

THE RISE OF THE *LIVRE D'ARTISTE* IN AMERICA

Reflections on *21 Etchings and Poems* and the Early 1960s

Lanier Graham

SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WORKS in the history of Western art have been illustrated books—an art form that has been with us for thousands of years.¹ A comprehensive historical survey would begin with creations of our tribal ancestors, and continue through the ancient world and the illuminated manuscripts of medieval Europe to the printed masterpieces of the Renaissance, Baroque, and Romantic eras. In modern times the traditional concept of literal illustration has been joined by the new concept of metaphorical evocation.

The work of the modern era was presented brilliantly by Philip Hofer and Eleanor Garvey in *The Artist and the Book, 1860–1960*,² an exhibition catalogue which has become the standard reference for what are widely considered the most important illustrated books of this one-hundred-year period. Books illustrated or “illuminated” with original prints by painter-printmakers were an integral part of the development of early Modernism in Europe. Important work was done throughout Western Europe, particularly in the England of William Morris and the France of Ambroise Vollard.³

The books which eventually would most influence American developments were produced in Paris. This visual-literary tradition took on its modern form in the 1890s and has continued through the twentieth century. Books by such artists as Bonnard, Maillol, Matisse, Kirchner, Rouault, Arp, Ernst, and Miró rank with their work in any other medium of expression.⁴

Few American books are illustrated in Hofer and Garvey, however, since a continuous tradition of fine books by major artists did not develop in North America during the first half of the twentieth century. Noble efforts to transplant the European tradition to the United

21 Etchings and Poems

as catalogued by Eleanor Garvey in
The Artist and the Book, 1860–1960.

21 etchings (with text) printed in black: 1 each by Pierre Alechinsky (“Poem” by Dotremont, signed Alechinsky on the plate); Fred Becker (“To Yeats in Rapallo” by T. Weiss, signed F. Becker on the plate); Ben-Zion (“The Faithful One” by David Ignatow, signed Ben-Zion on the plate); Letterio Calapai (“To a Poor Old Woman” by William Carlos Williams); Willem de Kooning (“Revenge” by Harold Rosenberg); Peter Grippé (“The Hand that Signed the Paper Felled a City” by Dylan Thomas); Salvador Grippi (“Mind” by Richard Wilbur); S. W. Hayter (“Poem” by Jacques-Henry Lévesque, signed Hayter on the plate); Franz Kline (“Poem” by Frank O’Hara); Jacques Lipchitz “Gedicht” by Hans Sahl); Ezio Martinelli (“The Blue Waterfall” by Horace Gregory, signed Ezio Martinelli on the plate); Ben Nicholson (“Tenement” by Sir Herbert Read); I. Rice Pereira (“Omega” by George Reavey); Helen Phillips (“Poem” by André Verdet, signed Phillips on the plate); André Racz (“Aubade-Harlem” by Thomas Merton); Kurt Roesch (“Underworld” by Alastair Reid, signed K. Roesch on the plate); Attilio Salemmé (“Tiresias” by Morris Weisenthal); Louis Schanker (“Most Often in the Night” by Harold Norse, signed with initial S in a circle on the plate); 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); all signed in pencil on margin; texts etched from authors’ originals handwritten on copperplates; page size 19³/₄ × 16³/₄ inches.

This essay is dedicated to Eleanor Garvey and Riva Castleman, who guided my understanding of the history of illustrated books when I started to study the subject in the 1960s.

States took various forms during the 1930s. Books such as Rockwell Kent's *Moby Dick* (1930) and Thomas Hart Benton's *We, The People* (1932) continued the Anglo-American tradition of artist-illustrators using photomechanical reproduction to bring well-illustrated books to a relatively wide audience. Those books were not *livres d'artistes*, according to the usual definition: books with images which are fine prints, not reproductions. The *livre d'artiste* (also known as the *livre de luxe* and the *livre de peintre*) did not take root in the United States at that time.

Two important experiments were made by George Macy in New York. Under his direction, the Limited Editions Club published *Lysistrata* (1934) with etchings by Picasso, and *Ulysses* (1935) with etchings by Matisse. Even so, the idea of books by European artists for Americans did not catch on. Neither did Monroe Wheeler's effort to have American artists make books for European collectors. His publication of *The Fables of Aesop* (1931), with illustrations by Calder, did not start a trend. Other efforts during the 1940s were equally isolated.⁵

During the 1950s, a growing number of American artists were determined to transplant the modern tradition of the *livre d'artiste* to American soil. One of the early efforts, organized by Adja Yunkers at the University of New Mexico, was *Prints in the Desert* (1950), with prints, poetry, and essays. It was long, slow work, with little hope of sales. Nevertheless, artists of the woodcut, such as Leonard Baskin and Antonio Frasconi, and of the lithograph, such as June Wayne, did want to make books. Indeed, it was Wayne's work on John Donne's *Songs and Sonets* (1959) that "led directly to her proposal to the Ford Foundation,"⁶ the proposal which generated Tamarind Lithography Workshop in Los Angeles. From TLW would come such outstanding illustrated books as Romas Viesulas's *Toro Desconocido* (1960), printed by Garo Antreasian; and Robert Hansen's *Satan's Saint* (1964), printed in large part by Kenneth Tyler.⁷

In these early years of the American print renaissance, however, books from the West Coast had limited influence. The more influential *livres d'artistes* were published in New York during the 1960s. The most significant illustrated book in this early stage of contemporary sensibility was *21 Etchings and Poems* (1960). This remarkable portfolio of pictured

poems has had a curious history. Among those who know this book well, it is regarded with almost mythological reverence, while for many it is a title that has almost been forgotten. Morris Weisenthal, the publisher of this illuminated book, recently recalled in conversation⁸ how it all began; my questions are in italics:

Tell me how it all got started, and how the process of choosing poets and printmakers developed over the years. I know about the printing technique, because I discussed it with Hayter, but tell me about the conception, and editing, and publishing.

Well, it all started with Hayter, really, and the enthusiasm he stimulated in all of us. Most of us who were there, at Atelier 17, did not realize how expressive printmaking can be. I didn't spend a lot of time there myself, nobody did. But just being there and making a plate or two was a very stimulating experience. Anyway, after he went back to Paris, a number of people wanted to keep the workshop going, and one of the projects was what ended up as *21 Etchings and Poems*. The main idea was to join the best possible poems and the best possible etchings as a portfolio of fine prints. Peter Grippe was at the center of it all during the early phases of the project, and then I was at the center during the middle and final phases.

Did you decide which artists would go best with which poets, or did they decide among themselves, or what?

Well, you have to remember that it was a long, drawn-out process. First Grippe, then I, had the final say on each combination, but we didn't do that in a vacuum. There was lots of back-and-forth, give-and-take, over a lot of years. Sometimes it would be a poet who wanted to associate with a particular artist. Sometimes it was an artist who wanted to work with a particular poet. Sometimes, two of these guys would get together on their own, then make a suggestion to me. Sometimes, I'd suggest a combination and those two people would get together and select the poem, and so on.

Did every poet write down his own words?

Yes, almost every one. Except for a few who couldn't do it. It was a little bit tricky, you know. . . . One of the poets just couldn't do it, so that artist did it for him. But almost all of us did it ourselves.

I know almost all the artists also did their own work on the plates, but there's a rumor that at least

one of the etchings is a photo-etching taken from a drawing.

Yes, that's true. The Kline was done that way, but that's the only one.

How much was the book when you published it?

\$300. It's gone up a little since then, hasn't it?

Yes, about a hundred times that amount now. The highest-priced plate, the de Kooning, is going at auction for about \$3,000 to \$4,000.

Well, I wish I had one of those left. But I only have some of the less famous ones.

What is the date of the printing?

I opened this gallery in 1954. The printing started about a year later, in 1955, then I had them printed as I needed them. I showed a group before they were all finished, about '56.

Tell me about the printers.

Anderson and Lamb, two guys in Brooklyn. Good printers. These artists would look at the proofs I sent them, then say yes or no. I let the artists keep a proof or two, and each of the printers kept one or two, so besides the edition of fifty there are a number of proofs around.

Any idea how many?

No, not really.

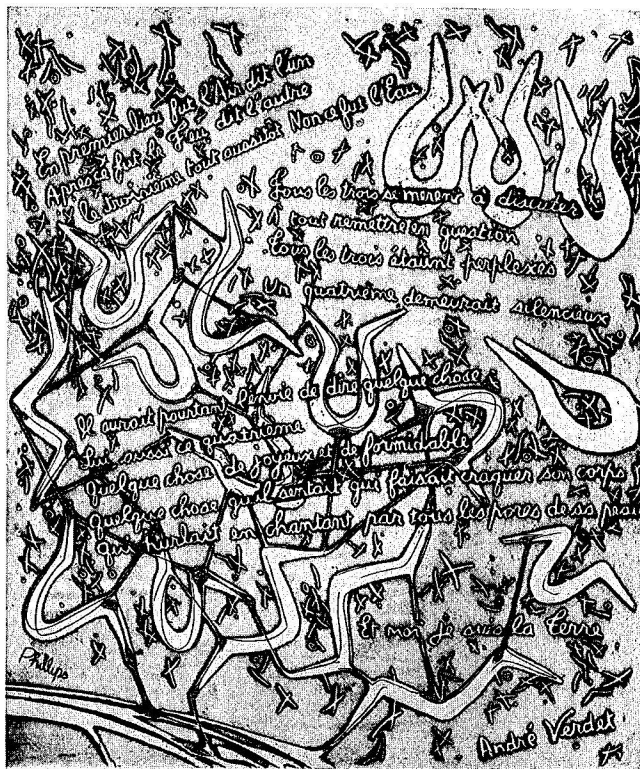
Tell me about the so-called introduction by [James Johnson] Sweeney.

It never happened. He was supposed to write one . . . but he never delivered an introduction. . . .

All the printing was finished by 1958? All by Anderson and Lamb?

Yes, that sounds right. Except for the guy who printed his own plate. Let me look up his name . . . yes, it was [André] Racz at Columbia. But there wasn't really a market for all this until a few years later. I didn't bring out the whole thing until 1960. . . .

THE ORIGINAL VISION behind *21 Etchings and Poems* was that of Peter Grippe. His idea, in 1951, when he took over the directorship of Atelier 17 in New York, was to assemble a collection of the best work being done on those etching presses, and to publish them with contemporary work by invited poets from America and Europe. It was natural for the international spirit of Hayter's print shop to extend to an international selection of poets. One of the most interesting aspects of Grippe's concept is that each page is a technical and formal synthesis of a poem and its "illustration."



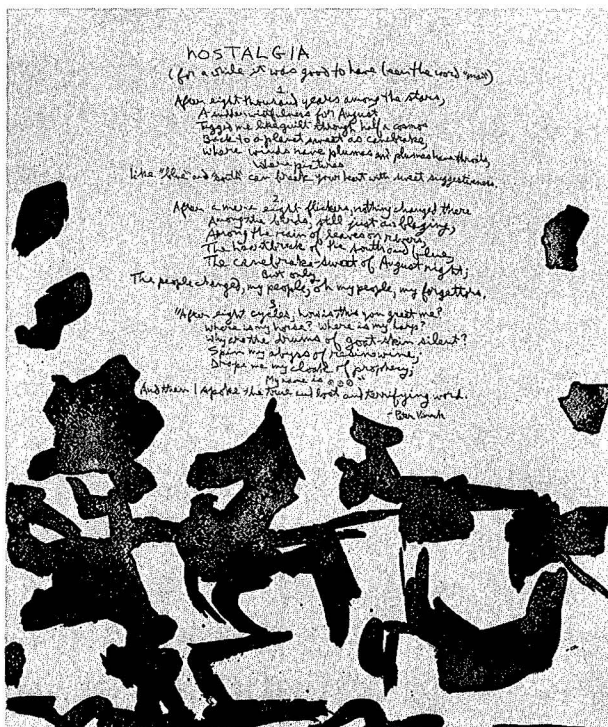
Helen Phillips and André Verdet, "Poem," from *21 Etchings and Poems*, 1960. Intaglio, sheet 502 × 415 mm. Courtesy, Associated American Artists, New York.

Grippe wanted to make use of Atelier 17's research into William Blake's "secret" method of combining the written words of a poem with its visual illumination. How Blake reversed his text is a question that has puzzled print historians for many years. Working with Joan Miró and the poet Ruthven Todd, Hayter discovered the method he believed Blake used:

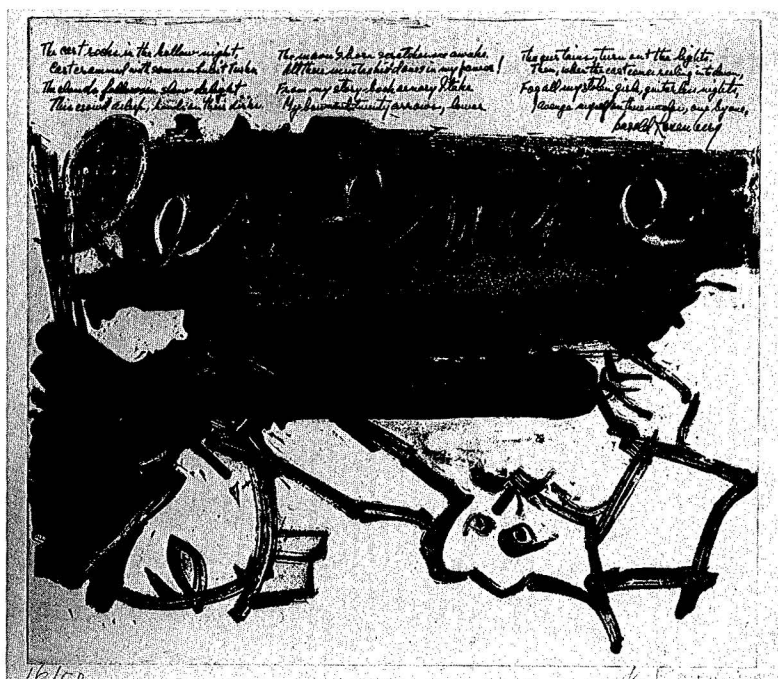
A poem was written in a solution of asphaltum and resin in benzene upon a sheet of paper previously coated with a mixture of gum arabic and soap. . . . A clean [copper] plate was well heated and the paper laid upon it and passed through the press. The back of the paper was then soaked with water and peeled off, leaving the resist on the copper in reverse. The designs were then drawn with a brush and asphaltum solution by the artist.⁹

The work was then bitten as a relief etching. This is the method Grippe decided to employ for *21 Etchings and Poems*. The process made it possible for the poems to be written in the poet's hand.

Grippe's dream took almost a decade to realize. During the mid-fifties, after the closing of Atelier 17, Grippe continued to work on the project in his own studio. The edition was printed by Anderson and Lamb in Brooklyn



Esteban Vicente and Peter Viereck, "Nostalgia," from 21 Etchings and Poems, 1960. Intaglio, sheet 502 × 415 mm. Courtesy, Associated American Artists, New York.



Willem de Kooning and Harold Rosenberg, "Revenge," from 21 Etchings and Poems, 1960. Intaglio, sheet 502 × 415 mm. Courtesy, Associated American Artists, New York.

in an edition of fifty impressions, with an unknown number of proofs.¹⁰ The printing started in 1955 and was finished during 1958. When 21 Etchings and Poems finally was published, it was recognized as a monumental achievement.¹¹ In a second conversation,¹² Weisenthal reflected on the influence of this powerful portfolio:

... Your book needs to have more written about it. It's important both for what it is, as the first major livre d'artiste in America, and for what it inspired. I understand from Hayter and others that your book was a direct inspiration for both Stones by Larry Rivers and Frank O'Hara, and 1¢ LIFE.¹³

Well, yes, all that is more or less correct. Hayter should know. He inspired so many of the artists who were involved with both Etchings and Poems and 1¢ LIFE. Some smaller projects were done during the forties. George Wittenborn did a book during the war. And Hayter did an extraordinary collection of poems with Miró and my friend Todd just after the war.

Yes, I know. Hayter told me the Miró work was the prototype for Etchings and Poems.¹⁴

That's right! Those beautiful sheets inspired all of us: myself, Grippe, de Kooning, Kline, Dylan Thomas, all of us. Those sheets still come up at auction now and again. As for Stones, that's true, too. Tanya Grosman heard about the prints when they first appeared, and came over from Long Island to see them. She said she wanted to make books like this, if she could find the right artists. Well, she certainly did, didn't she? First there was Rivers working with O'Hara, then Rauschenberg, and so on.¹⁵

1¢ LIFE? Yes, that's true. That energetic Chinese poet, [Walasse] Ting, came to see our prints early on. He was so excited by what he saw that he drew a huge poem all over the pages of my guest book!

Yes, Ting is a very energetic painter-poet. And Tanya Grosman was a brilliant publisher. What you published, what she published, what June Wayne and company published, and what Kornfeld published, was the start of the livre d'artiste in America.

AS THE AMERICAN PRINT RENAISSANCE developed during the 1960s, it was primarily a lithographic renaissance. For a number of years, etching tended to be left in the dust. Except for those particularly interested in etching, the "good old days" of New York's

Atelier 17 became a vague pattern of distant memories. Nevertheless, the concept of a book as a major work of art took root. In large part, this happened because of *21 Etchings and Poems*, and the illustrated books it inspired during the early 1960s.

Looking back, from the end of the twentieth century, one finds that the tradition of the *livre d'artiste* is alive and well in America. Many major painter-printmakers became deeply involved with the art of the book. The quality of the commitment was such that any number of books created since the 1960s hold their own beside other famous masterpieces in the century-old history of the *livre d'artiste*. Among the best-known books of the 1970s is the first book illustrated by Jasper Johns. Working with essays written by Samuel Beckett in 1972, Johns illustrated *Foirades/Fizzles* with thirty-three etchings (published by Petersburg Press, London, 1976). Another important book of the 1970s is Robert Rauschenberg's *Traces Suspectes en Surfaces* with a text (in French) by Alain Robbe-Grillet, on which the artist worked from 1972 to 1978, when it was published in New York by ULAE. In this lithographic work, the text has also been rendered, by means of lithographic calligraphy, in the writer's hand. From the decade of the 1980s came such masterpieces as Jim Dine's *Apocalypse, The Revelation of Saint John the Divine* (San Francisco: Arion Press, 1982) and Robert Motherwell's *El Negro* (Bedford Village, N.Y.: Tyler Graphics, 1983). In the thirty years since 1960 both the *livre d'artiste* and its offspring, the artist's book, have become organic parts of contemporary art.¹⁶



1 The bibliography of illustrated books is very large. The most comprehensive history is H. D. L. Vervliet, ed., *The Book through Five Thousand Years* (New York: Praeger, 1972). For the European tradition of the last thousand years, the best general surveys include David Bland, *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book* (London: 1958; Berkeley: 1959); and John Harthan, *The History of the Illustrated Book: The Western Tradition* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981). For the modern tradition in Europe and America, see note 2 below. The full history of the illustrated book in America has yet to be written; for two excellent partial surveys, see Joseph Blumenthal, *The Printed Book in America* (Boston: Godine, 1977); and G. W. R. Ward, ed., *The American Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century* (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1987).

2 The introduction to this catalogue was written by Philip Hofer, who, with Eleanor Garvey, also selected the exhibition and donated many of the books to Harvard College. The exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was drawn largely from the book collection of Harvard College and the MFA. The catalogue was written by Garvey. The table of contents for *21 Etchings and Poems*, which appears on the first page of this article, was compiled by her and published in *The Artist & The Book*, p. 101; the catalogue itself contains a separate entry for each of the twenty-one artists. The first edition of that catalogue was published in 1961 by Harvard College and the Museum of Fine Arts; they published a second edition in 1972; and that edition was reissued by Hacker Art Books, New York, in 1982.

3 A comprehensive history of the *livre d'artiste* (for which there is no adequate English translation) has yet to be written, although the general outlines of its development as a new kind of art object are well known. When such a book is written, the early chapters will focus on Morris and Vollard. For Morris, see H. Halliday Sparling, *The Kelmscott Press and William Morris, Master-Craftsman* (London: 1924); and Paul Needham, et al., *William Morris and the Art of the Book* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1976). For Vollard, see Una E. Johnson, *Ambroise Vollard Éditeur* (New York: Wittenborn, 1944; 2nd ed., New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977). The concept of the *livre d'artiste*, as that term is used today, was defined about one hundred years ago by the work of Vollard, then continued by other great publishers of the first half of the twentieth century, particularly Kahnweiler, the Cassirers, Skira, Tériade, Maeght, and Cramer. Until the end of the nineteenth century, illustrated books usually were regarded as a minor art form and, as a rule, major artists did not participate. Thanks to these and like-minded publishers, major artists did become involved with the art of the book. By the time the concept of the *livre d'artiste* reached American artists in the middle years of the twentieth century, the illustrated book had become a major vehicle of artistic expression.

4 The extensive literature that has been devoted to the modern illustrated book is made up primarily of exhibition catalogues and sales catalogues, most of which focus on individual artists, publishers, and art-historical eras. That bibliography is too large to be recorded here. The bibliography of general surveys is not large, however, and serves as a useful introduction for those who wish to study the subject further; following are the titles used most often by collectors, curators, dealers, and booksmiths.

The bibliography most readily available is in Hofer and Garvey (cited note 2). The most comprehensive bibliography is Raymond Mahé, *Bibliographie des livres de luxe de 1900-1928* (4 vol., Paris: Editions Kieffer, 1931-1943). The following catalogues are listed in chronological order:

Monroe Wheeler, ed., *Modern Painters and Sculptors as Illustrators* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936 and later editions); Frank Crowninshield, *The Frank Crowninshield Collection of Modern French Illustrated Books* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1943); *An Exhibition of French Book Illustration, 1895-1945* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, [1945]); Albert Skira, *Anthologie du livres illustré par les peintres et sculpteurs de*

- L'École de Paris* (Geneva: Skira, [1946]); *French Art of the Book* (San Francisco: California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1949); *Modern French Illustrated Books* (New York: Parke-Bernet Galleries, 19 November 1951); Erardo Aeschlimann, *Bibliografia del libro d'arte Italiano, 1940–1952* (Rome: [1952]); Nicolas Rauch, *Les Peintres et le livre* (Geneva: Rauch, [1957]); E. W. Kornfeld, *Illustrierte Bücher* (Bern: Klipstein and Kornfeld, 13–14 May 1958); *Modern Illustrated Books from the Collection of Louis E. Stern* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, [1959]); H. P. Kraus, *The Illustrated Book* (New York: Kraus Gallery, 1964); Eleanor M. Garvey and Peter A. Wick, *The Arts of the French Book, 1900–1965: Illustrated Books of the School of Paris* (Dallas: Southern Methodist Univ. Press, 1967); W. J. Strachen, *The Artist and the Book in France: The 20th Century Livre d'Artiste* (New York: Wittenborn, 1969); Gordon N. Ray, *The Illustrator and the Book in England from 1790 to 1914* (New York: 1972); Susi R. Bloch, *The Book Stripped Bare, A Survey of Books by 20th Century Artists and Writers: An Exhibition of Books from the Arthur Cohen and Elaine Lustig Cohen Collection* (Hempstead, N.Y.: Hofstra Univ., 1973); E. W. Kornfeld, *Les Peintres et le livre* (Bern: Kornfeld and Klipstein, 13 June 1974); Breon Mitchell, *Beyond Illustration: The Livre d'Artiste in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Lilly Library, Indiana Univ., 1976); Antoine Curon, *Le Livre et l'artiste: Tendances du livre illustré Français, 1967–1976* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1977); Riva Castleman, *Modern Artists as Illustrators / Artistas Modernos como Ilustradores* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1981); Gordon N. Ray, *The Art of the French Illustrated Book, 1700 to 1914*. 2 vol. (New York: 1982); C. Hogben and R. Watson, ed., *From Manet to Hockney: Modern Artists' Illustrated Books* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985); Harriett Watts and Carl Haenlein, *Das Buch Des Künstlers* (Hannover: Kestner-Gesellschaft, 1989); Donna Stein, *Contemporary Illustrated Books: Word and Image, 1967–1988* (New York: Independent Curators, 1990).
- 5 Near the end of World War II, two of the earliest American *livres d'artistes* were published in New York: Rainer Maria Rilke, *The Sonnets of Orpheus*, with nine engravings and etchings by Kurt Roesch (New York: Wittenborn, [1944]); and Meyer Schapiro, trans., *The Myth of Oedipus*, with six etchings by Kurt Seligmann (New York: Durlacher Brothers, 1944). S. W. Hayter had created several *livres d'artistes* in Paris during the 1930s before moving to New York in 1940. There he established the American Atelier 17 and encouraged many forms of printmaking, including the art of the book. Twenty or thirty artists could work simultaneously in his workshop. Among them were many European Surrealists and some young Americans who later became famous as Abstract Expressionists; the list includes Antreasian, Calder, Chagall, Kadish, de Kooning, Lasansky, Lipchitz, Masson, Matta, Miró, Motherwell, Moy, Peterdi, Racz, Riopelle, Rothko, Schrag, Tamayo, and Tanguy. The literature by and about Hayter is extensive. Many exhibition catalogues provide surveys of his work from various perspectives. Among the most readily available introductions to Hayter and his circle are Joann Moser, *Atelier 17: A 50th Anniversary Retrospective Exhibition* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1977); P. M. S. Hacker, ed., *The Renaissance of Gravure: The Art of S. W. Hayter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and S. W. Hayter, *New Ways of Gravure*, first published in 1949. A revision of the second edition was published in New York by Watson-Guptill in 1981. On pages 76 and 77 of that edition, Hayter reproduced two versions of a Joan Miró-Ruthven Todd collaboration which Hayter printed in 1947. This illustrated poem from *The Ruthven Todd Album* was rendered using a technique which would be used for 21 *Etchings and Poems*. Following is a general description of that technique from page 108 of the Oxford catalogue: "With Miró and Ruthven Todd, Hayter employed a method, devised in 1944, of printing in colours from a plate etched in relief. This was in part an experiment to recreate Blake's method of relief etching. Using poems by Todd, Hayter and Miró produced plates etched to different levels in the manner of Blake. It was found possible to ink both relief (as Blake had done) and the intaglio with contrasting colour, and to print them simultaneously."
 - 6 Clinton Adams to Graham, 6 November 1989.
 - 7 Kenneth Tyler was the principal collaborating printer; pages of *Satan's Saint* were also printed by Bernard Bleha, Kaye Dyal, Jeff Ruocco, and Clifford Smith.
 - 8 Weisenthal, in telephone conversation with Graham, 10 March 1990.
 - 9 S. W. Hayter, *New Ways of Gravure* (1981 ed.), 75. See also note 5.
 - 10 Weisenthal does not remember how many proofs were made. At least one was given to each artist, as he recalls. He and the two printers also had a few proofs.
 - 11 In *The Artist & The Book*, 101, Garvey describes this *livre d'artiste* as probably "the first American collaboration of such magnitude between artist and author. . . . The idea recalls *Sonnets et eaux-fortes* (Paris, 1868), an epoch-making publication" (on page 50, Garvey has described *Sonnets et eaux-fortes* as "perhaps the first clear example of book illustration treated as an important artistic medium by a group of major 19th century French artists"; it included etchings by Corot, Daubigny, Doré, Hugo, Jongkind, and Manet). The following bibliography records references to 21 *Etchings and Poems* in periodical literature of 1958 and in later histories of printmaking: Dore Ashton, "Morris Gallery Exhibits a Portfolio That Links Words with Engravings," *New York Times*, 7 November 1958; Sonya Rudikoff, "Words and Pictures," *Arts* (November 1958), 32–35; Morris Weisenthal, "Twenty-one Etchings and Poems" [letter to editor], *Arts* (December 1958), 7; Hofer and Garvey, *The Artist & The Book* (cited note 2); Riva Castleman, *Prints of the Twentieth Century: A History*, 130 (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1976 and 1988); Moser, *Atelier 17* (cited note 5); Judith Goldman, *American Prints, Process and Proofs*, 47, 50–51 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1981); James Watrous, *A Century of American Printmaking, 1880–1980*, 216 (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Riva Castleman, *American Impressions: Prints Since Pollock*, 7, 22, 47 (New York: Knopf, 1985); Lanier Graham, *The Spontaneous Gesture: Prints and Books of the Abstract Expressionist Era*, 20–21, 58 (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1987; Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1989).
 - 12 Weisenthal, in telephone conversation with Graham, 17 March 1990.

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adhesives for *collé* printing, alternative lithographic crayons, and imaging techniques on translucent Mylar are but a few of the other research activities undertaken by institute personnel in the past decade.

On another front, health, safety, and the working environment have always been subjects for periodic review at Tamarind. These have ranged from time-and-motion studies that analyzed physical stress in the workshop—conducted twenty-five years ago—to present-day evaluations of workshop ventilation and of toxic materials and improved methods for their handling and storage.

Inasmuch as the results of the more significant Tamarind research projects have been absorbed by the field and are now part of standard practice, one may well ask, "What more can be gained, aside from historical insight, from an examination of the Tamarind archives?" In that regard, an interesting parallel may be drawn to a comparable examination conducted for Tamarind in the 1960s by Robert Gardner, who then taught at Carnegie-Mellon University. With great diligence, Gardner compiled a list of late nineteenth-century or turn-of-the-century United States patents for lithographic machinery and processes destined for commercial printing. Most of these inventions were never utilized because of the rapid and almost universal conversion of the industry to offset printing. Even so, there remains an enormously intriguing potential for their application to artists' lithography. Likewise, there is much that thirty years of Tamarind studies can yet provide. Some projects were inconclusive; some suggested residual benefits which were never explored; some were superseded by newly available materials or by the changing needs of the moment; and some were incompletely documented or abandoned because of the periodic turnover of personnel. Reexamination of Tamarind documents that record—often in highly personalized accounts—the rescue of a faltering art may reward a keen researcher by suggesting tantalizing new directions to be followed, and in so doing, may perhaps lead to even better and more reliable methods. □

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- 13 Hayter, in conversation with Graham, Paris, 15 July 1985. For Larry Rivers and Frank O'Hara, *Stones* (New York: ULAE, 1960), see Castleman, *American Impressions*, 25 (cited note 11). For *1¢ LIFE*, edited by Sam Francis (Bern: E. W. Kornfeld, 1964), see *ibid.*, 55–56.
- 14 Hayter, in conversation with Graham, Paris, 15 July 1985.
- 15 Weisenthal refers to Rivers and O'Hara, *Stones*, and Robert Rauschenberg and Alain Robbe-Grillet, *Traces Suspectes en Surfaces* (New York: ULAE, 1978).
- 16 *Liures d'artistes* and *artists' books* have many things in common, but they are two different kinds of books by artists. The literature of and about artists' books is considerable. As usually employed since the 1960s, the term *artists' books* identifies a wide variety of book-works which have expanded traditional definitions of "art," "book," and "non-book." Since the late sixties, in the United States alone, there have been thousands of such books created, and hundreds of exhibitions organized in galleries, museums, and alternative spaces. Proliferation of such books as an ongoing part of contemporary art has been so dynamic that the art world is still trying to develop a critical language with which to discuss this new mode of expression/communication/experience. Most operating definitions are wide enough to range from unique, book-like objects, to "books" printed in large editions using offset or xerography. These graphic objects have art-historical roots in the graphic productions of Cubo-Futurism and Dada-Surrealism. To a large degree, however, artists' books have been a post-modernist development. They await an appropriate critical vocabulary. For a bibliography of the first decade of artists' books, see Lanier Graham, "Artists' Books: A Bibliography, 1969–1977," *BOA: Bulletin of the Archives of the Art Information Center* (1977). An excellent general survey of the first quarter-century is Joan Lyons, ed., *Artists' Books: A Critical Anthology and Sourcebook* (Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, in association with Visual Studies Workshop, 1987). This book includes an international list of major public collections of artists' books and a long bibliography compiled by such well-known specialists as Helen Brunner, Janet Dalberto, Judith Hoffberg, and Clive Phillpot.