Drawing in the Daily News

Politics and Temporality in Robert Rauschenberg's Early Solvent Transfers

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A photograph taken by Jasper Johns in the summer of 1958 shows Robert Rauschenberg in his Front Street studio, absorbed in the process of making a transfer drawing. Sitting cross-legged, Rauschenberg holds up a newspaper clipping to the light, his attention focused on the image he is about to transfer (fig. 1). His low work surface is sparsely populated: a modest collection of materials piled to the left includes a newspaper or two, some rags, a small pot of white paint, and a metal ruler placed neatly alongside the sheet of drawing paper before him. A second photograph, taken from across the room just moments before, shows a large can of Read's turpentine at Rauschenberg's knees, together with a scattered assortment of crayons and pencils. The glare from the overhead bulb suggests that this was evening work, and the atmosphere is one of concentrated attention.

Having excised an image from the *New York Herald Tribune*, showing the umpire John Rice working a Yankees vs. Indians baseball game (see fig. 6), Rauschenberg is about to soak the fragment and his Strathmore drawing paper in turpentine.[1] Then, he will lay the clipping face down onto the paper and rub the back with a stylus, pressing the ink from the printed page to the drawn sheet to produce a reversed and spectral residue. The artist, ballpoint pen in hand, lifts the source image to check on the progress of the transfer (fig. 2).

The relatively unknown work in progress is *Untitled*, a monochrome drawing dominated by two horizontal transfers that form a wide central band, with an array of smaller images jostling at the edges (fig. 3).[2] Compositionally, the drawing resembles Rauschenberg's *Small Rebus* (1956, Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles), a delightful Combine painting produced two years earlier and likely just returned to the artist's studio after its first exhibition at Cornell University in spring 1958.[3] The two large central transfers in the drawing were made from the same image, which was cut from a full-page advertisement for the Orient and Pacific Line (fig. 4). Its flagship, the *Orsova*, glides twice through the night, its twinkling lights reflected in the water in vertical bands. With Rice's leaning figure at top left providing a visual countermovement, the compositional density gathers to the right. Here, transfers made from sections of the Sunday papers collide in a welter of hatched veils and staccato darts of crayon and pencil. From these emerge an array of faint, broken images: industry reports and a bar chart of statistics on laborers' working hours (fig. 5) from

1 Robert Rauschenberg working on a solvent transfer drawing in his Front Street studio, New York, 1958. Photo: Jasper Johns. Photograph Collection. Robert Rauschenberg Foundation Archives, New York © Jasper Johns/VAGA at ARS, N.Y. and DACS, London 2022

2 Robert Rauschenberg working on a solvent transfer drawing in his Front Street studio, New York, 1958. Photo: Jasper Johns. Photograph Collection. Robert Rauschenberg Foundation Archives, New York © Jasper Johns/VAGA at ARS, N.Y. and DACS, London 2022

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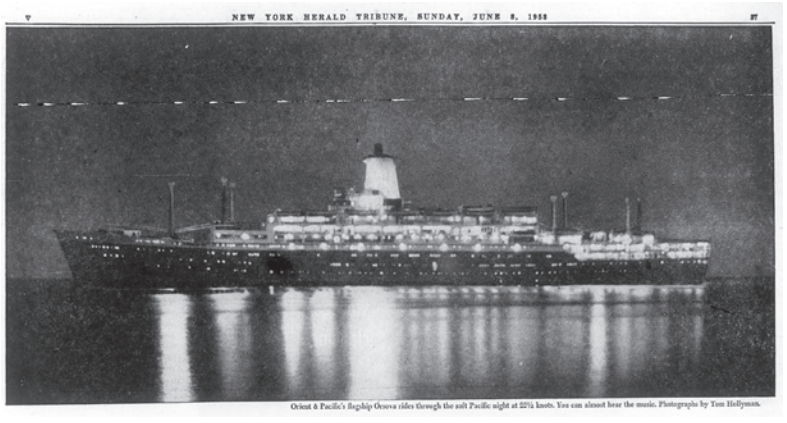
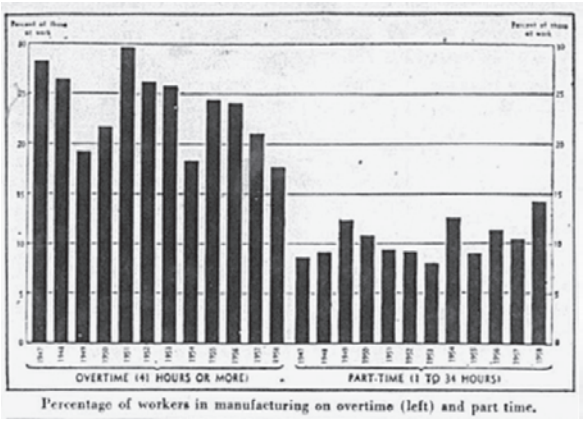
the politics and finance section, a floorplan for a suburban house from the real estate pages, a view of a bay through the trees from the travel section, DIY diagrams for wheel casters from "home improvement," and an illustration accompanying advice for cultivating an exotic variety of lily from the gardening section. In the bottom right corner is another cruise ship, a diving baseball player, and a ballpoint pen, its nib canceled out by a short notch of black crayon, as if to signal that, like the artist's own instrument, it was not used for direct inscription.[4] Rather, Rauschenberg's stylus mediates his disposable readymade material; it skims across the paper field, an offbeat partner to the caster wheels and the player sliding into second base.

While the newspaper source material was subject to principles of clarity and legibility in its own production, here the printed fragments are substantially disrupted: partially rendered, reversed, often radically degraded, splintered, and recombined. Many are barely legible and, when recognizable, the logic of their new reconfiguration is far from immediately apparent. Rauschenberg's solvent transfer technique required the artist to employ a tight, fast, repetitive manual action, while also making decisions regarding precise scale and placement. He had to envision the images back to front as they were pressed onto the sheet in a somewhat blind and indiscriminate way. Rather than any manual flourish or autographic gesture, this de-skilled action—a rudimentary scanning—speaks of mediation, friction, static, and interference rather than expressive coherence.

Originally described by the artist as "Combine Drawing," the transfer technique brings together aspects of drawing, collage, frottage, monoprinting, and photography, producing visual effects that also resemble stains, smudges, erasures, and watermarks.[5] The result is a quasi-photographic image, at once immaterial and emphatically worked by a busy hand. Found rather than invented, these impressions are the unique residues of mass-produced material transferred on a one-to-one scale.



Orient & Pacific's flagship Oronsa rides through the soft Pacific night at 22½ knots. You can almost hear the music. Photographs by Tom Hollyman.



Percentage of workers in manufacturing on overtime (left) and part time.

3 Robert Rauschenberg, *Untitled*, 1958. Solvent transfer with gouache, graphite, and crayon on paper, 23½ × 28½ in. Private collection, New York. Image © 2003 Christie's Images Limited © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration #58.D010

4 Tom Hollyman (photographer), Advertisement for Orient and Pacific Lines, from *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, 37

5 "Percentage of workers in manufacturing on overtime (left) and part time," from Joseph R. Slevin, "Job Increase Bolsters Anti-Recession Hopes," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, A1

6 Bob Noble (photographer), Umpire John Rice in action at a Cleveland Indians at New York Yankees game, from Harold Rosenthal, "Berra Clout Trips Tribe 6–3," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, B1

Rauschenberg made approximately thirty solvent transfer drawings in 1958.[6] Having set down the main transfer images, he then added other graphic traits, with splintered pencil marks accumulating alongside patches of watercolor, gouache, and crayon. Occasionally, magazine cuttings and other scraps of paper were also pasted onto the surface, bringing such drawings closer to collage. In general, the drawings retain the feeling of unguarded improvisation, connecting Rauschenberg's approach with that of Action Painting, as well as with New York School poetry, and jazz.

Rauschenberg discovered the solvent transfer method while on vacation in Cuba in 1952 and experimented briefly with the process before putting it aside for six years.[7] From the beginning, the drawings show the artist exploring the reflexive operations of his new method, especially doubling, mirroring, and erasure. In *Untitled*, the *Orsova* appears twice, its lights forming reflections in the water that are echoed in the bar graph to the right and the tree trunks above. Rauschenberg seems to have enjoyed playing with the printed letters "O" and "W" at top left, and the "A" at right center, each letter being symmetrical and reversible. In *Untitled (Mirror)*, one of the few surviving sheets from his earliest experiments in 1952, the idea of reversibility is elaborated through the theme of mirroring (fig. 7). Here the reversed word "Mirror" derives from the nameplate of the *New York Mirror*, together with its distinctive Statue of Liberty icon.

Rauschenberg's reengagement with the transfer technique found its fullest expression in his celebrated illustrations for Dante's *Inferno* (1958–60, Museum of Modern Art). This extended project propelled him, in the eyes of many commentators, from an ignorable enfant terrible to a shining star in contemporary U.S.-American and, indeed, global art.[8] Here, however, I focus on the drawings that immediately preceded and have since been overshadowed by that project.[9] I want to think about the kind of unruly experimental energy that these little-known works, concentrated in the year 1958, embody before his adoption of a more stabilizing referential and narrative architecture.

My account is grounded in close examination of the visual and material properties of the drawings and my discovery of their extensive print media sources, presented here for the first time. The article owes a debt to the substantial literature on the interface between postwar American art and popular culture in general and, more specifically, to recent scholarship on the significance of mass media for work made in the 1960s by artists such as Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, and Romare Bearden.[10] Considerable care must be taken when weighing the significance of Rauschenberg's source material. Here it is deployed neither as an undifferentiated body of mass cultural material nor as a direct interpretive key, as if the discovery of the "origin" would explain the effects of the traces. This would work against the (il)logic of the drawings, a shoring up of stable meaning against the disruptive tendencies of Rauschenberg's process.[11] In any case, such a disparate selection of images clipped from various sections of a disposable newspaper — Rauschenberg, unlike Warhol, attended as much to the most marginal advertisement or image as to the headlines — does not constitute a reserve of stable iconographic signs.[12] Most ephemeral mass-media images of this kind were unlikely to have been identified after the particular newspaper had been leafed through and discarded.

Rather, the sources are mobilized here toward three main aims. First, they point to patterns of attention and inattention in Rauschenberg's working method. They suggest his mental habits of selection, concentration, association, and categorization. Second, they serve to ground the artworks within the historical situation of their production, gathering in some of the major (and minor) forces, events, and protagonists that filled the print media pages of Rauschenberg's moment. These range from the global arenas of Cold War politics and assertions of U.S. national identity, to sporting triumphs, to

7 Robert Rauschenberg, *Untitled (Mirror)*, 1952. Solvent transfer with oil, watercolor, crayon, graphite, and paper on paper, 10½ × 8½ in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Sarah-Ann and Werner H. Kramarsky © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration #52.D034

enticements to travel and spend money. It is in these early drawings, I argue, that key impulses of Rauschenberg's practice are focused most precisely: the refusal to harness art to private forms of experience; the enlisting of poor, ready-at-hand materials; the precise calibration of the unified and the fragmentary in relation to the referential aspects of the work; and a thoroughgoing receptivity to the fleeting and unforeseen.[13] Third, the specific relationship between the transfer drawings and their primary material, the daily newspaper, is not merely a question of the analyzable "content" of the newspaper—its stories, images, and advertisements—but also its structures and formats. This has to do with the relationship of Rauschenberg's work to what

the communications and media scholars Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone have called the "form of news," not just its communicated "content." That is, for example, the specific materiality of newspapers, their regularized layouts, their place within the habitual routines of the day, their ways of being read, their disposability, their (actual or imagined) role within public life, and, of importance here, the manner and temporal organization of their production.[14]

Whereas most of the drawings are enlivened by colored marks and patches, *Untitled* is monochrome, and this asserts its connection with newspaper more explicitly. In general, the transfers in Rauschenberg's drawings frequently derive from across the papers' various sections: politics, business, real estate, travel, sports, and gardening. What is more remarkably revealed through this source material, however, is the way in which the early drawings mimic the temporal structure of the newspaper. In this, the current sheet represents something of a limit case, as here every transfer derives from newspapers published on the very same day: Sunday, June 8, 1958.

In 1961 Rauschenberg told the French art critic André Parinaud that he might prefer to be "a reporter" than "an artist or a genius." In a 1959 *Print* article, he had referred to the newspaper as his "third palette" and, a few years later in 1964, famously expressed to the art critic Calvin Tomkins his desire for a "*collaboration*" with materials, as opposed to any conscious manipulation or control.[15] Here I consider the implications of Rauschenberg's specific ways of working with newspapers, connecting close analyses of particular drawings to wider questions concerning art's relationship with everyday life, temporality, and aspects of the global political situation in the late 1950s. At stake, fundamentally, is the artwork's alignment with a principle of contingency — of no less structural importance to the work of journalists — an alignment that was also profoundly ambivalent. The aim is not to resolve a drawing into a settled solution but to grasp more of what it, rising like a firework, flashingly reveals.[16]

New York, 1958

The summer of 1958 marked a crucial juncture in Rauschenberg's career. While having made some of his most compelling work over the last few years, he was still struggling to win public and financial support. The production of his Combines — large-scale assemblages begun in 1954 that incorporate all manner of urban detritus and personal effects — slowed following his unsuccessful first solo show at the Leo Castelli Gallery that March. Drawing came to occupy a newly central role in Rauschenberg's practice.[17]

Romantically involved for just over four years by this point, Johns and Rauschenberg moved to 128 Front Street in spring 1958 after their building on Pearl Street had been slated for demolition.[18] During the late 1950s and early 1960s, this area of Lower Manhattan was in the grip of a major urban redevelopment program, enacted under the direction of New York City's Park Commissioner Robert Moses, with his controversial commitment to the radical clearance and rebuilding of neighborhoods.[19] A fundamental economic shift occurred as the city was losing its industrial base, with manufacturers moving their factories to the suburbs. At the same time, Manhattan's financial and advertising industries were booming, a shift accompanied by major architectural and infrastructural changes. City planners set about demolishing some of the oldest streets, replacing their urban and architectural texture with a rationalized network of widened, one-way avenues and expressways, as well as apartment blocks and glass-faced skyscrapers. The art historian Joshua Shannon has shown

how Rauschenberg's Combines eloquently expressed his specific environment at this historical juncture, directly incorporating material fragments left in the wake of demolitions, for example.[20] While in no way blocking an exploration of how they relate to less temporally and geographically anchored experiences, Shannon's grounding of the Combines in the particularities of their situation allows their significance to gain in precision and purchase.

Here I want to make related claims for Rauschenberg's transfer drawings, focusing on their temporal rather than geographical specificity. With Rauschenberg enjoying few sales during this time, many Combines made his studio their home for years, subject to ongoing accretions. The early transfer drawings align with the Combines in many respects, yet their rapidity of production, material fragility, and relative slightness indicate a different temporal register from the larger and more densely worked Combines. These drawings respond more to the rhythms of metropolitan American visual mass culture than they do to the dramatic physical changes reshaping Rauschenberg's environment. In 1961, newspapers and magazines brought news of distant regions, domestic affairs, and lifestyle options into fifty-eight million homes in the United States. Print media was already under pressure from new technologies, however, with radio and television sets in tens of millions of homes.[21] While offering bracing competition for sales and attention, these rapidly developing alternatives also served to emphasize the specificity of the printed mass media.

The connection between Rauschenberg's transfer drawings and television was first suggested by the composer John Cage, his friend and collaborator, in 1961, and has since been compellingly elaborated by the art historian Branden W. Joseph.[22] Setting out from affinities between the visual properties of the drawings and those of early television — "shimmering immateriality," "boxlike framing," and the "hybridization of flatness and depth" — Joseph argues that Rauschenberg's return to transfer drawing marked the beginning of a sustained engagement with audiovisual technologies. In particular, he positions Rauschenberg's project, culminating in the silkscreens he began making in 1962, as a critique of the "subjective perceptual training" by which television conditioned viewers.[23]

Joseph's nuanced account should not eclipse the direct connection between the drawings and the dailies and weeklies they mine and repurpose, however. Alongside well-established broadsheet newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune* (hereafter *Herald Tribune*), Rauschenberg also drew from image-led tabloids, such as the *Daily News*, and full-color weekly magazines, including *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Sports Illustrated*.

As well as supplying a vehicle for the products of the booming advertising industry, these news and lifestyle publications also delivered reports on national and international events to help shape public opinion. The 1958 drawings were begun only two years after news was first published in the *New York Times* of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's denunciation of Joseph Stalin's cult of personality and the horrors of the purges.[24] Indeed, the June 8, 1958, edition of the *Herald Tribune*, which Rauschenberg mined so heavily, included the first part of the journalist John Gunther's influential report "Inside Russia Today," which later became a best-selling book.[25] New and existing Cold War tensions pervaded the international news, including developments in the emerging space race (the first intercontinental ballistic missiles were launched and the Soviet Union had success with Sputnik I in 1957, followed by the first U.S. satellites in early 1958) and anti-colonial struggles being fought in Algeria and elsewhere.[26] By the summer of 1958, the United States was emerging from the so-called Eisenhower Recession (1957–58), a significant bump along the road of economic prosperity

8 "World Insight," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 6, 1958, 6

9 Dr. Pier A. Abetti of the General Electric Company with scale model of proposed high-tension structure, from "G. E. Out to Top Russia in Power Race," *New York Times*, June 6, 1958, 31

10 "Village Under Siege," from Michael James, "Tunisian Wishes Luck to de Gaulle," *New York Times*, June 4, 1958, 5

World Insight

Makarios in Egypt

CAIRO—The appearance of Archbishop Makarios in Egypt on the eve of a British statement on Cyprus underlines his confidence in the ultimate success of his cause (the degree will be revealed when he goes to London June 27). At a dinner honoring Makarios, President Nasser called for "freedom of Cyprus." Yesterday, Makarios said: "Thirty million citizens of the UAR stand by Cyprus in the fight for freedom."

Nasser

Russia: Contradictions

LONDON—Diplomatic sources regarded Soviet Premier Khrushchev's scathing attacks on President Tito's "independent" communist policy as closing the door to any reconciliation. And inconsistencies in Khrushchev's moves are believed to reflect a behind scenes struggle in the Communist hierarchy. Further, a parallel is seen in actions (internally and against Tito) by Red China and Russia—both countries have reversed formerly liberalizing trends.

Khrushchev

Philippines: U. S. Bases

MANILA—President Garcia, who arrives in America June 14, said he expects promises of continued U. S. aid. But he reportedly also has some touchy subjects to take up with President Eisenhower—U. S. bases in the Philippines; Indonesia; the Philippines claim for $800,000,000 in veterans and other war benefits.

Garcia

Portugal: Red Charge

LISBON—The government (Adm. Americo Tomas is running on the Salazar regime National Union ticket) injected a final note into the Presidential campaign—it charged opposition candidate, Gen. Humberto Delgado, was getting strong Communist support, said it would publish a list to show "his kind of people."

Bigelow

HONOLULU—Coast Guardsmen stopped the ketch Golden Rule outside the three mile limit—technically on the high seas—as its pacifist crew again tried to sail toward the Pacific A. E. C. area to protest nuclear tests. Owner Albert Smith Bigelow was arrested.

SYDNEY—Three platypuses left here on a flight to New York. Destination: Bronx Zoo

Tomas

reflected in Democratic victories in the midterm elections that November.[27] Scientific advances, political intrigues, sporting events, art exhibitions, crimes, accidents, and disasters—printed fragments about all this material entered into Rauschenberg's early drawings (figs. 8–10), their commonsense language thoroughly undone and metabolized by his drawing process.

Talking to the poet James Schuyler in 1958, Rauschenberg undermined any hierarchical distinction between art and everyday life in the elements shaping his work: "Classic pictures are objects that may or may not influence what you're doing, just like anything else. Like the radio."[28] The images and stories coursing through Rauschenberg's daily environment were of interest to him, but it was from within discourse on contemporary art, specifically, that the formal, material, and aesthetic qualities of the drawings derive a large part of their significance.

By 1958, what had become known as Abstract Expressionism was given powerful institutional validation by the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) via its director, Alfred H. Barr Jr., and his major traveling exhibition, *The New American Painting*. The catalog, quoting liberally from the artists, asserted the existential depth of this new large-scale work. Barr stressed a free, authentic form of self-discovery won by way of tense, improvisatory creative action: "The paintings themselves have a sensuous, emotional, aesthetic and at times mystical power which works and can be overwhelming."[29] Yet what had at first seemed the preeminent guarantors of such subjective authenticity and aesthetic intensity—autographic gestural marks and immersive scale—were now in danger of becoming merely its signifiers, or even product logos, as gallery prices rose dramatically toward the end of the 1950s.

G. E. Out to Top Russia in Power Race

Transmission Line Designed to Carry 750,000 Volts

The General Electric Company announced plans yesterday for recapturing from Russia world leadership in the field of extra-high-voltage transmission of electricity.

G. E. officials told a press conference in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel that they would begin construction next year at Pittfield, Mass., of a prototype system featuring a 4.5-mile power line designed to carry 750,000 volts. This is higher than any existing line in the world and more than double the top voltage of lines in use today in this country.

It compares with several systems in the United States now transmitting at 345,000 volts and with 380,000- to 400,000-volt systems operating in Sweden, Russia, Germany, France and Finland.

Dr. Pier A. Abetti, manager of systems research in G. E.'s power transformer department at Pittfield, is in charge of the $5,000,000 project.

Russians Stepping Up

Dr. Abetti said the Russians were now raising their 400,000-volt system to 500,000 volts. The grid comprises about 1,000 miles, he said. He added that the Russians planned to build

Dr. Pier A. Abetti of the General Electric Company examines scale model of the proposed high-tension structure. Next to him is a conventional tower, built to the same scale.

Barr, speaking at The Club in 1958, deplored the emergence of a "young academy" developing around the Abstract Expressionists.[30] While Rauschenberg was being included in surveys of "Second Generation" Abstract Expressionism, often it was the more orthodox proponents of large-scale gestural abstraction—artists such as Richard Lytle—who were winning acclaim and making sales.[31] Such bravura canvases exemplified what the film writer and artist Manny Farber would in 1962 call "white elephant art." This kind of work had three cardinal sins, Farber declared: "(1) frame the action with an all-over pattern, (2) install every event, character, situation in a frieze of continuities, and (3) treat every inch of the screen and film as a potential area for prizeworthy creativity." Rauschenberg's work is closer to Farber's preferred alternative, "termite art," which he characterized as "buglike immersion in a small area without point or aim, and, over all, concentration on nailing down one moment without glamorizing it, but forgetting this accomplishment as soon as it has been passed; … the feeling that all is expendable, that it can be chopped up and flung down in a different arrangement without ruin." Farber later explained, "The important trait of termite-fungus-centipede art is an ambulatory creation which is an act *both of observing and being in the world*, a journeying in which the artist seems to be ingesting both the material of his art and the outside world through horizontal coverage." Leaving in its path only "signs of eager, industrious, unkempt activity," termite art foils its overblown counterpart.[32]

Much of the painting inspired by Abstract Expressionism was slipping into white elephant territory by the end of the 1950s. Willem de Kooning's "full arm sweeps" were shown at the Sidney Janis Gallery in May 1959, selling out almost immediately, and the tendency to monumentalize the painterly gesture was continued in different contexts in the work of Sam Francis and Georges Mathieu, for example.[33] Termite art, though refusing grand signifiers of expressive intensity, was by no means indifferent to its situation, into which it burrowed down with a relentless, headlong enthusiasm. Indeed, Rauschenberg's work helped propel widespread calls to integrate contemporary art with the experiential conditions of everyday life,

11 Robert Rauschenberg, *Time Clock*, 1958. Solvent transfer with pencil and watercolor on buff paper, 24 × 35 ¾ in. Private Collection, Rome © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration # 58.D022

calls answered in different ways by artists like Claes Oldenburg, Alison Knowles, Michelangelo Pistoletto, and Romare Bearden. Several prominent artists and critics associated with Abstract Expressionism (Mark Rothko, Clyfford Still, and Harold Rosenberg are prominent examples) disdained the corruptions, conformities, and trivialities of postwar American consumer culture. Yet as their work increasingly served to fuel high-end commodity culture, despite their intentions, the call to reject an address to the everyday world came to feel less and less sustainable. Again in 1958, the writer and artist Allan Kaprow, having recently visited Rauschenberg's studio, famously intervened in debates concerning the contemporary potential of Jackson Pollock's work:

Pollock, as I see him, left us at the point where we must become preoccupied with and even dazzled by the space and objects of our everyday life.… Objects of every sort are materials for the new art: paint, chairs, food, electric and neon lights, smoke, water, old socks, a dog, movies, a thousand other things that will be discovered by the present generation of artists.… People will be delighted or horrified, critics will be confused or amused, but these, I am certain, will be the alchemists of the 1960s.[34]

Rauschenberg was already one such "alchemist," and one of his chief "base materials," newspaper, requires further consideration.

Rauschenberg's Third Palette

The fact that Rauschenberg's transfers derive from the printed mass media is openly declared by the works themselves. As in *Untitled*, with its images derived from the business and real estate sections, Rauschenberg frequently transferred fragments from the standardized and distinctive nameplates, logos, advertisements, puzzles, and diagrammatic arrows that appeared in newspapers and magazines. Another drawing from 1958, *Time Clock*, contains three images of the newsstand (fig. 11). These appear alongside transfers of a clock tower, the flight path of Sputnik III, and a countdown of boxing contests, connecting disparate applications of time measured, sequenced, and regularized.

Newsprint was hardly a new material for the artist: it had provided the ground for many of Rauschenberg's *black paintings* (1951–53), it was prominently collaged onto the surface of several *Red Paintings* (1953–54), and many Combines freely incorporated pages from the "funnies" and other features.[35] Indeed, a 1958 Combine, *State*, mimicked a broadsheet's front page by incorporating the flag of a South Carolina newspaper, *The State*, at top center (fig. 12). Rauschenberg's use of newspaper was long-standing before the 1958 drawings, and continued for many years, culminating in extended projects such as *Currents* and *Surface Series (from Currents)*, both completed in 1970.

In a 1959 statement in *Print*, the artist recounted:

I began using newsprint in my work to activate a ground so that even the first strokes in a painting had its own unique position in a gray map of words. As the paintings changed the printed material became as much of a subject as the paint, causing changes of focus and providing multiplicity and duplication of images.

A third palette with infinite possibilities of color, shape, content and scale was then added to the palettes of objects and paint.[36]

Rauschenberg's deliberately perverse characterization of newspaper as a new "palette"—it is of course much more than that—delivers the unexpected characterization that might lead a viewer to consider whether paint is still paint, traditionally understood, in the hands of this artist. "A pair of socks is no less suitable to make a painting with than wood, nails, turpentine, oil and fabric," he declared, again in 1959.[37] Rauschenberg enlisted newspaper to "activate" his ground, and this need not refer to visual forms of activation alone; note that the artist includes "content" as part—and only part—of this "third palette."

In an influential 1972 essay on Rauschenberg's work of the 1950s and early 1960s, the art critic Leo Steinberg borrowed from printing the influential idea of the "flatbed picture plane." This plane was oriented less to the vertical axis of visual perception than to the horizontal axis related to writing, reading, thinking, and the distribution of signs. Steinberg makes the analogy with the orientation of newspapers explicit, asserting Rauschenberg's surface was one to which anything "reachable-thinkable" might adhere. Opposing an increasingly empty and academicized "post-painterly abstraction" associated with modernist formalist discourse, this was a new "post-modern" art for a "consciousness immersed in the brain of the city," involving a reorientation from nature to culture.[38]

Rauschenberg was of course not the first artist to work with newspaper. Artists associated with the historical avant-gardes, such as Pablo Picasso and Kurt Schwitters, had experimented with newsprint since the 1910s, and Rauschenberg's work recalls such strategies, albeit with varying degrees of directness and specificity.[39] Neither was Rauschenberg the only New York artist to incorporate newspaper in the 1950s. In April 1956, for example, de Kooning exhibited his "abstract urban landscapes," which not only demonstrated his extraordinary gestural repertoire but also engaged with both everyday experience, in general, and newsprint, specifically.[40] The titles of many of the paintings—*Saturday Night* (1956, Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, Saint Louis), *Police Gazette* (1955, private collection), *Gotham News* (1955, Buffalo AKG Art Museum)—evoke quotidian urban subjects and the mass media directly. Furthermore, the surfaces of a number of the 1955–56 paintings bear solvent transfers, a result of de Kooning covering his canvases with newspaper overnight to keep their surfaces from hardening and to allow him to continue his free gestural work the next day.[41]

Even more crucial for Rauschenberg was the work of his partner Johns, whose wax encaustic method, which he adopted in the mid-1950s, makes contact with the transfer technique. Encaustic involves the dipping of scraps of newspaper in melted wax mixed with oil paint and affixing them to the picture surface. The material is translucent, so the fragments remain partially legible. Using encaustic made it unnecessary to wait days for the paint to dry, but it also meant the artist was not able to continue to improvise on the canvas before the material cured. Johns's preferences were geared to enabling speed of execution but emphatically resisted de Kooning's model of expressive subjectivity. If Johns enjoyed the depersonalizing capacities of these new materials and processes, the work of Hungarian-born artist Sari Dienes, his friend, brought in traces of the street with her method of frottage or rubbing. Between 1953 and 1955, Dienes, with the assistance of Johns and others, made large-scale works on paper consisting of direct impressions of New York City streets, exhibiting them at the Betty Parsons Gallery in 1954 and 1955.[42]

Like Johns, Rauschenberg consistently stressed his desire to unharness the significance of his work from personal feeling and preference. If the Combines arguably

12 Robert Rauschenberg, *State*, 1958. Combine: oil, newsprint, and fabric on canvas, 24⅛ × 20⅛ in. Private collection © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration #58.006

still remain redolent of an intimate and private atmosphere by way of the materials they incorporate, the method of solvent transfer allows even less room for such associations to take hold.[43] Here, the only material capable of being accommodated into the drawing, aside from some manual marks and the odd pasted paper fragment, is that which has first been cheaply printed in mass-circulated newspapers and magazines. The literal content, while mediated by the visibly working body of the artist, is by its nature public and exterior in origin, even if its destination (in reading) is more complex. This is a model of drawing that issues from without, not from within, a characteristic in large part dictated by the nature of the transfer technique. Such a quality of exteriority is more emphatic when set against the then-dominant conventions of drawing, which have tended to prioritize privacy, directness, and intimacy.

Rather than impose onto them a prior intention, Rauschenberg strove to achieve a reciprocal engagement with his materials, declaring to Tomkins, "I don't want a painting to be just an expression of my personality.... I feel it ought to be much better than that." He continued, "I've always felt as though, whatever I've used and whatever I've done, the method was always closer to a *collaboration* with materials than to any conscious manipulation and control."[44] Cage was the early commentator perhaps best placed to elaborate the implications of this falling away of conscious intention in Rauschenberg's approach. After all, Rauschenberg's attitude was shaped in no small part by his friendship with the older composer. In a 1961 essay, Cage asserted, "There is no more subject in a *combine* than there is in a page from a newspaper. Each thing that is there is a subject. It is a situation involving multiplicity."[45] This constituted an early marker in what would become an involved debate, and Rauschenberg's output of the 1950s and 1960s became a test case in working out the nature, potentials, and limits of an explicitly postmodernist art history.

Cage's comment might also prompt questioning of the idea of newspaper as sheer rudderless multiplicity. "With the newspaper," the art historian Alex Potts has argued, "there is, of course, also the covert political agenda of the editors, shaping the array and the choice of material, however unconsciously, making the subject possibly less real, more willfully ideological than in the artist's less obviously motivated array."[46] As the sociologist Warren Breed asserted in a 1955 account of the way editorial policy served to feature or bury particular stories in U.S. newspapers, "Every newspaper has a policy, admitted or not."[47]

In addition, the idea of "collaboration" so central to Rauschenberg's self-characterization implies more than sheer multiplicity and more than different elements sharing space. It signals a dynamic relation, a flexible involvement whereby ideas, materials, processes, and formats, for example, meet and are transformed in the encounter. If, as Rauschenberg insisted, his working practice was premised on collaboration, what kind of relation existed between him and his chief material? How far does the stuff of the newspaper remain "unprocessed," to use Steinberg's word, or "flung down," in Farber's terms? How resolutely does it stay sheer "*fact*" and not referential "symbol," as Cage asserted?[48]

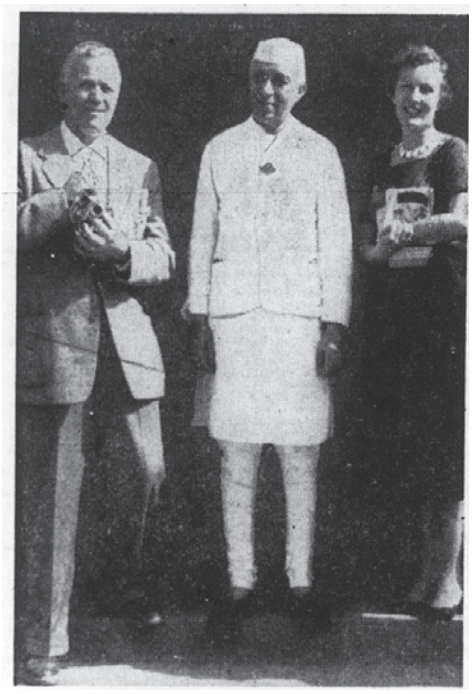
13 Robert Rauschenberg with three transfer drawings, "Untitled," "Colony," and "Untitled" (all 1958), in his Front Street studio, New York, 1958. Photo: Jasper Johns. Photograph Collection. Robert Rauschenberg Foundation Archives, New York © Jasper Johns/VAGA at ARS, N.Y. and DACS, London 2022

14 Robert Rauschenberg, *Colony*, 1958. Solvent transfer with watercolor, crayon, and paper on paper, 22⅜ × 28⅝ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Susan W. and Stephen D. Paine, 1987.746. Photograph © 2023 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration #58.D011

In another of Johns's photographs of Rauschenberg in the studio, he sits facing the viewer, proudly displaying completed drawings pinned to the wall behind him (fig. 13). The drawing above his head is the aforementioned *Untitled*, and at left is *Colony* (fig. 14).[49] The latter features about two dozen transfers that are generally faint and vary considerably in legibility, but do not overlap. The color is sparse: grayscale transfers on a white ground with moments of red and blue. The most prominent image—separated from its neighbors at rough center—depicts a South Asian man in white kurta pajamas and coat jacket facing the viewer. To the right is a large transfer of a stack of pennies, a column topped by an outline of a winged fairy; at its base, a small clock face appears between it and a graph of stock and share values to the right. Above the graph is the smiling face of a besuited businessman and an industrial structure snaking into a body of water, indicated by a patch of aqueous blue watercolor, linking time, money, liquidity, and the landscape.

On the opposite side of the sheet, where the imagery becomes more diverse, three horses charge toward the viewer, accompanied by images of the U.S. flag, the face of a bride next to a wireless radio, small diagrams of the moon that rhyme with an image of a golf ball, a black missile blasting upward, and a helicopter flying in from the left. That movement is echoed at top right, as, above a collaged rubbing made in wax crayon from counting machine keys, an arrow wings in from the corner, presumably to indicate the flight path of the object being caught by a diving outfielder just below. Nestled at center left, an ampersand might stand for conjunction itself, the various elements accumulating and ricocheting in an unruly syntax.

One meaning of the title, "colony," derives from biology and refers to "a community of animals or plants of one kind living close together or forming a physically connected structure."[50] This might encourage a viewer to see the pictorial field as a world in which a living population emerges and interacts. Like units of language or sampled specimens, the transfers are arrayed separately; yet they are also without secure contours, as if subject to a process of "unbecoming" that has rendered them newly mobile and complex. But what happens if we also attend to the more familiar meaning of the title, the one connected with imperialism? The prominent figure at the center of the sheet is Jawaharlal Nehru, freedom fighter, champion of the Non-Aligned Movement, and iconic first prime minister of India (1947–64) following the country's independence from Great Britain. This detail was transferred from the *Herald Tribune* (fig. 15) with care and clarity, and the surrounding white space has been cleaned up with an eraser.[51] Nehru's features are therefore intact and identifiable.



15 Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (center) with Mr. and Mrs. David Wynn, from Charles Ventura, "Surprise For Vanderbilt Jr.," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 6, 1958, A3

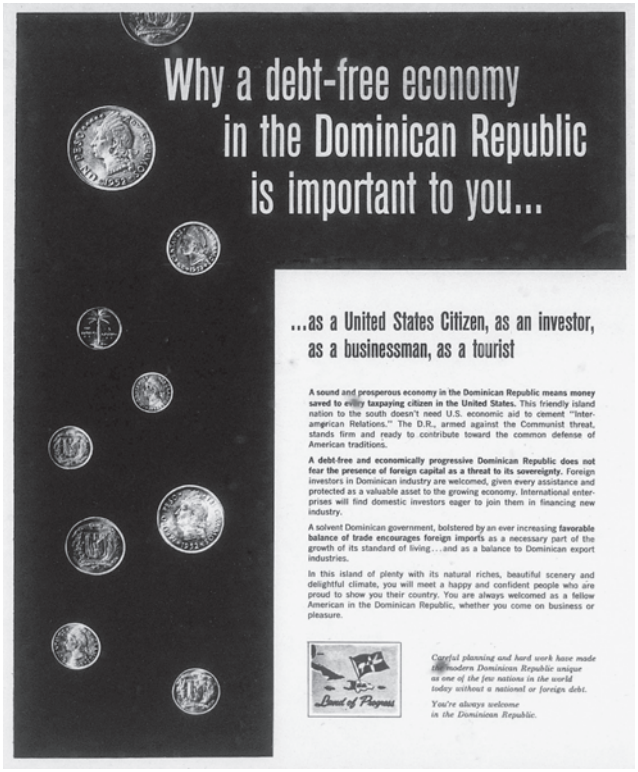
At that moment, India was widely recognized by both the U.S.S.R. and the United States as a crucial testing ground for political and economic maneuvering; the Bhilai Steel Plant deal with the Soviet Union, signed in early 1955, provoked anxiety in the United States.[52] On May 27, 1958, *Look* published a major article on the current state of India, which included extended discussion of Nehru, and on June 16 a *Time* feature on Calcutta highlighted both the nation's poverty and its leanings toward communism.[53]

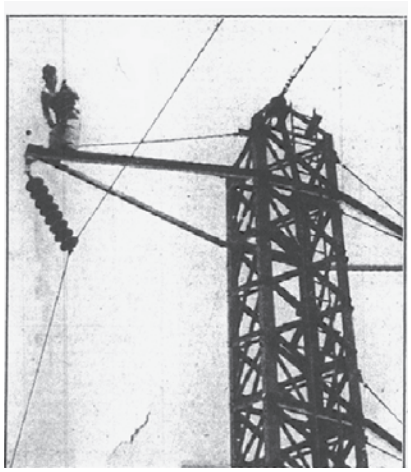
Nehru's prominence poses the question of how far the theme of colonialism might provide a center of gravity for the referential tendencies of the other imagery. The militaristic, nationalistic, competitive, and economic dimensions of imperialism are suggested without any need for the identification of specific sources: the helicopter and missile suggest military operations; the U.S. flag, that most powerful emblem of national identity,

16 Robert Rauschenberg, *Untitled*, 1958. Solvent transfer with watercolor, gouache, colored pencils, and graphite on paper, 23 ½ × 28 ½ in. UBS Art Collection © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration #58.D012

appears twice, and is echoed in the red, white, and blue distributed across the sheet; the racehorses signal competition; and the stack of coins and stock market graph imply the accumulation of capital. When specific sources are identified, however, these connotative patterns gain in density: the image of the men holding the (forty-nine-star) flag at the left edge of the sheet derives from an editorial regarding the bill to incorporate Alaska as a new state, folding an existing territory into national boundaries (the official proclamation was signed on January 3, 1959); a transfer to the center left comes from an article titled "G. E. [General Electric] Out to Top Russia in Power Race" (see fig. 9); and the structure snaking out into a body of water shows a drawing for the proposed construction of an enormous steel "island" in the Gulf of Mexico by the Freeport Sulphur Company.[54] While these connotations regarding colonization and economic expansion hardly exhaust the referential potential of *Colony*, such themes organize some of its prominent imagery, suggesting a set of specific conceptual emphases and connective tendencies on Rauschenberg's part.

Other drawings made at this moment reinforce this sense of Rauschenberg's attentiveness to news of Cold War rivalries and fraught processes of decolonization. In





17 "Why a debt-free economy in the Dominican Republic is important to you…," from "Dominican Republic Progress Report," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, I2

18 Photograph of Edward Ford, from "An Hour of High Tension," *Daily News*, June 6, 1958, front page

the *Untitled* drawing pinned above *Colony* in Johns's photograph, for example, sports imagery accompanies those relating to global politics (fig. 16). Again, the incident is concentrated to the center and bottom left, with the same group of racehorses found in *Colony* charging out from center left. Sprinting across the upper section of the drawing are four images of the baseball player Mickey Mantle, who runs from right to left across the top half of the sheet, catching arm outstretched.[55] Here, however, what the outfielder is desperate to catch is not the game ball but money, as coins rain down from above.

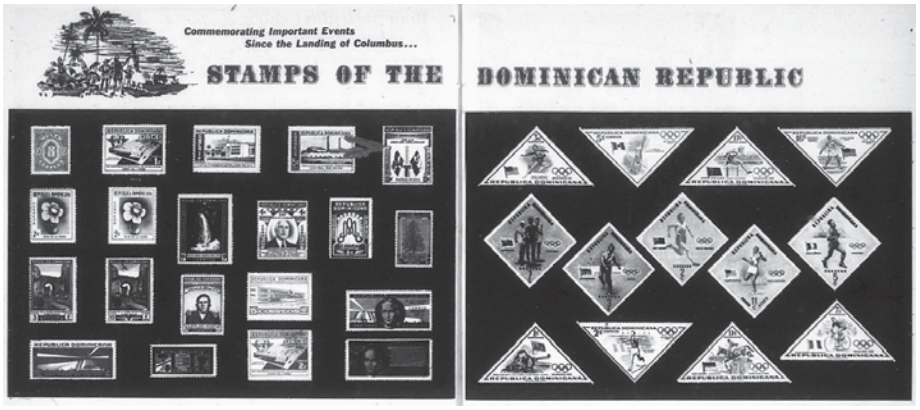
The source images for these coins derive from the same papers that supplied the material for *Untitled*: the *Herald Tribune* of June 8, 1958, specifically a supplement on the Dominican Republic.[56] That nation, formally occupied by Spain, had been controlled by Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina since 1930. Trujillo presided with an iron fist over a period of economic growth and infrastructural modernization using widespread intimidation, torture, and murder of rivals. Yet while opposition to the regime would soon gather strength — a series of three attempted landings by rebels setting out from Cuba in June 1959 galvanized the resistance movement that assassinated Trujillo in May 1961 — the U.S. government appeared to look favorably upon his regime and its suppression of any communist threat. The newspaper quoted the U.S. ambassador to the Dominican Republic: "In the realm of international affairs, both our peoples aspire to the goal of a world liberated from the threat of international Communist subversion and aggression."[57]

Through the 1950s, and especially under the aegis of Ogden R. Reid, the paper's editor from 1955 to 1958, the *Herald Tribune* cemented its identity as an emphatically anti-Communist, pro-business, Republican newspaper. Its report on the Dominican Republic paints a picture of untainted economic progress and opportunity, presenting a land of plenty eagerly awaiting the arrival of U.S. capital.[58] The shower of coins, for example, bears emblems of palm trees and Indigenous peoples in profile, and derives from the article "Why a debt-free economy in the Dominican Republic is important to you … as a United States Citizen, as an investor, as a businessman, as a tourist" (fig. 17). To the lower right in *Untitled* is an image of Trujillo's new Palace of Fine Arts, cut from the left page of a spread, the right side of which — not transferred to the drawing but impossible not to notice for the artist — displays a large announcement, "No Time for Communism."[59] Also included in Rauschenberg's drawing are images of a four-poster bed from the sixteenth-century Spanish colonial palace; the Alcázar de Colón, the oldest viceregal residence in the Americas; and at lower right is a strip of (barely recognizable) photographic portraits of global political figures that illustrated a set of notices regarding world news, particularly Cold War rivalries (see fig. 8).[60]

The drawing is chromatically richer and its central section more visually chaotic than the other works so far discussed. The clear, upbeat atmosphere of the supplement is scrambled into a new configuration, interspersed with elements from other sources: the faces of political leaders, and in the bottom left an attempted suicide on a power pylon from the front page of the tabloids, for example (fig. 18). While not an explicit statement, the sense of the desperate striving for money and the winning of competitive races converts the uncritical, business-focused optimism of the *Herald Tribune*'s report into something altogether more questionable.

19 Robert Rauschenberg, *Untitled*, 1958. Solvent transfer with graphite, gouache, watercolor, and paper on paper, 24⅛ × 36⅛ in. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. B. H. Friedman © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration # 58.D014

The imagery from this *Herald Tribune* supplement was also used extensively in the drawing *Untitled* (fig. 19), now in the collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art. Here, amid a riot of scrawled marks, lively color patches, and photographic details, are more transfers of the Alcázar, including its tapestries after the seventeenth-century French painter Charles Le Brun's *The Tent of Darius* (Palace of Versailles), commissioned by Louis XIV in 1660.[61] A photograph of the Alcázar, construction vehicles from an advertisement for road building in the republic, and a series of Dominican postage stamps featuring flowers and athletes (fig. 20) are also included. The stamps both enact a self-reflexive commentary on the transfer method (they are also fragments affixed to communications sent across time and space) and also emphasize the connection with the Caribbean nation. Prominent to the lower right is a repurposed Hit Parade advertisement: rather than a packet of cigarettes, the large hand holds up what might instead be an Edenic apple, perhaps registering a critical awareness of the dubiously laundered rhetoric in the supplement. These details are joined with other images relating to the British Empire. The parallel lines of the legs of marching Buckingham



20 "Stamps of the Dominican Republic," from "Dominican Republic Progress Report," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, I36–37

Palace guards produce a pattern similar to the arrayed ribs of the Kronosaurus queenslandicus skeleton (about 100 million years old), suggesting the obsolescence of Old World imperial dominance. Below is an image of the deserted garrison town of Remada from an article detailing Tunisian forces besieging French colonial troops (see fig. 10).[62] All this is interspersed with images of American tourism and leisure: an advertisement for Manager Hotels, the same cruise ship used in *Untitled* (see fig. 4), and a golfer who drives out of the picture plane.

Scattered across the surface of the drawing are transfers of dominoes, a game that matches pieces and sets them into a coherent sequence. The drawing also features a solved crossword puzzle, that beloved diversion crucial to the appeal of the papers for many; the squares here are now filled, and a wristwatch above suggests the time taken to complete it. Indeed, Rauschenberg titled several of his drawings in a manner suggestive of games and play — *Quiz* (1958, Museum of Modern Art), *Ploy* (1958, private collection), and *A-Muse* (1958, private collection) — indicating a reflexive alignment between his drawings and puzzles, an alignment already at play in the Combines (most famously, in *Rebus* [1955, Museum of Modern Art] and *Small Rebus*). Yet while crosswords, rebuses, and dominoes have set solutions or limited ways to proceed, the artwork invites the viewer to exercise a more flexible, nonlinear cast of mind, both tempting and refusing stable decoding.

The result of this procedure is not pure arbitrariness or subjectivism. The selected imagery derives from a specific historical situation and is more likely to provoke some trains of association than others, depending on levels of legibility and familiarity. Indeed, Rauschenberg did not give every aspect of the newspaper equal representation in the drawings; he did his own "slanting." While being particularly attracted to sports imagery, for example, he seldom included advertisements for women's fashion. As I have emphasized, tacit patterns and overt juxtapositions in the imagery suggest the artist was critically engaged with the media, not merely registering the content advertised or reported across its pages. Nevertheless, such references are dispersed, glancing, and quick to fall into obscurity.

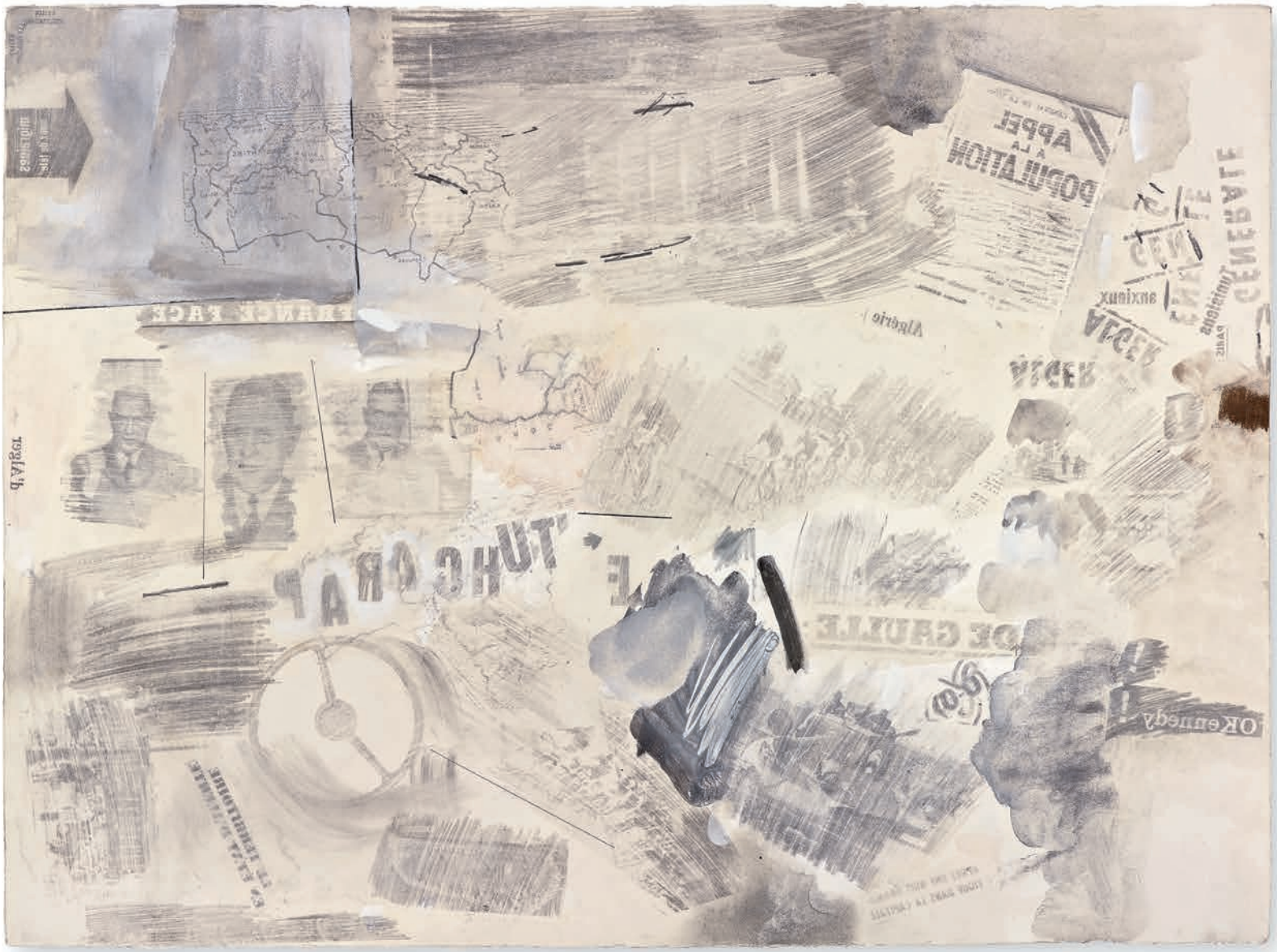
Indeed, the swift shuttling between different registers and realms of activity — the mind taken from geopolitics to baseball in the space of seconds — might recall the experience of leafing through the newspaper itself. There is an embrace of the unruly aspects of reading here, aspects suggestively articulated by the anthropologist Michel de Certeau in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*. De Certeau stressed the active, creative dimensions of reading in opposition to its relegation to the passive reception of given content and the "law of information." He argued, "To read is to wander through an imposed system," but "whether it is a question of newspapers or Proust, the text has a meaning only through its readers; it changes along with them; it is ordered in accord with codes of perception that it does not control." The activity of reading, de Certeau asserts, "comes and goes"; it is "alternately captivated … playful, protesting, fugitive."[63] Perhaps especially in relation to the newspapers, attention is intermittent, as is memory; some fragments hold, at least for a while, but much falls away or is passed over. Rauschenberg's drawings articulate the distracted and focused, mobile and wayward

experience of reading the newspaper, a phenomenon that disrupts totalizing claims, as even the great systematic thinkers Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel discovered.[64] Yet to cast the process as rudderless distraction would be as wrong as to regard that readership as the ideal subjects of Kant's high-minded moral citizenry; there is concentration, care, and fascination here, too.

In interviews and statements from the mid-to-late 1960s, Rauschenberg affirmed the political coloring of his work, though he insisted that any such accenting was made by dint of his general comportment toward the world, not by way of a direct intention to pursue a particular theme or communicate specific messages.[65] In earlier statements, made before the arrival of the counterculture and the civil rights movement as a political force that could no longer be ignored, Rauschenberg stressed instead his resistance to the idea of art as communicative vehicle. This emphasis led him to sound less politically engaged, as if opening onto the world was at odds with interpreting it. "I am in the present," he told André Parinaud in 1961; "I try to celebrate the present within my limitations but using all my resources." "If there was a specific message," he remarks, "I'd feel limited by my means, my ideas, my prejudices. What interests me is to make [contact], not to express a message." When Parinaud asked whether the artist wanted to put things together or break them up, Rauschenberg responded, "Neither. I am not interested in morality. I don't want to reform the world. I just want to be there. I want my work to be as clear, as interesting and as alive as the fact that you chose to wear that tie today instead of another one."[66]

At the same time, however, when Parinaud asked, "Could certain subjects inspire you, like the death of [Patrice] Lumumba or [John F.] Kennedy's election? Would you take commissions?" Rauschenberg answered, "Certainly. I'd even prefer being a reporter to being an artist or a genius, but using my own means of expression."[67] In fact, Rauschenberg's drawings had by 1961 already registered the civil conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC, then known as the Republic of Congo), which followed the nation's independence from Belgian colonial rule in May 1960. Lumumba, the DRC's first prime minister, appears in Rauschenberg's illustration for *Canto XXI* (1960, Museum of Modern Art) of Dante's *Inferno*. The artist's support for Kennedy's presidential campaign was also articulated in the series; Kennedy represents Dante's Pilgrim in *Canto XII* (1960, Museum of Modern Art). He directly celebrated the election of the new president by offering the White House a transfer drawing as a gift (*Election* [1960, private collection]). In an accompanying letter, Rauschenberg stated that "the content of the drawing is art and politics."[68] Moreover, at the time of the Parinaud interview, when Rauschenberg was in Paris for his solo exhibition at Galerie Daniel Cordier, he produced a transfer drawing that referred directly to the raging political turmoil over the Algerian War. Between April 21 and 26, 1961, the so-called Generals' Putsch engulfed Paris, precipitating a political crisis and leading to the imposition of a curfew.[69] These events marred the fortunes of Rauschenberg's exhibition, which was to open at the gallery on April 27. Made with French watermarked Arches paper, *Untitled (De Gaulle)* (fig. 21) employed imagery sourced from French news reports referring directly to the crisis. The face of French President Charles de Gaulle is clearly visible, accompanied by maps of Algeria, images of tanks, and the French National Assembly building at the Palais Bourbon, and headlines reading "Après une nuit dramatique dans la capitale," "Le Territoire en état d'Alerte," and "Migraines, maux de tête." ("After a dramatic night in the capital"; "The territory in a state of emergency"; "Migraines, headache"). The word *Alger* (Algeria) is repeated, transferred upside down, and Paris is "anxieux" ("anxious").[70]

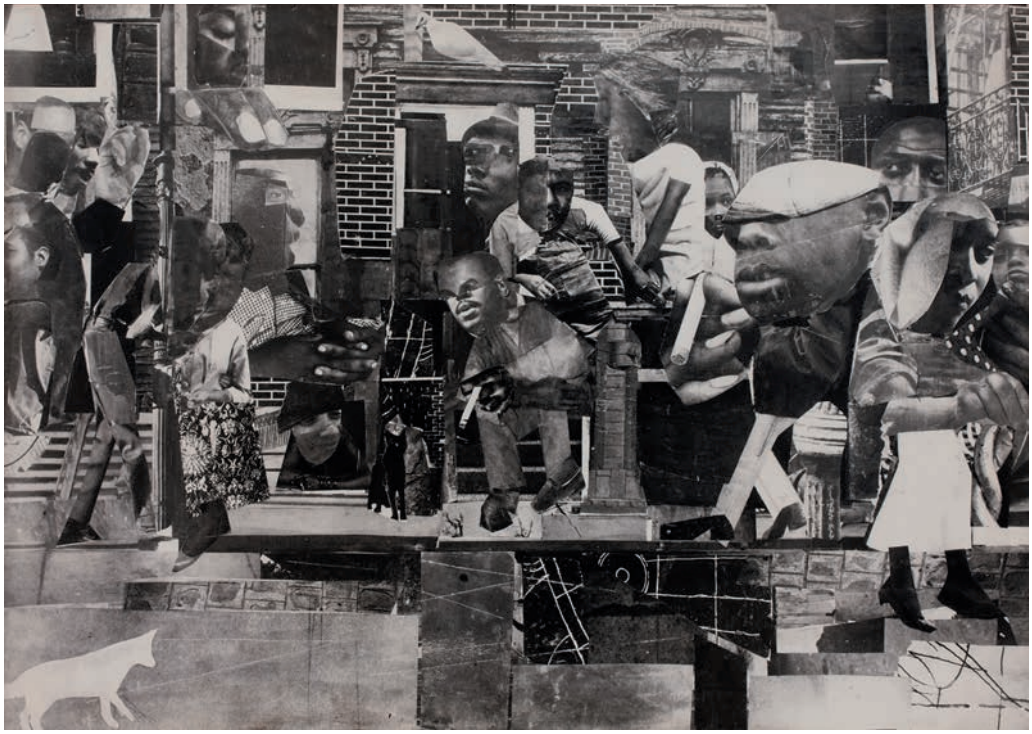
However, such instances of more direct "reporting" on specific news events are rare before the mid-1960s. In this case, rather than setting out to make a drawing relating to the Algerian conflict in advance, it is more likely that Rauschenberg maintained a posture



21 Robert Rauschenberg, *Untitled (De Gaulle)*, 1961. Solvent transfer with graphite and watercolor on paper, 22 ¼ × 30 in. Courtesy Galerie Thaddaeus Ropac, Salzburg, Paris, London, Seoul © Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, RRF Registration #61.D011

of responsiveness to whatever events arrived in his immediate situation. His Paris visit was dramatically interrupted by the Putsch and the artist made use of it. As the 1960s wore on, and the pressure to engage in a more explicitly committed way with the urgency of political movements grew, Rauschenberg's drawings would demonstrate the artist's broadly democratic liberal stance more clearly over the issues of civil rights, the Vietnam War, or the Prague Spring, for example, as the art historians Lewis Kachur and Helen Hsu have compellingly shown.[71] At this earlier point, however, the political emphases evident in *Colony* or in the Whitney drawing take shape within a structure of generalized instability and fragmentariness.

A useful comparison here might be with the work of Bearden, whose celebrated collages and Photostats from 1964 are consistently and insistently organized around themes concerning the everyday experience of African Americans in Harlem and elsewhere. While enacting his own derailing of the familiar formulas of mass-produced newspapers and



22 Romare Bearden, *The Dove*, 1964. Photostat mounted on fiberboard, 50 ½ × 62 ½ in. Courtesy of DC Moore Gallery, New York © Romare Bearden Foundation/ VAGA at ARS, N.Y. and DACS, London 2022

magazines, such themes are the center of gravity of the work, cohering, by way of a powerful but flexible formal structure, the clippings that Bearden used to compose his collages.[72] Their eloquence is closer to jazz statements than to verbal discourse, but their address to the depth, complexity, and dynamism of Black life in the United States is emphatic (fig. 22).[73]

In the early 1960s, Bearden was actively committed to a particular political project and cohered his material under specific themes and formal structures. Here the contingencies of the day-to-day are held in a dialectical relationship with enduring collective rituals and other forms of shared experience: religious, social, cultural, and musical. Rauschenberg's work is more redolent of experience in the grip of what the sociologist Georges Gurvitch calls "erratic time," dispersing the stabilizing scenographic aspects that still structure most of Bearden's collages.[74] In the late 1950s, Rauschenberg's collaboration with newsprint remained more focused on the transience and heterogeneity of the material, though this began to yield more to the demands of specific subject matters as the 1960s wore on.

While Rauschenberg was resistant to the idea of art as a vehicle for particular messages, his "third palette" was nevertheless by nature saturated with political content. He worked with the grain of this "palette" of signs and imagery, incorporating fragments from across its pages but against the grain of its law of communicative clarity. This "unmaking" of the media, the turning of visual elements against their original obligations, was neither random nor consistently refocused; with each drawing, the shape of a new collaboration was to emerge. That is, thematic patterns are not programmatically imposed but rather emerge alongside the contingent process of reading, of leafing through (which may explain why the early drawings were left untitled until the 1980s). The transfer technique provided Rauschenberg with a means of bearing upon the conditions of experience in which news arrives and circulates, beyond reference to reported events. The clarity and comprehensibility of news items, Rauschenberg's work suggests, is only won at the cost of the editing and simplification of much in the grain of lived experience, of those details that are unassimilable to a prior idea or familiar attitude.

News, Transfer Drawing, Contingency

The image and the word cooperate to construct a flat re-reading of the facts plus familiar passing insignificancies that control our day. Information, originally engaged in a daily rhetorical screen to eliminate as much direct feeling and response as possible, re-exposed to encourage consideration.[75]

— Robert Rauschenberg, 1970

"Modernity" means contingency.[76] — T. J. Clark, 1999

The identification of Rauschenberg's source materials reveals in the drawings a striking economy and temporal compression. The transferred images were extracted from a remarkably small number of publications: a full seventeen of the two dozen or so images in *Colony*, for example, derive from a single edition of the *New York Times* (June 6, 1958), and, as mentioned at the outset, all the transfers in *Untitled* (see fig. 3) issue from newspapers published on a single day (June 8, 1958). This early moment is particularly significant in this regard: many later transfer works incorporate sources from magazines and newspapers published months apart.

The early drawings not only share in the imagery of the daily press, then, but also in its temporal logic. Awareness of the "daily-ness" of Rauschenberg's drawing practice changes our understanding of what is at stake in it. The exploration of the temporality of the works illuminates their experiential content more powerfully than would the attempt to make them over into coherent commentaries on sociopolitical themes. Less a seeking out of specific kinds of image over weeks and months, his method is revealed as a kind of bricolage, a responsive and improvisatory exploration of what is to hand, as dictated by the unpredictable flows of the mass media.[77] This constitutes a precise elaboration of a principle at the heart of the artist's work more broadly at this moment: to lend oneself to contingency. Here, more than anywhere else, Rauschenberg found the vehicle for his commitment to using "the very last minute in my life and the particular location" as his "source of energy and inspiration."[78]

In this respect, Rauschenberg's approach mimics the reporter's work. Journalists must accommodate — even abandon — themselves to the contingencies of the day. Unpredictable events provide the raw material for their work, a material which they bring into shape by deploying various conventional categories and structures (or, as the sociologist Gaye Tuchman elaborated in the 1970s, "typifications") to enable the marshaling of the unexpected.[79] While relying on an ability to improvise in relation to the unpredictable, the reporter must also work within strict, externally set limits: copy must be supplied to tight deadlines, in a working rhythm dominated by the arbitrary twenty-four-hour period that structures both the workday and the consumption of news products.[80] They must also adhere to the strictest word counts, standardized formats, subject categories, and content controls directed by editorial policy.

It is unlikely that Rauschenberg was thinking of such constraints when he proposed that he would rather be a reporter than an artist in the conventional sense. He was asserting a desire to avoid harnessing his work to his own feelings and biases, reporting having the non-art ring of a commitment to neutrality, objectivity, and receptivity to the everyday world. Yet in key respects Rauschenberg's work flaunts its remoteness from that of the reporter. The latter is subject to instrumental goals, requirements of comprehensibility and coherence, hierarchies of value and significance, and exacting standards of punctuality. Throughout the 1950s, Rauschenberg

preferred to sacrifice a decent income, stable employment, and confidence in broad public understanding of the nature and value of his work for the dream of the flexibility, exploratory freedom, and immersion in aesthetic experience that might structure the life of an artist.

The culture and media theorist Philip Schlesinger has argued that news reporting is one of those professions requiring a refined attunement to clock time, yet all working practices take their place in relation to the increasing temporal rationalization of modern life.[81] In her influential book *The Emergence of Cinematic Time*, the film theorist Mary Ann Doane explores how the implementation of standardized time in the late nineteenth century, driven first by the growing power of the railroad companies, wrested the experience of time from the flexibility and qualitative texture of lived duration to a quantifiable abstraction. Exploring the influential analyses of the philosophers Henri Bergson, Georg Simmel, and Walter Benjamin, Doane examines how time was made over into an external thing that could be consulted (via a wristwatch, for example), or a commodity to be bought and sold, leading to the "scientific management" of factory labor.[82]

Doane argues, however, that any smooth narrative of progressive rationalization within modernity is disturbed by a wealth of evidence for an insistent fascination with contingency, indexicality, and chance. Rauschenberg's rudimentary transfer method has its own way of disturbing the standardization of the printed material, carrying it over into a new context, eroding its solidity, and reactivating its associative potential. Strewn with the signs and tools of abstraction — alphabetical and numerical figures, currencies of various kinds, wristwatches and clocks, statistical graphs, financial charts, maps, and plans — the drawings call to mind a culture of quantification and measurement. These kinds of schemata would come to be embraced by conceptual artists such as On Kawara during the mid-1960s, providing more systematic nets with which to catch contingent phenomena. Rauschenberg, however, included them as foils for his more ludic and improvisatory activity. In the termite work of unmaking and remaking in his transfer drawings, he found a way to newly metabolize the raw material of a world under the spell of a thinking that holds everything to its allotted place. While registering the pervasiveness of such abstracting operations, Rauschenberg sought to exceed them by insisting upon the mobile, particular, and apparently chaotic. The "daily rhetorical screen" of the newspaper, as he put it in 1970, is "re-exposed"; now it buzzes with barely legible image residues, percussive manual traits, and convivial color relationships.

The long pursuit of mass-media source material that grounds this essay may seem perverse given Rauschenberg's agile improvisatory approach. He was more than willing to let such content fall into the "gap between" art and life, as he put it.[83] But rather than bolt these drawings and their meanings to a fixed position, this research is intended as another kind of collaboration, in which different methods and priorities meet. In rubbing the drawings against their own temporal grain, more of the density and interest of Rauschenberg's materials is illuminated and his working methods revealed in striking new ways.

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Notes

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1 The source image was cut from Harold Rosenthal, "Berra Clout Trips Tribe 6–3," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, B1.

2 The Robert Rauschenberg Foundation catalogs this drawing with inventory number 58.D010. Several of the drawings now bearing specific titles were for nearly thirty years known as *Untitled*. In this article, the foundation's inventory numbers will be supplied in the captions, where appropriate, to clarify which of the many extant untitled drawings is being referenced. The exhibition *Robert Rauschenberg Drawings 1958–1968*, in 1986, prompted the artist to establish "transfer drawing" as the medium and to provide specific titles; see Lawrence Alloway, "Rauschenberg on Paper," in *Robert Rauschenberg Drawings, 1958–1968* (New York: Acquavella Contemporary Art, 1986). See also a 1986 correspondence between Rauschenberg and Windi Phillips at Acquavella Galleries, held at the Robert Rauschenberg Foundation archives, New York.

3 "Plate 45. *Small Rebus* (1956)," Mary Beth Carosello, comp., "Inventory and Exhibition History of Combines," in *Robert Rauschenberg: Combines* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2005), 293.

4 These source images were cut from the *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, A6, 1C, D6, A1, 16, D7, 37, B1, and 43, respectively.

5 In an application for funding that Rauschenberg sent to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in October 1958, the artist stated: "I plan to illustrate Dante's 'Inferno' with thirty-four 'Combine Drawings,' a technique of my own invention and naming." Robert Rauschenberg Foundation archives, New York.

6 The Robert Rauschenberg Foundation lists thirty-three drawings made in 1958, of which six are the first illustrations for Dante's *Inferno*.

7 Rauschenberg confirmed this in conversation with Calvin Tomkins. See Calvin Tomkins Papers [IV.C.19], The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

8 Hiroko Ikegami, *The Great Migrator: Robert Rauschenberg and the Global Rise of American Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010).

9 Rauschenberg mounted early exhibitions of his drawings in *Rauschenberg* at Galleria La Tartaruga, Rome, in 1959, and in *Rauschenberg, Twombly: Zwei amerikanische Maler*, at Galerie 22, Düsseldorf, in 1960. Exhibitions of the transfer drawings in Paris, Tübingen, New York, and London from the 1960s to the late 2010s focused on either the Dante illustrations or drawings made in the 1960s. In two catalog essays, Lewis Kachur has expanded the discussion: Kachur, "Paraphrase: On Robert Rauschenberg's Transfer Drawings of the 1960s," in *Robert Rauschenberg: Transfer Drawings from the 1960s* (New York: Jonathan O'Hara Gallery, 2007), 8–15; and Kachur, "Five Rauschenberg Drawings and Their Times," in *Robert Rauschenberg: Transfer Drawings from the 1950s and 1960s* (London: Offer Waterman, 2016), 6–17. The only previous discussions of the specific drawings analyzed in the present article relate to *Colony*: Stephen Eisenman, "Location, Documentation, and the Literal: The Sixties," and Thomas S. Michie, "20. Combine Drawing, 1958," both in Hiram C. Butler et al., *Documents, Drawings, and Collages: Fifty American Works on Paper from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen D. Paine* (Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College Museum of Art, 1979), 47, 51.

10 Michael Leja, *Reframing Abstract Expressionism: Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1993); Thomas Crow, *Modern Art in the Common Culture* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1996); Michael Lobel, *Image Duplicator: Roy Lichtenstein and the Emergence of Pop Art* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2002); John R. Blakinger, "*Death in America* and *Life* Magazine: Sources for Andy Warhol's *Disaster* Paintings," *Artibus et Historiae* 33, no. 66 (2012): 269–85; John J. Curley, *A Conspiracy of Images: Andy Warhol, Gerhard Richter, and the Art of the Cold War* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2013); and Emily Hage, "Reconfiguring Race, Recontextualizing the Media: Romare Bearden's 1968 *Fortune* and *Time* Covers," *Art Journal* 75, no. 3 (Fall 2016): 36–51.

11 Yve-Alain Bois, "Eye to the Ground," *Artforum* 44, no. 7 (March 2006): 244–48, 317.

12 Molly Donovan et al., *Warhol: Headlines* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2011).

13 Walter Hopps and Susan Davidson, eds., *Robert Rauschenberg: A Retrospective* (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1997); and Leah Dickerman, Achim Borchardt-Hume, and Yve-Alain Bois, eds., *Robert Rauschenberg* (London: Tate Publishing, 2016).

14 Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News: A History* (New York: Guilford, 2001), 1–25.

15 Robert Rauschenberg, "Un 'Misfit' de la peinture new-yorkaise se confesse," interview by André Parinaud, *Arts* (Paris), May 10, 1961, 583, unpublished translation by Antonio Homem, Robert Rauschenberg Foundation archives, New York; Rauschenberg quoted in "How Important is the Surface to Design?" *Print* 13, no. 1 (January–February 1959): 31; and Rauschenberg quoted in Calvin Tomkins, "Profiles: Moving Out," *New Yorker*, February 29, 1964, 59.

16 Here I borrow Theodor W. Adorno's analogy: "The phenomenon of fireworks is prototypical for artworks.…They appear empirically yet are liberated from the burden of the empirical.…[They are] a script that flashes up, vanishes, and indeed cannot be read for meaning." Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (London: Continuum, 1997), 81.

17 Calvin Tomkins, *Off the Wall: A Portrait of Robert Rauschenberg* (1980; repr., New York: Picador, 2005), 120–44.

18 Joshua Shannon, *The Disappearance of Objects: New York Art and the Rise of the Postmodern City* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), 115–19.

19 Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1982; repr., New York: Verso, 2010), 287.

20 Shannon, *Disappearance*, 4, 93–148.

21 On the circulation of English language daily newspapers in the United States, and the impact of radio and television, see Raymond B. Nixon, "Trends in U.S. Newspaper Ownership: Concentration with Competition," in *Mass Media and Society*, ed. Alan Wells (Palo Alto, Calif.: National Press Books, 1972), 11; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), 706n2; Melvin I. DeFleur, "The Development of Radio," in Wells, *Mass Media and Society*, 42; and James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), 348.

22 John Cage, "On Robert Rauschenberg, Artist, and his Work," *Metro* 2 (May 1961): 46; and Branden W. Joseph, *Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003). See also Maurice Berger, *Revolution of the Eye: Modern Art and the Birth of American Television* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2015).

23 Joseph, *Random Order*, 177, 183.

24 Harrison E. Salisbury, "Khrushchev Talk on Stalin Bares Details of Rule Based on Terror," *New York Times*, June 5, 1956, 1. See also Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News," *Journal of Peace Research* 2, no. 1 (1965): 64–91.

25 John Gunther, *Inside Russia Today* (New York: Harper, 1958).

26 Curley suggestively explores the work of Andy Warhol and Gerhard Richter circa 1960 in relation to what he calls "Cold War visuality" in *A Conspiracy of Images*, especially p. 6. For an examination of French modernism and the Algerian War, see Hannah Feldman, *From a Nation Torn: Decolonizing Art and Representation in France, 1945–1962* (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2014).

27 Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 311, 436.

28 Robert Rauschenberg quoted in James Schuyler, "Is Today's Artist With or Against the Past?" *ARTnews* 57, no. 4 (Summer 1958): 56.

29 Alfred H. Barr Jr., *The New American Painting* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1958), 11.

30 Alfred H. Barr Jr. quoted in Tomkins, *Off the Wall,* 121–22.

31 See information about the exhibitions *Artists of the New York School: The Second Generation*, Jewish Museum, New York, 1957, and Dorothy C. Miller's *Sixteen Americans*, Museum of Modern Art, 1959, in Dorothy C. Miller Papers (DCM, I.15.b), The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

32 Manny Farber, "White Elephant Art vs. Termite Art," *Film Culture* 27 (Winter 1962–63), reprinted in *One Day at a Time: Manny Farber and Termite Art*, ed. Helen Molesworth (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2018), 243, 246; and Farber quoted in Molesworth, *One Day at a Time*, 24.

33 John Elderfield et al., *De Kooning: A Retrospective* (New York: Museum of Modern Art and Thames and Hudson, 2011), 317–22, quote at 317.

34 Allan Kaprow, "The Legacy of Jackson Pollock" (1958), in Kaprow, *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993), 1–9, quote at 7–9.

35 Schimmel, *Rauschenberg: Combines*; and James Boaden, "Black Painting (with Asheville Citizen)," *Art History* 34, no. 1 (February 2011): 166–91.

36 Rauschenberg quoted in "How Important is the Surface to Design?" 31.

37 Rauschenberg quoted in Dorothy Miller, ed., *Sixteen Americans* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1959), 58.

38 Leo Steinberg, "Reflections on the State of Criticism," *Artforum* 10, no. 7 (March 1972): 44–46, 49, 47.

39 There is a rich literature concerning the use of newspaper by early twentieth-century avant-garde artists. For a recent survey, see Judith Brodie, ed., *Shock of the News* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012).

40 *Recent Paintings by Willem de Kooning*, Sidney Janis Gallery, New York, April 2–28, 1956.

41 Elderfield et al., *De Kooning*, 288.

42 Dienes's *Soho Sidewalk* (ca. 1953–55, MoMA) was included in *Robert Rauschenberg: Among Friends*, an exhibition at MoMA in 2017. The wall label quoted Johns: "After midnight we would go out on 6th Avenue and she would work.… I was responsible for keeping the sometimes enormous sheets of paper that she used from blowing away." John Cage and Rachel Rosenthal also helped. For details of the Betty Parsons exhibitions, April 20–May 8, 1954, and November 28–December 17, 1955, see Dienes, Sari — General, 1952–1959, box 4, folder 40, Betty Parsons Gallery records and personal papers, 1916–1991, bulk 1946–1983, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. See also Allegra Pesenti, *Apparition: Frottages and Rubbings from 1860 to Now* (Houston, Tex.: Menil Collection, 2015), 22.

43 Tom Folland, "Robert Rauschenberg's Queer Modernism: The Early Combines and Decoration," *Art Bulletin* 92, no. 4 (December 2010): 348–65.

44 Rauschenberg quoted in Tomkins, "Profiles: Moving Out," 59.

45 Cage, "On Robert Rauschenberg," 41.

46 Alex Potts, *Experiments in Modern Realism: World Making, Politics, and Everyday in Postwar European and American Art* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2013), 275–76.

47 Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces* 33, no. 4 (May 1955): 327. The *New York Herald Tribune*'s coverage of Joseph McCarthy's activities during the early 1950s provides a specific example; see Richard Kluger, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 470–72.

48 Steinberg, "Reflections," 49; and Cage, "On Robert Rauschenberg," 50.

49 Until 1987 it was known as *Untitled*. See correspondence from January 1988 between Liane M. Thatcher and Cliff Ackley, held in the object files of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

50 *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2006), s.v. "colony."

51 The image accompanies a report of a filming expedition in India. Nehru is not mentioned in the text. See Charles Ventura, "Surprise For Vanderbilt Jr.," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 6, 1958, A3.

52 David C. Engerman, *The Price of Aid: The Economic Cold War in India* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2018), 122.

53 "India 1958: Freedom's Last Hope in Asia," *Look*, May 27, 1958, 24–46; and "Packed and Pestilential Town," *Time*, June 16, 1958, 22–23.

54 James A. Linen, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, June 9, 1958, 11 (it is

notable that the front cover of the magazine relates to the Alaska question); and "G. E. Out to Top Russia in Power Race," and "How to Dig Sulphur in the Gulf: Build an Island," both in the *New York Times*, June 6, 1958, 31.

55 "Yanks, 12–5; Chi, 3–2, Split Giants Beat Braves, 5–4," *Daily News*, June 6, 1958, 72.

56 "Dominican Republic Progress Report," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, I1.

57 Joseph S. Farland, "U.S. Ambassador Tells of Republic's Progress," in "Dominican Republic Progress Report," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, I4.

58 According to Benjamin Bradlee, later the executive editor of the *Washington Post*, the *New York Herald Tribune* was known in the capital as "the company paper" during the Eisenhower years. Kluger, *The Paper*, 520.

59 "Island Combines Many Cultures with Spanish African as Basis," and "No Time for Communism," both in "Dominican Republic Progress Report," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, I38–39.

60 "Dominican Republic: Land of History and Color," in "Dominican Republic Progress Report," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 8, 1958, I12; and "World Insight," *New York Herald Tribune*, June 6, 1958, 6.

61 "Land of History and Color," I12.

62 "Drill Is in the Form of…," "42-Foot Fossil Skeleton of Prehistoric Marine Reptile Re-Created," and Michael James, "Tunisian Wishes Luck to de Gaulle," all in *New York Times*, June 4, 1958, 15, 35, 5.

63 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1984), 173, 169, 170, 175. The relationship between Rauschenberg's drawings and de Certeau's ideas was first proposed by Helen Hsu, "Undrinking the River Lethe or Remembering to Subvert: Two Drawings by Robert Rauschenberg," *Master Drawings* 57, no. 2 (Summer 2019): 233.

64 Tom Vandeputte, *Critique of Journalistic Reason: Philosophy and the Time of the Newspaper* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 2020), 1–18.

65 Dorothy Gees Seckler, "The Artist Speaks: Robert Rauschenberg," *Art in America* 54, no. 3 (May–June 1966): 84.

66 Rauschenberg and Parinaud, "Un 'Misfit,'" 582, 583.

67 Rauschenberg and Parinaud, "Un 'Misfit,'" 583. Rauschenberg repeated this to Rosalind Krauss in the 1990s. Krauss, "Perpetual Inventory," in Hopps and Davidson, *Robert Rauschenberg*, 215.

68 Rauschenberg to John F. Kennedy, 1960, quoted in "Chronology," Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, accessed December 10, 2019, rauschenbergfoundation.org/artist/chronology. See also Ed Krčma, *Rauschenberg/Dante: Drawing a Modern Inferno* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 86.

69 Gavin Parkinson, *Robert Rauschenberg and Surrealism: Art, "Sensibility," and War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 55–58.

70 All translations are mine. Kachur, "Five Rauschenberg Drawings," 11.

71 Kachur, "Five Rauschenberg Drawings"; and Hsu, "Undrinking."

72 Ralph Ellison, "The Art of Romare Bearden" (1968), in *The Romare Bearden Reader*, ed. Robert G. O'Meally (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 2019), 201; and Darby English, "Ralph Ellison's Romare Bearden," *Studies in the History of Art* 71 (2011): 11–25. See also Pepe Karmel, "The Negro Artist's Dilemma: Bearden, Picasso, and Pop Art," *Studies in the History of Art* 71 (2011): 249–68; and Lee Stephens Glazer, "Signifying Identity: Art and Race in Romare Bearden's Projections," *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 3 (September 1994): 411–26.

73 Albert Murray, "Bearden Plays Bearden" (1980), in O'Meally, *Romare Bearden Reader*, 236–55.

74 Georges Gurvitch, "Varieties of Social-time" (1964), in *The Sociology of Time*, ed. John Hassard (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 71.

75 Rauschenberg quoted in *Robert Rauschenberg: New Works*, exh. brochure (New York: Visual Arts Gallery, School of Visual Arts, 1970), quoted in Hsu, "Undrinking," 225.

76 T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from the History of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1999), 7.

77 De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 174.

78 Rauschenberg quoted in Seckler, "The Artist Speaks," 84.

79 Gaye Tuchman, "Making News by Doing Work: Routinizing the Unexpected," *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 1 (July 1973): 112.

80 Philip Schlesinger writes of the attribution of a "spurious coherence" to events as they occur within "the newsday." See Schlesinger, "Newsmen and Their Time-Machine," *British Journal of Sociology* 28, no. 3 (September 1977): 336–50, quotes at 339.

81 Schlesinger, "Newsmen," 337.

82 Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, The Archive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2002), 5.

83 Rauschenberg quoted in Miller, *Sixteen Americans*, 58.