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	AHB	XI.B.10

check with Donald or Janet or Swetten's file RR
see Judith 7/23/79

July 18, 1979

Mr. Carleton Sprague Smith
Chairman
Spanish Institute, Inc.
684 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mr. Smith:

As I mentioned to you on the phone, I am referring your letter and that of Mr. de Muns to our Library. They will provide the information that is available here, but I would suggest that Mr. de Muns contact the Institute of Fine Arts, 1 East 78th Street, New York 10021, regarding a researcher. I'm sure they can refer him to a graduate student who would be interested in the project.

As I also told you, we do have a researcher on our staff who could make some of the information requested by Mr. de Muns available, but because our own time and our staff are so limited, we would be unable to assemble this much data for him. I would suggest that when Mr. de Muns has arranged for someone to do his research, and when they have specific questions, the researcher contact Mrs. Judith Cousins here at the Museum. Her direct phone number is 956-2650. She can then arrange access to our files and records.

Hoping that this will be helpful to you,

Sincerely,

Sharon McIntosh
Assistant to the Director

cc: Library ✓
Judith Cousins

(Today 1979 - still on 3rd floor)

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SPANISH INSTITUTE, INC.

The Center for American-Spanish Relations
684 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10021
Telephone: (212) 628-0420

July 12, 1979

Ms. Sharon McIntosh
Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ms. McIntosh:

Enclosed is the letter from Alejandro de Muns in regard to information about "Guernica". Though there are quite a few typos and Hispanic expressions the gist seems clear.

Carol Everingham reported that there were people at MOMA who could undertake the task - or find someone to do it - hence Mr. de Muns first paragraph.

Naturally I hope that you can implement the matter since she is away on a vacation.

With much appreciation of your courtesy in which I know a number of Spaniards join me

Sincerely yours,

Carleton Sprague Smith
Carleton Sprague Smith
Chairman

Many years ago I was a trustee of MOMA but in recent years have not been around much.

(Today 1979 - still on 3rd floor)

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Alejandro de Muns
 Princesa, 23 - Tel. 247 50 35
 Madrid-8

Madrid, June 21, 1979

Prof.
 CARLTON S. SMITH
 The Spanish Institute
 684 Park Avenue
 New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Carlton:

It was good to hear from you that you had been able to contact the person in the Museum of Modern Art, who would be willing "on a professional basis" to provide the material regarding the Picasso's "GUERNICA" painting.

As I told you before, my friend is preparing a serious book on this subject, and has already gathered a great deal of important documents, pictures, etc regarding the origin of the painting (how, and who made the commitment; price agreed, etc...) up to the moment it leaves Paris in 1938 or 39 for New York to be exposed at the World Fair.

Therefore, the purpose of this survey is to complete the story regarding everything concerning the "Guernica's" stay in New York up to now.

That is why, it is good that the person that will complete this survey, be a member of the Museum, so not only will it be more easy for him, to know where the information required is; but also he will be able to provide a much more accurate and diversified one, than the one that would be available, through clippings or going through the New York Times information files. And also much more abundant.

With independence of the details that he will have to provide, and that will be discussed as we proceed. I am going to state now the broad lines of what is expected the researcher will have to provide:

- ! When did the picture arrive in New York? In what ship? ^{probably not} Special protection measures.
 - ! Was there at the time a expectation? In what ship? Coming from where (Le Havre, Cherbourg?). Consigned to whom? How was it cleared by Customs?
 - ! How long was it exposed at the World Fair? In which place? How many people visited it? Public and critic reaction to the painting? Press clippings, pictures, etc... Any specific anecdote?
 - NY. 1939 - ? ever shown there?
 - ! When was the picture delivered to the Museum of Modern Art? Where was it placed (in the same place as actually,).
 - ! Reproduction of the text of the description of the picture (that goes on the frame or below) as we understand that it has been changed three times throughout the years.
 - All available informations regarding the picture stay in the Museum. Estimated number of visitors. Photostat, pictures, clippings (selection), etc.....
- .../...

Today 1979 - still on 3rd floor

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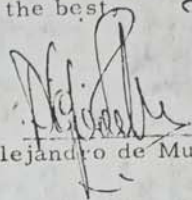
Any information available regarding the actual status on the returning of the painting to Spain. (This is really not relevant).

As I mentioned to you on the phone, I am sending this only as a guidance for you to present to the person you have selected, so that he gets the idea. After that, I would like to establish a verbal contact with him by phone (I suggest at the Institute) so that you could hear the conversation, so that we may enter more specific questions, such as to get an idea of what is available at the Museum; time that would be needed to gather this information; if it will be necessary to use some outside source. And finally the fee that he will charge.

So please, would you transmit this information, as soon as you receive this letter, and let me know, when we should call you back.

All the best

ad Thank you
again for
assistance.


Alejandro de Muns

Refers to Silve

P.D.

I am enclosing a clipping I have just received from Mexico regarding the maps and the picture which I thought might interest you.

Today 1979 - still on 3rd floor

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Memorandum

To Rona Roob

From Pearl Moeller

Date May 5, 1980

Re GUERNICA HISTORY, MOMA.

735 SR)
Museum of Modern Art

Picasso
Guernica

cc: LOWRY file

Dear Rona - Thank for your letter (copy) to Carlton Sprague Smith, of 8/13/79. which we are putting in the Picasso Archive - now, separate section under Guernica,

I return herewith the second section from Registrar's files which I don't think the public should have access to, as it is internal, bickering over bills, etc. (insurance).

Your letter does the trick very well, plus supporting letters. Thanks, (Pearl)

(in Reg. files)

you plan to move the Guernica from the 3rd of the background facts which have led to our painting here off and on for twenty years in which it has been continuously in our

lent Guernica to the Museum of Modern Art for the years of His Art. He also lent about 60 to Guernica and 35 other paintings. At charge of these works during the war and

g the Museum's second big show, Picasso: 75th to have all his paintings returned except the Guernica and the Relays works. These he agreed to lend to the Museum indefinitely.

During the previous two decades, 1937 to 1957, Picasso had too generously lent the Guernica about twenty times all over Europe and the U.S.A. The painting had been rolled, packed, shipped, unrolled, stretched, hung, and then unstretched and rolled, not counting the times when our Museum re-installed it after its return from elsewhere.

Because of its vulnerable size and seriously worn condition, Picasso agreed that the Guernica should not be lent or sent elsewhere for temporary exhibition.

Since 1958 the Museum has moved the Guernica only once, from the 2nd floor (at that time the only gallery space for the painting collection), to a third floor gallery where it has remained since the opening of the "New Museum" in May 1964.

With Picasso's approval we have refused to send the Guernica to a number of comprehensive exhibitions including London 1960 and Paris 1967. (I might add that both the directors, Roland Penrose and Jean Leymarie, were sympathetic even though they missed the great mural badly.)

I believe that we may keep the Guernica as long as Picasso lives and perhaps afterwards for a time.

(Today 1979 - still on 3rd floor)

quote

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Drakes Estero with Limantour Spit separating it from Drakes Bay. Duxbury Reef beyond the bay and in the distance San Francisco's Western exposure. Cows are to be seen everywhere on this dairying peninsula. The Point Reyes National Seashore, California.

Dear Olive, many thanks for the two letters with all the information! I am now working on the problem and have learned much more all this for an article. I'll send it to you soon. Cordially yours,
General B. Clipp

USA 10c
PEOPLES-RIGHT TO PETITION FOR REDRESS

Olive Brogazzi
789 West End Ave.
New York
N.Y. 10025

POST OFFICE
MARTIN GARDNER CARDS, BOX 345, INVERNESS, CALIF. 94937

C23799

WILEY ROBERTS
BERKELEY 94710

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(ST 2 SR)

1100250
Guernica

The Museum of Modern Art

0132

To Mr. Lowry
From Mr. Barr
Date January 31, 1969
Re Guernica

cc: LOWRY file

Dear Bates:

I have heard that you plan to move the Guernica from the 3rd floor. May I fill in some of the background facts which have led to our good fortune in having the painting here off and on for twenty years followed by the last ten years in which it has been continuously in our possession.

In 1939 Picasso lent Guernica to the Museum of Modern Art for the exhibition Picasso: Forty Years of His Art. He also lent about 60 drawings and paintings related to Guernica and 35 other paintings. At his request the Museum took charge of these works during the war and afterwards for a time.

In 1958, following the Museum's second big show, Picasso: 75th Anniversary, Picasso asked to have all his paintings returned except the Guernica and the related works. These he agreed to lend to the Museum indefinitely.

During the previous two decades, 1937 to 1957, Picasso had too generously lent the Guernica about twenty times all over Europe and the U.S.A. The painting had been rolled, packed, shipped, unrolled, stretched, hung, and then unstretched and rolled, not counting the times when our Museum re-installed it after its return from elsewhere.

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I believe that we may keep the Guernica as long as Picasso lives and perhaps afterwards for a time.

x.

(Today 1979 - still on 3rd floor)

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22 ✓

The Museum of Modern Art

11 West 53 Street, New York, N. Y. 10019 Tel. 956-6100 Cable: Modernart

13th August 1979

Mr. Carleton Sprague Smith
Chairman
Spanish Institute, Inc.
684 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mr. Smith,

Your letter of July 12 and that of Mr. Alejandro de Muns concerning the Picasso Guernica has come to the attention of the Library. In the absence of our Librarian, Mr. Clive Phillipot, we are taking the liberty of answering your questions.

Following its exhibition in the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris World's Fair in the Summer of 1937, the Guernica, with related paintings, sketches and studies, was shown at the New Burlington Galleries, London, October 4-29, 1938, for the benefit of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief. The works in this London exhibition it seems were returned to France and shipped aboard the Normandie to the Valentine Gallery, 16 East 57th Street, New York, where they were shown (May 4-27, 1939) for the benefit of the Spanish Refuge Relief Campaign. (Photocopy of this catalog enclosed with this letter.) We have found the customs' receipt (copy enclosed) dated May 3, 1939, in our files. In answer to Mr. de Muns' question, we do not find that any "special protective measures" were taken; the works were insured in routine manner. Penson & Company acted as custom brokers.

The Valentine Gallery benefit exhibition then travelled to the Stendhal Gallery in Los Angeles (August 10-21, 1939). We have found a note written by Alfred Barr in our Archive indicating that the Guernica, with drawings and studies, was then shown in San Francisco. From San Francisco it seems the exhibition was sent to Chicago for it was from The Arts Club of Chicago on October 12, 1939 that "in accordance with instructions from the Spanish Relief Campaign, ..." the works were shipped to this Museum. Miss Blanche T. Mahler was involved in supervising the Guernica benefit for the Spanish Relief campaign. We have recently learned that she is now Mrs. Philip Weisberg of 31 East 72nd Street, New York 10021 (tel: 879-9757). Perhaps she could provide the exact itinerary of this benefit show.

On October 16, 1939 these works were received at the Museum of Modern Art for the exhibition Picasso: 40 Years of his Art organized by Alfred H. Barr, Jr. (15 November 1939-7 January 1940). A second edition of Mr. Barr's show, including the Guernica and fifty-three preparatory drawings, was circulated throughout the United States until April 1941; it was seen in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and San

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The Museum of Modern Art

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Page Two
Mr. Carleton S. Smith
13th August 1979

Francisco.

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At his (Picasso's) request the Museum took charge of these works during the war and afterwards for a time.

The Museum, by the way, did this for other European collectors who wished to thus assure the safety of their works during wartime.

However, in 1958, following Mr. Barr's second big Picasso show, Picasso: 75th Anniversary Exhibition (22 May - 8 September 1957, MoMA, New York; 29 October - 8 December 1957, The Art Institute, Chicago), Picasso asked to have all his paintings returned to him except Guernica and the related studies which he agreed to lend to the Museum indefinitely.

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The Museum of Modern Art

11 West 53 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019 Tel. 956-6100 Cable: Modernart

Page Three
Mr. Carleton S. Smith
13th August 1979

Today, Guernica, with selected related studies, still hangs in that third floor gallery.

We enclose a copy of the wall label requested by Mr. de Muns. Mr. de Muns writes that he understands that "the text has been changed three times throughout the years". The text of this label as it now appears is essentially the same as that prepared by Alfred Barr for the Museum's Picasso: 12 Masterworks exhibition (15 March - 24 April 1955). Unfortunately our staff has not been able to locate the text of an earlier label though it is most probable that one did exist.

It is difficult to answer Mr. de Muns' questions about the World's Fair. If he is referring to the 1939-40 World's Fair held in New York the best source for information is the New York Public Library, Main Branch, 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue. Our Library's catalogues on art shown at this World's Fair do not include any mention of the Guernica. We must remember however that during the period of the Fair the Spanish Refuge Relief Campaign was supervising the exhibition of the Guernica and related works. (Perhaps I should mention here that Guernica's stay at the Paris Fair, Summer, 1937, has been thoroughly dealt with by Phyllis Tuchman in her excellent thesis (New York University, June, 1973) Guernica, L'Humanité and the Spanish Pavilion. This thesis is unpublished and therefore cannot be copied or reproduced but it can be read in our Library.)

With this letter we are enclosing photocopies of some of the many articles in our Library dealing specifically with the Guernica. Our Library's Picasso Archive includes more than twenty volumes of newspaper and magazine articles, arranged mostly chronologically, in a variety of languages (Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Scandinavian and Spanish). These volumes are of course available to the public and many of them do mention Guernica.

In the hope we have provided you and Mr. de Muns with the information you require, I am,

Sincerely,

Rona K. Roob

RKR:asl
Enclosures

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Clive
Phillip
Phillips
Phillips

The Museum of Modern Art

11 West 53 Street, New York, N. Y. 10019 Tel. 956-6100 Cable: Modernart

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684 Park Avenue
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Sincerely,

Rona K. Roob

RKR:asl
Enclosures

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Rough DRAFT... ~~SECRET~~

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK

Dear Mrs. Weisberg,

Permit me, on behalf of Judith Cousins and myself, to thank you for sharing your "Quernica" experiences with us.

We shall pursue the leads you suggested and when we finally determine the "Quernica" itinerary we shall be pleased to forward this information to you.

It was good of you to take the

See

See

Att

his

Law

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time to telephone today - we are glad
to know that you too enjoyed the
afternoon.

Sincerely,
Renee Root

15 August 1929 (marked)

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GUERNICA

See file G re 1965 corresp. between
A (etc) + Cesori GNUDI

See MOMA Lowry 1960s file for copy of
AHB memo of 1/21/69 to Bates Lowry reviewing
history of loan of Guernica to Stoma (Lowry
had planned to move canvas from third floor)

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

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SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ART

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

October 9, 1979

Mrs. Philip Weisberg
31 East 72nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Mrs. Weisberg,

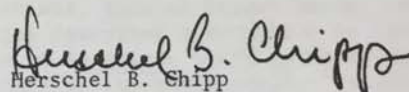
I have just learned from my friend Don Augustin Muns of Madrid, that you played an important role in the showing of Picasso's Guernica in America. I am preparing a comprehensive book on the history and meaning of this painting, and it is of course important that due credit be given to those who recognized its worth and made it possible to show it here.

For your information I am sending you a copy of a short article on the painting, a preliminary to a long and detailed one that will be published soon in New York.

I would be grateful if I could telephone you about those fascinating days. If so, please tell me when it is convenient.

With thanks,

Sincerely yours,


Herschel B. Chipp
Professor of the History of Art

HBC:wm

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cc: W. Rubin

R. Roob ✓

E.L. file/Picasso GUERNICA

Circulation

14 November 1979

Mrs. Philip Weisberg
31 East 72nd Street
New York, New York 10021

702-1000

Dear Mrs. Weisberg,

I am returning herewith the letter you received from Herschel B. Chipp; and his article on Guernica in Spanish, that you were kind enough to lend to me so that I could make xerox copies for our files.

The article, apparently ~~was~~ written by Professor Chipp at the request of ABC, Madrid and published therein 29 July 1979, serving to underscore the arrangements regarding Guernica's eventual coming to Spain, which seem to be progressing to the mutual satisfaction of Spain and the U.S.A. Professor Chipp's main theme is the history of the picture in the U.S.A., where it has spent forty of its forty-two years of existence, following its inception in Paris in conjunction with the World's Fair. He traces its arrival to New York, its tour before coming to MoMA, and stresses that unlike the reception it elicited in 1937 at the Paris World's Fair, in the U.S.A. tour Guernica was viewed much more in terms of its artistic qualities than in reference to the civil war in Spain... citing the responses of various critics and artists, such as Stuart Davis, Jack Levine, Robert Goldwater, etc. Chipp describes a reception in Los Angeles in August of 1939, in honor of Guernica, which gathered the governor of California and celebrities of the movie world. The second part of Chipp's article resumes Guernica's stay at MoMA, (exhibitions to which it was lent,) including a summary of its final disposition as expressed by Picasso. There is essentially no new information; at least not to an American reader, and most of the information at least in this article is in our files. This article is, however, only a preview of a more ample history of Guernica in America on which Professor Chipp is currently at work, in which he stresses the changing and diverse views expressed about it in comparison with its reception in Paris in 1937.

This, in capsule form, is what the article in Spanish tells us. I hope it will be of help to you while awaiting Professor Chipp's longer history.

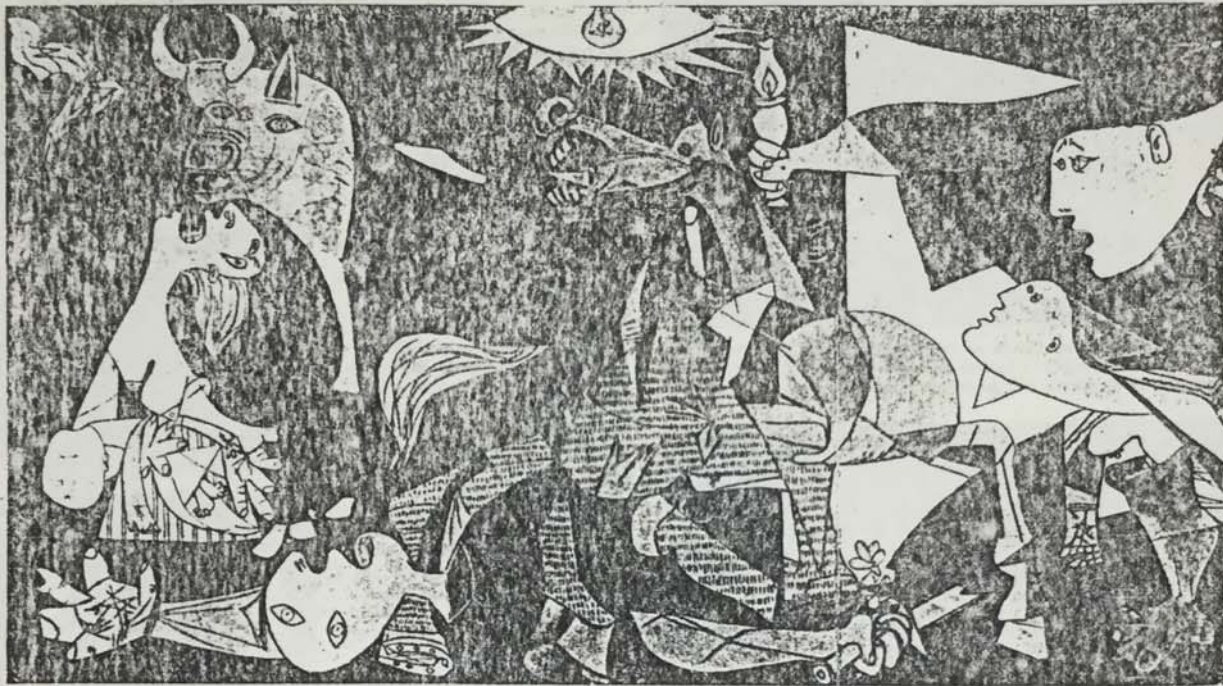
In the meantime, I would like to take this opportunity to say how very much I enjoyed having lunch with you and Rona, and to thank you for your gracious hospitality.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Judith Cousins
Researcher
Encl.

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Durante 40 de sus 42 años de existencia, el «Guernica» ha permanecido en Norteamérica. Hoy, restablecida la democracia, nada ha

BC Madrid 25 July '79
p. 14-15

EL «GUERNICA», EN USA

Si bien es cierto que el Congreso de los Estados Unidos decidió por unanimidad que, en un futuro próximo, el *Guernica* debiera ser devuelto al pueblo y al Gobierno de España, debemos recordar que, de los cuarenta y dos años de su existencia, durante cuarenta estuvo en América. Aunque pintado en París, y esto es lo más cerca que estuvo de España, tanto por su inspiración como por su contenido está vinculado directamente a la historia y a la cultura de España. Fue realizado como reacción directa ante la trágica destrucción de la ciudad vasca de Guernica. Su iconografía se basa en una de las suertes de la corrida y su tema se intensifica con símbolos de emoción personal comparables a los dramas de Federico García Lorca.

Picasso retrasó la realización de un mural, sin tema preciso, para la Feria Mundial de París hasta el momento en que la inauguración de la Feria era inminente. Guernica le dio el tema y una irresistible inspiración.

Su primera reacción no fue un cuadro de guerra, sino una corrida, el intenso momento cuando el toro embiste al ca-

ballo del picador y en el que, por su propia inercia, se ensarta en la pica. Sin ser uno de los más importantes lances de la corrida, el tema obsesionó a Picasso desde su infancia, en especial durante los últimos años, cuando asumió en su arte concomitancias sexuales con sus personales relaciones, intensas y tormentosas, con las mujeres. Todos los dibujos del primer día se basan en este tema, que, con las víctimas que entonces aparecían frecuentemente en las informaciones gráficas de los periódicos, constituyen el tema central del *Guernica*. Aun cuando trabajara en el cuadro durante más de dos meses e hiciera muchos cambios, el poderoso desafío del toro y el caballo atormentado, transformados ahora en una tragedia humana, permanecen como tema definitivo. Ramón Gómez de

la Serna dijo, en una ocasión, que cualquier cosa que hiciera Picasso está, en realidad, inmersa en la fiesta.

Cuando, en mayo de 1939, Picasso envió el cuadro y 59 de sus bocetos preliminares a Nueva York, para ser presentados en beneficio de los refugiados, la guerra civil había terminado ya y Europa temblaba del temor de que Guernica fuera la profecía de una tragedia mundial de mayor envergadura. A diferencia del año 1937, en París, cuando la guerra civil era algo muy real, 1939, en Nueva York, vio el *Guernica* como la última y quizá más importante obra de arte de Picasso. En respuesta a críticos que lo atacaron como un envilecimiento del arte, por sus implicaciones políticas, un crítico del *New York Times* dijo que, aun cuando en un principio tenía una intención pro-

pagandística, «acabó siendo algo mucho más importante una obra de arte». Si bien los artistas americanos sentían profunda compasión por el pueblo español, veneraron la obra fundamentalmente por sus calidades artísticas. Stuart Davis dijo que es «una de las más grandes síntesis formales en la historia del arte», y Jack Levine, más tarde, afirmó que «por cierto tiempo pareció que nadie podía dibujar de ningún otro modo». Robert Goldwater crítico e historiador, dijo que Picasso había resuelto uno de los grandes problemas del arte moderno cuando unificó el tema, un acontecimiento histórico, con el más potente estilo de nuestro tiempo, de su propia creación, el cubismo. Así demostró, al igual que Goya antes que él, que una tragedia humana, incluso en la guerra moderna, podría proporcionar fuerza emotiva para una obra maestra. En efecto, la intensidad y especialmente los matices trágicos de los bosquejos de Picasso proporcionarían nuevo ímpetu a los jóvenes artistas que pronto serían llamados «expresionistas abstractos». Los dibujos del más importante de ellos,

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estorbar su transferencia a España.

Jackson Pollock, demuestran con qué intensidad fue atraído por el tema de la corrida en Picasso.

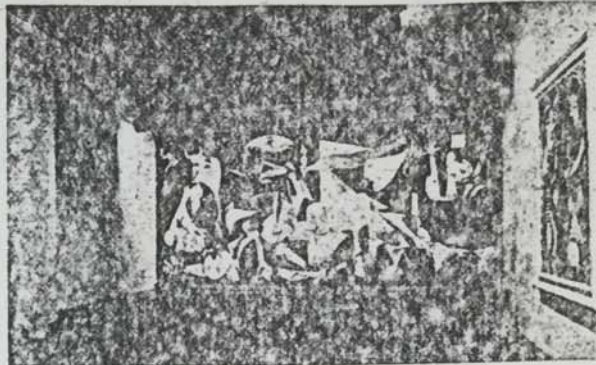
El secretario del Interior, Ickes; la señora Franklin D. Roosevelt y el alcalde de Nueva York, a la cabeza de un grupo importante de ciudadanos, patrocinaron, con los Artistas Americanos del Congreso, la primera exposición en América en la galería Valentine, y los propios artistas prepararon una gira del cuadro y de sus bosquejos por Los Angeles, San Francisco y Chicago. En agosto, celebradas del mundo del cine, incluyendo a directores, escritores, músicos y estrellas, junto con el gobernador de California, se reunieron en una recepción formal en Los Angeles; en septiembre recibió una acogida semejante en San Francisco, y en octubre, en Chicago. Salvo por el recuerdo de Guernica, la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Europa, que acababa de empezar, parecía estar lejos.

En noviembre de 1939 se expusieron el *Guernica* y los bocetos en una gran retrospectiva, la más importante, en el Museo de Arte Moderno, que publicó el primero de una serie de libros sobre Picasso. El director, Alfred H. Barr Jr., estuvo preparando la exposición durante años y reunió 360 obras, de las cuales 95 pertenecían al propio Picasso y la mitad provenían de co-

leccionistas americanos. Por primera vez, el *Guernica* podía ser estudiado en el contexto de la obra completa de Picasso y el Museo realizó este acontecimiento con conferencias y, más tarde, con un simposio, en el que participaron especialistas como José Sert y Juan Larrea.

Según los deseos de Picasso (y, algunas veces, con la extrañeza de los expertos en conservación), Alfred Barr dispuso la amplia difusión de *Guernica*. Se exhibió dos veces en la Universidad de Harvard, donde fue objeto de conferencias y coloquios. También fue mostrado en Columbus y Filadelfia. Después de terminarse la gira volvió a Europa dos veces y fue enviado a Sudamérica. Fue admirado por grandes multitudes en la Bienal de Sao Paulo, en 1953-54, y en París, Milán, Munich, Colonia, Hamburgo, Bruselas, Amsterdam y Estocolmo. Para estos viajes se habían adoptado importantes medidas para su conservación, pero entonces se estimó que no era conveniente arriesgarse a nuevas giras y quedó expuesto en una sala especial con «*Las señoritas de Avignon*» y «*Chica ante el espejo*». Los dibujos, sin embargo, de transporte más seguro, fueron expuestos en México, D. F., Londres, París, Montreal, Toronto y por todo Japón y Estados Unidos.

La decisión del Congreso de 7 de octubre de 1978, aunque sólo sea una expresión de opinión, sin fuerza de ley, sin embargo, por acuerdo unánime, afirma que el *Guernica* ha sido «durante cuatro décadas un poderoso e intenso símbolo de los horrores de la guerra» y que «Picasso lo pintó para el Gobierno de la República de España», que «estipuló que el cuadro debería



El «Guernica», expuesto en 1939 en el Museo de Arte Moderno de Nueva York junto a otros dos famosos lienzos del pintor malagueño, «*Las señoritas de Avignon*» y «*Muchacha ante un espejo*»



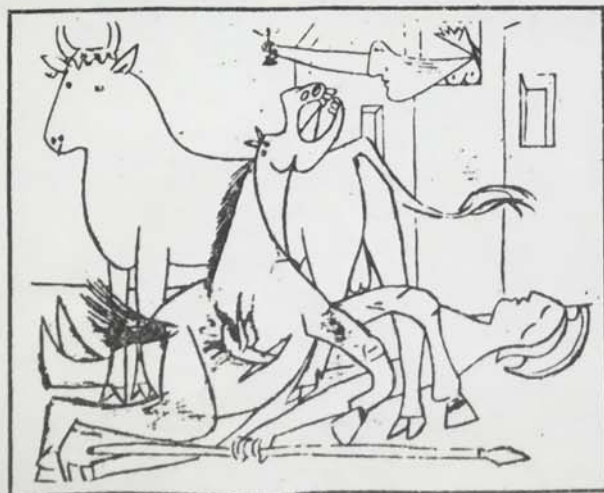
En 1941, el «Guernica» se expuso en la Universidad de Harvard.

permanecer bajo la custodia del Museo de Arte Moderno hasta que se restableciera la democracia en España», y que «en algún momento, en un futuro próximo, y de acuerdo con las medidas legales apropiadas, debería ser transferido al pueblo y al Gobierno de la España democrática».

El hecho de que Picasso ex-

presara claramente sus intenciones de que el *Guernica* permaneciera en Norteamérica hasta que llegara el momento de enviarlo a España es, según escribió Hilton Kramer en el *New York Times*, un tributo a la democracia y a la custodia ejemplar del Museo de Arte Moderno. ¿En qué lugar pudiera haber estado tan seguro e influyendo sobre tanta gente durante los últimos cuarenta años? Durante estos años ha adquirido un significado no alcanzado por ninguna obra de arte de nuestro tiempo. Precisamente porque Picasso evitó una propaganda directa, porque su tema era la compasión por su pueblo y por todos los pueblos, y porque estaba dotado de poderes artísticos en consonancia con un tema trágico, fue capaz de crear una obra de arte que, como las de Cervantes y Shakespeare, se convirtió en un símbolo universal que vive y se desarrolla. ¿Qué nuevo sentido tendrá para el pueblo y el Gobierno de su país de origen?

Herschel B. CHIPP
Profesor de Historia del Arte, Universidad de California, Berkeley



Este es el primer boceto del famoso cuadro, realizado en 1937.

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The Museum of Modern Art

Richard H. Koch

To: Richard H. Koch
Rona Roob

From: Rona Roob
8 November 1979

Date: 11/8/79
Mrs. Philip P. Weisberg

Subject: Visit with Mrs. Philip P. Weisberg

Dear Dick,

Tuesday, November 6th, Judith Cousins and I accepted Mrs. Weisberg's invitation to lunch with her. My letter of August 1978 to Charlotte Berenson Smith, I came upon the name of Miss Blanche T. Mahler, the one I was looking for. Mrs. Weisberg told us that she wants a "job" here, at the Museum. She has been asked by several organizations of the (UJA and various hospitals were among those mentioned) this country but she would rather do her volunteering here.

Mrs. Weisberg is now a widow. Her husband died this past September 15th. Mrs. Weisberg was residing at 11 East 72nd Street. Following your suggestion, Judith and I visited Mrs. Weisberg on Tuesday afternoon, August 14th. Our objective was to determine the itinerary of the *Guernica* from the time it left Valentine Gallery in New York, May 27th, 1939, to the time it was shipped from the Arts Club of Chicago, October 12, 1939 for arrival at MoMA, October 16, 1939.

Mrs. Weisberg, a friendly Shabby lady who said she is now 71 years old, recounted at length the Valentine Gallery exhibition. She described herself as "politically naive", "a professional social worker and fundraiser" who, "like many young people at the time" was staunchly anti-fascist and therefore very committed to the cause of the Spanish refugees. She said she ran the "social part" of the exhibition; Sidney Janis, with whom she suggested we speak, and the "art man" and Mariel Brown, "from the world of high class, with great class, was the guiding light of this exhibition". The Valentine Gallery opening was a benefit at \$100, a general daily admission charge was \$1. per person. "Great lines formed up the street outside the gallery" which was "always packed", recalled Mrs. Weisberg, who added that "thousands of people" saw it. She said that the *Guernica* opening night twice spilled over in New York; elsewhere, charges were provided by the individual galleries. She was delighted to have the copies I brought of the customs' receipt and her letter to Alfred No. Sorensen's arrival in this country. (To avoid any- less discussion I did not pass along Alfred's reply to her letter in which he steadfastly, on behalf of the Museum, refused to pay the cost of removing the *Guernica* and related studies from the dock to the Valentine Gallery because he felt the arrangements they'd made for *Guernica*'s transportation were too high.)

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The Museum of Modern Art

To Richard H. Koch
 From Rona Roob
 Date 11th September 1979
 Re Visit with Mrs. Philip P. Weisberg

Dear Dick,

In the course of research on the Guernica for my letter of August 13th to Carleton Sprague Smith, I came upon the name of Miss Blanche T. Mahler, the member of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign Fund who first corresponded with Alfred Barr in 1939 concerning the pending arrival of the Guernica in this country. (The Guernica was first shown in this country to raise funds for the Spanish refugees.)

Judith Cousins, recalling a note she had seen in the Painting and Sculpture Department files, ascertained that Miss Blanche T. Mahler was now Mrs. Philip P. Weisberg residing at 31 East 72nd Street. Following your suggestion, Judith and I visited Mrs. Weisberg on Tuesday afternoon, August 14th. Our objective was to determine the itinerary of the Guernica from the time it left Valentine Gallery in New York, May 27th, 1939, to the time it was shipped from the Arts Club of Chicago, October 12, 1939 for arrival at MoMA, October 16, 1939.

Mrs. Weisberg, a friendly Chatty lady who said she is now 71 years old, recounted at length the Valentine Gallery exhibition. She described herself as "politically naive", "a professional social worker and fundraiser" who, "like many young people at the time" was staunchly anti-facist and therefore very committed to the cause of the Spanish refugees". She said she ran the "social part" of the exhibition; Sidney Janis, with whom she suggested we speak, ran the "art part"; and Muriel Draper, "from the world of high chic, with great élan, was the guiding light of this exhibition". The Valentine Gallery opening was a benefit at \$100. a person; daily admission charge was \$1. per person. "Great lines formed on the street outside the gallery" which was "always packed", recalled Mrs. Weisberg, who added that "thousands of people" saw it. She said that the steep opening night price applied only in New York; elsewhere, charges were determined by the individual galleries. She was delighted to have the copies I brought of the customs' receipt and her letter to Alfred Re: Guernica's arrival in this country. (To avoid endless discussion I did not pass along Alfred's reply to her letter in which he steadfastly, on behalf of the Museum, refused to pay the cost of removing the Guernica and related studies from the dock to the Valentine Gallery because he felt the arrangements they'd made for Guernica's transatlantic shipment were too high!)

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The Museum of Modern Art

Page Two

To R.H.K.
From R.R.
Date 11th September 1979
Re Mrs. Weisberg

Mrs. Weisberg gave us the following information:

- 1) She remembers "mounting an album" of the Guernica benefit (perhaps including its exhibition elsewhere, she was unclear) and sending it to Paloma and Claude Picasso. She feels certain that Claude still has this scrapbook. Needless to say, it might be helpful in solving the itinerary problem.
- 2) The "papers" of the Spanish Refugee Fund Committee are in a library at Columbia University.
- 3) A Ms. Frederika Martin (Avenue Cuauhtemo F, 15, Cuernavaca 1, Mexico) was, some years ago, writing a book about the Spanish Committee.
- 4) Lefevre-Poinet was the shipping broker in Paris.

The Weisbergs have a lovely personal collection, including a Cross (ex. Lillie P. Bliss Collection which MoMA sold at auction), two tiny Picassos (one of which she'd love to have included in the forthcoming big Picasso exhibition! Judith was to get Zervos numbers and pass this along to the proper person.), a Balthus drawing, several Bakst ballet drawings, a Segonzac water-color (purchased from Mme. Segonzac) and many other items. Her conversation with us was somewhat far-ranging and in due course (we were there over two hours), we learned that much of their art was chosen by John Rewald and many purchases were made through Gene Thaw and Daniel Wildenstein. She described her friendship with John Rewald as "close" and at times "volatile". She knows Joanne Stern whose father-in-law lent his name to the Valentine Gallery benefit committee. Apparently Mrs. Weisberg knew the older Alfred Stern before he married Martha Dodd; the Weisbergs visited the Sterns when the latter moved to Mexico but the couples did not, she stressed the "not", communicate after the Sterns took up residence in Prague.

Anyway, as a veteran of a Museum fund-raising campaign (the 35th) may I take the liberty of making a suggestion/observation: Mrs. Weisberg is an extremely fit lady, who is presently caring for a desperately critically ill husband to whom she is devoted. (They married in the early 40's and have travelled the world together - she proudly showed us a photograph of

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Page Three

To R.H.K.
From R.R.
Date 11th September 1979
Re Mrs. Weisberg

herself with Picasso whom they visited in 1949.) Her life for the past two years or so has been depressingly full of nurses, household staff and enforced medical routine. Perhaps the Museum, after determining whether or not it would be feasible, should consider the suitability of interesting Mrs. Weisberg in the Museum's activities.

cc: Clive Phillpot
Judith Cousins

RR:asl

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James - got Valentin Mrs WEISBERG Aug 14, 1975

Gallery 586-0110
 my James - 581-8421 - home
 M. Callary - F.B. Kirkpatrick - 203-261-2742

Lefebvre ^{Lois} ~~Lois~~
 8 Silver Hills Rd
 Easton, Conn.

~~Lois~~ ^{Lois} ~~Lois~~
 19 Rue Vivien
 Vera Cruz, Mexico

Columbia University
 F.B.I.

* Peter Rhodes's widow (Paris)
 tribute to Rhodes (Columbia graduate)
 at his death in Columbia paper -
 by Louis Aragon ^{French} poet-writer

* In charge of Spanish Comm. in Paris;
 American lung in Paris.

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From Mrs WEISBERG Aug. 14, 1945

Sidney Janis ^{Gallery 586-0110} - 581-8421-home

Mrs. H.B. Kirkpatrick - 203-261-2742
38 Silver Hills Rd
Easton, Conn.

Fredericka Martin
Case, 13
Avenida Cuauhtemoc, #15
Guatemala Mexico

Columbia University
F.B.I.

*Peter Rhodes's widow (Paris)
tribute to Rhodes (Columbia graduate)
at his death in Columbia paper -
by Louis Aragon ^{French} poet-writer

*In charge of Spanish Comm. in Paris;
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cc: Rona Roob ✓

Guernica Itinerary in USA
(before Picasso: 40 Yrs.
exh.)

September 7, 1979

Miss Judith Cousins
Researcher
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear Miss Cousins:

I am sorry to have to tell you that Mrs. Shaw died last January.

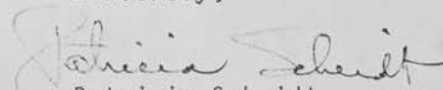
Regarding your August 23rd request, the Newberry Library, Chicago, holds the archives of The Arts Club, and at our request very kindly gathered the enclosed articles on the Guernica exhibition, which was shown at The Arts Club October 3 to October 10, 1939. We enjoyed reading the old clippings and thought you might want them for your files.

The exhibition at The Arts Club was free to the public, however, as noted in one of the articles, the twenty-five cent catalogue charge went to the Spanish relief fund!

Last fall, Professor Herschel B. Chip of the University of California, Berkeley, requested much the same information. He mentioned that he planned also to forward it "to the MOMA Registrar who lacks such information". Hopefully, he did.

If we can be of further assistance please let us hear from you again.

Sincerely,


Patricia Scheidt

/s

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cc: Rona Roob ✓

**THE
ARTS
CLUB
OF
CHICAGO**

September 7, 1979

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Researcher
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

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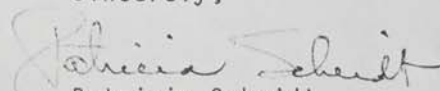
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If we can be of further assistance please let us hear from you again.

Sincerely,


Patricia Scheidt

/s

109 EAST ONTARIO STREET, CHICAGO, IL 60611 • TELEPHONE 312 787-3997 • CABLE "ARTCLUB"

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cc: Rona Roob

AIR MAIL

To: Mrs. Blanche Mahler,
Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign
281 Fourth Avenue
New York City, New York

From: Dr. Morley
Date: August 1, 1939

Dear Mrs. Mahler:

I think you might send us a thousand catalogues. I do not at all know whether we shall succeed in selling them but I suppose those which are not sold can be returned to you for use elsewhere. We will be glad to charge twenty-five cents for them, and turn the money over to you for your Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

We plan an effective installation of the great painting and wish very much that you might be here to see it.

With cordial good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Grace L. McCann Morley
Director

GM:H

* * *
The San Francisco Museum of Art announces that a special exhibit of Picasso's "Guernica" will be shown at its galleries Aug. 27 to Sept. 18.

-1939-

This painting, a large mural of the Spanish conflict, was executed for the Spanish Pavilion in 1937. Dr. Grace L. McCann Morley, director of the Museum, states: "The artistic importance of this enormous work cannot be exaggerated. For the first time, Picasso, spurred by an intense social conviction, has poured into this painting the most fertile investigation in art in our time."

With this mural will be shown some 50 preparatory sketches, some of which are large completed works painted in oil. Since the Paris Exposition this mural has only been seen at the Burlington House in London and at the Valentine Gallery in New York, where admission was charged to raise funds for the Spanish refugees. In San Francisco the picture will be seen without admission charge. A study gallery is also planned so that those interested may be better able to understand the painting's significance, and may be able to learn how other great painters of past centuries have depicted the horrors and sufferings of wars and social conflicts. This seems a good opportunity to see how we have always dramatized our sufferings and conflicts—if you are one who can enjoy this type of picture. At least you will appreciate it.

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cc: Rona Roob ✓

Van Ness Avenue at McAllister Street
San Francisco, California 94102
415-383-8800

August 28, 1979

Ms. Judith Cousins
Researcher
The Department of Painting and Sculpture
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Ms. Cousins:

Regarding your letter of 22 August, I have found that the following show is listed in our 1939 exhibition list:

Picasso's Guernica

Dates of Exhibition: August 27 - September 19, 1939

I was unable to determine whether or not there was an admissions charged.

Sincerely,

Susan King
Susan King
Registrar

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

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Van Ness Avenue at McAllister Street
San Francisco, California 94102
415-883-8900

cc: Rona Roob ✓

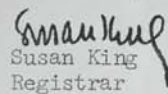
September 5, 1979

Ms. Judith Cousins
Researcher
Department of Painting and Sculpture
the Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd St.
New York, New York 10019

Dear Ms. Cousins:

With regard to your letter of 22 August regarding the Guernica exhibition, our Library staff has been able to find a bulletin of that era listing the exhibition as "No admission" and the catalogues for sale for \$ 0.25 each.

Sincerely,


Susan King
Registrar

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

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Van Ness Avenue at McAllister Street
San Francisco, California 94102
415: 863-8800

cc: Rona Roob

Sept. 5, 1979

The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd St.
New York, N.Y. 10019

Dear Ms. Cousins,

The dates of the Guernica showing here were
August 27 - Sept 19, 1939. As far as our
research has shown there was no admission charged.

I hope the enclosed xerox will give you some
further proof. If there is anything else we
can do, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Waverly Lowell
Waverly Lowell
Asst. Librarian

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art

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cc: Rona Roob ✓

23 August 1979

Mrs. Alfred P. Shaw
President
The Arts Club of Chicago
109 East Ontario Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mrs. Shaw,

We are trying to determine the exact itinerary of travel in the U.S. of Picasso's Guernica with related paintings and sketches and studies for the benefit of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, prior to being received at the Museum of Modern Art on October 16, 1939. It is our understanding that these works, following the Valentine Gallery benefit in New York (May 4-27, 1939), travelled to the Stendhal Gallery in Los Angeles (August 10-21, 1939), then to the San Francisco Museum of Art (August 27-September 18, 1939), and from there to the Arts Club of Chicago where they were shown for one week in October, prior to being shipped from the Arts Club on October 12, 1939 to MoMA.

It would be of considerable assistance to us if you could have someone on your staff check the records of the Arts Club (providing of course, these are available) for information relating to the showing of the Guernica in Chicago, particularly the dates of the exhibition and whether or not there was an admission charge and, if so, the amount. While the purpose of the tour was to raise money for Spanish refugees, it seems that the Guernica and related works were shown in San Francisco without charge, entirely for their artistic importance.

Thank you very much for any help you might be able to give us.

Yours sincerely,

Judith Cousins
Researcher

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cc: Rona Roob ✓

22 August 1979

Ms. Susan King
Registrar
San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
Van Ness Avenue at McAllister Street
San Francisco, California 94102

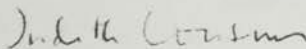
Dear Ms. King,

We are trying to determine the exact itinerary of travel in the U.S. of the Guernica with related paintings and sketches and studies, for the benefit of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, prior to being received at the Museum of Modern Art on October 16, 1939. It is our understanding that these works, following the Valentine Gallery benefit in New York (May 4-27, 1939), travelled to the Stendhal Gallery in Los Angeles (August 10-21, 1939), then to the San Francisco Museum of Art (August 27-September 18, 1939), and from there to the Arts Club of Chicago where they were shown for one week in October, prior to be shipped to MoMA October 12, 1939.

It would be of considerable assistance to us, if you could find the time to check your files for confirmation of the dates of the San Francisco showing, as well as any indication of whether or not admission was charged, and if so, the amount. (According to a clipping from the Oakland Tribune, August 13, 1939, in San Francisco the Guernica was shown "without charge and entirely for its artistic importance," which would seem to contradict the avowed purpose of the tour.)

Thank you very much for any help you might be able to give us.

Yours sincerely,



Judith Cousins
Researcher

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Mr. Dick Cook
Oliver Phillips

August 20, 1979

Professor Herschel B. Shaw
Department of History of Art
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

21 August 1979

Dear Professor Shaw:
Mrs. Philip P. Weisberg
31 East 72nd Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mrs. Weisberg:

Rona Roob and Judith Cousins have told me of your graciousness during their visit with you last week, and of your helpfulness to them in their research regarding the early history of Guernica. I am writing simply to add my own thanks to theirs for your kindness and generous cooperation in their pursuit of significant facts which the Museum is assembling and coordinating into a comprehensive file regarding the painting and its history.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard H. Koch

cc: Rona Roob
Judith Cousins
Joanne Stern

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

cc: Dick Koch
Clive Phillipot

March 20, 1979

Professor Herschel B. Chipp
Department of History of Art
University of California
Berkeley, California 94720

Dear Professor Chipp:

On further examination of relevant files at the Museum of Modern Art, I find that the information I wrote to you in my letter of March 12 is indeed accurate.

Picasso's Guernica, plus related paintings and drawings, came to the United States shortly before the Valentine Gallery exhibition which I mentioned, and a subsequent tour, for the benefit of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. The group of pictures appear to have been sent to the Museum of Modern Art in October of 1939 from the Chicago Arts Club showing of the tour.

As to the people you ask about who may or may not have been involved in arranging the tour, the information in the files would lead me to believe Sidney Janis was, and of course Valentine Dudensing held the first showing. About Paul Rosenberg, I have learned only that Mr. and Mrs. Barr did much of the planning of the Picasso 40... exhibition during the summer of 1939 at Rosenberg's in Paris; whether or not he had anything to do with the tour I don't know.

I have come across no mention of Max Weber. In doing research on an earlier period in Weber's life, I have found the material in the Oral History Collection at Columbia very useful but I'm not familiar with his activities at the time of the Picasso exhibition.

Please let me know if I can be of any further help.

Sincerely,

Olive Bregazzi

Sincerely yours,

Herschel B. Chipp
Professor, History of Art

Number (415) 841-4171

Office: (415) 841-4171

P.S. I have agreed to provide the MFA Registrar's archives with copies of all original material received.

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF ART

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA 94720

cc: *Clive Philipot*
Dick Koch

February 27, 1979

Ms. Olive Bragazzi
789 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.
10025

Dear Ms. Bragazzi:

I am grateful for your interest in my project and would be most appreciative for any facts that would help to complete the history of Guernica in America.

My question is simply to whom and why was the painting sent to this country. Was it sent to the American Artists Congress or to the Spanish Refugee Relief Committee for exhibition to benefit either of these two, or was it first promised to MOMA for the great exhibition of November 1939? Does your archives indicate these people had any role in arranging the tour: Valentine Dudensing, Sidney Janis, Max Weber, Paul Rosenberg? Mrs. Barr said also that you may have the text of Mr. Barr's television talk on Guernica.

I have some evidence that the AAC initiated a request, but then it also seems reasonable that Alfred Barr had already asked for it, along with other works, for the big exhibition. Mrs. Barr does not remember and she suggested that you may have come across the answer.

I am writing on the meaning in political terms of the tour of America, and also on American artists' response to it.

If not too long I would appreciate a written reply but you could call me collect at home (preferably just after 11 p.m. your time on week nights, or around mid-day Saturday or Sunday your time).

With good wishes and thanks,

Sincerely yours,

Herschel B. Chipp
Herschel B. Chipp
Professor, History of Art

HBC/jjc

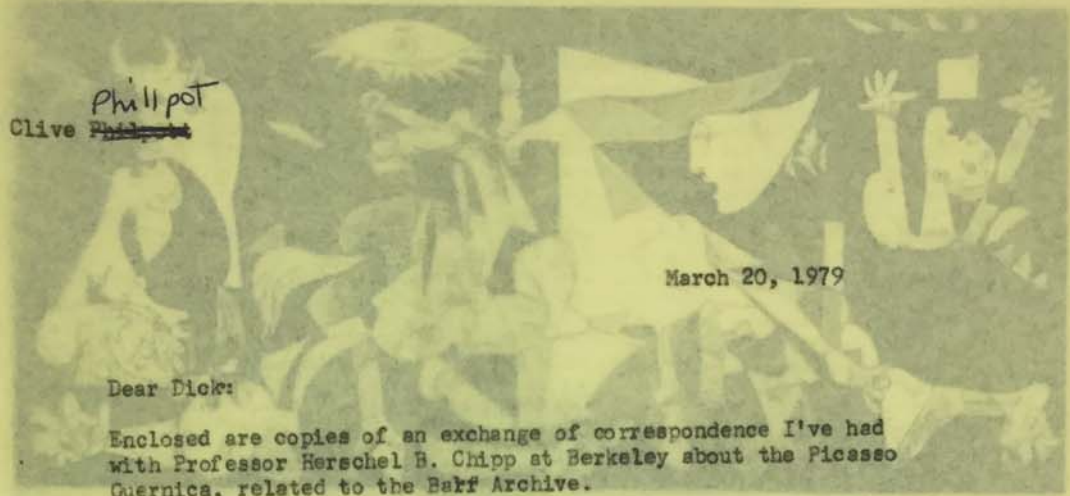
home: (415) 863-4372
office: (415) 642-7418

P.S. I have agreed to provide the MOMA Registrar's archives with copies of all original material desired.

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Wet News, May 1960

cc: Clive ~~Phillip~~ ^{Phillip}



March 20, 1979

Dear Dick:

Enclosed are copies of an exchange of correspondence I've had with Professor Herschel B. Chipp at Berkeley about the Picasso Guernica, related to the Barr Archive.

Before we have many more requests for information from Alfred's papers, Clive and I would very much appreciate the opportunity to talk over with you the legal implications to the Museum of releasing information, as well as what procedures should be established now.

This one request has raised some questions in my mind which I had not considered:

- 1.) Is it appropriate to examine other files and material in the Museum in order to clarify or confirm information in the Barr archive? I did so in this case, but have not mentioned the fact specifically to Chipp.

- 2.) Before information is released (at least before any of the files are microfilmed by the Archives of American Art and made available to the public), should the request be in writing and should the purpose be known? I asked Professor Chipp, when he telephoned me from California, to write his request; I then went to the library and looked him up -- he had published a very scholarly article on Guernica a couple of years ago.

- 3.) Should copies of correspondence, like this, go to other MOMA departments where relevant? Should I have used MOMA stationery? (Just this minute thought of that one!)

Clive and I will do our best to use good judgment of course in the matter of the Barr papers, but we would benefit from your counsel.

Sincerely,

Olive Bragazzi

Richard E. Koch
 The Museum of Modern Art
 11 West 53 Street
 New York, N. Y. 10019
 enclosures

GUERNICA
 Once a document of outrage, now a symbol of reconciliation
 by HERSCHEL B. CHIPP

On Monday, May 14, 1937, the German Luftwaffe bombed the Basque town of Guernica, Spain. The bombing was a prelude to the Spanish Civil War, which was then in its second year. The attack on Guernica was a turning point in the war, and it was the first time that an entire town had been destroyed. The bombing was also a major event in the history of aerial warfare.

Pablo Picasso's painting Guernica is a powerful statement on the horrors of war. It depicts the suffering and death of the people of Guernica. The painting is a masterpiece of modern art, and it has become a symbol of the human cost of war.

The Spanish Civil War was a conflict between the Nationalist forces, led by General Franco, and the Republican forces. The war was a result of political and social tensions in Spain, and it was one of the most brutal conflicts of the 20th century.

The bombing of Guernica was a major event in the war, and it was the first time that an entire town had been destroyed. The attack on Guernica was a turning point in the war, and it was a major event in the history of aerial warfare.

Pablo Picasso's painting Guernica is a powerful statement on the horrors of war. It depicts the suffering and death of the people of Guernica. The painting is a masterpiece of modern art, and it has become a symbol of the human cost of war.

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Art News, May 1980



Pablo Picasso, *Guernica*, 1937, oil on canvas, 11 feet 5 1/2 inches by 25 feet 5 1/2 inches. On extended loan to the Museum of Modern Art.

GUERNICA: Once a document of outrage, now a symbol of reconciliation in a new and democratic Spain

When we understand Picasso's masterpiece better, we may find concealed in its enigmas clues that will help to solve a modern dilemma: how great art can find its themes in, and even give meaning to, the hard realities of 20th-century life

by **HERSCHEL B. CHIPP**

On Monday, May 1, 1939, the French liner *Normandie* arrived from Le Havre and docked at New York's 48th Street pier. Early the next morning Picasso's *Guernica*, rolled up in a long wooden case, was laid out on the dock, along with three small cases containing seven paintings and a bundle of drawings. The date was exactly two years to the day after Picasso had started the painting which, after its three months at the Paris World Fair, had become his most famous work. The stay in America, planned for a few months, was to last for more than 40 years. During this time the painting became recognized not only as one of the great monuments of modern art but also as a unique example of the powerful role a great work of art can play in shaping our view of the horrors of modern war. Recently in Spain *Guernica* has become a symbol of reconciliation of the hatreds of the same war that impelled Picasso to create the painting, and it has even become a force in progress toward a new and democratic Spanish society.

Keeping an all-night vigil on the dock

Herschel B. Chipp is a professor of art history at the University of California, Berkeley.

until the historic painting appeared was a small cluster of young people, mostly graduate students at Columbia University, all of them volunteer workers for the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. It was one of them, Peter Rhodes, who made specific arrangements with the poet Juan Larrea and Picasso himself in Paris to send *Guernica* to America. Picasso was so enthusiastic about the proposal that he paid the expenses for returning the painting from a London exhibition to Paris so that it could be shipped directly to New York. He made clear that his purpose was to raise funds for Spanish refugees, then crowding across the French border from the Basque country and Catalonia, and asked the American group to send a part of the proceeds to Larrea for the relief of intellectuals.

The Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign was organized in 1936 by Herman Reissig, a socialist and a minister, and had a distinguished list of sponsors, including Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes as honorary chairman, Malcolm Cowley, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Lillian Hellman, Ernest Hemingway, Archibald MacLeish, Thomas Mann, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Robert Millikan, Lewis Mumford, Dorothy

Parker, James Roosevelt, Harold Urey and many other prominent citizens. The campaign's immediate goal was to send food, clothing, hospital personnel and medical supplies, including the first mobile operating room, to the Republican forces.

In June 1937, as part of a vigorous fundraising campaign, the group exhibited and sold Spanish Republican war posters and paintings on the war donated by American artists. At that time Picasso contributed to the Relief Campaign his first statement about his intentions in creating *Guernica*, written while he was still working on the painting. He had also donated the etching suite, *Dream and Lie of Franco*, and several paintings and drawings. But when *Guernica* arrived, Relief Campaign volunteers turned for help to the American Artists Congress. The group had circulated exhibitions of congress members' art, and its leaders, Stuart Davis and Max Weber, were already in touch with Picasso, having secured his agreement to address its 1937 meeting in New York. Sidney Janis, who was close to the artists and chairman of the Relief Campaign's *Guernica* exhibition committee, secured the spacious new Valentine Gallery at 16 East 57th Street

*For Olive Bragazzi with thanks for your own work
Herschel B. Chipp*

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(Janis did not yet have his own gallery).

The Relief Campaign first approached Picasso in September 1938 with a request to loan *Guernica* for a tour of America. Although critic Elizabeth McCausland had called for such a tour in 1937, soon after the painting was unveiled in Paris, the successful request came from a Spanish refugee, Antonio Villaplana, a defector from Franco's army, who was touring America on behalf of the refugees. *Guernica* was at that time en route from Paris to the corresponding refugee relief agency in London for exhibition at the New Burlington Galleries (October 4-29, 1938). Although Picasso had declined Alfred Barr's request to lend *Guernica* for the May 1939 opening of the new building of the Museum of Modern Art on West 53rd Street, Barr had undoubtedly arranged with Picasso by that time for *Guernica*'s inclusion in the most comprehensive retrospective of his work yet assembled, which was scheduled to open in November 1939. That Barr had agreed to reimburse the Relief Campaign for the expense of shipping the painting to New York and, indeed, to return it to Picasso after the exhibition at the Modern's expense proves that Barr and the committee were working together, and also that it was Barr's intention that *Guernica* be returned to Picasso after the show.

The dual attraction of a world-renowned painting and a benefit for war refugees drew a distinguished audience from the world of art, politics and society, among them Stephen C. Clark, Simon Guggenheim, John Gunther, William A. Harriman, Averell Harriman, Pierre Matisse, Gerald Murphy, Georgia O'Keeffe, William S. Paley, Eleanor Roosevelt, Vincent Sheean, Thornton Wilder, Mrs. Caspar Whitney and the last premier of the Spanish Republic, Juan Negrin. One hundred people paid \$5 each to attend the preview on May 4, 1939, and about 2,000 in all saw the show during its three-week run—an unusual crowd in those days, especially during the opening week of the New York World's Fair. The American Artists Congress arranged two symposia, one of them before the painting and another at the Modern, led by Walter Pach and including Arshile Gorky, Malcolm Cowley, Peter Blume and critic Jerome Klein.

Sidney Janis arranged a tour for the exhibition beginning at the Stendahl Gallery in Los Angeles, sponsored by the Motion Picture Artists Committee for Spanish Orphans. An elaborate preview on August 10 drew luminaries of the film world, many of whom, such as Fritz Lang, Galka Scheyer, George Balanchine, Ernst Lubitsch, Luise Rainer, Ernest Toch and others were in effect refugees themselves. In addition, there were California Governor Culbert Olson, Walter Arensberg, Bette Davis, Dashiell Hammett, Dorothy Parker, Edward G. Robinson and, in fact, most of the movie community. *Guernica* was on view in the San Francisco Museum of Art when, on September 3, World War II began, lending to it new and expanded associations. On

October 3 it opened the fall season with great celebration at the Arts Club of Chicago facility in the Wrigley Tower. The exhibition was the focus of several social events and received more comment in the Chicago press than in any of the preceding cities.

After the many expenses were paid, funds raised by the tour seem to have been somewhat less than Picasso had hoped for. He expected around \$10,000, possibly based on the average monthly contributions of the American campaign to relief agencies in France. The showing in Hollywood, which he particularly wanted, drew an audience of 735 and netted \$240; in San Francisco the net was \$535 and in Chicago \$208. Estimates of the longer New York showing, where there was a 25-cent admission charge, put attendance at 2,000 and income at \$1,700. Of this, Larrea's Junta de Cultura Española received \$700, probably for refugee intellectuals as Picasso wished. An additional and unexpected debit was later incurred by many persons because their names had appeared as sponsors and contributors to the Relief Campaign, when, in the period of the cold war, they fell under suspicion of having served the ends of the Communist Party and were sometimes relentlessly investigated and questioned.

Although the showings were brief (from one to three weeks) and all of them on short notice and without much advance publicity, they generated intense controversy which raged on both the artistic and political levels. Due in large part to its sensational subject matter, *Guernica* was the most discussed work of art of the time, even though the story of the bombing of Guernica might have faded from world consciousness had it not been for Picasso's powerful imagery.

Guernica assumed a new role when it joined Alfred Barr's great retrospective, "Picasso: Forty Years of His Art," at the Museum of Modern Art, which opened on

November 15, 1939. For the first time the painting could be seen as an important stage in the development of Picasso's art, along with the *Demaiselles d'Avignon*, which had just been acquired by the museum, and with *Girl Before a Mirror*, already in the collection. Of the 360 works in the show, 95, including *Guernica* and the preparatory sketches, were lent by Picasso. Thus for the first time *Guernica* became embedded in Picasso's oeuvre; having already become part of the history of the Spanish civil war, it now became part of the history of art.

In accordance with Picasso's wishes, although sometimes in conflict with advice from the conservation department (the painting had to be taken off the stretchers and rolled each time it was moved), Alfred Barr allowed *Guernica* to be widely shown. The outbreak of World War II as well as Picasso's own preference determined that *Guernica*, along with other works loaned for the retrospective, should remain for the duration of the war in the custody of the Museum of Modern Art, where the painting was well cared for and given exposure appropriate to its importance. In January 1940 it traveled to the Chicago Art Institute along with the retrospective, and then for the summers of 1941 and 1942 to the Fogg Museum at Harvard and to several other museums. In 1955-56 it returned to Europe for a grand tour of museums in Cologne, Paris, Munich, Brussels, Stockholm, Hamburg and Amsterdam.

Since dealer Valentine Dudensing had shown Picasso's newest work frequently during the previous six years, *Guernica* was seen on familiar ground in America. The presence of the 59 preparatory sketches, which were not shown in Paris, proved to be a sensation, and they were universally admired even by those who could not understand the painting. The sketches were closely related to Picasso's earlier paintings



Citizens of Guernica rallied in April 1977 before a photomural of Picasso's masterpiece. They would like the original to be installed in their town.

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and etchings, both in graphic style and in the familiar iconography of bull, horse, warrior and mother and child, and the exhibition as a whole was received more as an artistic event than as a document of war.

American critics, in fact, all but ignored the theme of the painting. In May 1939 the civil war had ended a month before in the total defeat of the Republic; the Franco government had been recognized; the Prado collections, of which Picasso was honorary curator, had been returned from Geneva to Nationalist Spain; and the increasing tempo of Nazi conquests made war on a worldwide scale seem inevitable. Still, the threat

Picasso's first attempt, in the words of Elizabeth McCausland, to turn his gaze outward "away from the depths of subjective experience to the tragedies of social experience."

Several English critics, in contrast, condemned Picasso for taking up a social theme. In a lively exchange in the *Spectator*, Anthony Blunt wrote that Picasso had isolated himself in the temple of art and was pathetic when he ventured out into the real world, for he failed even to understand the issues of the Spanish civil war. Herbert Read in rejoinder cited *Guernica* as evidence that Picasso was not as detached from

Republic's social aims and wartime objectives. The foyer was dominated by *Guernica*, facing a large photograph of the assassinated poet Garcia Lorca on the opposite wall, and both framed an open area where a continuous program of documentary films of the civil war was presented by Luis Buñuel. The photographs of the faces of the suffering Spanish people contrasted strongly with the theme of pleasure of the fair as a whole, leading critic Luc Decannes to describe the exhibition as "scenes cut from the flesh of a martyred people, a people face to face with their assassins," and led the poet Michel Leiris to characterize



Picasso lent a group of preparatory sketches for *Guernica* to the Spanish Republican Relief Campaign for its traveling fund-raising exhibition. Included were studies for the horse's head (left), the mother with dead child (above) and the bull's head (opposite page, left).

of war was far away from America, and the New York World's Fair had opened to widespread hopes and claims that it would help restore peace to the world. When the Picasso show opened at the Modern in November, Poland had been overrun and *Guernica*'s imagery could have been seen as prophesying the fate of all of Europe. Nevertheless, the painting was consistently addressed in terms of its formal qualities; critic Henry McBride's remark that *Guernica* was intended as propaganda, "but ended as something vastly more important—a work of art" was frequently quoted. Stuart Davis praised it as one of the greatest formal syntheses of all time, reflecting the predilection of most of the leading American artists for abstraction. But both critics and artists recognized that the emotional power of *Guernica* derived from

the Spanish struggle as Blunt tried to make out. Picasso was not only named honorary director of the Prado by the Republican government but painted *Guernica* for that government. Further, Read continued, the painting had gone before the public, where Blunt said art should be judged—in this case on the grounds of the Paris World Fair, where thousands of people had seen it.

When on July 12, 1937, *Guernica* was unveiled in Paris, the bitter controversy over the bombing was raging and therefore the political meaning of the work was quite clear, even to those who could not accept or understand it as art. The entire pavilion of the Spanish Republic, for which *Guernica* was commissioned, was a propaganda document, according to architect and director José Sert. The exterior was covered with photomurals and slogans proclaiming the

Guernica as Picasso's letter of doom. "All that we love is going to die," he concluded.

Despite the intense controversy over the meaning of *Guernica* that raged from the time it was first exhibited, Picasso steadfastly avoided committing himself to any specific interpretation of its symbolism. While still working on the painting, he wrote to the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign in America only that in it "I clearly express my abhorrence of the military caste which has sunk Spain in an ocean of pain and death." In an interview with critic Georges Sadoul at the same time Picasso would talk only of the war, insisting that it was the aviators and the tankists, not the artists, who were the conservators of the Prado. In a December 1937 message to the American Artists Congress he wrote that artists cannot remain indifferent to a con-

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flict in which the highest values of humanity are at stake, but he never mentioned the painting in his several statements explaining his adherence to the Communist Party, and he spiritedly resisted the attempts of a young American sympathizer, Jerome Seckler, to get him to agree that *Guernica* included conscious symbols of the party. He would agree only that his purpose had been propagandistic.

Except for its title, the painting has no manifest connection with the bombing, or even with the civil war. Picasso never claimed that it did, only that it was his response to the tragic events among his coun-

never took place but was only a myth invented by Comintern agents in Paris. He charged that Picasso's painting, therefore, was not about the Spanish civil war but about a propaganda campaign launched by the "shadowy genius" of the Comintern, Willi Muensterberg, through his news items published by the *Agence Espagne*, the Republican propaganda agency in Paris. While it is true that Muensterberg was active in most of the Spanish Republican propaganda and relief agencies in Paris, which had handled many of Picasso's activities on behalf of Spain, Hart's charges were nothing new. The Nationalist and the

time before 1971 he authorized his lawyer, Roland Dumas, in writing to quote his statement that "*Guernica* and its preparatory sketches belong to the Spanish Republic," a declaration that he had already made in 1937 to Sert, Larrea and Spanish officials, as well as later to Alfred Barr and others. Virtually a donation to the Republic (he probably received less than \$4,000 from the government for expenses), *Guernica* was exhibited for more than two years in Paris, London and four major cities in America. Except for the Modern's retrospective, all of this was in the service of the Republic.

On the question of when the painting



Guernica became Picasso's most famous work after its exhibition in the pavilion of the Spanish Republic (right) at the 1937 Paris World Fair. In front of the pavilion was a sculpture by Alberto Sanchez, *The Spanish People Follow a Way that Leads to a Star*.



trymen. Nevertheless, despite his silence, and despite Alfred Barr's sober and judicious observations, later writers have speculated widely on possible meanings. Beginning with Juan Larrea's poetic evocation of the imagery and symbols of Spanish culture and Seckler's attempt to see Communist symbols, writers have continued to produce widely diverse interpretations, many of them contradictory.

In formulating their interpretations, art historians have always assumed that although the connections between the painting and the news of the bombing that precipitated it were unspecified, the bombing did actually occur. This assumption was challenged in 1974 by Jeffrey Hart, a Dartmouth College professor of English literature and *National Review* senior editor. Hart's startling charge was that the bombing

German foreign ministries both claimed in 1937 and later that the city of Guernica had been destroyed by retreating Republican forces and not by their bombs. Although research by a Spanish journalist, Vicente Talon, an American journalist, Herbert Southworth, and the English historical novelists Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts have confirmed that the town was actually bombed to destruction, Hart's followers still insist that there is some truth to their charge and that "*Guernica* as a work of art will have to be redefined." No evidence has been produced, however, to support the hypothesis that Picasso's most powerful statement was based on an event he knew to be fictitious.

Picasso's intentions for the future of *Guernica* have always been, most uncharacteristically for him, quite clear. Some-

should go to Spain, Dumas in 1975 quoted Picasso as saying it should go "after the complete reestablishment of individual liberties." Since Dumas was given full authority to decide when this point has been reached he has added another requirement—suitable facilities for *Guernica*'s preservation. Dumas now considers that the first requirement essentially has been met, and the present measures underway to provide air conditioning and other modern improvements to the Prado should meet his second condition. Ironically, it is possible that the Museum of Modern Art will be ready to send *Guernica* to Spain even before Spain is ready to receive it. After William Rubin's major Picasso retrospective—which will feature *Guernica*—ends in mid-September, 1980, the museum will be closed for prolonged construction work. Since, according

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to the staff, there is no provision in the new museum for exhibiting the painting, they consider this occasion an opportune time to release it.

This will be none too soon for José Armero and a small company of young Spanish lawyers and journalists, who for almost ten years have been working for *Guernica's* return. As early as 1968, according to recent research, Franco himself proposed that *Guernica* come to the Prado—an offer that was declined at the time but which probably precipitated Picasso's public statement of intention in 1971. The tempo of demands in the press for the "return" of *Guernica* increased rapidly, especially after the death of Franco in 1975. In 1977, at the first meeting of a freely elected Cortes in 44 years, a dramatic appeal for a sweeping gesture of reconciliation was made by a returned refugee who was also a Basque. He proposed the formal repatriation of three historic exiles: the remains of the last king, Alfonso XIII, of the first president of the republic that had replaced him, Manuel Azaña, and of *Guernica*, which by then had become a symbol of the new post-Franco Spain. All factions unanimously joined in supporting the resolution. The resulting euphoria was heightened in 1978 by a resolution of the United States Congress that the return of the painting would be another expression of this country's desire to support Spain's progress toward free institutions.

But at that point four claimants in addition to the Prado arose. The contenders were the city of Guernica; Barcelona, citing its Museo Picasso, the only Picasso museum in Spain; Málaga, Picasso's birthplace; and the new Museo d'Arte Moderna as the national museum of modern art. However, Jacqueline Picasso in a letter to Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez recently confirmed that Picasso had always said that *Guernica* should go to the Prado.

One of the most interesting solutions to the debate now under consideration by the youthful former journalist Javier Tusell, now minister of culture, would locate *Guernica* in Madrid's Cason del Buen Retiro, now housing 19th-century art. It is a part of the Prado and adjoins it, although the building is detached from the main building itself. This solution would fulfill promises made to Picasso, as well as relieving those who feel that there is a natural dividing line between the old masters and modern art.

Guernica in Spain will mean a third chapter in its history. Once a document of outrage over a tragic event in the civil war, it has now become a focal point of the desire for reconciliation of the hatreds of that very war. It is frequently cited as a kind of talisman—it is not quite accurate to speak of it as a symbol—of the course toward a democratic society in Spain. When we better understand the painting and its history, we may well find concealed in its many enigmatic clues that will solve a great modern dilemma—how great art might find its themes in and even give social meaning to the hard realities of modern life. ■