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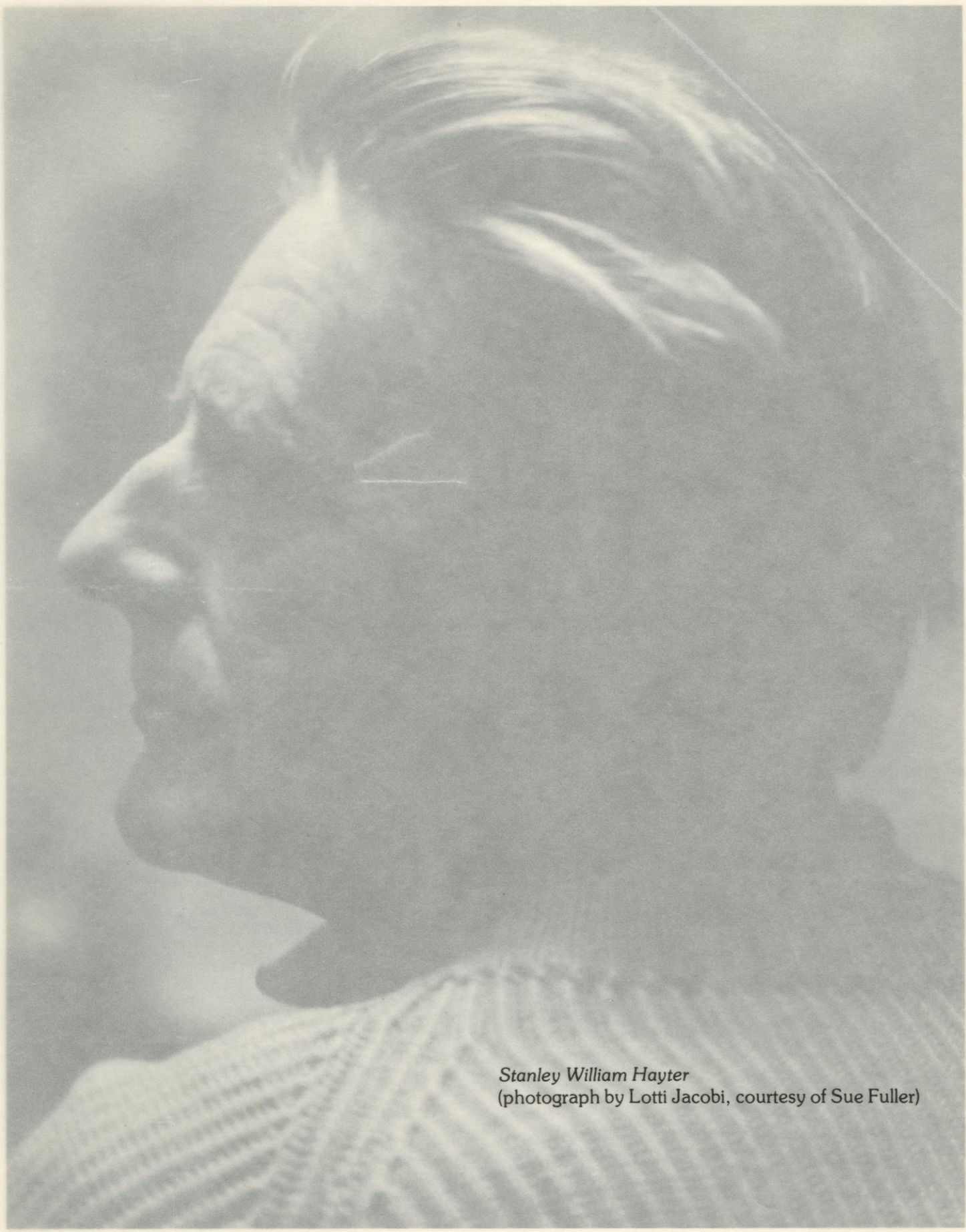
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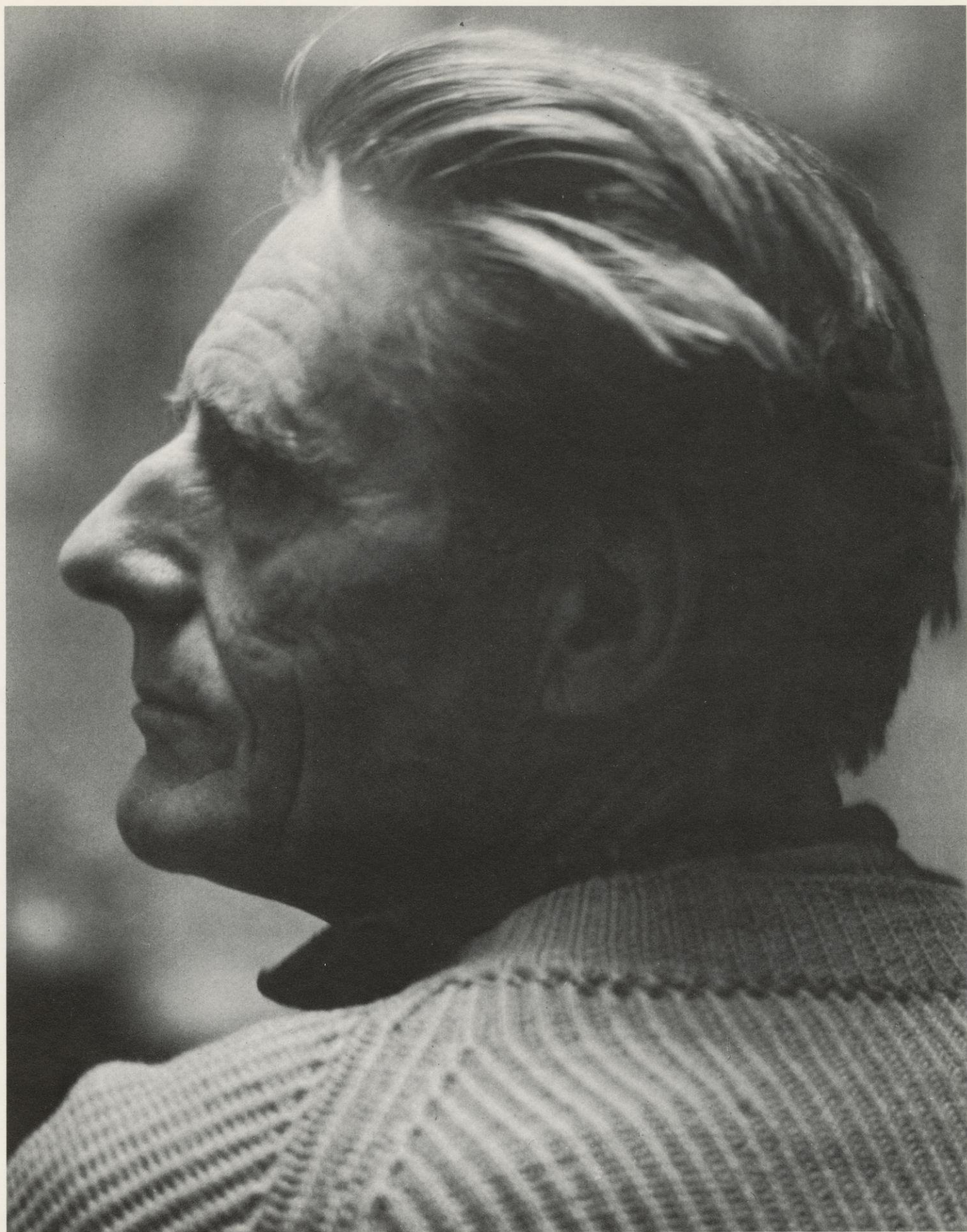
Atelier 17





*Stanley William Hayter*  
(photograph by Lotti Jacobi, courtesy of Sue Fuller)

Stanley William Hayer  
(photograph by Lotti Jacobi, courtesy of Sue Fuller)





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A 50th Anniversary Retrospective Exhibition

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*Atelier 17*

Essay and Catalogue  
by Joann Moser

Elvehjem Art Center  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
1977



**Participating Museums**

Elvehjem Art Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison  
October 9-December 4, 1977

University of Iowa Museum of Art, Iowa City  
December 16, 1977-February 26, 1978

The Brooklyn Museum  
March 18-May 14, 1978

University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor  
June 4-July 30, 1978

Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Champaign  
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# Foreword

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When Stanley William Hayter began *Atelier 17* in Paris 50 years ago, little did he realize the extraordinary impact the workshop would have on 20th century printmaking in the United States. Hayter and the studio, as teacher and printmaking center, set in motion an educational renaissance for both the artist and the public alike resulting in the adoption of printmaking in countless American art departments, the creation of numerous important private collections of 20th century prints, and public recognition of printmaking as a highly significant contemporary medium. Because of Hayter, wide experimentation with intaglio printmaking techniques evolved and are accepted today as the norm rather than the exception.

Hundreds of artists have passed through the doors of *Atelier 17* both in Paris and New York suggesting that the revival of the workshop concept in artistic expression was long overdue. The contributions of *Atelier 17* to the development of printmaking in the 20th century center primarily around Hayter's insistence on experimental techniques in a cooperative workshop environment, the use of color in printmaking, and the number of artists who worked at the studio who spread to all parts of America carrying with them their enthusiasm for printmaking.

In this, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of *Atelier 17* in Paris, we are pleased to present a history of the studio, both in prints and the printed word. In addition, we salute the creative energy of Stanley William Hayter and thank him for his cooperation and participation in this retrospective exhibition.

The exhibition was proposed and assembled by Ms. Joann Moser, Guest Curator for the Elvehjem Art Center and currently Curator of Collections at the University of Iowa Museum of Art. To the many lenders, both in the United States and

abroad, we express our appreciation for making the exhibition possible. With the assistance of the National Endowment for the Arts, *Atelier 17* will circulate to the University of Iowa Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum, the University of Michigan Museum of Art, and the Krannert Art Museum at the University of Illinois. The Elvehjem Art Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison is pleased to inaugurate this exhibition and to present it to the public.

Eric S. McCready, Director

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# Preface

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As 1977 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Atelier 17, it seems appropriate that a survey of this printmaking workshop's accomplishment and an analysis of its significance for twentieth century printmaking be undertaken. Hundreds of artists have worked at Atelier 17. They have dispersed all over the world to continue making prints and often to establish workshops based on the model of Atelier 17.

The vast numbers of artists who have passed through Atelier 17 during the past half-century and the diversity of their achievements in printmaking precludes an absolutely comprehensive survey of the prints made at this workshop. Instead, prints by selected artists have been chosen to represent the various styles, techniques, experiments, problems, and accomplishments that have marked the history of the workshop.

The focus of this exhibition is to examine the significance of Atelier 17 in the development of twentieth-century American printmaking. Although Atelier 17 was originally begun in Paris, it was located in New York at a time when the workshop had reached maturity and the United States was beginning to assume a leadership role in contemporary art. The impact Atelier 17 had on printmaking in the United States was greater than in Europe, where the tradition of printmaking was much stronger, and many more artists were involved in the graphic arts. After World War II, the United States experienced a flourishing of printmaking such as it had never before seen, due in no small part to the influence of Atelier 17. This vigorous activity in American printmaking has continued until the present day.

Atelier 17 is still functioning in Paris under the directorship of its founder, Stanley William Hayter. Although the importance of Atelier 17 is generally acknowledged among artists, critics, and museum curators alike, very little information has been published about the workshop. Mr. Hayter has generously agreed to furnish whatever documentary information he still possesses and to probe his memory for

facts that would otherwise be forgotten. Many of the artists who have worked at Atelier 17 have offered their assistance in reconstructing the history of the workshop. The enthusiastic responses of artists to the author's inquiries about Atelier 17 are indicative of the strong and lasting impact that their experiences at Atelier 17 have had on their subsequent work. Many questions remain unanswered, but this catalogue attempts to present a coherent and accurate account of Atelier 17 to accompany the retrospective exhibition.

The author would like to express appreciation to all the artists and curators whose interest and cooperation were essential for gathering sufficient information to reconstruct the history of Atelier 17 and to realize this exhibition. Special thanks are due to Professor James Watrous, whose encouragement, suggestions, and constructive criticism as my dissertation advisor made this project a valuable and satisfying experience. I am grateful to Warrington Colescott for his assistance in identifying the various printmaking techniques for the catalogue.

As Guest Curator I would like to thank the staff of the Elvehjem Art Center for their support and cooperation in realizing this exhibition. Anne Boyle, coordinator of this exhibition, worked with me since its inception and deserves special recognition for her tireless record-keeping, correspondence, and organization in acting as a liaison between Elvehjem Art Center personnel and myself. The large number of loans was admirably handled by Lisa Calden, and Mario Stornaiuolo and Henry Behrnd deserve recognition for meticulously preparing so many prints for exhibition and travel. I would also like to thank Christine Sundt for doing much of the black-and-white photography for the catalogue illustrations, and Carlton Overland and David Berreth for overseeing the publication of this catalogue.

Joann Moser, Curator of Collections  
University of Iowa Museum of Art



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# I. The History Of Atelier 17

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It fills me with great nostalgia; Hayter created around himself a splendid learning environment, free of esthetic ideology, free of commercialism—a workshop solely dedicated to expand the possibilities of a renascent craft, a revitalized craft to serve the individual expression of artists, young and old. The technical facilities were modest, the material means were meager, and yet the Atelier 17 was a hub of boundless energy, and a powerful sense of enthusiasm reigned in even the carrying out of the most routine steps of printmaking. The result was a lot of good work.

André Racz<sup>1</sup>

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The onset of World War II marked a shift in the international center of modern art from Paris to New York. Even before the political situation reached crisis proportions, art in Paris began to show signs of complacency and conservatism. Once France entered the war and many of the leaders of modern art emigrated to New York, it became obvious that Paris no longer had the concentration of leadership in the plastic arts which had given it more than a century of prominence. Free from the immediate pressures of war, American artists gradually emerged to fulfill this role. The presence of European émigré artists, however, was a stimulating factor in the art activity of New York and for the developing leadership of American artists in painting, sculpture, and printmaking.

Among the numerous European émigrés who came to the United States to escape the upheaval of World War II was the English painter and printmaker Stanley William Hayter. Shortly after his arrival in New York, Hayter established an experimental printmaking workshop that was to have great importance for the development of twentieth-century American printmaking. He called it Atelier 17 after the workshop he

had founded in Paris in 1927.

## Hayter and the Beginnings of Atelier 17

Hayter was born in Hackney, a suburb of London, on December 27, 1901. He attended the Whitgift Middle School in Croydon, but in 1917 he left school to work as a research chemist in the laboratory of the Mond Nickel Company. Concurrently, he enrolled as a part-time student in chemistry at Kings College, London. After the armistice ending World War I, he left his job to study full-time at Kings College, where he received an honors degree in chemistry and geology in 1921. He continued doing research into organic sulphur compounds under Professor Samuel Smiles at Kings College until 1922, when he accepted a job as an oil chemist with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He was sent to Abadan on the Persian Gulf, where he worked for three years.

In spite of a promising beginning as a chemist, Hayter's interest in art grew to the point where he abandoned his career as a scientist to become an artist. This conversion to an artistic career was not unprecedented. Hayter had been born into a family with a tradition of artists on his father's side dating from the eighteenth century. Hayter's father, himself a painter of some note, introduced his son to art at an early age by taking him frequently to the National Gallery. The young boy particularly enjoyed works by Uccello, Zurbaran, and El Greco. By the age of fourteen Hayter had begun to paint in his spare time, but in reaction to the family tradition, he chose to study science.

Nevertheless, Hayter's interest in art persisted during the entire time he was studying science and while in Persia, he continued to paint in his spare time. In 1922, he embarked upon a series of pencil portraits of Anglo-Iranian personnel, of which about 150 were completed. His paintings from this period mostly depicted



landscapes, rivers, seascapes, boats, and the oil refinery plant. He also created compositions in the manner of cubism, although he denied having been influenced by Picasso or of being well acquainted with the cubist school until after he left Persia in 1925.<sup>2</sup>

Hayter suffered from an attack of malaria in 1925 and was sent home. At the same time, his company arranged a one-man exhibition of his paintings at the Anglo-Iranian headquarters in London, which took place in 1926. The exhibition was successful beyond Hayter's expectations, and almost all of the paintings were sold. The success of this exhibition, no doubt, encouraged him to try his hand at becoming a professional artist.

In April, 1926, Hayter went to Paris and moved into a studio adjoining Giacometti's on the rue du Moulin Vert. For several months he studied academic techniques at the Académie Julien, but finding this training too confining, he left the school and continued his art education on his own.

Most of his work until that time had been drawings or paintings, but a scientist's curiosity, coupled with an artist's desire to discover new means of expression, led him to explore the resources of the graphic arts. He learned the basic techniques of aquatint, etching, woodcut, drypoint and lithography in his first Paris prints. Within months of his arrival in Paris, Hayter had made friends with numerous artists, including Giacometti, Alexander Calder, Anthony Gross, and the Polish engraver Joseph Hecht. Hayter began to work in Hecht's studio, where he made his first engravings. It was Hecht who introduced Hayter to the technique of copper engraving as a medium of creative expression, rather than as a method of reproducing works originally done in other media. The idea of working directly on the copper plate, without the intermediaries of grounds and acids, appealed to Hayter. In 1926 he exhibited his paintings and prints at the Salon d'Automne for the first time, and in 1927 he held his one-man show at the Sacre du Printemps gallery in Paris.

That same year Alice Carr de Creeft (the wife of the sculptor Jose de Creeft) and a woman friend went to Hayter's studio to buy prints. They returned a week later and asked him to teach them to make prints. With the intention of discouraging them, Hayter replied that he did not have a press or other

equipment for teaching, but if there were two more people interested in learning, he might consider the proposal. The following week they returned with two people and persuaded Hayter to set up his first workshop. Although his first reaction was to recoil from such an undertaking, Hayter recalled: "When I met Hecht in 1926 I was very strongly impressed with the latent possibilities of his manner of using a burin and later, realizing the necessity of collective work in a group in order to develop these and other possibilities, I set up a workshop where all equipment was available for artists who wished to work in those media."<sup>3</sup>

Hayter established the workshop in his own studio at 51, rue du Moulin Vert. He invested his own money in the necessary equipment, and Joseph Hecht helped him to obtain his first press. By the end of 1927 about ten people were working there two days a week, and Hayter decided to move the workshop to a larger space at the Villa Chauvelot in the nearby 15th *arrondissement*. It was located there until 1933, when Hayter moved it to a studio at 17, rue Campagne-Premier, the address number from which Atelier 17 derived its name. The workshop remained there until Hayter abandoned it at the beginning of the second world war.

During the early years, news of the workshop spread primarily by word of mouth. Artists who had worked there told their friends, some of whom chose to try their own hands at making prints. The Portuguese artist Vieira da Silva and her husband, the Hungarian artist Arpad Szenes, both of whom made prints at Atelier 17 from time to time, introduced Gabor Peterdi to Hayter, and Hayter taught the young Hungarian artist to make his first prints. The American artist and theoretician John Graham, who frequently shuttled between New York and Paris, suggested to the American sculptor David Smith that he might be interested in making prints at the workshop when he visited Paris in 1935. Thanks to John Graham, Hayter was not entirely unknown to many young American artists when he arrived in New York in 1940.

From the very beginning, Atelier 17 attracted a large number of foreign artists. Paris was a mecca for artists from all over the world throughout the 1930's. Upon arrival, however, they often found themselves at loose ends. It was very difficult for a foreigner to meet the strict entrance

requirements of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Many tried figure drawing classes at the Académie Julien or the Académie de la Grande Chaumière, but by the 1920's these schools had become very conservative and did not provide the stimulation and contact with modern art that these venturesome artists sought in Paris. Although few artists came to Paris expressly to learn printmaking, they were open to new experiences. Hayter, a foreigner himself, encouraged an international atmosphere at Atelier 17. Artists from Italy, Spain, Hungary, Germany, Portugal, France, Holland, Lithuania, England, and the United States worked side by side.

Although Hayter invited painters and sculptors to try their hand at printmaking, he did not limit his attention to artists who had already achieved recognition. On the contrary, young, unknown artists whose work interested him were received enthusiastically by Hayter. In retrospect he maintained that some of the most important innovations and contributions were made by artists who had not yet developed a mature style and whose reputations were not established, because they were more open to experimentation and often were more willing to approach printmaking as a means of creative, original expression.

The locations of the workshop were always in areas dense with artists' studios, so it was not unusual for an artist to stop by at the most casual suggestion, while taking a break from his own work or while visiting a friend in the neighborhood. The workshop at 17, rue Campagne-Premier in particular was located very near Montparnasse, one of the liveliest artist quarters during the 1930's. By 1933 the existence of Atelier 17 was common knowledge in a number of artistic circles in Paris. Writers and collectors visited the workshop to see their friends make prints, to inquire about having illustrations made for their publications, or to buy prints.

Above all, it was Hayter himself who attracted artists and visitors to the Atelier. In addition to directing the workshop, he continued to paint and make prints. Following his first one-man show in Paris at the *Sacre du Printemps* gallery (1927), he held his first one-man exhibition in London at the Claridge Gallery in 1929. In the same year he began to exhibit in the Salon des Surindépendants. By 1930 he was devoting more of his energy to printmaking and

created a series of six plates entitled *Paysages Urbaines* (cat. nos. 5-8) In 1933 he exhibited with the Surrealist group in Paris for the first time and continued to exhibit with them throughout the 1930's. In 1934 Atelier 17 sponsored the first two exhibitions of prints done at the workshop. The exhibition was presented at the Galerie Pierre (Loeb) in Paris and at the Leicester Galleries in London. In 1936 a group of prints was sent on tour to Prague in Czechoslovakia, and the Hague and Maastricht in Holland. In Paris another workshop show was held at the Quatre Chemins, a publishing house with a small gallery space. In 1939 the most comprehensive exhibition of prints from Atelier 17 until that time was held at the Galerie du Beaune in Paris.<sup>4</sup> With the increase of interest in Hayter's work and his growing recognition, more and more artists came to Atelier 17 to work with him.

Even more important than his reputation, Hayter's magnetic personality and overwhelming enthusiasm for his work led many artists to try printmaking. Meeting him was often a memorable experience. Anaïs Nin, who was introduced to Hayter by a mutual friend, a printer named Gonzalo More, recalled that:

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**I**t was his intensity that was overwhelming. He was like a stretched bow or a coiled spring every minute, witty, swift, ebullient, sarcastic. He was a famous engraver and teacher of engraving. And his face seemed engraved rather than sculptured in flesh. As if every line he had engraved on his copper plate he had at the same time engraved on his face. The jaw was tense, the smile as if pulled by taut wires, his chin jutted like a perpetual affirmation. His eyes dilated to yield the maximum focus. To me he was a wire sculpture, a man of nerves.<sup>5</sup>

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Leo Katz, an Austrian artist who worked with Hayter at the New York Atelier 17, remembered ". . . a wiry shortish figure, a physiognomy that looks somewhat like Field Marshall Montgomery (without the pompousness), a magnetic presence, charm, humor, irrepressible energy, sparkling intellect, a brilliant teacher, all this adds up to a human dynamo that attracts people from all over the world."<sup>6</sup> Gabor Peterdi recalled that Hayter had a kind of missionary

zeal about printmaking; he tried to grab anybody that interested him: "Come over and I'll teach you to engrave!"

Within a few years of the founding of the workshop, when more mature artists came to work there, a livelier exchange of ideas began to take place. In 1929 Hayter met Joan Miró, Hans Arp, and Yves Tanguy, who began to visit the workshop while they continued their work in other media. Old friends such as Alexander Calder and Alberto Giacometti came to Atelier 17 in the 1930's to make some of their earliest prints. Between 1934 and 1939, Hayter was in frequent contact with Picasso and gave him technical assistance from time to time. There were rarely more than four or five artists working at Atelier 17 at any one time. From week to week, some artists would leave to be replaced by others. Classes were not structured. Instead, Hayter worked with each artist individually. Although Hayter had contact with each of them, the artists' interaction with each other was minimal.

Perhaps the most unique feature of Atelier 17 was its informality. Artists contributed what they could for materials and the upkeep of the studio. Whatever Hayter received from the sale of his work was immediately reinvested in the workshop. When he was completely broke, the few artists who had a little money, either from their families or from their art, gave it to him. Those who had no money contributed to the maintenance of the workshop, cleaning the studio or preparing the acids, as payment for using the facilities. Artists came and left freely. Even Hayter felt no obligation to be there constantly. By the mid-1930's, Hayter began to have assistants, such as the English artist John Buckland-Wright, who ran the workshop when Hayter was away from Paris. When funds were especially scarce, Hayter and two assistants would accept difficult printing jobs for other artists. The three would work in eight-hour shifts, keeping the press rolling twenty-four hours a day. Although Hayter was the moving spirit behind Atelier 17, its existence was sustained by a cooperative effort among artists with their contributions of time, money, and energy.

Other than group exhibitions, evidence of this collaboration was hardly visible to an outsider. The only projects undertaken at Atelier 17 by the artists as a group were two portfolios of prints inspired by a common

revulsion to the Spanish Civil War and a strong sympathy for the Spanish people. Although the war was especially horrifying to artists of Spanish descent, such as Miró, Picasso, Dali, and Luis Vargas, most of the artists at the workshop, regardless of their nationality, were repulsed by the spectre of fascism and the death of innocent people.

Hayter executed a number of paintings and prints inspired by the destruction and inhumanity of the war. Perhaps the most eloquent was *Combat* (cat. no. 4), in which he expressed the brutality of the conflict through a dynamic clash of opposing lines interspersed with barely recognizable parts of human anatomy. In 1937 Hayter was invited by the Ministry of Arts of the Republican Government of Spain to visit their war-torn country. Because it was impossible to get an orthodox visa, Hayter slipped over the border provided with safe conduct papers, which allowed him to get near the fighting. The experience made a deep impression on him, and upon his return to Paris Hayter accepted an offer from the publisher Ambrose Vollard to make a series of plates for one of his new publications. The book was based on *Numncia*, a tragedy by Cervantes which recorded the heroic defense of a city in Spain which was annihilated by the Romans in 133 B.C. Although the project was halted by the death of Vollard, Hayter published an edition of prints from each of the plates he had already made.

In addition to these individual endeavors, Hayter also organized two group portfolios as tributes to the Spanish people. A portfolio of seven etchings and a poem by Paul Eluard entitled *Solidarité* was published in 1938 by Guy Levis-Mano. The portfolio included prints by Pablo Picasso, Joan Miro, Yves Tanguy, Andre Masson, John Buckland-Wright, Dalla Husband, and Hayter; all were printed at Atelier 17.

A second portfolio, *Fraternity*, (cat. no.2) was initiated and published by Hayter himself. Nine prints were produced by John Buckland-Wright, Hayter, Joseph Hecht, Dalla Husband, Wassily Kandinsky, Roderick Mead, Joan Miró, Dolf Rieser, and Luis Vargas, with an additional Hayter print on the box. Stephen Spender wrote a poem called "Fall of a City," which was printed and included a translation in French by Louis Aragon. The proceeds went to the Spanish Children's Fund.

Hayter's deep personal response to the



4. S. W. Hayter, *Combat*, 1936

worsening political situation in Europe led him to abandon Atelier 17 one day after World War II was declared. Suspecting that conditions would deteriorate in Paris, he returned to England, where, as a member of the British reserves, he organized a camouflage unit. After a short period of time the unit was disbanded, and Hayter decided to go to the United States with his American wife, the sculptress Helen Phillips.

#### **Atelier 17 in New York**

Hayter arrived in New York on May 31, 1940. Shortly thereafter, he met with the dean of the New School for Social Research, Clara Meyer, and arranged to start a new workshop at the school. Hayter proposed an

intaglio printmaking course, to be called Atelier 17, which would be part of the art curriculum of the New School.

Because this course would not begin until the fall semester, Hayter accepted an invitation to teach a course during the summer at the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco. He was also given his first one-man show in the United States at the Museum of Fine Arts in San Francisco. Asked to continue teaching at the California School of Fine Arts, he declined, for despite a small artistic community on the West Coast, Hayter felt isolated from the center of the art world, and wanted to rejoin other European émigré artists in New York.

Atelier 17 was listed in the fall catalogue

of the New School. Enrollment during the first year, however, was light. Hayter was not well-known in the United States, and the course he offered was very specialized. The course description in the New School catalogue specifically stated that Atelier 17 was intended for “artists already familiar with the ordinary techniques of etching and engraving, to carry on independent investigation.”<sup>7</sup> Because printmaking was not yet considered a major art medium in the United States, only a small number of artists had the necessary background.

From the inception of the course a few of Hayter’s old friends from Europe, who were already in New York, came to work with him. Moreover, during the early years, prominent American artists such as Reginald Marsh, Isabel Bishop, and Douglas Gorsaline joined the workshop, primarily to learn engraving. However, they were not interested in experimentation with new styles or techniques, so they worked at Atelier 17 only for a short period of time. As Sue Fuller recalled: “Reginald Marsh was too well-established an artist to catch the fire of a modern expression.”

News of Atelier 17 and its program began to spread gradually among artists, largely by word of mouth. Sue Fuller, for example, was looking for someone to teach her to engrave on jewelry. When a friend suggested Hayter, Fuller joined the workshop and became so involved in intaglio printmaking that she abandoned her plans to decorate jewelry. In 1941 Hayter had a one-man show of paintings and prints at the Willard Gallery in New York and a one-man show of prints at the Art Institute of Chicago. In May, 1941, a laudatory article on Hayter appeared in *Art News*.<sup>8</sup> Artists from the workshop used to gather for drinks and conversation at places frequented by other artists, such as the Cedar Bar or the White Horse Tavern. The acquaintanceships Hayter made in these circumstances often resulted in new artists visiting Atelier 17.

Hayter did not leave the membership of Atelier 17 to chance. Admission to his course at the New School was by personal consultation, and applicants brought examples of their work. The criteria for admission were not fixed; much depended on Hayter’s personal judgment of the artists. He would inquire why they wanted to learn printmaking and would attempt to determine how serious were their

intentions. Examining the contents of their portfolios, Hayter was not so interested in their accomplishments as artists, but he sought to judge how strongly their work tended toward a graphic expression. He was especially impressed with those whose work suggested initiative in the direction of technical experimentation. Robert Broner, who did not own a press, presented some etchings printed by means of rubbing a spoon over paper on an inked plate. Hayter admired his ingenuity and accepted him for membership in Atelier 17 even though Broner could not afford the tuition. Few artists were turned away, and admission to Atelier 17 usually worked on a first come, first served basis.

Hayter faced difficulty in finding a sufficiently varied group of artists. He wanted both young artists who had not already determined their own means and styles, as well as more mature artists who could bring to the group the benefits of their experiences. He actively solicited accomplished painters and sculptors, even if they had never tried printmaking before, if he thought they would bring a fresh outlook to printmaking. He did not want their prints to be mere transcriptions of their work in other media. In addition, he encouraged artists whose primary interest was in printmaking and who might be inclined to experiment with and exploit the unique possibilities inherent in printmaking. Above all he wanted to assemble an international group, and although European friends continued to frequent the workshop, Americans increasingly dominated the membership in the New York Atelier 17.

Hayter was sufficiently proud of the work being done at Atelier 17 to invite as observers, old friends and new acquaintances. These included writers, intellectuals, art historians, collectors, dealers, and businessmen as well as other artists. His enthusiasm was contagious, and those who visited the workshop spread the word of its accomplishments. In 1941 Anais Nin recorded her impression of Atelier 17 and Hayter:

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The place was enticing to me, with piles of paper, inks, the presses, the vats with acid, the copper being worked upon. The miraculous lines appearing from the presses, the colored inks, the sharpened burins. The group working

with him absorbed, intent, bent over under strong naked bulbs. He always moved about between the students, cyclonic, making Joycean puns, a caricature, a joke. He was always in motion. I wondered how he had ever spent hours bent over copper plates, delicate, demanding, exacting work. His lines were like projectiles thrown in space, sometimes tangled like antennae caught in a windstorm. I never saw him at low ebb or passive, and even paint, which he was known to have, seemed to inspire only a more desperate aliveness, alertness. A volcanic personality.<sup>9</sup>

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Initially, in the fall of 1940, Atelier 17 at the New School was a course with two sections, but another was added the following spring. In the fall of 1941, the daytime section was dropped, and the early evening section was opened to beginners. During this term, Hayter also participated in a new lecture-demonstration course. Artists and photographers on the New School faculty each gave two lectures during which they described and demonstrated their working methods, the content of their art, and their underlying artistic philosophy.<sup>10</sup>

By the spring term of 1942, Atelier 17 became a fifteen-week course of a single Thursday evening section, and both beginners and advanced printmakers were allowed to enroll. The New School catalogue stated that members of the group had the privilege of working in the studio during the days and some evenings, but Hayter limited this access to artists who were sufficiently familiar with materials and equipment to work without supervision. He usually considered an artist competent to work independently after one term of fifteen weeks. He demanded that each artist clean up and take good care of tools and presses; few things upset him more than a careless or inconsiderate worker.

By the spring term of 1944, two fifteen-week sections were offered, one elementary and one advanced. Those attending the elementary section were allowed to use the studio only during their class periods, but advanced students could work there almost any time. During their Thursday evening class Hayter was available to the experienced students for advice or criticism. This was the only definite time Hayter was available; he produced his own prints in the studio when classes were not in session, and other artists

were never certain when he would be free to look at their work. When he was there and not involved with his own printing, he did not hesitate to advise and help.

Hayter's experience at the New School was for the most part satisfactory to him. Financial problems were less acute than they had been in Paris. He received a regular salary, and a studio was provided. The studio was a rather small, top-floor room, sparsely but adequately equipped. "Not a penny was ever used for appearances but everything necessary was always available."<sup>11</sup> Usually when collectors came to an artist's studio to buy, they were offered sherry. When they came to Atelier 17, Hayter economized by serving tea. Thanks to Hayter's powers of persuasion, few prospective buyers ever left the workshop without several acquisitions under their arms.

The New School for Social Research provided a stimulating atmosphere in which to work, because of its outstanding faculty. In 1945, Hayter's colleagues at the New School included such notable people as Sidney Hook, Erich Fromm, Claude Levy-Strauss, W.H. Auden, and Mark Van Doren. Among the members of the art staff were Amadee Ozenfant, Meyer Schapiro, Stuart Davis, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Will Barnet, Louis Schanker, Jose de Creeft, Seymour Lipton, and Berenice Abbott.

Of particular interest to Hayter, no doubt, was the strong emphasis placed on psychology and psychiatry at the New School. Having been a friend of some Surrealist artists since 1929, and having exhibited with the Surrealists since 1933, he had developed a strong interest in the workings of the unconscious mind. In the 1930's Hayter began to use the Surrealist technique of automatic drawing to release subconsciously images that would otherwise be hidden to his conscious mind. Throughout the 1940's, automatism played an important role in his approach to art. His interest in psychology and art were intimately related, and these interests were shared by other faculty members of the New School. In 1941 the New School sponsored a series of lectures and exhibitions on "European Surrealists in Exile." Several exhibitions of their art were mounted in February and March of that year, and lectures were given by Gordon Onslow-Ford in conjunction with these exhibitions. Also in 1941, Ernst Kris offered a course called "Problems in the

Social Psychology of Art.” In 1943 he offered a similar course called “Art and Society: Some Psychological Approaches,” while throughout the 1930’s and 1940’s he worked on studies and essays which he published as a book, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*, in 1952.

Perhaps closer to Hayter’s own interests was the work of Rudolph Arnheim, who, in 1942, offered a course in the “Psychology of Art,” which stressed the psychology of visual perception as it affected the creation of and response to art. Hayter did not actually attend the courses, but he probably had the opportunity to discuss these ideas informally with other faculty members on any number of occasions.

One colleague with whom he worked closely in 1940 and 1941 was Max Wertheimer, a highly respected professor of psychology and philosophy. Although Wertheimer’s main interest and field of competence was Gestalt theory, he undertook experiments with Hayter to explore the psychological implications of certain phenomena of visual perception as they related in particular to the printmaker, who always works with mirror images.<sup>12</sup> These experiments led Wertheimer to take a great interest in art and, in the spring term of 1942, he offered a course in the “Psychological Principles of Art and Music.”

In spite of the stimulating atmosphere that the New School offered, Hayter was not entirely satisfied with teaching there. While his studio space was very restricted, his course enrollments continued to grow. Conflicts arose with the administration over the number of sections and number of students Hayter should teach, since Hayter wanted to have the presses available to students as much as possible. There was also disagreement about tuition fees. Hayter allowed artists to work at the studio as assistants without paying tuition, and people who were not officially enrolled floated in and out to use the workshop. Often a friend of Hayter’s would come in to make a single plate and not reappear for several months. Hayter was comfortable in this informal atmosphere, but the New School administration, as liberal as it was in comparison to other schools, must have found such practices disturbing. In addition there was professional friction between Hayter and Camillo Egas, the Director of Workshops. Hayter was sensitive

to such tensions and yearned for independence from bureaucracy and outside pressures.

By 1945 Hayter felt sufficiently established in the United States to free his workshop from the New School. He had had one-man exhibitions at the San Francisco Museum of Art, the Willard Gallery, the Art Institute of Chicago, and one was planned for 1945 at the Mortimer Brandt Gallery. His works were in the Gothenberg Museum in Stockholm, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert, the Wadsworth Atheneum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Brooklyn Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, and several private collections. The Philadelphia Print Club had awarded him their annual prize in 1943. The winning work, *Laocoön*, was printed in an edition of thirty and sold by subscription through the Willard Gallery. In 1945 he printed an edition of *Tarantelle* (cat. no. 55) for Curt Valentin of the Buchholz Gallery, who was one of very few dealers at the time to show first-rate contemporary prints by European artists.

In 1944 works produced by Atelier 17 were the subject of an important exhibition organized by Monroe Wheeler at the Museum of Modern Art. Its impact on American printmaking has been likened to that of the Armory Show on American painting. An entire issue of the *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin* was devoted to the exhibition, including and introduction by James Johnson Sweeney, an essay on the techniques of intaglio printmaking by Hayter, and numerous illustrations of prints.<sup>13</sup> Hayter recalled the original proposal for the exhibition: “At the time we started this thing here we were reacting very strongly against what was conventionally called an etching.” The exhibition produced the desired effect. The audience was impressed with heretofore unexplored possibilities of intaglio printmaking, as well as the high quality of work done at Atelier 17. Reviews of the exhibition were excellent, and the studio began to become known outside New York City.

The success of the exhibition encouraged the Museum of Modern Art to circulate it throughout the United States for two years. The State Department asked to circulate a similar show for a year in South America, with more representation of the South American artists who had worked at Atelier 17.

The exposure and publicity the exhibition received gave great impetus to the recognition of printmaking as a major means of artistic expression in the United States. Hayter recalled the dismal market for prints when he arrived in New York in 1940: "I assure you this was a time when you could not give away what we called a modern print and yet four years later you [Atelier 17] had a tremendous amount of support when we [the exhibition] went all over the country." Artists from all around the country began to come to New York to work expressly at Atelier 17. In 1945 Atelier 17 had an exhibition at the Willard Gallery, and Hayter felt the workshop was well enough established to survive independently. The break with the New School was gradual. Atelier 17 continued to be listed in the 1945-46 catalogue, although the class was held at Hayter's new studio at 41 East 8th Street in Greenwich Village. The following year, Hayter severed his ties with the New School.

The 8th Street workshop was in a loft above Rosenthal's, an artists' supplies store. The work area was larger than the New School studio and the former workshops in Paris. Hayter estimated that between twenty-five and thirty artists could be found working there simultaneously.

To keep fees as low as possible, Hayter undertook numerous projects to earn other monies. From 1945 to 1950, and again in the winter of 1951-52, he conducted a monthly workshop in intaglio printmaking at the Philadelphia Print Club. Among the artists who participated in the Philadelphia workshops were Benton Spruance, Leon Karp, A.P. Hankins, Ezio Martinelli, Dimitri Petrov, Sam Martin, Jerome Kaplan, and Charles Hunsberger.

The success of the Atelier 17 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1944 generated invitations for Hayter to lecture, often in connection with the exhibition as it travelled across the country. He directed a course at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1948-49 and gave the graduation address at its School of Art in 1949. He also directed occasional sessions at the Institute of Design in Chicago. In 1948 he returned to the California School of Fine Arts to teach a summer course in painting and theory. In 1949 Hayter published *New Ways of Gravure*, an important book on the techniques of intaglio printmaking, on which he had been working throughout the 1930's

and 1940's. He also served that year on a committee to select works for an exhibition of contemporary American prints sponsored by the Renaissance Society at the University of Chicago. Hayter held one-man exhibitions every year and arranged bi-annual exhibitions for Atelier 17. Prints by members of the workshop were shown at the Willard Gallery in 1945, at the Leicester Gallery in 1947, at the Laurel Gallery in 1949, and at the Grace Borgenicht Gallery in 1951.

Hayter, or his assistants, continued to print editions for other artists on occasion, as he had in Paris and at the New School workshop. The editions were usually for such artists as Miró, Tanguy, Lipchitz, Masson, and other European artists handled by Curt Valentin, but editions were also printed for the Laurel Gallery, such as Milton Avery's drypoints of 1948. In 1947 the etchings included in the *Brunidor Portfolio #1*, published by Brunidor Editions, were printed at Atelier 17. This portfolio included etchings by Tanguy, Ernst, Hayter, Seligmann, and Miró, as well as two color lithographs by Lam and Matta (cat. nos. 30 a & b).

Most of the artists at the workshop did their own printing. Some, in support of their fellow members, commissioned them to print their editions. Peterdi, who returned to work at Atelier 17 occasionally in the late 1940's, remembered printing neckties there to earn some extra money. He had discovered a little shop that sold hand-painted ties and got the idea to make hand-printed ties. He bought plain, colored silk ties, inked an interesting section of an old plate, usually one with an obvious texture, then ran the tie through the press on top of the plate. The technique worked so well that he decorated some scarves by the same method.

In 1948 Hayter attempted to increase the number of artists who could be accommodated in the workshop by asking Karl Schrag to teach a class one day a week. Five hours were set aside for Schrag's class, but the increased revenue was more than offset by Hayter's unfailing generosity. Schrag remembered that Hayter kept a cache of fine paper for members to use for final proofs or editions. Those who wanted to use it could buy it, but Schrag noticed that some of the best artists could not afford it. He mentioned this to Hayter, and he was told to give it to them anyway, even though the workshop would lose money.



Hayter's reputation in the United States continued to grow. By 1950 a thirteen-minute color film called *A New Way of Gravure* was made, showing Hayter at work in Atelier 17. The film depicts the sequential steps in the creation of *Angels Wrestling* (cat. no. 52), from the first drawing to the finished state of the print, while Hayter's narration describes the processes involved. His work was being handled by some of the best dealers: the Willard Gallery, the Buchholz Gallery, Mortimer Brandt, Howard Putzel, and Jeanne Bucher in Paris.

Despite the fact that the workshop was attracting good artist-members from all over the country and the market for prints in the United States was expanding rapidly, Hayter decided to leave New York and settle permanently in Paris. In 1946 he had gone back to Paris to evaluate the possibility of relocating Atelier 17. He found his old studio a shambles and learned that the Vichy government had confiscated his copper plates and press in "default" of payment for the rent of the Paris studio occupied *in absentia*. Although he was joyously welcomed by his old friends who had remained in Paris, such as Joseph Hecht, Hayter realized that the existing political and economic situations did not favor a move to Paris. He returned to the United States, but considered his stay here no more than an extended visit.

Many European artists found the atmosphere in the United States stimulating. The possibilities of people willing to commission and buy large and ambitious works of art were greater because of the affluent American economy. Because Paris had been the center of the art world for almost two centuries, the American buying public favored European over American artists and were willing to pay higher prices for their work.

Hayter found such a competitive atmosphere oppressive. France, he held, was a better place to work: "It is a place where they leave you alone. It is a place where an ordinary workman in the street, if he is informed that you are an artist . . . will say it is a good trade. It has about the dignity of . . . a foreman in some semi-skilled trade." He felt a lack of tolerance for the artist in the United States.

Although Hayter had frequent contact with European artists who came to work at Atelier 17, most of them found it difficult to

maintain contact with one another. Max Ernst recalled nostalgically: "The café life was lacking."<sup>14</sup> Another disturbing aspect of being an émigré artist was a feeling of alienation from American culture. Anaïs Nin recorded in her diary: "There is an atmosphere of separatism. The foreigner is an outsider. I seek to mingle with American life, but I feel a suspicion, a mistrust, an indifference."<sup>15</sup> Yves Tanguy felt a similar sense of estrangement: "I used to walk through Paris by the hour. The streets nourished me. Every walk was an adventure. Every café meant a conversation. My life here is not nourishing. It is the country of silence and impersonality."<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, Tanguy stayed in the United States with his American wife, Kay Sage, as did Jacques Lipchitz and Gabor Peterdi. But many émigré artists returned to Europe as soon as they could. Enriqu  Zanartu, one of Hayter's assistants at the 8th Street Atelier, stated that New York was exciting in the 1940's because so many Europeans were there, but once they started going home, it became very lonely. In 1950 Hayter finally joined the migration back to Paris.

He left Karl Schrag in charge of the New York workshop. Schrag directed Atelier 17 for six months, until the demands of his own work and his other teaching commitments made it difficult for him to continue. Terry Haass and Harry Hoehn then became the co-directors of the workshop. Few artists were willing to devote the necessary time and energy to running Atelier 17, so the directorship of the New York workshop changed hands every year. James Kleege became director, followed by Peter Grippe. Finally Leo Katz, who had directed Atelier 17 in 1946 when Hayter visited Paris, became the Director in 1954.

If the New York workshop was not able to function successfully, it was not for lack of initiative on the part of the later directors. In 1951 Grippe initiated a project which was ultimately published as *21 Etchings and Poems*, a portfolio of poems illustrated with original prints by artists (cat. no. 150). It began as a much more modest project with fewer poems, all to be illustrated by artists working at Atelier 17, but as work progressed, its scope increased. In some instances, a poet was chosen and asked which artist he would like to illustrate his poem. If the poet had no special choice, Grippe asked an artist if he would like to

illustrate that poem. In some instances, artists were asked to illustrate a poem of their choice. Most poems were written on a piece of paper by the author with a substance that allowed the writing to be transferred to a copper plate. The result was the first American collaboration of such magnitude between artist and poet. Problems were many, however. When Atelier 17 closed in 1955, Grippe continued to work with the artists in his own studio, and Morris Weisenthal, one of the poets, took over the publication under the imprint of his Morris Gallery. The publication was first announced for October, 1958, but further complications delayed its issue until 1960. By then the project had lost some momentum, and had less impact than if it had been published earlier. *21 Etchings and Poems* was not a success at first, but eventually became a collector's item.

The workshop continued at the 8th Street studio until 1952, when it moved to 523 Sixth Avenue, on the corner of 14th Street, where Hayter returned to visit in 1952 and 1953.

In 1954, in an effort to bolster activity at the workshop, the scope of Atelier 17 was expanded to include a new course in color woodcut to be given in addition to regular classes in intaglio printmaking. It was taught by Worden Day, who had worked with both Hayter and Louis Schanker in the 1940's. Nothing, however, could replace Hayter's actual presence. In spite of their best efforts, the other directors lacked the total dedication and "missionary zeal" which Hayter brought to the group. Sue Fuller remembered that Hayter devoted so much time and energy to Atelier 17 that his household was a shambles, and he sometimes neglected his family. According to James Kleege, "In reality, the Atelier 17 was wherever Bill Hayter was."

By the early 1950's some antagonism had developed toward Atelier 17 in art circles. A few critics felt that craft was being emphasized at the expense of creativity, and the instability of the workshop since Hayter's departure did nothing to enhance its image. Although Hayter had intended to open a branch of Atelier 17 in London at the end of 1955, he realized that it would be better to concentrate his energy in his Paris workshop. He abandoned plans for a London workshop and, when it became evident that the New York workshop could not function

successfully without his presence, he made a final decision. On September 7, 1955, a press statement announced that Atelier 17 in New York was closed. The studio was dismantled by Leo Katz, Harry Hoehn, George Ortman, and Larry Winston among others. Karl Schrag took the press and continues to use it in his own studio.

The New York workshop had lost its momentum. As Garo Antreasian reminisced: "Its function as a central generator of print ideology ceased after Hayter's departure partly due to the absence of his dynamic personality and partly because his stimulus had by that time been carried forward by former workers at the Atelier."

### **Return of Atelier 17 to Paris**

Before Hayter returned to Paris in 1950, he sent his assistant Enrique Zanartu to make the preliminary arrangements for re-establishing Atelier 17. Zanartu found a new location for the workshop at 278, rue Vaugirard on the premises of the printing house of Chassepot, a well-established firm which specialized in making stamps. The two workshops co-existed for four years, until Hayter moved Atelier 17 to the rue Vandrezanne and then to the Académie Ranson on the rue Joseph Bara. The Académie Ranson, founded by the Nabis, had housed the studios of the painters Bissiere, Gruber, and Severini, as well as the sculptors Maillol, Malfray, Couturier, and Amicoste, and had provided the setting for some of the best art exhibitions in Paris between the two world wars. But at the time Hayter moved Atelier 17 there, he had the use of almost the entire building. In 1961 came another move to 77, rue Daguerre, and since July, 1969 Atelier 17 has been located at 63, rue Daguerre.

Some of Hayter's old friends continued to work at Atelier 17 on occasion, but mostly younger artists joined the workshop. Although it continued to attract many Europeans and Americans, the workshop attracted increasing numbers of artists from other parts of the world. Artists from India, Japan, Korea, Southeast Asia, South America, Canada, and the Scandinavian countries sought the kind of instruction at Atelier 17 that was not available in their more artistically conservative countries. Hayter, who had always wanted to have a heterogeneous, international group, encouraged this development. Among his

assistants since 1950 have been Kaiko Moti, an Indian, Dadi Wirz, from Switzerland, the Chilean Enriqu  Zanartu, Jean Clert , a Frenchman, the American James Paul Monson, Hector Saunier, an Argentine, and Krishna Reddy, an Indian, who has been co-director of Atelier 17 since 1957.

The program of Atelier 17 has since undergone changes to allow newcomers more time to work. Hayter no longer separates them from his *anciens*, but instead has divided the workshop schedule into a morning and an afternoon session which meets every day of the week. Hayter visits at least one morning and one afternoon a week, sometimes more frequently, while one of his more experienced assistants is always there to answer questions or give instructions. The only distinction he has continued to make between the newcomers and the *anciens* has been a restriction on the use of the color press to those artists thoroughly familiar with the techniques of black-and-white printmaking.

Although 1977 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Atelier 17, Hayter is determined to preserve the workshop, even in the face of adversity. After losing a court suit over the rental of his space at 63, rue Daguerre, he has been forced to move once again. Despite his advancing age and the difficulties of moving, Hayter, as of this writing, is searching for a new location where he may continue to provide a place for printmakers to practice and explore their craft.

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## II. The Workshop Tradition

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The profound effect of this workshop upon the development of graphic art in our time is an historic fact—in part this effect is due to the extraordinarily dynamic and enthusiastic personality of the artist, who is the workshop's founder, Stanley William Hayter; in part it is due to the workshop-idea as such and to the results it could produce in an enormously talented group. Only through exchange of knowledge, only through immediate and intense communication, could such progress come about. Single artists, working alone and separated from each other could never have moved the whole understanding and concept of the modern print ahead with similar strength and effectiveness.

Karl Schrag<sup>17</sup>

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### The Character of Atelier 17

Because Hayter has remained the nucleus of a constantly changing group of artists, one has the tendency to view Atelier 17 as a school. Hayter has rejected this notion outright: "This workshop is an experimental shop. People who come here are people whose curiosity is to find out new methods . . . This is not a school of art. There is no common agreement; each pursues his own necessity. This professor, top-hat business is perfectly ridiculous."<sup>18</sup> Hayter's goal has always been collaboration among equals, even though his role at Atelier 17 has often been that of a teacher. He has always recognized the importance for his own personal development of his contact with other members of the workshop: "My Atelier . . . is a center of research for the stimulation and exchange of mutually creative ideas."<sup>19</sup> He has discouraged any attempt to attribute a specific discovery or innovation to a particular artist. While discussing the accomplishments of Atelier 17, Hayter always speaks of "we." In group

shows he has modestly presented himself as one artist among many.

However, this cooperative, egalitarian ideal has not been achieved consistently throughout the entire history of Atelier 17. Because the early Paris workshop attracted many mature artists, they tended to work with greater independence than students or less experienced artists. Picasso, for example, came primarily to talk to Hayter about technical questions, and if he did actual printmaking at the workshop, it was very little. Others such as Ernst and Miró worked there, but they came sporadically and had colleagues outside Atelier 17, in their case the Surrealist group, with whom they exhibited and exchanged ideas. Most of the artists were working primarily in other media, such as painting and sculpture, so their work at Atelier 17 was secondary. Among some of the younger artists, whose styles were less fully developed and whose interests were more directed toward printmaking as their primary means of expression, a greater sense of community developed, but the larger artistic community in Paris also attracted much of their attention.

The greatest degree of cooperation and collaboration was achieved at the New York workshop, within the confines of a more academic structure. Despite the restrictions of classes, terms and tuition, Atelier 17 at the New School for Social Research approached the sense of community which Hayter envisioned. The European émigré artists, who turned to Atelier 17 to find old friends and to speak French, shared a sense of alienation from their new surroundings in New York. Their own studios were often less well-equipped than they had been in Paris, so the facilities of Atelier 17 became more important for them. During the war they could not have their works printed in Europe, and Hayter was frequently asked to print their editions.

The classes Hayter taught in New York provided at least one night a week when most of the artists were in the workshop at the same time. Although Hayter continued to give individual instruction rather than lecture, a greater sense of group participation developed. The artists worked around one large table, and though conversation was held to a minimum while they were working, they could easily observe and question each other. Hayter made his own plates at the workshop and allowed others to watch him work. They took coffee breaks at the New School cafeteria or a coffee shop near the 8th Street workshop, and after a night's work went drinking together. They discussed printmaking, art in general, personal matters, and various other subjects at these after-hours sessions. This camaraderie carried over into the workshop.

A strong rapport was generated by their shared enthusiasm for the distinctive approach to printmaking at Atelier 17. The spontaneity of the working methods and the serious experimentation encouraged by Hayter created a dynamic atmosphere in which one idea often sparked another, and a new discovery became the common property of the group. Older, more established artists learned as much from the discoveries of the younger artists as the younger ones learned from their more mature colleagues. Everyone who worked at Atelier 17 was there by choice; artists who did not find the experience challenging or worthwhile left after a brief stay. Because the market for modern prints was limited during those years, few expected monetary gain from their prints, and there was little sense of competition.

Leo Katz recalled the spirit of cooperation that characterized Atelier 17 in the 1940's:

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**T**he atmosphere was one of cordial informality unless someone was careless or inconsiderate in which case no one looked forward to "getting hell" from Bill. Everyone called everyone else by his or her first name. Everyone was expected to share ideas, results of experimentation. Bill was always the perfect example of bigness and generosity when it came to sharing. Giving became more important than taking, although there was practically never any goody-goody talk on such subjects. One of the most valuable memories takes me back to the little studio at the New School. André

Racz (from Rumania) had just finished his *Perseus* plate [cat. no. 89]. Lasansky (from Argentina) was there and a few others including myself. Someone cut the paper, another prepared the blankets. One turned the spikes and I held the blankets stretched . . . We had forgotten whose plate it was . . . When finally someone lifted slowly the paper from the plate we knew we were looking at a print the like of which no one had ever seen before.<sup>20</sup>

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Sue Fuller, who joined the Atelier 17 group in 1943, felt that the atmosphere became less casual and friendly after the successful exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1944, when more artists came from all over the country to join the workshop. At that point she left, but other artists who continued at the 8th Street workshop still felt the same sense of community and cooperation, despite the larger number of artists working at Atelier 17. Karl Schrag attributed the success of the workshop to "the personality of Hayter himself (who) could somehow make one out of this group of very, very different people and (his) gift of keeping these rather outspoken and different temperaments together in one place."

When Hayter left New York in 1950, however, the energy and unity of the group seemed to decline. Upon his return to New York in 1952 and 1953, he felt that the more challenging lines of research had been abandoned. Personal frictions and competition, and a rapid succession of directors after 1950 contributed to the decline of the New York workshop.

Hayter tried to perpetuate the momentum and atmosphere of the New York Atelier when he re-established Atelier 17 in Paris in 1950. By then, however, he was considerably older than most of the artists who came to the workshop. His reputation was well established, and he was treated more as a teacher, an "old master," than as a colleague. Although Hayter did not think of himself in these terms, Avram Eilat, an Israeli artist who worked at Atelier 17 during the 1960's, revealed the attitude of many artists at the workshop: "Young artists study in the classical manner under Hayter, by 'sitting at the feet of the master'." In the 1930's he had been working with artists his own age, his peers. Even in the 1940's, he was not much older than the other artists,

and his reputation was not yet well established, so the informal relationship of one friend helping another was retained for the most part. But by the 1950's, as much as Hayter wanted this kind of rapport with the other artists, it became difficult to maintain.

The co-director of Atelier 17, Krishna Reddy, has stated that after the 1950's the members of the workshop became more interested in learning techniques, seeking names for themselves, being accepted by galleries and dealers, and making money. The more competitive atmosphere that developed inhibited the spirit of cooperation that characterized the workshop in earlier years. Reddy lamented that many artists stayed only long enough to take away a superficial knowledge of techniques and theory without making any contributions to the group, a circumstance which he and Hayter deplored. Nonetheless, some dedicated, persistent, and talented artists continued to come to Atelier 17 over the years, which explains the longevity of the workshop and Hayter's continuing interest in it.

### **Previous Printmaking Workshops**

Although Atelier 17 lost some of the unique atmosphere that was so generative of new ideas through the mid-1950's, it still represents a singular development in the history of printmaking workshops. Hayter redefined the organization and objectives of the traditional printmaking workshop as it had evolved since the sixteenth century, and established the concept of a communal workshop of artists making original prints.

The earliest printmakers of the fifteenth century are thought to have made their own designs and engraved their own plates or cut their own woodblocks. By the end of the fifteenth century, a tendency toward the division of labor developed. In many instances, the designing of a print and its execution were done by different people. An artist made the design, which an artisan then engraved on a plate or cut in a block of wood. A third person printed the design. By the sixteenth century, the necessity of assembling elaborate equipment led craftsmen to associate together in workshops, which were not yet specialized in printmaking, but often produced other objects of the goldsmith's craft as well. Artists who could not afford to have their own assistants could have their prints made at

these workshops.

By the early sixteenth century a second approach to printmaking emerged: the reproductive engraving. The practice of reproducing a drawing, painting, or sculpture in a print gained popularity, and workshops were organized in which craftsmen devoted themselves to reproducing works of art originally executed in other media. The organization of these workshops was similar to that of medieval guilds, with apprentices, journeymen, and the Master. Often these printing workshops served as the publishers of illustrated books as well. This traditional hierarchy of workers has been maintained into the twentieth century in such workshops as those of Roger Lacourière and Paul Haasen.

With the introduction of photoengraving, offset lithography, and even less expensive photoprocesses, the demand for reproductive prints diminished. Printmaking workshops could not sustain themselves from fine prints alone, so many were forced to produce such commercial items as tickets, stamps, catalogues, religious images, or labels for expensive products in order to provide everyday maintenance funds. Many workshops did not survive. At the end of the nineteenth century, there were dozens of print workshops in France alone; fewer than ten still exist there.

The only resemblance that Atelier 17 bears to these antecedents is the concept of numerous people working together under one roof. It has been devoted exclusively to the creation of original works of art. The major emphasis has been on experimentation and the discovery of new technical possibilities. Unlike its more commercially oriented contemporary workshops, such as Lacourière, Paul Haasen, or Leblanc, which do intaglio, relief, lithographic and more recently, silk screen printing, Atelier 17 has specialized almost exclusively in intaglio printmaking. Some printing has been done for other artists, but this work has been kept to a minimum. Instead, artists have made their own designs as well as their own plates and have usually printed their proofs and editions on the workshop press, either by themselves or with the assistance of other members. The hierarchical relationship among the participants in the traditional workshop has never existed at Atelier 17.

The conventional division of artist,

craftsman, and printer was so firmly entrenched in Europe that even as progressive an institution as the Bauhaus did little to change it. Although the principles of experimentation and collaboration prevailed in all the other workshops of the Bauhaus, the print shop was the exception. In its guild-like internal structure and its emphasis on printing and publication rather than on the creative act of an artist working on a plate, block, or stone, the Bauhaus printing workshop more closely resembled the traditional commercial workshop than Atelier 17.

If Atelier 17 was unique in the history of European printmaking workshops, it was even more revolutionary in the United States where there were almost no printmaking workshops other than strictly commercial enterprises. The tradition of the artist-printmaker (*peintre-graveur*) never developed as fully in the United States as it did in Europe, and the closest contact most painters had with printmaking was with artisans who reproduced their works in copper or wood engravings. Those painters who did make fine art prints either worked in their studios or arranged to have their plates or stones printed in a commercial shop, such as the lithographic workshops of Bolton Brown or George Miller in New York. Art schools which taught the basic printmaking techniques usually employed a professional printer, but the dearth of competent printers in the United States discouraged many artists who did not wish to expend the time or effort necessary to print skillfully. With a few exceptions, American printmaking was the province of conservative artists whose primary concerns were technical competence and picturesque subject matter.

In 1936 a new impetus toward printmaking occurred in the graphic workshops of the Federal Art Project. The potential of printmaking as a popular art form by which multiple originals could be made and widely distributed to public institutions was recognized. To produce the quantity of prints to fulfill this objective, central workshops were set up in various locations all over the country where instruction was provided, materials and equipment were available, and a skilled printer could produce the finished works in quantity. Facilities were available for etching, lithography, woodcuts, and eventually silk screen prints, and an artist was allowed to

work in the medium of his or her choice.

Although the opportunity to make prints was provided, the requirements and restrictions imposed on the artists by federal administrators often stifled their enthusiasm and creativity. No stylistic restrictions were officially imposed, but adventurous work was not encouraged. Because the objective of the project was "art for the people," unfamiliar forms of artistic expression were discouraged under the assumption that the public was not ready for them.

If stylistic experimentation was discouraged, technical exploration was welcomed by the administration and, when critics of the Federal Art Project called the participants unproductive "boondogglers," the administration could point with pride to the Project's technical accomplishments. Experimentation with color lithographs and color woodcuts was particularly encouraged because they had greater popular appeal than black-and-white prints. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the WPA graphic arts project was its sponsorship of a special silk-screen unit as a branch of the New York project, in which Anthony Velonis and his co-workers developed silk-screen printing to such a degree that the technique could be used to create fine art prints as well as commercial work. Other technical progress in printmaking included the development of the carborundum print by the Philadelphia project and the production of a superior type of transfer paper for lithography by a California project.

In comparison to the technical innovations made at Atelier 17, however, those of the WPA graphic arts projects were modest, because experimentation was considered less important than the primary objectives of providing financial support for artists and art for the public buildings. As a result, the bulk of prints produced on the projects were aesthetically and technically conservative works of art. Happily, some artists found the opportunity to pursue the technical aspects of printmaking further at Atelier 17 in New York, which was established just at the time the WPA graphic arts projects were being dismantled. The freedom from regulation that artists were given at the New School was unprecedented in previous American art school programs or workshops.

Not only did Atelier 17 furnish an informal relaxed atmosphere, but it also provided the opportunity for artists to work together. The

only time an artist had worked in the company of other artists on the WPA project in New York was when he came to the workshop to have his block, plate, or stone printed, but at Atelier 17 a sense of community developed, and he found encouragement, as well as a spirit of collaboration.

One of the main attractions Atelier 17 held for young American artists was the presence of well-known and highly respected European artists. The opportunity to meet and, perhaps, to work at the same table with Ernst, Masson, Lipchitz, or Tanguy was irresistible to artists, many of them young, who otherwise might never have tried printmaking. That artists of such caliber were interested in printmaking at all gave the medium a new respectability that attracted many who had previously ignored it.

Apparently older artists also found the experience of working in a group rewarding. Max Ernst believed that: "Art is not produced by one artist but by several. It is to a great degree a product of their exchange of ideas with one another."<sup>21</sup> In the case of Miró, working in a group also had political significance: "I have faith in the collective culture of the future . . . where the sensibility of each individual will be expanded. The studios of the Middle Ages will be revived, and students will participate fully, each bringing his own contribution."<sup>22</sup> Atelier 17 provided the setting for these and other mutually beneficial contacts.

Not only did the reputation of these European artists attract young Americans to Atelier 17, but the international atmosphere of the workshop provided welcome relief from the narrow provincialism of American Scene painting which had dominated American art during the 1930's. Growing dissatisfaction with American art of that time and strong feelings of internationalism elicited by World War II led many artists to seek the European atmosphere of Atelier 17, especially since the war precluded any study in Europe. With the additional appeal of the various writers poets, philosophers, musicians, collectors, and the like who frequently visited the workshop during the war years, Atelier 17 provided one of the most stimulating settings for artistic creation in the entire country.

Some artists came to Atelier 17 for more practical reasons. Equipment for intaglio

printmaking was too expensive and cumbersome for most artists to own. While art students could use the facilities of their schools, professional artists could not, unless they were on the faculty. Many felt the need for assistance with the more technical aspects of printmaking, even though they were thoroughly competent artists in other media. At Atelier 17 they were able to ask Hayter or another artist for suggestions. The excitement generated by a new discovery could be shared immediately with others and news of a fellow worker's innovation might redirect one's own work.

The main disadvantage of working in a communal situation was the lack of privacy. Some artists found the activity around them distracting, but most found this to be of little importance compared to the advantages to be gained from contact with others. When the interference became too great, they could always return to the isolation of their own studios, but when they needed external stimulation, they could usually find it at Atelier 17.

Minor frustrations such as waiting to use the press or a hotplate, or personality conflicts between artists, sometimes disturbed the harmony of the group. However, for most artists, the advantages of working at Atelier 17 clearly outweighed the disadvantages.

### **American Printmaking Workshops after Atelier 17**

The later years of Atelier 17 in New York coincided with the post-war economic boom in the United States, during which time American universities expanded their curriculum as well as their enrollment. Many art departments decided to add printmaking facilities, and artists from Atelier 17 were recruited to teach their courses. In 1949 Gabor Peterdi organized the graphic workshop at the Brooklyn Museum while teaching at Hunter College and then joined the staff of Yale University's Graphic Workshop, where he continues to teach today. Karl Schrag taught at Brooklyn College in 1953 and Columbia University in 1958, and at Cooper Union almost continuously from 1954. André Racz has taught printmaking at Columbia University since 1951, and Frederick G. Becker has directed the printmaking workshop at Washington University in St. Louis since the early 1950's. Letterio Calapai was asked to



create a graphics department at the Albright Art School in Buffalo, New York, where he taught for five years. The list could continue almost indefinitely. The majority of artists who worked at Atelier 17 in the 1940's went on to teach printmaking in university art departments, as have many of the American artists who have worked at the Paris workshop since the 1950's. Each of the artists taught somewhat differently from Hayter, but the ideas and methods used at Atelier 17 were passed on to younger generations of artists.

The university workshop that most closely approximated the scope and influence of Atelier 17 was the one established by Mauricio Lasansky at the University of Iowa in 1945. The able, but conservative artist Emil Ganso taught the printmaking courses at the University of Iowa until his retirement, and Lasansky was hired to replace him. Under Lasansky's leadership, the modest intaglio printmaking facilities were expanded, and the workshop he established became a focal point for advanced intaglio printmaking in the Midwest.

The principles upon which Lasansky based his teaching were strongly influenced by Hayter. He inculcated a deep respect for the copper plate in his students, and taught the importance of an experimental attitude toward intaglio techniques. Lasansky encouraged his students to explore the various possibilities of the medium and to combine them freely in a single work of art. The Iowa Print Group, as Lasansky's workshop has become known, has had a number of important exhibitions which, like those of Atelier 17, have done much to further the cause of creative intaglio printmaking in the United States.

Each former member of Atelier 17 who went on to teach printmaking had students who then became teachers themselves, spreading the practice of creative intaglio printmaking far beyond its original source. Hayter's ideas had become so widely disseminated that by the 1960's, artists who had had no personal contact whatsoever with Hayter or other members of Atelier 17 were teaching a very similar approach to printmaking. For example, Rudy Pozatti's printmaking workshop at Indiana University might be considered an indirect descendent of Atelier 17, since Pozatti had studied at the University of Colorado with Wendell Black, who had been a student of Lasansky.

The legacy of Atelier 17 that has been transmitted through these university printmaking workshops is not an "Atelier 17 style" or even a certain number of intaglio techniques that have come to be associated with the workshop. Instead, it is an approach to printmaking, based on experimentation and a deep love for the metal plate as a means for original, creative expression. This approach tended to encourage the use of complex intaglio techniques and mixed media prints which combined intaglio with relief or planographic processes. The advantages of working in a group atmosphere were recognized, and painters and sculptors became more willing to try their hand at printmaking.

However, university printmaking workshops differ from Atelier 17 in several important ways. The students in universities are usually not mature artists, and the only exchange between young and mature artists are those between teacher and student. No matter how sincerely a teacher tries to avoid them, the curricular requirements of an academic institution necessarily impose restrictions on the freedom with which the workshop can be run. Also, a university workshop usually lacks the variety of nationalities and backgrounds that has characterized Atelier 17 throughout its history. On the other hand, university workshops are usually better equipped than Atelier 17 ever was.

Apart from the university workshops, several artist-organized independent studios sprang up shortly after the demise of Atelier 17 in New York. Bob Blackburn established his printmaking workshop where several former members of Atelier 17 came to work. Like Atelier 17 it was a workshop for mature artists rather than students. There printmakers could work in lithography as well as intaglio techniques. Pratt Graphic Arts Center was established in 1956 through the efforts of Margaret Lowengrund and Pratt Institute, with a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Like Atelier 17 Pratt Graphic Arts Center sought to attract an international group of artists, both established printmakers and students, to make prints in the workshop either with or without instruction from the staff. There too, great emphasis was placed on experimentation in all the printmaking media. At Pratt, unlike Atelier 17, lithography, woodcut, and serigraphy were given as much attention as

intaglio printmaking. Some artists did their own printing, but professional printers were also employed. Travelling print exhibitions were hung on the walls of the workshop; an exhibition of prints done at Atelier 17 was one of the first to be shown. The Pratt Graphic Arts Center organized travelling exhibitions, not only of prints by its own members, but of artists from other countries and art schools. An active lecture program was established which featured talks by noted printmakers and discussions of such topics as papermaking, art criticism, and print dealers' problems. Because of its greatly diversified activities, no one personality ever dominated the Pratt Graphic Arts Center in the way that Hayter dominated Atelier 17.

Subsequent workshops in the United States differed even more substantially from Atelier 17, and the concept of a printmaking workshop has acquired new dimensions during the past few decades. The Tamarind Lithography Workshop was established in Los Angeles in 1959 by June Wayne with a grant from the Ford Foundation, in order to bring artists accomplished in other media into contact with lithography for the first time. Equally important was the desire to train professional lithographic printers and to experiment with new techniques of lithography. Artists were given grants to live near the workshop and spend every day there for several weeks, working in close collaboration with the printers.

Hayter accepted an invitation to work at Tamarind in the early 1960's but he found the atmosphere too relaxed and not conducive to concentration. Sometimes the artists were interrupted by "curatorial characters...creeping up behind you with a camera and taking bits of film in the middle of producing." He found Tamarind's interest in documentation to be pretentious and self-conscious, with two-thirds of the total area devoted to producing documents in order to obtain funds, while the entire space at Atelier 17 was used to make prints. Even so, Tamarind has been remarkably successful and prolific. Some of the finest contemporary artists have made prints there. Many of its former participants have gone on to establish new workshops, and the printers it has trained have raised the level of lithographic printing available to artists across the country.

Universal Limited Art Editions, a small, personal, lithographic workshop established

in 1957 by Tatyana Grosman in West Islip, Long Island, differed just as radically from Atelier 17. Through personal persuasion, painters were convinced to make lithographs under the instruction and close supervision of Grosman, who arranged to have editions printed by professional printers on her own presses. Experimentation was encouraged, but the artist was not able to benefit from contact with other artists during the experience of making the print. Because Grosman selected the artists and directed their work, a more consistent aesthetic viewpoint than the other workshops emerged.

In the 1960's printmaking workshops began to proliferate in the United States, both in connection with schools and as independent enterprises. Some of them emphasized teaching, such as George Lockwood's Impressions Workshop in Boston, or Nick de Matties' Pacific Northwest Graphics Workshop in Oregon, while others were primarily publishers who commissioned and printed editions, such as Gemini G.E.L. in Los Angeles or Landfall Press in Chicago. Some workshops were more experimentally oriented, while others were strictly commercial. Some expanded into the production of "multiples," further obliterating the barriers between sculpture, collage, and prints. The term "workshop" has been used so broadly, that almost any printmaking enterprise that involved more than one person has been called a workshop.

It is in this context that Atelier 17 marks a historical turning point in American printmaking. Before its establishment in New York, there were no printmaking workshops in the United States. An artist's contact with a teacher or a professional printer was the closest he came to a group experience. By reviving the workshop conception of printmaking and redefining the traditional structure of a printmaking workshop, Hayter opened the way for the future proliferation of printmaking workshops, even though relatively few of them used Atelier 17 as a direct model. In Europe the tradition of printmaking workshops had never died. Although their numbers had considerably diminished by the early twentieth century, their presence diluted the impact Atelier 17 had in Paris. In spite of its distinctiveness, Atelier 17 was just one more workshop there. In the United States, however, its impact was magnified because of its uniqueness and its role as a pioneer.

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### III. Printmaking Techniques At Atelier 17

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A print-maker who is not a creative artist in his own right follows the orthodox procedures of his profession with cold calculation, while the creative artist quickly becomes sensitive to the potentialities of the medium, and responds to its possibilities. His propensity is to experiment, for he holds little reverence for orthodox methods of working, which he is apt to consider old-fashioned or limited. So he applies his ingenuity to the technique as well as to the artistic statement.

Shirley Wales<sup>23</sup>

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While Hayter's revival and redefinition of the printmaking workshop established a stimulating atmosphere in which artists could work, the instruction given at Atelier 17 provided the artists with a greater understanding of traditional printmaking techniques as well as the impetus to explore new methods of making prints. Particularly in the United States, where the tradition of printmaking was never as strong as it was in Europe, few artists of the first rank regarded printmaking as a medium for creative expression. Those who did try it rarely considered their prints as important as their work in other media and were little inclined to exploit its possibilities as an independent means of expression. Even in Europe, where printmaking had a longer and more highly respected tradition, most artists who devoted their energies primarily to printmaking were more concerned with technical virtuosity than with the expressive possibilities of the medium.

Although the earliest printmakers often were artisans rather than artists, the various printmaking media began to attract such important artists as Dürer, Mantegna, Pollaiuolo, and later Rembrandt, Goya, Degas, Munch, and Picasso, who recognized possibilities in the graphic media that could not be realized in painting or sculpture.

Hayter also perceived the technical potential of printmaking and concentrated his energy on exploring the intaglio processes in his own work and encouraging other artists to do the same. The scope of experimentation at Atelier 17 encompassed methods of creating an image on the copper plate as well as new ways of printing the plates in an attempt to make intaglio media more responsive to the needs of contemporary artistic expression.

#### Methods of Making Plates

In 1926, shortly after he made his decision to pursue a career in art, Hayter was attracted to the work of the engraver Joseph Hecht. Hecht learned to engrave from the commercial craftsmen who were members of a vanishing profession, but he proceeded to analyze and control the action of the burin piercing the surface of the copper in such a way that the engraved line itself, rather than the form it delineated, became the vehicle of his creative expression. It was this aspect of Hecht's engraving that Hayter particularly admired: "He possessed an extreme sensitivity to all the qualities of a line—rigidity, flexibility, resilience—and saw the character of life in the line itself, not the description of life by means of the line."<sup>24</sup> This direct approach to engraving was not new. Instead it had merely been obscured by the more complex, pictorial engraving techniques that had come to dominate this medium during the course of the nineteenth century.

In Hecht's work Hayter saw revived the intrinsic life of the engraved line. Although Hayter had made drypoints and etchings before 1926, he had never made an engraving. He learned this technique directly from Hecht. From the beginning it was impressed upon him that engraving was a technique that required great patience, persistence, and physical effort on the part of the artist. Hayter remembered that "Joseph Hecht...had the gentle habit of

inviting beginners to take a burin and make as deep a cut as possible in the plate. In their enthusiasm they would break a point. He would then require them to remove the gash so that he could not detect where the correction had been made; they often spent a week in obliterating that first jab. This may well have been planned to test the fortitude of the aspirant..." Hayter's interest was strong enough to persist through the first awkward stages of learning to engrave, and

established his own artistic identity. Hecht limited his subject matter almost exclusively to landscapes and animals. His works often possessed strong suggestions of fantasy and imagination, but the subject always remained recognizable. Every line contributed directly to the overall representation. "Hecht explored the visible world and created imaginatively." Hayter, on the other hand, was less interested in abstracting from the visible world than in expressing the formal



56. S. W. Hayter and Joseph Hecht, *La Noyée*, 1946

he gradually developed facility and control over the burin. For the first few years after he learned engraving, he continued to work with a variety of printmaking techniques including lithography, drypoint, aquatint, and etching, but he gradually became more and more absorbed in working with the burin.

Although Hecht had a strong influence on his engraving technique, Hayter quickly

qualities of the burin line as it traveled across and out into the surface of the copper plate, either suggesting recognizable forms or functioning independently as a compositional element. In *La Noyée* (cat. no. 56), a print on which Hayter and Hecht collaborated when Hayter returned briefly to Paris in 1946, it is easy to distinguish the contribution of each artist.

Hayter approached engraving less as a visual exercise than as a tactile experience in which the artist's eye plays a secondary role. Instructing beginners in the use of the burin, he advised: "It is preferable to work with unconcentrated eyes, the direction and depth of the line being controlled by the touch alone, a far more sensitive and accurate control than that of vision. A difference of about 1/100,000 inch can be distinctly felt, although such an interval would be quite invisible to the eye." Hayter's departure from the conventional approach to engraving was illustrated by an incident at the New York workshop. Soon after Hayter established Atelier 17 at the New School, Reginald Marsh brought a retired engraver from the United States mint into the workshop. In the course of the ensuing conversation, Hayter remarked that he often tested the depth of an engraved line with a fingernail. The skeptical old man replied scornfully that in his time, a magnifying glass had been sufficient. However, for Hayter, engraving on a copper plate had greater affinity with relief sculpture than with miniature painting or drawing, as had been the case with traditional engraving.

Hayter always insisted upon the difference between engraving and drawing. An engraved line is driven rather than drawn: "The sensation of the engraver in making it was one of travelling bodily with the point forward in the direction of the design." Another important distinction is the constantly changing orientation of the engraver to the plate. While a draughtsman usually works on a fairly stationary piece of paper, an engraver rotates the plate on which he is working and must constantly reorient himself in relation to the changing positions of his design. A further difference is the actual sensation of cutting the surface of the copper instead of tracing upon a flat surface. "Hayter described the artist pushing his burin through the metal of the plate like a fish in water which has no gravity. He can travel and turn in any direction, move up and down . . ."<sup>25</sup>

Hayter's fascination with the relief character of the printed burin line led him and other members of Atelier 17 to explore printing techniques that emphasized the sculptural nature of the engraved plate. As early as 1931, experiments were made at Atelier 17 with "plaster prints," or actual plaster casts of engraved copper plates. Hayter learned about this technique of

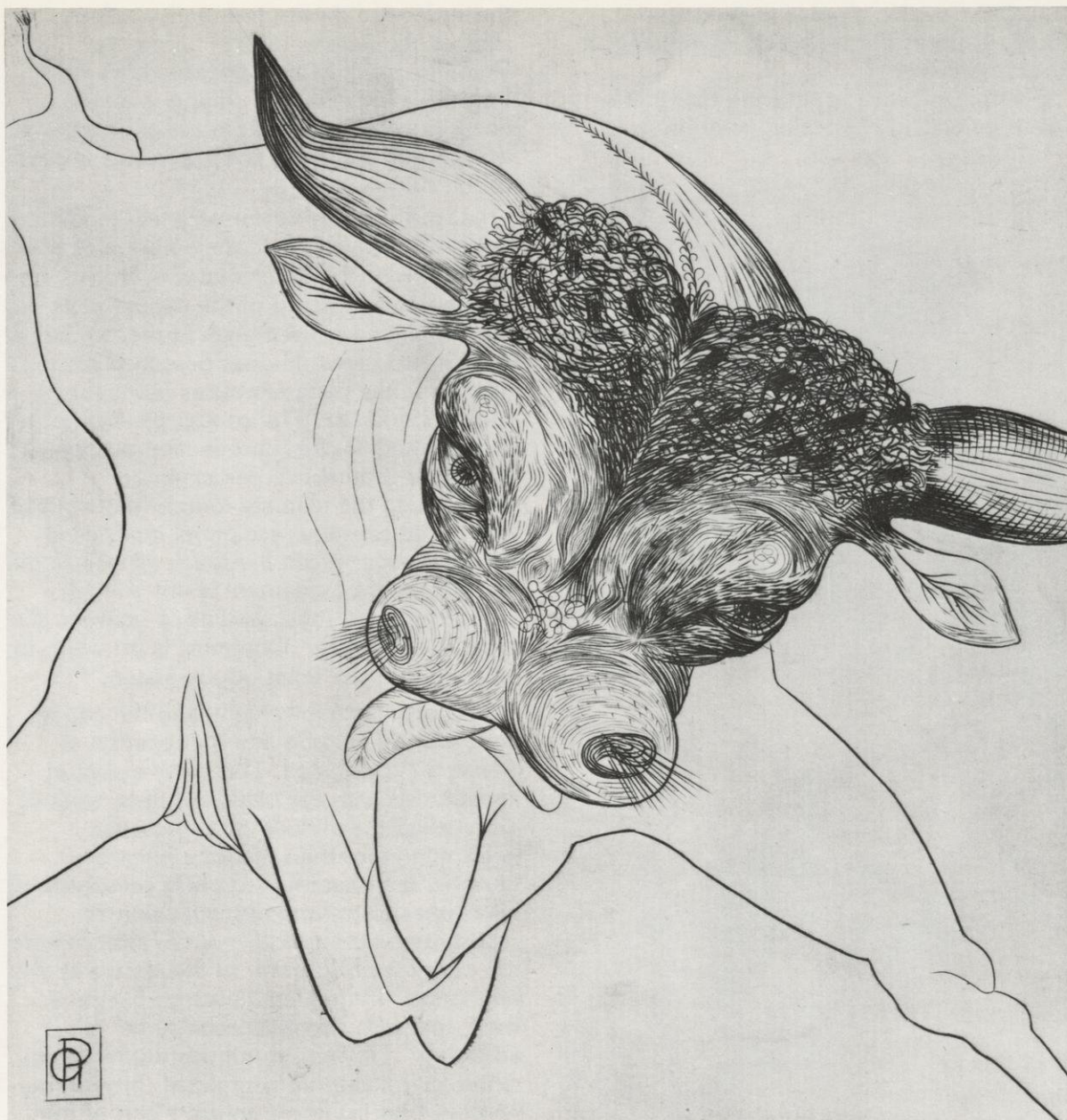
making a print in plaster of Paris from *A Treatise on Etching* by Maxime François Antoine Lalanne.

This technique had the advantage of demonstrating the relief of the lines more clearly than the lines of an inked print on paper. Compare, for example, an uninked plaster cast from the plate for Ian Hugo's *Seer of the Mountain* (cat. no. 57) to a print on paper from the same plate. The print reveals more of the subtleties of engraving, such as fine lines and tonal relationships, but the plaster cast emphasized the depth of the engraved lines.

A more fruitful experiment with the sculptural possibilities of an engraved plate was the exploitation of *gauffrages*, or relief whites, to achieve greater variety and expressiveness of line. A *gauffrage* is created by a wide, deep gouge in the copper plate. This gouge does not have enough surface texture to retain ink after the plate is wiped.<sup>26</sup> When the uninked plate is run through the press, the paper is forced into these concavities, producing a print with raised white lines. This principle could be applied to whole areas of a design as it was in Hayter's *Combat* or to a single line as in his *Tarantelle*. In both instances, the relief whites give the printed surface a new dimension of plastic interest. In *Combat* the white of the paper asserts itself as a positive element in the design, literally as a three-dimensional form, and visually as a solid color area. The paper is directly integrated into the image, instead of simply serving as a background or carrier.

Hayter did not consider such developments to be the result of mere technical experimentation. "Until the historical necessity for breaking through the picture plane arose, such effects not only were of little value to the artist, they were definitely undesirable." But with the advent of cubism and collage surfaces, this device became a means of artistic expression.

Once it became clear that engraving had more interesting possibilities than mere reproduction, other artists began to share Hayter's enthusiasm for this medium: Of the artists who were attracted to engraving, several became as involved with the medium as Hayter himself. Roger Vieillard, for one, made his first engraving in 1934 at Atelier 17 and has worked primarily in that medium throughout his career. Gabor Peterdi, on the other hand, began his printmaking career as



15. Gabor Peterdi, *The Bull*, 1939

engrossed in burin engraving as Vieillard, but he gradually expanded his repertoire to include almost all the known intaglio techniques, including a few new variations. He too had his first experience with engraving at Atelier 17 in 1934. Peterdi remembered the personal impact of his discovery: "At that time I was deeply involved with drawing, involved to the point of obsession. I felt that engraving, with its precision and finality, had been invented for me."<sup>27</sup> He engraved for several years before he made his first etching in 1938.

One of Peterdi's earliest prints, *Rhinoceros* (cat. no. 18), shows the influence of Joseph

Hecht, who visited Atelier 17 on occasion even though he maintained his own studio elsewhere. By 1939, however, Peterdi had developed his own distinctive style of engraving as seen in *The Bull* (cat. no. 15). Engraving presented a challenge to his ability as a draughtsman because the burin was so much more sensitive to variations in pressure than most drawing instruments. Also the resistance of the copper required a greater degree of decisiveness and control. The process of engraving slows the draughtsman's hand, forcing him to be more conscious of every decision. Peterdi relished this challenge: "To engrave one must be a good

draughtsman. No graphic technique so cruelly exposes the weakness of drawing as does engraving."<sup>28</sup>

Another aspect of engraving that artists found particularly appealing was the



66. Mauricio Lasansky, *Doma*, 1944

directness of the technique, the actual contact between the burin and the plate without the interference of acids, grounds, or complex tools. Mauricio Lasansky, for one, discovered that the resistance of the plate to his burin encouraged him to increase the dynamic energy of his line. In contrast to Peterdi's more controlled, refined use of the burin Lasansky expressed the violence and brutality of the subject matter of *Doma* (cat. no. 66) in the very character of the lines. In some areas the burin seems almost to tear at

the surface of the copper, and in others, such as the horse's raised foreleg, the vibrating, sketchy line suggests movement. Lasansky's technique of cutting reveals a deep involvement with the act of engraving that greatly intensifies the expressive impact of the subject.

Lasansky is one of the very few modern artists who have limited their work almost exclusively to the graphic media. In fact, he became so enamored of the copper plate that he limited himself even further to the intaglio processes. He has described his relation to the plate almost as he might speak of a lover: "The copper plate is not a passive medium for reproduction purposes, but rather is an active participant in determining the ultimate form of the work of art.... The sensuous sculptural qualities of the plate must excite the touch as well as the eye. But mere excitement is not enough; complete union must take place between the artist and the plate. One must learn when to stop—just at the point of possession."<sup>29</sup>

This intense involvement with the copper plate was an attitude that many artists at Atelier 17 developed. The involvement of some artists with the plate itself as a work of art recalled the attitude of a medieval goldsmith more than that of a *peintre-graveur*. Ian Hugo has carefully preserved all his copper plates and displays them as readily as his prints (cat. nos. 57,58). Hayter too considered the plate as interesting as the final print: "If the plate develops beauty in itself, the print also will probably be satisfying." Hayter did not destroy his plates when an edition was completed. Instead he engraved his signature across a part of the worked plate so that it would appear reversed if printed. This protected the buyer of the edition, yet avoided the destruction of the copper plate.<sup>30</sup> In 1944 the Museum of Modern Art's important exhibition of Atelier 17 included several plates which were exhibited in glass cases amidst the prints, not only to give the viewers a better understanding of the process of printmaking, but also to provide the opportunity to sense the impressive tactile qualities of the copper plates. This practice became fairly common in exhibitions of Atelier 17 in the following decade, revealing an almost missionary intent to educate the art public.

The inclination toward a direct manipulation of the plate led artists at Atelier 17 to revive old printmaking techniques and

to search for new ones. For a short time Hayter became interested in mezzotint, a technique invented in 1642 by Ludwig van Siegen, which was to become a method of obtaining soft gradations of color and light-

points into the surface of the metal plate to make hollows in which the ink could be held. Abraham Rattner used this technique in some of his most successful prints, such as *Crucifixion* (cat no. 92). The rich surface



92. Abraham Rattner, *Crucifixion*, 1947

dark values in order to reproduce the soft, translucent darks of Baroque painting. He experimented with it in *Paysages Urbaines IV* (cat. no. 8) and a few other works of the early 1930's but soon lost interest in it. However, he was familiar with the technique, as were few other twentieth-century artists, and was able to teach it to other artists who wanted to use it.

An even older technique called *criblé* was revived at Atelier 17 as another means of directly manipulating the surface of a copper plate. Used in the early fifteenth century as a method of creating texture and intermediate tones, this technique involved hammering

texture of this print recalls Hayter's conception of printmaking as a tactile experience.

The tendency to explore the relief possibilities of the metal plate was carried even further by Sergio Gonzales-Tornero, who undertook to make an entire plate with a scraper. The scraper was traditionally used to remove the burr from an engraved line and to remove an unwanted line from a plate, but in the 1940's, some artists at Atelier 17 began to use it to cut away layers of the plate in order to give it greater relief. It required only one small step to make the entire plate with a scraper, but to take it

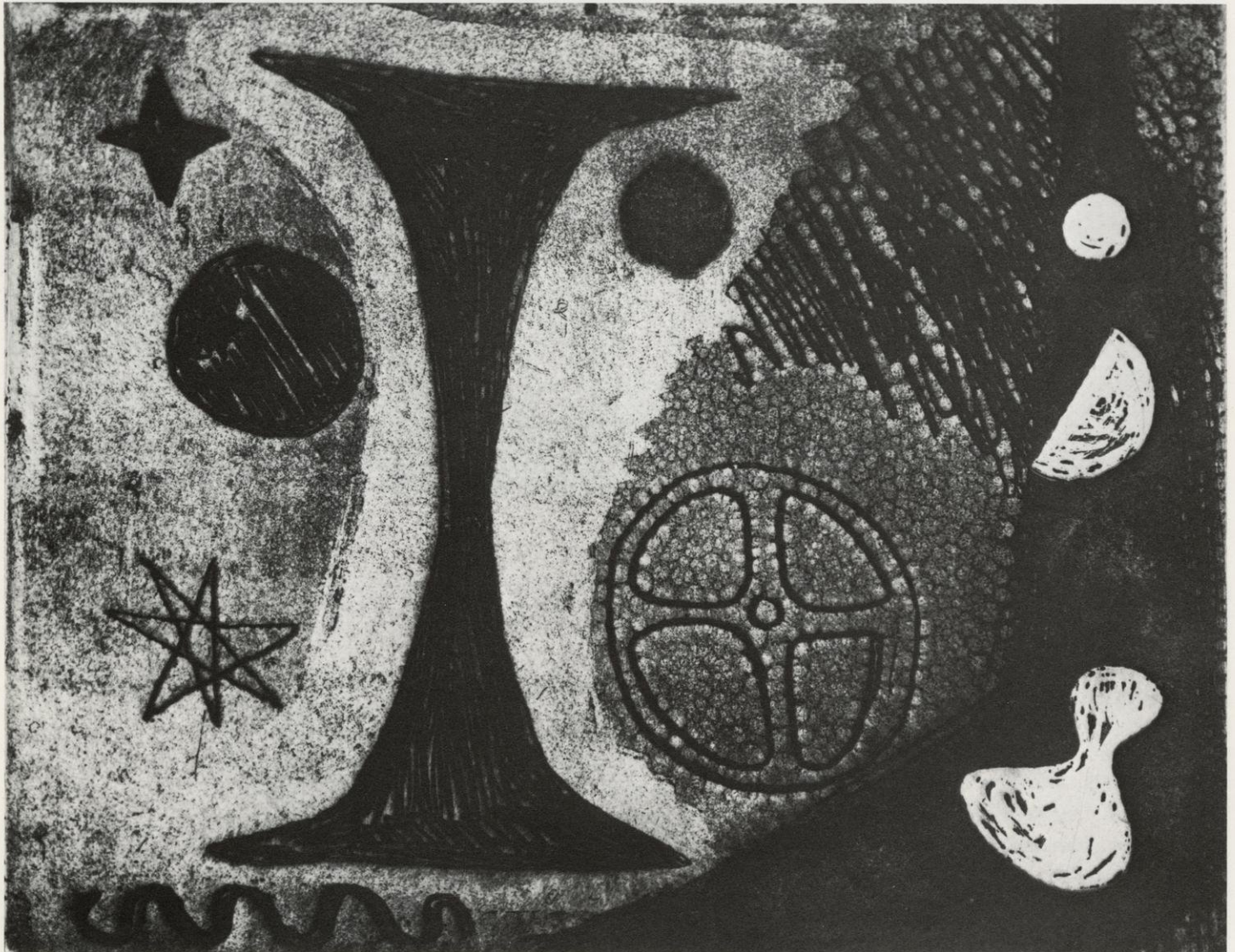


required a total re-evaluation of this traditional tool. Instead of treating it as an eraser of sorts, Gonzales-Tornero used it in a very positive, aggressive fashion to create a metal plate that had the appearance of hammered silver and a print as tactilely exciting as VB (cat. no. 110).

The physical modification of the plate by artists at Atelier 17 was not limited to its surface. In the 1940's Fred Becker cut into a plate from the edges in a number of directions (in such a fashion that no two cuts actually met, so that the plate did not fall apart), creating an abstract composition. The plate, uninked, printed an embossed design—the cuts in the plate produced white lines raised above the surface of the paper. Ezio Martinelli and Mauricio Lasansky also experimented with cut-out shapes and the

three-dimensional treatment of metal plates long before such liberties were taken in the so-called shaped-paintings of recent years.<sup>31</sup>

Hayter usually preferred direct methods of manipulating the copper plate, but he was equally interested in techniques that used acids, grounds and various chemical processes to create an image on the plate. Some of his earliest experiences in printmaking were with etching and aquatint, but once he became deeply involved with engraving, he virtually ignored these techniques for several years. However, other artists at Atelier 17 worked with the etching processes at the same time they learned engraving, and their experiments gradually recaptured Hayter's interest in these techniques.



33. Alexander Calder, *The Big I*, 1944

Few prints were made at Atelier 17 using only the traditional, hard-ground etching techniques. Instead, there was much experimentation with the soft-ground technique, which was based on the same principle, but allowed for greater flexibility. Traditional etching grounds came in two forms: liquid varnishes, which were applied with a brush, and solid lumps which were melted and smeared on the plate. The general composition of both is one part resin, two parts bitumen, and two parts beeswax, and both provide a hard, dry covering on the surface of the metal plate. With the proper proportions of ingredients, both these grounds will remain fixed to the plate without crystallizing, cracking, or flaking, and will provide the artist with a thin, opaque coating in which to draw his lines. A soft ground, on the other hand, is made by heating an ordinary ground with grease, vaseline, or tallow. It comes in the form of a thick paste, which is spread onto a heated plate with a roller. When the plate cools, the ground stiffens, but it remains soft and sticky, allowing the artist to impress any number of materials into the surface to expose the metal.

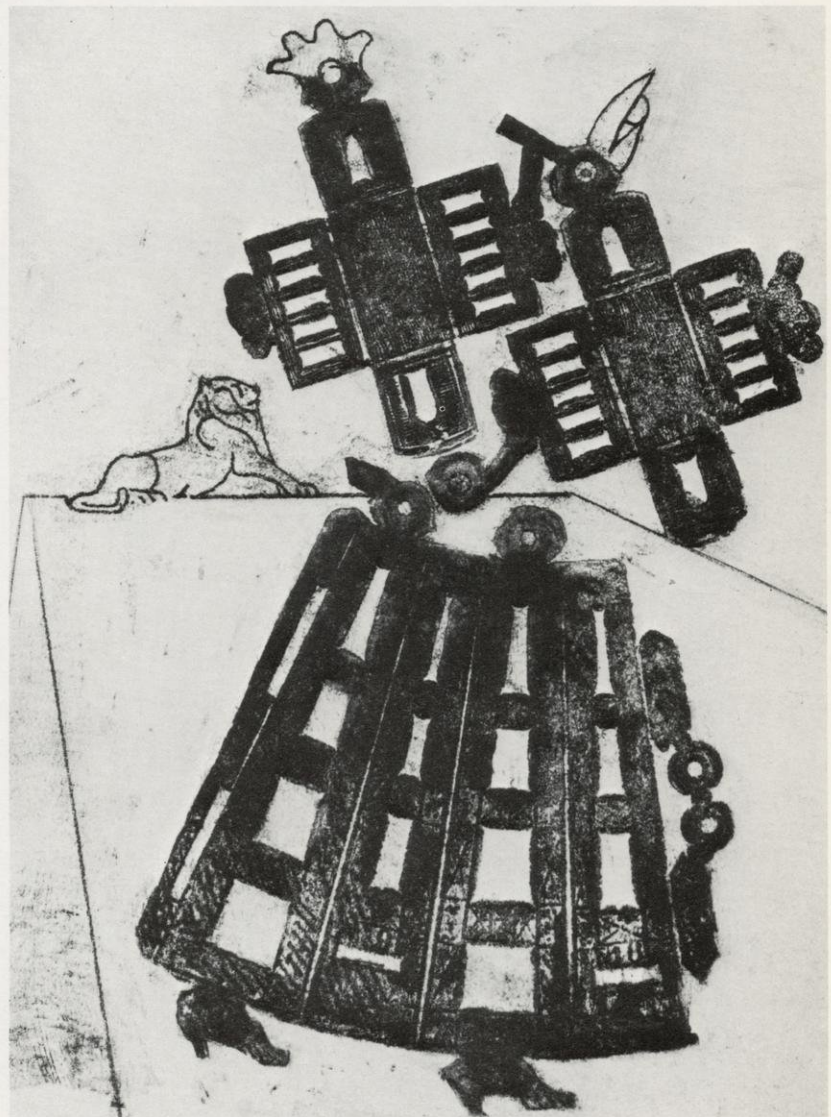
The earliest prints at Atelier 17 in this medium were rather tentative; soft-ground etching was almost always combined with engraving. The major design would be executed with engraved lines, and tonal areas were then added by the soft-ground technique.

An even more fruitful direction of experimentation was the direct impression of objects or textures into the soft-ground surface, which when removed lifted the ground, exposing the plate in patterned effects. The plate was then etched, creating a textured grey area. Often the original object used to create the texture could be recognized from the print. One of the most tempting objects to impress in a soft-ground was the artist's own hand, as Hayter did in several prints of the 1930's, and artists continued to do into the 1970's (cat. no. 131).

More frequently, however, the original substance used to make the impression in the soft-ground lost its identity in the final print. In *Combat*, for example, Hayter's textured areas give little indication of their origin. The borders of the soft-ground areas remain defined by the engraved lines, and they play a subordinate role in the

composition. Hayter explained the original impetus for experimenting with soft-ground in terms of its relation to engraving: "About 1933, it started to become clear that the use of the vivid line of the burin for the mechanical production of values in a plate was illogical, and the first impressions of textures on soft-ground were made to produce a neutral surface when needed."

By the 1940's, however, soft-ground etching began to come into its own as an independent technique. Entire prints, such as Calder's *The Big I* (cat. no. 33), were executed solely by this process. Some artists found soft-ground etching particularly appealing because it required less skill and dedicated craftsmanship than engraving, and offered greater flexibility and opportunity for inventive effects than traditional hard ground

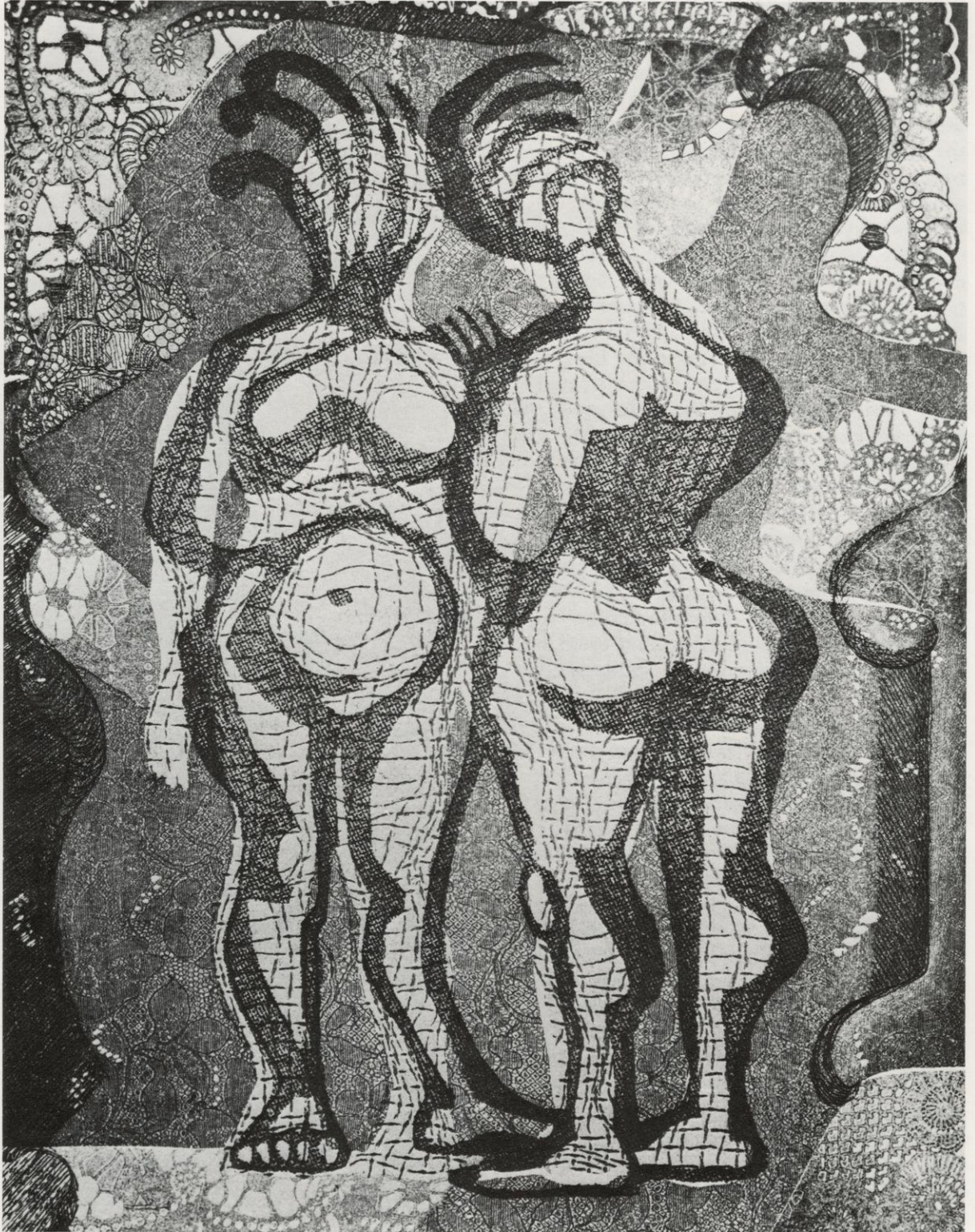


1a. Max Ernst, "Le Lion de Belfort," from *Une Semaine de Bonte*, 1934

etching. Artists inclined toward collage or *frottage* effects, such as Max Ernst, at last had a printmaking technique with which to pursue this interest (*Le Lion de Belfort*, cat. no. 1a).

One of the first artists to exploit successfully the textural and collage

possibilities of soft-ground etching was Sue Fuller. Fuller came to work at Atelier 17 in 1943 after having studied etching at Columbia Teacher's College. Her first project at the workshop was learning to engrave, but she quickly became interested in Hayter's use of soft-ground impressions. Fuller's



44c. Sue Fuller, *Cacophony*, 1944

mother had just died, and among her belongings was a large sewing box filled with assorted laces, threads, and decorative edgings. One of Fuller's earliest experiments with these materials was also one of her boldest. She called *Sailor's Dream* (cat. no. 45) her first "scribble in threads." She made herself an open frame and created a design with sewing thread, the tie from a candy box wrapper, and stiff cord. An impression was then made into a soft-ground surface and etched into the metal. Not a single line was drawn on this plate; all the lines were made from impressions with threads. Perhaps more important was her decision to create an entirely new "fabric" instead of manipulating a ready-made material.

The possibilities of soft-ground etching so stimulated her imagination that she was able to integrate many of her experiences outside the workshop into her prints. At the same time she was working at Atelier 17, she was taking design classes with Josef Albers. He made a passing reference to the old technique of drawn threads used to decorate linen, which inspired Fuller to try a simplified version of the technique with an old garlic bag for *Cacophony* (cat. no. 44c). She made a soft-ground impression of this design and completed the image with additional soft-ground tonalities and textures.

By the early 1940's, Hayter had become passionately interested in the possibilities of soft-ground etching and began to use the technique more freely, as in *Tarantelle*. In contrast to his earlier work in the medium, the tonal areas were now well integrated into the composition, instead of being subordinate to the engraved lines. Hayter strongly preferred the soft-ground technique to the more traditional method of aquatint for the creation of tonal areas.

Despite Hayter's lack of personal interest in aquatint, some of the more independently-minded artists persisted in their exploration of it. The sculptor Jacques Lipchitz revived a nineteenth-century method called liquid ground or spirit ground aquatint in a work called *Theseus* (cat. no. 69). Rather than using dry rosin dust to create an acid-resistant surface, either rosin or dammar crystals were suspended in alcohol and floated on the surface of the plate. When the alcohol evaporated, the residual resins could be warmed to adhere them to the plate and form an acid-resistant ground. This technique was very difficult to control, but it allowed

the artist to achieve some very subtle wash-like effects in his prints.

Abraham Rattner, in *Crucifixion*, used aquatint to complement the *criblé* texture of his plate. The boldness of the *criblé* hollows contrasted with the denser, more velvety textures of aquatint areas. By combining the



69. Jacques Lipchitz, *Theseus*, c. 1944

two techniques, Rattner achieved a richer, more varied surface texture than either method alone would permit. However, aquatint was rarely, if ever used by itself for an entire plate at Atelier 17, and even in combination with other techniques, it never achieved the popularity of soft-ground etching among members of the workshop.

Aquatint was most frequently used as an adjunct to a process called lift-ground etching. The technique involves drawing, with a variety of implements, a design on a plate with a water soluble substance that does not dry completely. Numerous recipes for lift grounds exist, among them various mixtures of glycerine, gum arabic, sugar

solutions, corn syrup, soap solutions, poster paint, and India ink. The formula generally used at Atelier 17 was fifty percent saturated sugar solution dissolved in fifty percent India ink. After the design has been drawn, the entire plate is covered with an acid resistant ground and placed either in warm water, vinegar, or acetic acid, which causes the sugar or other solution to lift off the plate, exposing the areas covered by the original design. At this point, the plate is etched to fix the design. A line obtained by this method usually prints as an uneven gray, because the surface is too smooth to hold ink. Hence aquatint is often used in combination with lift-ground to create a toothy surface which will hold ink. The aquatint can be applied before the original design is drawn or after the ground has been lifted. This technique allows the artist to

draw directly on the plate and to obtain the effect of a broad brush stroke (see Masson, *Improvisation*, cat. no. 76).

Variations on the basic lift-ground process were tried at Atelier 17. Patterns made by whiting, a powdered chalk used to clean plates, were sprayed with fixative, lifted with acetic acid, and etched to create exciting new textures. A surrealist device, *decalcomanie*, was accomplished by the use of lift-ground on paper, which was transferred wet to the plate by pressure. The plate was then grounded, lifted, and etched.

The principle of lift-ground etching suggested another direction to explore: impermanent resists. In the 1940's a felt-tipped Flowmaster pen was used for drawing on a plate, first for sketching a design to be engraved, but later as an acid-resist in very thin coatings which broke down gradually under the attack of acid to produce a striated band in the plate, which printed somewhat like a charcoal line. Heavier coating, made by applying greater pressure to the pen, could resist the acid completely. By varying the density of the ink line, the resist would break down at different rates. This process produced a line in the print which appeared to pass through the plane of the surface, giving a sense of free movement through the third dimension. Other materials that could be used as impermanent resist were bitumen, varnish diluted with benzine or xylol, various plastic solutions, wax crayons, or sticks of hot wax. The first experiments with these impermanent resist techniques were undertaken to discover what would be the result of an action similar to that of an artist's gesture in painting. The effect was different from a similar gesture in paint, but it did offer a new means of expression to printmakers.

The idea of exposing broad areas of the plate to acid by means of impermanent resists was doubtless influenced to some extent by the techniques of deep etching and open biting practiced at Atelier 17 since the early 1930's. Deep etching, first employed by Arpad Szenes in 1931, was accomplished by covering certain areas of the plate with acid-resistant ground and leaving other areas uncovered. When the plate was immersed in acid, open hollows, which held ink only at the edge of the forms, were formed in the unprotected areas. If lines had been etched or engraved in these areas before they were



76. André Masson, *Improvisation*, 1943

exposed to the acid, the action of the acid would make them muted and shadow-like, almost as if seen through water. On the practical side, this technique could also be used to bite out an unwanted line. Deep biting produced relief effects similar to those of *gauffrage*, without the strenuous use of the burin.

Max Ernst accidentally took this process one step further. By mistake he placed a soft-ground zinc plate, impressed with cut-out forms, into a very strong acid intended for copper. The violent action of the acid removed all the ground from the plate, and the entire surface was exposed to the acid, creating an effect that is now known as open biting.

One of the artists who exploited the effects of open biting most successfully was Joan Miró. He had worked at Atelier 17 off and on since the early 1930's, but had limited his prints to fairly conventional etchings and drypoints. In 1947, when Miró came to the United States for the first time to carry out a large mural commission for the Plaza Hotel in Cincinnati, he worked for a short time at Atelier 17 in New York. Most of the prints he made there were by the deep or open bite method. In *Femme et Oiseau devant la Lune* (cat. no. 81), Miró seems to have scraped the background before exposing it directly to acid in order to create a muted texture. In *Little Girl Skipping Rope, Women Birds* (cat. no. 30b), all the lines were engraved in zigzag cuts, and the entire plate was exposed directly to acid for a long period of time, so that when printed the irregular incisions might spread and give the impression of a tangled string or the weathered trace of a crack in the wall. The surface granulation is the result of bubbles of gas which formed during the chemical reaction of metal and acid. The most circular patch at the left shows where a jet of cold water from a faucet bit the heated plate, while the white patches were created by additional applications of protective varnish. The poet Ruthven Todd remembered that the lines were not engraved with a traditional burin, but with the point of an old horseshoe nail.<sup>32</sup> The variety and unorthodoxy of the devices Miró used in this single plate testify not only to the imaginative powers of an individual artist, but also to the uninhibited attitude toward experimentation that prevailed at Atelier 17 during the 1940's.

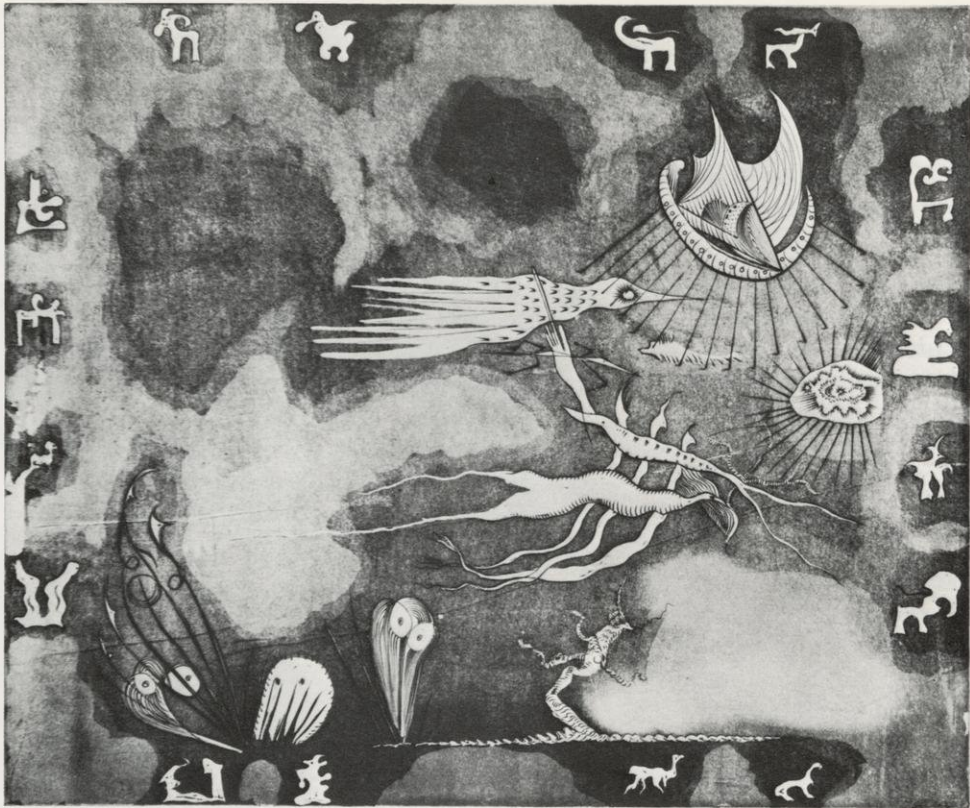


30b. Joan Miró, "Little Girl Skipping Rope, Women Birds" from the *Brunidor Portfolio*, 1947

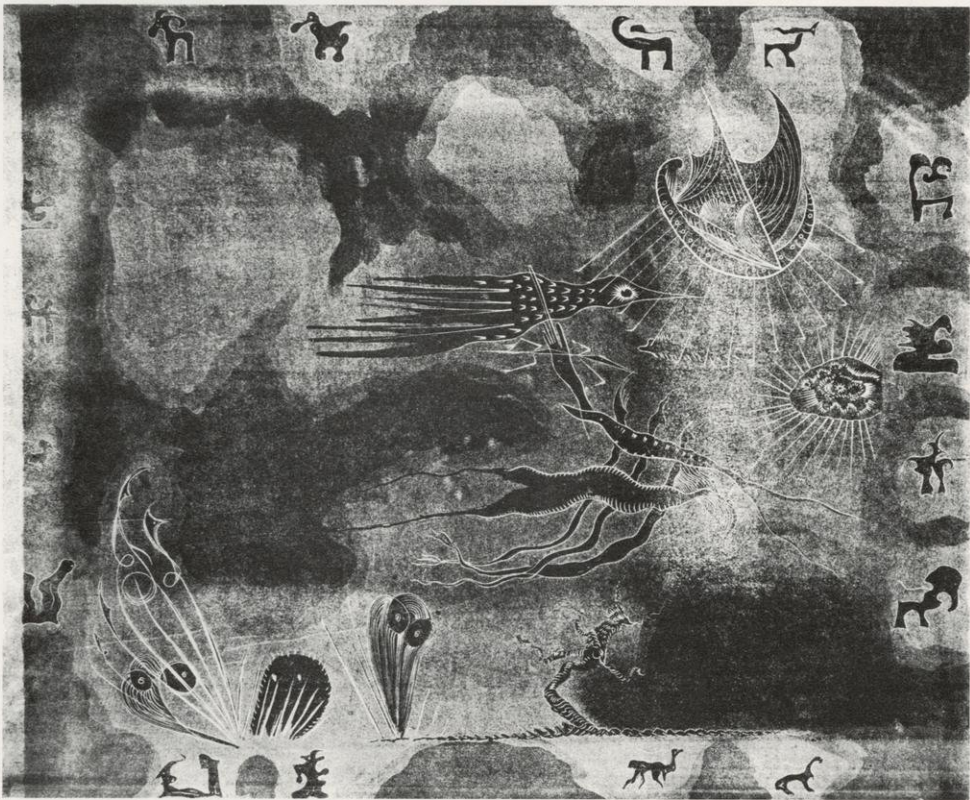
### Printing Techniques

Not all the experimentation at Atelier 17 was done in such a spontaneous, unstructured fashion. Much of it was the direct result of the careful study of printmaking techniques of the past. Such was the case with the attempts by Hayter, Miró, and Todd to duplicate the effects William Blake had achieved in his color prints. Blake executed a number of what he called "colour printed drawings" to illustrate some of his writings, including *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, and *America, A Prophecy*. The two problems which most intrigued Hayter, Todd, and Miró were the strange, reticulated texture of the ink on the pages of Blake's writings and the method by which he executed his handwriting in reverse on the metal plate so that it would read in the right direction when printed.

The problem of transferring a written text



58a. Ian Hugo, *Under a Glass Bell*, 1944



58b. Ian Hugo, *Under a Glass Bell*. 1944

in reverse to the surface of the plate was solved by writing the poem in a solution of asphaltum and resin suspended in benzine upon a sheet of paper previously coated with a mixture of gum arabic and soap. A clean copper plate was heated, the paper was laid upon it, and both were passed through a press. The back of the paper was then soaked with water to loosen the gum arabic and soap. The paper was then peeled off, leaving the resist on the copper in reverse. The rest of the design could then be drawn on the plate with a brush and asphaltum, and bitten as a relief etching. This process was adopted for the *21 Etchings and Poems* project, allowing most of the poems to be written by the poet in his own handwriting.

The basic method by which Blake created his plates was that of relief etching. This involved printing from the remaining original surfaces of a plate which had been protected from the etching action of the acid. When an intaglio plate is printed normally, ink is forced into the etched or incised lines, while the surface is wiped clean or almost clean. The reverse or relief process involves depositing ink on the top or high surfaces, usually with a roller, so that no ink fills the recesses. The latter procedure also allows the metal plate to be mounted type-high on a wooden block and printed on a contact or screw book press used for letter press typography. Printing from the surface allowed an artist to use an intaglio plate for book illustration more easily, because the plate did not have to be inked, wiped and printed separately from letter press type.

Surface printing of intaglio plates had been done at Atelier 17 since the early 1930's. Interest in this method of printing persisted, and by the time Hayter moved Atelier 17 to New York in 1940, his course description in the New School catalogue noted that "special attention is given to methods of printing in very large editions from engraved plates at minimum cost for book illustration (technique of Wm. Blake)."<sup>33</sup> Some of the most effective relief engravings were made by Ian Hugo at Atelier 17 as illustrations for Anaïs Nin's *Under a Glass Bell* (cat. no. 58 a&b). However, it was not until the summer of 1947 that Hayter, Todd, and Miró began to study systematically the process by which William Blake created his prints.

At that time Todd and Hayter made a trip to the J. Lessing Rosenwald collection in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, to study prints by

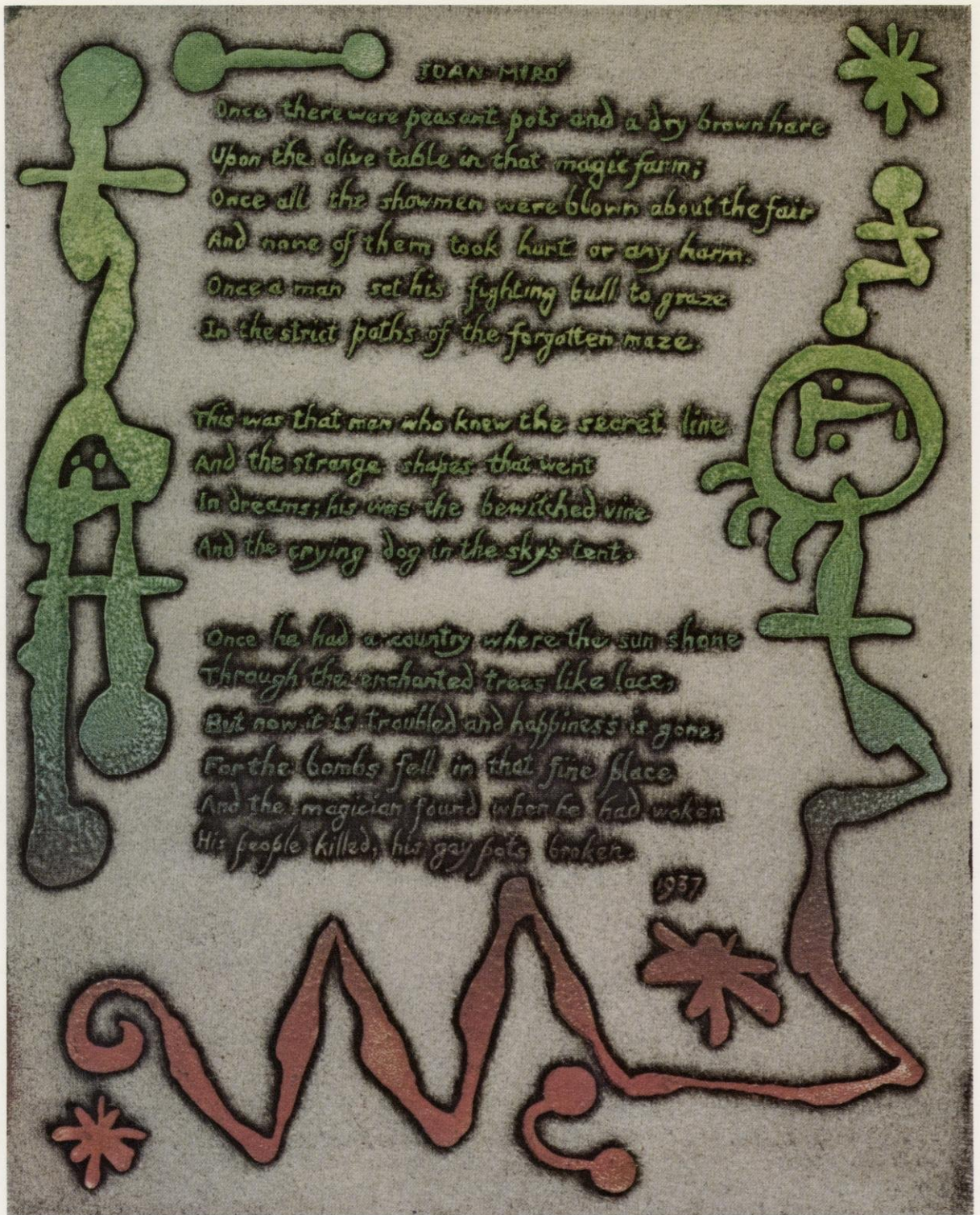
Blake and a small fragment of a cancelled plate from Blake's *America, A Prophecy* (1793). This is thought to be the only surviving example of Blake's relief-etched plates, and Rosenwald generously allowed Hayter to pull some proofs from it.<sup>34</sup> To their surprise, the plate was so shallowly bitten that it was impossible to obtain a clean surface impression, without smudging or filling in the whites, by the normal method of inking the surface with rollers. Because Blake's own prints were free from such smudges, the problem of discovering his printing method presented a further challenge. After careful study of the surfaces of Blake's prints and research into various techniques of relief printing, a plate by Miró, bitten as a relief etching, was printed at Atelier 17 in such a way as to resemble one of Blake's in every respect except the plate-mark (cat. no. 82).

Instead of rolling ink directly onto the surface of the plate to be printed, an unworked plate of the same size was inked by running a roller across the face. This inked plate was then placed upside down on top of the etched plate, and the ink was transferred from one surface to the other by rubbing the back of the top plate by hand. When the plates were separated, the bitten plate was left with a reticulated layer of ink on its surface and without smudged white areas. The problem was solved by using what may be described as a variation of offset printing.

This reconstruction of Blake's process inspired many new experiments in printing. The process of applying color to an intermediary surface before transferring it to the surface of the plate allowed Blake, and later Miró and others, to vary the depth of color from one side of the plate to the other, as well as to change the colors several times on a single surface. Various combinations of techniques were tried, as in two experimental proofs from the same plate by Miró, in which the image was transformed into a radically new expression simply by changing the way the plate was inked.

Once the principle of offset printing for intaglio plates and wood blocks was recognized as a valuable device, other possibilities of using an intermediary surface to receive ink were explored. Hayter remembered an instance when an engraved block of wood of Indian origin, with a very irregular surface, was brought to the New





82. Joan Miró, *Illustrated Poem* by Ruthven Todd, 1947

York Atelier 17 by its owner, who wanted to have a print made from it. Because the surface was so irregular, no impression could be made on an ordinary press, nor could a good print be made by rubbing from the back by hand. The problem was solved by offsetting the image onto a soft gelatin roller,

which could then be printed on a piece of paper. This method provided artists with the means of printing from almost any irregular surface or from any material too fragile or brittle to accept the pressure of a press.

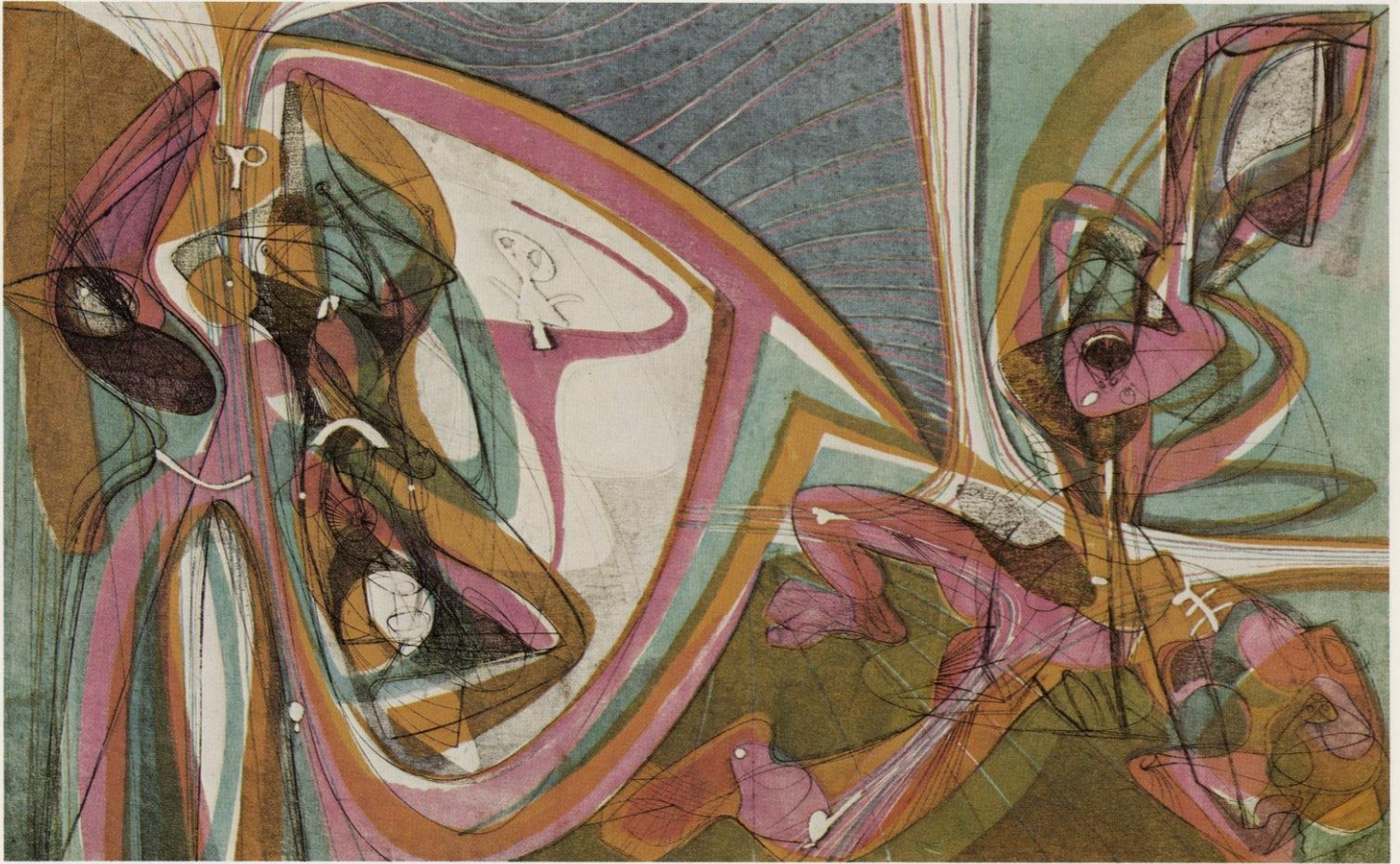
Offsetting the image onto a roller was perhaps most useful for making color prints.

The usual method of making color prints involved two or more plates, each inked with a different color. The artist faced problems of registration both while making the plates and while printing them. In order to minimize these complications, a process which offset successive colors onto a single roller was devised at Atelier 17 in the 1940's.<sup>35</sup>

This process represented not only a new method for color printing but more important, the willingness and imagination to combine a variety of printmaking techniques to create a single image. Although the combination of several intaglio techniques on a single plate had been done many times before the twentieth century, the artists working at Atelier 17 were among the first to experiment with combinations of intaglio,

an uninked intaglio plate, from which an impression was made on paper. The plate was then cleaned and inked for intaglio, and overprinted on the same paper. Because this method presented the problem of registering the two impressions exactly, the two steps were combined in a single printing by first inking for intaglio and then adding a surface color by means of a roller. A further variation on this simultaneous relief and intaglio printing technique was the introduction of stencils to control where the color roller would have contact with the surface of the plate, allowing artists to achieve complex color effects by relatively simple means.

The stencil method of adding color to a print had only limited flexibility however.



53. S. W. Hayter, *Cinq Personnages*, 1946

relief, and planographic techniques in the same work of art.

Experiments combining surface and intaglio methods of printing were made at Atelier 17 as early as 1930. The earliest color prints at Atelier 17 were made by applying color with a roller to the surface of

When Hayter taught in San Francisco during the summer of 1940, he was introduced to the technique of silk screen which had served commercial uses for decades until it had been developed as a medium for artistic printmaking on a New York WPA Federal Art Project. Based on the stencil principle,

the silk screen process gave the artist greater control over the distribution of his color and allowed him to create more complex designs with the color areas.

It was not until 1946, however, that Hayter was able to overcome most of the technical difficulties associated with simultaneous color printing to produce his most successful color print up to that date, *Cinq Personnages* (cat. no. 53). His use of silk screens allowed for complicated overprinting in transparent colors and for the large scale of the plate. All the experiments leading to the successful printing of this plate were carried out at Atelier 17 in full view of and often with participation of other members of the workshop. Thus the results were quickly disseminated among the other artists, and the emphasis at Atelier 17 shifted from black-and-white engraving and soft-ground etching to color printing.

The introduction of color into printmaking lent new interest to the graphic processes, but before color could be used as freely and expressively as it was in painting, much work had to be done to refine and perfect the technique of color printing. One method of applying color to the surface of a plate was the direct wiping of certain areas with an ink-soaked rag, or *poupée*. This process allowed the artist to use a variety of colors on a single plate, but its limitations imposed strong restrictions. If colors were placed too close to each other, they would overlap and smear. Even if this effect were desirable, the way in which the colors mixed would not be consistent from proof to proof. Colors could not be superimposed, and the process of applying the color for each proof was prohibitively time-consuming.

The more usual method of making color prints was to use a separate plate for each color. In Christine Engler's *Dance of India* (cat. no. 42), the gold lines were printed from one plate, and the red lines from another. In theory, this additive process could be repeated indefinitely, but in practice, each additional plate compounded the problem of exact registration. Also, the task of making a series of images on separate plates which would form a single, coherent image when printed together was laborious. These difficulties stimulated the imaginations of some artists at Atelier 17, who set about devising methods to overcome them.

Fred Becker, for one, contrived a method

of transferring a very complicated image to several plates so that they registered correctly. First he cut the image into a sheet of celluloid, plastic, or scratch board. Then he coated all the plates with soft ground, and took impressions of the carved design on each. By "stopping out" the different plates, the required colors and forms could be made to appear where needed. To make sure each plate registered properly during the process of printing, he used a metal mat with an opening cut to fit the plates. Four stops, made by turning up tabs of metal, controlled the position of the paper for each printing. As a result of these inventions, Becker was able to create a complex color print such as *The Cage* (cat. no. 27).

As effective as it was, Becker's technique did not solve all the problems associated with printing from successive plates. The varying humidity of the paper caused it to shrink or expand over a relatively short interval of time, leading to imperfect registration. Also, the more ink the paper received, the more resistant it became to printing, so the pressure had to be increased slightly each time the paper was passed through the press. This pressure flattened the relief of the preceding colors, and only the relief formed from the final plate appeared in the print.

If these problems could not be entirely solved, some artists sought to use them to their advantage. In his version of *Combat* (cat. no. 23), Raoul Ubac printed one color from the plate, removed the plate from the press, re-inked it in another color, and printed it on the same proof slightly out of register. The repetition of the lines gave the image a sense of movement and depth. This effect was later exploited by Karl Schrag in *Night Wind* (cat. no. 94) in order to obtain a sense of vibration and density that enhanced the mood of the print.

In spite of these accomplishments using successive plates, the search went on to develop more versatile and refined methods of printing several colors simultaneously in a single run through the press. In the early 1950's, two artists associated with the Paris Atelier 17 made a discovery which, when better understood, allowed artists to use several colors in succession on a single plate without some of the shortcomings of previous methods. While experimenting with superimposed colors on the surface of a plate, Kaiko Moti and Krishna Reddy observed that when one colored ink was



94. Karl Schrag, *Night Wind*, 1946

rolled on top of another, some mixed while others seemed to repel each other. No doubt this phenomenon had been noticed previously by other artists making color

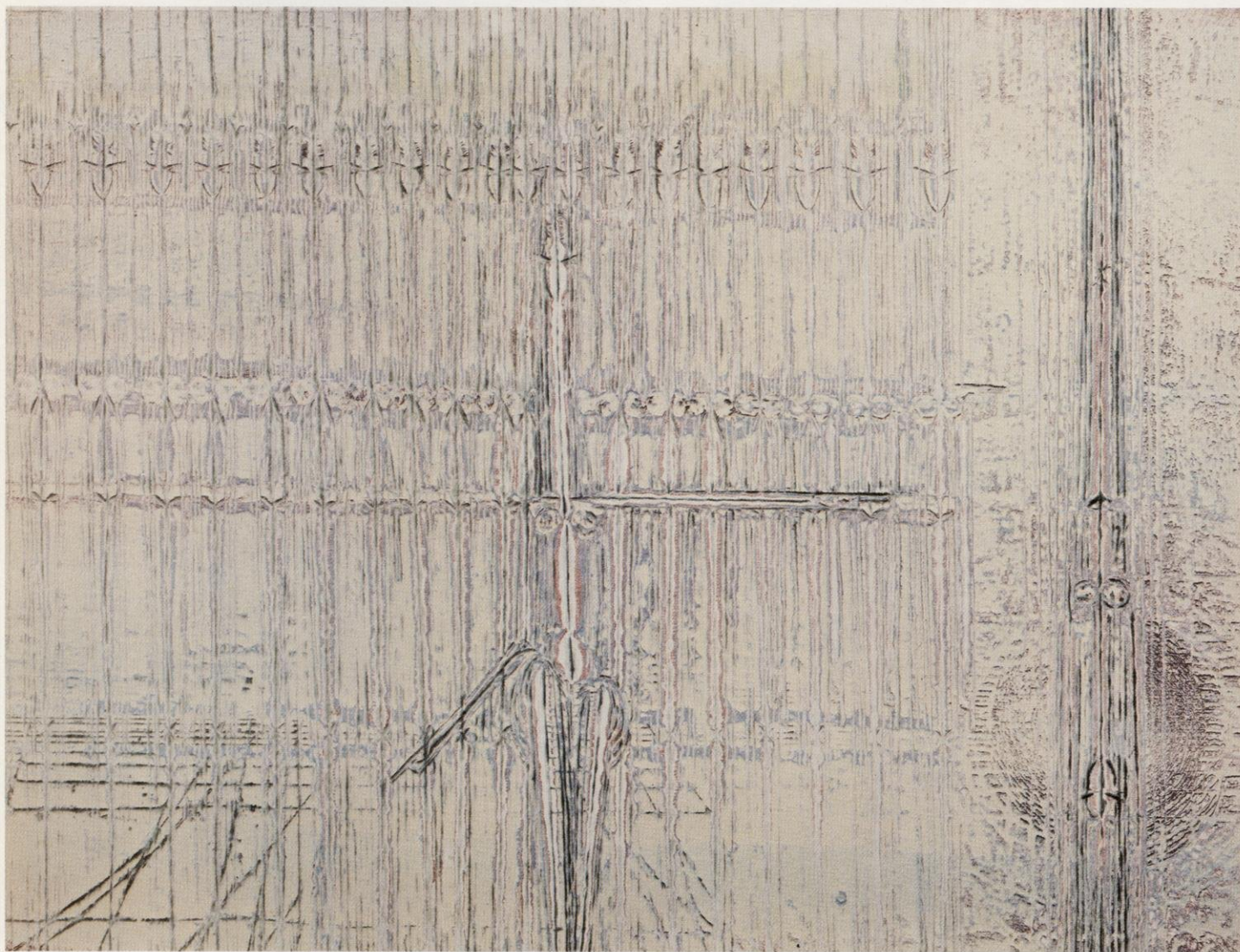
prints, but no one had tried to understand and explain it. Hence it could be used only by trial and error, with little control over the end result.

After further experimentation, Moti and Reddy noticed that when a thinner, less viscous ink was rolled over a thicker ink, the two colors mixed.<sup>36</sup> When a thicker ink was rolled over a thinner ink, the first color repelled or rejected the second, which adhered only to the surface surrounding the first color.<sup>37</sup> Once this principle was understood, it was used by these artists and others at Atelier 17 to make color prints.

This technique has been called color viscosity printing, but Hayter rejected the title as a misnomer, since all printing ultimately depends on the viscosity and surface tension

the process to be a direct outgrowth of earlier experiments in simultaneous color printing rather than an entirely new technique.

As artists gained a greater understanding of the principles involved in varying the viscosities of successive colors, they were able to combine more and more colors in a single print. The character of the plate itself began to change in response to the requirements of this new method of combining colors. Instead of a flat surface incised with lines and modified with textures, the relief qualities of the plate were



138a. Krishna Reddy, *Falling Figure*, 1972

of the ink. Instead he prefers to call it simultaneous color printing, making no distinction between this technique and that used for other prints made with stencil, silk screen, or offset colors. Hayter considered

emphasized, and the surface of the plate was developed at several distinct levels. This allowed the artist to control further the distribution of his colors by using hard or soft gelatin rollers to have each color adhere to

selected areas of the plate. All the elements necessary for the process of simultaneous color printing were already in the repertoire of Atelier 17: plates bitten or gouged very deeply and worked to various depths, the superimposition of successive colors, and the use of rollers to ink a plate. All that was needed was the elucidation of the principle that determined how two inks would react to each other when superimposed.

The earliest examples of color printing by this technique depended less on variations in the depth of the plate than on the device of simultaneous printing from relief and intaglio areas. Later prints made by the simultaneous color method tended to rely more heavily on a strongly modelled surface and a variety of gelatin rollers to reach the various depths. Krishna Reddy in particular, pursued this line of development. In such a work as *Falling Figure* (cat. no. 138) Reddy depended heavily on handworking the plate with machine tools instead of acid or gravure. As a result the plate itself is very sculptural and has a strong tactile appeal, recalling the persistent emphasis at Atelier 17 on the plate itself as a work of art as well as Reddy's background as a sculptor. After years of experimentation and experience, Reddy is able to print as many as fifty colors consistently, a feat achieved by few other artists.

Hayter himself was a relative latecomer to simultaneous color printing. Through 1956 he continued to prefer printing colors by stencil and silk screen methods, often in very complex patterns. The next year seems to have been the turning point in his growing preference for simultaneous color printing with gelatin rollers of varying hardness, as in *La Raie* (cat. no. 112). Once Hayter began to realize the possibilities this technique offered, he experimented with it avidly.

Other members of the workshop were quick to observe how simultaneous color printing was done, and in turn made important contributions toward refining this process. Artists who saw color prints made by this technique were so impressed with the results that they flocked to Atelier 17 for the express purpose of learning the method. So much attention and energy have been devoted to developing and improving the color process at the workshop that few would dispute that it has been Atelier 17's major technical contribution to printmaking since 1950, when the workshop was re-established in Paris.

## The Value and Attraction of Technical Experimentation in Printmaking.

In spite of the wide acclaim that simultaneous color printing has received, its very popularity has led critics to question whether this technique has been beneficial or detrimental to the development of printmaking as a major means of artistic expression. On the one hand, it gave artists greater freedom to use color as an element in the conception of their image, but on the other hand, the appealing effects that could be achieved by this process became an end in themselves in the hands of the artist who had little to express. Once an artist learned the basic principles of making a multi-level plate and varying the viscosities of ink, he could create some superficially beautiful color and design effects which were more decorative than meaningful. Hayter's long-time assistant and friend, Enrique Zanartu, felt that many of the younger artists who used this technique created works with "a lot of effects and very little soul.... Even if an artist doesn't know how to draw, he can make an attractive plate. The viewer is impressed by the effect of color more than anything else.... When Hayter makes a plate, he has his own way of seeing things—a wave, how it moves under another one... He's still experimenting, but for the younger people it's just a technique. They can do very finished things, but there's nothing inside. Since something beautiful results, they can sell it, and never really find themselves as artists."

Most of the criticism directed at Atelier 17 has been less concerned with specific techniques than with the attitude toward printmaking encouraged at the workshop. Ever since its influence began to be felt beyond the confines of the workshop proper, and the artists from Atelier 17 began to gain recognition, there have been those who have condemned its emphasis on technical experimentation. On one hand, conservatives attacked the effects achieved by the new techniques. In a review of the Atelier 17 exhibition of 1945 at the Willard Gallery, Maude Riley lamented that "there is missing the agreeableness of surface furnished by the etcher's thumb or cloth wiping a plate, the lovingness of line our academicians convey with a needle that seeks our forms in nature for pictorial reproduction. These textures are disagreeable, indirectly obtained, cross-bred

and inbred.”<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, more enlightened critics, such as Una E. Johnson, one of the most progressive print curators of the past few decades, has questioned the degree of emphasis placed on technical



91. André Racz, *Perseus Beheading Medusa IV*, 1945

experimentation among many contemporary printmakers: “Unfortunately, technical accomplishment has often been substituted for thoughtful graphic expression. The artist has long been preoccupied with the mysterious eloquence of a flowing line; the heady, and dramatic harmonies and dissonances of color; the fascinating eddies of limitless textures and the daring

combination of different media.”<sup>39</sup>

Artists from Atelier 17 have been very sensitive to such criticism, which implies that they have been more concerned with the craft of printmaking than with the creation of a work of art. Hayter, in particular, bristled when he heard criticism of the complexity of the printmaking techniques used at Atelier 17: “It has been a matter of ‘principle’ in the past to insist on completing the whole of a plate by one means...probably from a dim sense of preserving the unity of the result. I have never heard that a painting in one color, or executed with a single brush, was considered better in any respect than one done with complicated means.... In fact the complexity of the means is completely unimportant if it is justified by the ultimate unity of the result.” To support this contention, he cited *Perseus Beheading Medusa IV* (cat no. 91) by André Racz, made by soft-ground etching, engraving, aquatint, and relief whites. “Now it is difficult to imagine a more absurdly remote process to produce a black image on a white sheet. But the magical quality of the result depends here on the very remoteness of the method.” Hayter has been among the first to admit that the fewest and simplest operations should be used to achieve the desired effect, but he has refused to be limited by artificial standards of acceptability.

Nonetheless, the emphasis on technical experimentation at Atelier 17 did tend to attract virtuoso artists, for whom the means became the end. Such an artist might come to the workshop, remain for an extended period of time, and perhaps even contribute significantly to the technical experimentation of the group, but his own prints, while technically interesting, might be inferior works of art. Because he had spent a long time at Atelier 17, his prints became identified with the workshop, and the reputation of Atelier 17 suffered as a result.

For the talented artist, the experience of working at Atelier 17 could significantly broaden his expressive potential. Karl Schrag, for one, recalled how important Atelier 17 was for his own artistic development: “There is something in the atmosphere when you are working together with such enormously creative people which is inspiring. But also beyond that, the enormous widening of your grasp of the possibilities of graphics in general gives you not so much the possibility of using all of

them, but of understanding what would really fit your own needs...you can more easily understand where and how you yourself could possibly become more expressive, deeper, richer through the use of certain possibilities of graphics." After working at Atelier 17 off and on for more than five years, Schrag has limited his printmaking almost exclusively to engraving, etching and aquatint, by choice rather than by ignorance of other techniques.

The problem of how technique relates to an artist's idea of expression is one which every artist must consider in every work he creates. For some artists an idea exists fully formed in his mind, and a particular technique merely provides a means of transforming this idea into a visible, tangible form. There is another category of idea, however, differing from those considered latent in the mind, which can be said to come into existence only during the act of expression. To express this sort of idea, the artist must begin the work with little sense of its ultimate appearance and rely on the process of working to act as a catalyst. John Buckland-Wright, one of Hayter's assistants in the 1930's, described how such an idea might be realized in a print:

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**T**here are . . . some artists who find it impossible to visualize with the necessary clarity the conception which springs from imaginative or emotional impulses, and find that it is only by laboriously working toward a dimly perceived aim that they are able to formulate on a plate, or a canvas for that matter, the expression of their vision. For such artists, engraving and etching offer a multitude of means, and they are able, as the plate progresses, to bring into play almost any process of printmaking in order to achieve the desired result. Each state of the plate will suggest...the next step to be taken or the next process to be used. To such artists as these, complex methods seem natural and obvious in their attempt to achieve a final unity and expression.<sup>40</sup>

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In such a situation, the danger of over-emphasizing technique at the expense of content would seem to be particularly acute. Weak artists have succumbed to the temptation, but those who accepted the

challenge of clarifying the idea as the work proceeded, have found this procedure a liberating experience.

Hayter has always insisted on the interrelationship of idea and technique. Technique must be understood "not merely...as that which is performed by the artist upon the plate, but also a reciprocal effect of that image which is growing almost organically...acting upon the imagination of the artist."<sup>41</sup> The process of working on a plate can spawn an idea as easily as an idea can suggest an appropriate technique for its realization. Accidents which occur during the act of making a plate can suggest new directions to pursue. "The very indirectness of the method, the inversion of the image from left to right, of his space from depth to height, the reversal of the normal relation of the fixed observer to the line that moves . . . can open new territory to him [the artist.]" Conversely, an artist's idea might lead him to a technical invention with which he could express it effectively. For instance, the desire to have a line or form project slightly in front of the picture plane led artists to invent *gauffrage*, which allowed them to achieve this result.

Curiously, the influence of technique on the expressive ability of an artist is rarely questioned in relation to painting or sculpture. A fresco painter follows a much more complicated process than a muralist working in oil, but his work is no less esteemed because of the technical knowledge and dexterity involved. In regard to printmaking, however, technique is often considered an impediment to expression. Gabor Peterdi, a painter as well as a printmaker, remarked on this double standard: "I am often asked how it is possible that the complexity of the printmaker's craft doesn't interfere with the creative stimulus. The answer is, first, that printmaking isn't really any more complex than painting. The experienced painter doesn't have to speculate consciously what colors to mix in order to get a particular shade. This happens intuitively. The same is true with the printmaker."<sup>42</sup>

Once the craft of printmaking has been learned well, it becomes internalized. What might seem indirect and complicated to an outsider, might be perfectly normal or even routine to a printmaker. As Peterdi commented in another context: "I want to help my students become good craftsmen in



order to de-emphasize craft. I believe one has to learn to make things in order to forget about the making and concentrate on the content."<sup>43</sup>

Given the opportunity and encouragement to experiment with materials, American artists thrived on it. A British critic observed how adept they were at it: "At the end of a ten-year apprenticeship our European craftsmen may perhaps know more about the traditional uses of wood, clay, and bronze; but for an instinctive feeling for what you can . . . do with these materials, or with glass, plastics, casein, paints, new metal alloys—or . . . with such laboratory materials as cellulose acetate, electrophoresis strips, calcium chloride, density gradients or chromatography columns of various peculiar substances—the 'materialism' of American culture seems to pay off. It produces a quite exceptional empathy with what the stuff will or won't do."<sup>44</sup>

Hayter's scientific background gave Atelier 17 added appeal. Although he has recoiled from any comparison of the workshop to a laboratory, at least some superficial parallels suggest themselves. Hayter's understanding of chemical reactions and his ability to invent new formulas and procedures elicited the admiration of the other members. The vocabulary he used was often interspersed with scientific terminology. He expressed his belief in a strong parallel between art and technological progress: "I side with those who feel that art is concerned with finding an opening through which it can press on to new discoveries. I think art can accomplish what science has done if it adopts that attitude of mind that accepts no limit."<sup>45</sup>

Finally, printmaking at Atelier 17 appealed to the do-it-yourself mentality of many Americans. "One of the distinguishing features of prints in the United States is that the majority of them are printed by the artist himself and not by a professional craftsman-printer as is so often the case in France."<sup>46</sup> Sue Fuller remembered that an important factor in her decision to work at Atelier 17 instead of the Art Students' League was the possibility of printing her own plates. The experience of the Depression had given new dignity to the concept of working with one's hands.

Intaglio printmaking required total immersion in the process; it was physically strenuous and mentally demanding. Some artists relished the necessity for control and

discipline. Others appreciated the possibilities it offered for accidents, chance, and experimentation. Most of all, printmaking at Atelier 17 presented a challenge to a generation of young artists dissatisfied with the achievements of their elders and in search of a new means of artistic expression.

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## IV. The Impact Of Atelier 17 On American Printmaking

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**H**is [Hayter's] impact on American printmaking—the first generative push since Whistler—resulted in the spreading of American art through prints rather than painting.

A. Hyatt Mayor<sup>47</sup>

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### **The Role of Atelier 17 in the American Artistic Ferment of the 1940's**

At the time Hayter re-established Atelier 17 in New York, his involvement with technical experimentation, automatism, and abstraction reflected some of the most advanced tendencies in all art media. The search for new means of expression that led to a rapid succession of art movements in the twentieth century had as great an impact on the materials and methods of creating art as it did on form and content. Traditional media were explored and revitalized. New techniques and materials were invented to allow the artist a greater range of expression, and they in turn inspired certain stylistic innovations directly related to their physical properties and possibilities. Collage, frottage, photomontage, found objects, acrylics, aluminum, and plastic transformed the look of modern art as radically as the formal innovations they accompanied. The technical experimentation emphasized at Atelier 17 was not an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, interest in craftsmanship, materials, and new techniques was shared to a large extent by painters and sculptors, as well as by printmakers.

When Atelier 17 was established in New York in 1940, it provided the catalyst for many artists to experiment more freely and imaginatively with materials. Hayter actively encouraged the participation of painters and

sculptors in the workshop, because he was aware that some of the finest prints had historically been made by painters. He was not interested in printmakers as such, but in artists who would employ and develop the print media as another means of creative expression.

By the early 1940's, all artists, regardless of their previous experience with making prints, were instructed to begin their work at Atelier 17 by making an experimental plate as a means of experiencing the fundamental processes of intaglio printmaking. Hayter emphasized that the experimental plates should not be worked with the intention of producing a finished print. Instead he encouraged newcomers to explore the nature of the material and craft in an uninhibited manner without fear of ruining the plate. Hence the experimental plate functioned both as an experience in craftsmanship as well as an initiation to an open-minded attitude toward printmaking. The mastery of a specific technique became less important than the willingness to take chances and make new discoveries. The technical experimentation that Hayter fostered at Atelier 17 put the workshop in the vanguard of a development that was to become increasingly important in twentieth-century American art.

Stylistically the work being done at Atelier 17 was also more advanced than much of contemporary American art. For those American artists who rejected what they considered to be an art which was too provincial in its emphasis on the American scene or social commentary, European modernism provided the key to a more international, avant-garde outlook. In particular, American artists were attracted to

abstraction and Surrealism.

Although abstraction and Surrealism have been considered countermovements in twentieth century art, many American painters, such as Pollock, Gottlieb, Rothko, Gorky, Motherwell, and Hare had a strong inclination to combine features of both kinds of art in a single work. The most notable precedents for this combination of interests were the works of Picasso, Miró, Masson, and, indeed, Hayter. Similarly, some of the younger generation of American artists preferred a free, spontaneous approach to abstraction over the geometric abstraction practiced by most members of the *Abstraction-Création* group in Europe and the Abstract American Artists groups in New York.

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Most American artists, like Hayter, remained on the fringes of the Surrealist movement, selecting only those aspects of Surrealist theory that were meaningful to them: automatism and the Jungian notion of a "collective unconscious" that related the abstract imagery drawn from the human subconscious to one's primitive ancestors as well as to one's contemporaries. As opposed to the more Freudian approach to unconscious imagery taken by such artists as Dali, who expressed personal neuroses and hallucinations in a figurative, illusionistic, academic painting style, such artists as Rothko, Gottlieb, and Pollock were more interested in the Jungian approach to which they were introduced by John Graham in the late 1930's. The mythic and totemic imagery in many of their paintings of the early 1940's reflected this influence. These Americans rejected the branch of Surrealism represented by Dali, and looked instead to such artists as Picasso, Masson, and Miró. Reproductions of their work were available in *Cahiers d'Art* throughout the 1930's, but it was not until the 1940's that their impact was felt on American art. Although Hayter was not as well-known to them, American artists soon discovered that those aspects of abstraction and Surrealism they most admired were the basis of Hayter's teaching at Atelier 17. His emphasis on automatism, abstraction, and experimentation in the workshop represented to many American artists the most advanced aspects of European modernism.

Hayter's stature as an artist and teacher, and his overwhelming enthusiasm for printmaking encouraged many American

artists who had shown little interest in printmaking to join Atelier 17. Among them were the pioneers of Abstract Expressionism, who had not yet developed their mature painting styles at the time they joined the workshop, but still were under the influence of European modernism. Motherwell, Rothko, and Baziotes remained at Atelier 17 for only a short period and returned to painting hardly affected by the experience. Jackson Pollock, however, stayed for a longer period, and the time he spent there seems to have been of greater consequence.

Pollock worked at Atelier 17 for several months during the fall and winter of 1944-45 and while there he executed seven plates. He did not print editions or even final proofs of his plates, indicating that he was less interested in the final product than in the process of manipulating the plate, an attitude that recurred in his later "action painting."<sup>48</sup> It has been suggested that the growing interest in printmaking in the late 1940's was "partly due to the fact that a new generation of artists . . . discovered 'action' concealed in the mechanical process. There is more physical force spent in the attack on a woodblock, a metal plate, or a litho stone than in many an action painting."<sup>49</sup>

At the time Abstract Expressionism emerged as a new movement in American art, some considered Hayter to be one of its founders: "Stanley William Hayter . . . is a member of a small but increasingly important group of contemporary American painters that includes such men as Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, Hans Hofmann, William Baziotes, and Arshile Gorky . . . They are alike in that their method is rooted in the abstract and overlaid by Expressionist coloration and compositional freedom, and since Hayter was, in a sense, one of the founders of the movement, I think his work may fairly be considered typical."<sup>50</sup> In retrospect, however, it seems that Hayter was no more than a fringe member of this group, if a member at all. Hayter's main group of colleagues were the other artists working at Atelier 17. He continued to see Pollock at regular intervals until he left for Paris in 1950, but he had very little contact with the others after their brief experiences at Atelier 17 in the early 1940's. The strong affinity between Hayter's paintings and those of the Abstract Expressionists can be explained by their common sources, although some of Hayter's

paintings of the early 1940's might themselves be considered at least marginal sources of inspiration for the automatism and expressionistic abstraction embraced by the Americans.

His intense involvement with printmaking was not shared by the Abstract Expressionists. No matter how automatic or spontaneous certain aspects of making a plate might be, printmaking remained one of the most indirect means of making an image. Eventually Hayter himself recognized an essential incompatibility of Abstract Expressionism and printmaking: "The 'Expressionist' attitude, understood perhaps as expression of the emotion of the artist, perhaps as transmission of the emotion to the viewer . . . [is] inapt for the discipline of printmaking."<sup>51</sup>

Few painters or sculptors were willing to devote the time and energy necessary to acquire the techniques that would give them greater freedom and spontaneity in printmaking. The scale of prints was confining for artists who were becoming involved with mural-sized canvases. The possibility of making multiple originals did not interest the Abstract Expressionists, even those who continued to make prints. With few exceptions, Abstract Expressionism did not find an outlet in prints until the early 1960's when De Kooning, Hofmann, Guston, Still, Gottlieb, Tomlin, Kline, Rothko, and Motherwell began to take an interest in lithography.

### **Hayter's Influence on the Post-War Generation of American Printmakers**

As Hayter's prints and those of many other artists who worked at Atelier 17 testify, intaglio printmaking did not preclude abstraction and personal expression, and in some instances, actually fostered them. Engraving as Hayter taught it encouraged a style of organic, linear abstraction. "The tool itself—the burin . . . makes these marvelous loops. It's almost a sensuous pleasure to take that tool and to make these loops."<sup>52</sup> The experimental plate disoriented newcomers to Atelier 17, and without the security of their familiar working habits, they were prone to imitate Hayter's style as well as the techniques he demonstrated. Although no two experimental plates were the same, almost all had a family resemblance to Hayter's prints. For some artists, this experience inhibited their personal

development. Fascination with soft-ground textures, or swirling loops, or a particular technical problem absorbed so much of their concentration that the development of a personal style of expression became secondary. Some of the less talented artists never matured beyond a neo-Hayter style, which critics of Atelier 17 came to associate with the workshop.

For other artists, however, imitating Hayter was a liberating experience. For example, Sue Fuller found that making a neo-Hayter print was a cathartic experience. She felt she needed the experience of free abstraction and non-descriptive line in order to break old habits and, eventually, to develop her own style of expression.

Succeeding generations of artists faced the same challenge. Although some artists never achieved more than weak imitations of Hayter, the most talented and independent artists were able to establish their own artistic identities in spite of Hayter's strong influence on the workshop. George Ball, for one, made abstract black-and-white engravings that could in no way be confused with Hayter's (cat. no. 99).

Hayter did not consciously try to influence other artists' works, but inevitably, in the course of classes and conversations, he conveyed some of his personal prejudices to the other members of the workshop. For example, his own deep involvement with engraving led him to believe in the supremacy of the copper plate as a printmaking medium. Although he sometimes used woodblocks for his offset color printing, he condescendingly referred to woodcutters as "woodpeckers." He had tried lithography early in his career, but felt that it was a much less creative medium. Even among the techniques of intaglio printmaking, he had certain biases. Gabor Peterdi remembered Hayter telling him that he should use soft-ground textures instead of aquatint for tonal areas, because aquatint surfaces did not stand up well in printing. For years Peterdi avoided aquatint, but later, when he began to experiment with it in his own studio, he pulled 200 proofs and realized that this misleading advice was probably the result of a personal idiosyncrasy of Hayter and his deep involvement with soft-ground etching at the time.

Although Hayter claimed that the artists at Atelier 17 had complete freedom in making their prints, there were certain practices that he actively discouraged. Ever since he had



99. George Ball, *Confins*, 1960-61

become engrossed in simultaneous color printing in the mid-1950's, he stressed so strongly the advantages of printing color from a single plate that an artist interested in printing from several plates rarely did it at the workshop.

A practice that Hayter would not tolerate was the direct translation of a drawing into a print. He did not mind if an artist began working from a sketch—he himself often did—but he insisted that “even if a preliminary drawing or sketch-plan exists, the work itself [should evolve] through successive actions on the plate or other medium, whereby elements have emerged which do not seem even implied or latent in the sketch.”<sup>53</sup>

He also actively discouraged any attempt to achieve the effect of a painting in a print. He did not preclude the use of colors or tonalities, but insisted that the work be “graphic” in conception, based on effects that were natural to the printmaking medium, such as line, rather than effects imitative of painting or more readily achievable in other media. Enriqu  Zanartu recalled an instance of an acquaintance who worked at Atelier 17, and whose approach to printmaking closely paralleled his approach to painting. Hayter did not verbally reproach him, but instead quickly relegated him to the corner of the studio and paid little attention to him. No doubt Hayter used this tactic with other artists whose work he did

not favor, whether consciously or unconsciously, thereby exerting a form of control over much of the work that was done at Atelier 17.

Although Hayter had some very definite ideas about printmaking, he sought to encourage diversity and individual expression at the workshop. Robert Broner, who studied painting with Stuart Davis at the same time he was making prints at Atelier 17, compared the teaching methods of the two artists: "Hayter was in a sense gaining disciples . . . He was trying to convince you of the importance of prints and of the validity of his direction, although interestingly enough, while he was much more messianic than Davis, he was much more open in terms of the way he wanted you to work. He wanted you to learn his techniques, but was open to your working any way you wanted. Whereas Davis wanted you to work within his style and that's all." Karl Schrag confirmed this evaluation: "Hayter really esteemed an artist for being himself . . . I think I worked quite differently in general idea, and based my whole concept on a different line of thought. I think he liked that better than any stupid imitation of Hayter." The variety of prints done at Atelier 17 in New York attests to the great latitude Hayter encouraged at the workshop.

### Changing Concepts of Printmaking in the United States

Just as Atelier 17 anticipated later printmaking workshops without necessarily influencing their establishment or organization, prints made at Atelier 17 also foreshadowed certain important trends in recent American printmaking. In addition to specific printmaking techniques developed at Atelier 17 which subsequently entered the repertoire of American printmakers, certain tendencies among artists at the workshop foreshadowed developments by printmakers not associated with Atelier 17. Experiments with color printing at Atelier 17 anticipated the overwhelming importance color prints were to assume during the 1950's and 1960's. Once technical impediments and aesthetic taboos were overcome, color prints gained such popularity with artists and the public that they challenged the traditional prominence of black-and-white printmaking. Hayter's exploration of *gauffrage* and the three-dimensional nature of an engraved line foreshadowed the widespread use of

embossment, collography, vacuum-forming, and paper-casting techniques in American prints of the 1960's and 1970's. Also, Atelier 17 set a precedent for the involvement of American painters and sculptors in printmaking, even though it was not until the 1960's that prominent American painters turned to printmaking in great numbers.

Developments more directly traceable to the influence of Atelier 17 included the predominance of intaglio and mixed media techniques in American prints of the 1950's. Although woodcut, lithography, and serigraphy continued to attract printmakers, intaglio prints dominated most exhibitions of the 1950's both by their sheer numbers and by the multiplicity of effects achieved by complex technical feats. The experimental attitude encouraged at Atelier 17 was contagious, and it affected all the printmaking media. "The enthusiasm and creative energy generated at Atelier 17 led artists to reevaluate their own efforts and to carry on individual experiments in other graphic media."<sup>54</sup> During the 1950's, the relationship of an artist to his print was characterized by an intense, personal involvement with every aspect of its creation. From the initial conception of the print through the manipulation of the materials, the proofing of the various states, and the final printing of the edition, the possibilities and limitations of printmaking presented a challenge and inspiration to the artist's creative thinking.

During the 1960's, however, a more intellectualized, impersonal aesthetic came to dominate American art. The agitated, emotional outbursts of Abstract Expressionism were replaced by the more cool, formalized styles of Pop Art, Minimalism, hard-edge geometric abstraction, color-field painting, and Conceptual art. Partially in reaction against the intense involvement of the artist with his work which characterized the preceding decade, many artists began to distance themselves from the process of creating their works and often turned to commercial and industrial professionals for the actual production. Abstract Expressionism lost favor, and printmaking as practiced at Atelier 17 was disparaged as being too craft-oriented. Impersonal imagery and commercial surfaces came to characterize much of the art of the 1960's in the United States.

In printmaking this tendency was evidenced by the growing importance of photographic imagery in prints, which was frequently substituted for the hand-drawn image. In response to the growing interest in printmaking, printing technology had advanced to the point where few technical barriers remained with regard to the color, texture, and size of prints. Artists came to rely increasingly on professional printers for making final editions and even trial proofs in many instances. Sometimes the artist provided only the idea and a few instructions to a printer, who then executed the work of art, which was signed by the artist. What the prints gained by the high standards of craftsmanship achieved by professional printers, they often lost in personal qualities and appeal. In her introduction to the catalogue of the 18th National Print Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum in 1973, the curator Jo Miller remarked wistfully: "During the selection of this exhibition, which included the viewing of hundreds of prints, I can't remember coming across a smudgy thumbprint in a margin. I wish I had found a few to convince me that the artist is still totally involved in the making of his print."

Although the possibility of collaboration with a professional printer prompted many painters and sculptors to make prints, and their heightened interest in printmaking did much to invigorate the graphic arts, many artists' prints frequently began to look suspiciously like their work in other media. This development had uneasy overtones of reproductive printmaking and commercialization, and raised the troublesome question of what is an original print, which, relative to many new procedures, has yet to be resolved.

In the face of these recent developments in printmaking, Atelier 17 has maintained the same values it has advocated throughout its existence, namely experimentation and intense personal involvement with the creation of the work of art. This does not mean that printmaking at Atelier 17 has been at a standstill. The size, the format, the imagery, and the direction of experimentation in prints made at the workshop have changed dramatically over the years. But the basic premises of the workshop have been preserved, even when openly challenged by a former member of the workshop and close personal friend of Hayter's. In the introduction to his book on

printmaking, Gabor Peterdi questioned the necessity for continued experimentation:

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In the past twenty-five years adventurous artists with a healthy disregard for the taboos of the graphic arts have tried just about everything that can be used or abused for printing. We have used every texture that can be pressed into a soft ground. We have printed every color of the rainbow. We have used every material new and old, that either nature or science could provide. We have pushed the size limitation of the print to the breaking point . . . Now I feel we have reached the crucial turning point; the period of experimentation is over. Now we have to digest what we know in order to express what we are.<sup>55</sup>

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Hayter's reply was unequivocal: "As one of the best known American teachers stated in a recent book, from their point of view research over the last thirty years was most valuable, but is no longer of much interest; what is needed is the exploitation of methods already discovered . . . I do not agree with this view."<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps this attitude is the reason young artists continue to seek out Atelier 17 today. In spite of the movement away from the values upheld at Atelier 17, the membership at the workshop has increased, and Hayter has been forced to turn away prospective members. It is understandable that artists from culturally underdeveloped countries might want to work at Atelier 17, which still offers an antidote to their native provincialism and conservatism. For that matter, in 1940 the United States was culturally underdeveloped in comparison to Europe. But it is less obvious why American artists have continued to make prints at Atelier 17 throughout the 1950's, 1960's and even the 1970's, long after the United States has assumed a leadership role in cultural affairs. Those artists who continued to be attracted to the type of printmaking done at Atelier 17 could have learned the various techniques and its distinctive approach to printmaking at any number of American workshops and schools. Indeed, many American artists did have their first experience with printmaking in workshops run by former members of Hayter's studio. Still, they made the journey to Paris to work

with Hayter himself. Beyond the allure of studying in Paris, they recognized the importance Hayter and Atelier 17 have had for American printmaking.

The legacy of Atelier 17 in the United States included new techniques of making prints, the establishment of a workshop model, an open-minded attitude toward the possibilities of printmaking, and perhaps most importantly, the stimulus to employ and accept printmaking as an independent medium of artistic expression. The new respectability and popularity that printmaking gained in the United States after World War II, both with artists and the public, owes much to the impetus of Atelier 17.



## I. The History of Atelier 17

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise indicated, all statements by artists were obtained either during personal interviews with the author, from questionnaires completed in connection with this exhibition, or in interviews conducted by representatives of the Archives of American Art. For more specific citations, see the unpublished Ph.D dissertation by Joann Moser, "The Significance of Atelier 17 in the Development of Twentieth Century American Printmaking" (The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976).

<sup>2</sup>See the unpublished senior thesis by Alan Shestack, "Atelier 17 and Modern Printmaking" (Wesleyan College, 1961), p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>Stanley William Hayter, *New Ways of Gravure* (London, 1966), p. 213.

<sup>4</sup>The catalogue title of this exhibition, "VIII<sup>e</sup> Exposition de Gravure et Plâtres Gravés du Groupe de l'Atelier 17," implies that seven exhibitions had preceded it, but no complete record can be found.

<sup>5</sup>Anaïs Nin, *The Diary of Anaïs Nin, Volume 3: 1939-1944*, ed. Gunther Stuhlman (New York, 1969), pp. 125-6.

<sup>6</sup>Leo Katz, "Atelier 17," *Print*, XIV, no. 1 (1960), p. 55.

<sup>7</sup>*New School for Social Research Catalogue* (1940-41), p. 77.

<sup>8</sup>Rosamund Frost, "The Chemically Pure in Art: W. Hayter, B.Sc., Surrealist," *Art News*, XL, no. 7 (1941), 13ff.

<sup>9</sup>Nin, *Diary*, p. 126.

<sup>10</sup>The other faculty participants were Berenice Abbott, Stuart Davis, Camillo Egas, Fritz Eichenberg, Yasuo Kuniyoshi and Seymour Lipton.

<sup>11</sup>Katz, "Atelier 17," p. 56.

<sup>12</sup>For a more detailed discussion of these experiments see: Stanley William Hayter, "Orientation, Direction, Chirality, Velocity, and Rhythm," *The Nature and Art of Motion*, ed. Georgy Kepes (New York, 1965), pp. 71-80.

<sup>13</sup>*Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, XII, no. 1 (August 1944).

<sup>14</sup>Max Ernst quoted in William S. Rubin, *Dada and Surrealist Art* (London, 1969), p. 342.

<sup>15</sup>Nin, *Diary*, p. x.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 66.

## II. The Workshop Tradition

<sup>17</sup>Karl Schrag, "The Artist Alone Versus the Artist in the Workshop," *New University Thought*, V, no. 4 (Autumn 1967), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>Stanley William Hayter, catalogue of exhibition at the Harold Ernst Gallery, Ltd., Boston (May 9-26, 1973).

<sup>19</sup>Hayter as quoted in Alexander Watt, "S. W. Hayter," *Studio*, CLXVI, no. 843 (July 1963), p. 33.

<sup>20</sup>Katz, "Atelier 17," p. 56.

<sup>21</sup>Ernst as quoted in Rubin, *Dada and Surrealist Art*, p. 342.

<sup>22</sup>Miró as quoted in Sam Hunter, *Joan Miró: His Graphic Work* (New York, 1958), p. viii.

## III. Printmaking Techniques At Atelier 17

<sup>23</sup>*25 International Artists Working in Paris*, catalogue for an exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1962. Shirley Wales worked at Atelier 17 in the late 1950's.

<sup>24</sup>Unless otherwise indicated, all quotes attributed to Hayter in this section were taken from *New Ways of Gravure* (London, 1966) or *About Prints* (London, 1962).

<sup>25</sup>John Buckland-Wright, *Etching and Engraving: Techniques and the Modern Trend* (New York, 1953), p. 30.

<sup>26</sup>A distinction should be made between a *crevé* and a *gauffrage*. The former results from a line whose depth is too shallow for its width. Ink will not be held in the center where a gray will appear between two black margins, because the walls alone retain the ink. This term also refers to an area on the surface of a plate of ground that is damaged by overbiting of lines laid too close together. On the other hand, a *gauffrage* is so deep that it prints as an embossed line.

<sup>27</sup>Gabor Peterdi, "Thoughts on Printmaking," *Artist's Proof*, I (New York, 1961), p. 19.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>Mauricio Lasansky, *A New Direction in Intaglio*, Walker Art Center exhibition catalogue (Minneapolis, 1949), p. 12.

<sup>30</sup>Ten of his most important cancelled plates are in museum collections.

<sup>31</sup>There is no indication that the manipulation of the edges of the plate influenced the shaped canvases of the 1960's, even though it does seem to anticipate this later development in painting.

<sup>32</sup>Ruthven Todd, "Miró in New York: A Reminiscence," *Malachuk Review*, no. 1 (Victoria, British Columbia, 1967), pp. 89-92.

<sup>33</sup>*New School for Social Research Catalogue* (1940-41), p. 77.

<sup>34</sup>A thorough account of these experiments is given in Todd, "The Techniques of William Blake's Illuminated Painting," *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXIX, no. 3 (November, 1948), pp. 25-37, which also appears in *Print*, VI, no. 1 (1948), pp. 53-65.

<sup>35</sup>A diagram of this procedure appears in Hayter, *About Prints*, p. 25.

<sup>36</sup>The viscosity of an ink is usually measured as its rate of flow and can be controlled by adding more or less linseed oil to the pigment.

<sup>37</sup>Krishna Reddy explains this process in terms of absorption rather than acceptance and rejection: a dry color always absorbs an oily color. If the dry color is on the plate, an oily color on a roller will transfer to the plate. If the dry color is on the roller, the oily color on the plate will transfer to the roller, making it seem as if the second color had been rejected or "missed".

<sup>38</sup>Maude Riley, *Art Digest*, XIX, no. 17 (June 1, 1945), p. 15.

<sup>39</sup>Una E. Johnson, "Postscript by a Curator of Prints," in "The Ides of Art: 11 Graphic Artists Write," *The Tiger's Eye*, I, no. 8 (June 15, 1949), p. 63.

<sup>40</sup>Buckland-Wright, *Etching and Engraving*, p. 161.

<sup>41</sup>Stanley William Hayter, "Interdependence of Idea and Technique in Gravure," in "The Ides of Art: 11 Graphic Artists Write," *The Tiger's Eye*, I, no. 8 (June 15, 1949), p. 43.

<sup>42</sup>Peterdi, "Thoughts on Printmaking," p. 23.

<sup>43</sup>Mary Welsh Baskett, *American Graphic Workshops*, exhibition catalogue of the Cincinnati Art Museum (Cincinnati, 1968).

<sup>44</sup>C. H. Waddington, *Behind Appearance* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 133.

<sup>45</sup>Hayter, quoted in the catalogue of the 2nd Wisconsin Print Show International: *Stanley William Hayter and Atelier 17*, The University of Wisconsin, Madison.

<sup>46</sup>Una E. Johnson, *Ten Years of American Prints: 1947-1956* (New York, 1956), p. 6.

#### IV. The Impact of Atelier 17 On American Printmaking

<sup>47</sup>A. Hyatt Mayor, *Prints and People* (New York, 1971).

<sup>48</sup>Except for trial proofs, the plates were not printed until 1967, when seven editions of fifty prints each were made by Gabor Peterdi and Emile Sironi under the supervision of William Lieberman of the Museum of Modern Art.

<sup>49</sup>Fritz Eichenberg, "Editorial," *Artist's Proof*, I, no. 2 (New York, 1961), p. 1.

<sup>50</sup>Robert M. Coates, "New Ideas" (review of Hayter exhibition at Durand-Ruel), *New Yorker*, XXIII, no. 46 (January 3, 1948), p. 44.

<sup>51</sup>Hayter, *New Ways of Gravure*, p. 284.

<sup>52</sup>Archives of American Art. Transcript of interview by Paul Cummings with Karl Schrag in New York (October 14, 1970), p. 41.

<sup>53</sup>Hayter, *About Prints*, p. 124.

<sup>54</sup>Una E. Johnson, "The Brooklyn Print Annual," *Art Digest*, XXIX, no. 4 (November 15, 1954), p. 8.

<sup>55</sup>Gabor Peterdi, *Printmaking: Methods Old and New* (New York, 1959), p. xxii.

<sup>56</sup>Hayter, *About Prints*, pp. 103-4.

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# Catalogue Of The Exhibition

All dimensions are in centimeters; height precedes width.

\* (Asterisk) denotes travelling prints.

## 1927-1939: Paris

### Max Ernst, German

1. *Une Semaine de Bonté*, 1934  
Soft-ground etchings
  - a. "Le Lion de Belfort," 17.7 x 12.7 (illustrated)
  - b. "L'Eau," 17.7 x 12.7
  - c. "La Cour du Dragon," 18 x 12.9
  - d. "Oedipe," 18 x 29.5
  - e. "L'Interieur de la Vue," 17.7 x 12.7

Galerie Dieter Brusberg, Germany

### \*2. *Fraternity*, 1939

Poem by Stephen Spender, "Fall of a City"

Engravings by:

- a. John Buckland-Wright, 12.5 x 7.3
- b. Stanley William Hayter, 12.8 x 8.8
- c. Joseph Hecht, 11.7 x 7.1
- d. Dalla Husband, 9.5 x 6.3
- e. Wassily Kandinsky, 12.9 x 8.2
- f. Roderick Mead, 8.8 x 5.9
- g. Joan Miró, 14.8 x 9.1
- h. Dolf Rieser, 11.8 x 7.8
- i. Luis Vargas, 12.1 x 8.4 (illustrated)

Associated American Artists

### Stanley William Hayter, British

#### \*3. *Bison*, 1928

Drypoint

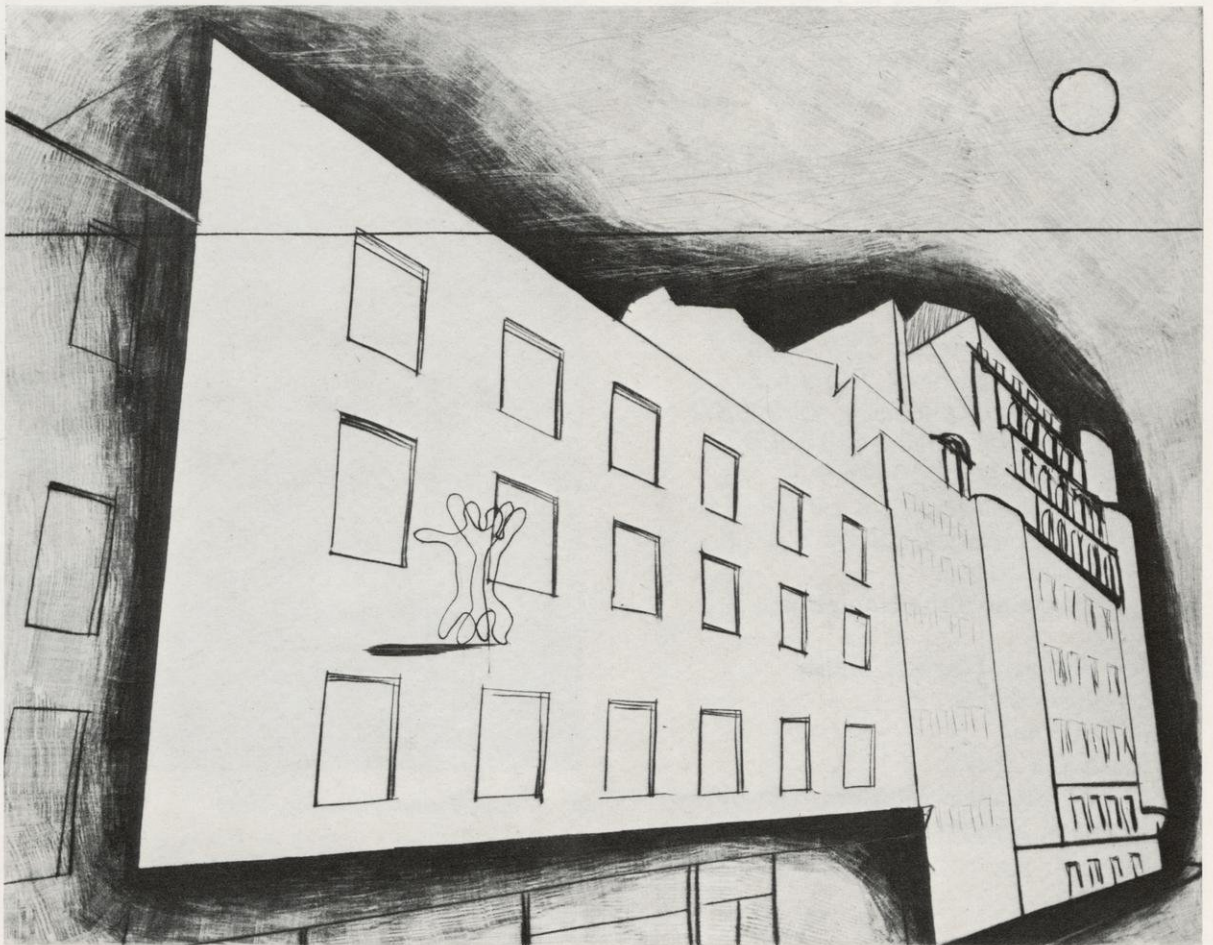
16.2 x 19.7

The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of the Artist, 35.2240



2i Luis Vargas, *Fraternity*, 1939

- \*4. *Combat*, 1936 (illustrated)  
 a. States I-VIII: engraving and soft-ground etching  
 b. Copper plate  
 40 x 49.8  
 Collection of The Brooklyn Museum, 43.238.1-9
5. *Paysages Urbaines I*, 1932  
 Drypoint and line engraving  
 21 x 26.7  
 The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of the Artist, 36.143
6. *Paysages Urbaines II*, 1932  
 Drypoint and line engraving  
 21 x 26.7  
 The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of the Artist, 36.144
- \*7. *Paysages Urbaines III*, 1932  
 Drypoint and line engraving  
 21 x 26.7  
 The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of the Artist, 36.145
- \*8. *Paysages Urbaines IV*, 1932 (illustrated)  
 Drypoint, line engraving, and mezzotint  
 21 x 26.7  
 The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of the Artist, 36.147
- \*9. *Rape of Lucrece*, 1934  
 Mixed intaglio  
 29.5 x 36.2  
 Collection of The Brooklyn Museum, 42.190
- Joseph Hecht, Polish**
- \*10. *Lion and Gazelle*, 1929  
 Engraving  
 21 x 38.7  
 The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Mr. William M. Lybrand, 40.941
- \*11. *Wild Boar*  
 Engraving  
 18.4 x 32.7  
 The Brooklyn Museum: Smith Memorial Fund, 56.171.2



8. S. W. Hayter, *Paysages Urbaines*, 1932

**Roderick Mead, American**

- \*12. *Crevette*, 1939 (illustrated)  
Engraving and soft-ground etching  
10.3 x 17.5  
Mrs. Roderick Mead

13. *Rope Figures*, 1936  
Engraving  
16.4 x 8.4  
Mrs. Roderick Mead

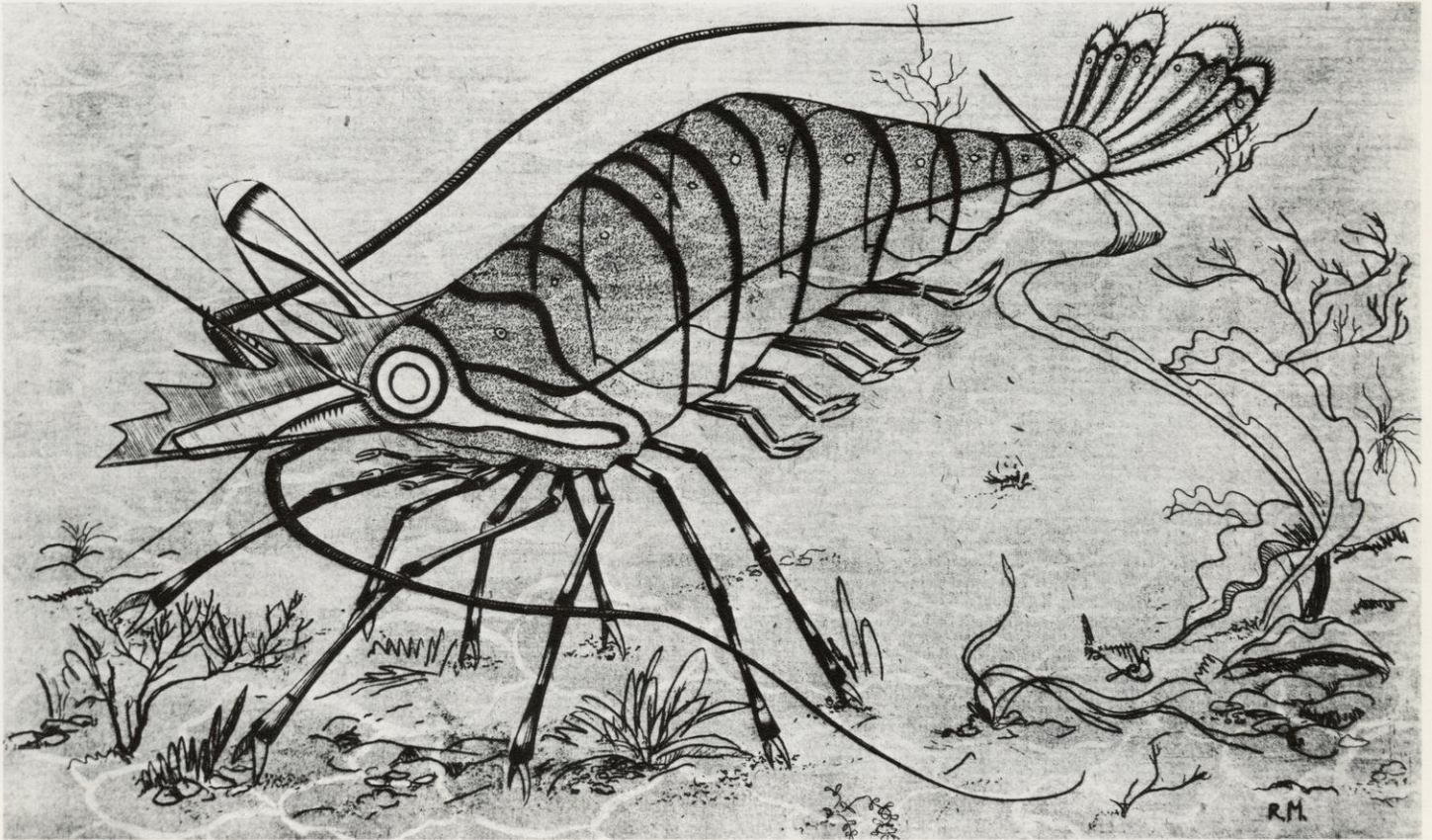
**Nina Negri, Argentine (resides in France)**

- \*14. *La Forêt Hantée*, 1936 (illustrated)  
Etching printed in relief  
24.6 x 23.5  
The Artist

16. *Despair I*, 1938  
Etching  
26.5 x 19.9  
Library of Congress

- \*17. *Despair III*, 1938  
Etching and engraving  
31.4 x 25.1  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Mr.  
Martin E. Segal, 53.114.4

- \*18. *Rhinoceros*, 1934  
Engraving  
21.9 x 29.9  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Mr.  
Martin E. Segal, 53.114.5



12. Roderick Mead, *Crevette*, 1939

**Gabor Peterdi, Hungarian (resides in U.S.)**

- \*15. *The Bull* (from "Black Bull Portfolio"),  
1939 (illustrated)  
Engraving  
45.7 x 19.7  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of the  
Artist, 53.132.2

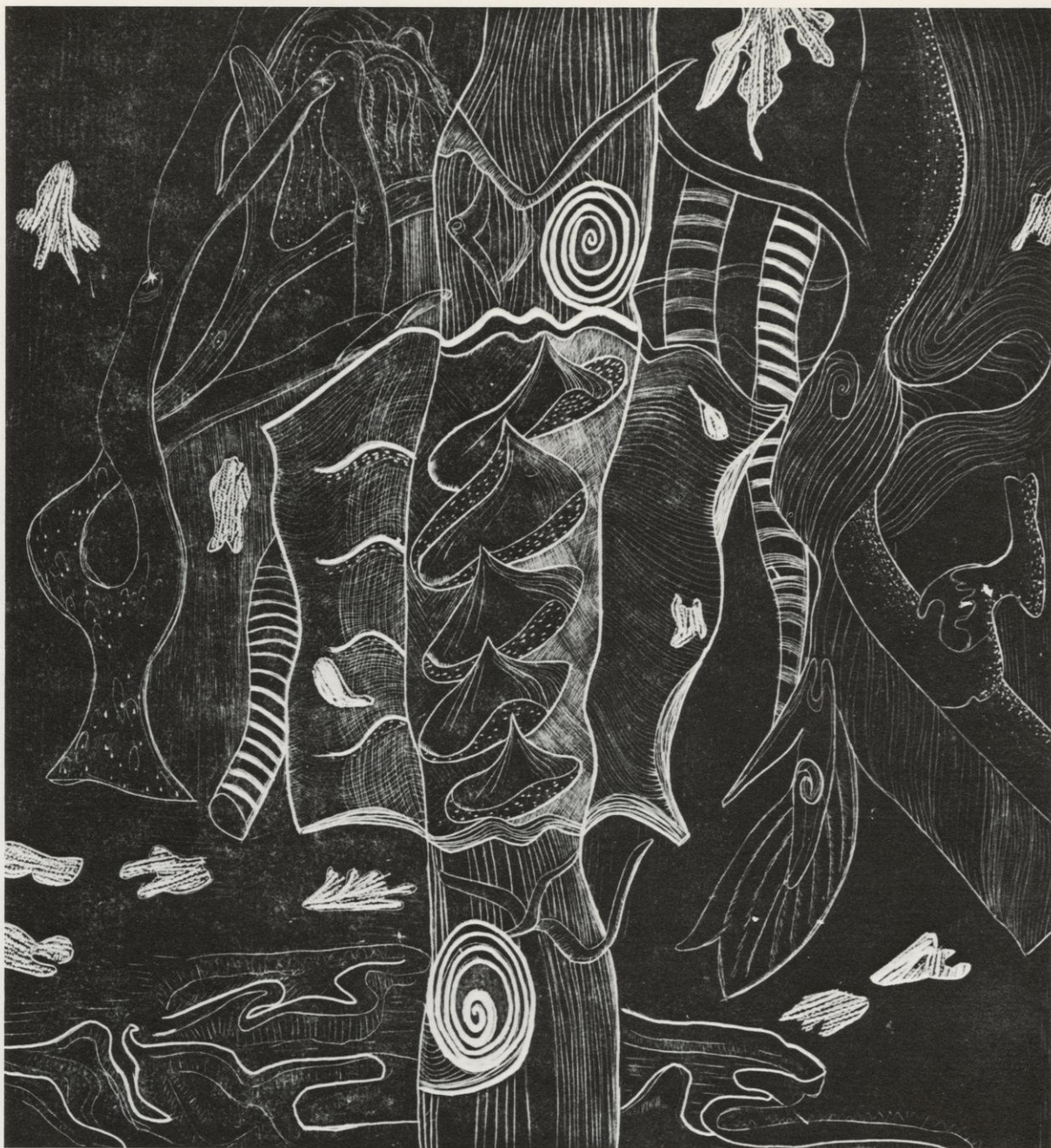
**David Smith, American**

- \*19. *Rue de Faubourg St. Jacques*, 1935  
Etching  
9 x 9.5  
Dorothy Dehner

**Yves Tanguy, French**

20. Frontispiece for *L'île d'un jour* by  
Marcelle Ferry, 1938  
Silverpoint etching  
19.5 x 9.3  
Timothy Baum, New York





14. Nina Negri, *La Forêt Hantée*, 1936

**Julian Trevelyan, British**

- \*21. *The Cow*, 1933 (illustrated)  
Etching and soft-ground  
17.9 x 23.7  
The Artist

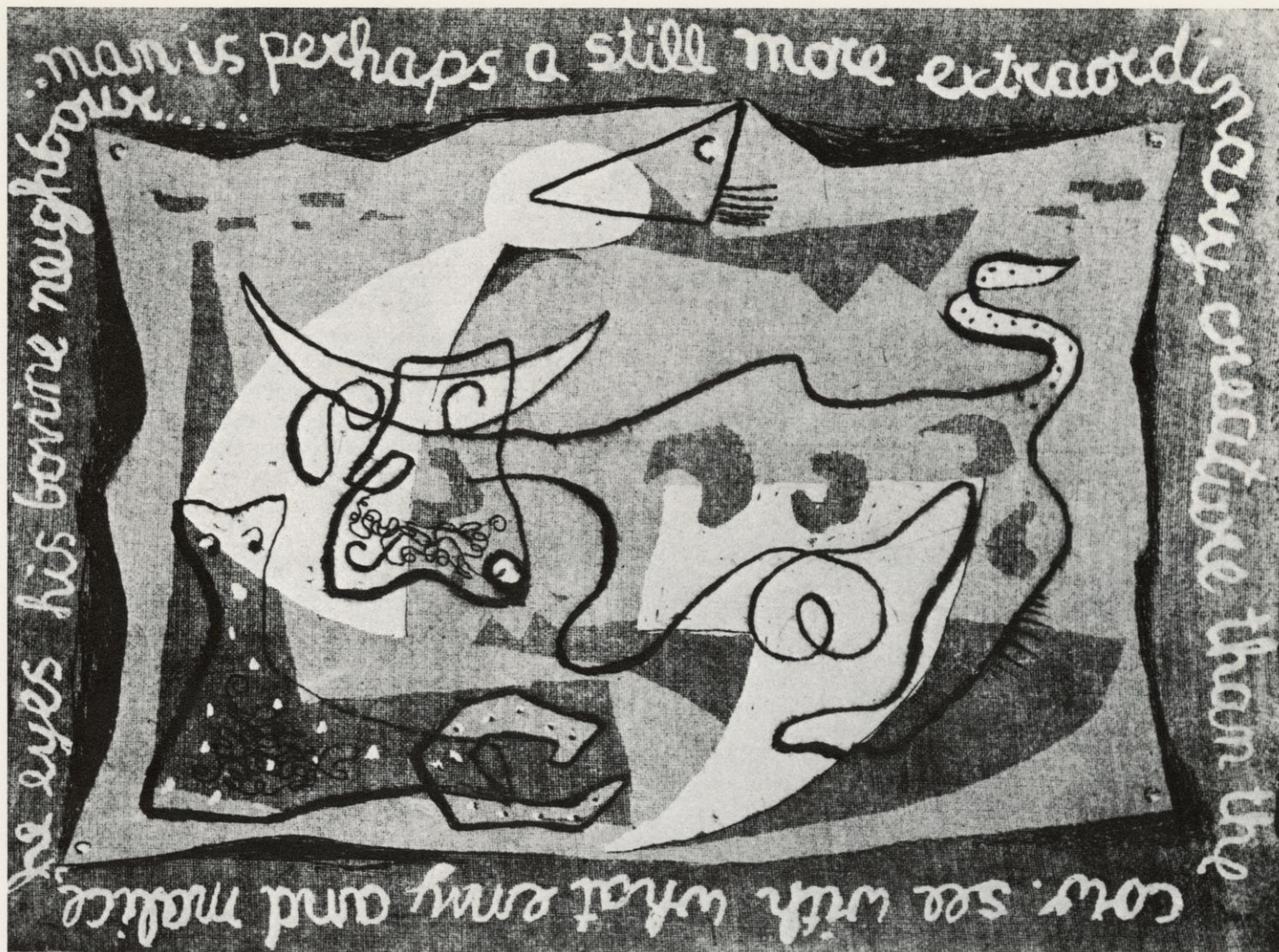
22. *Love and Friendship*, 1932  
Etching and soft-ground  
17.9 x 23.5  
The Artist

**Raoul Ubac, Belgian (resides in France)**

- \*23. *Combat*, 1937  
Engraving  
18.4 x 24.6  
The Artist

**Roger Vieillard, French**

- \*24. *Cristal*, 1936  
Engraving  
23.3 x 21.2  
The Artist



21. Julian Trevelyan, *The Cow*, 1933

- \*25. *Jacob et l'Ange*, 1936 (illustrated)  
Engraving and soft-ground etching  
24.6 x 25.6  
The Artist

#### 1940-1955: New York

- Fred Becker**, American  
26. *Aerial Jungle*, 1947  
Mixed intaglio  
45.6 x 30.3  
Library of Congress

27. *The Cage*, 1946  
Mixed intaglio on photoengraved  
plate  
17.3 x 12.5  
Library of Congress

#### **Harriet Berger**, American

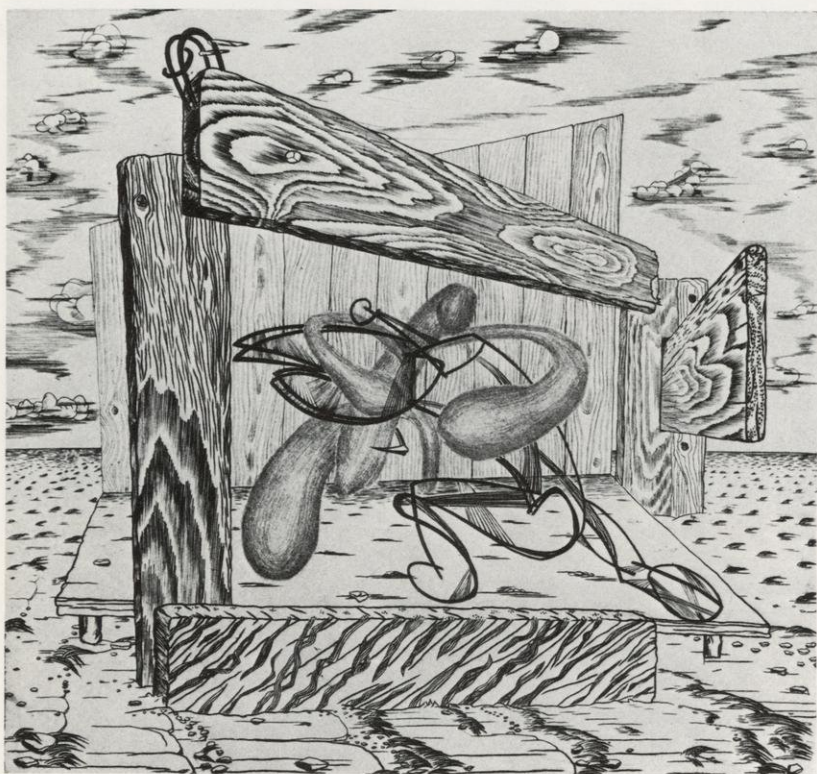
- \*28. *Figures in a Garden*, 1948  
Engraving and aquatint  
25.4 x 44.4  
Collection of The Brooklyn Museum,  
50.31

#### **Louise Bourgeois**, American (b. France)

29. *He Disappeared Into Complete  
Silence*, Plate III, 1947  
Engraving  
17.3 x 13.7  
The Museum of Modern Art, New  
York. Purchase

30. *Brunidor Portfolio*, 1947
- a. Max Ernst, German  
"Les Correspondences Dangereuses" (illustrated)  
Drypoint  
30 x 22.5  
Library of Congress
  - b. Joan Miró, Spanish  
"Little Girl Skipping Rope, Women Birds" (illustrated)  
Etching and aquatint  
30 x 22.6  
Library of Congress

Also included in the *Brunidor Portfolio* are prints by Hayter, Lam, Matta, Seligmann, and Tanguy.



25. Roger Vieillard, *Jacob et l'Ange*, 1936

**Letterio Calapai, American**

- \*31. *Celestial Counterpoint*, 1948  
Engraving, aquatint and woodcut;  
intaglio plus color stencil printing  
44.4 x 40.2  
The Artist
32. *Dream of the Unforeseen*, 1947  
Engraving and etching  
30.1 x 44.6  
The Artist

**Alexander Calder, American**

- \*33. *The Big I*, 1944 (illustrated)  
Soft-ground etching  
17.5 x 22.5  
Free Library of Philadelphia

**Minna Citron, American**

34. *Marine*, 1948  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
15.6 x 22.9  
The Artist
- \*35. *Squid Under Pier*, 1948  
Mixed intaglio; multiple plate and  
stencil color printing  
37.5 x 45.7  
The Artist

**Edward Countey, American**

- \*36. *The Islander*, 1951 (illustrated)  
Etching with relief color  
22 x 30.1  
The Artist

**Ruth Cyril, American**

37. *Unspoken Words*, 1949  
Etching and engraving  
34.9 x 17.5  
Prints Division, The New York Public  
Library, Astor, Lenox & Tilden  
Foundations

**Salvador Dali, Spanish**

38. *St. George and the Dragon*, 1947  
Etching  
45.2 x 28.8  
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift  
of the Print Club of Cleveland

**Worden Day, American**

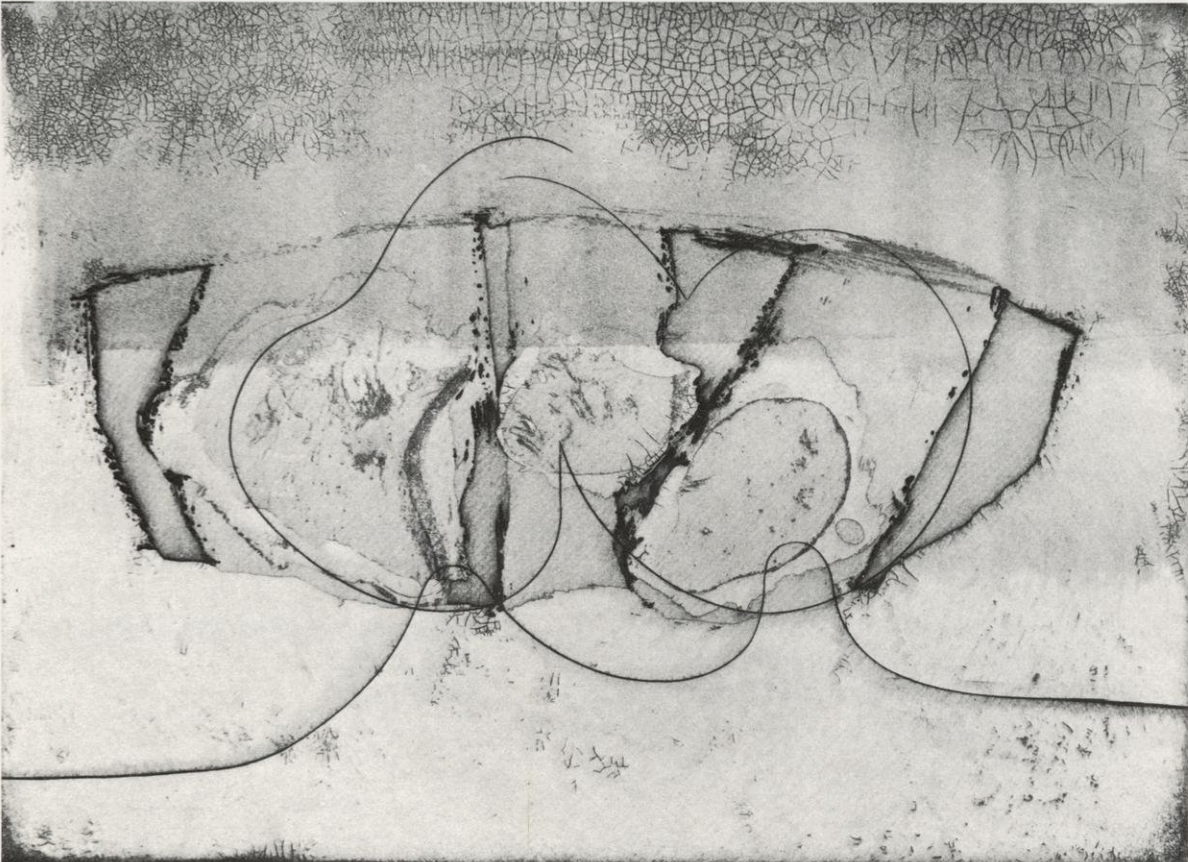
39. *Terra Incognita*, 1951  
Engraving and color woodcut  
35.1 x 42.5  
Library of Congress

**Dorothy Dehner, American**

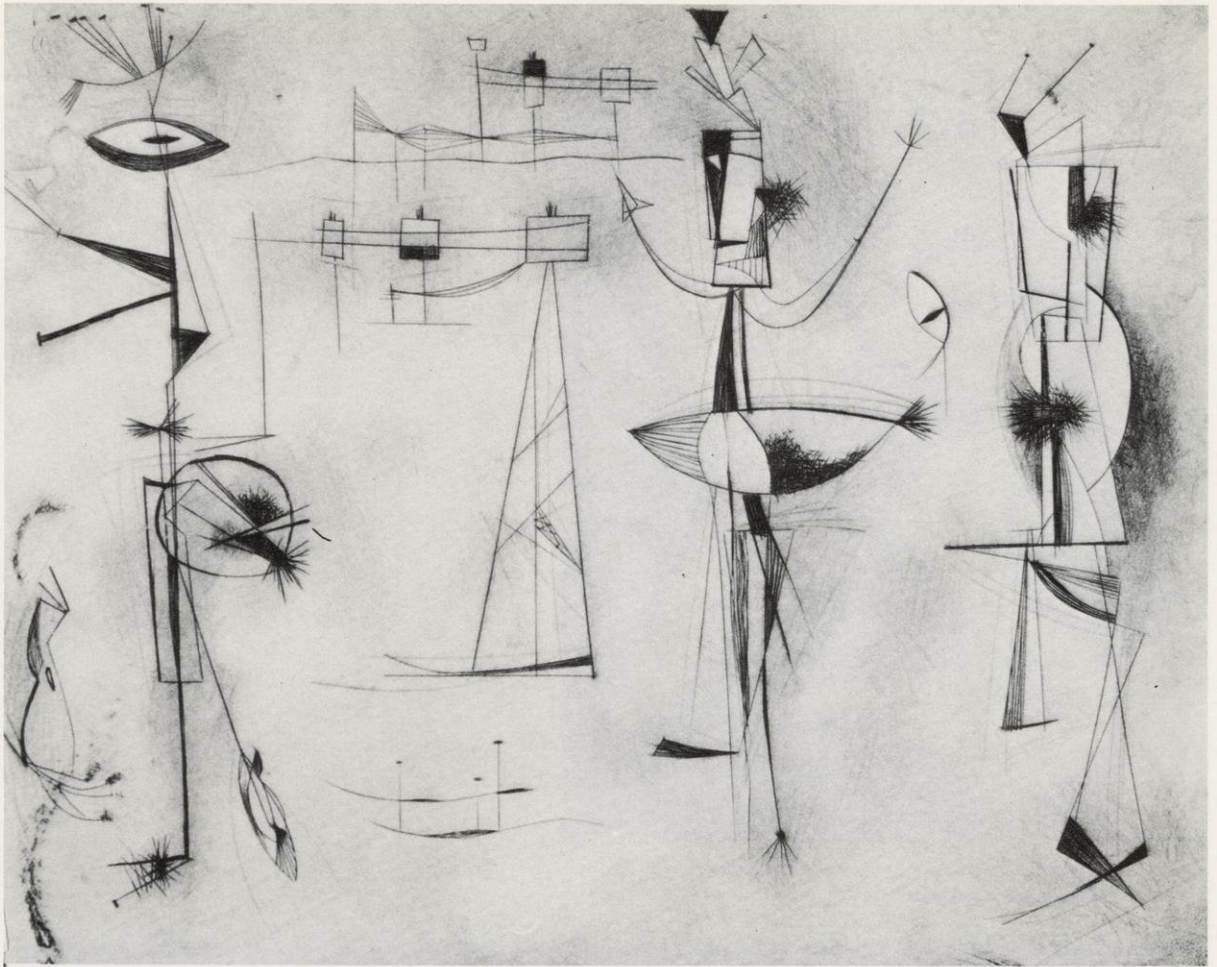
40. *Aerial to Infinity*, 1955  
Engraving  
27.5 x 34.3  
The Artist
- \*41. *Figures in Landscape*, 1955  
(illustrated)  
Engraving and roulette  
22.4 x 30.1  
The Artist



30a. Max Ernst, "Les Correspondences Dangereuses," from the *Brunidor Portfolio*, 1947



36. Edward County, *Islander*, 1951



41. Dorothy Dehner, *Figures in Landscape*, 1955

**Christine Engler, American**

\*42. *Dance of India*

Engraving; multiple plate color  
printing  
22.9 x 14.7  
Private Collection

\*43. *Drum Dance of Manipur*

Engraving and lift-ground etching;  
multiple plate color printing  
22.5 x 15.1  
Private Collection

**Sue Fuller, American**

\*44. *Cacophony*, 1944

a. Garlic bag with threads  
rearranged; 31.5 x 21  
b. Soft-ground etching; 30.3 x 22.2  
c. Soft and hard-ground etching; 30  
x 22.3 (illustrated)  
The Artist

\*45. *Sailor's Dream*, 1944

a. Open network of assorted string,  
thread, ribbon  
b. Soft-ground etching  
22.5 x 14.9  
The Artist

**Peter Grippe, American**

\*46. *Bird Stalks Man*, 1946

Engraving  
37.7 x 44.2  
The Artist

**Salvatore Grippi, American**

\*47. *Death from the Sky*, 1953

(illustrated)  
Lift-ground etching and engraving  
40.6 x 55.2  
The Artist



47. Salvatore Grippi, *Death from the Sky*, 1953

48. *The Death of the Niobids, II*, 1952  
Lift-ground etching and engraving  
27 x 31.7  
The Artist

**Josè Guerrero**, American (b. Spain)

- \*49. *Number 6*, 1950  
Engraving and etching  
22.2 x 30.2  
Collection of The Brooklyn Museum,  
51.39

**Terry Haass**, American (resides in France)

50. *Oslofjord*  
Engraving  
10.2 x 45.1  
Collection of The Brooklyn Museum,  
53.33

**Stanley William Hayter**, British

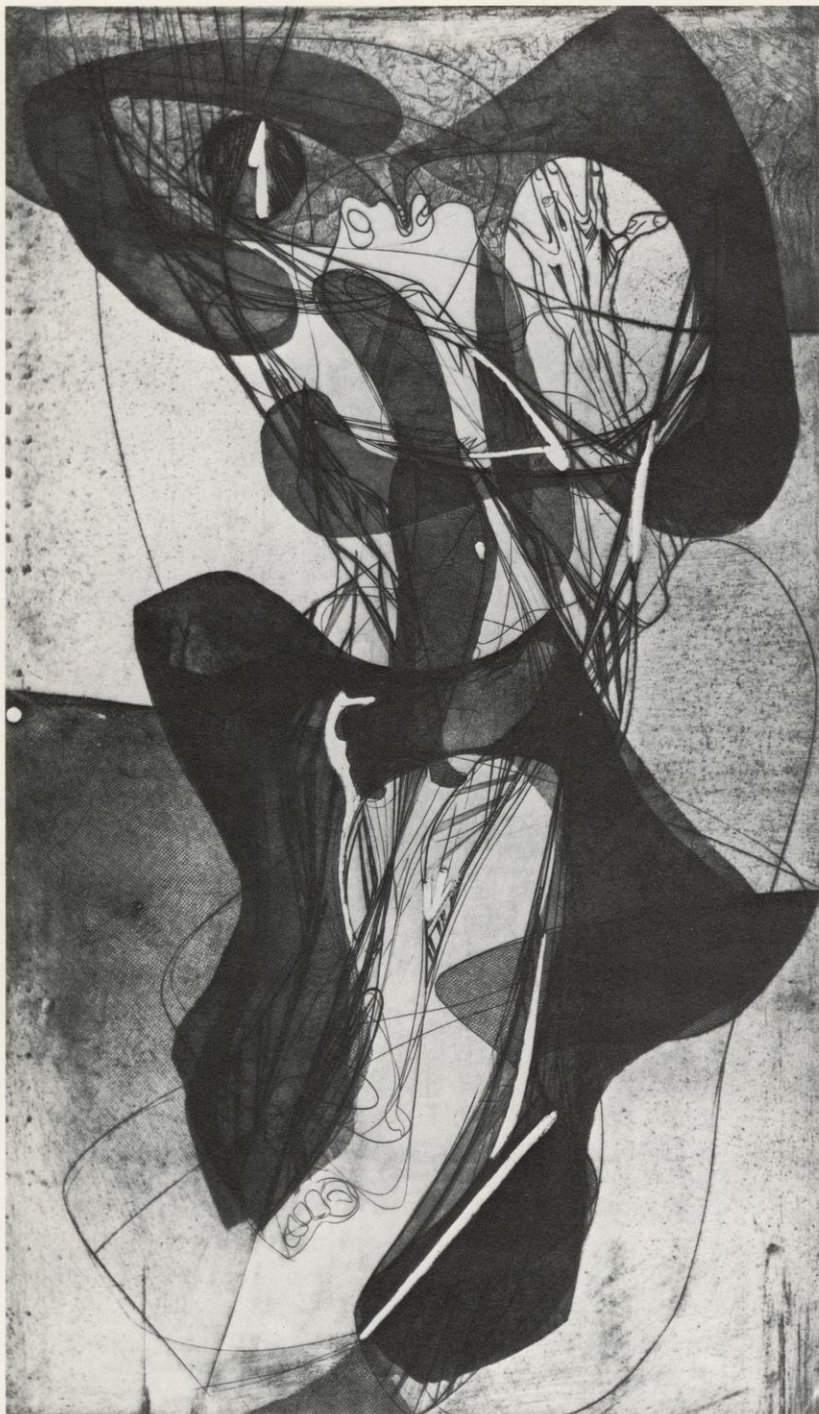
- \*51. *Amazon*, 1945  
Engraving  
62.9 x 40.3  
F. M. Hall Collection, University of  
Nebraska Art Galleries—Lincoln

- \*52. *Angels Wrestling*, 1950  
Engraving and soft-ground etching  
42.6 x 35.2  
The Art Institute of Chicago: The  
Print and Drawing Club Fund,  
1961.394 (RX 3541)

- \*53. *Cinq Personnages*, 1946 (illustrated)  
Engraving and soft-ground etching;  
simultaneous color printing with  
stencils  
37.8 x 60.7  
Mr. and Mrs. Mark L. Hooper

54. *Personnage Virtuelle*, 1947  
Engraving and etching  
29.9 x 22.5  
Library of Congress

- \*55. *Tarantelle*, 1943 (illustrated)  
Etching  
55 x 32.9  
Free Library of Philadelphia



55. S. W. Hayter, *Tarantelle*, 1943

**Stanley William Hayter**, British and  
**Joseph Hecht**, Polish

- \*56. *La Noyée*, 1946 (illustrated)  
Engraving  
34.8 x 44  
Lotte Jacobi

**Ian Hugo**, American

- \*57. *Seer of the Mountain*, 1946
  - a. Engraving; 25 x 20.2
  - b. Plaster; 25.4 x 20.3
  - c. Copper plate; 25 x 20.2
 Associated American Artists

- \*58. *Under a Glass Bell*, 1944 (illustrated)
  - a. Engraving and soft-ground etching; 25.2 x 30
  - b. Engraving and soft-ground etching, printed in relief; 25.3 x 30.5
  - c. Copper plate; 25.2 x 30.5
 Associated American Artists

**Raymond Jordan**, American

- 59. *Cosmic World*, 1949  
Etching and engraving  
45.7 x 34.9  
Prints Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox & Tilden Foundations

**Reuben Kadish**, American

- 60. *Job (Nightbird)*, 1945  
Mixed intaglio  
24.6 x 34.3  
The Artist

- \*61. *Lilith*, 1945 (illustrated)  
Etching and aquatint  
34.8 x 25  
The Artist

**Leo Katz**, Austrian

- 62. *Pegasus*, 1945  
Engraving and etching  
25 x 30.3  
Library of Congress

**Mar Jean Kettunen**, American

- \*63. *Heavy Bird*, 1950  
Engraving  
45.4 x 49.2  
Collection of The Brooklyn Museum, 50.25

**James Kleege**, American

- \*64. *Animals and Insects*, 1952  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
30 x 25  
The Artist



61. Reuben Kadish, *Lilith*, 1945



65. *Time of the Whale*, 1952  
Etching and engraving; intaglio inking  
plus relief color  
34.7 x 15  
The Artist

**Mauricio Lasansky**, Argentine (resides in  
U.S.)

66. *Doma*, 1944 (illustrated)  
Engraving  
50.2 x 35.2  
Library of Congress
- \*67. *Self-Portrait*, 1945  
Engraving  
30.3 x 25.1  
The University of Iowa Museum of Art
- \*68. *Sol y luna*, 1945  
Mixed intaglio  
40.3 x 53  
The University of Iowa Museum of Art

**Jacques Lipchitz**, American

- \*69. *Theseus*, c. 1944 (illustrated)  
Etching, engraving and liquid-ground  
aquatint  
35.1 x 28.4  
The Art Institute of Chicago: The  
Joseph Brooks Fair Collection,  
1944.588 (R 8232)

**Reginald Marsh**, American

70. *Coney Island Beach*, 1940  
Engraving  
24.9 x 30  
Philadelphia Museum of Art: Given  
by Reginald Marsh

**Ezio Martinelli**, American

- \*71. *Bog*, 1952  
Etching; stencil in color  
44.2 x 30.2  
The Brooklyn Museum: Dick S.  
Ramsey Fund, 55.136.2
- \*72. *Frammenti*, 1946  
Engraving and soft-ground etching  
45.1 x 22.7  
The Artist

73. *Parade*, 1945  
Engraving and etching  
19.9 x 45  
The Artist

**Alice Trumbull Mason**, American

- \*74. *Indicative Displacement*, 1947  
Soft-ground etching  
26.7 x 40.3  
Collection of The Brooklyn Museum,  
48.48

**André Masson**, French

- \*75. *Dream of a Future Desert*, 1942  
Etching and drypoint  
47.6 x 61.9  
David Tunick
- \*76. *Improvisation*, 1943 (illustrated)  
Drypoint, aquatint and lift-ground  
etching  
19.9 x 15.2  
The University of Iowa Museum of  
Art
- \*77. *Le Génie de l'Espèce*, 1942  
Etching  
36.8 x 27.3  
David Tunick



84. Louise Nevelson, *Jungle Figures*, 1952-53



88. Jackson Pollock, *Untitled*, 1944-45

\*78. *Rape (Rapt)*, 1941  
 Drypoint  
 30.8 x 40.6  
 The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Lent anonymously

\*81. *Femme et Oiseau devant la Lune*, 1947  
 Etching  
 11.4 x 14.8  
 Philadelphia Museum of Art: Print Club Permanent Collection

**MATTA (Sebastian Echaurren), Chilean**

\*79. *Untitled*, 1942-43  
 Drypoint  
 20 x 25.1  
 Timothy Baum, New York

\*82. *Illustrated Poem by Ruthven Todd*, 1947 (illustrated)  
 Relief etching; simultaneous color printing  
 17.2 x 13.7  
 New York, Private Collection

**Joan Miró, Spanish**

\*80. *Composition No. 2*  
 Soft-ground etching  
 12.4 x 14.9  
 Collection of The Brooklyn Museum, 47.209.2

**Norma Morgan, American**

\*83. *Granite Tor*, 1955  
 Engraving and stiple engraving  
 37.8 x 44.5  
 The Artist

**Louise Nevelson, American**

\*84. *Jungle Figures*, 1952-53 (illustrated)  
 Etching  
 59.2 x 50  
 Pace Editions, Inc.



95. Karl Schrag, *Rain and the Sea*, 1946



98. Pierre Alechinsky, *Les Ombres*, 1952

**George Ortman, American**

85. *Dream*, 1949  
Etching  
24.8 x 20  
Prints Division, The New York Public  
Library, Astor, Lenox & Tilden  
Foundations

**Jackson Pollock, American**

- \*86. *Untitled*, 1944-45  
Engraving and drypoint  
30.5 x 25.1  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Lee  
Krasner Pollock, 75.213.1
- \*87. *Untitled*, 1944-45  
Engraving and drypoint  
30.5 x 22.5  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Lee  
Krasner Pollock, 75.213.4
- \*88. *Untitled*, 1944-45 (illustrated)  
Engraving and drypoint  
38.1 x 45.1  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Lee  
Krasner Pollock, 75.213.6

- \*89. *Untitled*, 1944-45  
Engraving and drypoint  
40.3 x 60.3  
The Brooklyn Museum: Gift of Lee  
Krasner Pollock, 75.213.7

**André Racz, American (b. Rumania)**

- \*90. *Perseus Beheading Medusa I*, 1944  
Etching and engraving  
54.5 x 37.6  
The Artist
- \*91. *Perseus Beheading Medusa IV*, 1945  
(illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio  
54.8 x 37.6  
The Artist

**Abraham Rattner, American**

- \*92. *Crucifixion*, 1947 (illustrated)  
a. States I-IV: engraving and aquatint  
15.1 x 20.1  
b. Copper plate, 15.2 x 20.3  
The Artist

**Alfred Russell**, American

93. *The Frontier*, 1949  
Engraving, soft and hard-ground  
etching, and offset color  
30.2 x 40.3  
Collection of The Brooklyn Museum,  
50.32

**Karl Schrag**, American (b. Germany)

- \*94. *Night Wind*, 1946 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio in two colors  
37.5 x 27.8  
Syracuse University Art Collection
- \*95. *Rain and the Sea*, 1946 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio  
37.8 x 27.8  
Syracuse University Art Collection

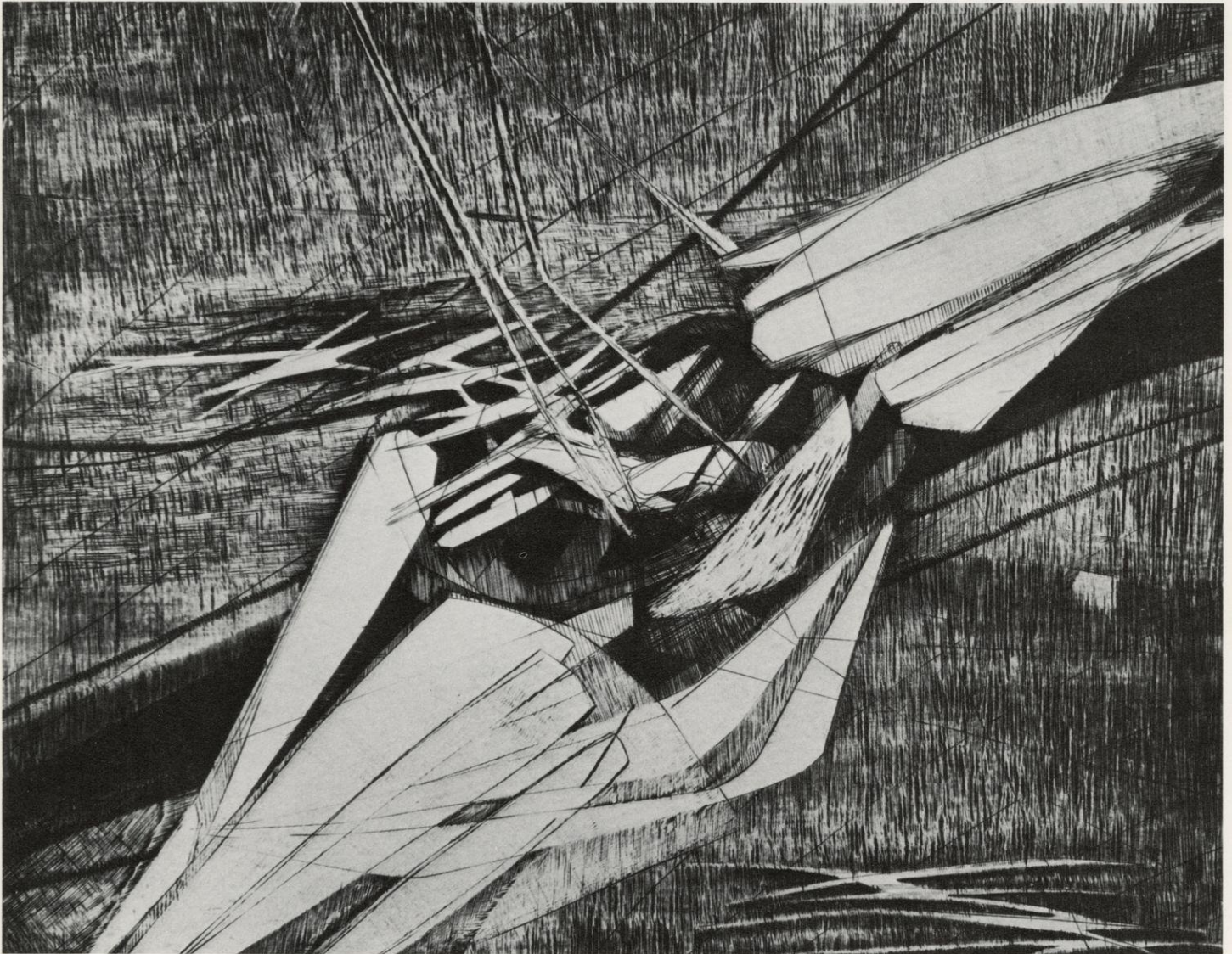
**Doris Seidler**, British (resides in U.S.)

96. *Forum*, 1951  
Engraving and drypoint  
35.2 x 27.7  
The Artist

### 1950-1976: Paris

**Pierre Alechinsky**, Belgian

- \*97. *Ecritures*, 1952  
Etching and lift-ground  
14.9 x 34  
Lefebvre Gallery, New York
- \*98. *Les Ombres*, 1952 (illustrated)  
Lift-ground etching  
20.8 x 26.2  
Lefebvre Gallery, New York



103. Anne Brevik, *In Orbit*, 1964

**George Ball, American**

- \*99. *Confins*, 1960-61 (illustrated)  
Engraving  
44.7 x 44.6  
The Artist

**Dipak Banerjee, Indian**

100. *Study III*, 1967  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
39.4 x 48.6  
The Artist

**Isolde Baumgart, German**

- \*101. *La Tentation de St. Antoine*, 1960  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
38.7 x 38.4  
Atelier 17

**Frank Cassara, American**

105. *Della Terra*, 1964  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
43.5 x 70.3  
The Artist

**Jennifer Dickson, South African (resides in  
Canada)**

- \*106. *Descente*, 1961  
Mixed intaglio; relief color printing  
45.2 x 24.9  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection



104. Robert Cale, *Fish*, 1969

**Walter Benedict, American**

102. *Composition*, 1961  
Etching; simultaneous color printing  
39.5 x 29.7  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection

**Anne Breivik, Norwegian**

- \*103. *In Orbit*, 1964 (illustrated)  
Etching and engraving  
27.3 x 34.3  
Jacques Baruch Gallery

**Robert Cale, American**

- \*104. *Fish*, 1969 (illustrated)  
Soft-ground etching; printed in color  
relief  
10.9 x 54.4  
Atelier 17

**Juan Downey, Chilean**

107. *Interieur*, 1963  
Mixed intaglio, simultaneous color  
printing  
34.7 x 41.5  
Atelier 17

**Gündüz Gölönü, Turkish**

- \*108. *My Town*, 1970  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
49.2 x 35.3  
Atelier 17



112. S. W. Hayter, *La Raie*, 1957

**Sergio Gonzalez-Tornero**, Chilean (resides in U.S.)

109. *L'aube*, 1960  
Etching; simultaneous color printing  
38.5 x 38.4  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection

- \* 110. *VB*, 1961  
a. Drypoint with scraper; 39.4 x 34.6  
b. Zinc plate; 40 x 34.8  
The Artist

**Shoichi Hasegawa**, Japanese

- \* 111. *L'éveil du printemps*  
Cut-plate, mixed intaglio;  
simultaneous color printing  
24.9 x 39.4  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection

**Stanley William Hayter**, British

- \* 112. *La Raie*, 1957 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
29.6 x 36.9  
Mr. and Mrs. Mark L. Hooper

- \* 113. *Pillars*, 1974  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
58.8 x 43.1  
Mr. and Mrs. Mark L. Hooper

- \* 114. *Vague de Fond*, 1965  
Soft-ground etching; intaglio plus relief inking  
39.4 x 49.4  
Mr. and Mrs. Mark L. Hooper



120. Paula Litsky, *La Derrive*, 1975

**Jon Hendricks, American**

- \* 115. 64-9  
Drypoint  
48.9 x 39.8  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection

**Lawrence Heyman, American**

- \* 116. *Village*, 1961  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
33.6 x 43.1  
Associated American Artists

**Richard Lacroix, Canadian**

117. *La Feuillée*, 1963  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
61.3 x 62.1  
The Artist

**Adriano Lambe, Argentine (resides in U.S.)**

- \* 118. *Brevísimo instante en la agitación de  
un rincón cerebral*, 1972  
Engraving  
64.2 x 48.7  
Atelier 17

**Shiou-Ping Liao, Chinese**

119. *Gates of Justice*, 1970  
Shaped-plate, mixed intaglio plus  
relief color printing  
58.6 x 35.6  
Atelier 17

**Paula Litsky, American**

- \* 120. *La Derrive*, 1975 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio; multiple plate color  
printing  
42.9 x 63.2  
Atelier 17

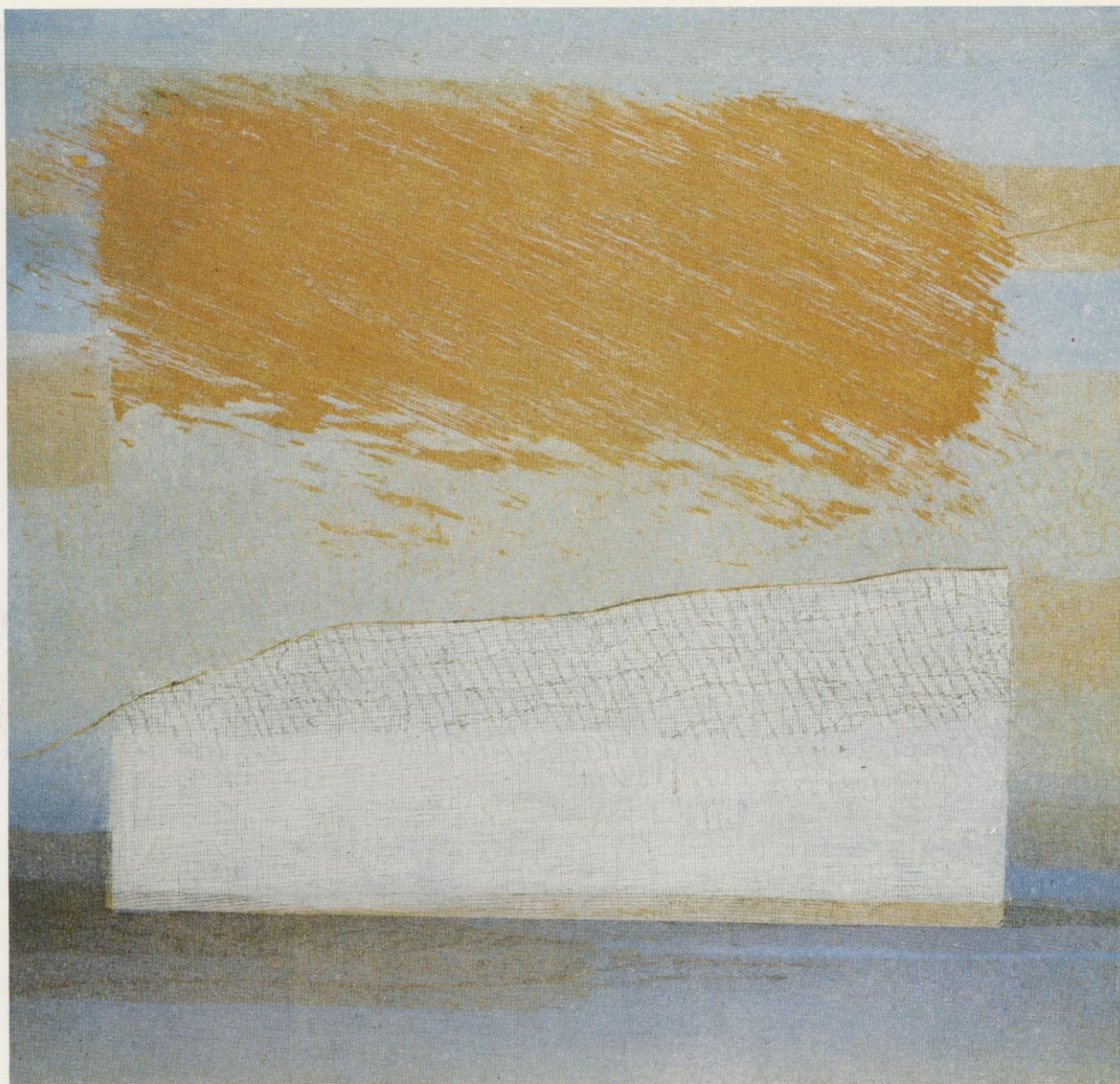
**Charles Lloyd, Australian (resides in U.K.)**

121. *Untitled*, 1964  
Aquatint and etching; simultaneous  
color printing  
19.5 x 13.1  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection

**Jean Lodge, American (resides in France)**

- \* 122. *Jeux de Lumière*, 1969  
Aquatint; multiple plate color printing  
47.5 x 46.9  
Atelier 17





123. Jane Low-Beer, *Summer Landscape*, 1974

**Jane Low-Beer**, Canadian

- \*123. *Summer Landscape*, 1974  
 (illustrated)  
 Etching and soft-ground; multiple  
 plate color printing plus relief inking  
 38.6 x 39.6  
 Atelier 17

**Joann Maier**, American

124. *Trunk*, 1962  
 Etching and aquatint  
 42.7 x 39.4  
 The Artist

**Ilan Mann**, Israeli

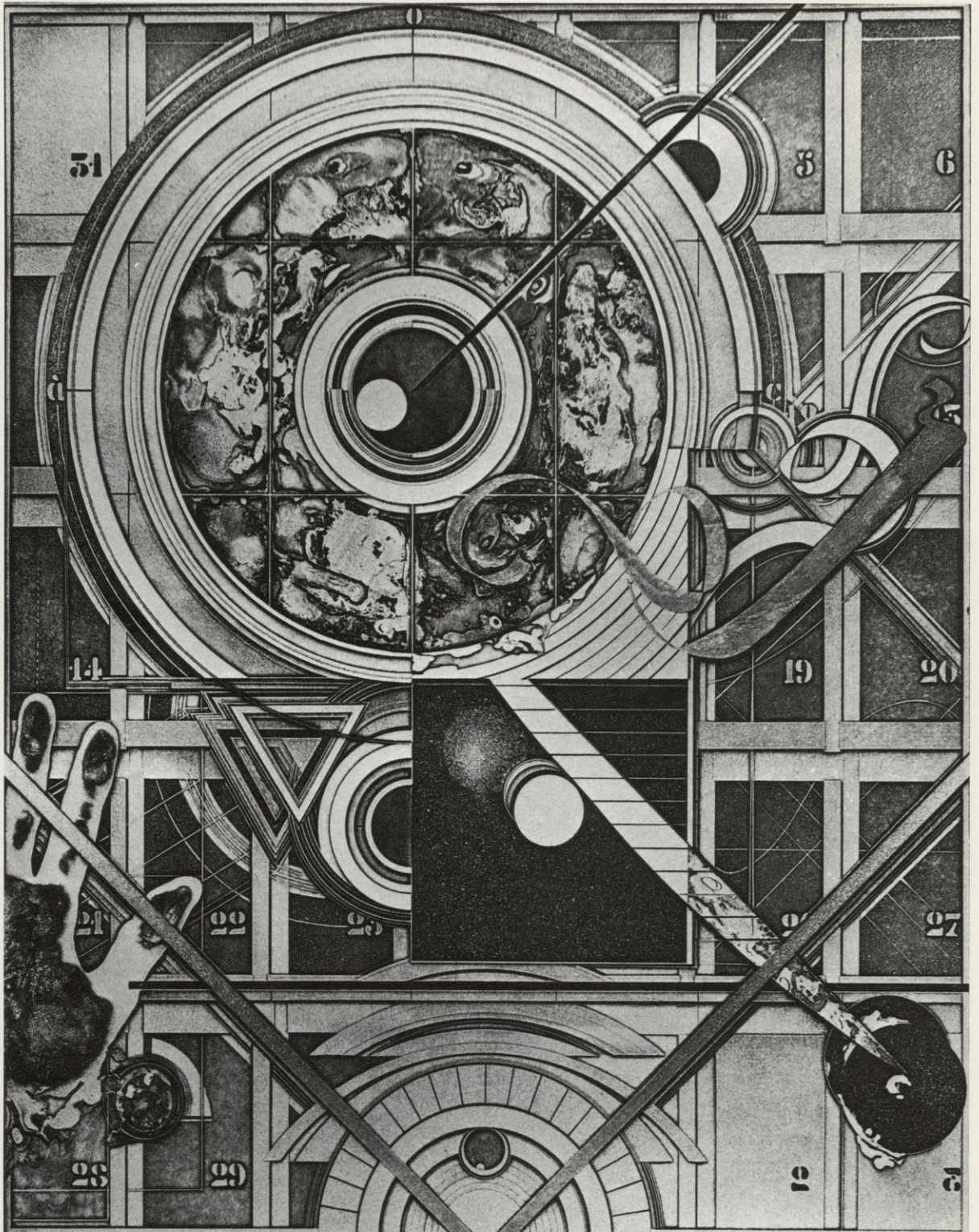
125. *Happening—9—*, 1971  
 Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
 printing  
 59 x 39  
 Atelier 17

**Lil Michaelis**, French

- \*126. *L'ombre de l'arbre*, 1964  
 Etching and engraving; simultaneous  
 color printing  
 24.7 x 29.6  
 The Artist



131. Kisaburo Ono, *Vivre*, 1969



132. Shoichi Ono, *Today and Yesterday*, 1976

**James Paul Monson**, American

- \*127. *L'Alchimiste*, 1974  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
48.7 x 63.4  
Atelier 17

**George Nama**, American

128. *Untitled diptych*, 1966  
Etching and aquatint; hand-colored  
22.5 x 35.7  
Associated American Artists

**Norman Narotzky**, American (resides in  
Spain)

129. *Red Moon*, 1955  
Engraving; intaglio plus relief printing  
24.9 x 36.5  
The Artist

**Yoshiko Noma**, Japanese

130. *Mizu II*, 1961  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
47.1 x 29.5  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection

**Kisaburo Ono**, Japanese

- \*131. *Vivre*, 1969 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio, simultaneous color  
printing  
48.2 x 39.2  
Atelier 17

**Shoichi Ono**, Japanese

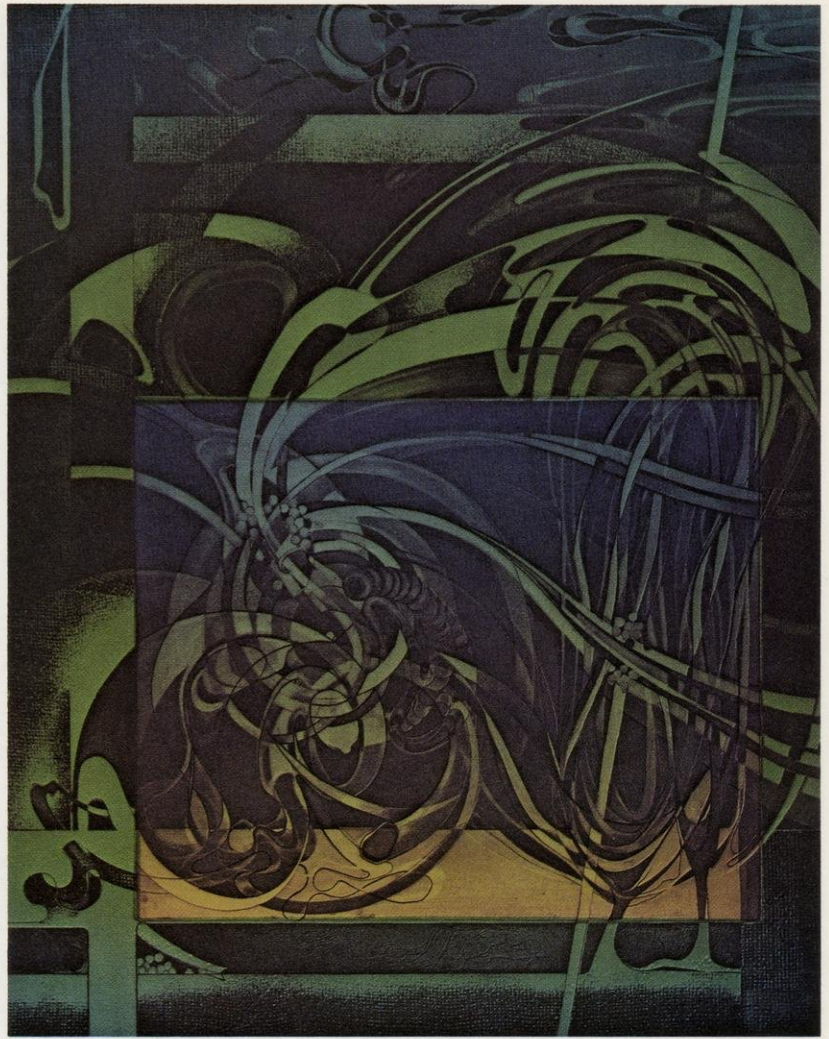
- \*132. *Today and Yesterday*, 1976  
(illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio plus relief inking  
53.6 x 42.9  
Atelier 17

**Karen Parker**, American

- \*133. *Contortion*, 1975 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio; multiple plate and  
simultaneous color printing  
48.9 x 39.5  
Atelier 17

**Ronald P. Penkoff**, American

134. *Venus I*, 1967  
Mixed intaglio  
64.8 x 45.7  
Mr. and Mrs. Philip Rozga



133. Karen Parker, *Contortion*, 1975

**Roland Petersen**, American (b. Denmark)

- \*135. *Autumn Picnic*, 1963 (illustrated)  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
44.2 x 54.5  
The Artist

**Claude Pigot-Pelletier**, French

136. *Le soleil et mon ombre*, 1969  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color  
printing  
66 x 50  
The Artist

**Roger Platiel**, French

- \*137. *Les grands et les petits*, 1973  
(illustrated)  
Aquatint and etching; multiple plate  
color printing  
39.4 x 48.6  
The Artist



135. Roland Petersen, *Autumn Picnic*, 1963

**Krishna Reddy, East Indian**

- \* 138. *Falling Figure*, 1972 (illustrated)
  - a. Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
33.7 x 44.1
  - b. Zinc plate; 33.9 x 45

- 139. *Germination*, c. 1972  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
30.5 x 44.2  
Madison Art Center

**Hector Saunier, Argentine**

- \* 140. *Columpio*, 1976  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
49.3 x 48.8  
The Artist

**Gail Singer, American (resides in France)**

- \* 141. *Untitled*  
Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
34.5 x 28.7  
Dickson/Sweetman Collection



137. Roger Platiel, *Les grands et les petits*, 1973

**Walter Sorge**, Canadian  
 142. *Untitled*, 1961  
 Lift-ground etching  
 49.3 x 59.4  
 Dickson/Sweetman Collection

**Tobie Steinhouse**, Canadian  
 143. *Subterranean—Summer*, 1962  
 Etching  
 31.5 x 39  
 The Artist

**Dick Swift**, American  
 144. *L'Esprit Inaperçu*, 1963  
 Etching and embossment;  
 simultaneous color printing  
 49.2 x 39.7  
 The Artist

**Maltby Sykes**, American  
 145. *Icarus*, 1953  
 States I and II: engraving and soft-ground  
 State III: engraving, soft-ground and aquatint plus relief color  
 State IV: engraving, soft-ground and aquatint plus relief color, double printed  
 40.3 x 30.1  
 The Artist

**Tai**, Chinese  
 \*146. *Untitled*, 1974  
 Mixed intaglio; simultaneous color printing  
 39.4 x 48  
 Atelier 17

**Citra Tatang**, Indonesian

\* 147. *Poisson, Fossile dans L'Espace Bleu*, 1975

Cut-plate mixed intaglio plus relief inking

32.7 x 31.4

Atelier 17

**Eugenio Tellez**, Canadian (b. Chile)

148. *Untitled*

Mixed intaglio; relief printing

34.3 x 38.9

Dickson/Sweetman Collection

\* 149. *21 Etching and Poems*, published 1960

Mixed intaglio

a. Pierre Alechinsky, "Poem" by Dotremont; 34.4 x 24.7

b. Peter Grippe, "The Hand that Signed the Paper Felled a City" by Dylan Thomas; 34.8 x 30

c. Stanley William Hayter, "Poem" by Jacques-Henry L vesque; 28.8 x 19.4

d. Helen Phillips, "Poem" by Andr  Verdet; 34.3 x 29.7



152. Dadi Wirz, *Krischona*, 1951

e. Louis Schanker, "Most Often in the Night" by Harold Norse; 34.9 x 24.4

Also included in this portfolio are prints by Fred Becker ("To Yeats in Rapallo" by T. Weiss), Ben-Zion ("The Faithful One" by David Ignatow), Letterio Calapai ("To a Poor Old Woman" by William Carlos Williams), Willem DeKooning ("Revenge" by Harold Rosenberg), Salvatore Grippi ("Mind" by Richard Wilbur), Franz Kline ("Poem" by Frank O'Hara), Jacques Lipchitz ("Gedicht" by Hans Sahl), Ezio Martinelli ("The Blue Waterfall" by Horace Gregory), Ben Nicholson ("Tenement" by Herbert Read), I. Rice Pereira ("Omega" by George Reavey), André Racz ("Aubade-Harlem" by Thomas Merton), Kurt Roesch ("Underworld" by Alastair Reid), Attilio Salemme ("Tiresias" by Morris Weisenthal), Karl Schrag ("Fiercely, Lady, Do We Ride" by David Lougee), Esteban Vicente ("Nostalgia" by Peter Viereck), Adja Yunkers ("Praise to the End!" by Theodore Roethke).

Associated American Artists

**Raoul Ubac**, Belgian (resides in France)

- \* 150. *Untitled*, 1953  
Monotype  
47.3 x 58.5  
Atelier 17

**Richard Upton**, American

151. *Portrait*, 1965  
Lift-ground and soft-ground etching;  
multiple plate color printing  
62.5 x 49.5  
The Artist

**Dadi Wirz**, Swiss (resides in U.S.)

- \* 152. *Krischona*, 1951 (illustrated)  
Aquatint and deep-bite etching;  
simultaneous color printing  
15.6 x 17.5  
The Artist

153. *St. Marquerite*, 1951  
Aquatint and etching; multiple plate  
color printing  
15.5 x 17.6  
The Artist

**Barbara Kaplan**, American

154. *A Room*, 1971  
Etching and aquatint  
29 x 29.5  
The Artist





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# Artists Who Have Worked At Atelier 17

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The following list of artists who have worked at Atelier 17 has been compiled largely from exhibition catalogues. Additional names have been supplied by Stanley William Hayter. During the course of personal interviews, the author asked the artists to recall the names of their former colleagues at the workshop. Once a substantial list had been established, questionnaires prepared for this exhibition were sent to those artists who could not be interviewed in person.

Attempts have been made to verify the accuracy of this list. The author recognizes that it is incomplete. Nonetheless, this compilation represents the most complete

group of names gathered to date. Since no written records of the membership of Atelier 17 have been kept, it has been impossible to determine the exact dates when an artist was at the workshop. Moreover, some artists could not remember precisely when they had been members of the workshop. Hence three general, chronological categories, corresponding to the three main phases in the history of Atelier 17, have been used to give a general indication of the period when an artist was associated with the workshop.

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## 1927-1939: Paris

Jankel Adler  
Rose Adler  
Werner von Alvensleben  
Flora Blanc  
Victor Brauner  
Sergio Brignoni  
John Buckland-Wright  
Massimo Campigli  
Anita de Caro  
Oscar Dominguez  
Max Ernst  
Phillip Evergood  
Feder  
John Ferren  
Leonor Fini  
Alberto Giacometti  
Richard Gump  
Stanley William Hayter  
Joseph Hecht  
Richard Hollander

Dalla Husband  
Buffie Johnson  
Maximillian Kolos-Vari  
Elvira Kourjoudjian  
Georges Lecoq-Vallon  
Loezenstein  
Hope Manchester  
Marton  
Salvatore Mayo  
Roderick Mead  
Joan Miró  
Mocquot  
Nina Negri  
Taro Okamoto  
Jeanne Bieruma Oosting  
O'Toole  
Wolfgang Paalen  
Gabor Peterdi  
Helen Phillips  
Anton Prinner  
Siri Rathsmann  
Dickson Reeder

Dolf Rieser  
David Smith  
Ferdinand Springer  
Hedda Sterne  
Arpad Szenes  
Yves Tanguy  
Julian Trevelyan  
Raoul Ubac  
André Vallon  
Luis Vargas  
Roger Vieillard  
Marie-Helene Vieira da Silva  
Mary Wykeham

## 1940-1955: New York

Ellen Abbey  
E.B. Adam  
Adolf Aldrich  
Garó Antreasian  
Nemencio Antunez

Irene "Fif" Aronson  
 Lily Ascher  
 Margaret Balzer  
 William Baziotes  
 Frederick G. Becker  
 Bens  
 Ben-Zion  
 Harriet Berger (Nurkse)  
 Isabel Bishop  
 Grace Borgnicht  
 Louise Bourgeois  
 Paul Brach  
 Cynthia Brandts  
 Theodore Brenson  
 Robert Broner  
 Letterio Calapai  
 Alexander Calder  
 Sylvia Carewe  
 Marc Chagall  
 Margaret Cilento  
 Minna Citron  
 Le Corbusier  
 Ed Countey  
 Ruth Cyril  
 Salvador Dali  
 Worden Day  
 Dorothy Dehner  
 William de Kooning  
 Sari Dienes  
 Werner Drewes  
 Virginia Dudley  
 Carlos Dyer  
 Thomas Eldred  
 Christine Engler  
 Francine Felsenthal  
 Perle Fine  
 James Flora  
 Teresa Fourpome  
 Jean Franckson  
 Friedrich Friedel  
 Sue Fuller  
 Robert Gardner  
 Jan Gelb  
 Milton Gendel  
 James Goetz  
 Douglas Gorsline  
 Peter Grippe  
 Salvatore Grippi  
 Josè Guerrero  
 Alan Gussow  
 Terry Haass  
 Stanley William Hayter  
 Joseph Heil  
 Anita Heiman  
 Fannie Hillsmith  
 Harry Hoehn  
 Harry Holtzman

Reuben Kadish  
 Sam Kaner  
 Philip Kaplan  
 Leon Karp  
 Leo Katz  
 Mar Jean Kettunen  
 Dina Kevles (Baker)  
 Kenneth Killstrom  
 James Kleege  
 Chaim Koppelman  
 Wilfredo Lam  
 Armin Landeck  
 Mauricio Lasansky  
 Ruth Leaf  
 Jacques Lipchitz  
 Ryah Ludens  
 Malazinshas  
 Reginald Marsh  
 Ezio Martinelli  
 Maria Martins  
 Alice Trumbull Mason  
 André Masson  
 Matta (Sebastian Antonio  
 Echaurren)  
 Ian Hugo  
 Lotte Jacobi  
 Raymond Jordan  
 Richard Meyers  
 Joan Miró  
 Frances Mitchell  
 David Moore  
 Norma Morgan  
 Jean Morrison  
 Robert Motherwell  
 Seong Moy  
 Lee Mullican  
 Louise Nevelson  
 Hubert Norton  
 Lillian Orloff  
 George Ortman  
 Vevean Oviette  
 Harold Paris  
 Robert Andrew Parker  
 Joellen Peet  
 Irene Rice Pereira  
 Gabor Peterdi  
 Dmitri Petrov  
 Helen Phillips  
 Ron Pierson  
 Philip D. Platt  
 Jackson Pollock  
 Joseph Presser  
 Lucia Quintero  
 André Racz  
 Abraham Rattner  
 Henry Regis  
 Jean-Paul Riopelle

Kurt Roesch  
 Louis Ross  
 Mark Rothko  
 David Ruff  
 Alfred Russell  
 Anne Ryan  
 Louis Schanker  
 Karl Schrag  
 Bess Schuyler  
 Kenneth Scott  
 Doris Seidler  
 Rufino Tamayo  
 Yves Tanguy  
 Ruthven Todd  
 Molly Tureske  
 Anne Weinholt  
 Pennerton West  
 Jonathan Williams  
 Larry Winston  
 Madeleine Wormser  
 Ana Rosa de Ycaza  
 Enriquè Zanartu

#### 1950-1976: Paris

Alton Adali  
 Sandra Adams  
 Adickes  
 Alaetin Aksoy  
 Pierre Alechinsky  
 Pierre Aleppe  
 Judith Alexander  
 Robin Alexander  
 Luce Allienet  
 A. Alston  
 H. Amekawa  
 Allen Andersen  
 Helen D'Andlau  
 J. Michael Armentrout  
 Eltan Arnon  
 Jane Aronsberg  
 Isler Asim  
 Jan Askeland  
 Nikolai Astrup  
 Marianne Aublet  
 Alfred Auer  
 Dieter Averbek  
 Gunnevar Avocaat  
 Saito Ayako  
 Earl Backen  
 Ellen Ball  
 George Ball  
 Dipak Banerjee  
 Alaim Baquet  
 Ines Barahona  
 Lawrence Barker

J. Basse  
Fiorenza Bassetti  
Kanto Batangtaris  
A. Baudry  
Isolde Baumgart  
Rene-Agass Baungartner  
Charles Beauchamp  
Fernando Benavides  
Benay-Ben  
Walter Benedict  
O. Bengisson  
Anthony Benjamin  
Berenice Benjelloun  
Natalie Benoist  
Ariane Berman  
Bernal-Ponce  
Ben Berns  
Edward Bernstein  
Ursula Beste  
John S. Bethune  
J. Birkenose  
Sabiha Bishara  
Lotte Blanchard  
Sylvie Blankenship  
Norman Blum  
Bona  
J. Bortoli  
Arun Bose  
Lya Bosi  
Alain de la Bourdonnaye  
Joan Bragen  
Herman Braun  
Silvia Braverman  
Yael Braverman  
Anne Breivik  
Françoise Bricaut  
Elaine Brieger  
Serge Brignoni  
Corinne Bronfman  
Bernard Brussel-Smith  
Domingo Bucci  
Betty Bursch  
Werner Buser  
Robert Cale  
N. Campbell-Scott  
Joaquin Capa  
Angelica Caporaso  
Jenny Caralolas  
Joel Caraux  
Delia del Carril  
Frank Cassara  
Toni Catell  
Sidney Chafetz  
Alain Charra  
Doris Chatham  
Anju Chaudhuri  
Robert Cheau

Lee Chesney  
D. Chuuy  
Lygia Clark  
Madeleine Claude-Jobrack  
Jean Clerté  
Peter Cohan  
Miguel Conde  
Josette Coras  
Guillaume Beverloo Corneille  
Françoise Coulon la Fosse  
C. Couve de Murville  
Kitty Crapster  
Clare Crossley  
Shiobhan Cuffe  
Adrienne Cullom  
C. Daly  
Klaus Danniker  
Rini Dasgupta  
Roselle Davenport  
Roberto Delamonica  
A. Delbanco  
Jennifer Dickson  
Audrey Capel Doray  
Juan Downey  
David Dreisbach  
Jane Drewbear  
Gerard Drouot  
Evelyn Dufour  
B. Edwards  
Joy Egnel  
Karin Eichner  
Avram Eilat  
Tom Eldridge  
Vieno Elomaa  
K. d'Epino  
Jimmy Ernst  
Sulaiman Esa  
Judith Escovar  
Miguel Salas Espinoza  
Handel Evans  
Fakuda  
Paul Falcone  
Juan Valladares Falen  
Claire Falkenstein  
Mario Fandino-Franky  
C. Faz  
Feder  
Nellida Fedulla  
Mariano Fernandez  
Gertrude Fish  
Veronika Flesch  
P. Fletcher  
Alice Flocon  
J. Flores  
Charles Ford  
Louise Forget  
Kurt Fors

Barbro Forslund  
Norma Fox  
Julia Frey  
Fachon Frohlich  
Lisa Gallatin  
Carlos Garcia  
Nino Garlos  
Cheryl Gellman  
Jeremy Gentilli  
Kristin Gerber  
Henry Gerstman  
Tapan Ghosh  
Jesse Gifford  
Roland Ginzel  
Ellen Glass  
Patricia de Gogorza  
Peggy Goldstein  
Leon Golub  
Gündüz Gölönü  
Lourdes Gonez-Fronca  
Sergio Gonzalez-Tornero  
Barbara Gordon  
H. Goto  
Carmen Gracia  
Anne Graciet  
Anita Greve  
Deganit Grier  
Din Grigoresco  
Kathy Grove  
Elizabeth Guggenheim  
Gullotti  
Brenda Gunn  
Hans Haacke  
Yvonne Hagen  
Everson Hall  
Yozo Hamaguchi  
D. Hamill  
Astrid Hanni  
Mary Hartman  
Sheila Hartmann  
Kiyoshi Hasegawa  
Setsuko Hasegawa  
Seitsko Hasegawa  
Shoichi Hasegawa  
Zarina Hashmi  
Hatashita  
Hatori  
Marie Havel  
Hayami  
Funio Hayashi  
David Hayes  
Stanley William Hayter  
Anne Hedegaard  
Karl von Heideken  
Jon Hendricks  
Maurice Henry  
Jacques Herold

- N. Herrera  
 Jean Hersch  
 N. Heude  
 Laurence Heyman  
 William Heydt  
 Felicity Heywood  
 Kazumi Hiasa  
 Victor Higa Higa  
 Melinda Hodges  
 John Holcomb  
 Hideo Honda  
 Kazu Honda  
 Kozuko Horiuchi  
 N. Hou  
 James Houston  
 C. Howard  
 R. Hoydoncks  
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 Marvin Israel  
 Margaret Israll-Ponce  
 Itoh  
 Toru Iwaya  
 Lotte Jacobi  
 Daphne Jaenicke  
 R. Jonsdottir  
 Jens Jensen  
 R. Jeung  
 M. Jimbo  
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 Dyke Johansson  
 J. de Jong  
 Barbara Kaplan  
 Karskaya  
 Kiroshi Katsura  
 M. Kawakami  
 Margaret Keith  
 J. Kihara  
 Yassuyuki Kihara  
 Chisaka Kijima  
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 J. Kingston  
 N. Kirby  
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 Misch Kohn  
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 Ed Koren  
 Lesley Kramer  
 L. Kraner  
 Janet Kravetz  
 B. Kunert
- I. Kuramoto  
 Françoise Labbe  
 Lorraine Laby  
 Lach  
 Richard Lacroix  
 Randall Lake  
 Elsa Lamb  
 Adriano Lambe  
 Thomas Lang  
 David Langton  
 Daniel LeBlanc  
 Julio Leparç  
 J. Lessard  
 Karin Lessing  
 Levi-Montalcini  
 Jacqueline Levy-Morelle  
 Anne Lewis  
 L'Hote  
 Shiou-Ping Liao  
 Frank Lindegaard  
 Werner Linder  
 Paula Litzky  
 Eve Livnat  
 Charles Lloyd  
 Jean Lodge  
 Thien-Shih Long  
 Loo  
 Jenny Lousada  
 Jane Low-Ber  
 Dorothy Lucas  
 A. Luna  
 Alan Lunak  
 Jan Lundgren  
 Morton Lunpert  
 J. Luttinger  
 Sheila MacFarlane  
 Pamela Macsai  
 Florence Mahdavi  
 Joann Maier  
 P. Malabry  
 Ilan Mann  
 Felicity Marshall  
 Takesada Matsutani  
 Nick de Matties  
 Aloisio Mazalhaes  
 Raymond McGowan  
 Sally McLaren  
 Roderick Mead  
 Nancy Mee  
 Dean Meeker  
 Willard Melton  
 Anat Merhav  
 Katherine Metz  
 E. Meyer  
 Sydney Meyers  
 Dominique Miault  
 J. Michaelis
- Lil Michaelis  
 J. Milder  
 Lev Mills  
 Miralda  
 Miyamoto  
 George Miyasaki  
 Norizaku Miyashiro  
 Karl Moehl  
 Britte Molin  
 Jeanne Moment  
 Angiola Mondini  
 James Paul Monson  
 Han Mook  
 Mooyman  
 N. Moreno-Ramirez  
 Jo-Ann Morrison  
 Sherry Morse  
 Neysa Moss  
 Kaiko Moti  
 Tunj Murtinjo  
 Michiko Muta  
 Tsunzeo Muto  
 Malcolm Myers  
 Virginia Myers  
 Yuzo Nakano  
 George Nama  
 Norman Narotzky  
 Luce Naval  
 Jorge Flores Naveas  
 Carl Nesjar  
 Barbara Newcombe  
 Denji Noma  
 Yoshiko Noma  
 L. Villa Nueva  
 M. O'Connor  
 Ray Oeschger  
 Ogata  
 Ohmura  
 J.-D. Okun  
 Barbara Olmstead  
 K. Onjoji  
 Kisaburo Ono  
 Shoichi Ono  
 Jacobus Oosterkerk  
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Edward Plunkett  
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Rigmor Poenaru  
Marita van der Poest Clement  
John Pole  
Manon Potvin  
Rabascall  
Gerard Radegonde  
Elizabeth Rahlff  
Bernard Rancillac  
Vince Rascon  
Rasmussen  
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Sujata Reddy  
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Flora Reeder  
Nancy Reid  
Ulrich Reifenrath  
Albert Reinbold  
Nono Reinhold  
Jean Claude Reynal  
Martin Rieser  
Aki Roland  
Lica Roman  
Anna Romanello  
Teodulo Romulo  
Lia Rondelli  
Pat Rosenkranz  
Garcia Rossi  
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Julieta Rubio  
Mariano Rubio  
Reidar Rudjord  
Juichi Saito  
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P. Sardinha  
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