ART SUBJECTS

MAKING ARTISTS IN THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace of recent criticism that even before I begin, and in ways I cannot tell, I am captured by and folded inside the object of my research. However I attempt to stand at a distance and view objectively, the blindnesses of ideology and interest, the entanglements of identification and transference, and the traps of textuality lie in wait. It is easy for me to acknowledge the impossibility of distance here. My study is on the graduate training of artists in the American university (and in the degree-granting art schools fashioned in its image), and I have been captured by and folded into that object once before—bodily, and as its object. You might read what follows as a confession of my critical involvements and complicities, or, if you are of a different school, as an inside view.

I have a B.A. degree in studio art from a small liberal arts college. Most of my undergraduate courses were in painting, supplemented by a year of printmaking and two semesters of life drawing, in a course whose title, Drawing and Composition, was left over from a slightly earlier, yet more "modern" conception. The drawing program, a familiar one, proceeded from mark-making exercises to the nude model, rendered first in gesture and blind contour drawings, and then in increasingly extended poses. In printmaking, instruction was technical and craft based: I ground stones, scraped rollers, learned the uses of gum arabic, Carborundum, asphaltum. In introductory painting too there were mechanics, though fewer: how to build a stretcher and stretch a

canvas, how to apply gesso as a ground. I was asked to make a color chart. I learned how to glaze and stain, but these techniques I picked up later from other, older students. Working as a studio assistant for my painting teacher, I used a spray gun. Painting problems were given only in the introductory class: make a painting with only three colors. The unspoken problem of the course in painting as it advanced was to make something that was convincing as a painting. Not long after Painting 1, looking like a painting became an issue of scale; I made five-by-eight-foot monochromes and, later on, shaped canvases of equal size.

In class and out we discussed art, its physiological or anthropological or psychological necessity, its political and social value. What formed the discussion and continued in it was the question of what to do, a question at once personal and what might be called professional. The question "What should I do?" was also always the question "What do artists do?"[1] As students we were troubled by the title "artist," not simply because of our status, but also because of those attributes of "creativity and genius, eternal value and mystery" that, as reading Walter Benjamin would teach us in graduate school, "lead to a processing of data in the Fascist sense," a mythical sense as opposed to a historical one.[2] We were, for at least a while, "technicians" or "cultural workers." It was clear to us that something historical was at stake in the name we took. Long after our one visiting artist, a painter from New York, had departed, discussion continued about his insistence on identifying himself as a painter rather than an artist. The labels proposed different objects and different questions concerning what was to be done: a critical art practice after Duchamp, on the one hand, and a history of painting descended from Cézanne, on the other.[3] I would learn from the shop assistant in graduate school to run a few more power tools, but this was the sum of my technical instruction in art. It took place precisely where merely manual or specialized professional instruction was not supposed to occur, in an undergraduate liberal arts college.

What manual training I had in graduate school might be imagined as an updated, and markedly abbreviated, version of the master's workshop. Under the tutelage of the shop assistant, I learned to make maple frames and bases (for use by my department chair) and to hang drywall. That is, I learned to craft the edges and outsides and supports of art, or what Jacques Derrida has called, after Kant, the *parergon*, that "outside which is called to the inside of the inside in order to constitute it as an inside. . . . the limit between work and absence of work."[4] The

frame is a particularly critical modern lesson; its enclosure extends from the page to the professional field, from Hans Hofmann's insistence that the "four sides of the paper are the first lines of the composition"[5] to Raymond Parker's observation that in art schools "teachers demonstrate how they participate in the art-world, or discuss how others do it. . . . [T]he art-world can be understood and taught as a subject."[6] My passage as an apprentice from maple frames to gallery walls might be read as an emblem for what is taught, and indeed what needs to be taught, in graduate school: again in Derrida's words, "the marking out of the work in a field."[7]

What took place outside my graduate school woodshop, in the program's seminars and organized activities and in the individual cubicles where we worked at doing our own work, was the teaching that Raymond Parker described, our training as participating artists in the art world. Artists are the subject of graduate school; they are both who and what is taught. In grammar school, to continue this play of subjects and objects, teachers teach art; in my undergraduate college, artists taught art. In the graduate school, I argue throughout this book, artists teach artists. Artists are, again, both the subject of the graduate art department and its goal. The art historian Howard Risatti, who has written often on the difficulties of training contemporary artists, argued not long ago that "at the very heart of the problem of educating the artist lies the difficulty of defining what it means to be an artist today."[8] The "problem" is not a practical one; the meaning of being an artist cannot be clarified and solved by faculty or administration, although across this book a number of professors and administrators try. Rather, the problem of definition is at the heart of the artist's education because it is the formative and defining problem of recent art. Artists are made by troubling over it, by taking it seriously.

Since the 1960s the visiting artist program—the display of the exemplary artist—has been crucial to teaching artists.[9] I address a logic of the visiting artist in Chapter 6; here I want only to note the most obvious of that artist's functions: to embody a link between the school and a professional community of what graduate schools refer to as "national" artists. Visiting artists are chosen by students or faculty from national journals and magazines, from the pages of *Flash Art* or *Art in America,* and they speak to students, whatever they say, in the shared language of those journals and that community; their speech constructs that community. The visiting artists who spoke to me and my peers modeled for us what an artist was. Our assignment, as we watched and

listened, was not secret, or no longer seems so. In graduate seminars we researched artists in the magazines, presenting to the class our favorites or least favorites, making clear and verbal the relations and positions we needed to plot for ourselves within that field emblematized by drywall and maple frames. In one assignment we were asked to invent an artist of another type than we imagined ourselves to be—since we were to know ourselves as types—and then to produce an oeuvre, to make slides and do the talk, to model a speech or slouch. We learned to run our own careers as well, to produce cards and catalogues and slides, and to attend openings, which were staged like rehearsals every other week in the fall, every week in the spring.

Although I hold a Master of Fine Arts degree in sculpture, I do not have the traditional skills of the sculptor; I cannot carve or cast or weld or model in clay. I think the question that I began this book to answer is, why not? In some sense, I must admit, my inability was not my program's fault. The tools and skills of sculpture were available to me as options. If I needed them to do my work as an artist, to address the issues or make the objects I wanted to make, there were people who could teach me. But it was clear at the time that the craft practices of a particular métier were no longer central to my training; we learned to think, not inside a material tradition, but rather about it, along its frame. The problem of being an artist occupied the center. The question I posed to my teachers, and that they posed to me again and again, was not how to sculpt or to paint, but what to do as an artist, and as "my work." Perhaps this is where my program failed me—after all, I am not an artist; at the time, however, I imagined that its failure lay in its outmoded map of recent art and its issues, in its parochial roster of gallery exhibitions and visiting artists. I am still not sure why, but at some point not long after graduation it became very difficult to imagine myself as an artist, or to be convinced by what I made.

Although this book is predicated on my own experience, and on my own failings, it speaks now to a set of less self-absorbed questions: what constitutes training as an artist now, and what has determined its shape? What did my training mean, historically and ideologically, and what was it in? To forecast the ground where I look for answers, I sketch a narrative of education that, like my own, takes place in a college and university, stresses theorization and a verbal reenactment of the practices of art and the role of the artist, and is rewarded by a degree. Artists have not always been trained and credentialed on university campuses, or at art schools that envision themselves, not as ateliers

or academies, but as "universities for the arts" and "aesthetic think tanks."[10] The basic assumption of this project is that where and how artists are educated now—and, indeed, where art and its criticism take their places now—makes a difference. It is currently making the difference labeled postmodernism: criticism and text are important products in departments across the university. But it has also ensured that the practice of art in America is even more fully modern, that is to say, more specialized, more rationalized, and more historically conscious, endowed with an ever fuller and more critical sense of its position.

My interest in the sites and practices of art in the university is not only personal. In looking to the institutional formation of artists as a way to understand recent art, I am following Ernst Gombrich's advice that a "study of the metaphysics of art should always be supplemented by an analysis of its practice, notably the practice of teaching."[11] But what emerges throughout the book, I hope, is that teaching does not come without a metaphysics. It is not offered, nor is it heard, outside an ensemble of representations, values, and beliefs woven in and out of course assignments, studio critiques, and modeled roles; this ensemble might be called, after Gombrich, a metaphysics, but it is more precisely an ideology. The university too has its representations, its discourses of service and citizenship, of independent research and *Bildung*, and there are types and legends of the artist that it cannot easily include. The first assignment of this book is to examine how the practices of art and the identity of the artist are fashioned in the discourse of the American university, fitted to the image of the liberal arts college, the university-based professional school, and the research university in America. The artist, or artistic subjectivity, is the university's problem and its project. From the turn of the century on, it has offered a series of new artistic subjects, written over and over in the likeness of the university professional.

The chapters that follow address not only the various images of the artist on campus but also the arguments those images advance for the place and position of art as a study in the university: its likeness to university scholarship and theoretical research. On campus, art cannot be a calling or a vocation. To be included among the disciplines, art must give up its definition as craft or technique, a fully trainable manual skill on the guild or apprenticeship model. At the same time, it cannot be purely inspirational or simply expressive: the work of genius is unteachable and self-expression is untutored. Moreover, art in the university must be different from a certain "common sense" of its problems

and procedures. Whatever has called a student to enter the department—the love of past art, an excitement about the process of creation, a desire for personal growth, the ability to draw—one of the primary lessons of the graduate program is that art can no longer be seen as a simple response to, or merely the repository of, those needs and excitements. Among the tasks of the university program in art is to separate its artists and the art world in which they will operate from "amateurs" or "Sunday painters," as well as from a definition of the artist grounded in manual skill, tortured genius, or recreational pleasure. Moreover, art in the university must constitute itself as a department and a discipline, separate from public "lay" practices and equal to other studies on campus.

My project requires that I at least begin a history of professional training in the university, although I do not pretend to tell it fully or in strict order: there are over a hundred and eighty universities and degree-granting art schools now awarding the Master of Fine Arts in studio art. The first M.F.A.s were awarded in the mid 1920s at the Universities of Washington and Oregon; Yale and Syracuse, the nation's oldest campus-based art schools, place their first M.F.A.s in the late 1920s.[12] But the Master of Fine Arts did not become widespread, nor did it become the terminal degree in studio art that it is now, until much later. At the beginning of the 1940s there were 60 graduate studio candidates enrolled at eleven institutions; in 1950–51 there were 320 candidates at thirty-two institutions. Many of these students worked toward advanced degrees with other names: the Master of Creative Arts, for example; or the Master of Painting; or, at Ohio State, a studio art Ph.D. Only in 1960 did the College Art Association approve the "M.F.A. rather than the Ph.D. as the terminal degree for graduate work in the studio area."[13] In that year 1,365 students were enrolled at seventy-two institutions. Thirty-one new M.F.A. programs opened in the 1960s, forty-four in the 1970s. In 1994–95 there were at least 7,100 students enrolled full-time for the M.F.A.; more than ten thousand degrees were awarded between 1990 and 1995.[14] If these statistics suggest the unchallenged administrative success of the M.F.A., that victory has taken place in the midst of a continuing debate over the place of the artist and of graduate training in the university.

The chapters that follow examine the discourses that surrounded and shaped the history of studio training in the university that is abbreviated in these numbers. Recorded in assignments and lectures, in papers presented to College Art Association meetings, in essays in the *College Art Journal* or *Arts in Society*, and in the mission statements of the new art departments, the debates over art and artist in the university and the calls for reappraisal and reform bear witness to a set of unresolved contradictions. These thread through the book as recurring motifs. I introduce them here with a quotation from Walter Gropius, who founded the most influential art school of the century, the Bauhaus, which—to broach one of the contradictions—although it changed the way artists were made, did not acknowledge itself as a school for artists. Making artists was a problem; indeed Gropius insisted it was impossible: art is not a "profession which can be mastered by study"; it "cannot be taught and cannot be learned," even if the "manual dexterity" of the craftsman can and must be.[15]

Gropius's insistence that art cannot be taught is repeated again and again by American educators through mid century, most often by artists teaching in increasingly well organized and articulated university art departments. By 1951 it was "widely held opinion" in the pages of the *College Art Journal* that "all one can teach are techniques, but that artistry is completely a matter of endowment and self-induced personal growth.[16] That same year, a teacher from Bard discounted the possibility of even much effective technical instruction: "All but the most elementary techniques are fundamentally not teachable."[17] So did the dean of Washington University's degree-granting professional school: "There just isn't enough to teach—enough that can be taught—to justify six years of an artist's life."[18] The contradiction between the triumphal history of the M.F.A. and the doubts—or certainties—expressed by its teachers should be obvious, but the strongest and strangest effect of this argument might be its displacement of art, the first of a series of displacements at the same site. Gropius's equation makes technique and dexterity necessary to the practice of art, perhaps, but it assumes, as well, an essential separation of art from technique: art is the name of that which escapes teaching; technique, as the name of what can be taught, is destined to become "merely" technique.

In insisting that art is not a profession, Gropius targeted both the teaching of the classical academy and the presumption that acquiring the skills of representational drawing and its accompaniments—perspective, chiaroscuro—was becoming an artist.[19] He sought, like many late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century educators, to displace the figure and technique of academic drawing with the objects and rigorous skills of the craftsman. The artist isolated in his studio would be replaced by, or reborn as, a skilled craftsman; moreover, he would be liberated by a

new audience, a broad general public trained, in Gropius's words, in a "common language of visual communication . . . made valid through general education."[20] The express goal of most of the new art departments, and of their new methods, was the visual education of the nonartist. One of the corollaries of the equation that art cannot be taught is that everyone can be taught, if not manual techniques, then visual fundamentals. In the aftermath of the Bauhaus, in the idea of design and the visual arts—the assertion of a "language of vision," and of teaching as "training the eye to see"—the craft skills that Gropius had earlier forwarded as a cure for the academic isolation of the artist are themselves displaced, replaced by the field of vision and the rectangular canvas plotted in its image by the foundations and fundamentals of art.

Despite Gropius's protest but according to his logic, I would again claim art as a profession: the privileging of overarching principles over specific technical competencies—the grounding and guiding of art practice in visual fundamentals and the fashioning of individual works as experiments, researches, proofs—echoes the severing of articulated theory from manual labor that characterizes the process of professionalization. But if the themes I highlight in my educational story—university education, the theorization and formalization of knowledge, and the receipt of a degree—are the hallmarks of professionalization in the United States, nonetheless the label professional does not easily correspond to our image of the artist. The idea of the "artist born" runs long and deep, from Pliny's Lysippus, who had no teacher, to Dürer's Geertgen tot Sint Jans, who was "a painter in his mother's womb,"[21] and even to Gropius's declaration that art is not a profession but, rather, the "grace of heaven."[22]

The image of the artist that we have inherited from the nineteenth century—a driven, alienated, and silent individual—clashes directly with the idea of a university-trained professional artist. Indeed, that inward figure is a particular target of those who champion the artist on campus. For both critics and supporters, the university stands for the presence of language and the production of formal knowledge, and against the silence and inspiration of the born artist. I spend a good deal of time in the chapters that follow on language as it displaces both manual craft skills and traditional academic skills, the drawing of an earlier version of the professional artist. Whether the language of the university displaces technique—becomes the technique of a new art—or displaces art itself in the practice of criticism, I leave an open question.

The question posed most insistently in these pages is whether the artist is a professional and, following from it, what the struggle with that word—its acceptance or rejection—might mean for the fashioning of artists. Finally, I take the M.F.A. at its word that it is a professional degree. But even that clear answer poses other questions, raised by both recent training and recent art: What is that profession and (a corollary) where is it practiced? Is art a profession learned in the university and practiced outside it, like medicine or, closer to home, architecture? Or is it a profession in and of the university, an academic discipline, like history or mathematics or, perhaps, literary criticism? Still other questions follow from these, most obvious among them, how does that difference change what is taught and learned in school?

While the themes I have introduced with Gropius's insistence that art cannot be taught—the displacement of academic figure drawing and craft skills, the place of language and the questions of professionalization—cross the text from beginning to end in different guises, *Art Subjects* proceeds, sometimes roughly, chronologically, falling into three sections of two chapters each. The opening chapters stress the university's discourse on the problem of the artist, the language with which the products of the European academy and the avant-garde were caricatured. Chapter 1 charts the vision of a new college-educated American artist across the often conflicting demands of the undergraduate college and the high university, and it rehearses their shared disdain for the nineteenth-century European artist (or for a broadly drawn stereotype of that artist), the academy that trained him, and the studio that housed him. The university's artist, like the university-trained models he is offered, is always male; the excessive artist lampooned by educators is marked and marred by the "problem" of femininity. Chapter 2 examines that problem as it both covers for and reveals the structuring role played by women art educators and women's institutions—and by the women who, as students, continually outnumbered males in art schools and university departments—in shaping the practice of art in colleges and universities.

The middle chapters, too, turn around language, the "language of art," and the discourse that supported the Bauhaus and its foundation course. Chapter 3 addresses the difference written in the shift from the "fine arts" to the "visual arts," a change that embeds the work of art making in the eye and signals the displacement of the figure and the practices of representation. It traces that shift—and certain specific practices—from the nineteenth-century schools of design and the industrialization of artisanal training; the grids and type forms of schools of

design become the symbols of science in the Bauhaus and after. Chapter 4 links the "trained eye," gridded by the fundamentals and grammars of art, to the "innocent eye." The innocent eye is at once the intrinsic, necessary source of the fundamentals of vision taught as grammar, and a tabula rasa that must be trained and gridded. This chapter also begins in the nineteenth century, not with industrial education but in the kindergarten classroom, and continues through early-twentieth-century school art to general education in the postwar college.

The closing chapters once again focus on language; not a discourse on the artist, but of the artist. A central character through them is the artist who speaks as a teacher, a student, a visiting artist or lecturer. Chapter 5 argues that the rapid expansion of the New York art world's influence after World War II was reciprocally related to the equally rapid expansion of university-based graduate art programs. It also looks closely at the teaching of the artists of the New York school, and the work of speech around the work of art, as its displacement or extension: forcing the student to find his or her place in that speech becomes the teaching of professional subjectivity. Chapter 6 returns to those debates of the 1950s and 1960s over art practice in the university that cast the tension between the artist and the university as a struggle between vision and language. That same struggle between vision and language has, of course, characterized the question of postmodernism in the visual arts, and the chapter maps the questions of the earlier debate with the answers provided by the theorization of postmodernism in the 1980s. Finally, Chapter 7 returns to the autobiography I started with, and to the question of professionalization, by asking one more time, "What does the M.F.A. certify?"

WRITING ARTISTS ONTO CAMPUSES

1

"If there is a single crucial point in the process of academic professionalization," writes the educational historian Roger Geiger, "it would be the formation of a national association with its attendant central journal."[1] Heeding his words, I start at that founding moment. The College Art Association was established as an independent association in 1912, organized out of the Department of University Art Instruction of the Western Drawing and Manual Training Association, a federation of mostly elementary and high school teachers of art, freehand and mechanical drawing, home economics, and industrial arts.[2] The first issue of the *Art Bulletin,* dated 1913, was little more than a pamphlet. Its single article, "Problems of the College Art Association," by the CAA's first president, Holmes Smith, recounts the history I have abbreviated here.[3]

The second number of the *Art Bulletin,* published in January 1917, included an address by then president John Pickard, an art historian from the University of Missouri, who continued his predecessor's focus on the association's problems. He assailed the indifference of college administrators and the general public to the goals of art education, but he looked most closely at the internal tensions and divisions threatening the young association. To unite his audience against a "common enemy, the commercial, the vicious and the ugly," he offered a slogan: "Art for higher education and higher education for artists."[4] But Pickard's formula merely cobbled together the divided interests of the CAA. Teaching

art and teaching artists remain at odds; his address lists the symptoms of their opposition.

Research University, State School, and Liberal College

"In our Association," Pickard noted, "the Art School, the Technical School and the old College are all represented. We have among us the painter, the sculptor and the architect, the lecturer, the critic and the historian."[5] Such a divided membership would have differing expectations of an annual meeting and the publication that would follow from it, and Pickard's first order of business was to address what he understood as clearly opposing, and professionally determined, demands. "On the one hand were those who urged that our Association could not hope to take important rank and position among the learned societies of our time until our meetings are characterized by profound discussions of technical subjects—and not even then unless such learned papers are published as 'original work' by our members."[6] Pickard's call for original work issued, not from the artists in his audience—it was neither romanticism's nor modernism's demand—but from professors in the graduate schools and research universities who, like German scientists of whatever department, understood themselves, distinguished themselves, not as college teachers but as published professionals in their fields.

Beginning in the 1870s with the success of Johns Hopkins, a number of American universities, consciously patterning themselves on the German model, had begun to stress graduate education and independent faculty research in increasingly articulated and specialized disciplines and departments. The founding of specialist organizations—a learned society such as the CAA—and the publication of a scholarly journal were crucial steps to creating those disciplines, allowing research professors to construct allegiances and a reputation beyond the college and among colleagues. By 1893 Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale all offered graduate courses in the fine arts. Princeton began its Ph.D. program in art history in 1908; Harvard awarded its first art history doctorate in 1913. Pickard's own graduate program at Missouri was established in 1914, and in the September 1919 number of the *Bulletin,* he too insisted that "we must have a periodical of our own, issued at first quarterly, ably edited, with trenchant articles by strong men."[7]

John Pickard received responses to his request for advice on the new association's program not only from those in the research universities,

but also from the colleges, whose primary focus was undergraduate teaching in the broad liberal arts, and the schools and institutes that offered specialized vocational training. Classroom teachers of undergraduates insisted that they could use annual meetings and the association's publications to "compare syllabi of lecture courses, discuss whether or not textbooks should be used in our classes and so endeavor to 'standardize' our work."[8] Certainly standardization reflected the needs of teacher training, or "normal," schools and departments, which were responsible for ensuring that the elementary and secondary art teachers they graduated could be examined and credentialed at the state level.

In 1870, spurred by representatives of local manufacturers, Massachusetts passed a law mandating drawing in the public schools and instruction in "industrial and mechanical drawing" for those over fifteen. The Massachusetts Normal School of Art, established in 1873, trained teachers and examiners to carry out these provisions. By 1920, after "untold efforts," a contributor to the *Art Bulletin* asserted that "in all the states of the union the secondary schools teach drawing; in all the states but one the elementary schools teach drawing."[9] Most practical art instruction in turn-of-the-century art schools and colleges in fact trained teachers. Indeed, in all disciplines at the time such training was the primary activity of American higher education: "By the end of the nineteenth century, American colleges and universities were producing more teachers than anything else."[10] Of the seventy-six colleges and universities offering courses in the practice of art in 1916–17, some forty-eight either offered a normal or school arts course or specialized entirely in training teachers.[11] The larger independent art and technical schools listed with them in the *American Art Annual*'s 1917 survey offered another twenty-seven normal or school arts courses.

The emphasis on consistent standards served, as well, the needs of the technical schools that turned out commercial artists, mechanical drafters, and designers for industry as the normal schools turned out teachers, quickly and efficiently. In a 1919 *Bulletin* essay entitled "Supply and Demand," Ellsworth Woodward of Sophie Newcomb College called for more schools "devoted to training designers, and those who are to pursue the manual arts," and for students "definitely prepared to meet the needs of industry."[12] Departments of industrial art and schools of applied design, as well as many normal art and broader "practical" or "technical" art programs, entered CAA as parts of state colleges and the agricultural and mechanical schools founded in the three decades after the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862. The course of study and

the student body at the land-grant colleges and most of the publicly funded state universities—categories that frequently overlapped—differed greatly from those of both the Latin- and Greek-based pre–Civil War classical college and the post–Johns Hopkins research university, which turned to those same classical texts, not as the grindstone of mental discipline, but as the object of philological and historical scholarship. The land-grants instead taught large numbers of the children of farmers, mechanics, and local merchants who had not studied Latin and Greek in seminary or academy. Moreover, as the title of Woodward's essay suggests, they educated them for specific vocational outcomes.

The mandate of the Morrill Act—to "promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life"[13]—and the more general demand for efficiency and service that spurred the growth of the state universities led to the standardization, and formal theorization, of a number of occupations that had once been learned in the family or through apprenticeship. By the first decade of the twentieth century, "such untraditional disciplines as pedagogy, domestic science, business administration, sanitary science, physical education, and various kinds of engineering" were made teachable, grounded in basic principles, like the professions, at what the historian Laurence Veysey termed the "serviceable university."[14] The state universities were marked by their emphasis on professional training, and Veysey writes that "many of them in the years 1890–1930 became primarily congeries of professional schools, which they created to satisfy public demand."[15] As a collection of autonomous, specialized schools for new professions, the large state university resembled, and indeed moved closer to, the research university, with its increasingly divided and specialized departments named after new fields of knowledge and scholarly expertise.

If the technical and normal schools called for standardization, so did the liberal arts colleges, whose commitment to undergraduate teaching and the humanities consciously opposed both the vocational emphasis of the technical schools and the increasingly specialized and segmented knowledge of the research university. Their demand for standardization, coupled with or disguised as a plea for standards, begins with the idea that there is a necessary body of knowledge, above and beyond the demands of one's field or one's job, that anyone who wishes to call himself educated must know. Moreover, liberal education holds out the promise that that knowledge, because it is shared, will unify both individual and culture: it will become understanding. "A young man must take from the college of liberal training, the contributions of philosophy, of humanistic science, of natural science, of history and of literature," wrote President Alexander Meiklejohn of Amherst, defending the liberal arts college in 1912. "So far as knowledge is concerned, these at least he should have, welded together in some kind of interpretation of his own experience."[16]

Liberal culture requires the study of broad fields rather than the fragments and specialized depths of professional training, but more important than breadth is unity—the ability to understand the university's knowledge as finally joined and whole. "The mission of the teacher," Meiklejohn insisted, is "not the specialized knowledge which contributes to immediate practical aims, but the unified understanding which is Insight."[17] The unity that liberal education offered was most often cast, like Meiklejohn's "insight," in visual terms: vision is the equivalent of synthesis, grasp, understanding. But if art was to become liberal, to be secure as a study in the college, it had to be separated from vocationalism and, in the pages of the *Art Bulletin* and then the *Art Journal,* from art practice and professional studio training. Further, it had to be connected with the goals and disciplines of the college, a relationship that was envisioned as early as 1874–75, when Charles Eliot Norton at Harvard was named lecturer on the History of Fine Arts as Connected with Literature.

At the 1918 annual meeting and in the pages of John Pickard's *Bulletin,* Wellesley's Alice Van Vechten Brown asked, "Is it too much to place before ourselves as a desirable, even though far distant objective, the standardization of art methods in some such sense as is the case with Greek, Latin or Mathematics?"[18] Gertrude Hyde of Mount Holyoke shared these concerns and, at the same meeting, urged the congruence of the study of art and the other, older fields of the college. To give her students a better grasp of "the aesthetic principles which govern all great art," and to ensure that courses in art could be "properly graded and correlated with those offered in other departments," "no separate courses are offered in painting, drawing, modeling or design and no college credit is given for this practical work except as it is taken in connection with courses in Art History and very closely related to such courses."[19] A similar proposal to teach art practice only as a laboratory for art history—an opportunity to examine historical means and methods—had been offered as early as the association's annual meeting in 1913, where it was once again joined with a call to

compare courses in art to those in other, more established disciplines. According to the *American Art Annual* account, "it was evident that the majority of those present favored technical work," that is, work in studio art, only "as a laboratory process, supplementing the study of the theory, history and philosophy of aesthetics. Professor Arthur Pope presented the course developed at Harvard as being cultural rather than professional and as comparable to methods of teaching English Composition."[20]

Teaching studio practices as art-historical skills in conjunction with period art history classes spread to a number of liberal arts colleges through mid century. Placing art practice in the art history classroom and on its syllabus ensured that art would be made in and out of the historied media and that it would be produced, as Harvard's Pope has it, as culture. Despite calls for teaching the industrial arts and assertions of the nobility of the crafts, painting, sculpture, and the older printmaking methods remain the primary, often the sole, media of studio art in liberal arts colleges and university studio departments, insisting, as they do, on the individual, the humane, and the historical. Even if they are no longer taught as adjuncts to art history, art history remains their subject.

College Art and Art History

Gertrude Hyde's argument for placing the practice of art under the sponsorship of art history, where it might become liberal and meet the college's standard, brings up a division within the CAA that remains familiar and visibly active today in both the association and individual departments. Pickard commented diplomatically in his 1916 presidential address on the split between the practitioners of art and the teachers of art history:

> It is possible that there may be among us today technical artists who hold that any study of Art without artists' tools in the students' hands is of no value, but I trust there is no one here who is so provincial. There may be within the sound of my voice someone who is convinced that no form of technical art has any place in our institutions of higher education but I hope there is no one here who is so illiberal.[21]

Pickard chose his words artfully. "Illiberal" and "provincial" seem intended to suggest a typology of the American university and a geographical survey of art on its campuses. When Lura Beam, of the Association of American Colleges, conducted such a survey ten years later, in 1927, she found "a schism between those who think art is learning and those who

think art is doing. An arbitrary line drawn between these theories would leave the East on one side, the West and South on the other and Chicago cut by the boundary, one-half for each side."[22] Art historians inhabited the old liberal arts colleges, the private institutions of the Northeast, or the graduate departments that grew around and drew from them. Art teachers worked in the provinces that Pickard all but named—the state-supported colleges and normal schools of the West and South.

Lura Beam's dividing line and my redescription of it seem harsh and reductive. Pickard's own early graduate program in art history at the University of Missouri, on the far side of the Mississippi, suggests that the division was not monolithic. Laurence Veysey, whose typology I have introduced with Pickard's speech, has argued, moreover, that the movements toward research, utility, and liberal culture that shaped the American university cannot be plotted directly onto the research university, the state school, and the liberal arts college, or simply across a map of the United States. They were sometimes housed in a single university; Harvard's faculty and administration, for example, included spokespersons for all three directions. Nor were geographical divisions so clear-cut: across the state from the University of Missouri, Washington University in Saint Louis divided art and the practice of drawing on its campus. Holmes Smith, the CAA's first president, headed the Department of Drawing and History of Art, its combination echoing John Ruskin's one-man role at Oxford as well as the department Ruskin's colleague Charles Eliot Norton established at Harvard (Norton's first appointment was Charles Moore, a drawing master trained by Ruskin). Students in art history were "graduated of the College, The School of Engineering or The School of Architecture," from the liberal arts and established professions. Drawing was also taught across campus in the School of Fine Arts, along with painting, sculpture, modeling, illustration, design, interior decoration, metalwork, etching, pottery, bookbinding, and wood carving, to students whose goals were avowedly vocational and technical.[23] Despite such exceptions, however—or, as in the case of Washington University, encapsulated in microcosm within them—the divided goals of higher education were mirrored by a partition along geographic lines, by a regionalism that was at its height in the early years of the CAA.[24]

The division between history and practice in what was arguably a single discipline—certainly in a single professional organization—embodied the ideological and regional divisions that shaped early-twentieth-century higher education as a whole. In contrast, perhaps, to other disciplines

more effectively articulated in the university, the division between art history and art practice remained rhetorically inseparable from the division between East and West in the association's debates into the 1950s. When Robert Goldwater suggested in his survey of American art education in 1943 that "the practice of art bursts the boundaries of the liberal arts framework," his boundaries were not only institutional—courses in art practice were most often tied to "pointedly pre-professional training"—but, once again, geographic.[25] While every one of the fifty colleges he surveyed by 1940 "gave some attention to the history of art, eight of the fifty made no provision at all for studio work. . . . In the East especially, the omissions are strongly in evidence."[26] The division continued after World War II as veterans surged into colleges and universities under the G.I. Bill, raising fears for the liberal arts and for art as a liberal endeavor. Perhaps fear lent stridency to a 1946 committee report to the College Art Association entitled "The Practice of Art in Liberal Education."

> It is our opinion that the College Art Association has the double responsibility of combatting the handing over of college positions in the practice of art to teachers of the latter type ["teachers of the practice of art who are not concerned with liberal education cannot be encouraged to *join* a *College* Art Association in the first place"], and of supporting the training, and recognition by college administrators, of the "right" kind of teachers. . . . In tackling this task, considerable allowance will have to be made for regional disparities within the United States. The situation in the West and the western central states differs a great deal from the situation in the East and the eastern central states. Over and over again, pleas from the former region call for both greater emphasis on the history of art (in contrast with the situation elsewhere) and the elevation of the standards of practice courses from the point of view of liberal education. No doubt, the second point is indissolubly linked with intricate problems of state education credential requirements, in turn influenced by problems of supply and demand. In this regard, well-considered aid by the College Art Association might easily result in important and hopeful developments, and such proposals as the one calling for a system of exchange professorships in Eastern and Western institutions could possibly gain momentum.[27]

I have quoted the committee report at length not only because it reiterates the educational and geographic divisions I have stressed, even to the point of calling for art-historical missionaries, but also because it repeats the calls for standards sounded at the establishment of the College Art Association, tied here once again to concerns for teacher training and credentialing. Moreover, despite the pessimism of the report, it issues a demand and begins to provide a profile for a different kind of artist. The "right" kind of artist would be a teacher at home on a college campus, an artist-teacher, perhaps, who could instruct undergraduates in the practice of art as it exemplifies "problems pertaining to esthetics, the theory and the philosophy of art."[28]

The Artist-Teacher

By the 1940s the larger midwestern state schools, led by the University of Iowa, had begun to formulate just such an artist-teacher. In 1938 Lester Longman, a Princeton-trained art historian hired at Iowa in 1936 as both professor of art history and head of the Department of Graphic and Plastic Arts, combined his two departments into the single Department of Art; they had been separate since 1909, when an academy-inspired School of Fine Arts was established at Iowa and courses in art history were ceded to the archaeology department. Shortly after uniting the departments, Longman instituted the Bachelor and Master of Fine Arts as preprofessional and professional degrees for "the profession of an artist," as he told the Midwestern College Art Conference,[29] a phrase that gives the term "profession" a cast different from that in Goldwater's survey.

Longman's guidelines for professional study, presented as "four principles" in a report to his dean at Iowa in 1943, forecast the CAA committee's suggestion that art be taught as the problems of aesthetics and theory. He outlined a curriculum that "dynamically relate[d] the study of art history and criticism to work done in the studio," and encouraged "wide independent reading and the study of such allied subjects as literature, history, philosophy, and the other arts."[30] John Alford of the University of Toronto, one of the signatories of the 1946 committee report, noted Iowa's example in 1940: "The regulations for the B.F.A. degree at Iowa stress (over and beyond the essential practical courses) the literary, linguistic, and historical studies usually attached to the history of art." At the graduate level, the M.F.A. emphasizes "technical and professional excellence, though additional studies in the history and theory of art, in languages and other subjects outside the Department of Art are variously required. . . . Curricula [are] calculated to provide both technical competence and breadth of organized knowledge."[31] As conceived by Longman, the artist-teacher would be trained in and "sympathetic to both the history and the practice of art . . . slighting neither aspect."[32] Armed with the Master of Fine Arts degree, the artist-teacher could be employed on the college level and ranked among his faculty peers.

The artist-teacher returns in other chapters and guises in this project, often discussed alongside or played off another image of the university-made artist: the artist aligned, not with the academic humanities, but with the sciences. For Toronto's Alford these paired figures—embodied in the programs at Iowa and at László Moholy-Nagy's School of Design in Chicago—offered paradigms for the professional education of a new kind of artist. Where Iowa is "governed by the anthropomorphic drama common to all phases of the humanistic tradition," Moholy-Nagy's school "abandons the nexus of the older humanistic tradition and substitutes courses in *Physical Sciences, Life Sciences, Social Sciences,* and *Intellectual Integration.*"[33] But what matters to Alford is that the student-artists in both schools pursue their studies outside the studio. "For my present purposes [their] mutual exclusiveness is less significant than the representative *in*clusiveness of the intellectual relevants."[34] The hyphenated figures of the artist-teacher and the artist-scientist are attempts to fit the artist to the courses and disciplines of university study, to understand the artist in relation to existing departments. By the 1960s the artist-teacher in particular was derided as a "confused hybri[d], not fully acceptable to either species";[35] here I use that hybrid to suggest that in the years before World War II the artist was an institutional problem for the university—and perhaps has remained one: the artist-teacher was a symptomatic attempt at a solution.

Across the twentieth century, countless art educators repeated some version of John Pickard's call for art in higher education and higher education for the artist, insisting that art must be taught: as history, perhaps, or as appreciation or problem solving or creative expression, as basics and fundamentals. But in the debates over the place of art in college, artists, even if they can and must be liberally educated, cannot be taught, or as it is often less arguably put, they cannot be made. Raymond Parker, a recognized painter who received his M.F.A. from the University of Iowa in 1948, noted in 1953 that the degree raised, or rather intensified, just this question:

> Nowadays, schools hold with reservations the idea of training artists. They accept the responsibility of developing skills useful to commercial and applied arts. They stand behind the education they offer as relevant to art history, art appreciation and the cultivated man. They produce art teachers and patrons. But the popular Master of Fine Arts degree reflects a dilemma. . . . since art escapes the formulation of standards and methods.[36]

Parker itemized the goals of art education on campus: to educate enlightened patrons in the liberal arts college, to produce historical scholars in the graduate school, to teach the fundamentals of design and the specific technical practices of art in the practical course and the art school. But in his formulation art escapes, necessarily and logically: if it can be formulated, then it is not art. This paradox begins to point to the artist's value for the university—why he must be there, particularly on the liberal arts campus, and at the same time why he cannot be made there, why he is taken with reservations.

The liberal arts college, to maintain the liberalness of the fine arts, and the otherness of the fine artist, must insist, with Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence, that even if it offers painting and sculpture, or hires an artist-in-residence or a whole art department, "the curriculum is not professionalized, that is to say turned into a program to produce . . . exhibited painters or sculptors."[37] Instead, as Norman Rice of the Carnegie Institute of Technology said in seconding President Taylor's statement, artists are needed on college campuses so that they can be seen: "By observing the ways in which the arts are transmitted, through the association of artists with artists, we are provided with a clue as to the whole of humane learning. Thus the humanities need the arts in order to preserve the image of what all such learning can be."[38] For Rice, art is the very image—and a last vestige, perhaps—of the tradition and transcendence promised by liberal culture; curiously, the artist too appears as an image, something to be watched.

Rice was dean of an old technical college of art, established in 1905 to train architects, artists, and designers, but he opened "Art in Academe," an essay published in 1963, by "accepting all the old precepts . . . artists are born, not made; no artist ever became an artist because of a school; art is the product of a great mind, not merely a great hand and eye; . . . the artist must teach himself."[39] He argued, on behalf of independent professional art schools such as Carnegie, that it is possible to create "an environment which is conducive to the development of artists, a spiritually, intellectually, and technically tempered aether in which students can discover themselves and accomplish initial artistic growth"—but soon after he added an urgent disclaimer: "I did not say 'to become artists.' "[40] The caveat is redundant, for the becoming he described is at once so mythologized (aether) and so biologized, or perhaps psycho-biologized (discover and grow), that it is clear the institution made neither promises nor artists. In a brief footnote, Rice himself pursued the point, hedging in the name of frankness: "I define professional schools as those which frankly and openly state as their object the preparation of students for mature participation in art-based enterprises."[41]

Artists are an ontological rather than an epistomological problem; theirs is a question of being, rather than of knowing. In the professional school, as in the liberal arts college, the artist exceeds his education: the artist is precisely what is not educated.

This equation stands even in the declarations of the most influential technical art school of the century. In his "Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus," written in 1923, Walter Gropius insisted that

> the artist has been misled by the fatal and arrogant fallacy . . . that art is a profession which can be mastered by study. Schooling alone can never produce art! Whether the finished product is an exercise in ingenuity or a work of art depends on the talent of the individual who creates it. This quality cannot be taught and cannot be learned. On the other hand, manual dexterity and the thorough knowledge which is a necessary foundation for all creative effort, whether the workman's or the artist's, can be taught and learned.[42]

The difference between artist and craftsman is precisely essential: even if technique can and must be taught, the remainder that is art cannot be. For Gropius, offering technical training is not the same as making artists, and it is not clear that he would want artists made. The final step, the object's becoming art, the craftsman's becoming artist, is an act outside school. But here I have gotten ahead of myself. With Rice's statements and Taylor's, even as they echo Gropius, I have moved well into the 1960s. In the pre–World War II technical or professional school, in an earlier version of Carnegie Tech or of the Chicago Art Institute, the artist's essence—or rather his excess, the way he exceeds the possibility of education—is constructed differently, a difference to which I will turn in the following section. In these earlier schools, the manual and technical skills of art must be teachable to guard, like Gropius, against the artist, to ensure that the artists who are made will *not* be different, but will instead be illustrators and designers and draftsmen.

The Problem of the Artist

The artist is a curious, laughable, pitiable figure as he is portrayed in writings on art in America in the years after World War I. A certain kind of artist, it is clear, is misplaced in America. An article from the *Chicago Evening American,* reprinted in 1921 under the headline "Lowly Artist Now Earns Big Sums" in the *Art Student,* a correspondence course magazine published by the School of Applied Art of Battle

Creek, Michigan, searches for him with some irony.[43] "Where is the artist of the scraggly beard and long apexed nails that were used for color palettes, who roamed the streets in lopsided tam and affected limp ties of temperamental virtue?"[44] The question's author, Fanny Kendall, identified as registrar of the School of the Chicago Art Institute, locates that artist and then misplaces him in the space of a paragraph. He is "certainly not in America, where artists are hustled from the class-rooms into offices," but he has an address here: "If there are any artists who paint for 'art's sake,' they are of the half-mad Greenwich Village type, whose conception of true art is a skyscape with a blue cat perched on an orange ashbarrel peeling at an orchid and black moon."[45] Unlike the American artist trained in the university or art school or even through a correspondence school—the one in transit from classroom to office—the comic painter exists elsewhere, at the margins, in Greenwich Village. And not really even there; he is, after all, merely that "type." Kendall situates him elsewhere in time as well; "his habitat," the registrar writes, finding him once again, but in the past tense, "was an attic. And forever there burned in his genius-lit eyes the brilliancy that bespoke consumption."[46]

The *Art Student*'s artist is obviously a caricature, a "popular conception," in the words of R. L. Duffus, who surveyed the field of art for the Carnegie Foundation at the end of the 1920s.[47] Duffus's thesis in *The American Renaissance,* the resulting publication, was that a distinctly American art education had begun to emerge in the 1920s, one that took place in the same classrooms that Fanny Kendall noted. Duffus cited two new "crusaders" who were "bringing art home to America." "One is the college or university professor who sets up standards by which we can tell the difference between good art and bad art, honest art and dishonest art. The other is the sound craftsman who teaches his pupils how to do necessary things beautifully."[48] From their places in the university and the technical art school, the professor and the craftsman were moving closer together; their melding would characterize a "not only modern but peculiarly American" art training.[49]

> Spokesmen for the universities openly lay claim to the professional art school, as they have successfully done to the professional schools of medicine, law and engineering. Schools of the crafts approach the fine arts; schools of the fine arts find new value in the workmanlike integrity of the craft schools. Teachers of the arts realize more and more that their work is not half done if they do not enable their students to fit into an actual, industrial commercial world.[50]

Duffus's sunny forecast was troubled by "a third, and very disturbing element. . . . the man who approaches art as a personal adventure and the schools which minister to his needs."[51] To describe that man, Duffus turned to the same itemization of dress and notes on character Fanny Kendall had used. "It is he, if anyone, who is responsible for the popular conception of the painter as a freak with long hair, a pointed beard, a flowing tie, baggy trousers, and morals no board of censorship would endorse."[52] Again the painter, a repetition, a type, exists elsewhere in time; "we might find real artists who looked and acted like this if we could turn back the clock a generation or two."[53]

For both of these writers on art and, more to the point, art education in the 1920s, a certain type of artist was no longer feasible—certainly no longer believable. Each described precisely a personality type, a story captured by a story. Cecilia Beaux, a successful painter and member of the National Academy, spoke of that capture in a roundtable discussion, "What Should the College A.B. Course Offer to the Future Artist?" at the College Art Association's 1916 annual meeting: Those "hundreds, I might say thousands, of young people [who] select the life of artist as being the most interesting and sympathetic" choose a life rather than a career.[54] Duffus too says as much. "This is a kind of person who regards art not as a way of earning a living but as a way of life"; Duffus's simple qualifiers, "kind of" and "way of," insist on and redouble the artist's fictionality.[55] The artist is given a setting—Greenwich Village, an attic—and a scene. "Here come scores of young people," Duffus writes, stressing numbers as Beaux did, "to whom the thought of art and the artist's life has proved alluring. . . . The majority will drop out in a year or two. Art is not for them. For those who remain the struggle will be long and desperate, and there will be casualties all along the line of march."[56] In the course I am plotting, being an artist precedes seeing and then speaking as one—other markers for the artist in the university that I address in subsequent chapters.

Duffus's narrative is marked by an exaggerated temporality; the slow creep of the "line of march" stands in obvious contrast to the efficiency of the art education offered in the classroom. Speed is the attribute of the American artist. Kendall's American artists are "hustled from the class-rooms into offices," and in the *American Renaissance* Duffus emphasizes the acceleration of art education in the university and the technical school: "If there is a shorter cut than the one customarily followed Yale is inclined to follow it."[57] Pratt Institute, too, "long ago made a study of short-cuts. . . . the problem is to get as much art as possible

into the least amount of time."[58] Speed and efficiency, virtues shaped in the mold of college and technical school education with their hour-long time slots and two- and four-year limits, mirror the demands of the university in the first quarter of the century. Ellsworth Woodward of Sophie Newcomb, at the CAA roundtable with Cecilia Beaux, suggested that the other new majors of the "serviceable university" might provide models for an efficient art education: "Professional study in art seems too long delayed if it must wait on academic graduation. The liberal electives now offered in B.A. courses in mechanical arts, in agriculture, household economy, etc., should be extended in the same liberal spirit to the future artist," fitted between "adequate time and opportunity for instruction in drawing, painting, and design with art theory and history."[59]

In Duffus's description, the would-be artist's long, slow march is marked by the disconnection between education and outcome; there are no happy endings, or very few. At Yale, in contrast, "artists are made as shipwrights used to be," trained to perform specific tasks of work, even if those tasks include murals and medals and portraits. "When he graduates," Duffus writes, "it is expected that he will be ready to begin a career, and need not waste precious years in fumbling and experimenting."[60] Yale's artist will be able to make paintings and sculptures for architectural commissions, to produce models and illustrations, and to design goods for home and office, as well as their packages and their advertisements. For the other artist, the narrated artist, education provides no such guarantee; it cannot make artists of those who are not and has next to nothing to do with the student who is already an artist: "Once or twice in a generation a genius will appear—and if the school helps him, even to the extent of teaching him how to mix his paints or clean his brushes, it may have justified the grief, the cost, the waste of what is admittedly a haphazard scheme of education."[61]

Similar recitations of extravagance and waste and declamations against the squandering of education and of lives appear frequently early in the century. In 1915 a survey by the American Federation of Arts recorded "109 schools of Academic Art in the United States with a total enrollment of 6,252 students" in training to become "painters, sculptors and illustrators."[62] Like Duffus in the late 1920s, the AFA survey worried over and italicized the haphazardness and the waste of professional art education: "About 1 per cent of those who receive this professional training become professional artists and the remaining 99 per cent either drift *without special training* into industrial and commercial arts, or

entirely abandon the pursuit of the profession."[63] John Pickard, in his 1917 address to the College Art Association, pointed to the AFA statistics, asking whether "too many are not now thronging our art schools, whether we are not making it too easy to enter the road which is supposed to lead to art as a profession." "In no other profession," he asserted, anticipating Duffus's imagery of excess and dissipation, "is there such a woful [*sic*] waste of the raw material of human life as exists in certain phases of art education."[64] We have come again to waste.

Artists, if they are artists, already are; they are marked by an excess of being, or, as in Kendall's description, by being too much. The born artist cannot be made an artist by education because he already is one. He is joined in the art schools by "imitators and admirers, whose name is legion," but who cannot be made artists because they are not.[65] Theirs, too, is an excessive presence, an overenrollment. They are always too much and too many, hundreds and thousands and throngs and legions, and they figure the tragedy even of the true artist, the waste of his education or his talents. The artist of the garret, even a real one, is unwholesome, pathological. In all the writings I have cited, the born and suffering artist and legions that mirror him are linked together as a reproach to the old-fashioned professional art school, to an education that cannot fulfill what it promises, cannot guarantee an outcome. The stories of missed opportunities, of unhappy endings and forever deferred outcomes, are repeated again and again, made to stand in obvious contrast to the simplicity and efficiency of a happy, wholesome existence.

At once born and future, artists are, in the language of American art education, elided in the present. The artist, or again this life of the artist, is always out of time and place, particularly on the college campus. The College Art Association banished him at the start. CAA president Pickard, despite his plea for unity in 1916 and his expressed concern for the failures of art training a year later, insisted in his 1917 convocation that the "great educational work" of the association could not be the training of the future painter or sculptor: "The education of the technical specialist is the function of the art school and the atelier or of the graduate school of art."[66] Pickard's list of educational sites removes the training of the artist from the campus, the association, and time, into the past of the atelier and into the future. Although in 1918 the graduate school of art did not yet exist, he foresaw "the day when, even in a state university, it shall be recognized that art is as valuable to the state as agriculture, when a graduate department

of art shall be established coordinate with the graduate departments of law, medicine and engineering."[67] Like university presidents of the time, Pickard argued for social efficiency, offering art as a rational public policy choice. And in the models he chose, in his vision of a graduate, rather than a technical, school, he raised his sights from the vocational—from the land-grant analogies of Sophie Newcomb's Woodward: home economics, mechanical arts—to the professional. In Pickard's future, the artist is made reasonable, and reasonably made, educated as a professional, in the same system and institution—the professional school as satellite of the liberal arts campus—that educates doctors and lawyers and professors.

The Problem of the Academy

The difference of the artist troubles writers on art education across the century. Curiously, the academy, held responsible in the literature for the artist's otherness, was criticized as well for its sameness, its repetition and formulas. Duffus suggested that the troubled, driven artist "is more often found in a certain sort of art school than in certain other sorts." That observation, along with his description of the bearded artist in baggy pants, is part of his segue from a discussion of college art departments and technical schools to a survey of American academies, an account of his visits to the National Academy of Design, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and the Art Students League. While Duffus noted differences between these institutions—the two academies, unlike the Art Students League, have a "progressive curriculum, with a beginning, a middle and an end"[68]—they were united, for him, by their disdain for the practical arts and their avoidance of a general education for their students.

> At the Philadelphia Academy, at the Art Students' League and too many other art schools . . . he doesn't learn about life, he learns about art.
>
> He may remain ignorant of even the rudiments of information regarding the world in which he lives—of history, literature, science, politics. He may associate largely with art students who have his own tastes and limitations, and so miss the wholesome give and take of more diversified circles. He may shut himself up in a little art universe all by himself, away from the swirl and flow of life, like a Trappist, and there offer up perfunctory prayers for the artistic salvation of a public which he despises. He won't understand the public and the public won't understand him, which is bad for the public, bad for the artist, and possibly even bad for art. For the work of the artist . . . ought to be just as necessary, just as understandable and in a way just as

commonplace as that of the farmer, carpenter and tailor. He ought to be friendly and human first, then artistic. But the older-fashioned art schools, it is said, haven't made him so.[69]

In his final sentences Duffus, like Pickard, offers agriculture as the benchmark for the normality and necessity of art. But those same sentences perform an interesting slide from the commonplaceness, the friendliness, of the work of art to that of the artist. Not only his work but also his persona is to resemble the farmer's or the carpenter's: the artist himself needs to be worked on and corrected. The older-fashioned schools—or to insist on the name, the academies—have not made him friendly, have not made him a citizen.

The academy, in particular its training in representation, the life drawing that formed its center and with which it had been identified since the early 1600s, both caused the artist's failure and embodied the attributes of the failed artist it made. Together artist and academy are marked by isolation, uselessness, and waste, by a disjunction of means and ends. Against this caricature of the academy a new vision of the artist and his education was constructed, one that fit the artist to the university's image of itself both broadly, as a reasonable, rational institution, and specifically, as an institution that fits the life of its students at a particular age and time and places them at a certain site, a particular rung, at the end of their tenure.

Although Cecilia Beaux regretted that the college could not be fitted into the life of a "future artist," she insisted in her CAA address that a "young person whose potentialities were only possible" should not be "treated as if he were abnormal or superhuman. Nothing could be worse for him than this."[70] Her fellow panelist, Sophie Newcomb's Woodward, repeated her concern, and her hierarchy of danger: art schools are "in many ways ineffective, but above all there is danger in the fostering of the idea through specialization that the artist is a man apart from his fellows to whom is due special consideration. This is injurious to his standing as a citizen, a member of organized society."[71] Again and again, the figure of the artist segregated too soon from his fellows in a pursuit too intensive and technical appears in writing on art in the university and on the problems of art in this century. The artist's isolation is used to explain the problems of art education and of the artist as a personality, as well as the isolation and peculiarity of modern art.

The academic artist was separated early on, shunted off to a special school and kept there too long, drilled in a technique that matched no end. Indeed, the technique he learned was a study in isolation: the isolated figure on the page. Drawing education in the academy, according to its critics in particular, consisted of drawing, first parts, fragments of the body on paper and in cast, then from the whole body cast, and finally from the live model. But even in its final move, the figure stood in isolation, unconnected. Centered on the page that must be made to disappear and carrying within it its own center as plumb, the academic figure was created in the line that severed figure from ground and figure from world: the hard, drawn outline of the *dessin au trait*. "Misery," wrote Mondrian in 1920, "is caused by *continual separation*."[72]

Against academic isolation, the teaching of modernism would insist again and again on the placing of forms in relation to each other and to the frame and the page. Georges Braque, to begin early in the century, argued that he painted, not things, but the relation between things; the space "*entre-deux*"—in between—is "just as important as the objects themselves."[73] That relationship, Arshile Gorky suggested in the early thirties, is mapped not only in relation to the world, but also on the surface of page or canvas: "Every time one stretches canvas he is drawing a new space," a "measurable space, a clear definite shape, a rectangle, a vertical or horizontal direction."[74] Gorky's declaration of the canvas itself as already a drawing repeats Hans Hofmann's lesson of the late twenties that the "four sides of the paper are the first lines of the composition."[75] Hofmann's teaching, according to one student of his school at Munich in the 1920s, directly challenged the lessons and methods of academic drawing, and the academic plumb. "Easy understanding of it for most of us was impeded by some previous Beaux Arts training. . . . We had to learn to substitute the horizontal and vertical axes of the picture plane for the optical axis against which we had previously seen the subject. Those who didn't cross that threshold left either confused or bitter, or both."[76]

Mimicking the split of figure from page were the more damaging divisions between academic teaching and the processes and production of works of art, and between training in the academy and working. In a 1902 issue of the *Craftsman* Walter Perry, who had founded the art course at Pratt in the 1880s, complained that "it is not honest to take time and tuition from a student, and give him nothing in return but cast drawing and life drawing. That is not art education."[77] Duffus echoed Perry's criticism and his descriptions to stress the difference between the program at Yale, where "fine art is pursued, but by craftsmanlike methods," and the "older method in art education":

> The older method in art education has been to provide the student with a technique and let him whistle for his ideas. He would begin by drawing from the antique—moldings, casts, block heads and statues. This might last a year—in some art schools it still does. He would then be promoted to a class in drawing and painting from life, and do that for another year. . . . The student of painting . . . may graduate from any one of several reputable art schools with literally no notion of composition or any conception of what to do with such skills as he has acquired. He has to learn that, often painfully, after he gets out.[78]

The academic artist is stunted by his education, by his isolation, and by the disconnection between his excessive technique, his remarkable ability, on the one hand, and his ideas, his employment, his public, on the other. The mirror image of the artist isolated in the academy is the artist isolated in his garret.

Despite their historical animosity—and explaining it—the bohemian artist and the academic are yoked together in American essays; they share their isolation. The artist as other, educated in a special school, exaggerated in his differences: this description fits both the academician, who seemingly transcends the tasks and foibles of daily society, and the bohemian, who dwells beneath it. Duffus's caricatured art student could attend either the National Academy or the Art Students League, and he matches as well Fanny Kendall's Greenwich Village type, the bohemian painter of the acid-colored skyscape. Each, in American writing, is marked by too much art; combined, they embody once again a waste of time and technique and livelihood. The academic artist has too much training, too much technique and facility. The bohemian artist is forced into technical experiment or expressive violence in search of "salvation from that mortal arrest and decay called academic art"[79]—thus no less a figure than John Dewey links the academic and the bohemian in a pathological, parasitic relation.

The struggle against the academy leaves its mark on the work as an excess of subjectivity, Dewey argued. The "arbitrary and willfully eccentric character" of the works of the avant-garde is "due to discontent with existing technique, and is associated with an attempt to find new modes of expression."[80] At their worst, Dewey continued, "these products are 'scientific' rather than artistic"—the quotation marks around "scientific" suggest a dubious honor, a reference to the merely technical, a barren experimentalism.[81] If the academic has nothing to say, the bohemian cannot be understood: neither can communicate; neither can be understandable and friendly, as Duffus, for example, would like him to be, or happy and wholesome. "The present segregation of art students tends to foster the already hyper-individualistic point of view," wrote the director of the University of Pennsylvania's art program in 1929.[82] That point of view is mirrored and restated in their works of art, in Dewey's phrase, in the "over-individualistic character of the products."[83] Against the academician and the avant-gardist, or between them, the university painter occupies a *juste milieu.*[84]

Studio Problems

There is one further figure for the old-fashioned artist in the writings of American art educators in the first half of the century; in scenarios like Fanny Kendall's, the artist's studio—the empty, cold-water garret—is the very image of uselessness and self-inflicted loneliness. The walls of the studio defined an absolute perimeter, another world for the other-worldly artist; as Caroline Jones has recently argued, it was, for a certain vision of the artist, "a powerful topos—the solitary individual artist in a semi-sacred studio space."[85] But precisely because the artist in it was withdrawn, separate, troubled, it was a troubling place for the project of a meaningful and effective art education, which had as its goals the artist as a citizen and the integration of the arts into national life. Over three decades the studio is replaced, in essays in the CAA's *Parnassus* and the *College Art Journal,* by invocations of the guild workshop and the *bottega.* In the discourse of American art education these locations make possible a different artist and a different work, a public art, architecturally scaled and fitted.

In the privacy of the studio the artist works alone, on his own inventions, at an easel and on a set of genre pictures whose subject matter only repeats the studio's isolation. In 1936 Meyer Schapiro used the close confines of the studio to accuse the modern artist of painting only

> himself and the individuals associated with him; his studio and its inanimate objects, his model posing, the fruit and flowers on his table, his window and the view from it. . . . all objects of manipulation, referring to an exclusive, private world in which the individual is immobile, but free to enjoy his own moods and self-stimulation.[86]

Delivered as a call against the artist's onanistic refusal of politics at the American Artists' Congress against War and Fascism, Schapiro's critique of the subjects of modern painting is a central text of the mid-1930s artistic left, but his charges were leveled from the right, as well. A decade earlier, Thomas Craven, who publicly championed Americanism in painting, had railed against the studio and the still life as its exemplary

image, complaining extravagantly about the "tilted table and stiff, flowered cloth, the lopsided vase with its artificial flowers, the phallic banana and the ponderous bowl—how can one be patient with these performances, and how can one hope for a healthy revival of painting while able-bodied young men continue to paint such trumpery?"[87]

From opposite sides of the political spectrum and in decidedly different language, both Craven and Schapiro demanded a public artist and an art for the public sphere by calling for an end to the studio. For Schapiro, artists "who are concerned with the world around them in its action and conflict . . . cannot permanently devote themselves to a painting committed to the aesthetic moments of life . . . or to an art of the studio."[88] Craven's call for public artists, and for the murals that have come to characterize the socially responsive art of the 1930s, was even more forceful. "The notion that painting is something 'to be lived with' is a modern sophistry born of that innocuous ornament called the easel-picture,"[89] he declared, demanding that those few artists "with sense and a talent for living should be expelled from their studios, made to observe American civilization for ten years, and then to record the results in the form of murals for public buildings or drawings for newspapers and magazines."[90]

These passages are often cited in discussions of twentieth-century American art. If they seem to take us some distance from the campus, the public artist, constructed in discourse as the choice between the studio's inside and the world outside, in fact runs through the college art department and the art school. The idea of the mural as the primary medium of a public art, and a necessary alternative to easel painting and the private exhibition, was current by the opening years of the century: "It is this lack of relation between the artist and the public that has created the modern exhibition," wrote Kenyon Cox, a member of the National Academy and a participant in America's turn-of-the-century mural renaissance; "it created those bastard forms of art, the 'gallery picture' and the 'machine du Salon.' "[91] Beginning in 1904 a series of articles in the Arts and Crafts journal the *Craftsman* emphasized the mural as a public, democratic form. As the appropriate medium for the advancement of an American art, it was once again pitted against the easel painting and the studio: "Monumental art in a democracy can never be a toy for the rich, nor will it ever be a field for the exploitation of studio reminiscences and echoes of the old classical and academic art of Europe."[92]

While the mural could render and support social values and provide powerful images, the ameliorative discourse that promoted it stressed,

not its ability to convey a specific, pointed content to a politically distinct audience (the task perhaps imagined for murals in the wake of the 1930s or the 1970s), but its very publicness. The mural's primary value was as a form, one that assured its patrons—civic, business, and educational leaders—and perhaps its audience that there was a "general public," both by making public places for it and by showing a public art to it. Thus the mural had a particular attraction to those who wished to make functioning citizens of artists; it demanded artists who did "not scorn to work with builders and industrialists," wrote Peyton Boswell in 1930 of a younger generation of artists working in California, "even those who heretofore have preferred the easel picture."[93] The mural is the mark of a skilled and social artist, a professional working on behalf of others, painting not himself and his objects, but others and their world.

Boswell's editorial comments were published in the same number of the *Art Digest* that announced José Clemente Orozco's *Prometheus* at Pomona College, and just as Diego Rivera arrived in San Francisco to complete a mural at the California School of Fine Arts. Most of the work completed in the United States by the Mexican muralists Rivera, Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros was commissioned by art schools and colleges: the California School of Fine Arts, the Chouinard Institute, Pomona College, Dartmouth College, and the New School for Social Research. The muralists' presence in the United States was extraordinarily influential in the 1930s, and the mural had specific lessons to teach in those institutions. All Orozco's murals in the United States were painted for schools; he completed his first in 1930 at Pomona, and his second in 1931 at the New School. Looking back from the early 1950s, Stefan Hirsch credited Orozco's third mural and his presence at Dartmouth from 1932 to 1934 with giving a "tremendous impetus to the idea of the artist in residence. It virtually began the revolutionary action which within a few years made almost every university in the country put artists on their faculties and allow the students academic credit for this work."[94]

Hirsch suggests the impact of the muralists on campus but credits Orozco with leading a curious and exaggerated uprising. He makes no mention of the critical politics of Orozco's *Epic of American Civilization*—including its scathing critique of university knowledge. What matters instead—what is revolutionary—is the public presence of the artist on campus. Dartmouth's official account of the mural and the controversy accompanying its debut also stressed its value to the college. In

1934 the college published a pamphlet defending the educational benefits of debate rather than the mural's content or Orozco's politics. "Passive acceptance has no legitimate place in the educational process. . . . The Orozco project at Dartmouth was primarily an educational venture."[95] The mural and its difficulty fit the college's self-image, and Dartmouth's publicist paused to note that Orozco had painted it as a professor: commissioned to do the Baker Library mural, "he would accept appointment to a regular faculty rank in the department of art."[96] The critical content of *American Civilization* could be contained as the statement of an individual professor, protected by the college's promise of academic freedom. That is, its meaning belonged, not to a public, much less the masses, but to a single person. It was the lesson of the mural as public form, and the example of the public artist, working and efficient, that was important to the "educational venture."

The public artist at work was the central image of Rivera's mural for the California School of Fine Arts, one of the first he completed in the United States (Figure 1). Painted for an art school or, as Rivera put it, a "technical school of the plastic arts," the fresco was a lesson in its own making, intended to "express exactly the objective situation which produced it and to contain, technically, all the possibilities of mural painting."[97] At the center of Rivera's analysis of the mural's possibilities is the fresco painter at work, dressed in working clothes, shirtsleeves rolled up, and surrounded by his assistants. They labor alongside the roster of citizens Peyton Boswell enumerated—architects and developers, sculptors and masons, and factory and foundry workers—to build a city and to paint at its center "the gigantic figure of a worker grasping the power control of the machine with his right hand and with his left the lever which regulates its speed."[98] The enfranchisement of the artist—the commensurability of his labor with that of workers in coveralls, and of his reason with that of architects and engineers dressed in lab coats and armed with slide rules—was a subject that, at least ostensibly, crossed political lines, that was called for by all sides.

Rivera's commission from the San Francisco Art Association asked for something "suitable to an art institution," suggesting that "the character of the mural might have a very wide choice of subject matter—anything but of a political nature."[99] As Anthony Lee has recently argued, Rivera's public artist was ironic, and his subject was, in fact, marked by politics.[100] Rivera, refusing the idea of a public outside politics, segmented and segregated industrial and intellectual labor, and labor and capital; more immediately noticed, he painted himself with

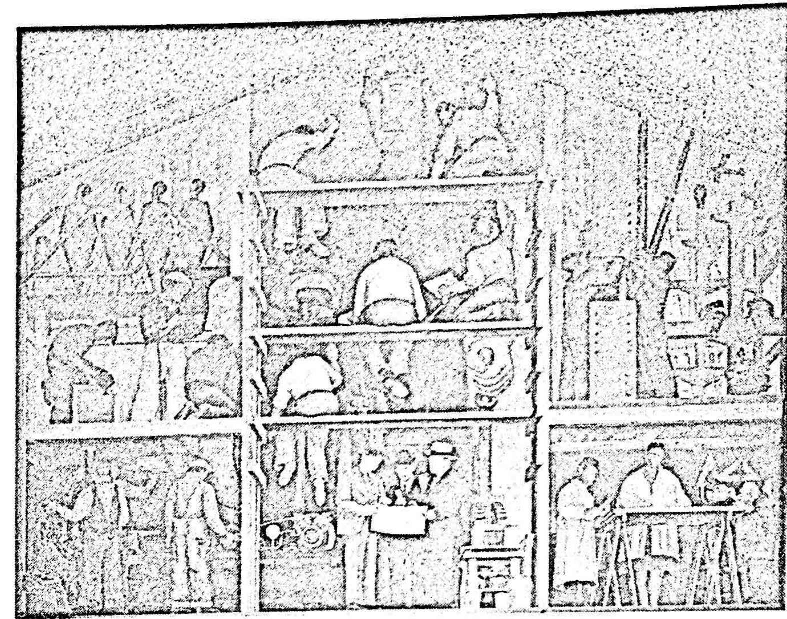

Figure 1. Diego Rivera, *The Making of a Fresco Showing the Building of a City*, 1931. Fresco, 223 ⅝ × 390 ⅜ inches. San Francisco Art Institute. Photography: David Wakely.

his back turned, presenting his rear to the patrons of "public" art as panacea or public relations, the bankers and industrialists who underwrote public art and the California school. Still, Rivera's self-portrait insisted on the value of his work as a worker, as a technical and manual laborer.

In "The Revolution in Painting," an essay published in the United States in early 1929, Rivera fashioned himself as a workman, in direct contrast to the Paris-trained cubist studio painter he had once been: "Probably that is why I have been able to paint buoyantly, without fatigue, fifty easel pictures, any number of drawings, a quantity of watercolors, and 150 mural paintings in fresco."[101] The insistence on quantity, on productivity and capability, characterizes the public artist who can work together with builders and industrialists: an appeal to efficiency instead of struggle—and certainly not inner struggle—marks writing on the mural. "Ten years ago there were comparatively few murals by art students in campus buildings," wrote a commentator on the University of Georgia's art department in 1940; "today acres of wall space are being covered with individual and class projects."[102] Rivera's

mural painter and his workman are both productive members of organized society; they are citizens, where enfranchisement is the equivalent of and the name for productive employment.

Men as Artists

The guild craftsman of the Middle Ages had served Arts and Crafts critics of art training as the first model for the necessary, integrated artist, who could refashion everyday mass-produced items with renewed care and beauty. William Morris's influential image of the artisan appeared often in American publications of the Arts and Crafts, figured, as in Morris's *News from Nowhere* and other essays and images, in sensible, well-made medievalist garb and, as in Rivera's mural, in rolled-up shirtsleeves. In Germany, Walter Gropius's 1917 program for the Bauhaus invoked the same medieval moment in its call for "a new guild of craftsmen."[103] Like the Arts and Crafts writers, Gropius cited Ruskin and Morris by name, crediting them with rediscovering the "basis of a reunion between the creative artist and the industrial world."[104] For American commentators, as for Gropius, the reunification of artist and world, and of artist and craftsman, needed to be matched—and would only be secured—by reconnecting learning and doing and the now separate and specialized arts and crafts. That list of contingent reunions formed Duffus's optimistic vision of the present in the concluding pages of *The American Renaissance:* craft schools approaching the fine arts, schools of fine arts discovering "new value in the workmanlike integrity of the craft schools," and both preparing their students—in words echoing Gropius's tribute to Ruskin and Morris—to "fit into an actual, industrial commercial world."[105] Duffus and other American writers recast the utopianism of the Arts and Crafts and later of the Bauhaus as professional success and gainful employment.

The image of the new artist and of the arts united with industry was found first in the medieval craftsman, but beginning in the late 1920s the *bottega* was invoked with increasing frequency as the most relevant model for the new artist's studio. In the *bottega,* or in the discourse on it, the artist was refashioned not only as a citizen, but as a college-educated one. Although the image of the guildsman did indeed promise an employed and integrated artist, the Arts and Crafts worker was too innocent, his labor too manual: the stonecutter of Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* was precisely not an accomplished humanist. Moreover, the guild model, with its explicit class identifications and its rejection of the open shop and free trade, too closely resembled the modern-day trade union for the university in the 1930s, a connection made clear in the names unionized artists chose for their organizations in that decade: the Sculptors' Guild and the Mural Artists' Guild were both affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.[106] The legal, economic, and class implications of the term "guild" were finessed in the unfamiliar and redolently southern European *bottega,* fashioned by its supporters as a voluntary meritocracy, focused on teaching and useful production rather than economic organization. In its image, the art schools' apologists sought to combine the humanism of the Renaissance masters with the utility of the guild, replacing an idealized, often socialist, Middle Ages with an equally imaginary—and importantly individualistic—Renaissance.[107]

"We must take for our model the *bottega,* the real workshop of the masters, the creative system of training the artist from prehistoric times to the seventeenth century, when its gradual breakdown gave rise to art schools," declared Yale's Eugene Savage in a 1929 essay on art education prepared for the Carnegie Corporation.[108] "This golden age came to an end when the arts and crafts of the *bottega* were dissolved by separatism into their component parts," he argued, leaving both art schools and the modern art they produced a "clutter of separatism, incidentalism, and genre."[109] Against that confusion, the *bottega,* its art, and particularly its master offered the possibility of unity and integration. "In those eras a teacher was often at once architect, sculptor, painter, and engineer, and sometimes a literary man, a musician, and a scientist as well."[110] Savage's *bottega* teacher is extravagantly accomplished, the very embodiment of the unity of the arts: in him—as an individual—are finally joined the industrial artist promised in the new art schools and land-grant colleges and the liberal artist, the artist promised by the university.

The College Art Association's version of the *bottega* was held together by architecture as the culmination of the arts. The historical artist Savage described was focused, like the artist of the Bauhaus, on architecture as the end of art; he produced for "every architectural purpose, doorways, pulpits, doors and mouldings. . . . loggias, overdoors, ceilings, altar pieces."[111] The program Savage championed at Yale in the 1920s and 1930s attempted to re-create painting and sculpture as architectural arts: "The outstanding feature of the Yale plan is that the course in painting and sculpture is interwoven with the architectural uses to which these arts can be put."[112] Like the professional practice of

architecture, producing murals and sculpture for a particular site and purpose required study, material investigation, and theorization; these, rather than the simply technical and "applied" teachings of a guild apprenticeship, or the arbitrary, individualistic experiments of the art school, would characterize the lessons of *bottega* pedagogy.

The shift from guild to *bottega,* and from artisan to architect as the allegorical figure of the unified arts, suggests a shift in class status and in pedagogical background. The architect in the twentieth-century imagination is the artist as rationalist, and certainly as professional, armed with theoretical knowledge and concerned to solve the problems of his clients and his world. The figure of the *bottega* artist, repeated across the war years and into the 1950s, becomes as exaggerated in his professionalism as the academy artist was in his picturesque failure. Pleading for solid craftsmanship and necessary art against the fashions of Fifty-seventh Street and the isolation of the museum, Gibson Danes of the University of Texas was among the many administrators who offered his art students the model of the architect, "ministering to the basic needs of the people. . . . solving problems from the requirements of the region and the needs of the client."[113] Artists, he insisted, must be trained like the architect to work with him, in schools like the Bauhaus and in programs that saw themselves once again as *bottegas:* "If the twentieth century counterpart of Verrocchio's *bottega* could be realized by the art schools, art would begin to operate for the public again."[114] The *bottega* held out the promise of an effective rational artist, a fully professional model citizen, precisely because it produced a broadly trained and widely interested artist. "Artists in the Renaissance," Danes proclaimed in 1943, "were men, craftsmen, that were not limited to a particular kind of artistic production."[115]

By the 1950s the *bottega* artist was marshaled to stand not only for the dignity and necessity of artistic labor and technical command, but also for the wholeness and cohesiveness of public culture. He is a liberal artist and, more than that, a professor: the perfect figure for the artist in the university. In 1951 Ralph Wickiser, the head of the art department at Louisiana State University, redoubled Danes's prescription, arguing that the "creative artist must educate himself in many fields, much as the Renaissance artists did, so that he will become the cultural leader of his time."[116] The artist, Wickiser concluded, concentrating Danes's stuttering plural description of Renaissance artists as "men, craftsmen," must move beyond his particular training to become "truly the 'man-as-artist' first, the 'painter' or 'sculptor' as specialist second."[117]

The artist of the *bottega* was a special individual precisely because he was not a specialist, or rather not too peculiar. In contrast to the long-fingernailed, foppish artist of Greenwich Village and the studio, he was marked by his liberal education, his rightful place in society, and, most clearly, by an insistently repeated masculinity. The exaggerated insistence on the masculinity of the university artist was determined by a number of factors—enumerating some of them is the task of Chapter 2. Here, I would note only that art education constructed a masculine model for the university artist out of its discomfort with the private studio, the easel picture, and the individual practice of art, its fear of the caricature that popular discourse—and its own essays—had constructed for the painter. The American artist, wrote Thomas Craven in the twenties, "is an effeminate creature who paints still-life, tepid landscapes, and incomprehensible abstractions purporting to express the aesthetic states of his wounded soul."[118] Because Craven has been charged with racism and xenophobia since the 1930s, it would be easy to dismiss his sexism and homophobia as part of his bad politics, but Meyer Schapiro, too, invoked the specter of femininity to critique the studio and the artist isolated in it.

> In its most advanced form, this conception of art is typical of the rentier leisure class in modern capitalist society. . . . A woman of this class is essentially an artist, like the painters whom she might patronize. Her daily life is filled with aesthetic choices; she buys clothes, ornaments, furniture, house decorations; she is constantly rearranging herself as an aesthetic object. Her judgments are aesthetically pure and "abstract," for she matches colors with colors, lines with lines. But she is also attentive to the effect of these choices upon her unique personality.[119]

Schapiro's terms, or rather his conflations—of femininity and a certain kind of artistic practice with domesticity, ornamentation, display, and consumption—are among the themes and alignments I trace in the chapter that follows.