21 5/8 x 18 inches, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949, 49.70.77a,b. Estate of Arthur Dove. Image: www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/488524



45. Arthur G. Dove, *Study in Still Life (Chinese Bowl)*, 1912-16, Oil on paperboard, 8 5/8 x 10 1/2 in, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1966, 66.1412 Image: www.hirshhorn.si.edu



46. Arthur Dove, *Gear*, 1917-1920. Charcoal and chalk on paper, 17 ¼ x 20 ¼ inches. Alexandre Gallery.



47. Andre Castaigne, "Railroad Crossing over New York—The Boston Washington Limited," from "The Edge of the Future in Science: Transportation and the Gyroscope," by Cleveland Moffett, *Collier's*, v.42, 1908 p. 162.



48. Arthur Dove, *Abstraction Untitled*, c. 1917-20, Charcoal on Paper, 20 ½ x 17 ½ inches, Museum of Modern Art, Gift of the Edward John Noble Foundation, 35.1988 Estate of Arthur G. Dove Image: www.moma.org/collection/works/33430?/locale=en



"Killed the old close-fist with a stiletto, a stiletto no bigger than a pencil"

49. "Killed the old close-fist with a stiletto, a stiletto no bigger than a pencil," from "The Case of Uncle Marcel" by Veta Hurst *Collier's Weekly* v. 60 January 5, 1918 p. 24



ected that life in Bingham
It at breakfast Mr. Winkler
named. Ann ob-
wed at luncheon. Ann ob-
no interesting people in
-interesting people?" asked
y difficult to state just what
r well enough, but she had

Ann got up,
found a steamer
rag, and climbed
out of her bed-
room window to
the roof of the
dining-room ex-
tension. There
she sat, her hands clasped about her knees, in her
The curtains were not important in them-

50. from "The Right Sort of Man," by Lucian Cary Collier's v. 61 June 15, 1918 p.11



51. *Thunderstorm*, 1917-20, Charcoal on paper, 21 x 17 ½ inches, The University of Iowa Museum of Art, Purchase, Mark Ranney Memorial Fund, 1976.15
Image: Agee, Balkan, Turner, p. 58.



52. *Thunderstorm*, 1921 oil and metallic paint on canvas, 21 1/2 in. x 18 1/8 in.
Columbus Museum of Art, Gift of Ferdinand Howald
1931.167 Image: www.columbusmuseum.org

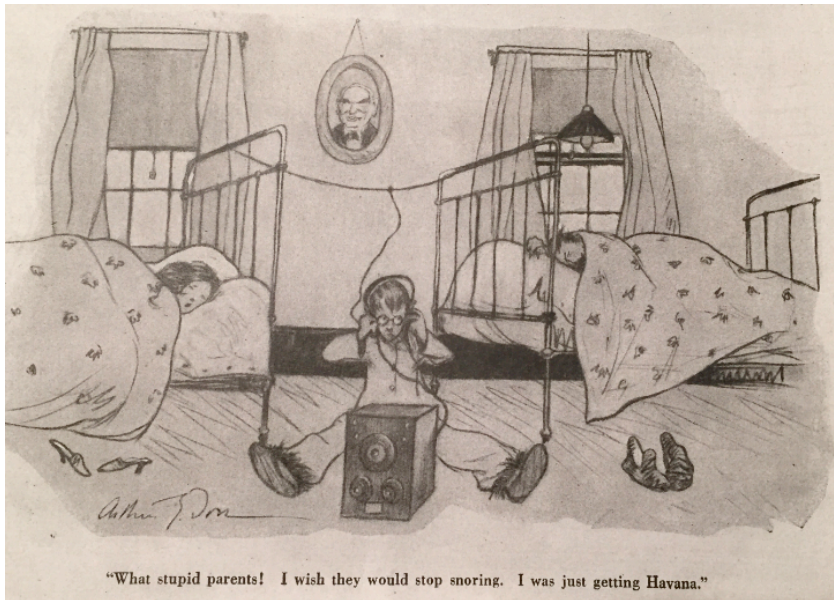


He: Why do you hang this picture upside down?
She: I sold it that way.

53. "He: Why do you hang this picture upside down? She: I sold it that way." *Life* v. 80 July 27, 1922, p.12



54. Arthur Dove, *Gear*, ca. 1922, oil on board, 22 x 18 inches. Image: Agee, Balkan, Turner, et al. p. 30.



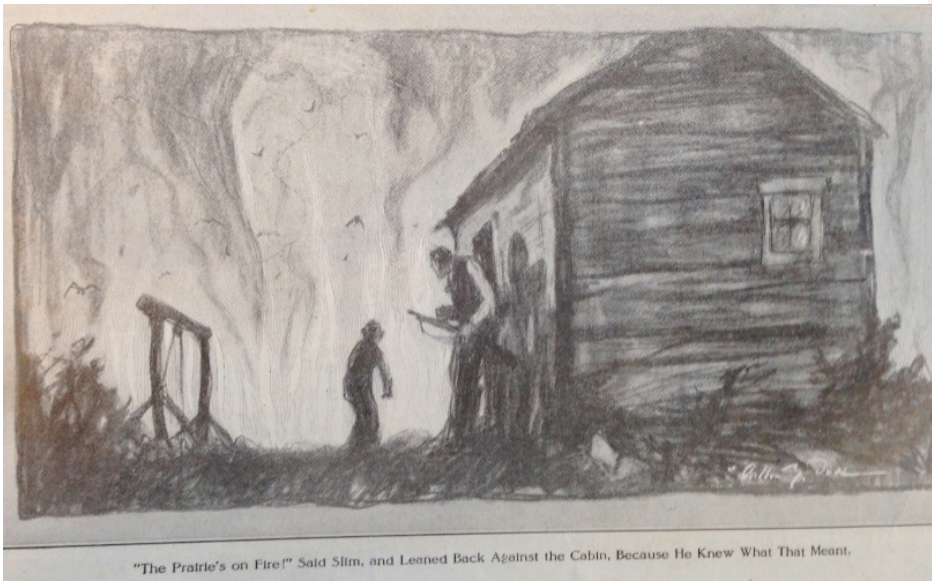
55. "What stupid parents! I wish they would stop snoring. I was just getting Havana"
Life v. 81 (March 1, 1923) p. 12.



56. "...Pitched Forward on the Plate and Let Out a Grunted, "I Bane Here!" "Baseball and Bonanza" by Joseph T. Kessel, *The American Boy* (v21 no 7 May 1920) p. 9.



57. cover, *The American Boy* (v.21 no.8 June 1920).



58. "The Prairie's on Fire!" Said Slim, and Leaned Back Against the Cabin, Because He Knew What That Meant," "Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, *The American Boy* (v.21 no.12 October 1920): p. 21.



59. Arthur Dove, *Seagull Motif (Violet and Green)*, 1928, oil on metal, 28 x 20 in. The Rifkin Family. Image: Agee, Balkan, Turner, p. 79.



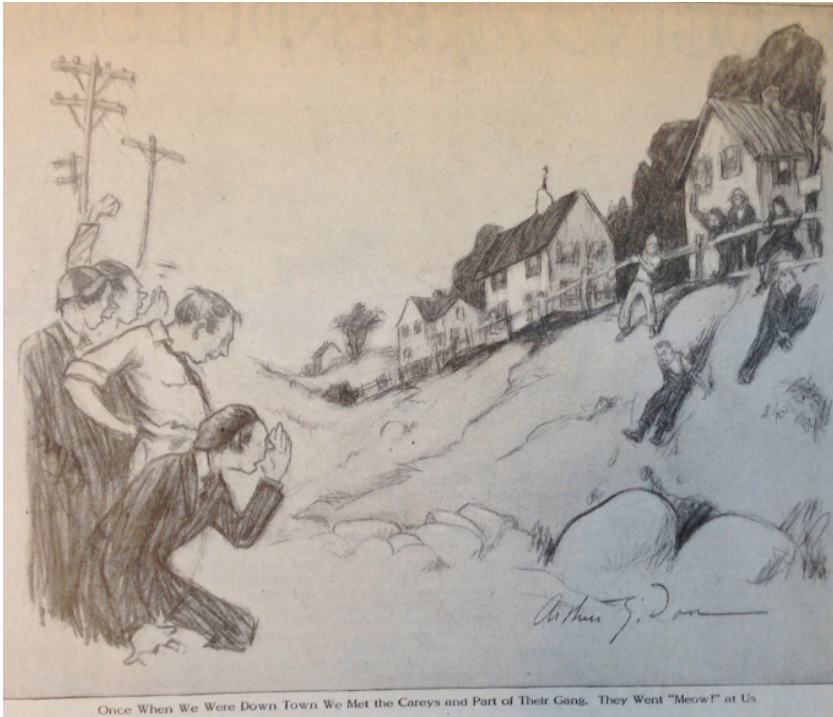
60. "While a short time before the valley was peaceful with the birds flapping quietly overhead," "Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, *The American Boy* (v.22 no.1 November 1920) pp. 22-23, 66.



61. Eugene Delacroix, *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827, Musee du Louvre
Image: Arttable



62. Header from "Turkey Bowman," by Homer Croy, *The American Boy* (v.21 no.11 September 1920) p.12.



63. "Once When We Were Down Town We Met the Careys and Part of Their Gang. They Went "Meow!" at Us" from "The Rose-Colored Cat" by Edward Edson Lee, *The American Boy* (v.22 no.3 January 1921) p. 7.



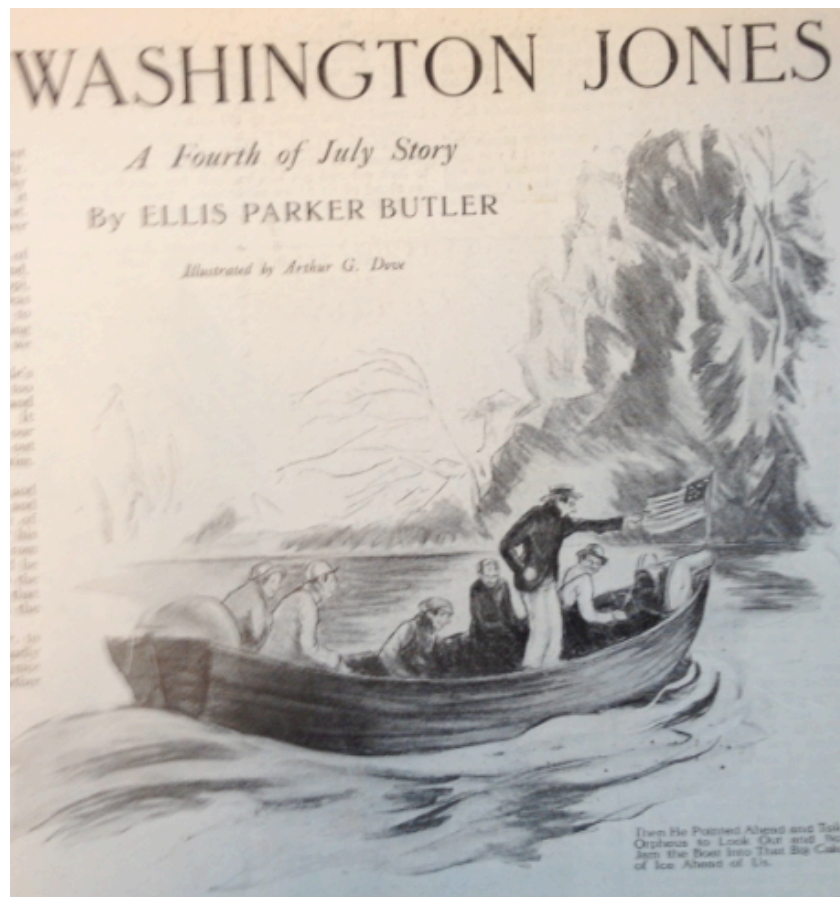
64. "I Think We Had a Nibble Just Then," from "Jibby Jones and the Rabbit" by Ellis Parker Butler *The American Boy* (v.22 no.9 July 1921) pp. 18-19, 33.



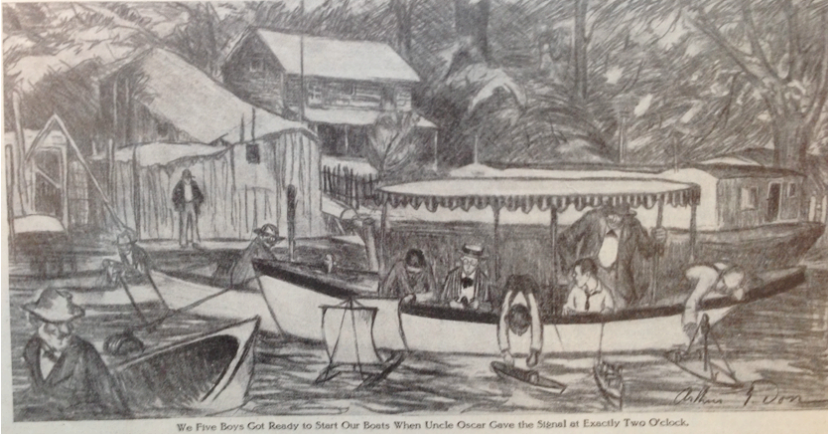
65. "When One Side of the Boat Wouldn't Give Him Any Fish He Would Try the Other Side," from "Jibby Jones and the Fishing Prize" by Ellis Parker Butler *The American Boy* (v.22 no.10 August 1921) p. 13.



66. from "Jibby Jones' Treasure Trove," by Ellis Parker Butler *The American Boy* (v.23 no.3 January 1922) p. 27.



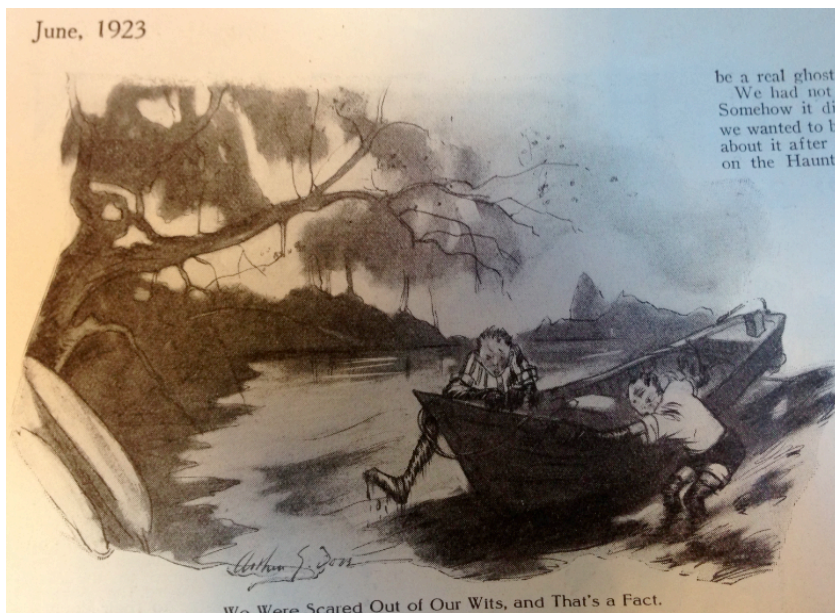
67. from "Jibby Washington Jones: A Fourth of July Story," by Ellis Parker Butler, *The American Boy* (v.23 no.9 July 1922) p. 9.



68. "We Five Boys Got Ready to Start Our Boats When Uncle Oscar Gave the Signal at Exactly Two O'clock," from "Jibby Jones and the Scooter Cup," by Ellis Parker Butler, *The American Boy* (v.23 no.10 August 1922) p.8.



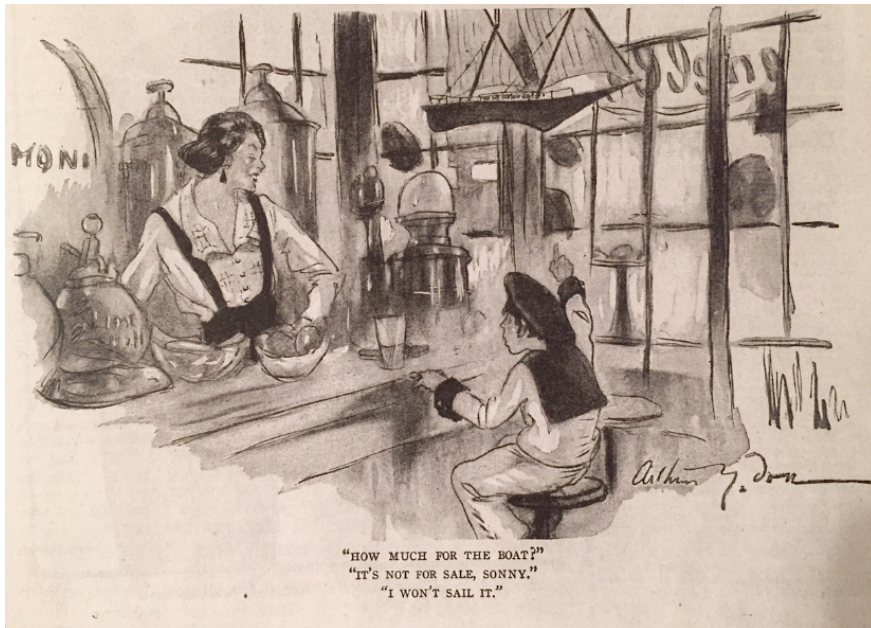
69. Arthur G. Dove, *Red Barge*, 1931, oil on canvas, 30 x 40 in, The Phillips Collection, Acquired 1933. Image: www.phillipscollection.org



71. "We Were Scared Out of Our Wits, and That's a Fact." From "Jibby Jones and the Ghost" by Ellis Parker Butler, *The American Boy* (v.24 no.8 June 1923) p. 14.



72. Arthur Garfield Dove, *Clouds*, 1927, Oil and sandpaper on zinc, 15 x 20 inches, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Gift of the William H. Lane Foundation. 1990.401 Estate of Arthur G. Dove



73. "How Much for the Boat?" "It's Not for Sale, Sonny." "I Won't Sail It." *Life* v.83 (April 17, 1924), p. 22.



74. Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergere*, 1881-82, oil on canvas, 38 x 51 inches, The Samuel Courtauld Trust, Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London
Image: www.getty.edu



75. "Oh, That Isn't His Father; Returns the Mother with Ruffled Dignity. That's an Etching of Falstaff." From "We are Four: The Creator of the Mendel Maranta Tells a New Story in a New Way," by David Freedman *Pictorial Review* v. 26 (December 1924) p. 30.



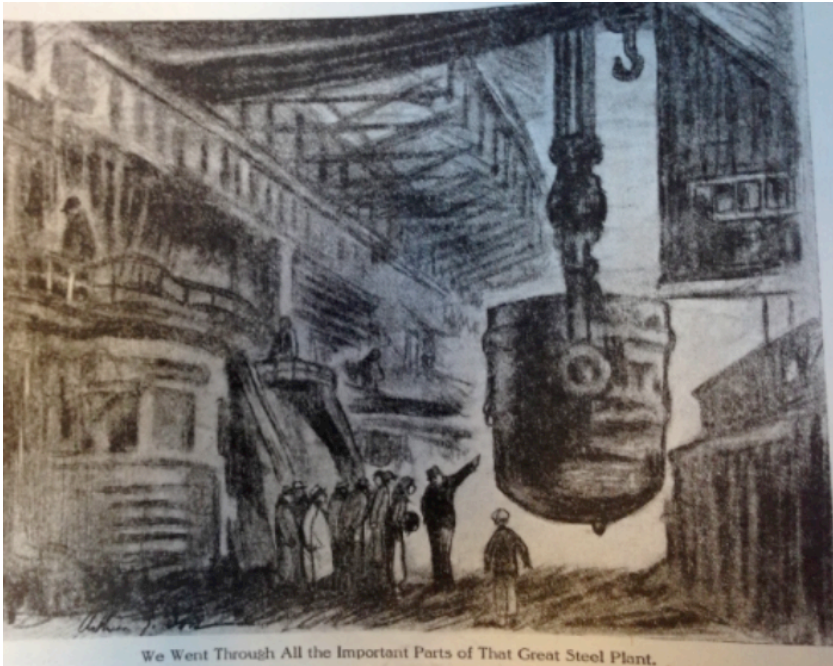
76. "How Delicious She Looked. How Cool and Refreshing. How Utterly Desirable. How Distinctly *Different!*" from "Growing-Pains," by John Peter Toohey, *Pictorial Review* v. 25 (April 1924) p.15.



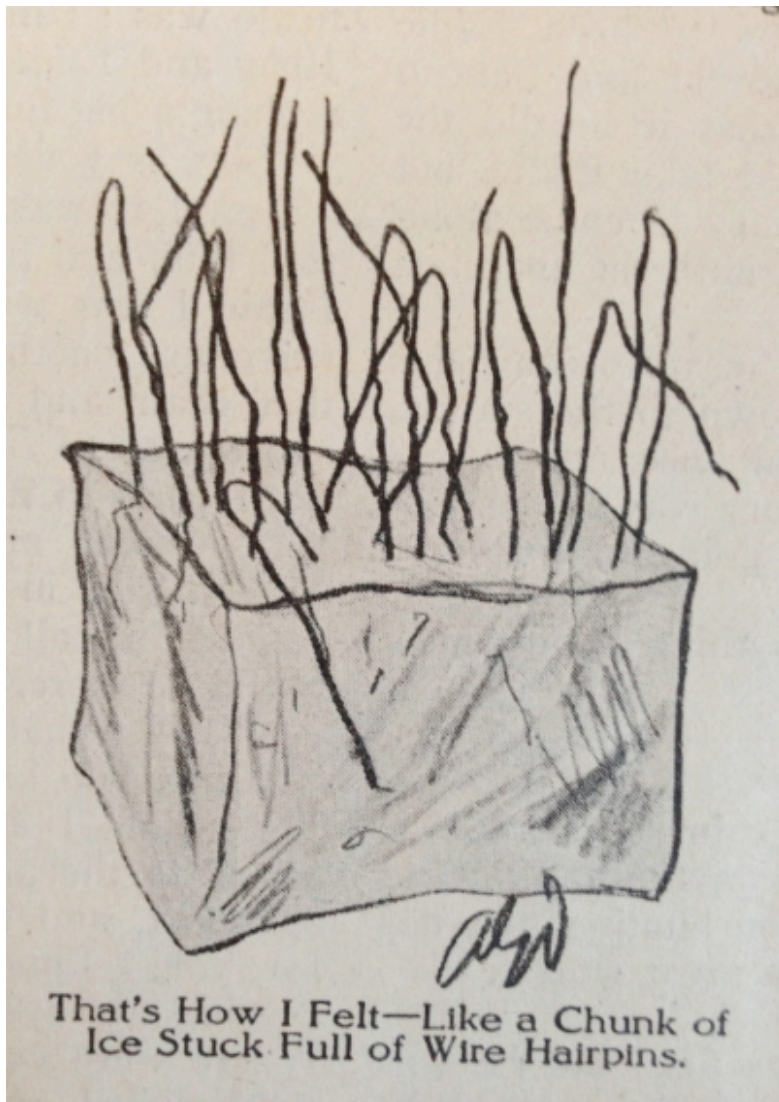
77. "She Was Leaning Out of His Arms..." from "Georgy Porgy, Prodigy," by Lois Seyster Montross, *Pictorial Review* v.26 (June 1925) p. 12.



78. no caption Header for "We are Four: The Creator of the Mendel Maranta Tells a New Story in a New Way," by David Freedman *Pictorial Review* v. 26 (December 1924) p. 28.



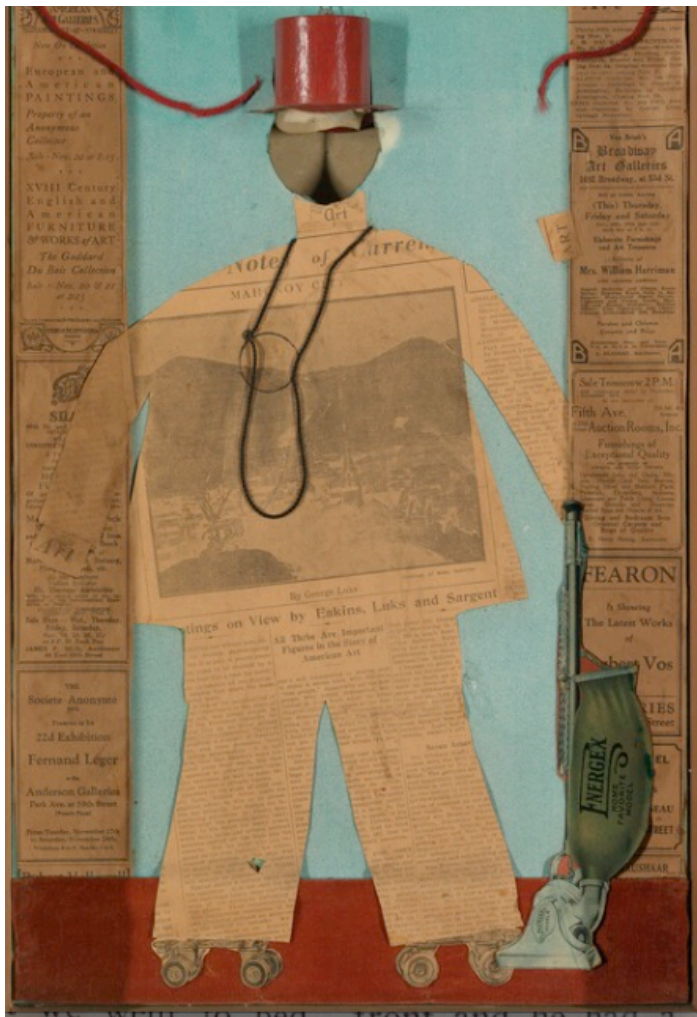
79. "We Went Through All the Important Parts of That Great Steel Plant," from "Jibby Jones and the Kidnaper," by Ellis Parker Butler *The American Boy* (v. 25 no. 5 March 1924) p. 22.



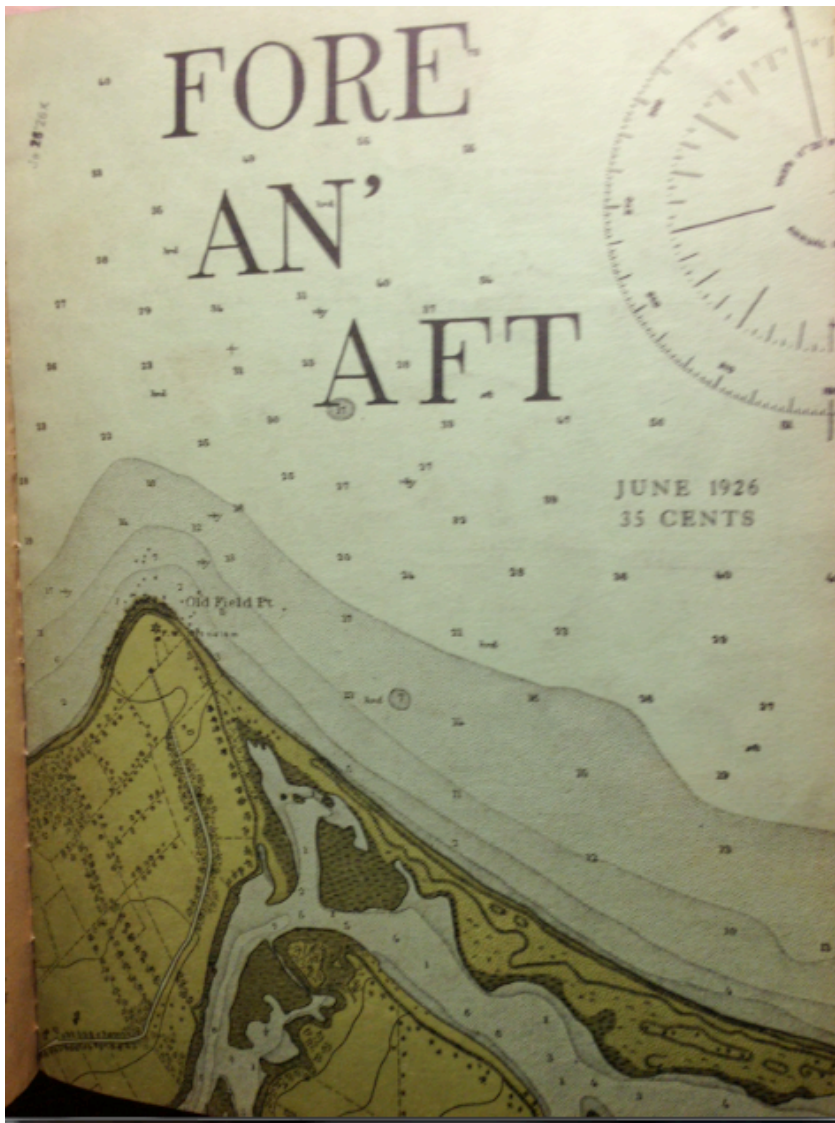
80. "That's How I Felt—Like a Chunk of Ice Stuck Full of Wire Hairpins," from from "Jibby Jones and the Kidnaper," by Ellis Parker Butler *The American Boy* (v.25 no.5 March 1924) p. 22.



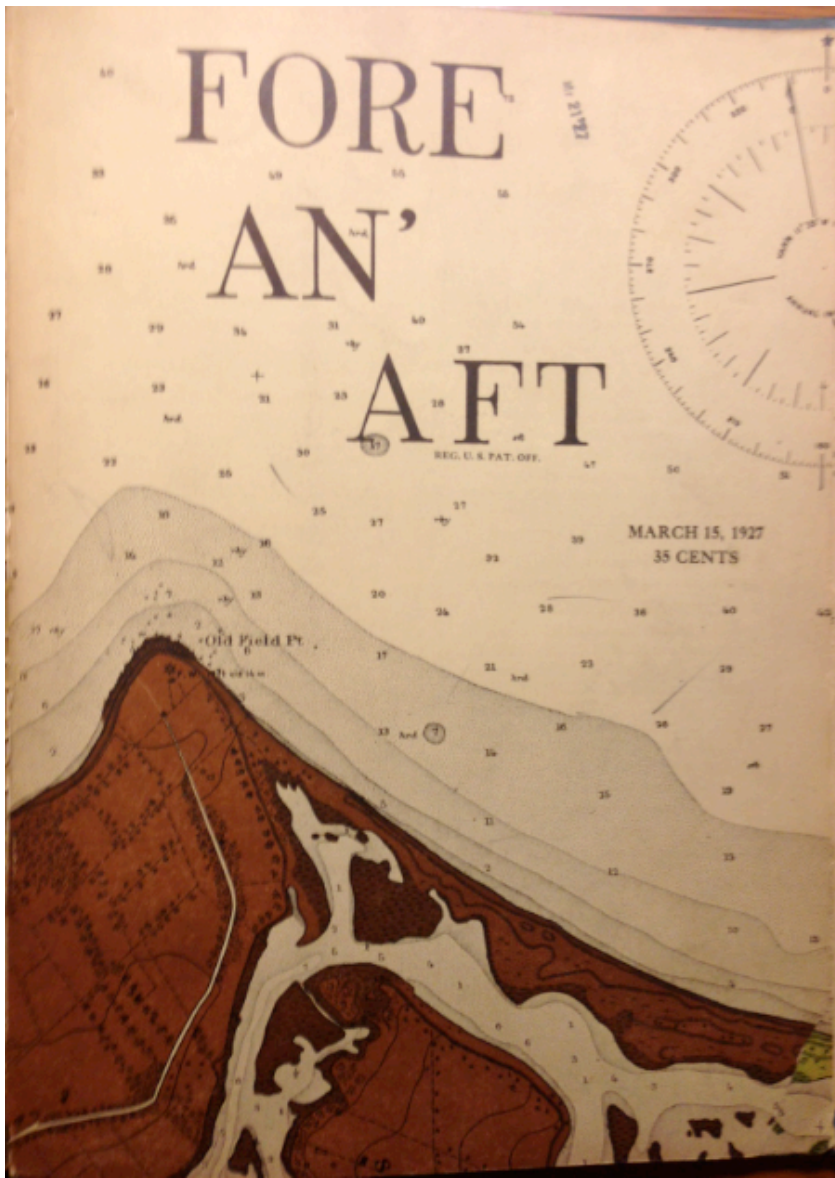
81. Arthur Dove, *Portrait of Alfred Stieglitz*, 1924, Assemblage of lens, mirrored glass plate, springs, steel wool, glue, and nails mounted on board, 15 7/8 x 12 1/8 inches, Museum of Modern Art, Museum Purchase, 193.1955 copyright The Estate of Arthur G. Dove



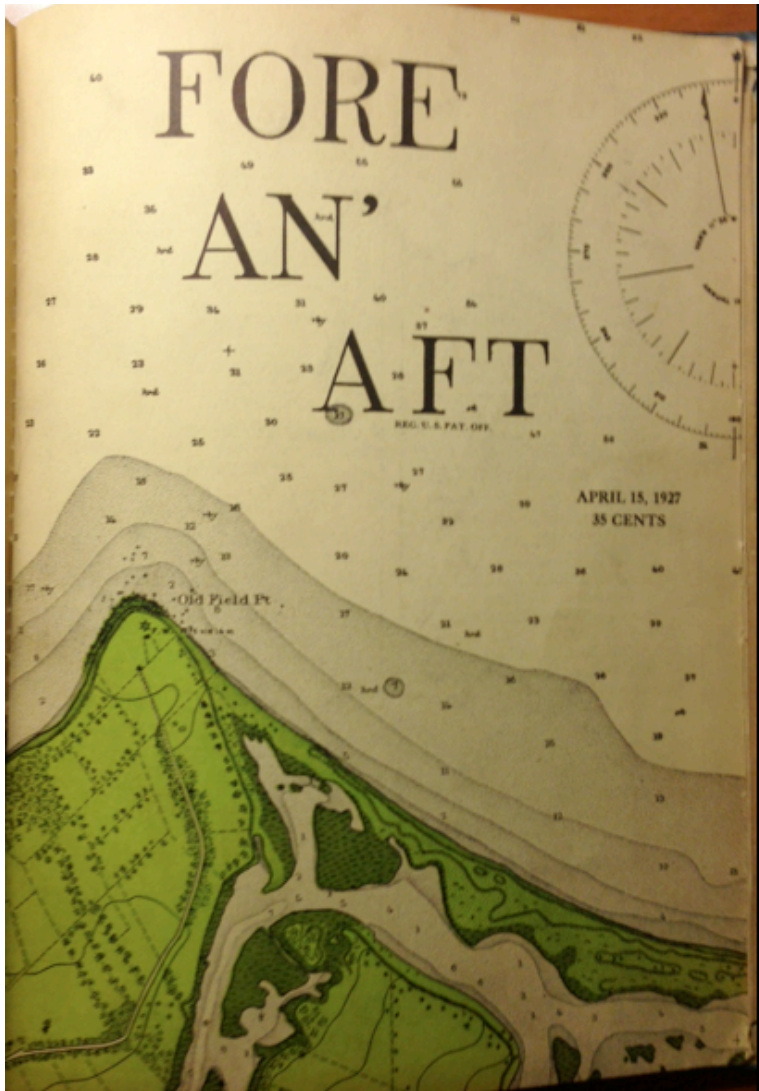
82. Arthur Dove, *The Critic*, 1925, Assemblage of paper, newspaper, fabric, cord, broken glass, watercolor and graphite pencil on board, 19 1/ x 13 inches, Whitney Museum of American Art, Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; Purchase, with funds from the Historic Art Association of the Whitney Museum of American Art, Mr. and Mrs. Morton L. Janklow, the Howard and Jean Lipman Foundation, Inc., and Hannelore Schulhof 76.9
Image: www.collection.whitney.org/object/560



83. Cover, *Fore An' Aft*, June 1926.



84. Cover, *Fore An' Aft*, March 1927.



85. Cover, *Fore An' Aft*, April 1927.



86. Arthur Garfield Dove, *Sunrise*, 1924, Oil on wood, 18 1/4 x 20 7/8 in.
Milwaukee Art Museum
Gift of Mrs. Edward R. Wehr M1960.32
Photo credit: John Nienhuis, Dedra Walls
© The Estate of Arthur G. Dove
Image: collection.mam.org



87. "If She Leaks, Leave One Foot Out Of The Bunk," *Fore An' Aft*, June 1926.



88. Arthur Dove, *George Gershwin—Rhapsody in Blue- Part II*, 1927, Oil Metallic paint, and ink on paper, 20 ½ x 15 ½, inches. Michael Scharf G.I.T. Image: Agee, Balkan, Turner, 73.



89. "Right in the Middle of Moving with the Preserves Sitting Unpacked on the Sidewalk, the First Thing They Did Was to Start the Phonograph," Header for "Please Excuse Velma," by Lois Seyster Montross *Pictorial Review* v. 29 (May 1928), p. 20.

Appendix: Arthur G. Dove: Published Illustrations

Books:

chronological by publication date

A Japanese Romance by Clive Holland
Illustrated in Colors by Arthur G. Dove
New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co.,1904

The Truth About the Case: The Experiences of MF Goron, ex chief of the Paris Detective Police, ed by Albert Keyser with Illustrations by Arthur G. Dove, Philadelphia: JB Lippincott Company, 1907.

Jake or Sam by Bruno Lessing (pseud) New York: Desmond Fitzgerald, Inc. Publishers, 1908.

Jibby Jones: A Story of Mississippi River Adventure for Boys By Ellis Parker Butler with Illustrations by Arthur G. Dove. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, c. 1921, 1922, 1923.

Jibby Jones and the Alligator: The Story of the Young Alligator Hunters of the Upper Mississippi Valley, by Ellis Parker Butler with Illustrations by Arthur G. Dove, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1924.

University Publications:

The Echo of the Seneca, Hobart College, v. 38 1899
p.8 "Mery Krismus" Greeting ('00 on pennant)
A.G.D.
p. 71 "Anna Lytica"
A.G. Dove
p.97 "Athletics"
A.G.D.
p.154 "Patronize our Ads"
A.G.D.

Cornell 1903 Class Book
p. 256 Senior Ball

The Cornellian
The 1903

v.34
Cornellian: The Book of

the Junior Class, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1902

pg. 16 Man at door, vertical monogram AGD

Dove in Junior Class list

p. 151 illustration for "Various Views" vertical monogram AG Dove 260 "Bench and Board" horizontal monogram AG Dove, first club listed

p. 261 "Undine. 1904" monogram AG Dove

p. 309 "Sophomore Cotillion" vertical monogram AG Dove

p. 310 "Sophomore Smoker" vertical AG Dove

p. 311 "Sophomore Banquet" vertical AG Dove

p. 401 "The End" vertical AG Dove

Cornell 1904 Class Book

p. 253 Sophomore Cotillion

p. 254 Sophomore Banquet

The Cornellian v. 35

1904 Yearbook "Being the Complete Record of the Collegiate Year 1902-1903"

Dove in listing of Seniors

p. 266 "Bench and Board" reused from previous year

p. 267 "Undine. 1905" only the 5 changed, reused from previous year

p. 268 "The Mummy Club" vertical AG Dove

Magazines:

Publications are listed chronologically by date of Dove's first appearance. The span of Dove's documented contributions is in parentheses after the periodical title. In the case of a gap of nine or more years between publications in the same magazine, the magazine is listed a second time at the appropriate time for the second start date. The vast majority of the stories Dove illustrated carried the byline, "Illustrated by Arthur G. Dove." A few read, "Drawn by Arthur G. Dove." Only a very few did not credit him on the first page of the story. I have only included a byline in this list when it varied considerably from these. This list only includes works seen by the author, as of February 20, 2016.

Illustrated Sporting News (December 1903-January 1905)

Illustrated Sporting News v.2 no.31 (December 12, 1903)

"A Sin of My Youth" by Clara Morris, pp. 42-43

1 illustration by Dove

Illustrated Sporting News v.2 no.32 (December 18, 1903)

Dove Cover -- multi figure ball game

Illustrated Sporting News v.2 no.34 (January 2, 1904)
Dove Cover -- Woman steering sailboat
and
"The Irony of the Theatrical Season.--Animals Win" pp.12-13

Illustrated Sporting News v.2 no.38 (January 30, 1904)
Dove Cover -- Curling

Illustrated Sporting News v.2 no.39 (February 6, 1904)
Dove Cover -- Woman serving table tennis

Illustrated Sporting News v.2 no.42 (February 27, 1904)
Dove Cover -- Couple snowshoeing

Illustrated Sporting News v.3 no.76 (October 22, 1904)
Dove Cover -- Woman golfer dismayed at shot. Caddie amused

Illustrated Sporting News v.4 no.87 (January 6, 1905)
Dove Cover -- Woman cross country skiing

The Evening Mail (November 1904)

The Evening Mail: Illustrated Saturday Magazine, November 19, 1904
Dove cover

Judge (December 1904 - 1908)

Judge v. 47 (December 3, 1904)
"Lowering the Death Rate"

Judge v. 47 (December 31, 1904)
"After the Opera"

Judge v.55 (July 18, 1908)
"How He Worked It," p.2

Judge v.55 (December 5, 1908)
(Christmas issue)
"The Last Straw"

Pearson's Magazine (March 1905 - August 1906)

Pearson's Magazine v.13 (March 1905)

"Rooney and the Sixty-Six" by E.F. Stearns pp. 284-289

4 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v.13 (May 1905)

"The Director of the Structural Steel: A Wall Street Story" by J. H. Gannon, Jr.

3 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v.13 (June 1905)

"The Letter of the Contract" by E.F Stearns p. 594-600

4 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v.14 (July 1905)

"The Superintendent's Brother" by H. Barrett Smith p. 59-66

5 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v.14 (October 1905)

"The Artist and the Elephant" by Mary Roberts Rinehart p.389

6 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v. 14 (December 1906)

"The Mischief-Maker" by H. Barrett Smith pp. 581-587

4 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v.15 (January 1906)

"The Scar: A Page from a Detective's Diary" by M.F. Goron, edited by Albert Keyser p.3

2 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v. 15 (February 1906)

"The Soirée at the Rue de Prony: Pages from a Detective's Diary" by M. F. Goron edited by Albert Keyser, pp.189-198

1 illustration

Pearson's Magazine v. 15 (March 1906)

"Tracked by a Dream: Pages from a Detectives Diary" by M.F Goron edited by Albert Keyser, p.247-252

2 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v. 15 (April 1906)

"An Ugly Case" by M.F. Goron, ex-chief of the Paris Police pp. 416-424

2 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v.15 (May 1906)
"Number 94," by M.F. Goron, p. 490-497
1 ill

Pearson's Magazine v. 15 (June 1906)
"The Lightning Flash" by M.F. Goron, edited by Albert Keyser, pp.604-614
1 illustration

Pearson's Magazine v.16 (July 1906)
"Fighting the Ghosts" by M.F. Goron, pp.57-64
1 illustration

Pearson's Magazine v.16 (August 1906)
"A Dramatic Holiday" by M.F. Goron pp. 214-220

Pearson's Magazine v.18 (August 1907)
"The House of Horror" by Mabel England pp. 129-135
2 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine v. 18 (November 1907)
"The Discovery of the North Pole, a Story" by W. J. Lampton, pp. 564-567
3 illustrations

Pearson's Magazine, v.19 (January 1908)
"The Building of a Play," by W. W. Auick p. 88
"Pictures of Stage Scenes Plays and Players"
From Drawings by Arthur G. Dove, Charles S. Chapman and from Photographs

Success Magazine (July 1905 - August 1907)

Success Magazine v. 8 (July 1905)
"How Fortunes are Made in Advertising" by Henry Harrison Lewis, p. 466
4 illustrations

Success Magazine v. 8 (August 1905)
"How Fortunes are Made in Advertising: Part Three" by Henry Harrison Lewis, p. 533
4 illustrations

Success Magazine v.8 (October 1905)
"The Yankee Drummer Abroad" by H. D. Varnum, p. 647
2 illustrations

Success Magazine announcement of Art Department for 1906 includes Dove

Success Magazine v.9 (January 1906)
"The Offham Sawdust Corner" by Robert MacKay, pp. 27-9.
2 Illustrations

Success Magazine v.9 June 1906
"The Cleeve Insulator (A Story)" by Robert Mackay, pp.405-7, 445-8
4 illustrations

Success Magazine v.9 (July 1906)
"Miss Murdock, --"Special"" by F. Hopkinson Smith p.463
3 illustrations

Success Magazine v.9 (October 1906)
"Fools and Their Money--II" by Frank Fayant p.669
2 "illustrations

Success Magazine v.9 (November 1906)
"Fools and Their Money--III" by Frank Fayant pp. 751-3
Sketches by Arthur G. Dove
11 "character sketches"

December 1906 issue has Dove's picture in "Editorial Announcements for 1907" p.905

Success Magazine v.10 (August 1907)
"Helmstaedter's Piano Home," by William Hamilton Osborne p.534-6
4 illustrations

The American Illustrated Magazine (September 1905 - February 1906)

The American Illustrated Magazine, v. 60 (September 1905)
"The Spiffed Overcoat: A Story in Ready-Made Clothing" by Wilbur D. Nesbit, p. 524
4 illustrations

The American Illustrated Magazine v. 61 (November 1905)
"The Pursuit of a Teapot" by Arthur Train, p.37
5 illustrations

The American Illustrated Magazine v. 61 (December 1905)
"Peter Potter: Business Privateer/ The Case of Billy Maginn and Margaret Winters," by Henry M. Hyde p. 183
4 illustrations

The American Illustrated Magazine v. 61 (February 1906)
"The Square Deal with Children - Judge Mack and the Work of the Chicago Juvenile Court," by Henry Kitchell Webster, p. 394
With Drawings Made From Life for This Article by Arthur G. Dove
6 illustrations

The American Illustrated Magazine (July 1906)
"The Enigma" -- A Special Sale," by William Hamilton Cline, p. 286
4 illustrations

American Magazine (August 1906)
"The Tie That Binds," by J. George Frederick, p.435
5 illustrations

American Magazine (September 1906)
"The Smoke Sale"
4 Illustrations

American Magazine, v.63 (January 1907)
"We and Our Servants," by Josephine Daskam Bacon, p. 349
5 illustrations

American Magazine, v.63 (March 1907)
"We and Our Neighbors," by Josephine Daskam Bacon, p. 462
6 illustrations

American Magazine v.63 (March 1907)
"Millikin: A Story of Christmas with Barnstormers" by Marion Hill, p. 302
4 Illustrations

American Magazine (July 1908)
"The Mol-Gobbin," by Marion Hill, p. 257

The Cosmopolitan Magazine (October 1905 - 1908)

The Cosmopolitan Magazine v.39 (October 1905)
"Uncanny Tales," by Ambrose Bierce, p. 616
2 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan Magazine v.40 (March 1906)
"Old-Man-With-His-Head-On" by Hayden Carruth, p.591-4
4 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan Magazine v.41 (October 1906)
"The Parrot of Uncle Hurwitz" by Bruno Lessing, pp. 583-90
5 illustrations

Cosmopolitan Magazine v. 41 (June 1906)
"Tar-skin Simcoe and the Green Barrel," by Broughton Brandenburg, pp. 224-30
3 illustrations

Cosmopolitan Magazine v. 41 (July 1906)
"The Lone Widow," by William Hamilton Osborne, pp.277-84
5 illustrations

Cosmopolitan Magazine v. 41 (September 1906)
"The Treason of the Senate," by David Graham Phillips, p. 525-35
3 illustrations

Cosmopolitan v. 42 (January 1907)
"The Surprise Party," by Philip Verrill Mighels, p.301-7
3 illustrations

Cosmopolitan v. 42 (February 1907)
"Monahan's Musical Education: A Comedy of the Hungarian Quarter," by Bruno Lessing
4 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan v.44 (November 1907)
"Wud Ye Bate Her?" by Mrs. Wilson Woodrow p.60
6 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan v.44 (January 1908)
"A Humorist's Eclipse" by Rowland Thomas p.251-8
4 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan v. 44 (March 1908)
"The Courtship of Janoshefsky," by Bruno Lessing, p.388
5-6 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan v. 44 (April 1908)
"Jake--or Sam" by Bruno Lessing p.529
4 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan v. 45 (August 1908)
"Alla Napolitana!" by Bruno Lessing, p. 311
5 illustrations

The Cosmopolitan v. 45 (October 1908)
"Big Jim's Renunciation" by Roy Norton, p. 463

St. Nicholas: A Monthly Magazine for Boys and Girls (December 1905 - July 1906)

St. Nicholas v.33 (November 1905)
"The Family Failing" by Jenny Chandler Jones pp.28-31
3 illustrations

St. Nicholas v.33 (December 1905)
"The Coasting Killiwogs" by Henry M. Kieffer p. 142
1 illustration

St. Nicholas (July 1906)
"A Patriotic Explosion" verse by Pauline Frances Camp p.832
2 illustrations

Women's Home Companion (January 1906 - February 1906)

Women's Home Companion (January 1906)
"The Trial of the Billy Doo, first installment" by William Wallace Cook

Women's Home Companion (February 1906)
"The Trial of the Billy Doo, second installment" by William Wallace Cook, p.14

Scribner's Magazine (May 1906, resumes 1918)

Scribner's Magazine v. 39 (May 1906)
"The Fourth Juror" by M'Cready Sykes p. 592
3 illustrations

Harper's (June 1906 - January 1908, March 1913)

Harper's v.113 (June-November 1906)
"A Modern Revolutionist" by Philip Loring Allen p. 965
4 illustrations

Harper's Weekly v.51 (December 14, 1907)
Dove cover "The Beautiful Snow"

Harper's Weekly v.52 (January 4, 1908)
"The Pied Piper" p.17
1 illustration

Harper's Weekly, v. 57 (March 22, 1913)
"The Line of Least Resistance," p.13
1 illustration

The Saturday Evening Post (July - December 1906)

The Saturday Evening Post (July 7, 1906)
"Mollie and the Opera Game," by Eleanor Gates p. 14

The Saturday Evening Post (August 11, 1906)
"A Seven-Dollar Bill," by George Randolph Chester p. 5-6, 20
2 illustrations

The Saturday Evening Post (December 8, 1906)
"The Night Shift at Our Schools," by I.K. Friedman p.18
4 illustrations

Everybody's Magazine (January 1907, resumes 1920)

Everybody's Magazine v. 16 (January 1907)
"The Christmas Clearing House Ltd." by Rupert Hughes p.121
4 illustrations

Times Magazine (January 1907 - March 1907)

Times Magazine, v. 1 (January 1907)
"Wolfville Tales: The Return of Rucker" by Alfred Henry Lewis p. 127
5 illustrations

Times Magazine, v.1 (February 1907)
"Wolfville Tales: The Guile of Cottonwood Wasson" by Alfred Henry Lewis p. 277
4 illustrations

Times Magazine, v.1 (March 1907)
"Wolfville Tales: The Off-Wheelers Conversion" by Alfred Henry Lewis p. 415
4 full color illustrations, beige background from paper, red accents

McClure's Magazine (March 1907 – May 1910, resumes 1926)

McClure's Magazine, v. 28 (March 1907)

"How Jimmie Made Good" by John McGraw Jr., p. 553
4 illustrations

McClure's, v. 31 (May 1908)

"The Radical Judge" by Anita Fitch, p. 65
5 illustrations, 2 full page,
1 original owned by Geneva Historical Society

McClure's, v.31 (June 1908)

"The Decree Made Absolute," by Marie Belloc Lowndes, p.133
4 illustrations

McClure's, v. 31 (September 1908)

"The Americanizing of Andre Francois" by Stella Wynne Herron, p.500
5 illustrations

McClure's, v.35 (May 1910)

"The Education of King Peter," by Edgar Wallace p. 88
8 illustrations

The Century (April 1907 resumes 1919)

The Century, v. 73 (April 1907)

"Mrs. Tyman Passes the Contribution Box" by Rosa Kellen Hallett, p. 964
Drawn by Arthur G. Dove
2 illustrations

NY Tribune (September 1907)

NY Tribune, Sunday Magazine for September 15, 1907

"Orchestras for One-Night Stands," by Malcolm Douglas, p.6

Evening Star (October 1907)

Evening Star, October 6, 1907, p. 4

"Making Stage Folk Famous," by Maurice Brown Kirby
2 illustrations

Good Housekeeping (December 1907)

Good Housekeeping, v.45 (December 1907)

"Mary Christmas" by Carolyn S. Bailey

6 illustrations

One original NYPL print collection

Collier's Weekly (January 1907 - January 1909, resumes 1918)

Collier's Weekly v.38 (January 19, 1907)

"Miss Hamilton's Endurance" story by Gelett Burgess

Illustrated by Arthur J. (sic) Dove

3 illustrations

Collier's Weekly v. 38 (February 9, 1907)

"A Little Ripple of Patriotism" by Rowland Thomas pp. 18-20

Illustrated in color by Arthur J. (sic) Dove

3 illustrations

Collier's Weekly v.38 (March 23, 1907)

"The Honor of the Escort" by David Gray, p. 14

Illustrated in Color by Arthur G. Dove

1 illustration

Collier's Weekly v.39 (July 13, 1907)

"Mosby's Depilator" story by Ellis Parker Butler, p. 16

4 illustrations

Collier's Weekly v. 40 (November 9, 1907)

"Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy" by Hashimura Togo, p.18

Illustrated by Arthur J. Dove

1 page of small illustrations

Collier's Weekly v. 40 (December 14, 1907)

Christmas Collier's

"A Christmas Offering" p. 20

Full page in color

Collier's Weekly v.41 (April 4, 1908)

"The Cash in Escrow" by Elliott Flower, pp.18-19, cont. p. 28

4 illustrations

Collier's Weekly v. 41 (June 6, 1908)
"Chorus Girl Sassiety" by Frank Ward O'Malley
4 illustrations

Collier's v. 42 (November 14, 1908)
"The Discovery of Paris--Part I" by Samuel Hopkins Adams, pp.18-9
3 illustrations, all signed Paris '08 under signature

Collier's v.42 (December 19, 1908)
"Paris Through a Prism" by Samuel Hopkins Adams, pp.12-3
3 illustrations, all signed Paris '08 under signature

Collier's Weekly v.42 (January 9, 1909)
"Paris through a Prism" Samuel Hopkins Adams pp. 10-11
4 illustrations

The Reader (August 1907)

The Reader v. 10 (August 1907)
"The Yellow Violin," by John T. McIntyre, p. 249
4 illustrations

Putnam's Monthly and the Reader (1908 - May 1909)

Putnam's Monthly and the Reader, v. 4, 1908
"Among those Present," by Elliott Flower p. 75
5 illustrations

Putnam's Monthly and The Reader, v. 4 (July 1908)
"How We Elected the Old Man," by Edward Salisbury Field, p. 473
5 illustrations

Putnam's Monthly and the Reader v.4 (1908)
"The Kalsomining of Dakota Sam" by Arthur Stringer, p. 539
5 illustrations

Putnam's Monthly v.6 (May 1909)
"Curing Mr. Dobson" by Ellis Parker Butler, p.156
5 illustrations

Redbook (July 1908)

Redbook (July 1908)

"Melancthon's Peaceful Fourth," by Robert Sloss p. 357

5 illustrations

Collier's Weekly (resumes January 1918 - December 1921)

Collier's Weekly: Incorporating Features of the American Magazine v. 60 (January 5, 1918)

"The Case of Uncle Marcel" by Veta Hurst, p. 24

3 illustrations

Collier's v. 61 (April 27, 1918)

"Peter the Penniless," by Oscar Graeve, pp. 22-24

4 illustrations

Collier's v. 61 (June 15, 1918)

"The Right Sort of Man," by Lucian Cary, p.11

4 illustrations

Collier's v. 61 (July 20, 1918)

"Salesmanship and Success: First Article," by William Maxwell p. 14, 21

3 illustrations

Collier's v. 61 (August 3, 1918)

"Salesmanship and Success: Second Article," by William Maxwell p.11, 29

2 Dove illustrations

Collier's v. 62 (September 28, 1918)

"Putting it Over on the Old Home Town," by Lucian Cary p.8-9

3 illustrations

Collier's Illustrated Weekly v. 62 (October 5, 1918)

"Kale in Season," by John Amid, p. 13-14, 22

3 illustrations

and

"Salesmanship and Success: Third Article: How Do They Do It?" by William Maxwell,

p.15, 32

2 illustrations

Collier's v. 62 (October 12, 1918)

"Selling America: Bringing Paris, France, to Paris, Illinois," by Edna Ferber, p.7
1 illustration

Collier's v.62 (November 23, 1918)

"The Melting of Fatty McGinn" by Frederic Arnold Kummer, p.7-8, 24
4 illustrations

Collier's v.62 (December 7, 1918)

"Mad Thursday: What the Headline "Germany Surrenders" Did to New York," By
William Almon Wolff pp. 11, 21
no Dove byline but big multigure header drawing signed and 2 single figures p.21

Collier's v. 62 (December 7, 1918)

"Salesmanship and Success: Fourth Article: Opening a Clam" by William Maxwell p.24
1 ill (clearly AGD backwards, same as previous page, but backwards)

Collier's v. 63 (January 4, 1919)

"Un Morso Doo Pang," by Edna Ferber p.10-12, 44
4 illustrations
and
"Disorderly Conduct," by Arthur Crabb, pp. 14, 35
2 illustrations

Collier's v. 63 (March 15, 1919)

"Footling Tobias P." by Achmed Abdullah p.10-11, 27
3 illustrations

Collier's v. 63 (June 7, 1919)

"FEAR," by Lucian Cary, p. 7-8, 30-35
4 illustrations

Collier's v. 68 (November 5, 1921)

"The Midnight Sons," by Lowell Otus Reese, p.7
4 illustrations

Collier's v. 68 (December 17, 1921)

"Gentlemen of the Jury," by Burton Braley p. 13
1 illustration (unsigned)

Scribner's Magazine (resumes July 1918 - December 1927)

Scribner's Magazine v. 64 (July 1918)
"At Isham's (A Story)" by Edward C. Venable
5 illustrations

Scribner's Magazine v. 66 (August 1919)
"Being a Man," by Edna Mary Booth, p. 208
3 illustrations

Scribner's Magazine v. 80 (December 1926)
"The Lamp (A Story)," by McCready Huston, pp. 679-681
4 illustrations

Scribner's Magazine v. 81 (May 1927)
"Tarnished (A Story)," by Will Rose, p. 521
4 illustrations
One original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art; One by Geneva Historical Society

Scribner's Magazine v. 82 (December 1927)
"The Flea, the Pup and the Millennium," by Don Marquis p.643-55
8 illustrations
One original owned by Geneva Historical Society

The Country Gentleman (May 1919 - December 1919)

The Country Gentleman v. 84 (May 17, 1919)
"The Busy Bee" p. 3
2 illustrations

The Country Gentleman v. 84 (November 22, 1919)
"Names and Times" by Tom P. Morgan, p.10
1 illustration

The Country Gentleman v. 84 (November 29, 1919)
"The Desert Fiddler" XXIII by William H. Hamby, p. 16
2 illustrations

The Country Gentleman v. 84 (December 6, 1919)
"The Whipped People" by Tom P. Morgan, p. 13
1 illustration

The Country Gentleman v. 84 (December 27, 1919)
"The Great Farmers' Strike" by Tom P. Morgan, pp.3-4, 47
2 illustrations

The Century (April 1919 - 1921)

The Century, v. 97 (April 1919)
"Might Have Beans," by L. Cabot Hearn, p. 758
6 illustrations

The Century, v. 98 (May 1919)
"Ski" by L. Cabot Hearn, p.39
6 illustrations

The Century, v. 98 (August 1919)
"Oh Lalala, The Gambler" by Frederick O'Brien and Rose Wilder Lane p. 432
5 illustrations

The Century, v. 98 (September 1919)
"The Kitchen Gods," by G.F. Alsop, p. 691
4 illustrations

The Century, v. 99 (December 1919)
"The Enemy of Santa Claus: A Story," by Marion Tanner, p. 153
5 illustrations, 1 full page color, credited as "From a Painting Made for The Century by Arthur G. Dove"

The Century, v.99 (February 1920)
"A Casual Affair," by Howard H. Brown, p. 461
7 small character sketches all signed AGD

The Century, v. 101 1920
"The Awful Miss Brown" by William Cairns p. 14

The Century, v. 102 1921
"A Showman in Brazil," by Harry A. Franck pp.566-574
6 illustrations

Everybody's Magazine (1920, 1927)

Everybody's Magazine v. 42 no. 2 (February 1920)
"Forty-Five," by Donal Hamilton Haines, p. 52-6, 111

3 illustrations

Everybody's Magazine v. 56 (June 1927)

Headings and illustrations throughout issue are by Arthur Dove

Everybody's Magazine v.57 (November 1927)

Headings throughout by Arthur Dove

The American Boy (May 1920 - October 1925)

The American Boy (v21 no 7 May 1920) cover missing

"Baseball and Bonanza" by Joseph T. Kessel, pp. 8-9, 57-8

3 illustrations

The American Boy (v21 no8 June 1920)

Dove Baseball Cover

"Stringy Streeter's Trusty Rifle" by Ernest Elwood Stanford pp. 24, 33

2 illustrations

The American Boy (v21 no9 July 1920)

Dove Balloon Cover

"Turkey Bowman" on cover says A Funny Adventure Story of the Western Plains" by

Homer Croy pp. 5-7, 51

6 illustrations

The American Boy (v21 n10 August 1920)

"Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, pp. 16-18, 43

4 illustrations

The American Boy (v21 no11 September 1920)

"Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, pp.12-13, 60

4 illustrations

The American Boy (v21 no12 October 1920) cover missing

"Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, pp. 20-21, 46-47

3 illustrations

The American Boy (v22 no1 November 1920)

"Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, pp. 22-23, 66

3 illustrations

Comment [1]:
Steven Perlstein Dec 10, '15, 2:30 PM

The American Boy (v22 no2 December 1920)
"Turkey Bowman" by Homer Croy, pp.18-19, 30
4 illustrations

The American Boy (v22 no3 January 1921)
"The Rose-Colored Cat" by Edward Edson Lee pp. 5-7, 38
5 illustrations

The American Boy (v22 no4 February 1921)
Dove Skier Cover
and
"The Rose-Colored Cat" by Edward Edson Lee pp.16-17, 33
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v22 no5 March 1921)
"The Rose-Colored Cat" by Edward Edson Lee pp.26-27, 52
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v22 no6 April 1921)
"The Rose-Colored Cat" by Edward Edson Lee, pp. 22-23, 40
4 illustrations

The American Boy (v22 no7 May 1921)
"Kelly Mentioned Bears" by Charles Tenny Jackson, pp. 24-25, 37
3 Dove illustrations

The American Boy (v.22 no8 June 1921)
Dove Scooter Cover
and
"Jibby Jones," by Ellis Parker Butler, p.6
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.22 no. 9 July 1921)
"Jibby Jones and the Rabbit" by Ellis Parker Butler pp. 18-19, 33
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.22 no.10 August 1921)
"Jibby Jones and the Fishing Prize" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.13-14, 31
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.22 no.11 September 1921)
"Jibby Jones and the Land Pirate's Treasure" Ellis Parker Butler pp.24-25, 30
3 dove illustrations

The American Boy (v.22 no.12 October 1921)
"The Howl of a Dog" by Lawrence York, pp. 24-25, 29
3 big illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.1 November 1921)
"Jibby Jones and Orlando," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp. 24-25, 27
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.1 December 1921)
"Jibby Jones's Swimming Pool," by Ellis Parker Butler
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.3 Jan 1922)
"Jibby Jones' Treasure Trove," by Ellis Parker Butler p.26-27,41
3 illustrations, 1 tiny

The American Boy (v.23 no.4 February 1922)
"His Picture in the Paper," by A.L. Crabb, p.14,15,42
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.4 February 1922)
"Jibby Jones and the Worm Mine," by Ellis Parker Butler p.24-5,49
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.5 March 1922)
"The Kidnappers," by Charles Tenney Jackson pp. 10-11, 37
5 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no 6 April 1922)
"The Ambulant Ambulance," by John Amid, pp. 10-12, 32
4 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no7 May 1922)
"Jibby Jones and the Grape Tree," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp.9-10, 29-30
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no 9 July 1922)
"Jibby Washington Jones: A Fourth of July Story," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp. 9-10, 46
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.10 August 1922)
"Jibby Jones and the Scooter Cup," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp. 7-8, 32-33
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.10 August 1922)
"Scratching Caesar's Head," by Charles Tenny Jackson, pp.16-17, 43
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.11 September 1922)
"SHOOT!" by Charles Tenney Jackson, pp.13-14, 35
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.23 no.12 October 1922)
"Jibby Jones and the Junk Wagon: A Halloween Story," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp.20-21,34-36
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.2 December 1922)
"Jibby Jones and the Hymn," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp.8-9,36,40
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.3 January 1923)
"Anybody's Theatre: The Boy Who Went," by Laurie Y. Erskine, pp.12-14, 39
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v24 no.6 April 1923)
"Jibby and the Liver Coffee" Ellis Parker Butler pp.17-18, 48
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no7. May 1923)
"Micky Malone of the Muddybrook Blues" by Ralph Henry Barbour p.16
5 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.8 June 1923)
"Jibby Jones and the Ghost" by Ellis Parker Butler, pp.14-15, 30
3 dove illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.9 July 1923)
"Jibby Jones and the Alligator" Ellis Parker Butler pp.20-21, 34
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.10 August 1923)
"Jibby Jones and the Left Hand," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp. 12-13, 34
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.11 September 1923)
"Jibby Jones and the Bolshevik Band," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp.18-19, 31
4 illustrations

The American Boy (v.24 no.12 October 1923)
 "Jibby Jones and the Whangdoodle" by Ellis Parker Butler pp. 21, 26-27
 2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no.1 November 1923)
 "Jibby Jones and the Elsewhere Uncle," Ellis Parker Butler, pp. 20-21, 38
 5 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no.2 December 1923)
 "Jibby and the Anarchist," by Ellis Parker Butler pp.19-20, 36
 4 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no.3 January 1924)
 "Jibby Jones on the Trail," by Ellis Parker Butler, pp. 21-22
 3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no.4 February 1924)
 "Jibby Gets Ahead of Trouble" by Ellis Parker Butler, pp.15-16
 2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no 5. March 1924)
 "Jibby Jones and the Kidnaper" by Ellis Parker Butler pp .21-22, 57
 3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no4. April 1924)
 "Jibby Jones and the Mysterious Stranger" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.16-17, 44
 3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no7 May 1924)
 "Jibby Jones and the Nearly Hat" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.15-16, 29-30
 4 illustrations, 1 huge in p16

The American Boy (v.25 no.8 June 1924)
 "Jibby Jones and the Flea," by Ellis Parker Butler pp. 17-18, 44-45
 2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no 9 July 1924)
 "Jibby Jones and the Jump-off" Ellis Parker Butler pp. 9-10, 36-37
 3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no11 September 1924)
 "Jibby Jones and the Two-story River" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.18, 43-44
 2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.25 no 12 October 1924)
"Jibby Jones and the Grain of Sand" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.15, 30-31

The American Boy (v.26 no4 Feb 1925)
"Jibby Jones and the Valentine" Ellis Parker Butler pp. 7, 28
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.26 no 8 June 1925)
"Jibby Jones and the Snake Bait" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.10-11, 35
3 illustrations

The American Boy (v.26 no9 July 1925)
"Jibby Jones and the Round-up" by Ellis Parker Butler pp. 5, 53-4
Printed with blue.
2 illustrations

The American Boy (v.26 no.12 October 1925)
"One Shot at the Partridge" by Ellis Parker Butler pp.8, 62
2 illustrations

Life (January 1921 - August 1928)

Note: These single drawings for *Life* rarely had a credit line, but Dove signed his work prominently.

Life v. 77 January 6, 1921, p.27
"Boys will be Boys
Uncle George certainly knew what he was doing when he gave Bobbie that toy chemistry outfit"

Life v. 77 June 23, 1921, p. 902
"Charlotte: Saw Joe at the movies with Mabel Saturday night. Aren't you keeping company with him now?
Gladys: No. I asked him if he liked her better than me, and he said yes -- so I threw him over.""

Life v. 77 June 30, 1921, p. 945
Drawn by Arthur G. Dove
"Customer: Can I see your city directory?
Drug Clerk (peevishly): It's in back, and I'm too busy now to get it.
"Oh, all right. I wanted to buy two boxes of cigars here to send to a friend, but I'd forgotten his address. Good-by.""

Life v. 78 July 21, 1921, p.2

"Those Pencil Marks.

"Who was it saw the handwriting on the wall, Bobby?"

"The landlord.'"

Life v. 78 September 15, 1921, p.23

"At Newport

"Do you like your new papa?"

"Yes."

"So did we. We had him last year.'"

Life v.78 October 20, 1921, p.12

"Undaunted

Bessie (waking up): I say, Margy, I can just feel there's a mouse in the room.

Margy: Well, I'm going to feel there's a cat."

Life v.78 November 10, 1921, p. 21

"A Racial Monopoly

"Begorra, Moike we can't go down thot road."

"An' whoy not, Pat?"

"Sure, me bye, it says 'For Pedestrians Only,' an' we both be Oirishmen.'"

Life v. 79 January 19, 1922, p. 4

"Prospective tenant: Doesn't this chimney smoke?

Owner: Yes; we have it this way on purpose--kills all the germs.'"

Original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 79 March 2, 1922, p. 4

"Circumlocution

"Jim, what do you think of my game?

Well, boss, I'se been caddying on dis co'se fo' ten years, an' you'se done hab me in places I'se never been befo'.'"

Life v. 79 March 2, 1922, p.12

"His Domestic Instincts

Small Boy (to elephant keeper): Can't I give him just one cookie? They're home-made.'"

Life v. 79 May 4, 1922, p. 21

"The Modern Version

The Boss: Young man have you ever been to college?

Applicant for Position (in blushing apology): Er--well, yes, sir, I have--but it was only a small college and I stayed only three months."

Life v.79 June 1, 1922, p. 9

““Burglar: Say, the morning paper says that when I was here last night I overlooked a di'mond necklace. Hand it over.””

Life v.79 June 1, 1922, p. 20

“Can we have a picnic on your farm?”

“Well, yes,--maybe, but it's more than I could ever have.”

Life v. 79 June 15, 1922, p.5

“Built to Order

“What's the matter with Smith, these days? Got lumbago or spinal curvature of something?”

“No, he has to walk that way to fit some shirts his wife made for him.””

Life v. 79 June 22, 1922, p. 8

“The Kindly Employer (to youthful employee who has but yesterday reported a near relative at death's door): How's your grandmother, Johnny?”

Office Boy (gloomily, staring from the office window at rain-washed pavements): Aw, she'd comin' along all right, Mr. Blivvens!”

Life v.80 July 6, 1922, p. 9

“I've prayed and prayed for a new hat but I haven't got one yet.”

“Why don't you try crying?”

original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 80 July 13, 1922, p. 13

“I was dancing last night and I'm so tired.”

“Feet ache, I suppose?”

“No. My shoulders hurt.”

Life v. 80 July 20, 1922, p.10

“Estelle, why did you bite your sister?”

“I couldn't help it, Auntie; she was holding both my arms.”

Life v. 80 July 27, 1922, p.12

“He: Why do you hang this picture upside down?

She: I sold it that way.”

Life v. 80 August 3, 1922, p.3

“He: It's difficult to find enough white horses to go around these days.

Red-Haired Girl: How about the white taxi-cabs?”

Life v.80 August 10, 1922, p. 8

"I woke up this morning and I couldn't believe that my uncle had died and left me a million dollars. It seemed like a dream."

"Ah---so your uncle left you a million?"

"No---It was a dream."

Life v. 80 August 17, 1922, p. 3

"Inexperienced Young Bride: I want some lard.

Clerk: Pail?

"I didn't know it came in two shades!"

Life v. 80 August 17, 1922, p. 7

"Norma: What made Evangeline catch cold?

Florence: Exposure. She went out with no powder on."

Life v.80 August 24, 1922, p. 4

"Young Alderman: Just imagine, those rascally street railway people had the nerve to offer me a hundred thousand to vote for their measure.

His Wife: Oh, Henry! I always knew you'd make good."

Life v.80 August 24, 1922, p.7

"Home Training for the Subway," Full page of drawings

Life v. 80 August 24, 1922, p.13

"Beg pardon, but haven't I kissed you before, somewhere?"

Life v. 80 August 31, 1922, p. 9

"The leading man isn't as good in this scene as he was in the love scene you shot yesterday."

"Oh, he's learned since then that the star is the director's wife."

Life v.80 September 14, 1922, p. 25

"Fond Mother: This is the swimmer of the family. She swims like a little duck.

Charlotte: Better! I can swim on my back."

Life v.80 September 21, 1922, p. 5

"Pamela (who has been told to brush her teeth): Mother, you always ask me to do that, and it's my favorite thing I hate to do."

Life v.80 September 28, 1922, p. 4

"Alice: Do you really think that clothes make the man?

Virginia: Of course not. It's the kind of car he drives."

and p.12

"I want to buy an alarm clock that'll awaken the maid without disturbing the other members of the household."
"Sorry, madam, but that kind is not yet on the market. We only have alarm clocks that awaken everyone in the household except the maid."

Life v.80 October 26, 1922, p.6

"It's no use; you'll have to turn your face the other way. I simply can't dance with my right cheek."

Life v. 80 November 2, 1922, p. 15

"Parent: Helen, do you ever stop to reflect?

Flapper: Every time there's a mirror to reflect in, mater."

Life v. 80 November 9, 1922, p. 22

"Since her marriage Carrie is losing pounds and pounds. Is she dieting?

No, she explains that her husband belittles her."

Life v. 80 November 30, 1922, p. 8

"Sunday School Teacher: Can anyone tell me where Noah lived?

Pupil: I don't think he had a regular home. I guess he and his family belonged to the floating population."

Life v. 80 November 30, 1922, p. 10

"She: Is that our waiter?

He: All but the final payment."

Life v. 80 December 8, 1922, p. 7

"He: Coffee always keeps me awake.

She: Why don't you have some?"

Life v. 81 January 25, 1923, p. 13

"What are your college colors?"

"Orange and gin."

Life v. 81 February 8, 1923, p. 13

"What are you reading --'Who's Who'?"

"No, the Social Register."

"Oh! Who's Whose."

Original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 81 February 22, 1923, p. 21

"Lend me your umbrella for a few minutes."

"Not much; that's how I got it."

Life v. 81 March 1, 1923, p. 12

"What stupid parents! I wish they would stop snoring. I was just getting Havana."

Life v. 81 April 5, 1923, p. 11

'Diana: I'm not going to be married when I grow up; I'm going to be a widow.'

Life v.81 April 12, 1923, p.8

'He: Is my memory correct as to your last name?

She: You'd better try to remember my middle one. The last one changes so often.'

Life v. 81 May 3, 1923, p. 7

"Mother (to schoolteacher): I know you won't tell me is Abie going to be promoted, but tell me, should I worry?"

Life v.81 May 10, 1923

"Motivation

Miss Forme: Will this bathing suit shrink?

Clerk: Positively not.

Miss Forme: Show me a cheaper brand."

Life v. 81 May 17, 1923, p. 9

"Mrs. Smith: Funny, Bridget, this top won't shut any more.

Bridget: Shure, ma'am, was it shut when you opened it?

and p. 25

"I understand the doctors have given you up."

"Yes, but I really did intend to pay them some day."

Life v. 81 May 24, 1923, p. 5

"Kind Old Lady: Why don't you make those boys stop fighting?

Small Bystander: Who, me? It took two weeks to get 'em started."

Life v. 81 May 31, 1923, p. 21

"She: Have you traveled extensively?

He: No, but I've traveled fast."

Life v. 81 June 7, 1923, p.15

"Lady: No, I am sorry I can't give you anything. I am supporting too many charities already.

Beggar: Well, mum, if it wasn't for the likes of me you'd be out of a job like I am."

Life v.82 July 5, 1923, p. 8

"Did you give the taxi driver a satisfactory tip?"

"I did, but it wasn't."

and p. 14

"There goes Seven Bells!"
"Oh darn! I never can get this daylight-saving straight."

Life v.82 July 12, 1923, p. 27
"Did you play the plumber what you owed him?"
"More."

Life v. 82 July 19, 1923, p. 22
"Does your husband talk in his sleep?"
"No, but I'm trying to train him."
Original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 82 August 9, 1923, p. 4
"Isn't nature wonderful?"
"It sure is. And it all looks so natural!"
"That's what I like about it."

Life v. 82 August 30, 1923, p. 19
"Liza, What's dis ah heah about yo' man gittin' decorated in d' war?"
"Law, Mandy, he didn't git decorated nohow. He jes' got excited for bravery."
Originals owned by Geneva Historical Society & Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 82 September 20, 1923, p. 11
"In the Naval Reserve
Deck Officer (to Chief Engineering Officer): How's things below, Lieutenant?"
"Oh, all right, but we're having a little ensign trouble."

Life v. 82 September 27, 1923, p. 13
"Hi: I understand your new hired man left yesterday.
Si: Yes, got discouraged when he 'found out that swearing at a tractor didn't relieve his feelings."

Life v. 82 October 11, 1923, p. 11
"Waiter: That man at the last table wants a drink for nothing.
Captain: Well, tell him we'll have him arrested for impersonating an officer."

Life v. 82 November 1, 1923, p. 6
"What makes you think you are getting thinner, dear?"
"The subway turnstiles don't spank me any more."

Life v.83 January 10, 1924, p.12
"Father: If I give you a penny will you stop crying?
Bobbie: Yes, but I--I--I've c-c-ried a nickel's worth already."

Life v. 83 January 24, 1924, p. 20

"In Abeyance

"Well, Bobby, how do you like the boy next door?"

"I don't know, mother. We haven't licked each other yet.""

and p. 24

"Revenue Officer: You promised to have that new run-boat chaser done before this.

What's the cause of the delay?"

Boat Builder: Yes, sir, you're next on the list, but we have already promised these three rum boats first."

Life v. 83 March 13, 1924, p.13

"Bobby: I guess Dad's going to the opera to-night.

Helen: Why?

Bobby: Can't you hear him practicing his snore?"

Original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 83 April 17, 1924, p. 22

"How much for the boat?"

"It's not for sale, sonny."

"I won't sail it."

Life v. 83 April 24, 1924, p. 10

"Look, mamma! They've got a bite."

Original owned by Geneva Historical Society

Life v. 83 May 1, 1924, p. 6

"Magistrate (to witness): Why didn't you help the defendant when this man attacked him?

"How the devil did I know which was to be the defendant until the fight was over?""

Life v. 83 May 8, 1924, p. 23

"Polite Bandit: pardon me, sir, but haven't I held you up before?

Weary Victim: Well, I can't say I recognize the face, but your gun looks very familiar."

Life v. 83 May 22, 1924, p. 8

"Lisa: Got yer spring house cleanin' done?

Lulu: Yas, we moved."

Original owned by Geneva Historical Society

Life v. 84 July 3, 1924, p. 10

"First Pro. (to colleague): Well, I'm willing to turn amateur if there's enough money in it."

Original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Life v. 84 July 31, 1924, p.25

"Wife: Why do you suppose plasterers receive eighteen dollars a day?

Husband: Well, they cover up some of the mistakes the bricklayers make."

Life v. 84 August 7, 1924, p. 13

"Pertinent

The Skipper: This boat makes fifteen knots an hour. (same model as golf pro)

The Girl: Who unties them?"

Life v. 84 September 4, 1924, p.13

"Tourist (in the Ozarks): Are the mountains of Arkansas volcanic?

Moonshiner: Dunno, stranger, but it's a dead certainty th' mountaineers are."

Life v. 84 October 16, 1924, p.11

"Mrs. Nouveau-Riche (to dealer): I want to look at some of them antiques, but I'd like you to understand I don't want nothing second-hand."

Life v. 84 October 23, 1924, p. 24

"Railway Gatekeeper (to Motorist): Keep back there till the train passes. I ain't got no time to sweep ye up if it hits ye."

Life v. 87 January 14, 1926, p.6

"Gosh, what a job!" (street sweeper to bookkeeper?)

Life v. 87 March 18, 1926, p. 24

"Well, maybe you might have to get a new bucket."

no real signature -- this may or may not be Dove

Life v. 87 April 15, 1926, p. 6

"Circus Patron: What ails the What-is-it? He looks so worried.

Press Agent: He is. All his ten children are perfectly normal and he has no one to leave his business to."

Life v. 88 July 29, 1926, p. 20

"How do you like it?"

"Great! What is it--gin or port?"

Life v. 88 September 9, 1926, p.13

"Sergeant: Have you picked up any bootleg trucks along here lately?

Policeman: Not since last Thursday, Sarje.

Sergeant: Grab a couple to-day and shoot 'em up to the station house. I'm thirsty."

Life v. 88 September 16, 1926, p. 11

"What yer wishin' to go in the country fer? Ain't we got a tree right here on the block?"

Life v. 88 September 23, 1926, p. 13

"Prominently Located

Stranger: Can you direct me to the Prohibition Enforcement Headquarters?

Cop: Right over there between those two saloons."

Life v. 88 December 2, 1926, p. 30

"Doncha believe in Santa Claus er nothin'?"

"Sure I does, just before Christmas, but after that I always begins tuh have my doubts."

Life v. 89 February 10, 1927, p. 6

"Mrs. Grebb: And what do your boys work at, Mrs. Grubb?

Mrs. Grubb: One is a cook in a drug store and the other one is a bar-tender in a lunch room."

Life v. 89 May 5, 1927, p. 9

"Located

"Let's see, your son graduated last year, didn't he? What's he working at now?"

"Rare intervals.""

Life v. 90 August 11, 1927, p. 6

"Madam: I'll have to have another box of those reducing tablets.

Druggist: Lady, I know just how you feel. I used to be a jockey myself."

Life v. 91 April 15, 1928, p. 13

"Side Show Manager (on the train): Hey, Dick! What's your head doing?

The Rubber Neck Man: I can't ride backwards!"

Life v.92 August 9, 1928, p. 5

"The City Child: Mister, kin I sit on the grass?"

The Ladies Home Journal (February 1921)

The Ladies Home Journal (February 1921)

"The New Senator's Wife" by Frances Parkinson Keyes pp. 9, 49

4 illustrations

Elks Magazine (September 1922 - March 1928)

Elks Magazine (Volume 1, Sept 1922)

"The Sunny Side of Darkness: a Handful of his Best Stories" By Fred Harper p.34
7 illustrations

Elks Magazine (Volume 1, Nov 1922)

"A Little Service Please" by Richard Connell, pp. 18-21, 68
12 illustrations

Elks Magazine (Volume 1, Feb. 1923)

"Gold Lustre: It was the symbol of his fame and fortune ---and he had forgotten the formula" By Mildred Cram pgs 38-41, 68-70
6 illustrations

Elks Magazine (Volume 2, June 1923)

"Truly Rural" by Arthur G. Dove p.38
7 Comics by Dove

Elks Magazine (Volume 2, August 1923)

"Right Out of our Own Garden" by Robert C. Benchley pp.18-19
4 illustrations

Elks Magazine (Volume 2, Sept. 1923)

"The Sunny Side of Darkness. More of his best stories" by Fred Harper pp. 20-21
9 illustrations

Elks Magazine (Volume 2, April 1924)

"Joshua L. Bragg: U.S.A" by Harris Dickson p. 13
Drawings by George Pickens and Arthur Dove
Pickens does big cityscapes from around the world, Dove does 5 small character sketches

Elks Magazine (v.3 November 1924)

"Never Mind -- You May Get London To-night" p.15
1 page of sketches, signed, no byline

Elks Magazine (v.5 July 1926)

"Rabbit Ears," by Norman Beasley p 26-28, 62
4 illustrations

Elks Magazine (v.6 March 1928)

"Sunny Side of Darkness: Stories Collected," by Fred Harper pp. 25
3 illustrations

The New Success Marden's Magazine (October - November 1922)

The New Success v.6 (October 1922)

"Sprinting for Two Hundred," by Thomas L. Masson

4 illustrations

The New Success v.6 (November 1922)

"What are the Twelve Funniest Stories in the World?" by Thomas L. Masson

4 illustrations

Pictorial Review (April 1924 - May 1928)

Pictorial Review v. 25 (April 1924)

"Growing-Pains," by John Peter Toohey, p.14-15, 28,30,36

4 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 26 (October 1924)

"Bessie Goes Steady," by Francis Edwards Faragoh p. 24-5

4 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 26 (November 1924)

"It's Better to Have Loved and Lost . . .," by Alice van Hise, p. 30-32

4 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 26 (December 1924)

"We are Four: The Creator of the Mendel Maranta Tells a New Story in a New Way," by David Freedman p. 28-30+

no illustrator listed but 4 signed Doves on first 2 pages

Pictorial Review v.26 (June 1925)

"Georgy Porgy, Prodigy," by Lois Seyster Montross, p. 12-13, 78,80,83

3 illustrations

Two originals owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Pictorial Review v 26 (July 1925)

"Georgy and the Dragon," by Lois Seyster Montross, p. 10-11, 34, 36

3 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 27 (March 1926)

"Saving Georgy from Himself," by Lois Seyster Montross p. 14-15

3 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 28 (June 1927)
"Skin-Deep," by Edwin Dial Torgerson p.19-20, 29
1 illustration

Pictorial Review v. 28 (July 1927)
"Sweet Grapes" by Edward Hope, pgs.20-21, 69
2 illustrations
The creation of these drawings in March 1927 is detailed in Helen Torr's Diary (AAA 2:1:19-24) The Heckscher Museum of Art owns the original for the second drawing in this story

Pictorial Review v. 28 (September 1927)
"One Blond Mouse," by Edward Hope p.21-22, 115-18
2 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 29 (October 1927)
"Immoral Victory," by Edward Hope pp.22-23, 90,92,95-86,98
2 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 29 (February 1928)
"False Alarm" by Edward Hope p.29-30, 110,128
2 illustrations

Pictorial Review v. 29 (May 1928)
"Please Excuse Velma," by Lois Seyster Montross pgs. 20-21, 74, 76, 79
4 illustrations
Original for "About Ten I Watched from Behind the Lilac Bushes," owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Fore An' Aft (May 1926-October 1928)

Monthly Cover

untitled boat building drawing repeats monthly

untitled marine still-life repeats monthly

Fore An' Aft, v. 1 (August 1926)
"Famous Fore An' Afters" p. 34
Sketched by Arthur Dove

untitled duffle bag drawing repeats almost monthly from February 1927 to October 1928

McClure's (September – November 1926)

McClure's v. 57 no. 3 (September 1926)

"The Other Unwritten Law," by Robert McBlair p. 40-43, 104-05
with a drawing by Arthur Dove
1 illustration

McClure's v. 57 no. 4 (October 1926)

"The Gossamer Girl," by Douglas Newton p. 58-61, 110
with drawing by Arthur Dove
1 illustration

McClure's v.57 no. 5 (November 1926)

"How Much a Gallon?" by J. Freeman Lincoln p.28-30+
with drawing by Arthur Dove

1 illustration

and

"And He Learned about Women," by Thomas Edgelow p. 46
with drawing by Arthur Dove

1 illustration

The Youth's Companion (February - November 1927)

The Youth's Companion v. 101 (February 10, 1927)

"The Way of the Mule," by Ray Palmer Tracy, p.103-4
2 illustrations

The Youth's Companion v. 101 (July 7, 1927)

"The Buggin'" by Gertrude West, p. 460
1 illustration

The Youth's Companion v. 101 (August 18, 1927)

"Under Cover" by Ernest Elwood Stanford pp.554-6
2 illustrations

The Youth's Companion v.101 (November 1927)

"Old Man Oliver," by Samuel A. Derieux, pp.682-3
2 illustrations

Liberty (November – December 1929)

Liberty v. 6 no. 47 (November 30, 1929)

"Inside the Ropes with Lou Magnolia," by Sidney Sutherland pp. 36-44

2 illustrations

One original owned by Geneva Historical Society

Liberty v. 6 no. 49 (December 14, 1929)

"Inside the Ropes with Lou Magnolia," by Sidney Sutherland pp. 74-79

2 illustrations

Liberty v. 6 no. 50 (December 21, 1929)

"Inside the Ropes with Lou Magnolia," by Sidney Sutherland pp. 52-56

4 illustrations

3 originals owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Liberty v. 6 no. 51 (December 28, 1929)

"Inside the Ropes with Lou Magnolia," by Sidney Sutherland pp. 46-50

2 illustrations

One original owned by Heckscher Museum of Art

Selected Bibliography

Archives:

Arthur and Helen Torr Dove Papers, Archives of American Art (AAA) cited as Box #: Folder #:Image #.

Unpublished Theses and Dissertations:

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

Metzger, Robert Paul. "Biomorphism in American Painting." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1973.

Morgan, Ann Lee. "Toward the Definition of Early Modernism in America: A Study of Arthur Dove. (vols I and II)." Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1973.

Exhibition Reviews:

Jewell, Edward A.. "April Offerings in Art Galleries of New York: Telescoping Centuries." *New York Times*, 6 April 1930, sec. 10 p. 18.

Graeme, Alice. "Paintings of Arthur G. Dove in Various Media at Gallery Here Show Artist's Mature Style," *Washington Post*, 4 April 1937.

Lublin, Mary Ann. "Arthur Dove," *Arts Magazine* 54 (April 1980): 12.

McCausland, Elizabeth (E McC). "An Artist's Coming of Age," *Springfield Sunday Union & Republican*, 20 March 1932.

McCausland, Elizabeth (E McC). "Arthur G. Dove's Showing of Oils and Water Colors," *Springfield Sunday Union & Republican*, 28 March 1937, p. 6E.

Mumford, Lewis. "The Art Galleries: Surprise Party -- Wit and Water Colors," *New Yorker* 10 (May 5 1934): 56.

Mumford, Lewis. "The Art Galleries: The Independent Show," *New Yorker* 12 (2 May 1936): 43-4.

"Museum Buys Four Arthur Doves from Show," *Art Digest* (15 May 1935): 16.
Plagens, Peter. "Arthur Dove," *Artforum* 36 (April 1998): 109.

Books and Articles:

- Adams, Henry. *The Beal Collection of American Art*. Pittsburgh: The Carnegie Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, 1994.
- Agee, William "New York Dada, 1910-1930," in Thomas B. Hess and John Ashbery, ed. *The Avant-Garde*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1968: 105-113.
- Agee, William C., Debra Bricker Balken and Elizabeth Hutton Turner. *Arthur Dove: A Retrospective*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997.
- Agee, William C., "A debt that can never be paid: Stieglitz & American Modernism," *New Criterion*. May 2001, vol. 19 issue 9 pp. 40-44.
- Allyn, Nancy E. and Elizabeth H. Hawkes. *William Glackens: A Catalogue of his Book and Magazine Illustrations*. Wilmington, DE: Delaware Art Museum, 1987.
- American Art Association, Managers. *Catalogue of the Collier Collection*. (on exhibition Nov 1-8, 1905) The American Art Galleries, Madison Square South, New York copyright 1903 P.F Collier and son.
- "American Modernists in Painting Take the Public into their Confidence," *Current Opinion* v.60 (May 1916) pp. 350-352.
- Anderson, Alexandra C., "Arthur Dove: Abstracting Energy from Nature," *ArtNews* 75 (April 1976): 82-4.
- Andrew Crispo Gallery. *Ten Americans: Avery, Burchfield, Demuth, Dove, Homer, Hopper, Marin, Prendergast, Sargent, Wyeth*. May 16-June 30. New York, 1974.
- Baigell, Matthew. "American Art and National Identity: the 1920s," *Arts Magazine* 61 (Feb. 1987): 48-55.
- Baigell, Matthew. "Walt Whitman and Early Twentieth-Century American Art." In *Walt Whitman and the Visual Arts*, pp. 121-174. Edited by Geoffrey M. Sill and Roberta K. Tarbell. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Baker, Kenneth. "The World in a Drop of Water," *Artforum* 24 (December 1985) pp. 56 - 9.

- Barr, Alfred H., Jr.. *Cubism and Abstract Art*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936; reprint ed. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Belting, Hans. "Image, Medium, Body: A New Approach to Iconology," *Critical Inquiry* v. 31 no. 2 (Winter 2005) pp. 302-319.
- Belting, Hans, "Toward an Anthropology of the Image," *Anthropologies of Art* Edited by Mariet Westermann, Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2005, pp. 41-58.
- Belting, Hans. *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Benson, E. M. "The American Scene." *American Magazine of Art* 27 (February 1934): 53-66.
- Berman, Avis. "The Quiet Man of American Modernism," *Smithsonian* 28 no. 8 (November 1997): 123-32.
- Berman, Avis, ed. *William Glackens*. New York: Skira Rizzoli Publications, Inc., 2014.
- Best, James J. *American Popular Illustration: A Reference Guide*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Bloch, E. Maurice. *The American Personality: The Artist-Illustrator of Life in the United States 1860-1930*. Fort Worth: The Grunewald Center for the Graphic Arts Amon Carter Museum of Art, 1976.
- Bogart, Michele H. "Artistic Ideals and Commercial Practices: the Problem of Status for American Illustrators," *Prospects* v15 1990 p. 225-281.
- Bogart, Michele H. *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Bolton, Theodore. *Book Illustrators: Bibliographic Check Lists of 123 Artists*. New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1938.
- Bolger, Doreen et al. *American Pastels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989.
- Bolger, Doreen and Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., eds. *American Art around 1900: Lectures in Memory of Daniel Fraad*. Studies in the History of Art 37. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990.

- Boyle, Richard J. *Double Lives: American Painters as Illustrators, 1950-1950*. New Britain, CT: New Britain Museum of American Art, 2008.
- Bradley, W. A. "The Art of Illustration," *Nation* v. 97 no. 2506 (July 10, 1913) pp. 42-3.
- Brooks, Charles. *Sensory Awareness: The Rediscovery of Experience*. New York: The Viking Press, 1974.
- Caffin, Charles. "A Note on American Illustration," *The Independent* v. 63 (November 1907) pp. 1217-1219.
- Cahill, Holger. *Modern American Water Colors: Shown at the Newark Museum, January 4 -- February 9, 1930*. Newark, NJ: Newark Museum Association, 1930.
- Cassidy Donna M. "Arthur Dove's Music Paintings of the Jazz Age," *American Art Journal* 20:1 (1988): 5 - 23.
- Cassidy Donna M. *Painting the Musical City*. Washinton D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Cohn, Marjorie B., *Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Development of the Materials of Watercolor*. Cambridge, MA: The Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Fogg Art Museum and The Foundation of the American Institute for Conservation, 1977.
- Cohn, Sherrye. *Arthur Dove: Nature as Symbol*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Cohn, Sherrye. "Arthur Dove and Theosophy: Visions of a Transcendental Reality," *Arts Magazine* 58 (September 1983): 86-91.
- Cohn, Sherrye. "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove; Part I: Dove's 'Force Lines, Growth Lines' as Emblems of Energy," *Arts Magazine* 58 (December 1983): 90-93.
- Cohn, Sherrye. "Arthur Dove and the Organic Analogy: A Rapprochement Between Art and Nature," *Arts Magazine* 59 (June 1985): 85-89.
- Cohn, Sherrye. "The Image and the Imagination of Space in the Art of Arthur Dove; Part II: Dove and 'The Fourth Dimension,'" *Arts Magazine* 58 (January 1984): 121-125.

- Collins, Bradford R., ed. *12 Views of Manet's Bar*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Conroy, William T., Jr., "Columbian Collage: American Art of Assembly," *Arts Magazine* 52 (December 1977): 86-7.
- Cooper, Harry. "Arthur Dove Paints a Record," *Source: Notes in the History of Art*. Vol. 24, No. 2 (Winter 2005), pp. 70-77.
- Corn, Wanda M. *The Great American Thing*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999.
- Corn, Wanda M. "Apostles of the New American Art: Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld," *Arts Magazine* 54 no. 6 (February 1980) pp159-163.
- Cullen, Jim. *The Art of Democracy: A Concise History of Popular Culture in the U.S.* Monthly Review Press, NYU Press, 2002.
- Coyle, Heather Campbell, and Joyce K. Schiller. *John Sloan's New York*. Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 2007.
- Davidson, Jo. *Between Sitzings: An Informal Autobiography*. New York: The Dial Press, 1951.
- DeLue, Rachel Z., ed. *Picturing*. Terra Foundation for American Art, forthcoming, 2016.
- DeLue, Rachel Z. "Images, Technology, and History: Arthur Dove, painting, and phonography." *History and Technology*. V. 27 no. 1 March 2011 pp. 113-121.
- DeLue, Rachel Z. *Arthur Dove: Always Connect*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- DePietro, Anne Cohen, et al. *Arthur Dove & Helen Torr: The Huntington Years*. Huntington, NY: The Heckscher Museum, 1989.
- DePietro, Anne Cohen. *Out of the Shadows: Helen Torr, A Retrospective*. Huntington, NY: Heckscher Museum of Art, 2003.
- Dewey, John. *Art as Experience*. New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1934.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.
- Eddy, Arthur Jerome. *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*. Chicago: A.C. McClure, 1914.

- Elderfield, John. *The Modern Drawing*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1983.
- Eldredge, Charles C.. *Reflections on Nature: Small Paintings by Arthur Dove 1942-1943*. New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1997.
- Ferber, Linda. *A Century of American Illustration*. Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1972.
- "Foremost American Illustrators: Vital Significance of their Work," *Craftsman*, 17 (December 1909): 266-288.
- Frank, Waldo. *Our America*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1919.
- Gallati, Barbara D. "Arthur G. Dove as Illustrator," *Archives of American Art Journal* 21 no. 2 (1981): 13-22.
- Gallati, Barbara Dayer. "The American Watercolor in the 1920s," *The Magazine Antiques* CLIII no. 3 (March 1998): 448-457.
- Gambone, Robert L. *Life on the Press: The Popular Art and Illustrations of George Benjamin Luks*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009.
- Gaskell, Philip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. Oxford University Press, 1972 revised 1995, New Castle DE: Oak Knoll Press 1995.
- Glackens, Ira. "Reminiscences of James and May Preston," *James Preston and May Wilson Preston: Memorial Exhibition*. Museum Section Guild Hall East Hampton, NY. 1968.
- Goldwater, Robert. "Arthur Dove: A Pioneer of Abstract Expressionism in American Art," *Perspectives USA*, New York, no. 2 (Winter 1953): 78-88.
- Goodrum, Charles and Helen Dalrymple. *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years*. New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1990.
- Gopnick, Adam. "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait" *Art Journal* v.43 (Winter 1983): 371- 376.
- Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts. *The American Personality: The Artist-Illustrator of Life in the United States, 1880-1930*. Los Angeles: The Center, 1976
- Hartel, Herbert R., Jr. "What is the Subject of Arthur Dove's "Abstraction No. 2" (1910-1911)?" *Source: Notes in the History of Art*, v. 31 No. 1 (Fall 2011), pp. 37-42.

- Haskell, Barbara. *The American Century: Art & Culture 1900-1950*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1999.
- Haskell, Barbara. "Transcendental Realism in the Stieglitz Circle," in Appelhof, Ruth Stevens, *The Expressionist Landscape: North American Modernist Painting, 1920-1947*. Birmingham, Ala: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1988.
- Haskell, Barbara. *Arthur Dove*. San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, 1974.
- Hawkes, Elizabeth. *John Sloan's Illustrations in Magazines and Books*. Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1993.
- Heller, Steven and Chwast, Seymour. *Illustration: A Visual History*. New York: Abrams, 2008.
- Hills, Patricia, *The Painters' America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art and Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- Homer, William Innes. *Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977.
- Homer, William Innes. "Identifying Arthur Dove's 'The Ten Commandments'," *American Art Journal* 12 no. 3 (Summer 1980): 21 - 32.
- Hornung, Clarence P. ed. *Will Bradley: His Graphic Art*. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1974.
- Hunter, Robert. "The Rewards and Disappointments of the Ashcan School: The Early Career of Stuart Davis" in Sims, Lowery Stokes. *Stuart Davis American Painter*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art/Abrams, 1991.
- Iskin, Ruth E. "Selling, Seduction, and Soliciting the Eye: Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*," *The Art Bulletin* Vol 77 no.1 (March 1995) pp. 25-44.
- Johnson, Dorothy R.. *Arthur Dove: The Years of Collage*. College Park, MD: University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1967.
- Johnston, Patricia. *Seeing High and Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Jordan, Jim M. "Arthur Dove and the Nature of the Image," *Arts Magazine* 50 (February 1976): 89-91.

- Kandinsky, Wassily. *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. Translated by M. T. H. Sadler. London: Constable and Company Limited, 1914; reprint ed.; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977.
- Kiehl, David W., with essays by Phillip Dennis Cate, Nancy Finlay, and David W. Kiehl. *American Art Posters of the 1890s in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.
- Kirschner, Melanie. *Arthur Dove: Watercolors and Pastels*. New York: George Braziller Publisher, Inc., 1998.
- Kootz, Samuel M. *Modern American Painters*. New York: Brewer & Warren, 1930.
- Larson, Judy L. *American Illustration 1890-1925*. Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 1986.
- Leja, Michael. "Modernisms Subjects in the United States," *Art Journal*, V. 55 No. 2 (Summer 1996), pp, 65-72.
- Levin, Gain. *Edward Hopper as Illustrator*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Whitney Museum of American Art, 1979.
- Lobel, Michael. *John Sloan: Drawing on Illustration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Loughery, John. *John Sloan*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1995.
- Lynes, Barbara Buhler. *O'Keeffe, Stieglitz and the Critics, 1916 - 1929*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989; reprint ed., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Mancini, J.M. *Pre-Modernism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Mathews, Nancy Mowll, et al. *Moving Pictures: American Art and Early Film: 1880-1910*. Manchester, VT: Hudson Hills Press, 2006.
- McCausland, Elizabeth. "Dove: Man and Painter," *Parnassus* (December 1937): 3 - 6.
- McDonnell, Patricia. *On the Edge of Your Seat: Popular Theater and Film in Early Twentieth-Century American Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press and Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum, 2002.

- Messinger, Lisa Mintz. *Stieglitz and His Artists: Matisse to O'Keeffe: The Alfred Stieglitz Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012.
- Meyer, Susan E. *America's Great Illustrators*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1978.
- Morgan, Ann Lee. "An Encounter and its Consequences: Arthur Dove and Alfred Stieglitz, 1910 - 1925." *Biography* 2 no. 1 (Winter 1979), 35-59.
- Morgan, Ann Lee. *Arthur Dove: Life and Work, With a Catalogue Raisonné*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1984.
- Morgan, Ann Lee, ed.. *Dear Stieglitz, Dear Dove*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1988.
- Morgan, Ann Lee. "Early Landscapes by Arthur Dove Found in Paris," *American Art Journal* 20 no. 4 (1988): 100-1.
- Morgan, Ann Lee. "'A Modest Young Man with Theories': Arthur Dove and Chicago, 1912." in *The Old Guard and the Avant-Garde: Modernism in Chicago, 1910-1940*, pp. 23-37. Edited by Sue Ann Prince. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Morgan, David. "The Idea of Abstraction in German Theories of the Ornament from Kant to Kandinsky" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 50:3 (Summer 1992) pp. 231-239.
- Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1930. Vols 1-5*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1938-1968.
- Museum of Fine Arts, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. *Georgia O'Keeffe: Works on Paper*. Introduction by David Turner. Essay by Barbara Haskell. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1985.
- The Museum of Modern Art. *Essays on Assemblage (Studies in Modern Art 2)*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1992.
- Newman, Sasha M.. *Arthur Dove and Duncan Phillips: Artist and Patron*. Washington D.C.: The Phillips Collection in assoc. with George Braziller, Inc, New York, 1981.
- Norman, Dorothy. *Alfred Stieglitz: An American Seer*. New York: Random House, 1973.

North, Percy. "Turmoil at 291," *Archives of American Art Journal* 24:1 (1984) pp. 12-15.

Pardee, Hearne. "Landscape and the Language of Abstraction," *Arts Magazine* 60 (Sept. 1985): 134-5.

Peet, Phyllis. "Arthur G. Dove. In Steven E. Smith, Catherine A. Hastedt, Donald H. Dyal ed., *American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920. Dictionary of Literary Biography*, v. 188 Detroit: Gale Research, 1998.

Perlman, Bennard B. ed. *Revolutionaries of Realism: the Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Pilgrim, Dianne H.. *Painters in Pastel: A Survey of American Works*; April 25 - June 5, 1987. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc., 1987.

Reaves, Wendy Wick. *Celebrity Caricature in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Reed, Walt and Roger, *The Illustrator in America 1880-1980: A Century of Illustration* New York: The Society of Illustrators, 1984.

Reed, Walter. *The Illustrator in America 1860-2000*. New York: The Society of Illustrators, 2001.

Rosenfeld, Paul. "American Painting," *The Dial* 71 (December 1921): 648-70.

Rosenfeld, Paul. *Port of New York*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 1924 ; reprint ed., Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1961.

Rosenfeld, Paul. "The World of Arthur G. Dove," *Creative Art* (June 1932): 426-30.

Rowland, Elzea. *The Golden Age of American Illustration, 1880-1914*. Delaware Art Museum, 1972.

Rowland, Elzea, & Hawkes, Elizabeth. *City Life Illustrated. Sloan, Glackens, Luks, Shinn -- their Friends and Followers*. Wilmington, DE: Delaware Art Museum, 1980 (exhibition Sept. 7 - Nov. 23, 1980).

Schmidt, Dorey, ed. (Rowland Elzea curator) *The American Magazine: 1890-1940*. Delaware Art Museum, 1979.

Scott, Nancy. "Submerged: Arthur Dove's Goin' Fishin' and its hidden history," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry*, 23:2, 138-155, DOI: 10.1080/02666286.2007.10435776

- Seligmann, Herbert J. *Alfred Stieglitz Talking*. New Haven: Yale University Library, 1966.
- Sloan, Helen Farr. *American Art Nouveau: The Poster Period of John Sloan*, Lock Haven, Pa: Hammermill, 1967.
- Society of Illustrators National Arts Club, *32nd Annual Exhibition of the Society of Illustrators April 4 to 27, 1934 catalog*. New York.
- Solomon, Alan R.. *Arthur G. Dove: 1880-1946: A Retrospective Exhibition*. Ithaca, NY: Andrew Dickson White Museum of Art, Cornell University, 1954.
- Stebbins, Theodore E., Jr. *American Master Drawings and Watercolors*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1976.
- Stebbins, Theodore E., Jr. and Carol Troyen. *The Lane Collection: 20th Century Paintings in the American Tradition*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1983.
- Stephens, Ethel. *American Popular Magazines; A Bibliography*. Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1916.
<http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044080882756;view=1up;seq=3>
- Stretch, Bonnie Barrett, "The Enigmatic Arthur Dove," *Art News* 84 no. 1 (January 1985): 90-95.
- Tebbel, John and Zuckerman, Mary Ellen. *The Magazine in America 1741-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Thompson, Jan. "Picabia and His Influence on American Art, 1913-17," *Art Journal* 39 (Fall 1979): 14-21.
- Turner, Elizabeth Hutton. *In the American Grain*. Washington D.C.: Counterpoint, in association with the Phillips Collection, 1995.
- Turner, Elizabeth Hutton. *Georgia O'Keeffe: The Poetry of Things*. Washington D.C.: The Phillips Collection, 1999.
- Watson, Wendy M.; with essays by David Carrier; James Martin. *Altered states: conservation, analysis, and the interpretation of the works of art*. South Hadley, MA: Trustees of Mount Holyoke College, 1994.
- Wattenmaker, Richard J.. "The Sketchbook Studies of William Glackens," *Archives of American Art Journal*, v. 44 no 1/2 (2004), pp. 2-47.

- Weill, Alain. *The Art Nouveau Poster*. Trans. Stewart Spencer. London: Francis Lincoln Limited, 2015.
- Westfall, Stephen. "Abstract Naturalism: Arthur Dove," *Art in America* 73 (May 1985): 124-33.
- Whalan, Mark. "The Majesty of the Moment: Sociality and Privacy in the Street Photography of Paul Strand." *American Art*. V. 25, No. 2 (Summer 2011) pp.34-55.
- Wight, Frederick S.. *Arthur G. Dove*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958.
- Wimsatt, Justine. "Wax Emulsion, Tempera or Oil? Arthur Dove's Materials, Techniques and Surface Effects," Preprints of Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting. Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1988.
- Wong, Janay. *Everett Shinn: The Spectacle of Life*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, Inc., 2000.
- Yeh, Susan Fillin. "Innovative Moderns: Arthur G. Dove and Georgia O'Keeffe," *Arts Magazine* 56 (June 1982) pp. 68 - 72.
- Yount, Sylvia L. "Consuming Drama: Everett Shinn and the Spectacular City," *American Art*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Autumn 1992), pp. 86 - 109.
- Zilczer, Judith. "Synaesthesia and Popular Culture: Arthur Dove, George Gershwin, and the 'Rhapsody in Blue'," *Art Journal* (Winter 1984): 36 - 65.
- Zurier, Rebecca, Snyder, Robert W. and Virginia M. Mecklenburg. *Metropolitan Lives: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York*. New York: National Museum of American Art in assoc. with W.W. Norton & Company, 1995.
- Zurier, Rebecca. *Picturing the City: Urban Visions and the Ashcan School*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.