that the formation of the skhukh itself did not represent the apex of avant-garde activities but rather the final decline following a series of administrative and public relations defeats; it was the "vanguard artist's last refuge." Hubertus Gassner, "The Constructivists: Modernism on the Way to Modernization," The Great Utopia, 315.

60. S. Glagol, "K intridennu v uchshchee zhivotnoe vaiana i zooskhvost," Stolichnaia novos', 12 April 1910, 2; italics are mine (JS). Here the author attempts to distinguish the politically engaged generation who left the Imperial Academy in 1903 from the rebellion against institutional authority launched by the generation of 1910 in Moscow.

61. Valentin Songailo, author of a panegyric on the three hundredth anniversary of Romanov rule, published in the same year a blistering critique of Goncharova's work that interprets her treatment of form as insurrectionist, O vystavekh kartin Natalii Goncharovoi (Moscow: V. M. Sablin, 1913).

62. I am indebted to a number of scholars' writings as I raise this question within the Russian-Soviet context, including David Crowly's lecture at the February 1997 CAA panel, "Pozorny cya autentchnos'?: Distinctions in the Production and Consumption of Culture in Stalinist Poland.

63. Boris Groys, The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Classic Dictatorship, and Beyond, trans. Charles Rougle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). That Stalin finally usurps authorship of the avant-garde project seems acceptable to me, although the avant-garde's system of aesthetics was not as coherent as Groys makes it out to be. In reducing a heterogeneous pre-revolutionary avant-garde to the goals and creative visions of Malevich/Tatlin/Rodchenko, Groys misrepresents its complexity and contradictions. Stalin's sleight of hand is better understood as a function of the cultural politics of the 1920s that Groys describes rather than as a quality or program that inheres to the pre-revolutionary avant-garde itself. For another insightful study into the shift in authorship (Stalin replacing the artist) that occurs in the early 1930s see Margarita Tupitsyn, "Szenarii der Autorenchaft," in Gustav Klutsis: Retrospektive, Hubertus Gassner and Roland Nachtigàller, eds., Exhibition Catalogue, Museum Freerianum (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1991), 261–77.

Women at the Whitney, 1910—30: Feminism/Sociology/Aesthetics

Janet Wolff

In October 1994, I was invited by the Whitney Museum of American Art to develop a proposal for an exhibition in the Museum's series "Collection in Context." The series, which began in June, 1993, with an exhibition on Edward Hopper in Paris, has consisted of shows "featuring key works in the Whitney Museum's Permanent Collection," with the intention "not to isolate the works exhibited, but rather to set them in two different but related contexts: first, as products of their original time and place; second, in terms of their relevance to contemporary critics and today's audiences." The exhibitions have been conceived and organized by outside curators, scholars, and artists; they are displayed in a single room (about 40 feet by 23 feet in size) on the first floor of the Museum, typically running for about three months. Other themes of exhibitions in the series include Gorky's Betrothals, A Year from the Collection, circa 1932, Joseph Cornell: Cosmic Travels, and Breuer's Whitney—Anniversary Exhibition.

My invitation encouraged me to develop a proposal that would bring feminist scholarship to the project. Since my own interests are primarily in art of the early twentieth century, I decided to focus on women artists from that period whose work was prominent in the collection when the Museum opened in November, 1931. It became clear that this would involve looking at social networks and art circles connected with Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney and her assistant (and later the first Director of the Museum), Juliana Force, and particularly the Whitney Studio Club, which operated from 1918 to 1928. Eventually—this was rather an extended process, depending
was realist painting, in the relatively progressive style of the Ashcan School but not at all influenced by the more avant-garde developments ( cubism, fauvism, Futurism) already well established in Europe and visible in the work of other New York artists as early as 1910. It became clear that my project, which started out as the rather unexciting one of feminist retrieval (reclaiming women artists "hidden from history"), might not be about gender at all, since the post-war modernist orthodoxy marginalized realist work by men in just the same way. In this essay, I relate the progress of my research and thought as it developed, and in particular the ways in which the question of gender was superseded first by sociological questions of patronage, networks, and social influence, and then by the broader issue of the historical development of key institutions and their aesthetic ideologies. Finally, inspired by the recent work of feminist scholars of modernism and modernity, I came to see that this was, after all, very much a feminist project, though not in the way I had at first envisaged. If we can characterize feminist revisionism (rediscovering women artists and incorporating them into the canon) as 1970s feminism, then I would say (at the risk of equally broad generalization) that the Whitney project became one of 1990s feminism—the analysis of gender construction as it operates in the field of modern art and its institutions.

The Whitney Museum of American Art opened in November 1931. Its founding collection consisted of nearly 700 works of art, about 200 of them acquired since January 1930 when plans for the Museum were officially announced. All of these works had been in the collections of Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, the Museum’s founder, and Juliana Force, her assistant since 1907 and the Museum’s first Director (1931–1948), and most had been acquired in the context of the three institutions which had preceded and resulted in the opening of the Museum in 1931—the Whitney Studio (1914–1918), the Whitney Studio Club (1918–1928), and the Whitney Studio Galleries (1928–1930). The first of these, the Whitney Studio, was founded by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (who had herself been working as a sculptor in a studio in Greenwich Village since 1907), initially as a place to organize an art exhibition for the benefit of war relief (ROES, 111). For the next four years, Whitney and Force organized exhibitions at the Whitney Studio, wide-ranging in their scope, but emphasizing the work of young American artists. In 1918, they found new premises (a brownstone on West Fourth Street), which they opened as the Whitney Studio Club, with Juliana Force as its director. The new Club combined exhibition space with recreational rooms and a library, and it continued an active exhibition program for the next ten years. It was disbanded in 1928, having grown too large, and was replaced by the Whitney Studio Galleries, with the narrower aim of exhibiting and selling work. This in turn was closed in 1930, once the decision was made to found a permanent Museum.

The catalogue of the collection, published at the Museum’s opening in 1931, includes about 500 paintings (oil and watercolor), 115 pieces of sculpture, and “drawings, etchings, lithographs and works in other mediums, to the number of seven hundred,” all, of course, the work of American artists. Some of the names list-
ed are familiar today, including some "Ashcan" painters and other realists associated with the Art Students' League (George Bellows, William Glackens, Robert Henri, Ernest Lawson, George Luks, Reginald Marsh, Kenneth Hayes Miller, John Sloan, Arthur Davies and Maurice Prendergast) and one or two American modernists (Stuart Davis, and one work each by Marsden Hartley and Georgia O'Keeffe). There is one Edward Hopper, and a few works by Precisionist artists Charles Sheeler, Elsie Driggs, and Charles Demuth. Most striking is the fact that many of the most prominent names in the catalogue (that is, the artists with several works in the collection) are not well known—Arnold Blanch, Lucile Blanch, Ernest Fiene, Emil Ganso, Anne Goldthwaite, Leon Hartl, Joseph Pullet, Paul Rohland, Katherine Schmidt, Niles Spencer, and a few others. These are the names, though, that appear with great frequency in the records of exhibitions held at the Whitney Studio, the Whitney Studio Club and the Whitney Studio Galleries in the sixteen years leading up to the founding of the Museum. In other words, they are the names of the artists supported by Whitney and Force during that period, whose work was often bought at their Whitney exhibitions, and who were, for the most part, active participants in the Club and regular members of the social networks in which Juliana Force in particular operated. They were connected with one another through their artistic training (in many cases, at the Art Students' League) and through social contact and, in some cases, marriage. (The artists Peggy Bacon and Alexander Brook were married to each other, as were Katherine Schmidt and Yasuo Kuniyoshi, both of them central players in the Whitney enterprise.) Many of them had summer homes in the art colony in Woodstock, in up-state New York, particularly in the period beginning in the early 1920s; Juliana Force herself was a frequent visitor there (ROES, 230). What they also had in common was a commitment to a contemporary realist aesthetic, learned in many cases from their teachers at the Art Students' League (Henri, Sloan, and Miller). I had begun research for this project by identifying the women artists in the Museum's collection who were active in the years leading up to the founding of the Museum in 1931. Since I was using the Museum's card index, which only includes works currently owned by the Museum, this did not give me access to those few women artists whose work has since been de-accessioned—these I discovered later, in looking at the 1931 catalogue and at other records. I also decided to limit my focus to works made in the period, but also acquired then (that is, in 1931 or soon after), since my interest was in the events and practices of the Whitney institutions at the time. So, for example, a work by the artist Florine Stettheimer, though painted in 1931, was not included because it was not acquired by the Museum until 1973. I was also well aware that Juliana Force engaged in a program of rather energetic "corrective buying" immediately before the opening of the Museum. The inclusion of one work by Georgia O'Keeffe (Skunk Cabbage, 1922), bought by Force in 1931 and followed by the purchase of two more O'Keeffes the next year and a fourth in 1933, has to be seen in a context in which the prospect of a permanent museum of American art, something very different from a private collection or a studio club, forced the recognition of important gaps in the collection and of the necessity to do something about this (ROES, 303-4). Avis Berman, a historian of the Whitney Museum and of Juliana Force's role in its development, records the results of Force's hectic "shopping trips" over a period of a couple of years, and of her acquisitions. Particularly interesting was the accommodation reached with Alfred Stieglitz and the American modernist artists associated with his gallery—O'Keeffe, Marin, Hartley, Dove. The absence of friendly relations between Whitney and Stieglitz over the years had long been clear (Stieglitz had opened his first gallery for modern American art, The Photo-Secessionist Gallery, or 291, in 1905), as had the radically different aesthetic commitments of the two institutions and their associated artists. But in 1931 Juliana Force was making a serious attempt to rectify imbalances in the Whitney's collection, which meant the purchase of more avant-garde, European-influenced work. Nevertheless, this last-minute corrective buying, though obviously important in the formation of the Museum, should not obscure either the dominant tendency in the Whitney circle or the particular sociology of artistic production in the pre-1931 period; nor, in the end, did it make a great deal of difference to the continuing practices of the Museum, once founded.
I compiled a list of twenty-four women artists, active in the Whitney circle in the period before the opening of the Museum. Seventeen of these women had work included in the catalogue at the opening of the Museum in 1931. Interestingly, too, eleven of the twenty-five were also included in the 1949 Whitney exhibition which served as a memorial to Juliana Force (who had died the previous year) and which still manifested a predominantly realist aesthetic. (See Appendix.) Most of these artists had an active exhibition record with the various incarnations of the Whitney Studio. They were represented regularly in group shows, and several of them had one-person shows—in some cases, more than once: Molly Luce, Dorothea Schwarcz, Rosella Hartman (fig. 1), and Georgina Klitgaard each had exhibitions of their work. Katherine Schmidt (fig. 2), Lucile Blanch (fig. 3), Caroline Rohland, and Dorothy Varian (fig. 4) had two one-person shows; and Nan Watson (fig. 5) had four one-person shows. Peggy Bacon, who exhibited her prints and drawings regularly at other New York galleries in the 1920s and 1930s, was included frequently in the Whitney Studio Club exhibitions (fig. 6). It is clear that women artists were able to thrive in the context of the Whitney Studio Club. According to Berman, women accounted for between 30 and 35 percent of works exhibited in the Whitney exhibitions and the Whitney and Force collections. She quotes Juliana Force's nephew, who stresses his aunt's firm belief in the equality of women: "She believed in applying the same standards to men and women alike. She would never use the once-familiar 'aviatrix' any more than she would say 'painteress.' Years later, as a museum director, she refused to hold special exhibits for women artists on the grounds that this was condescending to women" (ROES, 134). (This is not to say, however, that the usual processes of gender selectivity were not in play at the time, including in the critical response to the Whitney's activities. The art critic, Henry McBride, reviewing the opening exhibition of the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1931, does

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**Figure 2:** Katherine Schmidt, The White Factory, 1928. Oil on canvas, 61 x 76.2 cm. Collection of Whitney Museum of America, New York.

**Figure 3:** Lucile Blanch, August Landscape, 1932. Oil on canvas, 55.9 x 71.1 cm. Collection of Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

**Figure 4:** Dorothy Varian, Fruit, 1930. Oil, 66 x 81.3 cm. Collection of Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.
not mention a single woman artist by name, but makes a point of listing twelve male artists who are, for him, the stars of the show.\footnote{25}

If the relative success of women artists in the Whitney circle is apparent, then so is the (relatively) gender-neutral decline of their reputations in later years. Soon after the 1949 Memorial Exhibition at the Whitney, in which several of them were still exhibiting work, the museum became far more receptive to European-influenced modern art, including abstraction. The international success of Abstract Expressionism in the 1950s rendered it imperative that the Museum of American Art play an active part in exhibiting and acquiring the work. Under the next two Directors after Force’s death in 1948—Herman More (1948–1958) and Lloyd Goodrich (1958–1968)—the Whitney Museum’s aesthetic was radically transformed. More wrote, in the foreword of the 1950 Annual Exhibition catalogue: “If modern art in its many forms, such as expressionism, abstraction, and surrealism, predominates in the show, it is because it is the leading movement in art today, and has influenced the greatest number of younger artists.”\footnote{26} In 1954, the Museum moved from its original location in adjacent townhouses in Greenwich Village to a building on West 54th Street, near the Museum of Modern Art (and in fact owned by the Museum of Modern Art).\footnote{27} The display of works in the context of a more “modern” building coincided with the move towards a conception of “modern art” which was defined by the Museum of Modern Art (and originally by its first Director, Alfred Barr) and already more or less established as the art-historical orthodoxy in America and Western Europe. The narrative of this story, elaborated in Barr’s famous diagram in the 1936 Museum of Modern Art Catalogue, Cubism and Abstract Art, and developed by his successors (critics and curators in New York), traces a line of development from Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, to Cubism, Surrealism and, eventually, Abstract Expressionism (and, thus, from Paris to New York).\footnote{28} Among the obvious consequences of the acceptance of this narrative is the marginalization of realism in the twentieth century. After the second World War, the Museum of Modern Art story was not only the dominant one; it was, at least in educated circles in the art world, the only story. The Whitney’s belated subscription to this version of the canon, and to the aesthetic which upheld it, had the practical corollary of consigning a good deal of the work of the Whitney Studio Club members to storage. This reassessment affected the work of men as well as women artists. Paintings by Whitney Studio Club artists Alexander Brook, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, and Guy Pène du Bois (fig.7) suffered the same
dealers in New York exhibited modernist art (the Daniel Gallery, the Montross Gallery, the Modern Gallery, Kraushaar's and Wildenstein's among others). Collectors like John Quinn and Duncan Phillips were buying European and American modernist works in the first decades of the century. At the same time, it was entirely possible in this period for a non-modernist aesthetic to flourish alongside these developments. Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney’s taste was for early twentieth-century American realism, of a type that was in fact considered progressive in its time. She bought four of the seven paintings sold at the groundbreaking 1908 Macbeth Gallery exhibition of The Eight—the so-called “Ashcan” painters of realistic urban scenes (Henri, Luks, Sloan and others) who were showing work very different from, and opposed to, the prevailing academic traditions. At the Whitney Studio and the Studio Club, she and Juliana Force continued to exhibit the work of such artists, as well as the younger artists who had studied with them. Their taste, then, though not avant-garde, was forward-looking in terms of then current established aesthetic conventions. Their hostility to modernism, too, should not be exaggerated. (Berman suggests that the Whitney Studio Club is better seen as anti-Stieglitz, rather than anti-modern, ROES, 223). Whitney herself was involved in planning for the radical 1913 Armory Show. She supported the photographer Edward Steichen in the rather peculiar court case in 1926-27, in which he attempted to convince the U.S. Customs that Brancusi’s ultra-modernist sculpture, Bird in Space, was in fact art, and therefore exempt from import duty. Whitney took over the appeal and met all Steichen’s costs. The Whitney Studio Club also exhibited and supported some modernist artists, including Stuart Davis and Oscar Bluemner, and sponsored individual modernist shows (for example, Mario de Zayas’s important Picasso exhibition at the Whitney Studio Club in 1923). But the overall tendency is clear, and all the more so in the light of these concurrent developments in the New York art world. As Adam Weinberg says, “In a cursory examination of the Whitney’s exhibition program, publications, and acquisitions from the founding of the Whitney Studio Club in 1918 until Juliana Force’s death in 1948, the record does substantiate an overwhelming emphasis on realist artists.”

At the Whitney Studio Club, the high visibility of women artists, and their success in terms of exhibition and sales, has to be seen as the product of a complex social network of friendships, patronage, and personal relationships. Both the access to Force and Whitney (and thus to exhibition and sales) and the shared aesthetic were related aspects of these close interactions. Several of the artists were founder members of the Whitney Studio Club (Schmidt, Varian, Watson, Bacon, Dwight; Isabel Bishop joined in 1920). The Woodstock connection, already referred to, was an important structural feature in the interplay of social and professional relations, as was the shared history of training at the Art Students’ League (where Schmidt, Bacon, Varian, Luice and Bishop had studied, as well as Yasuo Kuniyoshi and Alexander Brook). Mahel Dwight worked as secretary-receptionist for Force at the Whitney Studio Club in its early days; Katherine Schmidt ran the Club’s evening sketch class for two years; and Alexander Brook (the husband of Peggy Bacon) acted as Force’s...
art barely registers in the art-historical community (with one or two exceptions, like Edward Hopper), and the same is true within the US among those whose areas of interest are not specifically the history of American art."

The Whitney Museum itself was so radically transformed in the years after Juliana Force’s death that in 1960 a group of realist artists wrote to the Director (then Lloyd Goodrich) about the lack of representational art in the Museum’s recent annual exhibition, pointing out that of the 145 paintings included “102 were non-objective, 17 abstract and 17 semi-abstract, leaving only 9 paintings in which the image had not receded or disappeared, whereas in former exhibitions the Whitney Museum showed a much larger cross section of style and method in work in progress.” As Adam Weinberg reports, Goodrich’s reply admitted that “the abstract trend is dominant, particularly among the younger generation.” Although Weinberg is concerned to stress the Whitney’s long-standing openness to both realist and modernist (including abstract) art, the context of his essay is evidence of the Museum’s postwar collusion in the privileging of modernism. It appears in a catalogue for a 1997 exhibition at the Whitney, the third in a series called Views from Abroad, in which museum directors from other countries have been invited to curate work from the Whitney’s Permanent Collection. This particular show was organized by Nicholas Serota and Sandy Nairne of the Tate Gallery in London and, as the New Yorker put it at the time, “This is American art viewed through eyes used to looking at Francis Bacon and Lucien Freud.” The curators entitled the exhibition “American Realities,” and a major part of its project was to restore the figurative tradition to visibility. Reflecting on the fact that the Tate had earlier displayed an exhibition of the work of American artists which had been organized by the Museum of Modern Art, Serota explains his interest in its omissions:

The exhibition played a small but influential part in transforming the European assessment of American art from provincial and peripheral to revolutionary, highly influential, and central to developments worldwide. But this perception clearly obscured the existence of an earlier, prewar cosmopolitanism, which manifested different forms of radical modern figuration. This led us on a track of the “real” for “Views from Abroad.” Admittedly using the term in an elastic way, we have explored the idea of bringing particular, sometimes neglected, works to critical attention and realizing a broader view of modernism which does not regard an interest in the figure as being, by definition, anti-modern.

Included in the exhibition, therefore, was work by du Bois, Sloan, Soyer, Bishop, Luks, Marsh, and Driggs, along with the usual selection of works by early modernists Dove, Hartley, O’Keeffe, and Avery, and postwar modernists Pollock, Rothko, Kline, and Diebenkorn. "The exhibition was itself, I believe, an indication of an interesting development in museum practice and associated art-critical discourses and, not incidentally, art market sales" in the past couple of years, namely the beginning of a reevaluation of the realist and figurative tradition. Despite the signs of this very recent intervention, however, the dominant aesthetic, at the Whitney as else-
modernism is itself a masculinist discourse. This means that the marginalization of realism, though ostensibly an aesthetic move, is at the same time fundamentally gendered. In this perspective, it does not matter that some of the work thus denigrated happened to be made by men; it is still gendered “feminine” by a discourse which produces modernism as masculine. In the rest of this essay, I shall consider this question of “the gender of modernism” as a way of returning to the Whitney women and the problem of assessing their work.

The recognition that modernism in the visual arts has always had strong masculinist (and often misogynistic) tendencies is by now well established. In an article first published in 1973, Carol Duncan identified a preoccupation with virility in avant-garde painting in the early twentieth century, an obsession which she relates to the contemporary anxieties about the emancipation of women and their increased participation in the public world of work and politics. And much of Griselda Pollock’s work has been concerned with addressing the question of “why the territory of modernism so often is a way of dealing with masculine sexuality and its sign, the bodies of women—why the nude, the brothel, the bar?” In another context, Andreas Huyssen has explored the nineteenth-century discourses which produced modernism as male, in this case in opposition to a mass culture which was gendered female. These gendered discourses of early modernism were then definitively reinforced by the post-war narrative of twentieth-century art history, seen from the vantage-point of the international success and prominence of the New York School. As Ann Gibson has recently shown, the invisibility of women and minority artists among the Abstract Expressionists (and there were plenty of these who were active in the late 1940s and early 1950s) is the necessary by-product of the universalizing ideology of this movement and its associated critics.

This universalism was delivered by men who aspired to be artistic heroes. This claim, to which sympathetic contemporary viewers readily responded and which subsequent historians have made specific, was not seen as the movement’s implicit story about itself, that is, as literary, but simply as wondrous fact... This notion established grounds for the distinction that, in segregated America, only white heterosexual males could attain: generating a universal product that could speak for everyone. Women, African Americans, and avowed homosexuals could not do that because their audiences would not accept their work as universal.

Michael Leja explains the androcentric nature of Abstract Expressionism in terms of the type of subjectivity produced by its discourses, one founded on a new image of “self” (the Modern Man subject, as he calls it) which deployed notions of the “primitive” and the unconscious and which was “profoundly gendered.” The point then, as he explains, is not to document the exclusion of women from Abstract Expressionism, but rather to examine the processes and mechanisms by which that exclusion was effected then and now. What made Abstract Expressionism so inhospitable to artists who were
The exclusion of women, then, is a structural and discursive operation, integral to the production and maintenance of a particular conception of subject and artist.

The re-writing of early twentieth-century American art from the point of view of the 1950s—the project that I have suggested was involved in the transformation of the Whitney’s history—can now be seen as more than a matter of aesthetic revision. The privileging of modernism in the earlier period, in the production of a specific lineage for the New York School, was also an exercise in engendering visual culture. In other words, the marginalization of certain kinds of realist and figurative painting is the marginalization of the “feminine,” a process which does not necessarily have much to do with the question of whether the work involved is by women or by men. This retroactive strategy has been able to take up and restate those gender discourses around early modernism, with their own tendency to equate the modern with the masculine. Although, as Rita Felski has argued, the gender of modernity and of modernism was relatively open-ended in the early twentieth century, so that the androcentric discourses could still be contested and countered, and a feminine/feminist “modernism” proposed, there is plenty of evidence of what was to become the dominant narrative, in which the realist/feminine was disingenuously related to the modernist/masculine. This is clear in the case of the contemporaneous establishment of the Whitney Museum and the Museum of Modern Art. In an important and highly original study of the contrasting display strategies of the two museums and their precursors in the period 1913 to 1939, Evelyn Hankins has demonstrated the ascendancy of the “modern” approach (the museum as white cube) in relation to the “decorative” (moderne), the latter, characteristic of the Whitney’s displays, associated in contemporary criticism and discourse with the feminine. In particular, the exhibition of works in the “domestic” setting of the brownstones of the Whitney Studio Club and the Museum itself in its early years, and the employment of Beaux-Arts architects and designers to renovate the buildings, was in stark contrast to the Museum of Modern Art, and it enabled a reading of the Whitney as a feminine space.

The invisibility of the Whitney artists in most histories of twentieth-century American art is after all a feminist issue, inasmuch as the denigration of realism has depended on a fundamentally gendered discursive strategy. I want to conclude by considering the implications of this for the current revival of interest in realist art, which I referred to earlier. The critical challenge to “the Museum of Modern Art story,” for example in the 1997 “American Realities” exhibition at the Whitney which reintegrated figurative art into the history of American art, is necessarily also a process of deconstructing the dominant gender hierarchies of modernism and realism. And yet it is striking that there were no women artists from the Whitney Studio Club included among the realists in that show, with the exception of Isabel Bishop and Elsie Driggs (fig. 8), neither of whom was quite typical of the Whitney artists and their work. (The same is true of the blockbuster Whitney exhibition, The American Century, which opened as I was completing work on this essay). It could be that this brings us back to the vexed question of “quality” (and hence full circle to my dilemma when confronted with the paintings). But at the very least it suggests that we look carefully at both the aesthetic and the gender implications of the revival of realism in the late twentieth century, a revival which may, after all, still turn out to be on modernism’s terms.
Women artists active in the Whitney Studio Club and/or exhibiting regularly at the Whitney Studio, Whitney Studio Club and Whitney Studio Gallery

* Included in the collection, 1931
+ Included in the exhibition, 1949

| Peggy Bacon *+ | Mabel Dwight * | Jane Peterson |
| Virginia Beresford | Anne Goldthwaite * | Caroline S. Robland * |
| Pamela Bianco * | Rosella Hartman *+ | Katherine Schmidt *+ |
| Isabel Bishop + | Isabella Howland * | Dorotha Schwarz * |
| Lucile Blanch ++ | Georgina Klitzgaard ++ | Madeline Shiff |
| Rose Clark * | Molly Luce *+ | Dorothy Varian *+ |
| Lucille Corcos | Harriette G. Miller | Nan Watson *+ |
| Elsie Driggs * | Maud Morgan | Marguerite Zorach *+ |

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Notes
5. Andrew Hennessey has recently demonstrated how this ideology has rendered all but invisible most American art before 1945 in: "How the Tale of Taste Wags the Dog of History: American Art Pre-1945 and the Problem of Art History's Object" (paper presented at College Art Association meetings, Los Angeles, February 1999).
8. As Jackie Stacey has insisted, however, such periodization is often quite unfair to early feminist theory, as well as blind to the important continuities in feminist work over the past twenty-five years. See "Feminist Theory: Capital F, Capital T," in Victoria Robinson and Diane Richardson, eds., Introducing Women's Studies: Feminist Theory and Practice. 2d ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 54-76.
10. By then, it had more than 400 members, and a long waiting list (ROES, 255).
14. Schmitt, Bacon, Varian, Luce, Kuniyoshi and Brook were among those who had studied at the Art Students' League.
15. Among those women artists included in the Whitney museum's collection on opening, but since de-accessioned, were Ross Clark, Dorothy Schwarz, and Molly Luce.
16. In the Whitney's records, works acquired by Whitney and Force before the museum's founding still bear an acquisition date of 1931.
17. The painting is Stettheimer's Sun, of 1931.
18. Skunk Cabbage was later exchanged for another work by O'Keeffe. It is now in the Montclair Art Museum (New York Times, 24 December 1998). Thanks to Nancy Mowll Mathews, Eugenie Prendergast Curator at the Williams College Museum of Art, for clarifying this for me. Another O'Keeffe Skunk Cabbage, which Avis Berman identifies as the Whitney version, is in the collection of the Williams College Museum of Art.
25. This is not entirely true. Though these artists are certainly not as well known as, say, Arthur Dove or Marsden Hartley, their modernist contemporaries, who have remained in favor throughout the century, it is more likely that their work will be on display in exhibitions of American art than that of their female counterparts. And, with regard to the WMAA's adoption of the Museum of
Modern Art aesthetic, Bruce Lueker stresses the continuing attachment to its earlier realist tendencies. "For six decades of American art, the surveys documented the Whitney Museum's consistent support of the Realist tradition. One can also trace in the exhibition program the emergence of abstraction in the 1930s and 1940s, it's [sic] extraordinary success in Abstract Expressionism of the 1950s, and abstraction's subsequent induction into the mainstream vocabulary of American art. However, even when critical attention overwhelmingly shifted toward abstraction, the program retained its original dedication to realism" (The Annual & Biennial Exhibition Record of the Whitney Museum of American Art, 11-12).


30. Customs officials had listed it under "kitchen utensils and hospital supplies" and charged Stecher $340 duty when he brought the work back from France (ROES, 243).


32. This approach is well established among sociologists of culture, who have long insisted on the importance of understanding artistic success and canon-formation in terms of social relations of cultural production and institutions—patrons, dealers, critics, museums, art schools, art-critical discourses, and so on, which facilitate and enable (and, of course, sometimes obstruct) such success. With regard to gender, feminists have also answered Linda Nochlin's question, "Why have there been no great women artists?" by focusing on the social relations and institutions which exclude, or permit, women's participation in the making of art. Nochlin's 1971 essay of this title is reprinted in Thomas Hess and Elizabeth C. Baker, eds., Art and Sexual Politics (New York: Collier Books, 1972), 1-39. For an interesting example of a study of social networks and patronage in cultural production in a different context, see David Morgan: "Cultural Work and Friendship Work: the Case of 'Bloomsbury,'" Media, Culture and Society 4 (1982): 19-32.

33. Berman suggests that the consequent "top-heaviness of Woodstock on the Whitney exhibition roster and in the permanent collection" was rather unfortunate, and too uncritical on Force's part, ROES, 231.

34. Of her eight paintings, four were de-accompanied after Force's death in 1948 (ROES, 166).


36. Brian Paul Clamp, "The Eight: Bridging the Art of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," The Eight (New York: Owen Gallery, 1997), no pagination. Clamp rightly points out that the group of eight artists does not exactly coincide with the group collectively known as the "Ashcan School."


38. Brown, for example, puts it this way: "After the [first world] war, realism continued, with many changes in character, but as a minor and neglected phase of American Art." Unusually, Brook Luescher and Anne du Bois appear in his book, though none of the Whitney women do, 167.

39. The issue of the invisibility of much American art within the discipline of art history was addressed by Tresnery, How the Tale of Art Was the Dog of History. A marvellous example of this appears in a recent publisher's catalogue, advertising a recent edition of the reprinted essays of the art critic Henry McBride—one of the most important critics in New York between about 1913 and 1950. The advert gives prominent place to a line from a review of the book by the art historian, Svetlana Alpers, who says: "Until I read this book I had never heard of [McBride], but his collected reviews make for good reading." It says something, of course, about the fate of early twentieth-century art and art criticism that such a sentence stands as a compliment. See "The Henry McBride Series in Modernism and Modernity from Yale University," publisher's catalogue (New Haven: Yale University Press, n. d. [but 1999]). 3.


41. Loc. cit.

42. New Yorker, listings, 15 September 1997.

43. Nicholas Serotta, Introduction, Views from Abroad, 10.

44. Bishop and Driggs are the only women realists here, and, of the group of twenty-four artists I have been considering, they are the only women whose work has continued to be shown, perhaps with the exception of Margarette Zorach.

45. Other examples of this new attempt to reinstate realism as serious art include the Whitney's 1995 Florence Stebbins retrospective and 1998 Edward Hopper retrospective; a major exhibition at the National Museum of American Art in Washington D. C. in 1995, Metropolitan Lice: The Ashcan Artists and Their New York; an exhibition of the work of Peggy Bacon at the Kraushaar Galleries, New York, from December 1995; an exhibition of the work of Lucretia Corcoran at the Susan Teller Gallery, New York, in Fall 1997. And—no doubt a more trivial example—the selection of American artists to hang on the walls of the home of an exceptionally rich young couple (played by Mel Gibson and Rene Russo) in the movie Ramsay; see Avis Berman, "In the Script, the Art Says 'They're Rich. '" New York Times, 3 November 1996, 43-44.

46. In fact, the Montclair Art Museum, with whose curator I did subsequently exchange letters.


48. The title of one of several volumes published in the 1970s which undertook this task. See Eleanor Tufts, Our Hidden Heritage: Five Centuries of Women Artists (New York: Paddington Press, 1974).


Review Essay

Radway's "Feelings" and the Reflexive Sociology of American Literature

By James F. English, University of Pennsylvania


Virtually alone among American English professors, Janice Radway has been performing ethnographic research into contemporary American literary taste and reading practice for twenty years. This is not to say that her work lacks points of contact with broad movements or trends within the discipline. Between the publication of her Reading the Romance (1984) and her new study A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire (1997), there has been a reflexive sociological turn within English departments, resulting in studies about canon formation, literary value, and the relation of English to other disciplines, to the broader cultural field, and to the field of power itself. Much of this work has been marked at least glancingly by the influence of Pierre Bourdieu, the controversial French sociologist whose Distinction, Homo Academicus (1988), The Logic of Practice (1990), Photography: A Middlebrow Art (1990), The Rules of Art (1990), and eight other books all appeared in English during this time, and whose core theoretical concepts (field, habitus, and capital) have been widely circulated and heatedly debated by sociologists of culture. Although, as John Guillory and others have observed, Bourdieu's reception among American literature professors has for the most part been a hostile one, with neither his postpositivist scientism nor his seemingly economistic terminology and schema finding much support in that quarter, there has been a significant convergence of concerns. As English professors have begun more rigorously to scrutinize their