THE ART OF ABRAHAM WALKowitz: A POLITICAL
AND SOCIAL RE-EVALUATION

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INTRODUCTION

Art is obviously not always a direct and simple reflection of society or of social events but no matter how purely esthetic the result, it remains always a social phenomenon.

The social implications of an artist's work are sometimes overlooked for the sake of extensive esthetic analysis. Such has been the case with studies concerning the art of Abraham Walkowitz. His often totally abstract paintings, drawings, and graphics prompted his self-proclamation as the "Christopher Columbus of American Art" and have led the Russian-born American to be acclaimed by many art historians as a pioneer of Modernism. For example, Martica Sawin noted in 1965 the important parallels between the art of Abraham Walkowitz and Cézanne, Matisse, and Rodin, as well as his affiliations with Alfred Steiglitz. Many years earlier Oscar Bluemner indicated Walkowitz's affinity to Kandinsky. Willard Huntington Wright praised only Walkowitz's "lyrical line" and "harmonious color." Jerome Klein in 1937 stated that Walkowitz was "one of America's
pioneer modernists" and that his works "disclose the new inner course of sensibility marking the rise of the modern movement at the beginning of this century." Yet in these scholars' attempts to give public recognition to Walkowitz's rebellious artistic spirit, they have omitted the information that this artist, who sought to free art from the confines of the academy, was equally involved in the socio-political movements of his day.

On the other hand, Sheldon Reich, as well as a few art historians of Walkowitz's day such as Henry McBride, have noted the social underpinnings of Walkowitz's art -- his love of the masses, the worker, and even perhaps Socialism. In support of this notion we have Walkowitz's own remark:

What one picks up in the course of years, by contact with the world, must in time encrust itself on one's personality. It stamps a man with the mark of his time. . . . In speaking of art I am referring to something that is beneath its dress, beneath objectivity, beneath abstraction, beneath organization. . . . I am seeking to attune my art to what I feel to be a keynote of an experience.

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the extent of Walkowitz's socio-political concerns and whether they in fact may be the "something. . . .beneath the dress, beneath abstraction, beneath objectivity."
The study has necessitated an examination of bibliographic material hitherto not associated with a study of the art of Abraham Walkowitz. Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons' two volume text entitled *Socialism and American Life*, along with Lewis Gould, Richard Hofstadter, and Rita Simon's collection of essays, respectively entitled *The Progressive Era* (1974), *The Progressive Movement* (1963), and *As We Saw The Thirties* (1967), provide insight into the nature of social thought in the early twentieth century. Clement Wood's various books on New York City's Greenwich Village, such as *The Truth About Greenwich Village* (1911), were also enlightening about that bohemian locale of Walkowitz's day. Walkowitz's personal files, donated by his niece Dr. Rosa Prigosen to the Archives of American Art, are full of new information and are invaluable in re-examining the nature of the artist's political involvement and affiliations. From these files one discovers that his associates included not only Alfred Steiglitz, John Weichsel, Isadora Duncan and Max Weber, with whom Walkowitz's name is frequently linked, but also John Sloan, George Biddle, and the Socialist writers Horace Traubel and Emanuel Haldeman-Julius. *The Masses, New Masses, Traubel's Conservator* and Haldeman-Julius' many publications reveal the
character of the times and the personalities with whom Walkowitz associated. Van Wyck Brooks, active politically himself, gives a unique examination of John Sloan and the artist's ideals in his book entitled *John Sloan* (1955), while William L. O'Neill presents valuable material in his introduction to an anthology of articles from *The Masses*, the periodical for which Sloan and Walkowitz worked. David Karsner, a close friend of Horace Traubel, gives in his book entitled *Horace Traubel* (1919), an analysis of Traubel the man and the radical. Biographies and dissertations on the publisher Emanuel Haldeman-Julius are helpful, as are Haldeman-Julius' personal writings about himself and Walkowitz and the wealth of material to be found in the Haldeman-Julius archives in Pittsburg, Kansas. The advent of scholarly interest in the WPA and the arts has prompted several helpful books on the subject by Francis V. O'Connor and Richard McKenzie. O'Connor and McKenzie have also helped to illuminate the controversy between "Realism" and "Abstraction" which ensued in the Thirties and Forties. The protagonists of the controversy, Stuart Davis and George Biddle, were most vehement on the subject, and their comments fill many of the pages of *Harper's Magazine* and *Arts Magazine.*
Several of Davis' essays are reprinted in Diane Kelder's new anthology of Davis' writings, *Stuart Davis* (1971).

The present study involves an analysis of Walkowitz's personal and professional background and the social milieu in which he passed his creative years. The goal is to assess his art as it relates to his nascent political involvement in the early part of this century and to analyze his renewed political involvement in the 1930's and 1940's after the relatively politically tranquil period of the 1920's. Substantiated by his personal, organizational and journalistic affiliations as well as by his art, Walkowitz's socio-political concerns are revealed.
FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION


3See unpublished Master's Thesis (Columbia University, 1965), by Martica Sawin, "Abraham Walkowitz, the Years at 291: 1912-1917."

4Oscar Bluemner, "Walkowitz", Camera Work, XLIV (1913), p. 3.

5New York Public Library Clipping File.

6New York Public Library Clipping File (article dated October 2, 1937).

Abraham Walkowitz, Abraham Walkowitz/A Portrait From The Objective To The Abstract (Kansas, 1945), no pagination.

The archives are maintained by Gene DeGruson. I wish to take this opportunity to give special thanks to Mr. DeGruson for his time and assistance in assisting my research for certain aspects of this thesis.
CHAPTER ONE

THE ART OF ABRAHAM WALKOWITZ AND
THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The Progressive Era

The last three decades of the nineteenth century were marked by great economic gains for both rural and urban areas, but by 1900 it was becoming clear to many observers that growth had frequently been at the expense of humane values. Certainly the material wealth of the nation had not been offset by compensation for workers, or reformation policies which confronted the new ills of an industrialized society. However, the period from 1890 to World War I was marked by a commitment to social change and a remarkable political ferment which has led to its appellation as the "Progressive Era."

The progressives sought to initiate reform stemming from orderly change and tried to direct their attention to problems involving democracy, environmentalism, technology, efficiency, and human needs. They challenged traditional doctrines and attacked the passivity of the government and
bureaucracies. Intellectual restlessness sought political innovation and citizens' groups became more vocal about their dissatisfaction with governmental corruption, corporate tax advantages for the wealthy, poor public facilities and social injustices. The progressive viewpoint became so popular that for many it provoked a new awareness of national affairs and for others permitted an opportunity to be expressive about their own particular and sometimes peculiar reform ideas.

An atmosphere of political ferment existed while the Republican Party dominated the American scene and the Democrats, branded with the earlier depression, were split ideologically. The unpopularity at this time of our two traditional parties gave way to the rise of a large number of splinter political groups, the most powerful of which was the Socialist Party. From 1897-1915, Socialism exerted considerable influence on the political, social, economic, and cultural history of the United States. In these twelve years the Socialist Party grew from 10,000 to 150,000 dues paying members, published hundreds of magazines, newspapers and pamphlets, won almost one million votes for its presidential candidate, elected more than one thousand of its members to political offices and secured the passage of socialist-
oriented legislation. Between 1898 and 1903 the number of Socialist pamphlets alone rose from a mere dozen to over five hundred. In 1890, the total circulation of the Socialist press was approximately 25,000; by 1903 there were 100 individual publications ranging from a small newspaper in Philadelphia called the Conservator, published by Horace Traubel, to the Appeal to Reason, one of the largest journals, which was located in Girard, Kansas, and which had a circulation of 50,000. The party's "workers' hero" was Eugene V. Debs and the Socialists made real progress under leaders and theoreticians such as Morris Hillquit, Victor Berger, Jack London and Upton Sinclair.

As with the progressive movement itself, the Socialist Party encompassed varying ideologies. Right-wing Socialists believed that they could utilize the apparatus of the existing government in order to bring about a gradual change to a Socialist society. Left-wing Socialists believed that they could immobilize the government apparatus by electing Socialists to Congressional and State assembly seats and by infiltrating industry at the shop level, thereby setting up a trade union state. One group stressed "inauguration after political victory" while the other saw the replacement of
capitalism with socialism by a "gradual process of growth."\(^5\)

However, both camps shared a concern for the inequalities of capitalism. They held that "freedom and capitalism... are a contradiction of terms."\(^6\) They believed above all else that "Justice, integrity and democracy in government were impossible so long as the wealthy few could amass still greater wealth through the systematic corruption of government."\(^7\) Socialist propaganda was not only aimed at the working classes but also at the middle classes who were seen as either manual laborers or "brain workers." Socialists concluded that for all classes "society should be so organized in its economic foundation and political forms as to promote liberty, equality and fraternity, to secure to the greatest number of people the greatest possible amount of leisure, the greatest possible share of material well-being, and the greatest possible enjoyment of the pleasures of civilization."\(^8\)

The wealth of socialist criticism in the Progressive Era became an important aspect of American society and forced those citizens holding more traditional and conservative viewpoints to take note of the needs of the masses. Later, in the 1930's, the socialist foundations of these early years would be the basis for renewed demands for reform.

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The predominant emphasis on individual freedoms in the leftist ideologies of the age had a particular appeal to artists who "by definition are more individualistic." Artists admired those who stressed democracy and the avoidance of regimentation and censorship, and many identified themselves as Socialists (although more in the vein of John Ruskin and William Morris than Karl Marx) or liberals. The leftists promised in response that the artist in the new, looked-for society would not be exploited, his art would be available to a public which appreciated it, and he would have freedom of expression. Of course, many artists became politically radical because they were liberal-minded artistically and opposed academic traditions, upholding modern art in one form or another as the alternative to stagnant custom. They collaborated with the radicals because they saw conservative art as a product of a "philistine" society which happened to be run by a capitalist government.

Walkowitz's Background and Early Art

Abraham Walkowitz, like many of the liberal-minded artists of his day, grew up in a home environment which stressed freedom of expression and sought alternatives to traditional
society. A spirit of insurgency animated the Walkowitz family well before Abraham Walkowitz was born in 1878.\textsuperscript{12} The senior Walkowitz, a rabbi, led his family to Siberia in order to give spiritual guidance to Cantonists whom Czar Nicholas I had tried to convert. Four years later, after Rabbi Walkowitz died while on a mission to China, the family emigrated to New York, to the heart of the Jewish ghetto -- Essex Street.\textsuperscript{13} Young Walkowitz helped his mother manage a newsstand so that he could earn money to attend art classes.\textsuperscript{14} By 1900 he was teaching at the Educational Alliance with Henry McBride, exhibiting with the Art and Culture League of the University Settlement, and becoming a part of the vigorous intellectual life of Greenwich Village.\textsuperscript{15}

As a youth of New York's ghetto, Abraham Walkowitz drew with whatever materials he could find and took art classes at the Educational Alliance after school.\textsuperscript{16} He then supported himself by lettering signs and testimonials in order to study anatomy at the Flower Fifth Avenue Hospital, and life drawing at the National Academy of Design, where he won a medal for drawing in men's life class.\textsuperscript{17}

Although he seldom worked in a purely academic manner and called his academic instructors "destructors,"\textsuperscript{18} his

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knowledge of anatomy and proportion underlies the success of his later paintings of bathers and the dance movements of Isadora Duncan. In his earliest years, he preferred to tinge his scenes with mist and melancholy. In works such as Nocturne and Serenade he modulated his tones in order to create a mood similar to many of Whistler's works. He painted foggy views of Battery Park in the quiet of the morning and desolate landscapes with gnarled trees. However, the subject matter which Walkowitz was to become most fond of in his formative years was that of the city streets around him with their pushcarts, masses of humanity squabbling over prices, and the interesting forms and faces of the aged in the Jewish ghettos. Ironically, the non-traditional nature of the subject matter of these works grows directly out of his academic instruction. Walter Shirlaw, Walkowitz's etching instructor at the National Academy of Design, who was something of a renegade himself, was the only instructor at the academy whom Walkowitz felt was not a "destructor" but a true instructor.

Shirlaw was a genre, mural, and portrait painter, an illustrator who studied in Munich from 1870-1877, and, beginning in 1878, exhibited at the National Academy of Design.19
However, with other artists of the Munich school, including William Meritt Chase and Frank Duveneck, Shirlaw helped to found a secession group which in 1877 came to be known as the Society of American Artists. The movement was a protest against the preference given the older academicians and the "eight foot line." In general, the secessionist artists were more concerned with technique -- direct painting and optical reactions -- than with the meticulous finish the academy favored. Shirlaw particularly liked to paint older people, often workers whom he depicted with dignity while he also often introduced into his works non-academic motifs such as geese, sheep, and turkeys. He painted these subjects "with a fluent brush and a viril inventive mind, with feeling for color. . . ." He illustrated "Indian Life" for The Century and was among the first of many artists who depicted the lower East side, with its factories and workers. His best known work of this type was entitled Pittsburgh and was done for Scribner Magazine in 1893.

In many of Shirlaw's paintings his penchant for a "genre" of the lower classes is evident. In works such as Figures Busy in a Walled Garden (New York Public Library, no date; figure 1), Shirlaw depicts an everyday scene in a
loosely drawn style. He represents five women in the middle ground washing their laundry. He uses a cross-hatching technique to define form and his sketchy Whistlerian figures are almost lost in the amorphous surroundings. He builds his composition with free lines and leads the viewer in and around the picture plane by moving from the white area at lower left across and up to top right.

Walkowitz first studied with Shirlaw in 1899 and his early works often display an affinity to his instructor's style. In the monotype, East Side Market (New York Public Library, 1902; figure 2), Walkowitz shows a group of figures in an enclosed market space. Like Shirlaw's figures, Walkowitz's characters are anonymous in that they lack specific facial features and he creates a feeling of movement within the scene through loosely cross-hatched areas of lights and darks. The figures are clothed in gradations of light and dark, and the immediate foreground, while empty, is marked off by a broad expanse of dark tones which serve to frame the scene. Our eye is led towards the mass of figures via a large field of blank, white space which is broken only by small dark strokes. Ultimately, these contrasts of light and dark areas emphasize the artist's central theme --
the anonymous mass of everyday figures at the East Side
Market.

A similar stylistic and thematic comparison can be made between Shirlaw's Glassblowers (figure 3) and Walkowitz's The Potter (Collection of Dr. Rosa Prigosen, etching, 1900; figure 4). Both compositions revolve around a central figure caught in a moment of creation, forming a tension between the artisan and his object of creation. In these works both artists have concentrated on facial features and have emphasized the artisan's line of vision and the object of his craft. In Walkowitz's work the ceramicist's foot, his gaze, his extended hand and implement all clearly direct us to that which is the potter's present concern -- the pot. Walkowitz has drawn the pot darker than other elements of the composition but has it touched briefly by light. The shading rounds out the pot and brings it toward the foreground. In Shirlaw's work the activity of the main figure in the composition is in many ways even more obviously stated than in Walkowitz's Potter (figure 4). Shirlaw has placed the glassblower in the center of the composition and has drawn him larger than the other figures which surround him. The glassblower's face, hands, and leg turn toward the object of the craft -- in this
case the blown glass. Although the main concern of both artists is the activity of the artisan, they have not neglected the anatomical structure of the figure. Rather, they have built the form in modulations of light and dark via cross-hatched strokes which emphasize the figure's musculature. Compositionally, Shirlaw places his central figure between a youth who holds a rod of unblown glass and a man who is almost finished blowing a piece of glass; in the foreground of Walkowitz's composition sit two finished works and in the lightened niche sits another.

The comparison of these works by Walkowitz and Shirlaw emphasizes Walkowitz's admiration of Shirlaw's art. He has adapted aspects of Shirlaw's etching technique, compositional format, and the theme of the artisan. In aligning himself with Shirlaw, Walkowitz early demonstrated his propensity for the new as opposed to the traditional. The art of Shirlaw and Walkowitz with its concentration on the commonplace, the worker, and the lower classes in general resembles the art of the urban realists, especially that of Robert Henri and John Sloan. Helen Appleton Read wrote of Robert Henri that his "Tolstoyan point of view, which advocated all life as subject matter for art, brought in its wake the belief
that the working classes and the slums were nearer the
realities and, therefore, more fitting subjects of art."22
Robert Henri, attracted to tenement neighborhoods because of
his profound "devotion to humanity,"23 attacked the rigidity
of the academy and sought independence for the artist; he
believed that an artist should be free to depict any subject
matter and in any technique without being ostracized. The
group of artists who followed Henri came to stand for all
forms of radicalism and independence. Henri and John Sloan,
in particular, were artistic and social reformers who wanted
to address "life" in their art, who condemned social abuses,
and whose sympathies were aroused by oppression. John Sloan
became a pronounced liberal crusader and member of the Soci-
alist Party; Robert Henri attacked the academy and spoke
about the potential of individuals in an anarchist society
while teaching at the Ferrar School. However, there is no
documentation to support the notion that Walkowitz knew Henri
(although he did know John Sloan and this relationship will
be discussed in chapter two) or that Henri had any influence
on Walkowitz. In fact, by the time the famous exhibition of
The Eight took place, Walkowitz had already been working in
an urban realist mode and had his first one-man exhibition in
the same year -- 1908. However, a parallel belief in independence for the artist and love of humanity can be seen in the art of Henri and Walkowitz, both of whom looked to the same heroes. Henri, as a teacher, not only discussed Manet, Daumier, Eakins and Courbet but also Isadora Duncan and Walt Whitman; Walkowitz similarly admired the older masters and would become well known for his many drawings of Isadora Duncan and would cite Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* as his "Bible."

Perhaps because of their similar attitudes, many of Walkowitz's paintings resemble those of Robert Henri. For example, Henri's image of the elderly in *The Working Man* (1910, Estate of Mrs. Robert Henri, New York; figure 5) can be compared to many of the aged working men in Walkowitz's book, *Faces from the Ghetto*, or his charcoal drawing, *Head of a Musician* (1908; figure 6). Both works lack detail and have been stylistically rendered with quick strokes while the faces emerge from an amorphous background. Walkowitz's many street scenes from his early career also resemble the art of the urban realists. For example, *View From My Window* (1900, Whitney Museum of American Art; figure 7) can be compared to John Sloan's *Backyard Greenwich Village* (1914,
Whitney Museum of American Art; figure 8) or Henri's
La Neige (n.d., Collection of Luxembourg Gallery, Paris). Once again the artists deal with the commonplace, as they each depict a scene of urban life. Walkowitz and Sloan are also alike in creating an intimate view of the small streets, backyards and alleys of the working classes.

Early in his career, Walkowitz left the confines of academic art for the more radical viewpoints of the artists of the progressive era. Walkowitz's cityscapes and portraits stood in sharp contrast to the sentimental landscapes, studio models, and calculated still lifes of the traditional academy; like the Henri group, he sought to make an art which was closely related to life. It is to the group of political radicals and their intellectual associates in Greenwich Village that Walkowitz would be drawn during the Progressive Era and there create his own avant-garde art.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE


3 Kipnis, p. 123.


5 Kipnis, p. 18.

6 Ibid., p. 421.

7 Ibid., p. 109.

8 Ibid., p. 109

9 Donald Drew Egbert, Socialism And American Art (New York, 1967), p. 107. Egbert (p. 128) states that the "artistic radicalism or liberalism which leads some American artists to sympathize with radicals in other fields may at times have a thoroughly American-if often naive-basis."
Harry Laidler, *Socializing Our Democracy* (New York, 1935), p. 282-283. It was not until the late 1930s or early 1940s that pressure was exerted by the Party to make art useful as propaganda and a social weapon. See Egbert, p. 90.

Egbert, p. 96.

"Documents" state that Abraham Walkowitz was born in 1880. However, Walkowitz explained that he was actually born in 1878 but that his mother, while in Russia, changed his birthdate from 1878 to 1880 in order to postpone his being drafted into the anti-semitic Russian army. See McCoy, p. 12, and Archives of American Art, D303/950.

Whitney Museum of American Art, Artist's Files.


Whitney Museum of American Art, Artist's Files.

Archives D303/950 (Jewish News).

Sawin, p. 1.

Shirlaw was elected a member of the National Academy of Design in 1888 but had exhibited with them previously.


CHAPTER TWO

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREENWICH VILLAGE MILIEU

Greenwich Village

According to Lewis Gould, New York City's Greenwich Village was, in the early twentieth century, the scene of "undiluted radical expression." Artistic rebels depicted the anti-academic lower classes and welcomed the avant-garde of Europe. With anarchists and socialists such as Sherwood Anderson, Emma Goldman, John Reed, Max Eastman, Haldeman-Julius and Horace Traubel, artists often assembled at Mabel Dodge's home, local cafes, and the Brevoort Hotel. Together they created an intellectual community which was both inexpensive and stimulating for poor artists or struggling writers and poets. The Village was commonly referred to as "a State of mind:"

A perpetually youthful attitude, which holds that such baubles as wealth, success, reputation, Rotary Clubs, the sanctity of the home, patriotism, Florida land booms are baubles: a youthfully skeptical attitude which refuses to accept dogma, religious, philosophic, scientific, or what not, as more than a hypothesis; a buoyant attitude
that holds that happiness is man's object on
earth, and that each is entitled to find it
in his or her own way, subject only to the
prohibition that the finding must not scar
others.³

The poet Clement Wood cleverly summarized the environs of the
village:

Way down South in Greenwich Village,
Modern Art proclaims its illeg-
Itimate descent from living-
Gain's the sin beyond forgiving!
Artists grow as thick as thistle, /
Wit is sharp as hedgehog bristles-
Tomorrow is today, in Washington Square. ⁴

**Personal Relationships and the Nature of Walkowitz's
Involvement In the Socialist Scene**

It is into this "state of mind" and atmosphere of
artistic ferment that Abraham Walkowitz, as a young man, mi-
grated to Greenwich Village. His nascent political involve-
ment was undoubtedly nurtured by the Washington Square milieu.
Indeed, in the bustling community of Greenwich Village
Walkowitz would come to associate with a variety of radicals
among whom were the socialist writers Emanuel Haldeman-Julius
and Horace Traubel, artists such as John Sloan, and art pro-
moters such as John Weichsel. Each of these men in their
unique rebellious mode of expression would influence the
socialist tendencies of Walkowitz's art.
Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, for example, was a vanguard socialist writer (although not a true Marxist) who strove to liberate the minds of the masses through the arts. He came to Greenwich Village professing that he had been a full-fledged "left-winger" since sixteen and that he had read Marx, Engels, Debs, Hillquit, Twain, Ingersoll, Wells, Balzac, London, and Sinclair by the time he was fifteen. Socialism appealed to him as to many youths because it stated what was wrong with the world and how to remedy it. It was challenging and argumentative and to Haldeman-Julius "a sweet soothing poetry." By 1914, Haldeman-Julius was a writer, specializing in the arts, for the Sunday edition of the New York radical magazine, Call. Haldeman-Julius also frequented the Brevoort, often to interview a writer or artist, and once said of the hotel that "one couldn't have throw a hard roll ten feet without hitting a celebrity." It is in the context of Haldeman-Julius' discussions in his autobiography of these years that his affiliation with Abraham Walkowitz first becomes apparent. He mentions in his autobiography that he often passed the artist on the streets outside the Brevoort Hotel where they first met, and they spent hours together in Walkowitz's studio in the
Village. Haldeman-Julius later wrote Walkowitz, "I recall every moment of the hours I spent with you in that strange 23rd Street studio when you and I were infants." Unfortunately, Walkowitz and Haldeman-Julius were soon to lose contact with each other for over twenty years. Yet those early years for both of them marked the beginning of their respective successful careers. Furthermore, the significance of their association cannot be underestimated, for Haldeman-Julius was a self-proclaimed socialist and radical and in those hours in Walkowitz's studio on 23rd Street, the artist must surely have heard and maybe absorbed some of the socialist's ideology. Haldeman-Julius' ideas may have been young but they were derived from the more mature ideas of his friend Horace Traubel, one of the most influential radical minds of the day.

Editor of the leftist Philadelphia publication, The Conservator, and more popularly known as Whitman's Boswell, Horace Traubel was known to be a man "impetuous in his fiery propaganda." It is therefore understandable that Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, as a youth growing up in Philadelphia, was overwhelmed by this man of such a fiery political nature. In the early portions of one of his autobiographies Haldeman-
Julius reminisces about his days with Traubel. He recalls walking the streets with this man who looked like Mark Twain, and going with him to afternoon concerts where they would sit in twenty-five cent seats.\textsuperscript{11} His respect for the man was so great that thirty years later he still treasured the Whitman manuscript that Horace Traubel once gave him.\textsuperscript{12} The two kept in touch after Haldeman-Julius moved to New York. Traubel would stop by Haldeman-Julius' office or Haldeman-Julius would see him at the Brevoort, just as he so often saw Abraham Walkowitz.\textsuperscript{13}

Abraham Walkowitz was also to become a "comrade" of Traubel in the teens, and the close relationship which seems to have existed between Traubel and Haldeman-Julius suggests that Haldeman-Julius was instrumental in introducing Walkowitz to Traubel. At any rate, by 1916 Walkowitz was receiving warm greetings from Traubel in Philadelphia. Most of the correspondence Walkowitz received from Traubel were either postcards with the bold heading, \textit{The Conservator}, across one side or with a picture of the New York Brevoort Hotel on the front. Those of the Brevoort Hotel must have been collected while Traubel was in New York, even though they are postmarked Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{14}
The earliest correspondence from Traubel found in Walkowitz's files at the Archives of American Art is dated November 26, 1916. It displays an affection which suggests that the two were friends well before that date. With this note Traubel sent Walkowitz a book which, when one recalls Traubel's fierce penchant for "fiery propaganda," was perhaps not entirely unpolitical. Traubel then writes, "I am sending you the book today and I send more than the book I send my love." Unfortunately, the balance of the note is illegible although it is clearly signed "Love to you always, Traubel." ¹⁵

Most of the correspondence from Traubel is addressed "Dear Comrade" and either asks Walkowitz to meet him ¹⁶ (the locale is illegible but begins with a "B" and one assumes it is the Brevoort Hotel) or asking him to "Write me, tell me things." ¹⁷ According to one specific undated letter found in the Walkowitz files at the Archives of American Art, Traubel requests financial help for the Conservator. Walkowitz must have responded graciously, for in the next communication from Traubel he thanks the artist for "that which I may not have deserved." ¹⁸ The salutations were soon elevated to "noble comrade" ¹⁹ and on December 12, 1917, Traubel's
birthday, the Philadelphian sent Walkowitz a birthday poem:

I never thought special much of my birthday
   till I saw that it included the birthday of all others
Then I got the birthday habit; I liked to look
   forward to my birthday and look back at it
For I at last saw the real joy of
   being born is in remembering that
other people are also born: that no
   one is born outside but that
everyone is born inside the common crowd;
And I then knew I was in luck in coming into
   a world which contained so many friendly
tender and compassionately strong lovers
   and comrades as you are and all the rest may be. 20

Walkowitz was a constant friend and comrade of Traubel's and
attended several birthday dinners for the older man until the
writer's demise in 1919. Surely Walkowitz came into contact
with not only Traubel the man but also Traubel's ideas.

For instance, Walkowitz's references to Whitman's
Leaves of Grass as his "Bible" is suggestive of Traubel's in-
fluence. 21 Horace Traubel had begun a close, longlasting
friendship with Walt Whitman when the poet moved to the
Philadelphia suburb of Camden. There Traubel maintained a
diary of his conversations with Whitman which he later pub-
lished. Traubel, as Walkowitz would later reiterate,
declared that Leaves of Grass was a great book, "the bible
of the cosmos." 22 Traubel believed that although Walt
Whitman was immune to revolutionary, political and industrial

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propaganda, he instinctively had a spirit of revolt. He believed that his own views, and those of other socialists and anarchists, were the same as Whitman's. Traubel would ask, "What do you want?" and Whitman would reply that he wanted the people to have their proper opportunities. He told Traubel, "I may be dodging your doctrine: I am not dodging your purpose: I am with you all in what you aim for: solidarity, the supremacy of the people: all the people in possession of what belongs to all the people but has been stolen from them: I'm with you in that: but I can't follow you in all the intricate involvements, theories through which you pursue your fierce agitations." Traubel would persist until, finally, Whitman allegedly told Traubel that Socialism would come and he would be one of the rebels.

As a rebel, Horace Traubel claimed to be a socialist, "because. . .that organization was the only one which was democratically controlled and which was sincerely working through political channels to abolish industrial and economic [inequalities]." Ideologically Traubel stressed, above all else, the rights of the individual. This "democratic spirit" infused his own writings, as well as his Walt Whitman discourses. Traubel's friend and biographer, David
Karsner, once stated that Horace Traubel "was a fond friend to those who shared his life and his ideals, and a fierce foe to those who opposed the social principles and precepts of life upon which he had based his being." 27 Such a statement by one who was close to Traubel at the end of his life makes it difficult to believe that Walkowitz would not have read Whitman without a socialist orientation.

In these years of nascent social awarenesses, Abraham Walkowitz established a close friendship not only with Haldeman-Julius and Horace Traubel but also with John Weichsel and became an active member of Weichsel's "People's Art Guild." 28 Walkowitz may well have been easily excited about an organization whose aim, according to its constitution, "was to reclaim the people's life for self-expression in art and to make it a hospitable ground for our artists' work." 29 The guild's prospectus stated that, "The People's Art Guild appeals to social minded and art-loving persons to undertake the solution of the art problem of today by helping to bring about a direct approach of artists and people, so that in the midst of a beautifully active people a hospitable home for great artists may arise. Hence, the People's Art Guild invites artists to re-enter the life of the people and to make their art a token of kinship. . . ." 30
The People's Art Guild, managed by John Weichsel, gave the masses an opportunity to be educated in the arts. Weichsel arranged large exhibitions at such sites as university housing settlements which he hoped would allow art to become a token of "kinship" and permit the artist to re-enter the "life of the people." Walkowitz's art was especially suited for this, as the works he created in these years contained the fundamental trait Weichsel so readily admired -- "an interest in humble, toiling and struggling humanity." 31 Walkowitz's paintings and drawings included images of the people of the ghetto, lovers embracing, a city park scene, and laborers, and were depicted with dramatic gestures which often echoed William Zorach's design for the People's Art Guild membership card (see figures 9 & 10). For Weichsel, Walkowitz's images portrayed more than everyday figures expressively rendered; indeed, they demonstrated that "the knowing East Sider is well aware that this region of blood and perspiration is not doomed. . .as long as the enlightened local minority persevere in its effort to stem [2] the dehumanizing trend of a subversive social system." 32

Walkowitz's images of East Siders and perspiring laborers would be called the "New Beauty" 33 and heralded by -34-
major political journals which displayed his art. Walkowitz's art entries in journals such as Puck, Masses and New Masses during this era demonstrates his desire to make his art available to the masses. Moreover, the very nature of the journals in which Walkowitz's art appears, the style of his work, and the associated text is an important aspect with which to deal, if one desires to ascertain the extent of Walkowitz's involvement in the progressive era.

From 1877 to World War I, Puck Magazine was an outstanding weekly magazine whose sharp words and satirical cartoons commented on the American scene. Puck attacked Tammany Hall, corruption and President Hayes but did not become militant or pointedly political until shortly before World War I. At that time, in the May 28, 1914, issue of Puck Magazine, Walkowitz contributed drawings which depicted three massive figures at work. Benjamin De Casseres labeled them the "New Beauty" and in the text which accompanied the images he described them as the pictorial exemplification of Walt Whitman's democratic spirit, the heroes of today and the true source of power of our society. This article and Walkowitz's images were placed in the centerfold (figure 10) of the 1914 issue and exemplified the now radicalized policies of the magazine.
Walkowitz's figures of the "New Beauty" were drawn in bold expressive strokes which magnified their physical prowess. According to De Casseres who labeled them, they "glorify life." He stated in his accompanying article that "they are out of the slime, out of the mud. They represent the muscled will, glorifying the Brute always crying in us for victims... Look at these figures. They are the modern Vulcans, Thors and Wodlins [sic] -- very real ones."35 De Casseres saw these figures as the hope of the future and equally as an "assassin of the past."36 He perceived Walkowitz's images as polemic and began the article with a volatile and controversial statement. He stated, referring to Walkowitz, that, "The hand that drew them is anarchist and the imagination that dreamed them is an imagination into which has filtered gleams -- mad, sinister, diabolistic gleams -- of the New Beauty."37 The anarchistic nature of Walkowitz or his "hand" certainly appears to be a figurative statement but we might note, too, that in an interview with Abram Lerner in 1955 for the Archives of American Art, Abraham Walkowitz definitively stated that he knew the radical anarchist, Emma Goldman, in the period before World War I. He never calls himself an "Anarchist" but does emphatically retort, "You
know, I was a radical. I was fearless, there were no ifs with me."  

Chronologically, the next journal with which Walkowitz was affiliated was the leading socialist and art publication, *The Masses*, a periodical known as the "mouth-piece of the Village."  

Clement Wood in his book on Greenwich Village claims that *The Masses* was "the brightest magazine America ever had, with no policy, no consistency, no reverence -- only utter nerve and verve."  

It was an important means of artistic expression and had great influence on the moral and political issues of the time. Moreover, it had the optimistic spirit of the day which assumed that social change was imminent. Its cheerful and witty defiance of tradition allowed this journal to get away with being the boldest periodical of its day. The broad purpose of *The Masses*, wrote the radical journalist John Reed, was social:

To everlastingly attack old systems, old morals, old prejudices — the whole weight of outworn thought that dead men have saddled upon us -- and to set up new ones in their place. Standing on the common sidewalk, we intend to lunge at spectres — with a rapier rather than a broad axe, with frankness rather than innuendo. We intend to be arrogant, impertinent, in bad taste, but not vulgar. We will not be bound by one creed or theory of social reform but will express them all, providing they be radical. . . .

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Artists such as Abraham Walkowitz contributed their works to *The Masses* because it provided them with a forum in which they could express their own liberal attitudes. They empathized with *The Masses'* editor, Max Eastman, and his quest for "human freedom"⁴² and as artists who condemned the regimentation of the art academy, something Walkowitz had done since the turn of the century, felt a related need to work for liberating the populace. Artists such as John Sloan, Glenn O. Coleman and Stuart Davis who worked for *The Masses* from 1911-1916, reflected the liberal intellectual attitude of the times,⁴³ and in turn, strengthened the convictions of artists such as Walkowitz, who worked for the journal in 1917, through their mutual associations.

John Sloan, for example, whom Walkowitz knew through the People's Art Guild, was an active Socialist Party member who worked diligently for the movement although he was not a strict theoretician.⁴⁴ As art editor from 1911-1916, Sloan worked particularly hard for *The Masses* in its earliest years. He contributed a variety of illustrations which were social commentaries. *Education* on page seventeen of the June 1913 issue depicted a man picking up a prostitute on a local street corner. *Putting The Best Foot Forward* in
the June 1915 issue represented two figures literally putting their foot forward -- a lady with her leg in a silk stocking versus a beggar with his wooden leg pointing outward. Sloan, however, usually tried to keep his art and politics separate. He had always maintained that art should not be pure propaganda and, when in 1916 the magazine wanted more emphasis on the proselytizing aspects of art, Sloan, Coleman and Davis resigned. Their resignation was also incited by disagreements over the political platform of The Masses. The more conservative socialists such as Sloan dissented from the more Marxist editors, Max Eastman and John Reed, who opposed the approaching war. The demise of the less polemical artists' input in the publication gave the remaining editors the opportunity to hire more liberal artists and for the journal to become more radical.

Indeed, it is interesting that at the time of Sloan's, Coleman's and Davis' resignation and at the time of increased radicalism in the pages of The Masses, Walkowitz contributed his art. One can only speculate on whether his affiliations with the magazine at this time reflects an increased radicalism on Walkowitz's part or was merely a coincidence. Moreover, Walkowitz's contributions to The Masses in 1917 raises
the question as to why he was not previously affiliated with the magazine while his friend John Sloan was a staff member. Certainly Walkowitz was no better acquainted with the new artists on the publication and there is no evidence that the former artists on The Masses had rejected entries from Walkowitz. Furthermore, this situation does raise several questions, the most perplexing of which is the status of Sloan's and Walkowitz's association at this time. That is, was there before 1917, as there would be later, animosity between the two which in some way deterred Walkowitz from working for The Masses? 46

Soon after Sloan left The Masses, the magazine met with resistance from the federal government; the August 1917 issue was pronounced subversive and mailing rights were revoked. 47 The art of Abraham Walkowitz appeared in the next released issue. In this issue and those which follow, Walkowitz establishes an image for which he and John Sloan became well known -- Isadora Duncan.

Isadora Duncan, the modern dancer and revolutionary, was born to a poor but artistic family in San Francisco. With her mother (a piano teacher) and sister Elizabeth (who danced and read poetry) she travelled to
Chicago, New York, and finally to Europe to seek an audience for her modern dance. She preached a new gospel even at the risk of ruining her career. As a female, she militantly called out for her "rights" and shocked the moral values of her contemporaries through her many sexual affairs and numerous illegitimate children. She paraded in Greece in an anti-government demonstration, moved to Russia, married a Russian and claimed that she loved to dance the Marsellaise so that it might speak "for man's aspirations for freedom everywhere."

John Sloan and Abraham Walkowitz both created illustrations of Duncan describing the pioneer, radical spirit of modernism in her dances, illustrations which they contributed to The Masses. However, a comparison of Sloan's June 1915 contribution to any of the three images Walkowitz contributed from September to December 1917 reveals their differences in approach to the subject and how Isadora could mean many things to a variety of artists.

In figure 11, John Sloan presents a profile view of Isadora Duncan dancing and emphasizes her facial features. All of her muscles are strained as her arms reach out in opposite directions, stretching the drapery she holds behind
her to its maximum tension, while one of her legs is bent and lifted upward. Her neck is stretched forward, her eyes stare and her lips are parted, even her nostrils flare. He outlines the figure in long, angular strokes and barely suggests the shading of the form and her garment, by areas of short angular strokes.

Walkowitz outlines and shades his image of Isadora Duncan in more curving, flowing lines. The angular neckline of the garment on Sloan's Isadora Duncan is replaced by a low, scooped neckline. Whereas the garment juts out from the form on Sloan's figure, it loosely envelops the dancer's legs in Walkowitz's rendition. Although both artists have shown the dancer with one arm bent and one arm extended, Walkowitz's lacks the straight and oblique lines and thereby the outward tension of Sloan's. Walkowitz's gives us a frontal view of Isadora yet her face is anonymous. He emphasizes her expressive bodily movements. There is less anger and fierceness of expression in Walkowitz's dancer but her emotions seem perhaps more profound. As the lines of Sloan's Isadora all point outward, the lines of Walkowitz's, especially in figure 12, all come inward like her expression. While the passionate emotions of Sloan's
Isadora Duncan were emphasized in her face, Walkowitz's faceless image concentrates more on the emotions she conveys through the independent movement of her body. His work conveys the freedom of movement itself, for he was more concerned with Isadora Duncan as the symbol of freedom and he said of her, "When she moved, it was like the sound of violins. She was the Walt Whitman of women." \(^{49}\)

Abraham Walkowitz apparently first met Duncan at Auguste Rodin's studio while on a sojourn to Europe from 1906 to 1908. \(^{50}\) The American artist watched her dance at a private salon in Paris and then in many performances in the years 1906, 1908, 1909, and at her last performance in 1921. \(^{51}\) The image of Isadora Duncan remained a constant for Walkowitz throughout his career, and he created literally thousands of paintings and drawings of her. As in his illustrations for *Masses*, he rendered in a few strokes her passionate movements, trying to encompass on paper her liberated expression. His later works (such as figure 14) were often so simplified that only a few strokes sketched her rhythmic movements.

Isadora Duncan remained an important part of Walkowitz's career throughout his life. After her death,
and throughout the 1930's he maintained a close contact with Isadora's sister, Elizabeth, and visited her in Prague. In the 1940's he gave away hundreds of drawings of Isadora to those who wrote to him and evinced the right "spirit" about her. In 1945 the first book of art he published with the Haldeman-Julius Company was from cover to cover his images of Isadora Duncan. Even at the end of her career, when in 1921 she danced her last performance, drunk and fat, Walkowitz depicted her with the same fervor. Walter Terry described this last dance in his book Isadora Duncan: Her Life, Her Art, Her Legacy (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1963); she danced the last dance of her life, according to Terry, with her hands bound and her neglected body hardly moving, but she "told the whole story of a people's revolt against slavery." From Walkowitz's images alone we can empathize with this feeling which Isadora conveyed. (figure 15).

Indeed Isadora Duncan was not only a pioneer of modern art but as Genevieve Oswald, curator of the New York Public Library Collection of Dance said of her, "Contemporary artists and scholars representing all fields of endeavor... view her as the liberator of all the arts." Mary Fantin
Roberts, who danced with Isadora, said she was "the great teacher of a practical social philosophy."\(^{56}\) Moreover, Walter Terry states that "her enthusiasm for Lenin, for the masses and for certain elements of communism has made her the pet of the left-wingers of her own generation and of today. . . ."\(^{57}\) It is this political and social radicalism behind her artistic expression and her liberated attitude that certainly contributed to the attraction artists like Walkowitz felt for her.

The iconographic inferences of Walkowitz's decision to contribute images of Isadora Duncan (whom he, as others, obviously regarded as the symbol of personal and artistic freedom) to radical magazines necessitates that we analyze what, aside from other drawings of Isadora Duncan, Walkowitz contributed to the journals. Most significant is that in October 1926 Walkowitz contributed a drawing entitled The Bathers to the most radical journal he was to be affiliated with -- the New Masses. The Masses, which was forced to halt publication in 1917, was the antecedent of this journal although the New Masses was certainly less oriented to art and literature. Rather, it was a politically radical publication in which the members of the John Reed Club played
a greater role in the publication of the magazine and politically vocal men such as Max Eastman became editors while espousing radical theories in books such as *Since Lenin Died.* 58

The *New Masses' birth in 1926 was in many ways untimely. 1926 was still a time of relative prosperity and many writers and artists remembered the problems which the old *Masses* had with the government. Hence, few contributed to the earliest issues, although those who did were not necessarily communists themselves.* 59 The journal employed artists such as Louis Lozowick (who was to become president of the John Reed Club), the Mexican artist Xavier Guerrero and the Americans Glenn O. Coleman and Abraham Walkowitz. Those commercial establishments and publishers which supported the journal did so enthusiastically. Indeed, the now renowned Emanual Haldeman-Julius Publishing Company supported it with a two-page advertisement of his five-cent books. In October of the first year of the magazine's publication (1926), Walkowitz submitted a drawing which was coincidentally to appear in the same issue as his old friend Haldeman-Julius' advertisement.

Walkowitz's drawing (figure 16) for the October 1926
New Masses issue differs in style from the images he created for earlier journals. His figures are composed of loosely drawn, sinuously curving lines. The many bathers on the beach form an abstract pattern of curving lines, while the background is sketchily treated. This drawing is reminiscent of that part of Walkowitz's *oeuvre* which has been referred to as "Matisse-like figures in a city park."$^{60}$

Unlike other artists such as Maurice Prendergast who illustrated a similar theme, Walkowitz's figures are of workers and laborers rather than elegant women. His drawings give the feeling that the artist sketches amidst the workers in the park as "an artist who loves the proletariat and puts it out of doors seeking recreation in the city's open spaces."$^{61}$ On the other hand, Maurice Prendergast's broken color and greater concern for the formal aspects of the composition seems to remove the viewer spatially and spiritually from the elegant figures in the composition. Prendergast's work (figure 17) presents him as an artist who is "a discerning spectator who watches from high upon dry sand."$^{62}$ Of the two artists, only Walkowitz could be truly called (as he was by Oscar Bluemner in 1914) "Tolstoyan in his affection for humanity, for the laboring, sorrowing, struggling millions
which throng the East Side or frolic in the parks and on the seashore."63 Walkowitz's images of people in the parks and the cities came to echo the Socialists' plea for more leisure for the masses and "a lessening of the hours of labor so that they could have an opportunity to read and think."64 For Traubel, Haldeman-Julius, and probably Walkowitz, education in any or all fields of endeavor was "something more dangerous to the ruling classes than higher wages."65 Walkowitz believed that humanity must have leisure time for creativity. He optimistically stated his vision of the people's future and interestingly saw their triumph through technology and progress. He wrote in the notes he prepared for a lecture at the Gallery of Mr. Neil Lo visce:

The scientist of the future and the sensitive public will make all arts a part of their life. Creations in all the arts will be a part of everyone's life. With our progress in machinery and all forms of inventions, the working hours will be only a few hours a day, and therefore, the people will begin to function creatively in all the arts, as children play with toys. This is not a Utopia or a dream. It is the reality of the future.66

In The Bathers, found in the pages of the leftist New Masses, Walkowitz is the scientist of the future. He grants the workers in our cities freedom from excessive toil so that they may enjoy the anticipated progress.
For Walkowitz, the future was symbolized by the dance of Isadora Duncan (who helped lead the fight to free the proletariat) and the city (which he hoped would actually bring about the changes). These two images became the major icons of Walkowitz's oeuvre and he renders them similarly. In his images of Isadora, Walkowitz neglected her specific facial features in order to concentrate on the essence of her movement and emotions themselves. Similarly, in his images of New York City, such as figure 19, he eliminates the details of the individual people in the crowds or the details of the many buildings, in order to capture in a few strokes the movement and dynamism of the city. The scene he renders of towering and tangled buildings which converge in the center are of our day, not his own, and he correctly entitles many of them "Future City." Furthermore, the images are derivatively cubistic and contain many stylistic elements generally associated with Futurism and many of his contemporaries such as John Marin with whom he exhibited at 291 Gallery in 1913. Both Marin's and Walkowitz's drawings of New York City (figures 18 & 19) have an underlying geometric substructure and shifting planes which may be derived from Cézanne whom Walkowitz and Marin admired. Both artists use the angular
outlines of the buildings and stress lines of the converging streets, masses of people, and in Walkowitz's work, that of the subways, to emphasize the dynamism of the city. Their enthusiasm far exceeds that of the Urban Realists' works, such as Sloan's Backyard Greenwich Village or Walkowitz's own earlier work View From My Window. Marin and Walkowitz both ecstatically herald the city, but while Marin emphasizes this by careful composition and calculated placement, Walkowitz's composition is less plotted and stresses the smallness of man in relation to the grandiose city. The buildings in Walkowitz's composition are taller and his composition is more congested. Compositionally balancing the surging masses in Walkowitz's work is a flock of birds flying off in the upper open spaces of the drawing. These birds seem symbolically to represent the desired freedom for the masses below. He becomes, like his friend Horace Traubel, "the poet of the crowd, the mob, the fussy, fuming populace of the pavement." Indeed, as Traubel once said, "You can't live your life except in the crowd."

At an impressionable age, Abraham Walkowitz migrated to Greenwich Village. Predisposed against academic tradition, he came to associate not only with socio-artistic
rebels like John Sloan, but also with leftist political radicals. Men such as Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, whom Walkowitz met, were not only important for the leftist influence they may have had on the artist, but also for the men to whom they introduced him. It is important to stress that there were felicitous salutations between Walkowitz and Horace Traubel, the outspoken editor of a leftist journal. Indeed, Walkowitz even contributed monetarily to the journal to help save it. Similarly, in future years Walkowitz's art was found in the pages of radical publications and at times when the journals were considered to be extremist. The art which he contributed to *Puck*, *Masses* and *New Masses* was carefully chosen and contains a more polemic statement than is at first suggested by his modernist drawings. As Walkowitz's friend John Weichsel strove to create a "kinship" between the artists and the people, Walkowitz tried to show in these drawings that he was of the proletariat, believed in them and respected them. With his participation in the People's Art Guild he tried to bring art to the people, while his illustrations in *Puck* and *New Masses* brought the people, laborers, and workers to the art world. Also, in images such as those of New York City and Isadora Duncan,
Walkowitz captured the essence of his underlying social concerns. In these works he rendered the dynamism of their movement and force and conveyed in a few strokes the passion he felt for both: the city of the future was his aspiration; Isadora Duncan symbolized personal and artistic freedom. Certainly Abraham Walkowitz believed, as William Morris once stated, that if one is "to free art, the artsman must also be free." As Isadora Duncan freed her dance movements and sought to liberate humanity, so Walkowitz freely expressed the liberal spirit of Isadora Duncan, the strenuous tasks of the laborers, the workers seeking leisure in the parks and beaches, the surging crowds within the "future city." He actively associated with those radical magazines and individuals whose aims were similar to his: to liberate society and art from the regimentation of tradition.

Walkowitz's years in Greenwich Village and the associations which grew out of those years provided him with a basis for social concern. Indeed, it is possible that his own radicalism in art predisposed him to radicalism in politics but his political rebelliousness during the Progressive Era seems somewhat restrained. It is the turmoil of the 1930's and 1940's which will provide him with the impetus to
broaden and sharpen the beliefs acquired in the first quarter of the century. The result will be that Walkowitz will, in years to come, renew acquaintances from these early days, and expand upon and make more explicit his drawings of workers and Isadora Duncan.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1 Gould, p. 49.

2 Mabel Dodge was a promoter of the arts who helped to support the 1913 Armory Show and in 1912 established one of the first salons to rival Alfred Steiglitz's famed 291.


6 Cothran, p. 8.

7 Ibid.

8 Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, My Second Twenty-Five Years/A Footnote Instead of A Bibliography (Kansas, 1949), p. 25.

9 Archives, D303.

11 Haldeman-Julius, p. 12.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., p. 25.

14 All of the Traubel-Walkowitz correspondence referred to in this study is from the Archives of American Art.

15 Archives, D303/017.

16 Archives, D303/020 (April 25, 1917).

17 Archives, D303/028 (June 3, 1918).

18 Archives, D303/1393.

19 Archives, D303/023.

20 Archives, D303 (December 19, 1917).

21 McCoy, p. 11.

22 Karsner, p. 72.

23 Ibid.


26 Karsner, p. 75.


28 Walkowitz and John Weichsel corresponded frequently in the teens and early twenties according to files on Walkowitz and Weichsel in the Archives of American Art (rolls D303 and N60-1s).

29 Archives, N60-1s/383.

30 Archives, N60-1s/492.


32 Archives, N60-1s/1723.


36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 McCoy, 13.

39 Wood, 17.

40 Ibid.


42 O'Neill, p. 303.

43 Emanuel Haldeman-Julius notes that *The Masses* was actually begun by a "small Dutch cook and waiter...Piet Vlag." According to Haldeman-Julius, the magazine had started with a few hundred dollars and began as an agitator for the emerging co-operative movement. When the magazine began having financial difficulties "because of unpaid bills, Max Eastman and a regiment of artists and writers stepped in and took over. The magazine was a quick success, in the sense that it influenced its generation." See Haldeman-Julius, p. 26.


According to Phillip Evergood, Sloan and Walkowitz had disagreed over the policies of the Society of Independent Artists when in 1938 they were President and Vice-President respectively of the organization. See Archives, Whitney Museum of American Art Artist's Files.

It is this issue -- the August edition -- (which Sloan had resigned from) that Walkowitz sent to Alfred Steiglitz, according to a letter dated August 31, 1917. See Sawin, Master's Thesis, p. 24.


Archives, D303/949.

51 McCoy, p. 12.

52 There is a wealth of correspondence between Elizabeth Duncan and Walkowitz in the thirties which is in the files of the Archives of American Art.

53 Walkowitz told Life magazine in an article on his images of Isadora Duncan which appeared on February 21, 1944, that he would give away an Isadora Duncan to anyone who had the right "spirit" about her. Walkowitz kept in his personal files the letters requesting drawings and Thank You letters from those who had received an "Isadora Duncan" from Walkowitz. Archives, D303/398, 404.

54 Terry, p. 90.

55 John W. Gunn, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius (Kansas, 1949), p. 132.

56 Archives, D303/1670-1671.

57 Terry, p. 132.

58 Persons & Egbert, p. 312.
59 Egbert, p. 100.


61 Ibid.


64 Karsner, p. 58.

65 Ibid.


67 Karsner, p. 103.

68 Ibid.

69 Laidler, p. 282.
CHAPTER THREE

ABRAHAM WALKOWITZ AND THE ERA WHICH PRECEDED WORLD WAR II

The Era of the 1930's

The years of the twentieth century which preceded World War I had been years of optimism and hope for social reform. A great variety of leftist groups had presented ideas for reform -- a reform they believed to be imminent. Reform, however, never came and after the war the 1920's saw a swift decline of American radicalism and a corresponding rise in the relative prosperity of the average worker under Presidents Harding and Coolidge. Most of the progressives concluded that "American big business was here to stay and that more was to be gained by working under it than fighting it."¹ Many anarchists were deported and the Socialist Party membership fell severely. There were fewer successful radical journals, The New Masses being an exception.

The decade of the 1930's stands in sharp contrast not only to the prosperity of the twenties but also to the optimism of the first decades of the century. The thirties, of
course, were a time of industrial depression, massive unemployment, and the rise of unions, among them the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Moreover, this era was marked in Europe by "Hitlerite Fascism" and in the United States by the New Deal with its potential for social, political and intellectual growth. Writing in this period, Harry Allen Overstreet stated that, "There is a hard wind of new ideas blowing. It started out of somewhere a few decades ago, innocently enough. Now it has risen into a veritable tornado -- of new demands, attitudes and valuations -- and blessed be we if we are going in the right direction."²

Individual radicals proposed new plans which they believed to be the way to remedy the world's ills. Huey Long proposed a "share the wealth" plan, guaranteeing families two thousand dollars per year income.³ Father Coughlin stated that he would nationalize banks, utilities, and natural resources under his "National Union of Social Justice," and Dr. Francis Townsend promised a two hundred dollar per month pension for individuals over sixty years of age.⁴ The era saw the origin of Socialist Fascists on the right while the Socialist and Communist parties vied for the dominant position in the leftist scene.

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The Socialist Party felt threatened by the new, yet powerful, Communist Party and they attempted to delineate and clarify the differences between the two ideologies. The Socialists asserted that a Socialist society would strive for public ownership and control of industry. They did not, however, believe in dividing up or abolishing private property or private ownership of consumer goods. Harry Wellington Laidler in 1935 wrote, "They do not advocate centralization or autocratic control, or social or public ownership of all industry and have no idea of supporting idleness."6

This attitude directly resulted from the Socialists' desire to divorce themselves from Marxism and Communism. Indeed, the League of Independent Democracy which sponsored a symposium on Socialism in 1929 noted that the overriding conclusion of the symposium discussions was that "the battleground of Modern Socialism is not coextensive with the battleground of Marxism."7

The other major component of the Socialist Party platform in the thirties was a stand against war and its effects. Norman Matton Thomas believed in 1929 that their "great task" was to study the "cruelties and wastes of wars
and capitalism.\textsuperscript{8} "Capitalism," he wrote, "is a long way from automatically solving the tragedies of waste. . . . It is still further from satisfying the desires of men for liberty and farthest of all from eliminating the danger of war."\textsuperscript{9}

Hence, the Socialists of the day stressed above all else the symbiotic relationship of socialism and democracy and that their quest was for the "plenty, peace, and freedom which is our right."\textsuperscript{10} They continually reaffirmed for the American citizen the belief that freedom of speech, press, assembly, and action was an integral part of the Socialist society. Laidler asserted that "they [Socialists] believe that Socialism is consistent with the finest idealism in American life. They believed, to paraphrase the Declaration of Independence, that government should be instituted to advance life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."\textsuperscript{11}

On the other hand, the Communist party was extremely influential in the 1930's and was especially popular among intellectuals. Many left-wingers deserted the ranks of the Socialist party for the New Communist Party. They proclaimed that communism was "twentieth century Americanism," and that Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson were, with Marx and Lenin,
their idols.\textsuperscript{12} The major split between the Socialist and
Communist groups came when the Socialists allowed the American
Trotskyists sect into their party. This incident emphasized
their (Communists') belief that other reform groups were
willing to compromise their ideals and would be subsequently
absorbed into the capitalist system. Cooperation with other
reform groups was forbidden, and the Communist party suppor-
ted Roosevelt and the New Deal while the Socialist party
ominated its own candidates. Unlike the Socialist party, the
Communist party campaigned for government-sponsored vocational
training, for a farm-labor party, and supported the Negro and
NAACP. However, by 1933 their main concern was, like the
Socialists', the fight against Fascism.\textsuperscript{13}

The decade-and-a-half which was dominated by the de-
pression, was characterized by a strong social consciousness
in art. In large part, this was derived from artists' sympa-
thies for the working man and for radical ideas. Many artists
themselves suffered severely from the effects of the period.
Collectors had stopped collecting, galleries went bankrupt,
and museums were faced with the problems of dwindling funds.\textsuperscript{14}
Artists like Abraham Walkowitz were forced to leave their
secluded individual studio homes and move in with their
families, while others took jobs unrelated to the arts. Caught between their dedication to art, their concern for the masses and the need for reform, the artists felt a tension between what many felt was the necessity of representing social protest and the desire for an abstract art.

Many abstract-oriented artists, desiring to be a part of their times and of the radical movement, often gave up much of their artistic radicalism for social radicalism. Many artists developed a new or renewed interest in the point of view of the working man. There was a new sense of unionization and camaraderie among artists. New radical groups such as the Artists' Union and the American Artists' Congress, developed and older art organizations, political and non-political, such as the Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers and the Société Anonyme, flourished.

Abraham Walkowitz and Artists' Organizations of the Thirties

In the 1930's, Abraham Walkowitz exhibited with the Society of Independent Artists. Originally a founding member of the Society in 1917, Walkowitz became a director and vice president, from 1934-1938 under John Sloan's presidency. The SIA was, in general, an avant-garde group known for being
the first to exhibit politically radical Mexicans, J. C. Orozco and Diego Rivera. It was the Society of Independent Artists' concern for independence which probably most attracted Walkowitz to the organization. Speaking of the Society, he exclaimed to a reporter, "We break all ten commandments and start here with the eleventh." 17

Walkowitz, concerned with artists' rights, was also a member of the American Society of Painters, Sculptors and Gravers at a time when they sought to receive rental fees for works of art publicly exhibited. 18 It was this group which, in May 1936, boycotted the Olympic Games art exhibition because they refused to pay the rental fees. 19 On the other hand, he was also an active member of Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme. The Société was organized in 1920 to promote the "progressive" arts. The President was Katherine S. Dreier (a student with Walkowitz of Walter Shirlaw's), while others included in 1935 were Wassily Kandinsky as Vice President and Marcel Duchamp as Secretary. Walkowitz's participation in this group demonstrates that he was still tied to modernism and emphasizes the dilemma the artist faced between being a socially conscious artist and a modernist.
Artists, believing that they needed to organize as much as any other worker in order to protect their political and artistic interests, formed many organizations in the thirties which were dedicated to "free" art and opposed to "war and fascism." On October 1, 1935, the New Masses (now a Communist-affiliated journal) published a "Call for an American Artists' Congress." Abraham Walkowitz was one of the artists whose name appeared in support of the organization. Other artists included William Gropper, Raphael Soyer, Stuart Davis, and Louis Lozowick of the John Reed Club. 20

The American Artists' Congress (A. A. C.) requested a Municipal Art Gallery, was against war and fascism, reacted against any attempts to deny the artists freedom of expression, strove for economic security, and sought Federal support for the arts which was equitable. The A. A. C., along with the Artists' Union 21 of which Walkowitz was also a member, were the first to attack the Treasury Relief Art Projects for their controlled juries, lack of compensation for artists' time spent on sketches, and in general, what the A. A. C. and the Artists' Union deemed restrictive and discriminatory policies. Many artists with these organizations spoke out against the New Deal claiming that "the Rooseveltian New Deal
constitutes American capitalism's latest attempt at planning with a view to preserving the system's private ownership of the means of life."\textsuperscript{22}

The first national relief program for artists was established December 8, 1933, through the Public Works of Art Project of the Civil Works Administration under the supervision of the Treasury Department with Edward Bruce as director. The idea for the Public Works of Art Project supposedly originated with George Biddle after he heard that Diego Rivera and José Clemente Orozco were commissioned by the Mexican government to paint murals for public buildings, for which they would receive mechanics' wages.\textsuperscript{23} Biddle, born of an influential family, a brother of the solicitor general and New Deal advisor Francis Biddle, and a law school colleague of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, proposed the plan to the President.\textsuperscript{24}

The original project employed artists comprising a broad range of abilities and skills to produce a large quantity of work. In contrast, the Section of the Fine Arts of the Treasury Department which was formed later and operated concurrently with the Public Works of Art Project believed that the government should concern itself primarily with the "best"
artists; their desire to employ the "best" artists resulted in the exclusion of "abstract" art for New Deal projects. Although there was no declared policy as such, "modernism" was simply not considered to be the style of our "best" artists.\textsuperscript{25} Hence, the section literally censored abstractionism and later strong social protest art as well, while continuing to promote "American Scene Art." Edward Bruce, Forbes Watson, and George Biddle, important voices of the Section of Fine Arts, helped to promote such a policy. Bruce held "democratic art organizations" and modernism in low regard; Forbes Watson wrote extensively on American Scene Art; and George Biddle believed that art should have a social content which modernism lacked.\textsuperscript{26} However, this problem of censorship finally got so out-of-hand that even George Biddle's design for the Justice building was found to be "intrinsically unamerican."\textsuperscript{27} In order to be able to work for the WPA, artists often conformed in varying degrees to the agencies' desires. Troubled by the issues raised against modernism by the "American Scene" group, artists such as Walkowitz dispensed with their more abstract style for a "realistic" one.
Abraham Walkowitz's Art of the Thirties

The art of Abraham Walkowitz in the 1930's reflects the anti-modernist tendencies of the time. Although much of his art from this period has been lost, the extant works and correspondences found in the Archives of American Art note the artist's attempts to work for the WPA. The earliest correspondence from the Treasury Department to Walkowitz is dated January 1935. In this letter, he is asked to submit photographs or illustrations of his work. The correspondences which followed suggest that Walkowitz did submit sketches for three competitions. On September 6, 1935, the Treasury Department acknowledged receipt of sketches for the Post Office and Department of Justice competitions. In another letter (undated) Walkowitz received an invitation to submit sketches for the Newark, New Jersey, courtroom number one, on subject matter which relates to "either justice, local history past or present, local industry or pursuits." Of the three, only the sketches for a Post Office competition remain. However, from Walkowitz's correspondence in 1935 with his good friend and admirer Louis Shapiro, we can get a good idea of how the works were conceived.

The first correspondence between Shapiro and Walkowitz,
dated May 4, 1935, concerns a mural. Apparently referring to the theme of a now lost Walkowitz sketch, Louis Shapiro mentions that he believed that a courtroom scene was a good idea. He refers to Walkowitz's balance of scales and lights on either side of a jury of both sexes, although Shapiro questions the necessity of placing the witnesses in such a "prominent" position. Eleven days later Walkowitz received another letter from his friend Shapiro commenting on the sketches for either another mural or simply another sketch for the same mural. What is most interesting in this correspondence is the possibly volatile nature of the drawing which is suggested by Shapiro's comments. He states, "Do you intend to have the personalities of Lincoln, Carl Marx or Lenin recognizable? Don't forget Rivera's experience." Shapiro continues, "Do you prefer the symbol of ticker and tape representative of Wall Street to an executive type say with a scroll of blueprints in his hands? The latter seems to me preferable and typecasting the corporate spirit and proletariat." Shapiro further indicated, "I take it for granted that you do not intend to use captions or titles of any kind. I would show no class distinctions in the Lincoln group. I mean by that, that you show the [white?] man [with?] a document
in his left hand and the colored man as a worker." Subsequently, in a May 22nd letter he asks, "Is it necessary to ask the committee to select a leader of capital and labor?" 30

Later 1935 correspondence between the two relates to either the same or another mural competition: "I have wracked my brain for a theme depicting Justice, but do not want to confine myself to any particular phase. Injustice prevails everywhere and touches everyone, therefore the cry and need for justice is universal. There are just two elements to depict -- exploiters and victims. The first group is small but the latter represents all fields of endeavor...." 31 This kind of idea parallels the earlier.

It is difficult to conclusively ascertain from the correspondence whether these are the words of Shapiro or Walkowitz. However, if they are from Walkowitz (and probably are), they significantly parallel the ideas of the "fiery" socialist and friend of Walkowitz--Horace Traubel. Traubel once stated that, "A world that might be happy and contented through cooperation and understanding, is divided into two hostile camps -- the oppressors and the oppressed. The oppressors have fortified themselves with the law and the oppressed have a much less imposing weapon. Justice!" 32
The combined statements by these men suggest that Walkowitz divided his composition into two groupings which, together, would represent the injustices of our society.

The extant sketches, which are today in the possession of the Zabriskie Gallery, are studies for a post office mural. The work consists of two panels, one entitled Old System (figure 20) and the other entitled New System (figure 21). A female figure, which resembles many of Walkowitz's heralded images of Isadora Duncan, stands in the center of the canvas, her arms outstretched, with a letter in one hand and possibly a torch in the other. She stands between a black woman who looks down and who represents the South, and a white woman who looks up and who wears a banner which signifies that she represents the East. On the side of the "South" is a man on foot, hand-delivering the mail while on the side of the "East" a man on horseback delivers the mail. Behind them are farms, ships and a small post office building. In New System the same female is once again centralized but between two different types of groupings. The central figure holds in her left hand a telephone which is connected to a phone box labeled "U. S. A.". Next to this are men and a single female figure (possibly the same woman as in the center)
and a child who stands by the booths which are designated registered mail, stamps and parcel post, while the men in the background sort the mail. In the central figure's outstretched right hand she grasps a letter while on her right side sit two kneeling females. The black woman wears a sash with the label, "The Orient", while the caucasian figure sits on a pillow and represents the "United [States?]". Behind them are oil wells, animals, farms, ships and a large neo-classical style post office building.

These sketches have been described as apolitical, representing only the new and old systems of the postal department. However, to my mind, the figures Walkowitz has depicted suggest that the works are polemical in nature. Indeed, in Old System, the caucasian "East" has its mail delivered by a horsedrawn carrier, while the black "South" has its mail delivered by foot. In New System, the U. S. A. has telephones, registered mail, parcel post and active participation of the public in the postal system. The Orient and United [States?] are linked by mail to one another and a large postal building for them is shown as being an ocean away. Moreover, within this small grouping of the Orient and the United [States?] a dichotomy is shown. The colored
"Orient" sits on bended knees on the ground while the white United [States] sits on a plush pillow. Hence, within these mural sketches, Walkowitz appears to be concerned not only with the new and old postal systems, but also, racial and intra-national inequalities. Walkowitz's dividing up of the drawing into two major groups harkens back to his statement that, "There are just two elements to depict -- exploiters and victims," or Horace Traubel's statement that "A world that might be happy and contented through cooperation and understanding is divided into two hostile camps -- the oppressors and the oppressed." Walkowitz may be showing here the exploiters and victims, oppressors and oppressed within the context of the postal system.

Correspondence dated October 23, 1935, from the Treasury Department Advisory Committee, relates that these works were rejected. The letter from the Treasury Department Advisory Committee states, "I am sorry to inform you that your designs were not among those chosen for an award in the Post Office Department Building. . . Your designs were interesting but not appropriate for this building." The rejection of these works may have been due to the simple likes and dislikes of the judging panel or the "inappropriateness" may.
well have been due to their polemical nature, for surely, the Treasury Department could not object to its style, as Walkowitz has here dispensed with abstraction in favor of representation.

Walkowitz's art of this period is consistently more naturalistic than his earlier, often abstract, styles of the 1920's. He continues his earlier motifs of figures in a park scene and his freely rendered images of Isadora Duncan. Aside from his sketches for the WPA, Walkowitz's predominant imagery of the 1930's (from all available surviving works) appears to have been those which he did while in Maine. Characteristic of this period are those works the artist gave Emanuel Haldeman-Julius in the 1940's. These pieces, dated 1933, are of a fisherman, or worker, drawn in a style similar to the images of workers he created for Puck Magazine. With his characteristic omnipresent and pulling stroke, he shows the strain and concentration of the figure. As in his earlier years, his sympathy for the worker comes through. In Fisherman Pulling in Seine, Workman Leaning on Lamp and Fisherman Repairing Seine (figures 23, 24) he places the large massive figures against the foreground plane; their monumental forms are barely contained within the frame of the picture.
The solidity of the figure is defined by a heavy outline and sketchy shading within the form. The faces of the figures are in half shadow and left anonymous while their faceless heads are bent in contemplation. These drawings are also reminiscent of the untitled painting by Walkowitz of fishermen bringing in barrels of fish (Whitney Museum of American Art; figure 22). These monumental, powerful figures are caught in the midst of their fervent labors. The anonymous figures, as those in the drawings, come to represent the qualities of the worker in general.

Walkowitz's decision to create more realistic images at this time, rather than incorporating an abstract style, relates to attitudes towards art in this period and gives us insight into how he fit into the social and art milieu of his day. D. D. Egbert in *Socialism and American Art* notes that, "The artist who is liberal minded is then consistently faced with the problem of the relationship of radicalism in art to social radicalism, and how to achieve adequate originality while still retaining an adequate relationship with his fellow masses." 36 Egbert points out, "The tendency to regard art as a form of social expression, rather than solely the product of an individual temperament, achieved its widest
currency in the United States during the great Depression of the 1930's. He states that during this time, artists' attention was newly focused on the economic and social problems of the day. The controversy between socially conscious art and modernism was a discord which began in the 1930's and intensified in the 1940's. The battle at its peak came to be most vocal between George Biddle and Stuart Davis.

In the 1930's and 1940's, modernism was equated with Ivory Towerism, "an escape from life...incapable of meeting the challenge of contemporary reality." Leaders of the conservatives, such as George Biddle, felt that an American Renaissance was ensuing with American scene art as its focus. According to Stuart Davis, George Biddle believed that art should be narrative and that abstract art was merely "craft art." Davis, on the other hand, stated that "the artists in the progressive artists' organizations do not want an art 'that means nothing' and that 'is not for the masses', but rather, that abstract art 'has a content of objective artistic truth and is a social product and expression with a responsibility to society'. He later concludes that "The American scene ideology has in it, germs which the fascist minded among us may find profitable to cultivate."
Walkowitz, an artist of both abstract and American scene tendencies, appears to have been caught in the midst of the dilemma. His indecision whether to support "abstraction" or "social relevance" is revealed in his art and noted in a letter from a friend whose name is not made known to us through the correspondence. This acquaintance obviously sensed "Walky's" (as he was affectionately called by his friend) quandary and offered his advice. He suggested that the artist work abstractly, for he believed that this style was more in keeping with what Walkowitz believed art should be: "Then you will be living up to the performance of your intellectual aspirations for which you are so proud to belong. [sic]"

Indeed, Walkowitz was a pioneer and promoter of modernism throughout much of his career. At a Newark Art Museum exhibition in 1941, he said:

Modern art like all new things must go through three steps — fear, sneer, cheer. . .someday there will be understanding and appreciation.\(^4\)

Walkowitz in his support of modernism was also a member of Davis' American Artists' Congress, but from correspondence which refers to Davis, it appears that the two were no more than acquaintances. While Walkowitz was not a close
acquaintance of Stuart Davis, Walkowitz's friendship with George Biddle grew from the 1930's to 1950's. Active, warm correspondence prevailed between the artists during these years and Biddle often mentioned what a fine artist he believed "Walky" to be. 44

Walkowitz's other associates in the art field further substantiate "Walky's" preference in this era for those artists more politically motivated. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, he was a close friend of the politically radical artist, Phillip Evergood. Evergood sent him invitations to openings and later delivered Walkowitz's eulogy. 45

Abraham Walkowitz and Max Weber were also close associates in the 1930's. They met in Europe in 1906 and when they returned, Walkowitz helped Weber get his first one-man showing. While Walkowitz was living in Greenwich Village in those early years, the two were close friends and shared an apartment for a short time. In the twenties, however, they were to have lost that closeness as they pursued their own careers. Correspondence between the two in the thirties suggests that at this time they made a conscious effort to renew their friendship. Weber, like Walkowitz, was an early pioneer of modernism but Weber's heightened social awareness in the
thirties was evident. William Thor Burger, a leader of the socialist movement, said of Weber:

Through the Depression years of the thirties, Weber took an active and leading part in the struggles of the artist. And at this time his work, like that of many of his contemporaries, reflects the social scene through the inclusion of new thematic material in such paintings as *At The Mill*, *The Builder*, and *Refugees*.46

The decade greatly distressed Weber and in 1938 he wrote Walkowitz that the current events were so threatening that it was difficult to do any work.47 Weber was also closely associated with the Communist-affiliated *New Masses* and *Masses and Mainstreams* and in 1939 signed a letter in *The New Masses* with other artists, supporting the Russians even after the Russo-German pact.48

As the 1940's approached and George Biddle, Phillip Evergood and Max Weber became more concerned about international incidents, so too, did Abraham Walkowitz. The fear of fascism intensified and the correspondence from political organizations found in Walkowitz's files clearly indicates that his involvement and concerns could no longer be considered secondary. Copies of publications he kept of the *American Contemporary Art* (A. C. A.) newsletter were full of
comments about artists and the war. He received correspondence from *Democracy In Action* after he expressed interest in acting as a judge at one of their exhibitions. The *Citizens' Committee For The Army And Navy* asked Walkowitz to submit a sketch for their exhibition, and the radical John Reed Club also asked for his support.

Walkowitz also received correspondence from several Communist-affiliated groups. In May, 1932, Walkowitz responded to a request by the *American League Against War and Fascism* to contribute drawings to their special issue of *The Fight Against War And Fascism* on Spain and Spanish liberty. The Lincoln Brigade was also affiliated with the "American League Against War and Fascism" and had formed a special battalion to fight against General Francisco Franco and their Nazi cohorts; in 1945 the "Lincoln Brigade" asked Walkowitz to help "continue the work begun in 1937." In 1947, Walkowitz also received correspondence from the "Council of American-Soviet Friendship."

Walkowitz was very vocal on the issue of fascism. In a letter to a friend, he wrote of himself and two others that "we are determined to destroy Hitler the artist, if anything of Hitler the man can remain after that. . . ." Certainly,
it would seem understandable that Walkowitz, being of Jewish
descent, and with a heightened interest in Judaism during
this time, would be strongly against the Nazis. He was
associated with Freiheit, a socialist Jewish daily which was
mainly devoted to war problems and combatting anti-semitism.
Furthermore, when Walkowitz was asked at an interview on
March 3, 1944, on WNYC radio, what advice he would give to a
fellow artist, Walkowitz stated that, "To the artist and the
non-artist I say -- our first task is to defeat fascism.
Fascism is death to art and culture. . . ." 57 He later stated
that the artist is "building the American culture that your
children and their children will revere and cherish." 58

The decade which preceded World War II was marked by
a veritable barrage of new ideas. The quiet optimism of the
turn of the century had been transformed into loud debates
over Socialism versus Communism as opposed to Fascism, and
there were debates over realism versus abstraction, and
"socially relevant" art versus abstraction. Artists often
relinquished their artistic radicalism for social radicalism
and developed a new or renewed interest in the working man and
his plight. Seeking to find their place in society, artists
became participants of art organizations and political
organizations and political art organizations. Their art reflected their new or renewed social consciousness while it grappled with the relevancy of modernism. Abraham Walkowitz was very much a part of the vacillating views of the era. His earlier contribution of art works to *Puck* and the *Masses* when they were polemic, and his contribution of art to the *New Masses*, when few artists would associate with such a radical journal, demonstrates that his sympathies did lie to the left. The correspondence between himself and Louis Shapiro concerning WPA mural competitions demonstrates that he was concerned about man's inhumanity to man and injustices in our society. His participation in several anti-fascist, Communist Party organizations shows that he was not apolitical, but rather, strongly feared and wanted to confront fascism. He noted that, indeed, the first task of the artist and non-artist was not to appreciate art but to defeat fascism.

His art of this period substantiates these beliefs. He dispenses with his more abstract style in favor of images of workers which are rendered in a naturalistic manner. The drawings which he did for the WPA are certainly iconographically confusing but they are politically oriented and are not drawn in an abstract manner. Although Walkowitz was himself
a pioneer of modernism, the severity of the social and political struggles of the day necessitated that his art, like that of many of his contemporaries, reflect the social scene. He dispensed with the stylistically artistic radicalism he had championed in order to concentrate more on the thematic aspects of his art. As to whether this art was successful, is another matter. Certainly, he did not receive the acclaim which he had received for his modernism. Many of his works of this period have been lost, and those which are extant are usually not discussed. Indeed, the confusing nature of the iconography of the drawings he did for the WPA Post Office competition may be one reason. However, this period of Walkowitz's career, and the few years he had left to paint before he lost his eyesight in the late forties or fifties, are crucial to understanding the underlying concepts of his art.

It is in the wake of Walkowitz's awakened social consciousness that he renews his friendship with Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, a man he knew as a youth in Greenwich Village, who had since become known as a leading Socialist writer and publisher, and for his publishing of five-cent Little Blue Books. Their camaraderie would intensify from
1938–1951; together they would publish Big Blue Books of Walkowitz's art and affect each other's attitudes.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1 Kipnis, p. 429.

2 H. A. Overstreet, We Move In New Directions (New York, 1933) p. vii.


4 Simon, p. 4.

5 Laidler, p. 295.

6 Laidler, p. 296.


8 Laidler and Thomas, p. 372.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 377.

11 Laidler, p. 291.
12 Simon, p. 33.


15 The Society of Independent Artists held exhibitions on the principle of "no jury, no prizes."

16 According to Phillip Evergood, a feud arose between Sloan and Walkowitz over policy and Walkowitz resigned in 1938. Evergood stated that Sloan was sorry that he hadn't treated Walkowitz better, but the two artists never resolved their differences. Archives, Whitney Papers.

17 Archives, D303/ (clipping file).

18 The American Society of Painters, Sculptors, and Gravers was organized in 1919 but from 1920-1930 was called the New Society of Artists. They exhibited contemporary American artists and had memorial exhibitions for deceased members.

19 Archives, D303/ 18, 36, 0187.
The John Reed Club was a Communist cultural organization. (They often sent Walkowitz their literature requesting that he vote for Communist candidates in order to help bring about change).

The Artists' Union was among the more prominent art organizations. It was established in 1933 and from 1934-1937 published *Art Front*, a magazine to which well known artists such as Gropper and Lozowick contributed, and of which Ben Shahn and Stuart Davis were editors.

Laidler, p. 290.

Egbert, p. 114.

See unpublished PhD. diss., (Indiana U., 1968) by McKinzie "New Deal For Artists 1933-1945."


Ibid.

McKinzie, p. 103.

All of these letter are at the Archives of American Art, roll D 303.
This is presently in the possession of the Zabriskie Gallery in New York City.

Archives, D303/159 (May 15, 1935).

Reich, p. 72-85.

Karsner, p. 126.

Sawin, Abraham Walkowitz, 1878-1965.

Archives, D 303.

Presently in the collection of Gene De Gruen, Pittsburg, Kansas.

Egbert, p. 129.

Ibid., p. 109.

Stuart Davis, "What About Modern Art and Democracy," Harpers Magazine CLXXXVII (December 1943), 16.

Davis, p. 18.


42 Archives, D303/ 0176 (Feb. 5, 1936).

43 New York Public Library Clipping File.

44 Archives, D303.

45 Archives, Whitney Museum Of American Art Artists' Files.


47 Archives, D 303.

48 Egbert, p. 101.

49 Archives, D303/ 1679.

50 Archives, D303/ 327.

51 Archives, D303 (May 21, 1943).

52 Archives, D303/ 217 (May 4, 1937).

53 Archives, D303/ 561 (Feb. 12, 1945).

54 Archives, D303/ 375 (January 14, 1944).
In 1944 Freiheit asked Walkowitz to write an article on Horace Traubel. Archives, D303/ (October 4, 1944).

Archives, D303.

Archives, D303.
CHAPTER FOUR

ABRAHAM WALKOWITZ AND EMANUEL HALEMAN-JULIUS;
THE ARTIST'S ART AND POLITICS IN THE 1940'S

In the late 1930's, at a time when Abraham Walkowitz found himself involved in world politics, he renewed his friendship with the radical leftist publisher, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius. As a youth in Greenwich Village Emanuel Haldeman-Julius had been known for his leftist viewpoints only within a small group of writers and artists. Since that time he had moved from a messenger boy for the N. Y. Call to editor of the largest Socialist journal, The Appeal to Reason, and had become a publisher of inexpensive educational books. His views were nationally known and recognized. Outspoken against religion, his writings were condemned by the church; a promoter of the rights of Negroes, he was despised by the Ku Klux Klan; outspoken about the injustices of our society and the policies of our government, the major newspapers of Chicago and New York condemned him as immoral and the United States government labeled his journal "subversive." Walkowitz's decision to associate with
such a known "subversive" at this time indeed reflects upon his own heightened social consciousness. Their renewed friendship at this time is therefore crucial, if we are to reevaluate his art in a social and political context.

In 1945, the two men spent the summer together on the Haldeman-Julius farm in Kansas. There, Walkowitz did a variety of drawings of the area, paintings of the Haldeman-Julius farm, and with Haldeman-Julius compiled five books of drawings Walkowitz had done over the years. These works will serve as the evidence of the influence Haldeman-Julius had on Walkowitz and will emphasize the importance of this relationship as the consummation of Walkowitz's own political/socialist tendencies. In order to more fully understand the significance of the influence Haldeman-Julius had on Walkowitz, one must understand fully the dedication and ambitions of Haldeman-Julius with regard to the leftist movement in America, the significance of his journal, and the purpose of his small inexpensive educational books.

Emanuel Haldeman-Julius

Emanuel Haldeman-Julius was born in Philadelphia in 1894 as Emanuel Julius. As a youth, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius
loved to read and he searched the bookstores for inexpensive, affordable books. In his autobiography, he tells about his first great find, Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol*. He purchased the book for ten cents and ran to the park to read it, writing later, "I'd been lifted out of this world -- and by a ten cent booklet."² His love of books and his quest to make them affordable became the most important aspect of his career and when he finally could publish books for twenty-five cents and then reduce them to five cents, Oscar Wilde's *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* was the first book that he published.

However, books which only cost ten or fifteen cents were not easily found, so Emanuel Julius would often spend hours at the Socialist Party headquarters, reading their pamphlets and using their library.³ The Socialists' kindness to and interest in him (he had left school at thirteen but loved to read) influenced Emanuel during the crucial years of his growth. He loved to listen to Eugene V. Debs who was to become the "young socialists' political idol"⁴ and Horace Traubel. He read Upton Sinclair and admired the rebelliousness of Mark Twain, whom he considered radical because of his beliefs about economics, his dislike of imperialism. Haldeman-Julius saw Twain as a critic rather than supporter of capitalism.⁵
In 1906, with only two dollars in his pocket, the youth went to New York City to try to begin his career as a writer. He began writing short articles which he sent to the main New York socialist paper, The Call. Although several of the articles were published without by-lines, the experience he gained from writing them enabled him to obtain a job as an office boy-copywriter. He later stated that he wrote "like a demon" on "labor and socialist news, Sunday articles on Bernard Shaw, art, literature, impressions of common life. . . ." The editor, Louis Kopelin, was fond of Haldeman-Julius and began to publish the youth's articles on a fairly regular basis. Haldeman-Julius in turn became increasingly involved in the Socialist movement and in 1911 became manager of the Socialist Literary Syndicate. Here he met other writers and publishers and sought additional outlets for his writings.

Haldeman-Julius left The Call in order to write for other socialist journals. Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist elected to the United States House of Representatives, began his own paper, The Leader, in Milwaukee and in December 1911 gave Emanuel Haldeman-Julius a position on the publication. Haldeman-Julius
wrote five to seven columns per day but without by-lines; in February 1913 he left The Leader for Chester M. Wright's Chicago World. Dissatisfied with Chicago, he then worked for the Los Angeles Citizen, a weekly labor paper of which Wright had just become editor. In April, 1913, he went to work for the Western Comrade with his old associate Chester M. Wright. Here he became an associate editor and was able to write extensively. Wright and Haldeman-Julius tried to build up the paper's reputation and published a statement of policy in an early edition. They wrote that Western Comrade would be a vanguard of socialism, would champion and explain the feminist movement as a part of the socialist movement, be more than a propaganda sheet, report on the organized labor movement, and maintain a high literary standard. But in 1914 Chester M. Wright became editor of the New York Call and the young Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, who was an office boy only a few years earlier, became editor of the Sunday magazine section. Back in New York, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius became an active member of the Greenwich Village milieu. He renewed his friendship with Horace Traubel and befriended many writers and artists, including Abraham Walkowitz and John Sloan.9

In 1915, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius changed jobs for the
last time. His move to Girard, Kansas, would provide him with the opportunity to publish his own magazines and to produce the ten cent books he had wanted to publish since he was fifteen years old. Louis Kопelin, former editor of Call, became editor in 1915 of the Appeal to Reason of Girard, Kansas. The Appeal had the largest circulation of socialist publications in America. Certainly Haldeman-Julius did not move for a salary change, as he made the same twenty-five dollars per week. Rather, he moved because he felt that the quiet town would give him more time to write his own material, and provide him with an opportunity to work for a prestigious paper with a circulation of more than one million. Emanuel Haldeman-Julius became a staff correspondent in 1915 and wrote on literature, war, the weapons industry and steel mill workers and took an increasingly active role, eventually becoming the associate editor of the Appeal.

The Appeal was founded in 1895 in Kansas City, Missouri. It soon moved to Girard, Kansas, "a well laid out and attractive little city in the Southeastern part of the state," where the publishers could save money on expenses. Edited by Wayland, the Appeal was viewed as a strong political weapon. It was often subject to ridicule and Theodore Roosevelt
tried to have it banned. When Kopelin took over in 1913, he added an editorial page, literary section, and a Washington column.

In 1916 the Socialist Party's factionalism over whether or not to support the war weakened the socialist journals. In 1917 the Appeal to Reason changed its name to the New Appeal, approved America's position in the war, and came out against Prussian militarism. These changes were widely felt by the party. Donald Drew Egbert in Socialism and American Life states that the final blow to the Socialist Party occurred when the famous Appeal, the newspaper the socialist leader Eugene V. Debs had contributed to as an associate editor, changed its name to the New Appeal and endorsed Woodrow Wilson for United States President. The Appeal made the final split with the old Socialist Party when it became a leader of the Socialist Democratic League -- the group which favored the war, and the sponsor of the Loyal Socialist Commission of which Emanuel Haldeman-Julius was acting assistant secretary.

Although the Appeal's change of name and policy may have helped to weaken the Socialist Party, it was one of the few journals which continued to publish during the war. The
articles became more literary and, therefore, appealed to a less militant, less radical socialist audience. Haldeman-Julius reviewed books on authors such as Voltaire, Balzac, Guy De Maupessant, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser and Laura Ingerson. However, towards the end of the war, subscriptions rapidly declined until in 1919 when the journal began to concentrate on amnesty for all political prisoners and in particular, amnesty for the imprisoned Eugene V. Debs. The Kansas journal changed its name back to Appeal to Reason and reinstated a more militant viewpoint. In order to avoid any future weakening of the journal due to excessive militancy or literariness, the Appeal to Reason under Emanuel Haldeman-Julius launched a new publishing venture called the "New Appeal Pocket Series". The first book on the publishing list was Oscar Wilde's The Ballad of Reading Gaol. The books were a success at twenty-five cents each and by March were reduced to a retail price of ten cents each. Haldeman-Julius used the Appeal to Reason and other socialist papers such as The New Masses to help sell the booklets. In order to try to induce the populace to read more, Haldeman-Julius frequently changed the titles of classics to make them more appealing to working people and also commissioned leading fiction and

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nonfiction writers to write short and easily read booklets on topics which appealed to the working classes. Short biographies were written on Benjamin Franklin, Joan of Arc, Stalin, Jack London, Julius Caesar, Dante, Napoleon, Thoreau, Boswell, Voltaire, Dickens, Bismark and Christopher Columbus. Plays such as the *Mikado*, *She Stoops To Conquer*, *The Beggars Opera*, and the works of Auguste Strindberg, were published. Operas such as *Carmen*, fiction by Sinclair, James, Lang, T. S. Eliot, Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Conan Doyle were published. Handbooks on the fine arts, opera, music, architecture, were produced as well. History and famous speeches were published as well as "how-to" books on everything from gardening to sex. Emanuel Haldeman-Julius would often be criticized for his popularization of the classics. Critics attacked his title changes and his publishing of "how-to" books on sexual relations alongside books on Shakespeare. However valid such criticism may be, Haldeman-Julius was trying to bring literature to those who otherwise might not read. He published inexpensive, short booklets which could be read in one or two sittings. The education of the masses, Haldeman-Julius like Horace Traubel believed, was a weapon against a capitalist society, far more potent than
militancy. In prosperous times like the 1920's, militancy was unnecessary. "Being a radical these days," said Haldeman-Julius, "does not mean political preaching and vote getting; it means doing sound educational work."¹³

Throughout the 1920's the educational aspects of the Appeal Publishing Company became more important. Indeed, the journal concentrated on many public issues such as the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the church, movies, the plight of the American Negro, the contributions of Jews to science and the arts, and atheism. However, the company also increasingly focused on publishing literature, and Emanuel Haldeman-Julius became a well-known figure. He was a sought-after public speaker, written about in such leading non-socialist journals as Time, Publishers Weekly, and Chicago News, and soon became the chief editor and manager of the Appeal Publishing Company. He published more new literary journals which revolved around Emanuel Haldeman-Julius -- The Haldeman-Julius Quarterly, Haldeman-Julius Monthly and then the Haldeman-Julius Weekly. He changed the title of the book series from the Appeal pocket series to Little Blue Books and, in August of 1923, opened Little Blue Book stores across the country to sell the otherwise mail-order-only booklets. He began publishing Big Blue

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Books which sold for twenty-five cents in 1926 and listed over 500 separate titles.

Depending on the politics of the time, Haldeman-Julius' publications fluctuated between political militancy and literature. In all cases, Haldeman-Julius' first goal was to educate the masses. He considered himself a radical, a skeptic who had learned to ask questions intelligently, and above all else, a "debunker." His views are found in his 1929 book The Outline of Bunk, Including the Admiration of a Debunker (Mass., 1929), which sought to present all the truth in one outline. Haldeman-Julius defined "bunk" as:

...a short, smart, pointed and puissard, word (which) ...is the most forcible term of criticism and contempt that can be applied to any statement of opinion... and sentimentality, any plea or prophecy or pretension, any prescription of conduct that may be offered from the enormous, crammed store of quackery.... When we say that anything is 'bunk' we mean that it does not make good sense. Bunk is very poor reasoning -- or no attempt to reason at all. Bunk is contrary to fact. Bunk will not use examination, but falls to pieces, like the shoddy thing it is. Bunk is, intellectually regarded, the lowest form of human expression.
With the advent of the depression and then World War II, the Appeal Publishing Company revived its old militancy. With the failure of capitalism in 1929, Haldeman-Julius believed that a new social order was needed and that Socialism was the answer. He stated in his journal, The American Freeman, in a special edition on the "Hoover Failure": "We declare uncompromising and militant war on the capitalist system."¹⁶ He offered himself to run for the Senate, and in October 1931 sent his wife Marcet to Russia "to report on the actual scenes of the wonderful workers' nation."¹⁷

The 1930's and 1940's were trying times for Haldeman-Julius and his business. Subscriptions to his journals increased but the Little Blue Book bookstores, to which he had sold franchises across the country, failed in 1938 and in 1943, while the Haldeman-Julius Company was suffering severe financial setbacks, his corporate safe was burglarized. Despite these problems, Haldeman-Julius remained vocal and in the 1940's his targets were religion (particularly Christianity) and Hitlerite fascism. It is at this time when the literary aspects of his career were in jeopardy and he was politically active that Emanuel Haldeman-Julius renewed his friendship with Abraham Walkowitz.

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Abraham Walkowitz and Emanuel Haldeman-Julius

In the introduction to Barns and Coal Mines Around Girard Kansas (a Walkowitz/Haldeman-Julius Co. publication)

Haldeman-Julius writes about the renewal of their old friendship:

Two summers ago [summer of 1945] Abraham Walkowitz - one of the pioneers of modern art - left New York for his first trip west of the Hudson, and landed in Girard for a long - and, to me, delightful - stay at the Haldeman-Julius farm. I'd known Walkie 35 years before, when he was just beginning to attract attention among students and masters of art, and I was a young punk who thought he could become a writer someday. We used to have long talks together, and as a result, for the first time, I was able to look at a picture and gain some idea of what the artist was up to....We drifted apart and never saw each other for three and half decades, though we corresponded now and then....Then I invited him to come to Kansas for a season of fellowship and work.18

Emanuel Haldeman-Julius then notes that during the thirty-five years that he and Walkowitz drifted apart they did maintain a limited correspondence. Haldeman-Julius writes, "He'd send me his books of drawings and I'd send him some of the things that sprang from my presses here in the little town (2,500 population) of Girard."19 Also mutual acquaintances may have kept them abreast of each other's activities. These mutual

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acquaintances included Stuart Davis, William Gropper, Max Weber, Glenn Coleman and John Sloan, all of whom did illustrations for Haldeman-Julius publications throughout the years. Walkowitz and Haldeman-Julius were also both associated with The Masses, The New Masses, and the John Reed Club. According to people who knew them then, an article on Walkowitz in Life magazine prompted Haldeman-Julius to write to Walkowitz. When he learned of Walkowitz’s failing eyesight, Haldeman-Julius asked him to come visit.

The first evidence of Walkowitz and Haldeman-Julius’ renewed friendship is found at the Archives of American Art in a letter dated February 11, 1938. The correspondence was typed on "Haldeman-Julius publication" stationary, accompanied by a photograph of Haldeman-Julius at a typewriter, and reads as follows:

**Dear old friend Walkowitz:**

Your brochure gave me a great thrill this morning. It brought back a beautiful set of memories. I recall every moment of the hours I spent with you in that strange 23 street studio, when you and I were still infants.

I refuse to believe the printed statement that you are fifty-eight years old. It doesn’t sound reasonable. But then, I’m getting pretty damned near the fifty mark, so I shouldn’t shut my eyes to what must be a fact, however incredible.
I saw several dozen of your Duncan pictures and they delighted me. If I ever can get to your city again I'll pull every wire to feast my eyes on as many Walkowitz pictures as possible.

Sincerely,
E. Haldeman-Julius

This letter refers to a pamphlet Walkowitz sent to Haldeman-Julius, while the next letter from Haldeman-Julius to Walkowitz, dated April 6, 1938, refers to a book Walkowitz sent him. Haldeman-Julius wrote, "Your book gave me immense pleasure. I thrilled to your beautiful creations. This collection of masterpieces will always be in my library, where I'll dip into it from time to time for pleasure and inspiration. Many thanks." Then in about 1944 "Walkie" began sending his old friend original oils and watercolors which, according to Haldeman-Julius, were "put in the farm home east of Girard." It is at this time that Haldeman-Julius invited Walkowitz out to visit his farm. According to Haldeman-Julius, "his [Walkowitz's] company was wonderful, and his work even better. He worked every day, and got a lot done."

While Walkowitz was in Kansas, he did drawings of the Haldeman-Julius farm, including a large painting measuring eight by two feet which Haldeman-Julius thereafter had reproduced for his personal letterhead (figure 26). Walkowitz
executed hundreds of drawings and watercolors of barns and coal mines around Girard, Kansas, and in the years which followed produced five books of drawings which the Haldeman-Julius Company published.

Haldeman-Julius originally commissioned Walkowitz to do a painting of the Haldeman-Julius farm which he could reproduce on his stationery as his letterhead. The first painting Walkowitz created (figure 25) was nineteen inches by fifty-three inches. The buildings in the painting included (from left to right) a small outhouse, shed, and barn. In front of the shed stands Emanuel Haldeman-Julius with his right hand on a rain barrel, Haldeman-Julius' grand-daughter Marcet feeding fowl and Haldeman-Julius' second wife Sue, reclining on the grass. In front of the barn is a farmer with two buckets of milk, cows, and a pond with a swan and ducks. The painting proved to be poorly proportioned for a letterhead so Walkowitz created a second, longer painting (figure 26). This painting, which is titled in the lower left-hand corner, "E. Haldeman-Julius Farm" and signed A. Walkowitz, 1945, is eighteen inches by ninety-two inches. As in the work previously mentioned and another painting of the farm found in the collection of Dr. Rosa Prigosen
(Walkowitz's niece), (figure 27) the figures are rendered without facial features but their form and stance is recognizable to those who knew the Haldeman-Julius' and their farm. According to Gene De Gruson (special collections librarian of Pittsburg State University, Kansas, where the painting is now located), Emanuel Haldeman-Julius stands in the foreground with his back to the audience and his wife Sue reclines to his right. To his right also, his granddaughter Marceet plays amid dogs, chickens and ducks. The buildings depicted from left to right are the front porch of the Haldeman-Julius home, a small outhouse, combined shed and garage, and the barn. In front of the home are assorted items such as a metal table and chairs, a concrete "settee," sun dial, and curved seat; in front of the shed/garage is a covered water well and wagon wheel leaning. In the foreground is a garden gate and flower garden while to the right of the barn is a herd of cows, and behind it a wheat field. The painting found in the collection of Dr. Prigosen is a condensed version of the one in Kansas and is, in general, painted with smaller brush strokes. These works and the drawings of barns and coal mines are the only works which definitively date from Walkowitz's stay in Kansas. It must
be noted that at this time Walkowitz had developed the
glaucoma which would soon leave him virtually blind. Art
historians have been uncertain as to just when his eyesight
failed, but these Kansas works, with their delicate lines,
harmonious color and the way in which they capture the
essence of the individuals without ever showing their faces,
support the notion that his glaucoma was not severe at this
time. The figures, particularly Haldeman-Julius’, and the
garden gate door clearly establish the foreground area and
leads us into the picture space. The different colored
roofs in the painting carry us across the central picture
plane while the front porch columns and side help to frame
the painting. The small brushstrokes (this is even more
evident in the Dr. Prigosen collection painting) and the
bright orange dress and roof enliven the surface. The
bright colors in the foreground, against cool tones in the
background, help to establish depth in the painting; Sue
Haldeman-Julius' bright orange dress against the muted green
pushes her to the foreground while the yellow-orange wheat
field fades off into the background. The forms are outlined
in black, giving emphasis to the juxtaposition of shapes
which make up the painting. Moreover, the format of the

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painting is reminiscent of his earlier images of bathers and park scenes and is similar to the sketches he did for the Works Progress Administration. As in the W. P. A. sketches, he has placed in the center a standing figure which ties the disparate images in the rest of the painting together. However, also like the W. P. A. sketches, there are too many disparate elements which do not come together and the result is a painting which is cluttered and incohesive. 26

Graphically, these works are reminiscent of works by artists of the Regionalist idiom such as Grant Wood and John S. Curry. These artists simplify the forms in the composition while maintaining a realistic rendition of a specific part of America. However, Regionalism, although an ambiguous term defined variously by critics, is, in essence, an art which realistically represented America (particularly the mid-West) in an attempt to reaffirm American values. In order to promote this form of art, the proponents of the style such as Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood, and Thomas Craven, attacked the machine, modernism and Marxism, thereby exploiting American prejudices. The art was nationalistic because the artists had an isolationist point of view.

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In many ways, certain aspects of this theory bare resemblance to what Walkowitz tried to say in his own art. Benton, Wood, and Walkowitz all painted aspects of the American scene, and they condemned academic art as devoid of meaning while attempting to put "American" values into their art. American folk ways were a primary aspect of their art and their art was a product of direct experiences. However, Walkowitz's art never attacked the city or the machine. Unlike Grant Wood's *Stone City*, (1930, The Joselyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska), the machine is not conspicuously absent from his paintings and in his images of New York City he actually heralded the home of the machine.

Throughout his career, Walkowitz condemned those who failed to understand modernist tendencies. He himself had visited Europe and had been an abstractionist; while Thomas Hart Benton condemned his own abstract works from earlier years, Walkowitz would, in the 1940's, see them as his best. Moreover, Walkowitz hated war, he was not an isolationist and was deeply concerned about world affairs, particularly in the wake of the Fascist threats. Indeed, in the 1940's when Walkowitz created his internationalistical images of Kansas, the nation in general was more internationally
oriented than when Benton created his regionalist art in the 1930's. Walkowitz's creation of realistic images of mid-Western America in the 1940's, rather than the 1930's when it was most popular, suggests that he had not been an advocate of Regionalist theory but, rather, he was an artist involved in the movement to create American Scene Art. His art, therefore, falls not only into a category with Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton, but also with Reginald Marsh, the Soyer brothers, John Sloan, and John Marin. Whether Walkowitz was in Kansas, Maine or New York, he tried to capture the personality of the locale.

While in Kansas, Walkowitz hired a neighbor of E. Haldeman-Julius, Lee Messinger, as a chauffeur, so that "Walkie" could ride around Crawford County, Kansas, drawing barns and coal mines. The drawings which he created while in Kansas were compiled in 1947 when Haldeman-Julius published them in a one dollar booklet entitled, *Barns and Coal Mines Around Girard Kansas*. The drawings in the book were, according to Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, of "sun-bleached, fly specked, rat-gnawed, weather-beaten, rickety, decayed, flea-bitten, discolored, aged, battered barns, . . ." coal dumps and grain elevators. In these works, Walkowitz is
following through with his earlier interest in the worker, for these drawings show either the coal miner at work in the mines, or where he lives; from New York to Maine, to Kansas, it is the common man, the worker, who occupies Walkowitz's art. The drawings are loosely sketched but are firmly outlined. The sketchy lines which delineate the land and sky blend together and flatten out the picture. However, most of the buildings are seen from a three-quarter view which gives the images in the painting some depth. He chooses for his subject the typical old delapidated shanties and barns which (as in figure 29) can still be seen today.

_Barns and Coal Mines Around Girard Kansas,_
published in July, 1947, was actually the third book of Walkowitz drawings that the Haldeman-Julius Publishing Company printed. There was a total of five booklets which were published between 1945 and 1951. They collectively encompass every aspect of Walkowitz's career, although each is unique in their compilation.

These books were a part of the publications which
Haldeman-Julius called Big Blue Books and which were physically larger than the Little Blue Books, costing anywhere from twenty-five cents to one dollar each. Walkowitz's books were Haldeman-Julius' first venture in publishing art. He often stated that his motives in publishing Walkowitz were not commercial, admitting that only a few thousand of his readers would buy them. Nevertheless, he devoted extensive space in his journals to advertising them (figure 30). He claimed that he published them in order to "try to do my share of the necessary job of giving the non-commercial in creative thought, literature, and art, a chance to reach the public no matter how small."29

The first two books of the Walkowitz series which Haldeman-Julius published were the most radical, the first reproducing images of war, fascism and Isadora Duncan, the second divided between representation of the worker and abstraction. The third publication, Barns and Coal Mines, was, as suggested above, a tribute to the Haldeman-Julius and Walkowitz friendship, and the last two books were in many ways a retrospective. Compiled years after Walkowitz had left the Haldeman-Julius farm, they mainly consist of works
Walkowitz did in the earlier part of his career and contain many laudatory comments.

After Walkowitz left the Haldeman-Julius farm, he and Haldeman-Julius made plans to publish the last two books. In 1948 they published *Improvisations of New York/A Symphony In Lines*, which contains a wide variety of drawings of New York City (figures 37 & 38). Included in the collection are naturalistic renderings of city streets and very cubistic renderings of New York. Walkowitz emphasized the tall towering buildings and the movement of the forms at Coney Island. He reproduced, in black and white, works which in their original form were very colorful. At the end of the book he reproduces photocards of New York dispersed with his line drawings of the masses of people in the city. As far as is known, all of Walkowitz's drawings of New York were done before the 1930's. Therefore, this book delineates a part of Walkowitz's career when he was considered most successful; these works were done while he was exhibiting at 291 and his paintings were selling for the highest prices he received during his entire career. This is borne out by the criticism at the front of the book by Carl Van Vechten and Konrad Bercovici which is overwhelmingly laudatory. For example,
Bercovici writes in 1948:

Walkowitz's paintings and drawings [of New York City] are the only ones that have captured the spirit, the life, the music and the captiousness, the massive coquetry of the giant of all giants we call New York.32

The book is the consolidation of one aspect of Walkowitz's career which emphasizes not so much the theme of New York City, but rather, his success as a pioneer of modernism.

Art from Life to Life which the Haldeman-Julius Company published in 1951 is much more generalized than Barns and Coal Mines Around Girard Kansas or Improvisations of New York City, and is, in essence, a retrospective. The introduction to the book is a statement by Walkowitz which he wrote in 1944 about abstract art and includes statements about his art by thirteen artists and critics such as Amedee J. Ozenfant, Katherine S. Dreier and Jerome Mellquist. Once again, the comments praise the artist and refer to Walkowitz's role as a pioneer of modernism. The works of art in the book are from every phase of his career except his most recent sojourns in Kansas. The works, like the comments, tell little about the man or his art but rather present him and his art as laudable objects with little explanation. The book says little that is controversial but does present his images of
workers and fishermen, Isadora Duncan, and one of the drawings which he did for *Puck* magazine (figure 39).

The earlier publication, *A Demonstration of Objective, Abstract and Non-Objective Art*, published in September, 1945, contains a compilation of landscapes, park scenes, farm scenes, abstractions and nudes. The book also included a copy of one of the images of the "New Beauty" originally found in a radical context in the 1914 *Puck* magazine, and a copy of the Isadora Duncan originally created for *The Masses*. The text at the beginning of the book consists of articles by Jerome Mellquist and reprints of articles from *Camera Work* (1913) by Oscar Bluemner and Charles Caffin. There is also a reprint of Henry McBride's 1925 article on Walkowitz and the worker. Mr. McBride wrote:

> Judging entirely from his picture I should say Mr. Walkowitz has an overwhelming sympathy with the working classes. I have said this often in the public prints without contradictions from the artist and consequently have assumed it to be fact. 33

This statement is substantiated by the fact that Walkowitz chose to have this article and his images of workers reprinted in his second book. The inclusion of such an article and the reprints of the pictures Walkowitz did for radical magazines
as well as the inclusion of forty-four images of Isadora Duncan on the last page of the book, suggests that this book is not only artistically radical but is also socially radical.

*Isadora Duncan In Her Dances*, the first book published (August 1945), is a collection of drawings of dancers accompanied by thirteen pages of text by authors such as Mary Fanton Roberts, Carl Van Vechten, and Marie-Theresa, one of Miss Duncan's pupils. The text praises Walkowitz's images of Isadora as "symbols of a tonal idea," as Walkowitz depicts each image of Isadora "alone like a shimmering star." The first ten pages of illustrations are of Isadora Duncan, followed by two abstract drawings of dancers, two pages of other varieties of dance including ballet, and two pages of other dancers, including some labeled "Martha Graham Dance Improvisations." The images of Isadora are reprints of his earlier drawings of her which were discussed in Chapter Two. The last section of the book is devoted to a set of Walkowitz pictures entitled "Drawings Against War and Fascism" which follows an introduction by Konrad Bercovici. Walkowitz's forty pictures in this last section (figures 31 & 32) depict lame men, unfortunate children, and mothers who all appear to be represented by images which look like Walkowitz's
drawings of Isadora Duncan. Many of the figures are chained, surrounded by skulls, and wear signs telling of the "master race", the "slave race", and "war." Walkowitz's loose, scratchy drawing style, sharp contrasts of light and dark, and anonymous figures emphasize the horrors of the images. The figures which represent the "Master Race" in one drawing and "Nazi Freedom" in another (figure 33) try to free themselves from the chains which bind them, while in the illustration next to "Master Race" a mother with a bare chest cries out while she holds a dangling child (figure 32). On the same page the Isadora Duncan-like figure, clothed in the dancer's loose, characteristically flowing garments, raises her head and clutches a child in her arms. She wears a sign, "Fight for Democracy" (figure 35). The lame in figure 31 ironically wears a sign which reads "For the Glory of War;" the man with his leg blown off is a satirical comment on that glory. The connection between these drawings and the images of Isadora Duncan found earlier in the book is especially made clear in the last drawings, for Walkowitz shows the dancer here in "The Dance of Peace" (figure 36). She executes an arabesque across the picture plane with banners which say "Fight Against War", "All religions/one religion", "No War"
and "Fight for Democracy." Walkowitz emphasizes the relationship between Isadora Duncan's fight against injustices and oppression. He relates this to the horrors of war and fascism, especially, by accompanying banners such as "No War."

Walkowitz will not submit to a government which allows children to be fatherless and men lame. Konrad Bercovici stated:

Look well at the drawings of the superior race, the inferior race, the victorious race, the defeated races. They are all alike. All in chains. All enslaved. It is not the individual that Walkowitz blames but the doctrine.\(^{34}\)

In the shadow of World War II, Walkowitz carries the spirit which Isadora Duncan espoused to the abhorrence of war, fascism, and Hitler. Bercovici writes:

Walkowitz is horrified by the idea of war -- repelled by it. He seems to have thought that the last war had already been fought. He seems to have just awakened to the horror of this war. His irony is directed as much against the monstrous claims of Hitler and company as it is directed against war itself. It has dehumanized life.\(^{35}\)

The inclusion of these drawings and this text in Walkowitz's book on Isadora Duncan clearly indicates that, as suggested in Chapter Two, Isadora Duncan symbolized something polemic and socially radical to Abraham Walkowitz. She was, to him,
more than just a revolutionary in dance; she was a social and political revolutionary.

Analysis of these publications reveals the nature of Walkowitz's and Haldeman-Julius' relationship when they were together in 1945, as they are the fruits of their friendship. Haldeman-Julius and Walkowitz had drifted apart over the years but had maintained similar beliefs and ideals. When they met in 1945, they influenced one another and strengthened each others' beliefs. Minor changes in their attitudes over the years support the notion that when the two got together in Kansas they had a mutual influence upon one another. For example, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, who always claimed to be an atheist and who was well known for his attacks on religion, became more interested in Judaism (his parents' faith) at the time that the more religious Walkowitz and Haldeman-Julius renewed their friendship. More important than this are their joint publication ventures. Abraham Walkowitz was never known for outward expression of socially radical viewpoints, although he may have had such beliefs. Haldeman-Julius, on the other hand, was known for his boldness. When the two renewed their friendship, Walkowitz for the first time, with his Isadora Duncan in Her Dances, created art which was very critical in

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tone and was strongly pacifistic. Indeed, Walkowitz had earlier created images of workers and Isadora Duncan for leftist magazines but his purpose had not been clear. Here, however, the very critical nature of some of these books, especially that of Isadora Duncan and the inclusion of his images for *Puck*, *Masses*, and McBride's article, suggests that the increased polemicism in his art was a direct result of his re-acquaintance with Emanuel Haldeman-Julius.

After Walkowitz left the farm the books had less obvious social overtones than the earlier works. These changes could have come about for several reasons. First, the author and publisher may have felt that the initial two books laid the groundwork for the latter, so that they would not have to be as obviously radical and so that their underlying Socialist nature would be understood. Second, Walkowitz's and Haldeman-Julius' relaxed political attitudes may have been due to their advanced years. A third explanation is simply that the rest of Walkowitz's art to be put in the books was not very political; or perhaps another explanation is that only while the two men were together in Kansas did they instill a fierce radicalism in each other. It is possible they sparked in one another the "penchant
for fiery propaganda which had been instilled in them as youths by their mentor, Horace Traubel.

Walkowitz's decision to renew his friendship with Haldeman-Julius, a known "subversive", during the 1940's reflects upon the artist's own heightened social consciousness. Haldeman-Julius had been a member of the Socialist Party since his youth and was continually harping on the ills of society. He had worked for several leftist journals -- the New York Call, Milwaukee Leader, Chicago World, Los Angeles Citizen and Western Comrade -- and advertised his books in the New Masses. His own journal, The New Appeal, was considered Socialist despite its frequent changes of focus. It reflected the times in that, when the nation was depressed, he offered socialism as the solution; when times were better, he offered education. As a writer, he supported the party and as a publisher Haldeman-Julius sought to provide the most effective weapon of revolution -- education. Education was, as Horace Traubel had stated, something which capitalists feared the most and Haldeman-Julius sought to enlighten the masses through literature.

Walkowitz's sympathies were similar. As a youth,
Walkowitz had participated in John Weichsel's People's Art Guild which brought art to the public. In his later years, he gave away drawings of Isadora Duncan to the poor and published his art in one dollar booklets which the masses could buy. The art Walkowitz did as a result of his re-kindled friendship with Haldeman-Julius was a re-affirmation of his earlier ideals. The paintings he created of Kansas reflected his interest in the American scene and his desire to capture the essence of that scene. However, unlike his regionalist colleagues, he never became politically an isolationist nor rejected the machine or abstraction. A Portrait of the Objective, Abstract and Non-Objective Art (1945) and Art From Life to Life (1951) are retrospectives of his oeuvre which contain many of his most abstract drawings. On the other hand, Barna and Coal Mines Around Girard Kansas (1947) compiles works done during "Walky's" 1945 stay in Kansas and serves as a testimonial to Haldeman-Julius and Walkowitz's renewed friendship. Isadora Duncan In Her Dances and Improvisations of New York gave Walkowitz the opportunity to review two aspects of his career considered by many his most important. The book on New York praises the heroic city and its masses of humanity. The Dances of Isadora Duncan
gave Walkowitz the opportunity to identify Isadora Duncan
as more than a freely expressive dancer and to label her as
symbolic of free expression. For him, she became the
symbol of man's fight to free humanity from any who may try
to enslave him to a government's dictates and wars. The
art which Abraham Walkowitz created and compiled with
Haldeman-Julius, is evidence that their re-acquaintance in
the forties was in many ways, the consummation of
Walkowitz's own political and socialist tendencies.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1 When Emanuel Julius married Marcey Haldeman he added his wife's name to his by hyphenating his last name.

2 Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, My First Twenty-Five Years (Kansas, 1949). 13.

3 Cothran, p. 11.

4 Ibid.

5 See Cothran, p. 16.

6 Haldeman-Julius, My First Twenty-Five Years, p. 38.

7 Cothran, 21.

8 In the 1930's Berger wrote in Masses and Mainstreams about Max Weber and social content in art.

9 Cothran, p. 31.

10 Ibid.

The Haldeman-Julius books included were The Color Of Life, The Pest and Other One Act Plays, The Pessimism of Jack London.

Cothran, p. 256.

Ibid., p. 328.


Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, American Freeman (September 12, 1931), p. 1. Marcet Haldeman-Julius was a writer and popular reporter for the Haldeman-Julius Publishing Company. She was actually going to Russia in order to collect royalties from the sales of the Haldeman-Julius books, Dust and Violence, which had been translated into Russian. However, Americans could not receive Russian money so she took the trip in exchange for payment. See Cothran, p. 380.


Archives, D303/236 (Feb. 11, 1938).

Archives, D303/247 (April 6, 1938).


Ibid.

Sue was Emanuel Haldeman-Julius' secretary until his first wife Marcet died.

Correspondence from Gene DeGruson, January 17, 1977.

According to Dr. Rosa Prigosen (Walkowitz's niece), Walkowitz had lost only his peripheral vision at this time and would work on one section of the painting at a time. This may account for the lack of cohesiveness of the painting as a whole. (Interview with Doctor Prigosen, April 9, 1977). I must take this opportunity to thank Dr. Prigosen for her
time and cooperation at that interview, wherein she provided me with access to her entire collection and shared personal memories with me.


28 Walkowitz, Barns And Coal Mines..., p. 1.

29 Ibid., p.1.

30 We know that the works included in the books and their organization are that of the artist, for the layout boards for the books are today in the collection of his niece Dr. Rosa Prigosen, Brooklyn, New York.


35 Konrad Bercovici, "Fight Against War And Fascism,"
*Isadora Duncan In Her Dances* (Kansas, 1945), no pagination.

36 Ibid.
CONCLUSION

In an attempt to re-examine the art of Abraham Walkowitz this study has sought to delineate the artist's concern for the masses, the worker and society in order to show that he was a part of the radical milieu of his day. Walkowitz's predisposition to liberalism thereby provides a rational thesis for his choice of themes, the alteration of his style in the thirties and his association with a leftist Kansan named Emanuel Haldeman-Julius.

In the Progressive Era Walkowitz was affiliated with an anti-academy group of artists and lived in a Greenwich Village which saw the rise of the Socialist party. Years later he was affected by the Depression and associated with individuals, journals and organizations which advocated Marxism as the solution to the ills of a depressed society. In the subsequent era of World War Two Walkowitz abhorred fascism and deplored war. Throughout his career Walkowitz was more than a casual friend of politically aware artists such as John Sloan, Phillip Evergood, Max Weber, and George Biddle. He actively participated in Weichsel's People's Art Guild, began a
fruitful friendship with Emanuel Haldeman-Julius
and received felicitous salutations from Horace Traubel, a
socialist magazine editor, noted for his "penchant for fiery
propaganda." The ideas of these men did not fall upon deaf
ears. Walkowitz absorbed the essence of their attitudes
which he manifested in his art.

His earliest art, like the many works of Walter
Shirlaw's and the Ash Can school artists', depicted workers
and city streets. Totally rejecting the academy, Walkowitz
turned to abstraction and contributed his art to leftist
journals. He submitted his images of the crowds, the city,
and Isadora Duncan to Puck, Masses, and New Masses. He later
submitted sketches to the WPA which, although admittedly
confusing, deal with society and its injustices. In the
summer of 1945, Walkowitz left for Kansas and Emanuel
Haldeman-Julius, in an attempt to escape from the trauma
of war and depression. Under the auspices of Emanuel Haldeman-
Julius he proceeded to organize and compile his political,
social and artistic concerns. In the five books which
Emanuel Haldeman-Julius and Walkowitz published, Walkowitz
assembled his art into two types of collections. Art From
Life to Life and A Demonstration of Objective, Abstract and
Non-Objective Art present the diversity of the artist's oeuvre while those books devoted to a single theme, particularly that of Isadora Duncan, more specifically delineate Walkowitz's love of humanity and his political and social involvement.

As a liberal minded individual Walkowitz sought, through his art, to achieve a spiritual and liberating relationship with the masses while maintaining artistic originality and free expression. In seeking this mode of expression he vacillated between realism and abstraction in order to achieve a balance in his art and yet display his love of the proletariat and humanity. The evolution of Walkowitz's art was closely related to his political evolution. He was an artist who gave expression to a spirit of freedom which was nurtured by his contact with society.

The activist individuals and organizations Walkowitz associated with and the magazines to which he contributed influenced the development and socio/political concerns which were present in his art, an art charged "not only with the fate of the individual but with the whole history and significance of a people."¹ He portrayed
the masses of humanity, the worker, the city, the farmer, the fisherman, and the proletariat's comrade — Isadora Duncan. His art was not divorced from his socio/political convictions because as Phillip Evergood noted, what "Walkie ... believed in he fought for."
FOOTNOTES

CONCLUSION

1 Archives of American Art, D303/928.


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"Walkowitz Clipping File," New York Public Library.

"Walkowitz Clipping File," Brooklyn Museum.


"Weichsel and the Peoples Art Guild Papers," Archives of American Art, roll N60-1s.

ILLUSTRATIONS


6. *Head of a Musician* (from Art from Life to Life), 1908.


15. Isadora Duncan in her last dance with her hands bound, (location and date unknown).


17. Maurice Prendergast, drawing from his 1889 sketchbook.


20. **Old System** (Zabriskie Gallery), 1935.


22. **Maine Fishermen** (Whitney Museum of American Art), 1930’s.

23. **Fisherman Repairing Seine** (Collection of Gene DeGruson), 1938.


25. **Haldeman-Julius Farm** (initial painting; Collection of Gene DeGruson), 1945.

26. **Haldeman-Julius Farm** (painting used on letterhead; Collection of Gene DeGruson), 1945.

27. **Haldeman-Julius Farm** (Collection of Dr. Rosa Prigosen), 1945.

28. Page from **Barns and Coal Mines Around Girard, Kansas**.


30. Advertisement in a Haldeman-Julius publication of two of Walkowitz’s books.

31. “Drawings Against War And Fascism,” from **Isadora Duncan In Her Dances**.

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32. "Drawings Against War and Fascism," from Isadora Duncan In Her Dances.

33. "Master Race" and "Nazi Freedom" from "Drawings Against War and Fascism."

34. Drawing from Isadora Duncan In Her Dances.

35. "Fight for Democracy" from "Drawings Against War and Fascism."

36. "The Dance of Peace" from "Drawings Against War and Fascism."

37. Drawing from Improvisations of New York.

38. Drawing from Improvisations of New York.

39. Drawing for Puck Magazine from Art From Life to Life.

40. 1945 photograph, from left to right Sue Haldeman-Julius, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, and Abraham Walkowitz working on a painting of the Haldeman-Julius farm.
Figure 18
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TWO FINE ART VOLUMES

Nelson Antirin Crawford, editor of my new anthology, "Notable Short Stories," looked at proofs of the plates that have been done for Abraham Walkowitz's beautiful book, "Isadora Duncan in Her Dances," and pronounced them fine. "I am looking forward eagerly to seeing the finished volume," writes Mr. Crawford. "Walkowitz has tremendous vitality, rhythm, and individuality in his work."

This book of Walkowitz's drawings is a work of art. There are 10 magnificent copper plates. Fine paper, page size, 8 1/2 x 11 inches. The price is $1 per copy, prepaid.

This is the first time I have entered the field of art publishing. But that didn't stop me from reaching for the past. Walkowitz, the father of modern art in America, was the ideal man to do my first art book.

I've known Walkowitz for 50 years. We have watched him grow from a young man to his mature 65, have followed his career as an artist, and have always felt that he is a genuine, creative, inspired trail-blazer. Walkowitz now stands at the top of his powers.

I have watched him on the Haldeman-Julius farm for more than a month and have been amazed at his artistic vigor, his tirelessness, his rich fund of ideas, and his ability to go through the sheer physical pains of getting so much done. For, after all, art isn't a tea-party affair; it takes work and sweat to be an artist, along with other and more subtle forms of expressing one's reactions to subjects intended for the canvas.


This book, also 8 1/2 x 11 inches in size, costs the same as the Isadora Duncan volumes, 51 cents, prepaid. Both volumes may be ordered for $2.

There are 50 large pages of comment in "Isadora Duncan in Her Dances." The longest is entitled "Isadora, Prophet of the Dance," (about 4,000 words) by Marie-Theresa, one of Miss Duncan's pupils. The book also contains: "Isadora," by Mary Finton Roberts; "An Appreciation," by Carl Van Vechten; and "The Quality of Isadora's Art," by Chaemis O'Shield. A special section of this book is devoted to a set of Walkowitz pictures, entitled "Drawings Against War and Fascism." The book also contains an introduction by Konrad Bercovici. The wide-ranging, finely written text, together with the beautiful plates, make for a volume of distinction, and intellectual and artistic importance.

ORDER BLANK FOR WALKOWITZ' BOOKS

Haldeman-Julius Publications, Girard, Kansas.

Enclosed find $__, payment for the following:
1. "Isadora Duncan in Her Dances," $1 prepaid.

If you want both volumes, remit $2 and make an X here__________.

Name___________________________________________________________
Address________________________________________________________
City______________________________________________State________

Figure 30

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