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Catch Me If You Can: Henri Matisse's Chase for Symbolic Capital in the New York Art Market
of the Early Twentieth Century

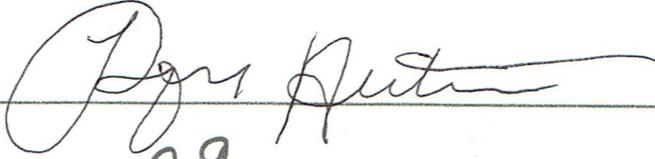
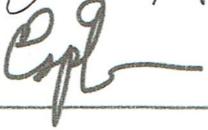
By Monica M. Mitchell-Werp

CATCH ME IF YOU CAN: HENRI MATISSE'S CHASE FOR SYMBOLIC CAPITAL IN
THE NEW YORK ART MARKET
OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Art and Design Department
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Art History
at
Lindenwood University

@December 2020, Monica M. Mitchell-Werp

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Saint Charles, Missouri

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ABSTRACT

CATCH ME IF YOU CAN: HENRI MATISSE'S CHASE FOR SYMBOLIC CAPITAL IN THE NEW YORK ART MARKET OF THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Monica M. Mitchell-Werp, Master of Art History, 2020

Thesis Directed by: Dr. Piper Hutson, PhD

Abstract:

This paper analyzes how the development and consequence of symbolic capital influences an art market. This comprehensive, qualitative analysis examines the early twentieth century New York modern art market activated by French artist Henri Matisse (1869-1954) and the 1913 Armory Show. This examination derived from the French sociologist, philosopher, and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) theories provides evidence of the use of symbolic capital by Matisse. The evidence points to the twofold function that symbolic capital holds within the emerging modern art market. The first function of symbolic capital manifests through the non-monetary value Matisse received from the intangible qualities of reputation and status and the firsthand knowledge of Matisse's intent to use this first function for greater advantage in the art market. The second function of symbolic capital outweighs economic, social, and cultural capital specific to an art market. The analysis of the twofold function of symbolic capital deems it as a fundamental, dominant factor that influenced the success of Matisse and the new modern art market.

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Introduction

Henri Matisse (1869-1954), the revered French modern art master achieved a dynamic, emotional representation in his compositions through bold color and aggressive form.¹ Upon Matisse's debut of his works of art in New York, a staff writer for the *New York Daily Tribune* reported on February 17, 1913, "this international show of about a thousand examples of modern art includes some of the most stupidly ugly pictures."² Although in twenty first century scholarship, Matisse is considered the greatest colorist of all time, the early critics characterized his works as bitingly aberrant, strewn with wild brushstrokes of bold, pure color.³ The earliest epithet for such innovative works emerged by critic Louis Vauxcelles, who reviewed the third Salon d'Automne in Paris in 1905; Vauxcelles purported the depravity of works exhibited. Consequently, the term "*les fauve*" or wild beasts coined by Vauxcelles in the daily newspaper *Gil Blas* inculcated the harsh judgment.⁴ Vauxcelles wrote in his review, "Les fauves! ... M. Matisse, fauve-chef... J'avoue ne pas comprendre. Une femme nue, laide etendue dans l'herbe d'un bleu opaque, sous des palmiers...le dessin ici m'apparait rudimentaire et le coloris cruel."⁵ *The wild beasts! Mr. Matisse, the wild beasts' leader...I admit I do not understand. A naked, ugly women stretched out in the opaque blue grass, under palm trees...the drawing here seems rudimentary and the coloring cruel.* The works by Matisse and "*les fauves*" were considered

¹ John O'Brian, *Ruthless Hedonism: The American Reception of Matisse* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 18.

² "The "Ism" Exhibition Painting and Sculpture at the 69th Armory. Independence in Art, A Remarkable Affair, Despite Some Freakish Absurdities," *New York Tribune*, February 17, 1913, 7.

³ Jack Flam, *Matisse on Art* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994): 136-137; Louis Vauxcelles, "Le Salon des "Indépendants," *Gil Blas*, March 20, 1907. Accessed May 13, 2020. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k7519594g.item>.

⁴ Vauxcelles, "Le Salon des "Indépendants."

⁵ Vauxcelles.

unseemly, as written by Russell T. Clement in the *Les Fauves A Sourcebook*. In the sourcebook, the fauvists' works were described as canvases of chaos, "Its walls throbbed with raw color — color squeezed straight out of the tubes, ravishing the eyes and senses, clashing in dreamy harmonies flung directly on the canvas; color that dared to tint human flesh pea green and tree trunks a violet red; color that not only refused to imitate nature, but was used to suggest form and perspective."⁶ Thus, Matisse's work existed as the antithesis of the academic doctrine in the early twentieth century.⁷

From the onset of the *mauvaise réception* and the pejorative term "*les fauve*," of the Fauvism art movement, Matisse met the challenge to overcome the caustic criticism to achieve a sound reputation and renowned status in his profession. He devised a strategic media approach of sincere interviews and conventionalized photographic self-portraiture (fig. 1) to appeal to the early twentieth century viewer to accept and comprehend his emotionally expressive, foreign, avant-garde paintings, sculptures, and drawings. Through his orchestrated contrivance of words in interviews and stylized self-portrait photographs for newspapers and magazines, he presented the counterbalanced narrative to his private and public persona and innovative, radical works. In conjunction, he developed relationships with collectors and dealers, constructing the opportunity for his work to be purchased and represented in galleries and museums, not just in France, but New York, the burgeoning epicenter of the world's modern art market.⁸

Matisse's continuous, inventive self-promotion to establish himself as a respected, serious painter, provided him with the tools to gain symbolic capital to advance his reputation

⁶ Russell T. Clement, *Les Fauves: A Sourcebook* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), xi.

⁷ Flam, *Matisse on Art*, 19.

⁸ O'Brian, *Ruthless Hedonism: The American Reception of Matisse*, 203.

and status, resulting in notoriety and profits. Symbolic capital is defined by the French sociologist, philosopher, and anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), as the ability of an individual to create, promote, and accumulate works of art, gaining signs and symbols of power, reputation, status, and prestige.⁹ Bourdieu developed the theory of symbolic capital in his 1979 book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Bourdieu argued symbolic capital is the ability of an individual to strategically maneuver amongst participants in the artistic field, employing status-driven behaviors to advance one's objectives to gain reputation and status above others in the artistic field.¹⁰ He defined and evaluated the forms of capital as economic (money and property), cultural (knowledge, skill, and education), social (associations and group membership), and symbolic (reputation and status), which interact in markets, deeming symbolic capital, the capital that inherently defines and legitimizes the other capitals.

Bourdieu provided evidence of the societal techniques used to create and accumulate symbolic capital through works, such as producing, promoting, purchasing, and selling works of art to achieve a distinction and hierarchical place in society.¹¹ Hence, through behaviors of creating and collecting works of art to accumulate symbolic capital, the concept of symbolic capital's power is theorized, in how it works as a justification of other capitals once they are recognized.¹² Therefore, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital convert into symbolic capital, which in turn increases, and the creation of more of the other forms of capitals.

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, England: Routledge Classics, 1984), 279.

¹⁰ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 279.

¹¹ Bourdieu, 226.

¹² Pierre Bourdieu, Bourdieu, "Handbook of theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, edited by J.G. Richardson," (New York City, NY: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241-258.

Thus, artists, collectors, and dealers fundamentally utilize symbolic capital to convey the intangible messages of reputation and status through tangible works.

Matisse's launch in New York and the activation of the modern art market imitated by the 1913 exhibit titled *The International Exhibition of Modern Art*, known as the Armory Show due to its location at the 69th Regiment of Infantry on Lexington Avenue. The infamous Armory Show exhibited American and European works to a new audience, some impressed, some horrified. Notably, the New York audience expressed shocked by Matisse's *La Femme bleue*, now titled *Blue Nude*, 1907 (fig. 2) and his other 12 innovative paintings, sculpture and three drawings exhibited. In addition to Matisse's work exhibited, the photograph of Matisse's paintings displayed on the wall at the Armory Show, printed in the *New York Tribune* article published on February 17 during the Armory Show (fig. 3) induced shock. It was under these auspices that diverse, consequential works were exposed to the public, forever changing the New York art market. Thus, the art market consisting of artists such as Matisse, who interwove his collaboration with collectors, dealers, and the press, resulted in a shift of artistic style in New York and the success of the Armory Show. For these reasons, Matisse contributed to the shift of the artistic style and his ultimate success by his creation and use of symbolic capital. He used his earned symbolic capital as an advantageous mechanism to gain the intangible qualities of reputation and status for the benefit over other artists and, importantly, acceptance of the new, indelible modern art he produced.

The research by Catherine Bock-Weiss provides insight into the tumultuous, unprecedented climate in which Matisse functioned within the realm of the Armory Show. In relation to the climate, Bock-Weiss argued that the construction of Matisse's self-image directly affected the reception of his work. Bock-Weiss revealed the pertinence of Matisse's strategy by

the Clara MacChesney interview, published on February 23, 1913, in the *New York Times Magazine* during the Armory Show. Matisse earnestly begged MacChesney, “Oh, do tell the American people that I am a normal man: that I am a devoted husband and father, that I have three fine children, that I go to the theatre, ride horseback, have a comfortable home, a fine garden that I love, flowers, etc. just like any man.”¹³ Matisse’s words conveyed the virtues of a normal man of sincerity, trustworthiness, and adroitness, creating an image that represented a respectable private and public persona to the viewing public.¹⁴ Matisse realized the necessity of constructing his public image to persuade the general audience that his works materialized from a dignified man’s sincere self-expressions. He used the MacChesney interview to promote himself, commencing an image representing the intangible characteristics of reputation and status —symbolic capital.

Further research on Matisse’s reception in New York conducted by John O’Brian argued Matisse’s relationships with collectors and dealers allowed him to promote himself further and sell his works. As Matisse’s relationships matured with collectors, such as Michael and Sarah Stein, sisters Etta Cone and Dr. Claribel Cone, and John Quinn, Matisse gained respect for his character and artistic ability through their shared alliances. Matisse benefitted from the affiliation, as he started to develop a reputation and a status by association with the affluent collectors, also drawing from their reputation and status. O’Brian stated collectors benefitted as well, “All were aware, whether they admitted it or not, of collecting as an indicator of their social status...”¹⁵ The interlocking relationship between Matisse and collectors advanced symbolic

¹³ Catherine Bock-Weiss, *Henri Matisse: Modernist Against the Grain* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 23.

¹⁴ Bock-Weiss, *Henri Matisse: Modernist Against the Grain*, 4.

¹⁵ O’Brian, *Ruthless Hedonism*, 64.

capital for both parties. Matisse gained reputation and status from his relationships and the sale of works to the affluent collectors, bolstering demand by their peers. The collectors acquired secure positions in social rank by purchasing works as a marker for their success and affluence. Moreover, Matisse earned symbolic capital by attaching himself to the earned symbolic capital of the collectors.

O'Brian further expanded his investigation of the relationships between Matisse and American collectors by evaluating Matisse's continuous communication with them, such as sending catalogues from recent exhibits and impromptu sketches of himself (fig.4). Matisse exchanged ideas with the collectors to translate their desires to canvas.¹⁶ Matisse's versatile, innovative techniques of depicting domestic pleasures and interiors coveted by the early twentieth century collectors enabled Matisse to expand his symbolic capital of reputation and status amongst his collectors and potential collectors. O'Brian stated that auction records by 1927 show Matisse gained results from his earned symbolic capital, becoming the most expensive living artist.¹⁷ In 1927, Matisse's works earned double the price paid for any work of Pablo Picasso, and several times over the price paid for Georges Braque, André Derain, Juan Gris, and Fernand Léger's works.¹⁸

Further analysis of the shifting artistic landscape of New York's art scene evaluated by Laurette E. McCarthy claimed Walter Pach, one of the Armory Show organizers, acted in the role of a dealer to obtain European modern art to exhibit. McCarthy asserted Pach developed friendships and became an "insider" with artists, notably Matisse.¹⁹ From Pach and Matisse's

¹⁶ O'Brian, 44.

¹⁷ O'Brian, 44.

¹⁸ O'Brian, 44.

¹⁹ Laurette E. McCarthy, "The "Truths" about the Armory Show: Walter Pach's Side of the Story," *Archives of American Art Journal* 44, no. ¾ (2004): 3.

first meeting at Michael and Sarah Stein's Villa Bardi in Fiesole, Italy, they forged a friendship that benefited both men.²⁰ Pach's relationship with Matisse allowed him to procure the loan of the *Blue Nude* for the Armory Show, as well as other works.²¹ Likewise, Matisse gained an admirable status with Pach, allowing him to gain the opportunity to show his work to a larger, international audience. In addition, Pach's position as a friend/dealer advanced his goal of obtaining European, avant-garde works to complement the American works exhibited at the Armory Show. Matisse's goal aimed towards expanding his client base and acceptance of his artistic style, and Pach's goal focused on Matisse's works and other European artists in the Armory Show. The goals of Matisse and Pach resulted in the unveiling of the quintessential Modern Art works, representing abstract subjects and colorful compositions demonstrated by the *Blue Nude*. Matisse's nude female form, an erotic Venus, displayed an exaggerated distorted body alongside thick and dense pigments of blue-green and pink, the opposite of the conventional classical nude female form.²² Principally, both men aspired to achieve a reputation and status for themselves as well as the Modern Art movement by the participation in the Armory Show.

Furthermore, the research on the use of self-portraits by Matisse conducted by John Klein explored the self-promotion of Matisse. Klein argued portraits present a complex transaction that

²⁰Laurette E. McCarthy, *Walter Pach (1883-1958) The Armory Show and the Untold Story of Modern Art in America* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 26.

²¹ McCarthy, *Walter Pach (1883-1958) The Armory Show and the Untold Story of Modern Art in America*, 41.

²² Alastair Wright, *Matisse and the Subject of Modernism*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 164-165; Jack Flam, *Matisse in The Cone Collection, The Poetics of Vision* (Baltimore, MA: The Baltimore Museum of Art, 2001), 103.

creates and affirms an individual's identity in the social sphere of a society.²³ Additionally, the use of self-portraits through paintings and photography served as a tool of persuasion to express a desired guaranteed status.²⁴ Chiefly through self-portraiture, the act of making art and the act of making a self-definition enabled an association between his work and himself.

Klein further evaluated Matisse's use of self-portraiture to create symbolic capital of reputation and status by illustrating how his painting *Panneau rouge*, now titled *The Red Studio*, 1911, (fig.5) exhibited at the Armory Show, simultaneously promoted his studio work. The studio acts as an extension of Matisse, effectively communicating his presence as an artist and his innovative style. In Matisse's self-portraits and studio compositions, the goal is to promote an advertisement of his ability and adroitness over the medium. Klein contended that Matisse planned and implemented strategies of career management to reach the viewing public.²⁵ Matisse's use of self-portraits to gain symbolic capital of reputation and status resulted in further visibility to collectors, increasing his sales of his works.

The research by Hilary Spurling provides a comprehensive examination of the life of Henri Matisse alongside the interpretations of his works of art from 1909-1954. The evaluation yields a framework analyzing Matisse's state of mind and his circumstances. He produced works of art and navigated the critics, constructing a narrative that engendered an acceptance and profitability of his works. In his early years, Matisse's appearance grew calmer and more restrained as his paintings grew bolder and more provoking.²⁶ Matisse's portraits from 1909-

²³ John Klein, *Matisse Portraits* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 5.

²⁴ Klein, *Matisse Portraits*, 8.

²⁵ Klein, 58.

²⁶ Hilary Spurling, *Matisse the Master: A Life of Henri Matisse The Conquest of Colour, 1909-1954*, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 13.

1910 demonstrated the Fauvist precepts the painting *Portrait de Marguerite*, now titled *Girl with a Black Cat*, 1910 (fig. 6) visually confronts the detractors' sensibilities towards his works.

Furthermore, Spurling stated the reaction from Matisse's first New York exhibit in 1909 created a sensation in which the fashionable sophisticates invented a paint-and-paper game titled after him.²⁷ As Matisse's harsh reception escalated, he agreed to an interview with American critic Charles H. Caffin, published in *Camera Works* in January 1909. Spurling wrote of Caffin's response to Matisse, "A sympatric and intelligent observer, Caffin had been disconcerted at their first meeting by the evident sanity of the painter popularly billed as a wild beast or madman."²⁸ Matisse astutely understood the importance of the media to communicate his story to neutralize the strident reception.

The reception at the 1913 Armory show, Matisse was proclaimed as the ringleader of the den of lewdness.²⁹ He experienced intense, odious criticism, creating an atmosphere warranting his response to counterbalance the Armory Show's reception. Matisse realized the gravity of the criticism; therefore, he understood he needed to find an audience for his works.³⁰ Matisse relied on his supporters, such as Pach, to promote his narrative of a civil, family man with innovative solutions depicting more than the tangible object.³¹ From Spurling's examination and current research on Matisse, the uncovering of Matisse, collectors, and dealers' status-driven behavior coinciding with the nascency of the Modern Art movement in New York reveals the impact

²⁷ Spurling, *Matisse the Master: A Life of Henri Matisse The Conquest of Colour, 1909-1954*, 21.

²⁸ Spurling, *Matisse the Master*, 49.

²⁹ Spurling, 136.

³⁰ Spurling, 136.

³¹ Spurling, 136.

symbolic capital generated. The ability to earn symbolic capital empowered the art market participants, enabling them to gain the desired reputations and status to succeed in their field.

The interdisciplinary fields of anthropology, business management, sociology, and economics produce the research on the second function of symbolic capital as a dominant capital over economic, cultural, and social. The anthropologists Rebecca Bliege Bird and Eric Alden Smith contributed to the field of symbolic capital from their research on how status-driven behavior prevails in cultures to promote status, prestige, and power through intangible messages, gaining an advantage over others.³² Bird and Smith argued individuals in cultures achieve symbolic capital through the creation of works of art and the self-promotion of their pieces. The result of the production of symbolic capital by artistic output gained better alliances in the hierarchical structure of societies.

Further research on the status relationships between artists and collectors conducted in the field of business management by Tuba Üstüner and Craig J. Thompson, based their analysis on Bourdieu's forms of capital and their inter-relatability in markets. The status-seeking practices of consumers who share a common understanding of the forms of capital use symbolic capital to legitimated the other capitals.³³ They claimed the obtainment of reputation and status stems from the desire to achieve a material lifestyle, showing one's wealth and status."³⁴ The focus on market output that involves symbolic capital production creates associations that evoke

³² Rebecca Bliege Bird and Eric Alden Smith, "Signaling Theory, Strategic Interaction and Symbolic Capital," *Current Anthropology* 46, no. 2 (2015): 222.

³³ Tuba Üstüner and Craig J. Thompson, "How Marketplace Performances Produce Interdependent Status Games and Contested Forms of Symbolic Capital," *Journal of Commercial Research* 30, no. 5 (February 2012): 803.

³⁴ Üstüner and Thompson, "How Marketplace Performances Produce Interdependent Status Games and Contested Forms of Symbolic Capital," 803.

asymmetrical allotment of class-based resources, such as reputation and status.³⁵ They posited that social differences with various symbolic resources construct the consumer cultures, equivalent to the consumer culture of art markets.

According to sociologist D.L. Swartz symbolic capital serves as the superior form of capital. He asserted the acquisition of symbolic capital from other capitals deems it a “metacapital” that empowers an individual or market to operate successfully.³⁶ At the onset of the acquisition of symbolic capital, the conversion repeatedly occurs in recognition of more economic, cultural, or social capital, creating a cyclical process.³⁷ The justification of the capitals materializes in the productivity of symbolic capital, such as the intangible quality of an artist’s reputation and status from a dealer’s promotion of the artist or a critic’s celebrated praise of an artist’s work. The effects of symbolic capital on the other forms of capital present it as an effusive, commanding capital, dominating the art market.³⁸ The sociological evidence that symbolic capital is desired by artists and collectors to convey the intangible qualities of reputation and status achieved through tangible works of art validates the strength of symbolic capital.

Further business management research by Tobias Pret, Eleanor Shaw, and Sarah Drakopoulou Dodd furnished the argument that individual, artistic entrepreneurs give no preeminence to economic capital.³⁹ They posited that it is time to identify that economic capital may not play an influential role in all forms of entrepreneurship, especially the artistic

³⁵ Üstüner and Thompson, 830.

³⁶ D.L. Swartz, *Symbolic Power, Politics and Intellectuals: The Politics of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 2013), 112.

³⁷ Swartz, *Symbolic Power, Politics and Intellectuals: The Politics of Pierre Bourdieu*, 803.

³⁸ Swartz, *Symbolic Power, Politics and Intellectual*,” 803.

³⁹ Tobias Pret, Eleanor Shaw and Sarah Drakopoulou Dodd, “Painting the Full Picture: The Conversions of Economic, Cultural, Social, and Symbolic Capital,” *International Small Business Journal* 34, no. 8 (August 2016): 8.

entrepreneurs' products.⁴⁰ The researchers contended that artistic products produce mutable symbolic capital that exchanges for other forms of capital, which continue to produce further symbolic capital.⁴¹ Their findings suggested gained reputation and signs of prestige lead to enhanced economic capital through sales, creating more symbolic capital.⁴² A compelling component from their research on participants in the artistic field provided evidence that artistic entrepreneurs "enjoyably" convert economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital back into symbolic capital, based on Bourdieu's concepts of capital conversion.⁴³

The field of economics research by Lars Vigerland and Erick A. Borg investigated the close relationship between art and business and its reciprocal benefits between them. Their research is based on the finding of Bourdieu's cultural concepts in which status-driven behaviors of artists, corporations, and individuals who collect art accumulate symbolic capital.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Vigerland and Borg found the production of art and collecting art generates an identity and a meaning that enhances the corporations, as well as the artists and collectors who engage with the aesthetic strategy.⁴⁵ The results of the intertwined relationship yield symbolic capital for all participants.

The significance of the evaluation of the twofold function of symbolic capital delineates the importance of how and why Matisse and the New York art market flourished in the early twentieth century. Some of the art market's success emanated from Matisse's production and

⁴⁰ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, "Painting the Full Picture: The Conversions of Economic, Cultural, Social, and Symbolic Capital," 8.

⁴¹ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, "Painting the Full Picture," 8.

⁴² Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 8.

⁴³ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 21.

⁴⁴ Lars Vigerland and Erick J. Borg, "Cultural Capital in the Economic Field: A Study of Relationships in an art Market," *Philosophy of Management* 17, no. 2 (2018): 172.

⁴⁵ Vigerland and Borg, "Cultural Capital," 172.

utilization of symbolic capital to his advantage, simultaneously as the dominant state of symbolic capital he used superseded over economic, cultural, social capital. The numerous research studies on the early twentieth century New York art market, especially the 1913 Armory Show's contribution to the modern art market, reveals the magnitude of its success. Yet, the twofold function of symbolic capital's contribution to Matisse and the art market's success has received little focus amongst scholars. The evidence presented from historical and biographical documents of the production and use of symbolic capital by Matisse and an inter-disciplinary collection of theories of inductive reasoning of the dominance of symbolic capital over other capitals constitutes the analysis of this paper. Therefore, the evaluation of Matisse's production and utilization of symbolic capital to gain reputation and status constitutes the establishment of the first function of the capital, presented side by side with the significance of symbolic capital's second function as a dominant capital in the art market, contributes to the state of the field on symbolic capital. This study examines Matisse's place in the American art market in the early twentieth century in light of the concept symbolic capital. Matisse's relationship to his collectors and his use of the press to establish his reputation in America has been examined by art historians Bock-Weiss, O'Brian, McCarthy, Klein, and Spurling. The symbolic capital of art has been examined by Bird, Smith, Üstüner and Thompson, Swarts, Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, and Vigerland and Borg, but the two fields have not been previously integrated. This study integrates the two and demonstrates that Matisse's production and utilization of symbolic capital in the New York art market of the early twentieth century is a fundamental, dominant factor that influenced the thriving art market.

In addition, Matisse's status-driven behavior manifested results of symbolic capital, gaining success over other artists, and contributing to the success of the modern art market. The

research reveals the status-driven behavior and the results, earning Matisse reputation and status to display to a desired audience for success in his profession. The research's objectives establish the development and consequence of symbolic capital in the emerging modern art in the New York art market of the early twentieth century through the lens of Matisse's evolution to a venerated artist. Exposing of the twofold function of symbolic capital in the success of Matisse and the modern art market, this original study puts forth a new facet regarding Matisse success against his detractors.

Contextual Analysis

“The signs of change in the American art market are coming from overseas, even if one does not comprehend the pending change from Europe.”⁴⁶ The commentary on the approaching change in the New York art market, written by the American art critic Christian Brinton in the American Edition of the *International Studio* of February 1913, limned the beginning of the twentieth century’s transatlantic association of artists, collectors, and dealers. The Armory Show commenced in New York City on February 15, 1913 until March 17, 1913, exhibiting 1,600 works of art by French artists alongside the American artists.⁴⁷ It was under the aegis of the Armory Show that revolutionary, monumental works of art by the French artist Henri Matisse were unveiled to the public, ultimately transforming the art market of New York from the accepted viewpoint of classical works to acceptance of avant-garde works. In 1913, the accepted classical works established were exhibited at the National Academy of Design’s 88th annual exhibition from March 15 through April 20, consisting of naturalistic landscapes. The *New York Tribune* published an article “Matters of Art, American Landscape —George Inness—Old Drawings” on Sunday, April 20, 1913. The article described a landscape, “it was a delicate spring landscape with cows grazing in the broad meadows,” illustrating the academic sensibilities of works, opposite to the Armory Show’s innovative works.⁴⁸

The revolutionary Armory Show organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors (AAPS) disrupted the American art market out of complacency, introducing the

⁴⁶ Lester C. Walker, Jr., “New Art in America: The Armory Show,” *The Georgian Review* 15, no. 3 (Fall 1961): 332.

⁴⁷ Darcy Tell, “The Armory Show at 100: Primary Documents,” *Archives of American Art Journal* 51, no. ¾ (Fall 2012): 15.

⁴⁸ “Matters of Art, American Landscape—George Inness—Old Drawings,” *New York Tribune*, Sunday, April 20, 1913. Accessed October 17, 2020.

dynamic, expressive European works.⁴⁹ The American public experienced the disruption, transpired by the introduction of Matisse and fellow modernist's works, differing from the prevailing art market of traditional painting of beauty and edification by old masters, viewed in museums or collections in private mansions.⁵⁰ "As a result, 'contemporary' art was mostly excluded from the national consciousness before the Armory Show."⁵¹ Considering the omission of innovative, nonformulaic modern art in the minds of Americans, a group of men conceived the genesis of the Armory Show. In 1911, the planning began in the Madison Art Gallery on 305 Madison Avenue in New York City, owned by Clara Davidge (1858-1921).⁵² The gallery afforded a space for young American artists to promote their avant-garde works. Upon the galleries closing in 1912 after three years of operation, the artists Walter Kuhn (1877-1949), Elmer MacRae (1875-1953), Jerome Myers (1867-1940), and Henry Fitch Taylor (1853-1925) founded the AAPS between the walls of the gallery.⁵³ "The men started this organization in order to support progressive American art, which was largely ignored by the National Academy of Design (NAD), established since 1825. The newfound members wanted to confront the aversion. Christine Oaklander states, "The AAPS wanted to challenge the NAD's elite exhibitions with a display of its own, similar to attract size and group, hence guaranteed critical attention, but radically different in it the spirit of freedom and innovation."⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Richard Pells, "Painting Modernity," In *Modernist America: Art, Music, Movies, and the Globalization of American Culture* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2011), 34.

⁵⁰ Pells, "Painting Modernity," In *Modernist America: Art, Music, Movies, and the Globalization of American Culture*, 34.

⁵¹ Pells, "Painting Modernity," 34.

⁵² Christine I. Oaklander, "Clara Davidge's Madison Art Gallery: Sowing the Seed for The Armory Show," *Archives of the American Art Journal* 36, no. 3/4 (1996): 20.

⁵³ Oaklander, "Clara Davidge's Madison Art Gallery: Sowing the Seed for The Armory Show," 20.

⁵⁴ Oaklander, "Clara Davidge's Madison Art Gallery, 29.

To achieve the liberty and change, the procurement of works for the new exhibit commenced, coordinated by the two members of the AAPS, Kuhn and Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928) plus the enlistment of Walter Pach (1883-1958), an artist and dealer living in Paris. The organization took form by June 1912. Kuhn and Davies traveled to Paris and relied on Pach to use his connections with modern art painters of Paris to secure works for the exhibit. Pach used his friendships and powers of persuasion to secure loans of works from collectors and artists, particularly Matisse and the Stein family.⁵⁵ With the procurement of works by Kuhn, Davies, Pach, and other associates of AAPS, the Armory Showed opened with 1,600 paintings, sculptures, and drawings in which one-third of the works were European, selling an estimated \$45,000 of European and American works.⁵⁶ Additionally, the Armory Show in New York ended with approximately 250,000 visitors.⁵⁷ JoAnn M. Mancini notes that the documentation of sales totaled 237 works.⁵⁸

During the month of the exhibition, some of the viewing public experienced a galvanizing shock and repulsion, while others experienced a rousing fascination with the avant-garde works. The aversion of the modernists created a hysteria, President Theodore Roosevelt called the modernists “extremists” in the critique he wrote for the March 29, 1913 edition of the *Outlook*, a liberal Christian magazine.⁵⁹ Levine included the magazine’s sentiments, “His visit to the exhibit proved that the ‘lunatic fringe’ a phrase he coined and applied to those whose ideas or

⁵⁵ McCarthy, *Walter Pach (1883-1958)*, 41.

⁵⁶ JoAnne M. Mancini, “One Term Is as Fatuous as Another: Response to the Armory Show Reconsidered,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (December 1999): 833.

⁵⁷ Bennard B. Perlman, *American Artists, Authors, and Collectors: The Walter Pach Letters, 1906-1958*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 382.

⁵⁸ Spurling, 136.

⁵⁹ Stephen L. Levine, “Forces Which Cannot Be Ignored: Theodore Roosevelt’s Reaction to European Modernism,” *Revue française d’études américaines* 2, no. 116 (2008): 9.

actions he considered extreme and/or insane, as evident in the art world as it was in the political arena.”⁶⁰ Roosevelt’s anti-modernist rhetoric echoed on in many critiques; however, some American critics under the belief of a long-term refinement of a cumulative, public opinion as opposed to the academic setting brought forth descriptive explanations for the modern art rather than rhetoric. Willard Huntington Wright temperately praised Matisse for his genius of color. Wright asserted, “While lacking a sense of rhythm... Matisse has a tremendous feeling of form in the static sense and a genius for color opposition which, while rare and delicate, is to the bourgeois shocking and savage.”⁶¹ Wright’s acknowledgment of Matisse’s use of color in his review stimulated further discourse on the elements that constituted modern art.

The organizers deemed the show a success even with the detractors, as it exposed the viewing public to the progressive American works side by side with the transatlantic addition of European works. The Armory Show started the rise and acceptance of Matisse and the Modern Art movement. Mancini acknowledged the art market shift by 1952, “In academic literature, as well as in the more familiar textbooks read by secondary and college students, the Armory Show has come to stand for the singular moment at which the ‘new’ vanquished the ‘old’ in American culture with a single and stunning revolutionary blow...”⁶² From the close of the show on March 17, 1913, the exhibit moved to Chicago, Illinois, and then to Boston, Massachusetts.

The Armory Show created an opportunity for artists to exhibit their avant-garde works, collectors to buy the works, and dealers to represent the works. At the show, Matisse presented works that countered the classicizing female nude with abstract representation, confusing,

⁶⁰ Levine, “Forces Which Cannot Be Ignored: Theodore Roosevelt’s Reaction to European Modernism,” 9.

⁶¹ Mancini, “One Term Is as Fatuous as Another: Response to the Armory Show Reconsidered,” 858.

⁶² Mancini, “One Term Is as Fatuous as Another,” 834.

horrifying, and intriguing the established New York art market. The American artist, writer, and teacher Kenyon Cox described Matisse's nude as audacious.⁶³ Cox wrote in *Harper's Magazine* upon seeing the *Blue Nude* that its composition elicited a "leering effrontery."⁶⁴ The temerity of Matisse's *Blue Nude* at the Armory Show interpreted by art historian Alastair Wright delineated the composition as a painterly process of visible brushstrokes that incited the bedlam in Hall H:

We should begin by looking closely at the painting itself, and in particular at its remarkable surface. Painterly process is foregrounded throughout by the highly visible brushwork and insistent pentimenti —around the breasts, for example, and above the left elbow. Notable too, are the shifts of fracture —between the thick and densely worked pigment that coats the upper torso and the alternation between impasto and highly diluted paint in the area around the figure's feet; or between the densely woven blue-green strokes around the hips and the meager, almost transparent skein of paint on her knee, through which are plainly visible the repeated alterations of the under drawing. All in all, a remarkably complex piece of painting. This technical heterogeneity, disrupting the unity of the work, means that the painting's surface presents itself relentlessly to the attention of the viewer —an open declaration of artistic activity entirely typical of the modernist canvas, in which the trace of labor, the privileging of indexicality over the iconic, makes manifest the painting's existence as painting.⁶⁵

Matisse's modernist canvas *Blue Nude*, presented in Hall H of the Armory Show represented the new art that Roosevelt, critics, and the general public viewed as made by extremists on a radical, lunatic fringe. The introduction of the Modern Art movement proved monumental to the spectators, commencing the acknowledgment the pending change undoubtedly arrived as reported by the American art critic Christian Brinton in the American Edition of the *International Studio*.

Matisse's works hung on the walls in Hall H of the Armory Show (fig. 7), which included the *Blue Nude*, *The Red Studio*, and *Girl with Black Cat* alongside the *La Madras rouge*; now titled *Red Madras Headdress*, 1907-8; now dated 1907, (fig. 8), *Joaquina*, 1911, (fig. 9), *La*

⁶³ Mancini, 834.

⁶⁴ Pells, 386.

⁶⁵ Wright, *Matisse and the Subject of Modernism*, 164-166.

Coiffeuse; now titled *La Coiffure*, 1907, (fig. 10), *Les Poissons*; now titled *Goldfish and Sculpture*, 1912, (fig. 11), *Jeune Marin*; now titled *The Young Sailor*, 1906, (fig. 12), *Le Luxe [III]*; now titled *Le Luxe II*, 1907-8 Fig. 13), *Les Capucines*; now titled *Nasturtiums with the Painting "Dance,"* 1912, (fig. 14), *Flowers*, 1906, (fig. 15), *Study- Nu dans la forêt, Nu assis dans le bois*; now titled *Nude in a Wood*, 1906, (fig. 16), the painting *Nature morte*; elsewhere called *Still Life with Greek Torso*, 1908, one sculpture, *Le Dos*; now titled *The Back, I*, 1910-12; now dated 1909, (fig. 17), and three drawings.⁶⁶ Additionally, six drawings provided by Alfred Stieglitz hung on the walls, two documented *Nude*, 1908 (fig. 18), and *Nude with Bracelets*, 1909 (fig. 19).⁶⁷ However, to fully understand the nature of Matisse's works of art exhibited at the Armory Show, a recognition of his early life and innovative strategies prelude to the exhibit constitutes appraisal.

It is well documented that Matisse began his artistic aspirations at age 20 while convalescing from appendicitis; it is said that his mother gave him a box of colors to pass the time.⁶⁸ However, three years before this illness in 1890, Matisse's father sent him to Paris to study law, where Matisse espied the *objets d'art* of the Louvre.⁶⁹ Alfred H. Barr, Jr. wrote in his leading-edge 1951 book *Matisse, His Art and His Public*, that while Matisse studied for his first set of law examinations in Paris, he spent countless hours at the Louvre.⁷⁰ Also, Matisse took an

⁶⁶ Bock-Weiss, Catherine C, *Henri Matisse: A Research Guide* (London, UK: Routledge, 2012), 471.

⁶⁷ Lisa Mintz Messinger, ed., *Stieglitz and his Artist: Matisse to O'Keeffe, The Alfred Stieglitz Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 245.

⁶⁸ Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Matisse His Art and His Public* (New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, 1951), 13.

⁶⁹ Barr, *Matisse His Art and His Public*, 13.

⁷⁰ Barr, 13.

interval in St. Quentin, where he attended elementary drawing classes at the Ecole Quentin de La Tour, revealing his intrinsic impulse for artistic expression, markedly before 1890.⁷¹

Barr further stated Matisse completed his first canvas composed of a still life and old books in June of 1890.⁷² From there, Matisse left Paris the winter of 1891-1892, pursuing his life as a painter. He started his academic studies with Adolphe William Bouguereau (1825-1905) at the Académie Julian, next he studied with Gustave Moreau (1826-1898) by 1897. Under Moreau's guidance, Matisse gleaned intellectual confidence and astuteness of color versus academic drawing.⁷³ Barr contended, "unlike Bonnat, Gérôme, and Bouguereau, he [Moreau] did not make a fetish of academic drawing. True to the romantic tradition of Delacroix, he accepted the fact that from the beginning the student who inspired to be a painter might, even should, be interested in color."⁷⁴ From the beginning of his studies, Matisse nurtured his proclivity towards color.

As the years progressed to 1907, Matisse's work matured with profound color combinations without the support of the object.⁷⁵ From the interview with Guillaume Apollinaire of 1907, Matisse stated his mindset on color and expression:

I strove to develop this personality by counting above all on my instinct, and by frequently returning to fundamentals. When difficulties stopped me in my work I said to myself: "I have colors, a canvas, and I must express myself with purity, even though I do it on the most summary way by setting down, for example, four or five spots, or drawing four or five lines that have plastic expression."⁷⁶

⁷¹ Barr, 13.

⁷² Barr, 13.

⁷³ Barr, 13.

⁷⁴ Barr, 15.

⁷⁵ Jack Flam, *Matisse on Art*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 28.

⁷⁶ Flam, *Matisse on Art*, 28.

Matisse's approach to fundamentals and his tour de force of color distinctly merged in his first two periods of his five periods —first the Fauve period, 1900-1908, and then, the Experimental period, 1908-1917.⁷⁷ His expression of purity is evident in *Blue Nude*, as it brings forth a series of large flat color areas, ruptured by unanticipated shifts in planes, resulting in a composition of concurrent three-dimensionality with the element of flatness.⁷⁸

Throughout Matisse's fauvist period, his compositions monumentally and effectively portrayed his sincere response to the objects.⁷⁹ Matisse pushed the boundaries of painting by withdrawing from the accepted academic teaching towards paintings, expressing an emotional reaction to objects by color. From his innovative style of liberating color, he received push back on his work from the onset. Spurling posited Matisse developed strategies to defuse the tensions on his early reception. She wrote, "Matisse's comic illustrated letters (fig. 20), showing himself at work with Brouty, diffused tension and relieved the nerve-racking anxiety that always accompanied each fresh attempt to push forward in his painting into unknown territory."⁸⁰ From early on, Matisse implemented a strategy to self-promote his identity to counterbalance his bold, pure color compositions representing his emotional existence in which viewers did not understand.⁸¹ Henceforth, Matisse prepared to challenge his reception from the critics and viewers from the Armory Show by his planned, prudent interviews and crafted, conventional self-portrayal in photographs.

However, before Matisse's debut of his works at the Armory Show, his first sale of one of his paintings took place in San Francisco, California in 1906, bought by George Of, a friend of

⁷⁷ Flam, 10.

⁷⁸ Flam, 11.

⁷⁹ Spurling, 21.

⁸⁰ Spurling, 29.

⁸¹ Spurling, 29.

the Steins.⁸² The enthusiastic patrons of Matisse, Michael and Sarah Stein part of the Stein family living in Paris at the turn of the century, traveled to San Francisco for family business and brought some of Matisse's work with them.⁸³ The Steins promoted Matisse and his artistic expression; however, they encountered resistance with friends exclaiming, "But don't you think you're crazy."⁸⁴ Correspondingly, on the other side of the country in New York, Alfred Stieglitz, director of the Photo-Secession Gallery located on 1111 Madison Avenue, presented Matisse's works in 1908, 1910, and 1912. The *New York Daily Tribune* published its editorial remarks on March 6, 1910, on Matisse's drawings exhibited at the Photo-Secession Gallery:

The resounding vogue of the ultra-modern French type is difficult to account for save on the hypothesis that any man of talent who elects to take his little turn at causing the bourgeois to sit up is necessarily a person of consequence. In Paris, to be sure, there has been considerable sympathetic talk about M. Matisse, and therefore he inevitably has a respectable hearing in his country. Well, one may respect the indubitable elements of ability of his work. There are passages of drawing in his pictures with a kind of rough truth about them, and they carry vogue suggestions of a gift which might be put at the service of beauty, One can image a sort of transmogrified Matisse, a Matisse raising his skill to a higher power and achieving things. Somewhere in his make-up there must be latent artistic virtues. But to credit him with potentialities is one thing, to acclaim the work that he has actually produced is another. His drawings denote only an ugly but weak conception of form, and they are by the same token curious mixtures of eloquent and meaningless line. His partisans hail in him the leader of a probably beneficent revolution, To the disinterested observer he is simply an artist who may or may not have "found himself, and in the meantime is moving rather fruitlessly about in a work not realized."⁸⁵

The reception of Matisse's works at the exhibit disdainfully proclaimed the qualities of ugliness and meaningless lines in his compositions. Although Matisse received praise from some of his followers, such as the Steins, his works stirred verbiage of angst and distaste amongst most viewers.

⁸² Aline B. Saarinen, "The Steins in Paris," *The American Scholar* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 1958), 439.

⁸³ Saarinen, "The Steins in Paris," *The American Scholar* 27, no. 4 (Autumn 1958), 439.

⁸⁴ Saarinen, "The Steins in Paris," 439.

⁸⁵ "American Pictures," *New York Daily Tribune*, March 6, 1910, 2.

However, a glimmer of praise surfaced the same month in the *New York Daily Tribune*, which published an article on its foreign news page of the twenty-six-annual Salon of the Independent Artists that opened on March 16, 1910, in which Matisse exhibited. The editorial allotted Matisse and his works a more amiable review, “Henri Matisse one of the big guns of the Independents, exhibits a bright-eyed girl amid myriads of tulips, colors of which, in wafer dots and electric flashes, are replete with violent vibration and Quixotic courage which have won for this eccentric artist his notoriety.”⁸⁶ Even with a few gentler words regarding Matisse and his works, the seeds of disdain stood firmly planted in the minds of Americans. Therefore, as Matisse’s pending reception at the Armory Show approached, the need for a counterbalance against the opposition of his works mounted due to the current reception.

The art historical research by Catherine Bock-Weiss provided evidence of Matisse’s understanding he needed to act as the principle agent in formulating his professional image by accruing symbolic capital to combat the negative reception.⁸⁷ Bock-Weiss contended Matisse’s construction of his self-image directly influenced the reception of his works; therefore, his use of the new mass communication media afforded him with the tools to communicate exactly what he wanted to communicate.⁸⁸ Bock-Weiss stated that Matisse’s style strived for new artistic solutions to express himself through color, “In his Grand Style (precedent-defying, “imaginative”) works, Matisse toiled toward reduction of form, toward austere figuration, and toward a fresh solution of color structure.”⁸⁹ The drive to express emotions through color with the subtraction of form placed Matisse straight against the established perception of what art

⁸⁶ “A Great Art Show: Six Thousand Works Exhibited in Paris,” *New York Daily Tribune*, March 20, 1910, 4.

⁸⁷ Bock-Weiss, 4.

⁸⁸ Bock-Weiss, 4.

⁸⁹ Bock-Weiss, 10.

should be within the academic confines. From Matisse's new artistic solution, especially of color, the articulation of himself and his work through self-promotion proved crucial to receive acceptance of his artistic innovativeness at the Armory Show and beyond.

Bock-Weiss wrote that Matisse's strategies implemented were not novel in ages past the strategy to gain reputation and status using tools of propaganda to gain symbolic capital of reputation and status worked for popes, kings, and ruling-class elites.⁹⁰ The past strategies materialized by self-portraits and patronage of chapels and public works.⁹¹ Matisse armed with the new mass media, fashioned a self-representation for published interviews and photographs, furnishing him with access to gain symbolic capital. Bock-Weiss confirmed Matisse's strategy of using the media to promote his persona as a handsome, wholesome bourgeois gentleman by inviting the interviewer into his conventional world, "Matisse controls the entire encounter by receiving these interviewers in his home or studio, by walking them through his collection of art and artifacts, as well as by commenting on the development of his own work from early examples to recent."⁹² Astutely, Matisse accepted interviews from a select few, deliberately timed with the onset of an exhibit, such as the Armory Show.⁹³ For instance, the infamous MacChesney interview given in 1912, published amid the 1913 Armory Show, illustrated the importance of the precise moment published.⁹⁴ The interview lent itself to be an active self-representation of Matisse to offset the fever pitch that ensued at the viewing of his radical, color

⁹⁰ Bock-Weiss, 18.

⁹¹ Bock-Weiss, 18.

⁹² Bock-Weiss, 21.

⁹³ Bock-Weiss, 18.

⁹⁴ MacChesney, Clara T, "A Talk with Matisse, Leader of the Post-Impressionists," *New York Times*, March 9, 1913.

orientated works. Matisse's gained symbolic capital allowed him to confront and foil the established perceptions to gain a favorable reception.

In MacChesney's interview, Matisse carefully constructed his words, publicizing the virtues of a sincere and dignified man, creating an image that represented the respectable public persona to the viewing public.⁹⁵ Moreover, Matisse realized earlier in his career; he must form a public image to persuade the critics and viewing public that his works of art developed from his sincere self-expression.⁹⁶ His preparation for the descent of the critics and viewers at the Armory Show, presented a bespoke priority. In Matisse's words from a 1911 journal article, he related his paramount conviction on the necessity for self-representation, providing an asset for the future exhibits:

Art, in my opinion, is a mirror reflecting the artist's soul. In his pictures the artists should reveal only himself. And everything else serves as a subject for his art must merely be a pretext for the constant and repeated baring of his own soul. First and foremost, I demand from the artist: sincerity and modesty. He should if he's a real artist, avoid any posturing and show his "I: as it is, without feeling embarrassed that his private world is not a very great one; it may not be a great one—but it is his, and only his. The artist's "I," his ego, is "barred" in his artwork—but the artist's public "I" is a morphological type, ready-made, of the trustworthy professional artist: authentically sincere and aware of the status and dignity of his vocation.⁹⁷

Matisse linked his sincerity with his trustworthiness as an artist, allowing critics and viewers to look beyond the initial shock of his innovative work of bold, flat colors, exposing his impetus, of his emotional, expressive representation. Matisse needed the management of his self-image and his works. He knowingly chose which works to exhibit at the Armory Show, works that previously received austere responses.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Bock-Weiss, 4.

⁹⁶ Bock-Weiss, 18.

⁹⁷ Bock-Weiss, 25.

⁹⁸ McCarthy, 51.

Bock-Weiss argued Matisse used self-promotion strategies to expose his character and reasoning behind his innovative works, aspiring for improved, gracious responses towards his expressive canvases.⁹⁹ MacChesney's interview directly epitomized Matisse's persona; however, art historian Kathryn Brown counter argued Matisse use of the written word as a means to counter critics on their own terrain, devoid of personal information.¹⁰⁰ "...Matisse countered his critics on their own terms and identified the content of the artwork as being distinct from biographical information about the artist."¹⁰¹ Brown claimed Matisse utilized writing as a way to celebrate the principles of artistic creation by the transcendental ego, not the artist's personality.¹⁰² The transcendental ego is defined as, "the self that is necessary in order for there to be a unified empirical self-consciousness."¹⁰³ For Immanuel Kant, it synthesizes sensations according to the categories of the understanding. Nothing can be known of this self, because it is a condition, not an object, of knowledge."¹⁰⁴ Yet, Brown and Kant's countered theories of the personality or self, do not possess the cause and effect relationship posited by Bock-Weiss; Matisse presented a self-promoting behavior provoking an effect of change of opinion of his personality.

Matisse employed self-promoting essays and interviews to set forth an image of artistic creativity, not to impact his personality on the content of his works.¹⁰⁵ Brown attached Matisse's written characterizations to his artistic creativity, not personal details, as a "condensation of

⁹⁹ Bock-Weiss, 25.

¹⁰⁰ Kathryn Brown, "Against Autobiography: Henri Matisse's Essays on Art," *Life Writing* 12, no. 1(2015): 43.

¹⁰¹ Brown, "Against Autobiography: Henri Matisse's Essays on Art," 44.

¹⁰² Brown, "Against Autobiography," 44.

¹⁰³ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Transcendental ego," accessed August 20, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/transcendental-ego>.

¹⁰⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Transcendental ego."

¹⁰⁵ Brown, 47.

sensations, a representation of my mind.”¹⁰⁶ Although Bock-Weiss and Brown evaluated Matisse’s desire to communicate his artistic creativity from a different point of view, the hostile circumstances, especially at the Armory Show in which he encountered scandalous criticism, remained the same. Matisse addressed the critics with personal details and descriptions of his artistic creativity, creating a cause and effect to counter the detractors.

Bock-Weiss identified Matisse’s compositions had reductions of form and fresh solutions of color structure.¹⁰⁷ Thus Kuhn, Davies, and Pach, too had recognized the gravity of color choices and arrangements and exhibited Matisse’s works in the last room of the show, spotlighting the glory and intensity of his color, designing a grand finale.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, Matisse’s self-management of his persona and his works warranted a preeminent tactic to forge the path to gaining a sincere, trustworthy reputation and dignified status in his vocation. Matisse’s successful self-management of conveying his persona and motivation for his expressive works to collectors, dealers, and the public allowed him to achieve profits and notoriety from his work. The conveyance of Matisse’s narrative translated into growing acceptance, notably from the Montross Gallery exhibit in 1915 and the 1923 purchase of *La fenêtre*, 1916 by Reginald Poland, the director of the Detroit Institute of Arts in Michigan. Poland accounted for his acquisition of the *La fenêtre* to his critics, “His home is ordered, immaculate and attractive. He, himself is the model head of a family, wholesome and systematic. He admires the great paintings of the past... Surely a man... who in his own life is wholesome,

¹⁰⁶ Brown, 47.

¹⁰⁷ Bock-Weiss, 10.

¹⁰⁸ William C. Agee, “Henri Matisse at the Armory Show — and Beyond,” In *The Armory Show at 100: Modernism and Revolution*, edited by Marilyn S. Kushner, New York, NY: New York Historical Society, New York in Association with G. Giles Limited, London, 2013), 219.

human, same and well-ordered must be sincere and have good reason for painting as he does.”¹⁰⁹ Poland believed Matisse’s words in interviews and photographs, as well as the growing acceptance of his works, as seen in the blockbuster sales of the Montross Gallery.

Furthermore, Bock-Weiss stated Matisse’s strategies resulted in winning the 1927 Carnegie International’s first prize and his celebrity treatment on his three trips to the United States in 1930.¹¹⁰ On one of the trips, reporters quoted Matisse on his opinions on New York, American art, art schools, and other issues of the time.¹¹¹ Matisse continued his carefully planned self-representation, as distinguishably presented on the cover of *Time* magazine, published October 20, 1930 (fig. 21). Through Matisse’s consistent efforts to represent himself as a respectable, family man and serious innovator to counterbalance against detractors, he earned notoriety of magazine covers and profits from the sale of his works to gallery patrons and academic art institutes.

Further research on Matisse’s tempestuous reception in America conducted by Art historian John O’Brian argued Matisse’s relationships with collectors and dealers allowed him to further promote and sell his works with their aid in tempering the hostile reception at the Armory Show. The aid came from the matured relationships with collectors, such as Michael and Sarah Stein, sisters Etta Cone and Dr. Claribel Cone, John Quinn, and dealers, namely Alfred Stieglitz in New York. From Matisse’s friendships with the collectors and dealers, he attained esteem for his artistic ability, resulting in the collectors and dealers passionately promoting his work. O’Brian affirmed Matisse’s friendships benefitted him, “In an era in which artists and collectors increasingly kept their distance from one another, preferring to have a dealer act as an

¹⁰⁹ Bock-Weiss, 23.

¹¹⁰ Bock-Weiss, 32.

¹¹¹ Bock-Weiss, 32.

intermediary between them, the extent of Matisse's relations with American collectors was unusual. In return, the collectors were insistent promoters of his work, in fact, acknowledged by Matisse in his letters of gratitude and his inscriptions in catalogs of exhibitions to which they had lent paintings."¹¹² From Matisse's self-representation of his petit-bourgeois standing and his innovative works, he conveyed to his friends his constructed narrative, advancing his career.

Matisse benefitted from the affiliation with collectors as he started to develop a reputation and a status by association with the affluent collectors, drawing upon their established reputation and status. O'Brian stated collectors benefitted from collecting Matisse's work, "All there were aware, whether they admitted it or not, of collecting as an indicator of their social status..."¹¹³ Matisse's interlocking relationship with collectors advanced symbolic capital for both parties, feeding off each other's symbolic capital. However, importantly, Matisse needed to overcome the skeptics at the Armory Show to gain reputation and status, so his works achieved an acceptance and demand by the upper echelon. Therefore, Matisse crucially attached himself to the reputation and status of his collectors and dealers.

Matisse realized the significance of the relationships with collectors, dealers, and the public. O'Brian stated, "Matisse's sober presentation of himself was calculated and accorded with the social constraints and ideological demands of the time."¹¹⁴ O'Brian contended Matisse cultivated private collectors, played dealers amongst each other, and convinced the press of his solid bourgeois lifestyle and competency as an avant-garde artist.¹¹⁵ Matisse's strategies of hindering the progression of the negativity of himself and his works towards an acceptance

¹¹² O'Brian, 64.

¹¹³ O'Brian, 63.

¹¹⁴ O'Brian, 2.

¹¹⁵ O'Brian, 2.

stemmed from his relationships and self-representation in the press in which he shifted his image from the seductiveness of his subject matter to the seductiveness of his paint.¹¹⁶ However, the seductiveness of the subject depicted in the *Blue Nude* earned him the epithet “apostle of the ugly.”¹¹⁷ From this harsh nickname, Matisse imperatively strived to shift the concentration of the object, the nude figure to his innovative artistic technique. This artistic solution applied to the *Blue Nude*’s composition, possessed a trenchant form, weighty bounding lines, magnified and distorted contours with flat bold colors.¹¹⁸ Matisse expressed his emotions of the object, not the object itself, in an unerring fauvist approach.¹¹⁹

Enduring the acerbic criticism, Matisse continued his strategies to promote his persona and artistic innovation by precisely guiding his narrative to collectors, dealers, and the public. Two years after the Armory Show and one year after his exhibit at the Montross Gallery, *The Sun* published an article titled “Works by Matisse Shown at Museum” on January 12, 1916. The article delineated The Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibit of two drawings by Matisse, which created a scandal among the critics, “The drawings are small in themselves, but there they are in the museum and the old-time art lovers who had openly insisted that Henri Matisse instead of being an artist was some sort of an arch fend and that his work clearly proved it will be heartbroken.”¹²⁰ Progress in Matisse’s acceptance was rooted even with the museum’s uncertainty of taking the significant step with aligning a patron’s gift to the collection. The reluctance of the museum subsided as the display of the labels were placed upon the frames,

¹¹⁶ O’Brian, 2.

¹¹⁷ Barr, 49.

¹¹⁸ Barr, 49.

¹¹⁹ Barr, 49.

¹²⁰ “Works by Matisse Shown at Museum,” *The Sun*, January 12, 1916, 7.

disclosing the gift of Mrs. George Blumenthal in 1910.¹²¹ The museum's decision to include Matisse on the walls and Mrs. Blumenthal's gift to the museum began the groundwork toward Matisse's acceptance and comprehension of his work. Matisse's reputation and status ensued a foundation.

Matisse utilized his relationships with Michael and Sarah Stein, sisters Etta Cone and Dr. Claribel Cone, John Quinn, Mrs. Blumenthal, and other collectors, promoting himself and his works well into the late 1920s. Since the acceptance of Matisse's works shown in collectors' private homes and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the onset of a mainstream acceptance commenced. In addition to articles on Matisse in large newspapers, smaller magazines also began to recognize Matisse. One example was the monthly periodical *Scribner's Magazine* comprised of color engraving by artists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as literary works on Matisse in 1918. The literary critic and theorist Robert Scholes contended the slow acceptance of Matisse and other modernists stemmed from prejudices against the innovative works.

The readership of the *Scribner's Magazine* functioned as a club. The magazine became a required reading in schools and colleges, creating a national culture.¹²² Matisse and other modernists remained mostly ignored in the magazine pages until William Aspenwall Bradley wrote the September 1918 article "Some French Etchers of the Modern School." Bradley characterized Matisse's technique of reproducing objects with a flat delicacy of form alongside Picasso's primitivism of visual modernism.¹²³ Bradley wrote on Matisse in regard to his

¹²¹ Barr, 49.

¹²² Robert Scholes, "Modernist Art in a "Quality" Magazine, *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 2, no. 2 (2011): 135.

¹²³ Scholes, "Modernist Art in a "Quality" Magazine," 167.

refinement, “It is subtle and refined rather than strong and expressive. It gives us the shapes and the patterns of the things seen on a flat surface rather than their weight, volume, and density. But it also gives us delicate of modeling and texture, as about the temples and in the beard of the man’s head which we reproduce.”¹²⁴ Bradley’s congenial words on Matisse’s *Head of a Man* illustrated the evolution of reviews of the 1913 Armory Show to 1918, progressing from severe to temperate. Scholes’ analysis of Matisse’s appearance in the pages of *Scribner’s Magazine* unfolded the consequence of Matisse’s acceptance through his continuous self-promotion in relationships through the years. The earned acceptance by status-driven behavior reiterated O’Brian’s claim that Matisse developed his relationships with collectors and dealers to herald his reputation and status.

Matisse built upon his reputation and status through his successful, status-driven relationships with collectors and dealers, the fortuity to exhibit at galleries, the favorable reception of media exposure of *The Sun* and *Scribner’s Magazine*, and the opportunity to exhibit at the Metropolitan Museums of Art, which effectively countered his original persona as the “apostle of the ugly.” Thus by 1931, Matisse’s self-promotion through relationships, interviews, and photos established a mainstream, favorable image, as seen in the auctioneer George Macy’s advertising circular, which highlighted Matisse’s works. The circular boasted Matisse’s works were in a booming demand and secured the highest prices.¹²⁵ Matisse’s strategies successfully worked to gain reputation and status, shown by auction records of 1927, revealing he earned the title of the most expensive living artist.¹²⁶ The auction records indicated Matisse’s growing

¹²⁴ Scholes, 167.

¹²⁵ O’Brian, 43.

¹²⁶ O’Brian, 44.

success, as well as Barr's report of Matisse's *Goldfish's* private purchase for \$15,000 in 1949, approximately valued at \$385,460 in 2020.¹²⁷

The results of Matisse's efforts to secure his reputation and status of a conservative, family man and innovative artist through relationships and the print media exceedingly worked, as the demand and price value for his works increased. The painting *Goldfish's* commanding price illustrates the demand and value gained. From 1914 to 1926, the demand and value of Matisse's works were visually palpable, especially the sale of the *Blue Nude* from the John Quinn collection at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on October 28. The provenance of the *Blue Nude* originally initiated by the purchase by Leo and Gertrude Stein from Matisse in 1907, changing hands from Alphonse Kann of Paris to Parisian Georges de Zayas of the Marius de Gallery in New York to John Quinn in 1920 with a purchase price of \$4,500, estimated at \$61,184 in 2020.¹²⁸ The Hôtel Drouot sold the *Blue Nude* to Michael Stein on behalf of Dr. Claribel Cone for 120,760 French francs, equivalent to approximately \$4,830 in 1926, accounting for the fifty percent drop in the French franc since 1920.¹²⁹ The estimated value of the purchase of the *Blue Nude* constitutes an equivalency value of \$69,345 in 2020.¹³⁰

From the beginning Walter Pach and Matisse's relationship enabled the procurement of many of his works for the Armory Show, commencing the emergence of modern art in New York. Pach, one of the Armory Show organizers, first functioned as a dealer in Paris to obtain

¹²⁷ O'Brian, 45; "Inflation Calculator," Saving. Org. Accessed October 17, 2020. <https://www.saving.org/inflation/>.

¹²⁸ *The Steins Collect*, ed. Janet Bishop, Cécile Debray, and Rebecca Rabinow (New Haven, CT; Yale University Press, 2011), 416; "Inflation Calculator," Saving. Org.

¹²⁹ "Foreign Exchange Rates 1913-1941 #2: The Currency Upheavals of the Interwar Period," New World Economics, Accessed September 1, 2020. <https://newworldeconomics.com/foreign-exchange-rates-1913-1941-2-the-currency-upheavals-of-the-interwar-period/>.

¹³⁰ "Inflation Calculator."

European modern art to exhibit, then as a salesman at the Armory Show. Pach's "insider" relationship with Matisse and other European artists afforded Pach with the trust to acquire the works on loan for the show. Correspondingly, Matisse's relationship with Pach facilitated the expansion of Matisse's works exhibited and promotion by a zealous advocate. Pach's promotion extended Matisse's formulated self-representation by echoing his persona and philosophy of expressive, emotional style conveyed by color, as seen in Pach's arrangement of Matisse's wall at the Armory Show. Pach placed the *Blue Nude* in the center of the wall, closely hanging the *Nude in a Wood* below, flanked on the left by *Le Luxe II* and on the right by *The Red Studio* and *Young Sailor II*, creating an electrifying wall of color.¹³¹

Through Pach's salesmanship and placement of Matisse's canvases in the grand finale room of the Armory Show, two works sold.¹³² In Pach's notebook dated March 2, 1913, Mrs. E.G. Radeke of the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence purchased one drawing for \$67.50. The second and final sell of Matisse's works was by Mrs. Howard Gan of the painting titled *Flowers*, 1906 with an unknown price. In 1961, Mrs. Gan gifted the painting to the Brooklyn Museum in New York.¹³³ The two purchases commenced the market to the general public for Matisse in the New York, despite the detractors. Matisse countered the critics in interviews explaining his colorful combinations, stimulating an understanding of his complete collection of works at the Armory Show (fig. 22).

¹³¹ Agee, "Henri Matisse at the Armory Show — and Beyond," 220.

¹³² Association of American Painters and Sculptors (New York, N.Y.). Catalogue of the *International Exhibition of Modern Art* in New York, 1913. Walt Kuhn, Kuhn family papers, and Armory Show records, 1859-1984. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. 37. Accessed May 11, 2020. <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/catalogue-international-exhibition-modern-art-new-york-481>.

¹³³ "Armory Show 1913 Complete List," The Armory Show at 100, <http://armory.nyhistory.org/armory-show-1913-complete-list/>.

Significantly, Matisse's keen instinct to align himself with Pach to publicize his persona and artistic merits proved beneficial. Pach promoted Matisse's work at the Armory Show and continued after the show as Pach encouraged the Montross Gallery in New York to include Matisse in their upcoming exhibition (fig. 23). Pach cleverly wrote an article titled "Why Matisse?" in the *Century*, published in February 1915, synchronized with the timing of the Montross Gallery exhibition.¹³⁴ In the article, Pach championed Matisse as an artist comparable to the ancient Greeks, Persian plate makers, and Gothic stain-glass artisans.¹³⁵ Pach used this vocabulary to connect with the conventional art world, establishing a foundation to accepting the innovative works, creations that merited the same reverence. McCarthy included Pach's sentiments in the *Century* article: "That Matisse is important as a continuer of the great heritage of the past, as being one of the truest exponents of today of the classic point of view."¹³⁶

Matisse's strategy of cultivating the relationship with Pach and seeking his assistance in promoting him proved advantageous to his reputation and status. Evidence of the successful relationship appeared in the article "Matisse Sells Well" in the journal *American Art News* of 1915, which reported that the Montross Gallery sold 80 works by Matisse, six more than listed in the original catalogue."¹³⁷ As Matisse crafted his interviews and provided self-stylized photographs to the press, Pach likewise enlisted the same strategy, he constructing the desired message he wanted to communicate by his articles on Matisse.

McCarthy's investigation expanded on Pach's relationship with Matisse as a devoted promoter. Pach continued to push Matisse to exhibit in New York; consequently, Pach inveigled

¹³⁴ McCarthy, 107.

¹³⁵ McCarthy, 107.

¹³⁶ McCarthy, 107.

¹³⁷ "Henri Matisse," *Documenting the Gilded Age: New York City Exhibitions at the Turn of the 20th Century*, New York Arts resource Consortium.

Matisse to exhibit amongst fellow European and American modern artists at the Bourgeois Gallery in New York. The 1916 exhibit titled *The Exhibition Modern Art* advanced the public's awareness of avant-garde art. Pach wrote to Matisse, "The exhibition at Bourgeois was a success, and I am doubly happy of it, because the effect amongst the public is very important and then the fact of having obtained and justified the support of M. Bourgeois is a solid base for the developments to come... All the works sold have been acquired by some Americans, the foreign artists, or representatives have deals unique to me, who is American, and have received the amount resulting from their sale from me, who in some manner the secretary of the group."¹³⁸ Pach's perseverance carried on undeterred by the harsh critics, the public's nescience, the United States' unstable economy, and difficulties of shipping works due to World War I.¹³⁹ However, in 1917 and 1918, Pach arranged two more exhibitions of Matisse's works, as well as other European and American modern artists, further rooting the foundation of acceptance of Matisse and his pictorial canvases of colorful emotion, overcoming obstacles.¹⁴⁰

Art historian John Klein's research on Matisse's use of self-portraiture investigated the self-promotion he produced through his image. Klein argued that portraits present a convoluted act, building and declaring an individual's identity in the social construct of a culture.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, Klein contended that Matisse persuasively employed self-portraits through paintings and photographs to communicate a desired status.¹⁴² "By making the self into the object of art, the artist makes most explicit the conviction that an artist's work of art expresses

¹³⁸ McCarthy, 74.

¹³⁹ McCarthy, 74.

¹⁴⁰ McCarthy, 85.

¹⁴¹ Klein, 5.

¹⁴² Klein, 8.

first and foremost the artist's personal responses."¹⁴³ Matisse aimed at communicating his sincere response to the object he painted, countering the obtuse reception of his work. Klein stated that Matisse used self-portraits in letters to friends and collectors to convey his identity, stature, and profession, as seen in his sketch *Two Self-Portraits and a Moroccan Landscape*, 1912 (fig. 24).¹⁴⁴ Klein believed Matisse exhibited a shrewd judgment, sending the impromptu sketches to reveal his intimate state of mind. The sketches translated his persona as an enduring and identifiable entity more than any individual work of art.¹⁴⁵

Klein further analyzed Matisse's use of self-representation to earn symbolic capital of reputation and status by illustrating how his painting *The Red Studio*, 1911 advertised his professional aptitude in his studio work.¹⁴⁶ The studio performs as an amplification of Matisse's persona, communicating his presence as an artist and his innovative style.¹⁴⁷ In Matisse's self-portraits and studio compositions, he cogently publicized his ability and adroitness over the medium. The desire to communicate his persona and his works of art through self-portraiture and photography demonstrated its necessity during the Armory Show as critics defamed not only the *Blue Nude* but the *Red Madras Headdress*. Klein wrote, "When the *Red Madras Headdress*, was exhibited in New York in 1913 in the Armory Show, it was one of the most remarked on by Matisse, prompting one reviewer, Franck Jewett Mather, Jr., to brand it for its "willful if powerful distortions, a childish symbolism, fairly appalling ugliness."¹⁴⁸ *The Red Madras*

¹⁴³ Klein, 8.

¹⁴⁴ Klein, 199.

¹⁴⁵ Klein, 199.

¹⁴⁶ Klein, 58.

¹⁴⁷ Klein, 58.

¹⁴⁸ Klein, 82.

Headdress composition spurred caustic words from critics, chiding the bold color arrangement and abstract features of the sitter.

Through Matisse's use of self-portraits and photographs to illustrate his serious, conservative personality and artistic ability, he created the visibility of a sound reputation and status against the harsh critics. During the Armory Show, the strategy of self-representation proved crucial in countering the defamation. With the MacChesney interview alongside Pach as his promoter, Matisse progressed with his counterpoise of his persona and expressive, colorful works. Although Matisse's reputation and status possessed conflicting attitudes during the Armory Show, not yet securing his celebrated career, one advertisement published during the Armory Show provided the visual progress for acceptance of Matisse and the Modernists. The John Wanamaker Store's advertisement published on March 13, 1913, in the New York paper *The Evening World* titled "Color Combinations of the Futurist Cubist Influence Fashion," remarkably used Matisse and the Modernist movement to sell its clothes (fig. 25). The advertisement quoted Matisse, "Henri Matisse, who is one of the radicals in the new school, said, 'An artist should above all express a Vision of Color in harmony of which corresponds to his feelings.'"¹⁴⁹

Furthermore, the advertisement included the importance of color, "This is what they have done —these creations of new fashion. Line, for the moment, dropped back to a secondary place. *Color* is the vital thing. With a gown as a palette, the world has been painted over, intensified, vivified, made luminous, by putting into its dresses which express the color vision of the Modernists."¹⁵⁰ The mainstream advertisement provided evidence of the successfulness of

¹⁴⁹ "Color Combinations of the Futurist Cubist Influence Fashions," *The Evening World*. March 13, 1913, 7.

¹⁵⁰ "Color Combinations of the Futurist Cubist Influence Fashions, 7.

Matisse's strategy to counter the negative responses to his works to an understanding of why he chose bold, pure colors to articulate intangible emotions in a tangible work, depicting his sincere expressions. Klein contended Matisse planned and implemented strategies of career management to interface the viewing public to gain acceptance of his color palette.¹⁵¹ His goal of obtaining a favorable reputation and status evinced from the promotion from collectors, dealers, and the moderately growing, tremulous public. From the research conducted by Klein, the findings contribute evidence on how Matisse employed status-driven behavior to advance his reputation and status as an innovative artist, yielding notoriety and profits.

The biographical method approach of examining the life of Matisse within the context of his New York reception written by Hilary Spurling puts forth a comprehensive examination of his life. Spurling furnished an account of Matisse's existence in a hostile climate of critics and Matisse's exploration for meaning through his works. The extensive detailing of Matisse's life and motivations for his works further binds the contextual findings by the research of Bock-Weiss, O'Brian, McCarthy, and Klein, asserting Matisse sought symbolic capital to achieve a sound reputation and dignified status to gain acceptance and profits. Spurling contributed evidential findings of Matisse's struggle to overcompensate over critical judgments on his works towards acceptance of his character and artistic expressions. Spurling stated Matisse's reception of his works rendered the exact opposite of his intentions as an artist.¹⁵²

From the first showing of Matisse's works in 1908, namely prints in New York through Alfred Stieglitz, the reception generated intense feelings of detest to titillation. From the onset, the artistically inclined socialite circle initially expressed disgust. The aversion passed to a

¹⁵¹ Klein, 58.

¹⁵² Spurling, 21.

thrilling experience, as seen from the creation of the paint-and-paper games by the elites, titled after Matisse. The patrician New York crowd, the players of the game, each tried to paint the most outlandish color combinations possible to win.¹⁵³ Hence, from the start Matisse decisively acknowledged the hostile and ridiculing reactions to his works that viewers voiced, opposite of his aspirations to produce works purely driven by emotions. Spurling stated Matisse's purpose, "Emotion was his prime test of authenticity in a painting."¹⁵⁴ Therefore, Matisse found it vital to communicate his persona and meaning of his innovative, color-imbued works to the defamers to gain symbolic capital, burgeoning his prospect for reputation and status in the art world.

Therefore, to garner perspective on Matisse's impending reception in New York, the words of Gelett Burgess' influential essay titled "The Wild Men of Paris," published in *The Architectural Record* in 1910, rendered the context. Burgess proclaimed he mentally stands on his head, trying to gain a new viewpoint on the beauty of the new art movement of crude drawings and atrocious color:

Matisse himself, serious, plaintive, a conscientious experimenter, whose works are but studies in expression, who is concerned at present with but the working out of the theory of simplicity, denies all responsibility for the excesses of his unwelcome disciplines. Poor, patient Matisse, breaking his way through this jungle of art, sees his followers go whooping off in vagrom paths to right and left. He bears his own speculative words distorted, misinterpreted, inciting innumerable vagaries. He may say, perhaps: "To my mind, the equilateral triangle is a symbol of manifestation of the absolute. If one could get that absolute quality into a painting, it would be a work of art." Maître Matisse, if I understand him, which, with my imperfect facility with French, and my slighter knowledge of art, I am afraid I didn't, quite, stands primarily for the solid existence of things. He paints weight, volume, roundness color and all the intrinsic physical attributes of the thing itself, and then imbues the whole with sentiment. Oh, yes, his paintings do have life!¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Spurling, 21.

¹⁵⁴ Spurling, 21.

¹⁵⁵ Gelett Burgess, "The Wild Men of Paris," *The Architectural Record* 27, no. 5 (May 1910): 403-404.

Burgess continued his essay by stating that Matisse should not be classified as one of the wild beasts, he lives in a revolt against the subtleties of impressionism, finding artistic solutions of simplicity, directness, and pure color.¹⁵⁶ Burgess introduced Americans to Matisse's artistic qualities, delineating his aim of expressiveness with color and soul. However, the initiation of Matisse and his tenets of art in 1910 soon manifested the viewer's disorientation of his works at the Armory Show.

Spurling detailed Matisse's reception at the Armory Show as one of horror and confusion.¹⁵⁷ The cars and the crowds lined up outside the 69th Regiment Armory on Lexington Avenue and queued inside to survey the works that constituted the new Modern Art movement.¹⁵⁸ Spurling stated the public believed Matisse to be a wild beast, "The ringleader on this den of lewdness, profanity, and pollution."¹⁵⁹ Matisse's title of ringleader notably stemmed from the infamous *Blue Nude* in which Matisse endured vicious condemnation, starting from the first showing at the Salon des Indépendants of 1907 in Paris. Wright described the *Blue Nude's* reception, "...the painting met with almost uniform vituperation. Much criticism ran along fairy conventional lines. The canvas was taken as a 'studio prank' who knows how to advertise himself, and it was described as an 'impetuous, violent, furious, and outrageous painting.'¹⁶⁰ At the Armory Show, "the critics unable to decipher the basic components of the figure's body deemed the work as incoherent."¹⁶¹ The art critic Julian Street constructed a fictitious confabulation about the disordered composition:

¹⁵⁶ Burgess, "The Wild Men of Paris," 404.

¹⁵⁷ Spurling, 136.

¹⁵⁸ Spurling, 136.

¹⁵⁹ Spurling, 136.

¹⁶⁰ Wright, 166.

¹⁶¹ Wright, 167.

What is this one about? This one with the nude man writhing on the ground with fireworks behind him. He seems so ill-at-ease. Perhaps he has been touched by a rocket?

This is not a man, she corrected. It is a woman; and those are not fireworks, they are palms.

Oh, I see. But why is she painted blue?¹⁶²

The confusion is apparent in Street's whimsical dialogue, displaying his inability to comprehend the *Blue Nude* from its ambiguous figure positioned in a conventional female pose to the physiognomy of male attributes.¹⁶³ The more complex confusion arose from the figure's identity, her race, as the label at the Armory Show presented the work as *Souvenir de Biska*, which received an altered title in 1931.¹⁶⁴

Thus, the viewers and critics questioned the *Blue Nude*'s depiction as a non-Western, African identity, further fascinating the viewer. The figure invoked typology of the sexualized African; however, it presented palpable pink coloring of a Westerner. The challenging ideal of the skin tone perplexed the viewer:

Rather than a blue nude, we are faced with a figure whose skin is predominantly pink, with the blue pigment, where it does occur, restricted largely to the shadows. The complexion of the body renders problematic the identification of the figure as Algerian, for pink skin—here it is almost exaggerated pink—operated in painting of the period as a sign of European. It was of course, just that: a sign; 'white' and black'—or 'pink' and 'brown'—are artificial categories (as are 'Europe' and 'Africa'), and no one, European or not, is actually pink (or white), certainly not the pink of Matisse's figure.¹⁶⁵

The identification dilemma seemingly originated from the location in which Matisse created the *Blue Nude*; Matisse visited Biska, Algeria, in 1906. Matisse's philosophy regarding a painting's

¹⁶² Wright, 167.

¹⁶³ Wright, 167.

¹⁶⁴ Wright, 167.

¹⁶⁵ Wright, 168.

design method of releasing it from any need to copy nature encompassed the mystifying *Blue Nude*.¹⁶⁶ Wright further deemed *Blue Nude* a composition of complex figure and background exasperated by clashing brushstrokes, concurring with Spurling on Matisse's compositions producing conflicting assessments.¹⁶⁷

Even with Burgess' essay, MacChesney's interview, Matisse's efforts from his words, collectors, dealers, and the moderately affable press, the efforts to project a civil, family man who created works that expressed emotions, the persisting general appraisal of him and his works amassed abhorrent criticism. Spurling stressed Matisse knew he vitally needed the promotion by supporters, such as Pach and media publicity, to change the perceived judgment to gain an accepted audience in New York.¹⁶⁸ As Pach promoted Matisse in the years following of the Armory Show and the gained media attention, his persona and comprehension of his artistic expression of colors received more consideration in understanding, achieving some amiable recognition.

The Sun article titled "What is Happening in the World of Art," published on January 24, 1915, began its first line, "Matisse is the greatest name in art to-day." The shift away from the wild beast characterization moved towards an established recognition of a functioning artist in the new Modern Art movement. However, *The Sun* presented the detractors who wanted to understand the meaning of Matisse's works of art:

Say, tell us: What's he driving at, that fellow Matisse? Merciful powers! Have you ever seen his work? Sure, but the more I see them the more my head spins. I thought at first, they were simply fakes: but all you fellows see something in them, and maybe you're crazy, or perhaps it's me —Anglais tel qu'on parle! That's crazy, but if there's an idea in it I'd like to know what it is.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Wright, 168.

¹⁶⁷ Wright, 222.

¹⁶⁸ Spurling, 136.

¹⁶⁹ "What is Happening in the World of Art," *The Sun*, January 24, 1915, 3.

The acceptance of Matisse as an active artist in the Modern Art movement took root in the minds of New Yorkers, but with some misgivings of exactly why Matisse showed any significance to the art world. Spurling continued examining Matisse's strategy to win over cynics whose heads spun upon viewing his works. Spurling denoted Matisse's continued status-driven behavior to counter these cynics, proving his significance as a substantive artist.

The evidence of Matisse's pursuit to gain a prominent presence, earning symbolic capital of reputation and status, prevailed in the observed sketch *Portrait of Mrs. Samuel Dennis Warren*, 1915. The result of the portrait produced a wonderment to Mrs. Warren, the friend of Sarah Stein and daughter of the American ambassador to Britain. Spurling wrote, "The resulting drawing was so life-like it resembled not only the sitter but several of her relative as well. When Mrs. Warren told him, he had somehow conjured up her daughter, her father, and her aunt, Matisse said it only went to show the vitality of drawing by comparison with photography."¹⁷⁰ Matisse's talent captured the sitter's inner soul; he now caught the sitter's admiration through an intangible work of art that generated reputation and status.

Spurling stated Matisse found it necessary to create an external response more urgently than ever as experiments grew unwaveringly more extreme.¹⁷¹ Matisse's radical artistic solutions stemmed from his ideology on the invention of photography. Spurling revealed Matisse's ideology, "...Matisse explained that the invention of photography released painting from any need to copy nature. From now on, art was free to condense and synthesise, eliminating surface detail in an attempt to penetrate rather than reproduce reality, as seen in the enigmatic *Blue Nude*. He said the aim of the new art was to 'present emotion as directly as possible and by

¹⁷⁰ Spurling, 151.

¹⁷¹ Spurling, 150.

the simplest means.”¹⁷² Thus, Matisse talented with an adept ability to self-promote his narrative through collectors, dealers, and media propaganda, generated the reputation and status he desired to gain eminence and revenue.

Matisse achieved renowned reputation and status by 1927, indicated by his accomplishment of winning the Carnegie International Prize, and by 1930, he graced the cover of *Time* magazine on the October 20 issue. Remarkably, Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) won the Carnegie International Prize in 1930, yet Matisse transcended Picasso as the face to adorn the cover of the *Time* magazine issue.¹⁷³ From the start of Matisse’s career, he encountered demoralizing attacks on his character and on his expressive works. He addressed the defilement head-on with self-promotion, utilizing his collectors, dealers, and the press to overcome the attacks. Matisse successfully used symbolic capital as a tool to earn reputation and status, creating an acclaimed career.

Therefore, through the evaluation of the state of the field on Matisse and his works, and the foundation of how Matisse developed and gained symbolic capital in the complex, the evidence demonstrates the radically changing New York art market in the early twentieth century. The findings provide the definitive argument that Matisse’s use of symbolic capital fundamentally contributed to his acclaim and the success of the modern art market. Thus, the evidence of the first function of symbolic capital supports how Matisse produced and used symbolic capital to his advantage to gain a reputation and status. The first function of symbolic capital co-existed with the second function, a function dominating economic, social, and cultural capital to mutually influence the success of the emerging New York art market.

¹⁷² Spurling, 26.

¹⁷³ Spurling, 325.

Current anthropological research on the first function of symbolic capital by Rebecca Bliege Bird and Eric Alden Smith examined symbolic capital's ability to act as a paramount capital, operating in the art market. Bird and Smith argued status-driven behaviors are prevalent in cultures where behaviors promote reputation and status through intangible messages, such as artistic expressions. The artist's works represent oneself with materialistic means for one's self-interest to gain an advantage over others.¹⁷⁴ With the theories of symbolic capital by Bourdieu, Bird and Smith analyzed symbolic capital conjointly with the theory of signaling. The theory of signaling conceived by Michael Spence (1943-) provides an in-depth framework to evaluate signaling behaviors that result in the development and consequence of symbolic capital. Spence defined the theory of signaling as behavior that establishes and validates intangible messages of status, prestige, and power, transmitted by a tangible means. Spence argued competent individuals who cannot precisely establish their abilities to a person, company, or organization for a position possibly could advantageously amass a "costly" signal, such as a college degree. A degree is a tangible indicator of the intangible qualities of an individual's talent and motivation, establishing their abilities to a potential employer to earn a position.¹⁷⁵

In considering Spence's theory of signaling, Bird and Smith evaluated status-driven behavior to gain an advantage over one's competitor plus gain the desired intangible qualities deemed to be prevalent and operating in society. "By using conventional signals such as ceremonial sponsorship or magnanimous behaviors to advertise their resource-holding potential, signalers can resolve conflicts before they rise to costlier levels involving direct conflict."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Bird and Smith, 222.

¹⁷⁵ Michael Spence, "Job Market Signaling," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 87, no. 3 (August 1973): 355-374.

¹⁷⁶ Bird and Smith, 233.

The ability to signal one's status-driven behavior through advertisement enables an individual to create a narrative, defining their persona for a desired result of gained reputation and status.

Gleaning from Bird and Smith's research, Matisse used his resource-holding potential to resolve detractors' attacks, meticulously constructing his words in his interviews and publications to convey his traditional family man values and earnest ideals as an artist, side by side with photographs depicting himself as such. To illustrate Bird and Smith's validity of status-driven behavior to gain symbolic capital, the research of Bock-Weiss affirmed the connection between Matisse's status-driven behavior that produced the outcome of earned reputation and status. Bock-Weiss contended Matisse used status-driven behavior, such as crafted interviews and publications, to advance his persona, attempting to resolve the wild beast image. For instance, Matisse employed status-driven behavior by providing a respectable, distinguished photographic portrait for publication in Alfred Stieglitz's *Camera Works* in 1913, and assiduously planned language to attempt to counteract his detractors, as art students of the Art Institute of Chicago burned Matisse's effigy. Even before 1913, Matisse refined his image to combat the negative connotations of his innovative style to his persona, illustrated in his contrived journalistic account of his visit to Moscow in 1911. Bock-Weiss provided evidence of Matisse's public relations, "He is photographed, looking respectably elegant, under his own painting, *Girl in Green Dress*, which hung in the house of the wealthy Russian merchant who owned it. In another shot, he is shown (in the manner of a good politician) with a child on his lap."¹⁷⁷ Matisse's used conventional signals to advertise his resource-holding potential of a trustworthy family man and artistic innovator in interviews and photographs enabled him to start to counter the attacks on his works.

¹⁷⁷ Bock-Weiss, 24.

Bird and Smith further pursued evidence of symbolic capital by evaluating artists' self-promoting behavior through the creation of tangible works. They investigated the case study of women in the Achuar-Quichua community in Ecuador whose works, created in the medium of ceramics, serve as status symbols for the women:

A woman who makes finer pots may gain social benefits in two ways. First, skilled potters may be able to secure better marriages—marriages to men who are politically well connected. Indeed, at least some level of ability in crating local acceptable pots is a prerequisite for marriage, since 'competence in painting pottery bowls is a maker of a girl's transition to marriageable age. Second, married women continue to produce pottery that signals their skill and their political alliances.¹⁷⁸

Bird and Smith delineated this example of the production of symbolic capital to support their argument that specific artistic expressions serve to communicate information about the artist that cannot be seen materialistically. The women used their artistic skills to gain better marriage suitors and political allies; therefore, their status, prestige, and power manifested through the achievement of their production of ceramics and the ability to sell ceramics to visitors to gain profit.¹⁷⁹

The production of symbolic capital by the Achuar-Quichua women enabled the circumstance for better marriage suitors and political allies —earned reputation and status. Through the ceramics, the artistic expression effectively communicated the women's intangible messages of reputation and status to potential suitors. Bird and Smith's qualitative research is pertinent, supporting the significance of symbolic capital in a society that possesses an interdependent communication cyclical process. As Matisse produced his tangible artistic expressions through paintings, sculpture, and drawings paralleled with his self-representation through interviews and photographs, he devised intangible qualities that elucidated his persona

¹⁷⁸ Bird and Smith, 231.

¹⁷⁹ Bird and Smith, 231.

and works. Matisse's artistic expression served to communicate information about him that could not be seen materialistically. In Matisse's case, the use of bold, energetic color materialized his emotional, sincere being.

During the Armory Show, Matisse's tangible interviews and photographs served to manage his public relations from the critical responses to his radical color arrangements. His conservative words and photographs communicated the intangible message that he was a civilized family man who painted with sincere feelings. The anthropological study by Bird and Smith revealed in societies regardless of the type of tangible artistic expressions, such as ceramics, paintings, words, and photographs, the production of intangible messages of reputation and status from the promotion one's persona and works of art carries consequential outcomes of desired objectives.

Building on the examination of symbolic capital's first function of the production and utilization of symbolic capital by Matisse to gain reputation and status, the evaluation advances to symbolic capital's second function as a dominant capital over other capitals in the art market. From the marketplace performance research by Tuba Üstüner and Craig J. Thompson, the evaluation of status relationships between producers, such as artists and consumers in this instance collectors illustrated the participation in status games to gain symbolic capital. The examination of status-seeking practices by artists and collectors who share a common understanding of forms of capital showed they knowingly convert different capital into legitimated symbolic capital; thus, they ensured the capitative advancement over one another in gained reputation and status.¹⁸⁰ Üstüner and Thompson claimed that the basis of symbolic

¹⁸⁰ Üstüner and Thompson, "How Marketplace Performances Produce Interdependent Status Games and Contested Forms of Symbolic Capital," 803.

capital domination stemmed from the desire to achieve a material lifestyle, showing one's wealth and status."¹⁸¹ The sociological focus on the marketplace output involves symbolic capital production. It provided evidence of the artist and collector associations that evoke asymmetrical allotment of class-based resources, such as reputation and status.¹⁸² From Bourdieu's theories, Üstüner and Thompson delineated the power of associations to gain symbolic capital:

Symbolic capital is constituted when specific forms of economic, social, or cultural capital are recognized as legitimate bases for claiming prestige, respect, and/or authority within a given field. It is important to note that symbolic capital is a sociological phenomenon rather than a strictly psychological one. That is, the field-specific conditions that legitimate particular forms of capital transcend the idiosyncratic judgements of a given individual. Accordingly, symbolic capital is constituted through collectively understood status games whose legitimating criteria are formally and informally coded. ...For example, a consumer who has extensive knowledge about abstract impressionist painters would likely gain status among those playing higher cultural capital game of art appreciation.¹⁸³

Üstüner and Thompson based their analysis on Bourdieu's forms of capital and their inter-relatability in markets (fig. 26). They posited that social differences with various symbolic resources construct the consumer cultures, equivalent to the consumer culture of art markets.¹⁸⁴ The use of symbolic capital within the intertwined status hierarchy produces the structure in which artists and collectors gain leverage due to earned reputation and status.

Further analyses exposed how artists and collectors blended into a shared existence, granting them the opportunity to build on the status-seeking behaviors on a personal level. Üstüner and Thompson asserted, "...marketplace performances, particularly those that are situated in longer term consumer-service-provider relationships, are multifaceted social interactions through which different forms of capital (economic, social, and cultural) are

¹⁸¹ Üstüner and Thompson, 803.

¹⁸² Üstüner and Thompson, 803.

¹⁸³ Üstüner and Thompson, 797.

¹⁸⁴ Üstüner and Thompson, 797.

routinely exchanged and varying degrees of interpersonal familiarity and commitments to the relationship are established.”¹⁸⁵ Üstüner and Thompson stated the struggle of favorable allocation of capital directly relates to the mobilizing and adapting the rules of status-driven behavior.¹⁸⁶

Matisse resolved the struggle for symbolic capital by developing interpersonal relationships with collectors and their family members. In 1906, Matisse sent Allan Stein, the son of Michael and Sarah Stein, a postcard with a sketch of the Matisse family with their names below their individual sketch (fig. 27). Matisse’s unusual relationship with collectors bypassing the dealers allowed him to modify the normal precepted protocol of the dealer system to develop individual, personal relationships with collectors to gain a reputation and status with them. Matisse built relationships through status-seeking behaviors, yielding symbolic capital and the opportunity to earn other forms of capital.

From Matisse’s unique relationships with collectors, Üstüner and Thompson’s marketplace performance research aligned with the research on Matisse’s American reception by O’Brian. Üstüner and Thompson’s claimed Matisse’s status-driven behavior of cultivating relationships with collectors enabled him to promote himself to them, as well as his collectors promoting him. O’Brian cited evidence of Matisse’s self-promotion strategy to collectors through his relationships with Albert C. Barnes and Etta Cone. Barnes wrote the book *The Art of Henri-Matisse* in 1933, celebrating the work of Matisse. Barnes’ friend Henry Hart, the editor at *Scribner’s Magazine* who published *The Art of Henri-Matisse*, sent an advance copy to Barnes and Matisse while they were in Nice, France. Barnes and Matisse wrote to Hart of their

¹⁸⁵ Üstüner and Thompson, 797.

¹⁸⁶ Üstüner and Thompson, 799.

appreciation, “Nice, January 1933. Thanks for the advance copy of our book. It’s fine, very attractive, Matisse is delighted with its appearance, especially the illustrations – but he will add his comments, herewith. A.C.B.” Matisse adds, “I congratulate you on your book. I find it well composed and the prints are excellent. Sincerely, H. Matisse.”¹⁸⁷

Additionally, collector Etta Cone progressed from a consumer of Matisse’s works to an intimate attachment to him. O’Brian wrote of Cone’s devotion, “Even those we negotiated a close relationship with Matisse, such as Etta Cone, were generally willing to be managed and cosseted by the artist or his dealers.”¹⁸⁸ During this time, the collectors’ identity intensified with the association of material objects, such as works of art and the friendships with artists, displaying status to peers.¹⁸⁹ The ripple effect produced Matisse’s expanded promotion by collectors, originating from Matisse’s initial self-promotion to collectors.

Further illustrating how Matisse used status-driven behavior to gain reputation and status from collectors, Üstüner and Thompson’s and O’Brian substantiated Matisse’s self-promotional strategies evinced symbolic capital. Evidence of Matisse’s self-promotional actions to a wider audience demonstrated he actively chased the acceptance from the public at large, sustaining his momentum of earning a lasting reputation and status. One such self-promotional device Matisse persuasively coordinated and gained acclaim from transpired in 1920. The biography published by Georges Crès, written by Elie Faure, Jules Romains, and Charles Vildrac in *Les Cahiers d’aujourd’hui* efficaciously promoted Matisse. The biography contained fifty exquisitely

¹⁸⁷ “Henri Matisse and Noted Collector Albert C. Barnes, ‘Together in Nice, Send Joint Praise to the Editor of Barnes’ Newly Released *The Art of Henri-Matisse*,” RAAB Collection, Accessed August 17, 2020. <https://www.raabcollection.com/literary-autographs/matisse-barnes>.

¹⁸⁸ O’Brian, 64.

¹⁸⁹ O’Brian, 62.

reproduced drawings and studies of the model, printed in ten or more languages, reaching more of a universal audience.¹⁹⁰

Building upon Üstüner and Thompson research gleaned from Bourdieu's theory on specific fields, such as the artistic field, participants eagerly engage in acquiring symbolic capital to gain reputation and status within the specific field.¹⁹¹ The symbolic capital transcends the idiosyncratic judgments of a given individual to gain the desired judgment, notably, an improved reputation and status, increasing their position in the specific field. Matisse meticulously orchestrated his self-promotion, recognized in his biography to surpass any unfavorable judgment or lack of public awareness of his works. From the promulgation of his persona and works, he received a further acknowledgement. Matisse's heightened attention led to the well-received January 1927 exhibit arranged by his son Pierre Matisse at the Valentine Dudensing Gallery in New York. The exhibit was lauded by two reviewers, Forbes Watson of *The Art* and by Henry McBride of *The New York Times*. McBride wrote, "...the public's attitude towards Matisse had changed."¹⁹² Matisse continued engagement in modifying his self-promotion through interviews, photos, personal relationships, and his narrative rendered in publications.

The research on the second function of symbolic capital as the superior form of capital in markets addressed by the sociologist D.L. Swartz, asserted that symbolic capital exists as a "metacapital."¹⁹³ As seen with Üstüner and Thompson's findings, the desire for achieving symbolic capital of reputation and status holds a paramount action for artists and consumers, affording them an edge over others. Therefore, Swartz's argued symbolic capital can be acquired

¹⁹⁰ Barr, 197.

¹⁹¹ Üstüner and Thompson, 803.

¹⁹² Barr, 200.

¹⁹³ Swartz, 122

from other capitals; for example, cultural capital, such as a distinguished education, illustrating the former capital as the most desired and all-encompassing form of capital.¹⁹⁴ Thus, symbolic capital manifests as a “metacapital, empowering an individual, such as Matisse.”¹⁹⁵

Swartz’s research contributed to the theory symbolic capital operates as a major factor in a market, exceeding economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, and converting back into symbolic capital (fig. 28). The conversion takes place once the recognition of the economic, cultural, or social capital becomes realized.¹⁹⁶ Then the justification of the capitals materialize in the productivity of symbolic capital, such as the intangible quality of gained reputation of an artist from a dealer’s promotion of the artist or a critic’s celebrated praise of an artist’s work.

Swartz pointed to Bourdieu’s inductive reasoning on symbolic capital:

Every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) tends (to different degrees) to function as symbolic capital (so that it might be better to speak, in rigorous terms, of the symbolic effects of capital) when it obtains an explicit or practical recognition that of a habitus structured according to the very structures of the space in which it has been engendered.¹⁹⁷

The inductive reasoning towards the effects of symbolic capital on the other forms of capital presents it as an effusive, commanding capital that dominates the art market. Matisse’s gained reputation and status, the effects of symbolic capital since the Armory show afforded him the fortuity to exhibit solo at the Montross Gallery in February 1915.¹⁹⁸

Swartz’s theory of symbolic capital’s “metacapital” commanding feature conduces with McCarthy’s research on artist/dealer relationships, which produce symbolic capital. Through

¹⁹⁴ Swartz, 112.

¹⁹⁵ Swartz, 112.

¹⁹⁶ Swartz, 112.

¹⁹⁷ Swartz, 112.

¹⁹⁸ McCarthy, 107.

Matisse and Pach's relationship, McCarthy claimed Matisse's reputation and status grew as a result of Pach's promotion. During the year after the Armory Show, Pach's advocacy of Matisse stood essential to his acceptance to secure buyers and exhibits, demonstrated by the Montross Gallery exhibit. The development of Matisse's reputation and status grew as the public's recognition of his works progressed. Therefore, Matisse's symbolic capital carried the initial essence of his works' non-monetary value, establishing his presence and demand for his works in the modern art markets.

Before the Montross solo exhibit, Matisse's effort to gain symbolic capital materialized in publications. The New York paper *The Sun* published on February 8, 1914 revealed the transformation from the wild beast's reputation to one of a master since the Armory Show:

“Oh! The Matisse profits, the Matisse hundred thousand francs, the Matisse buyers! It's enough to make some people weep... Stripped from the figures of the legend. Henri Matisse, the real Matisse who run in his gardener's costume to open the grill for you when you knock at the gate in Clanmart, the Matisse in flesh and bone, is not a monster, nor a furious fool, nor a smasher of plates, nor a charlatan, nor a clever exploiter of scandal and snobbery. He is exactly the contrary of all that. See this blond man with quiet, calculating voice, with the serious and reflecting face. Why, the college men have even taken him at times, with the gold spectacles that he wears submissively, to be a German professor! ... Matisse is original fundamentally. The least of his sketches has the authority of the master.”¹⁹⁹

His efforts to promote himself earned him symbolic capital and the continued perpetuation of his desired reputation and status, as visible from *The Sun* article, which set the path for valued acceptance. Another article from *The Sun* published on December 3, 1914, closer to the timing of the solo exhibit at the Montross, communicated Matisse's intentions for the exhibit. The article stated, “He [Matisse] is selecting the works for the exhibition himself. He is choosing representative and important works especially that the American public may have a chance to

¹⁹⁹ “Art News and Comment,” *The Sun*. February 8, 1914, 7.

gain a fair idea of the principles of his art, for which he has struggled so long, which have aroused such violent controversies in Paris and which have so frequently been misunderstood.”²⁰⁰ The article regarded Matisse’s exhibition at the Montross as one that will make the conservative’s foam at the mouth and new art lovers rejoice.²⁰¹ From the February 8, 1914 article to the December 3, 1914 article, Matisse progressed with transporting his persona and understanding of his work in a positive direction.

Matisse’s accumulation of symbolic capital in the year 1914 represents Swartz’s claim of symbolic capital prevailing as a “metacapital,” operating as the utmost desired and all-encompassing form of capital to earn reputation and status. Evidence of Matisse’s earned symbolic capital distinctly appears in the statement by *The Sun*. The February 8, 1914 articles stated, “Why, the college men have even taken him at times, with the gold spectacles that he wears submissively, to be a German professor!”²⁰² Matisse desired the reputation and status of a conservative family man and his efforts to promote this persona took shape in the article. His successful showing at the Montross Gallery provided economic capital that further established more acceptance of his works, allowing the accumulation of more symbolic capital.

Through Matisse’s earned economic capital by the sales of his works, only possible by his gained symbolic capital, the economic capital produced more symbolic capital by the demand in the art market and enhanced reputation and status, as defined by Swartz. Matisse developed his persona and the understanding of his sincere, emotional, expressive works, relaying his feelings to gain an accepted sound reputation and status; thus, he generated economic capital as

²⁰⁰ “Matisse Paintings to be Shown Here, Cubists Master Selects Works for Exhibit at Montross Galleries, Expected to Make Stir,” *The Sun*. December 3, 1914, 7.

²⁰¹ “Matisse Paintings to be Shown Here, Cubists Master Selects Works for Exhibit at Montross Galleries, Expected to Make Stir,” 7.

²⁰² “Art News and Comment,” *The Sun*. February 8, 1914, 7.

an artist, denoted by the endorsement by *The Sun* article. Consequentially, the promotional outcome of Matisse's efforts evinced him with symbolic capital, which converted into other forms of capital, especially economic capital. Therefore, the sociological evidence that symbolic capital desired by artists and collectors to convey the intangible message of reputation and status achieved through tangible works, validates the strength of symbolic capital and its ability to convert into other capitals and reconvert into more symbolic capital.

The compelling, entrepreneurial research by Tobias Pret, Eleanor Shaw, and Sarah Drakopoulou Dodd attested to individual craft entrepreneurs, such as painters, giving no preeminence to economic capital.²⁰³ The research asserted artists desire reputation and status over profits.²⁰⁴ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd posited that it is time to identify that economic capital may not play an influential role in all forms of entrepreneurship, especially from artists and their works that produce symbolic capital:

Symbolic capital is found to be an especially mutable capital form, readily exchangeable into all of the other three forms of capital. Congruous with extant research, we find that reputation and signs of prestige lead to enhanced economic capital (through sales). Building and maintaining a positive reputation over time appears to be crucial as it enables customers to "buy with confidence, because they know I'm not just gonna disappear tomorrow." Furthermore, it helps verify the quality of products and convince customers to pay premium prices.²⁰⁵

Pret, Shaw, and Dodd revealed artists "enjoyably" convert economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital back into symbolic capital, based on Bourdieu's concepts of capital conversion.²⁰⁶ Additionally, their findings supported evidence that the conversion of cultural capital to

²⁰³ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 1004.

²⁰⁴ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 1004.

²⁰⁵ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 1008.

²⁰⁶ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 1012.

symbolic capital constructed positive reputations through the development of individual artistic styles.²⁰⁷

From Matisse's "Notes of Painter," published in *La Grande Revue*, Paris, December 25, 1908, he built his persona of an artist searching for true expression from color, exhibiting his individual artistic style. Matisse wrote, "From the relationship I have found in all the tones there must result a living harmony of colors, a harmony analogous to that of a musical composition. The expressive aspect of colors imposes itself on me in a purely instinctive way."²⁰⁸ Matisse's pronouncement of his artistic style conveyed his skillset deemed as cultural capital, which in turn converted into symbolic capital of gained reputation and status for his profession as an artist. Pret, Shaw, and Dodd's entrepreneurial research linked with Klein's research on Matisse's self-portraiture, conveyed his artistic style, as articulated by his words in "Notes of Painter." Klein concurred with Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, the production and use of symbolic capital developed positive reputations through the development of individual artistic styles. Klein stated, "What, in fact, we usually mean when we say that a portrait exhibits such and such an element of character of the individual represented is either that the portrait looks "characterful" —in which case we impute the aspect of character we perceive in the portrait back onto the sitter —or that the artist has understood the sitter in a particular way and has persuaded us that this expresses his or her character."²⁰⁹ Matisse's desire to communicate his character and his artistic style conveyed the importance he placed on his reputation and status, deducing the reasoning that he placed the other forms of capital secondary to symbolic capital. From Matisse's importunateness to convey

²⁰⁷ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 1007.

²⁰⁸ Flam, 36.

²⁰⁹ Klein, 7.

his symbolic capital, the theories of Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, which reasserted Bourdieu's theory of the functions of types of capitals, validated artists' predilection towards symbolic capital.²¹⁰

Further research by the art historian Han van Maanen affirmed Pret, Shaw, and Dodd's research, asseverating the theory artists do not perceive economic capital as the dominant form of capital to accumulate. Maanen contended artistic prestige remains the chosen attribute to acquire by artists. He contended, "Still, the most fundamental consequence of the symbolic character in the field is artistic prestige, which, of course, can be transposed in the form of economic capital at certain moments, albeit, quite often in the long term."²¹¹ Artists first and foremost desire a reputation and status to participate in the artistic field, viewing the symbolic capital attributes as a "credit" that ensures future profits and additional symbolic capital.²¹² As Matisse strived to promote his individual artistic style as evident in his published "Notes of a Painter," it revealed he accumulated symbolic capital to stimulate prospective economic capital. Hence, the entrepreneurial research of Pret, Shaw, and Dodd's findings provided evidence of artists' desire for symbolic capital over other capitals, and symbolic capital's paramount capacity to generate further high-level economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital through artistic style.

Contributing to Pret, Shaw, and Dodd's research, further evidence of symbolic capital advancing the success of an artist and an art market conducted by Lars Vigerland and Erick A. Borg supplied research driven by an economic and sociological approach. Vigerland and Borg

²¹⁰ Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, 1006.

²¹¹ Hans van Maanen, "Pierre Bourdieu's Grand Theory of the Artistic Field," In *How to Study Art Worlds: On the Societal Functioning of Aesthetic Values* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 69.

²¹² Van Maanen, "Pierre Bourdieu's Grand Theory of the Artistic Field," 67.

interpreted the use of art and its consumption in order to increase the types of capital. Their research on symbolic capital, suggested it circulates in the art market focused on the close relationship between participants in the art field and the business field, yielding reciprocal benefits amongst them. They asserted “In participating in the cultural field, they are in different ways and to different extents accumulating symbolic capital including prestige and honor.”²¹³ Their research stemmed from the findings of Bourdieu’s cultural concepts of habitus, capital, and field. They defined habitus by Bourdieu’s representation, “Bourdieu’s term habitus represents a system of social and environmental factors, and dispositions which consciously and unconsciously direct behavior of those involved.”²¹⁴ They found the behaviors of artists, corporations, and individuals who collect works accumulate symbolic capital in their habitus, which represents accumulated prestige and honor.²¹⁵ This accumulation of intangible assets produces a value that is desired by the people involved.²¹⁶ Furthermore, Vigerland and Borg found the act of producing and acquiring works furnished the desired identity, allowing artists, corporations, and individual to display improved images.

The intersection of the art field and the business field with the shared benefits they gain in the form of symbolic capital legitimized their reputation, status, prestige, and honor to an intended audience. “Bourdieu claims that the relationship between the artist and his work within an act of communication takes place can be described as a position in the structure of the intellectual field.”²¹⁷ An intellectual field, as defined by Bourdieu, is constructed by agents

²¹³ Vigerland and Borg, “Cultural Capital in the Economic Field,” 169.

²¹⁴ Vigerland and Borg, 172.

²¹⁵ Vigerland and Borg, 172.

²¹⁶ Vigerland and Borg, 172.

²¹⁷ Vigerland and Borg, 171.

(individuals or groups) who take up intellectual ideals in a network of relationships in the struggle for the distribution of power to define what is culturally legitimate.²¹⁸ The structure of the intellectual field creates the environment for artists and collectors to interact in exchanges of capital, namely symbolic capital. The intangible qualities function as assets in the hierarchical structure, enabling artists and collectors to enhance their position in society.

The study evaluated the interchange between profit-oriented companies, non-profit organizations, and artists.²¹⁹ The relationships amid the companies and artists provided symbolic capital to all parties. Vigerland and Borg provided evidence of the gained symbolic capital by Carnegie Investment Bank, who legitimized artists and their works by their Carnegie Art Award. The art award established in 1998, ending in 2014 by the Carnegie Investment Bank headquartered in Vårgårda, Sweden promoted Nordic contemporary paintings and recognized and supported distinguished artists born or living in the Nordic countries.²²⁰ The promotion of the bank, the artist, and the artist's works communicated intangible information of reputation and status, resulting in awarding artists for their artistic talent. It created a win-win situation, the bank converted social capital of relationships and networking in society to symbolic capital, gaining publicity and reputation; the artist acquired symbolic capital in the form of a trophy, broadcasting acceptance and acclaim.

In affirmation to Matisse's progression of acceptance of his identity and the meaning of his work, the acceptance materialized through the non-profit organization, the Carnegie Museum

²¹⁸ Fritz Ringer, "The Intellectual Field, Intellectual History, and the Sociology of Knowledge," *Theory and Society* 19, no. 3 (June 1990): 269-294.

²¹⁹ Vigerland and Borg, 175.

²²⁰ "Carnegie Art Award," Carnegie Investment Bank, Accessed August 10, 2020, <https://www.carnegie.se/en/carnegie-art-award/about-the-carnegie-art-award/>.

of Art in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Matisse won the Carnegie Prize in 1927, which commenced his recognition as a talented, modern artist. The museum designed the award to promote themselves as a world-class museum with “world masters of tomorrow.”²²¹ Vigerland and Borg claimed business organizations promoted themselves through the promotion of artists, capturing symbolic capital by accruing an identity, enhancing their position and the artists’ position in society.

Further evolution of Matisse’s growth of acceptance of his identity and the meaning of his art beyond the Carnegie Prize emerged through The Modern Museum of Art. Vigerland and Borg’s theory of constructed interplay between business and artists, earning symbolic capital for both parties, stood evident from the first extensive European one-man show to Matisse by The Modern Museum of Art in November of 1931.²²² Alfred H. Barr, Jr., the first director of the museum opened the museum doors in 1929, aspiring to create a museum of modern art; thus, his decision to hold the one-man show of Matisse promoted him, the museum and Matisse. The promotion of the museum to exhibit the Carnegie first prize winner’s works captured symbolic capital of reputation and status for the museum. Simultaneously, the exhibition of Matisse’s works clinched more symbolic capital for him. Spurling’s findings of Matisse’s relationships within the business field to earn symbolic capital manifested by Matisse’s earned trust of Barr, affording him the opportunity to present his works in a one-man show in 1931. The exhibit garnered symbolic capital for Matisse and Barr, promoting their careers and enhancing their

²²¹ “Carnegie International,” *Biennial Foundation Magazine*, Accessed August 10, 2020, <https://www.biennialfoundation.org/biennials/carnegie-international/>.

²²² Barr, 222.

reputations in the artistic field and business fields. The one-man show allowed for the reciprocal action by Barr and Matisse to mutually generate symbolic capital to promote their careers.

However, the one-man show at The Modern Museum of Art brought about positive and negative opinions, namely from the art historian Virginia Nirdlinger from her article “The Matisse Way,” published in the *Parnassus* in November of 1931. Nirdlinger expressed an approval, but also a displeasure of some of Matisse’s works of art exhibited:

The large salon pays double tribute to the intelligence of Heir Matisse. Not only does it contain many impressive canvases, but it presents the *maître* as his own most astute and far-sighted collector. *Marguerite Matisse (Femme au Chat)*, that find avowal of the colorist influence of a Gogh; the two “austere” canvases the *Portrait of Mme. Greta Prozor* and the somber and sensitive *Women on a High Stool*, a work unique in the evocations of melancholy mood. The *Green Dress* and *Ballet Girl*, among others bear the legend “from the collection of the artist.” The much-mooted canvases the strained but forceful *Blue Nude* (which it is interesting to study in relation to the original plastic concept); the posteresque and disappointing *Young Sailor* and the overloaded *Seated Odalisque* of 1926 make this room the center of heated controversies.²²³

Since the Armory Show, Matisse’s objective to raise his reputation and status to a respected family man who created works from an emotional impetus still encountered rigid judgment.

Matisse’s collaboration with Barr on the exhibit yielded symbolic capital, securing an enhanced attitude towards him as a trustworthy, professional artist. However, Nirdlinger presented Matisse in a conflicting manner, first as an artist who provoked controversy, then as an artist with intellect and astuteness regarding his color approach and uniqueness. In time, Matisse progressed towards a reputation and status he coveted, gradually obtaining the support of The Modern Museum of Art. Even with some dissent from Nirdlinger, the dominance of the interdependency of the art field with the business field, such as the museum setting, provided the environment for the two fields to work together.

²²³ Virginia, Nirdlinger, “The Matisse Way: Forty Years in Evolution of an Individual,” *Parnassus* 3, no. 7 (November 1931): 6.

Therefore, Vigerland and Borg's economic and sociological research contended the end result of the art field and the business field's interdependency produces symbolic capital, which then produces economic capital and ultimately produces more symbolic capital. From research on the two functions of symbolic capital, Matisse and the participants in the art market produced and used symbolic capital to gain reputation and status, which assimilated with symbolic capital's dominant ability to convert into other capitals and then reconvert into more symbolic capital.

Methodology

The research methodology in this scholarship employs a qualitative approach to written texts through the ethnographic model (the observation of social practices and interactions), the case study method (the examination of real-life narrative within a context), and the grounded theory method (the construction and collection of theories through inductive reasoning), paralleled with the documentation of the artistic disciplines of painting, sculpture, and drawings. The objective of the methodology demonstrates to the readers that the French artist Henri Matisse articulately produced and executed symbolic capital to gain an accepted and celebrated reputation and status, advancing his career. The diverse qualitative evidence of scholarly sources from an interdisciplinary approach from the fields of art history, business management, sociology, and economics constitutes the analysis.

The commencement of the analysis of symbolic capital's first function delineates Henri Matisse's conception and utilization of symbolic capital to promote his persona and comprehension of his innovative works to counteract the turbulent reception he received. The evidence of modern print media consisting of interviews, photography, and editorial reviews displayed the cause and effect of symbolic capital use. Subsequently, the analysis advances to the second function of symbolic as a dominant capital over economic, cultural, and social capitals, as well as the conversion of the capital into more symbolic capital, benefitting Matisse and the emerging New York modern art market. The interdisciplinary, qualitative approach embodies the grounded theory method to reveal inductive theories, signifying and affirming symbolic capitals dominance over other capitals. In the innovative examination, the succession from the evaluation of symbolic capital's first function of the production and utilization by Matisse to gain reputation and status, to the interdependent second function of symbolic as a dominant capital over

economic, cultural, and social capitals in the market, reveals the impact of the two functions. The fundamental influence of the twofold function of symbolic capital empowered the success of Matisse and the New York art market in the early twentieth century.

Analysis

The concept of symbolic capital interpreted through artists' behaviors and the operational factors of an art market draw upon the participants' ability in the artistic field to maneuver strategically amongst each other. The artists' desired outcomes of specific behaviors produced the effects of reputation and status, effectively persuading an audience with a designed narrative. The goal of explicit, designed communication elevates the artists' hierarchical stature in the artistic field and within the society. Investigating the first function of symbolic capital, the ethnographic model research applied to investigate Matisse's social practices and interactions of status-driven behavior, exerts a qualitative approach to Matisse's written texts, devised interviews, and self-stylized photographs. Additionally, the case study method reveals Matisse's real-life narrative within a context of the emerging modern art market in New York, namely the 1913 Armory Show. Additionally, the application of the grounded theory method constructs specific observations of Matisse's behavior affected by his environment, ascertaining a pattern of behavior, and concluding his earned symbolic capital produced his exalted reputation and elevated status.

Furthermore, the ground theory method applied to the interdisciplinary research on symbolic capital's second function as the dominant capital over economic, social, and cultural capitals attests to the monumental effect symbolic capital wields in the success of Matisse and the modern art market. The three methodologies used correlate with the documentation of Matisse's works of art exhibited at the 1913 Armory Show, in particular the *Blue Nude*. The results reveal Henri Matisse's production and utilization of symbolic capital to counter his critics and the mainstream public in New York, affirming his achieved reputation and status. Consequently, Matisse's persona and career gained prominence.

From the foundation of Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital as the ability of one to create, promote, and accumulate works of art to gain signs and symbols of reputation and status, conjoined with the state of the field on Matisse's status-driven behavior, provides results of symbolic capital's dynamic impact on an artist and the art market.²²⁴ Matisse's production and utilization of symbolic capital observed in social practices and interactions through the ethnographic model research and the examination of his real-life narrative within the context of the 1913 Armory Show by the case study method, conducted by Bock-Weiss, O'Brian, McCarthy, Klein, and Spurling, affirms the status-driven behaviors by Matisse. Bock-Weiss compared Matisse's self-promotional behaviors exhibited in interviews and photographs to the patron and artists' propaganda of the Renaissance. The evidence of Matisse's advertising behavior, notably from the 1912 MacChesney interview, clearly establishes Matisse's management of his public relations. Matisse consciously devised his statements to MacChesney, promoting his narrative to be printed in the interview.

Furthermore, Bock-Weiss provided evidence of Matisse's orchestrated interactions with collectors and dealers to carry on his promotion. Pach's promotion of Matisse's works manifested in the placement of his compositions in the last room of the Armory Show, showcasing the artist and his artistic innovation of bold, pure color. The display negatively and positively captivated the critics and the general public, generating attention of Matisse and his works. The results of Matisse's status-driven behavior by interviews, photographic portraiture, and relationships produced contemplation by the critics and public to consider Matisse's works

²²⁴ Bourdieu, 279.

through his conservative persona and innovative style of color to express emotions, not merely the object.

The results from O'Brian's research garnered evidence of Matisse's social practice of cultivating relationships with collectors by communicating directly with them versus through a dealer. Matisse's desired outcome of the friendships with collectors yielded respect from them. The collectors promoted Matisse to their peers, creating acceptance for Matisse and his works. As well, O'Brian supplied averment of Matisse's gained reputation and status from the association with the upper echelon collectors, such as the Stein family, sisters Etta Cone and Dr. Claribel Cone, and John Quinn. Matisse achieved a successful outcome from his relationships, as seen in his acceptance from critics and collectors in the profitable exhibit at the Montross Gallery in 1915, and the developing acceptance in the press, markedly from *The Sun* and *Scribner's*.

The results of McCarthy's scholarship provided evidence of Matisse's social interaction with Pach, accomplishing Matisse's further promotion of his persona and works through Pach's aid. McCarthy claimed Pach echoed Matisse's self-promotional style in his advocacy of Matisse and his works at the Armory Show, and in his writings, specifically in the *Century* magazine, declaring Matisse worthy of the title of a Greek artist. Through Pach's backing and promoting public awareness of Matisse, his message of a conservative man and an artistic innovator evinced in his exhibits of 1917 and 1918 in New York, arranged by Pach. McCarthy evaluated Matisse's behavior and the outcomes of his status-driven behavior, enhancing his acceptance toward a regarded reputation and status.

Klein presented evidence of Matisse's purposeful use of self-portraiture, as confirmed in self-stylized photographs to promote his desired intangible message of reputation and status. Matisse's intangible communication conveyed by his portraits, transmitted his sincere

convictions of representing himself and the object he painted as a personal, expressive response to the object, not merely painting a duplicate representation of the object. Klein contended Matisse keenly represented himself to project an image that countered the harsh critics' words referring to him as a wild beast. The results of Matisse's self-promotion positively advanced by the mainstream recognition of his vitality of color in his compositions, specifically from the John Wanamaker Store advertisement. The advertisement appeared in *The Evening World*, published during the Armory Show. Matisse's ability to effectively counter the negative views of his character and his works yielded an outcome of acceptance, allowing for him to gain notoriety and profits.

Further evidence of Matisse's social practices and interaction in the context of the Armory Show by Spurling affirmed Matisse's struggle to overcome the odious reception of his works. The reception of the *Blue Nude* evoked intense controversy in which Matisse countered with the promotion of his reasoning for painting the bold, abstracted nude, never seen before by the Armory Show audience. Spurling claimed Matisse consciously knew he essentially needed Pach, collectors, and the press to relay his message of a reputable man and artist. Additionally, Matisse proved his ability by the *Sketch of Mrs. Warren*, producing a life-like resemblance of her and relatives within the representation. The accomplishment of the life-like sketch attested to Matisse's ability in which Mrs. Warren acclaimed and broadcasted to her peers. Matisse's self-promotional effects generated attention and conveyed the intangible messages of reputation and status. The results produced the acceptance, as visible by the achievement of winning the 1927 Carnegie International Prize and the 1930 *Time* magazine cover.

The research conducted by Bock-Weiss, O'Brian, McCarthy, Klein, and Spurling contributed to the findings Matisse purposefully and strategically self-promoted his persona and

his works, creating a reputation and status that countered the critics and the New York public's initial response. The pungent responses generated from Burgess's early review of Matisse in *The Architectural Review* of 1910 to the 1913 Armory Show's reception of his works, especially the *Blue Nude*, demonstrated the responses Matisse overcame.

The results of the second function of symbolic capital through interdisciplinary fields utilizing the construction and collection of theories through inductive reasoning, the grounded theory method, provided evidence of the dominant existence of the capital in the materializing modern art market. By Matisse's production and use of symbolic capital to gain an accepted reputation and status, the first function of symbolic capital proves to exist; therefore, the second function of symbolic capital manifests within its sphere. The results of the interdisciplinary research by Bird and Smith, Üstüner and Thompson, Swartz, Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, and Vigerland and Borg constituted the existence of symbolic capital as a dominant capital over economic, social, and cultural capitals, providing a mechanism for artists to enhance their careers through gained reputations and status. For Matisse, his obtained reputation and status resulted in acceptance, observable in press' articles, elevated sales of his works, and achieved awards.

The research based on observation of patterns of behaviors to conclude a specific theory yielded the affirmation that the second function of symbolic capital dominates the other capitals, constructing it as the desired capital to earn by artists. The research approach from the grounded theory method by the interdisciplinary fields of anthropology, business management, sociology, and economics provided evidence of artists' aspiration for symbolic capital as a tool to achieve more reputation and status, as well as economic, social, and cultural capital. The anthropologists Bird and Smith contributed findings of symbolic capital's efficacy in artists achieving reputations and status through artistic expressions. The artists gain an advantage over others

when their artistic creations signal attention and profitability. Bird and Smith affirmed their theory based on Bourdieu and Spence, supporting their claim that artists create works to produce a tangible signal to entice and acquire intangible qualities, such as reputation and status. The gained qualities enable the artist to advance upward in the hierarchical ranking of the artistic field.

Bird and Smith based their findings on the theories of symbolic capital and the theory of signaling from the specific observation of the Achuar-Quichua women in Ecuador. The women created works to signal their artistic skills; the creation and promotion of their works produce the intangible characteristics they desire to gain an advantage over others. As the Achuar-Quichua women used their artistic creations to communicate information about themselves, Matisse used his interviews, photographs, and works of art to communicate his person and innovative artistic skills. Notably, Matisse's interview with MacChesney and his writings, especially his "Notes of a Painter," elucidated his ambition to communicate the intangible qualities of his character and the purpose and motivations that comprised his works.

The art historical research by Bock-Weiss affirmed Bird and Smith's theories on artists use of symbolic capital, as evident from Matisse's ability to employ his resource-holding potential, consisting of his conservative image and artistic solutions of his color approach to counter and resolve his detractor's attacks. Bock-Weiss exemplified the use of resource-holding potential through status-driven behavior of devising the precise photograph of himself to publish in Alfred Stieglitz's *Camera Works* in 1913, communicating his respectable image to his critics and the public. Furthermore, Bock-Weiss stated Matisse used planned elocution of his passion of his work to express his sincere emotions. Bird and Smith's anthropological study supported the current art historical studies on Matisse's reaction and resolution to the negative reception of his

works at the Armory Show. The anthropological findings backed by Bock-Weiss affirmed the desire for achieving symbolic capital to promote the intangible qualities to a desired audience.

The findings gleaned from the business management research by Üstüner and Thompson supported the evidence of the artist's desire to obtain symbolic capital to communicate reputation and status. They effectively argued artists prefer symbolic capital over other capitals due to the artists' production of works to gain exponential amounts of symbolic capital that increases and exchanges for economic, social, and cultural capital, ultimately producing more symbolic capital. Üstüner and Thompson constructed the theories based on Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital and its mutability to convert to other capitals and convert back into symbolic capital. Üstüner and Thompson argued artists cultivate relationships, interplaying status-seeking behaviors on a personal level. The relationships in the constructed consumer culture produce a structure that allows the participants to produce and use personal resources, such as promoting one's image and devising commentary on one's work. Matisse prudently cultivated relationships with collectors and dealers to promulgate his persona and motivations for his innovative works, securing advocates to promote his narrative further.

O'Brian further bolstered Üstüner and Thompson's results of artists producing and using symbolic capital to gain reputations and status and symbolic capital's dominance over other capitals based on Bourdieu's theories. O'Brian's research affirmed an artist's status-driven behavior from interpersonal relationships with collectors and dealers provided the artist with the resource to acquire symbolic capital. O'Brian cited evidence of Matisse's relationships with the Cone sisters, Alfred C. Barnes, Elie Faure, Jules Romain, and Charles Vildrac, producing an improved reputation and status for Matisse. O'Brian's scholarship supported Üstüner and Thompson's findings on how artists implemented their intentions and strategies to overcome

detractors to gain notoriety and profits, illustrating the interplay between participants in the artistic field, who pivot themselves against their defamers to gain an advantage in their field.

The obtained results of symbolic capital's dominance over other capitals functioning in the art market constructed by the sociologist Swartz provided evidence of artists' aim to create symbolic capital to achieve success in their field. Swartz deemed symbolic capital as the "metacapital," as other capitals function within the realm of symbolic capital.²²⁵ Swartz argued once a person achieves symbolic capital through their status-driven behavior, the symbolic capital affords the person the opportunity to obtain the other forms of capital. The acquisition of economic, social, and cultural capital allows for the production of further symbolic capital. Through Matisse's relationship with Pach, his reputation and status grew, enabling him to gain economic capital and enhanced symbolic capital. The economic advancement of Matisse's career resulted from his gained symbolic capital and its dominant state, displaying to the critics and the New York public that he and his works possessed acclaim and a demand. Matisse's successful exhibit at the Montross Gallery illustrated the gained acceptance, yielding economic capital and increased symbolic capital. The Montross gallery sold all of Matisse's works, plus more works were sold and shipped from France to New York after the exhibit.

McCarthy's art historical research supported Swartz's theories on symbolic capital, providing cogent evidence of Matisse's motivations and strategic alliances with collectors and dealers, and supporting the dominance of symbolic capital as the principal capital an artist desires to accumulate. McCarthy argued Matisse aimed to acquire an exalted reputation and status, manifested in interviews, photographic portraiture, and artistic solutions. Matisse developed the status-driven behaviors to counter his wild beast image, promoting his devised

²²⁵ Swartz, 112.

narrative and fostering profits. Through Swartz's findings on the second function of symbolic capital and McCarthy's findings of Matisse's achievement of symbolic capital, Matisse's ability to gain more symbolic capital and the other forms of capital constituted his success. Importantly, Matisse's success in the artistic field arose from his growing and reproducing symbolic capital, which produced an evolving acceptance from critics and the public, evident in *The Sun* articles of February 8, 1914, and December 3, 1914. The articles proclaimed Matisse was not a monster, but the contrary, affirming Matisse's strategies of self-promotion to gain reputation and status, and achieving his goal of countering the harsh critics and public of the Armory Show.

The entrepreneurial research by Pret, Shaw, and Dodd furnished results, attesting to an artist's desire to achieve a reputation and status over profits in the artistic field. Pret, Shaw, and Dodd persuasively argued artists prefer symbolic capital to support the opportunity to stimulate economic capital, resulting in the production of increased symbolic capital. Furthermore, the results from their study suggested artists enjoy the accumulation of symbolic capital through their individual artistic solutions. Artists' amassment of symbolic capital through promoting their innovative artistic style allowed for the artist to gain reputation and status, validating the quality and original work to collect. Matisse demonstrated the desire and necessity to accumulate symbolic capital by promoting his innovative style in his written essay of his objective to express emotions through bold, pure color and abstracting the object.

Klein's research supported Pret, Shaw, and Dodd's results of Matisse purposefully earning symbolic capital through his self-portraits and communicating his innovative goals. The art historical research and entrepreneurial research concluded Matisse adroitly understood he needed to produce and use symbolic capital to communicate his persona and artistic style to gain reputation and status, superseding economic capital as the foremost capital. Pret, Shaw, and

Dodd based their constructed inductive theories on the patterns of behavior exhibited by artists, resulting in status-driven behavior that produced symbolic capital and their awareness of its capacity to produce more symbolic capital.

The evidence of symbolic capital's preeminent rank over economic, social, and cultural capitals by the economic and sociological research by Vigerland and Borg attested to the artistic field and business field intersecting to produce the desired symbolic capital. Vigerland and Borg provided findings of artists and participants engaging in the artist field to gain reputation and status from producing and collecting of works. The foundation of Vigerland and Borg's research based on Bourdieu's theories of forms of capital in which the intangible qualities are communicated by works, create power assets in the hierarchical structure of a society.²²⁶

Their research examined the results of the relationship between the artist and a business, such as the Carnegie Investment Bank in Sweden. The bank's award the Carnegie Art Award bestowed to an artist, legitimized the artist's reputation and status, and the bank's reputation and status. Vigerland and Borg's research supported Spurling's findings that Matisse cultivated relationships within the business field to earn symbolic capital. Matisse earned the trust of Barr at The Modern Museum of Art in New York City, affording him the opportunity to present his works in a one-man show in 1931. The exhibit garnered symbolic capital for Matisse and Barr, promoting their careers and enhancing their reputations in the artistic field and business fields. Vigerland and Borg concluded artists and business entities share an interdependency in the ability to earn symbolic capital and its dominant existence to produce more symbolic capital.

The documentation of the Matisse's paintings, sculptures, and drawings provided evidence of his expressive, emotional artistic output, which generated the harsh reception by

²²⁶ Vigerland and Borg, 175.

critics and the viewing audience at the 1913 Armory Show. Matisse's *Blue Nude's* formal attributes evaluated by Wright and the press articles, establishes the visual elements the critics and the Armory Show audience observed. Matisse's works, especially the *Blue Nude* exhibited at the Armory Show embroiled those who viewed it. The qualitative analysis of the *Blue Nude* uncovered Matisse's innovative style of the nude, customarily shown in an elegant, classical guise.

The results of applying a qualitative approach to the research of Matisse's production and use of symbolic capital and the second function of symbolic capital as the dominant, preferred capital by artists provides evidence of the two-fold function of symbolic capital. The two-fold function of symbolic capital exists and operates as a fundamental, dominant factor that influenced the success of Matisse and the new modern art market. Therefore, the employment of the ethnographic model, the case study method, and the grounded theory method adjoined with the documentation of Matisse's artistic disciplines of painting, sculpture, and drawings affirmed symbolic capital's capacity, the impact on Matisse, and the emerging modern art market. The state of the field on Matisse's status-driven behavior and the consequences of the behavior coupled with the interdisciplinary state of the field on symbolic capital's second function delineated an innovative interpretation on how and why Matisse and the modern art market of New York evolved successfully.

The final data produced supports the argument that the two-fold function of symbolic capital monumentally influenced the success of Matisse and the New York art market of the early twentieth century. The art historical research by Bock-Weiss, O'Brian, McCarthy, Klein, and Spurling and the interdisciplinary research by Bird and Smith, Üstüner and Thompson, Swartz, Pret, Shaw, and Dodd, Vigerland and Borg provided evidence of Matisse's status-driven

behaviors to counter the negative reception by the public. Furthermore, the research contended the second function of symbolic supersedes and produces the other forms of capitals, and ultimately creates more symbolic capital, therefore, symbolic capital exists as the capital preferred by Matisse and other artists to succeed in their field.

Conclusion

The theoretical implications of the findings of symbolic capital's two-fold function in the environment encompassing Matisse's self-promotional strategies to overcome detractors of his persona and his works, affirms the importance and dominance of symbolic capital. Matisse's status-driven behavior demonstrated his production and use of symbolic capital, which advanced his acceptance and of the modern art market. Matisse's behavior rendered his ability to maneuver strategically amongst collectors, dealers, critics, the public, and the press. The infamous February 23, 1913 article in the *New York Times Magazine* published during the Armory Show illustrated Matisse's ability to decisively maneuver amid the press. Matisse's direction given to MacChesney to describe him as a normal man, a devoted husband and a father of three fine children, and a man like any man exemplified his planned, prescribed the narrative to communicate to the American public.²²⁷ Matisse's desired outcome of specific behavior produced the effects of the intangible qualities of reputation and status; thus, he effectively communicated the intangible qualities, to persuade an audience with the designed narrative. The goal of precise, devised communication elevates the artist's hierarchal stature in the artistic field and within the society, elevating their reputation and status towards an acclaimed and profitable career. Thus, Bourdieu's theory on symbolic capital as the ability of one to strategically maneuver amongst participants in the artistic field, employing status-driven behavior to advance one's objectives to gain reputation and status above others in the artistic field, manifested in the behaviors of Matisse.²²⁸

²²⁷ Bock-Weiss, 23.

²²⁸ Bourdieu, 279.

Building on Bourdieu's theories of the forms of capital and their capacity to the current research on Matisse and symbolic capital, the hypothesis that the two-fold function of symbolic capital existed and operated as a fundamental, dominant factor, influencing the success of Matisse and the new modern art market stands valid. The convincing evidence from art historians, anthropologists, business management analysts, and economists supports the argument Matisse astutely invented and strategically implemented specific status-driven behaviors to counterpose the negative, caustic reception from critics and the viewing public of the 1913 Armory Show.

With the affirming interdisciplinary evidence presented, directly united with Matisse's momentous personal views from the Pierre Courthion interviews of 1941, hallmark evidence is uncovered. The evidence validates Matisse knowingly constructed and strategically enacted status-driven behavior. Matisse's words from the Courthion interviews confirm he consciously communicated his personal and artistic intentions to counter his defamers. Matisse's behavior resulted in gained acceptance of him and his works; thus, Matisse's behavior elucidated and proved he commanded the title of a creditable artist, quelling the insolent reception. In consequence, Matisse's status-driven behavior of devised interviews produced the desired results of communicating his private and public persona and artistic expressions, evident in the ninth conversation with Courthion. Matisse articulated his artistic solutions in the interviews, the innovations he consistently expressed to collectors, dealers, critics, the public, and the press from the early beginnings of his career to the interview in 1941:

I felt nature was so beautiful that all I had to do was reproduce it as simply as I could. I sat down in front of the objects I felt drawn to and identified with them, trying to create a double of them on the canvas. But then I was influenced by sensations that led me away from trompe l'oeil; the green of an apple didn't match the green on my palette but something immaterial, something that I needed to find. I remember mediating on a

lemon. It was posed on the counter of a black mantelpiece. Suppose I copy that lemon, what would I have gained by it? Why did it interest me? Was it such a very beautiful lemon —the loveliest lemon ever? Why take all that trouble to see it rendered (more or less eternal) on canvas when I could replicate my admiration with one just like it —a real piece of fruit that, once I get bored of contemplating it, would make me a nice cool drink? Deduction by deduction, I realized that what interested me was the relation created by contemplation between the objects present: the yellow of the lemon peel on the shiny black marble of the mantelpiece. And I had to invent something that would render the equivalent of my sensation. As sort of emotional communication was created among the objects placed before me.²²⁹

Matisse purposefully interpreted his innovative solutions of his produced works that expressed sensations, communicating his emotions of an object, not the tangible object. Matisse's avant-garde style, the critics and public initially coiled away from accepting the new modern art direction Matisse exhibited. In this environment, Matisse explicitly understood his new artistic solutions provoked negative responses of confusion, responses he auspiciously foiled by constantly communicating his persona and reasoning behind his works.

Matisse's implemented status-driven behavior to communicate his character and explain his works to counter the convoluted responses, proved successful. Remarkably, Matisse viewed the negative responses as legitimate, feeling he had not clearly expressed himself.²³⁰ Matisse thrived on the challenge to continue inventive solutions to express his sincere emotions alongside his contrived interviews, self-styled photographic portraits, and his cultivation of relationships with collectors and dealers.²³¹ Matisse voiced his views on the attacks he encountered to Courthion, "...there were lots of people against me. ...I suffered a great deal from all these injustices, I was sustained by the idea that these people were right: that if I irritated them so

²²⁹ Serge Guilbaut, ed. and Chris Miller, trans., *Chatting with Henri Matisse: The Lost 1941 Interview*, (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute, 2013), 136-137.

²³⁰ Guilbaut and Miller, *Chatting with Henri Matisse: The Lost 1941 Interview*, 136-137.

²³¹ Guilbaut and Miller, *Chatting with Henri Matisse*, 136-137.

much, it was because I hadn't clearly expressed what I meant because things weren't right yet; but when they were, when I had clearly shown what I meant, everyone would be moved and I wouldn't be controversial anymore. And this kept the imperious, sterile feeling of hatred at bay and my mind clear and untainted for work."²³² From Matisse's words, he proved he premediated his status-driven behavior to confront the attacks towards his character and works by producing and using symbolic capital to overturn the harsh reception to a state of acceptance.

Additionally, Matisse's ability to effectively coordinate his response to critics throughout his career resulted in the formulation of his artistic longevity contrasted to other artists, such as Picasso. Economist Galenson argued Matisse's contributed conceptual, innovative, radical works over his entire career.²³³ "This evidence might appear to suggest that Matisse was an experimental innovator, but in fact he was not. Instead he appears to have been a conceptual innovator who made a series of significant contributions over a long period, without one that clearly dominated his career."²³⁴ An experimental innovator creates works by trial and error, and a conceptual innovator creates works by communicating new ideas or emotions.²³⁵ Galenson claimed his longevity resulted from continuous, conceptual works personifying modern art, originating from his revered contributions from his fauvist period.²³⁶ Matisse's consistent artistic innovations conferred with his persistent status-driven behaviors to acquire acceptance and acclaim for the innovations.

²³² Guilbaut and Miller, 150.

²³³ David W. Galenson, "Measuring Masters and Masterpieces. French Rankings of French Painters and Paintings from Realism to Surrealism," *Histoire & Measure* 17, no. ½ (2002): 65.

²³⁴ Galenson, "Measuring Masters and Masterpieces. French Rankings of French Painters and Paintings from Realism to Surrealism," 75.

²³⁵ David W. Galenson, *Old Masters and Young Geniuses: The Two Life Cycles of Artistic Creativity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 4.

²³⁶ Galenson, "Measuring Masters and Masterpieces. 75.

Matisse understood the hostile environment he created with his works; thus, he met the challenges to reverse the critics and the public's vituperation, securing a sound reputation and status. The qualitative analysis of Matisse's production and use of symbolic capital concluded he achieved an acclaimed reputation and dignified status. Matisse's earned symbolic capital created the shift in the critics and the public's opinion, his sold-out sales of his exhibits after the Armory Show, his achieved awards, and the documentation of his exceptional mental and emotional acuity to subdue the negative detractors, revealed in his words from the Courthion interview. Within fourteen years of the Armory Show, Matisse's status-driven behavior successfully yielded him immense profits. In 1927, auction records record Matisse's works as the most expensive of a living artist over Picasso and fellow fauvists.²³⁷ Matisse's accomplishment of being an in-demand artist earning considerable profits for his works greatly contrasts from his beginnings at the Armory Show of selling only two drawings and being declared an "apostle of the ugly."²³⁸

As Matisse and the Modern Art movement gained acceptance in the New York art market, the premise of only accepting the academic standards of the canon of art evolved into an understanding of the unconventional artistic solutions by artists. Since the February 1913 article in the American Edition of the *International Studio* by the American art critic Christian Brinton and the 1913 Armory Show, the vicissitude unfolded by Matisse and his fellow innovators legitimizing the design of more revolutionary formulas to works. By the 1934 article, the American art critic, educator, director, and artist Ernest Knaufft reported on the change and acceptance of new artistic solutions developing. He stated, "in enjoying the art of the past he has

²³⁷ O'Brian, 44.

²³⁸ Barr, 49.

never felt that all the graphic arts must be of one pattern. He accepts varied techniques gladly, and seeks to find new formulas, being quite sure that the termination of the language of art as not seen reached. Let us use the same philosophy in looking at some of the aspects of modern art.”²³⁹

The research presented constructs a framework, evaluating Matisse’s production and use of symbolic capital. Matisse’s status-driven behavior resulted in revealing his desired communication of intangible qualities of reputation and status ensued from his devised strategies and his tangible works. Matisse knowingly conceived status-driven behavior to offset his detractors, resulting in his achievement of a renowned, enduring career. The pejorative term “*les fauve*” or wild beasts associated with Matisse coined by Vauxcelles of the daily newspaper *Gil Blas* eventually faded to one of a celebrated, artistic genius. The hypothesis that Matisse benefitted from the two-fold function of symbolic capital established through the evaluation of current research proved symbolic capital prevailed and operated as a fundamental, dominant factor that influenced the success of Matisse and the new modern art market. Matisse’s chase for symbolic capital proved successful!

The research on symbolic capital’s two-fold function contributions to the state of the field on Matisse’s life and oeuvre and the forms of capital functioning in the early modern art market. The interdisciplinary scholarship’s strengths lie in the link between the capacities of symbolic capital to promote an artist and an art market’s ability to successfully flourish. From the comprised research, the necessity of future scholarship on symbolic capital’s influence on artists and art markets deems essential to interpreting an artist’s work and the functionality of an art market.

²³⁹ Ernest Knaufft, “Modern Art: Under French Influence,” *The American Scholar* 3, no. 1 (Winter 1934): 63.

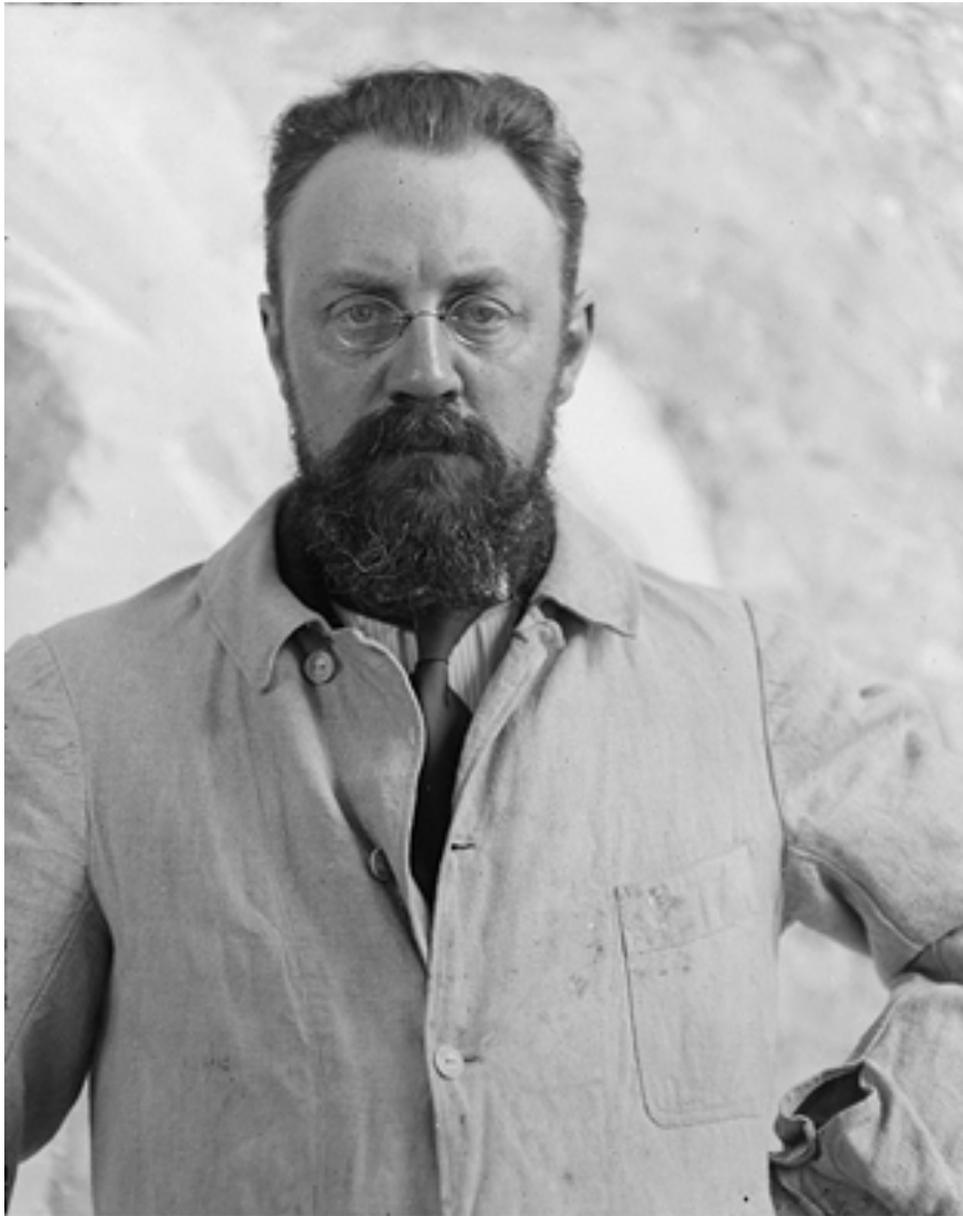
Figures

Figure 1. Alvin Langdon Coburn, Matisse painting *Bathers by a River*, May 13, 1913, Photograph, Exhibit of the Art Institute of Chicago and The Museum of Modern Art, New York. <https://archive.artic.edu/matisseinteractive/p3n.html#>.



Figure 2. Henri Matisse, *La Femme bleue*; now titled *Blue Nude (Souvenir of Biskra)*, 1907, oil on canvas, 36.3" x 55.2" in.

Baltimore Museum of Art, Maryland, United States.

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Caption: The Baltimore Museum of Art: The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Baltimore, Maryland, BMA 1950.228 Photography By: Mitro Hood

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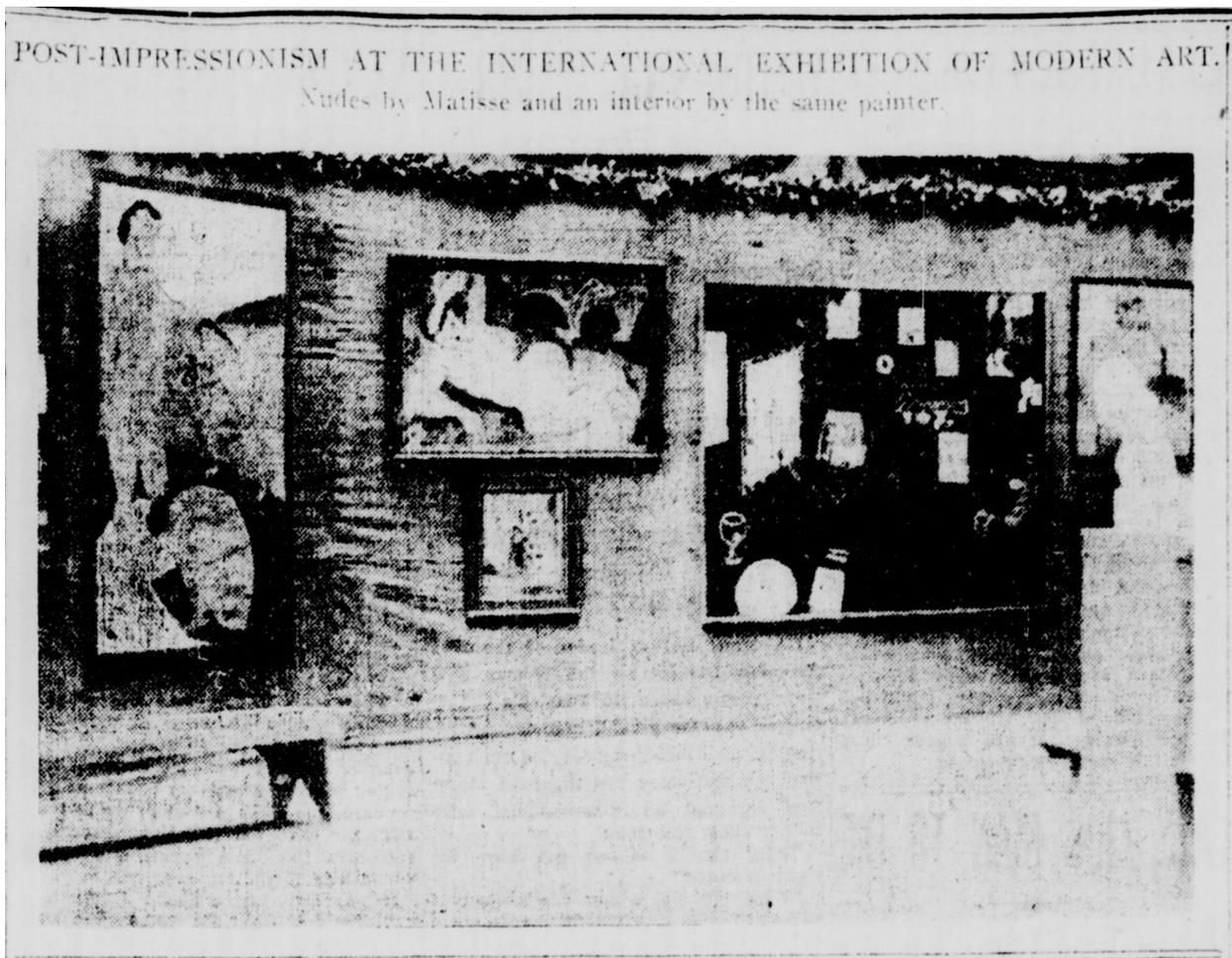


Figure 3. Henri Matisse Wall in Hall H of 1913 Armory Show, Photograph, Published in "The 'Ism' Exhibition Painting and Sculpture at the 69th Armory. Independence in Art, A Remarkable Affair, Despite Some Freakish Absurdities." *New York Tribune*. February 17, 1913, 7. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1913-02-17/ed-1/seq-7/>.

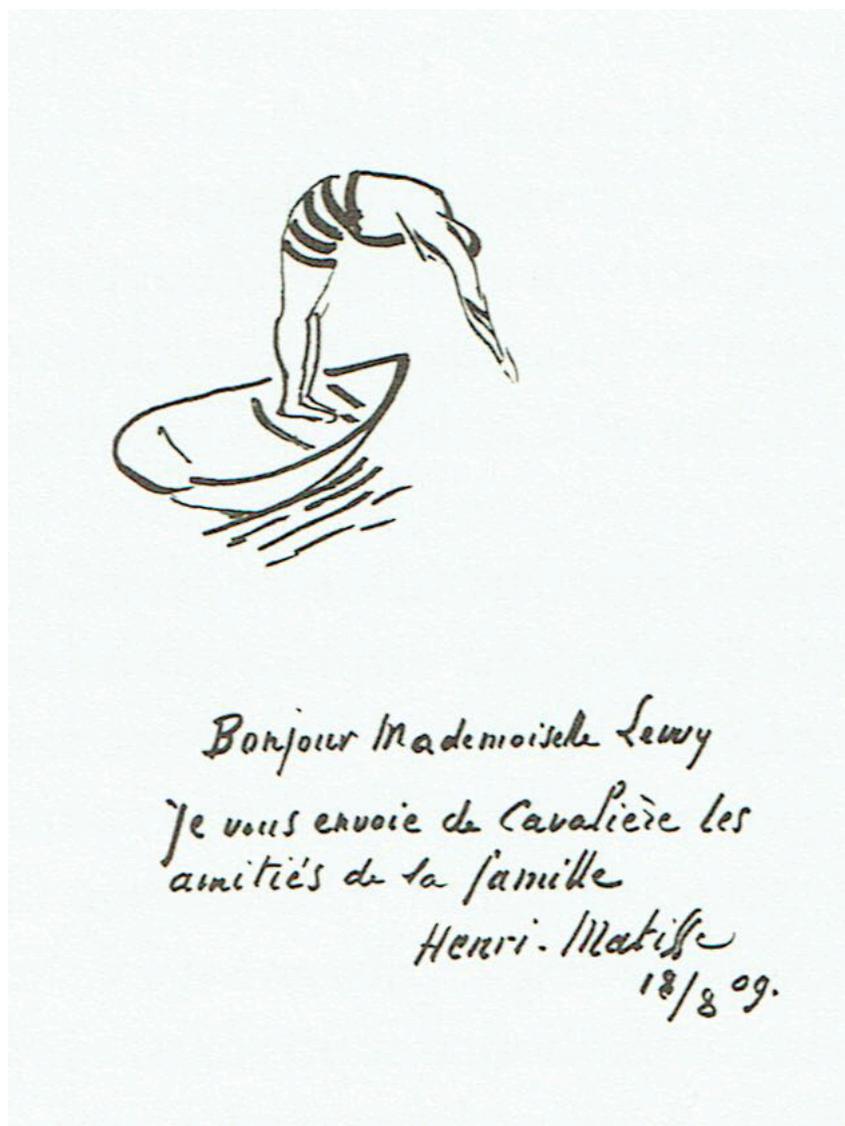


Figure 4. Henri Matisse, *Bonjour Mlle Levy*, the Painter's greeting to an American Collector, Ink on paper, August 18, 1909. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Bequest of Harriet Lane Levy.



Figure 5. Henri Matisse, *Panneau rouge*; now titled *The Red Studio*, 1911, oil on canvas, 5'4" x 7'2" in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

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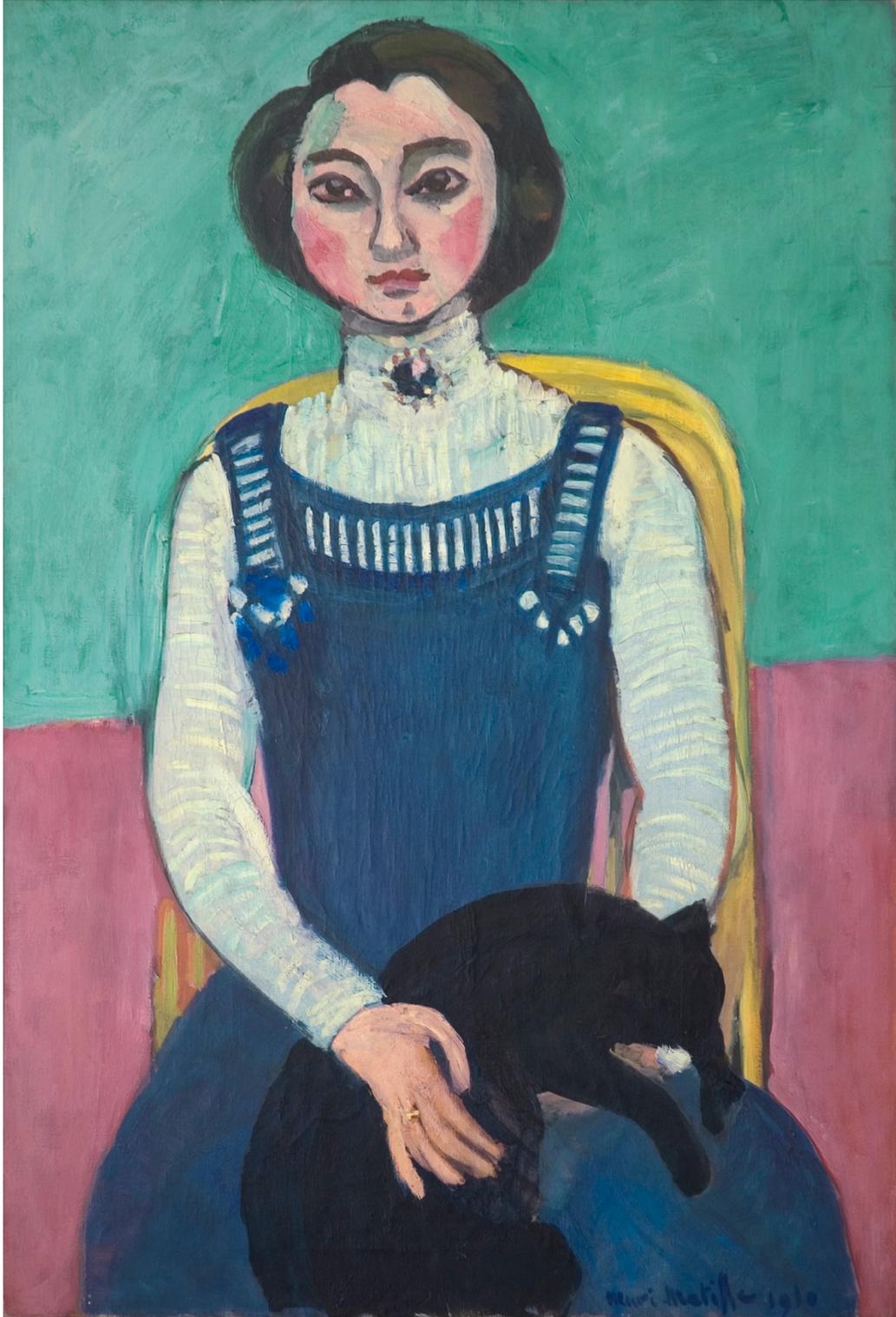


Figure 6. Henri Matisse, *Portrait de Marguerite*; now titled *Girl with a Black Cat*, 1910, oil on canvas, 37" x 25.2" in. The Centre Pompidou, Paris, France. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 7. *Installation view of Gallery H the Armory Show, 1913.* Walt Kuhn, Kuhn family papers, and Armory Show records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. <http://armory.nyhistory.org/installation-view-of-gallery-h-the-armory-show-1913/>.



Figure 8. Henri Matisse, *La Madras rouge*; now titled *Red Madras Headdress* 1907, oil on canvas, 3'3" x 2'8" in. Barnes Foundation. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

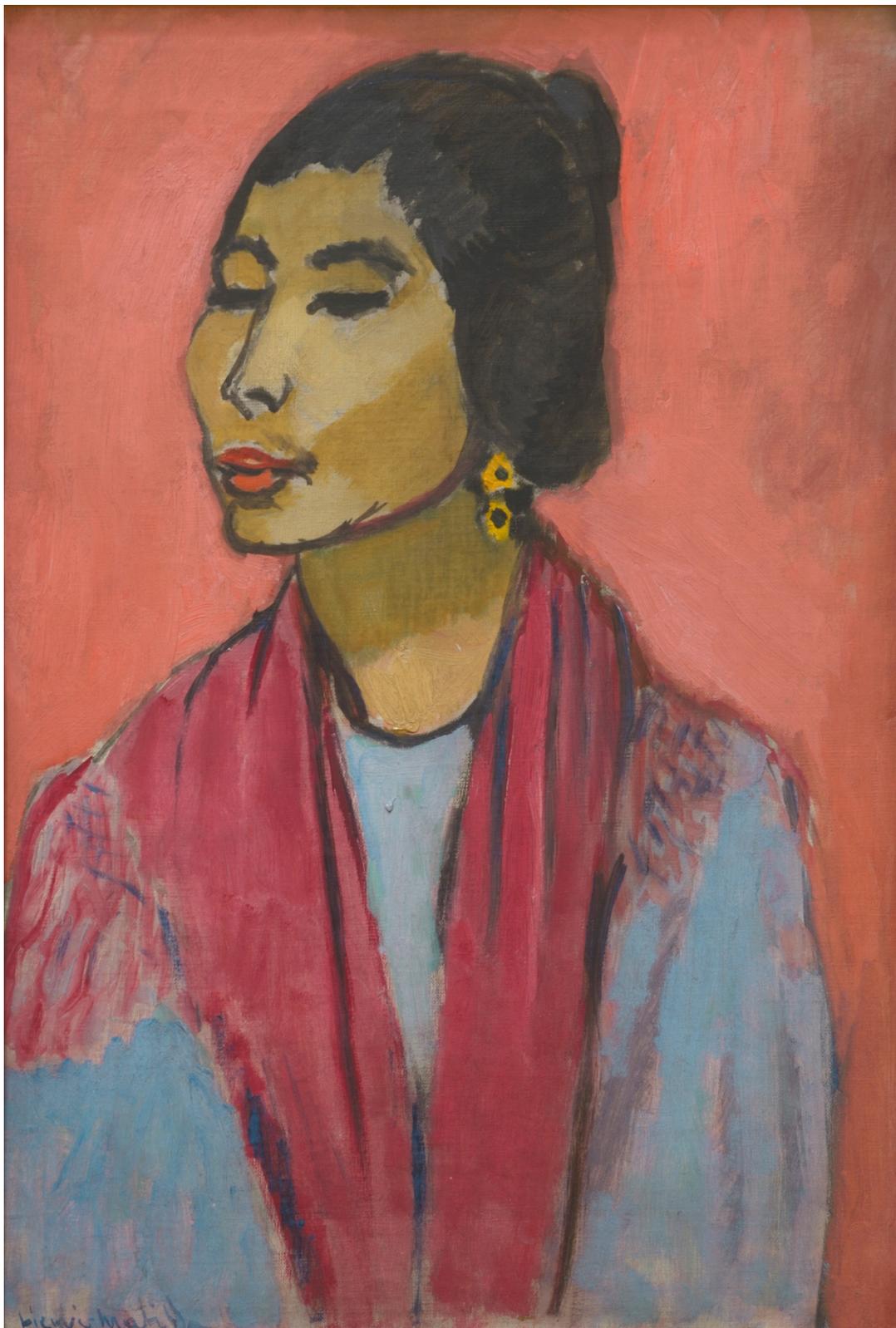


Figure 9. Henri Matisse, *Joaquina*, 1911, oil on canvas, Narodni Gallery, Prague, Czech Republic. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

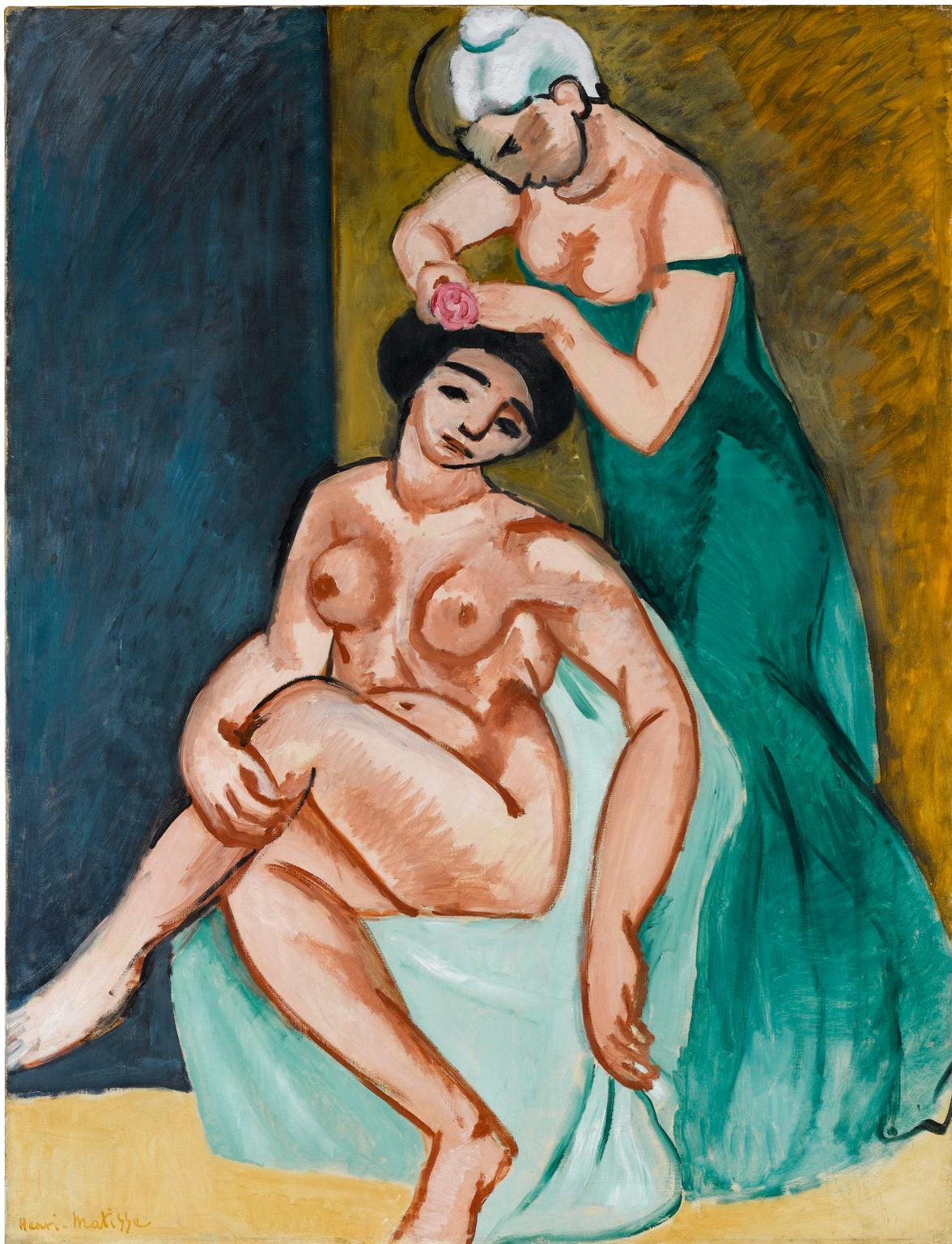


Figure 10. Henri Matisse, *La Coiffeuse*; now titled *La Coiffure*, 1907, oil on canvas, 45 5/8 x 35 1/16 in, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 11. Henri Matisse, *Goldfish and Sculpture (Les Poissons)*, 1912, oil on canvas, 3' 10" x 3' 4" in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 12. Henri Matisse, *Jeune Marin*; now titled *The Young Sailor*, 1906, oil on canvas, 40" x 32" in. Metropolitan Museum of Art. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 13. Henri Matisse. *Le Luxe [II]*; now titled *Le Luxe II*, 1907-8, distemper on canvas; 82 ½" x 54 ¾" in. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 14. Henri Matisse. *Les Capucines*; now titled *Nasturtiums with the Painting "Dance,"*, 1912, oil on canvas, 75 ½" x 45 3/8" in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 15. Henri Matisse, *Flowers*, 1906 Oil on canvas, 23 5/8 x 18 1/8 in. Brooklyn Museum, gift of Marion Gans Pomeroy. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

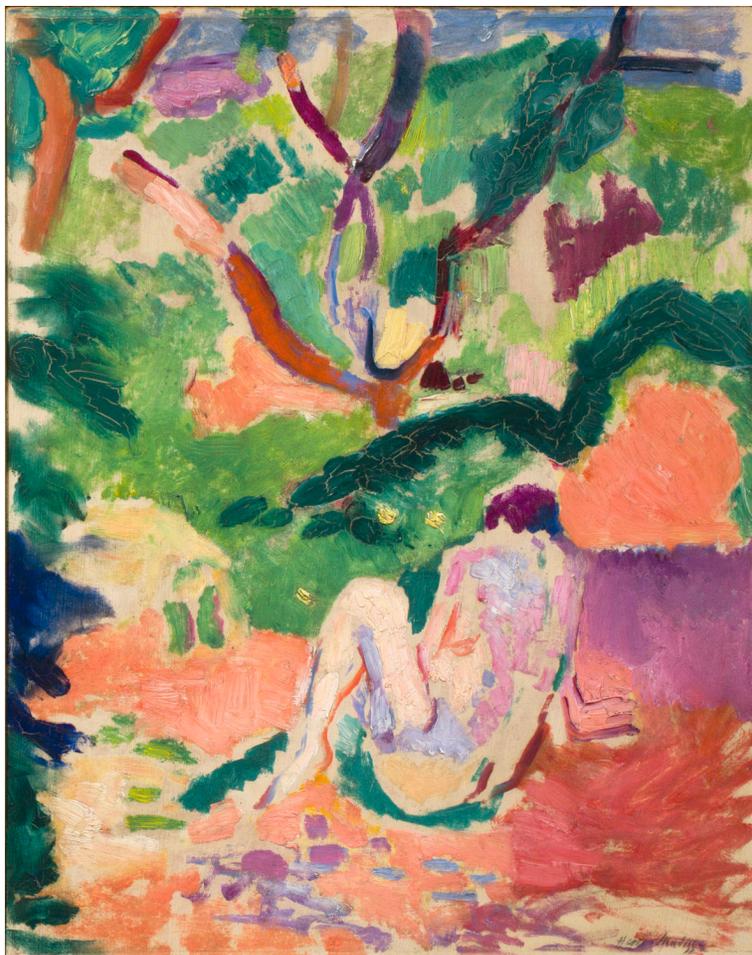


Figure 16. Henri Matisse, *Study- Nu dans la forêt, Nu assis dans le bois*; now titled *Nude in a Wood*, 1906, oil on board mounted on panel, 16" x 12 3/4" in. Brooklyn Museum, Gift of George F. Of. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 17. Henri Matisse, *Le Dos*; now titled *The Back*, 1909, Bronze, 74 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 73 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Tate, London, England. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 18. Henri Matisse, *Nude*, 1908, Drawing, Graphite on paper, 12 x 9 1/8 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York

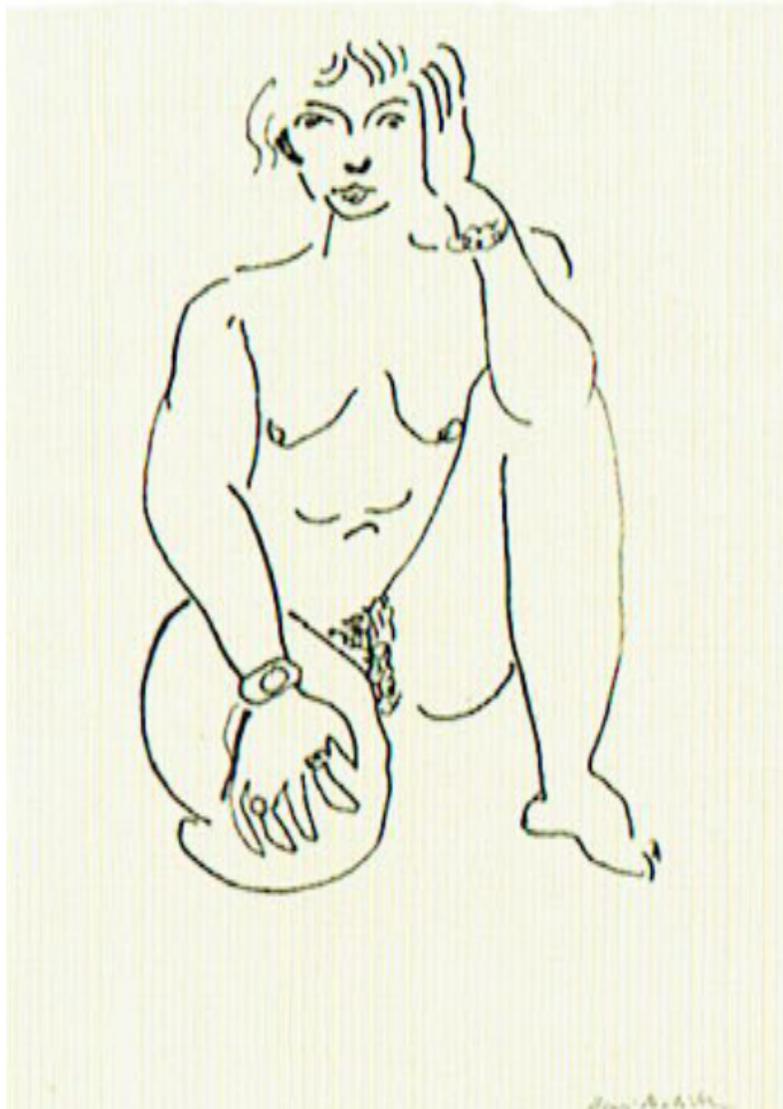


Figure 19. Henri Matisse, *Nude with Bracelets*, 1909, Drawing, Ink on paper, 12 5/8 x 8 7/8 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY. ©2020 Succession H. Matisse / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 20. Henri Matisse, *Matisse self-portrait with model*, the painter's sketch in a letter to Manquin, August 11, 1909, Archives Jean-Pierre Manquin.

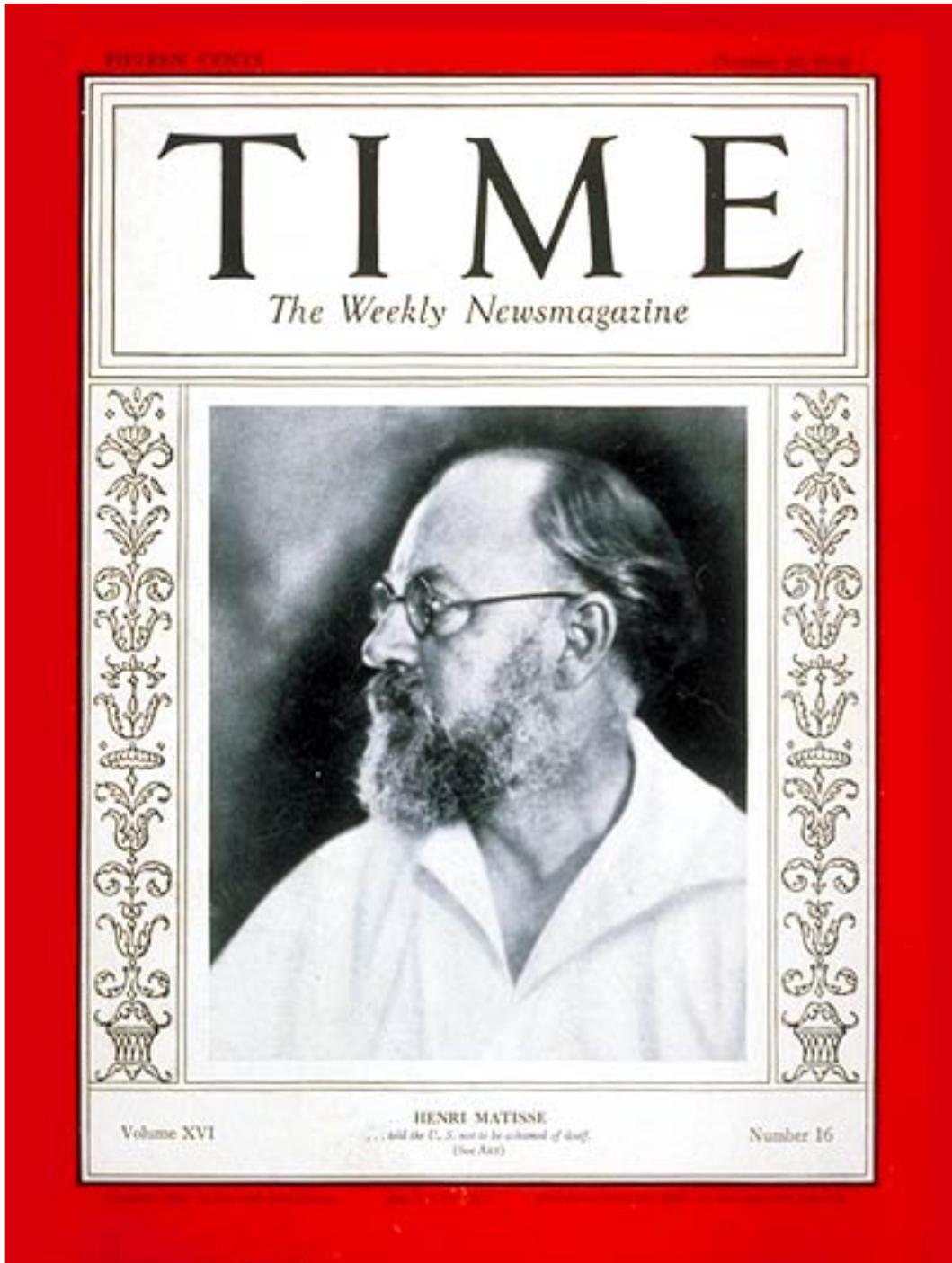


Figure 21. Matisse on cover of Time, October 20, 1930.
<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601301020,00.html>.

<p><i>Le Madras rouge</i>; now titled <i>Red Madras Headdress (Le Madras rouge)</i>, ca. 1907–8; now dated 1907, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 401, Gallery R; Chicago 237 and Boston 118, as <i>Red Madras</i></p> <p>Michael Stein Not for sale Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia</p>	<p><i>Nature morte</i>; elsewhere called <i>Still Life with Greek Torso</i>, 1908 Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 410, Gallery H; Chicago 247 and Boston 128, as <i>Still Life</i></p> <p>The artist Not for sale</p>
<p><i>Joaquina</i>, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 402, Gallery H; Chicago 238; Boston 119 Bernheim-Jeune & Cie. \$810</p> <p>Národní Galerie v Praze (National Gallery, Prague, Czech Republic)</p>	<p><i>La Femme bleue</i>; now titled <i>Blue Nude</i>, 1907 Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 411, Gallery H; Chicago 248 and Boston 129, as <i>The Blue Woman</i></p> <p>Leo Stein Not for sale Baltimore Museum of Art, Maryland</p>
<p><i>La Coiffeuse</i>; now titled <i>La Coiffure</i>, 1907, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 403, Gallery R; Chicago 239 and Boston 120, as <i>The Hairdresser</i></p> <p>Michael Stein Not for sale Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany</p>	<p><i>Drawing, No. 839</i></p> <p>New York 412, Gallery K; Chicago 236 and Boston 117, as <i>Drawings Emile Druet, #5839</i></p> <p>\$67.50</p>
<p><i>Les Poissons</i>; now titled <i>Goldfish and Sculpture</i>, 1911; now dated 1912, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 404, Gallery H; Chicago 240 and Boston 121, as <i>Goldfish</i></p> <p>The artist Not for sale The Museum of Modern Art, New York</p>	<p><i>Drawing, No. 840</i>; now titled <i>Four Studies of Nude Woman</i></p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 413, Gallery J; Chicago 236 and Boston 117, as <i>Drawings</i></p> <p>Emile Druet, #5840 Sold for \$67.50 to Mrs. Eliza G. Radeke, March 2, 1913</p> <p>Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence</p>
<p><i>Jeune Marin</i>; now titled <i>The Young Sailor</i>, 1906, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 405, Gallery H; Chicago 241 and Boston 122, as <i>Young Sailor</i></p> <p>The artist \$1,350 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>	<p><i>Drawing</i>; now titled <i>Nude</i>, ca. 1908</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 414, Gallery J</p> <p>Alfred Stieglitz Not for sale</p>
<p><i>Panneau rouge</i>; now titled <i>The Red Studio</i>, 1911, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 406, Gallery H; Chicago 242 and Boston 123, as <i>Red Panel</i></p> <p>The artist \$4,050 The Museum of Modern Art, New York</p>	<p>Stieglitz lent six Matisse drawings to the Armory Show. Either only one was hung or the listing should read “drawings”</p> <p>One of the six is at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Two are at the Art Institute of Chicago</p>
<p><i>Le Luxe [II]</i>; now titled <i>Le Luxe II</i>, ca. 1907–8, Casein</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 407, Gallery H; Chicago 244 and Boston 125, as <i>Luxury</i></p> <p>The artist \$1,350 Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen</p>	<p><i>Le Dos</i>; now titled <i>The Back, I</i>, 1910–12; now dated 1909 Plaster</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 635, Gallery H; Chicago 243 and Boston 124, as <i>A Back</i></p> <p>The artist Price listed as “not yet known” in Kuhn catalogue Musée Matisse, Le Cateau-Cambrésis, France</p>
<p><i>Portrait de Marguerite</i>; now titled <i>Girl with a Black Cat</i>, 1910, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 408, Gallery R; Chicago 245 and Boston 126, as <i>Portrait of Marguerite</i></p> <p>The artist Not for sale Private Collection, Paris</p>	<p><i>Flowers</i>, 1906, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 1064, Gallery H; Chicago 249; Boston 130 Mrs. Howard Gans No price listed Brooklyn Museum, New York</p>
<p><i>Les Capucines</i>; now titled <i>Nasturtiums with the Painting “Dance,”</i> 1912, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 409, Gallery H; Chicago 246 and Boston 127, as <i>Nasturtiums</i></p> <p>The artist \$1,080 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>	<p><i>Study</i>; now titled <i>Nude in a Wood (Nu dans la forêt; Nu assis dans le bois)</i>, now dated 1906, Oil</p> <p>Armory Show location: New York 1065, Gallery H; Chicago 250; Boston 131</p> <p>George F. Of No price listed Brooklyn Museum, New York</p>

Figure 22. Works of Art by Henri Matisse exhibited in Hall H at the 1913 Armory Show in New York.
<http://armory.nyhistory.org/armory-show-1913-complete-list/>.

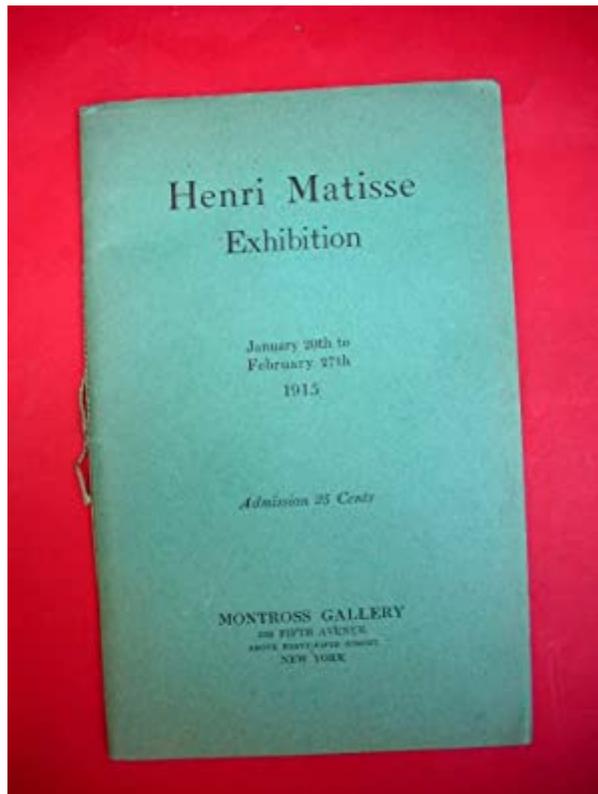


Figure 23. Henri Matisse Montross Gallery exhibition, January 20 to February 27, 1915, catalogue.

<https://www.abebooks.com/HENRI-MATISSE-EXHIBITION-Montross-Gallery-1915/12966464482/bd>.



Figure 24. Henri Matisse, *Two Self-Portraits and a Moroccan Landscape*, 1912, Pen and ink on paper, Private Collection.

The John Wanamaker Store
 Formerly A. T. Stewart & Co.
 Broadway, Fourth Avenue, Eighth to Tenth Street

Presents Tomorrow and Saturday, for the First Time in America

**Color Combinations of the Futurists
 Cubist Influence in Fashions
 In the New Paris Models for Spring**

In every age, the dress worn by the fashionable women of the day has expressed the spirit of the times.

The classic draperies of the Greeks were the direct outcome of their noble attitude of thought; the fashions of the days of Louis XVI. expressed the frivolity and luxury and effeminacy of the times—and the fashions for Spring, 1913, are a revelation of the daring and freedom and power of the thought that is growing up around us in these days.

Call it Cubism or Post Impressionism or Futurism or any name you will, the thing exists in every realm that art can touch. In some cases it is a striving for a newer and simpler way to express feeling; in others, it is an attempt to express the idea of power and motion; in every case, it is the effort after freedom from conventional ideals and conventional methods. Casting away so many rules results in a naive, primitive sort of art that is closely allied to the Japanese. It has been ridiculed; it has been misinterpreted and misunderstood. It has irritated, puzzled and disturbed. The old discussions that arose when Cezanne's pictures were rejected by the Paris Salons have recommenced. But Cezanne is accepted as a standard today, and the men of the new school are in the position their master held when he first began to paint.

Henry Matisse, who is one of the radicals in the new school, said: "*An artist should above all express a Vision of Color the harmony of which corresponds to his feelings.*"

That is what they have done—these creators of new fashions. *Line*, for the moment, drops back into a secondary place. *Color* is the vital thing. With the gown as a palette, the world has been painted over, intensified, vivified, made luminous, by putting into it dresses which express the color visions of the Modernists.

Very largely these fashions have grown out of the pictures that are being painted today.

It is the popular idea that women wear the gowns and artists put them on canvas; but the opposite is the fact. The gowns are inspired by the paintings.

So we are showing them, like paintings in a frame. They will be posed in the Wanamaker Auditorium at half past 10 o'clock in the morning, and at 2 o'clock and again at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Figure 25. Advertisement featuring Henri Matisse, *The Evening World*, New York, NY, March 13, 1913, Final Edition, page 7. Accessed August 7, 2020. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030193/1913-03-13/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=1913&index=1&rows=20&words=Henry+Matisse&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=New+York&date2=1913&proxtext=henri+matisse&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

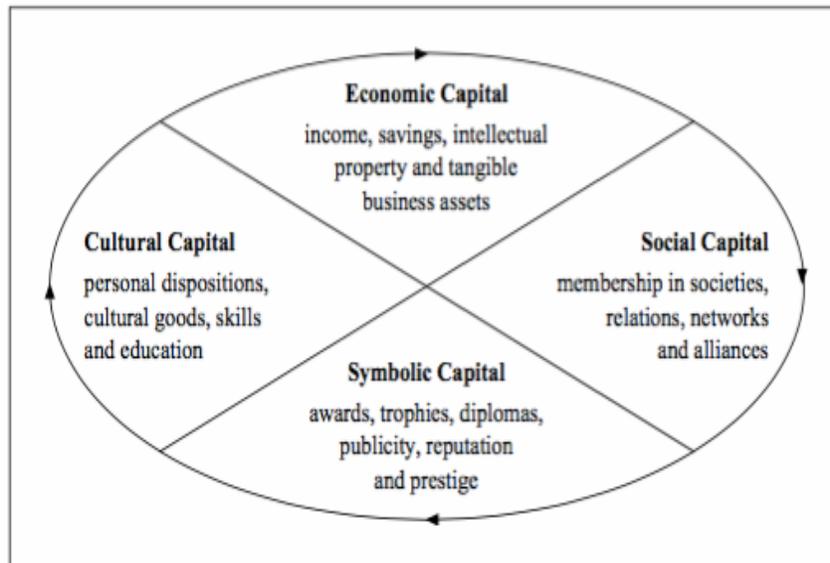


Figure 26. *Forms of capital* (Pret et al. 2016).

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280836376_Painting_the_Full_Picture_The_Conversion_of_Economic_Cultural_Social_and_Symbolic_Capital.

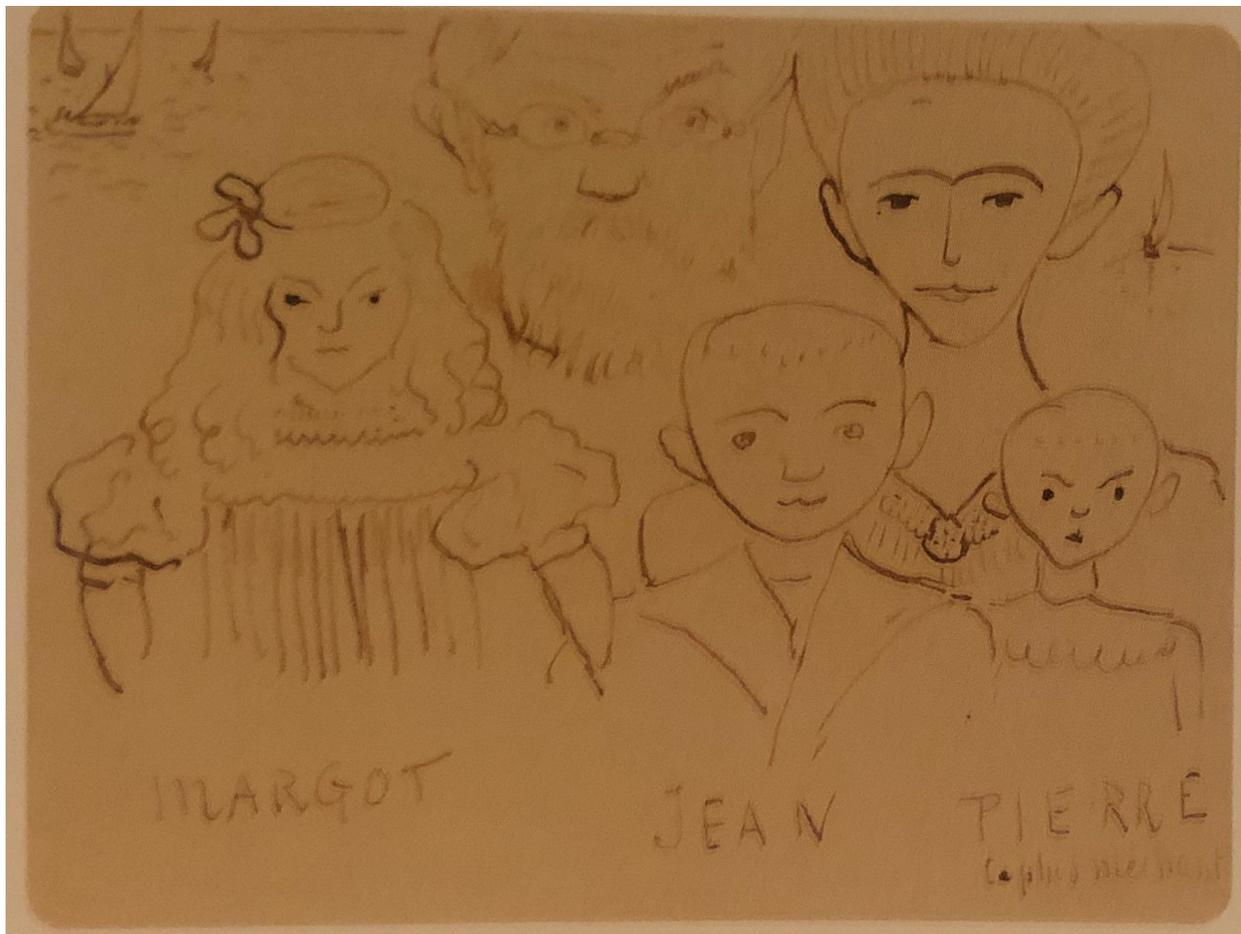


Figure 27. Henri Matisse, Postcard with a sketch of *The Artist's Family*, 1906, Ink on paper, 3 ¼ x 4 ½ in. Cary and Jan Lichtenberg.

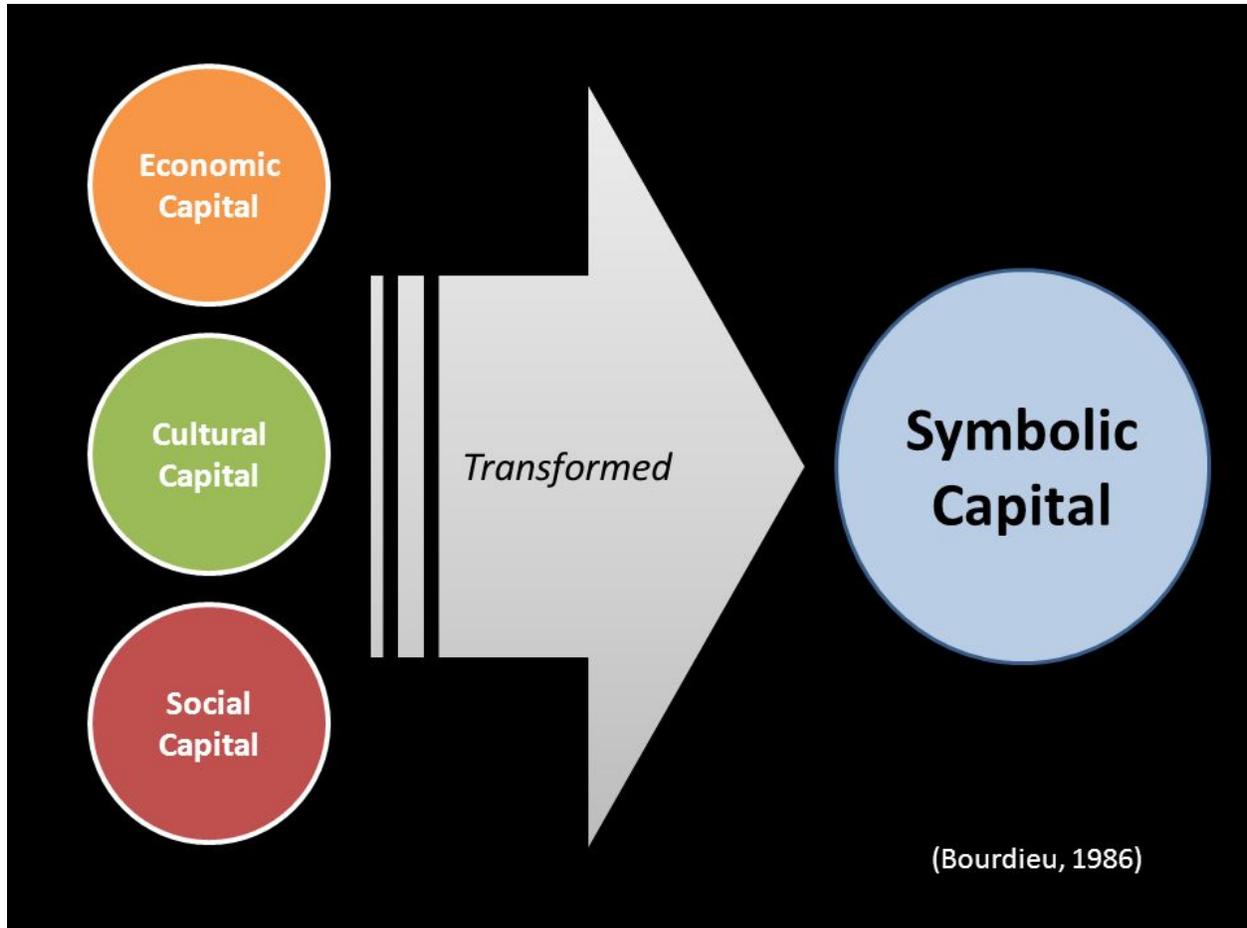


Figure 28. Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, and Social Capital's conversion to Symbolic Capital. Pierre Bourdieu, The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York, NY: Greenwood Press, 1986. <https://slideplayer.com/slide/6312086/>.

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