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A Gift to the City

The Post Office Murals of Henrietta Shore

by Joan Gilbert Martin



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Santa Cruz is fortunate to be home to four murals by the internationally known and respected artist, Henrietta Shore. Free to the public, these murals can be seen six days a week at the main post office in downtown Santa Cruz. The next time you are standing in line to mail a package or to renew a passport, look up at the images high on the walls above you. The murals at either end of the long, airy lobby depict scenes of local industry: artichoke workers, Brussels sprouts pickers, limestone quarry workers, and fishermen.

Like the post office itself, these murals were paid for by the federal government; in effect they were a gift to the city of Santa Cruz. The post office was built in 1912 with a grant from the Treasury Department. The murals were commissioned in 1935 by the Treasury Department's Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP), which provided work to qualified artists in the dark days of the Great Depression.

The Post Office

It was quite an honor for the small city of Santa Cruz to be granted the appropriation to build a post office by the federal government. As the *Santa Cruz Surf* remarked on the eve of the post office's grand opening, "Uncle Sam is certainly a clever fellow so far as Santa Cruz is acquainted with him. He has built for us one of the finest Federal buildings in any city of its size in all his dominions."¹

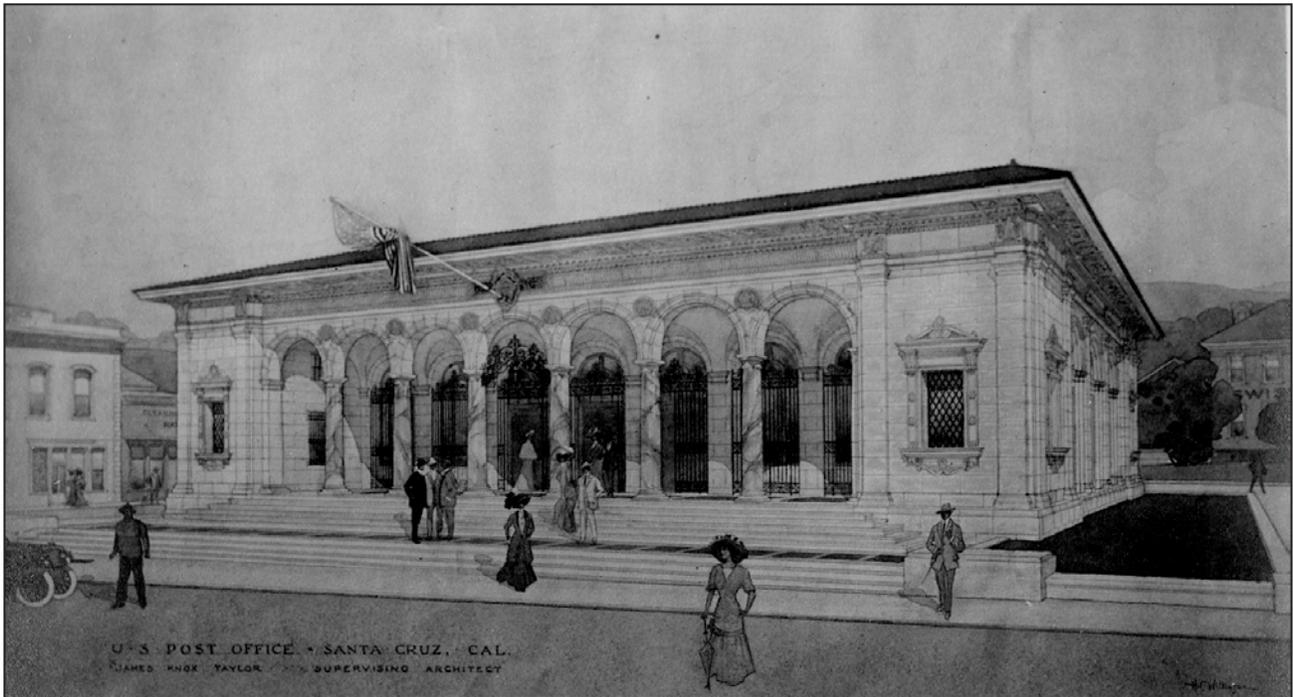
Credit for this coup was given to U. S. Representative James Carson Needham, the Republican congressman from Kings County, who obtained the money from the government. The postmaster, Orlando J. Lincoln was also "an important factor in giving Santa Cruz a good

reputation in postal regions."² In 1907, Christian Hoffman, owner of the lot on the corner of Water and Front Streets, tendered it to the Treasury Department as the site for a new post office. Treasury accepted the tender, agreeing to pay \$15,000 for a corner portion of the lot measuring 140 feet on Front Street and 120 feet on Water Street.³

The site originally belonged to Elihu Anthony, who received an alcalde grant in 1848 to a large tract of land that included frontage on what was then called the lower plaza. The first building on the site was built by Anthony and was occupied in 1852 by a blacksmith named Lucius Sanborn. (The first post office and telegraph office were in this building.) When Sanborn left for Watsonville in 1853, Steve Meeks opened a butcher shop on the site. Meeks left for the Fraser River in 1858, and after a brief ownership by Luis Swartz, the butcher shop was torn down. In the late 1860s Albion P. Swanton built his Bonner Stables there. Then, in 1884, Swanton built the three-story Swanton House hotel on the site. The hotel burned down three years later on May 30, 1887. After the fire, the lot stayed vacant until the Treasury Department bought it in 1910. Hoffman had been using the lot to cultivate grain when he sold it.⁴

The location of the new post office was undoubtedly chosen in part because this large lot was vacant. That it was an exceptionally convenient spot at the intersection of two main streets was an added bonus.

Local architects had no say in the post office design. Washington provided the plans and specifications for what was, after all, a Federal building. The architects, Oscar Wenderoth and James Knox Taylor, were not local. Neither was John



Architect's rendering of the U. S. Post Office, Santa Cruz, California, c. 1910; James Knox Taylor, supervising architect. (Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History)

F. Campbell, the supervising architect who described the style as “mixo-composite of the Florentine school.” The building’s style is Renaissance Revival patterned after Filippo Brunelleschi’s Foundling Hospital of 1419 in Florence, Italy. John Chase, Santa Cruz architectural historian, described it as follows: “Its cross-vaulted arched portico is supported by Tuscan columns and flanked on either side by an enclosed pavilion.”⁵

In June of 1910, the *Surf* reported that the architects’ drawings and written specifications had arrived. The drawings “cover twenty five maps 24x36 inches in size and the printed specifications over fifty full sheet pages.” The article went on to say that the building will “surpass in elegance in some particulars the handsome bank buildings of which Santa Cruz is justly proud....The open loggia, the broad lobby, the sculptured columns, the ornamental capitals and friezes will give the building an appearance at once classical and adapted to twentieth century ideals.”⁶

An architect’s rendering of the planned building certainly shows an elegant façade with wide steps, an arcade with seven arches, a tiled roof and Palladian windows—essentially what we see today. Inside,

the large lobby was light and airy; the postmaster’s quarters at one end included a lavatory and clothes closet; the postal bank at the other end included a fireproof and burglarproof vault.⁷

Clearing the lot for the post office began in April 1911, and the lines were set out for the foundations on April 18. One source says the corner stone for the building was laid at one o’clock, June 15, 1911. Another says it was July 1. In any case, building of the post office commenced in the summer of 1911 and was completed by April 1 of the following year. Completion was originally scheduled for February 1, 1912, but was delayed until the end of March.⁸

Santa Cruz was to receive another gift from the federal government in the 1930s, when \$90,000 was granted the city by the Public Works Administration (a New Deal program) to build an annex to the post office, doubling its space. The annex was put out to bid in February 1934. It would provide extensive office space and loading docks for the mail trucks. Attached to the back of the post office, the annex style is typical PWA utilitarian—no décor, no cornices, and no scrollwork. It seems to be a separate building tacked on to the original post office with no stylistic relationship. Work on the annex, including



Henrietta Shore painting *Limestone Quarries Industry* in her studio at Carmel, California, 1936-1937. This photograph is on display in the lobby of the Santa Cruz Post Office. (unknown photographer, courtesy Monterey Museum of Art)

some refurbishment to the lobby, was completed in 1936 a year before the murals were installed.⁹

Today, the building housing the main Santa Cruz Post Office (excluding the annex) has been placed on the National Register of Historic Places by the United States Department of the Interior.

The Murals

The Great Depression that followed the stock market crash of 1929 was devastating to the average American. For large numbers of people it meant not only the loss of financial independence but also the humiliation of charity. In his inaugural speech on March 4, 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt stated, “Our greatest primary task is to put people to work.”

Soon after Roosevelt’s inauguration, the artist George Biddle wrote to Roosevelt citing the work of the state-funded Mexican muralists and recommending that the government fund mural art

as a “Vital National Expression.”¹⁰ This letter started a chain of events that led to a number of New Deal programs in support of culture and the arts.

At this time of massive government funding, there were two differing attitudes toward supporting the arts. One, championed by Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt’s main advisor on relief projects, saw the artist as one of many Americans in need of relief. The quality of the art was not the point. Hopkins said of needy artists, “Hell! They’ve got to eat just like other people.”¹¹ The WPA Fine Arts Project was established with the goal of employing artists from all media. It provided a weekly wage in return for services associated with tax-supported institutions and was responsible for bringing art into the lives of Americans in many small communities.¹²

Another federal arts project, the Treasury Department’s Section of Fine Arts, commonly known as “The Section,” was established under the guidance of Edward Bruce, himself an artist. Its goal



Artichoke Industry. Mounted in a lunette at the south end of the main lobby above the Postmaster's quarters. Oil on canvas; 36 x 72 inches.



Brussels Sprouts Industry. Mounted in a lunette at the north end of the main lobby above what was the postal bank, opposite the Postmaster's quarters. Oil on canvas; 36 x 72 inches.

was to place art of the highest quality in federal buildings throughout the country. The Section was dedicated to commissioning mural artists based on the quality of their work, not their need.

The Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP), founded in July of 1935, undoubtedly grew out of the antagonism between Hopkin's goal of relieving unemployment among artists and Bruce's goal of hiring the best artists regardless of their state of employment. TRAP was a compromise. Artists were selected by TRAP on the quality of their work, but most were also expected to be unemployed. TRAP artists were chosen in a competition judged by a selection committee in Washington, D. C. Receiving a TRAP commission was a high honor, and it was TRAP that commissioned the Henrietta Shore murals in December of 1935.

Shore submitted original color sketches to TRAP to gain the commission, and TRAP responded

by commissioning five murals: four in Santa Cruz and one in the Monterey post office. In addition, the Public Works Arts Project (PWAP) commissioned Shore to paint a mural for the Old Customs House in Monterey. Shore was paid \$233.74 for her work on the Santa Cruz Post Office murals.¹³

The four Santa Cruz Post Office murals form two complementary pairs. The agricultural murals, *Artichoke Industry* and *Brussels Sprouts Industry*, are at either end of the main lobby. The murals depicting the *Fishing Industry* and the *Limestone Quarries Industry* flank each other facing the main entrance. (Photos of the murals are by the author.)

The laborers shown in these murals are "dignified, monumental forms enveloped by the rhythms of flora and sea or the craggy solidity of the terrain."¹⁴ Although reminiscent of Mexican murals in their technique, her murals are not overtly political in



Fishing Industry. Mounted in a lunette at the south end of the lobby facing the main entrance. Oil on canvas; 48 by 102 inches.



Limestone Quarries Industry. Mounted in a lunette at the north end of the lobby facing the main entrance. Oil on canvas; 48 by 102 inches.

theme; they speak of the dignity of labor and honor local industry.

After the designs for these murals were accepted, Shore enlarged them to the actual dimensions of the lunettes in the post office and transferred the designs to stretched canvas in her studio. Once complete, the canvas murals were adhered to their final locations. In September 1937 local workmen were busy preparing the necessary smooth background in the post office lunettes to receive the murals. The contractor for this work was B. F. Heidloff of Santa Cruz under the direction of Joseph Sutter, an artist in the office of the state superintendent of arts projects.¹⁵

The murals remain as an example of the power of her art. They can be compared to both Diego Rivera in the massive body shapes, and to Georgia O’Keeffe in the organic treatment of these shapes.

Henrietta Shore

A contemporary of Georgia O’Keeffe and a friend and inspiration to Edward Weston, this Carmel artist is finally being recognized for the importance of her work. She was born in Toronto, Canada, in 1880, the youngest child of a prosperous family. Her mother encouraged her early interest in art, and she studied in London and New York as well as Toronto.¹⁶ By 1902, she was spending half the year in New York where she studied with Robert Henri at the New York School of Art. Henri encouraged her in “an art that was expressive of personal emotions and experience and that was grounded in life.”¹⁷

Shore painted and exhibited in Toronto, New York, London, and Haarlem in the Netherlands, receiving prizes and accolades. In early 1913 when she was thirty-three years old, she took a trip down

the west coast of the United States, stopping briefly in Carmel on her way to Los Angeles. Taken with the beauty of California, she crossed the border again in September of 1913, to become a permanent resident of the United States. In 1921 she became a U. S. citizen.

She settled first in Los Angeles, where she had exhibits at the new Los Angeles Museum in 1914 and again in 1917. She won an award at the Pan-Pacific Exposition in San Diego in 1915, and in 1916 helped found the Los Angeles Modern Art Society. But then, in 1920 at the age of forty, she moved to New York, “perhaps in search of a more cohesive community of modernists.”¹⁸ Her work had always emphasized line and form, but in New York she took it a step further, painting what she called semi-abstractions, “based only partially on nature and employing simple line and shape to achieve an effect of sonorous rhythm.”¹⁹ This work placed her firmly in the Modernist camp.

In 1923, when she exhibited her new work in New York at the Erich Gallery, she received higher praise than did Georgia O’Keeffe, who was exhibiting simultaneously at the Anderson Gallery. Later, when she had moved back to Los Angeles and exhibited with the photographer Edward Weston, she again received the greater praise. In 1927, critic Arthur Miller of the *Los Angeles Times* claimed she was “unquestionably one of the most important living painters of this century.”²⁰ In the same year, Reginald Poland, director of the San Diego Museum of Art, said, “She is a profound artist [who] is justly recognized.... We see merited recognition in a most important way when she becomes nationally known. A great future awaits Henrietta Shore.”²¹

Edward Weston is well known today, partly thanks to Henrietta Shore, who arranged for his first one-man exhibition. In April 1927, Weston records in his *Daybooks* that Henrietta said, “I told Mr. Poland, director of the new San Diego museum, that he was going to have an exhibit of your photographs ... I showed him the nude I have, and he said that if I vouched for the rest, the exhibit was already arranged.”²²

Weston had met Shore in Los Angeles when he visited her studio to see her work. Weston was

profoundly moved. He was later to describe the impact of this visit:

Ushered directly into a room hung with Shore’s canvases I stopped short in my tracks silently amazed; here was something outstanding, a notable achievement. There was no question, the response was immediate; those deeply felt, finely executed paintings moved me at once. And how rare it is to be raised to unexpected heights!²³

Shore in turn admired Weston’s photographs, and the two became close friends. Weston claimed to be “awakened to shells by the painting of Henry.” (Henry, rather than Henrietta, is the name she preferred her friends to use.) He goes on, “Henry’s influence, or stimulation, I see not just in shell subject matter, it is in all my late work...I feel it not as an extraneous garnish but as a freshened tide swelling from within my self.”²⁴ These shell photographs were to form a turning point in Weston’s career.

Weston also influenced Shore. It was surely at his suggestion that she traveled to Mexico in the summer of 1927. While there she spent time with the Mexican artists Jose Clemente Orozco and Jean Charlot. She was introduced to Diego Rivera, but was not particularly taken with his work, claiming to be bored by it.²⁵ Nevertheless, she had been exposed to Mexican murals, whose influence was apparent when it came time to for her to make murals of her own.

Shore visited Weston in Carmel and was delighted and inspired by the beauty of the Carmel coast. In her youth, when she studied at the Heatherly Arts School in London, John Singer Sargent advised her to abandon school and go directly to nature for inspiration.²⁶ She was now following that advice. Her mature work showed an intense interest in nature—albeit a nature that was transcendent and mystical. One of the few statements Shore made about her work was in a letter she wrote Weston in 1933:

To be true to nature one must abstract. Nature does not waste her forms. If you would know the clouds—then study the rocks. Flow-



Henrietta Shore in her Los Angeles studio, c. 1915. (unknown photographer, Andrée Hollingrake Dell collection)

ers, shells, rocks, trees, mountains, hills—all have the same forms within themselves used with endless variety but with consummate knowledge....Rodin rightly said—a woman, a horse, a mountain—all the same thing.²⁷

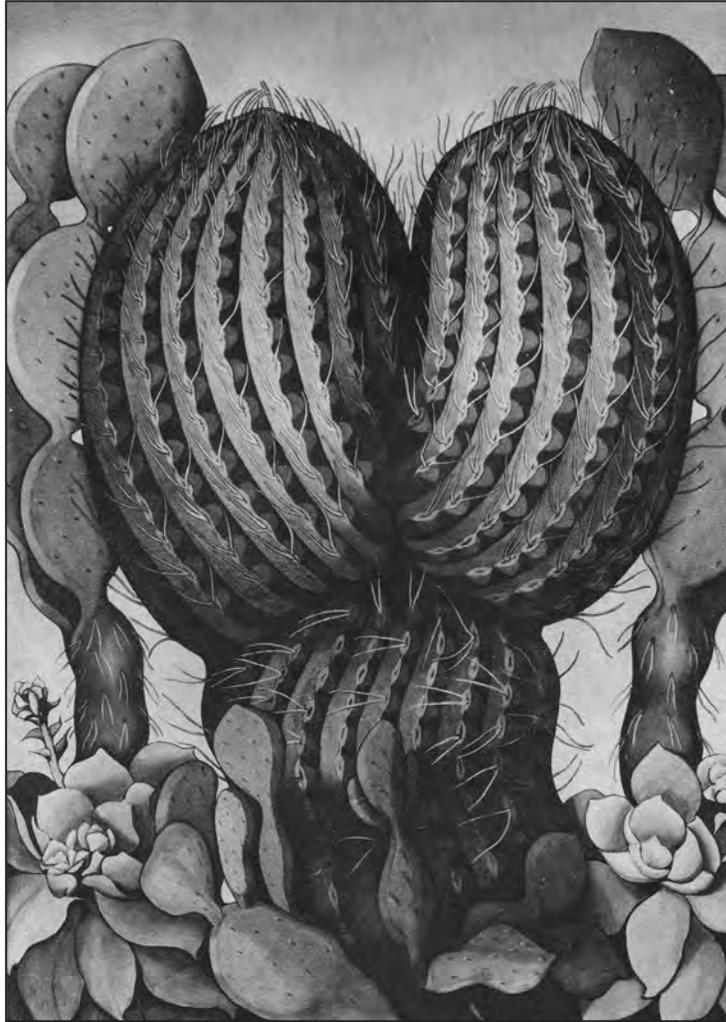
In 1930 Shore moved permanently to Carmel, where Weston had also moved. She was fifty years old and was looking to settle down. Shore remained in Carmel for the rest of her working life. In 1931 she had a well-received one-man show at the Palace of the Legion of Honor in San Francisco.²⁸ And in 1933, a small book on her work was published in New York. But, except for that show, the book, and the murals in the Santa Cruz post office, she had no further significant commissions or exhibitions.

Unlike most other artists who were recipients of commissions from TRAP, Henrietta Shore was not happy to be on relief. She was humiliated by having to sign a document that stated she was destitute. As

a further aggravation, her normal allotment of \$75 was cut because she was living in a friend's house, rent-free. As a result she did not even have enough money for a phone.²⁹

Her displeasure was not just petty quibbling; it undoubtedly came from a deeper source. In 1935 when the Santa Cruz Post Office murals were commissioned, Henrietta Shore had begun to sink into oblivion—she had very little money and was no longer well-known. This must have been particularly galling because of her early renown and success in the international art world. Surely she saw herself as an important artist, now reduced to begging.

No doubt Shore had a “prickly” personality and did not suffer fools gladly.³¹ The neglect she suffered was largely a result of her inability, indeed her refusal, to abide by the unspoken rules of the art world. She stopped dating her paintings in 1913 because “viewers and critics should not have the opportunity to divide her work into periods.” She



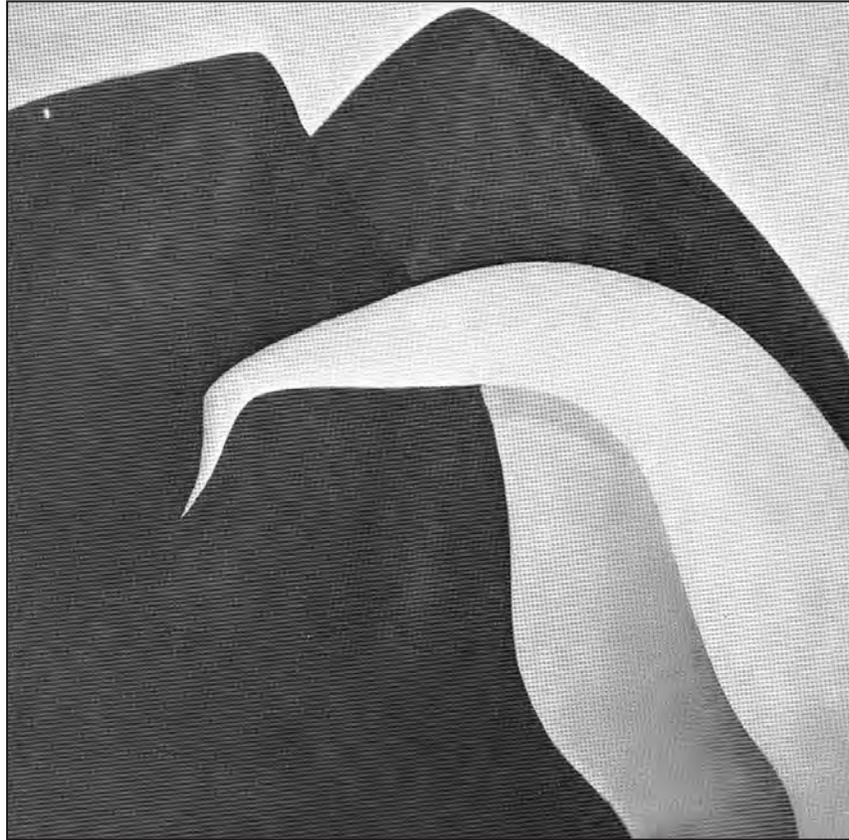
Cactus. Oil on canvas; 38 x 28 inches; 1926-27. Edward Weston greatly admired this painting, “its sturdy shape echoing the painter’s heavysset physique and its prickly skin seeming to represent her personality.” (Private collection)

did not stick to one signature style, declaring, “I have had a severe academic training, but I do not belong to any school....My only aim is to develop and grow.”³² These decisions made it difficult for critics to analyze her “artistic development” or to label her a member of a particular “group.”

Not only were the critics silenced, she too was silent about her work. Despite its visual nature, success in the art world depends on written critical appraisals and artists’ statements. For instance, Weston had real success only after his *Daybooks* were published and readers became fascinated by the unconventionality of a life devoted to art. Georgia O’Keeffe benefited from the unwavering support of

Alfred Stieglitz, who always made sure a reviewer was lined up to write about her exhibitions.³³

Finally, Shore moved to Carmel, an outpost of the art world, far from the east coast centers where reputations were made.³⁴ In 1939, Weston wrote, “Henrietta Shore is an artist by destiny, a figure of national importance, lost in Carmel.”³⁵ Even when Georgia O’Keeffe moved to the wilds of New Mexico, Stieglitz made sure her work was noticed in New York. Weston did not do the same for Shore. Much as he admired her work, Weston was never as supportive of her as she had once been of him.



Waterfall. An example of Shore's semi-abstracts. Oil on canvas; 26 x 26 inches; c. 1922. (Dallas Museum of Art collection)

Her later years were spent in poverty—she was reduced to selling her Robert Henri painting and her Edward Weston prints in order to survive. In 1958 she received a final indignity when she was committed to a mental hospital in San Jose. There is no evidence she was insane; rather, a busybody neighbor went to her studio and, finding it disorganized, had her committed.³⁶ She died in the hospital in San Jose, May 17, 1963, at the age of eighty-three.

During her lifetime there was only one major appraisal of her work, the 1933 book, *Henrietta Shore* by Merle Armitage. A small, well-made book featuring a range of her work, it was printed in an edition of only two hundred fifty.³⁷ More than fifty years would elapse before there was another serious appraisal of her work.

In 1986, twenty-three years after her death, the Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art mounted a retrospective exhibition of Shore's work, together with an excellent catalog that became the definitive reference for her life and work. A few years later, in 1990, she was again honored, with three other women artists, in the exhibit, *Visions of Their Own*, at the Octagon Museum in Santa Cruz.³⁸ Since then, interest in Shore's work has grown. Paintings whose whereabouts were unknown in 1986 (such as *Cactus*) have shown up in recent exhibitions. Several new books on Modernists and women painters include extensive discussions of her work.³⁹

Perhaps Shore's day is finally arriving. It's about time.



About the Author

Joan Gilbert Martin, former technical writer, editor, and high school history teacher, became interested in Santa Cruz County history upon moving to the area in 1966. With Stanley D. Stevens, she transcribed and indexed the Leon Rowland card files at UCSC Special Collections, and with Colleen Meagher McInerney-Meagher, she co-authored *Pogonip, Jewel of Santa Cruz*.

She was named Historian of the Year by the MAH history forum in 2009 and was editor of History Journal 6, *Pathways to the Past* published by the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History in 2011.



Notes

- 1 "Santa Cruz Post Office," *Santa Cruz Surf*, 30 March 1912, p. 1:1.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 "Hoffman Property, Known as The Fair Lot, Accepted," *Santa Cruz Surf*, January 4, 1907, p. 1:3.
- 4 Ibid; John Chase, *The Sidewalk Companion to Santa Cruz Architecture*, p. 171; and "Santa Cruz Yesterdays," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 6 June 1948, p. 11:3.
- 5 John Chase, *The Sidewalk Companion to Santa Cruz Architecture*, p. 170.
- 6 "New Santa Cruz Postoffice Building," *Santa Cruz Surf*, 25 June 1910, p. 1:1.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 "First Work On Government Building Has Been Commenced," *Santa Cruz Surf*, 18 April 1911, p. 3:3; "Corner Stone," *Santa Cruz Surf*, 15 June 1911, p. 1:1; and "P.O. Cornerstone Laying, July 1, 1911," "Santa Cruz Yesterdays," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, 4 November 1951, p. 18:3.
- 9 "Bids For P.O. Annex Will Be Asked Soon," *Santa Cruz Evening News*, February 12, 1934, p. 1:2; "Postoffice Will Be Turned Over On Next Monday," *Santa Cruz Sentinel*, May 5, 1936, p. 7:7.
- 10 George Biddle, *An American Artist's Story* (Boston: Little & Brown, 1939), p. 268.
- 11 Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt & Hopkins, an Intimate History*, p. 57.
- 12 Richard D. McKinzie, *The New Deal For Artists*, p.35; and Belisario R. Contreras, *Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art*, pp.19-20.
- 13 Nancy Acord, "The Women of the WPA Art Projects: California Murals, 1933-1943," *Yesterday and Tomorrow: California Women Artists*, Sylvia Moore, ed. (New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1989), p. 20.
- 14 Quote from Richard Lorenz, curator "The Mural Paintings," *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition: 1900 -1963*, p. 40.
- 15 "Murals Are Placed For Postoffice," *Evening News*, September 8, 1937, p. 1:2.
- 16 For an extensive biography and critical appraisal of Henrietta Shore's work, see Roger Aikin's essay in *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition: 1900-1963*. Also see Ann Hethcock's essay in *Visions of Their Own, Four Monterey Bay Artists of the Depression Era*, exhibition catalog, Octagon Museum, Santa Cruz County Historical Trust, 1990.
- 17 Marian Wardle, "Thoroughly Modern, The 'New Women' Art Students of Robert Henri," *American Women Modernists, The Legacy of Robert Henri, 1910-1945*, p. 4.
- 18 Victoria Dailey, "Naturally Modern," *LA's Early Moderns*, p. 60.
- 19 Roger Aikin, *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition*, p. 14.



Henrietta Shore, 1927. (Photograph by Edward Weston, copyright 1981 Center for Creative Photography, Arizona Board of Regents)

- 20 Arthur Miller, *Los Angeles Times*, June 12, 1927, pp. 3, 24.
- 21 Reginald Poland, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 13, 1927 and also in *Henrietta Shore*, Merle Armitage, ed., pp. 7, 8.
- 22 Edward Weston, *The Daybooks of Edward Weston, Volume II, California*, Nancy Newhall, ed., p. 17.
- 23 Edward Weston, *Henrietta Shore*, Merle Armitage, ed., p. 10.
- 24 Edward Weston, *Daybooks, California*, p. 21.
- 25 Letter from Henrietta Shore to Edward Weston, November 24, 1927, quoted by Roger Aikin in *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition*, p. 27. She wrote about Rivera's work, "I grant its excellence—but I am bored by it."
- 26 Ann Hethcott, *Visions of Their Own*, p. 23, quoting from "The World of Art," *Town and Country Review* (London, 1935), p. 48.
- 27 Henrietta Shore, letter to Edward Weston, January 8, 1933, quoted by Roger Aikin in *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition*, pp. 31-32.
- 28 "Henrietta Shore Paintings At Legion Palace," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 1, 1931, p. D5.
- 29 Nancy Acord, "The Women of the WPA Art Projects:...", p.21.
- 30 Patricia Trenton, "before the world moved in: early modernist still life in California, 1920-1950," exhibition catalog, *not-so-still life, a century of california painting and sculpture*, p. 61.
- 31 The quote about Shore's "prickly personality" is from Patricia Trenton, "before the world moved in: early modernist still life in California, 1920-1950," exhibition catalog, *not-so-still life, a century of california painting and sculpture*, p. 61. Weston did not specifically call Shore "prickly," but the term could have been his; numerous references in his daybooks spoke of how frequently he found her irritating, even while admiring her greatly. Weston, *Daybooks*, pp.45, 48- 49, 95.
- 32 "Henrietta Shore Paintings At Legion Palace." *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 1, 1931, p. D5.
- 33 Benita Eisler, *O'Keeffe and Stieglitz, an American romance* (New York: Doubleday, 1991), pp. 275, 284-86, *passim*.
- 34 Although Carmel had an active art community, Shore exhibited there only three times during her lifetime: once to show her murals before they went to Santa Cruz, once in 1946 when the Carmel Art Association held a one-man show; and a retrospective in 1961 at a local art gallery. In 1963, after her death, the Carmel Art Association honored her with a memorial exhibit.
- 35 Quoted in "Art on the Monterey Peninsula; The Early Years," *Monterey Peninsula Herald*, November 24, 1961.
- 36 Roger Aiken, *Henrietta Shore, A Retrospective Exhibition*, p. 38, quoting Jehanne Bietry-Salinger, a Canadian art critic and close friend of Shore's.
- 37 Merle Armitage, ed., *Henrietta Shore*.
- 38 The other women honored in *Visions of Their Own* are the Santa Cruz artists, Leonora Naylor Penniman, Cor de Gavere, and Margaret Rogers.
- 39 Three recent exhibitions that include work by Henrietta Shore are: *Independent Spirits, Women Painters of the American West, 1890-1945*, Autry Museum of Western Heritage in Los Angeles, 1995; *not-so-still-life*, San Jose Museum of Art, 2003; and *American Women Modernists*, Brigham Young University Museum, 2005. In addition to the excellent catalogs for these exhibitions, books that appraise her work include: *Yesterday and Tomorrow*, edited by Sylvia Moore; *On The Edge of America: California Modernist Art, 1900-1950*, edited by Paul J. Karlstrom; and *LA's Early Moderns*, by Victoria Dailey, et al.

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