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Mediating Mexico

Winold Reiss and the Transcultural Dimension of “Harlem” in the 1920s

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Abstract:

Through the mediating element of travel, European and Latin American visual artists contributed to turning the physical space of Harlem into a central metaphor of modernity. Artists such as the German immigrant Winold Reiss, the Mexican caricaturist Miguel Covarrubias, and the African American student of Reiss, Aaron Douglas, played an integral part in Alain Locke’s idea of an international approach to African American culture. [1] By turning to concepts of space as cultural space (Winfried Fluck), processes of mediation, and the role of cultural mobilizers (Stephen Greenblatt), the essay traces how Winold Reiss’ Mexican experience shaped the visual narrative of the Harlem Renaissance.

Keywords: African-American culture, Mexico, transculturality, Winold Reiss, visual arts

Introduction [2]

The visual design of *The Weary Blues* poem collection, published by Alfred Knopf in 1926, features a remarkable international subtext. “His verses are by no means limited to an exclusive mood; he writes caressingly of little black prostitutes in Harlem; his cabaret songs throb with the true jazz rhythm; his sea-pieces ache with a calm melancholy lyricism; he cries bitterly from the heart of his race in *Cross and the Jester*” (Van Vechten 13). Thus writes the white author, photographer, and patron of many Harlem writers, Carl van Vechten, in his introduction to Langston Hughes’s first volume of poems. The evocation of prostitutes in Harlem, authentic jazz rhythms, and the aching feelings from the heart of the “black race” are printed on the dust cover designed by the influential Mexican caricaturist Miguel Covarrubias in stark red, black and yellow colors. The silhouette figure, the light of a dull gas light and the piano keys offer a visual translation of the first poem of the collection, which also provides the title for the book, “The Weary Blues.” Before he emerged as the poet laureate of the Harlem Renaissance, Hughes had returned from his third trip to Mexico to visit his father, who at the time had a German housekeeper called “Frau Schultz” and was in contact with other German immigrants (Hughes, *Big Sea* 67-80). Considering this German cultural connection in the family history, it is not surprising that Hughes dedicated a copy of *The Weary Blues* to the German immigrant artist and designer Winold Reiss (Hughes, *Weary* n.p.). Reiss had produced a sketch for the magazine *The Forum* to create a visual introduction to Hughes’s poem “The Weary Blues.” The sketch served as basis for the by now iconographic portrait of Hughes with an art deco background translating impressions from the poem. While his portrait of Langston Hughes represents one of the quintessential portraits of Harlem Renaissance intellectuals and artists, Reiss’ student, the African American artist Aaron Douglas, is today considered the most important visual artist of the Harlem Renaissance who successfully translated blues aesthetics and the modern German forays of advertisement into a persuasive visual silhouette style.

From this short outline of the Mexican, German, and African American nexus in the illustration and visualization of “The Weary Blues,” the question arises of whether the cultural construct behind the term “Harlem” should be remapped by including a transnational perspective. [3] In the 1920s, the Latin American and Mexican presence was particularly strong in the New York art scene. However, as Deborah Cullen recently lamented, comparatively little scholarly attention has been paid to the intercultural encounters and productive artistic exchanges generated by those artists “from Central and South America who gravitated to the city before and between wars” (10). [4]

This essay is structured into two parts. First, I will re-define the place of “Harlem” in the cultural imaginary of the United States as a transcultural space in the sense of representing a liminal zone of human activity and cross-cultural contact zones. I will argue that the Mexican imagination in the visual narrative of the Harlem Renaissance plays a crucial role and helps to open up a new, broader perspective on the function of Harlem beyond what Paul Gilroy called the *Black Atlantic*. [5] Second, I will trace the Mexican imagination from a German American perspective. Winold Reiss’ trip to Mexico in 1920 represents an epiphany, which redirected his attention to African American culture in New York City. [6] In the process of translating his Mexican travel experience to canvas and interior design of public places in the United States, he emerged as a cultural mediator of transatlantic modernism. [7] My analysis will reveal transatlantic and Latin American cultural contact zones to open up a new way to understand Harlem as a transcultural space. [8] Thereby, it will be possible to identify processes of mediation [9] as a key ingredient in advertising Harlem in a specific manner: as a “Mecca” of a renewed sense of cultural recognition and a beacon of hope to overcome the democratic gap, namely the discrepancy between democratic principles and practices. With this trajectory I am interested in reconfiguring familiar visual narratives in a transatlantic and transnational context. [10]

1. Harlem as a Transcultural Space

In the 1920s, Harlem was a racially and culturally distinctive community between Manhattan’s 110th and 155th Street with its famed nightlife on a strip of 133rd Street between Lenox and Seventh Avenue. African American authors created descriptive metaphors to re-signify this district as a cultural center in which black literature, art, and music flourished. Alain Locke edited a special issue of the *Graphic Survey* entitled “Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro,” which was one of the most successful editions of the magazine. [11] It had far-reaching effects for African American writers featured in this issue. Benjamin G. Brawley described the new literary productions and poetry of black authors as a “Negro Literary Renaissance” (178). In his autobiography *The Big Sea* (1940), Langston Hughes referred to the predominantly African American neighbourhood of Harlem as “Manhattan’s black Renaissance” (223), emphasizing the lively literary art scene. [12] In the expression “Harlem Renaissance,” the location of Harlem functions as a bridge to link the traumatic past of slavery with a new notion of self-esteem and self-recognition within the history of African American culture.

The 1987 travelling exhibition “Harlem Renaissance: Art of Black America” continued to further the intrinsic connection between Harlem and the African American history of ideas and art. [13] While the term, as Richard Powell argues, is indeed an “accurate yet elastic description of the levels and range of black creativity in the 1920s” (41), it nevertheless hardly allows for the recognition of influential artists beyond the agency of African American creative activity. Thus, in the visual narratives of the Harlem Renaissance we usually find references to the photographer James Van Der Zee or the African American painter Aaron Douglas. Coming from Kansas City, Douglas holds a special place as the quintessential “African American Modernist.” In the recent catalogue of a large-scale exhibition of his work, Douglas’s journey to New York is described in religious terms as a “pilgrimage” to the “Mecca of the era” (Douglas, Earle, and Ater 11-13). In addition, the sculptures of Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, with their allegorical approach to black culture as in *Ethiopia Awakening* (1914), are regularly referenced. With a gesture of extracting herself from the mummy-like bandages that are wrapped around her lower half of the body, Powell interprets the sculpture as a means for the “representational needs not only of a disillusioned but hopeful black elite in the years 1914-17, but also of successive generations of ‘race’ men and ‘women’” (36). Besides Douglas, the works of Archibald J. Motley Jr., Palmer Hayden, and Jacob Lawrence’s *The Migration of the Negro* (1940-1) emphasize how African American painters shaped, in the words of Erika Doss, “a modern visual art that accommodated ethnocentric perspectives” (93; see also Hills).

These artworks are set in position as an authentic African American response to degrading white fantasies. [14] An iconic set of African American paintings, photographs, and sculptures has become canonized and is cited in basically all major overviews of American art history (see, for instance, Powell; Doss; Bjelajac). In the 1920s, however, the evolution of a visual narrative for the Harlem Renaissance was less clear.

When Langston Hughes’s *The Weary Blues* appeared in 1926, the influential black journalist George S. Schuyler attacked the foundation of blues poetry in this seminal collection of poetry in a telling way. In his article “The Negro-Art Hokum” published in *The Nation* in 1926, he critically commented that African American art “made in America” was non-existent (662). Schuyler emphasized the European background of African American artists and intellectuals. He explained that “the dean of the Aframerican literati,” namely W.E.B. du Bois, represented a product of Harvard University and Friedrich-Wilhelm-University in Berlin. Meta Fuller was a student of the French artist Rodin, and Schuyler identified the painter Henry Ossawa Tanner as “dean of American painters in Paris” who had been “decorated by the French Government” (662). From this

perspective, Schuyler set out to deconstruct the African American heritage in order to denounce *The Weary Blues* and its prominent place in the “New Negro Movement” as a kind of false advertisement. “Now the work of these artists is no more ‘expressive of the Negro soul’—as the gushers put it—than are the scribblings of Octavus Cohen or Hugh Wiley” (663). Today, many African American scholars concede that Schuyler’s assessment is quite appropriate as far as deterritorialization is concerned. However, scholars such as Robert Reid-Pharr found a new way to reframe the problem in a more positive light. What Schuyler criticized, the argument goes, is actually one of the greatest assets of African American cultural expressions: its international dimension.

By pinpointing towards the international background of artists as Alain Locke, Paul Robeson, Josephine Baker, or Langston Hughes, scholars such as Jeffrey Stewart or George Hutchinson emphasize in the recent *Cambridge Companion to The Harlem Renaissance* (2007) the “black internationalist” lens on African roots. This focal point could clearly be defined as U.S. American (4). Michael A. Chaney argues, the centralization of what he calls “self-directed ‘Negro’ arts and letters” in Harlem needs to be conceived in international contexts (41). This conception should not only reveal the complex inter-cultural and inter-racial networks but also reflect the international mobility of black representatives of the Harlem Renaissance such as the expatriate experience of Du Bois during his two years of graduate studies in Germany, James Weldon Johnson’s three-year experience as United States consul in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, or Langston Hughes, who taught English in Mexico before he became a world traveller like Richard Wright or James Baldwin after him. [15] In this seemingly boundless international sphere, the district of Harlem assumed the function of an anchor and ultimate point of reference for the African American diasporic art scene. The focus is understandable. Scholars such as Reid-Pharr argue that the search for alternative ways to read the African Diaspora should not “first and foremost” be conceived “as a world historical process in which our enslaved forebears were victims but never agents.” [16] I would like to suggest that agency is not lost but rather strengthened if we look at international and inter-racial forms of collaborations and spatial imaginations. [17]

The literary, musical, and visual stylizations of the physical space around Lennox Avenue in the district of Harlem reveal that the perceptions of space are constructs shaped by aesthetic perceptions and political interests of artists. In the process of writing or painting, the physical space becomes translated into an artistic object. The concrete geographical region of “Harlem” functions as a signifier for a new perspective on African American creativity and culture. As a premise for my analysis of “Harlem” as a transcultural space with Reiss as a paradigm for intercultural encounters

and confrontations, I will use Winfried Fluck's definition of space as aesthetic object as a starting point: "In order to gain cultural meaning, physical space has to become mental space or, more precisely, imaginary space" (25). I will look at some of the processes that take place when the physical space of Harlem is culturally appropriated as imaginary space and how issues of agency assumed control of turning "Harlem" into an aesthetic object with allegedly clear cultural markers. [18]

I do not intend to challenge African American assessments that an internationalist element is at the heart of many African American writers due to their biographical background. There is also, I would argue, a transcultural perspective encoded in the early artwork in Harlem, which transcends the productions of African Americans. Non-black visual artists helped to turn the physical space of Harlem into a central metaphor of modernity. They played an integral part in Locke's idea of an international approach to advertising African American culture.

2. Crossing the Rio Grande and Confronting the Metropolitan Moloch

Reiss' use of bold colors in poster art and portraiture was designed to counterbalance artistic tendencies of German as well as United States traditions upheld by U.S. artists who became known as The Ten or the Ash Can School. In the course of the 1920s, Reiss increasingly identified with "being American" at the beginning of the "young nation's" artistic development where color had the greatest potential to become a key for a new form of visual expression. The "Mexico Diary" from 1920 aptly documents that, for Reiss, the term "color" transcended the use on canvas. With his particular interest in folk culture and the ethnic richness of North America, references to national "embarrassment," "vulgarity," and "false pretenses" acquire a double meaning. Behind his comments on the use of color in the arts appears a new political commitment to cultural pluralism and the promise of U.S. American democracy, which would soon permeate his drawings (Mehring, "Portraying" and "Unfinished").

Reiss was among the earliest artists who traveled from the United States into Mexico after the Revolution and contributed to an intense process of cultural exchange. His visual artwork inspired an American fascination with the colors of the Mexican earth, its volcanoes, the ruins of the Pre-Columbian pyramids, and the religious piety of the people. From his diary, we can trace the change of a German immigrant perspective on the promise of U.S. American democracy, his moralist response to the initial shock of disillusion, and the revelation of encountering Mexican culture. [19] On the first day of his trip, he expresses his disenchantment with "America" and relocates the

proverbial “promised land” across the Rio Grande in Mexico. The binary juxtaposition of “America” and “Mexico” in very general terms continues throughout the diary. Reiss contrasts the U.S. American dream of freedom gone wrong with a glimpse of a Mexican paradise lost. [20] During this trip, he had an epiphany: Standing in the midst of people from all over Mexico with his board and canvas in front of him, Reiss felt like finally having come “home.” For Reiss, the German term *Heimat* (homeland) does not so much represent a concrete location such as the Black Forest or Munich. Neither is there a patriotic sense of “fatherland.” Instead, Reiss’ term *Heimat* refers to the spiritual realm combined with the gratifying experience of being among people in rural areas who are very much in tune with their specific folk culture and environment. Before he left Mexico to return to the United States, Reiss conflated a German sense of *Heimat* and *Heimweh* (homesickness) with his Mexican experience: “once again the indescribable Mexican something glimmered in my soul, engraving itself in there, to make me homesick when I am back in the land of materialism.” [21] Encountering the rich colors of Mexican culture and the joyfulness of the people, he added a spiritual component to the notion of belonging, which transcends an actual territory and national borders. Compared to Mexico, the United States appeared to be “terrifyingly dead and lifeless.” Thus, his trip to Mexico represents not so much an expatriation but a reconnection with something he had lost during his stay in New York City. [22] The final entry of the “Mexico Diary” marks a turning point, as Reiss recognizes the power of color both in an aesthetic and political sense:

It has taken 34 years until this has become clear in me, but now it is like a hand that shows me the way. We must not be weak in our faith, faith must make us proud and give us courage for life, and all who touch us must receive of this, for we do not belong to ourselves, we are born into a whole and must help the big whole, not just the small part. Not selfishness, not egotism, and out of the graves of the war will arise a new and finally a better world. We have the key in hand—but they all can’t find the lock because they always run in the wrong direction. Die, vanity, and beget a race of great and selfless Men. The new religion is to be Man, and we ourselves are the Temple, and our deeds and the nourishment that we bring, are the happiness that streams from us. [23]

Reiss envisaged a future generation of world citizens in which the term ‘color’ would not function as a marker of racial or ethnic hierarchies. Thus, the diary represents a story of a rite of passage starting with a disillusion of the promise of U.S. American democracy and ending on a self-confident dedication to using art as a means to work towards a new concept of universal humanity.

After his return from his trip to Mexico, Reiss felt physically exhausted from a severe illness but also spiritually rejuvenated. Full of inspiration and passion for the spirit of Mexican folk-life, he was more self-assured of his creative power than ever. Despite his love for wide-open spaces and small-town places, he knew that only the metropolitan scene of New York could provide him with economically viable venues for his artwork. The inner battle between the urge of leaving the city and the economic necessity of living in the metropolis gave his work direction. Although Reiss did not date the woodblock print entitled *Love*, it perfectly captures the spirit of the time period after his return from Cuernavaca, Guadalupe, Oaxaca, Tepoztlán, Xochimilco, or Mexico City.

The image negotiates powerful feelings within three spheres: the natural environment with trees, flowers, and rolling hills; the city with its towering architecture; and the night-sky with its celestial beauty. Reiss' visual alter ego stands within the natural environment with his eyes fixed in a vertical line towards a transcendental sphere. His left hand forms a clenched fist ready to fight for the higher ideals the figure receives from contemplation of spiritual matters. Placed in a natural environment, which emphasizes growth and the beauty of plant-life, the city with its man-made constructions represents an anonymous, empty space where human beings are hidden from view. After Reiss had crossed the Rio Grande and arrived in San Antonio on December 6, he had recorded his frustration with a reference to the necessity of making an almost super-human effort in order to deal with the reality of life in the United States:

With wide eyes I looked at the surroundings which appeared so cold and soulless, and an indescribable loneliness rose in me, so powerful that I could have screamed, screamed with disappointment and with longing for what I left behind. Instead I clenched my fists and struck out into the callous coarseness that lay before me. [24]

The woodcut *Love* conveys a sense of self-empowerment. The clenched fist shows that the character is ready to fight for his beliefs. But it is not only the insight into a transcendental sphere, which allows the figure to stand tall. With a string-like spiritual power cord attached to the heart, the figure pulls itself up and redirects its force unto the city. Reiss returns to his former strength and willpower, which supported him during the transatlantic crossing and the dire economic situation during his early time in New York City. Compared to the clear visual connection between the central triangle of city, nature, and transcendental sphere, the expression of emotional impact is more ambiguous. Reiss chose the suggestive title *Love* for this woodcut, which might lead to insight into his inner state after returning to New York and re-assuming his function as an art teacher in his studio.



The symbol of love on the protagonist's chest functions as a pendant to the physical strength. Reiss renders the power of love in an idealized sense of emotional self-sacrifice beyond egotistical or materialist interests. It is a selfless gift to the world. The religious overtones can hardly be dismissed. The figure of Jesus seems to blend with a Wagnerian hero. The girl with long hair and tender bodily features leans on to the towering physical and emotional

Fig. 1: W. Reiss, Love. Woodcut print on paper, 19 x 18", ca. 1920. Private Collection



Fig. 2: W. Reiss, Face and Hands over City. Ink on paper, 10 7/8 x 8 3/4, n.d. Private Collection

strength of the male figure. There is, however, a melancholy undertone in the presentation of the couple. In order to let his emotional power penetrate the geometrical urban environment, the hero must forsake the pleasures of traditional family life. The “tree of life” at the center of the image suggests regenerative forces of nature. It provides the fertile ground on which the figure firmly stands. [25] This image resonates strongly with less hopeful depictions of the emotional impact of modern city life in Reiss’ visual repertoire. In the undated drawing *Face and Hands over City* an ugly devilish red face threatens to swallow an industrial cityscape. Fritz Lang would use a similar visual scenario for the futuristic factory building with its gigantic “heart machine” in his landmark science fiction film *Metropolis* (1927). [26]

One promising venue for Reiss to translate his new image of himself as the harbinger of spiritual powers of Nature to the city was to continue to engage in interior design of public spaces. Undoubtedly impressed by mural artwork in Mexico, he created themed rooms with images from Mexico or stylizations of an imaginary Africa. [27] His use of bold color in his portraits goes beyond the obvious references to the world of painting. Considering his choice of models as well as his perspective as an immigrant, his use of color can also be read as a coded message regarding what Du Bois described as the problem of the twentieth century, namely the “color line.” Reiss did not choose to become an outspoken activist against racial segregation, lynching, genocide, and white supremacy. Instead, he used his art to encode his longing for an “America” that would live up to its promise of equality and democracy. The hidden political motif can be decoded from the perspective of his special status as a German immigrant. He was well aware of the power struggle artists faced when they openly confronted the political system or the expectations of art patrons. Nevertheless, Reiss’ portraits tell of cultural frictions, collisions, and confrontations. Shortly before Diego Rivera created a public controversy with his critical comment on the United States’ economic success story in his mural “Man at the Crossroads” at the Rockefeller Center, Reiss recommended diplomacy and tact to artists. In case of discrepancies between the client’s intent and the artist’s vision, “the painter should try to bring [the client] around to an aesthetic viewpoint by indirection. Sometimes this can be accomplished in such a manner that the owner will not be aware that his ideas have been changed” (“Plea” 24). [28] Considering the remarkable productivity of Reiss in the production of murals and design work for American restaurants, Reiss succeeded in his efforts to carefully translate his aesthetic vision regarding “Mexico” into public urban spaces.



Fig. 3: Winold Reiss, Mexican Mural at the Restaurant Crillon, New York City. Photographs by Nickolas Muray, ca. 1921.



Fig. 4: Detail of the Mexican Mural by Winold Reiss. Photograph by Nickolas Muray



Fig. 5: Winold Reiss, Congo Room at the Alamac Hotel, New York City, 1923. Photograph by Underwood & Underwood.

3. Mediating the Mexican Experience

In the early 1920s, Reiss was able to make prolific use of many sketches he brought with him from his trip to Mexico. An exhibition at the Anderson Galleries in New York City from November 13-25, 1922 provided a summary of his dedication to the New World. At the same time, it emphasized his cultural roots in Europe. Reiss' special sensitivity regarding the beauty of those people, whose liberating sense of simplicity had been overlooked, had a great appeal to North American city dwellers. The title of the exhibition offers a remarkable mixture of transatlantic folklore: *The Passion Players of Oberammergau: Drawings by Winold Reiss. Also Drawings from Sweden, Black Forest, Mexico, and Portraits, Woodcuts, and Decorations* (cover page). The 154 paintings, fantasies, and woodblock prints create cultural confrontations and challenge the then-prevailing concepts of cultural assimilation and "Americanization." Among the 50 Mexican images on display

were portraits, landscapes, fantasies, representations of Mexican street life, textile paintings, and “decorations.” The exhibition was well timed. In 1922, a traveling Mexican popular arts exhibition under the auspices of the Minister of Industry, Commerce, and Labor of Mexico, Don Xavier Guerrero, helped to generate widespread interest in Mexican culture, traditions, and art. The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue edited by Katherine Anne Porter. She provided a detailed overview of the Mexican popular arts and crafts, thereby preparing the public for a positive reception of the cultural mediations of Winold Reiss, Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, Miguel Covarrubias, and others. [29]

During the early phase of US American fascination with the culture and traditions of Mexico after the Mexican Revolution, Reiss’ portraits and street scenes from Mexico appeared in several newspapers as well as in magazines such as *The Century* or *Survey Graphic*. The personal connection between Reiss and Katherine Anne Porter was crucial for the successful publication, distribution, and mediation of the Mexican drawings. [30] The “Mexico Diary” reveals how and when the two artists met: “The next day, Sunday [December 5] I took Best’s girlfriend, Miss Porter, and Mrs. Habermann to Tepozotlan. It was a sunny, wonderful, Mexican day” (MS). Porter emerged as an important cultural mediator in the early 1920s between Mexican folklore and the U.S. American literary market. Shortly after Porter met Reiss on their walking tour to Tepoztlán, she wrote several stories and sketches about Xochimilco including “In a Mexican Patio” for the *Magazine of Mexico* (April 1921), “Xochimilco” for the *Christian Science Monitor* (May 31, 1921), and “Children of Xochitl” (unpublished, ca. March 1921). She describes this town as an “Island of the Blest” and the people as living in perfect harmony with a beautiful and benign nature. As Thomas F. Walsh has argued, “Xochimilco” expressed “her hope in Mexico as the promised land” (35).

When she was asked to edit a special issue on Mexico for the *Survey Graphic*, she remembered the encounter with Reiss and the sketches he had produced during his trip through Mexico. Besides seven Rivera murals, ten examples of Mexican children’s art, a portrait of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and Best Maugard’s drawings, Reiss’ portraits of Indians and a painting of Cuernavaca hold a special place in the magazine with its bold issue topic *Mexico: A Promise*. It is striking that Porter included not only visual examples of Mexican folklore and Mexican painters such as Diego Rivera or Xavier Guerrero but also portraits and urban scenes from the German immigrant Reiss. She used him as a non-Mexican presence from the international art scene of New York to document the promising qualities inherent in the emerging Mexican art scene after the Revolution. Similar to the “types” studies Reiss would contribute to Alain Locke’s *Survey Graphic* special

edition *Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro* a year later, Porter included a section called “Mexican Types” in *Mexico: A Promise*, which she introduced in the following way:

Up and down a troubled land, in the autumn and winter of 1921 [31], the painter made his tranquil pilgrimage, meeting friendliness and courtesy and faithfully recording not only the faces but the spirit of the people. Mr. Reiss presents us two men of Tepozotlan and one from Taquepaque near Guadalajara; together with a glimpse of a market town. (153)

The expression “pilgrimage” is of particular importance. Porter creates a nexus between Reiss’ search for new inspiration and vitality beyond the United States urban life of ever increasing mechanization with her own project of stylizing post-revolutionary Mexico as a promise—not only for its own national future but also for U.S. Americans eager to encounter a kind of spirituality from which modern U.S. city dwellers had become estranged. Porter’s efforts to draw a highly persuasive image of Mexican “friendliness and courtesy,” the art scene, and the lively vignettes of Mexican folk life captured in her writings stand at the beginning of a soon-to-be flourishing tourist industry.

With her reference to the kind of faithful dedication, which Reiss’ portraits exhibit, Porter implies that the viewer can find a genuine sense of authenticity in the depictions, which former representations of Mexicans were lacking. The combination of counterbalancing allegedly less truthful portraits of non-European people in the Americas and bringing out a sense of spiritual dignity finds an echo in the explanatory notes Alain Locke added to the artwork Reiss produced for the *Survey Graphic* special edition on Harlem about a year after Porter’s Mexico issue. One might wonder in how far Reiss could intimately enter into the “spirit of a people,” as Katherine Porter suggested, after spending less than three months in Mexico. Porter praises Reiss as an extremely gifted cultural mediator:

Concretely in his portrait sketches, abstract in his symbolic designs, [Reiss] has aimed to portray the soul and spirit of a people [sic]. And by the simple but rare process of not setting up petty canons in face of nature’s own artistry, Winold Reiss has achieved what amounts to a revealing discovery of the significance, human and artistic, of one of the great dialects of human physiognomy, of some of the little understood but powerful idioms of nature’s speech. (*SG Promise* 651)

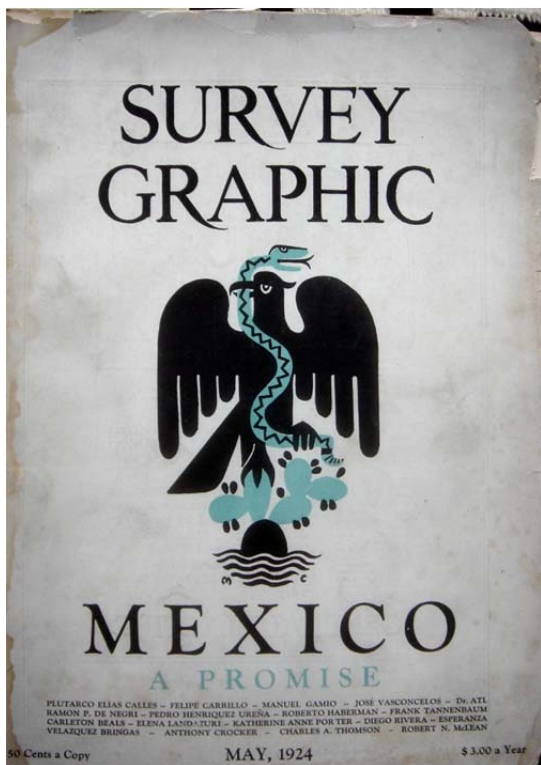


Fig. 6: Miguel Covarrubias, Cover of the May 1924 issue of the magazine Survey Graphic. Mexico: A Promise

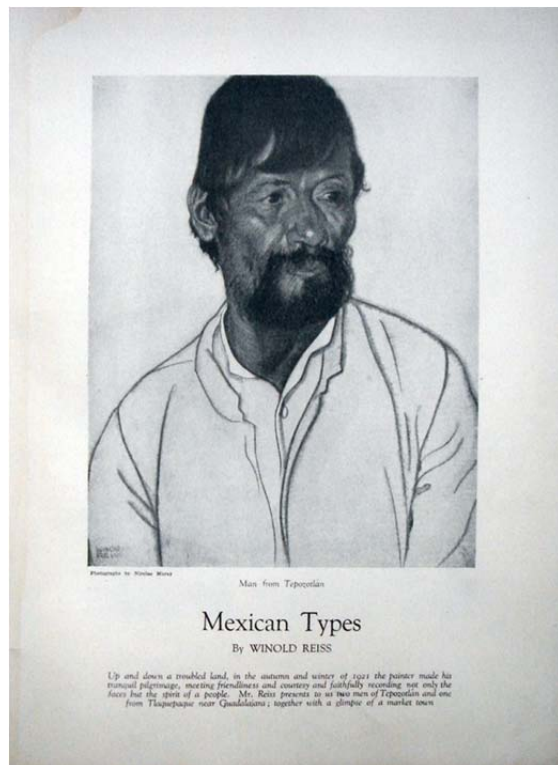


Fig. 7: Winold Reiss, Man from Tepoztlán, reproduced in the May 1924 issue of the magazine Survey Graphic. Mexico: A Promise

Porter's description of the colorful market places and the function of Mexican folk ballads in her essay "Corridos" offers a striking pendant to Reiss' visual narrative. Among the contributors in the special edition was also José Vasconcelos. His book *La Raza Cósmica (The Cosmic Race)* from 1925 foreshadows a new concept of race, which was very much in line with what Winold Reiss tried to translate into forms and colors on canvas. Here, Vasconcelos predicted the coming of a new age, called the "Aesthetic Era," in which joy, love, fantasy, and creativity would prevail over the rationalism he saw as dominating the present age. Arguing for a fusion of races into a new cosmic race he considered the *mestizo*, the Indian, and the Black superior to the White race "in a countless number of properly spiritual capacities" (32). In his transnational outline, he insisted that

the Iberian part of the continent held the highest promise since that part possessed “the spiritual factors, the race, and the territory necessary for the great enterprise of initiating the new universal era of Humanity” (38-39). [32]

For Alain Locke’s project of racial recognition and of turning Harlem into the “Mecca of the New Negro,” Reiss’ task was to provide portraits and design elements. In a commentary on Reiss’ visual work in the Harlem issue of *Survey Graphic*, Locke praised Reiss as a “folk-lorist of brush and palette seeking always the folk character back of the individual, the psychology behind the physiognomy” (*Harlem* 653). He emphasized the spiritual depth of Reiss’ work, which provided his portraits with an organic structure distinct from the Art Deco style popular at the time: “In design, he looks not merely for the decorative elements, but for the pattern of the culture from which it sprang” (653). Later that year, the Harlem edition was expanded and published under the title *The New Negro: An Interpretation* and including several of Reiss’ portraits of leading black intellectuals such as W.E.B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, or Zora Neale Hurston. [33] Locke explained his choice in the following manner:

The work of Winold Reiss, fellow-countryman of Slevogt and von Reuckterschell [34], which has supplied the main illustrative material for this volume, has been deliberately conceived and executed as a path-breaking guide and encouragement to this new foray of the younger Negro artists. In idiom, technical treatment and objective social angle, it is a bold iconoclastic break with the current traditions that have grown up about the Negro subject in American art (*New Negro* 266).

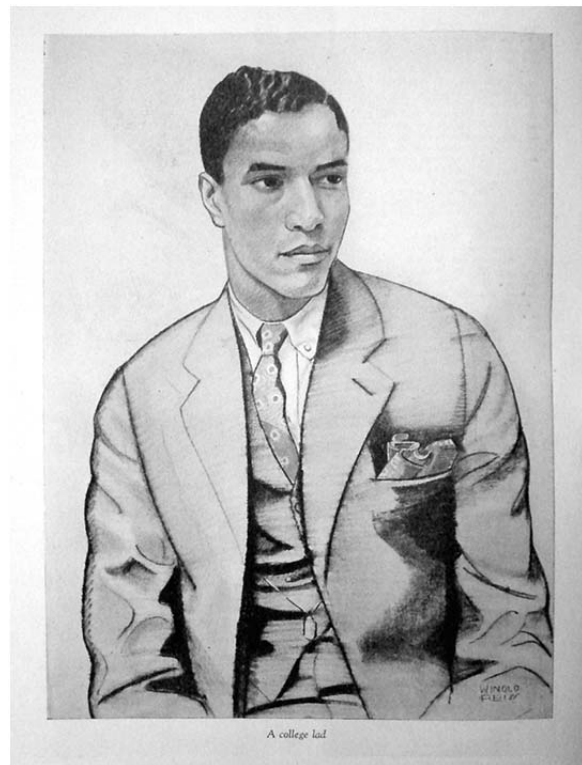


Fig. 8: Winold Reiss, Cover of the March 1925 issue of the magazine *Survey Graphic*. Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro.

Fig. 9: Winold Reiss, *A College Lad*, reproduced in the March 1925 issue of the magazine *Survey Graphic*. Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro.

Conclusion

Given his immigrant status and his experience of xenophobia during World War I, Winold Reiss must have been aware of the anti-Mexican sentiments and negative stereotypes among U.S. Americans. His artwork shows that he recognized the difference in socio-political status held by European and Mexican immigrants due to the highly contested category of race in the United States. The quality of discrimination and xenophobia from which European immigrants suffered during the major waves of immigration in the nineteenth century was, however, different from what historians such as Manuel G. Gonzales describe as “the great migration” of Mexicans (137). These immigrants were mostly *mestizo* and Indian who had worked as peasants. In the 1920s, the racial otherness of Mexicans became pronounced in various ways. Gonzales argues that harsh racist views of white U.S. Americans functioned as “justification for the exploitation of Mexicans” and continual ill-treatment. (137) Winold Reiss’ successful exhibitions of his Mexican images and his

efforts to create public art that emphasized a positive perspective on Mexican history, culture, and people set a persuasive counter-point to the dominant Eurocentric perspective of racial superiority in the United States.

Reiss' effort to redirect the gaze of U.S. Americans towards the beauty of the Mexican land and the riches of its cultural traditions, however, came at a price. Reiss criticized specific developments in modern North American urban, industrial societies by positioning Mexican people in an idealized space defined by spiritual integrity, a healthy work ethic, patriarchal family structures, and colourful sunny landscapes. On canvas, poverty becomes aestheticized via the beauty of what Reiss describes as pure "Mexican types." The portraits can function as antidote to the despair and uniformity of modern urban dwellers in the United States, who appear to be deprived of joy in their daily routines of working in factories and who are cramped into housing blocks where sunlight can hardly pierce through.

In New York City, Reiss' colourful, joyful, celebratory images left a particularly strong impression. Before the great migration of Mexicans in the 1920s, New York had seen another great migration, that of African Americans, whose cultural presence had been inscribed in U.S. American entertainment in a much more thorough way than that of Mexicans. With the history of slavery, exploitation, lynching, and the struggle for civil rights, Reiss felt drawn to the cause of African American intellectuals in Harlem. The experience of a spiritual self-renewal during his trip through Mexico played a crucial role in his dedication to the "New Negro" project. When he ends his "Mexico Diary" with the prophetic insight that after 34 years he had finally come to realize in which direction he needed to take his artistry, one might argue that Reiss found in Alain Locke a collaborator who embraced Reiss' dedication to what Locke called "the unfinished business of democracy" (*Color cover*).

Reiss' resourceful visual approach to "Harlem" combines a longing for rustic German peasant life with fantasies of a pre-Columbian past still traceable in the Mexican landscapes and the rural population. The "Harlem imaginatives" similarly draw on the potential that African American culture in the heart of New York City can create a link to the colorful vitality Reiss encountered south of the U.S. border. The comparison of Reiss' Mexican imagination with the artwork in *The New Negro* anthology reveals that Harlem can best be described as a transcultural space, which opens up a broader perspective on agency and cross-cultural networks than many scholars of the Harlem Renaissance have so far suggested.

Endnotes

[1] With the frequently used term “African American” I refer to blacks from the United States and—especially with regard to Harlem Renaissance artists—the Anglophone Caribbean.

[2] The present essay is based on a talk I presented at the first international conference on Winold Reiss, “Cultural Mobility and Transcultural Confrontations: Winold Reiss as a Paradigm of Transnational Studies,” held on Dec. 1-3, 2011 at the John F. Kennedy-Institute in Berlin (www.fu-berlin.de/winold-reiss). I am grateful to the Terra Foundation for their continued support in rediscovering the life and work of Winold Reiss. The project evolved from a TERRA research grant in 2007 and was followed by archival trips to various galleries and museums in the United States in 2008 and 2009. Special thanks go to Werner Sollors and Veerle Thielemans for their support and encouragement. At the Smithsonian I would like to thank Anne Collins Goodyear, Frank Goodyear III, Virginia Mecklenburg, Ellen Miles, Cyndi Mills, David Ward and particularly Wendy Wick Reaves. I am thankful for the friendship and suggestions by Ned Jacob, Michael Gladstone, Ford Peatross, Douglas Smith, and Jeffrey Stewart. The John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies has been very supportive in many ways. The institute functioned as the primary venue of the first international Winold Reiss Conference entitled “Cultural Mobility and Transcultural Confrontations: Winold Reiss as a Paradigm of Transnational Studies” (Dec. 1-3, 2011). In particular I would like to thank Winfried Fluck for encouraging me early on to pursue my research on Winold Reiss. I would also like to express my gratitude to the Reiss family for their very warm support.

[3] As Günter Lenz has pointed out, the term “transnational” must be understood in a double sense: “(1) It questions the meaning of ‘America’ (qua USA), decentering the US perspective; it takes views from outside as co-foundational and emphasizes dialogue. (2) It reflects on and deconstructs the focus on the nation-state without simply dismissing its boundaries in its political analyses, and it addresses intracultural and multicultural diversity and hybridity of US culture(s) and transnational interactions and negotiations in a time of globalization and relocalizations.” (4) For my investigation of mediating the Mexican experience of the German immigrant Winold Reiss and his impact on the Harlem Renaissance, I follow Winfried Fluck, Donald E. Pease, and John Carlos Rowe’s differentiation between the international and the transnational. They argue that the “transnational differs from the international in that it forecloses the possibility that either nation in the transaction will remain self-enclosed and unitary.” (5) From this perspective it will be possible to understand the transcultural dimension in the imaginary construct of “Harlem.”

[4] The goals of the *Mexicanidad* movement and the search for a new form of recognition behind the “New Negro” concept feature fascinating similarities (see Barnitz; Cancel; Ramírez and Olea). Instead of merely focusing on individual artists, scholars such as Deborah Cullen, Katherine E. Manthorne, Elvis Fuentes, Antonio Saborit, Cecilia de Torres, James Wechsler, Michele Greet or Katy Rogers have turned to analyzing moments of intercultural and artistic exchange (see Cullen). This scholarship continues intercultural research to emphasize the complex international dimension of American modernism along the lines of Ann Douglas or Wanda Corn.

[5] Gilroy proposed a radical rethinking of the “history of black in the west” emphasizing “that the history of the African diaspora and a reassessment of the relationship between modernity and slavery may require a [...] complete revision of the terms in which the modernity debates have been constructed.” (44) My investigation of the transcultural confrontations of the German immigrant artist Winold Reiss in New York City shortly before World War I, the disconcerting experience of xenophobia and racism during the war, and the mediating element of travelling to Indian reservations and Mexico in the 1920s is designed to contribute to our understanding of discontinuities in modern experiences and to underscore the plural nature of modern subjectivity and identity. For a more comprehensive approach to the response patterns of German immigrants to the discrepancy between American democratic principle and practice in the arts see Mehring, *Democratic*.

[6] I follow Caren Kaplan’s suggestion that the mediating element of travel can offer new ways to investigate questions of aestheticized and ahistorical accounts of Euro-American displacement: “The question of travel signifies the possibilities of multiple figures and tropes of displacement that might lead us to a more complex and accurate map of cultural production” (41).

[7] Reiss' impressive range of creativity, his rich work of ethnic portrait paintings, distinctive interior modernist design, and cutting edge graphic design has been relegated to the footnotes of American art history. In Germany, he is hardly known at all. Wanda Corn has speculated that Reiss' work may indeed embarrass scholars. Recent scholarship on the Harlem Renaissance (e.g. Hutchinson; Lemke) has shifted its focus from individual figures to racial interactions, crossovers, and transatlantic interchanges. Caroline Goeser has brought attention to Reiss' ground-breaking illustrations for book covers. Since 1986, the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress has acquired more than 465 drawings and prints by Winold Reiss that are now included in its "Winold Reiss Design Collection."

[8] It is revealing to contextualize Reiss' fascination with all things Mexican with the philosophical concepts of the African American professor of philosophy Alain Locke and the concept of the "Cosmic Race" by the Mexican philosopher and politician José Vasconcelos. Vasconcelos's ground-breaking outlook on the future of a post-racial civilization was published in 1925, the year which also marks the beginning of what is commonly referred to as the "New Negro" movement.

[9] Frederic Jameson argued that new media become systemically dependent on each other and on prior media to gain cultural significance. In Winold Reiss' drawings, poster art, book covers, and mural design we can identify a kind of genealogy of (re)mediation which has become a staple in postmodern societies (and, one might argue, in the history of Western representation in general). The "pictorial turn" of the late 20th century (Miller, Boehm, Mirzoeff) has contributed to processes of remediation that challenge the dominance literary theory based on texts. "It is because we have had to learn that culture today is a matter of media that we have finally begun to get it through our heads that culture was always that, and that the older forms or genres, or indeed the older spiritual exercises and mediations, thoughts and expressions, were also in their very different ways media products." (68). With mediation I refer to an understanding of visual media that are in the sense of David Bolter and Richard Grusin "continually commenting upon, reproducing and replacing each other" (18).

[10] The limited recognition of Reiss' innovative approaches to poster art, lettering, and interior design stems to a certain degree from the continuing stigma of commercial art among art historians. For an excellent introduction and overview of Reiss' translation of German concepts of decorative arts to the American context see Peatross. Jeffrey Stewart offers an introduction to Reiss' life and dedication to drawing ethnic minorities in North America in the catalogue to the 1989-90 National Portrait Gallery exhibition he curated. This exhibition was the most comprehensive of various posthumous exhibitions of Reiss' oeuvre, e.g. *American Indian Paintings by Winold Reiss* at the Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY (June 1-Sept. 3, 1979, solo exhibition, 30 works); *Portraits of the Races* at the C.M. Russell Museum, Great Falls, MO (Sept. 16-Oct. 31, 1986, solo exhibition, 63 works); or *Insights of an Artist: The Works of Winold Reiss* at Channing, Dale & Throckmorton, Santa Fe, NM (Sept. 22-Oct. 20, 1988, solo exhibition, 68 works) among others. Invaluable research on Reiss' artistic background and his New York-based art school is offered by Brauen.

[11] Gates and Jarrett describe the trope of "the New Negro" as one of the "most compelling stories of racial uplift that circulated through U.S. intellectual society, culture, and politics" (1).

[12] The now iconic term "Harlem Renaissance," which echoes the term "American Renaissance" with writers such as Emerson, Thoreau, Fuller, Melville, Hawthorne, Poe, or Whitman, was introduced by historian John Hope Franklin in 1947.

[13] For new interventions by African American scholars to counter-balance the Euro-American dimension of the Harlem Renaissance see Baker; Morrison; or Edwards.

[14] For an example of the period's many distorting representations of African Americans as "savage" and "carnal" see Paul Colin's lithographs of the caged, half naked Josephine Baker (1927) for the revue *Le Tumulte Noir* in Paris (Gates, Dalton, and Nègre).

[15] For a discussion of Langston Hughes's prose and poetry from the perspective of displacement and the mediating element of traveling see Soto, who argues convincingly that traveling in the literal and figurative sense "was an aesthetically enabling experience for Hughes, articulating and enhancing" what she describes as Hughes' "poetics of reciprocity or mutuality" (171).

[16] Quoted from an unpublished manuscript for his talk “Imperial Remains: The Spanish Trace in the Afro-American Imaginary” delivered in the colloquium series at the John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies in Berlin in 2010.

[17] With this project I adapt Stephen Greenblatt’s “Mobility Studies Manifesto” combining an analysis of contact zones, the tension between individual agency and structural constraint, and the sensation of rootedness (250-52) to investigate the transcultural dimension of “Harlem.”

[18] In order to understand how “Harlem” can be decoded as an imaginary space from a transcultural perspective, I suggest that we recalibrate our senses to bring back Winold Reiss to the visual center of the “New Negro” project, which Alain Locke had in mind when he asked the German immigrant to collaborate on the Harlem-themed special issue of the *Survey Graphic* (Locke, *Harlem*).

[19] I am in the process of publishing a critical edition of Winold Reiss’ “Mexico Diary.” The diary is written in German combining three stylistic forms: First, the text consists of matter-of-fact travel information regarding Mexican places, spaces, and people. Second, the diary offers meditations on the function of color in Mexican landscapes. These passages also identify people and locations, which Reiss portrayed and painted. Third, the text offers critical observations on borders and philosophical reflections on issues of gender constructions, racial conflicts, and the function of art in metropolitan cities. There are two manuscript versions: the first version Reiss wrote during his trip. It has a sense of immediacy with long passages exploring his state of emotions, his observations regarding colors, sounds, landscapes, and people. He ends this account by referring to his other efforts in the field of creative writing. “I therewith close this book and put it with all the rest of my poems and writings” (Dec. 10, 1920. MS). After his return to New York City, he revisited his diary. The second version represents a careful transfer with slight editorial changes. While the first manuscript does not have a proper cover page, the second version features a concrete title: “Meine Reise durch Mexico” (“My Journey Through Mexico”). Considering that there are two versions, it seems likely that Reiss intended to publish the account in the 1920s. After all, travelogues to Mexico with lush illustrations had become popular in the United States (e.g. Winter; Chase). However, Reiss’ editorial work and the transfer from the original sketches remain incomplete. We can only speculate about the reasons why he abandoned the project of revising and publishing. For one thing, the multi-talented artist, who easily transgressed the (artificial) boundaries of commercial design and the fine arts, was so high in demand that he hardly had time to polish his literary work. Also, the negative presentation of U.S. American culture in the diary combined with a rather celebratory tone of everything Mexican resembles a self-defeating project for somebody who is interested in commercial opportunities in the urban centers of the United States.

[20] Reiss follows in the footsteps of a long line of German émigrés who sought out Mexico as a place of refuge, recreation, and opportunities. For example, Alexander von Humboldt’s travels in the early nineteenth century function as a crucial reference point for the Mexican imagination in the German American context. He portrayed the country as a land of vast untapped riches. His *Ansichten der Cordilleren* (*Vues des Cordilleres*) represents one of the founding texts in the French-, English-, and Spanish-speaking world. It features lavish sketches of Mexican landscapes but also portraits and reproductions of ancient Aztec designs, frescos and architectural designs. The visually rich publication of Christian Satorius’ travelogue became a touchstone for thousands of German-speaking immigrants in the mid-1860s who flocked to Mexico due to the liberal *Reforma* supported by the Austrian-born Emperor Maximilian, which fostered free trade and individual ownership of land. One of the prominent German immigrants in the art world was Carl Wilhelm Kahlo (who later called himself Guillermo), whose daughter Frida entered with Diego Rivera the New York art scene at the time Reiss produced his Mexican murals and shaped the imaginary space of Harlem. Guillermo Kahlo worked as a professional photographer whose perspective of an immigrant was used by the Porfirian regime to construct a “new Mexico” and redefine *mexicanidad* at the turn of the century. Although his commission to photograph colonial churches (see Kahlo) was designed to monumentalize Mexico’s European heritage, the revolutionary artist Dr. Atl republished the photos during 1924-27 to inscribe new meaning into the images in line with the American interest in all things Mexican. In the field of photography, Hugo Brehme stands out as the German immigrant who arrived in Mexico in 1906 producing the quintessential visual narrative of the early twentieth century to construct a picturesque, nostalgic Mexican image. His peaceful, complacent and lively depictions of rural Mexico and longing for pre-Columbian architecture became an integral part of the Mexican American tourist industry via popular postcards. His

work was widely publicized in tourist guides, magazines, newspapers and books in the United States and Germany. No doubt, Reiss was familiar with these images. A postcard he sent to his wife Henriette is by Hugo Brehme.

[21] “Noch einmal schimmerte das unbeschreibliche etwas Mexicos in meine Seele, sich darin vergrabend, verklammernd, um mich heimwehkrank zu machen, wenn ich wieder im Lande des Materialismuses bin.” I am currently in the process of editing a critical edition of the unpublished German diary with an English translation. The transcription offered in this article remains true to the spirit of immediacy in which the diary was produced. Only the punctuation has been carefully adapted to modern standards in those cases where it helps the reading process. All Reiss quotations are from Winold Reiss, “Mexico Diary,” 1920. English translation of the original German diary account by Renate Reiss with editing by Arnold Logan. Excerpts published with permission from the Winold Reiss Estate.

[22] The statement is in line with the sentiment of another cultural mediator between Mexican art and U.S. American culture, who had left her home in New York City’s Greenwich Village and entered the space south of the Rio Grande at the same time: Katherine Anne Porter. She explained: “I went to Mexico because I was not going into exile, but I was going back to a place I knew and loved” (qtd. in Brinkmeyer 29). Similar to Reiss, she argued in a letter to the editor of *Century*, “Why I Write about Mexico,” that “New York is the most foreign place I know” (33). Yet both artists knew that their artistic calling could only come to fruition by working in the urban center where they could function as a bridge between the southern landscape and the cityscapes.

[23] “Es hat nun 34 Jahre genommen, bis dies alles klar in mir war, doch jetzt ist es wie eine Hand, die meinen Weg bestimmt. Wir müssen nicht schwach sein in unserem Glauben, der Glaube muss uns stolz und lebensmutig machen und alle, die uns berühren, müssen davon erhalten, denn wir sind nicht unser eigen, wir sind im Ganzen geboren und müssen im ganzen Grossen und nicht nur im Kleinen helfen. Keine Selbstsucht, kein Egoismus, und aus den Gräbern des Krieges wird eine neue, eine endlich bessere Welt erstehen. Wir haben den Schlüssel in der Hand—nur können sie alle das Schloss nicht finden, da sie stets nach der falschen Seite laufen. Sterbe, Eitelkeit, und erzeuge ein Geschlecht grosser und selbstloser Menschen. Menschlich sein heisst die neue Religion, und der Tempel sind wir selbst, und unsere Taten und die Nahrung, die wir geben, ist das Glück, das aus uns strahlt.” For an overview of the “Mexico Diary” see Mehring, “Visual.”

[24] “Mit grossen Augen blickte ich auf die Umgebung, die so kalt erschien, so seelenlos, und eine unbeschreibliche Einsamkeit stieg in mir auf, so mächtig, dass ich hätte schreien können, schreien vor Enttäuschung und Sehnsucht nach dem, was ich verlassen. Doch Fäuste machte ich und hieb mich hinein in das gefühllose Rohe, das vor mir lag.”

[25] Escaping from U.S. American metropolitan life into the experience of spending three months in Mexico revealed to Reiss how he might contribute to the then-prevailing discourse on “Transnational America” and “Democracy vs. the Melting Pot” by thinkers such as Randolph Bourne or Horace Kallen. His Mexican imagination in the visual narrative of the Harlem Renaissance is crucial, but complicated. While scholars have emphasized the nexus of the artistic developments in New York City and Mexico, a figure such as Reiss flouts the investigations, which look at different forms of cultural mobility in the sense of physical migration. Reiss’ German background adds an additional dimension to the Mexican imagination in the artistic detours to “Harlem.”

[26] The representation of the selfless artist and his struggles with an unfulfilled love clearly comments on the emotional turmoil Reiss experienced at the time. Winold Reiss and his wife Henriette had a troubled relationship.

[27] Reiss became dedicated to counterbalancing prevailing stereotypes of Mexicans. In New York, far away from the experience of wide-open Mexican spaces, colors, habits, fabrics and traditions, the movie industry could easily promote overdrawn images of gun-wielding bandits for excitement or drunk good-for-nothings for comic relief. Reiss recognized the affinities between the renaissance of spirit and cultural rediscovery in the bohemian circles of Mexico and Harlem. His dedication to Mexican themes and interest in African American culture brought him into contact with people like Miguel Covarrubias who arrived in New York in 1923.

[28] By the time Reiss published this statement, he had just secured one of the most significant commissions of his life. He was offered to create murals for the Cincinnati Union Terminal. How did Reiss negotiate expectations of (conservative) clients and his own progressive visions of “America”?

[29] Sydelle Rubin-Dienstfrey has painstakingly traced the relationship of Reiss and Covarrubias arguing that they were among “the first visual artists to engage themselves in New Negro representations and physically work in Harlem” (290). See also Martha J. Nadell’s reading of Covarrubias and his association with illustrating “Harlem.”

[30] Reiss’ diary documents in great detail an extensive discussion with Porter about the role of women in modern urban environments compared to the traditional family structures they encountered in “primitivist cultures.” Due to the limits of this article, the analysis of the arguments will be presented in a critical edition of the Mexico Diary entitled *Detours to Harlem: Winold Reiss’ Mexico Diary and the Latin-American Nexus of The New Negro* [forthcoming].

[31] Porter’s date is an error. The trip took place in the fall and winter of 1920.

[32] After illustrating the special thematic issue of the *Survey Graphic* on Mexicans, Reiss began his major portrait studies of African Americans and their international heritage in collaboration with Alain Locke. He was commissioned to supply the visuals for the by now famous Harlem-themed March 1925 *Survey Graphic* issue to highlight black art, literature, and cultural progress in Harlem. If Locke chose Covarrubias to create an international link to the Latin American dimension of racial issues in New York, he selected Reiss’ artwork to create a cultural bridge to the artistic and philosophical world of Europe.

[33] Reiss and Locke reunited for another special *Survey Graphic* issue entitled *Color: The Unfinished Business of Democracy* (1942).

[34] Locke consistently used this erroneous spelling of von Ruckteschell’s name. For a close analysis of Walter von Ruckteschell’s lithograph *Young Africa* reproduced in the March 1925 edition of the *Survey Graphic* see Schneck.

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