ENDNOTES
NOTES

PRELUDE: DEATH


2. In the emergency room of Columbus Hospital: The account of Warhol’s hospital care is based on new interviews with his surgeons, Dr. Giuseppe Rossi and Dr. Maurizio Daliana, Columbus Hospital chief resident in 1968, conducted in collaboration with Dr. John Ryan, Emeritus Chief of Surgery at Virginia Mason Medical Center in Seattle, whose expertise informs what follows.


7. A ragged exit in his back: The exit wound was still visible 15 years later as a jagged dent in the left side of Warhol’s waist, seen in a rare topless photo of Warhol from 1983, taken by Christopher Makos and now in the collection of The Andy Warhol Museum.

    Strangely, Dr. Rossi’s postoperative surgical note incorrectly has the bullet entering from the left—see Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster*
(London: Little, Brown, 1995), 76. Rossi corrected that detail in conversation with the author.

The United Press International wire report on June 4, and other reports probably based on it, has the same mistake. It apparently derived from an error made by a hospital spokesperson on the night of Warhol’s shooting—see Natalie Layzell, “Warhol Given 50-50 Chance; Woman Charged in Shooting,” International Herald Tribune, June 5, 1968.

8. 1 to the operating room before he died: A persistent tall-tale says that Warhol’s heart was exposed already in the emergency room and massaged back to life by hand. In his interviews with the author, Rossi denied that his patient’s chest was opened until they were in the operating room.


10. 3 had barely heard of the artist: Rossi denied the oft-told story that an acquaintance of Warhol’s named Mario Amaya, lightly wounded by Solanas, had screamed “Save that man, he’s Andy Warhol” as soon as the two of them had arrived in the emergency room—as though the doctors would not have worked to save someone who wasn’t Andy Warhol.

   The night of the shooting, Amaya dined with the art historian Barbara Novak and her husband the artist and art critic Brian O’Doherty, who happened to have practiced as a doctor. Amaya told the story of the day’s crisis in detail, according to O’Doherty, but never mentioned having revealed Warhol’s identity to the emergency-room doctors—Brian O’Doherty and Barbara Novak, interview by author, May 12, 2016.

11. 3 go on to have trouble eating: Karen Burke, interview by author, October 20, 2015. When Warhol’s later followers talk about his weird fondness for high-calorie liquids—milkshakes and the syrup inside chocolate cherries—they may be documenting a damaged esophagus, not eccentricity. Stephen Bruce, a restaurant owner who had Warhol as a regular client from 1954 through to his death, speaks of Warhol’s “stomach trouble” after the shooting, and his need for soft, sweet foods—see Bruce in Christian Holzfuss and Nikolaus Sonne, eds., Andy Warhol: Play Book of You S. Bruce (Frankfurt: Edition Achenbach, 1989), 29.

12. 3 whose innards he had gotten to know: Dr. John Ryan, in a May 5, 2019, e-mail to the author, described the operation as follows, according to the results of his own research: “Surgeons performed a right tube thoracostomy, bilateral venous cut-down in the antecubital fossa, left thoracotomy with partial left lower pulmonary resection, pericardiotomy with cardiac massage, right thoracotomy, right thoraco-abdomi-
nal incision with repair of tangential bullet wound of the intra-thoracic inferior vena cava, esophago-gastrostomy, partial left lateral hepatic resection, resection of the splenic flecture of the colon with colo-colostomy, splenectomy, repair of left diaphragmatic injury, and left tube thoracostomy.”


**CHAPTER 1**


2. **on Orr Street**: Donald Miller, “All In the Family,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 8, 1989.


4. **a doctor**: Paul Warhola mentions going with his father to fetch the Orr Street doctor in Donald Miller, “All In the Family,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 8, 1989.


6. **became an American**: Andrej Warhol, certificate of naturalization, AWMA.


8. **he went into heavy construction**: Andrej was in construction in the year of Warhol’s birth so he would have had to have left any steelwork by then, according to Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 38.

9. **would always have preferred**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

10. **weighed 185 pounds**: See Andrew Warhola’s Pennsylvania State Employment Service i.d. card (AWMA) last notated on November 11, 1941. John Warhola denied that his father could be so short—see John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette,
November 24, 2004, AWMA. But a surviving photo of Andrej lined up with co-workers indicates that this was correct—see *Indiana Telephone News*, November 1930, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. On the other hand, Andrej’s April 27, 1942, draft registration card, in the collection of Donald Warhola, lists him as an unlikely 5’ 9”, and the 1912 manifest for the steamship George Washington gives his height as 5’ 8”—see Elaine Rusinko, “Andy Warhol’s Ancestry: Facts, Myths, and Mysteries,” accessed April 4, 2019, www.academia.edu/38098098/Andy_Warhols_Ancestry_Facts_Myths_and_Mysteries.

11. **5 on his massive arms:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

12. **5 how he signed his will:** The will, dated November 4, 1931, is in the Warhol archives. It was probated under the name “Andy Warhola” as well—see “Wills Filed,” *Pittsburgh Press*, November 1943.

13. **5 without complete success:** Paul Warhola, in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 8. Warhola would only have been eight at the time, so may not be a reliable witness.

A surviving overdue bill to Andrej for a two-week stay in hospital, dated January 28, 1930, must surely relate to that operation. It is still in the hands of John Warhola’s family.

14. **A 1930 photo:** *Indiana Telephone News*, November 1930, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

15. **Andrej had no work at all:** Paul Warhola, in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 53.


Then again, that ketchup mix was famous as the soup of penniless Abstract Expressionists in New York, from whom Warhol may have stolen the story—see 1950s art critic Irving Sandler, in an anecdote quoted in Gary Comenas, “Abstract Expressionism 1944,” *Warholstars* (blog), 2016, http://www.warholstars.org/abstract-expressionism/timeline/abstractexpressionism44.html. See also the writings of art critic Christo-
pher Knight on the Abstract Expressionist source for Warhol’s famous Soup paintings.


22. a galvanized hip bath: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


24. “but you didn’t feel you were poor”: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

25. $18 a month: Paul Warhola, in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 54. It’s not clear how Warhola would have remembered or had a record of the rent, so many years later. His brother John talks about a $3.00 rent on Beelen—John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

Paul said “we lived in six houses we rented over the years. Two places on Orr Street, one on Kirkpatrick Street, where we lived four or five years; three years at 55 Beelen Street, three more years on Moultrie Street, then Dawson Street”—see Donald Miller, “Andy’s Roots,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 9, 1985.

In 1922, the year Paul Warhola was born, a new city history was describing the neighborhood as a “mill district” with “manufacturing plants interspersed.” The housing, it said, was “old and not attractive . . . populated by foreign mill workers and their families.” See George Thornton Fleming, *History of Pittsburgh and Environs from Prehistoric Days to the Beginning of the American Revolution* (New York: American Historical Society, 1922), 218.

Historical Magazine (January 1988): 84.


28. lied about his age: Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.


31. McKeesport: A 1927 directory for McKeesport lists an “Andrew Warbold”—a very likely transcription error for Andrew Warhola—at an address in McKeesport that also turns up in some Time Capsule documents about Warhol’s youth, but closer study makes it clear that it refers to a different person. Warhol’s brother Paul denied any McKeesport connection in Donald Miller, “Andy’s Roots,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, March 9, 1985. As late as 1987, however, McKeesport was still claiming Warhol as a local boy—see “Native McKeesporter Warhol Dies in N.Y.,” McKeesport Daily News, February 23, 1987.


33. turn a white shirt black: Typescript draft (TC430, AWMA) of Warhol’s interview with Wilma Ervin, for the introduction to Wilma Ervin, On the Edge: The East Village (New York: Times Books, 1985).


In 1968, for the purposes of astrology, Warhol had given his correct place and date of birth to Billy Name—see the 1968 datebook preserved in the Warhol archives.

Andy Warhol, July 10, 1969, TC26, AWMA.

36. **It is generally believed:** John Wilcock, ed., in *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 233.

That the confusion was still present in the 1990s is witnessed by Ultra Violet in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 253.

37. **being coaxed to buy them:** Anthony E. Grudin, *Warhol’s Working Class: Pop Art and Egalitarianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 91. Grudin cites a 1962 text by the McFadden publishing group that was aggressively targeting the working class at the time.

38. **putting up your own vegetables:** Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

39. **handcrafted by Andrej:** Wall texts for the exhibition “At Home in Pittsburgh: Andy Warhol’s Youth,” Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, April 17 to October 13, 1996.

40. **tomatoes, kohlrabi and radishes:** John Warhola, interview by Robert Gangewere, typed notes, November 11, 2003, Robert Gangewere personal papers.


42. **their own “kolbasi”:** John Warhola, in the “extras” tracks to Jean-Michel Vecchiet, *Vie et morts d’Andy Warhol,* documentary (Eva Productions, 2005).

43. **Julia was still offering:** Nora Zavacky, in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 84. She describes a trip she made to New York in 1953.

44. **Scottish or German, Irish or Italian:** On Pittsburgh’s ethnic mix see Nora Faires, “Immigrants and Industry: Peopling the ‘Iron City,’” in *City at the Point: Essays on the Social History of Pittsburgh,* ed. Samuel P. Hays, Pittsburgh Series in Social and Labor History (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989), 10. Faires explains that 60% of Pittsburghers were new to the country.


46. **“A slav’s a man for a’ that”:** See Paul Underwood Kellogg, ed., *Wage-Earning Pittsburgh: The Pittsburgh Survey, Findings in Six Volumes*
NOTES


52. **“least civilized people”:** The reference in *Life* is recalled in Ann Walko, *Eternal Memory* (Pittsburgh: Sterling House, 1999), ix. Since there’s no evidence of such an article, Walko must actually be recalling her own notions of other Americans’ attitudes.

53. **to that nation-state:** Warhol recognized that, in the film *The Deer Hunter*, the family described as Russian would in fact have been Rusyn, although he used the word “Czechoslovakian”—see Raymond M. Herbenick, *Andy Warhol’s Religious and Ethnic Roots: The Carpatho-Rusyn Influence on His Art* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 169.

54. **political entity:** Andy Warhol, notes from an interview conducted in Rome, 1973, TC88, AWMA.


57. **a quarter-million of these villagers:** Paul R. Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2005), 8. See also Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016), 38. Immigration was illegal
or discouraged because the Austrian empire didn’t want to lose its own laborers, who’d only stopped being serfs a half-century earlier.

58. **plot of land and several beehives**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

59. **seventeen-year-old**: A 1941 copy of the certificate for the May 24, 1909, wedding (AWMA) was issued by the short-lived Slovak State on February 9, 1941, listing Julia’s age as 17 and Andrej’s as 24.


61. **a coal miner**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

David Bourdon describes Andrej working as a miner for two years after his marriage and return to the United States—see David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 16.


67. **fleeing conscription**: The draft had recently been extended to all men under 50—see Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 43.


Julia Warhola’s mother had lost six of her 15 children according to John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA. Birth and death dates for 14 Zavacky children, of whom five died very young, are given in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 37.


76. **yet another Andrej:** Elaine Rusinko, “The Woman behind the Artist: Andy Warhol’s Mother,” *Slovo* (Summer 2016): 27.

77. **the year of her marriage:** Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 34.

78. **says one tale:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


At least one transaction did go through, however—see Elaine Rusinko, “Andy Warhol’s Ancestry: Facts, Myths, and Mysteries,” accessed April 4, 2019, www.academia.edu/38098098/Andy_Warhols_An-
80. **10 In 1921:** Julia Warhola’s U.S. visa, attached in her passport (AWMA), allowed a departure from Czechoslovakia between October 12, 1920, and October 12, 1921.


The priest, named Constantine, was childless, or so the story goes, and all he asked in return for the loan was that Julia call a son after him, to make his name endure. Andrej wouldn’t hear of it when his boys were born, but Julia eventually kept her bargain by getting Constantine as the middle name of a grandson who became a priest.


87. **11 “big country everyone knew”**: John Zavacky, interview by author, September 25, 2014. Christina Zavacky, interviewed July 1, 2014, said that she also used to refer to herself as Russian: “I knew I wasn’t Russian, but I didn’t know what to say. I knew I wasn’t Slovak.”


90. **11 the same Cyrillic script:** Maria Silvestri, interview by au-
thor, May 6, 2014.


94. **11 wandering Jews:** Julia Warhola would be spinning in her grave at the comparison of Rusyns to Jews. She wrote letters home to Mikova about the “danger” of her unmarried Andy being nabbed by a Jewish girl—see Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 84.)


96. **12 entered first grade:** See “Pittsburgh Public Schools Pupil’s Permanent Record Card,” reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, *Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949* (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. Warhol is shown entering first grade on September 6, 1934.

97. **12 a nice little house:** The deed of sale for their new house, preserved among county records, is dated August 15, 1934. The house seems to have gone into foreclosure in November 1933, was held by a speculator for less than one year before being flipped to the Warholas.


Pittsburgh city directories for 1936 and later have Joseph and Mary Warhola living at 3250 Dawson Street.

99. **12 matching scars:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

100. **12 Real estate records:** The deeds are held in the Department of Real Estate, Allegheny County, PA.

101. **12 not above trying:** The Warhol archives include many records of his eager and aggressive tax avoidance.


104. a working man’s salary: Six years later, the U.S. census has Andrew Warhola reporting earnings of $1,200 dollars in the previous year, when he had only worked forty weeks.


106. save a few dollars: John Warhola, interview by Robert Gangewere, typed notes, November 11, 2003, Robert Gangewere personal papers.

107. tools that survive: They were included in the exhibition “At Home in Pittsburgh: Andy Warhol’s Youth,” Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, April 17 to October 13, 1996.


The photographer Duane Michals, born in nearby McKeesport and a friend of Warhol’s in New York in the 1950s, once did a photo-series about the Cathedral’s place in the Pittsburgh mindscape, while Warhol’s later roommate Philip Pearlstein remembered walking through the Cathedral on his way to the Carnegie museum where he and Warhol took art classes as children—see Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.

113. buy-a-brick program: See University of Pittsburgh, “Preserving Our Architectural Treasures: Interactive Timeline,” accessed January 3, 2020, http://www.treasures.pitt.edu/history/timeline.html. According to Pitt archivist Marianne Kasica, in a December 5, 2014, e-mail to the author, the program cost more to run than it brought in, and so really functioned as a public-relations gambit.
114. **13 raising $76:** Marianne Kasica, University of Pittsburgh archivist, December 5, 2014, e-mail to the author.

115. **13 watched the tower:** In 1932, one 11-year-old in the Carnegie museum’s art classes, which Warhol later attended, drew a picture of the Cathedral of Learning—see Elmer A Stephan, “Saturday Morning Art Classes,” *Carnegie Magazine* (February 1932). The main construction was completed by June 1937—“Bowman Lays Cornerstone of Cathedral,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 3, 1937.

116. **13 Empire State Building:** Warhol archivist Matt Wrbican first made the connection between the Cathedral of Learning and Empire, after noticing that Warhol’s archives include photos of the Cathedral taken with something like the Kodak Brownie we know Warhol owned. The Cathedral also housed a collection of 50,000 pictures of works of art, sure to have been catnip to Warhol—see “Cathedral of Learning Symbolizes Idealism of City Which Built It,” *Pittsburgh Press*, May 27, 1937.


118. **13 from every ethnic group:** See “Report on a Questionaire Submitted to the Principals of Pittsburgh Public Schools by the Survey Commission: Holmes School,” March 31, 1927, William R. Oliver Special Collections Room, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Jews—including Andy’s best friend at Holmes—made up 41% of its students, followed by Italians and then Slavs like Warhol. Many of the neighborhood’s Irish and other Roman Catholics went to parochial schools, according to Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

119. **13 “most wonderful place”:** Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.


121. **13 a radio:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

122. **13 “As in art”:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

123. **13 candy bars:** Paul Warhola, in Chris Rodley, *Andy Warhol:...*
The Complete Picture, documentary (Channel 4 and Bravo, 2002).

124. **13 won by Warhol**: See Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).


128. **13 slapped by a little girl**: Paul Warhola, in Chris Rodley, Andy Warhol: The Complete Picture, documentary (Channel 4 and Bravo, 2002).

129. **14 “flowers and butterflies”**: John Warhola, in Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).


Warhol’s childhood taste for paper dolls was being shared, about a decade earlier, by the 10-year-old from Helsinki who grew up to be Tom of Finland, greatest of homosexual pornographers—who once sent a Christmas card to Warhol (AWMA). The paper dolls were on display in the exhibition “Tom of Finland: The Pleasure of Play,” at Artists Space gallery in New York, June 14 to August 23, 2015.


132. **14 from Primanti’s**: The story was told by Paul Warhola to Maria Silvestri, interview by author, May 6, 2014. Paul Warhola mentioned the sandwiches at Primanti’s again, in a slightly different story, in a video interview provided to the author by Jesse Best.


135. **“but all the people were like that”**: In Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 46.


137. **to call on a relation**: Paul Warhola, in a circa 2010 videotape recorded by his granddaughter Abby Warhola and Jesse Best.


139. **walk to church**: For some reason, Julia avoided the church right by Dawson Street that her brother-in-law Joe Warhola went to—John Zavacky, interview by author, September 25, 2014.


141. **the church’s move**: The church’s move was done by the Kress-Oravetz House Moving Company—see the brochure for the November 26, 1960, Golden Anniversary of Saint John Chrysostom, preserved on microfilm at the New York Public Library. Andrej was documented as a worker for Kress-Oravetz in the 1940 census.

142. **Irish bishops**: Those bishops got Rome to ban the marriage of Ruthenian priests, and that became the hotter-than-hot topic among Pittsburgh’s Rusyns for all of Warhol’s youth, with debates taking place especially in Julia Warhol’s own church. Various members of Warhol’s extended family went so far as to leave the Catholic church for Orthodox denominations.

143. **a “natural animosity”**: John Warhola, in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

144. **“No Byzantine Catholics”**: David Petras, interview by author, March 20, 2018.

145. **“source of painful perplexity or scandal”**: Luigi Cardinal Sincero, writing in protocol number 572-30 of the July 23, 1934, Sacred Oriental Congregation in Rome. Thanks to David Petras for the citation. Father Thomas Schaefer, a Byzantine priest in charge of Saint John
Chrysostom who also officiated at Roman Catholic parishes, interviewed by the author on April 22, 2014, expounded at length on the differences between the two traditions, explaining that Byzantine customs and thoughtways are in some ways closer to the Russian Orthodox church, which many Rusyns have fled to over the years. A Byzantine emphasis on ritual rather than dogma—especially sexual and moral dogma—could make it the more liberal of the two denominations.


147. 16 “so very special and meaningful”: Eva Warhola to Andy Warhol, November 28, 1970, AWMA.


149. 16 most prominent followers: Jed Johnson, the boyfriend, was Lutheran, according to his brother Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018. Pat Hackett, Warhol’s secretary and ghostwriter, was the Christian Scientist. Vincent Fremont was another close Warhol associate who was not a Catholic—see Bob Colacello, Brigid Berlin & Vincent Fremont on Andy Warhol, Web video (Strand Bookstore, New York, 2014), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i17g3wPDfa4.


154. 17 “sacrilege to do without confessing”: Bob Colacello, Holy


See also Brother Damian McCarthy, of Saint Vincent Ferrer Church, in Jean-Michel Vecchiet, Vie et morts d’Andy Warhol, documentary (Eva Productions, 2005). In Warhol’s diaries, he twice specifies that he has gone to mass, which seems to be in contrast to the many references to simply going “to church.” Joan Quinn said that on her occasional visits to New York from Los Angeles Warhol and she would attend noon mass, but would not take communion—Joan Agajanian Quinn, interview by author, July 31, 2018.

The artist mentions having been to mass in a phone conversation with Brigid Berlin, probably from the early 1970s, in Vincent Fremont and Shelly Dunn Fremont, Pie in the Sky: The Brigid Berlin Story, documentary (Vincent Fremont Enterprises, 2000).


158. 17 “**When it’s over, it’s over**”: Warhol, quoted by Christopher Makos in “extras” to Jean-Michel Vecchiet, Vie et morts d’Andy Warhol, documentary (Eva Productions, 2005).


161. 17 “**I’m a heathen**”: Maria Silvestri, interview by author, May 6, 2014.

162. 17 **never went to church**: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


164. 17 “**no**”: Warhol, in the transcript included with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

165. 17 “**I guess I do**”: Warhol, in Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy


169. **18 in St. Patrick’s Cathedral:** Archbishop O’Connor, a violent homophobe, refused to officiate at the memorial, according to Ultra Violet, *Famous for 15 Minutes: My Years with Andy Warhol* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 2. But Vincent Fremont said, in an April 17, 2019, e-mail to the author, that he and Brigid Berlin had no memory of his refusal.


Joan Quinn remembered being offended by the priest’s very negative tone—Joan Agajanian Quinn, interview by author, July 31, 2018.


172. **18 images of saints:** “Before” and “after” photos of the church interior are preserved among the papers and commemorative volumes of Saint John Chrysostom, and several parishioners have similar images.

The new, gold-ground iconostasis is shown as a new installation in the brochure for the November 26, 1960, Golden Anniversary of Saint John Chrysostom, preserved on microfilm at the New York Public Library. The iconostasis with landscape backgrounds is visible in the same brochure in a photo dated 1947, but it is unclear if the image represents an entirely new décor at that time, or the sprucing up of a still older one.

173. **19 churches in the Old Country:** Rusyn activist Maria Silvestri, in a January 30, 2019, e-mail to the author that included images of churches in and around Mikova, Slovakia.

174. **19 Russian icons:** “Exhibition Of Russian Icons And Objects Of Ecclesiastical And Decorative Arts From The Collection Of George R. Hann,” January 12 to March 26, 1944, in the art museum of the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.


177. **picking up on things**: Martha Sutherland, interview by author, March 18, 2015.


180. **often shown kissing**: Sermon preached by father Thomas Schaefer, June 29, 2014, at Saint John Chrysostom Byzantine Catholic Church, Pittsburgh.

**CHAPTER 2**

1. **As genuine as a fingerprint**: Schenley High School yearbook, 1945.

2. **Lucy the family pet**: See photos preserved in the collection of The Andy Warhol Museum.

3. **named for Lucille Ball**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

4. **two fluffy rabbits**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

5. **roller-skating**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

6. **sledding**: Nick Kish, as reported by Matt Wrbican, interview by author, April 28, 2016, AWMA.

7. **he would collapse**: Nick Kish, as reported by Matt Wrbican, interview by author, April 28, 2016, AWMA. See also Nick Kish, interview by Bennard B. Perlman, typed notes, n.d., Bennard Perlman Papers, AWMA.

8. **he watched movies**: His frequent companion was Margie Girman, a Byzantine Catholic girl who was a close neighborhood friend, and whose family had also moved from near the mills to a few doors down on tidy Dawson Street, at number 3256 Dawson Street—Dave Ellis, son of Margie Girman, interview by author, January 14, 2015. See also Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 527, Kindle edition.

10. **ten cents plus a one-cent tax**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

11. **earned an extra dime**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


15. **bouncing from job to job**: Local records show that he was a laborer at the Standard Hide Co. in 1938 and at an Eichleay competitor called the Kress-Oravetz House Moving Corp. in 1940.


18. **they had the businesses**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

   A Jewish couple occupied the entire second floor, which had its own kitchen—see John Warhola, interview by Robert Gangewere, typed notes, November 11, 2003, Robert Gangewere personal papers.

   On the tensions between the mercantile Jews and laboring Eastern

19. **“I used to dream about”:** Warhol, in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.

20. **Breakfast on Dawson Street:** John Warhola, interview by Robert Gangewere, typed notes, November 11, 2003, Robert Gangewere personal papers.


29. **Finishing third grade:** See “Pittsburgh Public Schools Pupil’s Permanent Record Card,” reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. Warhol is recorded as absent for 48 days in the spring of 1937, which is listed as the second term of third grade.

   Paul Warhola claimed, improbably, that Warhol’s Saint Vitus Dance began immediately after the trauma of being slapped by a girl on his first day of school—see Robert Tomsho, “Looking for Mr. Warhol,” *Pittsburgher Magazine* (May 1980). The date and season are wrong, but Warhola is
probably echoing some doctor’s pronouncement, since at the time medics thought that chorea could be triggered by “physical or moral shocks”—see Oliver Sturdevant, “Sydenham’s Chorea” (M.D. thesis, University of Nebraska, 1932), http://digitalcommons.unmc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1237&context=mdtheses.


32. 23 close to the plague: Warhol himself cast the disease as a “nervous breakdown” that struck at the end of three different school years, just as classes ended and summer’s rough play with boys began—see Andy Warhol, THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol: From A to B and Back Again (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 21, Kindle edition. See also the same statement he made a decade earlier, in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.

Warhol wasn’t only claiming the three summer attacks in his public accounts; he mentioned them when he gave a medical history, in private, to his doctor—see Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.

Paul Warhola mentions three hospitalizations—see Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 58. Since this is a very late interview, Warhola may simply be echoing Andy’s own account in Popism.

33. 23 wasn’t as bad: Melissa B. Keefer, “Andy Warhol’s Early Years Have Roots in Oakland,” Oakland (July 1987).


See also “Pittsburgh Public Schools Pupil’s Permanent Record Card,” reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years,
1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. The record shows Warhol absent for 48 days in the spring of 1937, 22 days in the following fall term and then another 37 in the spring of 1938.


37. **Is the back door closed?**: Andy Warhol, “Warhol: On My Mind,” *Vogue* (February 1973). Even more than with most Warhol quotes, the ones in this article are not necessarily to be trusted. Warhol’s unpublished diary entries for 1972 (AWMA) show his associates helping him come up with his quotes, as suggested also in Stephen Birmingham, “Hardy Andy,” *Town & Country* (May 1973): 141.


39. **making fun**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.


41. **the life of the imagination**: Walter Hopps, Deborah Treisman, and Anne Doran, *The Dream Colony: A Life in Art* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2017), 13. Hopps speaks of endless bed-rest and being confined to the second floor of his parents’ home for long spells as his rheumatic fever waxed and waned over several years.


43. **mention their father**: Although she could never have known Andrej, John Warhola’s wife complained to him about this neglect—see John Warhola, oral history, typed notes, June 30, 1993, 199, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.


45. **The book should be about my mother**: Warhol, in John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA. The typescript was preserved with a letter from its publisher seeking images for the book, which suggest that it was already nearly complete—see Harry N. Abrams to Andy Warhol, September 8, 1971, AWMA.


50. 25 “he was so much like us”: See Chuck Workman, Superstar: The Life and Times of Andy Warhol, documentary, 1990.

51. 25 a general store: Christina Soley and Alan Soley, interview by author, July 1, 2014.

52. 25 violin and cello: Sally Mary Zymboly (nee Zavacky) to Andy Warhol, October 9, 1972, TC57, AWMA.

Zymboly remembered the music-making that went on when Warhol and his family would visit: “My father would get his brothers together and then the violins would come out and that was to me the sweetest music this side of heaven. They were all so emotional that they all shed tears of joy just to be together.”


54. 25 an eager reader: Christina Soley, interview by author, October 1, 2017.

55. 25 “You can’t go anywhere”: Warhol, in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.

56. 26 “lying in bed”: Andy Warhol, THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol: From A to B and Back Again (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 21, Kindle edition. The quote comes in the context of a larger passage that also happens to include deliberate lies—Warhol mentions his father being “away on business trips to the coal mines,” which was yet another
fiction he liked to propagate.


26 Snow White was a favorite: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for July 11, 1973, AWMA.


26 Baby Brownie Special: Warhol was said to have received the camera at age 9 in wall texts for the exhibition “At Home in Pittsburgh: Andy Warhol’s Youth,” Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, April 17 to October 13, 1996. But the Baby Brownie Special sometimes exhibited as Warhol’s by the Paul Warhola family was a model only introduced in 1939, when Warhol was 10 or 11. Other models have also been presented in exhibitions as the camera in question.

Warhol’s nephew James Warhola, in a December 15, 2015, e-mail to the author, said that his father, Paul, was the first family member to be interested in photography, and that he passed the interest and equipment on to his little brother Andy.

26 basement fruit cellar: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

See also Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 148. Paul Warhola implies that he bought Warhol a better camera just a bit later, and that the darkroom was also a later arrival—see Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 60.


26 “the worst thing that Andy ever did”: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


66. **an electric machine**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA. On another occasion Warhola remembered the projector having been hand-cranked—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B.Perlman Papers, AWMA.

Julia spent three times what she could have for the very cheapest hand-cranked projector and there were fancier motorized ones that still cost less than she spent—see the “BBC—A History of the World—Object: Supreme Projector, Keystone MFG. Co.,” accessed February 6, 2019, http://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/gtyrWzOXSBKJkaRjsPryA.


Warhol is much more likely to have got his films from the era’s thriving rental business: A 10-minute Felix the Cat cartoon was priced at a dollar a day in 1936, so he wouldn’t have needed that many paying guests to break even. There were Pittsburgh outlets of subsidiaries of Kodak and Universal Pictures that were geared to the home rental market, precursors of Blockbuster and Netflix—see Descriptive Catalogue of Kodascope Library Motion Pictures, 6th ed. (Kodascope Libraries, 1936), 149.


70. **from vending machines**: Warhol’s eldest brother would give him 50 cents to use in the penny-postcard machines at Kennywood Amusement Park near Pittsburgh—see Paul Warhola, interview by Bennard B. Perlman, typed note, May 6, 2003, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. These cards are mentioned also in Paul Warhola, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d.

71. **Paul claimed he did**: Paul Warhola, in Chris Rodley, Andy
Warhol: The Complete Picture, documentary (Channel 4 and Bravo, 2002). The Shirley Temple photo has the hand-written date “1941” on its back, but the image is clearly from much earlier than that; other photos, however, such as one of Frank Sinatra, must in fact date to the 1940s.

27 **he was a devoted signer:** See for example Sharon Hollan, of Cleveland, to Warhol, February 7, 1977, TC182, AWMA, thanking the artist for a photo of himself that he’d sent her and expressing surprise that he’d bothered. Many similar letters are in his archives.

Despite his own fame in the 1970s, he himself began an autograph collection (AWMA) that included such lesser celebrities as Masaru Ibuka, a founder of Sony, and management guru Peter Drucker. On February 7, 1977, signed letters by those figures and others (TC182, AWMA) were sent to Warhol by his friend John Powers “for your collection.”

27 **a page to herself:** As noted by the late archivist Matt Wrbican, if you look at the scrapbook sheet that was under the Temple photo at just the right angle, you can see faint scratchings where Andy seems to have tried to craft a signature for Temple that he liked better than her actual one.

27 **a tap dancer:** “I never wanted to be a painter; I wanted to be a tap-dancer”—see Warhol in Gretchen Berg, “Andy Warhol: My True Story,” The East Village Other, November 1, 1966. The quote is from that article as reprinted in I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Avalon, 2004), 1904, Kindle edition.


27 **as bitten by movies:** In the early 1950s, when the supposedly cinephilic Warhol joined a roommate at a Times Square revival of The Wizard of Oz, one of the most famous films of their youth, Warhol only “vaguely remembered it” and found a classic black-and-white movie playing another night to be “boring and a waste of time”—see Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

27 **attracting pupils:** This happened even before talkies had
77. **“straight boys being interested in [scrapbooks]”**: Bill Wood, interview by author, July 30, 2014.

Gene Moore, the pioneering window dresser who hired Warhol in New York in the 1950s, was yet another gay man who had kept a Hollywood scrapbook: “I spent every Saturday sitting in the theater absolutely awed by those tales of other lives. . . . The curtain comes up and another world begins”—see Gene Moore and Jay Hyams, *My Time at Tiffany’s* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990), 9.


80. **Annie Vickermann**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

81. **always the best of them**: 1960s interview with an unnamed childhood friend of Warhol’s, in a typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, New York.

82. **we kids in Oakland hung out**: 1960s interview with an unnamed childhood friend of Warhol’s, in a typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, New York.


84. **It didn’t cost you a penny**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.


90. **28 Schenley High:** Before Schenley, Fitzpatrick taught at Taylor Allderdice High School, where he had the Tam o’Shanter Philip Pearlstein, Warhol’s close friend and roommate, as a pupil—Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.

91. **29 “the largest art class in the world”**: Carnegie Magazine (April 1940): 11.


Elmer Stephan, Fitzpatrick’s predecessor as art czar for the Pittsburgh public schools and one of the founders of the Tam o’Shanter program, said that “the important emphasis is placed upon the child’s own creative ability or his power to reproduce in his own individual technique the object her prefers”—see Elmer A Stephan, “Saturday Morning Art Classes,” Carnegie Magazine (February 1932): 278.


95. **29 made his own abstractions:** Carnegie Magazine (January 1942): 238. The pianist was Elmer Stephan.

96. **29 “all on fire”:** Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.


98. **29 “he was quite original”:** Joseph Fitzpatrick, in Robert
29 twenty-five thousand names: Carnegie Magazine (April 1940): 12. The number seems to count each time a child answered the roll call; the actual number of individual students seems to have been about 1,000 or so.

29 from every public and private school: “Artists of Tomorrow,” Carnegie Magazine (May 1959): 342. This article mentions students coming from private, public and parochial schools, and 36,105 as total attendance.

29 had enough artistic talent: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA. See also Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012).


“Not all these children will become artists,” proclaimed the Carnegie Institute in 1940, “such a state of affairs would be distinctly undesirable”—see Carnegie Magazine (April 1940): 12.

Over something like six years of Saturdays with Mr. Fitzpatrick and his colleagues, Warhol only tasted failure when, like all of the best Tam o’Shanters, he had to explain his finest drawings at the front of the class and crumbled under the pressure—Joseph Fitzpatrick, “Joe Fitzpatrick, Look, to See, to Remember, to Enjoy,” Carnegie Magazine (April 1987): 21.


29 holdings in Old Master portraits: List of pre-1950 acquisitions at the Carnegie Museum of Art, supplied to the author by Elizabeth Tufts Brown, associate registrar.

29 an ambitious roster: List of special exhibitions, Carnegie Museum of Art archives.


29 a blockbuster Picasso show: Jeanette Jena, “Famous Picasso Art Show Is Displayed at Carnegie,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, March 19, 1941, 24. Guernica’s presence in Pittsburgh was remembered with enthusiasm by Warhol’s college professor Robert Lepper, in Philip Rostek, Robert Lepper: A Personal View, documentary, 2014. This privately-produced, uncirculated documentary was provided to the author by Rostek.

29 a special favorite of his: See Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwest-
ern University, 1982), 530.

109. **outsider and folk art**: The Carnegie’s annual surveys of contemporary art also regularly included paintings either by actual outsider artists like Grandma Moses or by faux-naïfs such as Doris Lee and Carol Blanchard, who Warhol later remembered as his favorite artist when he was in art school—see Warhol, in Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” *High Times* (August 1977): 21. Blanchard is featured with illustrations in the catalogs of the Carnegie annual for 1948, without a plate in 1947 and not at all in 1946. Angel Ortloff, Blanchard’s daughter, said that Blanchard had accumulated any number of books on outsider art—Angel Ortloff, interview by author, June 1, 2016.

Note that Marcel Duchamp, a hero of Warhol’s, spoke of Paul Klee, another major influence on Warhol, as a kind of faux naïf: “Most of [Klee’s] compositions show this delightful side of unsophisticated, naive expression. But this is only the first contact with his work and a very appealing one . . . If Klee often uses a ‘childish’ technique, it is applied to a very mature form of thinking.” See Duchamp in *Collection of the Société Anonyme* (1950), quoted in *The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 376.


112. **a childlike directness**: On Warhol’s important connections to the outsider tradition, and its adoption by modernism, see this author’s, “Andy Warhol Outside-In,” in *Andy Warhol: Ad Man*, ed. Nicholas Chambers (Sydney and Pittsburgh: Art Gallery of New South Wales and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2017), 23.

113. **contemporary self-portraits**: The Carnegie self-portrait show included images by the leading cartoonists Saul Steinberg and James Thurber, seeding the central Warholian notion that commercial and fine art could co-exist, and that a genius illustrator who played his


Warhol’s “hanging down” blond hair seems to have been his signature in grade school—Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.


116. he was also a toff: On the cover of Time magazine in 1924, Homer Saint-Gaudens’s square jaw and slicked-back hair make him look like some millionaire heartthrob from a silent film; the cover’s tag line is “singularly self-possessed”—see Time (May 12, 1924).


Pittsburgh journalists mention Suicide in Costume in reviews of many subsequent Internationals.

120. “it may be all right”: Homer Saint-Gaudens, in Douglas Naylor, “Pittsburghers Have Quit ‘Spitting at 50 Yards’ at Modern Art,” Pittsburgh Press, July 2, 1950.

122. **troubles of the American South**: Many of the more notable pictures in the annual survey echoed the kinds of lefty realism the WPA had put up in post offices and train stations, an aesthetic judged too “gloomy” by one Pittsburgh paper but foreshadowing Warhol’s own moments of gloom in his Death and Disaster pictures—see “WPA Paintings Reflect Artists’ Mood of Gloom,” *Pittsburgh Press*, February 5, 1941.

123. **acknowledged decades later**: See Henry Geldzahler, “Andy Warhol” (typescript, c.1964), TC14, AWMA.

Warhol would also have encountered Stuart Davis in no less than three solo shows he had, in 1945 and 1946, at Pittsburgh’s Outlines gallery, a known hangout of Warhol’s.

124. **scanting abstraction**: The 1941 edition of the Carnegie annual went so far as to include a satirical illustration, called *The Abstractionists*, whose title referred to some little boys shown scribbling on the sidewalk with chalk. It was clearly meant as a reactionary gesture, but actually prefigured the Abstract Expressionist scribbles that arrived a half-decade later, and that Pop Art rebelled against. The painting was by Frank Kleinholz, whose style wasn’t too different from the commercial art Warhol would be making in the next decade.


130. **I painted Andy, he painted me**: Nick Kish, in Julia Markus, “Two Years after His Death, the Curtain Rises on Andy Warhol,” *Smithsonian Magazine* (February 1989): 70.

131. **naked boys in an embrace**: The wrestling drawing was on display in “Andy Warhol: 1950s Drawings,” at Anton Kern Gallery in New York November 20 to December 20, 2014. There’s no sign that Kish was gay, and he went on to have a family. On the other hand, schoolboy “fooling around” wasn’t necessarily a sign of long-term homosexuality at

132. **the “fruit loop”:** Veteran Pittsburgh police officer Therese Rocco, interview by author, July 1, 2014.


133. **abdominal trouble:** Andrej Warhola had “liver problems” since 1928, the year he had his gallbladder removed, according to Paul Warhola, interview by Bennard B. Perlman, typed note, April 9, 2003, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

134. **missing weeks of work:** According to the 1940 United States Census, which asked about employment the previous year, Andrej only worked for 40 weeks in 1939. For the year beginning September 1940, state employment records show Andrej off work for another 14 weeks and claiming benefits—see his Pennsylvania State Employment Service i.d. card (AWMA) last notated on November 11, 1941. The card was registered with the Service in 1934 but only activated for claims on September 21, 1940, perhaps indicating that Warhola made no claims before then, and was thus in full employment—see David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 17. According to his wife, Andrej was sick for three years—see Julia Warhola in Bernard Weinraub, “Andy Warhol’s Mother,” *Esquire* (November 1966).

135. **“German doctors”:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

136. **Tender letters:** Letters from March 1941 show Andrej Warhola hard at work again in Hartford, CT, probably on a giant airline-industry move that the reconstituted Eichleay company was doing there. For the Hartford letters see http://warhol.gradientlabs.com/
33 tubercular peritonitis: Death Certificate of Andrew Warhola, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Division of Vital Records, provided to the author by Donald Warhola.

33 drifted down from infected lungs: The chances of tuberculosis infection through even the most contaminated medical wastewater is described as “quite remote” in Health Effects Research Laboratory, Contaminants Associated with Direct and Indirect Reuse of Municipal Wastewater (Cincinnati: Health Effects Research Laboratory, Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Research and Development, 1978), 276.

33 displaying the body: John Zavacky saw the body laid out in the house, but does not remember the wailing mourners others have mentioned—John Zavacky, interview by author, September 25, 2014. John Warhola speaks of the three-day wake in Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).

33 Warhol stayed under his bed: According to his brother Paul, Warhol, almost 14 years old, hid under a bed upstairs during the entire three-day wake and refused to come down to see his father laid out in the open casket in the living room—Paul Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d. Paul also said that Andy did not attend his father’s actual funeral, at all, because their mother was afraid that the event might lead to a recurrence of Andy’s “nervous condition”—Bob Colacello, Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 690, Kindle edition.


33 lost his shakes: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

33 “piebald” blotches: Martha Sutherland, interview by author, March 18, 2015.

33 world map: Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 28. Photographs that show Warhol at about age ten, from the collection of his Zavacky relative Manuela King, already display the blotches.

33 “pinto pony”: Tina Soley, interview by author, July 1, 2014.
The condition, know as vitiligo universalis, runs in families but also has a correlation with rheumatic fever, such as Warhol had but which Soley says she never contracted—see John Harris, Vitiligo, An Issue of Dermatology Clinics (Elsevier, 2017).

146. 33 records of treatments: Some kind of bleaching ointment is prescribed in Dr. William Leiffer to Andy Warhol, April 18, 1953, AWMA. “Patches of loss of pigment generalized over the body” are still being described in Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.

147. 33 in the showers facing the wall: Bennard B. Perlman to Philip Pearlstein, January 25, 2010, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.


In Warhol’s senior year in high school, the Pittsburgh Press published an entire article on the miseries of acne for the era’s teenagers, who finally “withdraw from all activity and suffer in solitude.” It warned that “the youngster who suffers from this condition is apt to brood about it and get melancholy. This sets off a vicious cycle, for tension disrupts the digestive system and aggravates the acne.” It recommended x-rays as the treatment of choice.


150. 33 “As genuine as a fingerprint”: Decades later, Warhol autographed his photo in a copy of the yearbook and added his actual fingerprints to it in ink. The autographed yearbook was offered for sale at Glenn Horowitz Bookseller in New York in April 2015.

151. 33 signed “A. Warhol”: Photographs of the painting were consulted at The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh.

152. 33 Slavic names: As late as 1942 the baptismal certificate Warhol used to get into high school (AWMA) gave his name as “Varchola.”

terview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

34 “We used to refer to him as a queer”: Harry Rodis, interview by Bennard B. Perlman, typed note, August 13, 1993, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

34 “loafing with a rough crowd”: John Warhola, in a 1960s typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, New York.

34 “interest in art was apparent”: An unnamed cousin (almost certainly Joseph Warhola), in a 1960s typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, New York.


34 one-dollar portraits: The portraiture was in aid of Pittsburgh’s new Arts and Crafts Center—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. When Warhol played portraitist-for-hire in college, his rates went up to four dollars, a price-tag mentioned in Sherley Uhl, “Warhol Life, Training Here Recalled,” Pittsburgh Press, June 4, 1968, 11.


34 “sensitive, interested in art:” Mary Adeline McKibbin, in a 1960s typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, New York.


34 “reliance on sensationalism”: Mary Adeline McKibbin, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 29.

34 local organizer: “Scholastic Art Exhibit to Open,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, February 8, 1945, 11.

34 The competition: “Judging Begins Today in Art Contest Here,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 14, 1945, 8.

34 Warhol won a prize: Joseph Fitzpatrick also mentioned a Scholastic prize won by Warhol: Joseph Fitzpatrick, “Joe Fitzpatrick,

166. **34 couldn’t have been one of the top awards:** “Local Pupils Win Prizes: Four Art Students Awarded College Scholarships,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 12, 1945, 3. See also “Scholastic Art Exhibit Opens; Winners Chosen,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 7, 1944, 5.

167. **34 War Bonds:** The jury chose a different Schenley student to win the bonds in both years—see “School Art Awards Made,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, February 19, 1945, 5.

168. **34 “honorable mention”**: The Getty Images database includes a photo that shows Warhol wearing the Scholastic pin at the opening of “Ten Portraits of Jews of the 20th Century” at the Jewish Museum in New York on December 15, 1980.

Joan Quinn recalled Warhol buying old high-school rings when he was shopping among the gem dealers on West Forty-Seventh Street in New York in the 1970s, so it doesn’t seem far-fetched to imagine he might have also found a Scholastic pin among them—Joan Agajanian Quinn, interview by author, July 31, 2018.

For an example of lesser awards being given in the contest see the *Somerset Daily American*, August 7, 1952.


172. **35 “a loner”:** Other schoolmates also remembered him as “very quiet” and withdrawn—see Melissa B. Keefer, “Andy Warhol’s Early Years Have Roots in Oakland,” *Oakland* (July 1987). Another Schenley student made the same observation—Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

Oresick for the reference.) See also “Around the Town,” Pittsburgh Press, May 3, 1944.

Warhol was still hanging out with Margie Girman, from his grade school, and even seems to have adopted some kind of “boyfriend” role with her—evidence that his sexuality may not have been completely settled yet, at least as far as the impression he made on his closest friends. “We went bowling in Oakland together, and we went ice skating, and we’d walk to the movies holding hands,” Girman remembered. “One time, when I was about fourteen, a man sat next to me at the movies and put his hand on my knee and offered me candy. I was very upset, I was crying, and I told Andy. I remember he went off looking for the man like he was going to do something to him. Andy was going to protect me”—see Victor Bockris, Warhol: The Biography (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 879, 882, Kindle edition.


35 “lessening nervousness”: See Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.


35 Warhol had often seen at the Carnegie: Catalogs to the Carnegie annuals include many Stuart Davis paintings.


35 a deliberate artistic conceit: A 1950s friend of Warhol’s said the errors were deliberate: “He would write like a child writes in reverse


188. **biography of Frank Sinatra and Jean Cocteau’s diaries**: Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 434. Elaine Finsilver, Warhol’s roommate in the early 1950s, also remembered Warhol reading Truman Capote (of course) and Tennessee Williams—see Finsilver in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 556.

189. **reading The Merchant of Venice**: Karen Burke, interview by author, October 20, 2015.


Warhol got through Christopher Lasch’s chewy *Culture of Narcissism* in a single night, according to his friend and dermatologist Karen Burke, interview by author, October 20, 2015. He commented on various other authors in enough detail, and with strong-enough views, for us to be sure that he read their books as well. (See for instance Warhol commenting on Truman Capote, who would soon be coming back from rehab in Minnesota: “Brigid and I are thinking all the time that maybe Truman never did write any of his own stuff, that maybe he always had some butch guy there to do it. To do rewrites. Because I mean, Truman showed me a
script he did, and it was just awful, and when he shows you these things you can’t imagine that he could ever THINK they’re any good, they’re so bad”—Andy Warhol, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 4579, Kindle edition.) In the case of Tennessee Williams Warhol was a full-blown proselytizer, passing out his works for friends to read—see Carlton Willers in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 146. (Smith gives Willers the incorrect name “Alfred Carlton Walters.”)


It looks like Warhol could also compose: There’s a reference to a “long and interesting letter” sent by him in Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle) to Andy Warhol, c.1957, AWMA.


192. 36 “You know how to write”: Philippe Jullian to Andy Warhol, January 28, 1957, AWMA.

193. 36 “He’s incredibly analytical”: Geldzahler, in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.

194. 36 “Andy always knows”: Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

195. 36 sophisticated as any other amateur’s: Reported by archivist Matt Wrbican, from a conversation with Paul Bertram on the latter’s visit to The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh. A number of academic texts by Bertram survive in the Warhol archive, including an obscure 1965 tome—*Shakespeare and the Two Noble Kinsmen*—inscribed “For Andy, Paul. With love and friendship.”

Warhol’s friend Tom Lacy remembered going with Warhol to see John Gielgud perform in *Much Ado About Nothing* in the late 1950s—Tom

196. 36 **deceptively straightforward**: Paul Bertram to Andy Warhol, April 21, 1966, AWMA.

Another good friend of Warhol’s, the writer and poet Charles Henri Ford, once commented on the artist’s voracious reading and his love of learning: “It was almost like a school around Andy, because although he learned a lot from other people, they also learned an awful lot from him”—see Ford in John Wilcock, ed., The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Trela, 2010), 55.

197. 36 **acing an intelligence test**: Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 23.

198. 36 **his report cards**: See “Pittsburgh Public Schools Pupil’s Permanent Record Card,” reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

199. 36 **“academic”**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015. Like Warhol, Pace was in the academic stream and took many of the same courses he did.


201. 36 **Latin and trigonometry and was a proud assistant**: See the 1945 Schenley yearbook preserved in the Warhol archives. Warhol also mentions the lab assistantship on his application to Carnegie Institute of Technology, preserved in the registrar’s office of Carnegie Mellon University.

202. 36 **quite a few As**: Carnegie Institute of Technology, “Certificate of Secondary School Courses for Admission to Day Courses,” July 25, 1945, AWMA.

A slightly different high-school report is reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript,
207), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

203. **“good marks”:** Paul Warhola, Jr., to Julia Warhola, October 26, 1952, AWMA.

204. **respectable IQ of 104:** Carnegie Institute of Technology, “Certificate of Secondary School Courses for Admission to Day Courses,” July 25, 1945, AWMA.

205. **earn their diplomas at all:** Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

206. **seventy-five boys:** Schenley commencement program, June 18, 1945, AWMA. Another 16 male students were held over until they finished certain credits.


208. **only had boys:** See the photo of the class preserved in the Warhol archives, and the July 25, 1995, letter from Warhol classmate Michael Polimus (AWMA) explaining that no girls were in the class because it was the only one located in the school’s basement.

209. **accelerated out of high school:** I. L. Kandel, *The Impact of the War Upon American Education* (University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 89. The research for this discussion of World War II and high-school education was conducted by intern Gabriella Caputo.

Warhol’s classmate Bennard Perlman said that the acceleration came from wanting more boys to have their diplomas before they went off to war—see Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 150. Perlman also wrote that Warhol skipped eleventh grade altogether, a claim contradicted by various transcripts that survive.

210. **Warhol’s last two years:** Warhol himself recalled those summer-school classes as make-up for all the days he missed from illness—see Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” in *I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews*, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Avalon, 2004), 235, Kindle edition. Those missed days would, however, have been in grade school, not high school.

211. **the merchant marine:** David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 17.

213. **“Andy was just like one of my sons”:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.

214. **Anna Lemak:** See the May 3, 2016, e-mail to the author from Anna’s son James Warhola.

215. **already pregnant:** Abby Warhola, Paul and Anna’s granddaughter, reported that the couple had had a secret wedding first, then a public wedding in front of family, and that Julia Warhola had apparently already chosen a bride for her son and was not happy with the choice he made instead—Abby Warhola, interview by author, November 9, 2015.

216. **The couple:** In April 1943 Paul Warhola asked his mother how she felt about his getting married: “I says, ‘Is this gonna maybe change the situation?’ She says, ‘I’m not gonna stand in your way. If you want to get married, that’s fine.’ I says, ‘Well, we’ll live here. We’ll rent the second floor and I can pay you so much a month’”—see Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 745, Kindle edition.

217. **caused conflict:** Donald Warhola, interview by author, April 1, 2015; Abby Warhola, interview by author, November 9, 2015.


218. **“he was from another world”:** Anna Warhola, in a circa 2010 videotape recorded by her granddaughter Abby Warhola and Jesse Best.

219. **“They made fun of him”:** Philip Pearlstein, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universität, 1976), 263.


221. **$1,514.07:** Receipt for Transfer Inheritance Tax, January 2, 1946, AWMA. Andrej’s estate is listed at $1,505 in “Wills Filed,” *Pittsburgh Press*, November 1943. It looks like the house simply passed to the widow directly, since she had been included on its original deed. It could be that Julia counted the final value of the home in the “$11,000” that she said Andrej had left her, which would add up about right. County real-estate records and documents in the Warhol archives show that the house sold
in early December 1960 for $10,500, and the agents and lawyers would have taken some part of that.

222. **Social Security**: Payments amounted to $17.48 a month, according to a June 20, 1942, letter (AWMA) from the Social Security Board (Philadelphia) to Julia Warhola. A letter of July 15, 1957 (AWMA) shows the amount rising to $40.10.

223. **supporting the household**: Andrej’s will wasn’t fully executed until 1943 and taxes on the estate were still in play as late as 1946—see the receipt for Transfer Inheritance Tax, January 2, 1946, AWMA.


Paul Warhola said a business partner of his gave Warhol several years’ summer work scooping ice cream in a “dairy store” in the East Liberty neighborhood, a gig that only ended in college when Warhol got work at Horne’s department store instead—see Paul Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d.

225. **Julia rented**: John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


229. **a hypochondriac**: See Brian Dillon, *The Hypochondriacs: Nine Tormented Lives* (Faber and Faber, 2009), 238–68.

Warhol’s first encounter with modern medicine, when he was about four years old, would have been both successful and traumatic: His brother Paul sometimes told a story about little Andy tripping in the streets of Soho and breaking his right arm; too poor to visit a doctor, the family let the bone set wrong and the arm then had to be re-broken and


234. **Schenley diploma**: The diploma was sold at auction in 2006—see “4419: Andy Warhol. High School Diploma,” LiveAuctioneers, accessed February 9, 2019, https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/2549862_4419-andy-warhol-high-school-diploma. The program for the school commencement (AWMA) gives the date as June 18, and lists Warhol as one of the graduating students.

235. **was accepted**: Melissa B. Keefer, “Andy Warhol’s Early Years Have Roots in Oakland,” *Oakland* (July 1987).

236. **becoming an art teacher**: Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.


238. **“you went to the mill”**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

239. **emotional control**: Carnegie Institute of Technology, “Certificate of Secondary School Courses for Admission to Day Courses,” July 25, 1945, AWMA.


243. **the normal culmination**: According to an article written
the very year Warhol ended high school, “To the boy or girl who is interested in art as a profession these classes are the obvious entrance to Tech’s College of Fine Arts; and for many years a goodly percentage of the freshman class has been composed of young people who started their art education in the children’s classes at the Carnegie Institute”—see *Carnegie Magazine* (January 1945).


244. **a scholarship:** In an interview from 1985 Paul Warhola had his brother winning a scholarship, but his quotes are so full of factual errors that they can’t be trusted—see Donald Miller, “Andy’s Roots,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 9, 1985. A magazine article mentions a scholarship, and seems to rely on Warhol’s brother John as a source—see Melissa B. Keefer, “Andy Warhol’s Early Years Have Roots in Oakland,” *Oakland* (July 1987). A college classmate said that she and Warhol both received the Andrew Carnegie Scholarship, which reduced tuition by half and could also be supplemented, in the College of Fine Arts, by a needs-based grant for the most promising students—see Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. This was corroborated in a January 23, 2015, e-mail to the author from Julia Corrin, an archivist at Carnegie Mellon University.


The tests ran from July 9 to 12—see “Program Application Tests,” *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1945, vi. For some reason, however, Warhol’s test were scheduled on August 11—see J. M. Daniels, chairman of admissions, undated letter to Warhol reproduced in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

246. **Applicants were asked:** Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. Jagger was a Carnegie Tech alumna.

247. **the only one who’d got it right**: Roger Anliker, quoted by Charles Schmidt, interview by author, May 12, 2013. Anliker told the same story to his student and executor Dale Roberts, interview by author, April 6, 2015.

248. **They weren’t going to accept him**: John Warhola, in

249. **39 number is right:** Tuition came to $405 for both semesters—see Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts, February 1945, xxvii–xxix.

250. **39 likely incidentals:** See Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts, February 1, 1945, xxix. See also Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts, April 1948, 28.

251. **39 he’d wanted used:** It was Andrej’s death-bed wish to have Warhol use the money for college, said John Warhola in Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).

Paul Warhola said that the money had been left for the education of all three sons, but that his military service, and John's choice of a vocational school, left Andy as the only college candidate—Paul Warhola, interview by Bennard B. Perlman, typed note, May 6, 2003, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

252. **39 $215 million:** Christie’s was hired by Frederick Hughes to do the appraisal between February and May 1991, when its appraisers valued the estate at $213.7 million—see Geraldine Norman, “Art Market: Warhol: Famous for $500 Million,” The Independent, July 3, 1994.

CHAPTER 3


2. **41 Warhol’s application:** His admissions forms are preserved in the registrar’s office of Carnegie Mellon University.

3. **41 goofy freshman:** The photo has been on exhibit at The Andy Warhol Museum, and is said to have been taken the day before Warhol’s start at the Carnegie Institute of Technology.

4. **41 fattened himself:** Warhol listed himself as 5' 9", 135 pounds on admission forms to Carnegie Tech. At the start of his sophomore year, however, more reliable draft-office documents list Warhol as 5' 8" and only 125 pounds—see the Selective Service registration card, August 6, 1946, AWMA.


6. **41 first day of class:** Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts, February 1, 1945, vi.
7. **the expense of trolleys**: John Warhola, interview by Robert Gangewere, typed notes, November 11, 2003, Robert Gangewere personal papers. The trolley cost 50 cents a week, which was seen as an extravagance.


10. **“stem the tide of modern art”**: Balcomb Greene, outline to an unpublished novel, Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


14. **hangout for art students**: “Department of Painting and Design,” in The Thistle (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1949). When Skibo was torn down in 1959 to make way for the new Hunt Library it was described as having been a much-loved “informal student social center”—see “End of an Era at Tech: Skibo Inn to Fall,” Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, November 1, 1959, 29. (The article is preserved as a clipping in the main Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh.)


16. **known as “P&Ds”**: The Thistle (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1947).

17. **Painting and Illustration**: The annual bulletins of the College of Fine Arts show the name change taking place in the 1946–47 academic year.


19. **no line between the fine and the applied arts**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital
audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.


The original Bauhausers Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Walter Gropius and Wassily Kandinsky were held up as models at Tech—see Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. Moholy-Nagy lectured at the Outlines gallery in January 1942 and Gropius designed an important modernist housing complex in the region—see Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection. In 1946 the Carnegie’s art museum held a memorial show for Kandinsky—see the list of Carnegie Institute art exhibitions kept at the Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.


22. **conception over execution:** The College of Fine Arts as a whole was designed, from the start, to offer the nation’s first comprehensive artistic education, with pioneering courses in art but also in everything from ceramics and jewelry to music composition to “eurythmics,” while it was the only campus in the nation offering an industrial design degree—see “Art: New Arrival,” *Bulletin Index*, January 1, 1942. Drama has always been the college’s most successful program, and Warhol’s friends among Tech’s “dramats” inspired his lifetime love of radical performing arts, and maybe his own theatrical streak—see *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, 15. The curriculum is described semester by semester.

As its director put it in 1949, the College of Fine Arts had the goal of encouraging its hundreds of students, in all their disparate fields, “to combine ideas and progress through a common bond in advancing the commonwealth of art”—see “Department of Painting and Design,” in *The Thistle* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1949). For attendance numbers see *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, 73.

A faculty document from 1946 shows Robert Lepper, a future teacher of Warhol’s, devising ways to increase contact between the various departments and break down “clannishness” in each discipline; later records say that he succeeded—see the June 28, 1946, draft of part II of the 1945–1946 annual report for the College of Fine Arts, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. On the success of Lepper’s efforts, see the 1947–48
annual report.

23. **Saturday classes**: Faculty taught these lessons to supplement pitiful salaries: On declining and inadequate faculty salaries see “College of Fine Arts Minutes of Faculty Meeting: First Meeting 1946–47,” Carnegie Mellon University Archives. The annual reports of the College of Fine Arts have inadequate staff salaries as a constant theme.

24. **just been included**: The Carnegie annual always opened at the start of the academic term.


29. **first make of abstract art**: Artist files at the main Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, include articles on Russell Twiggs from the *Pittsburgh Press* from 1932, the *Sun-Telegraph*, *Pittsburgh Press* and *Bulletin Index* from 1937 (which says that Twiggs show was the city’s first exhibition of abstraction), the *Sun-Telegraph* from 1950 and the *Post-Gazette* from 1954.


31. **student works**: Tech regulations gave the College of Fine Arts the right to retain any student work that it chose—see *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945. Russell Twiggs eventually donated some of the retained Warhols to the Carnegie Museum of Art.

32. **silkscreen printing**: See “In the Field of Prints,” *New York Times*, March 24, 1940.

33. **to make paintings**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. Jack Wilson, another Tech student, also describes Russell Twiggs as doing radical experiments in serigraphy—see Wilson in Patrick S. Smith,
43 move to silkscreening: One Tech teacher imagined Warhol learning the silkscreening process during his summer's work in a store's display department—see Robert Lepper, in a January 1974 document compiled in response to queries from the German scholar Rainer Crone, Robert Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.


43 learned the technique: Martha Sutherland, March 25, 2015, e-mail to the author.

Sutherland could have learned the technique in a class called “Medi-ums and Reproduction” that we know Warhol took—see his transcript in the Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University. See also where the course is described in *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, 16. The course seems to have been taught by the illustration instructor Howard Worner—see Robert Lepper to Fred Lawrence Guiles, February 4, 1989, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

43 to try silkscreening: Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. Jagger only arrived at Tech in the summer of 1949, however, so her “memories” of Warhol’s studies may not be trustworthy. (The two were friends in New York, however, once she had graduated.)


43 art star: Greene cultivated a “deliberate eroticism” and “diabolical appearance,” according to one contemporary—see John H. Baur, *Balcomb Greene* (New York: American Federation of the Arts, 1961), 3.


41. **new style**: Greene’s new, non-geometrical style starts being seen in the 1944 Carnegie annual, with a painting called *Profoundly Blue*, illustrated in the annual’s catalog. He’s in the show again in 1945, with a painting called *The Studio* of which no record seems to survive. By the 1947 annual, with a painting called *Black Angels*, his shift to a proto-AbEx, almost-figurative style seems complete.

42. **a photo of him**: *The Bulletin Index*, January 29, 1949, preserved as a clipping without pagination in the main Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.

   In 1952, a Greene abstraction got ranked as one of the greatest American paintings of the first half of the 20th century—see “‘Tech Artist’s Painting Wins Half-Century Honour,’” *Pittsburgh Press*, March 4, 1952. The article is preserved as a clipping without pagination in the main Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh. As late as 1963, when Warhol still seems to have been keeping tabs on his teacher, Greene continued to be so prominent and popular that he was included in a major touring survey of American art—see John Ashbery, “At the Louvre and Elsewhere,” *New York Herald-Tribune (Paris Edition)*, May 15, 1963. The article was preserved by Warhol as a clipping (TC39, AWMA). Throughout the sixties, any number of art magazines that featured Warhol included just as prominent discussions of Greene—see for example *Art News* (November 1963). (Warhol on page 26, Greene on 49—TC6, AWMA.)

43. **“barnacles”**: Greene inveighed against both “the old long-pencil shading from casts” and also the studies in texture and tone that were the new staples at Tech. See pedagogical notes in the Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

44. **“the social meaning of art”**: Balcomb Greene, in “This Painter Examines the Social Contract,” *Artnews* (April 1956): 33.

45. **Warhol attended**: See Warhol’s transcript preserved in the Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University. See also Balcomb Greene, oral history, interview by Paul Cummings, March 13, 1972, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   Greene team-taught the course with a historian who covered the social contexts for the art—see Robert Beverly Hale and Niké Hale, *The Art of Balcomb Greene* (New York: Horizon Press, 1977). Green only taught art history at Tech, rather than studio classes, because he believed in keeping a wall between his teaching and his art making—see Balcomb Greene, oral history, interview by Paul Cummings, March 13, 1972, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
46. **Brecht**: Philip Pearlstein mentions Tech students’ knowledge of Brecht “and the alienation effect” in a typescript of a conversation between him and Rainer Crone, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. I am assuming Brecht was taught to them in Greene’s course.

47. **Le Sacre du printemps and The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

48. **bold discussions**: See Raymond Somers Stites, *The Arts and Man* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1940), 762. The book also had sections on topics like “The Significance of Nietzsche as a Prototype of the Modern Aesthetician” that are harder to imagine Warhol fully absorbing.

Warhol’s classmate Arthur Elias confirmed that this was their college art history textbook—see Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 528. The Stites book was also mentioned as their textbook in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.


If it is true that Greene also assigned Vision and Design, a famous book of essays by the diehard British formalist Roger Fry, Warhol was being exposed to a huge range of ideas—see the claim that Fry’s book had a big influence on Warhol in Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 161. Warhol may still have been talking fondly of Fry as late as 1973: Why else would a friend have thought the latest scholarly edition of Fry’s letters, in two volumes, was a suitable Christmas gift for Warhol that year, offered “with love-love-love”? The volumes were found in *Time Capsule* 175 of Warhol’s archives, with an inscription from “Lee.”

50. **on Dada artists**: See Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 539. See also Philip Pearlstein, “The Paintings of Francis Picabia, 1908–1930” (MA, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1955). Arthur Elias said that he wrote “a thesis on Dada in 1950,” and that he was the first of their circle to have an interest in the movement—Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 539.

51. **“characteristic of the mechanical”**: See the course notes in the Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art,
Smithsonian Institution.


44 Caravaggio’s chiaroscuro: Warhol discussed this and other art-historical topics on late-night cab rides with the much younger artist George Condo—George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.


45 in touch with the Abstract Expressionists: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.


45 a dead end: Balcomb Greene, interview by Karl E. Fortess, audiotape with transcript, September 16, 1975, Balcomb and Gertrude Greene papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


45 “natural appearances”: New York Times, March 30, 1947, clipping preserved in the Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The Greene papers also include a clipping from the June 1, 1961, Hartford Times that dates Greene’s first return to figuration to 1943, while another clipping dates it to 1947. A May 29, 1966, clipping, apparently from a Los Angeles newspaper, says he began to work from photographs in 1940.


65. **attacked Warhol:** Balcomb Greene, “A Thing of Beauty,” *Art Journal* 25, no. 4 (Summer 1966): 364. A draft of this article in the Greene papers at the Archives of American Art was complete by the end of 1964.


69. **only two males:** In Warhol’s freshman year Tech had admitted its largest class ever, after a decade of declining enrollment. See “Tech to Award Largest Class 906 Degrees,” *Pittsburgh Press*, June 5, 1949. On declining enrollment, see “College of Fine Arts Minutes of Faculty Meeting: First Meeting 1946–47,” Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

   The only other recent high-school graduate to enter Tech’s art program was Bennard Perlman—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

   The female attention to Warhol must have felt like a comfy reversion to grade school, where all but one of his classmates had been girls, and an escape from the all-male homeroom he’d endured at Schenley High. Photographs of his classes at both Holmes Elementary and Schenley High survive in the Warhol archives.

71. **a special kinship**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.


73. **these wry little remarks**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

74. **nothing he hasn’t observed.**: Henry Geldzahler, in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.

75. **odd man out**: Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 159. Perlman was deeply involved in college activities, including writing a history of the Beaux Arts Ball for the students’ Form magazine.

76. **Withdrawning as a Defense**: Laurance Frederic Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment: An Objective Approach to Mental Hygiene* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936). The book survives in the Warhol archives. Warhol also noted telling passages on how “phantasy underlies all art” and on the harms of overindulgent and overprotective parenting. The underlines are of a piece with doodles and marginalia that are very clearly by Warhol.

77. **a caterpillar costume**: From undated and unidentified clippings preserved in the Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

78. **Salvador Dalí**: Dalí, always a favorite of Warhol, had been one of the few Surrealists regularly featured in the Carnegie annuals, including being given pride of place with the first work in the first room of the 1947 edition. Warhol could also have admired a Dalí backdrop when the Ballets Russes came to town in 1942—see Donald Steinfirst, “Ballet Russe Gives Annual Performances,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 16, 1942, 10.

   In the 1960s, Warhol became a pal of Dalí’s and made films about him, while his hunt for celebrity was always compared to the Surrealist’s.

79. **planning committee**: The Warhol archives preserve an undated clipping from a publication of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, showing “A. Warhol” as a member of the college’s Beaux Arts Society, “made up of the most outstanding Fine Arts students. . . . chosen on the basis of their participation in school activities and of their scholarship standards.” See also “Student Conference Committee Discusses

80. **46 Bali**: The new theme made costumes easier to find than they’d been for the Surrealist ball, with just “a little browsing through the National Geographics,” as one student organizer put it—see the planning document for the 1947–48 Beaux Arts Ball, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

There might also have been some brown-nosing involved in choosing Bali as the theme: Kenneth Johnstone, the director of the College of Fine Arts, seems to have been a Bali fan. An ad exists for a lecture by him, titled “Sculptors of Bali,” to be delivered at Pittsburgh’s new Arts and Crafts Center on January 20, 1946—see the scrapbooks preserved in the Records of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.

81. **46 went topless**: Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft, n.d.), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. *Life* magazine photos depict several male students in such costumes.


The ball also earned the students a ferocious pan, also Warhol’s first: Editors at *Life* and the *New York Times*, and also Tech officials, received a letter complaining that the ball was a “shameful and sacrilegious” travesty of Bali’s religious rituals—see Arie K. Fluit, unpublished letter to the editors of *Life* and the *New York Times*, April 3, 1948, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.


84. **46 liberal arts education**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

See also *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, 15. The curriculum is described year by year.

85. **47 “exciting person”**: Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University,
1982), 527.


Warhol owned and kept a 1947 novel by Gladys Schmitt, titled *Alexandra*, autographed by Schmitt (TC51, AWMA).

On Warhol’s class presentations see Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft, n.d.), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

87. **straight Ds**: Final transcript of Andy Warhol, Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University.

88. **a decent GPA**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. Douglas said that she and Warhol won the same award.


90. **a lousy draughtsman**: Robert Lepper, “Andrew Warhola: Student in Pittsburgh,” typescript of a 1976 essay, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. Strangely, in a November 27, 1987, letter to Donna de Salvo (Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives) Lepper said that his earlier memory was incorrect, and that Andy would have been recognized as a fine draughtsman. On several occasions, Lepper said he had almost no memory at all of Warhol as a student, so all of his recollections may be suspect—see Ann Curran, “CMU’s Other Andy,” *Carnegie-Mellon Magazine* (Spring 1985): 17.

Warhol’s talented teachers may in fact already have known his work as a high-school student, when some of them had judged the nationwide student-art awards that were based at the Carnegie, and not found him worthy of any notable prize—see the discussion earlier in this book and also “Teachers from Tech on Art Jury,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, April 14, 1943.

91. **Cs or Ds**: January 30, 1946, grade slip, AWMA.

92. **problems with charcoal and perspective**: Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

93. **of his cousin Joe**: Sold by Joseph Warhola himself at Christie’s, New York, on September 15, 2004. A photograph of the drawing preserved by the sitter’s son Jay reveals a date of July 18, 1946, just after the end of Warhol’s first year at Tech.

    The drawing might be for the sophomore anatomy class, in which Warhol got a C, rather than the freshman drawing course. See Warhol’s transcript in the Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University, and the year-by-year description of the curriculum in Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts, February 1, 1945, 15.

95. the fittest would survive: Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in The Andy Warhol Museum (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 152. That same term, professors at the University of Pittsburgh told their younger students, “We want to get rid of as many of you as we can”—Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

96. put on probation: Lists of probationers are included in the College of Fine Arts curriculum committee minutes, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

97. all the students’ work: Charles Schmidt, interview by author, May 12, 2013. Schmidt was a Tech graduate.

98. a final decision: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

    A passage from an unfinished art-school novel, begun in the 1940s by Balcomb Greene (Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution) includes a comic description of the process by which a rebellious, Warhol-like student gets a D.


100. “I created a big scene”: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

101. produce drawings: College documents record Warhol, and also his friend Eleanor Simon, as “suspended until advancement in Drawing I”—see “Minutes of Curriculum Committee Meeting, May 29, 1946,” Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

    The remedy was specific to failure in those drawing classes—see Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts, February 1, 1945, 41. Some sources say that Warhol took a summer class in drawing at the University of Pittsburgh—see Robert Tomsho, “Looking for Mr. Warhol,” Pittsburgher Magazine (May 1980): 57. Bennard Perlman mentions Andy’s tears at the prospect of flunking, and says the drawing class
was at Tech, as confirmed by Warhol’s transcript, which shows him getting a more than respectable B—Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 152. Warhol’s final transcript (Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University) records him being suspended on May 29, 1946, and then “advanced from Drawing I” on August 3, 1946.

102. **perfectly respectable**: Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.


104. **art supplies he needed**: John Warhola, in Melissa B. Keefer, “Andy Warhol’s Early Years Have Roots in Oakland,” *Oakland* (July 1987).

105. **Honoré Daumier**: A local critic, speaking in terms straight out of Warhol’s Tech classes, praised the Carnegie show for collapsing popular and fine art: “Daumier reveals a mastery of line and sense of the plastic which, together with a sympathetic and accurate portrayal of the human comedy, marks him as an artist first, a caricaturist second”—Virginia Lewis, “Again We See Paris,” *Carnegie Magazine* (1946): 231. Lewis’s review also points to a Tech-friendly social dimension in Daumier’s prints, which speak of “the city and crowds, of the nervous energy which has become so much a part of our lives”—just what the doctor called for, when it came to capturing the world of Dawson Street hucksters and thereby impressing teachers.

Balcomb Greene’s lecture notes (Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution) show that he would have taught Daumier to Warhol and his classmates, although maybe only in the senior-year art history course: Daumier was much in the news in 1948 for the centennial of the 1848 Paris revolts and the birth of the Second Republic in France. (George Grosz, the German expressionist and émigré who was a regular in the Carnegie annuals, had a trademark technique with watercolors that seems to have influenced the way Warhol completed his Daumier-style drawings with washes of paint.)

106. **an anecdote**: See Warhol in “Artist-Huckster Sketches Customers and Wins Prize,” *Pittsburgh Press*, November 24, 1946. The article also has Warhol describing his drawings as a sociological study of the rich and poor in urban Pittsburgh.
107. **“appreciate my artwork”:** Gloria Pace, of 3727 Dawson Street, interview by author, January 18, 2015.

108. **he changed:** See Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Vaughan said Warhol “painted the way he wanted, and they flunked him. So he went to summer school and painted the way they wanted.” That storyline parallels one from Balcomb Greene’s unfinished art-school novel, which recounted the travails of a P&D who had to decide whether “for the sake of passing her courses, to make the compromise paintings which will show she can follow instructions”—see the outline in the Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Washington, Smithsonian Institution.


112. **Martin B. Leisser Prize:** See the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, November 24, 1945. The prize is also recorded in the program for Tech’s celebration of “Carnegie Day” in the fall of 1946, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

113. **first solo exhibition:** The award ceremony and one-day exhibition were held on November 22, 1946, according to Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

114. **big article:** See “Artist-Huckster Sketches Customers and Wins Prize,” *Pittsburgh Press*, November 24, 1946.

115. **all at the same time:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


Philip Pearlstein also won the following year (two first prizes, in painting and drawing, plus scholarship money for Tech) when his face got the entire cover of a local magazine and his painting fronted the show’s catalog—see “Artists of the Future,” *Bulletin Index*, May 14, 1942, 11. See also *Catalogue: Scholastic Magazine’s 15th National High School Art Exhibition*, reproduced at “Alliance for Young Artists & Writers: From the Vault—90 Years of Scholastic Art and Writing Awards Catalogs,” *Scholastic Art & Writing Awards* (blog), accessed February 12, 2019, http://blog.artandwriting.org/2013/02/05/from-the-vault-90-years-of-scholastic-art-and-writing-awards-catalogs/.

The coverage may have saved Pearlstein’s life once he was drafted into the army during World War II, because he used the *Life* article to get switched from front-line duty to graphic design work—see Leland Wallin, “The Evolution of Philip Pearlstein, Part I,” *Art International* (Summer 1979): 62.

119. **50 “It only lasted five minutes”:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


Warhol would have been especially impressed by Pearlstein’s achievement because Warhol himself seems to have been some kind of finalist in a later edition of the same competition—but without receiving even one drop of press. (See the discussion earlier in this book.) Warhol was so impressed, in fact, that you can see the influence of Philip Pearlstein’s works on Warhol’s “remedial” drawings from the summer of 1946: One of Pearlstein’s prize-winning paintings has a huckster’s truck in the background; a medaled drawing by Pearlstein shows a comically chaotic neighborhood scene—see “Artists of the Future,” *Bulletin Index*, May 14, 1942, cover, 11.

121. **50 because he was older:** Joseph Groell, interview by author, June 11, 2015.
122. **diehard lefties:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

123. **first restaurant:** Leonard Kessler, interview by author, May 10, 2015.


125. **French and Oxford accents:** Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.


   “Instead of ‘learning’ from the instructors, I was ‘teaching’ them,” the modest Klauber recalled, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 685. Klauber went on to be one of New York’s leading graphic designers.

   Warhol’s circle was rounded out by a classmate named Arthur Elias and by Warhol’s high-school friend Eleanor Simon, who moved out of her parents’ house and became a Bohemian model for Warhol—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 43. “She’s the one who really decided he was an artist, and very talented” recalled Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.

127. **sprawling on the campus:** The photos are in the Philip Pearlstein papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


129. **every exhibition:** Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 533.

130. **Warhol bought:** The Warhol archives include a receipt for a Lautrec “poster” of cyclists bought from the Bodley Gallery on November 3, 1958, for the impressive sum of $300.

132. "sort of a pre-beatnick": Pittsburgher Jim Colker, in the typescript of a 1960s interview, Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY.

133. received a D: Final transcript of Andy Warhol, Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University.


136. clothing drive: The narrative comes from George Arnold, who worked in the same store in the 1980s and was told the tale by older colleagues. He is quoted in Marylynne Pitz, “Andy Warhol Has Early Start as Horne’s Window-Dresser,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, July 19, 2015. This was confirmed by George Arnold, interview by author, July 28, 2015.


Gene Moore, who gave Warhol work doing windows for Bonwit Teller’s department store beginning in 1955, said that “he was still being called Raggedy Andy, not because his work was sloppy, but because of his appearance,” but Moore was writing thirty-five years after the fact and after the Tomkins piece and its title had long since been absorbed into the public consciousness—see Gene Moore and Jay Hyams, My Time at Tiffany’s (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990), 69.

138. his father’s Rusyn name: Philip Pearlstein considered “André” to be identical to Warhol’s father’s name—Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.

139. to “André”: Even in his first years in New York Warhol was still going French: A 1951 portrait of Warhol drawn by his new friend Nathan Gluck (TC87, AWMA) is inscribed “pour André de son vrai ami nathan.”

A 1954 Christmas card (TC22, AWMA) from Warhol’s college friend Corinne Kessler is addressed to “Mr. André Warhola.”

140. Warhol’s name change: Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 42. Although a competing biographer calls the name-change “an affectation [Warhol]

141. **he scribbled:** The scribbles are in Edward McNall Burns, Western Civilizations: Their History & Their Culture (W. W. Norton, 1941). A copy of the book is preserved with Warhol’s annotations in his archives. A classmate of Warhol’s confirmed that it was a college text of theirs—Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. It might have been assigned by the historian who team-taught with Balcomb Greene.

142. **changing Warhol:** Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.

143. **dance program:** See Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 42. See also Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. Corinne Kessler is mentioned as a dance teacher in several 1949 clippings in scrapbooks in the Records of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.


Martha Graham performed Appalachian Spring, winner of the 1945 Pulitzer Prize for Music, on February 12, 1947, in her first appearance in Oakland’s huge Syria Mosque, where Warhol’s college commencement was later held—see “Martha Graham Recital Given at Syria Mosque,” Pittsburgh Press, February 13, 1947. Merce Cunningham is mentioned as one of the dancers in “Martha Graham to Return to Pittsburgh This Week,” Pittsburgh Press, February 9, 1947. Philip Pearlstein also remembered seeing Graham, in the typescript of a conversation between him and Rainer Crone, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

145. **Graham as “very ‘in’”:** Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 538.

Philip Pearlstein remembered that he and Warhol also went to every performance by the gay dancer and choreographer José Limon, “a kind of hero on the cultural scene,” said Pearlstein, whose company was still going strong seven decades later—see Philip Pearlstein, in the typescript of a conversation between him and Rainer Crone, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. On Limon’s homosexuality


52 **the club’s auditions:** *The Thistle* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1947), 128.

52 **a recruitment poster:** The poster, in The Andy Warhol Museum, advertises a September 30 meeting, turning Abstract Expressionist splashes into the bodies of student dancers.


52 **Christmas card:** Signed “André,” the card (AWMA) was in the mail on December 26, 1948, addressed to Warhol’s former classmate George Klauber, who had already left Tech to finish his studies at Pratt in New York, where he’d begun them. Klauber was then finding a place among the gay culturati of Brooklyn—Marshall Reese, interview by author, April 13, 2015. Reese is a relative of Klauber’s 1950s friend Ralph “Corkie” Ward, who was also close to Warhol.


53 **“if I was a girl”:** Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

53 **original meaning:** See George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 7. To “come out” is defined as “to be initiated into the mysteries of homosexuality” in the period glossary included in Hugh Hagius, ed., “Gaederick’s Sodom-On-Hudson,” in *Swasarnt Nerf’s Gay Guides for 1949* (New York: Bibliogay Publications, 2010), 5. One of the earliest instances where “coming out” is used in its cur-
rent sense is in Gore Vidal, *The City and the Pillar* (New York: Dutton, 1948), 287.


157. **a luxurious department store**: John Namojski, interview by author, July 8, 2015. Namojski cited a local saying that you went to Kaufmann’s department store to buy something for yourself, but to Horne’s if you had to buy a wedding gift.


159. **Raymond Loewy**: *This Is the Story of Pittsburgh and Horne’s* (Pittsburgh: Joseph Horne Co., 1949), 16.

160. **a special trip**: Therese Rocco, interview by author, July 1, 2014.


163. **male-tested**: See photos in the *Joseph Horne Company Records*, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA. Larry Vollmer specified that Warhol worked on women’s beachware in a 1960s typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY.


166. **right in the elevator**: Tech instructor Russell Twiggs, in a 1960s typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY.

167. **wild bird, an odd duck**: Larry Vollmer, in a 1960s typescript preserved among the Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY.

168. **designed windows**: Larry Vollmer’s windows are illus-


170. **the idol**: Larry Vollmer is the only Pittsburgher to get that kind of billing from Warhol, and the two kept in touch for years. Warhol inscribed a copy of his 1975 *Philosophy* book to Vollmer, and even drew a little Campbell’s soup can in it which he signed “Andy” in red. The volume was listed for sale by the book dealer Charles Avgent on July 16, 2007, at https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/BiblioMarket/conversations/topics/16816, accessed March 2, 2015.

171. **Charming photos**: The photos are preserved in the Warhol archives. The latest photos are dated October 4, 1947—precisely when Warhol would have been returning to college; they might have been shot in commemoration of his departure.


The suit can be seen in a photo by Otto Fenn, accession #1998.3.4858, in The Andy Warhol Museum. Note that the suit in the photo is clearly made of a lightweight, very narrow-wale corduroy, so would have been less intolerably warm than one might think in the New York summer of 1949, when Warhol is known to have been wearing it to meet with clients.


175. **You didn’t go downtown**: Edgar Munhall, interview by author, April 8, 2015.


In 1948, corduroy sold at Horne’s for the lofty sum of $20 for a jacket. An ad said that “everyone wears corduroy to class or informal dates”
(what would those have been like for Warhol?) and it boasted of the six colors stocked by Horne’s, pink not being among them—see Joseph Horne Company Records, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.


182. **54 a button in the floor**: John Namojski, interview by author, July 8, 2015. The café’s main-floor location made it unusually prominent, since most department stores put their restaurants higher up—Bruce Kopytek, department-store historian, in a March 2, 2015, e-mail to the author.

By some lovely accident the café, known for its celebrity clientele, was in fact called “The Tea Room,” changed to “Josephine’s” in 1979, maybe when the louche implications of its old name became more obvious—see Virginia Peden, “Horne’s Tea Room Was Favorite Resting Spot,” *Pittsburgh Press*, September 12, 1989.

183. **54 “wouldn’t want to go down there”:** John Namojski, interview by author, July 8, 2015.

184. **54 cruising zone**: See “Jury to Get Vice Squad Case Today,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 16, 1952. The article describes a gay man being arrested for sex in the Point area. See also the oral history conducted in 1992 with Robert “Lucky” Johns, a 56-year-old gay bar owner in Pittsburgh interviewed for the Pitt Men’s Study.

185. **54 “sex deviates” to beat up and arrest**: On “brutal and unprovoked assaults by armed policemen” see “Police Told to Quit,” *Pittsburgh Press*, January 3, 1952.

186. **55 “human behavior in the group and individual sense”:**


55 pages on homosexuality underlined: We can tell the book’s annotations are by Warhol because its doodles are the same as ones he was doing many years later—see for example doodles on the back of the 1961 invitation to Robert Indiana’s “Premiums” show (TC65, AWMA) at the Studio for Dance gallery in New York.

55 “sexual readjustment”: As though the book’s text wasn’t depressing enough, Warhol had the volume second-hand and it came already full of homophobic scribbles. The names of two previous owners from the Tech drama department (both are in Tech records as class of ’41) are “annotated” with the phrase “two of the B(ig) Boys”—“b-boy” or “bottom boy” being vintage slang for the submissive partner in anal sex, a notion that obsessed the period’s homophobes. Below that another scribbler describes the two students as “punkins both,” “punkin,” as glossed recently by one female classmate of Warhol’s, being the period term for a gay man on the make—see Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

55 self-portrait: From the collection of Jeffrey Warhola, son of Warhol’s brother John, and seen March 31, 2015, in storage at The Andy Warhol Museum. It must date from Warhol’s sophomore or junior year at Tech, since it has obvious links to his Daumier-inspired drawings from the summer of 1946. The self-portrait must be the one his classmate George Klauber described as “a self-portrait he did where I can just see those wonderfully long fingers that he had”—Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 48. Klauber was only enrolled at Tech for the 1947–48 academic year, which probably dates the portrait to that time.

55 a later favorite: Warhol is shown applying white nail polish in several scenes from Bruce Torbet, Superartist, documentary, 1967.

55 comes off the same way: See Philip Pearlstein’s Art Class from 1946–47, in the Philip Pearlstein Family Collection and on view at The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh in July 2015.

194. **college boys of Oakland**: See the oral history conducted in 1992 with Robert “Lucky” Johns, a 56-year-old gay bar owner in Pittsburgh interviewed for the Pitt Men’s Study.


Even Balcomb Greene had got into the anti-gay act: Before arriving at Tech, he’d complained that abstract art had to compete with the public’s interest in “the vulgar homosexual” and “the living primitive,” two categories Warhol went on to build work around—see Balcolm Greene, “The American Perspective,” *Plastique* (Spring 1938).

We can only imagine what Greene would have included in his discussion of “The homosexual as an artist, and in the art world”, which gets a line in his course notes for Tech’s art history class, Balcomb and Gertrude Greene papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


197. **“One homosexual”**: Two reasons given were the “weak moral fiber” of gays and their vulnerability to “the blandishments of foreign espionage agents.”


199. **bright side of the picture**: The city’s newspapers would publish your name if you were caught frequenting gay hangouts—see Michael Sean Snow, “Dreams Realized and Dreams Deferred: Social Movements and Public Policy in Pittsburgh, 1960–1980” (Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 2005), 63.

200. **two Pittsburgh judges**: “County Faces Difficult Problem in

The year before, a sensitive 14-year-old artiste—later an acquaintance of Warhol’s in New York—was dragged before a judge for having written naughty letters to another boy and only escaped punishment by denying they were his—Edgar Munhall, interview by author, April 8, 2015.

My thanks to scholars Harrison Apple and Tim Haggerty for pointers on gay culture in Pittsburgh in the 1940s.

56 **piled charges:** “Hayden Jones Fell Victim to ‘Miscarriage of Justice,’” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 1996.


56 **psychiatric examination:** “Bill Covering Sex Deviates Due for Review,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 16, 1951.

56 **‘jail or shock treatments’**: See the oral history conducted in 1992 with Robert “Lucky” Johns, a 56-year-old gay bar owner in Pittsburgh interviewed for the Pitt Men’s Study.


56 **shot two gay men:** “Sharpsburg Man Shot: Morals Case Suspect,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 10, 1948, 8.


56 **loss of a job:** See the case of the 32-year-old “Jerry C.” reported in W. W. McClanahan, Jr., “What Shall We Do About the Sex Criminal: Chapter V,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 11, 1949, 7.


56 **paranoid panic:** “It was everybody for themselves,” remembered one gay man alive at the time—see Jim Austin, “‘The Great Morals

...
Ironically, the crackdown at the Point seems to have pushed gay cruising to Dithridge Street in Oakland, right by Tech and the Carnegie Museum and across the street from where Warhol may have briefly lived with a classmate on Mawhinney Street—see Jerry Bird, “Police Turn Spotlight on Gay Nightlife in Oakland,” *Pittsburgh Press*, June 2, 1980.

One source also mentions the bathrooms at the nearby Cathedral of Learning as having functioned as “tearooms,” giving Warhol yet another reason to care about that notable civic erection—see Mackenzie Carpenter, “A Saturday Cruise,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 15, 1991.


217. 57 much on the mind: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. In 1955, Douglas wrote her master’s thesis on Abstract Expressionism, and was introduced to de Kooning and many of his peers by her teacher Balcomb Greene.


these “come” paintings survive.


Merce Cunningham also appeared in Pittsburgh during Warhol’s sophomore year, as a dancer in Martha Graham’s *Appalachian Spring*—see “Martha Graham to Return to Pittsburgh This Week,” *Pittsburgh Press*, February 9, 1947.

222. 58 **more than just friends:** On the impact of Cage’s homosexuality on his art, see Jonathan Katz, “John Cage’s Queer Silence or How to Avoid Making Matters Worse,” accessed February 18, 2019, http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/KatzPages/KatzWorse.html.

223. 58 **gay clubs:** Bill Wood, interview by author, July 30, 2014. Wood came out on a trip to Miami Beach in 1950.


224. 58 **its entrance:** See the oral history conducted in 1992 with
Robert “Lucky” Johns, a 56-year-old gay bar owner in Pittsburgh interviewed for the Pitt Men’s Study.

225. **58 born in McKeesport:** Warhol’s friend and fellow Tech student Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle) was actually from McKeesport, according to David Newell, interview by author, May 15, 2015. Vaughan had been close to Warhol in their freshman year but had to leave Tech because her scholarship was not renewed, the college having decided that it could be more “usefully” given to a male student——Cathy Tuttle, daughter of Imilda Vaughan, interview by author, August 2, 2016.

Arthur Elias, another classmate, was also from McKeesport, according to Tech’s 1949 yearbook. Note that Elias took care to deny that Warhol was from that town——see Arthur Elias, interviewed in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 527.

226. **58 gay weddings:** See the oral history conducted with Herman McClain, a 75-year-old gay man interviewed in 1989 for the Pitt Men’s Study.

227. **58 went to draw:** The archives of the Carnegie Museum of Art include photos of Tam o’Shanter’s drawing from zoological displays in the museum of natural history.

228. **58 “elegant, sparrow-boned man”:** Alex Shoumatoff, *Russian Blood: A Family Chronicle* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1982), 197. Shoumatoff, Andrey Avinoff’s nephew, said that Avinoff lived alone in rooms at the ritzy Schenley Hotel that is mentioned as the winter home of “a number of the big manufacturers” in Willa Cather, *Paul’s Case and Other Stories* (New York: Dover Publications, 2011), 36.


Avinoff did commercial work for Colgate and Chevrolet, no less, and won the same advertising awards that Warhol later did, although editors had rejected his beefcake cover for *Machinist* magazine because of “too much of a display of masculine charms.”


231. **59 taught art:** “Portfolio of Sketches Shows Commons Room,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 1, 1942.

Avinoff had also been responsible for the Carnegie art museum’s landmark 1944 show of gold-ground Russian icons—the ones echoed in Warhol’s gold-ground Marilyns from almost two decades later—as well as for the design of the “Russian” classroom at the Cathedral of Learning. That was the ethnic-themed room paid for by Warhol’s Carpatho-Rusyn kin and dedicated with much fanfare in the summer of 1938, when the ten-year-old would undoubtedly have visited this popular new attraction, across the street from where he took his drawing classes. See “Cathedral of Learning Symbolizes Idealism of City Which Built It,” *Pittsburgh Press*, May 27, 1937. The Cathedral also housed a collection of 50,000 pictures of works of art, sure to have been catnip to Warhol.


The Warhol drawing, now in Basel, seems to be a study for the December 1948 Christmas card Warhol sent to his gay friend George Kluber, in which the butterflies in the study are exchanged for more seasonal Christmas trees—see Mark Francis and Deiter Koepplin, *Andy Warhol, Drawings 1942–1987* (Boston and New York: Little, Brown, 1998), plate 9. (Of course the butterfly image might also come after the Christmas-themed one.)

234. **come and fly with me**: The drawing is in the collection of the Warhol Museum, accession # 1998.1.1871.


236. **Edgar Kaufmann Jr.**: See the discussion of Warhol’s contacts with Edgar Kaufman, Jr., later in this book.


One gay Pittsburgher remembered running into Avinoff in the Carnegie Institute’s halls as a boy, when he went there for his Tam o’Shanter lessons: “He was a celebrity that one recognized—he was just so glamorous, being a White Russian. He was just my ideal man”—Edgar Munhall, interview by author, April 8, 2015.


Butterflies were already a recognized symbol for gays—see *The Curse of the Butterfly*, the 1919 play by the gay author Federico García Lorca (my thanks to Harrison Apple for the reference). See also Ángel Sahuquillo, *Federico García Lorca and the Culture of Male Homosexuality* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007), 102. *Blood Wedding*, a Lorca play with themes that might be gay, was performed at the Outlines gallery in Pittsburgh in 1946. The writer Truman Capote, a junior-year hero of Warhol’s who became a symbol of gay culture, once referred to the butterfly as his coat of arms—“let other men have their crossed maces or guns”—see Capote in Virginia Sheward, “Butterflies at the Beach: Capote’s Studio,” *Newsday*, June 21, 1966.


241. **59 his nude models:** In a letter to art historian Louise Lippincott one model recruited from among Tech’s students even remembered being offered a warm bath with the Russian—Louise Lippincott, interview by author, March 29, 2015.


245. **60 huge play:** Francis Sill Wickware, “Report on Kinsey,” *Life* (August 2, 1948): 86. Warhol’s teacher Balcomb Greene was already quoting the Kinsey Report in a publication from the fall of 1948, which, given
publishing deadlines, must have been written quite a bit earlier still—see Balcolm Greene, “Basic Concepts for Teaching Art,” *College Art Journal* 8, no. 1 (Autumn 1948): 32.


The *New York Times* published a heartfelt rave almost as soon as the book came out. It said that Kinsey’s facts, including the discovery that homosexuality was commonplace, “provide the knowledge with which we can rebuild our concepts with tolerance and understanding”—see Howard A. Rusk, “Concerning Man’s Basic Drive,” *New York Times*, January 4, 1948.

*Time* magazine, always leaning conservative, gleefully quoted a psychiatrist who claimed to “unravel” Kinsey’s findings: “The implication that because homosexuality is prevalent we must accept it as ‘normal,’ or as a happy and a healthy way of life, is wholly unwarranted”—see “Dr. Kinsey Misremembers,” *Time* (June 14, 1948): 80.


250. **60 “world where sex was natural”:** Gore Vidal, *The City and the Pillar* (New York: Dutton, 1948), 287. Or as one central character in Vidal’s novel declares (p. 140): “There should be no need to hide, to submerge in the big city; everything should be open and declared. . . . Let [the world] see that the important thing is not the object of love but the emotion itself and let them respect anyone, no matter how different he is, if he attempts to share himself with another.”

See also where the main character imagines (p. 287) “what would happen if he were to be honest and natural; if every man like himself were to be natural and honest. It would be the end of the submerged world and it would make a better beginning for others not yet born: to be born into a world where sex was natural and not fearsome, where men could love men naturally, the way they were meant to.”


254. **“To walk with Capote”**: Cynthia Ozick, in Neil Printz, “Other Voices, Other Rooms: Between Andy Warhol and Truman Capote, 1948–1961” (Ph.D., New York University, 2000), 140.

255. **page of notes**: The sheet survives in the Warhol archives. It is undated, and its handwriting matches samples from as early as 1948 and as late as the early 1950s.

   It might have been drawn up in research for a college assignment, or for Warhol’s 1952 show of Capote-inspired drawings—his first exhibition in New York.


258. **a gay-fabulous style**: Already in June 1947, *Life* had given big play to a photo of the effete Truman Capote posed in just such a room, in front of a painting of absurdly phallic pears and bananas. It was the main image for a *Life* magazine story on young writers that the twenty-two-year-old neophyte barely deserved to be in. (Warhol beat the same banana joke to death in the 1960s.)

   The setting for the photo was the overdecorated Victorian parlor of Capote’s gay writer-friend Leo Lerman, a Condé Nast staffer who kept a famous salon in a townhouse just up the street from the one Warhol bought in 1960—see Neil Printz, “Other Voices, Other Rooms: Between Andy Warhol and Truman Capote, 1948–1961” (Ph.D., New York University, 2000), 182.


61 offered hints: The psychology class that came with that homophobic textbook, taught by James B. Klee, was unusually popular because of its surprisingly frank talk about sex, according to surviving Tech students who took it. Its teacher, who was gay, was “very fascinated by Andy”, so must have given the younger man some sense of belonging and hope—see Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 527, 531.

Joseph Groell also mentions Klee as “responsive” to Warhol, and says he gave Warhol an A in the course, although that is not born out by Warhol’s Tech transcript, which shows him getting a B, a C and a D in his three terms of psychology classes—see Groell in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 645. George Klauber, p. 687 in the same volume, also mentions the class as important. See also Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

In a newspaper article Warhol could not have missed, because it sat right beside the coverage of his huckster drawings in the Post-Gazette, Max Schoen, the professor emeritus who had founded the college’s psychology course, talked about how Americans were at last “crawling out of the Middle Ages in their love life.” He advocated “thinking for yourself, figuring things out for yourself, and acting accordingly.” This was the kind of position, the article says, that “makes you blink your eyes and wiggle your ears and query, ‘Beg your pardon?’” See Betty-Jo Daniels, ‘Society Called ‘an Insane Asylum’ by Tech’s Psychology Professor,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, November 24, 1946.

61 almost openly homosexual: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. “There were guys around, and girls too for that matter, that were known to be gay,” said Douglas, explaining that they had to be “subtle” in expressing their sexuality.


62 recommended Capote: Perry Davis, “Parallels,” Portfolio (March 1949): np, Records of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA. Portfolio was a publication of
the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, with layouts—pretty bad ones—by
Davis. It seems to have lasted for all of two issues.

Balcomb Greene’s outline and draft for an unfinished novel about
the Tech art department (Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Ar-
chives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution) includes a gay teacher
and an attempt to discredit him as “queer,” as well as a line item for a
passage on “Love among the students.”

266. 62 wrote lyrics: Perry Davis, in unpublished interview notes
by Victor Bockris, cited in Nina Schleif, Drag & Draw: Andy Warhol, the
Unknown Fifties (Munich: Hirmer, 2018), 74.

267. 62 George Klauber: Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, Au-
 gust 18, 2014.

268. 62 contact in that world: Marshall Reese, interview by author,
April 13, 2015. Reese is a relative of Warhol’s 1950s friend Corkie Ward.
See also Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.

Warhol said that it was George Klauber who had first introduced him
to gay life—see July 13, 1983, entry in Andy Warhol, The Andy Warhol
Diaries, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 13345, Kindle
edition.

269. 62 mostly closeted: Roger Anliker’s friend and student Frank
Galuska, interview by author, May 18, 2015. Betty Asche Douglas also
said that Anliker was gay.

One critic complained that Anliker’s bejeweled, fey style “gets out of
hand in reflecting a very personal dream life”—see Jeanette Jena, “Art-
ist Exhibits Jeweled Effects at Carnegie Show,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette,
February 2, 1960. Several others compared Anliker’s magic-realist paint-
ings to the prose of the Decadent author Karl-Joris Huysmans, whose
1884 book Against Nature was the bible of gay aesthetes—who included
Warhol, whose 1959 copy of the Huysmans book is in Time Capsule 85 of
his archives.

Anliker was one of the few members of the art department who
had “no truck with the so-called modern movements”—see Jeanette
Jena, “Haunting Quality Marks Exhibitions by Anliker,” Pittsburgh Post-
Gazette, December 11, 1958. That doesn’t seem to have stopped Warhol
keeping up with Anliker after graduation, and going to his New York
shows: Warhol’s Time Capsule 71 includes a note referring to a reception
for an Anliker show at Seligman Gallery in New York, and several An-
liker brochures survive among Warhol’s papers.

270. 62 as his friend: Roger Anliker, in Donald Miller, “Art’s Old
and New Values Coexist,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 7, 1990.
271. **62 life portrait**: The drawing survives in the collection of Roger Anliker’s friend Dale Roberts.

272. **62 “very gay”**: Dorothy Cantor, interview by author, August 18, 2014.


A photograph of Davis appears in the Tech yearbook *The Thistle* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1947).

274. **62 “the little fruitcake”**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, in - interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

Douglas said that Warhol kept up with Davis after graduation, and that the teacher would report back to Tech on what “Old Andy” was up to in New York.


277. **62 a Hollywood party**: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol '60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 53. Dean Stockwell showed up at the party along with gay icons Troy Donahue and Sal Mineo, all stars the artist said he’d always wanted to meet. In December 1966, Stockwell and Warhol were close enough for Stockwell to send him a Christmas card, preserved in *Time Capsule* 59 in his archives.

**CHAPTER 4**


4. **“that was the new frontier”:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

   “We became abstract,” recalled Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 536. Elias said that it was a deliberate rebellion against some of their more conservative teachers.

   In 1971, Warhol got all excited at the idea that some AbEx-ers would be at a party he was going to—see Andy Warhol, *Factory Diary: Brigid Showing Polaroids of Andy, Oct. 25, 1971*, videotape, 1971. Still later, he planned to make a movie about Jackson Pollock—Warhol’s friend Stuart Pivar tells the story of the failed project in Catherine Johnson, ed., *Thank You Andy Warhol* (New York: Glitterati, 2012), 183.

5. **abstraction had to be defended:** Robert Lepper, in Philip Rostek, *Robert Lepper: A Personal View*, documentary, 2014. The Rostek documentary was self-produced and never went into circulation.

6. **dribbled paint:** Steve Kiselick, in Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.


8. **“legitimately an art issue”:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. Such debates took place at student gatherings that Perry Davis hosted almost every weekend in his flat, Douglas said, which was right near Tech and directly below the apartment of Russell Twiggs and his kindly wife Lorene, the art-department secretary and a Warhol confidant. (Lorene had fought for Warhol that first spring when his future at Tech was in doubt—see Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 979, 982, 1002, 1005, Kindle edition.)

   Davis was barely older than some of his students, and was more involved than the department’s older staff in their artistic experiments. He was the one instructor who contributed to *Form*, an ambitious and experimental art journal that the top P&Ds—but strangely not Warhol—launched in early spring of 1948. (See “Jack Hacler Announces FORM Staff,” *The Carnegie Tartan*, January 27, 1948, 6.) It was laid out according to the radical ideas of Paul Rand, a prodigy graphic designer whose book *Thoughts on Design* came out in 1947, and who had shown at Outlines...
gallery the previous year. *Form’s* avoidance of capital letters—there’s not a single one in the entire issue—comes from Rand; Warhol stopped using capitals around this time, even on his school assignments, and abandoned them for many years to come. (The text on the back of his “Living Room” assignment, discussed later in this book, is entirely lower-case.)

Weekly gatherings also happened at Balcomb Greene’s house, according to Philip Pearlstein in Kynaston McShine, ed., *Andy Warhol, a Retrospective* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 423. Greene lived at 5202 Woodlawn Place, also minutes from the Tech campus, according to an unidentified clipping on Greene being named “Man of the Year” in Pittsburgh art (Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution).

Balcomb Greene covered Duchamp and the Dada movement in his classes—see the course notes in the Balcomb and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The minutes of a fine-arts Curriculum Committee meeting for January 13, 1948 (Carnegie Mellon University Archives) show Greene getting approval to teach a new especially advanced one-semester course called “Problems in Present-Day Creative Expression,” although Warhol’s transcript does not show him taking it.

9. **“was to do something unique”:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

10. **love of Shirley Temple:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

11. **“rode out to the campus”:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

12. **“first underground films”:** Jack Wilson, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 10. The student film seems to have been screened at a cross-disciplinary Arts Day held at Tech in May 1948—see *Carnegie Tartan*, May 18, 1948, 5. Warhol seems to have designed a kind of signboard for that Arts Day, according to an uncaptioned photograph in a folder marked “Andy Warhol” in the Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

directly onto the celluloid, in homage to the Canadian animator and director Norman McLaren, who’d once made a film about a day in the life of an art school and whose works were shown at Tech—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

14. 66 a notable role: Tech instructor Russell Twiggs, in a typescript of a 1960s interview, Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY. Twiggs said the film’s title was The Storming of the Castle and that a student named Lee Goldman was in charge of it.

15. 66 struggling to keep up: See College of Fine Arts departmental meeting notes, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

16. 66 Film Arts club: The Thistle (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1947).


23. 67 “tore all the pads off”: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

24. 67 Cage himself had appeared: “John Cage and Merce Cunningham worked together more than they do now, and came here to do a program together. John played the piano and Merce danced. Many people came to see them and asked so many questions afterwards. They thought there might be enough interest in Pittsburgh to hold a class in composition and a workshop in dance. So John had a composition class of about 15 and Merce had a slightly larger group for dance. They rented
an apartment near the Playhouse where the gallery was at the time. . . .
They stayed about 6 weeks”—Betty Rockwell, founder of Outlines, in
“Elizabeth Rockwell Raphael Interview on Contemporary Craft,” Con-
temporary Craft, accessed November 26, 2019, https://contemporary-
craft.org/about/history/elizabeth-rockwell-raphael-interview/.
Cage appeared at Outlines in 1943 and 1946 and twice in 1947—Out-
lines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.

25. 67 **meeting the composer:** Warhol, in Benjamin Buchloh, “An
Interview with Andy Warhol,” in *Andy Warhol*, ed. Annette Michelson
and Benjamin Buchloh, October Files 2 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press,
2001), 121.

In a conversation with his friend Emile de Antonio, Warhol said he
was 10 when he first saw John Cage in Pittsburgh—Emile De Antonio,
notes from an interview, September 27, 1976, box M88, AWMA. He might
in fact have been as young as 14, given Cage's appearance at Outlines gal-
tery in April 1943.

26. 67 **Cage at the root:** Henry Geldzahler, in Isabel Eberstadt,
“Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt per-
sonal papers.

27. 67 **a Cage lecture:** Philip Pearlstein, full unpublished tran-
script for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal”
(New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol
Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d.

See also Pearlstein in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy
Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universität, 1976), 261.

On Cage and Warhol see Gary Comenas, “When Did Andy Warhol
andy_warhol_john_cage.html. A Cage record, with a track for prepared
piano, got a strong review in a Pittsburgh paper in June 1947—see Donald
Steinfest, “The New Records: Americans All,” *Pittsburgh Press*, June 14,
1947. Another Cage record was mentioned by Warhol’s instructor Perry
Davis, “Parallels,” *Portfolio* (March 1949): np, Records of the Associated
Artists of Pittsburgh, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.

28. 67 **whether they like it or not**: “B.I. Biography,” *The Bulletin

29. 67 **frequented the place:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a)
Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014),
shared with the author by Pearlstein. Pearlstein is interviewed in Cayce
tt2923306/.

Looking at the exhibition schedule at Outlines, you realize that the gallery functioned almost as an extension of the art department at Tech: Russell Twiggs showed silkscreens there and Balcomb Greene and Robert Lepper were invited as speakers.


32. **a branch of the Museum of Modern Art**: Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 534.

33. **“gallery of tomorrow”**: Clipping dated 1946, Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.

34. **Paul Klee**: See Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 536.

The Klee show had Balcomb Greene as its master of ceremonies—see “Klee’s ‘Fantastic Abstractions’ Get Preview Showing,” *Pittsburgh Press*, January 18, 1943.


The gallery also built programs around almost all the greats in modernist culture. In music, it promoted Igor Stravinsky, Paul Hindemith, Bela Bartok and, of course, John Cage. Among writers, it featured radicals such as James Joyce (Joseph Campbell himself lecturing on *Finnegans Wake*) and Pittsburgher Gertrude Stein (a “concert drama” performance of her “Four Saints in Three Acts”). Stein remained in Warhol’s pantheon for the rest of his life: He owned a second-edition copy of Stein’s children’s book *The World is Round*, from 1939 (TC71, AWMA), that includes an undated birthday inscription to Warhol from his classmate Leonard Kessler. In the 1950s, Warhol drew a comic image titled *The Autobiography of Alice B. Shoe* and in 1980 he included Stein as one of his ten Jewish Geniuses.

37. **“direct painting medium”**: See the exhibition announcement in Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.


Deren’s Meshes of the Afternoon was presented at Outlines within months of its making in 1943, then screened again several times “by popular request” in 1947, the year it won a prize at Cannes—see Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection. Deren actually shot footage in Pittsburgh, in Betty Rockwell’s parents’ own house.

In Warhol’s senior year, an influential gay teacher wrote about Maya Deren as a new cultural figure worth attending to—see Perry Davis, “Parallels,” Portfolio (March 1949): np, Records of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA. Decades later, when Warhol himself had become a famous filmmaker, he must have been pleased to see his work featured at the great Film-Makers’ Cinematheque in the same week as a Deren festival; he kept the September 1965 program (box B500, AWMA) that pairs the two.

39. visits by Parker Tyler: Parker Tyler—famous for his long hair and mascara—was a friend of Maya Deren and lectured at Outlines twice in 1945 and again in ’47, when he published Parker Tyler, Magic and Myth of the Movies (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1947). That was a book which Warhol owned, probably while still in college, and then channeled into his Pop Art; Tyler later became a big supporter of Warhol’s films and a good friend. A photo survives of Warhol holding Tyler’s crotch—see “Archives Malanga,” accessed March 6, 2019, http://gerardmalanga.net/stock_fulllist.htm.


41. “He was talented”: Martha Sutherland, interview by author, March 18, 2015.


“The influence of more mature students has been stimulating while their diligence and serious purpose have inevitably raised standards of accomplishment throughout the college,” says a June 28, 1946, draft of


44. **Tuition had gone up**: Yearly expenses for art students, who lived at home, including tuition, were estimated at $600—*Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, xxvii. By Warhol’s senior year that estimate was increased by $200—*Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, April 1948, 28. The increase is recommended in “Minutes of Special Meeting of Curriculum Committee, March 19, 1946,” Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

45. **Warhol couldn’t join**: Robert Lepper, in a January 1974 document compiled in response to queries from the German scholar Rainer Crone, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.


47. **scraps of fine paper**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. This may explain a large body of Warhol drawings that cross over several scruffy sheets taped together; many of them may therefore need to be redated to his student days.

48. **emergency funding**: Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 39. There is a discussion of need-based assistance at Tech in *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, xxx. In April 1948 Warhol received a small sum from Tech’s “Committee on Financial Aid for Students”—see committee chairman J. C. Dickenson to Warhol, April 18, 1948, AWMA.

Warhol’s brother John said that their father’s bequest was enough to pay for the first two years at Tech and that scholarships funded the rest—John Warhola, oral history, typed notes, June 30, 1993, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

49. **majoring in art education**: The choice of majors is discussed in Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 156. For the list of art degrees granted by Tech see *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, 8. Perlman claims that the change came about after Warhol tried his hand at teaching at
the local YMHA, but documents prove that that opportunity came at the very end of college (see note below).

50. **Advance Guard in Advertising**: Outlines advertising indicates that an exhibition by the same name had been planned for July 1943, but had to be cancelled when the gallery moved; the lecture seems to have happened on May 21, 1944—Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.

51. **crucial influences**: Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 531.


53. **becomes a fine artist**: Homer Saint-Gaudens, in “American Weekly’s Art Exhibit Praised at Preview Here,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, October 9, 1947.


55. **trend towards modern art**: Edward H. Martin, “Advertising Art Exhibit Reflects Trend: Stylization Seems to Overshadow Conventional School,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 29, 1946. The exhibition had toured to a fancy Pittsburgh hotel. Martin’s comment echoes the argument of a book and touring show called “Modern Art in Advertising” that was making a splash during all of Warhol’s college years by forging “a connection between the collective masses and the art of their time,” as Fernand Leger himself wrote in its catalog—see Egbert Jacobson, *Modern Art in Advertising: Designs for Container Corporation of America* (Chicago: Theobald, 1946), np. A partial list of venues is given in the catalogue. That book was owned by Warhol’s two local libraries, at the Carnegie Institute and in the Tech art department, and the show travelled to various nearby cities.

In 1948, almost 190 of Pittsburgh’s own designers and illustrators, including a number from Horne’s department store where Warhol found summer work, formed the Advertising Artists Club of Pittsburgh. An exhibition of their self-portraits had a wild, Dada edge—see “Advertising Artist Designs Club Insigne,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 14, 1948. See also “What Is This . . . ART,” *Pittsburgh Press*, January 30, 1949.

57. **70 short story illustrations**: Robert Lepper dates Warhol's illustrations for a story by Katherine Anne Porter to 1947, when he was getting his students to draw from her writings—see Robert Lepper, “Andrew Warhola: Student in Pittsburgh,” typescript of a 1976 essay, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

58. **70 “coarse, slightly hairy twine”**: Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


60. **70 “became the Andy Warhol line”**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. Many of Warhol's clients from the 1950s speak of Ben Shahn as his model, although the style wasn't unique to Shahn: The cartoon published on the handbill for the William Steig show at Outlines also uses a broken line and it's even closer to Warhol's—Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection. A broken line was also used by Paul Rand, whose book *Thoughts on Design* would already have been a Warholian source, and who had been in charge of the daring ad campaign for Kaufmann's department stores in Pittsburgh while Warhol was at Tech—see Paul Rand, *Thoughts on Design* (New York: Wittenborn and Company, 1947). Rand had shown at Outlines in 1946.

61. **70 knew Shahn's work**: Ben Shahn was in the Carnegie annuals for 1945, 46 and 48. The Shahn show at MoMA was discussed in class and its catalog was in the Carnegie library—see the catalog of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, main branch, and Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 158. Warhol seems to have seen MoMA's show in person: Arthur Elias said that they visited MoMA on their first trip to New York, and mentions Warhol's admiration for Shahn in that context—Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 536. Note that the Museum of Modern art dedicated an entire issue of its bulletin to Shahn just before the start of Warhol's junior year—see “Ben Shahn,” *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin*, Summer 1947, 5.

62. **70 ten best artists**: *Look* (February 3, 1948).

One P&D believed that Warhol's original move away from fine art and into illustration came about, and felt culturally acceptable to War-
hol the avant-gardist, because of his admiration for Ben Shahn’s work, “which leads itself right into commercial art”—see Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 538.

63. 71 “if it was printed”: Jesse Kornbluth, Pre-Pop Warhol (New York: Random House, 1988), 48. The source of Warhol’s quote is not given, but the implication is that it refers to his blotted line.

64. 71 fascination with mass production: “What was radical in Warhol was that he adapted the means of production of soup cans to the way he produced paintings, turning them out en masse—consumer art mimicking the process as well as the look of consumer culture. This was a startling act of confrontation”—Robert Hughes, “Man for the Machine,” Time (May 17, 1971): 80.


68. 71 “you can do an ink blot”: Warhol, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 336. See also Victor Bockris, Warhol: The Biography (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 1110, Kindle edition. A classmate of Warhol’s insisted that the blotted line was something many of Tech’s students were trying—Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

There are hints that the blotted line might have roots that date back even earlier, to Warhol’s childhood: The Warhola brothers would draw with wax crayons on paper then use a hot iron to transfer their drawings onto fabric, no doubt watching their lines break down in the process—see Paul Warhola, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d.

The blot’s potential in art has a long history, anyway, dating back to Leonardo da Vinci and continuing through the ink-works of Alexander.
Cozens ("blotmaster-general") and Victor Hugo, who made blotty art whenever he wasn't writing—see Christopher Turner, "The Deliberate Accident in Art," *Tate Etc.* (Spring 2011).

The most famous blot of all, from the psychiatric Rorschach Test, was quite new and also widely known in Warhol’s student days. A version of it, “made by the author according to the same principles,” is one of the very few illustrations in Warhol’s college psych text—Laurence Frederic Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment: An Objective Approach to Mental Hygiene* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1936), 302. Rorschachs were also used to weed out gay men during the draft for the Korean War, as Warhol himself was weeded out after college—quite how or why we don’t know.

69. **$20 prize:** Warhol’s winning of the Mrs. John L. Porter Prize for Progress was announced to him in a letter from the chair of the Committee on Financial Aid—see J. C. Dickenson to Andy Warhol, April 18, 1948, AWMA.

70. **“proto–Pop Art backdrop”:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

The May 1948 production of the play, by Louis Adelman, was discussed in the same issue of the Tech newspaper that mentioned Warhol as the new art director of the student literary magazine called *Cano*—see *Carnegie Tartan*, May 18, 1948, 1, 5.

71. **one surviving photo:** The photo is in the Carnegie Mellon University Archives, and its subject was confirmed by Philip Pearlstein in a September 22, 2015, e-mail to the author. Another photo from the May ’48 Arts Night, of a standing sign that Warhol seems to have produced (his name is on the photo’s envelope in the Carnegie Mellon University Archives) shows that it too incorporated scraps of torn newspaper. A revival of the play at Tech in January of ’49 was reviewed by Gene Feist, later a good friend of Warhol’s in New York, in *Carnegie Tartan*, January 19, 1949, 2. Photos of the later production make clear that the Warhol/Pearlstein backdrop wasn’t used for it.

There’s a story that a year later, Warhol entered a contest to design the announcement for an “Atomic-Zany Musical Satire” called *Molecule Man*, but was turned down by the students directing it. His idea was for “a tiny molecule-sized man floating through the air,” whereas the directors were thinking of a super hero. That is what we see on the cover of their brochure, meaning it, too, can claim proto-Pop status—see “The Warhol Rejection,” *Carnegie-Mellon Magazine* (Fall 1996): 21.

73. **massier Russell Twiggs**: Russell Twiggs is mentioned as the instigator by Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 532.

74. **signed a petition**: Philip Pearlstein confirms Warhol’s signature on the Wallace petition in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universität, 1976), 262.


There’s a story that Warhol also did a Henry Wallace poster and that it made a splash, but the only trace or mention of it is in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 42.

77. **Shahn’s leftist politics**: Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 538.


79. **publishing all the names**: “First List of Signers of Wallace Petitions,” *Pittsburgh Press*, April 7, 1948. Warhol’s name isn’t in the printed list, so it may have been among the many (deliberately?) illegible signatures the newspaper mentions.

80. **parents were not happy**: Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.

81. **a dastardly communist plot**: See for example “Modern Art Shackled to Communism,” an August 16, 1949, speech given in the U.S. Congress by Michigan Republican congressman George Donderos, reprinted from the Congressional Record at “Better Read #013: Modern Art

82. **72 miners’ strike:** “Coal Shutdown Tonight Likley,” Pittsburgh Press, October 2, 1945. See also “Yevgeniy Fiks: Andy Warhol and The Pittsburgh Labor Files” an exhibition at The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh, October 10 to January 10, 2015.

83. **72 Warhol designed a poster:** Instead of portraying the candidates they were supporting, Warhol promoted George McGovern with a picture of an evil-looking Richard Nixon, just as Shahn had sold Henry Wallace to the public with a creepy image of his opponents—see this author’s blog post, “Vote McGovern,” Warholiana (blog), May 7, 2015, http://warholiana.com/post/118384935325/reposted-from-my-daily-pic-of-may-7-2015-this.

84. **72 “How can we let this keep happening”:** Andy Warhol, America (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 194.


86. **73 in the Barn:** The Barn stay is dated to 1948 in Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. While two early Warhol biographers say the Barn was rented the previous summer, given the art made there the 1948 date must be right—Warhol’s Nosepicker painting, in particular, is visible in a photo in the barn, and it is almost certainly a senior-year work. Also, the summer of 1947 would have been filled with Warhol’s job at Horne’s. The students payed $10 to rent the Barn, which was later demolished along with its mansion—see Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 530.

The barn stay is also dated to 1947 in Russell Bowman, Philip Pearlstein: The Complete Paintings (New York: Alpine, 1983), xiv.


88. **73 Mawhinney Street:** Anne Marie Slinky, “Letter to the Editor: Early Warhol,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, February 1987. Slinky says Warhol was living on Mawhinney when he submitted his entry to the 1948 Associated Artists of Pittsburgh.
His teacher Russell Twiggs also mentions Warhol living on Mawhinney in the typescript from a 1960s interview, Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY. Mawhinney Street is further mentioned in James M. Walton, president of the Carnegie Institute, to Warhol, October 5, 1979, AWMA. A Tech classmate of Warhol’s had a vague memory of Warhol living in a shared apartment—Leonard Kessler, interview by author, May 10, 2015.

73 **in the top 10 percent:** Philip Pearlstein took his turn winning the Leisser prize that Warhol had won two years earlier—rankings and the prize are recorded in the program for Tech’s celebration of “Carnegie Day” in the fall of 1948, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

73 **student literary magazine:** The first issue of Cano in the Carnegie Mellon University Archives is from April 1947, and the magazine doesn’t seem to have survived into the 1950s. Warhol’s appointment to Cano had been decided the previous spring and was announced in the college newspaper—*Carnegie Tartan*, May 18, 1948, 1.

Warhol came well prepared for the job: According to Pearlstein, he had become a graphic-design connoisseur during the time he spent digging through magazines at Horne’s. That, said Pearlstein, was how Warhol got “his knowledge of page design, the effect of placement of marks and areas of color on white paper, the transformation of the look of art work that resulted from being printed; the effectiveness of different approaches to stylization, and the kinds of marks that caught the eye”—Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. The junior-year course that Warhol took on “Mediums and Reproductions” might have had just as much effect as his time at Horne’s, however.

Warhol went so far in his “research” at the department store that he made off with a Horne’s copy of the design journal *Graphis*, a pioneering Swiss magazine he later bought all the time—see the collection of *Graphis* magazines in the Warhol archive, including a winter 1945 issue stamped Property of Horne’s Display Department. That issue has a major feature on Edvard Munch, who became the subject of late works by Warhol.

73 **quoted Ayn Rand:** See the editorial in *Cano’s* second issue, in the summer of 1947.

73 **Wind Orchestra:** Max Weber’s piece is mentioned in an unidentified press clipping, Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.

73 **all the folk art:** Balcomb Greene, lecture notes, Balcomb
and Gertrude Greene Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


95. **At this early point**: Several months later, inside the very last issue of Cano from April 1949, Warhol moved further in a sober, AbEx direction with a full-page image that has somehow gone unnoticed—see this author’s blog post, “Discovered: Warhol’s Second Published Image,” Warholiana (blog), April 22, 2015, http://warholiana.com/post/117119935931/it-didnt-take-that-much-to-unearth-the-new-warhol. The illustration is for a grim wartime story about two ill-fated lovers, and Warhol uses the blotted line and allover style of his earlier musical cover to convey their tragedy. An elegant Matissean image of the couple gets covered in weird inky whorls, making the tragic pair look almost pustulent. The attempt at radicalism is valiant: That network of whorls is a clear nod to the new allover abstractions coming out of New York. But its marriage to Warhol’s more traditional figuration produces a mess, as he struggles to figure out how to achieve a truly modern style without letting go of an old-fashioned love of subject matter. It takes him another dozen years of hard work to get the combination right.

96. **“build a solid foundation”**: “Department of Painting and Design,” in *The Thistle* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute, 1949).

97. **fine art at night**: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.


99. **newly arrived**: Howard Worner is listed as a new hire, as is Perry Davis, in the July 1947 annual report of the College of Fine Arts, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

100. **“the joke” of the school**: Robert Lepper to Fred Lawrence Guiles, February 4, 1989, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

101. **telling cruel stories**: Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. Jagger was from the Tech class of ’53.

    Another account has Howard Worner stirring up trouble for Warhol because he’d started to take inspiration from the debauched art of Aubrey Beardsley, the Victorian decadent, a controversial style which Philip
Pearlstein is said to have convinced Warhol to drop and which only survives in traces in Warhol’s student works—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 37.


On the other hand, it’s also claimed that Worner called Warhol “the only student with a saleable product,” which Warhol might or might not have taken as a compliment—see Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in *The Andy Warhol Museum* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 157. Warhol’s nephew James Warhola, an illustrator who also studied with Worner at Tech, has claimed that his teacher was a Warhol fan—Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 115.


Arthur Elias mentioned the faculty’s irritation at Warhol’s “outrageous answers to a lot of the problems” in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 535.

74 *“a lovely coat.”*: Howard Worner, interview by Bennard B. Perlman, typed note, April 23, 2003, Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

A P&D at Tech in the early 1950s recalled Warhol being held up, that soon, as a cautionary example of what happens when you don’t follow the rules. “If you go that way,” teachers would say, “you’ll end up being Andy Warhola”—Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. (Whereas within a couple of decades, art instructors everywhere would be saying, “If you don’t push further, you’ll never be Andy Warhol.”)


74 *led to tension*: Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.


75 *“academic difficulty”: Robert Lepper, in a January 1974 document compiled in response to queries from the German scholar*


111. **75 Lepper vaguely recalled:** Robert Lepper, in David Guo, “Heart Attack Claims Warhol,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, February 23, 1987. Horne’s is also mentioned by Lepper in Ann Curran, “CMU’s Other Andy,” *Carnegie-Mellon Magazine* (Spring 1985): 17. But Lepper may be conflating his knowledge of Warhol’s work at Horne’s during the summer of 1947—before the two met—with the fact that Andy was often absent from class.

112. **75 three A grades:** See Warhol’s transcript, Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University.


    Lepper often denied a direct connection to the American heirs of the Bauhaus in Chicago, but his and Tech’s general adherence to the ideals of the earlier, German Bauhaus is clear.

118. **75 degree in lowly illustration:** Robert Lepper to Donna de Salvo, November 27, 1987, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. In that letter he protests—too much, methinks—for the dignity of illustration.

    The following discussion draws on Matt Wrbican, “Robert Lepper, Artist & Teacher,” curatorial essay for an archives exhibition at The Andy

119. **75 course on Pictorial Design**: The course was team-taught with Harold Worner, who mostly taught illustration—see *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, April 1948, 92. It was novel enough that *Science Illustrated* was planning to cover it, as a “cultural anthropology course,” in the fall of 1948—see correspondence in the Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

120. **75 “social participator”**: See *Bulletin of the Carnegie Institute of Technology: College of Fine Arts*, February 1, 1945, 43.


   Classmates said Warhol was particularly impressed by Ruth Benedict’s description of the all-American city of Middletown (the name is scribbled onto Warhol’s caricature of Lepper) where “the fear of being different is the dominating motivation”—see Matt Wrbican, “Robert Lepper, Artist & Teacher,” curatorial essay for an archives exhibition at The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, September 10, 2002, to January 12, 2003.


124. **75 pedagogical exercises**: Norman Dawes, “Characteristic Processes and Disciplines Used in the Department of Painting and Design: Part I—Processes in Professor Lepper’s Courses in Pictorial Design—August 1948,” typescript, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. (The attribution to Dawes is in Robert Lepper to Nan Rosenthal, May 1989, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.) Although the Dawes typescript states that there are six problems in the course—five in the first year and one in the second—it actually counts out and numbers seven in its marginalia, and mentions others in the second year that aren’t counted in the total.

Doherty gives perspectival-based art education as an example of the bad old way of doing things in college, and cites the Yale School of the Fine Arts as a new educational model.

Not all P&Ds appreciated the more conceptual approach encouraged by Doherty: “There were a lot of things we didn’t learn which we should have in the fine arts,” one Tech student complained, “technical things—just how to stretch a canvas. We never stretched a canvas the entire four years that we were there”—Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 532.

126. **75 over the head:** Philip Pearlstein, in a typescript of a conversation between him and Rainer Crone, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

127. **75 interpret for him:** Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.


129. **76 workload was massive:** Other students at Tech complained that the fine-arts majors were too busy to participate in extra-curricular activities—see “Student Conference Committee Discusses Items of Interest,” *The Carnegie Tartan*, May 13, 1947, 6. Lepper’s course officially demanded 18 hours per week from each student.

The very last of Lepper’s assignments for the Tech art program consisted of designing a diorama for the Carnegie’s museum of natural history that would illustrate a geological or cultural era—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA. A few pages survive on which Warhol scribbled notes about geological eras, and they seem to date the project to early in 1949. The notes, clearly in Warhol’s writing and surrounded by his trademark doodles, survive among the pages of a 1940 copy of *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Junior School Dictionary* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls) with “Pap” Kessler’s name in it (TC51, AWMA). They are written on stationery of the Irene Kaufman Jewish Center where Warhol worked, briefly, in January 1949. (Note that the attribution to Warhol is doubted in Matt Wrbican, “Warhol’s ‘Time Capsule 51,’” *Criticism* 56, no. 3 (March 3, 2015): 688, https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/criticism/vol56/iss3/11.

Warhol’s “off-the-path” solution to the diorama assignment, as Lepper remembered it forty years later, was “brilliantly executed and quite...
beautiful”: Warhol had filled a shallow vitrine with a perfectly-spaced grid of little trees made from balled up red, silver and gold foil on sticks, the first appearance of a love of shiny metal in the Warhol record. What era was it meant to illustrate? “God knows,” Lepper said, “Was it the garden of Eden? If not, why not?” Warhol got in trouble with other staff for his fanciful project and Lepper himself was attacked for allowing Warhol to go ahead with it. See Lepper’s signed and annotated drawing of Warhol’s vitrine, dated 1988, in the Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. See also Robert Lepper to Fred Lawrence Guiles, February 4, 1989, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. On the drawing, Lepper describes the foil as pink and gold, but Warholian silver creeps into the typescript of his talk for the 1988 Warhol symposium at the Carnegie Museum of Art, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University archives.

130. **76 in a makeshift studio:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. Pearlstein’s memory of Warhol’s work in that cellar may actually relate to an earlier moment on Dawson, since the Paul Warholas seem to have moved out sometime in 1946.

131. **76 new modernist houses:** Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.

132. **76 a classmate spent $30:** Martha Sutherland, interview by author, March 18, 2015. Sutherland donated Warhol’s work to the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in Arkansas—see Andy Warhol, “Untitled,” Crystal Bridges Muesum of Art, 1949, https://collection.crystalbridges.org/objects/details/4397. Sutherland thought the drawing might have been inspired by similar Toulouse-Lautrec images, and in fact several “bed” pictures, although all showing single women, were in a 1947 Lautrec show at the Carnegie Institute’s art museum.

Perlman says that the couple were Warhol’s mother and father and reports the instructor’s accusation of immorality—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.

133. **76 the brief:** Another Lepper “problem” according to Warhol’s classmate Betty Asche Douglas, was a study in surfaces for which “you had to go out and pick up any texture from out of the natural world”—she chose a patch of grass—“and then you had to paint it in as many different ways as you could think of,” finally turning in a series of identically-sized pictures—Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA. That level
of method and rigor apparently didn’t sit well with Warhol, still married to an intuitive and expressionist approach to artmaking that he would later shed. At one student party, apparently at the end of his final term, the supposedly shy Warhol dressed up as Lepper, complete with coke-bottle glasses made from little paint jars, then sang a comic song about “sticking to emotion”—just what Lepper didn’t permit in his course.

But Douglas and many others have also pointed out the likely after-effect of Lepper’s rigorous approach, as seen in the serial and systematic tendencies that Warhol came to later: his complete inventory of all 32 of the Campbell’s soup flavors; his grids of barely different Marilyn lips; even his hundreds of Screen Tests, those not-quite-all-alike filmed portraits.

134. 76 Warhol photographed: The polaroid photograph, apparently from 1962 or ’63, survives in The Andy Warhol Museum, accession #1998.3.14448.1.

135. 76 were exhibited in the college halls: Robert Lepper, typescript of a talk for the 1988 Warhol symposium at the Carnegie Museum of Art, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

Russell Twiggs, who was in charge of student work, eventually passed some of Warhol’s Penn Waren drawings on to the Carnegie Museum of Art.

136. 76 still considered shocking: Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in The Andy Warhol Museum (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 161. Robert Lepper wrote that he permitted the occasional use of photography in his Oakland Problem, but it’s not clear whether the same was true for the illustration assignments, given that he considered Tech to be “a drawing school”—see Robert Lepper to Donna de Salvo, November 27, 1987, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

The outsider artist John Kane had been pilloried in Pittsburgh’s newspapers when they discovered that, in his first solo show, he’d painted right over photos—see Sidney Janis, They Taught Themselves: American Primitive Painters of the 20th Century (New York: Dial Press, 1942), 78.

137. 76 use of photographs: Joseph Groell, interview by author, June 11, 2015. Groell was close to Greene.


140. **Oakland Project:** The goal of the problem was to get a student “re-sorting and reexamining his prejudices concerning both people and painting under the stimulus of direct experience”—see Robert Lepper, curriculum summary, Robert L. Lepper Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

141. **attaching actual Kleenex:** Tech instructor Russell Twiggs, from a 1960s typescript, Gene Swenson papers, Sean Carrillo collection, Hudson, NY.

142. **ignore you if he chose to:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

143. **how they looked:** Paul Warhola, interviews from 1993 and 1994 in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 68.

144. **soon reworked:** A photograph of Warhol at work in the “Barn” studio, displayed at The Andy Warhol Museum, reveals that the painting originally showed a dark-haired child wearing shorts and t-shirt. That original version is faintly visible under the current paint layers of the finished painting.

145. **a brazen self-portrait:** Warhol’s intimates might have had another reason for recognizing him in the portrait: the fact that it was accurate. A family photo of the Warholas when Andy was about two years old, held in facsimile at The Andy Warhol Museum, shows him with a finger up his nose. In 2015, Balcomb Greene’s widow, with much reluctance, eventually explained why her husband had come to dislike his most famous student: “He was a nuisance in class; he’d pick his nose”—Terryn Greene, interview by author, February 26, 2015.

146. **annual exhibition:** The exhibition normally functioned as a venue for the best student artists from Tech, and the Tech yearbook for 1948 specifically mentions that P&Ds were encouraged to submit to the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh exhibitions—see “Associated Artists’ Exhibition Displays Student, Faculty Work,” Carnegie Tartan, February 6, 1949, 6. That detailed article on the show mentions the inclusion of fourteen faculty members and a dozen Tech art students, including Dorothy Cantor, who won several prizes and later married Warhol’s friend and roommate Philip Pearlstein, as well as Pearlstein himself and Arthur Elias, Joseph Groell and Leonard Kessler—all of whom Warhol stayed
close to when the crowd of them moved to New York after graduating.

Warhol had been included in the AAP show the year before with some innocuous (if subtly homophilic) pictures of male dancers done in a vaguely Picassoid style that he copied from a piece in the previous Carnegie annual by Margaret Stark, called The Entertainer—see Painting in the United States (Carnegie Institute, 1941), plate 75. Other works by Stark, especially her Puppeteer, are very close indeed to Warhol’s picture.

Warhol’s name is already recorded as “Andrew Warhol” in the 1948 AAP exhibition brochure, once again contradicting various fables about him losing the “a” on Warhola years later in New York.


Joe Jones had once been at loggerheads with Balcomb Greene, speaking out against abstraction at a meeting of Greene’s American Abstract Artists group—see Irving Sandler, oral history, interview by John Opper, September 9, 1968, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-john-opper-12476.

The three jurors would have been well known to Warhol: Grosz and Jones had both been featured in the Carnegie Annual and Archipenko had lectured at Outlines gallery.


In any case, one local reviewer who doesn’t even mention Warhol’s rejected piece still complained that the jury had been too “audacious” and had included much “incomprehensible” work—see Eugene F. Januzzi, “Associated Artists Jury Leans to Modern Side in Prize Awards,” Pittsburgh Press, February 11, 1949.

149. Graduation show: “Preview of Show,” Pittsburgh Press, June 10, 1949. The Arts and Crafts Center also housed the gallery of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, so Warhol was in fact showing in the same building as the exhibition he’d been rejected from.

Philip Pearlstein talks about him and Warhol sketching four-dollar portraits to raise money for the Center, and images survive of a few of

Tech grads Suzanne and Edward Salkovitz seem to have had their portraits drawn by Warhol at that “booth” or a similar one, and Suzanne later said they’d cost $25—see photos of those portraits and the sitters notes on them, AWMA.


The closest thing to a mention of the controversy is when a review of the earlier AAP show insists on the jury’s right to “thumbs down any piece of art which in its opinion does not warrant showing,” as they did with more than one sixth of the submissions—see “The Review: Art, the Shock of Recognition,” *The Bulletin Index*, February 12, 1949, 10. Out of 853 submissions, 702 works were hung. See also similar references to the jurors’ selectivity in Charles le Clair, “Review of the 39th Annual Associated Artists Show,” *Portfolio* (March 1949): np, Records of the Associated Artists of Pittsburgh, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA.

The detailed coverage in the February 16 issue of the *Tartan*, Tech’s own newspaper, doesn’t give a hint of any controversy—see “Associated Artists’ Exhibition Displays Student, Faculty Work,” *Carnegie Tartan*, February 6, 1949, 6.

In June, the *Post-Gazette*’s thorough and glowing preview of the Arts and Crafts Center show is completely silent on the matter of the picked nose, which would seem strange for newspaper coverage of an event supposedly tinged with scandal—see Jeanette Jena, “Design for Seeing,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 5, 1949. Jena describes the show as being built around the GI’s in Sam Rosenberg’s “notable graduating class . . . whose talents and maturity have been a joy to their instructor.”

Philip Pearlstein, whose work had been shown in the February AAP exhibition, actually remembers a *Nosepicker* having been *included* alongside his own piece—see Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

If Warhol did gain notoriety from the AAP affair, it wasn’t enough
to disgrace him: About the same time as that show, Samuel Rosenberg got him and his friend Pearlstein jobs giving night classes in drawing at a Jewish community center where Rosenberg had worked for a decade before coming to Tech—see “Settlement Announces Opening of Art School,” American Jewish Outlook, January 14, 1949. It’s said Warhol was acutely shy in front of his teenage students and didn’t last long as a teacher—see Bennard B. Perlman, “The Education of Andy Warhol,” in The Andy Warhol Museum (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994), 156.


78 shows him passing: See Warhol’s transcript, Office of the Registrar, Carnegie Mellon University.

78 forty-seven P&Ds: Commencement brochure, 1949, Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

78 largest graduating class: “Tech to Award Largest Class 906 Degrees,” Pittsburgh Press, June 5, 1949.


78 once or twice a year: Philip Pearlstein, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universität, 1976), 267.


78 chess with Marcel Duchamp: Jesse Kornbluth, Pre-Pop Warhol (New York: Random House, 1988), 42.


79 to autograph a copy: The autographed book is preserved in
Time Capsule 51 of The Andy Warhol Museum Archives.

162. **young protagonist**: Gladys Schmitt, *Alexandra* (Dial Press, 1940), 211.

163. **“I would like to be famous”**: Gladys Schmitt, *Alexandra* (Dial Press, 1940), 26.


165. **New York trip**: The visit to New York didn’t conflict with the Warhola observance of Easter because the Greek Catholic church was still using the old Julian calendar, and Warhol would have got back in time to join his mother for deluxe Easter liturgies.

166. **three of them in one bed**: Philip Pearlstein, audio guide track for “The Warhol Look” (Antenna Audio for the Art Gallery of Ontario and The Andy Warhol Museum, 1998), provided to the author by producer David Tarnow. Elsewhere, Pearlstein is quoted as saying that the crowded bed was in George Klauber’s apartment in Pittsburgh just before the New York trip—see Helene Verin, “Musing: Sitting for a Portrait by Philip Pearlstein,” Medium, November 27, 2016, https://medium.com/heleneverin/musing-sitting-for-a-portrait-by-philip-pearlstein-9b5e106846f2. But it seems very likely his story was simply misunderstood by Verin.

Klauber himself remembered Pearlstein and Warhol staying with his family, not with him, although that could have been on an earlier visit—see Klauber in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 693.


In Fredericks’s own memoir of Warhol she doesn’t mention meeting him while he was still a student—see Tina Fredericks, “Remembering Andy: An Introduction,” in Jesse Kornbluth, *Pre-Pop Warhol* (New York: Random House, 1988), 11.

168. **Museum of Modern Art**: A photo of Warhol and friends in the sculpture garden at MoMA survives in the Warhol archives among documents regarding Andreas Brown’s Gotham Book Mart show in 1971. The photo’s setting at MoMA was confirmed by MoMA archivist Michelle Harvey in a June 1, 2017, e-mail to the author. The same group of friends—with Warhol and Philip Pearlstein in the same clothes—are


170. **organized by Will Burtin**: The exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art ran March 16 to April 17 and Warhol’s Easter break was April 9 to 19—see “Carnegie Alumnus,” March 1949, 4, http://digitalcollections.library.cmu.edu/portal/main.jsp?flag=browse&smd=1&awdid=5.

When Warhol was in the same advertising show a few years later, he must have been disappointed that it was no longer being held at MoMA.

MoMA also had up a pioneering exploration of news photographs, such as Warhol never stopped using as sources for his art, as well as the biggest-ever survey of Georges Braque, whose work Warhol later bought.


173. **“too young to go to New York”**: Paul Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d.

174. **“only on the condition”**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


177. **all-night Greyhound**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared
with the author by Pearlstein.

An acquaintance named Gerald Stern recalls instead that he drove Warhol, alone with his goods in a cardboard suitcase, to the Pittsburgh train station that night—see Gerald Stern, What I Can’t Bear Losing (New York: Norton, 2004), 159. The documentarian Ric Burns also has Warhol arriving in New York by train to Penn Station, rather than by bus as Pearlstein has indicated—see Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).

CHAPTER 5

1. 83 “he did it all on his own”: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.


3. 83 a documentary series: Sarah Dalton, interview by author, September 26, 2017. Work on the documentary, meant to focus on 10 iconic figures who were to be paired with their images rendered by Warhol, was interrupted by the artist’s death.

4. 84 a well-recognized painter: Balcomb Greene’s friend Byron Browne had shown at Outlines gallery in Pittsburgh in April 1945—Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection. At just about the moment Warhol was subletting his place Browne had started painting wacky figures that look halfway between Picasso and Paul Klee, and that come decorated with swoopy squiggles that evoke the kind of funky illustrations that Warhol was about to start doing—see exhibition pamphlet for “Byron Browne, By the Sea: Paintings on Paper 1948–1955,” Yares Art Projects, Santa Fe, NM, November 9 to December 31, 2012. The pamphlet is preserved in the artists files of the New York Public Library.

Philip Pearlstein unequivocally cites the apartment as belonging to Browne—see Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. Browne’s son categorically denied his father’s involvement, in a September 6, 2015, e-mail to the author. The Manhattan telephone and address directories for July 1949 has a Byron Browne living at 216 East Fifteenth Street, as does the directory for November 1948, and no such person on Saint Mark’s Place.

5. 84 The apartment: Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 52. Guiles’s description of the sublet as a “cold-water flat” is at odds with Philip Pearlstein’s later account of a bath in hot water. They were just a door or two east of Av-
venue A, above a liquor store, according to Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015. Period phone directories identify this as AAA Wine & Liquor, at 121 Saint Mark’s Place.

6. ornate 1907 structure: City records indicate that approvals for the building were completed in 1907—see the block and lot folder in the New York City Municipal Archives.


10. “Get him on the phone”: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

11. had a phone until he was fifteen: See Matt Wrbican, didactic materials for the exhibition “Really Phoney: Warhol and the Telephone” at The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, July 9 to September 19, 2004.


16. lice: Paul Warhola to David Bourdon, August 10, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


22. **“they never complained”**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


   Another story has Warhol and Pearlstein consulting the Yellow Pages business directory to find the names of clients to approach—Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 53.


27. **“dream suit”**: Philip Pearlstein, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 51. See also photographs by Leila Davies Singelis, AWMA.


At that first meeting with Warhol, Zegart also bought herself a sheet of stylized portrait drawings that Warhol had shown her; a polaroid of it survives in *Time Capsule* 158 (AWMA), together with a 1977 letter from Zegart to Warhol about it.

33. **spilled ink**: Seymour Berlin, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 415.

34. **“His ink lines”**: Tina Fredericks, “Remembering Andy,” in Jesse Kornbluth, *Pre-Pop Warhol* (New York: Random House, 1988), 11. Fredericks’s telling of the story omits Warhol’s first visit to her assistant, or any earlier one on Warhol’s Easter break from Tech, which Zegart also did not recall.

35. **Tina Fredericks**: Tina Fredericks had the best of publishing pedigrees: She’d grown up in Berlin, where her father Kurt Safranski edited the pioneering *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, which he’d proffered as a model to Henry Luce when *Life* was launched as a picture magazine in 1936—see Louis Pizzitola, *Hearst over Hollywood: Power, Passion, and Propaganda in the Movies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 306. Pizzitola quotes letters from Safranski supplied by Tina Fredericks. The family had fled Hitler for New York in 1933 with the promise of a job from Richard Berlin, an executive at the Hearst publishing empire whose daughter was Brigid, later Warhol’s close friend and Factory superstar.


41. **new “shoe editor”**: Kett Zegart, interview by author, July

42. **Stutz, who became a major client:** Elizabeth Penrose Howkins, “Youthful Store President Embarks on Third Year,” New York Times, November 14, 1959.


44. **for an assignment at Tech:** Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.


47. **high-end insert:** The insert was printed on book paper rather than the magazine’s normal glossy stock, which set it off as a prestige feature—see Richard Martin, “Illuminations,” in The Warhol Look, ed. Margery King and Mark Francis (Boston: Little, Brown, 1997), 70.


50. **Pittsburgh friends:** These friends included Philip Pearlstein’s future wife Dorothy Cantor and her sister, as well as the Kessler clan (the lefty couple “Pappy” and Ethel, plus bohemian sister “Corky”) and P&D Joseph Groell, with his girlfriend and brother.

51. **trips to the beaches:** The beach trips were apparently initiated by Louis Adelman, the Tech drama student who had commissioned that proto-pop backdrop from Warhol and Philip Pearlstein when they were all in college together—Lee Adelman, interview by author, n.d.

52. **turtleneck turned up”:** Stephen Bruce, in Patrick S. Smith,
“Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 460.

53. **friend from the Tech drama department**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. The friend who gave theatrical advice was the Tech drama student and later playwright Louis Adelman.


59. **80 to 90 percent of the gay world**: Jacques d’Amboise, interview by author, August 15, 2016. The importance of ballet for gay culture was also stressed by the poet Edward Field, interview by author, May 2, 2016.


63. **he did it all on his own**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014),
shared with the author by Pearlstein.

64. **ninety days**: The Warhol archives include a December 11, 1952, payment for drawings for the Spring 1953 issue of *Modern Bride*, meaning that Warhol must have done them a good bit earlier than that already. Other payments and invoices in the archives show similar lead times.

65. **reach more people**: John P. Cunningham, “What Do Art Directors Need Most?” *Advertising Agency and Advertising and Selling*, July 1950: 118, 121. This issue, preserved by Warhol in his *Time Capsule* 51, also has the first little mention of him as a talented illustrator.


Warhol’s contact with Jones might have come via George Klauber, the *eminence grise* (or maybe *rose*) at this moment in Warhol’s career, since Klauber’s boss Will Burtin had links to Jones—see Paul Maréchal, *Andy Warhol: The Complete Commissioned Record Covers, 1949–1987, Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Prestel, 2015), 12.


68. **$50 per cover**: Warhol, handwritten list of receivables, c. 1955, TC28, AWMA.


70. **Warhol’s first Columbia covers**: Both records have copyright stamps from 1949.


72. **opportunity for expression**: Robert M. Jones, Febru-


When Warhol decided to turn out some practice sketches for the cover of an imaginary Billie Holiday album (there’s no sign of a client that asked for them) he was deliberately choosing a performer whose music, at the time, was considered the epitome of hipster cool—Holiday is portrayed as a favorite of with-it teenagers in one of the first novels of postwar youth culture, Colin MacInnes, *Absolute Beginners* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1960).

For images of the three known Billy Holiday sketches by Warhol see Guy Minnebach, “Happy 100, Lady Day!,” *Andy Earhole* (blog), April 4, 2015, https://warholcoverart.com/2015/04/04/happy-100-lady-day/. Note that the songs included on one those sketches match the songs listed on the cover of volume one (catalog number #5020) of a real Holiday series put out on the Jolly Roger label in 1954. Either Warhol was copying from that album in making his self-assigned cover art, or he had been assigned the contract and then lost it—which might make sense given that his Holiday drawings, based on his old Cano cover, seem entirely un-bluesy and unsuited to the music.

MA: MIT Press, 2001), 7. Buchloch: “During his early career as a commercial artist, [Warhol] featured all those debased and exhausted qualities of the traditional concepts of the ‘artistic’ that art directors and ad men then would still have adored—that is, the whimsical and the witty, the wicked and the faux naïf. . . . One of the resources for such an artistically contrived realm of unbridled pleasure before/beyond mechanization would be the aristocratically refined preindustrial charms of rococo and neoclassical drawing. . . . Warhol’s success as a commercial designer depended in part on this ‘artistic’ performance, on his delivery of a notion of creativity that was bound to appear all the more rarefied in a milieu whose every impulse is geared to increase the efficacy of commodification and the professional eradication of individual subjectivity.”

78. 91 pointed to Warhol: See Edgar Kauffman, Jr., to Charles Coiner, April 13, 1950, AWMA.

79. 91 billed the young artist: See Charles Coiner, “Clipping Board,” Advertising Agency and Advertising and Selling (July 1950): 64.

Although the little blurb appeared in July, Coiner’s opinion would have been formed months before, when he was writing the copy. As far as we know Warhol had only done a few covers by that point, while squeezing an assortment of other assignments out of the town’s art directors.

One Warhol assignment discovered in the research for this book, with the help of Warhol scholar Paul Maréchal, was for the March, 1950, issue of Seventeen magazine, whose new art director, Cipe Pineles, was known for commissioning illustrations from fine artists—including Ben Shahn.

Joan Fenton, Pineles’s assistant, remembered the commission: “He [Warhol] left his portfolio and when I saw it I thought, ‘Ah I’ve got just the right, just the right job for him’ and it was a story we were doing on allergies and, so, ‘cause his line was very scratchy and a little bit upsetting and when he came in I thought, ‘Oh, here is a very, you know, strange young man, he will fit in exactly, you know, he’ll understand what to do.’ And what I did was I gave him a double page spread of all the things that make you itch and scratch and sneeze and cough and he understood”—Fenton in Chris Rodley, Andy Warhol: The Complete Picture, documentary (Channel 4 and Bravo, 2002). The citation to Rodley was found in Gary Comenas, “Andy Warhol: From Nowhere to Up There 11,” Warholstars (blog), 2014, http://www.warholstars.org/nowhere/andy_warhol_q11.html. See also Fenton’s interview in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 541.
80. **“Do you have any work for me?”**: Andy Warhol to Robert Cato, nd, AWMA.


82. **October issue**: The magazine is preserved in the Warhol archives.

   One other notable feature of that issue of *Theater Arts*: Its cover is a Bauhausy composition by a 26-year-old Richard Avedon, already billed on the masthead as “editorial associate” and part of the crop of star photographers who, by the end of that decade, were destroying the market for illustrators like Warhol. The two men, and their careers, intersected and competed for the next several decades. In 1954, Warhol’s first front-page assignment for *Harper’s Bazaar* consisted of drawing four funky stars on top of the cover’s elegant Avedon photo; the next year, in his first fashion assignment in *Mademoiselle*, Warhol’s drawings provided the setting for a suite of Avedon fashion shots—with only the photographer getting a credit line. Who was more annoyed, Warhol, at being cast in a secondary role, or Avedon, at Warhol’s disruption of his sleek style?


84. **wrote back to Tech**: “Class Notes,” *Carnegie Alumnus* (September 1952): 27.

   Appropriately enough, and maybe not by accident, the story in *Harper’s* was about the trials of a family of Slavic immigrants in America, and Warhol’s three images are based on the fiction illustrations he did in his last term at Tech. The story’s first illustration is a direct repeat of one Warhol had done at Tech, based on a photo in a 1946 issue of *Life*—see Alexandra Barcal et al., eds., *Andy Warhol: The LIFE Years 1949–1959* (Munich: Hirmer, 2015), 122. It seems likely that some of those earlier illustrations were in the portfolio he showed to *Harper’s* managing editor Russell Lynes—younger brother of the famous gay photographer George Platt Lynes—who was passing out art assignments at that time. Warhol got a mention in the *Harper’s* “Contributors” column—his line about how his life “couldn’t fill a penny postcard”—and he also got a nice “drawings by” credit that was almost as big as the “story by” credit above it, given to a young John Cheever, just then winning attention for the first of his writings in *The New Yorker*.

85. **Philadelphia fabric company**: The ad was for Moss Rose
textiles of Philadelphia, and a copy is preserved in the Warhol archives. The ad seems to have been commissioned by the Auerbach Associates agency—see “Upcoming Artist: Andy Warhol,” Art Director & Studio News, April 1951, 20.


CHAPTER 6

1. 93 “the world was our oyster”: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

2. 93 “a very arty place”: This letter is ©The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc.

   An image of the undated letter to Kett Zegart was provided to the author by Mark Loiacono of the Whitney Museum of American Art, NY.


4. 93 “he became the personality that became famous”: Philip Pearlstein, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 63.


8. **“prepared” by Cage:** Gertrud Michelson, interview by author, August 16, 2015.

9. **first of September:** Warhol’s first rent payment to Franziska Boas was received on August 31, 1949, as documented in her ledger, Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

10. **drowned roaches:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


13. **Warhol attended:** For Warhol’s churchgoing in Chelsea see Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

   The Catholic Church of the Guardian Angels was on 21st itself, at 10th Avenue, while Columbus Roman Catholic Church was on Twenty-Fifth Street. A Greek Orthodox church, whose décor and liturgies might actually have been closer to Warhol’s childhood experiences, was on Twenty-Fifth.


16. **“beating drums”:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experi-
ence, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


18. “give the tenants a rest”: See an anonymous, undated, handwritten note, and also Mark Duross, the building manager for the Twenty-First Street studio, to Franziska Boas, July 25, 1945, Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

19. one hundred feet deep: The Bromley map for that era, held at the New York Public Library, lists the building as 100 feet deep and 25 wide, although it is described as 75 feet deep in Franziska Boas, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, July 12, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

20. curtained off for Boas: Floorplan shared with the author by Boas’s daughter Gertrud Michelson, August 26, 2015.


Warhol mentions the icebox being in the bathroom on the contributors page of Mademoiselle (February 1950): 67.


23. was furnished with: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. The reproductions are visible in a 1949 photo in the Philip Pearlstein papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Curiously, only three years earlier that room had been home to some of the very earliest pictures you could call Abstract Expressionist, before the term even existed, when Franziska Boas hosted the first-ever show of the Automatistes group from Montreal—see the August 19, 2015, e-mail to the author from Allana Lindgren, expert on Franziska Boas, citing documents in the Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See also Roald Nasgaard, Abstract Painting in Canada (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008), 67.

24. training as a sculptor: See the undated draft of Franziska Boas’s resume, Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Boas’s drawings are preserved throughout her papers.
25. **Jan Gay**: The most complete biography of Jan Gay seems to be at “Helen Reitman—Gay History Wiki,” accessed March 3, 2019, http://gayhistory.wikidot.com/helen-reitman. Like her partner Franziska Boas, Gay was the daughter of a celebrity—Ben Reitman, the free-loving anarchist “hobo doctor” who had been Emma Goldman’s great paramour.


28. **Activist for homosexual rights**: Letters and notes on Jan Gay’s extensive sociological research into homosexuality, in the 1930s already, survive in the Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

29. **Cropped hair and masculine dress**: Photos of Jan Gay survive the Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. One is by the great, openly lesbian photographer Berenice Abbott, who was a friend or acquaintance of Boas (her name is in Boas’s address book) and who would have been known to Warhol from her appearance at Outlines gallery in Pittsburgh—Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.


   Duane Michals, a homosexual on military service in Germany, used the word “gay” in its current sense in a letter sent to a queer friend on...

31. **95 had actually met Jan Gay**: Franziska Boas’s daughter Gertrud Michelson, interview by author, August 16, 2015.

32. **95 nude under an untied kimono**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


34. **95 “Neev” or “Niehve”**: Franziska Boas’s daughter Gertrud Michelson, interview by author, August 16, 2015. Later Warholians have mistakenly thought that the dog was called “Name,” and therefore billed it as foreshadowing (or causing) the moment in the 1960s when Warhol’s assistant Billy Linich became known as Billy Name—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 67.

35. **96 a litter of eight pups**: Franziska Boas, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, July 12, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


37. **96 remembered the pet**: Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.

38. **96 listing payments**: See the account ledger in the Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

39. **96 his connection to dance**: Warhol would also have got to know Boas’s complete run of *Dance Magazine*, which might have given him the idea of contacting its editors, who soon started buying his illustrations; his time with Boas might even have counted as credentials for getting that work. See the list of titles for sale by Boas on leaving New York in the Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

40. **96 Judson Church dancers**: This connection was suggested to the author by the Boas scholar Allana Lindgren in a September 28, 2015,
e-mail.

41. **techniques of moviemaking**: Boas explores techniques of lighting and editing and cinematography in a private notebook, Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

42. **“pleasant to be around”**: Franziska Boas, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, July 12, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

43. **“took Andy over”**: Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.

44. **“assuming it was homosexual”**: Philip Pearlstein, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d.


46. **soaked in a downpour**: Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015. The photograph of George Klauber and Warhol, pantless, is in the Philip Pearlstein papers, Smithsonian Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


The gay poet Edward Field (interviewed May 2, 2016) who was on the scene and “out” at the time, posited that Klauber could have been associated with the bohemian filmmakers Marie Menken and her husband Willard Maas, who was gay and held “boy-parties” in their Brooklyn Heights home near Klauber’s. Field met Menken at the Yaddo artists’ retreat in 1951—see Edward Field, *The Man Who Would Marry Susan Sontag and Other Intimate Literary Portraits of the Bohemian Era* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 48.


In an unlikely coincidence, both Warhol and Klauber died from a gallbladder problem that was left untreated for too long—Elizabeth Laub, niece of George Klauber, interview by author, August 9, 2015.


50. **“sense of being affiliated with a group”**: George Klauber,

51. 97 attacked them as “kitsch”: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


The recording (over-)played by Warhol was of that MoMA performance, which their friend George Klauber had seen the previous January, when Sitwell was on a triumphant, much-publicized American tour—Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015. (Pearlstein could not remember whether he or Klauber had bought the album that Warhol played.) The tour’s coverage included the famous *Life* magazine photo of cutting-edge poets at the Gotham Book Mart, which became a Warhol hangout in the 1950s—see the undated 2015 letter to the author from Carlton Willers. Warhol actually clipped that *Life* photo, and kept it—see Reva Wolf, *Andy Warhol, Poetry, and Gossip in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 7.


The Sitwell record was released in 1949 as “Façade,” a Columbia Masterworks LP sponsored by MoMA, just as Warhol’s own Mexican album had been. The wild cover image for “Façade,” by the star illustrator Jim Flora, takes up the entire surface of the cardboard sleeve and makes Warhol’s tyro efforts for Columbia look particularly slight.

53. 97 love of Sitwell: See William Burroughs and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, January 28, 1980, TC578, AWMA.


55. 97 an alcoholic: Franziska Boas, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, July 12, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

56. 97 “like Hindu god positions”: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

57. 97 already a regular: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experi-
ence, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.


58. **dollar sign**: That dollar sign began life as a detail in a self-assigned illustration for a true-crime tale about an oppressed seamstress who ax-murdered her kids; one allegorical panel in the series included an image of the dead children impaled on the bars of a dollar sign. Pearlstein was so pleased with that detail that he worked it up as an independent painting in oils—see didactic materials for “Pearlstein, Warhol, Cantor: From Pittsburgh to New York,” an exhibition at The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, May 30 to September 6, 2015.


62. **one record cover known from late 1949**: The record cover was part of a promotional package for an episode of NBC radio’s “Night Beat” dramatic series that was broadcast in February 1950, suggesting that the package was sent out to potential advertisers before then, and probably assigned to Warhol in late summer or very early fall. See [https://recordart.wordpress.com/andy-warhol-art-on-45s-part-1/](https://recordart.wordpress.com/andy-warhol-art-on-45s-part-1/), accessed August 14, 2015. Paul Maréchal offers a date of 1952 based on a similar Warhol image that appeared that year in Billboard magazine—Paul Maréchal, *Andy Warhol: The Complete Commissioned Record Covers, 1949–1987, Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Prestel, 2015).


64. **but nothing that paid as wonderful as the glamour job**: An image of the letter was sent to the author by Mark Loiacono of the Whitney Museum. The letter is undated but must have been sent before September 1953, when Zegart left New York—Kett Zegart, interview by
author, July 18, 2015.

65. **the last few Carnegie annuals**: The catalogs to the 1947 and 1948 Carnegie Annuals give thanks to such important galleries as The Downtown Gallery, Durlacher Brothers, M. Knoedler & Company, Samuel M. Kootz Gallery, Julien Levy Gallery, Betty Parsons Gallery and Galerie St. Etienne, all of which had artists in the Carnegie’s exhibitions, with the gallery name prominently displayed.


68. **absolutely confirmed it**: See for example Warhol’s classmate Arthur Elias, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 536.

The “Modern Art in Your Life” exhibition and its catalog argued that the “determined uncertainty” favored by the best of America’s illustrators, including Warhol’s idol Ben Shahn, was inspired by the fractured, “wandering line” of the venerated painter Paul Klee, “apparently spontaneous and thoughtless and yet achiev[ing] an extraordinary subtlety” (shades of Warhol’s own blottings)—see Robert Goldwater, *Modern Art in Your Life* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949), 32. In fact, the very next show to open at MoMA was a big retrospective for Klee, who has always been cited as a central influence on Warhol’s early art.

The great Paul Rand himself designed the Klee catalog, as he’d designed the one for “Modern Art in Your Life” (he’d marked it by sticking his signature on Klee the cover), while the Times declared the Klee show “a sparkling spectacle”—see Robert Devree, “Artists of Vision: Paul Klee’s Development—Marin’s Recent Work,” *New York Times*, December 25, 1949. Marcel Duchamp was soon raving about Klee in print, in very Warholian terms, in his entry on the artist in *Collection of the Société Anonyme* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery, 1950), reprinted in *The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 376. “Most of [Klee’s] compositions show this delightful side of unsophisticated, naive expression,” wrote Duchamp. “But this is only the first contact with his work and a very appealing one. . . . If Klee often uses a ‘childish’ technique, it is applied to a very mature form of thinking.” MoMA’s Klee show was especially full of simple line drawings that come close to the Warhols they inspired—see *Paul Klee* (New York: Museum of Mod-

Also of interest to Warhol would have been MoMA’s full-scale retrospective of Franklin Watkins, who Warhol would have known for his Suicide in Costume, the clown painting that had rocked Pittsburgh when it won first prize at the 1931 Carnegie International and that never lost its celebrity in Warhol’s home town—see for example Charles F. Danver, “Pittsburghesque: International Mob Scene,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, April 24, 1949.

69. **kicked the lot of them out**: Allana C. Lindgren, “Civil Rights Strategies in the United States: Franziska Boas’s Activist Use of Dance, 1933–1965,” Dance Research Journal 45, no. 2 (August 2013): 56n72. The original documents from Boas’s landlord and her lawyer are in the Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The landlord had reminded her—often—that the studio’s Certificate of Occupancy was for office space and did not permit dance lessons or residents of any kind.

For the rest of his life, Pearlstein believed (wrongly) that his and Warhol’s sublet money had gone toward Boas’s living expenses rather than toward paying the rent she owed—see Philip Pearlstein, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d. Pearlstein also said that Boas had lied about the eviction just to get rid of him and Warhol, and that she was actually the owner of the loft, but legal documents make clear that this wasn’t the case, and Boas’s daughter denied it—Gertrud Michelson, interview by author, August 16, 2015.

70. **Warhol was heartbroken**: Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 67.

Boas did find good homes for her pets before leaving New York—see Franziska Boas to Gertrud Michelson, June 12, 1950, Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

71. **“That ruined the friendship”**: Gertrud Michelson, interview by author, August 16, 2015.

72. **Leila Davies**: Leila Davies had recently fallen into a career as a jeweler in Greenwich Village and had been living there in “a roach infested little hovel” and was thus happy to make the move—Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

73. **illegal sublet**: Thomas Kiedrowski, Andy Warhol’s New York

74. **very Puerto Rican**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. Davies suggested that the girls’ original contact in the group flat was the dancer Victor Reilly.

There is a claim that Davies and Eleanor Simon first lived together in “an apartment on West 74th Street near West End Avenue”—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 59. But that is not mentioned in Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. The Northport Building, at 74 West 103rd Street, made way in the 1960s for one of New York’s most ambitious public housing projects.

75. **around April 1**: “Warhol Andy, Artist” is first listed at 103rd Street in the Manhattan Address Directory for April 1950; he is absent from the edition for the month before—although he could have moved earlier and waited a while to get a phone. Warhol and Philip Pearlstein’s rent payments to Franziska Boas end in December according to her account ledgers, Franziska Boas Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

76. **seventh or eighth roommate**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. Davies said that Eleanor Simon fled back to Pittsburgh after one week.

77. **drama students**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

78. **a painter in graduate school and a young man in publishing**: See Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. Davies mentions a certain Jack Hudson “in publishing” as one roommate.

“The other men sharing the place were Jack (‘Mitch’) Beaber, also from Pittsburgh and then with the American Ballet Theater; Joey Ross, who was working in musical comedy; and a serious artist named Tommy Quinlan who was supporting his career through an advertising job”—Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 76.


80. **everything was in its place**: Dancer Elaine Finsilver, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D.,
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Northwestern University, 1982), 552.


83. **100 the latest Fred Astaire**: Margery Bedow, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 410. The crew saw Cocteau’s *Beauty and the Beast* “several times,” according to Elaine Finsilver in Smith, “Art in Extremis,” 556.

84. **100 “we’d all congregate”**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

85. **100 he “shyly” went up**: Lydia Joel tells the story in *Andy Warhol: Drawn to Dance* (New York: Westwood Gallery, 2012), 67.

86. **100 “That’s so beautiful! Gosh”**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

87. **100 exulted in all sorts of details**: Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

88. **100 “It’s really much more interesting”**: Roberta Bernstein, interview by author, September 18, 2018.

89. **100 “young people in those days”**: Robert Fleischer (misspelled “Fleisher”), in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 113. Fleischer eventually gave Warhol contracts doing stationery for Bergdorf Goodman, where he had become a buyer—Warhol’s later successes often depended on the networks he’d established early on.

90. **100 $125 rent**: Margery Beddow, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 413.

91. **100 “I was making $35 a week”**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

92. **100 “whatever few little jobs”**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.


94. **100 a contract for a shoe drawing**: Elaine Finsilver, in Patrick S.
Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 552.


98. **we had one problem, which was money!**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

99. **Hurd Hatfield**: Elaine Finsilver, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 556.


    The scholar Harry M. Benshoff describes the film as “possibly the most overtly queer film of the period” and quotes the original review in *Variety*: “Albert Lewin, who directed, has very subtly but unmistakably pegged Gray for what he was, but it may go over the heads of a lot of people”—Harry M. Benshoff, *Monsters in the Closet: Homosexuality and the Horror Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 113.


103. **costumed as a garland**: Elaine Finsilver, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 553.


Press, 1988), 113. Elaine Finsilver describes the daisy chain costume as “created” by Warhol—Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 555.

106. 102 known to turn heads: See Michael Rumaker, Black Mountain Days (New York: Spuyten Duyvil, 2012), 86.

107. 102 Jackson was straight: Tommy Jackson, interview by author, May 24, 2016.

108. 102 penny postcards started flying back and forth: Dozens of Jackson's cards survive in Warhol’s archives. Jackson has said that Warhol’s cards to him survive, but are inaccessible in an abandoned country cabin. Cards that Warhol wrote but never sent to Jackson also survive in Warhol’s archives.


112. 103 a poker partner: Tommy Jackson, in a May 22, 1996, telephone conversation with scholar Branden W. Joseph, reported to the author by Joseph in a February 4, 2015, e-mail.


115. 103 modernist prose poems: The poems are by Russell Edson, the great pioneer of prose poems who was the same age as Warhol. See Ken Dixon, “Poet Russell Edson of Darien Is Dead,” Ken Dixon’s Blog-0-Rama, May 2, 2014, https://blog.ctnews.com/dixon/2014/05/02/poet-russell-edson-of-darien-is-dead/. (Other sources give incorrect birth dates for Edson, but 1928 is confirmed on his death certificate.)
116. **if you’re smart enough**: The cards Tommy Jackson sends from Black Mountain become fancier than before, custom printed with his name and the logo of the new Grapnel Press he’d founded.


118. **What was new, really new**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.


MoMA also held a major survey of Edvard Munch, which wouldn’t seem particularly relevant except for the fact that Warhol went on to do an entire body of work that riffed on the Norwegian’s ghoulish pictures—a detour in his career that seems less peculiar once you know that Munch would have featured in Warhol’s first impressions of New York. That copy of *Graphis* that Warhol nabbed from the Horne’s display department in 1947 also happened to have Munch as the subject of its lead feature.


123. **printers, signmakers and waterworks**: The factories are shown in the Bromley map for the area, preserved in the collection of the New York Public Library.

124. **sunset-orange walls**: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. To lighten the mood in his flat, Pearlstein had painted the walls “Italian sunset orange,” in memory of wartime stays in Florence and Rome. The later resident Joseph Groell, interviewed by this author June 11, 2015, said that he went on to paint over the orange.


129. **105 massive phone bills:** By July the roommates had run up almost $100 in charges on a phone that was in Warhol’s name—see New York Telephone Company, statement, July 1, 1950, document box 189, AWMA. A lawyer was still chasing Warhol for payment a full year later—see Joseph F. Farrell, attorney-at-law, to Warhol, July 2, 1951, AWMA. A roommate claimed that they were made to leave 103rd Street when it was slated for demolition—Elaine Finsilver, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 37. It is true that the site was eventually used for a major public housing project known as the “Douglas Houses,” for which the city was seeking financing by the fall of 1952—see “Municipal Loans,” *New York Times*, November 1, 1952. But period phone directories indicate that many tenants were still living in the Northport well into the late 1950s.

130. **105 “Andy Warhol, c/o Groell”:** Joe Slevin to Warhol, postcard, September 22, 1950, AWMA, is addressed to 103rd Street, so Warhol must have left in October or November. An anonymous postcard dated November 17, 1950 (AWMA) inscribed with the motto of the Order of the Garter (“honi soit qui mal y pense”—“shame on anyone who thinks ill of my act”), is addressed to Warhol on Twenty-Fourth Street.

131. **105 given up that August:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. Warhol had gone to Pittsburgh for Pearlstein’s wedding, as he’d also returned the previous Christmas, Pearlstein said, somehow feeling flush enough to go by plane both times. He’d never go back half that often again.

The telephone on Twenty-Fourth Street is in Pearlstein’s name in the
April 1950 *Manhattan Address Directory*, but Groell’s name takes over in December. The phone remains in his name through 1954.


In addition to the 1949 draft card, a series of selective-service documents survive in the archives of The Andy Warhol Museum, dated December 7, 1950, to February 22, 1951, all addressed to the Twenty-Fourth Street apartment. They show that Warhol was allowed to undergo his Pittsburgh draft exam in New York, and that it was at this point that he was rated 4F.

138. **to New York shortly after him**: Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

139. **Warhol visiting MoMA**: Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The Warhol archives include a MoMA Christmas card, decorated with Warhol’s trademark cherubs, that bears a copyright of 1952. It or one like it was mentioned in a September 15, 1952, MoMA
press release: https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/1644/releases/MOMA_1952_0066.pdf, accessed October 27, 2017. Other documents (AWMA) show Warhol continuing to make cards for MoMA for many years—and earning surprisingly little from them. A March 3, 1953, statement sent to Warhol from MoMA (TC28, AWMA), covering a period beginning July 1, 1952, reports the $128.83 royalty that he earned, and several similar letters, from a range of card companies, record similar or smaller amounts, sometimes with sheepish apologies from the publisher.

140. **fifteen companies he called**: Imilda Vaughan, in David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 31.


The Coiner contact seems to have paid off, first with that magazine item Coiner wrote about Warhol as a record-cover illustrator—see Charles Coiner, “Clipping Board,” Advertising Agency and Advertising and Selling (July 1950): 64. There was also a small Coiner contract in 1957 and then another in 1964, when Warhol—by then a famous fine artist—did a major advertising project for the art director’s firm. On the small contract see the December 11, 1957, payment advice (AWMA) from Warhol’s agent Anna Mae Wallowitch regarding a commission from N. W. Ayer & Son, Coiner’s firm, for “Plymouth’s 16-page booklet.” On the later contract see Edward W. Warwick, Coiner’s subordinate at Ayer, to Fritzie Miller, Warhol’s later agent, February 7, 1964, AWMA. Warhol’s Time Capsule 87 preserves preparatory images of a plastic chair and a steering wheel done for the same ambitious, 30 painting project. Only 12 paintings were reproduced in the finished ad: See Warwick’s letter and items 521–528 in Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Phaidon, 2002).


140. **“He’s sharp”:** Seymour Berlin, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 419.


142. **“Isn’t that ridiculous?”**: See Joseph Groell, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 646.


149. **got an early boyfriend to subscribe:** See Carlton Willers to Andy Warhol, August 20, 1954, AWMA.


democracy-arts-and-crafts-and-writers-at-bmc-summer-2014/6-4-julie-j-thomson/.

158. close friends with Will Burtin: Elaine Lustig Cohen, widow of Alvin Lustig, September 23, 2015, e-mail to the author.


There is also the notable coincidence (or not) that the founder of New Directions, James Laughlin, was one of the Pittsburgh Laughlins, whose steel mill had blackened Warhol’s first childhood home. It could be that, as with Laughlin’s friend Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., at MoMA—whose writings on design Laughlin had published—Steeltowners high and low were sticking together in New York, which included giving a hand up to a newcomer like Warhol.

159. accommodations in Brooklyn Heights: See “Muriel” to Andy Warhol, postcard, December 29, 1950, AWMA.

160. a lease: See “Landlord’s Report of Lease,” April 13, 1951, AWMA. The document backdates Warhol’s first official day of occupancy to December 4, 1950, but the much later date on the lease report itself as well as the postmarks and addresses on cards from Tommy Jackson suggest that Warhol didn’t move in until mid-March. On January 24, 1951, someone named Tish Hudson was still sending Warhol a card addressed to the Twenty-Fourth Street flat, while a Jackson card from March 10 is addressed to Twenty-Fourth Street and one from March 22 gets sent to Seventy-Fifth. Warhol’s archives include an April 6 receipt for a deposit toward future utility bills, and that might be from the start of his stay on Seventy-Fifth Street. Warhol kept a similar receipt, addressed to Victor Reilly on March 20, for a refundable deposit for phone service on Seventy-Fifth Street.

A check to Warhol’s landlord dated April 8, 1952 (AWMA) shows him
paying $52.90.

108 “as cheap as you could possibly get”: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

108 classic New York building: A 1940s photo of the building can be seen at nycma.lunaimaging.com, accessed November 13, 2018. The building survives but has been significantly altered.

108 two windows wide but with kitchen and bathroom: George Klauber, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 26. For the full address see Nathan Gluck to Warhol, postcard, May 22, 1951, AWMA. Although the lease for the apartment (AWMA) lists it as #2A, Warhol’s own invoices record his address as apartment 1A.

108 plenty of rats: David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 30. Rats are also mentioned in Paul Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d. See also Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

108 Warhol complained of its pink wallpaper: Interiors, June 1951, 8.

108 recently moved in: Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein. “Dorothy found a pleasant apartment on 2nd Ave at Eighty-First Street,” wrote Pearlstein. “Within a few months Andy moved into an apartment within walking distance.”

108 dancer Victor Reilly: There are phone bills (AWMA) addressed to Victor Reilly in Warhol’s Seventy-Fifth Street building, and it’s hard to see why they’d have ended up in Warhol’s hands if he and Reilly weren’t in the closest of contact at the time, maybe even sharing a phone. The phone bills are for a new telephone number on East Seventy-Fifth Street, and they include a deposit for the phone paid by Reilly on March 20, 1951, at 218 East Seventy-Fifth, and then a payment on August 6 at number 216.

There has been some confusion over the fact that Warhol and Reilly have each been associated with those two different addresses on the street. A visit to the property shows that those are (and always were, judging from period photos) simply two doors to the same building, with the main lobby at 216 and a basement entrance at 218. Although the “Landlord’s Report of Lease” for Warhol’s unit is for apartment 2A at number 216, all the sources speak of him living in the basement that we see as his address on mail.
David Bourdon reports that the June 1951 New York telephone book listed Reilly at 218 East Seventy-Fifth Street, and then the next year he was listed at 216—David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 39n4.

One likely scenario would have Reilly getting the basement apartment at number 218 first, then ceding it to Warhol and moving upstairs to 216, with the two of them continuing to share a single phone. Of course it could be that residents used the two addresses interchangeably. If Reilly got to the building—or the apartment—before Warhol, the December 4 occupancy date given on its Lease Report might refer to his arrival, not Warhol’s.

**CHAPTER 7**


2. **“little bit of money”**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

3. **“could only talk about shoes, shirts”**: David Mann, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


5. **more than a month’s rent**: Cancelled check to Brooks Brothers for $63.60, March 15, 1952, AWMA.

6. **stylish single button**: See the photo of Warhol at work, The Andy Warhol Museum accession #T849.2. Warhol is clearly not wearing a wig—he has a visibly receding hairline—so the photo must date to his first years in New York.


On gay bars sited off the lobbies of otherwise straight hotels see Paul Welch, “The Gay World Takes to the City Streets,” Life (June 26, 1964): 68.


17. to stop off at the Plaza Hotel: Elaine Finsilver, in Catherine Johnson, ed., Thank You Andy Warhol (New York: Glitterati, 2012), 18. According to Seymour Berlin, Warhol’s printer, he continued to breakfast at the Plaza throughout the 1950s, although “he couldn’t really afford it”—see Berlin in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 414.

The bar in the Plaza’s Oak Room was considered a safe meeting place for homosexuals, although it was understood that the nearby tables might cater to straights—gay poet and Warhol contemporary Edward Field, interview by author, May 2, 2016.


19. sold cheap: Interview with Johnny Nicholson, August 7, 2015. The antique shops were only about a decade old then, established
to sell old goods pouring in from Europe during the war—see Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *New York: Confidential!* (Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1948), 52.


   The “New Bohemians” at the Café Nicholson were called-out as “decadents” by no less a critic than Mary McCarthy—Mary McCarthy, “Up the Ladder from Charm to Vogue,” *The Reporter*, August 1, 1950, 32.


22. **113 they’d tumble out**: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

23. **113 “horde of homosexuals”**: Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *New York: Confidential!* (Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1948), 65. The Lait and Mortimer volume was republished and reprinted several times. Lait and Mortimer (p. 46) also describe another spot where Warhol, always the voyeur, could have watched the queer “parade”: on West Fifty-Second Street, a block over from the Museum of Modern Art.


24. **113 the area was “groovy”**: Jason Holiday, in Shirley Clarke, *Portrait of Jason*, documentary (Milestone Films, 1967).

25. **113 “it was charming”**: Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.


27. **113 a 1951 drawing**: See the two signed and dated drawings of Warhol by Nathan Gluck, AWMA.

28. **113 contact sheet of portraits**: The photographs were taken by Duane Michals in around 1958 and viewed in the photographer’s studio on September 14, 2014.


31. **113 Pearlstein concurred**: Philip Pearlstein, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eter-
nal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d. “I always thought he was nice-looking as a kid,” said Pearlstein. “He was not big, but he was a lot bigger than I was—taller and very slender.”

32. **113 145 pounds**: For Warhol’s weight, see Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA. His height is given as 5’8” on his August 6, 1946, Selective Service registration card (AWMA). For a 1956 passport (AWMA) Warhol listed himself as a boastful (and improbable) 5’11”, and then for one issued in 1965 he becomes 5’4”.

On autopsy, at the age of fifty-eight, he was measured at 5’6”—see Paul Alexander, Death and Disaster (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 93.

33. **113 early shot of him**: The photo (AWMA), in color and attributed to Warhol’s lover Edward Wallowitch, must be from the later 1950s.


35. **113 Photographs confirm it**: The late Warhol Museum archivist Matt Wrbican pointed out that a photobooth strip (TC25, AWMA) shows a close up on a large penis protruding from an open fly, and the rest of the clothing visible in the strip’s shots match what we see on Warhol in other strips.

36. **113 not what he wanted to see**: See Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 368. See also documents relating to personal trainer Lidija Cengic preserved in the Warhol archives, as well as photographs there of Warhol being trained.


38. **114 a gym membership**: See the October 20, 1957, membership card to American Health Studios (TC35, AWMA), and the ad for the club in the Long Island Star-Journal, January 6, 1958. The club specialized in weight loss. Warhol didn’t pay his dues, however—see the March 19, 1958, summons (AWMA) that he was served with by the club.

39. **114 “average person could do one”**: Seymour Berlin, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 417.

   A doctor and friend of Warhol’s said she and Warhol worked out together with a trainer in the early 1980s—Karen Burke, interview by author, October 20, 2015. See the full account later in this biography.

41. **a negative impression:** Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. “When I knew him then he was practically bald, and he had this bulbous nose and discolorations on his nose, face and chest,” said Singelis. “He also had very thick glasses and a whispery voice.”

42. **“one of the plainest boys”:** David Mann, in David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 32.

   Billy Name was the lover who denigrated Warhol’s looks—see *All Tomorrow’s Parties: Billy Name’s Photographs of Andy Warhol’s Factory* (New York: D.A.P., 1997), 27.

43. **dwelled on Warhol’s skin:** George Klauber, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 81.

44. **abstractions of Helen Frankenthaler:** Tina Fredericks, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 53.


47. **the discolorations only really showed:** Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015. In an undated 2015 letter to the author, Willers said that Warhol “exaggerated these defects.”
The pigmentation problems extended across the artist’s entire body, according to Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.

Another strike against Warhol: A woman who met him in 1949, when she was in her teens, remembered that he had terribly bad breath—Gertrud Michelson, interview by author, August 16, 2015. This hardly seems like a fact that would bubble up from a fading memory bank unless it had been true, at least for that moment.

114 bulbous nose: The notion that Warhol’s nose was also covered in swollen blood vessels has been advanced by some biographers: Wayne Koestenbaum, Andy Warhol (New York: Viking Press, 2001), 31; David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 32. This was categorically denied, however, by his 1950s boyfriend Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015. Early photos also fail to show signs of such vascularization. It may have followed from his 1957 plastic surgery and then been remembered back into his early years by some sources; it was noted in Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.

114 A photo from the late 1940s: The photo is accession #1998.3.10540 in The Andy Warhol Museum.

114 “one sees worse noses”: Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

114 “if he operated on his nose”: Charles Lisanby, in the manuscript transcript of a November 11, 1978, interview conducted by the late Patrick S. Smith and provided by him to the author.

114 “surgery” on several photos: The photos are in The Andy Warhol Museum, and include one whose retouched nose, with an alteration visible only by raking light, seems not to have been noticed previously: accession no. 2001.2.2016.

In a drawing auctioned at Sotheby’s Arcade on October 7, 1989, the figure Warhol labels as “me” has a tiny ski-jump nose—see “Andy Warhol—Artists—Susan Sheehan Gallery,” Susan Sheehan Gallery, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.susansheehangallery.com/artists/andy-warhol/images/54. The other figure in the drawing, labeled “Johnnie Krug,” suggests that the sheet dates from after 1956, since that is the year Krug first met Warhol’s friend Otto Fenn, according to Krug’s niece Deborah Hallam, interview by author, March 12, 2017.

114 reconstructive surgeon: See the bill to Warhol for the procedure (AWMA) sent by Richard Boies Stark, MD, and dated June 30, 1957. The procedure is listed as having taken place on June 13, 1957, at St. Luke’s Hospital, where Warhol later said that he’d had the operation—see Andy Warhol, THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol: From A to B and Back Again (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 64, Kindle edition.


115 the lunar surface: In the mid-1960s, Warhol’s doctor described a “tendency to venous telangiectasias of nose,” a.k.a., spider veins—Dr. Denton Cox to Andy Warhol, January 25, 1965, TC25, AWMA.

115 terribly nearsighted: Six pairs of Warhol’s glasses and sunglasses were examined by Pittsburgh optician Jamie Kirkavitch on February 8, 2017.

115 children’s frames: Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


64. **115 done some good**: The glasses are described as having helped Warhol “quite a bit” in Edith La Roche, of *Harper’s Bazaar*, to Andy Warhol, January 13, 1970, TC62, AWMA.


66. **115 ordering glasses**: Maurice Poster, optometrist, bill for contact lenses, September 9, 1958, TC34, AWMA. Leon A. Klein opticians bills Warhol for five pairs of prescription glasses on September 28, 1970 (box B17, AWMA), but at least one pair seems to be for “Miss Eve Warhol,” according to a receipt dated October 16, 1970.


   Charles Lisanby, Warhol’s close friend in the mid-1950s, also mentions Warhol as graying in Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011.

68. **115 brown one**: Carlton Willers, undated 2015 letter to the author.

69. **115 natural thatch**: The Warhol archives include a suite of color photos that show him with a just slightly receding hairline, and that seem to have been taken in his apartment on lower Lexington Ave., and so can’t be earlier than 1953.


71. **115 $1,000**: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   Many people never caught on to Warhol’s bewigged state. As late as 1978, Margery Beddow, his roommate from 103rd Street, thought he was bleaching his (in fact non-existent) hair: See Beddow in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 411. Duane Michaels, who befriended and portrayed War-
hol in about 1958, said that he too was unaware of his toupee—Duane Michals, interview by author, May 29, 2015.

72. Look at what Andy’s got!: Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


75. baldness remedies: See drawings #2002.4.5 and #2002.4.6 in The Andy Warhol Museum.


78. to Seventy-Fifth Street: Gluck remembered Warhol living on Seventy-Fifth Street but had no memory of being inside the flat—see Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 76.

Gluck said he first encountered Warhol when he was living in the shared apartment on 103rd street, doing the rounds with his portfolio—see Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Elsewhere Gluck said that he and Warhol were introduced by the art director Gene Federico—see Nathan Gluck, notes on Warhol (January 16, 1976), Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

79. fanciful postcard: Nathan Gluck to Andy Warhol, May 22, 1951, postcard, AWMA. The drawing is in Time Capsule 87 of the Warhol archives.


Warhol biographer Fred Lawrence Guiles dates the incident to December 1950, which seems too early, and gives a slightly different account of the Christmas dance. However, he gives the title of the French film as *Forbidden Games*, a movie, by René Clement, that was only released in the U.S. in December 1952, so in his discussion with Guiles Klauber might have misremembered precisely which film they had seen—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 83.

The Warhol scholar Nina Schleif prefers to think that the film as mentioned is correct and that the episode should be re-dated to December 1952—Nina Schleif, *Drag & Draw: Andy Warhol, the Unknown Fifties* (Munich: Hirmer, 2018), 127n29.


86. 116 “A rendezvous with Bill”: The drawing is in The Andy Warhol Museum, #1998.1.1415.

87. 116 as gifts: Seymour Berlin, Warhol’s printer a bit later in the decade, explained that a Warhol chapbook was typically intended “not to sell, but as a means of giving it out to different customers to promote himself”—see Berlin in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 156.


88. 117 rejection slips: See the August 10, 1953, letters to Warhol
from the publishers Grosset and Dunlap, Farrar, Strauss and Young, Harcourt, Brace and Co. and Little, Brown and Co., all in the collection of Ralph Ward’s relative Marshall Reese, in New York. Rejection slips from other publishers for the same books also survive in the Warhol archives.

Warhol had also tried to find a place for his and Ward’s Love is a Pink Cake in Harper’s magazine, but its editor said it was not a good fit—see Russell [Lynes] to Andy Warhol, May 1, 1953, AWMA.

The chapbooks held more promise as art: Later in 1953, the Princeton University Library accepted Warhol’s donation of Love is a Pink Cake and an abecedary called A Is an Alphabet, which clearly made more sense as bibliophilic esoterica and tactful homoerotica than as products for sale to a mass audience—see William S. Dix, Princeton librarian, to Andy Warhol, November 11, 1953, AWMA.

89. **117 become close to:** Otto Fenn to Andy Warhol, December 22, 1951, Christmas card, AWMA.

   Unless otherwise indicated, further information on Fenn comes from his longtime partner John Krug, interview by author, May 10, 2016. On Warhol and Fenn see also Nina Schleif, Drag & Draw: Andy Warhol, the Unknown Fifties (Munich: Hirmer, 2018).

90. **117 court some of his clients:** One client described meeting Warhol at Otto Fenn’s—Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

91. **117 two-story studio:** Warhol had actually first met Otto Fenn when the photographer’s studio was still in the same Graybar building that housed the offices of Glamour magazine, where Warhol had received his first New York commission—see Nina Schleif’s lecture delivered November 30, 2018, at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

   Fenn’s second studio is listed at 132 East Fifty-Eighth Street in both the 1948 and 1953 New York phone books, and photos of Warhol survive (AWMA) with that address stamped on the back. Fenn’s partner John Krug said that the space had recently been vacated by the famous lefty night spot called Café Society, but that is always listed at 128th East Fifty-Eighth Street, not 132, so either the two addresses functioned as one building or Krug’s memory is at fault—see John Krug, interview by author, May 10, 2016.

   Krug also said that he and Fenn would lunch at Serendipity 3 café but were not part of the scene there, as Warhol was.

92. **117 little rounds of glass:** Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.


Fenn continued to appear in Warhol’s datebook a decade later—see the March 9 entry in Warhol’s 1961 datebook (AWMA). Fenn was calling his old friend as late as the 1980s—see *Time Capsule* 518, which preserves telephone messages from Fenn that are on the same paper as ones from 1980s artist Keith Haring.

95. **Painted props**: The Warhol archives include color photos, inscribed with Otto Fenn’s name, where a female model is posed in front of a folding screen with butterflies by Warhol while slides of Warhol butterflies are projected onto her body.

See also Donna De Salvo, “Andy Warhol: Drawing Us In,” in *Andy Warhol: Private Drawings from the 1950s* (Köln: Walter König, 2003), np. Citing an unpublished interview with Fenn, de Salvo says that Warhol worked on butterfly-patterned screens in Fenn’s studio and that he offered to paint backdrops for Fenn’s photos. He did the same for another photographer, a “Mr. Barnett”—see Warhol’s invoice to Barnett, June 6, 1957, AWMA.


97. **A tender portrait**: The portrait of Warhol by Otto Fenn is in The Andy Warhol Museum, accession #1998.3.4858.

98. **Sending Fenn a series of clever, campy postcards**: In December 2015, seven of the cards, dated July to October 1952, were examined by the author at Glenn Horowitz Bookseller in New York.


Note that Garbo’s movie *The Story of Gosta Berling* had already been screened as art at Outlines gallery in Pittsburgh, on June 19, 1944, at the tail end of Warhol’s junior year in high school—see Outlines Gal-
lery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection. Like most of the films at Outlines the print almost certainly came from the Museum of Modern Art, where it was one of several Garbo films acquired and shown in 1937—see Museum of Modern Art, “John Hay Whitney Announces . . . the Arrival of a Group of Important Motion Picture Films from Sweden,” June 8, 1937, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/389/releases/MOMA_1937_0029.pdf. Note also that in 1965, Greta Garbo—along with Truman Capote—was still being listed by the New York Times as one of the city’s “in” people, while Warhol had become one of its “outs”—see “The In Crowd and the Out Crowd,” New York Times, July 7, 1965.


On George Klauber’s shot of Warhol see Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 93. See also Klauber in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 694.

Warhol repeated the Garbo pose for a studio portrait taken by “Butch” Melton and Wilbur Pippin, a pair of dance photographers who hosted an elite gay salon—on Melton and Pippin’s salon, see Joe LeSueur, Digessions on Some Poems by Frank O’Hara (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003). Their undated, name-stamped photograph of Warhol, pretoupee, is in the photo collection of The Andy Warhol Museum.

Note that at some point in the 1950s Warhol made a traced drawing from the 1928 Steichen photo of Garbo—see Alexandra Barcal et al., eds., Andy Warhol: The LIFE Years 1949–1959 (Munich: Hirmer, 2015), 116. (That publication argues that Warhol’s source was the January 10, 1955, cover of Life magazine that reprinted the photo, but he could have gotten it elsewhere, leaving the date of his drawing undecided.)

In an odd reversal of Warhol’s almost-drag photo, Garbo herself once said that she’d hoped to don men’s clothing to play the tainted hero of the 1945 film version of The Picture of Dorian Gray, a part that eventually went to Hurd Hatfield, the gay heartthrob who had shown up at that party in Warhol’s 103rd street “commune”—on Garbo’s interest in the role see Gregory W. Mank, Hollywood Cauldron: Thirteen Horror Films from the Genre’s Golden Age (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994), 321.

It looks as though Warhol and Fenn’s camping on Camille may have inspired their gay crowd to produce an all-male version of the film, shot the following year by friends on Fire Island as a lark—but also deemed worthy of mention by syndicated columnist Dorothy Kilgallen, “Gossip
in Gotham,” Lowell Sun, September 21, 1953.

“It was like a camp funny thing to do,” remembered Jac Venza, inter-
view by author, August 1, 2018. The film gives some idea of the kind of
deeply homosocial world the young Pittsburgher had moved into. It was
shot in luscious color and with surprisingly high production values; the
Fenn circle had mainstream skill-sets and tastes that were quite unlike
Warhol’s 1960s encounters with truly underground filmmakers.

Donna de Salvo once described Camille as having been a live perfor-
ance in Fenn’s studio—Donna De Salvo, “Andy Warhol: Drawing Us
In,” in Andy Warhol: Private Drawings from the 1950s (Köln: Walter König,
2003), np. But since then the film itself has actually turned up—see Bruce
Michael Gelbert, “Archives’ Restored ‘Camille’ Film, from ’53, Is a Camp
islandqnews.com/2016/07/cam/.

117 mugging in furs: These and other Otto Fenn photos are
preserved in the Warhol archive.

118 brushed up against transvestitism: See Nina Schleif,
Drag & Draw: Andy Warhol, the Unknown Fifties (Munich: Hirmer, 2018).

118 “my name is andy”: The card’s return address is “andy 216
east 75 new york city.”

It’s often claimed that Warhol started his postal stalking of Capote a
good bit earlier than Warhol’s 1951 address on this card implies. If we be-
lieve Warhol himself (or at least his ghostwriter), the one-sided correspon-
dence began when he was a college kid in Pittsburgh—see Andy Warhol,
143. See also Warhol’s friend Eleanor Simon, who also said that Warhol
had written to Capote from Pittsburgh—Fred Lawrence Guiles,
Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 68. Philip
Pearlstein has said he saw Warhol writing cards to Capote in 1949, when
they were sharing their first sublets in New York. But it’s hard to imagine
that, even in an unsent postcard, Warhol would have introduced him-
self and mentioned getting the writer’s address if Capote had already
received a pile of his fan mail. The Park Avenue address wasn’t a new one;
Capote had lived there for years.

Warhol’s friends, interviewed decades after the events they describe,
may have been unintentionally backdating them.

118 “mr capote/1060 park avenue/new york city”: The mis-
sive is one of a pair of unsent notes to Capote (AWMA), the other being
a MoMA postcard of Garbo in Camille—the same one Warhol sent again
and again to Fenn—that’s collaged with cute Christmas greetings from
“me and my cat.”


106. **118 had described**: Neil Printz, “Other Voices, Other Rooms: Between Andy Warhol and Truman Capote, 1948–1961” (Ph.D., New York University, 2000), 42.

107. **118 “thinks you must be slightly insane”**: Marian Ives to Andy [Warhol], March 1, 1952, AWMA.

108. **118 waiting to pounce**: Gene Feist, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, May 1, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


   “I sat down and talked to him. . . . He told me all about himself and how he lived someplace with his mother and twenty-five cats,” said Truman Capote in Jean Stein and George Plimpton, *Edie: American Girl* (New York: Grove Press, 1982), 196, Kindle edition. In the unlikely case that this is an actual memory, the reference to the cats would place the incident long after the warning note from Ives, once Andy had settled further downtown with Julia and their infamous pride of felines.


115. **119 in the 1970s**: Truman Capote did echo Warhol’s Garbo pose in a portrait shot in 1959, so there may have been more 1950s contact than we imagine—see the photo by Roger Higgins, “Truman Capote, Head-
and-Shoulders Portrait, Facing Front, Holding Head in Hands,” still image, 1959, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/98500455/. Of course the two men could have been independently riffing on Garbo.


Alexey Brodovitch and Warhol are credited jointly, as art director and artist, for a _Bazaar_ spread that was included (as item #416) in the 1956 Art Director’s Club exhibition and book.

120 “He was a slim thing in dirty sneakers”: Amy Vanderbilt, in an undated clipping of Martha MacGregor, “The Week in Books,” _New York Post_, c.1966, TC58, AWMA.

Warhol’s first _Bazaar_ work appeared on newsstands in September 1951—see Paul Maréchal, _Andy Warhol: The Complete Commissioned Magazine Work 1948–1987, Catalogue Raisonné_ (New York: Prestel, 2014), 44–45. There’s something else important about the magazine that year: In July, it had published an excerpt from _The Grass Harp_, Capote’s second novella. Warhol owned and annotated a copy of the volume (TC71, AWMA) that the novella came out in, _A Tree of Night and Other Stories_ (New York: Signet Books, 1951). The appearance of the two men in the pages of _Bazaar_ must have helped cement Warhol’s fascination with Capote, who he had not met by that point. But the new book itself must have disappointed him. Parts of it were painfully coy while gay themes were now so submerged that the _New York Times_ could celebrate the new book as “practically wholesome” and free of the “grotesque and repulsive shadows who
populated Other Voices, Other Rooms”—just what had made the earlier work worth reading, especially for Warhol. For the review see Orville Prescott, “Books of the Times,” New York Times, October 2, 1951.

121. 120 unlikely ad: The ad ran in the New York Times, October 4, 1951, AWMA.


The drug contracts were assigned to Warhol by Herb Lubalin, art director at the great design and advertising agency called Sudler & Hennessey, several of whose 1955 purchase orders survive in the Warhol archive. Warhol’s friend and then assistant Vito Giallo said that he was working for Lubalin on the mechanicals for Warhol drug drawings when he and Warhol first met in 1954—Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

A feature on Sudler & Hennessey in the September 1956 issue of Graphis (AWMA) includes a Warhol illustration for a Ciba brochure on
alcoholism. The article makes clear that Lubalin was also connected to Robert M. Jones, the art director who assigned Warhol his first LP covers in 1949. Warhol and Lubalin were in touch throughout the late 1960s, when the two exchanged correspondence (AWMA) about Warhol’s contributions to Lubalin’s *Avant Garde* magazine.

Warhol’s Tech friend Art Elias once said that, “for survival,” Warhol did as many medical illustrations as shoe images—see Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 538. Already in 1953 Warhol’s work in pharmaceutical illustration was acknowledged in a feature on the topic in *Graphis* for May 1953. And then in 1954, he won an American Institute of Graphic Arts award (AWMA) for an illustration of “Malnutrition and Alcoholism” that must have related to one of his big-pharma campaigns. That same year an ad he did for the antibiotic pain killer Lozothricin, commissioned by the Dobeckmun company, was included (as item 77) in the exhibition and annual of the Art Directors Club.


Warhol’s earliest known illustration work commissioned by the New York Times seems to date from September 1954, so the Ehrlich anecdote may be set then. Earlier assignments for the Times might exist, however, if they omitted his credit line or were signed in a manner that optical character recognition failed to record in the Times databases.

127. 120 stretch some canvases: Although Philip Pearlstein has often stated that Andy used these canvases for his very first Pop paintings, in 1961 and ’62, he recently revealed that this was simply an assumption he’d always made—Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015. It is unlikely Warhol would have left a number of stretched canvases unused for almost a decade.

128. 120 Saul Steinberg: Note also that Warhol’s September 1956 issue of the prestigious Swiss journal *Graphis* (AWMA) that included a Warhol illustration also had a major feature on “Steinberg—As an Advertising Artist.”

The possible co-existence between fine art and illustration had already been suggested by the example of Carol Blanchard, that artist Warhol had admired at Tech: “She did Lord and Taylor ads, and she was in


Decades later, Warhol joked about the early “mistake” he’d made—financially, at least—by buying a Steinberg instead of a Jackson Pollock—see Trevor Fairbrother, “Warhol Meets Sargent at the Whitney,” Arts (February 1987): 65.

130. **Steinberg:** In the mid-1950s, when Warhol started designing textiles, he and Saul Steinberg were direct competitors in that niche market—see Geoffrey Rayner, Richard Chamberlain, and Annamarie Stapleton, Artists’ Textiles: Artist Designed Textiles 1940–1976 (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors Club, 2012). Fifteen years later the two men had studios in the same building on Union Square, as Warhol took care to note: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, POPism: The Warhol ’60s (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 331.

131. **Winter of 1952:** Financial documents in the Warhol archive show that Julia Warhola had a bank account in New York, registered to the Seventy-Fifth Street address, by March 1, 1952, a timing that contradicts the Warhola family story that she drove down with her son Paul and his wife and kids for a summer-vacation visit, and never left—James Warhola, interview by author, April 25, 2014. Julia Warhola was still in Pittsburgh on January 13, 1952, when she sent Andy a note in Rusyn (AWMA) asking why he never called.

132. **“When are you coming home?”:** Paul Warhola, Jr., to Julia Warhola, October 26, 1952, AWMA.

133. **Married that year:** John Warhola, interview by Robert Gangewere, typed notes, November 11, 2003, Robert Gangewere personal papers.

134. **“Andy was never okay”:** Leonard Kessler, interview by author, May 10, 2015.

135. **“someone to take care of him”:** See Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

136. **Ninety-seven unwashed shirts:** Joseph Giordano, in Patrick

137. **121 until she found one:** Julia Warhola, as reported by Eleanor Simon in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 79.


139. **121 referred to a lover:** Carlton Willers, in Thom Nickels, Out in History (Sarasota, FL: STARbooks Press, 2010), loc. 469, Kindle edition. Willers believed that Julia was too innocent to recognize their relationship as more than chummy.

140. **121 what the score was:** Charles Lisanby, in “E! True Hollywood Story: Andy Warhol,” television broadcast, March 1998.


142. **121 sex at home:** Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016.


146. **122 wouldn’t eat with them:** Carlton Willers, in Thom Nickels, Out in History (Sarasota, FL: STARbooks Press, 2010), loc. 481, Kindle edition.


    Carlton Willers explained that Warhol was almost always out for lunch during the week and that his mother would cook Rusyn food for weekend dinners, leaving Saturday lunch as the time for canned soup and crackers—Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016.

    Nathan Gluck’s recollections of weekday lunches included sand-
wiches made with “mayon-eggs” (Julia Warhola’s coinage) but no Campbell’s soups, something he surely would have remembered and mentioned had they been served—see Nathan Gluck, notes on Warhol (January 16, 1976), Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery. On one occasion he called the idea of Julia serving canned soup “ridiculous” because in fact she always cooked her own—see Gluck, in a recording (AWMA) of an April 27, 2001, talk at The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh.


152. **122 pheasant**: Cathy Tuttle said she was told the story by her mother Imilda Vaughan—interview by author, August 2, 2016.

153. **122 “but she was quite astute”**: Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.

154. **122 spoke and read**: Several videotapes in The Andy Warhol Museum show Warhol speaking to his mother in Rusyn. That he also read the language is clear from a January 13, 1952, note from his mother to him in Rusyn (AWMA).


157. **122 stylish getups**: See Duane Michals’s 1958 photos of Julia Warhola and Warhol together, as well as the photograph in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 122. Several photographs in the Warhol archives show Julia Warhola in the latest fashions; in one, from around 1946, that’s in notable contrast with the matronly garb of her sister Mary.

158. **122 Grandma Moses**: Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of
American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


160. **123 had idolized:** Warhol remembered Carol Blanchard as having been his favorite artist when he was in art school: “She did Lord and Taylor ads, and she was in the Carnegie International Show,” said Warhol in Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” High Times (August 1977): 21. The interview is also available in I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Avalon, 2004), Kindle edition.

161. **123 all her correspondence:** The Warhol archives include many letters from her in that script.


163. **123 perfect addition:** “He always liked his mother’s ‘Middle Europa’ penmanship, so whenever he was finished with a drawing, he would give it to her and indicate where she was to sign it,” said Nathan Gluck in David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 43. “When Andy wanted a sentence written, we would write out the words and then his mother—whose English was not the greatest—would copy it letter for letter,” said Gluck. “If you wrote, ‘the,’ and the ‘h’ looked like a ‘b,’ she would make a ‘b.’”

The Museum of Modern Art would have given Warhol other models of naïf and faux-naïf art: In 1948, the museum hosted an exhibition of the folk-influenced sculptor Elie Nadelman, a major figure at the time, as well as any number of exhibitions of art by children—see this author’s “Andy Warhol Outside-In,” in Andy Warhol Outside-In,” in Andy Warhol: Ad Man, ed. Nicholas Chambers (Sydney and Pittsburgh: Art Gallery of New South Wales and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2017), 23.


165. **123 “maze of curlicues and dainty i’s dotted”:** Truman Capote, Other Voices, Other Rooms (Vintage International, 2007), loc. 113, Kindle edition.

167. **123 graphic-arts prize**: Julia Warhola’s 1957 Certificate of Merit from the Art Director’s Club of New York—the same body that had given Andy his first award in 1952 and others later in the decade—is preserved in the Warhol archives. “Andy Warhol’s Mother” received yet another prize from the ADC in 1959, also preserved in the archives. Both Warhol and Julia’s works were also featured in a prestigious journal Warhol had been reading for years: See his January, 1959, copy of *Graphis* (AWMA).


169. **124 copy her handwriting**: Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. A fine and obvious example of such “impersonation” is the text-heavy Warhol illustration for “Sailor’s Cookout,” in the June 1960 issue of *Barbecue Magazine*: It must have been lettered by the Warhol assistant Nathan Gluck, since it’s in a style that’s close to Julia Warhola’s but much more regular and controlled and without her spelling errors or other signature eccentricities. Thanks to Jay Reeg for pointing out that item.

170. **124 Letraset**: The Letraset survives in the Warhol archives.


173. **124 “for her heart”**: Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. On the other hand, Gluck denied at least once that Julia was ever an alcoholic, saying that a doctor had prescribed her “a shot of scotch now and then” for her heart—see Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA. Julia’s son Paul also denied that she drank, in Patricia Lowry, *Warhol’s Big Brother,* *Pittsburgh*
Press, March 5, 1990.

174. **124 gold-colored medal**: The medal is in the Warhol archives.


Warhol is included in the Art Directors Club exhibitions and *Annuals* for 1952 (with two items) 1953, 1954 (two items), 1956 (five items), 1957 (four items), 1958 (seven items), 1959 (three items), 1960 (three items), 1961 (two items).


Warhol was skilled at building connections with the very same professional associations that went on to give him awards: Already in 1952, the American Institute of Graphic Arts was thanking him for an illustration he did, apparently for free, for the cover of their annual book-fair catalog—see Leonard B. Schlosser, a sponsor of the AIGA, to Warhol, December 16, 1952, AWMA. Two years later Warhol was awarded a prize in their show of industry talent and then won again in 1956 and 1958.

177. **124 winning illustration**: It looks like Warhol may have got the gig in some kind of competition against other illustrators—see gallery owner David Mann, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 95.

178. **125 keep radio vital**: Around this same time, Warhol was also doing ads for NBC radio, including publicity material sent out to advertisers and local radio stations to convince them of the continuing relevance of NBC radio’s offerings in the brand-new age of television. The material survives in the Warhol archives, and an image from one such ad was included in the *32nd Annual of Advertising and Editorial Art of the Art Directors Club of New York* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1953), item #195.


Carnegie Museum of Art, 1989), 53. Surprisingly, on October 4, 1951, just a few weeks after the CBS ad, the Times ran a Warhol ad (AWMA) in an almost identical style but for sports coverage from NBC-TV, CBS’s direct competitor.

TV’s other art directors caught on to Warhol: He went on to get a bunch of commissions, and in 1953 he was singled out as one of the industry’s top-twelve choices for title artist (which can’t have been the most exclusive of clubs to join)—see Lynn Spigel, *TV by Design: Modern Art and the Rise of Network Television* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 255.

181. **125 “a cheaper Ben Shahn”:** Lou Dorfsman, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 28. See also Peter Palazzo (p. 108 in the same volume) for a similar quote: “We used him primarily because he had a style and a technique that was very reminiscent of Ben Shahn, [who] was a lot more expensive and [who was] not available.” George Klauber says something similar on p. 28.


Another noted graphic designer and contemporary of Warhol’s recalled that “Ben Shahn was an icon, so all of us art students tried to emulate him”—Bob Gill, interview by author, September 27, 2016.

184. **125 collected Shahn’s work:** Art director George Hartman, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 119. See also printer Seymour Berlin, quoted on p. 158, and Warhol’s $36.05 receipt from the prestigious Downtown Gallery for a Shahn print, March 26, 1959, box B564, AWMA.


186. **125 just below his:** Art Directors Club of New York, prize brochure, 1952, AWMA.

The overall CBS campaign that Warhol played a part in also won a prize, but it was represented in the awards exhibition by one of its ads that featured a photo, not by Warhol’s Shahn-derived drawing from the campaign—see 31st Annual of National Advertising and Editorial Art (New York: Pellegrine & Cudahy/Art Directors Club of New York, 1952), item #27.

Strangely, Warhol’s winning drawing got into the Annual twice—once for the CBS ad that had run in the Times and then again as the cover to a CBS record album that presented the radio series.

125 photos he used: Warhol’s sources in photojournalism are confirmed in Alexandra Barcal et al., eds., Andy Warhol: The LIFE Years 1949–1959 (Munich: Hirmer, 2015).

126 in Warhol’s signature styles: See 31st Annual of National Advertising and Editorial Art (New York: Pellegrine & Cudahy/Art Directors Club of New York, 1952). Fig. 15 in the Annual, a perfume ad by Arden Poole, is very close to Warhol’s Matissean line and includes a goofy cursive very like his; fig. 239, by Hans Moller, is a close-up on a hand playing marbles with planet Earth that is virtually indistinguishable from one of Warhol’s blottings; fig. 120, a coat ad illustrated by Al Parker, could easily be confused with some of the drawings Warhol did with Ralph Ward. When shown these three images without their captions, the late Matt Wrbican, one of the greatest of Warhol experts, simply assumed they were all by Warhol.

126 tattooed lady mural: See Jack Lenor Larsen to Andy Warhol, postcard, November 10, 1955, AWMA, sent from the Columbus Hotel, Miami. Warhol owned a design magazine that had an article on the importance of artists’ promotional flyers: Several that it illustrates are in styles close to Warhol’s, although none are actually by him—see Ken Baynes, “Artist’s Personal Announcements,” Graphis (March 1961): 140.

126 styles very close to his: See Graphis (September 1956): 396.


126 “not known more than other people”: Rhoda Marshall, interview by author, March 5, 2016.


196. **126 faded from view:** A designer at the 1950s greeting-card firm Lilac Hedges, known for its camp products, expressed doubts about Warhol’s work: “He gave us a whole series of little funny drawings for Christmas—they were his original drawings, little sketches of an angel, or a cat all bright red—but hardly anything was suitable for Christmas. They weren’t very appealing”—see Jac Venza, of Lilac Hedges, in a 2011 oral history shared with the author in a February 21, 2019, e-mail from Linda Hocking of the Litchfield Historical Society. Use of Lilac Hedges stationery was listed among the tell-tale signs of camp culture in Niles Chignon, ed., *The Camp Followers’ Guide* (New York: Avon, 1965), 44.

Disatisfaction with Warhol’s work didn’t stop the company from buying $150 worth of his images: “1christmas shoe and pointsetta . . . but-getflys . . . angles . . . pinwheels” according to Warhol’s October 19, 1957, invoice (AWMA). (The invoice was as comically misspelled as all Warhol’s others, which were still being typed by his own hand right through the 1950s, unless he trained some bookkeeper to spell as badly as he did.) A couple of years earlier, another cardmaker had sent Warhol a letter lamenting the failure of its attempt to sell his Christmas cards, which it attributed to the “bad taste of the public”—see Tany Lor, of Tanylor Greeting Cards, to Andy Warhol, March 12, 1955, TC28, AWMA.

197. **126 Shahn as passé:** Betty Asche Douglas, oral history, interview by author and Matt Wrbican, digital audio, July 2, 2014, AWMA.

198. **127 choice was being offered:** Carol DeCamp, “DeCamp Discusses Cage, Shahn; Their Approach to Art,” *Vassar Chronicle*, March 6, 1948, 3.


202. **127 that word “fey”**: The illustrator Robert Galster refers to Warhol’s “strange, fey mannerisms” and that he “dressed so terribly fey that I was astounded” in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About*
the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 154. Nathan Gluck remembered how “Andy would go to an interview and he would be wearing shoes that were scrunched down in the back and pants that weren’t pressed and a shirt that may have paint spots or ink spots on it . . . and everybody would think ‘Aaaahhh! It’s so fey! It’s so c-u-u-u-ute!’”—Gluck in Mark Allen, “A Conversation with Nathan Gluck,” accessed December 4, 2019, http://www.markallencam.com/nathangluck.html.

203. 127 “It was light”: Gene Moore, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 151. See also Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “‘Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art’” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 531. Similar descriptions are in Elaine Finsilver (pp. 553, 555) and Robert Galster (p. 303) in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988).

204. 127 the girlishness: John Warhola, oral history, typed notes, June 30, 1993, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

205. 127 he befriended: Carol Blanchard’s daughter said that Warhol and Blanchard were friendly in the 1950s but later became estranged, to the point that in the 1960s Blanchard used an image of Warhol as a dartboard—Angel Ortloff, interview by author, June 1, 2016. My thanks to Thomas Kiedrowski for pointing me to Ortloff.

206. 127 on the commercial scene: Carol Blanchard also showed at MoMA in 1952, which earned her a mention in the New York Times—“For Children: Toy Carnival Opens at Museum,” New York Times, December 11, 1952. Earlier that same year the Times art critic had praised her for a solo show, coincidentally suggesting that she should be commissioned to illustrate the works of Ronald Firbank, as Warhol himself had been in 1951—see Stuart Preston, “Yesterday and Today,” New York Times, February 10, 1952.

207. 127 ads for Lord & Taylor’s: Surviving Lord and Taylor ads by Blanchard offered for sale on the Internet seem to date from the 1940s through the 1960s; several are in a spindly drawing style that is close to some work by Warhol—and especially by his mother.

208. 127 “campy” campaign: The illustrations are called “campy” in Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Warhol and Blanchard had been colleagues at Lord and Taylor’s but
only she had been allowed to sign her work there—see Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Freund specifies that Warhol had not been allowed a signature because he was not a “regular” L&T artist, whereas most of Blanchard’s ads are signed, as were many of Warhol’s for I. Miller.


212. 128 “Miss Andie Warhol”: Three rejection letters for the books, dated August 10, 1953, were addressed to “Andie,” but only the one from Grosset & Dunlap added that “Miss.” The letters were seen in the collection of Ralph Ward’s relative Marshall Reese, in New York.

Warhol may have used “Andie” to open up the possibility that the volumes, which at least one of the publishers thought were meant for children (the rejection letter from Grosset & Dunlap explained that they only dealt in adult books) were actually being offered by a woman rather than a man who was working in an excessively feminine mode.

Three other rejection letters exist (TC28, AWMA), dated June 12, 1953 (from Greenberg Publishers), April 30, 1953 (from Harper & Brothers) and September 22, 1953 (from Harcourt, Brace). Only the Harcourt, Brace one includes Warhol’s first name, as “Andie.” The Harper letter mentions that the submission was considered by the “Department of Books for Boys and Girls.”


214. 128 big play to Jackson Pollock: “Irascible Group of Artists Led

215. **128 homosexual culture**: At about the same time—the late 1950s—that the noted art critic Dore Ashton was raving about the work of Philip Pearlstein she was dismissing the work of Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg because they were both homosexuals, something Ashton found offensive, according to one of her colleagues, because “they upset the Ab-Ex mentality and threatened the bounds”—see art historian Robert Rosenblum in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 55.


**CHAPTER 8**

1. **131 “I didn’t know you had a pussy”**: Tommy Jackson to Andy Warhol, postcard, July 2, 1951, TC55, AWMA.

2. **131 “but I need to make money”**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA.

3. **131 “Would you like to look at my things”**: David Mann, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 94. But Mann has also said that Warhol had first shown his portfolio to the gay gallery owner Alexander Iolas, who was going away to Europe and so passed the responsibility on to Mann, saying that the Capote-themed drawings that Warhol had presented had an “interesting” subject—see David Mann, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Mann ran the bookshop upstairs from Iolas’s Hugo Gallery, according to David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 32.


5. **131 another art-world beginner**: The other artist was Irving Sherman—see James Fitzsimmons, “Irving Sherman, Andy Warhol,” *Art Digest* (July 1952): 26. Sherman’s show was on a higher floor according to Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 94.

   Interestingly, Warhol chose to note that it was a two-man show in a little biography, otherwise full of fibs, that he included in *Two Decades of American Painting* (Tokyo: National Museum of Modern Art, 1967), 28.

6. **131 $100**: On June 6, Warhol wrote a check (AWMA) for $100—a
large sum at the time—to the Hugo Gallery, where his show was held, which in turn endorsed it over to the Bodley Bookshop, a space that seems to have been upstairs from the gallery.

Alexander Iolas, owner of the Hugo, was going out of town for the summer when he saw and liked Warhol’s portfolio, and so got Mann, from the “bookshop,” to keep the gallery open for the three weeks of the show, according to David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 32. Warhol’s payment could have been made to reimburse Mann for staffing the exhibition; $100 seems too much for cheese and wine and postage.

In early December 1966, Warhol received a recent clipping from Alfred Paul Berger (TC85, AWMA) writing in the Irish Times and specifically denigrating New York galleries that allowed artists to fund their own shows.

7. 131 “vanity gallery”: Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


9. 132 liked the work: Truman Capote “loved” the works, according to David Mann in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 93. But on another occasion Mann merely claimed that Capote thought the drawings “suited his short stories”—see Mann in David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 32.

On the other hand, Nathan Gluck, Warhol’s friend and later assistant, said that Warhol was “very hurt” that Capote never showed up—see Nathan Gluck, notes on Warhol (January 16, 1976), 197, Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

There is some doubt about whether Capote was even in New York in June to see the exhibition.

10. 132 hoped that his publisher: David Mann, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

11. 132 a slot the following winter: Andy Warhol to Frances Lattman, of Harper’s Magazine (May 25, 1952), Russell Lynes papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

12. 132 a back room: The show is said to have taken place in the Hugo’s “back Bodley Room” in Nathan Gluck, notes on Warhol (January 16, 1976), Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery. That room was administered by David Mann, who went on to run the Bodley Gallery in midtown,
where Warhol showed later in the 1950s.


14. **Madame Hugo**: John Bernard Myers, *Tracking the Marvelous: A Life in the New York Art World* (New York: Random House, 1983), 43. Madame Hugo is described as Princess Maria Ruspoli, whose second husband was the great-grandson (not son or grandson, as has been said) of the French novelist Victor Hugo—see “Kasmin—Alexander the Great Gallerist NY,” accessed March 5, 2019, https://www.kasmingallery.com/news/2014-03-10_alexander-the-great. Other sources on Iolas confuse her with the French surrealist Valentine Hugo, who was married to a different great-grandson of Victor Hugo.


21. **through a mutual friend**: Carlton Willers to the author, June 16, 2016. Willers wrote that Joseph Cornell had a profound effect on Warhol’s serial imagery, and that his films, which had been screened at Outlines and the New York Public Library, were an important influence on Warhol’s own.

22. **“designed to puzzle the world”**: Henry McBride, “Modernism Rampant,” *New York Sun*, March 7, 1947. The unpaginated clipping is preserved, alongside many others, in the Hugo Gallery folder at the New York Public Library. Strangely, the titles of the reviews in the *Sun* and *Times* are the same.

another show reviewed that day; the Hugo review ran under “Modernism Rampant” as its sub-heading.

24. **a reputation:** Warhol might also have been impressed by the Hugo’s presentation of ballet sketches by the venerable queer photographer Cecil Beaton—see the *New York Times*, March 20, 1950. Within a few years, Warhol and Beaton had become close and Warhol was showing dance drawings of his own.

25. **drawings with washes of color:** The only piece with even tenuous links to the Hugo show is a big drawing of kids at play now in the Artists Rooms collection shared between the National Gallery of Scotland and Tate, in the U.K.—see “Andy Warhol: A Field of Blue Children,” accessed March 5, 2019, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/93096/field-blue-children. The drawing’s presence in the Hugo Gallery show was asserted in an auction and the information must have come from Inman Cook, the early friend of Warhol who was selling it. Cook was not necessarily a trustworthy source, however, given the added cachet that the Hugo provenance would have given the piece—see “Andy Warhol (1928–1987), A Field of Blue Children,” accessed March 5, 2019, https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=1074040&intObjectID=107404. A hand-made, avant-garde Christmas card from Cook to Warhol survives in the Warhol archives.

The signature on the piece sold by Cook reads “A. Warhola,” so it may actually be a student work that Warhol repurposed for the show, especially since it has no obvious connection to Capote’s writings. This was something that Marian Ives, Capote’s agent, felt was true about any number of works at the Hugo, and that she complained about in her June 26, 1952, letter to Warhol (AWMA). Warhol’s page of detailed notes (AWMA) about the characters and costumes in Capote’s *Other Voices* indicates, however, that he had nothing against faithful illustration. Note that Ives does not mention any appearance at the show by Capote himself—and does mention that he was away in Taormina on the day she was writing.


29. **list of accomplishments:** Warhol, one of very few members of the class of ’49 to bother giving news of his doings, wrote of hoping to
exhibit some drawings “next winter”—see “Class Notes,” *Carnegie Alumnus* (September 1952): 27.

30. **133 the time of the Hugo show:** See Joseph Groell in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 33. The Tanager’s inaugural show ran directly before the one Warhol got at the Hugo, so it could be that he tried with the Tanager first, then after his rejection made his cold-call to Iolas. Groell implied that he saw very little of Warhol after they stopped rooming together, so an earlier date is more likely than a later one.


33. **133 “weren’t anything we wanted”:** Joseph Groell, interview by author, June 11, 2015. Groell said that he and fellow Tanager member Angelo Ippolito looked at Warhol’s “very pointed” submission together. Several drawing of two males kissing survive, including at least one at The Andy Warhol Museum, accession #1998.1.1701.

34. **134 George Ortman:** A decade later, Warhol and Ortman were in the same group show of artists’ banners—see “June Banners to Herald New Medium at Graham Gallery,” exh. announcement, March 14, 1963, TC38, AWMA.

35. **134 “Two male full figures embracing”:** George Ortman, interview by author, July 6, 2015. See also his subsequent undated letter to the author. Ortman remembered that Warhol was bundled in a winter coat and that the visit took place in the Fourth Street space that the gallery left in April 1953. That probably dates the incident to between December 2, 1952, and February 1, 1953, when Ortman was in two consecutive group shows and would have been asked to do minder’s duty for one or the other or both, or between February 24 and March 15, 1953, when Warhol’s former roommate Joe Groell was showing in the space. The dates of Tanager shows are from the chronology e-mailed to the author by scholar Melissa Rachleff Burtt on July 6, 2015.

36. **134 dedicated to abstraction:** A Tanager show reviewed in the April 1953 issue of *Art News* is described as “all abstract or non-objective.”

37. **134 half a decade later:** Philip Pearlstein insists on this timing in any number of interviews and texts, so the earlier dates given in many biographies are most likely wrong.
Warhol’s new friend Larry Rivers had apparently urged him to approach Pearlstein—see Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014. Rivers was more sexually adventurous than most of his peers in fine art and so might have found Warhol’s images all the more interesting.

38. **134 strong Times review:** See Dore Ashton, “Art: The Young Pissarro,” *New York Times*, December 2, 1959. (The title refers to the earlier item in a three-review column.) A December 3, 1959, receipt for $300 from the Tanager Gallery to Warhol (TC48, AWMA) is for Philip Pearlstein’s “Positano.” Warhol later donated the piece to the Whitney Museum of American Art.


Pearlstein remembered George Ortman as having been especially strongly opposed to Warhol’s submission, maybe because he was annoyed at this second appearance of work he’d already rejected years earlier—Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, August 18, 2014.


The “neutrality” that Pearlstein mentions was less of a prerequisite when it came to heterosexual imagery: De Kooning had already won massive attention for his raunchy *Woman* paintings, and within a few years Warhol was visiting the Tanager’s show of “Great American Nudes” by his Pop rival Tom Wesselmann—acceptable to the co-op, of course, because it was full of nude women. See Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 14.

42. **134 blamed his rejection:** Philip Pearlstein, “My Warhol(a) Experience, 1947–1950 and a Little Beyond” (typescript draft, 2014), shared with the author by Pearlstein.

43. **134 killed their friendship:** Philip Pearlstein, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz,
n.d.


45. **134 decorated with the pictures**: *Life* (December 2, 1946).


   A pianist who worked at the club described it as the setting for a bad B movie—see Stanley Paul and Diane Palmer, *Thank My Lucky Stars: A Memoir of a Glamorous Era* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, 1999), 67.


49. **134 a Pepsi ad**: *Life* (December 2, 1946): 54.

50. **135 on hard times**: See photographs taken in 1958 in the building’s entryway, in the Duane Michals collection.

51. **135 a rent increase**: The April 13, 1951, “Landlord’s Report of Lease” (AWMA) specifies that the lease agreement had to be for a two-year term, after which the rent would increase. Warhol moved when his lease on the Seventy-Fifth Street apartment expired, according to Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 116.

52. **135 had first housed**: Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015. Warhol’s archives include a statement from New York Telephone Company to Leonard Kessler dated December 1, 1955, in the amount of $15.25, so it seems that Warhol’s telephone remained in Kessler’s name. Period address directories list a phone at 242 Lexington in Kessler’s name through December 1959, and never list one in Warhol’s, whose stationery from that era gives Kessler’s number: MU30555.

   George Klauber once claimed that Warhol had got the flat through a New York friend named Fritzie Wood who also lived in the building—Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 28. But that seems unlikely given the much closer friends who had already lived
there. Address directories first show Brendan Wood, Fritzie’s husband, at the Lexington address in January 1955, well after Warhol had arrived there.

53. **135 on condition that:** Leonard Kessler, interview by author, May 10, 2015. An October 23, 1957, lease document (AWMA) describes a two-year lease to Kessler that began on December 1, 1953, and was then transferred to Warhol on April 17, 1954. That was also announced in the real-estate section of the *New York Times*, May 3, 1954. The 1957 document extends the lease to November 30, 1958.


55. **135 enough to live:** Julia Warhola to Anna [Zavacky], January 3, 1955, AWMA.


58. **135 One now stands:** A demolition permit was filed for the building on April 3, 1968—see the block and lot folder preserved in the New York City Municipal Archives.

59. **135 under $100:** An October 23, 1957, lease document (AWMA) lists the rent at $98.85.

60. **135 probably wasn’t:** A modest Manhattan apartment is said to count as a bargain if it cost in the neighborhood of $80—see Faye Hammel, *The Mademoiselle Career Girl’s Guide to New York* (New York: Dial Press, 1962), 84.

61. **135 She also complained:** Julia Warhola to Anna [Zavacky], January 3, 1955, AWMA.

62. **135 to her Greek Catholic church:** While on Seventy-Fifth Street it looks as though Julia (or Andy) may have been attending services at Saint-Jean-Baptiste Church, at Lexington and Seventy-Sixth Street, since they kept pamphlets from there (document box 109, AWMA) dated
November 1952 to February 1953.

63. **135 very modern home:** See “Stained Glass Sheathes Church; Outsized Windows Used in Project at Stuyvesant Sq.,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1962.

64. **135 known to contribute:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

   Warhol’s contribution to the Greek Catholic church is confirmed by Paul Morrissey in Nelson Lyon, “Paul Morrissey,” *Interview* (July 2008).

   Documents in the Warhol archives (*Time Capsule* 26 and elsewhere) show Julia Warhola’s continuing support of the church long after she and Andy had moved far uptown, right through to her death in the early 1970s.

   Warhol’s trips there by bus are reported in Paul Warhola, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 24, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


   The moldings can be seen in photographs taken by Duane Michals in around 1958, viewed in the photographer’s studio on September 14, 2014.

   According to a 1937 filing with the city, and then a 1938 certificate of occupancy (both in the New York City Municipal Archives), the building was renovated to collapse multiple units on each floor into single apartments, with the fourth-floor apartment having four rooms.

66. **135 behind the kitchen:** The kitchen is mentioned as “in the middle” by Paul Warhola, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 24, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

67. **135 mattresses on the floor:** Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016.

   Warhol’s friend and assistant Vito Giallo said that Warhol and his mother had mattresses in the same room, and that she used to watch her son sleep—Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

   Although several sources also describe Warhol and his mother sleeping at the back, with the studio/living room at the front, Nathan Gluck said that Julia’s bedroom was at the front while Warhol’s was at the back, beside his studio—see Nathan Gluck, notes on Warhol (January 16, 1976), Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery. This must reflect the state of things after Warhol’s fourth-floor unit was joined by another one he rented on the second floor.
One Warhol nephew remembered Julia living in the new lower apartment—George Warhola, interview by author, November 25, 2016.

68. **décor was sparse**: Vito Giallo, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 20. The mattresses and décor can be seen in Otto Fenn’s photos (AWMA) of Warhol and Carlton Willers in bed.

69. **big windows**: The windows are mentioned in Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. Images on a 1956 contact sheet by Warhol’s boyfriend Ed Wallowitch (AWMA) show the windows, and Warhol’s two work desks set up beside them.


71. **Warhol’s worktable**: The room is seen in photographs taken by Duane Michals in around 1958, viewed in the photographer’s studio on September 14, 2014.


74. **covered in drifts**: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

75. **discarded once they’d been traced**: Vito Giallo, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 20.


78. **“The cats went everywhere”**: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

79. **“I knew things was good”**: See Tommy Jackson to Andy Warhol, postcard, July 2, 1951, TC55, AWMA.

81. **“distorted-looking cat”:** Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

82. **perched on his shoulder:** Hester’s perch on the artist’s shoulder is mentioned in Andy Warhol to Frances Lattman, May 25, 1952, Russell Lynes papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


In a letter in the Warhol archives dated January 3, 1953, when Warhol was still on Seventy-Fifth Street, Robert M. MacGregor, an executive at New Directions press, mentions “the cats” having had a “new litter,” suggesting that Hester must have arrived on the scene by then, and had started reproducing. That could have been another reason for Warhol’s move from that tiny apartment to the much bigger place on lower Lexington Avenue.

On March 5, 1955, Warhol paid a bill for $3 (TC -24, AWMA) to the Ellin Prince Speyer animal hospital.


85. **“Sama”:** “Sama” is mentioned in Rhoda Marshall, interview by author, March 5, 2016. Marshall was an agent of Warhol’s and a fellow cat lover.

An October 25, 1969, veterinarian’s bill (AWMA, TC62) is for the treatment of a 20-year-old Siamese cat named Sam.

86. **wrap an old sweater:** Rhoda Marshall, interview by author,
March 5, 2016.


90. **Holy Cats**: Several collaborators seem to have tried their hands at a text for *Holy Cats*, but assistant Nathan Gluck claimed that art director Joe Giordano, who was especially close to Julia, came up with the final copy. The book was published in 1960 or the first months of 1961—see Nina Schleif, “Clever Frivolity in Excelsis: Warhol’s Promotional Books,” in *Reading Andy Warhol* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2013), 30. Schleif confirms that dating and suggests that Warhol might have been responsible for the story and the book concept.

91. **failed to sell**: Michael Malce said that Warhol came by with a pile of his chapbooks for Malce to sell in his curio shop, but that most stayed on the shelves—Michael Malce, interview by author, November 10, 2016.


93. **anti-cat**: See Warhol’s 1966 film *Mrs. Warhol*, where Julia Warhola claims her son won’t let her kill a cat that keeps her awake. Julia was killing Hester’s kittens in the 1950s according to Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015.

94. **money in their pride**: Matt Wrbican, “Meeooaaww-AW-AWW,” in *Andy Warhol/Ai Weiwei* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 262. See also Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Vaughan remembered Julia Warhola selling cats to fund her care packages to relatives back home in the Carpathian mountains.

95. **incest within incest**: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


97. **he did sell**: W. F. Hamilton to Andy Warhol, February 7, 1955, TC28, AWMA, mentions an included payment for “the little ones,” which Hamilton has decided to name Ya Chai and Son Chai.

98. **outflow of kittens**: Philip Pearlstein and Dorothy Cantor got a pair of cats they named Cimabue and Sassetta, after the Italian artists, while Sweetie was the name of Warhol’s gift to Ralph Ward—see Matt Wrbican, “Meeooaaww-AW-AWW,” in _Andy Warhol/Ai Weiwei_ (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 263.

  Nathan Gluck had three cats named after French desserts (Patachou, Brioche and Truffle) plus another three “out on consignment” whose names have, tragically, been lost to history—see Nathan Gluck to Jess Beers, February 24, 1956, a letter sold at Doyle auction house in 2014, “Andy Warhol for Sale at Auction on Tue, 05/13/2014,” accessed March 5, 2019, https://doyle.com/auctions/14pt02-post-war-contemporary-art/catalogue/28-andy-warhol#.

  Another Warhol friend and assistant said that he was given two cats, one too vicious to keep but another, “Bobby,” which lasted 22 years—Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015. Yet another friend, who like Giallo had shown at the Loft Gallery, ended up with a kitten named Orpheus—Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. Warhol’s agent Rhoda Marshall had one called Eartha Cat—Rhoda Marshall, interview by author, March 5, 2016.


100. **feline—Siamese**: See the bill from the Animal Medical Center, October 25, 1969, TC62, AWMA.

101. **especially Siamese**: Newspapers from the 1950s include plentiful coverage of Siamese cats, as a curiosity that needs explanation—e.g. “Siamese Cats Make Unusual Pets: You Can Make Money from Them, Too!,” _Irish Times_, February 2, 1954.

102. **Tony Palazzo**: Records of Tony Palazzo’s appearance at Horne’s in 1949, to promote his _Susie the Cat_, published by Viking Press in April of that year, are preserved in the Joseph Horne Company papers, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, PA. One cat image in _Susie_ could be the source for an animal in Warhol’s _25 Cats Name Sam_.

  At least one appearance by Palazzo at Horne’s took place in October, well after Warhol had left for New York—see “A Week with Authors and Books,” _Pittsburgh Post-Gazette_, September 27, 1949.

104. **someone else’s drawings:** Joseph Giordano, a client, said that Warhol once sent him “beautiful drawings of women with strawberries in their hair” and that the illustrator Clyde Grant recognized them as his own work—see Giordano in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 129.

105. **twenty-year-old:** Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.


107. **Cornell was a regular:** Carlton Willers to the author, undated 2015 letter.

108. **screen his art films:** Billy Parrott, interview by author, December 16, 2015. Parrott is on staff at the New York Public Library.

109. **mined the collection:** Warhol would already have been exposed to the idea of circulating images in Pittsburgh, where in 1940 alone the Children’s Department of the Carnegie Library circulated almost 15,000 images to local schools, for “visual education”—see the department’s annual report for 1940, in the William R. Oliver Special Collections Room, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

110. **“you only have to pay two cents a picture”:** Bert Greene, in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol’s Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 341. Carlton Willers said that Warhol’s thefts were meant to keep his drawings’ sources from being spotted by other borrowers—Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015. Piles of the stolen pictures survive in the Warhol archives.

111. **assisted the head:** Carlton Willers to the author, undated 2015 letter. Willers was assistant to Romana Javitz, the founder of the Picture Collection who became a friend of Warhol’s—see Carlton Willers to Warhol, April 10, 1956, AWMA.

112. **library’s special investigator:** New York Public Library to Andy Warhol, September 30, 1959, TC37, AWMA. But the NYPL held no
grudge. Twenty years later it included Warhol in its show of the greatest American printmakers—see the announcement of his inclusion in the show in New York Public Library to Warhol, June 19, 1976, TC182, AWMA.

113. **Made the first move:** Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

114. **For the next few years:** Carlton Willers to Andy Warhol, August 21, 1954, AWMA, is a letter that already has a tone that suggests that the two are no longer anything more than fairly casual friends. Carlton Willers to Andy Warhol, April 10, 1956, AWMA, suggests they had had a falling out when Willers first told Warhol about having slept with a young ballerina they both admired, who Willers later married without telling his friend. A postcard dated September 6, 1956, shows that Willers and his wife have already broken up at that point; in it he refers to the “Korean roommate” who moved in after his wife had moved out—see Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016.

115. **He might show his own art:** Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016. A friend from about the same moment said that he and Warhol “would talk about the famous artists of the day—Rothko, Kline, de Kooning”—Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

116. **Saint of Bleecker Street:** Carlton Willers to the author, undated 2015 letter. Menotti’s show opened the last week of 1954 and won two strong reviews in the *New York Times*. Half a decade later, before he’d become a famous fine artist, Warhol did the designs for a Menotti premiere at the Spoleto festival in Italy, as discussed later in this book. The two went on to dine together at Café Nicholson, as recorded on the page for February 23 in Warhol’s 1962 datebook (AWMA).

117. **Had innate taste:** Carlton Willers, undated 2015 letter to the author.

118. **Was a virgin:** See Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 1736, Kindle edition. In Carlton Willers to Warhol, August 20, 1954, AWMA, the two don’t seem very close yet—Willers misspells his friend’s last name, suggests they start doing more things together and is still vague about whether Warhol likes to see dance performances or not.

119. **For the beautiful people:** Carlton Willers, in Thom Nickels, *Out in History* (Sarasota, FL: STARbooks Press, 2010), loc. 481, Kindle edition.

120. ** Barely manage intimacy:** Carlton Willers, in Victor Bock-

121. like Truman Capote lying down: Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

122. seems to have survived: A picture that seems to match Carlton Willers’s description was auctioned, as Reclining Figures (1955), at Sotheby’s New York on October 10, 2001, as part of the substantial holdings of early paintings in the estate of Warhol’s business manager Frederick Hughes.

Vito Giallo said there were at least fifty and maybe hundreds of the Willers paintings—see Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 52.

123. doesn’t really hold up: See for example Two Young Girls (Standing), accession #1998.1.1 in The Andy Warhol Museum. Ted Carey said that Warhol had stacks of such blotted canvases at one point—see Carey in Patrick S. Smith, Andy Warhol’s Art and Films (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 250. Warhol seems to have mostly discarded them after his move into Pop.


126. “that got him through the night”: Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016.

127. weight-loss club: Carlton Willers, in Thom Nickels, Out in History (Sarasota, FL: STARbooks Press, 2010), loc. 495, Kindle edition. On the health club see the October 20, 1957, membership card to American Health Studios, TC35, AWMA. See also the ad for the club in the Long Island Star-Journal, January 6, 1958. The club seems to have specialized in weight loss.


129. “cursing out her son in Czech”: Carlton Willers, interview
by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

130. **she cried:** See Carlton Willers to Andy Warhol, April 10, 1956, AWMA. See also Willers to the author, June 16, 2016.

131. **"piles of money":** Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. To speed up his process Warhol tried drawing on glass and blotting direct from there, since he could trace straight onto the glass from any photo he’d placed underneath and, on glass, his ink stayed wet for longer as he blotted—on the tracing see Bert Green in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 292. On the wet ink see Bert Green in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 634.


135. **"boob tube":** Pittsburgh had barely even got a station when Warhol left his hometown—see the 1948 ad reprinted in the program for the September 1973 “25 Year Service Club Annual Dinner” at Horne’s department store, Joseph Horne Company Papers, Senator John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh: “While Pittsburgh has not yet put a Television station into operation, Horne’s is ready with the receiving sets and is instructing customers in the use and selection of them.”
In 1952, an ad for CBS had thought it worth crowing that “90% of all U.S. television stations are now on the air before 2 p.m.”—the ad is reproduced as item 145 in the 31st Annual of National Advertising and Editorial Art (New York: Pellegrine & Cudahy/Art Directors Club of New York, 1952), np.

Warhol seems to have bought his first TV in 1950—see Marjorie Frankel Nathanson, “Chronology,” in Andy Warhol: A Retrospective, ed. Kynaston McShine (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1989), 404. At that very early date, the medium still counted as a novel technology and budding art form, like the long-playing record that shared its birth year. Ben Shahn himself wrote about the early days of TV in the brochure for MoMA’s 1963 “Television U.S.A.” exhibition, which took an art-historical look back at the new medium’s first years. Shahn remembered that, as late as 1953, when he drew his famous image of a sky full of TV antennas—recycled into the cover of MoMA’s TV exhibition brochure—he had meant it as a fantastical vision, since the reality was that aerials were still scarce. Warhol did a knockoff of Shahn’s image and bought an actual print of it at the end of the decade—see the drawing reproduced in Tommy Hughes’s untitled memoir in The Collection of Frederick W. Hughes (New York: Sotheby’s, 2001), 170. See also the March 26, 1959, receipt for the Shahn from The Downtown Gallery, for $36.05 (AWMA).

Although we don’t imagine the effete Warhol as a guyish techno-philie, in fact he was always an early adopter of each new gadget and machine that appeared, from televisions to cassette recorders to video cameras to computers. Receipts in his archives show him always updating to the very latest model. “It’s so John Modern,” he’d say in admiration—Brigid Berlin, in Vincent Fremont and Brigid Berlin, “Factory Workers Warholites Remember: Brigid Berlin,” Interview (November 30, 2008), https://www.interviewmagazine.com/culture/factory-workers-warholites-remember-brigid-berlin.


As late as 1963, Show magazine was trumpeting NBC’s broadcast of Johan Sebastian Bach’s Saint Matthew Passion, programing almost inconceivable in twenty-first-century network TV—see “Music Show of the Month,” Show (April 1963): 34. The Museum of Modern Art itself pro-
duced early TV programs about art.

138. **141 network was commissioning:** See George Olden, “Can Television Use Better Art?” *American Artist* (September 1954): 42, 72. Olden is cited in Lynn Spigel, *TV by Design: Modern Art and the Rise of Network Television* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 255. Olden includes an image of Warhol’s title illustration but his name wasn’t yet ready to be included in the article’s actual list of “well-known artists” used by CBS. A February 18, 1954, statement from CBS (AWMA) shows the network paying Warhol $100, a good amount then, for the “title drawing for Studio One The Expendables.”


140. **141 around Labor Day:** Bert Green, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 275.


142. **141 to hold readings:** Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 1739, Kindle edition. Starting with the Congreve that the group was reading the first night Warhol showed up, he was exposed to the Chekhov and the Brecht and a bunch of rarely-performed Shakespeare, but also to more obscure fare: The anti-bourgeois positions of Frank Wedekind, the pioneering expressionism of Carl Sternheim and the gloomy, rat-infested naturalism of Gerhart Hauptmann—see Green in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 274.

143. **141 “interested in the outrageous”:** Bert Green, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 274.

144. **142 a flyer:** The flyer for the 12th Street Players survives as item #1998.2.11a-b in Warhol’s archives.

The troupe didn’t meet in the summers, according to Dennis Vaughan in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 298. On the same page Vaughan gives the address of Green’s house as 240 West Twelfth Street.


142 flubbing almost every line: See the uncut camera footage for Warhol’s 1981 “Saturday Night Live” spots that survives at The Andy Warhol Museum.

Dennis Vaughan, an ad-man and aspiring dramaturge who was the main creative force behind the Players, was not impressed by Warhol: “As a director, I guess I could say this about him: He had a certain monotonous quality”—Vaughan in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 302.

142 little presents: The watch and “two empty walnut shells” are mentioned as gifts in Dennis Vaughan to Andy Warhol, January 1, 1977, TC165, AWMA.


142 designing sets: Bert Green specified that only new plays were given sets, but Dennis Vaughan remembered Warhol doing them for some older scripts as well—see their interviews in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976).


142 very stylized: Bert Green, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 289. Cutouts of lamps and vases were scotch-taped onto cut-out chairs and tables, themselves crudely taped onto the apartment’s real furniture. For a script that echoed German Expressionist movies—the kind that had played at Outlines and Tech in Pittsburgh—Warhol went with the simplest of solutions: He painted onto some folding screens, using both sides so they could be turned around to show different theatrical settings. A bathroom was conjured by a screen with a toilet on it; another screen stood for a doctor’s office, with a real medical chart as its icon, “and then he drew all over it and made funny hearts, and springs coming out of organs.” (This anticipates Warhol’s 1980s paintings based on medical diagrams.) Green compared Warhol’s sets to the playful imagery of New Yorker cover artists Saul Steinberg and Ludwig Bemelmans, of Madeleine fame, who had recently completed his delightful murals in the Carlyle Hotel. See Green in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei

142 mechanisms of their making: See Bert Green, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 309.


142 “read and listen”: Bert Green, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 287.

142 semiprofessional weekend: “One-Act Play Festival,” New York Times, February 18, 1954. Warhol had done sets for at least two of the plays the Times mentions as being on the program: J. M. Barrie’s Twelve Pound Look and Aaron Fine’s My Blackmailer, which was the one rooted in those German Expressionist movies—see Bert Green in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 278. See also Green in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 632.

142 Off-Broadway playhouse: Theater 12 was formally launched at the Cherry Lane Theater in Greenwich Village with a production of The Flies, Jean-Paul Sartre’s Existentialist riff on ancient Greece that had first been produced during the German occupation of Paris. Vaughan’s production was called “creditable” in the New York Times, September 10, 1954.

Bert Green said that Warhol had been involved in readings of the Sartre but had left the troupe by the time the play moved to the stage—see Green in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universitat, 1976), 281. The Times credits the show’s minimal sets to Green himself.

CHAPTER 9


4. **145 an extra stop:** “Top off a dinner at Pablo’s with a caffe espresso next door at Serendipity, 234 East Fifty-Eighth Street. This is a tiny, charming shop devoted to objets d’art and related items”—Jane Nickerson, “Meals Made with Care at Pablo’s—Art Shop Has Caffe Espresso,” *New York Times*, February 15, 1955.


7. **146 “a skirted front”:** “Unusual Swimsuit for Men,” *New York Times*, May 23, 1956. On the feather dusters see Craig Claiborne, “Food News: Restaurants Get Smaller,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1958. In that article Clairborne, a legendary restaurant critic, described the food as “like the atmosphere, on the precious side.” Serendipity 3 launched with such delights as a “chocolaccino” and the “Saint Boy’s Dish (an astral confection)”—see the Serendipity menu on the verso of a letter from Warhol’s assistant Nathan Gluck to Jess Beers, February 24, 1956: “Andy Warhol for Sale at Auction on Tue, 05/13/2014,” accessed March 5, 2019, https://doyle.com/auctions/14pt02-post-war-contemporary-art/catalogue/28-andy-warhol#. The menu eventually expanded to include Warhol-bait such as its “world-famous” Frozen Hot Chocolate. Faced with a clientele that tended not to linger, and spend, at the restaurant’s dozen tables, Bruce said that he invented that still-famous dish as a special high-ticket, high-profit item—Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.


9. **146 part owner:** Nathan Gluck, notes on Warhol (January 16, 1976), Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

11. **146 a yearly tab**: Warhol spent $1,900.95 there in 1957, according to Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 26. (Scherman had access to good records, and his figures are usually reliable.)


13. **146 after the trauma**: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.


15. **146 actor friends**: Stephen Bruce specified that their initial success was due to the theatrical crowds they could draw—Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.

16. **146 also hosting**: See Stephen Bruce on Truman Capote and Tennessee Williams in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982). Nathan Gluck and Warhol ran into Truman Capote in the first, Fifty-Eighth Street location of Serendipity—Nathan Gluck to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


18. **146 “everyone in it was gay”**: William McCarthy, interview by author, January 8, 2015. McCarthy was a client who commissioned illustrations from Warhol for Bonwit Teller department store.

19. **146 showed him at Serendipity**: Philippe Jullian’s Serendipity show is mentioned by Charles Lisanby in the manuscript transcript of a November 11, 1978, interview shared with the author by the late Patrick Smith. The cards are mentioned in Philippe Jullian to Andy Warhol, January 28, 1957, AWMA.

20. **147 “every attractive young man”**: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.


23. **“It was very romantic”**: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.


25. **“dumb and nice”**: Robert Cozzolino, *Dudley Huppler: Drawings* (Madison, WI: Chazen Museum of Art, 2003), 11. Unless otherwise indicated, details on Huppler’s life and career are taken from this volume.


27. **introduction from Otto Fenn**: Otto Fenn had photographed Dudley Huppler as early as 1951 and is mentioned as a mutual friend in a Huppler letter in the Warhol archives postmarked September 18 (clearly of 1954), from Chicago—see Robert Cozzolino, *Dudley Huppler: Drawings* (Madison, WI: Chazen Museum of Art, 2003), 16n27. The letter treats Warhol as a relatively new acquaintance. The Warhol archives also include a letter from Huppler to Warhol postmarked August 18, 1954, from Maine, which mentions the address of a Greenwich Village friend Huppler has been staying with, although apparently without having met Warhol, since yet another Huppler letter in the archives, postmarked September 29, 1954, has Huppler back in the Midwest without having ever seen Warhol in person.


30. **in View**: Warhol’s archives include several issues of View, but
not, it seems, the issue that Dudley Huppler was in.


31. **148 feature in Flair:** Robert Cozzolino, *Dudley Huppler: Drawings* (Madison, WI: Chazen Museum of Art, 2003), 10. The photo of Dudley Huppler in the June 1950 issue of *Flair* was by the gay couple “Butch” Melton and Wilbur Pippin, who signed their work Melton-Pippin. Warhol was also portrayed by them around the same time—he’s still wigless and blotched—in a photo presented to his archives by his relative Manuela King.


32. **148 selling twelve-packs of postcards:** Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016. Despite only staying in New York off and on, Dudley Huppler had become deeply entrenched among its culturati. He was the full-blown protégé of the celebrated modernist poet Marianne Moore and was close to the eminent gay photographer George Platt Lynes: Huppler’s drawings were featured as props in a *Vogue* ad by Lynes, who was the brother of Russell Lynes, Warhol’s editor at *Harper’s* in 1949. Tellingly, when Warhol needed an image of an old woman for a project, he based his blot on a photo of Moore taken by Platt Lynes, giving a nod to high culture that would have been Andy Paperbag’s own little secret—see Alexandra Barcal et al., eds., *Andy Warhol: The LIFE Years 1949–1959* (Munich: Hirmer, 2015), 106.

Huppler was also a lover of the well-known Wisconsin artist Karl Priebé, whose work Warhol knew from the 1947 Carnegie annual, and Huppler was friends with the faux-naif illustrator Carol Blanchard, whose painting in the same annual had bowled Warhol over. Katherine Anne Porter, the novelist, was another Huppler friend whose dropped name would have impressed Warhol: Some of his first success at Tech had come with illustrations he’d done of her characters. Huppler drops the names of Priebé, Porter and Moore in a single letter in the Warhol archives, undated but written to Warhol not long before Halloween 1954, which is mentioned.

33. **148 pen-and-ink pictures:** The drawings, often printed by Dud-
ley Huppler onto postcards, are preserved in the Warhol archives.

Nathan Gluck, the friend who later became Warhol’s assistant, detected Huppler’s influence in Warhol’s so-called “Boy Book,” a suite of unpublished homoerotic drawings from the later 1950s that are unusually “out” for their era. One famous Warhol of a boy with a rose in his mouth is in fact based on a Huppler image Gluck knew—see Gluck in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol’s Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 318. The image is in Warhol’s *Gold Book*, self-published in 1957 and exhibited that year at the Bodley Gallery.

34. **148 Warhol to apply**: Dudley Huppler to Andy Warhol, n.d., AWMA, mentioning a Yaddo application for early spring 1955.


Pomeroy went on to have a busy, if peripatetic, career as a poet, art writer and visual artist. For a moment in 1969 Pomeroy was even a curator at the fabled Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, then a bastion of avant-garde Conceptual Art—see Garry Neill Kennedy, *The Last Art College: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1968–1978* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012).

37. **148 high-end circle**: Edward Field, *The Man Who Would Marry Susan Sontag and Other Intimate Literary Portraits of the Bohemian Era* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 65. Field said that Ralph Pomeroy entertained such celebrities in “a glorious floor-through apartment with a skylight in a Greenwich Village townhouse. . . . paid for by a lover, Monroe Wheeler, who like his name was a wheeler-dealer at the Museum of Modern Art.”

38. **148 A La Recherche du Shoe Perdu**: Ralph Pomeroy said that the shoe book was produced for the I. Miller footwear company as a gift for
its clients, meaning work on it has to have to have started after April 1955, when Warhol began working for the shoemaker—see Ralph Pomeroy, “‘The Fame Game,’” New York (March 30, 1987): 8. See also Ralph Pomeroy, “The Importance of Being Andy,” Art and Artists (February 1971): 15.


40. **tinting his blotted-line butterflies**: Bill McCarthy, the advertising manager at Bonwit Teller’s department store, and Tom Lacy, one of his young employees, are among the many people who spoke to this author of having colored for Warhol.


43. **he’d do another**: Warhol, in “We Hitch Our Wagons,” Mademoiselle (June 15, 1956): 258, AWMA. This was the magazine’s contributors page.

44. **ninety-nine chapbooks**: A January 10, 1959, account statement from Serendipity to Warhol (AWMA) shows that Warhol’s books and prints ranged from $10 to $35. It also lists ninety-nine copies of Warhol’s In the Bottom of My Garden (six in color), of which thirteen were sold, seventy-four were returned to Warhol and twelve were retained for future sale.

   Earlier, in a letter from Serendipity postmarked December 19, 1957 (AWMA) “Cat” prints are selling for $50, of which Serendipity kept one third, while Serendipity remitted $11 to Warhol for each of his “Cat books.”

45. **sum of $10**: Warhol, undated draft of a publication announcement reading “In the Bottom my Garden by Andy Warhol/a new picture book/$10/at Serendipity 3 225 e 60” (box A8, AWMA).

46. **In the Bottom of My Garden**: The Warhol archives include a Warhol-designed invitation to the Christmas launch of In the Bottom of My Garden at the Serendipity space on Sixtieth Street, which the restaurant had only moved into in July 1958—see “General Store at New Location Displays Swimsuits, Casseroles,” New York Times, July 10, 1958. Since Warhol launched a different book in December 1959, In the Bottom of My
Garden can be securely dated to late 1958, as the January 10, 1959, account statement from Serendipity (AWMA) for the sale of the “Garden” books would seem to confirm. The archives also include a June 2, 1958, invoice from the bookseller John J. Kane for Jean-Jacques Grandville’s 1847 Flowers Personified, a major source for Warhol’s Garden book.


The January 10, 1959, account statement from Serendipity to Warhol (AWMA) mentions this “garden screen,” which originally sold for $125.

Warhol specifically associated his paired cherubs with homosexual couples: He gave a drawing of two reclining cherubs to his friends Neil Prince and Herbert Hemphill, who were a couple, and made it clear he considered it a portrait of them—see http://www.nealprincetrust.org/id78.html, accessed July 16, 2016. The drawing was given identification number A112.066 by the Andy Warhol Art Authentication Board, Inc.

48. 150 “a source of great dismay”: Donald Webster Cory, “Can Homosexuals Be Recognized?” One (September 1953): 11. One was a publication associated with the gay activists in the Mattachine Society. Its letters page makes clear that there was a live debate about the status of effeminacy among gays.


50. 150 fin de siècle: Around Christmas 1956, when Warhol received congratulations on his latest Serendipity display from his new friend Cecil Beaton, the photographer sat surrounded by the crystal-bead curtains and old-time white-wicker chairs that furnished his new lodgings—see Cecil Beaton to Andy Warhol, December 26, 1956 (AWMA), a letter written on stationery from the Ambassador Hotel where Beaton occupied a set of rooms custom designed by him. He designed them at a moment when he was “bemused with 1912,” according to Eugenia Sheppard, “Inside Fashion,” New York Herald-Tribune, April 2, 1956. Beaton’s “bemusement” had to do with the Edwardian costumes he was then designing for My Fair Lady on Broadway.

Beaton’s nostalgic tastes, then “confined to rare spirits,” counted as history’s “single most powerful version of camp,” as one connoisseur of the style has proclaimed—see Philip Core, Camp: The Lie That Tells the Truth (New York: Delilah Books, 1984), 22, 29.

51. 150 “Art Nouveau theme”: Stephen Bruce, interview by author,
May 19, 2016.

52. 150 "normal and homosexual people met": Gore Vidal, *The City and the Pillar* (New York: Dutton, 1948), 245.

53. 150 "so quaint it was emetic": Frederick Eberstadt, interview by author, May 20, 2016.

54. 151 Paul Mayen: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.

55. 151 "avant-garde furor": Stephen Bruce, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 455.


A decade later, just when a flourishing Serendipity was moving into bigger digs, Tiffany wares got their first-ever museum show at the short-lived Gallery of Modern Art, a favorite of gay New Yorkers—see Herbert Muschamp, “The Secret History of 2 Columbus Circle,” *New York Times*, January 8, 2006.


The MoMA show of its design holdings also included Tiffany glass and an Art Nouveau entrance to the Paris metro, mentioned as the archetypal of camp in Susan Sontag, “Notes on Camp,” in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Delta Books, 1966), 279.


59. 151 the C word: The illustrations are called “campy” in Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

60. 151 “markedly attenuated”: Susan Sontag, “Notes on Camp,”


69. **152 Alan and Diane Arbus**: The Diane Arbus image appeared in Seventeen (October 1955): 60, AWMA.

70. **152 Warhol’s marbleizing**: Several creased, marbleized sheets survive at The Andy Warhol Museum and must be remnants from the Loft show. Some of them also include images of boys embracing, which fits with some memories of the Loft works but not with the reviews—see


76. **153 “in search of a wall to hang their work on”:** The announcement is in the Warhol archives. Lower-case titles are identified as the marker of the classic modernist vanguard in Russell Lynes, “Highbrow, Lowbrow, Middlebrow,” *Harper’s Magazine* (February 1949): 21.

77. **153 to Carnegie Tech:** Tech alumna Gillian Jagger said that Warhol had been responsible for getting her into the show, which “he seemed to be running”—Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. Warhol urged her to show “a big abstracted cat.”

    Wolfgang Beck, a prominent graphic designer, was also on the Loft roster—he had to be, since he’d supplied the front of his huge design studio to act as the gallery’s home—and Warhol’s friend Vito Giallo was on the roster as well, as a kind of gallery director, before he moved on to be Warhol’s first hired hand—see Giallo in Catherine Johnson, ed., *Thank You Andy Warhol* (New York: Glitterati, 2012), 25.

    The Loft shared its floor with Louis Shima, a celebrated Japanese picture framer who did a great deal of work for Warhol a few years later—see his many invoices in the Warhol archives (box B 565) and Shima’s bill for February 26, 1960, TC -26, AWMA.

78. **153 “demanding young men”:** Barbara Guest, “Clarke, Roger, Warhol,” *Art News* (Summer 1954). If Warhol was disappointed in that review he would have been pleased that the same issue of *Art News* featured an image (p. 51) of a cover that he’d done for *Interiors*, in a feature on the 33rd annual show of the Art Directors Club of New York. It’s not
insignificant that Warhol’s cover fills one ninth of a black-and-white page in *Art News*, versus the full-color page facing it that was dedicated to an illustration by Ben Shahn from the same show.


80. 153 “a coy manner”: Stuart Preston, “About Art and Artists,” *New York Times*, May 18, 1954. Preston himself was gay, but in the 1950s, especially, that did not preclude some homophobic attitudes.

81. 153 **Interiors magazine:** See “Contributors Page,” *Interiors* (September 1954). Interestingly, Warhol mentions the two “picture books” he made with Ralph Ward but omits his Truman Capote show at the Hugo Gallery.

82. 153 **show’s poster:** The show is announced as opening October 11, 1954, in the *New York Times* of the previous day.


83. 153 **drawings and paintings:** Although a review in *Art News* couldn’t bear to mention the works’ subjects, it explained that Warhol “draws and paints studies from life . . . and his paintings are merely color-filled drawings”—see Gretchen T. Munson, “Other Shows Noted This Month,” *Art News* (November 1954): 67. The critic mentions that the drawings are done with a skittering broken line, meaning that they did not include the fluid ballpoint-pen drawings of dancers that survive in large numbers, or at least that those were in the minority.

84. 153 **known for a while:** The contact sheet that was the source for Warhol’s surviving blotted-line painting of John Butler (AWMA) has an annotation, in Warhol’s hand, of the 242 Lexington Avenue address of Leonard Kessler—the very apartment he would go on to take over in the spring of 1953. It seems unlikely that Warhol would have owned the contact sheet if he hadn’t also had a personal connection to Butler, possibly through Otto Fenn or some other photographer friend of his, and Warhol would hardly have jotted down the Lexington address of Leonard Kessler if the apartment had already passed to him.

The Butler painting itself was dated 1952 when it was sold at Christie’s auction house, but without any source for that date being given—see “Andy Warhol (1928–1987), Untitled (Portrait of John Butler),” ac-

Other Warhol drawings from the Butler collection, later purchased by Warhol’s 1970s friend R. Couri Hay, show moments from Butler’s ballets; those are rendered in a shockingly crude, outsiderish style that recalls some of Warhol’s most aggressive drawings from his last year in college.


Almost a decade later, Warhol and Butler worked together on a Broadway show, a musical adaptation of James Thurber’s short stories with costumes by Warhol and choreography by Butler—see the discussion of that show later in this biography, and “The Beast in Me Broadway Plymouth Theatre,” Playbill, accessed March 7, 2019, http://www.playbill.com/production/the-beast-in-me-plymouth-theatre-vault-0000009604.


87. **154 in action:** Even drawings titled for *Three Promenades with the Lord*, a Butler ballet that had premiered that very July 1954, don’t actually show any moves from it—on the date of the premiere see “Jacobs Pillow Archive: Work: Three Promenades with the Lord,” accessed March 7, 2019, https://archives.jacobspillow.org/index.php/Detail/ocurrences/28267.

CHAPTER 10

1. **155 “his art was just totally trivial”:** David Bourdon, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 153.

2. **155 “I’ve given up commercial art”:** Warhol said this in the “early 50s,” according to Arthur Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 537.

3. **155 Loft shut down:** The Loft Gallery seems to have closed not long after May 13, 1955, when it got its last review in the Times, of a show of collages by Nathan Gluck’s boyfriend Clint Hamilton that were said to have powerful echoes of Dada.
4. **free of economic care**: “All of us were commercial artists to make a living, but we all wanted to be fine artists”—Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

5. **discovered by Graphis**: See Walter Herdeg to Andy Warhol, February 10, 1954, TC28, AWMA. Herdeg, the renowned editor of *Graphis*, offers to publish various illustrations by Warhol and promises him future invitations to appear in the magazine, as in fact Warhol did.


7. **placemats**: On the placemats see Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Various textiles by Warhol survive in his archives and are recorded in several invoices.


10. **He had to get up at 5 A.M**: Calvin Tomkins, “Raggedy Andy,” in *The Scene: Reports on Post-Modern Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 9. Despite all his mad success with clients, Warhol wasn’t above seeking affirmation in even the most obscure competition, such as one sponsored by the Radio Advertising Bureau “to develop for radio an ‘art’ that would portray the medium and its effect on the people”—see “Radio, as Artists See It,” *Broadcasting Telecasting: The Business Weekly of*
Radio and Television, October 29, 1956, 34. The competition was clearly a desperate move from an industry threatened by TV. It was organized by Loft member Jack Beck and then judged by the MoMA curator and proto-Pop poet Frank O’Hara, with whom Warhol would have a long and vexed history. Both Warhol and fellow Loft-er Vito Giallo submitted entries; both remained also-rans in a field of utter unknowns.

11. 156 “equal skill and imagination”: Gene Byrnes, Number 2-Drawing and Sketching (Artists Institute of America, 1959), 53.


“All the people in your city . . . turn out every Tuesday night to see the new window display, just the way you tune into Walter Winchell”—Lester Gaba, The Art of Window Display (New York: Studio Productions, 1952), 26.


21. 156 Surrealism: Special attention was paid to Surrealism’s echoes in window displays in Robert Goldwater, Modern Art in Your Life (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1949), 36, 39, 40.

The Salvador Dalí window had got into the papers when the store’s regular window dresser (Larry Volmer, the man who went on to be Warhol’s boss at Horne’s) had been told to tone down Dalí’s creation, and Dalí
had rebelled and smashed through the plate glass—see “Art Changed, Dali Goes on Rampage in Store,” *New York Times*, March 17, 1939.


“Every displayman ought to take a flyer, now and then,” wrote Lester Gaba. “If he wants to ask the city’s maddest artists to design windows for him—he should do it!”—Lester Gaba, *The Art of Window Display* (New York: Studio Productions, 1952), 33. And they did. Gaba talks (p. 138) about the moment in 1929 when the great Russian sculptor Alexander Archipenko—the very man who judged the Pittsburgh show with Warhol’s Nosepicker—had “just landed at Ellis Island with a piece of hardware under his arm called *Bird in Space.*” That sculptor (so what if Gaba has him confused with Constantin Brancusi) was immediately asked to do a window for Saks Fifth Avenue, the store Gaba credits as having led the way in artist-designed displays: “I’ll never forget those famous contoured windows made of sheets of subtly curved and carved wood. They were so sensational, and so artistically sound.” Upstairs from his windows, Archipenko was granted an exhibition of 22 of his “serious” sculptures: “Power manifests itself in all of the work, and a very definite purpose, even though the result at times may baffle” said a review in the *Times* that did not hesitate to also discuss the vitrines downstairs—see “Archipenko Steps Out: He Helps a Big Department Store Express The Age,” *New York Times*, September 22, 1929.

23. **department stores were the new museums**: Warhol, in Lana Jokel, *Andy Warhol*, documentary, 1972. The Jokel footage shows Warhol sitting with the art critic Barbara Rose and Philip Johnson, architect and sometimes curator at the Museum of Modern Art.

24. **for gay men**: According to Gene Moore, New York law prevented women from working as window dressers since windows were changed at night, when women were forbidden from working—see Gene Moore and Jay Hyams, *My Time at Tiffany’s* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990), 50.

25. **included Warhol**: Warhol’s 1960s boyfriend John Giorno claimed that Warhol himself had told him a story about his use of a photo of a figure in drag for Bonwit’s, and that it was laughed at by Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, also involved in window display in the 1950s—see John Giorno, “Andy Warhol’s Retinue as a Young Artist,” in *Andy Warhol: Private Drawings from the 1950s* (Köln: Walter König, 2003),

27. **newspaper shoe ads:** Warhol scholar Thomas Kiedrowski has found several of these ads in 1954 issues of the New York *Herald-Tribune*; he sent images to the author in a November 20, 2014, e-mail. Bill McCarthy, who was the advertising manager for Bonwit Teller at the time, said that it was his ad department that first introduced Warhol to the store’s window dressers—see William McCarthy, interview by author, January 8, 2015.

Bonwit’s was an elite institution recently purchased by Walter Hoving, whose son Thomas went on to be a famous director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

28. **a mutual friend:** Jac Venza spoke of having introduced Warhol and Gene Moore—Jac Venza, interview by author, August 1, 2018. Venza and Warhol moved in the same highly cultured gay circles and Venza had done acclaimed Christmas windows for Moore in the late 1940s.


Details on the vitrines’ renovations come from William McCarthy, interview by author, January 8, 2015. The renovations were also mentioned in Nathan Gluck to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

31. **advertised the perfumes:** Photos of the windows are in the Warhol archives, and also in the Dan Arje papers, Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Design Archives, Parsons The New School for Design,
New York. Others survive in the weekly portfolios of window designs circulated in the Retail Reporting Bureau’s Views and Reviews series.


33. 158 **Imilda Vaughan**: Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), from the Pittsburgh suburb of McKeensport, had been close to Warhol in their freshman year at Tech but had to leave because her scholarship was not renewed—the college thought it could be more “usefully” given to a male student. She moved to New York to study art at Hunter College and the two became good friends again after Warhol’s arrival in town—Cathy Tuttle, daughter of Imilda Vaughan, interview by author, August 2, 2016.

34. 158 **liked to play with**: As confirmed by Warhol’s friend Henry Geldzahler in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers. Warhol’s 1952 postcards to Otto Fenn (AWMA) also play word games in French.

35. 158 **a neighboring window**: Another window from the series, known from an undated photograph preserved in the Nathan Gluck estate at Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery, is for the perfume Pot Pourri, and of course is built around flower imagery.


Warhol denied a more probable connection to the bestselling *Marjorie Morningstar*, a novel about an aspiring actress which launched the fall of his Bonwit windows but had already been in the news. Nathan Gluck, however, insisted on the connection to the novel—see Mark Allen, “A Conversation with Nathan Gluck,” accessed December 4, 2019, http://www.markallencam.com/nathangluck.html.

A March 29, 1956, letter signed “Donna and B.J.” (TC28, AWMA) addresses Warhol as Andy Morningstar.

The name is also used as the signature on a very few works from the 1950s—see for example Robert Cozzolino, *Dudley Huppler: Drawings* (Madison, WI: Chazen Museum of Art, 2003), 11, fig. 4. See also “ANDY WARHOL , Ralph Thomas Ward, A Is an Alphabet,” Christie’s, accessed December 9, 2019, https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4809421.

37. 158 **“very campy”**: Nathan Gluck to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
38. **"A STOPPER":** The phrase headlines a photo (AWMA) of one of the perfume windows circulated by the Retail Reporting Bureau's Views and Reviews for the week the windows were on view.


40. **More of the same assignments:** For Independence Day two years later, Warhol was allowed to use exactly the same concept again, this time covering his “fence” with the stick-figure musicians he’d drawn almost a decade earlier for *Cano*—see the July 2, 1957, photograph in the Dan Arje papers, Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Design Archives, Parsons The New School for Design, New York.

41. **“They were great fun”:** Gene Moore, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 111. See also Tom Lee, “Gene Moore,” *Graphis* (November–December 1960): 532. Figure 12 in Lee shows such a Warhol, without giving him credit, and mentions that it was part of “a series.” One of the Bonwit window with dressmakers’ tools, dated to October 1958, is reproduced in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 30. A color photo of the “fireplace” window at Bonwit’s ran in Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, November 2, 1955.


42. **As artists did:** Using fine-art paintings as props and backdrops was almost a cliché of window dressing at the time: They appear frequently in the images published weekly in the Retail Reporting Bureau’s Views and Reviews. A signed painting by Lester Gaba himself, the celebrated window dresser who wrote a regular column and an early book on window display, appears in a May 3, 1955, photo circulated by the RRB, and the retail efficacy of abstractions by one Harry Mortin are discussed in the caption for a window from March 3, 1955, at Saks Fifth Avenue. Photographs survive in the Ray Johnson Archive that show windows at the Andrew Geller shoe store decorated with abstrac-
tions by Johnson; the same collection has photos of sculptures by John-
son being used in Bonwit’s windows in April 1957—probably thanks
to an introduction by Warhol. For an image of the window see “The
New School Archives: Digital Collections: Photographic Material: Bon-
wit Teller Window Display Featuring Women’s Spring Ensemble by
B. H. Wragge and Wooden Geometric Figure,” accessed March 7, 2019,
http://digitalarchives.library.newschool.edu/index.php/Detail/objects/
KA0001_000096.

43. **158 unsigned displays**: An unattributed Warhol window can be
seen in a photo in Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views and Reviews*, February
4, 1956. The window, with a background done in the lighthearted illus-
trator’s style that Warhol usually used for Bonwit’s displays, is described
as one in a series using the same backgrounds.

44. **158 pen sketches**: One of the drawings in Warhol’s window is
based on an August 24, 1953, cover of *Life* magazine, reproduced in Alex-
andra Barcal et al., eds., *Andy Warhol: The LIFE Years 1949–1959* (Munich:
Hirmer, 2015), 172. That same drawing was also featured in Warhol’s
*Gold Book* from December 1957, showing a considerable lag between the
drawing and the book.

45. **158 “for having truly modern taste”**: Gene Moore and Jay Hy-

46. **158 “their serious work”:** Gene Moore, in Patrick S. Smith, ed.,
*Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann

Warhol’s friend Dudley Huppler had had a drawing of his, promi-
nently (and unusually) signed, in a Bonwit’s window in 1953—a photo-
graph of the Huppler window, dated September 15, 1953, survives among
the Dan Arje papers in the Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Design Ar-
chives, Parsons The New School for Design, New York. Some of the art
works Moore included in the Bonwit windows were, however, conserva-
tive junk—see the corporate-style portrait of Fred Rathe by Jeanne Ow-
ens reproduced in Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views and Reviews*, February
4, 1958.

47. **158 winter of 1956**: An undated photograph of Warhol’s win-
dow (AWMA) is from the same series of windows as ones containing
art by Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg, seen in photographs re-
produced and dated to January 31, 1956, in Kirk Varnedoe, *Jasper Johns:
A Retrospective* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 126. All three windows share
an identical floor treatment and all display dresses by Lanz, and all three
bear almost-consecutive negative numbers, proving that they were on
view at the same time. The informational scrolls below the dresses also vary only in the names of the artists credited for each display.


49. **159 The store paid:** The standard “rental” fee for art was “$600 to $800,” according to William McCarthy, interview by author, January 8, 2015. But Warhol’s invoice for his April 1961 work on a Bonwit’s window (AWMA) was only for $400. (Although corrections on the sheet make it look as though Warhol may have originally expected to earn $500.)

50. **159 all of $75:** Purchase orders for the Bazaar and CBS contracts survive in the Warhol archives. On the placemats, see Marjorie Freund, Lord and Taylor art director, typescript memoir (n.d.), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


52. **159 kept his mother up:** Julia Warhol to Anna [Zavacky], January 3, 1955, AWMA. See also Andy Warhol to Nora Zavacky, September 26, 1954, enclosing a check in repayment of a loan Zavacky had made to him.

54. **159 would guarantee:** The initial verbal agreement, from April 1955, is recalled in a letter to Warhol (AWMA) from I. Miller art director Peter Palazzo dated April 9, 1957. That letter and some Warhol invoices in his archives show that I. Miller didn’t manage to come up with enough work to add up to the full yearly amount, and were thus obliged to make up the difference to Warhol. The 1957 letter asks to renegotiate the deal with Warhol, but the final agreement they came to is not known.

55. **159 shook hands on the deal:** As usual with Warhol, there was a backstory to the I. Miller deal, and as usual it was all about his connections. Days after he had settled in New York in 1949, when he’d landed his first page of footwear for Glamour, a newcomer to the business named Geraldine Stutz was the “shoe editor” who handed over the items for him to draw—Kett Zegart, interview by author, July 18, 2015. By the middle of the following decade Stutz had become “one of the most respected authorities on shoe fashions in this country and abroad,” as the *Times* described her, and was the obvious candidate to oversee the reboot of I. Miller, recently bought up by the expanding General Shoe Company of Nashville, TN—see “General Shoe Buys I. Miller and Sons,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1953.

There was another connection that linked Warhol and I. Miller: Gene Moore, Warhol’s boss in display at Bonwit’s, had started his window-dressing career at the shoe company—see Gene Moore and Jay Hyams, *My Time at Tiffany’s* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990), 15.

Halfway through Warhol’s contract with General Shoe the company expanded into all kinds of women’s retail—including with the purchase of Tiffany’s and Bonwit Teller’s, where Warhol had already done a bunch of shoe ads and was about to do windows. Later the company bought Bendel’s, the deluxe women’s emporium that Stutz went on to run. See “General Shoe Acquires Control of Hoving Chain of Retail Stores,” *New York Times*, July 19, 1956.

56. **159 ask for changes:** See the undated shoe drawing reproduced in Margery King and Mark Francis, eds., *The Warhol Look* (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1997), 84.

57. **159 “Just exaggerate it!”:** Elaine Finsilver, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 552. Finsilver says that Warhol came up with his signature shoe shape while living with her on 103rd Street, and that it was born when he made a shoe in a realistic drawing longer than it should have been.

58. **159 “high-style”:** The shoe drawings are called “high-style” in

59. **160 high-concept:** Both ads exist as undated newspaper clippings in the Warhol archives.

60. **160 winning kudos:** In its 1954 annual, the 34th, the Art Directors Club of New York had honored the disparate I. Miller campaigns by including three of their ads by three different artists: A photographer, a standard fashion illustrator and a cartoonist who aped a *New Yorker* look.


62. **160 New York Times real estate:** A very restrained I. Miller ad in the March 20, 1955, *New York Times* seems to be Warhol’s first such contract; he didn’t go for something more fanciful until a week later. Stutz was only officially promoted to vice president a few weeks after that—“I. Miller and Sons Names Retail Vice President: Miss Jerry Stutz,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1955. A new I. Miller advertising director, Marvin Davis, had been announced in the *Times* two days before the appearance of the first of the revamped, Warholian I. Miller ads—see “Advertising and Marketing News,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1955.


67. **160 most contemporary way:** Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Palazzo admitted that the company’s salespeople—in fact the entire shoe industry—that hated not having the product clearly on view in the campaign, but they had no choice but to go along with headquarters and eventually witnessed the ads’ effect on sales and on the company’s profile.

68. **State Department publication**: Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. A thorough search of the publication, called *Amerika*, failed to turn up illustrations that were clearly by Warhol.


70. **didn’t even bother**: The Award for Distinctive Merit (AWMA) was given to Warhol in May 1957 by the Art Director’s Club of New York. It is for an I. Miller “shoe” ad that actually shows a sea of women’s heads in stylish hats.


72. **also won praise**: One critic praised the magazine campaign’s “atmosphere of ethereal delicacy” before moving on to discuss Warhol’s newspaper ads—see Robert L. Leslie, “I. Miller & Sons, Inc., USA,” *Gebrauchsgraphik* (April 1956): 40.


Palazzo told Sutton that even when I. Miller finally decided to permit Warhol’s signature to appear on his images, it wasn’t in celebration of his talent but because I. Miller thought it “looked chic” to have ads that were signed—with the implication that any name might have done the job just as well.

Even once the I. Miller contract had brought Warhol a measure of
fame, plenty of other companies saw no advantage in featuring his name in their ads—see for example the full-page ad (AWMA) for Mission Valley Mills, one of Warhol’s best clients, that ran in Women’s Wear Daily on June 7, 1960.


76. **161 aura of camp**: The ads are refered to as “campy” even in Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


78. **161 Edwardian styles**: See the mention of the shoe designer David Evins in Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


80. **162 stylized merchandise**: Real shoes seen in Polaroids preserved in the Warhol archives look surprisingly close to the shoes in Warhol’s illustration.


82. **162 knew Warhol from the Loft Gallery**: Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

83. **162 only one blot**: Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015. While five or ten blots could in theory be done from a single drawing, in practice Warhol only did “one or two,” according to Nathan Gluck in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 56.

84. **162 trick of the pen**: One art critic had also read his blots as hand-drawn: “He outlines with dry, black ink, producing a dotted-line effect”—Gretchen T. Munson, “Other Shows Noted This Month,” *Art News* (November 1954): 67.

85. **162 Christmas cards**: The Nathan Gluck estate at the Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery includes MoMA brochures for 1954 and probably for 1955 that feature cards by both Gluck and Warhol; a 1952 card, with an inscription that mentions its sale by MoMA, is also in the Gluck
estate, and that’s the same year MoMA copyrighted a card by Warhol that is now in his archives.


86. 163 cultural pedigree: Nathan Gluck’s longtime friend Luis De Jesus, interview by author, December 28, 2016.

87. 163 Paul Rand: The dinner with Paul Rand is recorded in an October 13, 1952, note in the Nathan Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

88. 163 Marcel Duchamp: See Nathan Gluck’s memoir of his contacts with book and print dealer George Wittenborn, Nathan Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

89. 163 known among the city’s dealers: See Nathan Gluck’s memoir of his contacts with book and print dealer George Wittenborn, Nathan Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

90. 163 poster selected: See Nathan Gluck’s undated biographical summary in the Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

91. 163 Gluck took care: See Nathan Gluck’s August 10, 1992, notes on Warhol’s techniques, Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery. See also Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; Nathan Gluck, oral history, audiocassette, December 7, 1992, AWMA.

92. 163 “try to do things à la Andy”: Nathan Gluck, oral history, audiocassette, December 7, 1992, AWMA.


94. 163 birthday party: The party was for the daughter of Warhol’s friend Suzie Frankfurt—see Nathan Gluck in Mark Allen, “A Conver-

95. **professional recognition**: After his 1952 Art Directors Club award, Warhol’s next prize only came in 1954, with a certificate of excellence from the less prestigious American Institute of Graphic Arts, awarded for a pharmaceutical ad.

96. **gave awards**: The certificates for the awards are in the Warhol archives. Strangely, the Art Directors Club Annual, which published award-winning images and all runners-up, didn’t mention the award next to its image of Warhol’s book cover, although the Club did issue a certificate for it to Warhol.


98. **“currently creating a stir”**: See “We Hitch Our Wagons,” *Mademoiselle* (June 15, 1956): 258, AWMA. This was the magazine’s contributors page.


The checklist for the show includes an entry for Warhol’s Shoe.


104. **three works**: A November 18, 1955, letter to Warhol from the Junior Council of the Museum of Modern Art (TC28, AWMA) mentions submitted drawings titled “Shoe,” “Boys at Camp” and “Things.”


Of the 150 works that were chosen for display on MoMA’s walls, hardly any were by people who went on to be talents of note. (Larry Rivers and Ellsworth Kelly were two exceptions; Warhol’s Tech friend Dorothy Cantor was also included.)

Lieberman points out that MoMA never did juried shows beyond the ones organized by its Junior Council, about which he provides more background. He also discusses the Junior Council’s art-lending service and its early interest in getting art featured on television.

106. **serious consideration**: On MoMA’s annotated checklist for the show, the letters “m.c. pending” (for “MoMA collection pending,” apparently) appear next to Warhol’s entry. Works by other artists with that annotation did make it into the collection, but not Warhol’s Shoe. Works with a plain “m.c.” next to them are also all at MoMA to this day. See https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_master-checklist_326042.pdf, accessed May 26, 2018—thanks to former Warhol archivist Erin Byrne for pointing me to this document.

107. **shown only infrequently**: Alfred H. Barr, Jr., to Andy Warhol, October 15, 1956, TC-12, AWMA.

108. **one for himself**: Warhol, in “We Hitch Our Wagons,” *Mademoiselle* (June 15, 1956): 258, AWMA. This was the magazine’s con-
tributors page.

109. **evidently “serious”:** For images of works in the show see Elizabeth Strauss, *Recent Drawings USA* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1956). Six of the works illustrated are listed in MoMA’s collection as having been acquired in 1956, including four that were purchased and two accepted as gifts from the Junior Council.

110. **“constant rejections”:** A notable dealer named Edwin Hewitt, who might have seemed sympathetic because he already showed the magic realism of Warhol’s new friends Dudley Huppler and Wynn Chamberlain and of several other queer artists, had spurned Warhol when he brought in some cat drawings and laughed at him once he had left—see the unpublished memoirs of Wynn Chamberlain, quoted in a July 11, 2016, e-mail to the author from Wynn’s widow Sally Chamberlain. Wynn Chamberlain first had a solo with Hewitt in 1954 and that was also the occasion of his introduction to Warhol, with whom he was close in the 1960s. The Hewitt gallery’s magic realism was particularly favored by a circle of gay artists that included Jared French and George Tooker—see Donald Albrecht, *Gay Gotham: Art and Underground Culture in New York* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2016), 135.


111. **new Bodley Gallery:** The Bodley’s first incarnation had been as a bookstore associated with the Hugo Gallery, where Warhol showed in 1952, but it is described as “new” in Stuart Preston, “About Art and Artists,” *New York Times*, February 18, 1955. The gallery’s full title and address, “Bodley Gallery and Bookshop—223 East 60,” is included on Warhol’s drawing (AWMA) for the announcement of his first show there. Serendipity 3 is described as having recently moved to 225 East 60th Street, directly next door to the Bodley, in “General Store at New Location Displays Swimsuits, Casseroles,” *New York Times*, July 10, 1958.

112. **a “decorators’” space:** Mentions in the *New York Times* also point to very occasional shows of minor works by modern masters such as René Magritte, Max Ernst and Matta, some of whom also showed at the Hugo Gallery and most of whom Warhol bought.

113. **totally unaware:** Ted Carey, in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol’s Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 255. Carey met Warhol at the moment of his “Gold Book” show at the Bodley, and was in fact one of the book’s dedicatees—and yet still said he knew nothing of that Bodley show.

In a juried show of drawings that the gallery hosted in 1957, there’s
not a name to be recognized among its 50 artists, its three judges or its eight prizewinners. Warhol, the lone exception, only rated one of five honorable mentions, but no place among the eight talents noted in a one-paragraph review in the Times—see Howard Devree, “Gallery Activity,” New York Times, June 23, 1957.

114. 165 gallery roundups: In the dozens of event listings that the Bodley Gallery got in the New York Times, the only younger artist of note that gets mentioned was the sculptor Louise Nevelson—see Stuart Preston, “About Art and Artists,” New York Times, January 12, 1956.


119. 165 maybe just one of them: Charles Lisanby said the images were all of him—Television Academy, Charles Lisanby: Production Designer, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby. Other sources suggest he was one of several subjects.


Typically for that era, a brief review in Art News (March 1956, p. 55) actually reads the homoerotic content in the drawings as “cruelly” attacking their sitters, because it revealed the young men’s deviance.


A quarter-century later, Warhol himself did a poster for Rainer Werner Fassbinder’s 1982 movie adaptation of Querelle.


123. 166 knowledge of only one of the drawings: The drawing, of
a gay actor named Tom Royal, became the property of Craig Gardner, who e-mailed an image of the drawing, and details of its provenance, to The Andy Warhol Museum in 2017.


125. **“it never seemed demeaning”**: Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016.


131. **“to bat for content”**: The great art historian Leo Steinberg argued that “these Pop artists want the awareness of form to recede behind the pretense of subject matter alone”—see “A Symposium on Pop Art December 13, 1962,” January 31, 2013, http://archive.is/7QN29.

132. **“holiday slot”**: Warhol’s art seems to have got regular Christmas play at Serendipity and at the nearby Bodley Gallery: For example, in a December 2, 1958, telegram (AWMA) Diana Vreeland tells Warhol that she plans to stop by Serendipity “to see your things.”


   One flip little review talked about the show’s “odd elegance of pure craziness”—Parker Tyler, “Andy Warhol,” *Art News* (December 1956). If that wasn’t quite fulsome praise, Warhol must have been delighted to note its author: Parker Tyler was the pioneering film theorist whose work Warhol knew from college days and who was a lynchpin of high-end gay culture in New York.


139. **a big space:** See the advertisement in the *New York Times*, January 20, 1957, AWMA. The I. Miller store put still more of the pictures up that spring: See the April 25, 1957, bill (AWMA) that shows Warhol paying for hand-lettered placards for display on easels at I. Miller; they read, “The work of Andy Warhol is available at Bodley Gallery.”

140. **some kind of show:** Patricia Moore to Andy Warhol, April 10, 1957, AWMA.


142. **begged into buying:** David Evins, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 5, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


144. **five hundred copies:** The Warhol archives (box B565) include a November 25, 1957, receipt from the Record Printing and Offset company for $560 for printing the *Gold Book*, while an undated receipt from the same source, and the same era, is for the printing of five hundred copies of an unnamed “art book” for $485—indicating that the books seem to have cost about one dollar each to get printed.

145. **gilded paper:** The *Gold Book* has echoes of a golden brochure sent out a decade earlier by Outlines gallery in Pittsburgh, for a June 1947 exhibition of photos by Eugene Atget. Warhol’s golden pages might also have been inspired by critics’ praise for the gilded abstrac-

In Warhol’s show—but not its book—some images were also presented on campy mauve or pink paper—J. S., “Andy Warhol,” Art News (December 1957): 14.

146. **begging child**: The begging child is based on an image from Life magazine reproduced in Alexandra Barcal et al., eds., Andy Warhol: The LIFE Years 1949–1959 (Munich: Hirmer, 2015). It is the same image that Warhol had shown as his fine art in the window at Bonwit Teller in January 1957.

147. **some kind of balance**: A mention in the fashion press does tell us that the show itself included cute cats as well as a golden coke bottle that foreshadows Warhol’s Pop subjects, while the dedication in the book is to “Boys, filles, fruits and flowers, shoes”—see Eugenia Shepard, “Inside Fashion,” New York Herald-Tribune, December 4, 1957.

The Coke bottle, which was drawn with a flower sticking out of it, is euphemistically described as “a bit of attractively sinister Southern Gothic” that results from Warhol’s “subjective fantasy”—i.e., as having queer connotations—in J. S., “Andy Warhol,” Art News (December 1957): 14.

The Gold Book is also dedicated to “T.C. and E.W.”—i.e. Ted Carey and Ed Wallowitch, two male friends (or boyfriends) of Warhol’s whose gender is tastefully elided by reducing them to their initials.


149. **praise so faint**: Could Warhol himself have been less than convinced by his show and book? That same Christmas he had received a promotional chapbook (AWMA) sent out by a friend of his named Remy Charlip, an avant-garde dancer turned illustrator whose holiday offering would have come across as obviously more daring and with-it than Warhol’s. Titled It Looks Like Snow and dedicated to John Cage, it was an aggressively modern picture book consisting of nothing more than a series of all-white pages with single lines of type. It could only have appealed
to the very most advanced of kids, or of adults.


151. 169 “served with no-cal ginger ale”: The Wild Raspberries cookbook had at least a hint of Pop Art-ish social satire and it also came with some high-culture credibility: Elite readers might have recognized that Warhol was proudly using classic tomes on La Grande Cuisine as his inspiration—see Nathan Gluck, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 78.


154. 169 “frivolity in excelsis”: Stuart Preston, “Art,” New York Times, December 5, 1959. The other artist was a certain A. G. Radloff, showing figure drawings “for which the word etiolated seems to have been invented,” according to Preston. Wild Raspberries did win inclusion in the 1960 Art Directors Club exhibition and book—but no award.

155. 169 glancing attention: Overall, Warhol can’t have thought much of his Bodley affairs. At the same moment that he was displaying his “clever frivolity” at the Bodley, he saw that his old friend Philip Pearlstein was getting a solo show of serious work at the serious Tanager gallery and earning a serious review in the Times, with a big reproduction of one work. (Warhol bought a similar piece by Pearlstein the next day.) See Dore Ashton, “Art: The Young Pissaro,” New York Times, December 2, 1959. (The title refers to the earlier item in a three-review column.) The Warhol and Pearlstein shows are both in the same Times listings column: “Art World Joins Pre-Yule Drive,” New York Times, November 29, 1959.
A December 3, 1959, receipt for $300 from the Tanager Gallery (TC48, AWMA) is for Pearlstein’s Positano.

156. **“tried to sell them”:** Suzie Frankfurt, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 569.


158. **almost $100:** See the Bodley Gallery bill, February 15, 1960, AWMA.


160. **bills for the bubbly:** See the Bodley Gallery bill, December 31, 1957, AWMA, requesting $110.47 from Warhol for champagne.

161. **several commissions:** David Mann, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 95.

**CHAPTER 11**


4. **generous and loyal”:** Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015. Jagger also said Warhol was “not the least bit narcissistic. . . . He really was a nice guy.”

5. **the most charming”:** Philippe Jullian to Andy Warhol, January 28, 1957, AWMA.


7. **feather that really weighed 5,000 tons”:** Art Kane, from

8. **flowers or a butterfly print**: A December 8, 1954, receipt for the offset printing of “butterfly sheets” (TC28, AWMA) indicates the likelihood of their having been intended as Christmas favors, as were many or even most of Warhol’s chapbooks.

9. **champagne or maybe liqueur**: Gifts of champagne are recognized in December 29, 1959, and December 30, 1959, letters to Warhol (AWMA) from Elizabeth Howkins of the New York Times and Diana Vreeland of Harper’s Bazaar. Warhol was still sending gifts to Vreeland as late as 1973, when she was working with the Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Warhol sent her a dictating machine—see Vreeland to Warhol, August 8, 1973, AWMA. A quarter century later, when Warhol hardly needed to drum up new business, a young artist who earned cash delivering flowers remembers whole days spent driving Warhol’s Christmas orders—Ricky Clifton, interview by author, May 21, 2016. In a letter from December 14, 1984 (TC420, AWMA) the film critic Rex Reed thanks Warhol for the gift of a liqueur “not only unusual in its body and flavor, but quite festive as well.”

10. **Stuart Preston**: The Warhol archives include a letter from Stuart Preston dated December 24, 1956—just after he’d written a positive review of Warhol’s Bodley shoe show—thanking Warhol for some cat-themed art.

   “When [Richard] Banks introduced him to Stuart Preston, art critic of the New York Times, Andy began giving Preston drawings, and soon the man’s kitchen and bathroom walls were covered with them”—Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 132.

11. **being gay**: Imilda Vaughan mentions her homosexuality in a letter to Warhol, August 3, 1975, TC105, AWMA.

12. **out of wedlock**: Cathy Tuttle, Vaughan’s daughter, in an August 2, 2015, interview with the author, said she was born on December 22, 1956.

13. **the baby’s father**: Gillian Jagger said she was present when Warhol made the suggestion—Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015.

14. **she refused**: Vaughan married her baby’s father, a Ph.D. student in history, but never lived with him. She soon returned to her native
Pittsburgh, where she raised her daughter alone—Cathy Tuttle, daughter of Imilda Vaughan, interview by author, August 2, 2016.


   Toward the end of his life Warhol suggested to his friend Paige Powell that the two adopt a baby together—see the discussion later in this biography and also Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 10613, Kindle edition.

16. **CBS set designer:** The designer who gave the party was Bill Cecil. John Krug, life partner to Warhol’s friend Otto Fenn, remembered the salons, and being drawn by Warhol at Cecil’s place—John Krug, interview by author, May 10, 2016. A drawing of Cecil survives at The Andy Warhol Museum.


19. **“slaves and peacocks”:** Philippe Jullian to Andy Warhol, January 28, 1957, AWMA.


21. **“how we got to know each other”:** Charles Lisanby, in an April 2006 interview with Matthias Kunz, quoted in *Andy Warhol, a Trip around the World: 1956 Asia Drawings* (Munich: Sabine Knust, 2006), np. The two men’s histories had striking parallels: Both had been childhood aesthetes who came to New York straight out of art school, in flight from the provinces and from families that never accepted their homosexuality. Both settled into the city with help from a network of art-school classmates and got contracts in illustration within weeks of arriving—see Television Academy, *Charles Lisanby: Production Designer*, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby.

22. **production designer:** Charles Lisanby’s first big break came when Bill Paley, head of CBS, got him to do the sets for a test production of a ballet, in order for the network to check how dance might look on TV. The dance was Aaron Copland’s modernist classic *Billy the Kid*, originally produced by a team from the cutting edge of New York’s gay cul-
ture: Lincoln Kirstein, Jared French and George Platt Lynes had all been involved in the 1938 premiere—see Donald Albrecht, Gay Gotham: Art and Underground Culture in New York (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2016), 124. For TV, however, the ballet was being choreographed by the same John Butler who was Warhol’s subject at the Loft gallery in the fall of 1954, either just before or soon after Warhol met Lisanby—Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011.


25. 173 “normal in all respects”: Charles Lisanby, in the manuscript transcript of a November 11, 1978, interview shared with the author by the late Patrick Smith.


27. 173 anal warts and a tear: In the Warhol archives, a December 7, 1960, letter from Denton Cox, Warhol’s new doctor at the time, summarizes the artist’s rectal difficulties, which began in April 1960. Other documents in the archives show the condition continuing at least through February 1961.


30. 173 Warhol having sex: Stephen Shore said he saw Warhol having sex in the bedroom when Shore held a party at his parents’ house—Stephen Shore, interview by author, October 11, 2016.

Nat Finkelstein said that Warhol had boasted about the “gang-bang” that he’d enjoyed at a party that Finkelstein had not made it to—Nat Finkelstein, Andy Warhol: The Factory Years, 1964–1967 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1989), np.

31. 173 sex with women: Undated notes from a conversation be-
tween Warhol, Victor Bockris and William Burroughs, TC290, AWMA.

32. 173 "too strange for me": Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.


See also the bill to Warhol from Café Nicholson, October 29, 1957, AWMA.


35. 174 Norman Rockwell: On Charles Lisanby’s admiration for Norman Rockwell see Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011. Lisanby’s very conservative drawings are preserved in the James and Gladys Kemp Lisanby Museum at James Madison University.

Lisanby dwelt on his superior skills as a realist, compared to Warhol’s, in the manuscript transcript of a November 11, 1978, interview conducted by the late Patrick Smith and shared with the author by Smith.


Lisanby’s bauble-stuffed décor makes clear that, like Warhol, he had bought into the nascent culture of camp. Even in his 80s, Lisanby was still giving interviews against walls covered in ancien régime pink watered silks—see Television Academy, Charles Lisanby: Production Designer, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby. Warhol once told Lisanby that he, Warhol, was from another planet and wasn’t sure how he’d come to earth—Steven Watson, Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 29.

38. 174 unsuccessful steps: Charles Lisanby, in Patrick S. Smith,
Andy Warhol's Art and Films (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 369. There seems to be no surviving record of any of those initialed commercial projects, however.

39. **174 fifty-two hearts:** The sheet of hearts is in the collection of The Andy Warhol Museum.


Some sources imply that Lisanby was the show’s sole subject, but other sources suggest he was one of several—see for example Robert Galster in Patrick S. Smith, Andy Warhol’s Art and Films (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 304.

41. **174 world tour:** Charles Lisanby’s account of the origin of the trip seems at odds with the story mentioned above about Imilda Vaughan’s pregnancy: “Every summer since 1951 [I travelled] all over Europe, Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey . . . [Warhol and I] were the closest friends and whenever I went away for two months he was really unhappy. So this particular year, 1956, he said, ‘Why don’t I go too,’ and I said ‘Okay’”—quoted in Matthias Kunz, “An Interview with Charles Lisanby,” in Andy Warhol, a Trip around the World: 1956 Asia Drawings (Munich: Sabine Knust, 2006), np. Note that the friends met in the fall of 1954, so the only Lisanby holiday which could have made Warhol “really unhappy” would have been in 1955.

Lisanby was an old hand at travel while Warhol had never been further than Pennsylvania. Lisanby said that he had already been planning a trip to Japan, source of so much modern style, when he and Warhol decided to go round the world as a duo. Lisanby’s love of Japanese prints had apparently fueled his desire to see the country—see Television Academy, Charles Lisanby: Production Designer, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby.

42. **174 driving lessons:** Charles Lisanby, in the manuscript transcript of a November 11, 1978, interview conducted by the late Patrick Smith and shared with the author by Smith.

Warhol reports the location of his accident in Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” High Times (August 1977): 40. His learner’s permit,
dated May 1956, survives in his archives.

43. **“wondered how people could drive cars”:** Warhol, in *Andy Warhol*, interview by Old Owl [Robert Reilly], typescript of an unpublished interview intended for the Yale Record (Spring 1966), TC14, AWMA.

44. **first passport:** A fragment of the passport survives in the Warhol archives. Photos from the trip that have since disappeared show Warhol with dark hair—they are shown in Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011.

45. **safely stashed away:** The Warhol archives include a June 24, 1956, postcard that Warhol sent to his mother from Higashiyama, Japan, addressed to her at the family’s old Dawson Street home in Pittsburgh. Nathan Gluck remembered forwarding mail to her there from New York—see Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   A nephew of Warhol’s remembered Julia arriving at his parent’s house in the country near Pittsburgh with her “three or four cats,” and how those pets clawed his father Paul—George Warhola, interview by author, November 25, 2016.


47. **midtrip destinations:** The documents for all these trips survive in the Warhol archives.


50. **a heartfelt romantic:** Fernanda Eberstadt felt that even in the 1970s and ’80s her friend Warhol was still looking for romantic love—Fernanda Eberstadt, interview by author, September 24, 2016.

51. **“My heart’s been broken several times”:** Warhol, in Fiona Russell Powell, “The Face Interview Interview,” *The Face* (March 1985): 51.

52. **“So what”:** Andy Warhol, *THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol: From A to B and Back Again* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 112, Kindle edition. As with all quotes from this text, these could have been the
words of a ghostwriter rather than Warhol.


56. **176 “didn’t know quite where he was”**: Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011.

57. **176 Warhol sketched**: Several Asian sketchbooks and loose sheets from the trip survive in the collection of The Andy Warhol Museum collection, and include images with a distinctly photographic cast.

58. **176 Surviving shots**: Several photos of the trip attributed to Warhol survive in the Warhol archives, although it is not impossible that they were taken by Charles Lisanby.

59. **176 last two weeks**: Warhol and Charles Lisanby left Calcutta for Rome on July 27, instead of arriving in Italy from Asia on August 11, as their original itinerary suggested they should; they then spent more time than originally planned in Italy and the Netherlands, leaving again for New York on August 11. The travel documents survive in the Warhol archives.


   A July 28, 1956, *foglio sanitario* (AWMA), stamped by the airport doctor, has the sick man and his friend staying at the Hotel Flora, which seems to have been different from the famous establishment by that name on the Via Veneto.

61. **176 monuments and museums**: Receipts for admission to these sites survive in the Warhol archives.
62. **176 glinting backgrounds**: According to Charles Lisanby, the gold-and-black antiques they’d seen in Asia were another influence on his friend’s new obsession with gilding, which Lisanby taught Warhol to do when they got home—see Television Academy, *Charles Lisanby: Production Designer*, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby. Not much later, a published blurb on Warhol said that “his work suggests somewhat the art of the Japanese”—see Gene Byrnes, *Number 2-Drawing and Sketching* (Artists Institute of America, 1959), 53.

Warhol was also becoming a regular at one of New York’s few Japanese restaurants and continued to eat Japanese for decades—the Warhol archives (box B565) include a September 2, 1958, invoice for Warhol’s six meals, in one month, at Saito Restaurant, near the Museum of Modern Art. There are similar invoices for most months of 1958 and 1959, and also piles of bills for the less authentic Asian pleasures of Trader Vic’s in the Savoy Hilton hotel. Warhol, in his later *Diaries*, often mentions eating at the Japanese restaurant called Nippon.

63. **176 “new art ideas”**: Warhol, in “We Hitch Our Wagons,” *Mademoiselle* (June 15, 1956): 258, AWMA. This was the magazine’s contributors page.

64. **176 “beautiful pictures”**: Warhol, in *American Girl*, June 6, 1958, contributors page.


66. **176 affection left**: Charles Lisanby and Warhol were still close enough at Christmas in 1957 for Nathan Gluck to send Warhol a party invitation meant to include both of them—see Nathan Gluck to Warhol, December 21, 1957, AWMA. In January 1970, Lisanby continued to feel friendly enough toward Warhol to send him an invitation to his birthday party (TC62, AWMA).

67. **176 Lisanby wrote**: For this account of the cat book’s original form see Charles Lisanby in Television Academy, *Charles Lisanby: Production Designer*, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby. “Whatever happened to my story, I don’t know,” Lisanby said. He recalled that the images were already underway when he came up with the text and/or title.

68. **176 the book actually came out**: *25 Cats Name Sam*, as the book’s title page calls it, is often dated to before Warhol’s world tour, even as early as 1954. But all references to it in Warhol’s papers, including several in financial documents and in correspondence with Diana Vreeland and


For the exact address, at 66 West Fifty-Third Street, see the invoice from Record Printing & Offset Co. to Warhol for his mother’s Holy Cats book, December 30, 1960, AWMA. Gill said that he and Warhol worked with Berlin because he was young and understood their creative needs, but the shop, Gill said, actually belonged to Berlin’s very old-fashioned father.

70. **spend the money:** Charles Lisanby, in Television Academy, Charles Lisanby: Production Designer, Web video, accessed March 10, 2019, https://interviews.televisionacademy.com/interviews/charles-lisanby. The finished book contains 18 pages, suggesting that Warhol’s cats might have been printed six to a sheet before being cut for binding.

71. **list of billings:** The list survives in the Warhol archives.

72. **A number of agents:** Rhoda Marshall, interview by author, March 5, 2016. Marshall was one of Warhol’s 1950s agents and got him assignments for Macy’s and Abraham and Strauss department stores.

73. **Ben Shahn and Saul Steinberg were making:** In 1953, an affidavit from Saul Steinberg gave his average gross income for the previous five years as $25,000—see Deirdre Bair, Saul Steinberg: A Biography (New York: Nan A. Talese, 2012), loc. 4376, Kindle edition.

When Harvard University asked Shahn to be the Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry for the academic year 1956–57, he was paid $18,000, matching the highest paid professor at Harvard, as fixed by the terms of the position. See Howard Greenfield, Ben Shahn: An Artist’s Life (New York: Random House, 1998), 284.

74. **salary of a department store president:** When $36,000 was
rumored to be the salary of Warhol’s old pal Geraldine Stutz, once she’d been named head of Henry Bendel’s, her employer—which also owned I. Miller shoes—was quick to deny such an extravagant figure. See Elizabeth Penrose Howkins, “Youthful Store President Embarks on Third Year,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1959.

75. **177 Andy Warhol Enterprises:** The Warhol archives include the minutes of the first meeting Andy Warhol Enterprises on July 2, 1957. Strangely, Warhol’s mother signs the minutes “Julia Warhol” in a script that is nothing like her usual one and suspiciously close to Andy’s. Warhol’s new accountant, Stanley Shippenberg, was the company’s third director and worked for Warhol for years to come.

It’s worth noting that not long before the creation of the company, I. Miller had rather grudgingly suggested extending its working relationship with Warhol, which had already run for two years—see Peter Palazzo, of I. Miller, to Warhol, April 9, 1957, AWMA.

76. **177 almost $1,700:** The final BOAC plane ticket (AWMA), altered for the final itinerary, was priced at $1660.75, as was the original KLM ticket.

77. **178 flood of purchases:** Receipts for all of these world tour purchases survive in the Warhol archives.

78. **178 bespoke clothing:** Receipts and correspondence from Long Kee Tailor survive in the Warhol archives.


Back in 1950, when photographs show Warhol wearing broad lapels on baggy jackets, he was up-to-date with the men’s fashion shown in the “All Male” and “College Review” issues of *Flair* for July and August of that year.


83. **178 a $300 suit**: The suit is mentioned, as is the claim that Warhol never actually wore it, in Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

The checked coat survives in the collection of Warhol’s nephew Donald Warhola. The Warhol archives include receipts for both coats, which were ordered from A. Rojak Tailor in 1958 (the fuschia-lined one) and 1959.


85. **178 dropping his pants**: David Bourdon describes Warhol dropping his pants at their first meeting, in the home of Nathan Gluck and his partner Clint Hamilton—see David Bourdon, typed notes (March 2, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Bourdon had been introduced to Warhol by Carlton Willers, Warhol’s early-1950s boyfriend—Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.


87. **178 $500 invoice**: Dr. Richard Boies Stark, invoice for a June 13, 1957, operation, June 30, 1957, TC -24, AWMA.

88. **178 black tie**: Nathan Gluck to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Around this same time, when Warhol had gone to the opera with Truman Capote the writer had shown up in jeans and was refused even a standing-room ticket—see Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.

89. **178 Met subscription**: Metropolitan Opera Association, Inc., invoice to Warhol included among unpublished diary entries for early spring, 1972 (AWMA).

90. **178 On Broadway**: The Warhol archives include a large number of dated ticket stubs from 1957. I’m grateful to Lucy Hogg for researching the plays and operas they were from.

91. **178 champagne**: See Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle), interview by David Bourdon, typed notes from an earlier conversation, April 1, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
The Warhol archives include an undated $88.10 receipt from the 1950s for the 1952 vintage of Piper-Heidsieck (box B565) and a June 4, 1959, receipt for a case of half-bottles of champagne costing $21.50.

“Once we all went up to his apartment to see Mrs Warhol and he showed us two refrigerators. He kept one filled with champagne, which he said was for her,” said John Wallowitch in Victor Bockris, Warhol: The Biography (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 1999, Kindle edition.

92. 178 his liver: See Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.


94. 178 by the case: In the first five months of one unspecified year in the late 1950s, receipts (AWMA, box B565) from Henry Bishop liquors, down the street from Warhol’s place at 242 Lexington Ave., show him buying two cases of Chivas Regal scotch (which seems to have been a favorite of his) one case of cheaper scotch, a case of Remy Martin cognac and innumerable single bottles of sweet liqueur and champagne, vintage and not. When it came to still wine, however, Warhol rarely spent more than two dollars a bottle and often bought American plonk.

95. 178 cocktail recipes: Suzie Frankfurt in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 569.

96. 179 “his party ate hot dogs”: David Bourdon, “Warhol Starting Out,” in The Andy Warhol Collection, April 23–May 3, 1988, ed. Margaret M. Jensen, vol. 5 (New York: Sotheby’s, 1988), np. The Warhol archives (box B565) include a December 1958 invoice from the Plaza Hotel for Warhol’s four visits to the Palm Court and Oak Room over the course of two weeks, as well as a large pile of Plaza bills from 1960.

Warhol’s fondness for breakfast at the Plaza is mentioned by his friend and printer Seymour Berlin, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 414.


98. 179 out with the trash: Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

99. 179 to Lisanby’s address: The Warhol archives include receipts for merchandise bought on the trip that bear Warhol’s name but Lisanby’s address.
100. “This top floor was a mess”: Ted Carey, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 86.

101. “huge apartment”: Stephen Bruce, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 459.

102. cost almost twice: On October 23, 1957, Warhol signed a twenty-five month lease on the second floor, at $175 a month. That lease as well as correspondence about the property survives in the Warhol archives. Rent receipts from 1959 (box B565, AWMA) show the upper unit having increased by then to $98.95, while by December 1959 the downstairs unit had increased to $200. Surprisingly, Warhol was still renting that lower unit in November 1960, several months after moving to a new townhouse uptown.


104. a comfortable home: One Warhol nephew remembered Julia living in the lower apartment—George Warhola, interview by author, November 25, 2016.

105. a space for “show”: Nathan Gluck to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


108. the café’s team: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016. Calvin Holt was the Serendipity partner who moved into 242 Lexington Ave., as witnessed by period telephone directories.

109. “his work space, which was cluttered”: Stephen Bruce, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 459.


111. potted palms: Carlton Willers, interview by author, June 28, 2016. The palms, and the light, are also visible in a number of photographs of Warhol and his friend Ted Carey preserved in the Warhol archives.
112. 180 “starting from scratch”: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016.
114. 180 bentwood furniture: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, May 19, 2016. See the February 1, 1958, invoice from Serendipity (box B565, AWMA) for $321.36 for six chairs.
117. 180 buying such things: Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011.
118. 180 cast-iron machines: They are listed in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA.
120. 180 animal horns and twigs: See Nathan Gluck’s note dated January 16, 1976, Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.
121. 180 stuffed peacock: Carlton Willers, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The peacock is also mentioned by Ted Carey in Margaret M. Jensen, ed., The Andy Warhol Collection, April 23–May 3, 1988, vol. 1–6 (New York: Sotheby’s, 1988), item #3167. It is visible in photos of Warhol and Carey in the Warhol archives.
122. 180 mirror ball: The mirror ball is visible in photographs taken circa 1958 in the apartment by Duane Michals, viewed in the Michals studio on September 14, 2014; it is listed in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA.
125. 180 “for resale”: See for example the bill from Gerald Kornblau, May 17, 1960, TC21, AWMA.
126. 180 appraised at: The evaluations are given in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA.
127. 181 faux-naïf edge: See this author’s “Andy Warhol Outside-In,”


131. **181 “office supplies”**: *Time Capsule* 422 in the Warhol archives includes an undated summary of expenses for “office supplies” that lists pieces by Charles Eames, Florence Knoll and Eero Saarinen, purchased between 1955 and 1958 for a total of $460 dollars.

The lease for Warhol’s second-floor apartment (AWMA) specified that it was for “business purposes for a commercial artist’s studio and office.” In August 1957, Warhol had tried to pay for the rent on his upstairs apartment with a check from his new corporation, but his landlord, in a letter dated August 9, 1957 (AWMA) insisted on a personal check instead because the rent was a “personal obligation.”

132. **181 “expensive furniture?”**: Jack Lenor Larsen, interview by author, July 20, 2016. Two decades later, Warhol is once again buying postwar classics, but this time as a pioneer collector of (now vintage) Mid-Century Modern objects—see the letter to him from antiques dealer Gene Canton, postmarked July 7, 1982 (AWMA) about buying Eames chairs.

133. **181 certified modern artists**: The Warhol archives include documentation of four Matisse prints, listed in a December 31, 1957, receipt from the Bodley Gallery; of an original poster by Lautrec and a drawing by Steinberg, in a November 3, 1958, Bodley Gallery receipt; and of works by Magritte, Fini, Tchelitchew and others in Consolidated Appraisal...
Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA. Nathan Gluck’s note dated January 16, 1976, in his estate at Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery, gives further details of Warhol’s art collecting, mentioning Picasso and Miro lithographs that Gluck ordered for Warhol from the great Galerie Maeght as well as a cement-and-sand sculpture by the then-famous sculptor Costantino Nivola, which the cats clawed to shreds.


135. **several Tchelitchews**: The Pavel Tchelitchew painting, from 1927, is now known as *Seated Multiple Figure* but it has the more apt title *Split Personality* in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA. Tchelitchew was collected in depth by Warhol’s well-heeled gay friend Henry McIlhenny, a major Philadelphia aesthete, who may very well have influenced Warhol’s interest in the artist—see *Fine French and English Furniture, Paintings, Decorations, Oriental Works of Art and Silver: From the Collection of the Late Henry P. McIlhenny* (New York: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1987).


137. **“the window-dresser and hair-dresser crowd”**: Duane Michals, interview by author, September 9, 2014.

138. **Jean-Claude van Itallie**: Jean-Claude van Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016.


140. **“it was, well, yes, awkward”**: Jean-Claude van Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016.

141. **Warhol’s bad hygiene**: On a visit to Philadelphia in March 1959, van Itallie and Warhol shared a room (chastely) and van Itallie remembers opening the window in the morning to chase out a smell that was like “rotting flesh”—Jean-Claude van Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016.

A film publicist who had a one-night stand with Warhol in the spring of 1965 said that Warhol could have used a shower then, too, but that he was too much in awe of the famous artist to ask him to take one before
they had sex—Rudy Franchi, interview by author, November 7, 2018.


145. *tail end of 1955*: See John Wallowitch, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 21, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


Deschin marveled at how the sheer strength of Wallowitch’s vision (its “warmth, affection, mood and atmosphere”) could overcome the technical faults of his Kodak Brownie shots—see Jacob Deschin, “Teacher’s Role,” *New York Times*, April 15, 1951.

2016.

Nathan Gluck said that he had been the one who first got Ed Wallowitch to present his images to Steichen, who bought and exhibited them—Nathan Gluck, oral history, audiocassette, December 7, 1992, AWMA. Gluck had been shown the images by his friend John Wallowitch—John Wallowitch, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 21, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Edward Wallowitch’s inclusion in the “Family of Man” show must have been what finally triggered his move to New York.

150. 183 celebrities at parties: Notes by Nathan Gluck, Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

151. 183 became lovers: See John Wallowitch, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 21, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Several drawings of Edward Wallowitch by Warhol survive—see for example Jesse Kornbluth, Pre-Pop Warhol (New York: Random House, 1988), 57.


154. 183 flagrante delicto: Robert Heide, interview by author, May 26, 2016. Heide said that he and Wallowitch had known each other in the early 1950s when both were studying in Chicago. (Wallowitch’s U.S. Camera Achievement Award had come with a scholarship to the Bauhausian Institute of Design there—see Jacob Deschin, “U.S. Camera Winners,” New York Times, November 12, 1950.) The two had reconnected in New York at the latest by the fall of 1956, when according to Heide he was present at a seaside photoshoot that Wallowitch did for the cover of the novel A Summer Place, which hit bookstores the following March—see William Du Bois, “In and Out of Books,” New York Times, September 22, 1957.

155. 183 “sweet and gentle”: The quote is from Charles Lisanby, in the manuscript transcript of a November 11, 1978, interview shared with the author by the late Patrick Smith.

156. 183 contact sheet: These and other photos are in the Warhol

158.  **a book cover**: Anna Mae Wallowitch, interview by author, July 12, 2016. She had already been representing her brother Edward, so added Warhol to her roster.

A $655 project for a booklet on Plymouth cars, for Philadelphia’s N. W. Ayer agency, is recorded in Anna Mae Wallowitch to Andy Warhol, December 11, 1957, AWMA. In 2016 she voiced doubts about whether the Plymouth booklet ever actually got printed.


The photo of Anna Mae in *Seventeen* was chosen for the 1958 Art Directors Club show, where Ed Wallowitch and Warhol got joint credit—see *37th Annual of Advertising and Editorial Art and Design of the New York Art Directors Club* (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1958), item #335.

159.  **projected his own slum shots**: The photographs of Warhol with Edward Wallowitch’s projections are in the Warhol archives.

160.  **refuse assignments**: See John Wallowitch, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 21, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The graffiti images survive on contact sheets in the Warhol archives.


163.  **more at home in Bohemia**: Stanley Amos, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam,
1989), 167.


165. **paean to shoes**: One shoe piece, in the Ray Johnson Archives, illustrates a little-known “shoe” poem by Gertrude Stein titled “Amaryllis or the Prettiest of Legs.” Another two, both postmarked in May 1956 (AWMA) provide the earliest firm evidence of contact between the two men.

166. **Bonwit Teller’s**: A note from Ray Johnson to Warhol (AWMA), postmarked in 1957, reads “I hope you see my designs in Bonwit Tellers windows.”

167. **world of the avant-garde**: Cutting-edge figures like Merce Cunningham and Cy Twombly got Ray Johnson to design flyers for them, while he was also closely connected to the radical experimentation going on at the Living Theatre, which made Warhol’s Twelfth Street drama group look like amateur hour—which it was. Warhol later became an enthusiastic supporter of the Living Theatre—see director Julian Beck to Warhol, November 29, 1974, TC95, AWMA.


170. **such better-known colleagues**: *Art News* (January 1958): 5.


172. **signature collages**: For individual works by Ray Johnson see ”Collages—Art—Ray Johnson Estate,” accessed March 12, 2019,


176. **charming Polaroids:** The Polaroids survive in the Warhol archives. The Ray Johnson Estate includes a tender, late-1950s photo that Warhol gave Johnson of Warhol with his friend Ted Carey.

177. **Jack Kennedy was killed:** Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

178. **admired each other’s art:** The Warhol archives are full of Ray Johnson’s correspondence and art (which are often one and the same thing). Johnson also made several portraits of Warhol over the decades, while also riffing on Warhol’s most iconic pieces—Elizabeth Zuba and William S. Wilson, *Ray Johnson’s Art World*, ed. Frances F. L. Beatty and Diana Bowers (New York: Richard L. Feigen & Co, 2014), 23.

179. **“he was a collage”:** Billy Name, in John W. Walter, *How to Draw a Bunny*, documentary, 2004.

180. **Princeton Leader:** Warhol’s surrogate *Princeton Leader* includes Julia-worthy misspellings and even makes the comic substitution of Charles Lisanby’s name for the name of the “local man” in a story headlined “Local Man Completes Apprenticeship as a Plumber, Steam Fitter.” That personal note, and the fact that the front page itself must have come from Lisanby, might make you think that, rather than working toward fine art, Warhol had done his copying for purely private and romantic reasons, with almost voodoo intentions. However, at around the same moment, using exactly the same style, Warhol made an utterly impersonal and unpersonalized copy of a page of ads from the *National Enquirer*. It must almost certainly have been meant as art, rivaling and even surpassing the budding appropriations of Ray Johnson.


182. **“refreshingly different” window:** A photo of the shoe win-
dow, dated August 4, 1955, appeared in the Retail Reporting Bureau's Views and Reviews with the headline “Refreshingly Different Window (tied in with a similar ad).” A Warhol ad with precisely the same shoe image was published three days later in the New York Times.

Another I. Miller window featured Warhol’s signature pear imagery, which he also used in shoe ads—see Retail Reporting Bureau, Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, January 4, 1956.

183. **the latest of their fine art:** Warhol had already been exposed to Robert Rauschenberg's earlier, even more radical work at the Betty Parsons, Stable and Egan galleries and also at the Tanager co-op, where Warhol himself had tried and failed to show his homoeroticia. See “Exhibition History,” Robert Rauschenberg Foundation, August 29, 2014, https://www.rauschenbergfoundation.org/artist/exhibition-history.

184. **a few windows over:** Photographs of the works by Robert Rauschenberg and Jasper Johns, in situ at Bonwit’s in January 1956, are reproduced in Kirk Varnedoe, Jasper Johns: A Retrospective (New York: Abrams, 1996), 126.


Interestingly, the windows once again display dresses by the designer Lanz, as they had the year before.

185. **“Queen of England”:** Frederick Eberstadt, interview by author, May 20, 2016. The kitchen belonged to the fashion designer Tiger Morse.

186. **all sorts of notables:** Ted Carey, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 95. See also the reference to Warhol’s foot book in Joho Heil to Andy Warhol, April 12, 1961, AWMA.

187. **posh gay collector:** The collector was Henry McIlhenny. Warhol and a number of friends drove to Philadelphia one Friday in March 1959 for a party at the collector’s house on Rittenhouse Square, and to see previews of the musical Destry Rides Again—Jean-Claude van
Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016. Another visit, under the heading “Cecil Beaton,” is recorded on the July 21 page in Warhol’s 1961 datebook (AWMA).

“Andy wanted to meet Cecil Beaton, who was sleeping here so we went up and Cecil Beaton’s feet were sticking out of the covers. As soon as Andy saw Cecil’s feet he said he simply had to draw them. I said fine, and afterwards, he did my feet”—McIlhenny in Jack Smith, “Oh Henry!,” Philadelphia (March 1987): 100. The Beaton drawing, which includes a rose between the Englishman’s toes, survives in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

188. 187 “adorable little Andy”: Cecil Beaton’s greeting, dated September 27, 1961, is inscribed in a volume of Beaton’s memoirs (AWMA) newly published at that time.

189. 187 “Andy didn’t know a soul”: Marguerite Lamkin, in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.


194. 187 shortly after they met: The earliest record of Warhol’s contact with Mercedes de Acosta seems to be a February 22, 1959, letter from de Acosta conveying her thanks for a copy of Warhol’s 25 Cats Name Sam. Several test covers by Warhol for de Acosta’s memoir survive in his archives, as well as invitations he designed for a book party that Serendipity held for her in the spring of 1960.

195. 187 “Crumpled butterfly by Greta Garbo”: Buddy Radisch, in Bob Colacello, Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc.793, Kindle edition. See also a slightly different version of the story given in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 92. The primary source for the story is unknown—it might be Warhol himself, and he could easily have made it up. No such drawing has turned up in this author’s research and
it’s hard to imagine Warhol discarding it or it going unnoticed to date by Warhol scholars.


Carey said that he met Warhol in 1957, but it had to have been at the very end of the year, since he mentions that the Serendipity crew had already done work on Warhol’s new second-floor décor—see Carey in Margaret M. Jensen, ed., *The Andy Warhol Collection, April 23–May 3, 1988*, vol. 1–6 (New York: Sotheby’s, 1988), item #3167. See also Carey in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 86.


199. **partying with the actor**: Dick McFadden to Warhol, December 29, 1955, TC28, AWMA: “Your party with Marlon Brando sounds exciting.” (From the diction, it is impossible to tell if the partying had already happened or was anticipated.)

200. **came from money**: Ted Carey was the “scion of a limousine-for-hire empire”—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 130.

201. **one of Warhol’s tutors**: Ted Carey, in Margaret M. Jensen, ed., *The Andy Warhol Collection, April 23–May 3, 1988*, vol. 1–6 (New York: Sotheby’s, 1988), item #3167.

202. **the pair posing**: Photos of Warhol and Ted Carey survive in the Warhol archives.


204. **who had reviewed**: Fairfield Porter, “New Painters,” *Art*
News (May 1954): 64.


206. **188 appraised at $1,500:** See Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA.

207. **188 hadn’t totally bought into the cutting edge:** Around the same time as commissioning his Fairfield Porter portrait, Warhol also had himself portrayed even more conservatively, with a campy vase of lilacs, by the artist Jane Wilson. The painting is now at the Whitney Museum of American Art, and a document confirming its purchase in 1960 survives (AWMA).

208. **188 “You can’t sell your own portrait”:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (October 2, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


210. **189 drawing the two men:** There’s a story about Cecil Beaton also being a sketch-artist at one of these sessions, with Warhol eagerly looking over his shoulder as he drew the louche action—see Tony Scherman and David Dalton, Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 31.

211. **189 “he got so hot”:** Robert Fleischer (misspelled “Fleisher”), interviewed in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 115. Warhol’s bad personal hygiene was confirmed by a friend who shared a room with Warhol in March 1959 and rushed to let in air in the morning because Warhol was giving off a smell “as if his body were decaying”—Jean-Claude van Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016.


213. **189 “fascination with Cocteau”:** Michael Kahn, interview by author, August 20, 2015.

214. **189 pornographic illustrations:** Charles Lisanby, in Patrick

Warhol may even have taken pictures of the pages from the Jean Genet volume, since he gave a friend photos of “pornography which he said was done by Cocteau”—see Bert Green in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol’s Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 343.

Cocteau had also been given huge play in the first issue of the famous new magazine *Flair* (June 1950).

189 the backdrops: Photos of the production survive in the collection of Michael Kahn.

190 “superior to those of most campus productions”: *Columbia Daily Spectator*, May 4, 1959. Another version of the story has the backdrop revealed for the first time at the premiere itself, to the disgust of the assembled academics, and the penises being replaced by roses that very night—Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 32. Press coverage of the play gives no hint of that juicy scandal, however, and the production photos argue against it as well.

190 1,000 Names and Where to Drop Them: The 1,000 Names volume was found in *Time Capsule* 71 in the Warhol archives.

190 “pleased with himself”: David Bourdon, typed notes (March 2, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Bourdon remembered the party as probably happening in 1959, at Nathan Gluck’s place, but in fact it must have happened in December 1958, since the book is already discussed in press from that year and it is unlikely that Warhol would have waited more than 12 months to parade with his new mark of success. Anyway, by June 1959, *Esquire* magazine had declared 1000 Names to be the most out-of-fashion book of the year.

An even more public sign of Warhol’s rise may have come when his name appeared in the papers in an ad published by Tiffany’s, boasting of him as one of the 14 “famous New York Decorators and Designers” it had corralled for its exhibit of Unusual Table Arrangements—see New York *Herald-Tribune*, March 8, 1959. Warhol was in the company of Raymond Loewy, pioneer of streamlining, and Gene Moore, celebrity window dresser and once Warhol’s top boss at Bonwit’s.

Another elite store, Bergdorf Goodman, published Warhol’s name as a selling point in an ad it ran in 1960 for stationary decorated with his butterflies. The clipping, securely datable but from an unknown source, was provided to the author by Jay Reeg.
Warhol’s name is entirely absent, however, from a compendium of successful alumni included in a report on something called the Mellon Fine Arts Project at Carnegie Tech’s College of Fine Arts, Carnegie Mellon University Archives. (Contextual evidence dates it to circa 1958.) The report does however mention the success achieved by Warhol’s friends Philip Pearlstein and Leonard Kessler.


191 “He did not want to be known”: Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015.

CHAPTER 12


2. 193 baby blue: Nathan Gluck remembered the house as blue and said it had been blue when purchased in 1960—see Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA. That color is confirmed by others, including Warhol’s nephew James Warhola and Warhol’s dealer Ivan Karp, and by an early 1960s photo in the collection of Donald Warhola.

   On the other hand Gerard Malanga remembered the facade as “flamingo pink”—see Gerard Malanga, “The Warhol/Yale Lecture,” in *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (Creation Books, 2002), 105. (The lecture was delivered at Yale University on November 10, 1976.) It is just possible that the house was repainted at various times, or that it had been newly stripped to the pink of its stone on some more recent occasion that Malanga saw it before writing his book.

3. 193 $60,000: Closing documents on the property are in the
Warhol archives, as are bankbooks for a savings account jointly held by Warhol and his mother at Greenwich Savings Bank, which show him withdrawing exactly $18,000 on August 18, 1960, the day he closed on his house, which almost emptied the account.

A series of documents from the fall of 1958 (box B565, AWMA) show Warhol seriously considering the purchase of a vintage rowhouse at 143 Lexington Avenue, not far south of his first Lexington apartment building, and enquiring about another one in Greenwich Village.


5. **made their home**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The myna bird is indicated on a floor plan of the house prepared for the author by James Warhola, Warhol’s nephew.

Nathan Gluck and Gerard Malanga also mention the cats at 1342 Lexington.

On the altar see Paul Warhola in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 64.

6. **the linens**: Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA. My descriptions of the interior of 1342 Lexington Avenue are largely based on Gluck’s letter. Gluck and others sources said that the wood paneling had been installed fairly recently, by the psychiatrist who had occupied the house in the 1950s.

Julia’s washing is recalled in Henry Geldzahler, interview by Billy Name, typescript, January 21, 1993, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


Warhol’s friend the jewelry designer Kenneth Jay Lane said he also lived in the neighborhood and described its modesty at the time—Kenneth Jay Lane, interview by author, August 13, 2015.

This was also the neighborhood where Truman Capote had sat for the louche author’s photo on his *Other Voices*, posing just up the street from Warhol’s home in the Victorian parlor of Capote’s gay writer-friend Leo Lerman, a Condé Nast staffer who was known for his cultured soirées—see Neil Printz, “Other Voices, Other Rooms: Between Andy Warhol and Truman Capote, 1948–1961” (Ph.D., New York University, 2000), 182.

14. **pay him rent**: Keith Haring and Philip Johnson, notes from an interview, n.d., TC509, AWMA.
16. **Finast supermarket**: A First National Stores supermarket— a.k.a. Finast—is listed at 1343 Lexington Avenue in the January 1962 Manhattan address directory, and this store is mentioned in Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA. The Gristedes supermarket that is often mentioned in connection to Warhol was a few doors north of him, at 1352 Lexington Ave., as listed in the 1961 and 1962 Manhattan telephone directories.
17. **the move**: Warhol had in fact moved out of his flat on lower Lexington under a cloud. He had refused to let his landlords show his place to new renters, or to replace the toilet tank that he’d broken or the ceiling fixture that must have got lost when he put up the Tiffany one. Throughout his life, Warhol seems to have been allergic to dealing fairly with landlords or many suppliers. Their letters range in tone from exas-
peration to fury—see the letter from Cumulative Holding Corporation, Warhol’s landlord on lower Lexington, November 16, 1960, AWMA.


21. **194 doubling his money:** “Sale on Lexington Avenue,” *New York Times*, October 8, 1959. The man who flipped the house is named as John H. Powers in the *Times* article and then in Warhol’s purchase documents. He bears no relation to Warhol’s later patron and friend John Powers.

22. **195 a feeble attempt to hide:** See Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA.

23. **195 renting a sander:** See receipts from Manhattan Floor Supplies, August, 1960, document box 189, AWMA.

24. **195 four-poster bed:** On the bed see Edward Bejan and Co. to Andy Warhol, August 29, 1960, TC55, AWMA, where the bed’s price is given as $175. The bed—much cleaned up and restored—was sold in the 1988 Sotheby’s auction of Warhol’s effects, and can be seen in photos of his home at the time.

25. **195 tiger-skin rug:** James Warhola, interview by author, May 17, 2017. Such a rug survives in the Warhol archives. Another Warhol nephew was vehement that the rug was made of zebra skin—George Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d.

27. **195 staged with drawings**: See Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA.


29. **195 “everywhere drawings pads”**: See Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA.


32. **195 continuing hangouts**: As late as November 11, 1961, Warhol’s datebook (AWMA) still shows him at Serendipity with Charles Lisanby and Ted Carey.


34. **195 skilled product shots**: Both Polaroids and product shots survive in large numbers in the Warhol archives. According to his 1961 datebook (AWMA), Warhol goes to several photography classes at Edward Wallowitch’s in the fall of 1961.

35. **196 out of circulation**: An insurance statement dated December 7, 1960 (AWMA) lists Warhol’s reimbursable treatment, including a hospitalization, as lasting from July 25 to September 5, 1960. Another set of insurance documents, dated December 6, 1960 (AWMA) show Warhol making a claim for four weeks of lost income because of a “confining illness” that lasted for that same period.

See also Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA. Cox specifies that the warts had appeared in April and that the operation had not cured the problem and had in fact caused more pain than the actual condition had, leaving Warhol reluctant to follow Cox’s advice to have further surgery.

Over the years Cox sent Warhol very detailed medical reports, describing all kinds of minor and intimate details of Warhol’s health, but none of them mention the badly disfigured scrotum that Cox told one biographer was a source of great anxiety for Warhol—see Tony Scher-
man and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 200. Two lovers of Warhol’s both denied that Warhol had the problem—see Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015; Robert Pincus-Witten, interview by author, June 8, 2017. Other lovers have not reported the condition either, even when giving detailed descriptions of Warhol’s genitalia.

36. **196 reservations about sex**: Rudy Franchi said that when he and Warhol slept together in the summer of 1965, attempts to begin anal sex were so awkward and hesitant, on Warhol’s part, that Franchi suggested they simply move on to other sexual techniques—Rudy Franchi, interview by author, November 7, 2018.

37. **196 rectal problems**: Anusol prescription dated October 18, 1981, TC493, AWMA. See also the large number of non-prescription hemorrhoid remedies in Warhol archives.


43. **197 was also hosting**: On Castelli’s early shows see David Whitney, ed., *Leo Castelli: Ten Years* (New York: Leo Castelli, 1967).


47. **197 savaged by John Canaday**: John Canaday, “It Talks Good: Story-Telling Is Taboo, but Painting Today Is an Adjunct to Words,” *New


51. **Off-Broadway venues**: Warhol had known the Off Broadway scene from as early as 1954, when his theatrical friends from the 12th Street Players had mounted Jean-Paul Sartre’s *The Flies* at the Cherry Lane Theater. The show was reviewed in the *New York Times*, September 10, 1954.


54. **Warhol collected**: See David Bourdon, notes on a studio visit with Warhol (March 7, 1962), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Bourdon mentions a pastel by Samaras that Warhol owned; it became lot #1023 in the 1988 Sotheby’s auction of Warhol’s estate—see Margaret M. Jensen, ed., *The Andy Warhol Collection, April 23–May 3, 1988*, vol. 1–6 (New York: Sotheby’s, 1988).


57. **He knew it was hot**: Michael Malce, interview by author, November 10, 2016. Warhol’s presence at the Judson and at similarly avant-garde performances organized by the artists Al Hansen and Steven Balkin was confirmed by Steven Balkin, interview by author, June 12, 2018.

59. **199 “When he came downtown”:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


61. **199 known for a while:** Warhol and Carlton Willers had seen Gian Carlo Menotti’s *Saint of Bleecker Street* in 1954—see the undated 2015 letter from Willers to the author.

62. **199 Warhol was solicited:** See the May 12, 1959, payment notification (AWMA) to Warhol from Barbara Horgan of Menotti’s Festival Foundation. The “designs”—described simply as that, and yielding Warhol $100—were for an avant-garde revue called *Album Leaves*. A June 29, 1959, check stub (AWMA) from the Festival Foundation is marked as a payment for “Sets for opening and closing of Album Leaves” (with no amount indicated) and might refer to an opening and closing curtain or backdrop, since two potential studies for such things seem to survive: See https://artdone.wordpress.com/2013/07/06/warhols/andy-warhol-album-leaves-usa-ca-1959/ and http://www.danielblau.com/fairs/2014/tefaf-2014/attachment/4562-alle-reduziert/, both accessed August 21, 2017.

   For details of the many talents enlisted for *Album Leaves* see the ad in the *New York Times*, May 10, 1959 (page 4X) which gives the opening night of the festival as June 11. An almost identical ad in the *Times*, from April 12, 1959, omits Warhol’s name, apparently showing that he was brought on board in the intervening weeks.

   Gian Carlo Menotti once told an interviewer that Warhol was one of many talents who were “discovered” in Spoleto when he ran the festival—see Menotti in Daniel B. Wood, “Composer Gian Carlo Menotti: Taking Opera to People,” *Christian Science Monitor* August 27, 1984. The roster of artists that Menotti attracted to Spoleto is especially impressive given that his festival was in bad odor with New York’s avant-garde, having refused to hang Robert Rauschenberg’s epochal *Bed* when it was shipped in for the festival’s launch—see Emily Genauer, “Wrong U.S. Art Has Spoleto in a Dither,” *New York Herald-Tribune*, June 15, 1958.


63. **199 Introductions and Goodbyes:** Elizabeth Lena Smith, “Musi-
ical Narrative in Three American One-Act Operas with Libretti by Gian Carlo Menotti” (Ph.D., Florida State University, 2005), 90.

The sly text of the opera’s first half consisted of nothing more than the host of a cocktail party welcoming his guests (“Miss Addington-Stitch,” “Dr. Lavender-Gas,” “General Ortega y Guadalupe” and others) and then introducing them around. The second half was just that same host bidding them adieu.


When the operetta finally reached New York, in May 1960, it was in a Leonard Bernstein concert without sets or costumes. Jac Venza, who supervised some of the design work for the 1959 festival, explained that the Foss-Menotti operetta had in fact been performed at that earlier festival, and he provided substantial details on how he realized Warhol’s designs for it—Jac Venza, interview by author, October 17, 2017; Jac Venza, interview by author, August 1, 2018. This corrects several sources and scholars, even some period documents, that have suggested that the Bernstein concert was the operetta’s world premiere—see for instance
Lukas Foss, *Introductions and Good-Byes, a Nine Minute Opera* (New York: Fischer, 1961), 3. Foss implies that the production was not mounted in Spoleto, contradicting Nicholas Ivor Martin, *The Opera Manual* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2014), 9. Martin incorrectly says, however, that *Introductions* was mounted at the Spoleto Festival in June 1960, while an Italian source claims that the piece had been planned for the 1959 festival but was never actually presented—see www.notitiae.info/2011/06/24/scenografia-spoletina/, accessed February 3, 2017. Other Italian records of the festival lack any reference to the production—see http://opac.sbn.it/opacsbm/opac/iccu/scheda.jsp?bid=IT\ICCU\AQ1\0058696 and http://www.notitiae.info/programmi-spoletofestival-1958–1967/, both accessed February 3, 2017.

Venza’s testimony would suggest that Festival records held at the College of Charleston also wrongly imply that *Introductions* had been planned for the 1959 event but had not been presented there or at any point thereafter: The piece is not mentioned in surviving lists of performances for 1959 or 1960, or in a commemorative book listing all the programs for the years 1958 to 1982, although Warhol is credited in that book with the design of a piece called *Le amiche* (“The Girlfriends”), written by Menotti under a pseudonym, in the *Fogli d’album* performance for 1961. Those same Festival records do, however, mention Warhol in a March 31, 1960, list of payees and he is then listed as a designer in the annual report for the 1961 Festival. Thanks to Charleston archivist Sam Stewart for his help with those records.


Art historian Alex Taylor first discovered the image, in unpublished research for his Ph.D. which he shared with this author. Warhol’s painting is an obvious riff on a famous Ben Shahn that he owned—see the March 26, 1959, receipt from the Downtown Gallery (AWMA) for Warhol’s purchase of Shahn’s *Calabanes* silkscreen.

67. **199 bookplate for Audrey Hepburn:** See “The Editor’s Guest Book,” *Harper’s Bazaar* (December 1960): 79. The bookplate had not in fact been commissioned by Hepburn herself, but by a friend of hers named Pauline Nesbitt who wanted to give it as a baby gift. Nesbitt
wrote an October 1, 1960, letter to Warhol (AWMA) saying he’d been recommended to her by Cecil Beaton, and asking for a price that was within her modest budget. If they did reach a deal, the project could barely have been started by the time the December issue of *Bazaar* was being written, given magazine lead times.

68. **199 eager to make contact:** Already in 1955, when Warhol had taken in a Stable Gallery show by his friend Joseph Cornell, one of the art world’s stranger creatures, he had made a point of seeking out Eleanor Ward, the gallery’s famous founder and later Warhol’s own dealer, once he’d moved into Pop Art—see Carlton Willers, undated 2015 letter to the author. The show happened in December 1955 according to “Diversity of Art Listed for Week,” *New York Times*, December 11, 1955.


73. **200 Jane Wilson:** A letter dated April 10, 1979, from the Tibor de Nagy Gallery (misc. box 103, AWMA) confirms the subjects and dates of purchase of a Robert Goodnough nude (bought in 1959) and the Fairfield Porter and Jane Wilson portraits (1960). An entry in Warhol’s 1961 datebook (AWMA) also shows him doing a studio visit with de Nagy artist Irene Rice Pereira, an important abstractionist at the time who moved in the Brooklyn circles of George Klauber’s friends Willard Maas and Marie Menken—see Gerard Malanga and Gunnar B. Kvaran, *Long Day’s Journey into the Past: Gunnar B. Kvaran Speaks with Gerard Malanga* (Milan: Skira/


The Wilson portrait was given by Warhol to the Whitney Museum of American Art, and Wilson then contributed her drawings for the painting. Wilson is known to have visited Warhol at his place on lower Lexington—see Callie Angell, *Andy Warhol Screen Tests: The Films of Andy Warhol, Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Abrams, 2006), 209. (The claim in Angell seems to be based on a Wilson interview.) The palm fronds in the portrait would also seem to place it in that lower Lexington setting.


200 **a daring first move:** Transcript of Emile de Antonio interviewing Leo Castelli, included with Emile De Antonio, *Emile De Antonio’s Painters Painting*, ed. Ron Mann and Douglas Kellner (Irvington, NY: Voyager, 1996), CD-ROM.


200 **his art collection stank:** David Bourdon, typed notes (March 2, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


200 **didn’t know him:** Ivan Karp, oral history, March 12, 1969, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


201 **$200 down:** The Lightbulb purchase is recorded in a February 24, 1961, statement from Leo Castelli to Warhol (AWMA) marked “paid 3/10/61.” Strangely, another statement (AWMA) records it as still
unpaid on May 8, 1961.

At Castelli, Warhol also bought a couple of excellent (but cheap) lithographs of the iconic Johns *Flag* and *Target*, bravely choosing Johns at his most daring and conceptual.

82. **201 Roberto Matta**: A receipt from the Bodley Gallery (AWMA) records the December 12, 1960, purchase of the Matta, titled *Demonstration*, and also the 14 months Warhol took to pay for it. Interestingly, that Matta is not included in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA. (Although it could be the Matta listed there as *Futura* and as worth $1,500.)

83. **201 Emile de Antonio**: By the fall of 1961, Warhol’s datebook (AWMA) shows him dining with Emile de Antonio several times a week.


85. **201 “superintelligent white rabbit”**: Emile De Antonio, “Marx and Warhol” (typescript, November 20, 1976), TC136, AWMA.

86. **201 wealthy Italian physician**: Bruce Jackson, *Emile de Antonio in Buffalo* (Buffalo: Center for Studies in American Culture, 2003), 29, 97.


88. **201 atheist**: On his atheism and monocle see Emile De Antonio, *Mr. Hoover and I*, documentary, 1989.


Despite being mentioned in several sources, De Antonio’s Air Force
missions may be apocryphal: He failed to graduate from Air Force officer training according to Randolph Lewis, *Emile de Antonio: Radical Filmmaker in Cold War America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 15. De Antonio's eagerness to spread tall tales about himself may have been an influence on Warhol's desire to do the same.


94. **202 around the corner:** Emile De Antonio, “Marx and Warhol” (typescript, November 20, 1976), TC136, AWMA. De Antonio’s address was 64 East Eighty-Sixth Street, as per his November 8, 1962, note to Warhol, inserted into Warhol’s 1962 datebook (AWMA).

95. **202 “Andy did a beautiful menu”:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


97. **202 not for the profit:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA. De Antonio also represented the leading photographer Richard Rutledge—Ruth Ansel, interview by author, August 12, 2015. Rutledge had been a friend of Warhol’s at least since the mid-1950s, when Warhol included his name in one of the faux fences that he did for Bonwit Teller’s perfume windows. Documents in the Warhol archives also attest to the friendship.

98. **202 to keep his favorite avant-gardists from starving:** Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 145.

99. **202 for showers:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

101. **202 “color consulting”:** Emile de Antonio to Mitch Tuchman, January 22, 1981, Mitch Tuchman papers related to the book *Painters Painting*, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The cinema was called the Azteca and was at 1492 Madison Avenue, at 102nd Street. See Emile de Antonio to Henry Rosenberg, August 21, 1961, AWMA, where Rosenberg is billed for $450 on Warhol’s behalf.


103. **202 ideas on how to fix it:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

104. **202 “paint it Puerto Rican”:** Emile de Antonio to Mitch Tuchman, January 22, 1981, Mitch Tuchman papers related to the book *Painters Painting*, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. De Antonio, wanting to minimize his business as an artist’s agent, specifies that the Azteca consulting was his “only transaction” with Warhol, then immediately mentions getting him the Brasserie work. Furthermore, in de Antonio’s August 21, 1961, letter to Henry Rosenberg (AWMA) he mentions Rosenberg having charged sales tax “last time,” and an April 26, 1961, invoice from de Antonio to Rosenberg (document box 192, AWMA) bills $350 for Warhol’s decorative work on the Tivoli theater, of which de Antonio claims 25% as his commission. The Tivoli became infamous in December 1963 for succumbing to pressure from the civic authorities and refusing to screen Jack Smith’s *Flaming Creatures*—see Gary Comenas, “Jack Smith,” *Warholstars* (blog), 2015, http://www.warholstars.org/jack_smith.html.


107. **202 designing a set of titles:** The art director Ruth Ansel collaborated with Warhol on the failed “anti-design” titles for *Pull My Daisy—*
see Ansel’s August 12, 2015, e-mail to the author.


The three went so far as to start a company that promoted John Cage’s famous Town Hall “retrospective” in New York in April 1958.


110. **203 with Frank Stella**: Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


114. **203 in Jasper Johns’s flags**: Leo Castelli, in Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and His Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 261.

115. **203 he paid Stella**: A decade later, Warhol gifted his Frank Stella paintings to the Brooklyn Museum, where they now live. One of the paintings is inscribed “May ’61”—see the image of its back held in the Warhol archives and Lawrence Rubin, *Frank Stella: Paintings 1958 to 1963, a Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1986), 140. Warhol’s datebook page for May 9, 1961 (AWMA) records a visit to Stella, while the Warhol catalogue raisonné (vol. 1, p. 50) says that cancelled checks date the acquisition to that same month. Brooklyn museum records of a 1973 query to Stella indicate, however, that the painter believed that Warhol had actually commissioned his miniature Stellas in the summer of 1962, after the original, full-size series was shown in November 1961 at Galerie Lawrence in Paris. (Susan Fischer, Director of Collections at the Brooklyn Museum, April 21, 2017, e-mail to the author.) Sidney Guberman implies a similar date, soon after Stella’s show of copper paintings at Castelli in May 1962—Sidney Guberman, *Frank Stella: An
Illustrated Biography (New York: Rizzoli, 1995), 73.

A single miniature from the same series as Warhol’s was already inscribed by Stella to Tina Fredericks, de Antonio’s girlfriend at the time, on March 18, 1961. (It was sold at Sotheby’s auction house in New York on November 11, 2015.) Other miniatures of the Benjamin Moores have also been sold, including a full series much like Warhol’s, and all are dated 1961, most right on the pictures themselves. De Antonio remembered the Stella purchase as dating to “maybe” 1960, and to a time before Warhol himself had started to paint seriously, in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 188.


117. 203 gave de Antonio credit: Unpublished transcript of Emile de Antonio’s 1969 interview with Warhol for his documentary Painters Painting, Emile de Antonio Papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research.

118. 203 first underground screening: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, August 23, 1976, box M88, AWMA. Warhol, speaking from Union Square, said the screening he went to took place “right up the street from here”—almost certainly a reference to Mekas’s loft at 414 Park Ave. South.


120. 203 one of his friend’s typical rewritings: Unpublished transcript of Emile de Antonio’s 1969 interview with Warhol for his documentary Painters Painting, Emile de Antonio Papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research.


Illustrations had outnumbered photographs: 208 illustrations and 125 photographs are included in the 31st Annual of National Advertising and Editorial Art (New York: Pellegrine & Cudahy/Art Directors Club of New York, 1952).

A similar if less drastic shift toward photography can be seen in the reviews of the Art Directors Club show published in Graphis magazine, which was founded to stimulate the graphic arts: In issue 64, in March 1956, Graphis reproduces 29 illustrations and only eight photographs, but by issue 93, in January 1961, 31 illustrations are paired with 19 photos.

faster and cheaper to get: Ruth Ansel, interview by author, August 12, 2015. Ansel came on board at Harper’s Bazaar in 1961 under Marvin Israel, famous for his use of the most daring photos.

Paul Rand: Steven Heller, Paul Rand (London: Phaidon, 1999), 70. Rand’s partner was named Bill Bernbach and often gets described as the founder of the “creative revolution” in 1960s advertising.

“just did not have the impact”: Frank Zachary, in Steven Heller, Paul Rand (London: Phaidon, 1999), 75.

“fairy style”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

too fey”: See Paul Maréchal, Les Imprimés éphémères de Andy Warhol (Lyon: Musée de l’imprimerie et de la communication graphique, 2018), 38. Warhol himself was enlisted in digging drawing’s grave. In the summer of 1959, the booming McCall’s magazine was in the midst of a giant advertising campaign touting its new photographic look to readers of the New York Times. That redesign had ended Warhol’s once-frequent presence in the magazine’s own pages, but an agency nevertheless commissioned him to work on one of the Times ads. The brief Warhol was given was meager, almost humiliating: To help promote an issue with a cover photo by his long-time rival Dick Avedon by collaging that cover into a Warhol drawing. Hard to think of anything more galling to the thin-skinned Warhol than once again playing second-fiddle to Avedon—unless it were the fact that in the end his sketches for the project got dumped in favor of a purely photographic treatment. Slides of Warhol’s sketches, and details on the commission, survive in the estate of advertising executive Nat Danar—David Danar, his son, in a March 30, 2016, e-mail to The Andy Warhol Museum. An ad featuring the same Avedon cover, with no contribution from Warhol, ran in the New York Times on June 25, 1959. The Danar slide mounts are stamped November 1959, however, so it is possible that Warhol was using the July cover by Avedon as
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a generic example of an issue of McCall’s—or that the slides were shot some months after the original commission. A thorough search of McCall’s ads in the Times did not turn up any by Warhol.

129. 204 one thousand flyers: See the January 17, 1959, invoice (AWMA) from Record Printing and Offset, Warhol’s usual printer. It specifies that the one thousand items were printed in orange on 11” by 29” tissue paper, which perfectly matches Warhol’s well-known tattooed woman print.

Note that a tattooed lady figured prominently in an absurdist play called The Ticklish Acrobat which had made a bit of a splash when it ran Off Broadway earlier in the 1950s.

130. 205 signed a new agreement: Fritzie Miller to Warhol, July 1, 1959, TC55, AWMA.

131. 205 “built himself a darkroom”: Michelle Bogre, “Q & A: Andy Warhol,” in I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Avalon, 2004), 316–17, Kindle edition. The date of Warhol’s darkroom is unclear in Bogre, but Warhol situates it at the moment when photography was taking over from illustration.

132. 205 “The New Beauty”: The Dow Chemicals project gets a listing in the 1961 Art Directors Club annual, which would have been looking back at the previous year.


134. 205 under $60,000: His bank deposits for that year come to $59,745.69, an income confirmed by totaling his invoices for that year (AWMA) which seem to survive almost complete.


136. 205 “pay for art we have not used”: Peter Palazzo to Andy Warhol, April 9, 1957, AWMA. Palazzo is referring to a new arrangement that would take force in November of that year.
137. a rival illustrator: The great illustrator and graphic designer Bob Gill said that for a little while he and Warhol did I. Miller ads in alternate weeks—Bob Gill, interview by author, September 27, 2016. One of the Gill illustrations for I. Miller was included as item number 353 in the 1959 Art Directors Club annual. I. Miller entries in the 1961 Art Director’s Club annual include a photograph by “Horn/Griner”; the previous year’s A.D.C. annual had an I. Miller photo by Bert Stern.


139. called into the office and sacked: Robert Fabian, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, October 29, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Fabian, Peter Palazzo’s successor, was a fan of illustration and said he was made to fire Warhol against his will, and then soon left the company himself. Warhol’s supporters at I. Miller, Geraldine Stutz and Palazzo, had already left the company in 1957 and 1958, respectively, around the time the fixed contract with Warhol ended—see Cynthia Kellog, “Young Woman Store President Picks Shades of Beige for Home,” New York Times, November 15, 1957. See also Peter Palazzo, I. Miller art director, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

140. “upset when they let him go”: Nathan Gluck to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


146. **206 netted $150,000:** Calvin Tomkins, *Off the Wall: A Portrait of Robert Rauschenberg*, revised ed. (New York: Picador, 2005), 151.


148. **206 American art “boom”:** At the very moment when Warhol was paying off his Jasper Johns *Lightbulb*—and losing his I. Miller work—the art critic of the *New York Times* wrote a satirical piece claiming that, because the world of contemporary art had reached such a frenzied pitch of making and selling, a total moratorium on both was the only thing that could save it. “Penalties would have to be heavy, so heavy that only artists with a true calling, willing to return to the grand old romantic tradition of the artist as rebel against society, would dare risk them by working in secret”—see John Canaday, “Perhaps Drastic: A Moratorium on Art Might Be Nice for a While, but Could Be Dangerous,” *New York Times*, September 4, 1960.


Another memory of Johns and Rauschenberg: “As we peeled into the sixties they had huge reputations. I heard they had been very poor, and now they had Jags and maids and white suits and they owned big buildings”—Jill Johnston, *Mother Bound* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 144.


154. **206 Both were being collected:** See David Bourdon, notes on a studio visit with Warhol (March 7, 1962), David Bourdon papers, Ar-
chives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

155. **207 Johns’s most important and ambitious canvases:** Leo Castelli interviewed by Emile de Antonio, in the transcript with Emile De Antonio, *Emile De Antonio’s Painters Painting*, ed. Ron Mann and Douglas Kellner (Irvington, NY: Voyager, 1996), CD-ROM. Castelli says that Johns’s great *Flag* was originally priced at $2,000.

156. **207 “It’s happening here”:** Warhol, quoted in Robert Fabian, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, October 29, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Or as Warhol remembered much later: “Galleries from the ’40s were getting bigger in the ’50s and by the ’60s they became a business. They needed people to fill up space”—“JM Interviews Andy Warhol,” *Jordan Marsh Magazine* (1983): 64. Warhol may have understood this already back when he decided to help with the filling.

157. **207 transition from lowly shoe illustrator:** Even the critic and editor John Coplans, a major supporter of Warhol’s, imagined that he started out as a Pop artist without background in art or previous exhibitions—see John Coplans, “The Early Work of Andy Warhol,” *Artforum* (March 1970).

158. **207 giving up illustration:** Warhol, quoted by Art Elias in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 537.

159. **207 “ego is on the line”:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

**CHAPTER 13**


   The photo of Warhol’s window in the Retail Reporting Bureau’s *Views and Reviews* for May 2, 1961, specifies that it is at Gunther Jaeckel. That Warhol’s display was in the Gunther Jaeckel window, not next door at Bonwit Teller’s as is usually said, is further confirmed by a photo in Lester Gaba, *The Art of Window Display* (1952), np, that shows a window identified as belonging to Gunther Jaeckel and that has the same peculiar vertical beams seen in photos of Warhol’s display. Gaba was still distinguishing between the two stores’ windows a very few weeks after

Warhol’s friend Ted Carey also mentioned the paintings having been in the Gunther Jaeckel window, and saw that as a less prestigious venue than those at Bonwit Teller—see Carey in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 89. According to one Bonwit’s window dresser, its Fifth Avenue windows, around the corner from the old Gunther Jaeckel ones on Fifty-Seventh Street, were widely considered the best in the city—Andrew Sherwood, interviews by author, April 17 and November 5, 2018.


4. **209 behind the multicolored florals:** The exact arrangement of the display can be made out in Nathan Gluck’s frontal photograph, the Nathan Gluck estate, Luis De Jesus Los Angeles gallery.

    The store’s normal procedure for its most ambitious windows involved commissioning their props from outside talent six months to a year before the window was needed. Given that the choice of merchandise for display in the windows was only made by the store’s buyers a week or so before the display was unveiled, there was often a noticeable mismatch between goods and props. Since the comics copied by Warhol were published shortly before his window was dressed, some other procedure must have been followed on that occasion—a fact also supported by the very close match between Warhol’s paintings and the goods displayed with them, as was the case also with a slightly later Warhol window which paired a Warhol painting of flowers with a closely matched floral dress, seen in Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views and Reviews*, November 4, 1961.

    Although Gene Moore was in charge of the entire Bonwit Teller display program, Warhol’s Gunther Jaeckel window was under the direct supervision of Clint Hamilton, the partner of Warhol’s assistant Nathan Gluck—see Gluck in Mark Allen, “A Conversation with Nathan Gluck,” accessed December 4, 2019, http://www.markallencam.com/nathan-gluck.html. Since those side windows were almost never given the budget to hire outside talent, Warhol’s commission seems to have been the...
product of special circumstances and procedures—Andrew Sherwood, interviewed April 17 and November 5, 2018. Sherwood was a window dresser at Bonwit’s from September 1961 to November 1964: He supplied details on the store’s normal procedures but had not quite begun work yet when Warhol’s Pop window was dressed.


   It’s no wonder Warhol would have remembered the window as at Bonwit’s rather than the neighboring one at the Bonwit-owned Gunther Jaeckel: After I. Miller had dropped him, Bonwit Teller became one of Warhol’s very biggest clients, hiring him to do vast numbers of its shoe ads in any number of publications. An entire box in the Warhol archives is filled with financial records of those ads from the years 1961 and 1962.


9. **210 advertising before they were elevated:** Also on the transition from window display to Pop Art see “JM Interviews Andy Warhol,” *Jordan Marsh Magazine* (1983): 64. “We were taking work out of the windows and putting it in the galleries,” Warhol said. “That’s how it happened. I mean, the windows were the best thing.”

   “I was so involved with commercial art work,” Warhol said on another occasion, “I thought I would take some of the commercial things that I was doing and just putting it on canvas”—Andy Warhol, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   Although the April 1961 windows were not at all a move away from the commercial, aesthetically they were undoubtedly a move on and up from Warhol’s earlier, more cutesy window work: Just the previous summer he’d done eight now-lost Bonwit windows “on sheep”—see the September 28, 1960, invoice (document box 182, AWMA) from Warhol to Gene Moore.


The teen fashions were eventually moved up to the ninth floor, a “concentration and expansion” meant to establish a dedicated “young people’s floor”—see “Bonwit’s Slates Relocation of Many Sections,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, May 24, 1960, 12. The commissioning of Warhol’s props, not a normal expense for a window on Fifty-Seventh Street, may have been intended to remind passing youngsters of the continued presence of this merchandize on that new teen floor higher up in the store.


14. 210 appeal to such an adolescent crowd: Another display in the same set of windows, which must have come just before or possibly just after Warhol’s, was even more youthful and garish, with a swimsuit scene done up entirely in shades of orange and pink—see Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views and Reviews*, May 1, 1961.


16. 210 “young American clothes”: See the credit scroll in the foreground of the one extant photo of the window, in the Warhol archives.


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24. 211 lots of framed pictures: See Chapter 10 of this book, and its notes, for a discussion of art used in store windows.


26. 211 “Contemporary props”: Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, April 1, 1961.

27. 211 eye close-up: Warhol’s four-minute film is now known as John Cale (Eye)—see Callie Angell, Andy Warhol Screen Tests: The Films of Andy Warhol, Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Abrams, 2006), 49.


29. 211 “checkerboard half-tone”: The 1926 text, on “Practical HalfTone Stencils,” is reproduced in Guido Lengwiler, A History of Screen Printing (Fairfax, VA: Specialty Graphic Imaging Association, 2013), 273.


Gene Moore, Warhol’s boss in the Bonwit Teller display department, had also done windows built around giant Pop eyes. In July 1952, when as usual the Independence Day vitrines were hidden behind hoardings to allow renovations to go on behind, Moore had covered the hoardings
with huge photos of eyeballs, their irises cut-out to reveal a perfume image in a little space beyond each eye—see Earl A. Dash, “Views and News of Display,” Women’s Wear Daily, July 15, 1952. In structure, Gene Moore's windows with eyes were much like Warhol’s perfume windows at Bonwit’s in the summers of 1955 and 1957.


31. **big red hearts**: Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, February 4, 1958.


37. **here today, gone tomorrow**: Daniel Arje, in Patrick S. Smith, Andy Warhol’s Art and Films (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press,


41. **212 “material used by the Pop artists”:** Ivan Karp, in an unpublished transcript from an April 13, 2004, interview for Peter Rosen, *Who Gets To Call It Art?,* documentary, 2006. My thanks to Peter Rosen for providing this material.

42. **213 comic-inspired page:** The page from *Mad* (October/November 1952), conceived by Harvey Kurtzman (writing/concept), John Severin (final art) and Ben Oda (letterer), was pointed out to me by researcher Andrei Molotiu.

43. **213 grid of dollar signs:** The 1953 fashion shot by Genevieve Naylor, from an unknown source, has been reprinted as a postcard by Fotofolio in New York. It was pointed out to me by Jay Reeg.

44. **213 Hunts Catsup bottles:** *Harper’s Bazaar* (August 1956): 12–13, TC18, AWMA.

45. **213 a Coke and an elegant shoe:** The drawing of the shoe with Coke bottle (in The Andy Warhol Museum, accession #1998.1.1279) includes an art director’s annotations, making clear that it was meant for commercial use.


46. **213 “disrespectful”:** See Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011. When Warhol moved up to his house in Carnegie Hill he didn’t leave behind his campy arcade games and store fixtures; he added to his collection and updated it. Photos taken of the décor in his new home (circa 1962, AWMA) show a vastly oversized light bulb and a giant pair of glasses, both clearly sourced from old retail displays but worthy of later Pop Art by Claes Oldenburg. (The optometrist’s sign is also documented there in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA.) These objects were soon joined by a plate-size Pepsi bottle-cap and two-foot-high fake Coke bottle—see Ken Heyman’s images in John Rublowsky, *Pop Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1965). The two colas had been the subject of fine art by

Warhol had a displayman’s taste for the gargantuan that dated back to college days, when he and the flamboyant window dressers at Horne’s were photographed (AWMA) with huge prop spectacles.


48. 213 QUERY: Endnote was empty but reference still in text. Pls confirm deletion is intentional.


50. 214 his artist’s studio: The late Arden Reed first pointed out that the window display could be read as representing Warhol’s studio. Such insights from Reed will be sorely missed by this author.


Almost a decade later, when de Antonio and Warhol were discussing that moment, de Antonio insisted that Warhol’s tale about “commercial art as real art” was bunkum. “We just talked about painting,” was de Antonio’s recollection—unpublished transcript of Emile de Antonio’s 1969 interview with Warhol for his documentary *Painters Painting*, Emile de Antonio Papers, Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research.

De Antonio remembered himself as a prod rather than an inspiration: “‘Andy,’ I said, ‘Why the hell don’t you become a painter? You’re gifted enough, you’ve got more ideas than anybody around’”—Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

52. 214 a piece of piping: The piece, known as *God*, was made by the Greenwich Village Dadaist Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, probably with help from the painter Morton Livingston Schamberg. It was acquired as a Schamberg by the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1950 and could have been seen by Warhol when it was featured with Duchamp’s works in the museum’s 1954 show of the Arensberg Collection, or possibly thereafter in the museum’s collection galleries—Matthew Affron, curator at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, in a May 16, e-mail to the author. *God* was given its own article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* for Au-
August 21, 1960, where it is mentioned as being on view in the museum; it is known that Warhol was in the city the previous year—Jean-Claude van Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016.

53. **“I have to pee”:** Warhol’s urinal quip was narrated by Tech professor Roger Anliker, according to Dale Roberts, interview by author, April 6, 2015. (Roberts was a student of Anliker’s.) Duchamp’s *Fountain* is known to have been shown in Sidney Janis’s famous Dada show in 1953—Warhol would hardly have missed that—and then the next year at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, in its celebrated Arensberg Collection acquisition and exhibition.

54. **Boîte-en-valise:** The Outlines copy of the *Boîte* was sold at Christies on May 15, 2015—see “Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), de Ou Par Marcel Duchamp Ou Rose Sélavy (La Boîte-En-Valise) [Series A] Untitled,” accessed February 28, 2019, https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5893256. Pittsburgh exhibitions of works by Duchamp that almost certainly would have included the *Boîte* are mentioned in Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection. The exact date of Warhol’s purchase of his own *Boîte-en-valise* is unknown, but it is thought to have happened around 1962. Gerard Malanga implied that Warhol already owned one of the *Boîtes* when they met Duchamp in the fall of 1963 in Los Angeles—Gerard Malanga and Gunnar B. Kvaran, *Long Day’s Journey into the Past: Gunnar B. Kvaran Speaks with Gerard Malanga* (Milan: Skira/Astrup Fearnley Museum, 2008), 24.


55. **out on the pavement:** “Andy Warhol’s Interview,” *Unmuzzled Ox* 4, no. 2 (1976): 469.


Five years later, Warhol told a high school student to repeat the experiment—see Joseph Freeman, “Andy Warhol Interviews Bay Times Reporter,” Bay Times, April 1, 1966.

Ono’s loft on Chambers Street—with events sometimes adjourning to Judson Church—was the setting for a series of experimental performances curated by the sound artist La Monte Young, whose October 12, 1962, performance at the Judson Church is known to have been attended by Warhol; the two were later in a short-lived band. It is hard to imagine Warhol not having been attracted to events there and at George Maciunas’s AG Gallery, both well known enough to have attracted such heroes of Warhol’s as John Cage and Marcel Duchamp, plus a variety of younger art-world figures such as Larry Poons and Robert Morris who Warhol would soon get to know. His friend Ray Johnson staged one of the first of the performances that he dubbed “Nothings” at the AG in July 1961, the same month that Ono showed there—see http://www.rayjohnsonestate.com/biography/, accessed January 8, 2017. An April 26, 1961, receipt (document box 189, AWMA) shows that Warhol had bought a Johnson collage from the David Herbert Gallery just a few months earlier.


Helen Frankenthaler and Morris Louis are two of the more famous stain painters, who in the early 1960s were being given huge support by the powerful critic—and denigrator of Pop Art—Clement Greenberg.

215 “he and Yves exchanged greetings”: Rotraut Klein-Moquay, in the French edition of Rotraut Klein-Moquay, Yves Klein USA, trans. Robert Pincus-Witten (Paris: Dilecta, 2009), 6. (Translation by this author.) The translation provided in the English edition refers to the artists having known “of each other’s work,” which does not match the French text. The Yves Klein Archives in Paris, contacted by e-mail and telephone in June, 2017, had no record of the exact nature of the contact between the two artists, or when or how it might have occurred, beyond the single recorded meeting in front of the Chelsea Hotel mentioned by Klein’s widow in her book.

It is hard to see how Klein could have known “of” Warhol’s Pop
work except via a studio visit, since its only public showing was in that Gunther Jaeckel window.


62. **215 readers’ letters**: A small sampling of the letters attacking Yves Klein appeared in the February 17, 1961, issue of *Time*.


64. **215 Larry Rivers**: Larry Rivers was especially hot at that moment, after the appearance of a feature story about him, by him, in the March issue of *Art News* magazine.


66. **215 invitation to his wedding**: The invitation survives in the Warhol archives.

67. **215 opening of another Klein solo**: Warhol writes “Yeve Klein” on the page in his 1962 datebook (AWMA) for November 5, which was the date of Klein’s opening at the Alexander Iolas gallery.

No provenance was given when Warhol’s two Klein monochromes, one red and one green and both from the 1950s, appeared in the 1988 Sotheby’s auction of his estate, but the Iolas show seems a likely source.

68. **215 big blank fields**: See for example the 1961 canvas now


70. **216 notable scholar**: Benjamin Buchloh, “Andy Warhol’s One Dimensional Art: 1956–1966,” in *Andy Warhol*, ed. Annette Michelson and Benjamin Buchloh, October Files 2 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 32. In his May 28, 1985, interview with Buchloh in the same volume, Warhol (p. 21) says that he didn’t know about Klein’s 1957 show of identical blue paintings in Milan, but the way he phrases it implies that he might have known about those paintings when they were shown in New York “much later”—i.e., in the 1961 Castelli show?


75. **216 billed as an avatar**: John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.


Klein himself mentions the corny as a new discovery in a text he actually composed in New York: ‘At present, I am particularly excited by ‘bad taste.’ I have the deep feeling that there exists in the very essence of bad taste a power capable of creating those things situated far beyond what is traditionally termed ‘The Work of Art’”—see Yves Klein, “The Chelsea Manifesto,” in *Yves Klein USA*, trans. Robert Pincus-Witten
Klein’s widow Rotraut Klein-Moquay said (Yves Klein USA, p. 7) that it was while visiting Marcel Duchamp’s New York home that Klein started to talk about his work as kitsch and corny.

77. 216 Klein was included: The show was called “The New Realists,” and ran October 31 to December 1, 1962, at Sidney Janis gallery in New York—see the discussion later in this biography. As late as 1966, a documentary on American Pop Art was showing Klein’s body prints alongside works by New York’s Popsters—see Wolfgang von Chmielewski and Willoughby Sharp, Pop Art USA, documentary (Westdeutscher Rundfunk, 1966).

78. 217 for almost every single workday: See Warhol’s binder of 1961 invoices, box B254, AWMA.

79. 217 $1,000: See Warhol’s August 29, 1960, invoice (document box 190, AWMA) for a “general foods kitchens film.”

80. 217 his main client: See Warhol’s binder of 1961 invoices, box B254, AWMA.

81. 217 in his more typical 1950s style: See the photos reproduced in Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, July 2, 1961; Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, November 4, 1961 (implying that Warhol did a whole suite of windows beyond what the photo shows); and Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews, December 2, 1961.

82. 217 never actually got to see: Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 11, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

83. 217 reviews piling up: Philip Pearlstein, Larry Rivers, Gillian Jagger, Balcomb Greene, Yves Klein and Alex Katz all got substantial coverage in the first few issues of Art News in 1961.

84. 217 scrap-metal sculpture: The art critic David Bourdon said that Warhol had acquired his big John Chamberlain by trading it for his own painting of one hundred cans of Campbell Soup—see a draft of Bourdon’s 1989 biography of Warhol in the Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The Warhol catalogue raisonné claims that this trade, probably made in early 1962, was actually for a much smaller, wall-mounted Chamberlain assemblage that Warhol is known to have owned, but the catalogue does not provide evidence for its claim—Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 94.

The sculpture mentioned by Bourdon seems to be Jackpot, a five-

A 35” Chamberlain under the title Juke Box is listed in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA. Either this is in fact a record of Jackpot, with both name and dimensions given incorrectly, or this early piece has gone missing—and may, at some point, have lived on Warhol’s stairs.

85. 217 lived out on the landing: Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA.


88. 217 “I have things in my studio”: Warhol, quoted by Ivan Karp in an unpublished transcript from an April 13, 2004, interview for Peter Rosen, Who Gets To Call It Art?, documentary, 2006. My thanks to Peter Rosen for providing this material.

The timing of this visit is very much up in the air. Karp said on several occasions that it occurred shortly after Warhol’s purchase of the Johns Lightbulb, the first bill for which (AWMA) is dated February 24, 1961. (In some tellings, however, the visit is said to have happened on the same day as the Johns purchase—see Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.) But the visit can’t have happened then since it seems that the Roy Lichtenstein paintings that Warhol is supposed to have seen only arrived at Castelli in the late summer of 1961—by September 22, one was already to be seen in a group show at the gallery. Also, in his oral history at the Archives of American Art, Karp said that his Warhol Nancy painting (which seems to relate to the Gunther Jaeckel canvases) had been sent him as a thank you gift the very day of that first visit with Warhol—yet it is inscribed “Oct. 61.” To confuse things still further, Karp often insisted that the song “I Saw Linda Yesterday” was playing on that first visit, but it wasn’t released until late in 1962. He also claimed to have seen Warhol’s Dance Diagram painting on that visit, but that series doesn’t seem to have been worked on until early 1962, although it might conceivably have been done a few months earlier.

In a very early interview with Karp, from late November 1962, he claimed to have heard of Warhol through other artists in the gallery, and
that that sparked his studio visit, within a few weeks of Lichtenstein’s first visit to Castelli’s—Ivan Karp, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas), typed notes, November 30, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

Warhol’s friend Ted Carey for his part claimed that it was he who had been shown the Lichtensteins by Karp, and that he had then been the one to tell Warhol about them—see Carey in Patrick S. Smith, ed., Warhol: Conversations About the Artist, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 89.

Warhol’s weight is given as just over 150 lbs—probably the heaviest he ever was—in Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.

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Richard Brownbaker, and Emily Tremaine, Hal Ordover, and a few other collectors to Andy’s studio. They all bought something. The price of the paintings were four to five, six hundred dollars at that point. You could get a five-foot or six-foot painting for $750”—Ivan Karp, in an unpublished transcript from an April 13, 2004, interview for Peter Rosen, *Who Gets To Call It Art?*, documentary, 2006. My thanks to Peter Rosen for providing this material.

See also Ivan Karp, oral history, March 12, 1969, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Note that none of these collectors’ purchases were of the surviving very early paintings that relate to the Gunther Jaeckel window: The Warhol catalogue raisonné lists only one of those, the Nancy bearing a dedication to Karp himself, that has a provenance from the early 1960s.

100. 218 “crass and outrageous”: Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


109. 219 “full of high spirits and energy”: Ivan Karp, in the unpublished transcript from an interview for Peter Rosen, *Who Gets To Call It Art?*, documentary, 2006. My thanks to Peter Rosen for providing this material.

110. 219 “tell me everyone I should meet”: Ivan Karp, notes from
an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


   Geldzahler was not promoted to Assistant Curator of Painting and Sculpture until July 1, 1962—see Patricia Pellegrini to Mitch Tuchman, January 4, 1983, Mitch Tuchman papers related to the book Painters Painting, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


117. 219 shows mounted: Henry Geldzahler’s first contribution to a Met exhibition didn’t come until 1965, when he curated the modern section of a survey of American art from the museum’s collection—see Henry Geldzahler, oral history, January 27, 1970, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

118. 219 utterly cocky: David Hockney, in Peter Rosen, Who Gets To Call It Art?, documentary, 2006.


120. 220 “He was the safe witty fag”: Emile De Antonio, journal entry for February 30, 1979, included with Emile De Antonio, Emile De Antonio’s Painters Painting, ed. Ron Mann and Douglas Kellner (Irvington, NY: Voyager, 1996), CD-ROM.

121. 220 “Carmen Miranda’s shoes”: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Billy Name, typescript, January 21, 1993, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

122. 220 “someone who epitomizes the age”: Henry Geldzahler interviewed by Emile de Antonio, in the transcript included with Emile De Antonio, Emile De Antonio’s Painters Painting, ed. Ron Mann and Douglas Kellner (Irvington, NY: Voyager, 1996), CD-ROM.

123. 220 Florine Stettheimer: Henry Geldzahler said on several occasions that Warhol had already known Florine Stettheimer’s work be-
fore their meeting—perhaps from a February 1951 show at Durlacher Gallery in New York, where her portraits had been paired with watercolors by the gay artist Charles Demuth.


125. “we saw each other every day”: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Billy Name, typescript, January 21, 1993, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

126. “We’ve got to talk . . . say something”: Henry Geldzahler, “Andy Warhol: A Memoir” (typescript, n.d.), TC130, AWMA.


128. had the same encounter: Gene Swenson is another early Warholian who narrates the to-drip-or-not-to-drip story—see Gene R. Swenson, “The Darker Ariel: Random Notes on Andy Warhol,” Collage (December 1964): 105.


133. wished he was an AbEx-er: Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (April 27, 1972), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

134. to pick up a young man: Steven Balkin, interview by author, June 12, 2018.

135. “Picasso’s women”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (October 25, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


137. “artful” splashes of color: The paper scraps that Warhol


Warhol’s sense of rivalry with Robert Rauschenberg might date to as early as December 1954, when Rauschenberg showed at the Tanager Gallery after Warhol had been rejected there.


144. **223 a matching apotheosis:** *Art in America* (Spring 1962). Although the issue was marked as “No. 1” for the year, library records across the country show it arriving in March. Thanks to Thomas Kiedrowski and Jay Reeg for their help in tracking down this detail.

145. **223 commissioned from Rauschenberg:** *Art in America* (Spring 1962): covers. The image is described as “Painted for Art in America’s ninth New Talent issue by Robert Rauschenberg” on the issue’s table of contents. The image fills both front and back covers of the issue.


148. **224 comics connoisseurs:** Russell Lynes, “Highbrow, Lowbrow,
Middlebrow,” Harper’s Magazine (February 1949): 25. Lynes also mentions a highbrow taste for comics in the version of his piece that appeared in Life that April.


151. 224 “He humanizes banality”: Fairfield Porter, “Recent Painting USA: The Figure,” Art in America (Spring 1962): 81. The article is a preview of an upcoming MoMA show, and also discusses the proto-Pop artist Richard Lindner.


Alan Kaprow, the pioneer of Happenings, had recently proclaimed “chairs, food, electric and neon lights, smoke, water, old socks, a dog, movies, a thousand other things” as likely subjects, or even materials, for a new post-abstract art—Alan Kaprow, “The Legacy of Jackson Pollock,” Art News (October 1958): 56. (The artist Roy Lichtenstein cited his friend Kaprow as one of the most important influences on his Pop career.) Warhol’s rivals in Pop deployed almost all of these “junk pile” items, as Life magazine described them to its shocked readers—see Gary Comenas, “The Origin of Andy Warhol’s Soup Cans or The Synthesis of Nothingness,” 2003, revised 2010, www.warholstars.org/andy_warhol_soup_can.html. Comenas cites “Art Crashes Through The Junk Pile,” Life (November 24, 1961): 60–69. Two issues later, Life featured readers’ objections to the art discussed.

156. 225 “The one thing everyone hated was commercial art”: Roy

**225 audacious innovation:** The sheer novelty of Warhol’s storm window may have been flagged by where it ended up in that issue of Art in America. It wasn’t in the section reserved for new talents in painting; those had been chosen by an art historian, Dorothy Gees Seckler, who was still resisting Pop well into the 1960s—see her objections to Pop Art in an audio recording she made in August 1963, Dorothy Gees Seckler Collection Of Sound Recordings Relating to Art and Artists, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Given Seckler’s resistance, Warhol’s contribution to that New Talent issue had needed to be slipped in, almost surreptitiously, within its coverage of the latest in prints and drawings, with a caption that conveniently left out the fact that Storm Window was on canvas and that also lied about its dimensions, shrinking them to a size more likely for a work on paper—see Benjamin Buchloh, “Andy Warhol’s One Dimensional Art: 1956–1966,” in Andy Warhol, ed. Annette Michelson and Benjamin Buchloh, October Files 2 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 38.

**225 a collector:** The collector was Zachary Scott, and he is listed as the juror for the prints and drawings section in the introduction to the New Talents issue.

Patty Mucha, once married to the Pop sculptor Claes Oldenburg, said that Warhol, Scott and Charles Henri and Ruth Ford all visited with her and Oldenburg in the summer of 1963—Patty Mucha (formerly Oldenburg), unpublished memoir (n.d.). Thanks to Patty Mucha for sharing her memoir.

**225 sister of the writer:** Both the Ford siblings lived and held court in the famous Dakota apartments off Central Park, which is where Ruth introduced her brother to Warhol somewhere around the time of the Art in America issue—see Charles Henri Ford in John Wilcock, ed., The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Trela, 2010), 52. Although published in 1971, an extract from the book was published in the March 1, 1970, issue of Wilcock’s weekly called Other Scenes, indicating that the interviews for it would probably have been done in late 1969.


163. **226 sockless drawing sessions**: See the reference to Warhol’s foot book in Joho Heil to Andy Warhol, April 12, 1961, AWMA.


165. **226 a canny show**: The show got a line in “People Are Talking About,” *Vogue* (December 1, 1960): 125.


168. **226 She pops up**: “MoMa with Mrs. Latow and Mr. Lane” is the entry in Warhol 1961 datebook (AWMA) for May 9. The Museum of Modern Art had on display one part of its recent Max Ernst retrospective and also 40 paintings from the 1920s and 1930s by such Warhol idols as Stuart Davis and Ben Shahn.


174. **the actual check**: Tony Scherman says that in his research for *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009) he saw a $50 check to Latow, dated November 23, 1961, in the Warhol Archives, but the only one uncovered there by this author and the archivists is dated May 15, 1962—too late to relate to Warhol’s first soup paintings. On the other hand, a college classmate back-dates the source of the iconic soup paintings by another 15 years, claiming that the Campbell’s label had been held up by a teacher at Tech to demonstrate how the same visual principles that govern a Rembrandt portrait operate in successful product design—see Bennard B. Perlman, “Is Warhol’s Art Art Yet?” baltimoresun.com, March 26, 1997, https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-1997-03-26-1997085148-story.html.


177. **love of the Campbell’s product**: Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” *High Times* (August 1977): 34. Henry Geldzahler reports that Warhol had said the same thing to him at the time the soup cans were painted—see the transcript of the interview with Geldzahler, Mitch Tuchman papers related to the book Painters Painting, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

As late as July 8, 1986, in a television interview in England, Warhol said that he was still eating canned soup every day, which was a definite lie, given surviving receipts for his daily meals and witnesses’ accounts of his diet—see www.itnsource.com/en/compilation/S25011201/#43, accessed May 15, 2017.

178. **hated of it**: Ted Carey’s boyfriend John Mann claimed to have been at Warhol’s place that same evening as Muriel Latow, and that canned soup had come up when Warhol was listing things he hated—see Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 75.


180. **a fresh-tomato version**: Beverly Russell, “Andy Warhol on
Food, from Ketchup to Caviar,” *House & Garden* (July 1974): 70.

181. **because they discontinued it**: Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, June 27, 1963, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


184. **Soup cans or sunsets?**: This is the line of a character in Jacques Tourneur, *Nightfall*, feature film, 1957. Thanks to Arturo Silva for drawing my attention to this passage.

185. **nation’s favorite beverage?**: Bennett Cerf, “Bennett Cerf’s Cerfboard: We’re in the Soup,” *Syracuse Post Standard*, April 3, 1960. Thomas Kiedrowski first brought this article to my attention.

186. **reaching out for the American Dream**: Anthony Grudin cites a 1962 text by the McFadden publishing group that was aggressively targeting the working class at the time—see his *Warhol’s Working Class: Pop Art and Egalitarianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 91.


189. **the letters C-A-M-P**: The drawing, in the collection of Paul Kasmin, was on view in “Andy Warhol: By Hand” at the New York Academy of Art, January 22 to March 10, 2019.

   Even toward the end of the decade, the gay connotations of Warhol’s cans could be taken for granted in a speech that the avant-garde playwright LeRoi Jones gave at a Black Panther rally, proclaiming that black children should not be allowed to grow up “to paint Campbell’s Soup cans . . . to think that somehow the celebration of homosexuality is aesthetic and profound”—see Neil Printz, “Other Voices, Other Rooms: Between Andy Warhol and Truman Capote, 1948–1961” (Ph.D., New York University, 2000), 12.


196. 229 “It is in bad Pop art”: Dorothy Gees Seckler, in audio notes for an August 28, 1963, Pop Art symposium, in the Dorothy Gees Seckler Collection Of Sound Recordings Relating to Art and Artists, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Seckler calls herself a “reluctant witness for Pop art” and sees its main value as residing in its formal innovations.


199. 230 photography’s directness: Note that photography, when it aspired to be fine art, was still wedded to formal experimentation. That same New Talent issue of Art in America (Spring 1962) where Warhol had first appeared had a photo section that only included arty, mostly double-exposed and distinctly undocumentary photos.


201. 230 “vacuous a statement”: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. Davies specifies that the conversation happened, over the phone, during a trip she made to New York in 1961.

Charles Lisanby, Nathan Gluck and Tom Lacy have all made fre-
quent mention of their original disdain for Warhol’s experiments in Pop.

202. **take off like a rocket**: Leila Davies Singelis, oral history, audiocassette, December 12, 1995, AWMA. Davies specifies that the conversation happened, over the phone, during a trip she made to New York in 1961.

**CHAPTER 14**


2. **custom stereo**: See the October 31, 1958, invoice (box B565, AWMA) from the audio engineer Holly Neill, billing $185.40 for the installation of “high-fidelity” speakers from the famous British firm Tannoy at Warhol’s lower-Lexington flat. On February 2, 1961, a letter taped into Warhol’s datebook (AWMA) shows him getting quotes from Neill for the system’s installation in the townhouse.

   The system is listed as including one of the new Harman-Kardon “Award Series” amplifiers in Consolidated Appraisal Company, appraisal, November 14, 1962, AWMA. This is confirmed in the December 16, 1961, invoice (doc box 189, AWMA) from Holly Neill for $345 for the equipment, including the A500 50-watt amplifier from Harman-Kardon and a Svenska “free-float speaker system.”


4. **incredible volume**: Ivan Karp, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 22, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

5. **near darkness**: See Nathan Gluck to Andreas Brown, May 16, 1971, AWMA.

6. **carnival masks**: Ivan Karp, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 22, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   Warhol archivist Matt Wrbican, in a July 18, 2018, text message to the author, said that he once spotted such masks among the objects in offsite storage at The Andy Warhol Museum.

7. **without a mask**: Ivan Karp, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 22, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

8. **a Polaroid**: The polaroid is in the Warhol archives.
9. **“it was so bizarre”**: Ivan Karp, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 22, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


   Coplans is summarizing the standard opposition to Warhol when he first came on the scene.

11. **count as art**: Henry Geldzahler, draft of comments for the Symposium on Pop Art held at the Museum of Modern Art on December 13, 1962 (n.d.), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

   See also Henry Geldzahler, “Recent Developments” (typescript for a talk at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, January 1963), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


16. **“good straightforward stuff”**: Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


19. **twenty-five-year-old**: David Bourdon, notes on a studio visit with Warhol (March 7, 1962), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. When Bourdon refused to believe that story Warhol said he was 30, still three years short of the truth.

20. **“autistic frenzy”**: Wynn Chamberlain, as reported by Sally Chamberlain in a July 11, 2016, e-mail to the author.


   Karp introduced the Daltons to Warhol at a 1961 Christmas party, in the studio of Warhol’s commercial-art colleague Art Kane above Carnegie Hall. In their Britishness, the Daltons were the only other guests
as lonely and shy as Warhol. He discovered that the siblings were his neighbors on the Upper East Side and invited them by for a look at his art. Over the months that followed, Sarah and David witnessed the comic-strip paintings and Nose Jobs give way to the Campbell’s Soup series (“we were absolutely amazed—it was very surprising, and seemed very different”) only to be superseded, somewhat later, by the new Death and Disaster paintings.

22. **235 Sarah in a bikini:** The Polaroids are in the Warhol archives.


24. **236 “everybody was out there”:** Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

   The Fox (a.k.a., “The Fabian Fox”), a grand old picture palace in downtown Brooklyn, is best remembered as the home of rock concerts organized beginning in September 1962 by the disc jockey Murray the K., who Karp mentions. (See http://www.murraythek.com/show-line-ups.html). But in late 1961 it was already hosting rock shows by the likes of Chuck Berry. (See “Twist around the Clock,” *New York Amsterdam News*, December 23, 1961.) Warhol had already developed an interest in rock by the end of 1960, through 45 rpm singles that he was given by a music-industry worker named Jarry Lang, “famous in the subculture for the sequined costumes he donned at drag balls and musicales,” according to Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 68.

   See also Lang in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 708.

25. **236 “tremendous force and conviction”:** Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


27. **236 he posed himself:** The photo (AWMA) was taken by Edward Wallowitch in the early summer of 1963 with Warhol posed beside his new assistant Gerard Malanga, who sported a rocker’s pompadour.

28. **236 “That Little Town Flirt”:** An image of the letter, which begins with a greeting to Warhol acolyte Billy Name, was sent to the author by researcher Ellen Levy in a January 28, 2017, e-mail. Given the subject
and recipient, it almost certainly dates to the second half of 1963.

29. **“suffer along with him”**: Ivan Karp, oral history, March 12, 1969, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. If Karp’s memory is right that the song in question was “I Saw Linda Yesterday,” by Dicky Lee, the episode would have to date to after the fall of 1962 when the song hit the airwaves. But Karp always dated his narrative to one of his visits to the townhouse in early 1962 or even late ’61, so he may have misremembered the song he first heard there.


31. **“it would have been too fake”**: William S. Wilson, in the transcription of an earlier conversation about Johnson included in a June 15, 2013, e-mail to Gary Comenas, who provided a copy to this author. For remarks on Warhol’s continuing normalcy in private settings see Ivan Karp, notes from an interview, October 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA. A photographer who met Warhol just before he embarked on Pop described him as an oddball who loved to talk, and how his showy mutism only came later—see Ken Heyman, interview by author, February 24, 2018. See also Ken Heyman, “Behind the Lens” (typescript memoir provided by Heyman to the author, n.d.). The memoir includes a description of a dinner Heyman had with Warhol in November 1958.

32. **“who the players were”**: Irving Blum, in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 62.


33. **“punched you in the stomach”**: Jean-Claude van Itallie, interview by author, November 2, 2016.

34. **“I’d like to be a machine”**: “Pop Art: Cult of the Commonplace,” Time (May 3, 1963): 74.

35. **“He plays dumb”**: Henry Geldzahler, “Andy Warhol” (typescript of an essay marked as being for the catalog of ”Amerikansk pop-konst,” a Pop Art exhibition that opened February 29, 1964, at the Moderna Museet in Stockholm, n.d.), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Another typescript copy is in the Warhol archives (TC14). The Swedish translation of
Geldzahler’s text is indeed in the exhibition catalog. For a final version of the essay see Henry Geldzahler, “Andy Warhol,” *Art International* (April 1964).


39. **238 “read as excesses”**: Henry Geldzahler, “Recent Developments” (typescript for a talk at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, January 1963), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


43. **239 “the most complex”**: Emily Hall Tremaine, in Kathleen L. Housley, *Emily Hall Tremaine: Collector on the Cusp* (Meriden, CT: Emily Hall Tremaine Foundation, 2001), 159.


47. **239 “excess activity”**: Geldzahler, typescript for a lecture deliv-
ered for the United States Information Agency (1965), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


51. **“develop the atmosphere”:** Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

52. **“commercial artist is good”:** Homer Saint-Gaudens, in “American Weekly’s Art Exhibit Praised at Preview Here,” *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, October 9, 1947.

53. **“Modern Painters and Sculptors as Illustrators”:** On the 1936 show see https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2939. The MoMA curator was Monroe Wheeler, the lover of Warhol’s friend Ralph Pomeroy; he had also been involved with the MoMA drawings show that had included Warhol’s shoe in 1956.


57. **decoration in department store windows:** A huge Abstract Expressionist painting, unstretched and uncredited, forms the backdrop for dresses in a window display at Russeks department store illustrated in *Retail Reporting Bureau, Views and Reviews*, January 3, 1957.

The magazine’s favorite windows for July 3, 1960, included framed
AbEx paintings at Stern’s (uncredited, but described in the caption as “a one-man showing of abstract impressionist paintings”) and a single framed abstraction at Bloomingdales.


63. **“He said, ‘Hide that!’”**: Warhol, quoted in Gerard Malanga, interview by Christoph Heinrich, typescript, 1999, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


66. **“point would be lost”**: David Bourdon, notes on a studio visit with Warhol (March 7, 1962), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

67. **“disassociate themselves”**: Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

Dan Arje, who worked in windows at Bonwit Teller, also cited the attempts Johns and Rauschenberg made to distance themselves from their...
commercial work—see Arje, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 395.


69. **243 “anti-intellectual”:** Henry Geldzahler, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, October 4, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Geldzahler also claimed that Johns, despite his supposed disdain for Warhol’s mind, was fascinated by some of his antics, such as when Warhol took Polaroids of a man’s naked rear that Johns “could not take his eyes off.”

70. **243 “you’re so swish”:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

71. **243 “masked who they were”:** Emile de Antonio, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 146.

72. **243 “much more swish”:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


78. **244 Johns sending cheery greetings:** Jasper Johns to Henry Geldzahler, Tokyo c.1964, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

79. **244 adjoining plots of land:** John Powers to Andy Warhol, May 5, 1978, TC205, AWMA.

80. **244 as aloof:*** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, Sep-
tember 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

81. **lifelong insecurity**: Although the story gets told in the first person in *Popism*, it seems to have been based on memories elicited from de Antonio.

82. **“playing with myself”**: Warhol, quoted in Ultra Violet, *Famous for 15 Minutes: My Years with Andy Warhol* (Open Road Media, 2015), loc. 2493, Kindle edition.

83. **shorten the brand name to “Coc”**: In 1962, when Warhol decided to do a series of paintings based on diagrams used to teach ballroom dancing, he couldn’t resist homing-in on the diagram that came with a fey-sounding caption: “The Double Twinkle – Man.” The “Man” in the title simply refers to the fact that the diagram is for the male steps in the dance, but Warhol must have noticed that the diagram’s caption makes “double twinkle” sound like a description of the man involved. The painting and its source image are both in The Andy Warhol Museum.


### Chapter 16

2. **“trying to get Andy a show”**: Henry Geldzahler, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, October 4, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
3. **“thought they were terrible”**: David Mann, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 21, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
5. **David Herbert**: On David Herbert’s connection to Warhol see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 177.

   See also the April 26, 1961, receipt for a Ray Johnson collage that Warhol bought from Herbert and Warhol’s copy of the brochures for a Louise Nevelson show put on by Herbert in 1960, for his Pamela Bianco
show from April 1961 and for a Purism show that Herbert put on just before Warhol showed with him (all AWMA).


7. **248 a mention of Warhol**: We know of Warhol’s presence in the Herbert back room from V. V. Rankine, who had the front-room show—see V. V. Rankine, oral history, March 2, 1990, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


9. **248 Blum traveled to New York**: The narrative that follows is based on Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014. It also relies on Walter Hopps in “When Walter Hopps Met Andy Warhol and Frank Stella,” *The New Yorker* (June 5, 2017), http://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/when-walter-hopps-met-andy-warhol-and-frank-stella. Blum and Hopps have told various, sometimes incompatible versions of their early encounters with Warhol; this author’s account seems a likely triangulation between them.


   Several letters between Herbert and the Ferus owners confirm the close connection—see the David Herbert Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

11. **248 knew Warhol’s reputation**: Walter Hopps has claimed that he and Blum both knew of Warhol’s commercial art—see Walter Hopps, “When Walter Hopps Met Andy Warhol and Frank Stella,” *The New Yorker* (June 5, 2017), http://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/when-walter-hopps-met-andy-warhol-and-frank-stella. Blum has denied that on several occasions, including in his November 5, 2014, interview with this author.

12. **248 two other advisers**: Irving Blum mentioned Henry
Geldzahler and the gallery owner Richard Bellamy, a Pop supporter who had recently opened the Green Gallery—see Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014. Warhol seems to have been notably absent from the radar of Blum’s third advisor, MoMA curator William Sietz.


15. **248 had just returned from its windows:** Blum elaborates on that timing in Irving Blum, oral history, October 26, 2011, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/archives/transcript_blum.pdf. Warhol is supposed to have mentioned the paintings having just then returned from “a department store”—see Irving Blum, oral history, interview by Avis Berman, January 17, 2017, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

16. **249 “They were radical”:** Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014.

17. **249 In New York again:** Irving Blum’s trip to New York was paid for by the West Coast collector Edwin Janss, who wanted the dealer’s advice on a Giacometti painting he was planning to acquire from the dealer Klaus Perls—see Irving Blum, oral history, October 26, 2011, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/archives/transcript_blum.pdf. Within a couple of years, Janss was buying a Warhol Marilyn—see Titia Hulst, “The Right Man at the Right Time: Leo Castelli and the American Market for Avant-Garde Art” (Ph.D., New York University, 2014), 132.

18. **249 three of the latest Campbell’s Soups:** In some of his accounts Irving Blum has said there were as many as six Soups already painted. See Kirk Varnedoe, “Campbell’s Soup Cans,” in *Ferus*, 2nd ed. (New York: Gagosian and Rizzoli, 2009), 45.

andy-warhol-and-frank-stella.

Warhol fed the same line to a reporter when *Time* profiled him a few months later—see “The Slice of Cake School,” *Time* (May 11, 1962).

20. **249 “thirty-two flavors”:** A printed “Product Parade” of Campbell products (AWMA) which Warhol seems to have consulted for his project, lists thirty-one flavors, with a thirty-second—“Turkey Vegetable”—added by hand by someone other than Warhol. All the flavors on that list are in his series for Blum.

A 1962 Campbell’s annual report (box B566, AWMA) mentions there having been 33 flavors and the same number is given in Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, June 27, 1963, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


Blum mentioned having retained the Light Bulb for himself when it failed to sell in the Ferus show—Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014.

23. **249 “sealed the deal”:** In telling and retelling his story, Irving Blum has referred to his promise of movie stars as a lie. But the March 23, 1959, opening for Robert Irwin at Ferus is mentioned as having attracted just such a Hollywood crowd in Irving Blum to David Herbert, March 23, 1959, David Herbert papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


24. **249 earlier, bigger Campbell’s paintings:** Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014.

25. **250 “his first dealer”:** John Weber, oral history, March 21, 2006,
Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Weber’s name shows up several times in Warhol’s datebook for 1962 (AWMA).

A June 12, 1962, document from the Martha Jackson Gallery (AWMA) shows four tiny Pop canvases in its inventory.


27. **250 a three-man show:** Allan Stone, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, February 26, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


29. **250 Warhol was a fan:** Nathan Gluck, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 605.

30. **250 “soup-to-cake concession”:** Dorothy Gees Seckler, “Folklore of the Banal,” Art in America (Winter 1962): 57. Seckler’s wording doesn’t make clear whether Warhol was on view at Stone’s gallery at the same time as Thiebaud’s April solo or on some other occasion.

Henry Geldzahler said that he also saw Warhol works at the Stone gallery—see Henry Geldzahler, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, October 4, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Warhol himself mentioned an upcoming engagement there in Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 12, 1962, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, of all publications, seems to have got to Pop Art before anyone else, maybe because it got early news of the work of hometown boy James Rosenquist. For the paper’s New Year’s Day magazine, a reporter in its New York bureau had written a cover-story about an unnamed new trend, still barely emerged from the studios, of paintings that favored the “stark, blatant, literal representation of everyday objects.” Rosenquist and Lichtenstein were given major play, because they both had first shows on the way, while Warhol’s paintings, as stark, blatant and literal as any, don’t yet seem to have been on the writer’s radar. See Paul Berg, “About-Face from the Abstract,” St. Louis-Dispatch, December 31, 1961.

31. **250 “Slice of Cake School”:** “The Slice of Cake School,” Time
(May 11, 1962).

*Mademoiselle* profiled almost the same list of artists, minus Thiebaud but adding Claes Oldenburg, Tom Wesselmann and the Pop-inflected abstractions of Sven Lukin—see Leo Lerman, “The Village Idea,” *Mademoiselle* (June 1962): 70.

Given the deadlines for weekly versus monthly magazines, the *Mademoiselle* feature would actually have been written first—probably sometime in March or early April.

*Life* magazine was last to run a feature on Pop, in its June 15, 1962, issue, and it left out Warhol altogether.


33. **Dick Bellamy helped launch**: Henry Geldzahler, “The New York Art Galleries” (typescript marked as being for publication in the New York *Spy*, June 1967), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


36. **steer clear of counterfeiting**: Warhol once said that the worries about counterfeiting had already begun when he had tried to have a rubber stamp made for his dollar-bill painting, before he’d decided to try silkscreening—see Andy Warhol, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Nathan Gluck implies that when Warhol went to his printmaker friend Floriano Vecchi for a silkscreen, Vecchi had similar reservations about working direct from a photo of a dollar bill and thus insisted on Warhol making a drawing—see Gluck in Patrick S. Smith, ed., *Warhol: Conversations About the Artist*, Studies in the Fine Arts, no. 59 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 60.


40. **choices that Warhol made**: Henry Geldzahler, in Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universität, 1976), 313.


42. **Gilbert Stuart portrait**: Bennard B. Perlman, “Andy Warhol: The Pittsburgh Years, 1928–1949” (typescript, 2007), Bennard B. Perlman Papers, AWMA.


44. **pricing the piece at $200**: “Art You Can Bank On,” *Life* (September 19, 1969): 52. The article claims that this was the amount actually paid for the piece, but early sources contradict this—see Marguerite Lamkin, “The Man Who Paints Money for Money,” *London Standard*, September 12, 1962.


Richard Bellamy himself hadn’t actually been a big Warhol fan before the show. He’d been pushed to include him by a silent partner who had already bought Warhol’s work and by Claes Oldenburg’s surprising enthusiasm for it—see Stein, *Eye of the Sixties*, 166. The partner was Robert Scull, who claimed to have already bought Warhol’s works in early 1961. On the other hand, a calendar notation by Scull dated January 16, 1962, reads “Warhall(Painter),” and so clearly indicates that Warhol is


Scull himself denied ever exerting an influence on Green’s curatorial decisions—see Robert Scull, oral history, June 15, 1972, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

49. **radical** Slab: One review of the “absurd” Green show cited Slab, and slighted it, as a sculpture “that resembles (or is?) a model stand”—see “The Galleries—a Critical Guide,” New York Herald-Tribune, June 9, 1962.


51. **Chryssa had mechanically transferred:** See Douglas G. Schultz, Chryssa: Urban Icons (Buffalo: Albright-Knox Art Gallery, 1983), 5.

   The exact transfer process Chryssa used is not clear: Close study (on October 3, 2017) of two of her early newspaper works, in storage at the Guggenheim Museum, hint at an extremely complex process that seems to have involved some kind of rubber stamp not unlike what Warhol was using at that moment, and/or salvaged newspaper printing matrices, such as are mentioned in some period sources on Chryssa. Chryssa used one “stamp” for each block of type or ad, but might also have deployed some other mechanical process that allowed for her sources to be scaled up or down at will, as Warhol’s sometimes were. There are also some mentions of her producing several silkscreened works—on paper—at around this time, but they aren’t necessarily reliable.


   A print titled Newspaper Page, Sock Advertisement, in the collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art, is inscribed with a date of 1962.
On being re-catalogued in 2010 its medium was described as “two-color screenprint, oil and graphite on paper,” but on closer study in October of 2018 the Whitney conservator Clara Rojas-Sebesta decided the sheet had been made through some kind of two-color stamping process.

54. **an early collector of his**: The collector was Hanford Yang, who believes he might have told Warhol about Chryssa—Hanford Yang, interview by author, September 22, 2017. On Chryssa’s show with David Herbert see Carlyle Burrows, “Kemeny Sculpture Highlights Shows,” *New York Herald-Tribune*, May 29, 1960.

David Bourdon records Warhol mentioning Chryssa, in passing, in Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


56. **$1,200**: The price is mentioned in Marguerite Lamkin, “The Man Who Paints Money for Money,” *London Standard*, September 12, 1962. The piece sold to Robert Scull, the Green Gallery backer who had bought from Warhol before and thus had a stake in upping his prices.

57. **twice that price**: See Guggenheim Museum, loan document (November 3, 1961), Betty Parsons Gallery records and personal papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The entry for Chryssa’s *Newspaper No. 3* is annotated “sold” and “$2,300,” although a later statement from the gallery to Chryssa herself, dated January 31, 1962, gives the painting’s sale price as $1,500.


59. **paintings sold for**: See the February 1, 1966, summary of 1965 sales at Castelli Gallery (box B17, AWMA). Of course Warhol would only have received seventy percent of the sale price on the Green painting, or as little as half if the gallery had already started charging the higher commission New York dealers were moving toward.

60. **a fifth or less**: Johns’s works are noted at $5,000 and $12,000 in Martha Jackson Gallery, invoice to Emily Hall Tremaine (August 28, 1962), Emily Hall Tremaine papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


York: Knopf, 1983), 121.

63. **endless contracts**: Between January and June 1962, Warhol made out 13 invoices (doc box 189, AWMA) to his agent Fritzie Miller, who was just one source for the commercial contracts he was getting at the time.

64. “intentionally brutal”: Ruth Ansel, interview by author, August 12, 2015. Ansel shared her duties at *Bazaar* with another young designer named Bea Feitler, who must have been involved in the work with Warhol that Ansel described.

65. **random hatchings and washes of color**: Warhol had tested a similar style in an image of beauty products for the July issue of *Bazaar*—see the entry on it in Paul Maréchal, *Andy Warhol: The Complete Commissioned Magazine Work 1948–1987, Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Prestel, 2014), 287. Warhol tried it also in a portrait of art director Art Kane, a client of his, that was used in a tear-out ad for Champion fine printing paper that was inserted into various prestige publications, including *Print: America’s Graphic Design Magazine* (March 1962): 30. It was also inserted in *Harper’s Magazine* for April 1962.


69. **business in hides**: The following discussion is based on Arthur Edelman and Theodora Edelman, interview by author, April 16, 2015.

71. 257 Warhol was enlisted: Warhol was already established as the nation’s shoe-guy—Arthur Edelman had first encountered him in the hallway outside the I. Miller offices—see Arthur Edelman in Kimberly Phillips, “Happy Birthday Andy!,” August 6, 2012, http://blog.dwr.com/2012/08/06/happy-birthday-andy/.

72. 257 “leather industry”: They’d already deployed poems commissioned from Ogden Nash to similar effect, the Edelmans explained, even using them to leverage coverage for the firm in the New York Times—see John Stuart, “More Reptiles Due to Lose Skins as Big Dealer Starts Expansion,” New York Times, March 1, 1953. Arthur Edelman said that the Nash poems had been given pride of place in the press release that led to the Times story.

If in the art world Warhol was cultivating his new aloof persona, in the commercial world he remained “a joy to work with,” the Edelmans remembered. “If we didn’t like something, he would change it; he had no ego at all…. Andy was very, very smart—you didn’t have to explain anything to him”—Arthur Edelman and Theodora Edelman, interview by author, April 16, 2015.

73. 257 competing with photographers: A photographic Fleming-Joffe ad, for leather used in shoes by I. Miller, appears in the April 1958 issue of Vogue, one month after Warhol’s work for the Edelmans seems to have begun. The couple continues to use photography in their ads right through the 1960s. It is hard to know, however, when the art decisions were being made by the Edelmans and when they were being made by the shoe companies featured in the same ads—see for example Vogue (December 1, 1963): 29.

74. 257 from Warhol’s very first years: Nina Schleif, Drag & Draw: Andy Warhol, the Unknown Fifties (Munich: Hirmer, 2018), 47.

75. 257 steady income: Warhol’s 1960 income statement from the Times (IRS form 1099, AWMA) was for $3465; the 1962 statement came to $2335.

76. 257 head of advertising: William McCarthy, interview by author, January 8, 2015.

77. 257 a monthly salary: 1962 accounts ledger, AWMA.
Warhol’s agent was now selling more of his illustrations than in previous years—fully $9,000 worth—but that now accounted for a quarter of what was left of his commercial income, maybe because Warhol was too busy hustling art to also hustle his illustrations.

78. **257 expenses for the year**: 1962 accounts ledger, AWMA.
79. **257 begging one client**: See the October 5, 1962, request for payment (AWMA) that Warhol sent to the greeting-card maker Lilac Hedges—which yielded a grand total of $25.00.
80. **258 “show is glorious”**: Irving Blum to Andy Warhol, July 23, 1962, AWMA.
81. **258 took care to advertise**: “This Week’s Calendar,” Los Angeles Times, July 8, 1962.
85. **258 nicely typed label**: For an image of the installation see Gagosian Gallery, *Ferus* (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 50.
88. **259 “the wrong people”**: Warhol, in Carol Anne Mahsun, ed.,
NOTES


91. 259 “Do Not Be Misled”: Matt Weinstock, “Insects Bug You? Here’s the Reason,” Los Angeles Times, July 19, 1962. The cans were shown at the Stuart-Primus gallery, a serious venue that showed both non-Western and American contemporary art—see Gagosian Gallery, Ferus (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 37.


Two full years before the Ferus show, a prominent New York dealer had played Nostradamus, predicting that “advanced artists may again become interested in figurative painting, but if so, it will be in a way even less acceptable to conventional taste than the abstract painting the lay public now rejects”—see André Emmerich in Dorothy Gees Seckler, “Clues to the Future,” Art in America (Summer 1962): 124. A rival dealer, more committed to abstraction, countered that “to expect a return to realism is as false as to expect a return to the barter system”—Sylvan Simone, in Helen Wurdemann, “Variety in Los Angeles,” Art in America (Summer 1962): 136.

94. 259 “mask of impersonality”: Lawrence Alloway, in “Pop Art: An Historical Approach” (lecture transcript from a symposium organized by Willoughby Sharp for the Columbia University Graduate Art History Association, April 25, 1964), courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

On the symposium see Schapiro Will Moderate Art History Symposium, Columbia Daily Spectator, April 24, 1964.


96. 260 “So it kind of marks a time”: Warhol, quoted by Irving Blum, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary ‘Andy War-


For the attack on Pepsi see Balcomb Greene, manuscript submitted to The Nation (March 2, 1945), Balcomb and Gertrude Greene papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. See also the accompanying rejection letter from Margaret Marshall, the magazine’s editor.


Hayward’s story can’t be quite accurate, because her daughter was born on June 26, 1962, when the 32 Soups had not yet arrived at the Ferus. Hopper would have to have bought one of the Soups that Blum had brought back with him from New York in the spring—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 70. One collector and dealer remembered Blum buying two Soups on a visit they made together to Warhol’s studio in May 1962—see Betty Asher, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 20, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Blum confirmed her story in a March 24, 2018, e-mail to the author.

See also Dennis Hopper, 1712 North Crescent Heights: Dennis Hopper Photographs 1962–1968 (Los Angeles: Greybull Press, 2001). Hayward tells the story of the hospital visit and Hopper denies it—although Hayward does concede that Hopper might have bought the Soup painting, taken it to the hospital, and then been made to return it to Ferus. Hopper claims he first saw the Soup Can he and Hayward owned, and later sold, at the Dwan Gallery, and Hayward, in the 2017 interview, also said it came from there. Hopper also insists on having bought his Soup Can from Dwan in Dennis Hopper, Dennis Hopper: Interviews, ed. Nick Dawson
Number 53 in the Warhol catalogue raisonné is supposed to be that Hopper-Hayward piece, yet its provenance summary claims that it ended up at the Dwan gallery after it was owned by the Hoppers—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002).

Since the picture wasn’t one of the 32 in the Ferus show, there may always have been some confusion about just which work the couple owned, where it came from and when it was purchased.


Warhol’s collector Emily Tremaine remembered hearing Bach and rock blaring out simultaneously on her visits to Warhol’s studio in 1962—see Emily Tremaine, “Emily Tremaine: Her Own Thoughts,” in *The Tremaine Collection: 20th Century Masters, the Spirit of Modernism* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1984), 29. At least one of Warhol’s Bach albums, of the “Peasant Cantata,” has survived in his archive.

106. 261 **another four clients:** The purchasers are given as Ed Janss, Robert Rowan, Monte Factor, Dennis Hopper and Betty Asher in Irving Blum, oral history, October 26, 2011, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/archives/transcript_blum.pdf.


A Los Angeles artist named Walt Esslinger also claimed to have bought and then returned one of the Soups—see Larry Hill, “The Hundred Dollar Warhol,” accessed November 20, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/larryhillart/posts/17229636913093630. Esslinger’s story, as told to the younger artist Larry Hill, is so full of impossibilities and errors that it may need to be entirely ignored.
107. *261 keep all thirty-two paintings:* Irving Blum, in an October 11, 2017, e-mail to the author, said that he’d decided to keep the paintings together after a discussion with the art critic John Coplans.


Don Factor, one of the clients who had placed a Soup on reserve, said that Blum had asked him to give up his claim because Warhol himself preferred that the paintings stay together—see Morgan Neville, *The Cool School*, documentary, 2008.


110. *261 accepting $1,000:* Irving Blum, in Gagosian Gallery, *Ferus* (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 27.

111. *261 a different version of the story:* Joe Helman, interview by author, December 9, 2014.


Helman remembered the paintings as selling for $100 and the total owed Warhol as $1,600, but the surviving documents don’t support that. His memory is probably conditioned by Blum, who has frequently mentioned the lower price—probably confusing the amount he would have owed Warhol with what the paintings sold for.

114. *262 an invoice:* See the December 2, 1962, invoice from Warhol to Ferus, AWMA.


116. *262 for one single soup:* Irving Blum said that within months of the first Ferus show, he had bought a large 1961 Campbell’s Soup for $1,200 from the designer George Nelson—see Irving Blum, interview by
author, November 5, 2014. Nelson had himself bought it from Eleanor Ward on the advice of Emile de Antonio—see Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


120. **262 such postwar giants**: To less fanfare, Martha Jackson had also shown a client and illustrator friend of Warhol’s named Robert Cato, proving the feasibility of Warhol’s move from commercial art to the heights of the fine—see “Goings on about Town,” *The New Yorker* (March 12, 1955): 2. See also the many reviews of that and other Cato shows in New York newspapers.

An invitation to Cato’s March 1955 show with Jackson is preserved in Warhol’s archives. Warhol’s 1961 datebook (AWMA) shows him lunching with Cato on March 2. Cato was an art director at Columbia Records and had commissioned several covers from Warhol in the 1950s.

121. **262 bad repercussions**: Martha Jackson to Andy Warhol, July 20, 1962, AWMA.

122. **262 bowed to the tastes**: See John Weber, oral history, March 21, 2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. On Martha Jackson’s own dislike of Warhol see David Anderson, son of Martha Jackson, interview, c. 1973, Exhibition records of the Contemporary Wing of the Finch College Museum of Art, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Note that Ivan Karp, a former assistant of Jackson’s, might also have had an influence on her (rescinded) decision to give Warhol a show.

123. **263 handling Warhol’s work**: See Martha Jackson Gallery, invoice to Emily Hall Tremaine (August 28, 1962), Emily Hall Tremaine papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The invoice bills $150 for three tiny Warhols—including a mini version of his **Minestrone Soup**.

See also Warhol’s two invoices to the Jackson gallery dated September 2 and 4, 1962, AWMA.
263 negotiations with Castelli: Irving Blum commiserates with Warhol over the failure of the “thing with Leo” while congratulating him on arrangements he was making with Eleanor Ward—see Irving Blum to Andy Warhol, September 18, 1962, AWMA. This is confirmed in Irving Blum, oral history, October 26, 2011, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York, https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/archives/transcript_blum.pdf.


Eleanor Ward, in an April 4, 1970, deposition in a lawsuit Warhol brought against her (AWMA) said that de Antonio had first introduced her and Warhol as much as a year before she made her first visit to the artist’s studio.

263 wined and dined her: An entry for January 15 in Warhol’s 1962 datebook (AWMA) records a visit to the Stable gallery and then a Hungarian meal with Eleanor Ward, Ivan Karp and Leo Castelli.

263 “give Andy a show”: Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

This story is often taken to describe the genesis of Warhol’s first two-dollar bill painting, and to be in conflict with Muriel Latow’s account of the same. But it’s perfectly possible that Ward’s request triggered just one of the many two dollars that Warhol painted in the summer of ’62.


263 whose work Warhol knew: Warhol was so impressed by Alex Katz, his rival, that he’d tried to commission him to paint his double portrait with Ted Carey. Katz refused to work for the lousy $150 that Warhol offered, which is why Warhol went for his second choice, the older and more conservative Fairfield Porter. See Alex Katz, interview by author, June 21, 2017.


264 Katz showed some works: Alex Katz’s Jackson show was of props used in an avant-garde play by Kenneth Koch, later a huge Warhol


133. 264 “five menopausal maidens”: Ivan Karp, in unedited, unpublished interviews for Peter Rosen, Who Gets To Call It Art?, documentary, 2006, provided to the author by Rosen.


136. 264 keeping up with the Stable: Warhol and Ward’s lieutenant, Alan Groh, had struck up a friendship on the gay party scene, where Warhol had become a prized guest—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 183. Some sources say that Ward had resisted Warhol’s work until Groh just about forced it on her, with help from gallery client Ted Carey—see Ivan Karp, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 22, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Groh’s boyfriend Buzz Miller noted that “Eleanor was a hard sell on Pop Art,” and that Groh and he had made several studio visits to Warhol. He also denied that Emile de Antonio had played a role in getting Warhol his Stable show—see Buzz Miller, autograph note, July 17, 1997, Stable Gallery records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

137. 264 secret from his friends: Hanford Yang to Andy Warhol, September 1, 1962, AWMA. Yang, a friend and collector of Warhol’s, says that he is still waiting for the details of a new “gallery deal” that Warhol had hinted was coming.

CHAPTER 16


2. 267 “nasty silkscreen ink”: Gerard Malanga, in Martina Kudlacek, Notes on Marie Menken, documentary (Sixpack Film, 2006).
   The silkscreen layer on an early Marilyn painting was found to be an oil-based alkyd, apparently produced by the Naz-Dar company—see Jo Crook and Tom Learner, The Impact of Modern Paints (New York: Watson-Guptill, 2000), 172.

3. 267 “red blotches”: On Warhol’s techniques and materials, including his oil-based inks and Varnolene solvent, see Gerard Malanga and Gunnar B. Kvaran, Long Day’s Journey into the Past: Gunnar B. Kvaran Speaks with Gerard Malanga (Milan: Skira/Astrup Fearnley Museum, 2008), 13 and passim.
   On the solvents’ effects on Warhol’s skin see John Giorno, “Andy Warhol Interviewed by a Poet” (typescript, 1963), TC27 and TC32, AWMA.


5. 267 living room took over that job: David Dalton remembered Warhol silkscreening in the front room—see David Dalton, interview by author, October 4, 2017. Warhol’s nephew James Warhola, in an October 12, 2017, e-mail to the author, confirmed that the living-room was also used for silkscreening, as well as for stretching canvases.

6. 267 not easy work: Gerard Malanga, in Martina Kudlacek, Notes on Marie Menken, documentary (Sixpack Film, 2006).


8. 268 an artist’s new props: The soup and juice are specifically mentioned as “pop-art props” in Aline B. Saarinen, “Explosion of Pop Art,” Vogue (April 15, 1963): 87. The Ballantine Ale cans are visible in Polaroid photos of the space (AWMA).

9. 268 inky silkscreen images: Aline B. Saarinen, “Explosion of Pop Art,” Vogue (April 15, 1963). By her visit, at the end of 1962, the art supplies seem to have proliferated beyond where they were on the first
visits of Hanford Yang, from maybe nine months earlier—see Hanford Yang, interview by author, September 22, 2017.


Warhol’s invoice to RCA (AWMA) is dated May 1, 1962, meaning the work on the record cover must have been done rather before that—possibly even before the Dollar Paintings silkscreened from drawings and first recorded in photographs by Alfred Statler dated April 28, 1962 (AWMA).

11. **268 postmark on a letter:** See Irving Blum to Warhol, in an envelope postmarked June 8, 1962. The note reads: “Enclosed your check on the Liz Taylor for sale to Bob Rowan. Many thanks for sending so promptly.” See also the May 24, 1962, invoice (AWMA) from Active Process Supply, Warhol’s usual photo-silkscreen supplier, for a “screen.”

It is generally claimed that Warhol’s first Liz Taylor paintings date to the fall of 1962, but in mid-1963 he said that he began the series “a long time ago” when she was mortally ill—see Warhol’s interview with Gene Swenson, in Jennifer Sichel, “‘What Is Pop Art?’ A Revised Transcript of Gene Swenson’s 1963 Interview with Andy Warhol,” *Oxford Art Journal* 41, no. 1 (March 2018): 85–100, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxartj/kcy001. Warhol was referring to Taylor’s almost-fatal pneumonia in London, in early 1961, and then hospitalization a year later in Rome, both described in the April 13, 1962, issue of *Life* which Warhol used as the source for some of his Taylor pictures. A date in the spring of 1962 (“a long time ago”) would thus indeed make sense for the start of the series, when the actress’s earlier near-death in London was again in the news because of the blanket coverage of her second hospitalization. Eleanor Ward herself remembered seeing “the Liz Taylor” on her first visit to Warhol’s studio, which she dates to June 1962—see Ward in Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol’s Art and Films* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 505.

Irving Blum, in an August 30, 2017, e-mail to the author, said that his June letter to Warhol referred to a sort of test-painting of Taylor that Warhol had sent him before the Ferus Campbell’s Soup show had opened, and after they’d discussed the paintings of Taylor and Elvis Presley that Warhol was already planning for his second Ferus exhibition, at least a
year away at the time. Blum identified a photo of the well-known Liz painting from the Rowan collection as the one Warhol sent him in the early summer of 1962.

Rowan’s then-wife Carolyn Farris, interviewed by this author September 1, 2017, remembered seeing the painting on the wall at the Ferus Gallery, and then finding, on its delivery to their house, that Warhol had decided to turn it into a diptych through the addition of a plain silver canvas. She said that it would have been typical of Rowan, who always bought more art than he could hang, to have purchased the painting at the gallery in mid-1962 and then to have only accepted delivery a year or more later; if Blum knew that the “test” Liz might eventually join others in a second Warhol show, he might have made a special plea to Rowan to leave it with him. Note that the wording of Blum’s 1962 note implies that the painting was specially shipped to him by Warhol, rather than having been consigned with the rest of the Liz paintings sent for the second Ferus show in the fall of 1963, which makes an error in the postmarked date a less likely explanation.

12. 268 in black on top of these colors: Jo Crook and Tom Learner, The Impact of Modern Paints (New York: Watson-Guptill, 2000), 172.

13. 268 Warhol claimed: On several occasions, Warhol said that the Baseball painting was his first photosilkscreened work of art, after the silkscreens of his hand drawn dollar bills—see for example Warhol in Barry Blinderman, “Modern ‘Myths’: An Interview with Andy Warhol,” Arts Magazine (October 1981): 145. If that’s true, it would have to be redated from the late summer, where it is often placed, to May or early June 1962, before the Liz Taylor mentioned in the Ferus correspondence of June 8.


16. 269 “Andy Warhol doesn’t play second base”: Ad for Pioneer electronics clipped from Esquire (October 1973), Gift of Donna McClure, AWMA.


18. 269 technique that Warhol had tried: See Warhol’s Figures with Newspaper Transfers, The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, reproduced


20. 269 produce many of his textiles: Leon Hecht, interview by author, June 8, 2018.

When shown photographs of several of Warhol’s 1950s fabrics, Hecht, a textile designer who had known Warhol, confirmed that they had been silkscreened, as was common for fabrics from small production runs.


On Warhol’s knowledge of photographic enlargement see Tina Fredericks: “. . . at Condé Nast, we had a photostat room where you could order these images in any size you wanted; if you wanted to crop it this way or that way, you got a photostat blow-up”—Fredericks, in Donna De Salvo, “Success Is a Job in New York . . .”: The Early Art and Business of Andy Warhol (New York and Pittsburgh: Grey Art Gallery and Carnegie Museum of Art, 1989), 17. Warhol’s commercial “mechanicals” often include annotations, in his hand, that state the percentage enlargement or reduction that a drawing required.


26. 270 advent of the American supermarket: Mathilda V. Schwalbach and James Alfred Schwalbach, *Screen-Process Printing for the Serigra-
32. 270 bought a Shahn: See the Downtown Gallery’s March 26, 1959, receipt (AWMA) for Warhol’s purchase of Shahn’s Calabanes silk-screen. For Warhol’s drawn copy of his Shahn see its reproduction in The Collection of Frederick W. Hughes (New York: Sotheby’s, 2001), 170.
33. 271 early show of screen prints: See the announcement for the American Silkscreen Society exhibition held at Outlines April 17 to May 15, 1942, Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.
34. 271 W.P.A. screenprinting show: “An Exhibition Of Prints By The Silk Screen Group (Formed In 1940 In New York, 64 Works By As Many Artists)” ran April 6 to May 16, 1943, at the Carnegie Institute’s art museum. Warhol could hardly have missed it, given that his Saturday drawing classes also toured the museum’s exhibitions.
38. 271 achieve the complexity: Russell Twiggs, the Tech art department’s beloved technician, took up the new technique and went on to become Pittsburgh’s Serigrapher in Chief, showing Warhol and his peers just how much craft (and, maybe, how little meaning) could be crammed into the screening of a single print. By 1951, Twiggs had won first prize in the National Serigraph Society exhibition in New York—see
Charles F. Danver, “Pittsburghesque,” Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, March 23, 1951. Twiggs was already known for silkscreening at Tech and his many surviving screenprints show an extreme attention to complex technique.


One of the original WPA silkscreeners had earlier declared that “the mechanical effect of photographic screen processes does not harmonize artistically with the craft or ‘hand-worked’ quality of silk screen process proper”—Anthony Velonis, Technique of the Silk Screen Process (New York: New York City WPA Art Project, 1940), 34.


46. 272 “I didn’t know how to really screen”: Andy Warhol, interview by Emile De Antonio, transcript for “Painters Painting,” n.d., Emile de Antonio Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives / Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research.

47. 272 “I kinda like it”: Warhol, quoted by Nathan Gluck in Mark

The accidental messes of Warhol’s sloppy screening parodied the precisely willed disorder of the Abstract Expressionists. The fact that Warhol worked on his canvas on the floor, as Jackson Pollock was famous for doing, only made the parody more complete. In Warhol’s carefully careless hands, the craft of silkscreening let him recover the expressive surfaces—the forbidden “drips”—that he’d briefly abandoned, by suggesting that they were beyond his control.

51. 273 “It’s a painting”: Warhol, quoted by Irving Blum in Roberta Bernstein, “An Interview with Irving Blum,” in Ferus (New York: Gagosian and Rizzoli, 2009), 28.

Writing in the early 1970s, the critic John Perreault said that Warhol did eventually make strenuous objections to seeing any of his early, hand-painted Pop Art included in the retrospective that had just made the rounds of the world’s museums, including the Whitney in New York
and the Tate in London—see John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c. 1971), TC246, AWMA. On the near completion of Perreault’s monograph, which was lacking only its illustrations, see Harry N. Abrams to Andy Warhol, September 8, 1971, AWMA.


Warhol’s invoice for the project (AWMA) is dated October 5, 1962, just weeks, if not days, before an issue marked “November” would have hit the newsstands. A feature like his, with no “news peg,” would have had a deadline of several months before that, so it took Warhol some time to do his billings.


57. **273 sent a photographer:** These photos were followed in the magazine, within a few pages, by a series showing Willem de Kooning also at work at home. Warhol must have revelled in the pairing.

58. **274 “thoroughbred, unequivocal shapes”:** The writer was Emmanuel Mounier, a French theologian who had been dead for more than a decade at the time. He got second billing to “Andrew Warhol” on the *Bazaar* table of contents.


60. **275 the ideal conduit:** John Ashbery to Andy Warhol, September 3, 1963, AWMA.

61. **275 “different breed of personality”:** Ivan Karp, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas), typed notes, November 30, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

The gay curator Sam Green did notice how “Andy just knew to stay away from the tough guys in the group,” registering a split between Pop Art’s studly and even homophobic artists, on the one hand, and the more open-minded heterosexuals like Lichtenstein who Warhol felt close to—see Samuel Adams Green, interview by Avis Berman, June 6, 2006, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives. One of the notable facts about the big-name Pop artists is that all of them were straight except for Robert Indiana and Warhol, making this new social context very different from the one Warhol was in as an illustrator in the 1950s.


Warhol would have looked up to Sidney Janis in part for the solo he’d given Saul Steinberg, Warhol’s colleague and rival in illustration who was also, thanks to Janis, proof that an illustrator could move into fine art—see Aline B. Loucheim, “Steinberg: Artist and Humorist,” *New York Times*, February 3, 1952.

64. **275 “Spelling of your name: Andy?”:** Sidney Janis to Andy Warhol, August 28, 1962, AWMA.


The 200 cans are already mentioned in Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 12, 1962, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Once on public display, the painting of 200 cans also acted as a new avatar of the 200 dollar bills Warhol had shown at Green a few months earlier, again equating products—including his art?—with money. In fact, however, the 200 soups had actually been made before the bills, using spray paint and a flood of tiny stencils, with separate ones cut out for each flavor and each zone on each label. That must have made the painting a painful labor and a sure source of stink in Warhol’s house, with the silkscreens of the Dollar paintings then arriving as a (relatively) tidy and easy alternative.


The Times critic and some of his peers could go even further, describing the show’s works as ephemera, to be “thrown away when circumstance has changed enough to remove their relevance”—Brian O’Doherty, “Art: Avant-Garde Revolt: ‘New Realists’ Mock U.S. Mass Culture in Exhibition at Sidney Janis Gallery,” *New York Times*, October 31, 1962. Another review described the works as non-art, mere “displays”—see “New Realist Show Draws Laughter Instead of Shock,” *Philadelphia Inquirer Public Ledger*, November 11, 1962. That review, too, read Pop Art as cutting and satirical of American culture. One critic also took care to point out that the show had opened on Halloween; that was also three days after the Cuban Missile Crisis, when the world had looked set to end—see Kelly M. Cresap, *Pop Trickster Fool: Warhol Performs Naivete* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 9.


76. 277 a set of instructions: Warhol had already encountered similarly radical art in Pittsburgh when he was a teen: With its usual foresight, Outlines gallery had displayed—as art—a print by Alexander Calder that was just a line diagram for a monumental, imaginary mobile; the print featured the same snaking arrows as Warhol’s dance piece. Calder’s *Grandeur—Immense* (“Size—Vast”) was shown at Outlines in 1941 and was still in the hands of a descendant of the gallery’s founder in 2014. The Calder exhibition is documented in Outlines Gallery, scrapbook (n.d.), Rockwell family collection.

Another very likely precedent for Warhol’s *Fox Trot* was a 1951 Rauschenberg painting called *Should Love Come First?*, which prominently


79. 278 *quite early in the year*: All but the *Do It Yourself* had already been spotted in Warhol’s studio a full seven months earlier—see Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 12, 1962, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Even the *D.I.Y.* had been finished by early July—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 193.

80. 278 *a Bonwit Teller window*: A Warhol image of a half painted-in vase of flowers, in a window display backdrop still in his 1950s style, is reproduced in Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views and Reviews*, November 4, 1961.


83. 278 *an abstract collage*: The check-list printed on Duchamp’s poster for the show includes a 1916 collage by Hans Arp titled *Construction élémentaire selon les droits du hazard* (“Basic Construction Following the Laws of Chance”).

84. 278 *mutual chanciness*: Dore Ashton, in “A Symposium on Pop


86. **half-finished**: George Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d.

87. **child-made outsider art**: The Stable *Do It Yourself* work also implied, maybe, that most of Warhol’s early Pop paintings also had roots in the childlike act of coloring-in: A lot of them, including the big Noodle Soup canvas at Janis, consisted of drawn outlines that were then filled-in with paint. You could (and can) still see the penciled lines that surround Warhol’s paint, especially in all his many unfinished early paintings, which may themselves have suggested the unfinished-ness of the paint-by-numbers pieces.

88. **happy to prove them right**: The same idea is mooted in John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

89. **ignorance**: Jac Venza, interview by author, August 1, 2018. Venza was a Bonwit Teller window dresser and then longtime arts programmer at PBS. Other friends from that same world have similar memories of their disdain for Warhol’s skill-free Pop.

90. **a supermarket is more interesting**: Richard Huelsenbeck, transcript from an unidentified radio broadcast, 1962, gift of Nye Ffarrabas, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

One diehard young abstractionist—who would go on to design the packaging that was the source for Warhol’s Brillo Box sculptures—compared Pop Art, and Warhol’s work in particular, to the sentimental work of nineteenth-century “pompier” painters like William-Adolphe Bouguereau: “The realism of a Campbell’s soup can is the same as the realism of a running maid in the woods.” See James Vivian Harvey, oral history, December 12, 1962, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


93. **maids in white caps**: James Rosenquist, in Victor Bockris,


95. **it’s not worth very much**: Warhol, quoted by Les Levine, interview by author, April 26, 2016.

96. **Enclosed is a receipt**: Emile De Antonio to Andy Warhol, November 8, 1962, attached in 1962 datebook, AWMA.

97. **20lb ham 19lb beef**: 1962 datebook, AWMA.

A Stable gallery document (TC11, AWMA) is stamped “Preview Nov. 6 5–7.”


103. **a two-artist exhibition**: The show was presented by Alan Stone, who had already given Warhol’s Pop some of its first exposure.

104. **owner and editor**: James Fitsimmons, who had panned Warhol’s show of Capote drawings at the Hugo Gallery in 1952, went on to appear on the masthead of Art International as owner, publisher and editor.

105. **they were just—crass**: Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

106. **a pair of paintings**: They were the same Marilyns Warhol had seen hanging in the Tremaines’ apartment a week earlier, which were then loaned back to Ward. It was the Tremaines who had suggested that Warhol treat the two separate paintings as a diptych, a move he later repeated many times—see Gregory Hedberg, "The History of the Tremaine Collection," in The Tremaine Collection: 20th Century Masters, the Spirit of Modernism (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1984), 20.

107. **Byzantine art**: Roy Lichtenstein, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas) and Geoffrey Hendricks, typed notes, December 7, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.
108. **282 a source of modern myths**: Parker Tyler lectured at Outlines gallery in 1945 and again in 1947, when he published *Magic and Myth of the Movies*. That was a book that Warhol owned, probably while still in college—it survives in his archives. Tyler later became a big supporter of Warhol’s films and a good friend.


111. **282 this news had triggered his paintings**: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 28. There is no reason to believe that the reference to Marilyn’s death that a ghostwriter put into Warhol’s mouth originated with Warhol himself, rather than with another interviewee or even a secondary source.


113. **282 nudged Warhol to portray her**: Stephen Bruce, interview by author, October 12, 2017.


115. **282 didn’t need to die**: There is other evidence for dating at least some of Warhol’s paintings of Marilyn to before her death: Eleanor Ward

John Weber, assistant to Martha Jackson, mentions having sold a Marilyn from the Jackson back office, which would most likely have happened before Warhol’s break with her in late July—see John Weber, oral history, March 21, 2006, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Documents in the Warhol archives show that Warhol’s last consignment of paintings to the Martha Jackson Gallery seem to have occurred on July 27, 1962. There are a few records, however, of later sales through Jackson.

116. **282 the “dumb blonde”:** Henry Geldzahler, “Introduction: Warhol Print Catalogue Raisonné” (typescript draft, 1985), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

117. **282 title for a de Kooning:** David Anderson, son of Martha Jackson, interview, c.1973, Exhibition records of the Contemporary Wing of the Finch College Museum of Art, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

In a 1956 issue of *Harper’s Bazaar* the aristocratic Cecil Beaton had camped about Marilyn Monroe as “an undulating basilisk, scorching everything in her path but the rosemary bushes.” His essay ends with the poignant words “she is only fifteen years old; and she will never die”—see Cecil Beaton, “Little Girl Alias Femme Fatale,” *Harper’s Bazaar* (June 1956): 74.

118. **282 was pasting Marilyn:** The Ray Johnson estate says that his *Hand Marilyn Monroe*, in the Whitney Museum collection, is dated 1958.


Warhol’s repetition of Marilyn across different canvases evokes the way all the different glamor shots of an actress could substitute for each other, since in the end it was the actress that mattered, not any one image of her. The *Times*, in its otherwise skimpy review of the Stable show, talked about how “Marilyn Monroe’s radiant smile and Elvis Presley’s sensual sulkiness are repeated in rows as if the canvases had been sprayed

122. 283 “I was just making fabrics”: Warhol, in Lana Jokel, Andy Warhol, documentary, 1972.

123. 283 the garish tints: Henry Geldzahler, “Recent Developments” (typescript for a talk at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, January 1963), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. (The typescript mentions the January 25, 1963, issue of Life as being the current one.)

124. 283 “social realist painter negligible”: Balcomb Green, in a clipping from unidentified newspaper (March 5, 1938), Balcomb and Gertrude Greene papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


126. 283 Campbell’s Soup Can: Warhol’s new art had only been in circulation for something like nine months, but his “introduction” at the Stable also stands as something close to a survey of his entire Pop achievement, already close to complete at that point. On top of the Marilyns, Elvises and Donahues that Eleanor Ward had chosen, she had included Warhol’s early silkscreen of the slugger Roger Maris, a hand-painted enlargement of a tabloid’s front page, two paintings built around Coca-Cola, two more Dance Diagrams that sat on the floor and another Do It Yourself—of a sailboat, this time.

127. 283 pair of babies: See Alfred Statler’s photographs of the opening, AWMA.

128. 284 “I felt like an idiot”: Leo Castelli, in Ann Hindry, Andy Warhol, Quelques Grands Témoins,” Artstudio, 1988, 118.

129. 284 “felt like an idiot”: Leo Castelli, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 184.


131. 284 Jasper Johns showed up: See Alfred Statler’s photographs of the opening, AWMA.

132. 284 Guests were given: See Alfred Statler’s photographs of the opening, AWMA.


134. 284 “this stupid camera”: Hanford Yang, interview by author, September 22, 2017.


138. **284 buying for themselves**: Geldzahler had bought 129 *Die in Jet* even before the show opened—see Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 184.

   On Alfred Barr’s purchase see Eleanor Ward in her April 4, 1970, deposition in a lawsuit Warhol brought against her (AWMA).

139. **284 $7,000**: Financial documents in the Warhol archives provide prices for a number of the Stable works: The small “flavor” Marilyns went for $225 each as did *Close Cover Before Striking*, while the Troy Donahue diptych sold for $1,500. Other prices can be estimated based on those, and on discussions of pricing in Eleanor Ward’s April 4, 1970, deposition in a lawsuit Warhol brought against her (AWMA). Ward also mentions having taken a thirty-three percent commission on sales.

   Slightly different prices are given in an annotated price list from the show, Stable Gallery records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


vast and varied: See Robert Watts, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas), typed notes, December 14, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.


Warhol’s idol Ben Shahn had used silkscreens, in large editions, as a moneymaker when McCarthyism cost him his work on ads—see Howard Greenfield, *Ben Shahn: An Artist’s Life* (New York: Random House, 1998), 281.

“whims of the marketplace”: Stanley Kunitz, in “A Symposium on Pop Art,” *Arts Magazine* (April 1963): 40. The magazine was presenting papers from a symposium on Pop held at MoMA the previous December.


“very impressed”: Virginia Dwan to Andy Warhol, September 17, 1962, AWMA.


The visit is said to have taken place on September 9, 1962, in David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 132. Polaroids survive from the visit (AWMA). Rauschenberg apparently payed close attention as Warhol showed him the silkscreening process—see Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, August 23, 1976, box M88, AWMA.
Rauschenberg may have borrowed from Warhol even before this: The titular animal in his 1962 print called “Abby’s Bird” could have come straight from a Warhol illustration.

286 “Rauschenberg got the idea of silkscreening from me”: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, August 23, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


286 Rauschenberg had become the subject: Warhol was apparently at work on his Rauschenberg portraits when that sitter came by to learn silkscreening—see Ivan Karp, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas), typed notes, November 30, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

286 of a friend in art: The artist portraits are of Robert Rauschenberg, Patty Oldenburg (née Mucha) and Rosalyn Drexler, whose paintings based on tabloid disasters may in fact predate Warhol’s.


286 “My Country ’Tis of Thee”: Warhol’s “American love goddess,” as the show’s catalog described Marilyn, was on view alongside such things as Claes Oldenburg’s “giant hamburger, an emblem of the nation’s business life” and Roy Lichtenstein’s comic books, “inflated to giant size and spelling out their clichés like esoteric wonders”—see Gerald Nordland, *My Country ’tis of Thee* (Los Angeles: Dwan Gallery, 1962), np, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/my-country-tis-thee-exhibition-catalog-dwan-gallery-los-angeles-calif-8805.

In a sign of how challenging this art still was, the catalog took care to say that these works weren’t really about the low-culture subjects they portrayed but about using their undignified imagery as the scaffold for attractive, elite compositions. Virginia Dwan herself remembered those subjects as having been “taboo” and “déclassé”—see Virginia Dwan, oral history, interview by Charles F. Stuckey, March 27, 1984, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The Dwan interview is cited in Jessica Dawson, “Whatever Happened to Virginia Dwan?” http://extraonline.org/article/whatever-happened-to-virginia-dwan/, accessed October 10, 2017.


287 good sales: John Weber to Richard Bellamy, December 7,

159. **287 “New Painting of Common Objects”**: The exhibition’s poster shows that it only ran September 25 to October 19.


161. **287 “OK Art”**: Ivan Karp spoke of a dinner with Warhol, Rosenquist and Oldenburg at which they came up with the new name, which they then ran by Lichtenstein—see Ivan Karp, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas), typed notes, November 30, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.


164. **287 an ad by Warhol**: The ad was for the San Francisco store called Doppelganger, and consists of a Christmas text written entirely in Julia Warhola’s handwriting, complete with spelling errors. Warhol scholars Matt Wrbican, Nina Schleif and Paul Maréchal, in October 31, 2017, e-mails to the author, expressed doubts about its authorship, whereas the Warhol collector Jay Reeg was certain of it. It does seem hard to imagine some other illustrator indulging in such slavish imitation of Warhol’s signature style—and Julia Warhola’s.

**CHAPTER 17**


Gerard Malanga, who arrived at the firehouse six months into Warhol's tenure there, recalled a hole in the floor where the pole had been—Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


The building also came with a supply of quaint Victoriana that Warhol carted around with him for the next several decades: the official “Hook and Ladder 13” sign; a couple of hand-painted boards that listed nearby fire-department call boxes. (They were used as work surfaces in later studios and now bear scribbled phone numbers and rings of paint from dripping cans; information on the call-box signs comes from former Warhol archivist Erin Byrne, in an October 20, 2017, e-mail.) The fire department’s American flag was still flying over the door when Warhol was there—see the 1963 photograph in the Gerard Malanga collection.


5. **289 $150 a month:** Andy Warhol to New York City Department of Real Estate, November 19, 1962, AWMA.

6. **289 two months’ deposit:** Andy Warhol to New York City Department of Real Estate, November 19, 1962, AWMA.

   The lease was for a single month, no doubt with the expectation that it would be extended on a month-to-month basis.


8. **289 second floor of the firehouse:** The interiors can be seen in contact sheets by photographer Edward Wallowitch, AWMA.

   The studio only occupied part of the space, according to Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 32. The lease documents (AWMA) suggest the same: The footprint of the space to be rented is given as 2,500 square feet, half of what the building as a whole would have provided.

   While Warhol had access to the lower floor, and stored some stretched canvases there, it had few if any windows and no lighting at all and so was almost useless as a work space—see Gerard Malanga, inter-
view by author, April 11, 2018.

9. **209 the building did not include**: Gerard Malanga has claimed there was no heat or electricity—see Gerard Malanga, interview by Christoph Heinrich, typescript, 1999, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. But films seem to have been shot there (including a three-minute portrait of Malanga) which would have required power to run both the camera’s motor and the lights that Malanga recalled seeing there—Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


    Ray Johnson, as reported by the late Warhol archivist Matt Wrbican,
stated that Warhol had also found some boxes of images put out on the street. They were labeled “Scene”, the name of a men's magazine, and the Warhol archives hold many of them, still labeled with subject headings.

17. **crashes and disasters**: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


25. **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg**: The Rosenbergs were in the news because Morton Sobell, convicted as an accomplice, was launching an appeal, and the government had admitted that Ethel Rosenberg did not receive a fair trial.

Warhol’s photo of the chair came with a caption that described its use in the Rosenberg executions.


Note that Sonnabend seems to have chosen to title the show—or at least its catalog—simply “Warhol,” stencilled onto the catalog’s cover in a distinctly Jasper Johns-ish typeface.

29. **“All French people very shock”:** Walasse Ting to Andy Warhol, holograph letter from Paris, February 14, 1964, AWMA.


33. **to act as his guide:** See John Ashbery to Andy Warhol, September 3, 1963, AWMA. Ashbery asks the artist to take him to the studios of Lichtenstein, Rosenquist and Öyvind Fahlström.


MoMA’s show “Recent Acquisitions to the Museum Collection,” which ran November 20, 1963, to January 13, 1964, includes the Rivers and the Thiebaud from the announcement but not the Warhol or the Wesselman—see the checklist in *Recent Acquisitions to the Museum Collection* (Museum of Modern Art, 1962), https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/

John Giorno, who was dating Warhol just when MoMA should have been collecting him, laid the neglect at the feet of Frank O’Hara, the gay poet and MoMA curator: “Frank hated Andy, hated Andy’s work, hated everything about him and was mean to him too. . . . It was the reason the Museum of Modern Art didn’t acquire any Andy Warhols in the early years. . . . Frank used to laugh at Andy, make fun of him to his face and torture him.” See Giorno in Winston Leyland, “John Giorno: The Poet in New York,” *Gay Sunshine* (Spring 1975): 5.


40. **“fraudulent”:** A record of the event was published as “A Symposium on Pop Art,” *Arts Magazine* (April 1963): 36.


42. **“go abstract”:** Ellen Hulda Johnson to Andy Warhol, August 23, 1963, TC -24, AWMA.

43. **to stop a museum:** Kathleen L. Housley, *Emily Hall Tremaine: Collector on the Cusp* (Meriden, CT: Emily Hall Tremaine Foundation, 2001), 176. Tremaine discouraged the Wadsworth Atheneum, where she had vast influence, from buying a Warhol Electric Chair.

44. **refused to show them:** David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 148.


47. **the technique’s pioneer:** Lawrence Alloway, “Six Painters

The show became a huge hit as museums across the country demanded to be on its tour—see Nan Rosenthal, “Los Angeles,” *Show* (August 1963): 29.

*Vogue* magazine, no less, felt obliged to recognize the exhibition’s heft by assigning a long, analytical feature on it to a famous TV art critic. She gave Warhol top billing as “the pop-art kid,” then praised his novel grasp of how the industrial world “mass produces and mass distributes in absolutely impersonal terms products and people-symbols.” Yet in the end she slammed him for failing to bring about the kind of traditional artistic “transformation” that would have made his audience see that world “more sharply, more concentratedly, more memorably than you might have”—see Aline B. Saarinen, “Explosion of Pop Art,” *Vogue* (April 15, 1963): 87.


50. **295 James Thurber:** Warhol knew and admired Thurber’s art. In the 1940s he’d owned a volume of Thurber’s *Fables for Our Time* (AWMA), which is among the books he seems to have received from friends in college. His 1950s illustrations sometimes came close to copying Thurber’s style, for example in the cover of the April 1955 issue of *Glamour*, where Warhol’s drawings of rabbits are recognizably Thurberian.

Warhol had another connection to the show: Its choreography was by his 1950s friend (and crush) John Butler.


52. **296 union’s admissions test:** On April 22, 1963, the musical’s producer, Haila Stoddard, forwarded an envelope to Warhol (AWMA) containing information on the next set of tests, which were on June 8, almost a month after the show was to open.

53. **296 “costume concept”:** Warhol claims credit for the costumes in his diaries, and mentions the union issue. He also back-dates the pro-


Major changes and additions were still being announced the day after the show’s original opening night: See “Restaurants and Night Clubs: Thurber’s ‘Beast in Be’ Marc Connelly to Narrate,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, May 15, 1963.


Images of the production survive at the New York Public Library.

58. **296 “failure is always so sordid”:** Haila Stoddard to Andy Warhol, June 10, 1963, AWMA.


Warhol also got to design the cover for the show’s vinyl record of artists’ interviews. In one of the simplest, boldest moves that he had ventured thus far, his cover simply appropriated a splashy, hand-lettered sign from some store or supermarket: “Giant Size—$1.57” was all there was on the album’s front. (By comparison, his interview that can be heard on the album itself—available at the Archives of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution—is so wan and cagey as to barely be there at all.) The interview was recorded by the Bell Labs engineer Billy Klüver at a February 9, 1963, party given by Tom Wesselman, according to a Klüver diary entry shared with the author by Julie Martin, Klüver’s widow, in a January 24, 2018, e-mail.


64. **“I hate it”**: Dorothy McCardle, “A Spoof or Art: Much Debate at This Show,” Washington Post, April 22, 1963.

65. **“I wouldn’t hang these things”**: Dorothy McCardle, “A Spoof or Art: Much Debate at This Show,” Washington Post, April 22, 1963.


For details on the event see “Pop Culture,” Time (May 3, 1963): 77.

69. **founder of a garage band**: The band had been Warhol’s idea, according to member La Monte Young, interviewed April 22, 2015. Patty Mucha (formerly Oldenburg) confirmed this—see Stéphane Aquin, “Andy Warhol, Musician,” in Warhol Live: Music and Dance in Andy Warhol’s Work, ed. Emma Lavigne and Matt Wrbican (Munich: Prestel, 2008), 20.


72. **recorded in Washington**: A single brief tape was made by engineer Billy Klüver, who was involved in the Washington show, and survives in the collection of his widow, Julie Martin.
The recording was made at the Washington home of curator Alice Denney according to Patty Mucha (formerly Oldenburg), interview by author, n.d. But note that it is also said that the tape was recorded in the Oldenburg home in New York, according to Branden Joseph, “No More Apologies: Pop Art and Pop Music ca. 1963,” in Warhol Live: Music and Dance in Andy Warhol’s Work, ed. Stéphane Aquin and Emma Lavigne (Munich: Prestel, 2008), 122.

73. 298 “I quit”: La Monte Young, interview by author, April 22, 2015.

74. 298 “It didn’t go too well”: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

75. 298 “venomously funny world”: Rosalyn Drexler, interview by author, September 26, 2017.

76. 298 Months earlier: There might have been a lapse of three months or more between Warhol’s work on the images and their publication, which would have been the standard lag in the magazine industry. A three-month delay between article submission and publication is mentioned in Mary Ellin Barrett, of Glamour magazine, to Henry Geldzahler, May 27, 1963, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

77. 298 a series of photomat booths: Slightly different formats among the different photo-strips indicate that various machines were used.

78. 298 a picture of their picture: The photos he held up survive in the Warhol Museum, as do many of the photo-booth strips—see Matt Wrbican, “A Guided Tour of Time Capsule 21,” in Andy Warhol’s Time Capsule 21 (Dumont, 2004), 27.


80. 299 high-status items: Also of relevance to Warhol would have been an Avedon photo of Salvador Dalí, who had added a speech bubble coming out of his mouth with the word “Pop?” scribbled inside. That went with a quote in which Dalí claimed paternity of Warhol’s new Pop movement, which Dalí must have meant either as a passing of the torch or condescension—see “A Lapidary Liveliness,” Harper’s Bazaar (June 1963): 56.

In addition to his main Photomat feature, Warhol himself was present in the magazine two more times. Art directors used yet another of his photobooth portraits to go with a mini-profile of Roland Kirk (p. 30), most radical of jazzmen and fine company for Warhol the avant-gardist
to find himself in. Warhol’s work came up again in the background of a portrait of a young fashion designer named John Kloss, described (p. 60) as “extremely prophetic.” The designer was shown in a classic downtown loft filled with his growing art collection—one of that moment’s new signs of status—and it included a Warhol Marilyn that would have been at most a few months old when it went up on his wall. Kloss was an acquaintance of Warhol’s and the lover and roommate of Pop artist Robert Indiana, so the portrait of Kloss might have been shot in their loft on Coenties Slip—see Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 69. The *Bazaar* article mentions Kloss trading his women’s fashions for art, as mentioned also in the unpublished memoirs of Patty Oldenburg, provided by her to this author. She wore Kloss dresses that must have come from deals he made with her husband Claes. The Marilyn that Kloss owned was the “Cherry” one shown at the Stable Gallery the previous November—see Rainer Crone, “Das Bildnerische Werk Andy Warhols” (Ph.D., Frei Universität, 1976), 330.

81. **299 small-time portrait business:** John Warhola, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, November 24, 2004, AWMA.


83. **299 “machine that could take instant photos”:** Ruth Ansel, interview by author, August 12, 2015.

Israel was fired because of a dispute over the cover of the January issue of *Bazaar*, so that the April issue was the last one he designed. Ansel then became co-art director with Bea Feitler—see “Harper’s Bazaar Archive: Ruth Ansel,” *Harper’s Bazaar* (September 29, 2016), http://www.harpersbazaar.co.uk/culture/bazaar-art/news/a38138/bazaar-flashback-ruth-ansel/.


85. **299 photos of President Dwight Eisenhower:** *New York Times Magazine* (March 29, 1959): cover. Thanks to Paul Maréchal for pointing me to the issue.

86. **299 birthday present:** Work on the project began soon after Warhol’s arrival at the firehouse in mid-June, according to Gerard Malanga, interview by Christoph Heinrich, typescript, 1999, Gerard
Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The portraits of Ethel Scull seem well under way, and maybe completed, in Ellen Hulda Johnson, photograph of Andy Warhol in his studio (July 30, 1963), Ellen Hulda Johnson papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


90. **300 thirty-five separate canvases:** Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 410. Although the painting is now known as *Ethel Scull 36 Times*, Warhol only added the thirty-sixth canvas later in the 1960s.

91. **300 3-D effects:** Warhol tipped his hat to 3D in his two-tone portraits of Patty Oldenburg (née Mucha) and of Rosalyn Drexler, who was among *Bazaar’s* New Faces. His silkscreened portrait of Drexler was based on an old, tabloid-style photo from her brief spell as a female wrestler. The portrait of Patty Oldenburg repeats her unsmiling face, unchanged, sixteen times on a single canvas, giving the piece some of the gravitas of Warhol’s multiplied Marilyns.


Around the same time, Warhol had tried to sell portraits to Arthur and Theodora Edelman, the clients for his snakeskin ads, as he tried to finalize his shift from commercial work to fine art. “We headed to a photobooth and had our pictures taken,” Arthur Edelman remembered. “He kept pumping the machine full of quarters and telling us what to do. Later, I made the one major mistake of my association with Andy: I asked him how much a portrait would cost. Without missing a beat he said, ‘This is my art. I would have to get $2,500.’” The hide tycoons declined and their faces remained on the photomat strips, never to be turned into paintings—see Arthur Edelman, “The Day I Offered Andy

94. **301 Warhol delivered:** A September 6, 1963, bill (TC 55, AWMA) charges Warhol for a printing screen that is the right size and subject for the Scull portraits, and it seems unlikely that completion and delivery happened after Warhol’s absence in Los Angeles for much of October. See Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 162.

    See also Robert Scull, oral history, June 15, 1972, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Scull talks about the paintings being delivered as his wife’s October birthday was approaching.


97. **302 from early that spring:** The paintings are often dated to the first months of the year, when the Mona Lisa would have still been on her way to New York or just barely arrived—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 300–301. But that was before Warhol would have had a chance to digest the scene the painting made in New York. A spring dating thus seems more likely.

    On the other hand, Gerard Malanga, who has said that he didn’t begin to work as Warhol’s assistant until the summer, once claimed to have been involved with the project—see David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 162.


    It looks as though Warhol was one of the visitors to the show, or at least he got the exhibition booklet that supplied the reproductions that he turned into silkscreens—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 300.


101. **302 “profoundly intellectual”**: Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilizations: Their History & Their Culture* (W. W. Norton, 1941), 396. Warhol also annotated other parts of Burns’s discussion of Leonardo.


104. **302 told a patron**: Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.


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**CHAPTER 18**

1. **305 “He is a lark”**: “Pop Art? Is It Art?: A Revealing Interview with Andy Warhol,” *Art Voices* (December 1962).

2. **305 “last night was divine”**: Andy Warhol to Gerry [Gerard Malanga], March 20, 1963, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. ©The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc.

   The letter is reproduced in Donald Albrecht, *Gay Gotham: Art and Underground Culture in New York* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2016), 183. It was also included in the 2016 exhibition of the same name, while the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts has repeatedly claimed copyright on the letter as a document produced by Warhol.

3. **306 Daisy Aldan**: Gerard Malanga, in Winston Leyland, “Interview with Gerard Malanga for Gay Sunshine” (typescript draft, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Aldan was editor of the notable arts magazine called *Folder*.

4. **306 “how to say no”**: Gerard Malanga, in Ina Chadwick Wilde and Lynn Savitt, interview for *Gravida* magazine, typescript draft, n.d.,
Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


7. **306 Christmas 1962:** For the date see Andy Warhol in notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

8. **306 at a party:** Malanga confirmed meeting Warhol at that party—Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016. He also mentioned that Willard Maas was close to George Klauber, Warhol’s college friend from Tech who had first introduced Warhol to the gay scene in Brooklyn Heights. Maas and Klauber lived near each other in the Heights, so Klauber might have been the conduit between Maas and Warhol.

   In other contexts Malanga has claimed that his first meeting with Warhol came six months later, when Charles Henri Ford introduced them on June 9, 1963—see Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. See also Gerard Malanga, interview by Alan R. Solomon, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   Malanga has said that at the June meeting “I did not know or had [not] even heard of” Warhol—Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 102.

9. **306 Stan Brakhage:** See the request for a copy of Malanga’s Brakhage article in Toronto Film Society to Gerard Malanga, February 26, 1962, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin. The Brakhage item was in the event only published much later, in the 1964 issue of the *Wagner Literary Magazine*, according to Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


11. **306 “to put the make on him”:** Andy Warhol, in notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.
12. **306 at a poetry reading:** Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 102. Malanga always cites June 9, 1963, as the date of the reading, but the diaries of Ted Berrigan put both Malanga and Warhol at a reading in May—see Daniel Kane, *All Poets Welcome: The Lower East Side Poetry Scene in the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 118. Of course it is possible that the two of them were at that reading without encountering or greeting one another.


Malanga has dated to June 11, which he cites as his first day working with Warhol, a series of photographs (AWMA) taken by Edward Wallowitch of Malanga and Warhol working together at the firehouse on paintings that include the Tunafish Disasters, although the photos are dated to April in Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 348. The sweaters and wool jackets the two men are wearing do seem at odds with New York’s June 11 high temperature of 78 degrees Fahrenheit. The Tunafish Disasters certainly seem to have been finished by May 6, when the art historian Ellen Hulda Johnson shot slides of them at the Firehouse.


15. **306 “commercial artist”:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. In his high-school yearbook (Leon Hecht collection), Malanga’s photo is indeed captioned “Advertising Art.”

16. **306 printing textiles:** Gerard Malanga, in Winston Leyland,
“Gerard Malanga: An Interview,” *Gay Sunshine* (January 1974): 6. The lover was Leon Hecht, who said that Malanga “was always gay”—Hecht, interviewed June 8, 2018.


Although Malanga mentioned this as the minimum wage, that didn’t rise from $1.15 to $1.25 until late in 1964—see New York State Department of Labor, “History of the General Hourly Minimum Wage in New York State,” accessed November 22, 2019, https://labor.ny.gov/stats/minimum_wage.shtm.


19. **307 show him helping:** Edward Wallowitch contact sheets, AWMA.


No image of a Liz Taylor painting occurs in the more than 300 photos by Edward Wallowitch (AWMA) that Malanga has said were taken on his first day in Warhol’s studio.


23. **307 “He’s the one I’d read about”:** Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 105. There was indeed an image of a Soup Can painting, and a passing reference to Warhol and his presence in the Sidney Janis show, in “Which Twin Is the Phony,” *Show* (February 1962): 89. Given the February date of the article, Malanga’s recognition of Warhol as the artist in *Show* might easily have happened around the time of Warhol’s March 20, 1963, letter to him.

On another occasion, Malanga said that it was only after a few days of work with Warhol that he looked through a magazine (”I think it was *Show*”) and recognized the paintings in his boss’s house—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.
24. **“For Andy ‘Pie’”**: The photo (AWMA) is dated June 18, 1963.

25. **favorite piece of clothing**: Andy Warhol, in notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

26. **cozy in bed**: Undated photo, AWMA. An identical photo in the Shunk-Kender archives at the Getty Research Institute is dated May 8–9, 1965.

27. **“very relaxed”**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


30. **“the work of a dozen apprentices”**: Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, June 27, 1963, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


   The printed version of the interchange is different—see Gene R. Swenson, “What Is Pop Art? Interviews with Eight Painters (Part I),” *Art News* (November 1963): 26. The interviews would have been conducted a number of months before the issue was distributed in October.


34. **he was no star**: “Malanga was an accepted poet—not big, but he was on the scene” said Malanga’s contemporary the poet Edward Field, interview by author, May 2, 2016.

   In 1962, Malanga won the Dylan Thomas Memorial Poetry Prize—see Winston Leyland, “Gerard Malanga: An Interview,” *Gay Sunshine* (January 1974): 4. That same year Malanga also won the “1st Avant Garde Poetry Prize (funded by Gotham Book Mart) for his exceptional poetry” in a workshop run by Robert Lowell—see the point-form biography in Debra Miller, typescript for a book proposal on Gerard Malanga (n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. For a period reference to the prize see the note on “Po-

35. **“girlish curls”:** Nathan Gluck, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 22, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

36. **“accepted poet”:** Edward Field, interview by author, May 2, 2016.


38. **“like a real trouper”:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


40. **“I was curious”:** Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


43. **led Malanga westward:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


Marie Menken, Willard Maas’s artist-wife, had told Malanga where to get the paint, having earlier given Warhol one of the glow-in-dark paintings that were her specialty—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

45. **send him announcements:** See Richard Higgins, *The Tart*, a typed script apparently mailed to Warhol in 1963 (TC39, AWMA). See also the program for a series of Happenings at Douglass College that Higgins mailed to Warhol on March 29, 1963 (TC83, AWMA). By the end of the year, George Brecht, a radical pioneer of conceptual and performance art, was mailing art ideas jointly addressed to Warhol and Gerard Malanga at Warhol’s townhouse—see George Brecht to Andy Warhol and Gerard Malanga, December 19, 1963, AWMA.


48. 309 “worried about my weight”: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

49. 309 doctor was telling him: Dr. Denton Cox, medical report on Andy Warhol (December 9, 1964), TC25, AWMA.


51. 310 $100 Exercycle: See the February 17, 1960, invoice from Exercycle Sales Ltd. (AWMA).

52. 310 Al Roon’s Riverside Club: See the August 8, 1963, receipt for 36 visits to the gym at $155 (miscellaneous box 101, AWMA).

53. 310 “needed for energy”: Dr. Denton Cox, medical report on Andy Warhol, January 5, 1970, AWMA. Cox had been Warhol’s doctor from the early 1960s and had apparently been his first Obetrol prescriber.


56. 310 “recommended” dose: “Obetrol,” in Physicians Desk Reference to Pharmaceutical Specialties and Biologicals (Medical Economics, 1968), 888.

   Warhol’s daily dose is listed as one half of a 20mg pill in Dr. Denton Cox, medical report on Andy Warhol, January 5, 1970, AWMA. But that was when Warhol was still recovering his health from the assassination attempt against him, and after the dangers of amphetamines had become much more evident. There’s also no way of knowing if in fact Warhol stuck to that dose.


A September 1965 receipt from Plaza Apothecary (TC25, AWMA) records Warhol’s purchase of one hundred 20mg Obetrol pills.


60. **A reel of film**: The film is known as *Taylor and Me* and gives a glimpse of one of the so-called *Race Riot* paintings that Warhol made in the summer of ’63, before becoming friends with Mead in the fall.


64. **give an erotic edge**: Andrew Wylie, who knew Warhol after his shooting, in a January 4, 2019, e-mail to the author.


66. **downers**: Warhol took the barbiturate Seconal (his receipts for it survive in his archives), and on the phone with Brigid Berlin he once admitted having taken codeine on a daily basis, but it’s not clear when or for how long—see Andy Warhol and Brigid Berlin, typed notes from a telephone call (c.1969), document box 201, AWMA. Toward the end of his life he was admitting to a Valium addiction—see October 2, 1986, entry in Andy Warhol, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 19674, Kindle edition. Prescriptions for Valium survive in Warhol’s archives.


Warhol is said to have seen it three times in the summer of 1963 in Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, POPism: The Warhol ’60s (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 47.


70. he and Warhol dissected: Gerard Malanga, “My First Day with Andy Warhol,” an unpublished text dated 1965 and reprinted in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 369. The first public screening of Point of Order didn’t happen until it was shown at the Museum of Modern Art on September 14, 1963, so Malanga was probably back-dating a later memory, unless de Antonio held private screenings for friends—see Eugene Archer, “An All-Monster Film Festival Is Planned at the New Yorker: Museum Adds 2 Films,” New York Times, August 30, 1963.


74. to see advanced fare: The datebook page for July 30, 1961 (AWMA) shows Warhol going to see La Dolce Vita with his former boyfriend Carlton Willers and a few others. The page for December 22, 1962, records a visit to L’Eclisse with Henry Geldzahler.


76. taken him to see: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, August 23, 1976, box M88, AWMA.
77. **Sunday**: The film was by Dan Drasin. Emile De Antonio used him as an occasional assistant, and eventually took on the distribution of Drasin’s *Sunday*. It went on to make a splash in Europe. See Douglas Kellner, Dan Streible, and Dan Streible, eds., *Emile de Antonio: A Reader*, Visible Evidence, v. 8 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 13.

78. **cinematheque of Jonas Mekas**: Those loft screenings happened under the aegis of something called the Film-Makers’ Cooperative, a collaborative that Mekas had helped start in early 1962 and that Warhol started to frequent something like a year later—Jonas Mekas, in an April 15, 2017, e-mail to the author.

79. **watching movies for months**: Jonas Mekas, interview by author, November 25, 2014.

80. **learned to make movies**: John Giorno, who was present with Warhol at many such screenings, in Marian Kivila, *Interview with John Giorno: Making of Andy Warhol’s Sleep*, Web video, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BIHfKbreHoU.


87. **daily phone talkers**: Sally Chamberlain, Wynn’s widow, in
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a May 6, 2016, e-mail to the author.

88. **313 “What’s happening tonight?”:** Sally Chamberlain, Wynn’s widow, in a May 6, 2016, e-mail to the author.

89. **313 “aging Buddhist nudists”:** Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

90. **313 “cultural time bomb”:** Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

91. **313 a few others:** John Giorno mentions the artists Marisol and Robert Indiana, but implies that they alone had been invited by Eleanor Ward, while he and Warhol had been invited to Old Lyme by Wynn Chamberlain—see John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine: New and Selected Writings* (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 129.

Gerard Malanga, in a November 18, 2017, e-mail to the author, said that he and Warhol had in fact been guests of Ward, but that “both groups were chummy that weekend.”

92. **313 built by Claes and Patty Oldenburg:** The Oldenburgs’ participation was confirmed by Patty Mucha (formerly Oldenburg) in a January 19, 2018, e-mail to the author.

93. **313 Friday night:** The date is given as Memorial Day weekend, i.e., May 31 to June 2, 1963, in John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine: New and Selected Writings* (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 130. Note that Giorno describes the weather as having been sweltering, whereas on the weekend he mentions the highs were only around 75 degrees. Other evidence clearly points to the footage for *Normal Love* having been shot the weekend of August 10 to 11, since Diane di Prima, filmed dancing on Jack Smith’s cake with Malanga and Warhol, is heavily pregnant in that footage, and gave birth the following Monday—see Diane Di Prima, *Recollections of My Life as a Woman: The New York Years, a Memoir* (New York: Viking Press, 2001), 358. Thanks to the Whitney’s Claire Henry for her help in sorting out the dates of the Old Lyme events.

94. **314 downtown notables:** Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.


96. **314 “sprayed pink”:** Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

97. **314 Michelangelo Antonioni:** Wynn Chamberlain, draft mem-
oir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

98. **314 seen his Eclipse**: See the December 22, 1962, entry in Warhol’s datebook (AWMA).

99. **314 coming over from Ward’s**: Eleanor Ward herself had gone off in a rage after finding the remains of a haircut on a greensward she’d groomed for croquet. She had also been mooned by Taylor Mead, whose butt went on to star in a Warhol film—see Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.


101. **314 “floozy red dress”**: Gerard Malanga, in a December 19, 2016, e-mail to the author.


103. **315 “1929 Bolex”**: Sally Chamberlain, in a July 11, 2016, e-mail to the author.

Although Chamberlain dates Warhol’s loan of the Bolex to the weekend when *Normal Love* was shot, which was definitely in early August, she also says that the loan was made in the spring—a much more likely date, given other evidence described in further notes to this biography.

104. **315 lovely reels**: The exact date of this footage is hard to determine. All the figures in it are known to have been in Old Lyme the weekend of *Normal Love*, but they might also have been there on other trips.


David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

108. **“Giorno lay sleeping”:** Although Wynn Chamberlain described this as taking place the same weekend as the *Normal Love* shoot, he is certainly wrong. It had to have occurred earlier in the summer, as Giorno has always stated, if as Wynn Chamberlain said Warhol was using Sally Chamberlain’s family Bolex: Warhol purchased his own Bolex, in the company of Malanga and Charles Henri Ford, between June 11 (if Malanga is right in giving that as the day he started working for Warhol) and early July, when Charles Henri Ford wrote a postcard to Warhol from Europe (AWMA), where he then stayed for some time. Sally Chamberlain’s diaries indicate visits to Old Lyme with Giorno the weekends of April 20th and May 5th—Sally Chamberlain, in a May 30, 2018, e-mail to the author.

One early reel from *Sleep*, not used in the final version of the film, survives in a film-box marked “Old Lyme”—Greg Pierce, of the Warhol Museum, in a November 22, 2017, e-mail to the author. That suggests if nothing else that the project was indeed begun in the country.


110. **intense gay love affair:** John Giorno made clear that he and Warhol were sharing a double bed in Old Lyme—see John Giorno, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 1, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Gerard Malanga, in a November 18, 2017, e-mail to the author, wrote that he was the one sharing a bedroom—with twin beds—with Warhol on the *Normal Love* weekend. This would make sense if the origins of *Sleep* date to a different weekend when Giorno was in that room instead.


Another source for *Sleep* might be stories Warhol heard from a friend about his mother watching him as he lay sleeping in bed—see Vito Giallo, interview by author, January 1, 2015.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=BIHfKbreHoU.


115. **composition by Eric Satie**: On Warhol and Satie see Gary Comenas, “Erik Satie and Andy Warhol,” *Warholstars* (blog), 2015, http://www.warholstars.org/andy_warhol_sleep_vexations.html. See also Branden Joseph, “The Play of Repetition: Andy Warhol’s Sleep,” *Grey Room*, no. 19 (Spring 2005): 22. Among other things, Joseph establishes Warhol’s presence at the concert, which was confirmed by Gerard Malanga in a November 27, 2017, e-mail to the author, who said the two stayed at the concert “for about 4 hours.”

Any influence of Satie on *Sleep* would have come more from the length and monotony of his composition than from the particular structure of its repetitions, which is a suggestion by Giorno that both Comenas and Joseph address.


117. **Set up and focus a movie camera**: See “Letter from Jackson Mac Low to George Maciunas,” *Film Culture* (Summer 1967): 62.

118. **their first dinner**: John Giorno said the dinner took place on April 28, 1963, meaning that they would have attended the epochal premiere of Yvonne Rainer’s dance called *Terrain*, with its one section titled “Sleep”—see John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine: New and Selected Writings* (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 127. Warhol confirms his attendance in Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 66. Warhol (or his ghostwriter) mentions going with David Bourdon rather than Giorno, however.


120. **settle down for the night**: John Giorno, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 1, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

121. **anything bad is right**: Andy Warhol and David Bourdon,
typed notes from a telephone call (December 11, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

122. **317 He got advice:** John Giorno said the advice came from filmmaker Buddy Wirtschafter—see Giorno in Marian Kivila, *Interview with John Giorno: Making of Andy Warhol’s Sleep*, Web video, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BIHfKbreHoU. Wirtschafter himself said that he met Warhol around the time that *Sleep* was being made, but mentions the technical advice as having been given about a more advanced sound camera that Warhol only acquired in 1964—see Wirtschafter in John Wilcock, *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 243.

123. **317 Giorno would awake:** John Giorno, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 1, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


127. **318 “cut it out”:** Sarah Dalton, September 29, 2019, e-mail to the author.


129. **318 easier than painting:** See Warhol in “The Making Of An Underground Film,” television broadcast (CBS, December 31, 1965), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CX2LRvyM0cE.


131. **318 eight hours’ worth:** Warhol was still citing *Sleep* as an almost-finished eight-hour movie in October 1963—see Ruth Hirschman, “Pop Goes the Artist,” in *I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews*, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Avalon, 2004), 40, Kindle
See also “Foofs, Spoofs Are Far out and Big,” *Life* (December 20, 1963): 43, “Warhol has shot six hours of a projected eight-hour film on a man asleep.”


This Hollywood connection ran deep in the piece: Warhol had even planned to give *Sleep* a score—see him in Ruth Hirschman, “Pop Goes the Artist,” in *I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews*, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Da Capo Press, 2009), Kindle edition.

A first, pie-in-the-sky idea for *Sleep*, which according to Malanga came even before the Old Lyme interlude, was to have the French star Brigitte Bardot do the sleeping—see Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 39. Warhol was still hoping to do a Bardot *Sleep* a couple of years later—see Warhol in “Pop Goes the Video Tape,” *Tape Recording Magazine* (October 1965): 16.


136. **319 aesthetic value:** “Is Beauty Obsolete?” *Show* (December 1963): 73.


141. **319 has given Warhol the book**: Ed Ruscha, interview by au-
thor, February 2, 2017. Ruscha’s book was published in April 1963 and Ruscha said that his New York trip came shortly thereafter. He also mentioned Warhol playing a single of the song “I Will Follow Him,” by Little Peggy March, which was indeed getting major airplay that same April.


319 his companion that day: Taylor Mead, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, January 20, 1997, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


319 “like a painting”: Suzanne Stanton to Andy Warhol, October 5, 1962, AWMA.

320 “nothing happens”: David Bourdon, notes on a lecture tour with Warhol (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

320 “less and less happens”: Henry Geldzahler, press release for the first screening of “Sleep” (January 17, 1964), TC34, AWMA.


320 in the front room: Nathan Gluck, “About Andy, His Mother and 3 Cats Named Sam and Hester” (typescript, n.d.), Nathan Gluck estate, Luis de Jesus Los Angeles gallery.


320 fell in love with it: Gerard Malanga, interview by Alan

156. **320 public release**: Henry Geldzahler, press release for the first screening of “Sleep” (January 17, 1964), TC34, AWMA.


Elsewhere, however, Giorno has said that Warhol was ugly and sexually unattractive—see John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine: New and Selected Writings* (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 32.

160. **321 already screening Kiss**: Ads for *Kiss* appear in November and *Sleep* was still incurring lab expenses in December—Whitney Museum film curator Claire Henry, in a January 11, 2018, e-mail to the author.


165. **321 in separate installments:** One dealer said that Warhol offered him *Kiss* in seven-minute installments for a show in Los Angeles in 1964—see Herbert Palmer, oral history, December 2004, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Of course it is possible that Warhol’s single 100-foot reels, four minutes long when screened at silent speed, would have been shown when *Kiss* premiered in New York. This is what the film critic Amy Taubin recalled many decades later, although it’s hard to know the accuracy of such a remote memory of a single screening—see Amy Taubin, “****,” in *Who Is Andy Warhol?*, ed. Colin MacCabe et al. (London and Pittsburgh: British Film Institute and The Andy Warhol Museum, 1997), 24.


166. **321 Andy Warhol’s Serial:** See Amy Taubin, “****,” in *Who Is Andy Warhol?*, ed. Colin MacCabe et al. (London and Pittsburgh: British Film Institute and The Andy Warhol Museum, 1997), 24. Taubin says she saw *Kiss* screened under the title *Serial* at the Gramercy Arts Theater, where *Sleep* would also be shown, and ads in the *Village Voice* also use the *Serial* title.


168. **321 men and women involved:** Early screenings of *Kiss* only showed heterosexual couples—Jonas Mekas, interview by author, November 25, 2014.


The same story is told in more detail in John Giorno, “Andy Warhol’s Retinue as a Young Artist,” in *Andy Warhol: Private Drawings from the 1950s* (Köln: Walter König, 2003), np.

Several reels that relate to *Kiss* do show kisses between men, but since Warhol continued shooting such reels well into 1964, some of them would have been produced in the more freewheeling setting of the Silver Factory, which might have been the only place they were ever shown. Even when Warhol sent several reels of *Kiss* to be screened at a daring Harold Stevenson show of a vast male nude, at the Feigen-Palmer gallery

On that Feigen-Palmer show and its screening see also Harold Stevenson, in Tawsha Brinkley Davenport, “American Art Icon Calls Idabel Home,” McCurtain Daily Gazette, February 27, 2006. The Davenport article has been reproduced by Gary Comenas at http://www.warholstars.org/articles/haroldstevenson.html.


178. **threatening its sexual values**: Phillip Leider, “Saint Andy: Some Notes on an Artist Who, for a Large Section of a Younger Generation, Can Do No Wrong,” Artforum (February 1965): 27.

179. **about homosexuality**: Warhol, in Jennifer Sichel, “‘What Is Pop Art?’ A Revised Transcript of Gene Swenson’s 1963 Interview with

**322 a benefit for Mekas:** Henry Geldzahler, press release for the first screening of “Sleep” (January 17, 1964), TC34, AWMA.

**322 attendance:** Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 229–30. See also the Film-Makers’ Cooperative accounts document (document box 113, AWMA) for the January 1, 1964, screenings of *Sleep*, which lists an attendance of 43 people for the last screening, on a Monday.

**322 lost almost $400:** January 1964 to March 1965 rental log for Warhol’s films, AWMA. The log shows the *Sleep* premiere taking a loss of $382.05. See also the Film-Makers’ Cooperative accounts document (document box 113, AWMA) for the January 1 to 17, 1964, screenings of *Sleep*.


**323 a tantrum:** Marie Menken, in Bert Koetter, *Andy Warhol and His Clan*, documentary (TV3, 1970).

**323 reductio ad absurdum:** Henry Geldzahler, in *Village Voice*, January 16, 1964, advertisement.

**323 “joke on them”:** Roy Lichtenstein, interview by Bici Hendricks (later Nye Ffarrabas) and Geoffrey Hendricks, typed notes, December 7, 1962, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

Some of the more notable works in early Pop surveys, including in the Washington show that gave Warhol such play, were deadpan paintings of such things as a parking meter and a stop sign all bearing the signature of a certain Vern Blossum—the pseudonym, in fact, of a serious abstract painter who meant to poke fun at Pop but whose fun-poking was happily adopted as Pop, even once the fraud was uncovered. “Hoax or no hoax, I like the painting which is now on view,” said MoMA head Alfred Barr, once his museum had bought one of the Blosums—see Alan R. Solomon, “The New Art,” in *The Popular Image Exhibition* (Washington, D.C.: Washington Gallery of Modern Art, 1963), np.

who-slyly-parodied-pop-dies-at-81/.

189. **323 The original essay**: Suzanne Stanton, “On Warhol’s ‘Campbell’s Soup Can’,” May 20, 1962, TC36, AWMA.

Lawrence Alloway, a notable British-born supporter of Warhol’s, was the adjunct professor in question.

190. **323 the letter she wrote**: Suzanne Stanton to Andy Warhol, October 5, 1962, AWMA.

191. **324 a porno flick**: Suzanne Stanton, in an August 21, 2017, e-mail to the author.


In November 1962 Yves Klein had a major posthumous show at Iolas Gallery, a decade after the same gallery had shown Warhol’s drawings based on Truman Capote. See the large ad that ran in the same December 1962 issue of *Art Voices* that included an interview with Warhol as well as large ads for Warhol’s Stable and Janis shows.


196. **324 early 1963**: See the February 26, 1963, receipt from the Guggenheim Museum registrar (AWMA) that lists a silver Electric Chair (*Silver Disaster #6*) whose right half is blank.


200. **324 “parody and overstatement”**: Emily Genauer, “Can This


Brackman (p. 7) says he began his study in 1966 and then saw it published in *The New Yorker* the following year, and finally released in book form in 1971.

204. **325 Lichtenstein and Oldenburg:** On Roy Lichtenstein see Jacob Brackman, *The Put-on: Modern Fooling and Modern Mistrust* (Chicago: Regnery, 1971), 15. Claes Oldenburg and *Sleep* are mentioned on p. 27.


207. **326 “Woof, woof”:** Jacob Brackman, *The Put-on: Modern Fooling and Modern Mistrust* (Chicago: Regnery, 1971), 16. No such interview with the Beatles can be traced today.


**CHAPTER 19**

1. **329 “loneliest position “:** Isabel Eberstadt “Are You Human,
Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.


3. **329 September 24, 1963**: A New Jersey toll receipt (TC55, AWMA) gives the date of departure.


   Davis gives an exhaustive account of the entire trip to Los Angeles.


6. **329 shot with his Bolex**: A hundred-foot reel survives with Warhol’s footage of Mead with Jack Smith and John Giorno, apparently shot in the country at Old Lyme. That suggests that all three might have been present at the shooting of *Normal Love* in August, although Mead does not seem to be seen in any of its surviving footage.

7. **329 “agreed to Taylor”**: There is a claim that Wynn Chamberlain had requested that Mead join as second driver in Deborah Davis, *The Trip: Andy Warhol’s Plastic Fantastic Cross-Country Adventure* (New York: Atria Books, 2015), 105. Mead, for his part, claimed that he joined the posse at Warhol’s invitation—see Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol”
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10. **save on the cost**: Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

11. **to do a survey**: See the May 12, 1963, letter in which Irving Blum asks Warhol about his “new series,” and then one from May 28 in which he writes, “the more I have had the opportunity to consider it, the more convinced I am that your exhibition in the gallery should be the most intense and far reaching composite of past work, and the Elvis paintings should be shown in my rear gallery area”—both cited in Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 355.

12. **a fully scheduled exhibition**: This is this author’s reading of Ileana Sonnabend’s March 7 and March 18, 1963, letters to Warhol (AWMA), regarding his cancellation of a one-man show she had scheduled for April 17, which would have been his first solo in Europe.


14. **a PR shot**: Gerard Malanga claimed to have found the source image for the Elvis paintings in a “glossy” film-still from a used book shop—see Gerard Malanga, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 6, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

15. **rocker persona**: The Stable gallery “Red Elvis” was in fact based on a still from Presley’s first film, *Love Me Tender*, but a source in movies can’t be told from the silkscreen itself.


17. **“Funeral Music”**: The Ray Johnson performance was on
April 6, 1963, and Warhol had been sent a copy of the program (TC83, AWMA) in advance by the Fluxus artist Dick Higgins. A recording was provided to the author by Maria Ilario of the Ray Johnson Estate. A photograph of the Elives, dated May 6, 1963, was taken by the art historian Ellen Hulda Johnson, and is in her estate.

18. **331 recordings of gunshots:** See Marguerite Lamkin, “What’s New,” *Glamour*, September 1963, 158. The article, which purports to describe the Ferus show but would have been written several months before it opened, must reflect Warhol’s original plans. It mentions a total of 64 images of Elvis, including 16 silkscreened onto a single canvas 37 feet long, which was in fact hung in the show and then cut up later—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 355.


22. **331 one giant frieze:** For the full roll, see Ellen Hulda Johnson’s June 9, 1963, photos of Warhol at work in the Firehouse; for the cut and stretched Elvises, see the 1963 photos taken in the Firehouse by Duane Michals and others by Evelyn Hofer.


Warhol’s footage of his show reveals that the back room in question was available only through a door; it was not visible from the space where the Elvises hung. A photograph shows the back room to have been large and well-lit—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1961–1963: Warhol 01—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), fig, 251.

24. **331 no instructions:** Irving Blum, in a December 1, 2017, e-mail to the author. It seems not all the shipments arrived the same day.

Blum has often said that Warhol sent stretcher bars with the roll of
canvas—see for example Blum in Gagosian Gallery, *Ferus* (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 28. This would have dictated the width of the eventual paintings, and how many there were to be, but not where the roll of canvas needed to be cut to fit the stretchers. And one assumes that the bars for the 37-foot Elvis would have been bought in L.A.


26. **332 out-of-town rival:** On the tensions caused at the Ferus by Blum’s interest in East Coast artists, see Walter Hopps, Deborah Treisman, and Anne Doran, *The Dream Colony: A Life in Art* (New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2017).


Note that in Warhol’s footage of his Ferus exhibition we can see a 16-figure, 37-foot-long canvas that is the same as one mentioned in the *Glamour* magazine feature written well before the show, meaning that Bengston and Irwin did somehow get news of at least some of Warhol’s intentions—perhaps from reading the article, which would have come out by then.

In 2018, Joan Quinn said that Billy Al Bengston had recently told her that Warhol and he had met earlier, at Bengston’s exhibition at the Martha Jackson gallery in New York in the late 1950s, before Warhol had begun his career as an avant-garde artist and when he was functioning more as a collector—see Joan Agajanian Quinn, interview by author, July 31, 2018. That could have encouraged Bengston not to take Warhol seriously in Los Angeles in the fall of 1963.


30. **332 had organized things:** Marguerite Lamkin, “What’s New,” *Glamour* (September 1963): 158. Duane Michals was the photographer on the shoot.


33. **revved up on speed**: Andy Warhol and Gerard Malanga, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

34. **“chauffeured”**: Andy Warhol and Gerard Malanga, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

35. **“super-cool Andy”**: Taylor Mead, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, January 20, 1997, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


37. **at Wagner College**: Gerard Malanga said he only went back to Wagner for the spring term of 1964—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


45. **“nellie queens”**: Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol” (type-

Mead was used to the hazards of gay life on the road, according to other anecdotes in his memoir. A decade or so before, when he was first coming out, he’d thumbed his way across the land, sleeping in jails whenever the local police decided they’d had enough of his antics or when he needed a warm bed. "All that getting arrested contributed to my feeling of being an outsider," he said.

334 Mead offered fellatio: Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.
334 “if the person was gay”: Taylor Mead, in Steven Watson, “Interview with Taylor Mead ‘Mr. Sixties,’” Christopher Street (August 1978): 21.
334 “going quietly mad”: Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.
334 Jack Smith: Patty Mucha (formerly Oldenburg), unpublished memoir (n.d.).

While in L. A. Warhol shot footage of Jack Smith, Gerard Malanga,

57. 334 *a long drive*: Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.


61. 335 “*Movie Star party*”: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

62. 335 “*Breakfast was delicious*”: Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft of a memoir, n.d.), 76, Reginald Gay collection of Taylor Mead and related materials, *T-Mss, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library.* Mead remembered their having gone straight to the Beverly Hills Hotel on arrival in the city, but hotel bills (TC55, AWMA) show that their stay there came between two sojourns at the Surf Rider, one from September 29 to October 2 and then another from October 5 to October 11.

Wynn Chamberlain said that they had always intended to stay at the Beverly Hills but that this “fell through,” landing them at the Surf Rider—see Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.


65. 335 *the magazine ad*: Gagosian Gallery, *Ferus* (New York: Rizzoli, 2009). The ad for Warhol’s Ferus show had appeared in *Artforum,* then a minor West Coast magazine.

In Warhol’s own footage of the exhibition, Irving Blum is shown
proudly displaying the ad—with Blum himself featured in it.


70. pot that was smoked: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA. See also Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

Brooke Hayward denied that anyone could have been kicked out for using marijuana, given Dennis Hopper’s own taste for it—Brooke Hayward, interview by author, February 23, 2017.


“Dennis was interested in art,” Warhol recalled. “Somehow he thought he was an intellectual and he was painting or something and thought he was an artist”—Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, August 23, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


75. “was a zoo of people”: Ed Ruscha, interview by author, February 2, 2017.

76. mod-ish dark one: See the photos enclosed with John Weber, of the Dwan Gallery, to Andy Warhol, October 15, 1963, TC5, AWMA.


78. “the artist’s touch”: Statement written by Larry Bell “upon


338 “she said she’d take one”: Irving Blum, in Gagosian Gallery, *Ferus* (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 28.

339 reservations voiced by Cecil Beaton: “Beaton had the feeling that Andy was out to take over his world and Andy was discouraged that Beaton couldn’t seem to understand what Pop-ism was all about, even though the name of the movement had been coined in Britain sev-
eral years before”—Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

According to Taylor Mead, however, Beaton had been witty and charming as he served his guests tomato juice in little cans, as “an added touch for Andy”—Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft of a memoir, n.d.), 78, Reginald Gay collection of Taylor Mead and related materials, *T-Mss, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library.


There does seem to be a notable difference between the Elvis paintings done before Malanga’s arrival, seen in photos from May, and the many overlaps in the Elvises that were sent to Los Angeles, which seem to have been screened with his help.


339 hotel-room pilfering: Warhol’s archives are full of objects, such as towels, cutlery, and salt and pepper packets that he liberated from hotels and airlines that he patronized.


339 shut down by the authorities: Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft of a memoir, n.d.), 78, Reginald Gay collection of Taylor Mead and related materials, *T-Mss, Billy Rose Theatre Divi-
sion, The New York Public Library.


96. **new-model Bolex:** The camera was purchased in July, and had “through-the-lens focusing,” according to Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 37.

Charles Henri Ford said that he was there when the camera was bought, and that this took place in the spring “before I left for Europe,” and indeed he sent a postcard to Warhol from Paris that July (AWMA)—see Ford in John Wilcock, *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 54. (The inventory of Ford’s New York journals held at the Ransom Center of the University of Texas, Austin, suggests, however, that Ford was still in New York on June 30—further study of Ford’s papers might establish the precise dates of his departure and of his contacts with Warhol.)

Period photos reveal the camera to be an H16 Rex 2 model Bolex, as per January 2018 e-mails to the author from Jeff Kreines of kinetta.com. (Warhol is shown in a very few photos, and mentioned in some biographies, with a simpler and cheaper H16M camera, but he already has the Rex 2 in photos from early 1964, so that seems to have been his main camera.)


Cementing Warhol’s connection to the local avant-garde, they also filmed during a visit to a kind of proto-hippie artists’ colony that gathered around Wallace Berman, a deeply radical collagist whose solo show at the Ferus gallery in 1957 had been shut down by the cops.

98. **Hopper sometimes stood in:** Wynn Chamberlain said that Dennis Hopper, as the only professional involved on the project, had insisted on a token payment before he would sign a release, launching a decade’s worth of trouble that Warhol had with such documents—see Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.


In early September, the *New York Times* had photographed Naomi Levine sitting next to Malanga at that endless Eric Satie recital. Warhol had also run into her that summer at the most radical of theater events and at underground film screenings.


103. **340 “Naomi Levine”:** Andy Warhol and Gerard Malanga, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

104. **340 “some think I’m crazy”:** Naomi Levine to Andy Warhol, n.d., trunk TC, AWMA.


106. **340 “I was very free”:** Naomi Levine, in John Wilcock, *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 106. Levine said that she’d gone to Los Angeles to raise funds for Mekas’s Film-Maker’s Co-Op and had stayed with the sculptor John Chamberlain, who was also in Los Angeles at that moment.


Gerard Malanga remembered getting access to the pool at the Beverly Hills Hotel because Cecil Beaton had a bungalow there—see Gerard

110. 341 *“Naomi who was paying”*: Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

Receipts (TC55, AWMA) show that Warhol and friends purchased at least 29 reels of black and white movie film and 11 reels of color film.


117. 342 *“Directed Sort of”*: Taylor Mead’s editing tasks had included doing battle with a suddenly prudish Naomi Levine over shots of her crotch that she wanted excised. Mead also added a soundtrack with music and small bits of voice-over.

118. 342 *“story stuff”*: Billy Name, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 40.

119. 342 *“Marcel Duchamp”*: Gerard Malanga, extract from an unpublished memoir provided to the author in a December 12, 2016, e-mail.

120. 342 *“disruptive artist”*: John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

Warhol himself had already invested in a deluxe edition of the master’s *Boîte-en-valise* (“Box in a Suitcase”), a suite of miniature versions of his *Nude Descending a Staircase*, of his urinal *Fountain* and of all his other radical creations.


122. **343 fading hotel**: The venue was the Green Hotel—see Bert Mann, “‘Pride of Pasadena’: Grand Dame Strives for New Dignity,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 19, 1972.


Warhol shot footage of the opening in which views of the art are far outnumbered by shots of the cutest men there.


126. **343 signed the pink cloth**: Walter Hopps, in Jim Edwards, “New Painting of Common Objects: An Interview with Walter Hopps,”


130. **343 $1,200**: The price, for the package of equipment seen in various photos of Warhol with his Bolex, was provided by Jeff Kreines of kinetta.com in a January 18, 2018, e-mail to the author, based on a February 1963 Bolex Paillard price list in Kreines’s possession.


132. **344 “I have bills to pay”**: Warhol, quoted in John Giorno, “Andy Warhol’s Retinue as a Young Artist,” in *Andy Warhol: Private Drawings from the 1950s* (Köln: Walter König, 2003), np. Giorno misdates the ad as having appeared on October 10.


136. **344 $3,000**: The invoice to the Container Corporation of America (AWMA) is dated February 5, 1964. Warhol had originally promised to supply 30 “color paintings” for the ad, and the client was disappointed with the black-on-color silkscreening that he had done instead and decided to use only 12 of them—see N. W. Ayer and Son, Philadelphia, to Fritzie Miller, Warhol’s agent, February 7, 1964, AWMA. Ayer asked for a discount, but it’s not clear if Warhol ever did come down in price.

The Container Corporation kept the 12 canvases used in the ad and Warhol sold a grid of another 12 as a work of art. Another 6 were in his estate when he died, but they mostly repeat images from the first 24—

344 reinserted back into commerce: The feedback loop between art and advertising was also on view in another 1964 ad that saw a designer for the S&H Green Stamp company ripping off a Green Stamp painting by Warhol—see Sperry & Hutchinson Co., *Business Week*, March 14, 1964, advertisement.


344 vast mural contract: See Thompson Starrett Construction Co. to Andy Warhol, letter and contract for Warhol’s work on the New York State Exhibit at the 1964 World’s Fair, August 23, 1963, trunk TC, AWMA. The $1,000 was just an advance, however, on the $6,000 he was supposed to be paid, of which he eventually received only $4,000. See the full discussion later in this book.


345 “send me some money”: The note to Eleanor Ward (box B566, AWMA) is undated, but on the same Wagner College stationery as Warhol’s March 1963 letter to Gerard Malanga.

There’s mention of a recent hospitalization in Gerard Malanga to Julia Warhola, May 5, 1965, AWMA. But that reference can’t have been to the same illness that Warhol was referring to in his note to Ward, because by Christmas 1964 Warhol had definitively left Ward for Castelli. Julia Warhola was described as experiencing “healing bilateral moderately-advanced pulmonary tuberculosis” in Dr. Denton Cox to Julia Warhola, November 3, 1965, AWMA. She was still taking medication for tuberculosis four years later—see Dr. Denton Cox to Julia Warhola, May 3, 1968, TC9, AWMA.


345 a European monopoly: Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and His Cir-

147. a fearsome letter: Ileana Sonnbend to Andy Warhol, May 4, 1963, AWMA. See also Sonnbend’s letter of August 23.


In May 1963 Warhol got his first European display in a Sonnbend show called “Pop Art Americain” that included three of the paintings that Ileana Sonnbend had on consignment.


153. “I was crushed”: Warhol, quoted in John Giorno, “Andy Warhol Interviewed by a Poet” (typescript, 1963), TC27 and TC32, AWMA.


156. saw Warhol’s blanks: Gene R. Swenson, “The Personality of the Artist” (typescript draft of a lecture given October 21, 1965, at the


Warhol was supposed to have been alone in the studio when he got the news of the Kennedy assassination, according to Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 77.


stories that it is hard to know which ones can be trusted.


167. *348 wide-eyed*: John Giorno, *You Got to Burn to Shine: New and Selected Writings* (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 125. Giorno claims that Claes and Patty Oldenburg were present at the Billy Klüver party, when in fact it seems they were still in Los Angeles—see Patty Mucha (formerly Oldenburg), unpublished memoir (n.d.).

Warhol shot footage of the party, which includes an image of the television and its images of the obsequies.


169. *348 over the next few months*: Warhol was still silkscreening a Flower painting in November 1964—see Jack Kroll, “Saint Andrew,” *Newsweek* (December 7, 1964). The article was reprinted in Alan R. Pratt, ed., *The Critical Response to Andy Warhol*, Critical Responses in Arts and Letters, no. 25 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 11. (The author of the article was misidentified as Robert Rosenblum when it was reprinted in the Pratt volume.)


175. *349 guilt and horror*: Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.


177. *349 male-on-male reels*: One gay *Kiss* takes place on the famous Art Deco couch in the Silver Factory, so can only have been shot many months after the first Kisses with Naomi Levine. Close study of the full series of *Kiss* reels, still in the process of being catalogued, may reveal

178. **349 pulled from a screening:** “Bar Showing at University of Kiss Film,” Globe and Mail, October 9, 1964.

179. **349 a shoot at Serendipity:** Serendipity owner Stephen Bruce, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 460.

180. **349 Name cooked:** Stephen Bruce, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 456. Others have said Billy Name was a waiter, as has Name himself.

181. **349 got to witness his efforts:** Warhol kept the invitation (TC38, AWMA) to an August 25, 1963, dance performance at the Judson, involving such notables as Diane di Prima, Lucinda Childs and Yvonne Rainer, with Billy Name listed as lighting designer.


184. **349 metabolic disorder:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

Ever since a teenage auto accident Name had also suffered from pancreatitis—see George Abagnalo, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

185. **350 first encounters:** Name and Warhol were given a more formal introduction by Warhol’s old pal Ray Johnson, a lover of Name’s who had invited them both to the “Mr. New York” bodybuilding contest in Brooklyn in May—high camp for the three artsies but a perfectly serious event for the contestants. See the May 25, 1963, flyer for the event (AWMA). It was held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, which at the time hosted any number of such modest rental events—see http://bam150years.blogspot.com/2012/01/harvey-oral-history-judo-school-muscle.html, accessed January 8, 2018.

Name e-mailed Warhol researcher Gary Comenas about the three
of them attending the contest—see http://www.warholstars.org/warhol1/5serendipity.html, January 8, 2018.


189. **“I pick you”**: Billy Name to Andy Warhol, holograph inscription on verso of envelope, December 27, 1963, TC59, AWMA.

190. **Name as Warhol’s son**: An undated proof-sheet for the entry in *Who’s Who in the East* is in the Warhol archives (TC14). The eight-line biography was printed in volume 10 of the publication, copyrighted 1965, but had to have been written before April 1964, when Warhol’s work was removed from that year’s World’s Fair in New York—which the entry still lists as one of Warhol’s exhibition venues.


192. **“lie together sometimes”**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

193. **“he would jump”**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


Warhol’s fellatio was described by Rudy Franchi, interview by author, November 7, 2018.

195. **“animated young man”**: Johnny Dodd, a friend of both Billy Name and Freddy Herko, in Johnny Dodd, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 17, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

197. **ferocious work ethic**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

198. **a barber relation**: Billy Name’s grandfather is said to have been the barber in question in George Abagnalo, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The barber is said to have been his father by Glenn O’Brien, in Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), 21. The same claim is made (probably on the basis of Name’s book) in Randy Kennedy, “Billy Name, Who Glazed Warhol’s Factory in Silver, Dies at 76,” *New York Times*, July 21, 2016. But the father is described as the owner of a welding shop in “William Linich (Sr.) Obituary,” *Poughkeepsie Journal*, No. 1980.

Matt Wrbican has specified that the barber relative was in fact Name’s great-uncle Andy Gusmano—see Matt Wrbican, *A Is for Archive: Warhol’s World from A to Z*, ed. Abigail Franzen-Sheehan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 143. In a December 20, 2018, note to the author Wrbican said that the source of his information was Name himself.


201. **most esoteric programs**: Under the title “The End of Dawn,” one of Warhol’s haircut films was on the program (AWMA) for a March 12, 1964, event called “Sights and Sounds IV” at the American Theater for Poets. It preceded “Amazing Grace” by Richard Maxfield, in which a recording of the title song got severely distorted.


204. **his boss attended**: Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 127. Malanga remembered that first visit to a haircutting party as taking place during the day.

CHAPTER 20

1. **“inside of a gem”**: Billy Name, in Gregory Barker, “Billy Name: Silver Age,” Hotshoe, accessed April 1, 2019, http://www.hotshoe-
international.com/blog/shows/billy-name-silver-age.


   My account of the Forty-Seventh Street studio depends on Kiedrowski and also on measured drawings by Lucy Hogg based on photos of the space.

3. **353 $200**: Warhol’s earliest check stubs for payments to the landlord, Elk Realty, are for $200, but a lease document (TC -2, AWMA) shows the rent being raised to $300 in November 1967, a few months before Warhol moved out.

4. **353 just bare wires**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


9. **353 officially canceled**: A city government copy of the lease, auctioned by Sotheby’s New York on April 1, 2015, is annotated with the scrawled words “This lease terminated 5/63.” The same hand also wrote “sold” on it, as though that were the reason for the termination, apparently contradicting numerous sources that have said that the building was sold out from under Warhol in the fall.

   It could be, however, that the annotations were written at the time of the fall sale, citing the termination as something that had happened months before and as the reason the sale had been able to proceed, thus removing the building from the city’s purview.


13. **354 to hymn for Glamour**: Henry Geldzahler, “Article on Lofts
for Glamour” (typescript draft, n.d.), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The article does not seem to have been published, maybe because of the problems with the draft discussed in Mary Ellin Barrett, of Glamour magazine, to Henry Geldzahler, May 27, 1963, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


14. **354 endless warehouse:** Henry Geldzahler, “Article on Lofts for Glamour” (typescript draft, n.d.), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


16. **354 a famous party:** Sally Chamberlain, in an excerpt from an unpublished memoir shared with the author in a July 11, 2016, e-mail.

17. **354 the hat or the shoe manufacturer:** Warhol mentions a shoe factory having preceded him in the space in Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” High Times (August 1977): 34. The idea that the studio had once been a hat factory seems to crop up for the first time in a quite tentative mention by Gerard Malanga in Patrick S. Smith, Andy Warhol’s Art and Films (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 397. Articles from the 1960s don’t seem to make either claim.

18. **354 Bickford’s coffee shop:** Warhol, in Billy Name, Billy Name: The Silver Age (Reel Art Press, 2014), np. See also “6 Restaurant Sites Taken by Bickford,” New York Times, January 31, 1962.


23. **354 Grand Central Y.M.C.A.:** The YMCA awning is so lettered


29. **355 “New studio”**: He learned later that the building was at least part-owned by the heiress and pop author Barbara Goldsmith—see Larry Rivers and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, February 20, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

Documents suggest that Goldsmith was the sister-in-law of Alfred R. Goldstein, a major philanthropist and president of Elk Realty, the company that managed Warhol’s occupancy on Forty-Seventh Street.

30. **355 “so far uptown”**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


38. **“takes over by itself”**: Warhol, in “The Making Of An Underground Film,” television broadcast (CBS, December 31, 1965), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CX2LRvyM0cE.

39. **an author photo**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016. More details were provided later in Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


41. **Thirteen Most Beautiful Boys**: It could be that Warhol never screened more than 13 of their portraits at one go; he mostly might have screened fewer.

   The number in the title derives from a *13 Most Wanted Men* flyer, issued by the New York Police Department, that Warhol had been using at least since October 1963 as the source for a mural project for the 1964 New York World’s Fair, as discussed later in this book.


45. **“starfucker”**: Robert Pincus-Witten, interview by author, June 8, 2017.


47. **a term he’d also used**: Gerard Malanga, “Andy Warhol Interviewed,” in *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 11. This is the original version of the interview, conducted by Malanga while Warhol and he were still working in the firehouse.

48. **359 “It’ll look fabulous”:** Billy Name, full unpublished transcript for the video documentary “Andy Warhol: 15 Minutes Eternal” (New York and Pittsburgh: Ogilvy Entertainment and The Andy Warhol Museum, 2014), provided to the author by director Jamie Schutz, n.d. Name is almost certainly telescoping the narrative, eliminating the gap that would have occurred between Warhol’s visit to his apartment in the fall and the move to the Factory in late January. Other sources say that Warhol asked Name to do the silvering on the occasion of Name’s first visit to the new studio.

Name once said that he’d first tried decorating his apartment with the primary colors (red, yellow, blue) before settling on silver—see his interview in Larissa Harris and Media Farzin, eds., *13 Most Wanted Men: Andy Warhol and the 1964 World’s Fair* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 2015), 81.

49. **359 electric lights:** Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.

50. **359 “just the clean foil”:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

51. **360 brushed or sprayed with silver paint:** Carolyn Bengston, “New York Report: About Andy Warhol, Pop Art and Underground Movies,” *Austin American*, January 16, 1966. Some photos do show a floor that is clearly plain cement, indicating that the paint must have quickly worn off.

The floors were repainted silver every two weeks according to David Bourdon, “Warhol and Malanga: Magnetic Duo” (typescript, 1989), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

52. **360 the toilet door:** Sterling McIlhenny and Peter Ray, “Inside Andy Warhol,” *Cavalier Magazine* (September 1966): 87.


54. **360 comped Warhol:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


56. **360 “you keep doing it”:** Gerard Malanga, “Andy’s Orbit” (type-
script of an essay for Galerie von Bartha in Basel, Switzerland, 1983), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Billy Name said he’d first fallen for silver in his native Poughkeepsie, watching its iron bridge get a coat of aluminum rustproofing—see Name in Paul Bui, “Billy Name Remembers Andy Warhol & the Silver Age,” Milk (blog), November 14, 2014, https://milk.xyz/articles/3169-Billy-Name-remembers-Andy-Warhol-the-Silver-Age/.

57. **tape deck**: Billy Name to Andy Warhol, postcard addressed to Warhol care of the Sonnabend Gallery in Paris, c.1965, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

Both the silvered stereo and the new tape deck are visible in photos in Billy Name, *The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.


59. **sell aluminum’s virtues**: Alcoa was a client and supporter of both the Tech-affiliated designer Peter Muller-Munk and of Warhol’s own teacher Robert Lepper, who employed Warhol’s classmate Philip Pearlstein on an Alcoa contract—see Philip Pearlstein, “Philip Pearlstein, A Story of an Artist,” *Scholastic Art & Writing Awards* (blog), May 27, 2016, http://blog.artandwriting.org/2016/05/27/philip-pearlstein-a-story-of-an-artist/.


   *Popism* mentions silver space suits, but there is no way to know if that actually gives insight into Warhol’s thinking back in 1964, or is a ghostwriter’s conceit from the late 1970s.

62. **crinkled aluminum foil**: Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views and Reviews*, July 3, 1960. The window earned the headline “Startling and Dramatically Effective Display.”


64. **all the silver**: Billy Name, in Gregory Barker, “Billy Name:


66. **established himself:** Billy Name spent the weekends in Henry Geldzahler’s empty apartment. He was officially there to clean it, but in fact it became a party space for him and his speed-freak friends, who would dig deep into the curator’s opera collection. “Rather extreme people,” Geldzahler called them—see Geldzahler and Name, in Stephen Shore, *The Velvet Years: Warhol’s Factory, 1965–67* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 1995), 115.


69. **$1,100:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


71. **“obscurely busy tenant”:** Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.

72. **dropped out of college:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

73. **“don’t be acting like that”:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


75. **prime minister:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


77. **boxes dedicated to:** Unless otherwise indicated, all details on the Box sculptures come from Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 02A—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*.
(New York: Phaidon, 2002).


Footage and numerous photos of Warhol at work show him using house paint on his boxes, rather than the acrylics that he did, in fact, use for the backgrounds of his silkscreened paintings.

Billy Name said that, up late and obsessive because of his drugs, he would spend the night laying down an immaculate coat of house paint on each box so that when Malanga and Warhol arrived, often around noon, they could silkscreen the brand labels on top: “I can always spot the ones I painted because I was the most meticulous”—see Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), 93.


81. **364 from camp to cool**: Around the same time, we know Warhol was also in contact with some silkscreened cardboard-box sculptures by the artist Alfred Leslie—see Riva Castleman, “Floriano Vecchi and the Tiber Press,” *Print Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (June 2004): 144. The conceptual frameworks for the Leslie and Warhol boxes are so different, however, that the influence should be seen as inconsequential.

The boxes actually had roots that stretched back even further. In the first days of his Campbell’s Soups, Warhol had tried out a single prototype box that was supposed to capture the look of a stack of soup cans. It didn’t. Photos from the same era (AWMA) show him toying with other ideas for sculpture, stacking real cardboard cartons to make a true ready-made that has not survived—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 02A—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 61.

During the trip to L.A. for the Elvis show in the fall of 1963 Taylor Mead told an interviewer that Warhol was “going into sculpture and we were going to go into a supermarket and put fixative on one of the displays in the supermarket and transport it to a museum or something”—
see Mead in Ruth Hirschman, “Pop Goes the Artist,” in I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Da Capo Press, 2009), loc. 930, Kindle edition. That doesn’t seem to have happened—not even the “or something.” But back in New York in November, Warhol did talk sculpture with a Los Angeles gallery director who was planning a February survey of works based on boxes—see John Weber to Andy Warhol, November 26, 1963, quoted in Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 02A—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 53. “Your idea of making cardboard boxes is sensational,” wrote Weber once he got home. “If, per chance, you can’t make them in time I would like to use the Campbell Soup sculpture.” Warhol did meet the deadline. Cardboard turned out not to work as an art supply so he had wooden boxes made instead. There were only four of them, at first: Three bright yellow Brillo boxes (the color of a special Brillo pack that came with a three-cent discount) and one for Heinz tomato ketchup, at last letting Warhol commit to a famous Pittsburgh brand he’d slighted by spending so much time with Campbell’s. Years later, Warhol admitted it: “When I lived in Pittsburgh, the Heinz factory was there, and I used to go visit the Heinz factory a lot. They used to give pickle pins. I should have done Heinz soup. I did the Heinz Ketchup box instead”—Warhol in Glenn O’Brien, “Interview: Andy Warhol,” High Times (August 1977): 34.

85. 364 claiming that Minimalism: Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
88. 365 the show’s poster: The poster for the Stable gallery Box show survives in the Warhol archives.

89. **365 “The Personality of the Artist”:** Although the photo is credited on the poster to Gene Swenson, the text’s author, it was actually taken in a photobooth by Warhol himself—see Kelly Sidley, “Beyond Self Portraiture: The Fabrication of Andy Warhol, 1960–1968” (Ph.D., New York University, 2006), 160. This is a rare case where Warhol wanted to hide his identity as the creator of his own persona.


99. **366 “disbelief”:** Ken Heyman, “Behind the Lens” (typescript memoir provided by Heyman to the author, n.d.).


101. **367 “get rid of them”:** Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.


106. **367 visiting nephews:** George Warhola, interview by author, November 25, 2016.


108. **367 in his sleep:** James Vivian Harvey, oral history, December 12, 1962, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


111. **367 an opponent:** “I can’t possibly relate to Andy Warhol as a painter,” Harvey had said the year before—see James Vivian Harvey, oral history, December 12, 1962, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

112. **367 Victorian paintings:** James Vivian Harvey, oral history, December 12, 1962, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


115. **368 five sentences:** Grace Glueck, “Art Notes: Boom?” *New York Times*, May 10, 1964. See also “Boxing Match,” *Time* (May 5, 1964): 90. The design firm where James Harvey held his day job does seem to have put out some kind of press release about Warhol’s “theft” of Harvey’s design: “It is galling enough for Jim Harvey, an abstract expressionist, to see that a pop artist is running away with the ball, but when the ball happens to be a box designed by Jim Harvey, and Andy Warhol gets the credit for it, well, this makes Jim scream.” The statement, of which no original copy seems to exist, doesn’t seem to have had much effect—it seems to be quoted in Lawrence Campbell, “Andy Warhol,” *Artnews* (Summer 1964): 16.

A later article often cited as discussing legal action by Harvey is in fact an unreported opinion piece that merely says that “the thought of a lawsuit entered Harvey’s mind” but was immediately abandoned—see Robert Cenedella, “Who’s Andy Warhol: He Ain’t the Father of That Brillo Box,” *Manhattan Tribune*, May 3, 1969. Cenedella was almost certainly just rehearsing the 1964 item in *Time* that had Harvey “choke back an impulse to start a paternity suit” upon seeing Warhol’s Brillos.

116. **368 opposite of an old Campbell’s label:** James Vivian Harvey, oral history, December 12, 1962, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


118. **368 only of the Brillos:** Brillo is often the only brand noted at all. See for instance Elizabeth Kilbourn, “Art and Artists: Dynamic New York,” *Toronto Daily Star*, May 16, 1964.


**CHAPTER 21**


2. **371 “high points of the ’60s”:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an
Billy Name was also initially denied access, as cited by Matt Wrbican in a December 20, 2018, memo to the author.

3. **372 “all-time bitch party”**: Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

4. **372 Everyone who mattered**: See the contact sheets of the Box party in the Fred McDarrah estate; other details of the party, including the presence of LeRoi Jones, come from the contact sheets forwarded to the author by photographer Ken Heyman.

Ray Johnson’s presence is known from an April 4, 1964, letter that he wrote to Jill Johnston, mentioning his presence at the previous night’s party—copies survive in the Johnson estate and among the David Bourdon papers at the Museum of Modern Art.


Attendees included Warhol’s fellow Pop artists Tom Wesselmann, Roy Lichtenstein, James Rosenquist and Claes Oldenburg and the abstractionist Edward Avedisian. Ahmet Ertegun, the soul-music mogul, was also there.

The Los Angeles dealer Virginia Dwan showed up, only to be turned away by Ethel Scull, who generally “snubbed all the important people”—see Ivan Karp to Ileana Sonnabend, April 22, 1964, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. (Although the document is an unsigned copy, the context strongly suggests that it was written by Karp. Its mention of Scull’s expulsion of “Kondratieff” is a reference to Dwan by her married name.)


With Warhol’s help, his young friend Sarah Dalton had also put together a fancy, floor-length red outfit silkscreened with the “Fragile” sign from an early Pop painting by Warhol, maybe in a nod to her extreme
youth and naiveté—Sarah Dalton, interview by author, September 26, 2017.

8. **372 “Eight Million Sold”**: See the contact sheets of the party in the Fred McDarrah estate.

9. **372 a hungry Warhol**: Photos by both Ken Heyman and Wayne Miller show Warhol eating the hotdogs.

10. **372 fanciest French restaurant**: Ken Heyman, interview by author, February 24, 2018. The restaurant was La Lutece and Heyman declined Warhol’s request.


12. **372 Jill Johnston could be seen swinging**: See the contact sheets of the party in the Fred McDarrah estate.


   See Oldenburg on p. 149: “I would like to say that I have a very high idea of art. I am still romantic about that. This process of humbling it is a testing of the definition of art. . . . If I make an image that looks very much like a commercial image I only do it to emphasize my art and the arbitrary act of the artist who can bring it into relief somehow.”

   For the date of the broadcast, see the programming entry at “Pop Art: Roy Lichtenstein, Claes Oldenburg and Andy Warhol in Conversation with Bruce Glaser,” *WBAI Folio*, June 7, 1964.

17. **373 “whole world was happening”**: Robert Scull, oral history, June 15, 1972, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

established by other photos of the party by Heyman and Fred McDarrah that show Warhol wearing the same outfit and flower.

19. **373 “creepiest shoes”:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

   See for instance the summer 1965 photo in Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), 23.


21. **373 to fancy restaurants:** Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 13, 1976, box M88, AWMA.

22. **373 fine suits of his commercial years:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

23. **374 Janis “New Realists” show:** See the photographs of the opening by Alfred Statler, AWMA.


26. **374 portrait of Ethel Scull:** See the July 30, 1963, photograph in the Ellen Hulda Johnson papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


32. **375 “Without his glasses”:** Six pairs of Warhol’s glasses, both clear and dark, were examined by a Pittsburgh optician—Jamie Kirka-
vitch, interview by author, February 8, 2017.

In a German documentary, Warhol admitted to being hopelessly nearsighted, only to have the admission described as his latest put-on—see Bert Koetter, Andy Warhol and His Clan, documentary (TV3, 1970).

33. **I put sunglasses on**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, August 23, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


A photograph by Stephen Shore, titled Diana Hall Pointing a Gun At Andy’s Head, shows the entire rear half of Warhol’s rather long wig left dark, with the front half in silver—Stephen Shore, Factory: Andy Warhol (London: Phaidon, 2016).

38. **almost none of the photos**: A single photograph by Fred McDarrah ran, as a stand-alone image, in the Village Voice, but it showed Warhol and his Pop Art colleagues rather than the party itself—Fred W. McDarrah, Village Voice, April 30, 1964, photograph.

The other photographer at the party was Ken Heyman, who was gathering images for the first volume to be published on Pop Art, a movement not yet seen as certain to sell books—Ken Heyman, interview by author, February 24, 2018.


42. **almost a dozen**: The original list in the December 1962 specifications for the project featured 11 artists, including Claes Oldenburg, but he was soon dropped.

43. **gay and artistic circles**: See John Giorno, in Larissa Harris

David Whitney, who stayed close to Warhol for many years, may have been the real driving force behind both Philip Johnson’s Marilyn purchase and the Fair commission.

44. **376 comrades-in-art:** Warhol must also have heard that Robert Lepper, his old teacher at Tech, would be present on the fairgrounds in the West Virginia pavilion, with a huge sculpture built out of found printing plates that might have hinted at the influence of his Pop Art pupil—see Matt Wrbican, “Robert Lepper, Artist & Teacher,” (unpublished exhibition essay, 2009), AWMA.

45. **376 “they’ll practically riot”:** Robert Indiana, oral history, September 12, 1963, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

46. **376 $6,000:** See the December 26, 1962, specifications for the art works (AWMA).

47. **376 enraged his friend:** The story is from William S. Wilson, a friend of Ray Johnson’s, who said he was there when Warhol made the offer—see William S. Wilson to Gary Comenas, “Non-Identical Repetition,” e-mail provided to the author by Comenas, June 25, 2013. For the same text see also William S. Wilson, “Bill Wilson’s Stories about Andy Warhol, Marisol, Ray Johnson, Dorothy Podber and the Shot Marilyns,” William S. Wilson: Collected Writings (blog), July 23, 2016, https://williamswilsonwritings.wordpress.com/2016/07/23/bill-wilsons-stories-about-andy-warhol-marisol-ray-johnson-dorothy-podber-and-the-shot-marilyns/.

Wilson remembered the event taking place early in 1964, but that is unlikely because Warhol had settled on his subject by then.

48. **377 Most Wanted flyers:** John Giorno, You Got to Burn to Shine: New and Selected Writings (New York: High Risk Books/Serpent’s Tail, 1994), 127. Giorno said the dinner took place on April 28, 1963, but also that they discussed Robert Indiana’s “new show at the Stable”—although no such show took place anywhere near that date.


49. **377 “sexiest newcomer”:** Motion Picture, December 1961. Liz Taylor was on the cover of the issue, making it doubly appealing to Warhol.
50. “most wanted’ men”: The program for the 1955 movie version of Guys and Dolls is in TC51, AWMA. Warhol’s ticket stub from the premiere also survives in his archives.


52. a famous Wanted poster: Marcel Duchamp’s Wanted image was also on the poster for his October 1963 survey in Pasadena, but of course that poster (but not its image) came after Warhol’s decision to use the same concept for his mural. See Benjamin Buchloh, “Andy Warhol’s One Dimensional Art: 1956–1966,” in *Andy Warhol*, ed. Annette Michelson and Benjamin Buchloh, October Files 2 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 43n48.

53. poster was mentioned: Emily Genauer, “Fair Mural Taken Off, Artist to Do Another,” *New York Herald-Tribune*, April 18, 1964. Genauer dismissed Duchamp’s original Wanted poster and called Warhol’s piece “kid stuff, and boring.”

54. in an assemblage: The Robert Rauschenberg piece with a Wanted flyer is called *Hymnal*.

55. “artistic”: “Défense de pendre les gibriers de potence,” *Le Nouveau Candide*, January 30, 1967. The article was referring to a version of the Most Wanted Men that Warhol did on canvas, made from the same screens he used for the World’s Fair and that he showed at Ileana Sonnabend’s gallery in Paris. The dots would have been much less visible seen from a distance on the mural at the fair.

Work by Ray Johnson may be the most relevant precedent for Warhol’s visible dots, since Warhol had once got Johnson a gig doing the cover for a Rimbaud book whose vastly enlarged, spotty image of the poet was a dead ringer for the dotted faces Warhol used on his mural. On Warhol’s use of half-tone screens see this author’s blog post “What the Dots Mean in Andy Warhol’s Pop Art,” *Warholiana* (blog), March 17, 2017, https://warholiana.com/post/158525581311/reposted-from-my-daily-pic-of-march-17-2017-at.


57. worried Johnson: Philip Johnson, in a March 3, 1964, telegram to Warhol, AWMA.

378 “been drinkin’”: Jimmy Breslin, “Art and Abstinence,” *New York Herald-Tribune*, April 14, 1964. A copy of the Breslin article survives in *Time Capsule* 5 in the Warhol archives. Breslin’s column was syndicated in other newspapers as well, including for instance the April 14, 1964, issue of the *Boston Globe*, where it ran with the headline “Looking at Crooks, Talking about Drinking.”

378 “let them use you?”: Soren Agenoux, quoted by Billy Name in Larissa Harris and Media Farzin, eds., *13 Most Wanted Men: Andy Warhol and the 1964 World’s Fair* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 2015), 82.


379 “public hue and cry”: “The Artist’s Prerogative: No Pickle? Its a Crime,” *Albany Times-Union*, April 17, 1964. Since this article appeared on the 17th, its interviews with Warhol and Johnson would have had to have happened on the 16th, as a “follow,” as reporters say, from the *Journal American*’s coverage of the previous day.

That same day, the *New York Times*, somehow behind on the news, had written about the mural as though it were still in the cards—see Milton Esterow, “Spain’s Paintings to Arrive Today,” *New York Times*, April 17, 1964.

379 tarped over: A photo of the un-tarped mural was published in the April 17 *New York Times*, and most probably would have been taken within a day or two of that.


This ethnic issue had first been reported as a problem in Leonard Lyons, *New York Post*, September 23, 1964. It is also mentioned in Henry Geldzahler and Philip Johnson, notes from an interview, 1982, Henry
Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


71. **Social disorder**: Paul Welch, “Homosexuality in America,” *Life* (June 26, 1964): 66. My thanks to Jay Reeg for pointing me to this article.


Warhol did produce an alternative mural—a grid of 25 portraits of fair director Robert Moses, all printed from the same single screen to save money—but he said that the people in charge refused to put it up. Burned by Warhol’s *Most Wanted Men*, fair organizers could only have imagined that their trickster artist had somehow snuck a gibe into a work that might otherwise have been seen—that Warhol might even have meant—as innocuous flattery of one of the city’s Great Men. “I really liked him,” said Warhol just a few years later, making Moses sound really and truly . . . wanted. See Andy Warhol, interview by Emile De Antonio, transcript for “Painters Painting,” n.d., Emile de Antonio Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives / Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research.
But Warhol is also quoted as saying, in 1965, “Moses—he was a pompous asshole”—see Albert Fisher, interviewed in Larissa Harris and Media Farzin, eds., 13 Most Wanted Men: Andy Warhol and the 1964 World’s Fair (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 2015), 113.

76. **excellence of his criminal art**: Warhol so liked his thirteen crooks that he went to the trouble of silkscreening them all onto canvas, although he can’t have imagined they’d sell very well. He was still keeping a few of them up in his studios in the 1970s and ’80s, after the Silver Factory had long-since been left behind—see Mark Lancaster in Gary Comenas, “Mark Lancaster Interview,” Warholstars (blog), 2004, http://www.warholstars.org/andywarhol/interview/mark/lancaster.html. Paintings from the series are also visible in the Union Square studio in several photographs from 1969 or ’70 in Billy Name and Collier Schorr, All Tomorrow’s Parties: Billy Name’s Photographs of Andy Warhol’s Factory (New York: D.A.P., 1997).

77. **Warhol also took a blow to his wallet**: The promised $6,000 fee somehow got reduced by a third when the time came to pay it—see the 1964 tax form from Philip Johnson (box B17, AWMA) declaring the $3,000 he had paid to Warhol. The other $1,000 would have been paid in 1963, as an advance, as stated in the December 26, 1962, specifications for the fair’s art works (AWMA). Warhol mentions having been paid $4,000 in Richard Barr and Cyril Egan Jr., “Some Not-so-Fair Faces: Mural Is Something Yegg-Stra,” New York Journal American, April 15, 1964.

78. **“Social Commentary”**: Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.

79. **“became a fixture”**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


81. **“rows of identical horrors”**: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Painting & Sculpture of a Decade, 54–64 (London: Gulbenkian Foundation, 1964), 40. The exhibition opened the day after Warhol’s Box show and continued through June 28.

82. **starting the session**: Ken Heyman, interview by author, February 24, 2018.

   The mirrored ball visible in the portrait was positioned over the women’s toilet before it got moved to the main Factory space.

83. **“way, way out”**: Vincent Canby, “Pictures: Critic and Panelist Negatives Offset by Pluses at Lincoln Center Fest,” Variety, October 21, 1964, 8.
84. **382 screened complete**: Excerpts, no doubt highly expurgated, began to be screened in March 1965—see Ara Osterweil, “On (and Off) the Couch,” in *Warhol in Ten Takes*, ed. Glyn Davis and Gary Needham (British Film Institute, 2013), 48.


Gerard Malanga has mentioned the forty-fourth floor as the site of the shoot, but the Rockefeller Foundation only occupied space on the forty-first and forty-second floors—see “2 Floors Change Hands in Time-Life Building,” *New York Times*, November 17, 1974.


90. **383 professional newsreel camera**: Jonas Mekas, in e-mails to the author and published accounts, claimed to have rented the camera and procured the film stock.

Gerard Malanga gives an account where John Palmer plays a more central role, renting the camera and telling Malanga which film to buy for it—see Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 85. In several conversations with the author, Malanga gave such detailed accounts of procuring the equipment that his narrative seems more reliable than Mekas’s.

91. **383 Mekas’s girlfriend**: Marie-Claude Desert, interview by author, March 6, 2018. See also Jonas Mekas’s February 26, 2018, e-mail to the author.


See also the footage of Warhol in Chuck Workman, *Superstar: The
Life and Times of Andy Warhol, documentary, 1990.

93. **opened the aperture**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018. Malanga said that the lens aperture had been set for nighttime exposure, resulting in the overexposure of the film’s first reels, shot before the sun had set.

94. **An 8-hour hard on!**: Warhol, in Gerard Malanga, Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs (London: Creation Books, 2002), 86. This passage represents the totality of the notes that were taken, according to Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

95. **eight hours**: Slowed down in projection to 16 frames per second, as was Warhol’s normal practice for his “stillies,” Empire runs for eight hours and five minutes, a length that must have been planned when Warhol shot it—especially given that he talked about an “eight-hour hard-on” during the shoot, which only lasted less than six hours.

96. **sun went down**: Given the darkness of the scene they shot, the film had to be “pushed” in the processing to get a useable image, at a cost of $350. As John Palmer tells the story, when it came time to pick up the footage Warhol balked at the cost, even suggesting they dump the whole project, so Palmer got his mother to pay the lab bill—see Palmer in Steven Watson, Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 161. Palmer used his mother’s funding as leverage to demand a full co-creator credit in early screenings, which Gerard Malanga was pleased to help him get. Malanga was in charge of producing the announcement for Empire’s premiere and was careful to make sure Palmer’s name was on it—Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


103. **they don’t like it?**: Warhol, in Gerard Malanga, Archiving


   Meier’s essay discussed Warhol, and was written for a show that included three of his works and had been organized by his new friend Frederick Hughes for his new patrons Dominique and John de Menil.

106. **“painted out”:** Henry Geldzahler, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, October 4, 1987, 19, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


   Meier’s essay discussed Warhol, and was written for a show that included three of his works and had been organized by his new friend Frederick Hughes for his new patrons Dominique and John de Menil.

108. **“picture of flowers”:** Henry Geldzahler, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, May 10, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

   As so often with Warhol, there is an alternate genesis story: Ted Carey said that he was the one to suggest to Warhol that he leave behind the “sensationalism” of his earlier Pop Art and instead do “some beautiful, romantic paintings in your screen technique. Just do beautiful, romantic flowers, something beautiful”—see Carey in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 477.


113. **“hair-dresser crowd”:** Duane Michals, interview by author, September 9, 2014.


115. **a surprising window:** A surviving photograph of the window (AWMA) dates it to August 15, 1959, and has stapled to it a typed note further explaining the display’s polemic. Warhol’s contribution to the window consisted of a huge line-drawing of an old-fashioned pincushion that he painted right across the glass in front of the display, almost as a ghostly reminder of the hand-sewing that American production was displacing. The same window was reproduced (without any attribution to Warhol) in a prestigious round-up of the industry’s best work—see Walter H. Herdeg, *Window Display: An International Survey of the Art of Window Display Vol. 2* (Zurich: Amstutz & Herdeg, 1961), 126.


117. **“not the Party”:** Bibbe Hansen, interview by author, February 17, 2017.

118. **early afternoon:** Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 34. Malanga is said to have normally come in around 2:00 p.m. in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers.


121. **“Marimekko”:** *Chicago Tribune*, June 17, 1964, advertisement. Marimekko fashions had been described as a “uniform for intellectuals” in a column by a friend of Warhol’s—see Eugenia Sheppard,


For a summary of other similar statements see Michael Lobel, “In Transition: Warhol’s Flowers,” in Andy Warhol Flowers (Eyken Maclean, 2012), n10.

126. **388 floral fabric**: The Warhol archives include numerous invoices that Warhol sent out to textile companies and some letters back from them, as well as several samples of fabrics he designed. Many show signs of having been produced by silkscreen.

Only a few months before embarking on his Flower paintings, Warhol had been producing “swinging” textiles of his own, still in his blotted-line style, for a new fashion line put out by Serendipity: Given the cafe setting, the fabrics featured pretzels and ice cream rather than Warhol’s more usual blossoms; in the era of Obetrol diets and Twiggy, it seems those food themes stopped the fashions from selling. Reproductions of these textiles, and a discussion of Warhol’s textile commissions, is in Geoffrey Rayner, Richard Chamberlain, and Annamarie Stapleton, Artists’ Textiles: Artist Designed Textiles 1940–1976 (Woodbridge, UK: Antique Collectors Club, 2012), 228. The authors misdate the Serendipity textiles, however, which were discussed by Eugenia Sheppard, “Inside Fashion: Right and Left,” New York Herald-Tribune, February 28, 1964. The following year, Warhol had a plan to design clothes from fur cut-offs—see Eugenia Sheppard, “He Sees Girls in Owl Dresses,” Hartford Courant, November 11, 1965.


NOTES

(January 1965): 11.
130. 389 “a whole wall”: Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, July 10, 1965, AWMA.
137. 390 could barely afford: The maquette (AWMA) that Warhol sent to the technician who was preparing screens for one of the bigger Flower paintings came with a note telling that technician to prepare only half the screens, since Warhol’s finances would have to improve before he could pay for the rest.

CHAPTER 22

3. 392 Ivan Karp: The handwriting is a perfect match for documents known to have been written by Ivan Karp.
4. 392 lunching and dining: January 9 and January 15 entries in Warhol’s 1962 datebook, AWMA.
5. 392 some Warhol sales: Emily Hall Tremaine to Andy Warhol, letter concerning the sale of paintings negotiated by Ivan Karp and to be picked up by a Castelli truck, May 15, 1962, Emily Hall Tremaine papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
6. 392 in their negotiations: Leo Castelli Gallery is mentioned as an exhibition venue for Warhol in the entry he submitted to volume 10 of Who’s Who in the East, vol. 10 (Boston: Larkin, Roosevelt & Larkin, 1965). Although the book is copyrighted 1965, the entry and its mention of Cas-
telli had to have been written before late April 1964, when Warhol’s work was removed from that year’s World’s Fair in New York—which the entry still lists as a site where Warhol showed.

If Warhol did write the entry later in the year, his mention of the Fair would have involved a kind of after-the-fact wishful thinking. But given widespread knowledge of the debacle, it seems unlikely that he’d bring it up at all in a book where so many readers could spot it as an empty boast.


9. **writing about rumors**: Sidney Tillim, “Month in Review,” *Arts Magazine* (September 1964): 56. Tillim’s column would have been written by early August, at the very latest, given normal delays between submission of copy and publication.


   Eleanor Ward could hardly have been that shocked at Warhol’s departure from her stable: The recent art boom had seen all kinds of artists bouncing between galleries—see Grace Glueck, “Dealer-Switching: Rising Stars Have a Way of Going off into New Orbits,” *New York Times*, October 4, 1964. Ward also had every right to be saddened by the departure, as she is described by Robert Indiana in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 225. That season, her roster had also lost Warhol’s friend Marisol, one of her major stars. Ward asked go-betweens to convince Warhol that Castelli wouldn’t give the kind of service she did, and that he only wanted Warhol on board to make Johns and Rauschenberg look better by comparison, not exactly the most fervent expression of her belief in Warhol’s own greatness—see Samuel Adams Green, in David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 187.


12. **white Jaguars**: Warhol couldn’t have known that for a long time the sell-out shows by Johns were the gallery’s only real profit center; the rest of its exhibitions were underwritten by those—see Leo Castelli cited in Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014.

   Not many artists would have realized that Castelli, for all his fame
and gifts, was not actually much of a salesman; some of his biggest clients functioned more like patrons, buying work at Castelli’s request just to keep the gallery solvent. Unlike other dealers of equal renown, Castelli never made a vast fortune plying his trade. See Barbara Rose and Ivan Karp in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 227.


15. 393 $1,500 or $3,000: Leo Castelli to Andy Warhol, itemized statement of payments and sales, February 1, 1966, box B17, AWMA.


Lists of sold works from the 1962 Stable Gallery show (AWMA) price
single Marilyns at $250.

22. **American Republic Insurance Company**: A payment of $2,000 is recorded, as the second installment on a May 24, 1964, commission, in American Republic Insurance Company to Andy Warhol, July 6, 1964, AWMA. A second letter (AWMA) dated October 6 of that year, mentions a “final payment” of another $6,000, so it seems safe to assume that the total fee would have been $10,000, plus perhaps an amount for expenses. And of course this would be the equivalent of a gallery sale for $20,000, since no dealer seems to have been involved in the Powell project, or to have taken a commission on it.


25. **The American Man**: A brochure (AWMA) put out in January 1965 by the insurance company gave the work’s title as “The American Man (Portrait of Watson Powell)” — see *Collection of the American Republic Insurance Company* (Des Moines: American Republic Insurance Company, 1965), np. When a single image from the portrait got sold by Castelli — Warhol almost always made extra canvases of commissioned works — it was listed as *All American* on the February 1, 1966, statement of sales (box B17, AWMA) that the gallery sent to Warhol.


29. **un-sold-out**: That fall of the Flowers, Warhol used his Pop chops to produce one completely commercial product: the cover for an album by his old Greenwich Village friend John Wallowitch. The pianist appeared on the record jacket in a Warholian grid of photobooth shots that were recognized in the entertainment industry as being by “one of the top contemporary pop artists” — see “Music: Pop Goes the Easel,” *Variety*, December 2, 1964, 47. Unlike with the Powell portrait, Warhol added some real vanguard edge to this work he did for his old friend:
Wallowitch’s head is cropped off in every photo.


33. **395 $50,000**: Financial documents for 1964 and 1965 (AWMA) show Warhol receiving approximately $25,000 from Castelli on the sale of Flower paintings, about two thirds of his total income from the gallery’s sales. Actual gross sales would have come to double that amount.


35. **395 “If it were bad”**: Warhol, in Jane Howard, “The Man Who Paints Big Eyes,” *Life* (August 27, 1965): 42. Walter Keane’s paintings were later shown to have in fact been painted by his wife, Margaret Keane.

36. **395 Saturday**: Just when his gallery was committing to Pop, Castelli had moved its openings from Tuesdays, when shows had traditionally been revealed to the art world, to Saturdays, when his exhibitions could grab some of the energy, and crowds, of a New York weekend. Castelli himself, always keen on occupying the heights, claimed that his original intention had been to save his shows from the social-scene atmosphere that had come to reign on New York’s Tuesday-night “art walk”—see Leo Castelli, oral history, May 14, 1969, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The effect was just the reverse. Under the headline “Shoppers’ Special,” the *Times* said that “the all-day Saturday opening, innovated by Leo Castelli, draws buyers, browsers and dog walkers”—see Grace Glueck, “Art Rite—Opening Night,” *New York Times*, December 13, 1964.

Castelli’s first Saturday opening was a John Chamberlain show, on January 13, 1962—see the exhibition dates in David Whitney, ed., *Leo Castelli: Ten Years* (New York: Leo Castelli, 1967). Ivan Karp mistakenly remembered the innovation as coming much later, in 1964—see Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and His Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 333.

37. **396 West Side loft**: A photographer who shot the party had a vague recollection that the apartment might have belonged to Green—
see Frederick Eberstadt, interview by author, May 20, 2016. Green mentioned a party (his first, he said) in which he tricked a furrier into supplying something for his guests to sit on in the newly-rented and still empty apartment—see Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA. Green also casually implied that that party took place in May. The New York telephone directory for 1965 lists Green at 14 West Sixty-Eighth Street, and descriptions and photos of its upper floor seem to match photos of the party, which include the furs mentioned by Green—see Tom Miller, “The 1896 August Zinsser Mansion—No. 12–14 W. 68th Street,” Daytonian in Manhattan (blog), July 2, 2014, http://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2014/07/the-1896-august-zinsser-mansion-no-12.html.


39. *a welcome there*: See photos by Sam Falk of the New York Times, provided to the author by Crystal Henry of ReduxPictures.com. In a March 15, 2018, e-mail, Gerard Malanga identified Richard Bellamy, director of the Green Gallery, the artist Lucas Samaras and Frederick Kiesler, the architect, in those photos.


41. *no sign even*: Gerard Malanga, in a March 15, 2018, e-mail to the author, said he had not been present at the Green party.


43. *“better piece of film”*: Jane Holzer, notes from an interview, February 2, 1977, box M88, AWMA.

44. *“princess at the top”*: Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


47. *we just had fun*: Jane Holzer, full unpublished transcript


See also Eugenia Sheppard, “Underground Group,” New York Herald-Tribune, October 19, 1964. Warhol’s work as a filmmaker would hardly have been covered by Sheppard if it hadn’t given her the chance to mention Holzer and other fashion-world figures.


53. 398 nine reels: Details on the footage were supplied by Claire Henry, of the Whitney Museum, in an April 8, 2019, e-mail to the author.

Warhol collaborated on the project with theater director Jerry Benjamin. In the fall of 1963, the two had worked together on a Judson play directed by Benjamin called Asphodel, In Hell’s Despite for which Warhol had provided designs. Those had to be completed by Benjamin after Warhol’s sudden decision to drive to Los Angeles—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

Benjamin had initiated the Soap Opera project and much or all of the footage had been shot before Warhol spliced in Lester Persky’s ads—Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016. Malanga said that the ads were supplied to Warhol as kinescopes.

54. 398 “a way of social climbing”: Samuel Adams Green, in David McCabe and David Dalton, A Year in the Life of Andy Warhol (London: Phaidon, 2003), 49.

55. 398 “bunch of cameras”: Samuel Adams Green, notes from an
interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

398 so scratched: Bruce Jenkins, in “Andy Warhol’s Soap Opera,” a July 18, 2015, panel at the Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.


399 makers of the real soap opera: Roy Winsor Productions to Andy Warhol, July 24, 1964, TC79, AWMA.


399 seemed almost random: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


401 “commercial tie-in”: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes on
NOTES

a studio visit with Warhol (March 7, 1962), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


73. **“commercialism”**

74. **401 costume jewelry firm:** “Seen and Heard in the Markets,” Women’s Wear Daily, February 21, 1964, 20. The jewelry firm was KJL, owned by Warhol’s friend Kenneth Jay Lane, so it is possible that Warhol was involved in designing or producing the pins.


76. **401 “Pop living!”**

77. **402 signed by the caseload:** The gallery’s co-owner recalled Warhol signing six cases of cans—Ben Birillo, interview by author, May 17, 2018.


86. **402 Pop came and went”:** Emily Hall Tremaine, giving a January 1965 speech to the Society for Encouragement of Contemporary Art, quoted in Kathleen L. Housley, Emily Hall Tremaine: Collector on the Cusp (Meriden, CT: Emily Hall Tremaine Foundation, 2001), 158.
CHAPTER 23


87. **405 a Christmas tree:** See “Celebrities Decorate Trees to Suit Personal Designs,” Schenectady Gazette, December 5, 1964.

88. **405 “truly represent you”:** Hallmark Cards Inc. to Andy Warhol, telegram, July 15, 1964, TC5, AWMA.

89. **405 twenty-two celebrities:** The final list of decorators was given in a full-page ad published in the New York Times, December 6, 1964.


91. **406 PR shot beside his tree:** See Cards Magazine (Winter 1964): 6. An image of the magazine was provided to the author in a March 19, 2018, e-mail from Andy DiOrio of Hallmark Cards, Inc.

92. **406 Warhol’s tree came surrounded:** Photographs of the tree in situ were provided to the author in a March 19, 2018, e-mail from Andy DiOrio of Hallmark Cards, Inc.

   A letter from Hallmark implies that the artist had expressed some kind of political or at least philanthropic intentions to the card company when he’d first communicated his idea for the unadorned spruce, and that the company had approved—see David L. Strout, of Hallmark Cards Inc., to Andy Warhol, August 25, 1964, TC5, AWMA. Hallmark offered “a central location” for Warhol’s tree so as to “set a mood that we would like to achieve in accordance with your wishes.”

   Warhol and the other participants only provided the concepts for their trees; the trees themselves were to be provided, decorated and placed by Hallmark staff.

93. **406 a seventeen-footer:** On the tree’s height see Cards Magazine (Winter 1964): 6.


96. **407 never did get screened:** Jonas Mekas, interview by author, November 25, 2014. Mekas said that the footage was shown in private to the Village Voice critic who wrote about it.

97. **407 “very potent”:** The friend, unnamed, is quoted in John Wil-


408 prettiest of them: For a photo see Billy Name, Billy Name: The Silver Age (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.


There’s a chance that the term Mole People may not in fact have been used until Mary Woronov published her Factory memoir, Swimming Underground, in 1995—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


408 home and hangout: Billy Name, in Glenn O’Brien and Billy Name, “Factory Workers Warholites Remember: Billy Name,” Interview (November 30, 2008), https://www.interviewmagazine.com/culture/
factory-workers-warholites-remember-billy-name.

109. **408 might barely be visible**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

110. **408 “sometimes brilliant”**: Mary Woronov, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, April 21, 1995, AWMA.


112. **408 “didn’t suffer fools”**: Bibbe Hansen, interview by author, February 17, 2017.


Ondine and Warhol would have also met in August 1963 at the filming of Jack Smith’s *Normal Love* in Old Lyme—see Wynn Chamberlain, draft memoir (n.d.), personal papers of Sally Chamberlain.


117. **409 almost homeless**: Johnny Dodd, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 17, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

118. **409 October afternoon**: See Donald McDonagh, “The Incandescent Innocent,” *Film Culture* (Summer 1968): 59.

119. **409 a grand finale**: Many details of the death are in flux. A summary of the various stories is in Chelsea Weathers, “Drugtime,” *Criticism* 56, no. 3 (Summer 2014). Weathers’s summary omits David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 191. Bourdon quotes direct from Dodd, who was the only person present at the time—see Johnny Dodd, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 17, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Di Prima mentions a sixth-floor window, but the building, still
standing at 5 Cornelia Street, only has five stories. The window is on the fourth floor in Gerard Malanga, *Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs* (London: Creation Books, 2002), 128. Bourdon’s biography of Warhol says that Dodd’s apartment was on the fifth floor—but that is not derived from Dodd’s interview notes. It is also the view of Robert Heide, who knew Herko and lived nearby, and of Donald McDonagh, “The Incandescent Innocent,” *Film Culture* (Summer 1968): 59.


127. **410 a closet opera fan**: One young acolyte remembered an occasion in the mid 1960s when he was on the street carrying an album of *La Bohème* and ran into Warhol, and how the artist knew the details of the piece and of the particular interpretation on the album—Stephen Shore, interview by author, October 11, 2016.


129. **410 Ruby and Lacy**: Ruby was, of course, a redhead and Lacy was black; both were eventually sent away when Warhol got tired of seeing them walk on his paintings—see Billy Name in Larissa Harris and Media Farzin, eds., *13 Most Wanted Men: Andy Warhol and the 1964 World’s Fair* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 2015), 82.

    Name led Warhol archivist Matt Wrbican to believe that his cats were named Black Lace and White Pussy—the latter being the name given on the poster for *Harlot*, the film shot by Warhol at the end of 1964,
for the white cat that appeared in it.

130. **“freaks”:** Jane Holzer, notes from an interview, February 2, 1977, box M88, AWMA.


133. **too withdrawn:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


The third man in the film is Walter Dainwood, described as “very much embedded in Billy’s crowd” by Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

135. **close-up film of an ejaculating penis:** Jan Wenner to Andy Warhol, April 16, 1973, TC88, AWMA.

136. **soft-core group show:** See “Installation View of ‘The Arena of Love’ at the Dwan Gallery,” 1965, Lucy R. Lippard papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/installation-view-arena-love-dwan-gallery-10534. Warhol designed the flyer for the show, which was a photograph of Hershey’s Kisses in their quite Warholian silver foil.


The Warhol catalogue raisonné does not seem aware of that first showing of *Bosoms*.


140. **Andy never looked**: Henry Geldzahler to Maggy Gilchrist and Jean-Michel Brouhr, draft of a fax transmission to the Musée national d’art moderne, Paris, n.d., Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Gerard Malanga claimed he was also present at the shoot, contra-
dicting Geldzahler’s account—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


His 1961 papers from the navy are glimpsed in the trailer for an unrealized documentary on Fagan by his nephew—see Philip Fagan, Philip’s Shadow (Trailer), Web video, accessed April 6, 2019, https://vimeo.com/46890845. That trailer provided much of the information on Fagan that follows.


148. skilled little films: Copies of Philip Fagan’s footage were viewed at The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh.


152. Warhol and the two younger men: The photo (AWMA) is by Duane Michals.
413 “VERRYMERRYFUCKINGCHRISTMAS”: Andy Warhol and Philip Norman Fagan to Henry Geldzahler, Christmas card, December 1964, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


414 half a year: The idea of the six-month portrait of Fagan is confirmed in Isabel Eberstadt, “Are You Human, Andy” (typescript, c.1965), Fernanda Eberstadt personal papers. Eberstadt describes the daily three-minute reels as eventually being supposed to add up to nine hours of footage—i.e., six months’ worth.


414 seventy-minute film: Ronald Tavel said that the film was shot on January 23, 1965—see Ronald Tavel, “Screen Test: (Also, Philip’s Screen Test; Screen Test 1),” accessed November 29, 2019, https://ronald-


168. **414 Fagan packed his bags:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

See also Malanga quoted in Ronald Tavel, “Screen Test: (Also, Philip’s Screen Test; Screen Test 1),” accessed November 29, 2019, https://ronaldtavel.com/documents/screen_test_1.pdf.


170. **415 “I know you cared too”:** Philip Norman Fagan to Andy Warhol, October 25, 1969, TC57, AWMA.


175. **415 looped a segment:** The films had been transferred to 8mm stock to be used in the machines.

Jonas Mekas, in a July 23, 2017, talk at the Swiss Institute in New York, said that Warhol and he had transferred a number of films to 8mm to rent to the home market, but that there was no demand at all for them.

176. **415 complained:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPlism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 265. As usual, it is hard to know if the complaint attributed to Warhol actually had its original source in anything he said or if it derived from an interview with someone else.


178. 415 cost one-tenth of that: Receipts from Warhol’s suppliers (AWMA) show that the total cost of materials for a 24” by 36” silk-screened painting might typically come to under $50.

179. 416 $1,672.20: Film-makers’ Cooperative, IRS 1099 form to Warhol for calendar year 1965, box M31, AWMA.

180. 416 from a single big Flower: On Flowers prices see the February 1, 1966, statement of sales (AWMA) sent from the Castelli Gallery to Warhol.


182. 416 he paid union wages: Andrew Wylie, in a January 5, 2015, e-mail to the author, citing a circa 1970 conversation with Warhol.


Warhol is quoted saying “I don’t really believe in objects” in Leonard Shecter, “The Warhol Factory,” New York Post, February 23, 1966. This was a precocious position to take in 1966, and only became common later in the decade with the rise of Conceptual Art.


190. 417 “I was serious”: Warhol, in Barry Blinderman, “Modern ‘Myths’: Andy Warhol,” in Art Talk 2: Discourse on The Early 80s (Ann Ar-

192. **told that movie’s sleeper**: Warhol, in John Giorno, “Andy Warhol Interviewed by a Poet” (typescript, 1963), TC27 and TC32, AWMA.


197. **his latest film**: The film was *Harlot*, Warhol’s first talkie, which showed at one of the “Monday Night Letters” events organized by Fluxus members at the Café au Go Go, as advertised in the *Village Voice*, January 7, 1965. This was the same issue in which Jonas Mekas announced Warhol as a new star of underground cinema.


202. **“She walked in”**: Billy Name, in John W. Walter, *How to Draw a Bunny*, documentary, 2004. Several sources deny the oft-told tale

Billy Name said that after the shooting Podber actually continued to hover in the Factory until Warhol asked Name to throw her out—see Name in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 234.

203. **419 he'd already raged:** William S. Wilson, in the transcription of an earlier conversation included in William S. Wilson to Gary Comenas, “Non-Identical Repetition,” e-mail provided to the author by Comenas, June 25, 2013.

204. **419 enlarged repeats:** There is a strong possibility that the enlarged Marilyn and Jackie paintings might have been commissions—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 02A—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Phaidon, 2002). That is confirmed by Mark Lancaster in Gary Comenas, “Mark Lancaster Interview,” Warholstars (blog), 2004, http://www.warholstars.org/andy-warhol/interview/mark/lancaster.html. The commission was arranged by the dealer Ben Birillo, interview by author, May 17, 2018.

205. **419 bigger Tomato Soups:** See the Campbell’s company document celebrating the commission (TC11, AWMA) preserved as a tearsheet from an unknown magazine.


209. *$2,600:* See the December 11, 1964, receipt from F&B/Ceco, Inc., AWMA.


211. *still photos of the filming:* Contact sheets by Lawrence Fried were supplied to the author by his daughter, Patricia Fried.


The strange timbre of Tavel’s reading voice was confirmed by Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


Gerard Malanga remembered Warhol and Ronald Tavel meeting after Tavel’s reading, out on the street—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


218. *Star is rats backward:* The dialogue is provided in Ronald Tavel, “The Banana Diary,” *Film Culture* (Spring 1966). That text is


222. **422 a sound technician of sorts**: Buddy Wirtschafter was the sound technician for *Harlot* and also for other early Warhol films—see Gerard Malanga, “Andy’s Orbit” (typescript of an essay for Galerie von Bartha in Basel, Switzerland, 1983), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


225. **423 “not-nothing to something”:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

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**CHAPTER 24**


4. **425 beating them**: John Cale, in texts for the exhibition “Edie Sedgwick: Silver Hill to Silver Screen,” The Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh, June 10 to September 2, 2001. The show was curated by Matt Wrbican, then Assistant Archivist.

6. 426 “trying to sleep with me”: Quoted from interviews conducted for the film Ciao! Manhattan in Jean Stein and George Plimpton, Edie: American Girl (New York: Grove Press, 1982), 117, Kindle edition. Edie Sedgwick also spoke of her two brothers having been “seduced” by their father—Sepp Donahower, interview by author, June 26, 2017.


9. 426 around midwinter: “In December of ’64 or January ’65”—Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, December 31, 1974, box M88, AWMA. The earlier date is more likely, given that he is supposed to have visited Edie Sedgwick in hospital after her New Year’s Eve car accident, as below. Sedgwick was already hanging out at a Factory film shoot by mid-January—see Debra Miller, Billy Name: Stills from the Warhol Films (Munich: Prestel, 1994), 40n6.


   Persky said that the party was for Tennessee Williams’s birthday, which would have been on March 26, but several other sources, including Warhol himself, have said the first meeting between the artist and Edie Sedgwick had taken place near the New Year. The two already knew each other “in the winter of 1964” when Warhol visited Sedgwick in hospital in New York, where she was recovering from a New Year’s Eve car accident—see Ashton Hawkins, “In His Own Words: Ashton Hawkins,” STAIR Galleries (blog), accessed April 5, 2019, https://www.stairgalleries.com/news-insights/insights/in-his-own-words-ashton-hawkins-on-andy-warhol-georgia-okeeffe-david-hockney-and-life-in-the-art-world/.

   It seems likely that Persky is confusing two of the many parties he gave, and that Warhol and Sedgwick were present at both. Gerard Malanga believed that he would have first met Sedgwick at the March party at Persky’s, when she already had her scars, and that Warhol might have met her without him at an earlier party—Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


12. 426 visited her in the hospital: Ashton Hawkins, “In His Own Words: Ashton Hawkins,” STAIR Galleries (blog), accessed April 5, 2019,
Edie Sedgwick is said to have broken her leg in a New Year's Eve crash in California—Jean Stein and George Plimpton, *Edie: American Girl* (New York: Grove Press, 1982), 173, Kindle edition. But it’s not clear if that is the same accident that brought her to the hospital in New York where Hawkins met her. Several accounts mention her wearing a cast on her arm, but Watson, *Factory Made*, has it on her leg, perhaps based on Stein.

13. **“heavy, strange make-up”:** Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


26. **“illusion of having money”:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


28. **$500 a month:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. That account is confirmed in Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA. Sedgwick said that her money had run out by April 1965—see Melissa Painter and David Weisman, *Edie: Girl on Fire* (San Francisco Chronicle Books, 2006), 104. Her friend Bob Neuwirth claimed that Sedgwick went through $30,000 the first year and then another $40,000 the next—Melissa Painter and David Weisman, *Edie: Girl on Fire* (San Francisco Chronicle Books, 2006), 134.


32. **“wonderful to film”:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 137. As usual with this source, the attribution directly to Warhol has to be in doubt.

33. **in mid-April:** The *Vinyl* shoot took place on April 15, 1965, according to the journals kept by screenwriter Ronald Tavel—see Ron-

34. **428 hadn’t had the funds to option:** Warhol, in John Wilcock, “A ‘High’ School of Music and Art,” *East Village Other*, April 15, 1966.

David Bailey, introduced to Warhol by Jane Holzer in 1964, has claimed that he and Warhol had entered into negotiations with Burgess to purchase the rights to his book but failed to do so—see Matt Wrbican, *A Is for Archive: Warhol’s World from A to Z*, ed. Abigail Franzen-Sheehan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 156. But Gerard Malanga said that Warhol had indeed bought the rights—see Malanga in Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.


36. **428 “more plastic-sounding”:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

37. **428 “stick her in for decoration”:** Warhol, quoted by Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

38. **428 recognized her surprising charisma:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

39. **428 begun within days:** Gerard Malanga, in Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.


42. **“to become more Edie-like”:** Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


44. **“A new one every minute”:** Andy Warhol, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


46. **“pale, frail, glamorous people”:** Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

47. **“broke me and Andy up”:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

48. **Warhol’s total absence:** Warhol’s head does appear—just—in Stan Vanderbeek’s crowded collage of underground filmmakers, and Warhol’s name is given in a guide to the collage at the back of the magazine. Thanks to Jay Reeg for pointing out this Warhol (non-)coverage.

49. **French taste for Impressionism:** Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

50. **new passport:** Warhol’s passport (AWMA) was issued on April 23, 1965.

51. **$1,600:** A & F Travel Tours, April 27, 1965, invoice to Leo Castelli Gallery, AWMA.

On Flowers prices see the February 1, 1966, statement of sales (AWMA) sent from the Castelli gallery to Warhol.

52. **a trade-in:** Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


54. **in a gossip column:** Leonard Lyons, “The Lyons Den,” May 3, 1965. Lyons’s column was widely syndicated.

55. **a grand good-bye:** Jonas Mekas, diary entry for April 25, 1965, in Jonas Mekas, *A Dance with Fred Astaire* (New York: Anthology Editions, 2017), 259. He specifies that the party was in honor of Warhol’s imminent departure. Warhol’s passport (AWMA) shows him arriving in
Paris on April 30, 1965.

56. **“Judy Garland and Lester Persky fighting!”**: Lester Persky and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, December 8, 1975, box M88, AWMA. The conversation has been slightly edited here for length and clarity.

57. **“you know damn well I’m very talented”**: Judy Garland, quoted by Sally Chamberlain, in an excerpt from an unpublished memoir shared with the author in a July 11, 2016, e-mail.


61. **“speed freaks twitching”**: Sally Chamberlain, in an excerpt from an unpublished memoir shared with the author in a July 11, 2016, e-mail.


63. **dozens and dozens**: See the May 10, 1965, photos in the Harry Shunk and Shunk-Kender photographs collection, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Accession no. 2014.R.20. May 12 is often listed as the first day of the show, but it seems from the dated photos that the opening itself was May 10.

64. **taste for foie gras**: R. Couri Hay, interview by author, July 22, 2017.

65. **a raft of introductions**: For some of the people they might have met on their trip, see the April 28 and 29, 1965, letters (AWMA) to Warhol from Sam Wagstaff, curator at the Wadsworth Atheneum. Wagstaff made introductions for Warhol to friends in Paris and London, including the Surrealist poet Edouard Roditi, the gay art historian John Pope-Hennessy and the outsider-ish painter Eden Fleming.


67. **full-frontal Malanga**: Undated photo, stamped “Shunk-Kender, 19 Quai au Fleurs, Paris 14” (AWMA). The Shunk-Kender archives in the Getty collection hold another photo of Warhol, alone, shot
in May 1965 in a Paris hotel room with the same wallpaper as in the shot with Malanga, and wearing the same dark glass, which were unlike the ones he normally wore in New York.

68. 432 “I’m watching out after him”: Gerard Malanga to Julia Warhola, May 5, 1965, AWMA.


70. 433 “baguette” of hashish: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

71. 433 “She had an extraordinary charm”: Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, interview by author, May 2, 2018.


73. 433 young photographer: The photographer was Jean Jacques Bugat. The club was Chez Castel, one of the most fashionable spots in Paris—Jean Jaques Bugat, interview by author, March 30, 2018.


76. 433 she was the true inventor: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 23, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


78. 434 Chuck Wein had spent some time: Steven Watson, Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 141.


80. 434 “why everyone liked it so much”: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

81. 434 barely been shown there: In October 1963, Warhol had been included as one of many Pop artists in the Institute of Contemporary Art’s “Popular Image USA” exhibition, which had toured from California to London thanks to Illeana Sonnabend. See “Complete ICA Exhibitions List 1948-Present,” July 2017, https://www.ica.art/sites/default/files/downloads/Complete%20ICA%20Exhibitions%20List%20
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83. **434 “a vitamin”:** Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


85. **434 scarred wrists of a young depressive:** Although the film shows physical signs of having been screened many times (Greg Pierce, March 22, 2018, e-mail to the author) it was never shown in a public venue because the sitter threatened to sue—see Ronald Tavel, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 884.


87. **435 “You aren’t the Girl of the Year”:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


93. **436 “found person”:** John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

94. **436 the first time “superstar”:** *Newsweek* (December 7, 1964): 103.

95. **436 “replacing Hollywood”:** John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246,
AWMA.

96. “makes them into something”: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


100. “She was one of his ego images”: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


103. “I always wanted to be a girl”: Andy Warhol, interview by Old Owl [Robert Reilly], typescript of an unpublished interview intended for the Yale Record (Spring 1966), TC14, AWMA.

104. a shy boyfriend: See Philip Norman Fagan in Warhol’s Screen Test #1, shot in January 1965.


108. a still of Marlon Brando: Lane Slate, “USA Artists [Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein],” television broadcast (New York: WNET,
March 8, 1966).


111. **438 a competition:** “L’Index connaissance des arts 1966,” *Connaissance des arts* (June 1966): 88. Roy Lichtenstein got one vote; Victor Vasarely received a fair number; total unknowns did even better.

112. **438 “unbelievably corny”:** Andy Warhol and Anna Karina, notes from an interview, October 1973, box M88, AWMA.


117. **438 Outer and Inner Space:** The piece was first called simply *Space*—Gerard Malanga, in a May 10, 2018, e-mail to the author. But it may have got the longer title because Ronald Tavel had also used the word *Space* for one of his Warhol scripts.

118. **438 Inner and Outer Space:** Robert Breer’s *Inner and Outer Space* was included in a major show of the same name that opened in December, 1965, at the prestigious Moderna Museet in Stockholm, where Warhol had recently shown and whose curator he was close to.


121. **439 first one by Nam June Paik:** Callie Angell, “Doubling the Screen: Andy Warhol’s Outer and Inner Space,” *Millennium Film Journal* 38 (Spring 2002), http://www.mfj-online.org/journalPages/MFJ38/angell.html.

123. flower-covered newsletter: Andy Warhol Fan Club of New York City, Andreeee MONTHLY (Wee Hope) GAZETTE, April 1965, 5, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The poem itself was submitted by a gay 23-year-old from North Carolina—see Phillip R. Poovey, interview by author, May 9, 2018.


134. adopted “Warhol”: “Lyons Den,” Syracuse Post Standard, July 15, 1965. Lyon’s column was syndicated in many other newspapers as well. The actor’s new name was Suraci Warhol.


140. **Ivan Karp**: Ivan Karp, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 22, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


Warhol’s appearance on Elwood Glover’s “Luncheon Date” program, mentioned in the above, was confirmed by Darren Yearsley of the CBC in a June 9, 2017, e-mail to the author.

142. **barely opened his mouth**: Harry Malcolmson, *Toronto Telegram*, March 27, 1965. (Malcolmson’s column was untitled.)


146. **originally been commissioned**: Roger Vaughan, in a February 18, 2014, e-mail to the author.


**CHAPTER 25**


5. “He’s a voyeur-sadist”: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


12. “extremely fatherly”: Mary Woronov, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, April 21, 1995, AWMA.


19. budding filmmaker: On Paul Morrissey before Warhol see


21. **that his more technical skills**: Billy Name and Gerard Malanga, full interview transcript for the documentary “The Factory People: Interview Archive” (Planet Group Entertainment, 2011), provided to the author by producer Patrick Nagle, n.d.

22. **“which wasn’t much”**: Morrissey, interview by Bockris-Wiley [Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie], typed notes, December 24, 1973, Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie Collection, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.


24. **“Andy ran the camera”**: Paul Morrissey, interview by Bockris-Wiley [Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie], typed notes, December 24, 1973, Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie Collection, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.


27. **help Warhol find sex**: Rudy Franchi, interview by author, November 7, 2018. Franchi said that on that night, in the summer of 1965, Morrissey arranged for Franchi and Warhol to go home together.


31. **twenty-five-year-old**: Brigid Berlin’s birth date is given as

32. **Brigid Berlin**: Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 225. Watson is the most thorough source on the Factory’s cast of characters, although his book has a number of factual errors.


36. “Brigid was evil”: Holly Woodlawn, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 2288, Kindle edition.

37. helped introduce Warhol: Steven Balkin, interview by author, June 12, 2018.

38. a girl’s prison: Bibbe Hansen, interview by author, February 17, 2017.


41. love letters: The letters, undated, are in the Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

42. “We were all outsider insiders”: Bibbe Hansen, in “In Conversation with Bibbe Hansen,” *Interview* (November 11, 2017).

43. “the manipulator”: business Joseph Freeman, interview by author, June 7, 2018.

44. “solving our problems”: Bibbe Hansen, interview by author, February 17, 2017.


47. Pentax camera: See the July 12, 1961, receipt for a Pentax H3 camera from Willoughby’s of New York (TC56, AWMA). It was one of the first high-end Japanese single-lens reflex cameras, and even after an
unspecified trade-in it cost Warhol $162, a substantial sum at the time.

451 Another young man: The filmmaker was Danny Williams—see Heather Robinson, A Walk Into the Sea: Danny Williams and the Warhol Factory, DVD, documentary, 2007.

451 “I have the impression”: Andy Warhol, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

451 “TEMPORARILY CLOSED”: Billy Name to Andy Warhol, May 1965, TC39, AWMA.


452 he’d overslept: Dorothy Kilgallen, “Dorothy Kilgallen’s Last Column,” Miami News, November 9, 1965. The incident would have been especially well-known because it was reported in the last piece written before the sudden death of Kilgallen, a well-known gossip columnist.


452 “No Drop-Ins—All Junk Out!!”: The sign is visible in photos taken by Gretchen Berg in early 1966.


452 On weekends: Joseph Freeman, interview by author, June 7, 2018. Freeman’s first trip to the Factory would have been in late 1965.

452 pull down the ladder: John Wilcock and Martin Gardner, Manhattan Memories: An Autobiography (Amazon Digital Services, 2009), loc. 3739, Kindle edition.
61. **452 to do daytime drugs**: Bibbe Hansen, interview by author, February 17, 2017.
62. **452 “disastrous party”**: Edward Field, in an April 30, 2016, e-mail to the author.
63. **452 was scared off**: Carlton Willers, interview by author, September 22, 2015.
64. **453 “We became disenchanted”**: Sally Chamberlain, draft memoir e-mailed to the author on July 11, 2016.
65. **453 the pay phone**: Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), np.
66. **453 sneaking a cigarette**: Warhol is seen smoking in pictures taken by David McCabe at the Glass House of architect Philip Johnson in the winter of 1964/1965 and in shots by Robert Levin from May 1985.
68. **453 “He was the saint of misfits”**: Ricky Clifton, interview by author, May 21, 2016.
71. **454 September of ’65**: Dorothy Dean, one of the film’s organizers, said the shoot was planned for “the weekend after Labor Day,” i.e., September 11 to September 12. See Dorothy Dean et al., partial notes from an interview, c.1965, TC60, AWMA.
72. **454 “definitely déclassé”**: Ondine, in Dorothy Dean et al., partial notes from an interview, c.1965, TC60, AWMA.
73. **454 Wein and Sedgwick**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.
75. **454 no sign they used it**: Greg Pierce, film curator at The Andy Warhol Museum, June 29, 2018, e-mail to the author.
76. **454 finished movie’s sound**: The first time they projected *My Hustler*, they were in utter despair of ever hearing the dialog, but playing it on a better projector rather later convinced them the film could be salvaged—see Paul Morrissey, in Tony Rayns, “Andy Warhol Films Inc: Communication in Action,” *Cinema (UK)* (August 1970): 44.

78. **455 contribution to film history**: Ronald Tavel, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 874.

79. **455 “headache inducing”**: A writer signing only as “Beau,” reviewing a July 10, 1967, screening of *My Hustler* in an otherwise unidentified clipping (TC12, AWMA).


84. **456 “practicing” homosexuals**: “Live and Let Live,” *Annual Annual* (June 1965): TC7, AWMA. The interview with Warhol, published in the same issue, was titled “Pop Goes the Artist.”

The interview with the gay men had been broadcast on public radio in July 1962—see “The Week’s Radio Programs,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1962. Warhol was on air in the fall of 1963. It could be that the imperative to immortalize both transcripts in print was only felt in June 1965, when they seemed more distinctly topical and after the Federal Communications Commission had decided not to act on complaints about the gay-themed broadcast—see Anthony Lewis, “F.C.C. Sanctions Provocative TV: Warns on ‘Bland’ Programs in Renewing Licenses for Pacifica’s 3 Stations,” *New York Times*, January 23, 1964.


86. **456 “fully displayed genitals”**: A writer signing only as “Beau,” reviewing a July 10, 1967, screening of *My Hustler* in an otherwise unidentified clipping (TC12, AWMA).


90. **a parting gift**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


97. **Williams wielded another**: Footage also survives that Danny Williams shot on a Bolex, but it doesn’t seem to have been used in the film as screened.

98. **the younger man also shot films**: Some of Danny Williams’s film work can be see in Heather Robinson, *A Walk Into the Sea: Danny Williams and the Warhol Factory*, DVD, documentary, 2007.


100. **Williams**: See “Chuck Wein: Fire Island Acid Trip,” an extra track included with Heather Robinson, *A Walk Into the Sea: Danny Wil-


For another account of the episode see Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol '60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 158.


111. **459 In May**: See the May 10, 1966, model release for Mary Woronov to appear in a Plaza 8 bra ad for a fee of $180 (box B13, AWMA).

112. **459 late turning it in**: Greg Pierce, film curator at The Andy Warhol Museum, in an April 22, 2014, e-mail to the author, conveying information collected by Warhol film scholar Callie Angell.

338.


115. **460 “really treated like dirt”**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


119. **460 “the worst druggy mess”**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

120. **460 I would sit next to Danny**: Ronald Tavel, *Andy Warhol’s Ridiculous Screenplays* (Silverton, OR: Fast Books, 2015), 120.


122. **461 his clothes were later found**: Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 295.


### CHAPTER 26


2. **463 “PUBLIC RESPONSE TO THE WARHOL SHOW”**: “Editorial,” *Prometheus* (January 1966): trunk TC, AWMA. This irregular periodical was published by Philadelphia’s Makler Gallery, which specialized in more conservative modern art.

given as 6,000 in Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

4. 463 **museum director had them made**: Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA. On the price see *ICA News* (Fall 1965), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

5. 463 **flood of publicity**: See for example Katherine Dunlap, “Andy Warhol Coming Here for the Preview,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 26, 1965. Warhol had used the press connections he’d already made as an illustrator to drum up coverage, according to Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


11. 464 **had been damaged**: Jerald Ordover to Samuel Adams Green, December 13, 1965, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The letter, from Warhol’s lawyer, concerns insurance claims for a damaged Tuna Fish, a stolen *Red Liz* and an Elvis painting that was graffitied toward the end of the Philadelphia show.


14. 464 **“He was dressed for motorcycling”**: Nancy Love, “Pop Goes the Easel,” *Greater Philadelphia* (November 1965): 156. Substantial pre-planning would have been required for a feature on an October event to have appeared in a November monthly: Space would have to be blocked out in advance for pre-assigned text and photography. The story itself makes clear that at the time of the opening the writer was reporting with substantial feature treatment in mind.


17. **Brigid Berlin:** Brigid Berlin is visible with Warhol and others in a photograph taken on the occasion of the opening, reproduced in *From the Factory to the World: Photography and the Warhol Community* (Madrid: La Fabrica Editorial/RIT, 2012), 76.


Various clippings also mention Rosalind Constable, Gene Swenson, David Bourdon and Philip “Fufu” Smith as having been in attendance.


25. **surrendered his new, goggly sunglasses:** Frank Galuska, interview by author, May 18, 2015.

26. **“through and down the fire escape”:** Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


29. **Renoir and Gauguin:** Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


31. **“Lallie Lloyd said”:** Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


33. **“He ridiculed it, but he supported me”:** Samuel Adams Green, interview by Avis Berman, June 6, 2006, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.


35. **“He loved it”:** Samuel Adams Green, interview by Avis Berman, June 6, 2006, courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.

36. **“will there be anything else?:** Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

37. **given dinner:** Dinner invitation addressed to Warhol, Gerard Malanga and Chuck Wein, TC59, AWMA.

38. **bedding down at McIlhenny’s:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

There was certainly an almost comic contrast between Warhol, champion of the new, and stodgy old Philadelphia, blue-blooded birthplace of the nation. Henry McIlhenny said that even he eventually tired of the most extreme of Warhol’s antics and companions—see McIlhenny in Jack Smith, “Oh Henry!,” *Philadelphia* (March 1987). And yet the city also had a more recent history of welcoming the avant-garde. For a full decade already, the Museum of Art had been hosting the world’s greatest collection of works by Marcel Duchamp; the catalog for Warhol’s ICA show was careful to quote the Frenchman, now counting as a local hero, on the “anti-retinal” brilliance of the Campbell’s Soups. The local YMHA
also fostered Philly’s Dada side: It had brought Alan Kaprow to town in 1962 for a happening that included plucked chickens in wire spheres; the next year the same Y had a show of all New York’s neo-Dadas—except Warhol—but eventually presented Warhol at his most extreme, sponsoring one of his rock-and-film extravaganzas.


41. **“aesthetically indefensible”:** “Editorial,” *Prometheus* (January 1966), trunk TC, AWMA. This irregular periodical was published by Philadelphia’s Makler Gallery, which specialized in more conservative modern art.


The ICA also scheduled a screening for November 9 at the Theater of the Living Arts, then run by the great André Gregory, but there’s no mention of what might have been shown there—see “Dinner Parties,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 9, 1965.

On a *Soap Opera* screening see *ICA News* (Fall 1965), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


There is one questionable reference to Warhol wearing leather before then, at the bodybuilders’ convention he went to with Ray Johnson
in 1963—see the unsourced mention in Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 150. But that appearance in leather, if it happened at all, seems to have been in a quite private context, outside of the public eye and in fact before anyone much was looking Warhol’s way.


59. **469 told his own mother**: James Warhola, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, August 10, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

60. **470 “Andy Warhol himself”**: Harold Rosenberg, in Lana Jokel,
Andy Warhol, documentary, 1972.


64. **Art can operate in the manner of life**: John Cage, in *Warhol and Dance: New York in the 50’s* (Paris: Galerie Thaddeus Ropac, 2010), 12.


69. **a constant crossover**: Lawrence Alloway, in “Pop Art: An Historical Approach” (lecture transcript from a symposium organized by Willoughby Sharp for the Columbia University Graduate Art History Association, April 25, 1964), courtesy The Roy Lichtenstein Foundation Archives.


On Ono at the Factory see Stephen Shore, *Factory: Andy Warhol* (Lon-


79. **“Wants art to be for everyone”**: Roberta Bernstein, unpublished journal entry for September 19, 1966, provided to the author by Bernstein in an October 3, 2018, e-mail.


81. **“he has taken the most extreme position”**: Barbara Rose, “In Andy Warhol’s Aluminum Foil, We Have All Been Reflected,” *New York* (May 31, 1971): 55.


83. **“the artist is his own work of art”**: John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.


Kusama and her eccentricity are discussed in Larry Rivers and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, February 20, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


86. **“a handful of mist or fog”**: David Prentice, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 1302, Kindle edition.

88. **how to be a woman who made art**: See *Frida Kahlo* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2007) and *Georgia O’Keeffe: Living Modern* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2017).


96. **“excess of any kind”**: John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.


99. **once he gets past the WOW, GEE routine**: Edmund Carpenter, March 19, 1973, letter to Marshall McLuhan, provided to the author by Sean Mooney, chief curator of the Rock Foundation, in a February 8, 2019, e-mail.


102. **picture book**: The presence at the Factory of “a writer-pho-
toographer team who are planning a book on him and his activities: About 20,000 words and the rest pictures’ is attested in John Wilcock, “The Detached Cool of Andy Warhol,” Village Voice, May 6, 1965.


476 a prerelease Norelco: The loan of the Norelco cassette recorder is mentioned by Gerard Malanga in Patrick S. Smith, Andy Warhol’s Art and Films (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 404. The recorder was introduced to the United States as the “Carry-Corder 150” in October 1965. Warhol already has one in his hand in Billy Name’s October 4, 1965, photo on the Factory roof, on the day of the Papal visit—see Billy Name, Billy Name: The Silver Age (Reel Art Press, 2014), 153. He must have had it earlier than that, however, since it was used in August to tape Ondine for the book that became a: a novel. Norelco eventually decided to let Warhol keep the machine—see Victor Bockris, “Andy Warhol the Writer,” in Who Is Andy Warhol?, ed. Colin MacCabe et al. (London and Pittsburgh: British Film Institute and The Andy Warhol Museum, 1997), 18.

Warhol’s Uher 4000 Report L reel-to-reel, advertised as “a new revolutionary model” in the summer of 1966, survives in his archives, as does a receipt for its repair in December, 1966 (TC39, AWMA) at the then-substantial cost of $148.94. The machine also appears in June 4, 1968, photographs of his studio (Municipal Archives, New York City). Strangely, in 1967 Warhol was claiming that the deck had been stolen from the home of the actor Patrick Tilden Close, who had borrowed it from the Factory—see the account of a visit to the Silver Factory in Neal Weaver, “The Warhol Phenomenon: Trying to Understand It,” After Dark (January 1969): 28. Perhaps Warhol had bought a replacement by the summer of 1968.


477 “metaphor of life as theater”: Susan Sontag, “Notes on Camp,” in Against Interpretation and Other Essays (New York: Delta Books,

109. 477 New York premiere: The premiere was the opening event for a new SoHo building that housed the Leo Castelli and Sonnabend galleries and others of almost equal note—see “Gilbert and George,” *The New Yorker* (October 9, 1971): 40.


111. 477 was there to witness: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (October 9, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. Warhol’s invitation to the Gilbert and George event survives in his archives (TC17, AWMA).


CHAPTER 27


5. 479 “sketching the carcinoma in our soul”: Paul Jay Robbins,


12. **Up and dancing:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

   Sedgwick can be seen dancing with Malanga in photographs of the Velvet Underground by Adam Ritchie, at https://www.adam-ritchie-photography.co.uk, accessed May 31, 2018. Mekas is in them as well.

13. **“It’s not like just banging on pots and pans”:** Edie Sedgwick, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The Solomon interview seems to have been conducted in February 1966.

14. **Malanga asked for help:** Gerard Malanga, interview by Peter Headington, typescript, February 12, 1983, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


16. **Distortion and feedback:** John Wilcock, in Richie Unterberger, *White Light/White Heat: The Velvet Underground Day-by-Day* (Lon-

18. 480 Young concert: See the ad for the Young concert in the *New York Times*, December 4, 1965.


The movie was *Christmas on Earth*, for which the orgy scenes seem to have been filmed in early 1965—Rubin scholar and documentarian Chuck Smith, in a June 18, 2018, e-mail to the author.


28. 481 fake news shots: Lou Reed, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


**Notes**

Underground Day-by-Day (London: Jawbone, 2009), 44.

32. **482 Dirt**: The film was by Piero Heliczer, and is normally known as Venus in Furs. Dirt is mentioned as the original title in “The Making Of An Underground Film,” television broadcast (CBS, December 31, 1965), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CX2LRvyM0cE. That title seems eventually to have been transferred to another Heliczer film.

33. **482 $500 a week**: Paul Morrissey, in Richie Unterberger, White Light/White Heat: The Velvet Underground Day-by-Day (London: Jawbone, 2009), 64. There are a number of inaccuracies in Morrissey’s account, so the amount of the payment might also be incorrect. Sterling Morrison claimed that the offer was for $40,000 for four weekend gigs, but that number does not seem at all likely, either—Morrison in Victor Bockris and Gerard Malanga, Up-Tight: The Velvet Underground Story (London: Omnibus Press, 2002), 30.

34. **482 “to extend the idea of the paintbrush”:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


36. **482 “he knows a lot more than he ever, ever pretends”:** Edie Sedgwick, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


41. **483 amplifiers**: Paul Morrissey, notes from an interview, March 30, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

43. **483 news spot on CBS:** “The Making Of An Underground Film,” television broadcast (CBS, December 31, 1965), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CX2LRvyM0cE.


53. **484 fruit-cup:** See the photographs by Adam Ritchie, a friend of Barbara Rubin’s, at https://www.adam-ritchie-photography.co.uk/?page_id=1341, accessed May 31, 2018.


55. **484 chaotic parody:** For some footage see Jonas Mekas, *Scenes from the Life of Andy Warhol*, on Jonas Mekas, Marie Menken, and Willard Maas, *Visions of Warhol*, DVD (Electronic Arts Intermix, 2006).


57. **484 Longhaired and be-jeaned:** See the photographs by Adam Ritchie, a friend of Barbara Rubin’s, at https://www.adam-ritchie-photography.co.uk/?page_id=1341, accessed May 31, 2018.
64. press exposure: Also of note to Warhol in the coverage: The same Newsweek issue that covered his psych soirée had featured his old idol Truman Capote on the cover.
66. La Dolce Vita: See the entry for July 30 in Warhol’s 1961 datebook (AWMA).
70. copy of her new single: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.
72. as a “spotlight”: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018. The account he gave seems to have had several errors, including that Nico was performing that fall at the Blue Angel, a club that...
seems to have closed the previous year.


74. **486 Bob Dylan songs:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


77. **486 “Archie Shepp to mainstream jazz”:** John Wilcock, “On the Road with the Exploding Plastic Inevitable,” *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 164. From its phrasing, Wilcock’s article was clearly published—or meant to be published—in the spring of 1966, but no details are given of its original venue.


83. **487 meant scornfully:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

84. **487 Wein once used it:** Chuck Wein, in a handwritten, undated note, TC11, AWMA.

85. **487 a press release:** Gerard Malanga, “Some Notes on Edie Sedgwick” (typescript, October 1, 1965), TC25, AWMA.

86. **487 covered as a duo:** Suzy Knickerbocker, “Young Crowd There,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 8, 1965.

87. **487 “the most contemporary couple around”:** Ruby Graham,


89. **487 “or how high she would be today”:** Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


93. **488 “Dylan’s got a right to be mean”:** Andy Warhol, interview by Old Owl [Robert Reilly], typescript of an unpublished interview intended for the Yale Record (Spring 1966), TC14, AWMA.

94. **488 “She just wanted somebody to pay her bills”:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 23, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


   Heide’s many versions of this story often have significant differences and possible errors. He claims that Warhol arrived at the restaurant with a newly purchased pair of blue-suede pants—see Robert Heide, 25 Plays: And a Screenplay (Silverton, OR: Fast Books, 2017), 398. But the receipt for those survives (AWMA) and is dated October 4, 1966—far too late for that to have been the date of the encounter with Edie Sedgwick and Bob Dylan.


98. **488 “I hope she lets us know so we can film it”:** Warhol, quoted by Robert Heide, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 15, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

100. **489 to sing with them**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


110. **490 “I really have the greatest respect for him”**: Edie Sedgwick, interview by Alan R. Solomon, typed notes, c.1966, Alan R. Solomon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Internal evidence suggests a date in February 1966 for this interview.
120. *She’s a real person; she’s not phony*: Andy Warhol, “Notes on My Epic,” in Andy Warhol’s Index (Book) (New York: Random House, 1967), np.

The film was The Loves of Ondine, and the house belonged to Warhol’s friend Waldo Díaz-Balart, who testified in a lawsuit that the shoot
had occurred on August 1, 1967—see “Fufu Says Warhol Took His Money Underground,” Newsday, August 29, 1968.

Donahower said, however, that the shoot happened just days before the start of his classes at the University of Southern California, whose term that year began on September 18, as per a July 2, 2018, e-mail to the author from Claude Zachary, University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections. On the other hand, contradicting both Diaz-Balart’s testimony and Donahower’s memory is a more reliable claim that the shoot happened on July 8 (“last Saturday”) in “Andy Warhol: Superstars in East Hampton,” Hamptons Voice, July 14, 1967.


126. **491 “She was humming and doing nothing”**: Simone Swan, in a February 21, 2017, e-mail to the author.


129. **491 “We were never that close”**: Warhol, as quoted by John Palmer and David Weisman, “We Shared with Edie What Her Life Had Become . . . ,” c.1972, AWMA, from a clipping with no source indicated.


CHAPTER 28


   From its phrasing, Wilcock’s article was clearly published—or meant to be published—in the spring of 1966, but no details are given of its original venue.


7. 494 the Dom: The Dom was officially the name of a smaller dance space downstairs, while the main stage upstairs that Warhol rented for the Velvets was the Open Stage, but the word “Dom” on the façade ended up being applied to both—see the October 22, 2008, e-mail from Open Stage manager John Liikala to Gary Comenas at Gary Comenas, “Andy Warhol 1966,” Warholstars (blog), accessed April 9, 2019, http://www.warholstars.org/1966.html.

See also the ad for the first Dom performance in the Village Voice, March 31, 1966.

8. 494 “It was a new kind of dancing”: Mary Woronov, “Mary Woronov on Dancing at the Dom,” Tate, Summer 2005, 69. Thanks to Jay Reeg for this reference.


10. 494 “He really was the best dancer we ever saw: Paul Morrissey, notes from an interview, March 30, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


12. 494 a side room: Samuel Adams Green, notes from an interview, March 21, 1975, box M88, AWMA.

13. 494 “It was the whole package”: Charlie Rothschild, in Richie


18. **Most of the shows were played at galleries or art shows**: Maureen Tucker, in Brian Coley, “Quiet, Mommy’s Recording,” *New York Rocker* (July 1980): 25.


20. **lawyer’s letter**: Bobb Goldsteinn, interview by author, March 13, 2017. Goldsteinn said that the first of the weekly Lightworks loft parties was held around Christmas in 1965. Joshua White, who became his assistant in January 1966, remembered Warhol coming and taking notes. The Lightworks parties deployed both slide projectors and a spinning mirror-ball, both of which were used by Warhol at the Dom.

See also Bobb Goldsteinn, “First, ‘The Summer of Light;’ Then, ‘The Summer of Love’,” draft of an essay supplied to the author by Joshua White.


21. **double screens and colored gels**: It looks likely that Rubin’s *Christmas on Earth*, although begun in 1963, was not given its final multiscreen form until early in 1965—Chuck Smith, documentarian, quoting scholar Lars Movin in a June 18, 2018, e-mail to the author.

22. **Then he asked us if we wanted to do this**: Maureen Tucker, in Legs McNeil, “Moe Tucker—Snapshots of the Velvet Under-

23. **ever done the same thing in the same way even once**: John Wilcock, “On the Road with the Exploding Plastic Inevitable,” in *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 165. Wilcock’s phrasing makes clear that parts of the essay were published—or meant to be published—in the spring of 1966, but no details are given of its original home.


25. **rented a PA system**: Warhol, undated notebook embossed with “My Trip,” TC60, AWMA.


29. **Billy Name, that is a great pop name**: Billy Name, interviewed by Collier Schorr in Billy Name and Collier Schorr, *All Tomorrow's Parties: Billy Name's Photographs of Andy Warhol's Factory* (New York: D.A.P., 1997), 29.


32. **to shoot stills**: See the photographs captioned as having been taken at Rutgers, in Stephen Shore, *Factory: Andy Warhol* (London: Phaidon, 2016), 74. Shore must have a memory of having been at Rutgers, but his photographs captioned as having been shot there don’t seem to have been: They seem to include the French singer Antoine (confused in the captions with the much younger French photographer Antoine Giacomoni), whose visit with Warhol and company didn’t come until October 1966.

33. **noise and feedback**: Ingrid von Scheven, in Victor Bock-

34. **497 “they still had these vibrations in their ears”:** Lou Reed, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


40. **497 “They’re so many, and they are all so sweet”:** Warhol, in Leonard Shecter, “The Warhol Factory,” *New York Post, February 23, 1966.***


42. **498 early in ’66:** Catalog entries at Anthology Film Archives in New York give “February 1966” as the date for *Mary for Mary*, Gerard Malanga’s 16mm footage of Mary Woronov that was presumably shot in the countryside near Cornell. Woronov gives this as their first encounter in Mary Woronov, *Swimming Underground* (Montaldo, 2013), loc. 210, Kindle edition.

44. **I was a total fucking virgin**: Mary Woronov, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, April 21, 1995, AWMA.

45. **a studio visit**: Mary Woronov, in Planet Group Entertainment, “The Mary Woronov Interview from the Factory People Notebook,” accessed November 24, 2019, http://planetgroupentertainment.squarespace.com/the-mary-woronov-interview/. She reversed the chronology, saying that she showed up at the Factory first, then Malanga paid his visit to Cornell afterward, in Mary Woronov, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, April 21, 1995, AWMA.


47. **I always thought the socializing part was my dept.**: Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, July 10, 1966, TC-12, AWMA.


54. **the Velvets in Chicago**: Susan Pile, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, May 19, 2000, AWMA.

55. **“100—Nico”**: Warhol, undated notebook embossed with “My Trip,” TC60, AWMA. Another page in the notebook, inscribed with the date March 9, 1966, lists similar expenses for the Velvets’ trip to Rut-
gers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.


57. **500 a cheapskate**: Joseph Freeman, interview by author, June 7, 2018.

58. **500 $38,000**: These figures do not include income from the release of Chelsea Girls at the very end of 1966, which changed his financial situation—but mostly for the following year.

59. **500 traded art for much of the Factory’s office equipment**: Warhol’s archives include many records of the trades he made with Sydney and Frances Lewis, collectors in Richmond, Virginia, who owned Best Products, a chain of vast retail showrooms.

60. **500 blotted drawings**: See the January 11, 1966, invoice (TC25, AWMA) from Gluck to Warhol for “layout and finished art” for a Palizzio shoe ad.


   Diagrams and Polaroids of a Dannon truck survive among Warhol’s papers (TC25, AWMA).

63. **501 pin-on button**: A May 15, 1966, letter from John Milton Williams (TC10, AWMA) first outlined the deal, and then it was finalized in a contract drawn up in August (box M60, AWMA).

64. **501 laxative spot**: Ira Sturtevant worked for the ad agency Foote, Cone & Belding. The ad and a folder of documentation running from March 1965 to February 1966 were auctioned in 2019 from the collection of Sturtevant’s widow Meg Crane. They were viewed with Crane’s help on July 19, 2018. Thanks to Eric Shiner for pointing me to Crane.

   Further documentation for the ad is in the Warhol archives, including a September 10, 1965, letter from Ira Sturtevant informing Warhol that his spot would not be used.

65. **501 “I think it stinks”:** Robert E. Gernert, quoted by Arthur Kover in handwritten notes on meetings at the Foote, Cone & Belding agency, formerly in the collection of Meg Crane.

67. **501 most avant-garde ad:** See the December 22, 1966, post-mortem on the project prepared for Grey Advertising by Richard Frank, in his archive.

68. **502 ran a test version of the Bufferin ad:** Richard Frank, interview by author, October 4, 2016.

69. **502 “I like Bufferin better than Coca-Cola”:** The dialog from a screening of Warhol’s *Bufferin* was quoted in Carol Rubright, “Pop Art’s ‘Pop’ Pops Movie,” *Rochester Times Union*, March 8, 1967.

70. **502 “you couldn’t get through the door”:** Richard Frank, interview by author, October 4, 2016.

71. **502 take the blame:** Richard Frank, interview by author, October 4, 2016.

72. **502 $5,000:** 1966 financial statements from the Film-maker’s Cinematheque (AWMA).


74. **502 the same as they’d seen on the road at Rutgers:** John Wilcock, “On the Road with the Exploding Plastic Inevitable,” in *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 165.

75. **502 all 750 tickets:** A claim, often repeated, that the show pulled in $18,000 in its first week at the Dom is in Victor Bockris and Gerard Malanga, *Up-Tight: The Story of the Velvet Underground* (London: Omnibus Press, 1996), 35. That seems impossible, however, given a maximum attendance at the Dom of 750 and a ticket price that averaged just over $2. The figure might more likely represent the income from the band’s entire three-week run, given that the Velvets had several nights off and that there are mentions of half-empty performances.


The Velvet’s visit to the Apollo is said to have occurred on December 31, 1965, in Victor Bockris and Gerard Malanga, *Up-Tight: The Story of the Velvet Underground* (London: Omnibus Press, 1996), 24. But there is
no record of James Brown performing that night at the Apollo and it is very unlikely he could have, since he was in Los Angeles for a show on New Year’s Day. The Velvets and Warhol might have seen him at one of his Apollo performances in May 1966, when he famously suffered a collapse while performing—see “James Brown Collapses on Stage Revived by Dr.: Record Breaking Show,” *New York Amsterdam News*, May 28, 1966.


78. **502 $700 or so**: Richie Unterberger, *White Light/White Heat: The Velvet Underground Day-by-Day* (London: Jawbone, 2009), 85. Another producer/investor named Norman Dolph is supposed to have put in about the same amount.


82. **503 reel-to-reel demos**: Joseph Freeman, in a June 16, 2018, email to the author.


87. **504 to supply the cover art**: Lou Reed, in Richie Unterberger,


94. **One-fifth of that**: See the November 13, 1967, letters of agreement (TC11, AWMA) between Warvel Inc. and Nico and the other Velvet Underground members.


**CHAPTER 29**

1. **I’m not doing paintings any more**: Andy Warhol, interview by Old Owl [Robert Reilly], typescript of an unpublished interview intended for the Yale Record (Spring 1966), TC14, AWMA.


6. **508 “I’m not doing paintings any more”:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol, interview by Old Owl [Robert Reilly], typescript of an unpublished interview intended for the Yale Record (Spring 1966), TC14, AWMA.


11. **508 out the door:** Irving Blum, in a June 19, 2018, e-mail to the author.


   Ultra Violet claimed that one day in 1965 Salvador Dalí had shown Warhol a silver balloon that Dalí had bought at the great toy store F.A.O. Schwartz—see Ultra Violet, *Famous for 15 Minutes: My Years with Andy*
Warhol (Open Road Media, 2015), loc. 1983, Kindle edition. Warhol had, however, already been working on his own Mylar balloons before then. See also Torsten Otte, Salvador Dali & Andy Warhol (Zurich: Sheidegger and Spies, 2016), 180.

15. **509 two years before**: Billy Klüver to David Bourdon, October 27, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

16. **509 floating light bulb**: Billy Klüver, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 2, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

17. **509 “That’s a silver cloud”**: Billy Klüver, quoted by Julie Martin, Billy Klüver’s widow, interview by author, October 26, 2017. Julie Martin is Billy Klüver’s widow.

18. **509 heat-sealer**: Billy Klüver, “Andy’s Pillows,” typescript enclosed with Billy Klüver to David Bourdon, October 27, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Klüver said that the “primitive” sealer he’d supplied was inadequate to giving a full seal to the Clouds—see Billy Klüver, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, September 2, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The first Clouds did indeed deflate more quickly than desired.

19. **509 farmed out**: National Transparent Manufacturing Co., March 5, 1966, invoice (document box 189, AWMA) for sealing 86 “foil sheets supplied by you.”

20. **509 “up to God, all the way up”**: Warhol, as reported by Genevieve Charbon, in Steven Watson, Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 245.

21. **509 “the most exciting things that’s ever happened”**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol From Tapes: Sounds of His Life and Work, CD (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994).


28. “Up Art, a new secret art form”: Press release dated October 19, 1965 (box M101, AWMA) for Warhol’s promotion of a John Schlesinger movie called Darling, loosely based on the life of the British Pop artist Pauline Boty, who got to some of Warhol’s ideas before he did.


31. coverage in Newsweek: “For Movement’s Sake,” Newsweek (March 13, 1961): 92–93. The article also mentioned the involvement in the show of such Warhol idols as Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg.


33. “Air Art”: Willoughby Sharp, handwritten notes on the history of “Air Art,” estate of Willoughby Sharp, provided to the author by Pamela Seymour Smith Sharp. It took until 1968 for “Air Art” to find an exhibition venue, by which point it could and did include Warhol’s Silver Clouds.


37. sixty-five cents: National Transparent Manufacturing Co., March 5, 1966, invoice (document box 189, AWMA) for sealing 86 “foil sheets supplied by you.”


39. of his Electric Chair canvases: In 1965, Richard Brown


42. **511 $1,300:** Leo Castelli, “Statement of Account,” February 1, 1967, TC39, AWMA.

43. **511 barely more than they cost:** Warhol’s 1966 accounting ledger (AWMA) records a $1094.50 payment to Bill Miller’s Wallpaper.

44. **511 props in a fashion shoot:** “Silver—in the Pink for Evening,” *Vogue* (July 1, 1966): 92.

45. **512 “even approximates the real thing”:** Lou Reed, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 286.


52. **512 accepted the prize:** Kay Bearman, of the Leo Castelli Gallery, to Mrs. Sheridan P. Harris of the Junior League of Cleveland, June 17, 1966, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
53. **Boardwalk Art Show**: Mark Soifer to Leo Castelli Gallery, April 4, 1967, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


55. **“Abstract art continues to offer”**: Henry Geldzahler, typescript for a lecture delivered for the United States Information Agency (1965), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


57. **“The trustees were very edgy about me”**: Henry Geldzahler, in Annie Cohen-Solal, *Leo and His Circle: The Life of Leo Castelli* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 350.

58. **deep freeze**: Henry Geldzahler’s partner Christopher Scott in Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 266: “Henry sensed that he was about to be thrown away, and he decided, ‘I’m going to beat him to the punch’”

Late in 1966, however, Warhol and Geldzahler were still happy to show up together at Truman Capote’s great Black and White Ball.


60. **the house was off-limits**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


62. **My son Andy is at home very little**: Julia Warhol, in a December 16, 1962 [rightly, 1966], Rusyn-language letter to “Anna,” reproduced and translated in Rudo Prekop and Michal Cihlar, *Andy Warhol and Czechoslovakia* (New York: Arbor Vitae, 2012), 127. Since Julia mentions how Warhol and his “band” had been playing in “Detroit and Michigan, at the College School,” she must almost certainly have misdated her letter, which must actually have been written in 1966 when Warhol had been on tour with the Velvet Underground.

63. **Gluck had done his last work**: Nathan Gluck’s January 11, 1966, invoice to Warhol (TC25, AWMA)—possibly his last such invoice—documents “layout and finished art” for a Palizzio shoe ad and a sketch for a “bird” folder for Vanity Fair Mills that are just about the final examples of traditional commercial illustration coming out of the Warhol
studio.

64. **514 in the hospital**: Ruth Carey to Julia Warhola, December 21, 1964, TC540, AWMA.

65. **514 visiting her there**: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

66. **514 “moderately advanced pulmonary tuberculosis”:** Dr. Denton Cox to Julia Warhola, November 3, 1965, AWMA.


68. **515 blood pouring**: Bernard Weinraub, “Andy Warhol’s Mother,” *Esquire* (November 1966): 101. There are a number of factual inaccuracies in the account—for instance, it has Julia living by herself on the day she fainted.

69. **515 when Pittsburgh relatives were in town**: James Warhola, October 27, 2018, lecture at The Ukrainian Museum, New York.

Warhol was more likely to join his mother on visits to the nearby Roman Catholic church of Saint Thomas More—see Thomas Kiedrowski, *Andy Warhol’s New York City: Four Walks, Uptown to Downtown* (New York: Little Bookroom, 2011), 17.

70. **515 familiar food**: James Warhola, October 27, 2018, lecture at The Ukrainian Museum, New York.


72. **515 “I’m not really that close to my mother”**: Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

73. **515 “so-o-o interesting”:** Warhol, John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

74. **515 business stationery**: See Joseph Giordano to Julia Warhola, n.d., AWMA. His letter is written on his own stationery printed in Warhola’s script. Similar stationery is used in Fritzie Miller to Andy Warhol, February 7, 1964, TC21, AWMA.


77. **516 weeks after that profile:** The film seems to have been shot on or around November 9, 1966, since Paul Morrissey refers to it as having been made “yesterday” in “The Painting on the Dress Said ‘Fragile,’” *New York Times*, November 11, 1966. Thanks to Claire Henry of the Whitney Museum for this citation.


78. **516 never given a public screening:** Greg Pierce of The Andy Warhol Museum, speaking to the author on April 26, 2018, said that the film only exists as a “camera original” and was never printed for theatrical play. It also does not appear in any of the ads or rental lists for Warhol films. Pierce said this is true of the other Warhol films featuring his boyfriend Richard Rheem and also of films starring Warhol’s still earlier boyfriend Philip Fagan.


82. **517 to arrange a visit:** Richard Rheem to Andy Warhol, July 27, 1966, TC79, AWMA; Richard Rheem to Andy Warhol, August 18, 1966, TC-24, AWMA.

83. **517 “What a turn-on, talking to you on the fone”:** Richard Rheem to Andy Warhol, September 4, 1966, TC79, AWMA.

84. **517 in New York:** He arrived October 1, 1966—see Gerard Malanga’s diary entry for that day, in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts edited by Aram Saroyan, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

85. **517 Rusyn diminutives:** Elaine Rusinko, “Julia Warhola, Superstar,” a chapter from the draft of an untitled book supplied by Rusinko to the author.

86. **517 not around the Factory:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

88. **517 another Factory lad**: The other young man was Randy Bourscheidt, who was 22 at the time. In a May 3, 2018, e-mail to the author he denied having had any involvement with Rheem, and in fact barely remembered him. Bourscheidt and Warhol remained friendly for many years thereafter, so the incident can’t have been all that notable.

89. **517 “Andy had the locks changed the next day”:** Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


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**CHAPTER 30**


4. **519 $6,000**: Leo Castelli, “Statement of Account,” February 1, 1967, TC39, AWMA.

5. **519 price of the earlier one**: Warhol says he was paid $700 for the Scull project in the transcript included with Emile De Antonio, *Emile De Antonio’s Painters Painting*, ed. Ron Mann and Douglas Kellner (Irvinton, NY: Voyager, 1996), CD-ROM.


There is mention of two galleries in Germany and one in Italy that were hoping to show the *Silver Clouds* in Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, July 26, 1966, TC -12, AWMA.

9. **Brillo Boxes were on a high shelf:** Sue M. Thurman, director of the ICA Boston, to Andy Warhol, September 14, 1966, TC85, AWMA.


14. **a tour across Europe:** Gerard Malanga, “Andy Warhol Opens Fall Season at the Institute” (press release from the Institute of Contemporary Art, Boston, September 30, 1966), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


20. **“an intense spatter of nihilism”:** Paul Jay Robbins, “Andy...

21. **rounded up by Dennis Hopper**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the *Life* magazine editor Dorothy Seiberling (May 17, 1966), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


30. **an absurdly skimpy bathing suit**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


Press, 2002), 53.


37. **bigger Silver Clouds**: A November 27, 1967, invoice (TC39, AWMA) from the National Transparent Mfg Co.—the same firm that had sealed the Castelli *Clouds*—is for new *Clouds* that measure 10 by 15 feet. These were intended for the Warhol retrospective staged in Stockholm a few months later.


39. **He only worked, and he worked hard**: Mary Woronov, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, April 21, 1995, AWMA.


41. **$2,600**: Rhode Island School of Design, “Statement of Warhol Show,” April 12, 1967, TC256, AWMA.

42. **I just wouldn’t do business**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.

43. **paint was dissolved**: Joan Kron to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Kron was the perfume project’s commissioner.


The bottles can in fact already be seen in footage from Warhol’s 1964

45. **524 “in violation of Section 43A”:** Coca-Cola Co. to Andy Warhol, May 18, 1967, TC10, AWMA.


47. **525 offered “free”:** Joan Kron to David Bourdon, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


50. **525 “It will replace nothing”:** Cher, in “Unsafe at Any Speed,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, May 9, 1966, 8.

51. **525 “It’s just horrible”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the *Life* magazine editor Dorothy Seiberling (May 17, 1966), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


53. **525 “you can never be out of rhythm”:** Lou Reed, notes from an interview, n.d., box M88, AWMA.


56. **526 The Yellow Rolls-Royce:** See “Pictures: Film Plugs & Pluggers,” *Variety*, October 28, 1964, 20. In that article, the announcement of Warhol’s Film Culture award is preceded by a lead item that discusses the arrival of the film’s Rolls Royce in New York, for a national tour that was covered in the gossip columns that Warhol read and that wrote about him.

57. **526 buy an old Ferrari:** See Randy Cook, *Bowtie Ferrari* (RAC Motosports Publishing, 2015), 130. Cook specifies that the car was bought by Warhol for $3,600. (In a draft of the book the date for the sale was given as 1965.) Jack Deren was the mechanic who overhauled the race car for sale to Fufu Smith and who gave it its yellow paint job. At the time,
he was told about the plans for the film, to be called The Yellow Ferrari, and remembered the car selling to Smith for $3,700—see Jack Deren, interview by author, June 27, 2019.


59. 526 $600,000: “Jane Eyre Folds with 600G Loss,” Variety, June 18, 1958, 54.

60. 526 “We are planning to make money from it”: Warhol, in Sterling McIlhenny and Peter Ray, “Inside Andy Warhol,” Cavalier Magazine (September 1966): 87. The diction in the interview doesn’t sound at all right for Warhol, so it’s possible that it was one of those cases where Warhol asked to have all his quotes made up by others.


   Two decades later Tavel changed the story to have Fufu Smith as the shooter, and he may have been equally flexible in other details he gave of events surrounding *Jane Heir*—see Ronald Tavel, *Andy Warhol’s Ridiculous Screenplays* (Silverton, OR: Fast Books, 2015), 123. Certainly some of his dates for the film contradict its published coverage.

68. **527 “the most fantastic man in the world”**: Warhol, in Sterling Melhenny and Peter Ray, “Inside Andy Warhol,” *Cavalier Magazine* (September 1966): 87. Despite the publication date of the article, internal evidence makes it clear that the interview it describes was done in the late summer of 1965, when *Jane Heir* was first getting underway.


70. **528 ruined the shoot by blowing**: Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts with corrections, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The illicit fellatio was performed by a young poet named René Ricard.


75. **529 “commercial idea”**: Gerard Malanga, “From the Secret Dia-


78. **530 wire-service feature**: “Chelsea Hotel Same amid Hell’s Kitchen,” Austin Statesman, March 30, 1966. The article ran in newspapers across the country.

79. **530 “there exists in the very essence of bad taste”**: Yves Klein, in Rotraut Klein-Moquay, Yves Klein USA (Paris: Dilecta, 2009), 188.


82. **530 to the hotel to film some new scenes**: The scenes with Brigid and Nico were filmed in their rooms at the Chelsea on September 22, 1966, exactly one week after the movie’s premiere—see Geralyn Huxley and Greg Pierce, eds., Andy Warhol’s The Chelsea Girls (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 2018), 204, 212. Those scenes replaced a complex narrative about a serial killer and another segment filmed in July 1965 in Edie Sedgwick’s apartment.

For at least one screening Warhol inserted his earlier, freestanding, gay-themed film The Bed, which was not shot at the Chelsea but easily could have been—see “Warhol Show Opens Penn ‘Underground,’” Daily Pennsylvanian, No 1966.

83. **531 an idea of Billy Name’s**: Billy Name, in Debra Miller, Billy Name: Stills from the Warhol Films (Munich: Prestel, 1994), 74n6.


86. **532 “boredom is the beginning of imagination”**: Mary Woronov, Eyewitness to Warhol: Essays (Los Angeles: Victoria Dailey, 2002), 16.

87. **532 “radical change”**: Alan R. Solomon, “Introduction,” in Andy
Warhol (Boston: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1965), np.


91. **a grand total of $412**: “Accounting of Amount Due for the Chelsea Girls 9/15/66 to 11/9/66,” box B17, AWMA.


93. **I never want to be popularly accepted**: Ondine, in Sterling McIlhenny and Peter Ray, “Inside Andy Warhol,” *Cavalier Magazine* (September 1966): 88. Internal evidence makes clear that the interview was conducted in the early fall of 1965.


95. **If we reach a million**: Jonas Mekas, in “Up from the Underground,” *Newsweek* (April 25, 1966): 90. The venture was called the Film-Makers’ Distribution Center, and its *Newsweek* coverage occurred in the same issue that featured a big Pop Art package on its cover, with Warhol much on display inside.

96. **daily income**: Film-Makers’ Distribution Center, December 15, 1966, financial statements, box B17, AWMA.


99. **Warhol stumbled into the terror**: David Ehrenstein, “Room Service (the Chelsea Girls),” *Film Culture* (September 1966): 8.

100. **give up his 4,000 theaters**: Henry Geldzahler, in Bruce Torbet, *Superartist*, documentary, 1967. Most of the footage in Torbet’s film is from late 1965 and mid-1966.

In early 1966, Warhol was still making enough from his paintings to support his films, at least according to Leonard Shecter, “The Warhol Factory,” *New York Post*, February 23, 1966.


108. **warped pantomime**: The film was called *Since*, shortened from *Since the Assassination*—see Susan Pile and Joel Klaperman, “Everything Happens: A Discussion at Andy Warhol’s Factory,” *King’s Crown Essays* 15, no. 1 (1967): 32.

Shooting seems to have started, or to be about to begin, in a mention in an October 11, 1966, journal entry in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts edited by Aram Saroyan, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


111. **“Why are you watching this film?”**: Willard Maas, quoted by Jonas Mekas in a July 23, 2017, talk at the Swiss Institute, New York.

112. **suede hip-huggers**: The Leather Man Inc., receipt, October 4, 1966, box B17, AWMA.

113. **pairs he already had**: The Leather Man Inc., receipts, August 5 and August 8, 1966, TC39, AWMA.

114. **Hollywood Frenchman**: See “Photo of Andy Warhol and Ultra Violet by Richard Lewis,” *Warholstars* (blog), accessed April 10,


116. **paid him $500**: Abraham & Straus Co. to Andy Warhol, note confirming a November 9, 1966, publicity event, October 31, 1966, AWMA.

117. **the project’s goal**: Abraham & Straus Co. to Andy Warhol, note confirming a November 9, 1966, publicity event, October 31, 1966, AWMA.


122. **the wedding’s planner**: “Mod Wedding Is Way Out,” *Traverse City Record-Eagle*, November 21, 1966. (Other versions of this UPI story appeared in other newspapers.)


Paul Morrissey claimed the fee was $2,500—see Morrissey in Victor Bockris and Gerard Malanga, *Up-Tight: The Velvet Underground Story* (London: Omnibus Press, 2002), 68.


The motorcyclist was in fact the Velvet’s road manager David Cé-

125. 536 **Destruction in Art:** Al Hansen, “London: Destruction in Arts Symposium,” *Arts Magazine* (November 1966): 53. Warhol’s Dom events were covered in the same issue (p. 15) in a column by his friend Lil Picard, so he almost certainly read the Hansen.

126. 536 **earlier couple bowed out:** “Commercial, Corrupting (Photo Caption),” *Detroit Free Press*, November 1966. See also “Mod Wedding Is Way Out,” *Traverse City Record-Eagle*, November 21, 1966.


129. 536 **three-thousand-seat theater:** Dale Stevens, “Mary Martin Show May Do $242,000 with Two People,” *Cincinnati Post*, November 1966. This article survives in an undated clipping, TC85, AWMA.

130. 536 **his usual sunglasses:** On the lack of sunglasses, see “Capote: Tosses ‘In’ Fete,” *Austin Statesman*, November 29, 1966. (This Associated Press story was widely picked up.) On his lack of mask see the only book-length study of the ball, Deborah Davis, *Party of the Century: The Fabulous Story of Truman Capote and His Black and White Ball* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley, 2006), 225. Davis writes: “Warhol outsmarted everyone with his ingenious solution to the mask problem: he simply didn’t wear one.” But the ghostwritten *Popism* had Warhol claiming that he started the evening in a cow mask—Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *Popism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 247. Details on the mask are in Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 312. None of the waiting journalists seemed to notice Warhol’s mask, or lack of such, even when they were making vast lists of the ball’s costumes—see for instance Warhol’s longtime friend Eugenia Sheppard, “The Marvelous Masked Ball—There’ll Never Be Another like It,” *Boston Globe*, November 30, 1966.


CHAPTER 31


2. 539 “this particular bunch of freaks”: Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.

3. 539 Max’s was founded: Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971. McCloskey dates the opening of Max’s to December 6, 1965. A full public opening happened the following January.

4. 540 restaurant had been named: The poet in question was Joel Oppenheimer. See Mickey Ruskin in Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source, box B77, AWMA.

5. 540 chick peas: Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 475, Kindle edition.


7. 540 happy-hour wings: Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 863, Kindle edition.

8. 540 “straight, respectable, anonymous people”: Danny Fields, “Max’s Habitué Danny Fields Remembers, Too,” a sidebar to Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” clipped from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.

9. 540 “of course I wasn’t wearing a bra”: Ultra Violet, in Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.


13. “the nighttime desolation of Park Avenue South”: Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.

14. “location was a stroke of genius”: Donald Lyons, notes from an interview, 1979, AWMA.

15. by cab or subway: Donald Lyons, notes from an interview, 1979, AWMA.

16. the ’60s, as an era: Donald Lyons, notes from an interview, 1979, AWMA.

17. crowd of photographers: Donald Lyons, notes from an interview, 1979, AWMA.

See also Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.


20. windows got broken: Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 1117, Kindle edition.


22. “This is Athens, truly”: Danny Fields, “Max’s Habitué Danny Fields Remembers, Too,” a sidebar to Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.

23. club’s back room: Larry Zox, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 1906, Kindle edition.

24. the most famous space at Max’s: Danny Fields, “Max’s Habitué Danny Fields Remembers, Too,” a sidebar to Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.

25. un-Warholian décor: For a photograph of Warhol at his table see Steven Bluttal, ed., Andy Warhol “Giant” Size (London: Phaidon,
2006), 445.

26. **542 “Andrea Feldman”:** Donald Lyons, notes from an interview, 1979, AWMA.


29. **542 “He was interested in my dick”:** Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.


   See also Mead, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), 2340, Kindle edition.

31. **542 plus-size Brigid Berlin:** Jackie Curtis, notes from an interview, c.1975, box M88, AWMA.


34. **542 a salad:** Mary Woronov, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 264, Kindle edition.


36. **543 “eyes were always dilated, and NO TIPS”:** Alice Zimmerman, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 2024, Kindle edition.

37. **543 one drug or another:** Geraldine Smith, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), 2441, Kindle edition.

39. **“more impressed with the freaks”**: Ruby Lynn Reyner, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), 2172, Kindle edition.


42. **laser light**: Danny Fields, “Max’s Habitué Danny Fields Remembers, Too,” a sidebar to Jason Mccloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971. The laser piece was by the sculptor Frosty Myers.

43. **“like following a star”**: Oliviero Toscani, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), 1424, Kindle edition.


Warhols that survived include the canvas *Most Wanted Men No. 11*, John Joseph H., Jr., sold with a Ruskin provenance in a May 17, 2018, auction at Christie’s New York. Another survivor was an artist’s proof of a Marilyn print, offered with a Ruskin provenance in a 2018 sale at Hutter Auction Galleries.

45. **to sign for meals**: Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

46. **$700**: See for example the October 17, 1968, invoice from Max’s (box B12, AWMA), and many others like it.


48. **“leave with her virtue intact”**: Warhol, in “Andy Warhol’s Underground Confidential,” *Downtown*, September 30, 1967, trunk TC, AWMA. The column survived into 1969, but in a publication called *Kiss*, where it was more obviously ghostwritten. (Despite his byline Warhol is mentioned in it in the third person.)


   


   For a slightly different version of the story see Danny Fields, “Max’s Habitué Danny Fields Remembers, Too,” a sidebar to Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.


59. **“I’ve converted them”**: Viva, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

60. **“if only she would shut up”**: Mary Woronov, *Eyewitness to Warhol: Essays* (Los Angeles: Victoria Dailey, 2002), 15.

61. **“her nipples hidden”**: Viva, in Jean Stein and George Plimp-

Viva told a similar story within six months of the meeting, when she was on a lecture tour with Warhol—see David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. In that version she said that she offered to appear entirely nude and it was Warhol who told her that topless would do. The movie in question was known as *The Loves of Ondine*.

Viva once specified that the Band-Aids were round ones but the film’s footage shows them as the standard strips. Similar issues of fact arise in many of her interviews.

545 “*she was a creditable actress*”: Abigail Rosen McGrath, in Gary Comenas, “*Abigail Rosen (McGrath) Interview*,” *Warholstars* (blog), accessed April 10, 2019, https://warholstars.org/andy_warhol_tub_girls_abigail_rosen_interview.html.


545 “*the sex was added later*”: Paul Morrissey, in Neal Weaver, “*The Warhol Phenomenon: Trying to Understand It*,” *After Dark* (January 1969): 29.


545 “*because he was so dumb*”: Viva, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


545 a *verbose black widow*: Using her real name, Viva wangled an assignment to review her own film, displaying a chutzpah that not even the Factory’s other giant egos might have mustered. She declared a certain actress named Viva to be “the prize nut of all … a haunting, humping, and downright hilarious combo of Greta Garbo, Myrna Loy
and Carole Lombard.” As for the film’s director, “Mr. Warhol has again cast the dispassionate galactic eye of his camera upon the mosaic floor of the female psyche, and lingering, one might say, almost affectionately throughout its patterned subtleties”—Susan Hoffmann (a.k.a. Viva), “Bike Boy,” *Downtown*, October 30, 1967. This is the same publication that ran Warhol’s bylined gossip column.


546 Warhol gazing at Viva: The photos were provided to the author by Steven Balkin, who has tentatively dated them to the fall of 1967.


546 “just a little bitsy star”: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


546 “to get into the royal enclave”: Henry Geldzahler, interview by Jean Stein, typescript interview for Jean Stein’s biography of Edie Sedgwick, January 6, 1973, Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


547 “Hurry up, get your makeup on”: Viva, quoting Warhol, in “Thirty Minutes of Fame: Viva and Maura Moynihan Remember Andy Warhol,” *New York Woman* (May 1987): 30. The film in question was the never-finished *San Diego Surf*.

547 “report back to Andy”: Gerard Malanga in Winston Leyland, “Interview with Gerard Malanga for Gay Sunshine” (typescript draft, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
92. signs of breakdown: The elevator’s failure is recalled in Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 26, 1968, TC4, AWMA.
93. I am yours so say the stars up above: Ivy Nicholson to Andy Warhol, c.1967, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.
95. so she could get a divorce: Andy Warhol, interview by Frederick Ted Castle, typed notes from a taped conversation in Castle’s taxi, June 1967, AWMA.
549 “I’ve decided to really be straight with Ivy”: Andy Warhol, interview by Frederick Ted Castle, typed notes from a taped conversation in Castle’s taxi, June 1967, AWMA.


549 “to remain a faggot”: Ivy Nicholson to Andy Warhol, February 25, 1969, TC9, AWMA.


549 “truly masochistic”: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

549 “obnoxious”: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


550 ending up in tears: Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 305.


tion.

111. **Rodney W. Thomas**: Rodney W. Thomas (a.k.a. Rod La Rod) to Andy Warhol, December 19, 1970, TC65, AWMA.


   Rare images of Rod La Rod are in Billy Name, *Billy Name: The Silver Age* (Reel Art Press, 2014), 391. See also the photo in Jean Stein and George Plimpton, *Edie* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 211. (The image is not included in the electronic edition of *Edie*.)


115. **an autobiographical movie**: A first screening of the René Ricard footage was planned for November 29, 1966, meaning that it had probably been shot within the previous week or so, several weeks after the November 9, 1966, shoot of Julia Warhola, as mentioned by Paul Morrissey in “The Painting on the Dress Said ‘Fragile,’” *New York Times*, November 11, 1966.


   A few years after the film was made, a journalist was claiming that it had both Ricard and Sedgwick playing their own versions of Warhol—see Paul Carroll, “What’s a Warhol,” *Playboy* (September 1969): 140.


121. 550 “sullenness itself”: David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (February 27, 1967), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

122. 551 Warhol’s “toy”: Rodney W. Thomas (a.k.a. Rod La Rod) to Andy Warhol, December 19, 1970, TC65, AWMA.

123. 551 “the police won’t listen to a faggot”: George Harris, quoted by Claudia Tedesco-Colmer, in Walter Michael Harris, ed., Flower Power Man (New York and Seattle: El Dorado, 2017), 35. Thanks to Robert Heide for this reference.


125. 551 Dorothy Podber: Steven Watson, Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 358. Watson gives one of the more complete—but not necessarily accurate—versions of the assault.


More than two decades later, Paul Morrissey insisted there had been only two clicks, both aimed straight at his forehead—see Morrissey in Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft of a memoir, n.d.), Reginald Gay collection of Taylor Mead and related materials, *T-Mss, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library.

The “kid” in question was Patrick Tilden Close, who acted in Warhol’s film *The Imitation of Christ*.


**CHAPTER 32**


2. **553 American pavilion**: On the pavilion and its art, see Daniela Sheinin, “Kookie Thoughts-Imagining the United States Pavilion at Expo 67 (or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bubble),” *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 5, no. 1 (January 2013).

3. **553 “they should have left it empty”**: Warhol, in Pearl Sheffy, “An Interview with Andy Warhol at Cannes: A Humourous Experience,” *Montreal Gazette*, May 29, 1967. Note that Warhol’s quote means that he had already seen the Expo installation, so the visit to Montreal he then made in July, with his new friend Frederick Hughes and their patrons Dominique and John de Menil, would have been a second one—for the July date see William Middleton, *Double Vision: The Unerring Eye of Art World Avatars Dominique and John de Menil* (New York: Knopf, 2018), 454. Since a photo shows Hughes and Warhol together in Montreal, and the two are known to have had their first substantial contact on June 3, the de Menil visit can’t have happened before the May 29 article by Sheffy, and indeed seems to have been triggered by another world’s fair com-
mission, for the never-finished movie called *Sunset*, that Warhol received from the de Menils in late June.


6. **without having seen it**: Sidney Janis to Andy Warhol, December 27, 1967, TC -2, AWMA.

7. **declined to buy or donate the mural**: Sidney Janis to Andy Warhol, December 27, 1967, TC -2, AWMA. See also Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 02B—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 324, 341. The mural was actually printed from two screens (one of its seven portraits showed Janis with a slight frown), and did get featured, a few years later, in a major touring retrospective of Warhol’s works.

8. **be destroyed**: Arthur Stephen Penn to Leo Castelli Gallery, October 26, 1966, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


10. **$6,000**: See Leo Castelli Gallery, “Stipulation of Settlement” (March 6, 1967), Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

   “You should give this immediate priority and complete the paintings without further delay,” wrote the lawyer who negotiated the settlement for Warhol, when there were only three weeks left to its deadline and the artist, an inveterate last-minute man, still hadn’t produced the goods—see Jerald Ordover to Andy Warhol, June 7, 1967, TC10, AWMA.

11. **took paintings**: Edward Katz to Andy Warhol, February 16, 1967, TC10, AWMA.

12. **$500**: Frances Lewis, “Statement of Value” (May 29, 1967), box M121, AWMA.

13. **Campbell Soup Company**: W. L. White, Jr., counsel for the Campbell Soup Co., to Posters Originals, January 17, 1967, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Posters Originals had been involved with producing the exhibition announcement.

   In his reply, Warhol’s lawyer pointed out that Campbell’s had always
shown every sign of approval for Warhol’s use of their label, to the point of having commissioned one of his paintings for their retiring C.E.O.


15. **in New York State**: Jack M. Perlman to Andy Warhol, attorney’s letter, May 19, 1967, TC10, AWMA.


17. **$2,500**: Paul Johnson (a.k.a. Paul America) to Andy Warhol, November 10, 1967, TC39, AWMA.


20. **“sometimes when we needed it”**: Billy Name, in Billy Name and Collier Schorr, *All Tomorrow’s Parties: Billy Name’s Photographs of Andy Warhol’s Factory* (New York: D.A.P., 1997), 20.


22. **$10,000**: Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, November 15, 1967, AWMA.


24. **left out of these deals**: Ileana Sonnabend complained that she and Leo Castelli had been left in the dark about his new edition of Marilyn prints, even though they had already been advertised in *Artemus*—see Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, November 15, 1967, AWMA.

25. **“a book dealing with President Kennedy”**: July 1966 draft agreement with Alexander Racolin, AWMA.

26. **well along with work**: The cover of the portfolio is the subject of a June 14, 1967, invoice (box M121, AWMA) from Aetna Silkscreen Products, Inc.
27. **any number of telegrams:** The texts are actually simulations of telegraphs, based on the Associated Press wire copy that was mentioned in the July, 1967, draft agreement for the project. See also Richard H. Axsom, “Lament for a Dead President: Andy Warhol’s Flash-Nov 22, 1963,” in *Andy Warhol: Prints from the Collections of Jordan D. Schnitzer and His Family Foundation* (New York: D.A.P., 2016), 58.

*Flash* credits its texts to a certain Phillip Greer, about whom not a single fact has survived and who might therefore have been an invention of Warhol’s. Interestingly, Gerard Malanga complained that Marie Menken’s role in the project has been omitted from the colophon—see Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, January 28, 1970, TC62, AWMA. Although in 2017 Malanga had no memory of his complaint, perhaps she had a hand in the texts.

28. **Andy Warhol’s Tribute to John F. Kennedy:** That preliminary title was suggested by the book’s publisher—see Alexander E. Racolin to Andy Warhol, August 19, 1968, TC9, AWMA.


30. **Ben Shahn:** Wendell Berry and Ben Shahn, *November Twenty Six Nineteen Hundred Sixty Three* (George Braziller, 1964).


32. **Dallas day:** The *Flash* portfolio wasn’t actually released until two years after Warhol worked on it; it looks like there were issues with the contract and maybe the printing that delayed things well into 1969. Details of profit-sharing and distribution were still being worked out in Alexander E. Racolin to Andy Warhol, May 23, 1969, box B77, AWMA. Correspondence from the fall of 1969 shows Warhol still signing at least some of the prints at that point.

33. **Sonnabend complained:** Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, November 15, 1967, AWMA.

Warhol’s notes are in a 1968 datebook (TC61, AWMA), but he dates his annotations beginning December 22, 1967.

34. **color combinations:** Sara Krajewski, “The Factory and Factory Additions: 1962–1974,” in *Andy Warhol: Prints from the Collections of Jordan D. Schnitzer and His Family Foundation* (New York: D.A.P., 2016), 42. The colors were chosen by Warhol’s friend David Whitney, the young
partner of Philip Johnson who seems to have acted as the “publisher” of the Marilyn portfolio, just as he had apparently facilitated Warhol’s work on the 13 Most Wanted Men mural commissioned by Johnson.


36. **558 five years after:** A silkscreened card announcing the series (TC-2, AWMA) was postmarked August 22, 1967, meaning that it must have been completed some little while before then. The same card announces a formal publication date of October for the prints.


38. **559 yet another commodity:** On the relationship between repetition in Warhol’s art and in capitalist culture see Hal Foster, *The First Pop Age* (Princeton University Press, 2012), 110.


42. **559 four hundred screenings:** Greg Pierce, in a July 19, 2018, e-mail to the author.

43. **559 $25,000:** Louis Brigante, of the Film-Makers Distribution Center, to Andy Warhol, enclosing a “Six-months Net Earnings Statement” on *The Chelsea Girls*, July 14, 1967, TC39, AWMA.

44. **559 British rights:** See the April 19, 1967, agreement between the Film-Makers Distribution Center and Sherpix Inc., for $10,000 (AWMA). The actual payment to Warhol from the Film-Makers Distribution Center was only for $9,000, indicating that that company must have taken a
10% cut.


Warhol’s distributor did once project a total U.S. gross of “as high as” one million dollars for The Chelsea Girls, but that might have taken years to achieve—see Byron Stuart, “Pictures: Film Underground’s Oddball Clicks Shaping a Commercial Potential,” Variety, May 31, 1967, 13.


53. 560 “the people are cleaner”: Warhol, in “Andy Warhol Interviewed by Gerard Malanga in the Sixties,” Little Caesar (October 1978): 13. Reference to work on a film about “the story of Christ” (eventually screened as The Imitation of Christ) indicates a 1967 date for the original interview.


70. Nico driving: David Croland, in “Andy Warhol’s Factory
538 NOTES

73. 562 “very sweet, really sweet”: Andy Warhol, interview by Frederick Ted Castle, typed notes from a taped conversation in Castle’s taxi, June 1967, AWMA.
74. 562 “We’ll just project onto the wall”: Warhol, quoted by Bardot’s husband Gunter Sachs in Georg Frei and Neil Printz, Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 03—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 64.
76. 562 Charles de Gaulle: Andy Warhol, interview by Frederick Ted Castle, typed notes from a taped conversation in Castle’s taxi, June 1967, AWMA.
83. 563 “most insidious forms of violence”: Francois Pluchart, “The Young Turks of ‘Pop Art’ Face Off,” in Warhol from the Sonnabend Collection (New York: Rizzoli, 2009), 177.
85. **“tough exhibit”:** Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, November 15, 1967, AWMA.

86. **$1,000 a month:** Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, November 15, 1967, AWMA.

   The stipend had gone up to $1,500 by May 1969—see Galerie Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, May 6, 1969, Leo Castelli Gallery Records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

87. **made out to Billy Name:** Billy Name, in Larissa Harris and Media Farzin, eds., *13 Most Wanted Men: Andy Warhol and the 1964 World’s Fair* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 2015), 85.

88. **headed to London:** While in London, Warhol looked up Stash de Rola, the young dandy and rocker befriended on that earlier trip—Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, interview by author, May 2, 2018. Warhol and his gang had been lugging the endless reels of *The Chelsea Girls* across Europe in their luggage, and De Rola came to their aid when they were invited to screen the film at the home of the art dealer Robert Fraser. An Old Etonian of fine breeding, Fraser was also a Mod pal of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones and had already shown Warhol’s fellow Pop-sters Jim Dine and Claes Oldenburg. (On Fraser, see Harriet Vyner, *Groovy Bob: The Life and Times of Robert Fraser* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999)). As it happened, Fraser didn’t own the second projector that *The Chelsea Girls* called for, but de Rola found an easy fix: He was staying in the home of his friend Paul McCartney, and he felt sure the Beatle wouldn’t mind contributing his own projector to the cause. Fraser’s screening was a mob scene, with bodies covering every inch of floor space, but when the police eventually came to close it down the upper-class dealer simply refused to let them through the door at all. “Robert basically threw them out,” de Rola recalled.

   McCartney himself had been back in Liverpool that night, but at some point he crossed paths with the Warhol crowd; Nico seems to have actually stayed with him—see Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 4230, Kindle edition. To Warhol’s amusement, the wild Rod la Rod leaped into the Beatle’s lap the second they met—Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 269. Apparently unfazed, McCartney went on to show them some 8mm footage of his own that he’d been working on.

   “Home movies” and “snap, snap snap films” was the best that Morrissey could do to describe the rock star’s filmic efforts, when he and
Warhol and the other travellers were filmed for a TV spot a bit later—see David Silver, “What’s Happening, Mr. Silver?” television broadcast (Boston: WGBH, May 1967), www.youtube.com/watch?v=ESGrKwIdb8A.


565 were often half empty: Chris Stein, in Victor Bockris and Gerard Malanga, Up-Tight: The Velvet Underground Story (London: Omnibus Press, 2002), 70.


82.


105. **566 legal work**: Edward Katz, August 1, 1967, invoice to Warhol for legal work on “amendment of management agreement” with the Velvet Underground, TC34, AWMA. Similar documents show negotiations taking place for much of the late summer of 1967.

106. **566 European gigs**: Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, December 7, 1967, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.


**CHAPTER 33**


   On the theater’s capacity see “Greek Art Theatre Opens Here Friday,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1957.


8. **567 24 Hours**: “Chelsea Girls Draws Cannes Snub,” *Variety*, May
17, 1967.


13. **Wouldn’t it be great?**: John de Menil to Thomas Hoving, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 20, 1967, TC59, AWMA.


Viva liked to claim that she’d watched for ten hours, had then flown almost to Canada for her sister’s wedding and still managed to get back for the film’s last two hours: “There were five or ten people asleep in the lobby and another five or ten people eating food”—see Viva in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Bourdon noted that this was her “standard story” about the film.


16. **everything they said was just bizarre**: George Abagnalo, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


On the other hand Gerard Malanga, interviewed December 14, 2016, remembered Warhol having normal body hair, and a 1950s photograph by Edward Wallonitch (AWMA) shows him pantless and with plentiful hair on his legs.


33. **“like you would read a big novel”:** Paul Morrissey, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


35. **a country house:** The house was in East Hampton—see “Andy Warhol: Superstars in East Hampton,” *Hamptons Voice*, July 14, 1967. It belonged to Waldo Diaz-Balart, a well-connected and wealthy Cuban émigré whose sister had once been married to Fidel Castro.

   The *Hamptons Voice* article said that Warhol’s visit took place on July 8 (“last Saturday”) contradicting Diaz-Balart’s testimony in a lawsuit that the shoot had occurred on August 1, 1967—see “Fufu Says Warhol Took His Money Underground,” *Newsday*, August 29, 1968.

   The *Hamptons Voice* article also contradicts Sepp Donahower, interview by author, June 26, 2017. Donahower said that the shoot, at which he was also present, happened just days before the start of his classes at the University of Southern California, whose term that year began on September 18, according to Claude Zachary, University of Southern California Libraries Special Collections, in a July 2, 2018, e-mail to the author.

36. **Banana Cuban Boys:** Marcelo Montealegre, interview by author, February 15, 2016. The group has sometimes been referred to simply as The Bananas.

37. **“a coterie of silly people”:** Simone Swan, interview by author, April 17, 2017.


39. **almost came to blows:** Marcelo Montealegre, interview by author, February 15, 2016.

40. **trashing of the house:** Undated photo of the destroyed main room, box B77, AWMA.


42. **very serious talk:** Marcelo Montealegre, interview by author, February 15, 2016.

43. **truly without feeling:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Ar-
chives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


46. **571 24 Hours:** Robert Olivo (a.k.a. Ondine) to Andy Warhol, March 16, 1967, TC10, AWMA.


49. **571 24 Hours of Amphetamine:** Arnold Leo, of Grove Press, to Andy Warhol, January 30, 1968, box B564, AWMA.


51. **571 against Warhol’s wishes:** See jacket-copy documents, box 720, Grove Press Records, Syracuse University Libraries.


54. **572 any grander claims:** Warhol went on to use the definite article *The* as the title of his book of “philosophy” published in 1975.


56. **572 $250 plus 1 percent:** Robert Olivo (a.k.a. Ondine) to Andy Warhol, March 16, 1967, TC10, AWMA.


On Grove’s reputation and history see Lucy Mulroney, “Andy Warhol, Publisher” (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 2013), 62.

58. **572 “this shockingly mechanical slice”:** Helen Lane, in Lucy Mulroney, *Andy Warhol, Publisher* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 74.

59. **572 plus Factory regulars:** Susan Pile, interview by author,


61. 573 marks of censorship: Lucy Mulroney, “Andy Warhol, Publisher” (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 2013), 86.


63. 574 less intelligible: Lucy Mulroney, “Andy Warhol, Publisher” (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 2013), 85.


66. 574 pretended to be transcribed: See for example Linda Rosenkrantz, Talk (New York: Putnam, 1968). On the prevalence of tape recording among Grove authors see Lucy Mulroney, “Andy Warhol, Publisher” (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 2013), 68.

67. 575 acquired by RCA: On the RCA acquisition see Lucy Mulroney, Andy Warhol, Publisher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 58. Mulroney provides the most complete account of the Index (Book).

68. 575 “to do something as revolutionary”: Christopher Cert, of Random House, to Andy Warhol, May 31, 1967, TC39, AWMA.

69. 575 “I can’t say any more on it”: Jonathan Richman to Andy Warhol, December 1967, TC -2, AWMA.


71. 575 vast piles of photos: Lucy Mulroney, Andy Warhol, Publisher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 67.

72. 575 “there was a way to make money”: Joseph Freeman, interview by author, June 7, 2018.


    See also Lucy Mulroney, *Andy Warhol, Publisher* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 66.


78. 576 thirty or more lectures: Taylor Mead said that Warhol had given about 30 talks in his year of lecturing—see Mead in Winston Leyland, “Taylor Mead: An Interview,” *Gay Sunshine* (Summer 1975): 14.


    The first evidence for Warhol’s 1967 lecture tour comes in Robert P. Walker, president of the American Program Bureau, to Andy Warhol, March 1, 1967, TC11, AWMA. Walker refers to Warhol giving a lecture on March 7. Partial records in Warhol’s archives provide firm evidence for another 23 lectures, with the last one given April 2, 1968.


81. 577 “It was a piece of pop art in itself”: Carol Rubright, “Pop Art’s ‘Pop’ Pops Movie,” *Rochester Times Union*, March 8, 1967.


83. 577 “What were their aspirations?”: Viva and Paul Morrissey, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

84. 577 “I could hum for three minutes”: Warhol, in David Bour-
577 “someplace else—Iowa I guess”: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


578 to raise money: Morrissey, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

578 “We don’t like to lecture”: Warhol, in “Real Warhol Reveals Tricks,” an undated clipping from an issue of the Oregon Journal for late February 1968, TC11, AWMA.

578 “we didn’t get two words out of him”: “Students: Is ‘Silent’ Warhol Worth $750?” Des Moines Tribune, October 10, 1967.

578 a wire story: “Students: Is ‘Silent’ Warhol Worth $750?” Des Moines Tribune, October 10, 1967. The same story was published in many other newspapers.


578 “We do not understand”: Paul Morrissey to Paul Craycroft, of the University of Utah, November 3, 1967, TC11, AWMA.


579 “Hope we are not busted”: Paul Morrissey to Gerard Malanga, notecard addressed to Malanga in Rome, October 3, 1967, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

579 silver hair spray: Paul Morrissey, in David Bourdon, typed notes for a lecture (1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

96. **579 did not show the Pop artist**: Frederick Eberstadt, interview by author, May 20, 2016.


101. **579 “It was as bad as hearing God is dead”**: Anonymous “girl” met in a diner, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


104. **580 “to raise a lecture tour to the level of a work of art”**: John Verd Cook to Andy Warhol, October 24, 1972, TC76, AWMA.

105. **580 “If they don’t know the difference”**: Warhol, in David Bourdon, typed notes for a lecture (1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

106. **580 Billy Name had done the canceling**: Gerard Malanga
claimed that, in a January 1992 conversation, Name had admitted to removing his name—see Malanga, Archiving Warhol: Writings & Photographs (London: Creation Books, 2002), 130.


580 “posing, not dancing”: Paul Morrissey, notes from an interview, March 30, 1975, box M88, AWMA.


581 Benedetta has reached womanhood”: Diary entry for October 30, 1966, in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts with corrections, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. By the entry for November 15, 1966, it is clear that Barzini has left Malanga.

581 working hard to sleep with other girls: Diary entries for September 27, 1966, and other nearby dates, in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts with corrections, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

581 wedding rings”: Diary entry for February 9, 1967, including a transcription of Gerard Malanga’s note to his mother, in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts with corrections, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The rings are also mentioned in the entry for January 1, 1967.

581 “as at the time Andy’s lover”: Benedetta Barzini, in “An-

118. **left her nonplussed:** Diary entry for February 9, 1967, in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts with corrections, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

119. **He would have my head**: Diary entry for January 7, 1967, in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts with corrections, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

120. **a cooling-off with Warhol:** Undated diary fragment in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (partial drafts, n.d.), September 2006 acquisition, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


125. **My hair is long and always teased**: See the undated diary entry in Gerard Malanga, “Selections from the Previously Unpublished Rome-New York Non-Stop Diaries” (n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Malanga’s Roman diaries include many references to his extensive use of hard drugs, including heroin.

126. **You made me cry all night thinking of you**: Gerard Malanga’s mother in a September 11, 1967, letter to Malanga, transcribed


128. **582 “You never sent me any money”:** Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, December 7, 1967, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

129. **582 “I could go to jail for forgery”:** Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, December 16, 1967, box B564, AWMA.

130. **582 avant-garde gallery:** The gallery was called La Tartaruga.

131. **582 fine sales:** Undated clipping from an unnamed Italian publication, box B564, AWMA.

132. **582 “in the best of taste and with love”:** Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, February 28, 1968, TC17, AWMA.


134. **582 $3,000:** Gerard Malanga to Ronna, December 9, 1967, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

135. **583 left to sweat:** Gerard Malanga, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, June 17, 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

136. **583 “MALANGA NOT AUTHORIZED”:** Andy Warhol to Galeria La Tartaruga, telegram, February 18, 1968, TC -2, AWMA. David Bourdon recorded that the telegram was actually written by Paul Morrissey—see David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

137. **583 “If you had decided”:** Gerard Malanga, in a February 21, 1968, letter to Warhol, quoted in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

138. **583 Malanga “has flipped out”:** Warhol and Viva, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


143. **584 the grand sum of one dollar**: Brigid Berlin, “Complete Release and Consent” (September 1, 1967), box B186, AWMA.


145. **584 “There was a lot of competition”**: Billy Name, in Billy Name and Collier Schorr, *All Tomorrow’s Parties: Billy Name’s Photographs of Andy Warhol’s Factory* (New York: D.A.P., 1997), 22.

146. **584 “business manager”**: Walter E. Hurst to Andy Warhol, December 12, 1967, AWMA. Hurst describes a telephone conversation with Paul Morrissey.


149. **584 ranked only eighth**: Titia Hulst, “The Right Man at the Right Time: Leo Castelli and the American Market for Avant-Garde Art” (Ph.D., New York University, 2014), 216.

151. **“terminate your month to month tenancy”:** Realtan Inc. to Andy Warhol, September 27, 1967, box B12, AWMA.


**CHAPTER 34**


2. **covered in glass:** Within a few years, these had been replaced by plain gray slate, or something that looked very like it. They can be seen in Lana Jokel, Andy Warhol, documentary, 1972. They are mentioned in Bob Colacello, Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 1007, Kindle edition.

3. **“so we can see how much in debt we are”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, “Plastic Man Meets Plastic Man,” New York (February 10, 1969): 45.


9. **Academy of Music:** Billy Name, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, May 29, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

10. **lived nearby:** See Charles Lisanby, interview by James Madison University, video recording, March 2011.


11. **George Klauber:** Philip Pearlstein, interview by author, October 16, 2015.

13. **588 Classic New York coffee shops:** Information on the block’s businesses comes from period telephone directories. See also June 3, 1968, news footage in Ric Burns, *Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film*, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).

14. **588 “it will be so nice and bright”:** Morrissey, quoted by Susan Pile, interview by author, March 28, 2017.

15. **588 “Paul was a force and Billy was just a silent weapon”:** Susan Pile, interview by author, March 28, 2017.

16. **588 “He’s fantastic—and so full of shit”:** Nelson Lyon to Andy Warhol, June 24, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

17. **588 $400:** James Felt and Co. to Andy Warhol, with enclosed lease, December 27, 1967, TC39, AWMA.


19. **588 final rent:** Elk Realty, invoice for the December 1967 rent on the Forty-Seventh Street space, TC-2, AWMA.

20. **588 extra cachet:** Warhol’s assistant Frederick Hughes is supposed to have noticed that the building was mentioned in “May Day,” an early short story by F. Scott Fitzgerald that was all about class conflict and radical politics—see Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 331. Strangely, the building does not in fact appear in Fitzgerald’s story.

21. **588 rented to the illustrator:** Saul Steinberg was supposed to have been in the building when Warhol first looked at it in late 1967, according to Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 331. Yet Steinberg is not in fact listed as a tenant in the Manhattan directory until its 1969–70 edition.

22. **589 a regular visitor:** Adam Gopnik, interview by author, November 7, 2019. Gopnik was reporting a conversation with Saul Steinberg.

23. **589 lease on that sixth floor:** Nelson James Felt and Co. to Andy Warhol, with enclosed lease, December 27, 1967, TC39, AWMA.


25. **589 a mad refinisher:** Susan Pile, interview by author, March 28, 2017.

26. **589 It took months:** In a February 27, 1968, photo of Warhol by

The space is described as still only “half-decorated” in Sally Kempson, “Viva of the Visions: A Scar Is Born,” Village Voice, February 22, 1968. The decor was complete by the late fall of 1968, as shown by its description in David Bourdon, “Plastic Man Meets Plastic Man,” New York (February 10, 1969): 46. Bourdon would have submitted his article several months before its publication.

27. **589 full plastic look**: The space is clearly occupied by Warhol and his crew but not yet decorated much at all in the many photos in Billy Name and Collier Schorr, All Tomorrow’s Parties: Billy Name’s Photographs of Andy Warhol’s Factory (New York: D.A.P., 1997).


29. **589 one of the Factory’s factory clocks**: For the clock see the February 27, 1968, photo of Warhol by Barton Silverman, of the New York Times, at archive.reduxpictures.com, accessed August 15, 2018. For the file drawers see police photos of the space taken after Warhol’s shooting in the Municipal Archives of New York City.


31. **589 Love Child**: Sally Chamberlain, in a March 8, 1968, journal entry e-mailed to the author on July 11, 2016. The entry, which records a visit to the Union Square studio, cannot have been written precisely as quoted by Chamberlain—or must have an error in its date—since Love Child was not released until several months after the entry’s purported date.

32. **589 “That gives this place some class”**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 5, 1968, TC -8, AWMA.


34. **589 the rule from then on**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA. See also John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., Unseen Warhol (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 77.

35. **589 “an office, or more like a funeral parlor”**: Anton Perich, interview by author, December 3, 2014.


40. **590 skin flicks with plural names:** Paul Morrissey, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


49. **591 “too much plot”:** Warhol, quoted by Taylor Mead, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, January 20, 1997, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

50. **591 “Our plan is to reproduce the glory”**: Warhol, in Jason North, “Andy Warhol’s Supersex Movie,” *Jaguar* (July 1968): 40. Note that Warhol’s quotes in this article sound entirely unlike his usual diction and precisely the same as Paul Morrissey’s quotes in any number of other
publications.


54. **591 real sheriff**: Viva, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


At a September 19, 2017, screening of *Lonesome Cowboys* in New York Viva specified that it was Eric Emerson who had raped her.


63. **592 “they’re, well, sleeping together, or whatever”**: Paul Morrissey, in Neal Weaver, “The Warhol Phenomenon: Trying to Understand
It,” After Dark (January 1969).


593 “I wear boots now so I don’t get contact with the cactus”: Eric Emerson, quoted from Lonesome Cowboys in “Andy in Arizona,” Other Scenes (March 1968): np.

593 “We broke the ground”: Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


594 police photographed: “Audience Shot at Film Show,” preserved in a clipping marked “Civil Liberties Paper, January, 1970,” TC72, AWMA.


594 “Nobody can sit at the Factory”: Andy Warhol, interview by Frederick Ted Castle, typed notes from a taped conversation in Castle’s taxi, June 1967, AWMA.

594 “Drugs are old-hat now”: Paul Morrissey, in George Thomas, “Pitt Hears Warhol, or Lean-In,” Pittsburgh Press, March 27, 1968.

594 “a kind of substitute Factory”: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018. Tippin’s first encounter with Warhol was in the Forty-Seventh Street space, and he then became a frequent presence at Max’s Kansas City and in the Union Square studios.

595 “kind of cold, not very welcoming”: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

595 “in as businesslike a way as possible”: Elenore Lester, “On the Eve of Destruction, What Was Andy Warhol’s Gang up To?” Eye (August 1968): 43. The article specifies that it was written in the spring.

595 “we’re serious”: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of
American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

79. **“ordinary, conventional individual”**: Robert Sarti to Shirley Pasternak, November 15, 1967, AWMA. Pasternak had arranged for Warhol’s Arizona speaking date.


81. **Rod La Rod**: Stubs for the two last checks made out by Warhol to Rod La Rod (TC10, AWMA) are dated December 21 and 25, 1967.


83. **“What’s he doing here?”**: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

84. **Ondine joined them**: Mary Woronov to Gerard Malanga, November 29, 1967, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


86. **the chance to meet Ondine**: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

87. **“I can no longer tolerate this”**: Ondine, in David Bourdon and Robert Olivo (a.k.a. Ondine), typed notes from a telephone call (June 6, 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

88. **“He never did any of it”**: Taylor Mead, in Steven Watson, “Interview with Taylor Mead ‘Mr. Sixties,’” *Christopher Street* (August 1978): 23.


90. **“I made you what you are today”**: Warhol, quoted by Viva in David Bourdon and Viva, typed notes from a telephone call (November 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


Viva is mentioned as having just left Warhol’s circle in “Eye,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, November 27, 1968. Subsequent correspondence with
Warhol (AWMA) puts her in Paris.


95. **looking for sex:** Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.


97. **“He said the hairs were growing in, not out”:** Lou Reed, in Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 365.


In 1968, astrology had led Name to record the precise place and date and hour of birth for each member of Warhol’s retinue, including the correct information on Warhol himself, otherwise kept secret by the master—for Name’s notes see Warhol’s 1968 datebook, AWMA.


101. **Campbell’s Soup:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


103. **takeout from Brownies:** Billy Name, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

104. **the darkroom:** Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 397.

105. **“Billy was so loyal to that man”:** Ondine, in Victor Bock-

106. **598 Friends of the Factory:** See www.gettyimages.com/license/141469610, accessed August 27, 2018. Although Getty Images dates the photo to March 6, that archive’s dates tend to be unreliable; Sally Chamberlain, in a November 7, 2016, e-mail to the author, said the date of the photo was March 8, as per a journal entry of hers—which was also noting the fact that she went into labor with her daughter, a date she was unlikely to get wrong.

The photo seems to have been taken for use on the cover of Silver Flower Coo, a Pop-inspired poetry book by Warhol’s old friend Charles Henri Ford—see Charles Henri Ford, Silver Flower Coo (Kulchur Press, 1968). In the end only individual heads from it were used, cut out and collaged into a larger image of Pop-y figures from the 1960s.

107. **598 to displace him:** Winston Leyland, “Interview with Gerard Malanga for Gay Sunshine” (typescript draft, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

108. **598 “the inevitability of Gerard”:** Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 22, 1968, TC-8, AWMA.


The de Menils knew Warhol at least as early as 1965, when he did a Screen Test of their son Francois—see Callie Angell, Andy Warhol Screen Tests: The Films of Andy Warhol, Catalogue Raisonné (New York: Abrams, 2006), 129.


113. **599 mostly Pop Art:** Mixed Masters (Houston: University of St. Thomas, 1967). The show opened in May 1967.

114. **599 “an instinct for what was important, for quality”:** Dominique de Menil, in Steven M. L. Aronson, “Andy’s Heir Apparent: The
Fastidious Fred Hughes,” Vanity Fair (July 1987): 81.

115. **stuffed hawks, human hair wreaths**: Tommy Hughes, in an untitled memoir in The Collection of Frederick W. Hughes (New York: Sotheby’s, 2001), np.


118. **Distinguished Name in Dinette Furniture**: Frederick Hughes, Sr., to Frederick Hughes, December 15, 1970, AWMA. The tag line is from the company stationery the letter is written on.


120. **much more humble**: Fredericka Hunter, interview by author, July 8, 2018.

121. **We’d all roll our eyes**: Fredericka Hunter, interview by author, July 8, 2018.


127. **purple velvet boots**: John Richardson, in The Collection of Frederick W. Hughes (New York: Sotheby’s, 2001), np.

128. **green-satin shirt**: See the photograph of Hughes (AWMA) date stamped “May 68.”

129. **in a single pair of pants**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 5, 1968, TC -8, AWMA.
131. **initial impetus**: Frederick Hughes, oral history, typed notes, March 25, 1993, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.  
132. **“social climber from an Edith Wharton novel”**: Fran Lebowitz, in The Collection of Frederick W. Hughes (New York: Sotheby’s, 2001), np.  
133. **“He’s so dizzy. Really dizzy”**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview conducted in Rome, 1973, TC88, AWMA.  
134. **“very loving and very mentoring”**: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.  
135. **“everything was charmed with Fred”**: Sandra Brant, in Fred Hughes: 1943–2001, a 2001 supplement to Interview, provided to the author by Fredericka Hunter.  

137. **cruising**: Fernanda Eberstadt, interview by author, September 24, 2016.  
139. **“Pansexual”**: Fredericka Hunter, interview by author, July 8, 2018.  
140. **nasty fights**: Warhol, unpublished diary entries, AWMA.  

The filing cabinets' partial mirroring can be seen in police photos taken after Warhol's shooting that are now in the Municipal Archives of New York City.

145. **for House & Garden**: Frederick Hughes, July 1968 note to Andy Warhol, AWMA.

146. **big-name living artists**: John de Menil to Andy Warhol, June 26, 1967, Menil Archives, Menil Collection, Houston.


149. **appropriate for a church**: John de Menil to Andy Warhol, June 26, 1967, Menil Archives, Menil Collection, Houston.


In Jacques Tourneur’s 1957 film Nightfall, that Hollywood thriller where a woman asks her artist companion whether he does “soup cans or sunsets?”—ie, commercial or fine art—“sunsets” had stood for all of traditional painting, giving another relevant context for what Warhol had proposed to the de Menils.


153. **$15,000**: A series of documents from the late summer and early fall (AWMA) show those amounts being paid, and specify them as “installments on the production cost” of Sunset. The de Menils had originally agreed to Warhol’s price of $20,000 for the completed project, by far the most he had charged for any work up to that date. See John de Menil to Andy Warhol, June 26, 1967, Menil Archives, Menil Collection, Houston.

154. **surplus ended up being siphoned off**: Andy Warhol and Pat

155. **602 Fifth Avenue:** Simone Swan, interview by author, April 17, 2017.


The exhibition had originally been scheduled to open in 1967—see Paul Morrissey to Gerard Malanga, notecard addressed to Malanga in Rome, October 3, 1967, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

160. **602 pants so well worn:** Warhol’s pants are described by the unknown adjective “narry” in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Hole-filled jeans, with purple tights showing through, are, however, described in an account of a May 1968 trip of Warhol’s to Dallas—see David Searcy, “My Day with Andy Warhol,” *Literary Hub* (blog), June 1, 2018, https://lithub.com/my-day-with-andy-warhol/.

On the peacoat see David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. For an image of Warhol in it see www.nt.se/nyheter/andy-warhol-utmanar-fortfarande-3271621.aspx, accessed December 10, 2019.

161. **603 “I was going to send someone that looked like me”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


164. **603 “our policy to follow up on people”**: Pontus Hulten, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

165. **603 attending the launch**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

166. **603 “penetrating and analyzing sensitivities”**: Pontus Hulten, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

167. **603 presented as a one-off**: A list of works sent to Stockholm is jotted down, in Warhol’s handwriting, on the January 20 page in his datebook for 1968 (AWMA). The list is confirmed by the detailed descriptions of the show in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


169. **603 proper valves**: See the November 27, 1967, confirmation of an order to the National Transparent Mfg Co. (TC39, AWMA) for ten 10’ by 15’ bags with valves, at $17.50 each.

170. **603 short on helium**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


173. **604 first pitched the idea**: Rudolf Zwirner, interview by author, July 27, 2018. Kasper Koenig had recently worked for Zwirner at the time.
of the Stockholm show.

174. **604 Brillo Boxes**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


176. **604 “The real thing is just as functional”**: Pontus Hulten, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

177. **604 Three projectors**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


179. **604 “inspired” innovation**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

180. **604 “probably one of the most moral of artists”**: Pontus Hulten, in David Bourdon, typed notes for a lecture (1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

181. **604 “ricoeheting blasts”**: David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


184. **605 “the most important international show in Europe”**: Ilenea Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, April 2, 1968, AWMA.

185. **605 “the vacuum of modern existence”**: Pontus Hulten, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

187. **606 “We were coming out of the ashes”:** Rudolf Zwirner, interview by author, July 27, 2018.

188. **606 “the hundred soup cans is an elevating vision”:** Henry Geldzahler, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

189. **606 paid Warhol a visit:** Rudolf Zwirner to Andy Warhol, December 11, 1967, TC59, AWMA.


192. **606 sell his films:** See Paolo Barozzi to Andy Warhol, June 17, 1967, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin. Barozzi was a Venetian art dealer. See also the extensive 1971 correspondence (box B11, AWMA) sent to Warhol by German dealer Heiner Friedrich, who was eager to sell a large range of the films and even suggested they be marketed as editioned art works.

193. **606 “nothing to be surprised over”:** A critic for Sweden’s *Expressen* newspaper, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

194. **607 “and disturbs the unity of the show”:** Ileana Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, April 2, 1968, AWMA. The date of the letter suggests that Warhol continued to use the instructional footage beyond the first few days of the show—or perhaps Sonnabend was only present for the opening, and assumed that that footage continued to be shown.

195. **607 “Brillo hair-do (crinkly and uncombed)”:** David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

196. **607 “we were going to do a dirty movie here in Stockholm”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

197. **607 fully commercial production:** Pontus Hultén, in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 20, 1968),
David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

CHAPTER 35


2. **609 “Valerie, I’m innocent!”**: Mario Amaya, as quoted from the day of the shooting by Brian O’Doherty, interview by author, March 15, 2014.


12. **610 a complete female take-over**: Poster enclosed with Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, August 1, 1967, AWMA.

13. **611 “In person she was gentle”**: Howard Smith, “The Shot


17. **611 Up Your Ass**: Warhol had received the script by February 1966, which is when Solanas asked for it back in a perfectly measured note—see Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, February 9, 1966, AWMA.

18. **611 sting operation**: Warhol thought Solanas was “a lady cop”—see David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (February 27, 1967), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Warhol then reiterates that idea in Gretchen Berg, “Nothing to Lose,” *Cahiers Du Cinema* (May 1967): 40. Although the passage on *Up Your Ass* does not appear in several earlier versions of the interview, published as early as November 1966. The passage about Solanas does not seem to be present in the Berg tapes or transcripts in the Warhol archives.

19. **611 called a friend**: Rosalyn Drexler, interview by author, September 26, 2017. The friend was Drexler’s husband, Sherman Drexler.

20. **611 asked for it back**: Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, February 9, 1966, AWMA.


26. **612 for her name to be spelled right**: Valerie Solanas to Andy
Warhol, August 25, 1967, AWMA.

27. **612 changed words**: Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, August 27, 1967, AWMA.

28. **612 “Maybe you’d like to post it in your Factory”**: Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, August 1, 1967, AWMA.


31. **612 “you are by no means on the Escape List”**: Valerie Solanas, notes from a conversation with Warhol, n.d., document box 201, AWMA. References to the completion of *Lonesome Cowboys* suggests the conversation happened very late in 1967.

32. **612 worthy of a mention**: Elenore Lester, “On the Eve of Destruction, What Was Andy Warhol’s Gang up To?” *Eye* (August 1968): 94. Lester specifies that the article had been written before Solanas’s attempt on Warhol’s life, despite its later publication.


34. **612 “I’m going to get all of you men”**: Barbara Hodes, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 2772, Kindle edition.

35. **612 known about for two years**: Its return had already been requested in Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, February 9, 1966, AWMA. Confusingly, there has been mention of a different, revised version of the play, from June 1967, that Solanas also gave to Warhol—see Breanne Fahs, *Valerie Solanas: The Defiant Life of the Woman Who Wrote SCUM* (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2014), loc. 1571, Kindle edition.


37. **612 $500**: Mary Harron and Daniel Minahan, “Introduction,”


40. **613 "Toad":** Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, February 7, 1968, AWMA.

41. **613 "a scene in one of your shit movies?:"** Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, February 11, 1968, AWMA.

42. **613 "A. Warhol, Asshole":** Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, February 10, 1968, AWMA.

43. **613 "But she was a real nuisance":** Warhol, in Mario Amaya, "Reflections on the Day a Girl Shot Andy Warhol and Mario Amaya," *Nova* (December 1969): 80.

44. **613 respect for female artists:** Gillian Jagger, interview by author, January 9, 2015.

45. **613 “women are the world’s major artists”:** Warhol, in Rita Reif, "To Collectors, Navajo Design Is Irresistible," *New York Times,* November 28, 1972.


48. **613 “It was only a matter of time":** James Stoller, "Beyond Cinema: Notes on Some Films by Andy Warhol," *Film Quarterly* (Fall 1966): 35.

49. **614 returned from shooting:** Warhol had arrived from California only hours before the shooting according to Aaron Sloan, "Warhol Shoots the Surf," *Los Angeles Free Press,* July 26, 1968. It should be noted that this timing is not mentioned in any other source.


51. **614 chestnut-leather jacket:** For Warhol’s outfit on the day of the shooting see the black-and-white photos taken by Jack Smith for the

614 “he wore a brown leather jacket”: Billy Name, full interview transcript for the documentary “The Factory People: Interview Archive” (Planet Group Entertainment, 2011), provided to the author by producer Patrick Nagle, n.d.

614 flight bag: The flight bag and tape deck can be seen sitting beside the spot where Warhol was shot in police photos in the Municipal Archives of New York City. Thanks to Thomas Kiedrowski for alerting me to the existence of these photos.

614 Warhol walked: Morning calls, the lunch with Bert Stern, the walk to the studio and the chat with the janitor are all mentioned in cursory notes (TC65, AWMA) that Warhol made about the day of the shooting.

Popism has Warhol arriving at Union Square by cab, but that could easily be one of that book’s many errors, conjectures or embroideries—Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, POPism: The Warhol ’60s (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 340.

614 “She wanted to dispose of all men”: “Actress Wounds Artist: Film Maker Warhol and Visitor Shot,” Chicago Tribune, June 4, 1968. This article provides the October date for Valerie Solanas’s eviction, but it is dated to “early summer 1967” in Breanne Fahs, Valerie Solanas: The Defiant Life of the Woman Who Wrote SCUM (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2014), loc. 1217, Kindle edition.

614 and a dress: Warhol, in Leticia Kent, “Andy Warhol Is Alive and Well,” Village Voice, September 12, 1968. Paul Morrissey also mentions a dress in Taylor Mead, “The Shooting of Andy: An Account by Paul Morrissey,” February 5, 1997, http://www.artnetweb.com/moobird/news/taylor.html. Valerie Solanas was arrested in different clothes several hours later, so must have found a time and place to change. Solanas had appeared in a “magnificent red dress” to have dinner with Maurice Girodias some time before, so perhaps the dress she wore to the shooting was the same one—see Maurice Girodias, “Publisher’s
Notes 575


60. **615 to give it a production:** Yet another tale, told in 2011 by Sylvia Miles, an actress who was an old friend of Warhol’s, has Valerie Solanas first promoting her play earlier that morning at the Actor’s Studio near Times Square, then moving on to Feiden after getting the brush-off there—see Breanne Fahs, *Valerie Solanas: The Defiant Life of the Woman Who Wrote SCUM* (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2014), loc. 2022, Kindle edition.

That would have made for a very crowded morning for Solanas, with a great deal of cross-city travel, and many years had elapsed between the shooting and Fahs’s interview with Miles, who was known as a free-wheeling raconteur.


63. **615 her cousin:** The cousin, Bob Feiden, was on the periphery of Warhol’s scene.

Margo Feiden’s contact with police does seem to have been noted


Doubts about the visit to Maurice Girodias are expressed in Breanne Fahs, Valerie Solanas: The Defiant Life of the Woman Who Wrote SCUM (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2014), loc. 1667, Kindle edition. When he wrote about the shooting that same year, Girodias did not mention her visit, but did imply that Valerie Solanas had missed “her first man”—see Maurice Girodias, “Publisher’s Preface,” in Scum Manifesto, by Valerie Solanas (London: Phoenix Press, 1991), 19.

Sources that believe in the visit often place it in Girodias’s suite at the Chelsea Hotel—see Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, using information apparently provided by Paul Morrissey. But it looks as though Girodias and his Olympia Press had moved to 36 Gramercy Park by May 1968, since both the man and the firm are listed there in the 1968 telephone directory that was finalized then. See also Earl Kemp, “Me and Maurice,” October 2005, http://www.efanzines.com/EK/eI22/index.htm. Kemp says that he visited Girodias on Gramercy Park in the spring of 1968.

Six months after the shooting, a friend of Solanas’s implied that she had not tried to shoot Girodias because he was not famous enough—see Geoffrey Le Gear to Andy Warhol, December 3, 1968, AWMA. But Le Gear would not have had any first-hand knowledge of what happened the day of the shooting and any information he got from Valerie Solanas might have been confused or confusing.

65. saw her on the sidewalk: Frederick Hughes, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

A close acquaintance of Valerie Solanas said that she asked if she could join him and his daughter when they were eating lunch at Brownie’s, around the corner from Warhol’s studio, at around 11:30 that day; he said no—see Paul Krassner, “Wonder Waif Meets Super Neuter,” in Scum Manifesto, by Valerie Solanas (New York: Olympia Press, 1968), 93. Krassner said (p. 92) that a few days earlier he had lent her $50, which might have helped fund the purchase of at least one of her handguns.


70. **616 was sporting long hair**: See the June 3, 1968, news footage excerpted in Ric Burns, *Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film*, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).

71. **616 tidy suit and tie**: Mario Amaya’s clothing can be seen in photos taken later as he climbed into the ambulance.

72. **616 U.K. exhibition**: Brian O’Doherty and Barbara Novak, interview by author, May 12, 2016. O’Doherty, who was both an artist and a prominent writer, had himself been curated by Mario Amaya.

Amaya might also have been in discussions with Warhol about bringing his Stockholm survey to the Institute of Contemporary Art in London, where he had just organized a major group show that featured Warhol. On the Stockholm show going to the ICA in London see Ilene Sonnabend to Andy Warhol, April 2, 1968, AWMA. Amaya wrote “We’re going ahead with the exhibition” in Mario Amaya to Andy Warhol, June 14, 1968, TC4, AWMA. There’s no sign the ICA ever hosted it.


75. **616 “creepy and quiet”**: Mario Amaya, in John Wilcock, *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 24. On the day of the shooting, however, Amaya merely said that Solanas had
“stood very quietly” as they were introduced—see “Actress Shoots Pop Artist—Warhol,” *Pittsburgh Press*, June 4, 1968.


617 “like one of those guns you see in Dick Tracy”: Mario

90. **617 missed Warhol**: The police marked the bullet holes with arrows on the wall—see the crime-scene photo in David Behrens and Jack Mann, “Andy Warhol Is Shot by Actress,” Newsday, June 4, 1968. See also crime-scene photos in the Municipal Archives of New York City.

91. **617 dislodged his old Bolex**: The Bolex can be seen sitting on the desk, above its displaced filing-cabinet base, in crime-scene photos in the Municipal Archives of New York City.

92. **617 smacking his head**: Paul Morrissey, in Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006). Morrissey, never the most reliable witness, was not in the room at the moment of the shooting, but since he mentions a red mark on Warhol’s head he may have been recalling evidence of a blow that someone else mentioned to him, or whose effects he witnessed when he did come into the room.

93. **617 into the hardwood**: The bullet hole in the floor can be seen, outlined in tape, in crime-scene photos in the Municipal Archives of New York City.


96. **617 a distant baseboard**: The bullet hole in the baseboard is indicated by an arrow made of tape in crime-scene photos in the Municipal Archives of New York City.


99. **617 made a noise**: Frederick Hughes, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

100. **617 the call button**: “The Sweet Assassin,” Newsweek (June 17, 1968): 86.


102. **617 screaming in pain**: Frederick Hughes, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).


105. **guaranteed agony:** Dr. Andrew Levine, interview by author, September 17, 2018. Levine is a trauma specialist.


107. **hadn’t heard the shots:** “Andy Warhol Is Badly Wounded; Actress in His Movies Sought,” *Washington Post*, June 4, 1968. In this early account, Paul Morrissey told the police that he did not hear the shots and that he only discovered something was wrong when he came back into the front room and found both Warhol and Mario Amaya on the floor there—which is quite different from Amaya’s account of having fled behind the screening-room door.

Morrissey’s later accounts sometimes have him in the room at the time of the shooting, conflicting with his own first descriptions of events.

108. **bleeding Amaya:** Paul Morrissey, in Taylor Mead, “The Shooting of Andy: An Account by Paul Morrissey,” February 5, 1997, http://www.artnetweb.com/moobird/news/taylor.html. One story has Morrissey catching a glimpse of Solanas through a little window in the wall, which was there to allow a projector to sit outside the screening room, in the main space of the studio, so its noise would be less audible as movies were shown in the room on the other side of the glass—see Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPIsm: The Warhol '60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 344.


111. **Paper towels:** Al Hansen, “Fragments from a Time/Space Journal,” *Fragments* (Fall 1968): 48. The paper towels can also be seen in crime-scene photos in the Municipal Archives of New York City.


   Jed Johnson’s name has here been corrected from “Ted,” as it was printed in the *Fragments* piece. Either Hansen himself was unsure of the name, or an editor made an error in transcribing the notes from which Hanson’s piece was reconstructed.


   Gerard Malanga, in a March 31, 2019, e-mail to this author, said that he remembered the trip down the stairs as well.

   The reason given in Bockris is that the ambulance arrived with a stretcher, and, since it could not fit into what is indeed a very small elevator in the building, the ambulance workers were forced to carry Warhol down the stairs, while still on the stretcher. But another, much earlier version of the story has the ambulance workers arriving without a stretcher and having to transport Warhol in a wheelchair instead—see Mario Amaya, “Reflections on the Day a Girl Shot Andy Warhol and Mario Amaya,” *Nova* (December 1969): 79; Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 345. (It is likely that the detail in *Popism* is actually taken by that book’s ghostwriters from the Amaya text.) The handles of a wheelchair seem visible in photos of Warhol being loaded into the ambulance, published by the *New York Daily News*. It remains unclear why the ambulance workers would have taken the stairs if Warhol were in a wheelchair that must have fit in the elevator.


619 **“anecdotal nonsense”:** Dr. Maurizio Daliana, interview by author, October 27, 2014. Daliana was chief surgical resident at Columbus Hospital when Warhol arrived there.

619 **vast crowd:** See the black-and-white photos by Jack Smith for the *New York Daily News*, taken as Warhol was being loaded into the ambulance.


620 **“I heard the shots”:** Viva, in David Behrens and Jack Mann, “Andy Warhol Is Shot by Actress,” *Newsday*, June 4, 1968.


620 **“Look—it’s his wife”:** Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

620 **“that Jed and I had done it”:** Frederick Hughes, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

620 **the third degree:** Frederick Hughes, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006).


620 **Malanga was dressed in the latest:** See the June 3, 1968,
notes

news footage excerpted in Ric Burns, Andy Warhol: A Documentary Film, documentary (PBS and Steeplechase Films, 2006).

135. **620 Other Warholians:** See photos and descriptions in David Behrens and Jack Mann, “Andy Warhol Is Shot by Actress,” *Newsday*, June 4, 1968. Behrens and Mann specify that the man wearing the bathtub chain is named Steve Lawrence. He is said to be Billy Name in Ultra Violet, *Famous for 15 Minutes: My Years with Andy Warhol* (Open Road Media, 2015), 172, Kindle edition. Ultra Violet’s memoir is so full of errors, however, that it is largely useless as a historical document.


138. **620 perfect breasts:** Warhol, or a ghostwriter, mentions her “much talked about” chest in Andy Warhol, “Andy Warhol’s Underground Confidential,” *Downtown*, September 30, 1967, trunk TC, AWMA.


141. **621 Ultra Violet:** See the photo and description in David Behrens and Jack Mann, “Andy Warhol Is Shot by Actress,” *Newsday*, June 4, 1968.

142. **621 “3 hours to get dressed & made up”:** Viva to Andy Warhol, n.d., AWMA. This letter was sent to Warhol at Columbus Hospital.

143. **621 “She may have been in love with Andy”:** Ultra Violet, in David Behrens and Jack Mann, “Andy Warhol Is Shot by Actress,” *Newsday*, June 4, 1968.


149. **621 “He had too much control over my life”:** “Actress Wounds

621 Julia Warhola was clutching: The tabloid is in her hands in photographs from that night.


622 paranoid delusions: “Mental Tests Ordered in Warhol Case,” Newsday, June 6, 1968. Maurice Girodias’s lawyers saw Valerie Solanas two days after the arrest, causing the judge to have her spend further time in Bellevue.


622 nasty-looking purple little hole”: Brian O’Doherty, interview by author, May 12, 2016. An old window-dressing friend of Warhol’s confirmed that Mario Amaya was displaying his wound the night of the shooting—Jac Venza, interview by author, August 1, 2018.

622 found comfort: Gerard Malanga, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 6, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

But Brigid Berlin also claimed to have been at the townhouse that night of the shooting, and to have slept over there with Viva and Julia Warhola—see Berlin in Paul Carroll, “What’s a Warhol,” Playboy (Sep-

161. *622 “it does say something about his importance and his charisma”*: John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

162. *622 Warhol’s greatest work*: David Bourdon, in John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

**CHAPTER 36**


3. *625 breathing tube:* Giuseppe Rossi, in a September 1968 invoice (TC19, AWMA) specifies that a tracheostomy was performed on June 4. The scar is mentioned as still noticeable in May 1969 by John Halllowell, “Mr. Warhol Comes to Hollywood,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1971. Later photos still show it.

4. *625 plentiful antibiotics:* While Warhol was still in the O.R., Viva had heard from his regular doctor that Warhol was allergic to penicillin and the surgeons had used a different antibiotic when they got the news—see Viva, “Warhol Superstar Viva Remembers Andy, His Mother & The Artist’s Early Brush With Death,” Biography, March 23, 2015, https://www.biography.com/news/andy-warhol-superstar-viva. But the surgeons probably didn’t really have to make the switch: Warhol’s “allergy” had resulted in nothing more than a case of hives when he’d taken penicillin eight years before, in a mild and common reaction to the drug—see Dr. Denton Cox, “Historical and Diagnostic Summary,” December 7, 1960, AWMA.

5. *625 his acne cleared up:* Truman Capote and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, October 14, 1978, AWMA.


8. *625 “It’s only when you wake up it hurts”:* Warhol, in Truman Capote and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, late 1970s, TC578, AWMA.


13. “still critical, but showing improvement”: “Warhol Gain -

14. eighteen days: A June 28, 1968, invoice to Warhol from Co -
lumbus Hospital (AWMA), shows 18 days billed at the higher rate of $61, followed by eight days at $50—the assumption being made here is that a bed in intensive care, with its aggressive demands, would be more ex -pensive than a normal private room on the wards.


20. crucifix over the bed: See the photos of Warhol in his room at Columbus Hospital in his archives.

21. lived together: Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, June 23, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

describes the visit as having been allowed by the hospital authorities, Malanga refers to how he and Viva had “sneaked in the back door”—see his recall of the visit in his July 29, 1968, diary entry reprinted in Gerard Malanga, “From the Secret Diaries—Summer in the City,” Angel Hair (Spring 1969).

Two different visits may be involved, since Malanga more recently referred to Warhol being well on his way to recovery on the occasion of the illicit visit—Gerard Malanga, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

23. 627 “Hope we didn’t overexcite you”: Viva to Andy Warhol, June 13, 1968, AWMA.

24. 627 refund the cash: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for July 7, 1972, AWMA.

25. 627 Kodak Instamatic: Viva to Andy Warhol, June 11, 1968, TC -8, AWMA.

The camera brand is specified in “Say Hello to the Dirty Half Dozen,” Esquire (May 1969): 144.

26. 627 Uher reel-to-reel: See the photos (AWMA) of Warhol in his room at Columbus Hospital.

27. 627 $60 to rent one: See the July 16, 1968, invoice for $63 from TV. Rental Company to Warhol, TC -8, AWMA.


30. 627 food and candy: Nelson Lyon to Andy Warhol, June 24, 1968, TC4, AWMA.


32. 627 Best wishes: The get-well cards are in Time Capsule -8 in the Warhol archives.


34. 628 Edie Sedgwick: A facsimile of the card is included in Geralyn Huxley and Matt Wrbican, Andy Warhol Treasures (London: Goodman Books, 2009). The late Warhol Museum archivist Matt Wrbican first identified the return address.

35. 628 “one of the most gentle men I’ve ever met”: Ed Hood, in a
June, 1968, television interview for WNAC channel 7, Boston.

36. **Warhol's ex-lover**: Richard Rheem to Julia Warhola, June 5, 1968, TC -8, AWMA.

37. **from an ashram**: Philip Norman Fagan to Andy Warhol, July 3, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

38. **“We love you more than anythin”**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 15, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

39. **Warhol’s trouble eating**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 19, 1968, TC4, AWMA.


41. **passed the jacket**: Richard Dupont, in a November 28, 2016, Facebook message to the author.

Another story has Warhol giving the jacket to an anonymous “young girl” who wore it all the time to Max’s Kansas City—see Ellen Gofen, in Yvonne Sewall-Ruskin, *High on Rebellion: Inside the Underground at Max’s Kansas City* (Open Road Media, 2016), loc. 2772, Kindle edition.

42. **“bigger things to hide behind”**: “Warhol Gets New ‘Shield’ in His Studio,” *Newsday*, June 21, 1968.

43. **head-high crumple**: Papagayo was sold at Warhol’s estate auction in 1988 and can be seen in photos of Warhol’s Union Square office from early in 1968.

44. **“This is going to cost a bit (gates $60 a piece)”**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 23, 1968, TC4, AWMA. The elevator door is mentioned in about July 1968 in Jed Johnson to Andy Warhol, n.d., TC4, AWMA. See also the July 9, 1968, invoice to Warhol from Bands Contracting Co., box B11, AWMA.

45. **“This business is strictly a failure without you”**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 22, 1968, TC -8, AWMA. Hughes mentions a July 15, 1968, letter from the Film-Maker’s Cooperative (AWMA), that asks Warhol to confirm that he’s cancelling their distribution of his films.

46. **“Send me a check if you can just for eating”**: Billy Name to Andy Warhol, July 1968, TC13, AWMA.

47. **“who is going to come out YOUR favorite”**: Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, June 19, 1968, TC4, AWMA.


White worked on the production of *Midnight Cowboy*, and said that footage was originally supposed to be shot at “the Factory,” but when he
couldn’t get reliable responses from the people in charge there he decided to fake the Warhol studio scenes on a set.


50. **intended for Warhol**: Michael Childers, interview by author, February 28, 2018. Childers, the partner of producer John Schlesinger, said that Warhol had accepted the part before passing it on. Other sources suggest that Warhol had never imagined playing the part himself.

51. **$100 a day**: Michael Childers, interview by author, February 28, 2018.


53. **original Warhols**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, June 1968, TC4, AWMA. It is hard to think quite which Warhols MoMA would have had to rent out, however.

54. **Schlesinger set every morning at 8:00 AM**: Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, June 23, 1968, TC4, AWMA.


56. **The Garrick was such an unbelievable dump**: George Abagnalo, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

57. **suspending all dancing**: Gerard Malanga mentions the ban in a June 19, 1968, letter to Warhol (TC4, AWMA). Corey Tippin remembered objecting to it—Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

58. **competition in Warsaw**: Gerhard Drechsler, of the United States Information Agency, to Leo Castelli Gallery, forwarded to Warhol at Columbus Hospital, July 10, 1968, TC-8, AWMA.


60. **Warhol was shot because**: Gregory Battcock, “Is Bob Dylan Next?” a circa July, 1968, clipping from an unidentified newsprint publication, TC4, AWMA.


62. **VALERIE LIVES**: Anonymous text of a leaflet distributed by the anarchist group Up Against the Wall, Motherfucker, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The
spelling errors—even in Solanas’s name—are in the original.


67. **when you are well you won’t want to hear me out**: Gerard Malanga to Andy Warhol, June 19, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

68. **but within a story that I told the actors to follow**: Paul Morrissey, interview by Bockris-Wiley [Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie], typed notes, December 24, 1973, Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie Collection, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.


70. **was a putsch**: On the resistance to Paul Morrissey see Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


74. **it didn’t seem that realistic**: Paul Morrissey, interview by Bockris-Wiley [Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie], typed notes, Decem-
ber 24, 1973, Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie Collection, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.


77. 634 “Well, I guess I don’t have a job”: Michael Ferguson, “Little Joe, Superstar” (typescript, 1996), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


79. 635 “that people would actually go and see this stuff”: Michael Ferguson, “Little Joe, Superstar” (typescript, 1996), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


81. 635 reliance on conversation: Michael Ferguson, “Little Joe, Superstar” (typescript, 1996), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

82. 635 as Warhol’s driver: See the request for reimbursement for parking tickets in Robert Dallesandro to Andy Warhol, October 10, 1975, TC119, AWMA.

83. 635 foster parents: Michael Ferguson, “Little Joe, Superstar” (typescript, 1996), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


85. 635 posing nude: Michael Ferguson, “Little Joe, Superstar” (typescript, 1996), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


87. 636 “So they set me at the front door with a stuffed dog”: Michael Ferguson, “Little Joe, Superstar” (typescript, 1996), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

88. 636 canine was Cecil: See Matt Wrbican, A Is for Archive: War-


636 “Cindy Warhol”: Richard C. Higgins to Andy Warhol, envelope with enclosure, March 29, 1963, TC83, AWMA.


637 “because I wanted to look like Edie”: Andy Warhol, interview by Old Owl [Robert Reilly], typescript of an unpublished interview intended for the Yale Record (Spring 1966), TC14, AWMA.


637 “They were walking around oblivious”: Taylor Mead, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, January 20, 1997, Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


637 law against men in drag: Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare
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Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Waldon said that his first meeting with Darling, and her subsequent introduction to Warhol, happened in the evening of the day that Warhol shot his *Nude Restaurant*, in which Waldon had appeared.


104. 637 most glamorous woman: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

105. 638 got up to dance: “Eye,” *Women’s Wear Daily*, May 26, 1969, 8. The curator was Warhol’s old friend Samuel Adams Green.

106. 638 Warhol once complained: Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


114. **638 “perpetually be beautiful and elegant”:** Jeremiah Newton, “An Interview with Donald Lyons” (typescript, 1979), AWMA.


119. **638 took hormones:** Jackie Curtis, notes from an interview, c.1975, box M88, AWMA.

120. **639 “the anti-transvestite transvestite”:** John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.


   Note that Penny Arcade, interviewed in the same volume (p. 216), said that Warhol neither came to the funeral nor sent flowers.


124. **639 “Holly was a tramp”:** Francesco Scavullo, audio guide track for “The Warhol Look” (Antenna Audio for the Art Gallery of Ontario and The Andy Warhol Museum, 1998), provided to the author by producer David Tarnow.

125. **639 refusing stable, approved roles:** Jackie Curtis, notes from
an interview, c.1975, box M88, AWMA. Curtis argues strongly against all stable gender roles and identities.

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128. 641 “very weak and frail-looking”: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

129. 641 take a breath: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

130. 641 shifting Warhol: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

131. 641 graduate work: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


The Rites are said to have been organized by Julia—which seems unlikely, given the state she was in—in Jerry Jumba, “In Memorium: Andy Warhol (1928–1987),” Carpatho-Rusyn American, 1987, 4.

134. 641 visited the sick man: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

135. 641 “Shall I try my hand”: Viva to Andy Warhol, June 13, 1968, AWMA.

136. 641 was delighted: Warhol, in Mario Amaya, “Reflections on the Day a Girl Shot Andy Warhol and Mario Amaya,” Nova (December
1969); 80.

137. 642 “the ones causing so much trouble”: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for October 25, 1972, AWMA.

138. 642 how bad things had looked: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

139. 642 a nurse, Nancy: Donald and Jeffrey Warhola, interviewed March 31, 2015. See also David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 290.

Paul Warhola, Jr., identified Nancy as a distant member of the Warhola family—see Paul Warhola, Jr., interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 20, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

140. 642 change his dressings: Paul Warhola, Jr., to David Bourdon, December 1, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

141. 642 back in surgery: Giuseppe Rossi, in a September 1968 invoice (TC19, AWMA) specified that a “rib resection and drainage of subphrenic abscess” was performed on August 14, 1968.

In a May 5, 2019, e-mail, Dr. John Ryan described the illness and operation as follows, according to the results of his own research: “Chest x-ray showed fluid in the left chest and an elevated left diaphragm. Rossi ordered antibiotics, but Warhol’s fevers continued. On August 13th, Rossi stuck a needle through the low left back aspirating pus and confirming a left abdominal abscess below the diaphragm in the area where the spleen had been removed and where the connection of the colon had not healed properly. The next day Rossi drained the abscess by removing the 11th rib through the back.”


144. 642 nightly dose of Seconal: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Evidence for Warhol’s Seconal consumption survives in the prescription bottles in his archives.


151. **making “conventional movies”**: Warhol, in David Silver, “What's Happening, Mr. Silver?” television broadcast (Boston: WGBH, May 1967), www.youtube.com/watch?v=ESGrKwIdb8A.

152. **their highest aspiration**: Viva and Paul Morrissey, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

153. **one hundred portraits**: The Happy Rockefeller portrait series is described as a commissioned pendant to her husband’s portrait by Warhol in Paul Carroll, “What’s a Warhol,” *Playboy* (September 1969): 178. The Happy portraits were still in Warhol’s studio at the time of Carroll’s visit—presumably in the early spring of 1969, given magazine lead times and internal evidence in the story.


156. **two geriatric Sams**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


158. **her chronic tuberculosis**: Dr. Denton Cox to Julia Warhola, May 3, 1968, TC9, AWMA. Cox lists Warhola’s prescriptions and mentions her failure to stay on her medications.

159. **a trip to the hospital**: See the January 16, 1969, bill from New York Hospital to Julia Warhola (TC104, AWMA) and the January 27, 1969, invoice to her from the cardiologist Dr. Thomas Killip (TC93,
AWMA). The huge range of tests billed by the hospital indicates that her problems may have involved more than her heart.

644 **Dexamyly**: See the September 21, 1969, prescription written by Dr. Denton Cox for Julia Warhola, TC35, AWMA.

644 **signs of dementia**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


644 **her body was “like a magnet”**: Julia Warhola, quoted in Viva to Andy Warhol, n.d., AWMA.

644 **Viva and Warhol tied the knot**: Viva, in Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 386.

645 **“I have to go out to the store again”**: Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, excerpt from a 1971 recording in the Wesleyan University Archives, released on *Andy Warhol From Tapes: Sounds of His Life and Work*, CD (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994).

645 **fetch some groceries**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

645 **editing of Lonesome Cowboys**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


645 **he had moved in**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

645 **in “such bad shape”**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

645 **“I just stayed”**: Donald Warhola, interviewed by author April 1, 2015, said that he doesn’t believe that Jed was around the house
on the family’s first post-shooting visits, unless Warhol hid him when relatives were around—something that doesn’t seem that far-fetched. By December 1969, Jed was dealing with domestic business from the home phone: See where he is listed as the contact, at Warhol’s home phone number, in the December 20, 1968, agreement (TC540, AWMA) for the installation of an alarm system by Holmes Electric Protective Company.


646 an uncanny resemblance: Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.


646 as telegraph boys: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

646 “in these bell-boy outfits”: Billy Name, full interview transcript for the documentary “The Factory People: Interview Archive” (Planet Group Entertainment, 2011), provided to the author by producer Patrick Nagle, n.d.

Jay Johnson recently corrected this story, saying that only his brother Jed was present at that first encounter with Warhol and his people—Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.


646 eager to see Jed Johnson hired: Jed Johnson, in notes to a November 30, 1988, interview with David Bourdon, Bourdon Papers, AAA.

646 sweeping the floors: When one studio helper first began work, he saw Jed Johnson sweeping the floors there—George Abagnalo, interview by author, November 10, 2016.

646 Fred Hughes had begun: Frank DiGiacomo, “A Farewell to

Both Billy Name and later Vincent Fremont also swept up before they did anything else for Warhol. On Fremont, see “An Interview with Vincent Fremont,” in Andy Warhol: Love, by Robert Lococo (Saint Louis: Lococo Fine Art, 2008), np.


646 “They’re so pretty”: Andy Warhol, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, April 1968, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

646 early years in rural Minnesota: Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.


646 same point on the block: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

646 “flower children from San Francisco”: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


647 “Today, I stripped the paint off a board”: Jed Johnson to Andy Warhol, June 26, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

647 “only enjoyable times I’ve had in New York”: Jed Johnson to Andy Warhol, n.d., TC -8, AWMA.

Jed Johnson had apparently had a brief crush on Billy Name, but finding him locked away in the studio darkroom had transferred his affections to their injured boss—Corey Tippin, interview by author, August
not yet recognized that they were gay: Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.


The letters from Jed Johnson to Warhol were sent during the summer of 1968, after Warhol was shot, and are all in the Warhol archives.


trying to poison her: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, May 2, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

she could smell babies: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


“It was Clutter City”: Jed Johnson, in Steven M. L. Aronson, “Possession Obsession,” International Buffalo Zine Catalog, Fall 2016, 110.

some kind of coherent décor: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

sharing a bed: Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.

“believe me, they were lovers”: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.


man named Archie: Corey Tippin, interview by author, Au-
gust 19, 2018.


214. **648 a jealous and controlling partner**: Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


216. **648 a major alarm system**: See the December 25, 1968, plan of work for Warhol’s house from Holmes Electric Protective Co. (TC540, AWMA), with Jed Johnson listed as on-site contact.


219. **649 mentions depression**: Jed Johnson to Andy Warhol, n.d., TC-8, AWMA.

220. **649 suicide attempts**: Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018. See also the prescription bottle of the antidepressant Tofranil (TC248, AWMA) addressed to Jed Johnson.


222. **649 flying lessons**: See the September 25, 1971, bill to Jed Johnson from McIntyre Aviation Inc., box B66, AWMA.


225. **649 “football-size” hernia**: The hernia was finally repaired in
1987, during Warhol’s final, fatal operation—Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014.


227. pleasure of boyfriends: Piles of these trusses are preserved in the archives of The Andy Warhol Museum in Pittsburgh.


Before that, an art critic described Warhol offering her a Doubting Thomas feel of his torso—Barbara Rose, “In Andy Warhol’s Aluminum Foil, We Have All Been Reflected,” *New York* (May 31, 1971): 55.

230. “Why don’t you paint me with my scars”: Alice Neel, in Patrick S. Smith, “Art in Extremis: Andy Warhol and His Art” (Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982), 788.


234. unable to eat quite properly: Karen Burke, interview by author, October 20, 2015.


246. 651 picked his poor fingernails: See Warhol in David Silver, “What’s Happening, Mr. Silver?” television broadcast (Boston: WGBH, May 1967), www.youtube.com/watch?v=ESGrKwldb8A.

247. 651 “He is a person scared to death”: An unnamed writer for Sweden’s *Svenska Dagbladet* newspaper, quoted in English in David Bourdon, notes filed to the editors of *Time* magazine (February 21, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


249. 651 sound of a car backfiring: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.


The new walls were in place by June, 1969, when they were described in Joseph Gelmis, “Above Ground with Andy,” *Newsday*, June 14, 1969.

251. 651 mostly kept unlocked: Horst Weber von Beeren, interview by author, June 12, 2018. Von Beeren later became part of the team that silkscreened for Warhol.

252. 652 Random flower children: Mario Amaya, “Reflections on


256. **652 a sign that read “Knock and Announce Yourself”:** Stephen Koch, *Stargazer: The Life, World and Films of Andy Warhol* (New York: Marion Boyers, 1991), 4. The new metal door with its sign had been installed by the middle of 1972, since it is mentioned by Holly Woodlawn in an interview from around then clipped by Warhol or an employee from an unidentified source (AWMA).


262. **652 guest list was a vast A to Z:** “Guest List for Nico Party,” n.d., TC11, AWMA.


268. *passé now—even in Pgh*: Imilda Vaughan (later Tuttle) to Andy Warhol, April 12, 1968, AWMA.


272. *managing the rental of Warhol’s art films*: Leslie Trumbull, of the Film-Makers’ Cooperative, to Andy Warhol, July 15, 1968, AWMA.

273. *I go to the factory to pick up the typewriter*: August 5, 1968, diary entry in Gerard Malanga, “From the Secret Diaries—Summer in the City,” *Angel Hair* (Spring 1969): np.


The twists and turns in the case can be followed in *Newsday* stories on August 29, September 28, October 16, October 30, November 7 and November 14, 1968. Smith’s funding is said to have been either for *Jane Heir* or for *The Bed* and *Camp* (which Smith appeared in). No explanation is ever given for the varying accounts, but the figure of $80,000 seems to be Smith’s estimate for what his original $2,000 investment would have been worth once it had been transformed into a finished work of filmic art by Warhol.
654 to crawl out from under the threat: Paul Morrissey later made clear that he and Warhol had in fact received the summons at Max’s, but thinking it was a joke had torn it up on the spot—see his discussion of the affair in Taylor Mead, “Son of Andy Warhol” (typescript draft of a memoir, n.d.), Reginald Gay collection of Taylor Mead and related materials, *T.Mss, Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library. This is confirmed in Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018. Malanga mistakenly remembered the events as having taken place on April Fools Day.

Fufu Smith said that the summons was served on Warhol in a New York restaurant on August 1—see “Fufu Says Warhol Took His Money Underground,” Newsday, August 29, 1968. And Waldo Díaz-Balart gave evidence that Warhol was instead a visitor at his house in the Hamptons on that day, but that visit is clearly shown to have taken place on July 8 (“last Saturday”), in “Andy Warhol: Superstars in East Hampton,” Hamptons Voice, July 14, 1967.

654 Fufu was so nutty: For the final resolution of the case see the invoice to Warhol from the law firm of Olitt, Friedberg and Kagel, February 23, 1971, box B12, AWMA. Other related bills survive across the Warhol archives.

655 His actors were also demanding pay: “Eye,” Women’s Wear Daily, November 27, 1968.

655 his tab had mounted to $3,000: Max’s Kansas City, statement to Warhol, October 17, 1968, box B12, AWMA.

655 film lab was sending invoices for $6,000: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 26, 1968, TC4, AWMA. See also Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, June 28, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

655 three months in arrears on his rent: James Felt and Co., invoice to Warhol, July 30, 1968, box B13, AWMA.

Another Felt invoice, from March 13, 1968 (AWMA) shows Warhol already in arrears by one month.

655 “pay for it all myself”: Warhol, in Emile De Antonio and Andy Warhol, typed notes from a group interview, September 26, 1976, new miscellaneous box 9, AWMA. The notes actually read “60 thousand dollars,” but that is almost certainly a typist’s mistake for “sixteen thousand dollars,” the number revealed in the relevant medical bills.

655 $500 for blood alone: Columbus Hospital, invoice to Warhol, June 28, 1968, AWMA.

Kindle edition.

286. **Hughes hoping to get the de Menils**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, June 1968, TC4, AWMA.

Hughes resolved to get the de Menils to cover at least the bill (TC19, AWMA) for a visit to Warhol from Dr. George Wantz, an elite young surgeon from New York Hospital who the de Menils had hoped would oversee Warhol’s care, but who decided the artist was already in fine hands at Columbus. The de Menils’ connection to Dr. Wantz was described by Warhol’s friend Simone Swan in a February 21, 2017, e-mail to the author.

287. **“PAY UP YOU BLOWHARD”**: Dr. Giuseppe Rossi to Andy Warhol, January 3, 1969, TC -8, AWMA.

288. **mailed him a check for $1,000**: The September 1, 1968, check was from Factory Additions, Warhol’s publishing arm, and was viewed on May 28, 2014, at the home of the late Dr. Giuseppe Rossi.


292. **framing and selling his printing screens**: David Bourdon, “Plastic Man Meets Plastic Man,” *New York* (February 10, 1969): 45. To be published in the February issue the story would have been researched in the fall.


294. **a handful of rentals each month**: There were “two or three rentals every couple of weeks” according to Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.

295. **lecture bureau still owed Warhol**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, June 29, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

296. **$1,200 copy of the footage for that same rape**: Elayne Varian to Andy Warhol, June 7, 1968, Exhibition records of the Contemporary Wing of the Finch College Museum of Art, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

The transaction can be traced back through a correspondence that begins the previous December.
297. $5,000 for a big Flower painting: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 1, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

298. Pop tapestry projects: See Elizabeth Gilliland, of Charles E. Slatkin Galleries, to Andy Warhol, September 19, 1968, TC30, AWMA. See also Sonny Sloan, of Multiples Inc., to Andy Warhol, June 25, 1968, TC4, AWMA.

299. he could raise some extra funds: Donavan, Leisure, Newton and Irvine to Andy Warhol, February 25, 1969, TC540, AWMA. Ward’s lawyers were writing to reject all of Warhol’s demands as “devoid of merit as well as stale.”

300. its pay phone removed: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 1968, TC4, AWMA.


The 1968 corporate tax return for Andy Warhol Films (AWMA) shows a gross of $143,731—a bit more than Andy Warhol Enterprises was contributing to the total take that year—but also shows expenses that reduced the taxable income to zero. Warhol’s personal tax return for 1968 (AWMA) shows an income of $80,789. The following year’s return, without time spent in hospital, gives his income as $95,887.

302. commissions from his longtime patrons: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, June 1968, TC4, AWMA.

303. a new space on the tenth floor: Union Square Building Corp., October 9, 1968, lease on room 1005 (TC540, AWMA) for $95.


305. dapper Hughes could get press-ganged: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for September 18, 1972, AWMA.


For the view that none of Warhol’s portraits ever conveyed “the inner psychic tensions of the persons portrayed” see John Coplans, “Early Warhol: The Systematic Evolution of the Impersonal Style,” Artforum

308. 658 “is out of his mind”: Antonio Homem, interview by author, October 16, 2017.


311. 659 making extravagantly dressed doyennes strip: Gigi Williams, oral history, audiocassette, n.d., AWMA.


313. 659 “not anything but gay”: Gerard Malanga, in Winston Leyland, “Interview with Gerard Malanga for Gay Sunshine” (typescript draft, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

314. 659 “pioneering work is serious”: The quote, provided to the author in a September 17, 2018, e-mail from historian William Middleton, is from John de Menil’s November 12, 1968, letter to Nathan Fain in the De Menil Family Archives, Menil Collection, Houston.


317. 660 “taken the people that are the most vain”: Boris Bally, oral history, May 26, 2009, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

318. 660 “DELIGHTED WITH IDEA TO DO PORTRAITS”: Warhol, telegram to Peter Brown at Apple C.O.R.E., London, October 21, 1969, box B7, AWMA.

CHAPTER 38

1. 663 “intuitive about leaving”: August 4, 1966, diary entry in Gerard Malanga, “Secret Diaries” (typed drafts edited by Aram Saroyan,
n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


3. **Morrisey tried to get his own back:** Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

   For Viva’s much later account of the film’s history see her Facebook post, reposted March 26, 2016, at www.warholstars.org/index5.html, accessed October 5, 2018.

5. **had a small roll in Flesh:** Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


7. **“it was going to be sensitive”:** Louis Waldon, in Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 393.


9. **the hard-core Deep Throat:** Warhol, unpublished diary entry for September 20, 1972, AWMA.


14. **sunny Saturday in September:** Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 393. See
also Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


On the other hand, Louis Waldon said that Paul Morrissey had been kicked off the set by Viva for giggling during the sex scenes—see Louis Waldon, interview by Asako Kitaori, typescript, n.d., Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

19. 664 “so it could be an art movie”: Andy Warhol, in an interview in Phyllis Kronhausen and Eberhard Kronhausen, *Erotic Art: A Survey of Erotic Fact and Fancy in the Fine Arts* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 46. The interview was conducted after Warhol had “just finished” shooting *Fuck*.

20. 664 a revised title: One ad did promote the movie as “Andy Warhol’s *Fuck*,” but that was in one of the most radical alternative weeklies—see *Rat: Subterranean News*, August 1969, advertisement. Thanks to Jay Reeg for this reference.

21. 665 a famous deep-blue movie: On Warhol’s likely knowledge of Joseph Cornell’s film see Amy Taubin, “My Time Is Not Your Time,” *Sight and Sound* (June 1994): 21. Warhol would have been exposed to Cornell at Outlines gallery, in the 1940s, and in the 1950s via Warhol’s friends at the Picture Collection of the New York Public Library, where Cornell was a favored patron.


loc. 4937, Kindle edition.


27. **665“typical sexploitationer”:** Frankie Larkin to Andy Warhol, August 19, 1969, TC26, AWMA.


29. **665 first movie to show explicit sex:** Leticia Kent, “Blue Movie, or F**K,” *Variety*, June 25, 1969, 18.


38. **666 said that Blue Movie was porn:** “People,” *Newsday*, December 2, 1972. This author was unable to find evidence of the subsequent Supreme Court reversal mentioned in Callie Angell, *The Films of Andy Warhol Part II* (Whitney Museum of American Art, 1994), 32.


40. **666“movies should arouse you”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


43. **Warhol was at the launch party**: George Abagnalo, interview by author, December 14, 2016.


45. **they split the screen about thirty-two times**: *Toklas* screenwriters were apparently riffing on a discussion of Billy Name’s dental work in Warhol’s *Lupe* plus the twin screens of *The Chelsea Girls* and the 32 flavors of Warhol’s Campbell’s Soup series.

   Weirdly, in the 1980s Warhol *did* come to buy a huge collection of old dental molds—perhaps even under the inspiration of the *Toklas* script.

46. **they’re too beautiful, too planned**: Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes from a Warhol lecture tour (February 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


48. **films or not, it’ll catch on**: Deevy Jane Greitzer to Andy Warhol, July 17, 1968, TC4, AWMA.


53. **use the least means to carry out the idea**: Tom Dempsey to Andy Warhol, holograph letter with enclosure of notes by Warhol, January 27, 1970, TC62, AWMA.
54. **“ideas rather than art”:** See the discussion between John Wilcock and Frederick Hughes in John Wilcock, *The Autobiography and Sex Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Trela, 2010), 87. Although published in 1971, an extract from the book was published in the March 1, 1970, issue of Wilcock’s weekly called *Other Scenes*, indicating that the interviews for it would probably have been done in late 1969, very near the era under discussion in this chapter.


Warhol and Kosuth seem to have known each other at least since the spring of 1965, when Kosuth had been present at a poetry reading Gerard Malanga gave during the launch of Warhol’s exhibition at the Sonnabend gallery in Paris—see Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


58. **“create a new situation”:** Max Protetch and Harold Rivkin to Andy Warhol, September 29, 1971, AWMA. Max Protetch has said that the project was never realized.

59. **material art would soon be disappearing:** Warhol, in “How We Will Live,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 4, 1976. Warhol also predicts, correctly, that projected video will be a major art form of the future.


61. **opposed to art objects of all kinds:** Warhol, in John Per-
reault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.

See also Warhol in Lane Slate, “USA Artists: Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein,” in I’ll Be Your Mirror: The Selected Andy Warhol Interviews, ed. Kenneth Goldsmith (New York: Avalon, 2004), 80, Kindle edition. The text is a transcript of Slate’s film by the same name.

66. **“Oh, we’re out of art”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes on a studio visit with Warhol (February 26, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


67. **the new Conceptualism that “we are stuck with”:** Leo Castelli, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).


68. **renting out his superstars:** “Work in Progress,” Esquire (December 1969): 212.


69. **looking for the perfect vacuum:** Warhol, unpublished diary entries for January 31, February 4, February 5 and February 8, 1972, AWMA.

70. **live people in windows:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (June 5, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

71. **trip to Paris that he funded:** See Gregory Battcock, in “University Roundtable Series: Interview with Gregory Battcock,” radio broadcast (WFUV, December 11, 1969), WFUV radio interviews relating
to art, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Battcock’s fellow traveler was David Bourdon.


   Several sources give Dominique de Menil as the originator of the idea—e.g. Christopher Andreae, “An Exhibition—’Just Like That’,” *Christian Science Monitor*, September 15, 1969.


76. **671 someone else would do the choosing:** David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in *Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 24.


78. **671 crammed storage racks:** David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in *Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 20.

79. **671 piles of them stacked haphazardly:** David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in *Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 18.

80. **671 flower-papered wardrobes:** David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in *Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 17, 66.


82. **671 “If that’s real, we won’t take it”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in *Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 24.


672 “into a junk shop”: Daniel Robbins, “Confessions of a Museum Director,” in Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 12.

672 “some duplication”: See David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 20.

672 “Tree to the right of the bust”: Daniel Robbins, in David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 20.

672 “What is beautiful to the artist”: Dominique de Menil, “Foreward,” in Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 5.

672 choosing some truly lame object: David Bourdon, “Andy’s Dish,” in Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 20.

672 “sufficient to define it as art”: Daniel Robbins, “Confessions of a Museum Director,” in Raid the Icebox 1 with Andy Warhol (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1969), 12.


673 art museum in New Orleans: The account of Warhol in New Orleans is based on curator Bill Fagaly’s draft memoir, forwarded to the author by Fagaly in a November 19, 2018, e-mail.

673 “high heels and bare feet”: Allan Katz, “Andy Warhol Art
NOTES


97. 673 retreated to his hotel room: Curator William Fagaly, interview by author, November 19, 2018.

98. 673 “50 Ejaculations”: Andy Warhol, “Foot Fetishes” (notebook, c.1970), TC21, AWMA.

99. 674 floating chair”: Charles Hope Provost, of Provost Displays, to Andy Warhol, October 14, 1968, TC-12, AWMA.

100. 674 a robotic trash can: Warhol mentioned the robotic trashcan in Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

The engineer Billy Klüver was involved in the aborted trash-can project—Julie Martin, Billy Klüver’s widow, interview by author, October 26, 2017.

101. 674 exotic Swedish phone booths: Marta Sahlberg, of the Moderna Museet, to Andy Warhol, July 26, 1968, TC15, AWMA.

102. 674 to counterfeit wind, rain and snow: See the December 23, 1968, note (box B17, AWMA) from Provost Displays with quotes for the production of a “snow machine” for $1200 and a “rain machine” for $900. The snow machine is mentioned as in operation in Joseph Gelmis, “Above Ground with Andy,” Newsday, June 14, 1969.


Plans survive (TC65, AWMA) for both the snow and rain machines.


109. 674 TC-40 Action-Corder: Warhol’s surviving recorder (AWMA) is referred to as a “brand new” model in Sony Corp., Philadel-


    See also Sterling McIlhenny and Peter Ray, “Inside Andy Warhol,” *Cavalier Magazine* (September 1966). They report: “Before we could get our tape recorder warmed up, Andy Warhol produced his own transistorized set and placed the microphone before us.” Warhol also tells them, “We should make a video tape of this interview at the same time so we could look at it.”

111. **hospital room where he died:** See the personal effects (AWMA) in the box labeled “Fr. NY Hospital AW Personal 1987.”


113. **“they’re like ants”:** Warhol, in David Bourdon, notes on a studio visit with Warhol (February 26, 1968), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


116. **“people walking past the camera”:** Warhol, in Paul Carroll, “What’s a Warhol,” *Playboy* (September 1969): 140. The interview for this *Playboy* story was clearly conducted early in 1969 before the cancellation of the *Nothing Special* project, a cancellation that had already been documented in Warhol interviews that appeared before Carroll’s.


125. considered showing his rain machine: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (September 26, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

126. the tape immersed in water: See The Andy Warhol Museum, Andy Warhol, 365 Takes: The Andy Warhol Museum Collection (New York: Abrams, 2004), 36. Note that this source refers to Ono wanting to immerse a video “cassette,” but at that date the tape would almost certainly have been reel-to-reel.

127. released it in December 1968: The release date is given as December 13 in “Literati: Chatter,” Variety, November 27, 1968, 70.


133. “the avant-garde has been dead since the 1920s”: Jonathan Richman to Andy Warhol, December 1967, TC -2, AWMA.


135. countercultural ideas had become watered down: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, POPism: The Warhol ’60s (New York: Harcourt


137. **678 call for the cover shoot**: George Lois, the cover’s designer, in Peter Rosen, *Who Gets To Call It Art?*, documentary, 2006.


140. **679 “Andy’s sort of beyond sophistication”**: Billy Name, in Phyllis Kronhausen and Eberhard Kronhausen, *Erotic Art: A Survey of Erotic Fact and Fancy in the Fine Arts* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 47. The Kronhausen interview with Name and Warhol was conducted in the early fall of 1968.


142. **679 a longtime favorite of Warhol’s**: See a “tent card” that survives (TC472, AWMA) from a birthday party that Warhol created for a certain “Cornelia,” in about 1960, with Schrafft’s credited for “Ice Cream and Cake.” There are also any number of receipts for meals at Schrafft’s attached in his 1961 and 1962 datebooks (AWMA).


There were other new Warhol-themed sundaes as well: “The Super-Star,” “The Electronic,” and the “Do-Your-Own-Thing.” A menu from the restaurant with a list of them was provided to the author by Richard Frank.

144. **679 “cucumber sandwiches with no crusts”**: Joseph Freeman, interview by author, June 7, 2018.


146. **679 “that’s where the action is”**: Frank G. Shattuck II, in Dennis Duggan, “Old Ladies at Schrafft’s,” *Newsday*, October 30, 1968.

147. **679 fee of $7,000**: See the October 9, 1968, invoice (TC540, AWMA) to the ad agency F. William Free and Co. from Warhol’s agent Fritzie Miller.

The ad also got coverage in *Time* and *Newsweek*.

149. **679 various display items**: A tent-card, to go on tables, and a sign for the Schrafft’s window survive (TC7, AWMA). The tent-card bears the text, “The Underground Sundae / Did you see the Andy Warhol Sundae on TV? Try the Original at Schrafft’s.”


152. **680 leather jacket and shades**: A photo of the session survives in the Warhol archives, and also in Dennis Duggan, “Old Ladies at Schrafft’s,” *Newsday*, October 30, 1968.


158. **681 earned a Certificate of Excellence**: It survives in *Time Capsule* 7 in the Warhol archives.


CHAPTER 39


7. 686 “I’d like to work with you”: Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, September 20, 1968, AWMA. In his September interviews Warhol had said or implied that Solanas had been released, but she continued to send him letters from the hospital well into the fall.

8. 686 “you’ve had a taste of honey”: Valerie Solanas to Andy Warhol, October 4, 1968, AWMA.


10. 686 “Who gave this woman bail”: Paul Morrissey, in Taylor


15. 687 *another eleven days in the hospital*: Columbus Hospital, invoice to Warhol, April 1, 1969, TC11, AWMA. See also Dr. Giuseppe Rossi, interview by author, May 28, 2014.

   In a May 5, 2019, e-mail to the author, Dr. John Ryan described the operation as follows, according to the results of his own research: “Surgeons Giuseppe Rossi and Maurizio Daliana made a diagonal left upper abdominal incision, in order to avoid Warhol’s hernia. They removed some infected, braided, polyester, non-absorbable sutures next to the colon that had been used to close the bullet hole in the left diaphragm. These infected sutures had prevented the colon injury from healing. Using absorbable sutures, they closed the part of the colon with the leak. They made a small left thoracotomy in order to remove chronic inflammatory fluid and scar tissue around the lung that was hampering expansion (decortication of the lung).”


17. 687 *still suffered drainage*: Dr. Denton Cox, medical report on Andy Warhol, January 5, 1970, AWMA.

18. 687 *filling lots of prescriptions*: Piles of pharmacy receipts are preserved in box B17 of the Warhol archives. Some of the prescriptions might have been for Julia Warhola or Jed Johnson, since Warhol was billed for doctors’ appointments for both that year.

19. 687 *you know, you have to pretend*: Warhol, in John Per-
reault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c. 1971), TC246, AWMA.


22. **688 “$75 a gram”:** Leon Roseblatt, “Andy's Place in New York, in Art History, in Your Life, and Mine,” *Tropic*, September 7, 1980, 9. Roseblatt is describing conditions a decade after Warhol's shooting, but the park had already become a drug market in the late '60s—although drug prices must have changed in the interim.

23. **688 any number of burglaries:** M. Hogman, of Terrag Realty, to Andy Warhol, notice to tenants, June 8, 1970, TC72, AWMA.


32. **688 delighted that his great tabloid painting:** Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ‘60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace
NOTES 627

Jovanovich, 1980), 349.


34. 689 Warhol had known the Stones: See Jane Holzer in David McCabe and David Dalton, A Year in the Life of Andy Warhol (London: Phaidon, 2003), 36. The Flower paintings visible in the photos of the party date the encounter to the Rolling Stones’ second U.S. visit, in November 1964.


41. 690 $4,000 for his work on Sticky Fingers: ABKCO Industries to Andy Warhol, May 16, 1969, box B12, AWMA.

42. 690 “a penny on every album sold”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (June 5, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

44. “should’ve expanded into entertainment”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 12, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.1, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


47. take his superstars on location: Paul Carroll, “What’s a Warhol,” Playboy (September 1969).


50. in the market for a new Warhol movie: Jason North, “Andy Warhol’s Supersex Movie,” Jaguar (July 1968): 64.


57. Warhol, a recognized master of radical film: Paul Morrissey said that their films were starting to be “approved by quite a lot of people” and so were just about ready for attention from L.A.—see Morrissey in A. H. Weiler, “He Wants People to Stop Laughing: No Laughs,” New York Times, December 22, 1968.
   
60. Warhol got blackballed: John Hallowell to Andy Warhol, February 19, 1971, trunk TC, AWMA.
67. “moral as Attila the Hun”: John Hallowell, quoted in Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol ’60s* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980), 374. As always in *Popism*, it’s hard to know if Hallowell actually said that to Warhol, or to Hackett or to some other interviewee, but either way one has to take the quote as (more-or-less) authentic. Although Warhol claimed the project died on that June visit, elsewhere he said “the yes-no-maybe/it’s on-it’s offs from L.A. lasted the entire year.”
69. “Andy wanted to be”: Bob Colacello, interview by author,
December 20, 2012.


73. **694 Warner Brothers**: The studio is named in March 9 and March 25, 1971, telegrams (TC57, AWMA) sent by John Hallowell to Warhol.


77. **695 “my admiration for a talent so vast as Bunuel”**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for November 1, 1972, AWMA.


81. **695 “Gerard Malanga’s Male Parade”**: See the ads that ran in the July 2, July 23 and July 30, 1969, issues of the *East Village Other*. The July 30 ad is in aid of the “final incredible program” in the series.

82. **695 “embarking into business”**: Warhol, “Underground Confidential,” in a July 1969 clipping from an unidentified source, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. (The clipping is marked “Kiss (1/9) 69?” but that date, at least, is contradicted by its contents.)

83. **695 “genuine anti-art statements”**: See the ads that ran in the July 2, July 23 and July 30, 1969, issues of the *East Village Other*.

84. **696 “all masturbation program”**: Jonas Mekas, “Movie Jour—


91. 696 **ended up getting his pass**: See the press pass to the Seventh New York Film Festival (TC-10, AWMA) which took place in September 1969.

92. 696 **first issue of Interview by July**: Gerard Malanga to Parker Tyler, July 31, 1969, TC523, AWMA.


94. 697 **fifty-fifty partnership**: Oscar Collier, literary agent for John
Wilcock, to Andy Warhol, December 8, 1969, TC10, AWMA. Collier’s letter provides Wilcock’s understanding of the original oral agreement.


98. “Andy Warhol’s Movie Magazine”: It appears with that subtitle for the first time in March 1972, after having been “Andy Warhol’s Film Magazine” from something like July 1971.


100. “it was inclusive”: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


103. many bare breasts: Gerard Malanga, interview by author, April 11, 2018.


105. “both a vehicle and advertisement for Warhol”: Bob Colacello, in Henry Geldzahler, “Andy Warhol’s Interview Magazine” (typescript, c.1990), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


108. **$10 or $20 per article**: See the January 1970 typed list of payments (box B7, AWMA) titled “Inter/VIEW writer’s fees Vol. I, #11.”


115. **The Monthly Glamour Gazette**: Lucy Mulroney, “Andy Warhol, Publisher” (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 2013), 96.

116. **closing the magazine**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (September 12, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, IL.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

117. **five thousand copies**: See Montreal Offset Printing, Inc., invoice to Inter/view, August 24, 1971, box B12, AWMA.

118. **under two thousand copies**: See the typed document (box B7, AWMA) titled “Proposal for Expansion of Interview,” in a folder marked “1971.”


121. **$56 in profits**: See the June 30, 1977, document (TC523, AWMA) prepared by accountant Joseph M. Gottfried, titled “Interview Enterprises, Inc.: Statement of Income and Expenses.”

The magazine is said to have finally begun to turn a profit in 1984, under editor Gayle Love—see Glenn O’Brien, “Fashioning ‘Interview,’” in *The Warhol Look*, ed. Mark Francis and Margery King (Pittsburgh: The
Andy Warhol Museum, 1997), 252.


124. **concessions to commerciality**: Jan Wenner to Andy Warhol, April 16, 1973, TC88, AWMA. Wenner, founder of *Rolling Stone*, is suggesting options for partnering on *Interview*.


128. **Andy was the magazine**: Daniela Morera, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 126.


133. **We want to sell shares**: Warhol, in Paul Carroll, “What’s a Warhol,” *Playboy* (September 1969).


137. **Warhol never even read an issue**: Glenn O’Brien, in Matt


   A mention of Warhol-branded sheets occurs in Warhol’s unpublished diary entry for August 12, 1972, AWMA.

140. **so sick**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for November 1, 1972, AWMA.

141. **we were wrong**: Irving Blum, interview by author, November 5, 2014.


143. **he reaped the financial take**: Gerard Malanga, in Winston Leyland, “Interview with Gerard Malanga for Gay Sunshine” (typescript draft, n.d.), Gerard Malanga Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

144. **he made a lot of money**: Warhol, in Ilene Barth, “Andy Warhol: I’m Not Attracted to Rebellions,” _Newsday_, December 26, 1976.


148. **if you were not represented**: Richard Goldberg, of _Monicle_ magazine, to Andy Warhol, addressed to Warhol at his home, February 14, 1968, AWMA.


I ♥ John Giorno.”

152. **703 exposure to Iain and Ingrid Baxter:** See David L. Shirey and Thomas M. Messer, “Impossible Art,” *Art in America* (June 1969). The N.E. Thing Co. got the cover of the magazine, a copy of which is in Warhol’s archives.

153. **703 opened and run a restaurant:** Les Levine, interview by author, April 26, 2016. Mickey Ruskin, of Max’s Kansas City, was a partner in the restaurant, or maybe a patron of it as a work of Levine’s art.


156. **704 “the art system itself can be an art medium”:** John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.


158. **704 “basic concepts of a deal”:** Vincent Fremont, in Henry Geldzahler, “Andy Warhol’s Interview Magazine” (typescript, c.1990), Henry Geldzahler papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

159. **704 rent his superstars for $5,000:** Beverly Russell, “Andy Warhol on Food, from Ketchup to Caviar,” *House & Garden* (July 1974): 70.

160. **704 German TV to pay him $600:** Thomas Ayck, of Norddeutsche Rundfunk, to Andy Warhol, July 21, 1970, TC22, AWMA.

161. **704 editioned multiples:** J. G. Studholme, of Editions Electo, to Andy Warhol, December 18, 1970, TC13, AWMA.


163. **705 private filmmaker for $150,000:** Betsy Parish, of Sakowitz department stores, to Andy Warhol, October 8, 1976, TC129, AWMA.

164. **705 “for free”:** Neiman-Marcus Christmas catalog for 1986. A copy of the relevant page was provided to the author by Jay Reeg.


166. **705 “its pre-frozen perfection”:** “Andy-Mat,” prospectus for a “private offering of securities,” April 13, 1977, TC161, AWMA.

167. **705 “pusher”:** Joan Kron, “Andy’s Automat: No Campbell’s on


171. **705 neckties made from his paintings:** Robert Dupont, interview by author, March 8, 2018.


175. **706 “art business can become an efficient comment”:** John Perreault, typescript introduction to lost unpublished monograph on Warhol (c.1971), TC246, AWMA.


### CHAPTER 40

1. **709 “We were all dropped”:** Taylor Mead, in Steven Watson, “Interview with Taylor Mead ‘Mr. Sixties,’” *Christopher Street* (August 1978): 23.


4. **709 most important artists had not:** Marvene Jones, “The Social Butterfly,” a circa May 1970 clipping (box B77, AWMA) from an unnamed source.

5. **710 “you have to show all those old things”:** Warhol, in John Perreault, “Andy Warhola, This Is Your Life,” *Artnews* (May 1969): 53.

6. **710 hoped to avoid the opening:** Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.
7. **out of his own pocket**: For Warhol’s discussion of paying for the wallpaper see Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (July 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


13. **probably the most famous artist**: Barbara Rose, “In Andy Warhol’s Aluminum Foil, We Have All Been Reflected,” *New York* (May 31, 1971).


For the claim that Warhol had actually made the legal name change see Barbara Rose, “In Andy Warhol’s Aluminum Foil, We Have All Been Reflected,” *New York* (May 31, 1971). The claim is almost certainly false.


20. **business lunch**: Mickey Ruskin, in Jason McCloskey, “I Remember Max’s,” a clipping from an unnamed source (box B77, AWMA) that can be dated, from internal evidence, to the late fall of 1971.

21. **attracted to people who talked**: Ilene Barth, “Andy War-
hol: I'm Not Attracted to Rebellion,” *Newsday*, December 26, 1976.


23. 712 “The ’70s are just dreary”: David Bourdon, in David Bourdon and Ondine, typed notes from a telephone call (June 6, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

24. 712 “blow your mind”: Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 24, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

25. 712 wearing a tie to work: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 1968, TC4, AWMA.


27. 712 floppy silk bow tie: See the Hickey-Robertson photo from 1969, Menil Archives, The Menil Collection, Houston.

28. 712 “That’s the ’70s”: Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 24, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

29. 712 “we are trying to clean up”: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for September 28, 1972, AWMA.


36. 713 covered with big sheets of mirror: The windows had been covered by early fall of 1969, when the mirroring is mentioned in Mario Amaya, “Reflections on the Day a Girl Shot Andy Warhol and Mario Amaya,” *Nova* (December 1969): 76.

37. 713 “secure” vestibule: The entrance-wall mirror was in place
by June, 1969, when it was mentioned in Joseph Gelmis, “Above Ground with Andy,” *Newsday*, June 14, 1969.


40. **714 “you don’t see that any more in women”**: Candy Darling, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006).


42. **714 “eating pasta”**: Bob Colacello, in Andy Warhol, notes from an interview conducted in Rome, 1973, TC88, AWMA.


46. **714 dealing and smoking pot**: Confirmed by Bob Colacello in an August 7, 2019, e-mail to the author.


51. got his students to take on: Bob Colacello, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., Unseen Warhol (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 80.


53. Interview had just lost its editor: Bob Colacello, on a November 16, 2018, panel at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, said that Paul Morrissey had informed him that the previous editor had been altering and cashing checks meant to pay freelancers.

54. a fine replacement: Colacello’s accounts of his first encounter with Warhol, and then of his later hiring, vary in their details with almost each telling, often collapsing the two encounters. They are kept separate in Bob Colacello, Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), Kindle edition.


57. “someone lit up and he just falls apart”: Jane Holzer, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).


59. “we had ideas, we were conceptual”: Vincent Fremont, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., Unseen Warhol (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 73.


61. check out Warhol’s scene: Vincent Fremont, full unpub-


66. **“penny loafers, linen suits”**: Fernanda Eberstadt, in a June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.


68. **“begrudgingly writing checks”**: Vincent Fremont, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 76.

69. **title of vice president**: Vincent Fremont, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 76.


72. **“it was chronicling, a diary”**: Michael Netter, interview by author, March 15, 2016.
73. **Television was becoming**: See Jerry Parker, “From This Medium, a Different Message,” *Newsday*, June 23, 1970.

74. **I didn’t think of it as a job**: Michael Netter, interview by author, March 15, 2016.


76. **Andy Warhol, Mr. Irony**: Michael Netter, in a June 22, 2016, talk at ACA Galleries, New York.


80. **develop ideas**: Vincent Fremont, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 73.

81. **save the stamps**: Frederick Hughes to Andy Warhol, July 1968, TC4, AWMA.


83. **more time in stores than at the studio**: David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

84. **biggest concentrations of antiques dealers**: George Holmes, interview by author, June 9, 2019.


86. **dealers would come running**: David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

87. **Buying just anything**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (June 5, 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
88. **718 unusually repaired objects**: Michael Malce, in David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

89. **718 works by new Old Masters**: See Leo Castelli to Andy Warhol, “Statement of Account,” February 1, 1970, box B17, AWMA.

90. **718 land artist Michael Heizer**: Michael Heizer to Andy Warhol, March 1977, AWMA.

91. **718 performances of Chris Burden**: Ronald Feldman to Andy Warhol, September 24, 1976, document box 114, AWMA.


93. **719 “I tried to learn how to be Jewish”**: Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

94. **719 $5,000 at a single antiques store**: Steps Gallery to Andy Warhol, receipt, May 6, 1970, box B17, AWMA.


100. **719 geometries of prewar Art Deco**: Michael Malce, in David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.


102. **720 “The shapes are really modern”:** Warhol, in David Bour-
don, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

103. **720 I can’t put it in terms of money**: Warhol, in David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

104. **720 movie props**: Warhol, in David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.


107. **720 luxurious Deco creations**: David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

108. **720 recite those shows’ titles**: Warhol, in David Bourdon, “Andy Warhol as Art Deco Collector (or, How to Assemble a Citizen Kane, Jr. Collection on a Runaway Budget)” (typescript, c.1974), TC537, AWMA.

109. **720 “little more than scrap value”**: Frederick Hughes, “Preface,” in *The Andy Warhol Collection*, April 23–May 3, 1988, ed. Margaret M. Jensen, vol. 5 (New York: Sotheby’s, 1988), np. Although Hughes dates these events to 1969, that is impossible since the Brants were only married at the very end of that year. The events almost certainly happened on the trip to Paris in the fall of 1970.


113. **721 visiting Union Square**: Peter Brant, interview by author,
December 11, 2017.

721 “anything Andy did was art”: Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.

721 to Paris in November 1970: “Warhol Wraps 16mm ‘Beauties’ in Paris,” Variety, November 18, 1970, 65. This article suggests that the Paris shoot began at the beginning of the month.

721 “a young girl in Paris looking for a husband”: See the September 1, 1970, document titled “Limited Partnership Agreement of The Schoolgirl Company” (box B11, AWMA). This early document mentions the yet-untitled L’Amour as the first of three projects to be undertaken. It also mentions a third funding partner who is not named, but appears in later contracts as Bruno Bischofberger.

See also the October 7, 1970, agreement between Peter Brant, Bruno Bischofberger and Warhol (box B66, AWMA)—it specified that Warhol would assume all expenses above $100,000 and that principal photography was to begin shortly.

721 vastly more: Trash, the film Morrissey had recently completed, had a budget of $25,000, which was far more than his previous films had cost.


721 as much under Warhol’s direction: Posters for the film gave Warhol and Paul Morrissey an unusual joint credit.

721 Jed Johnson was alongside him: Sally Beauman, “But the People Are Beautiful,” Daily Telegraph, February 5, 1971, 42, 44.


721 taught Warhol to crochet: Paul Morrissey, commentary track on Women in Revolt, DVD (Image Entertainment, 2005).


722 Jane Forth, a new Warhol protégée: See the October 21, 1970, agreement and model release (box B66, AWMA) between Jane Forth and Andy Warhol Films Inc. Principal photography must have be-
gun after that date. Forth was to be paid $100 per day on set.


Another actress had bagged out on Paul Morrissey and someone happened to mention Forth as a possible replacement.


130. **Her face was “bizarre”:** “Just Plain Jane,” *Life* (July 4, 1970): 54.

See also Judy Klemesrud, “An Actress-Model Who ‘Has the Face of Now,’” *New York Times*, May 11, 1970. Klemesrud says that Forth was too peculiar looking to be signed by any of the major modeling agencies.

131. **“all the curves of a broomstick”:** “People/II: Another Twiggy,” *Newsday*, August 11, 1970.

132. **Warhol’s preferred arm candy**: See the Hickey-Robertson photo of Warhol with Forth and Dominique de Menil at Rice University in late October, 1969, Menil Archives, Menil Collection, Houston.


Forth left Warhol’s world in 1971, after she got pregnant at 17 and Warhol balled her out for wasting a fine career. “What Jane wants in life,” said her profile in *Life*, “is simply a ‘rich husband’”—“Just Plain Jane,” *Life* (July 4, 1970). She eventually found one.


136. **News of their ditzy antics**: Jane Forth to Andy Warhol, June
17, 1970, TC65, AWMA.

137. **”really naughty”**: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018. Antonio Lopez, an illustrator friend of Warhol’s, was also part of their scene, which is described in James Crump, *Antonio Lopez 1970: Sex, Fashion & Disco*, documentary, 2018.

138. **thrown out of three hotels**: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.


141. **the ordinary people**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

142. **”Is their hair set just right?”**: Sally Beauman, “But the People Are Beautiful,” *Daily Telegraph*, February 5, 1971, 44.


144. **Donna Jordan landed the cover**: *Vogue Paris* (November 1971): cover.


147. **a rented country place**: James Trees, lease for Warhol’s August and September rental, for $3,300, of a house on Apaquogue Road in East Hampton, July 17, 1971, box B66, AWMA.


149. **”Andy’s entrée”**: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

150. **stars like Omar Sharif and Marisa Berenson**: Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018.

151. **Maxim’s**: See the January 31, 1973, receipt from Maxim in Paris (AWMA), possibly for a meal ordered by Frederick Hughes. Other receipts from the same trip are for the famous Brasserie Lipp, Maison Prunier and Hotel Pont Royal.


157. *producing facsimile pieces*: See Peter Brant and Andy Warhol, as Art-Deco Editions, Ltd., draft contract with Puiforcat Orfèvre, October 12, 1970, document box 113, AWMA. It doesn’t look as though the project ever bore fruit.

158. *you wanted to protect this man*: Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.

159. *put up $55,000*: Peter Brant, Bruno Bischofberger and Andy Warhol, draft of a contract, July 11, 1972, box B550, AWMA.

160. *splashed in the artist’s own handwriting*: The new title, and script, had begun to appear as of the May 1972 issue of *Interview*.


163. *he’d already decided to call “Pork”*: Pat Hackett, in a December 12, 2018, e-mail to the author.

164. *another creative ambition of his*: Pat Hackett, in a December 12, 2018, e-mail to the author.


167. *his own play than Andy’s*: Pat Hackett, December 12,
2018, e-mail to the author.


A German translation was also in the works, early on, but doesn’t seem to have panned out—see R. Neven Du Mont to Andy Warhol, May 14, 1971, box B66, AWMA.

174. a theatrical he called “Party”: Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


176. disastrously chaotic previews: Richard Turley, interview by author, November 9, 2018. Turley was co-producer of Man on the Moon.


179. he knew all the people it skewered: David Bourdon, in John Lennon and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 13, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

CHAPTER 41


183. **729 liens for $15,000 in taxes:** Internal Revenue Service to Andy Warhol, March 13, 1970, box B17, AWMA.

184. **729 eviction proceedings:** The eviction note, dated September 18, 1970 (box B17, AWMA) complained of only $416.67 in unpaid rent and came just three weeks after that rent was due, so it must have represented the latest in a string of missed payments. Further documents (AWMA) show that they had already resorted to a lawsuit once that year, in March.


186. **729 $86,000 in personal income:** See Warhol’s 1969 tax return (box B17, AWMA). The following year, Warhol was listing “wages” of $127,700, with a total tax payable of $35,243.

187. **729 $30,000 in sales:** Leo Castelli Gallery, statement, February 1, 1970 box B17, AWMA. It could be that the disparity is due to an accountant’s error: Castelli lists just under $9,000 in sales of art to Warhol on the statement.

188. **729 $60,000 at auction:** “Warhol’s Soup Cans Sells for $60,000,” *New York Times*, May 16, 1970.

189. **730 Electric Chair could go for something like $30,000:** Leo Castelli, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

    In about 1972, Warhol said that Castelli had just sold an Electric Chair painting to Aldo Brandolini for $36,000—see Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

190. **730 good cop, bad cop:** James Mayor, interview by author, October 20, 2014.

191. **730 finally released late in ’69:** Details of profit-sharing and distribution are still being worked out in Alexander E. Racolin to Andy
Warhol, May 23, 1969, box B77, AWMA. Correspondence from the fall of 1969 shows Warhol still signing at least some of the prints at that point.

192. **two hundred copies sold quickly**: The portfolio is already referred to as sold out in Gerard Malanga to Rainer Crone, July 1, 1970, Gerard Malanga papers, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

193. **$20,000 for eleven portfolios**: See the June 13, 1970, check from Castelli Graphics to Warhol (AWMA) for $20,000 for Flower prints No.130 to 141, out of 250.

194. **$20,000 for eleven portfolios**: See the June 13, 1970, check from Castelli Graphics to Warhol (AWMA) for $20,000 for Flower prints No.130 to 141, out of 250.

195. **first-week take of $16,000**: “Sex Act Film Cost 3G; Recoups Pronto; ‘Times Never Detailed It,’” Variety, July 30, 1969.

196. **first-week take of $16,000**: “Sex Act Film Cost 3G; Recoups Pronto; ‘Times Never Detailed It,’” Variety, July 30, 1969.


198. **$600 in profit on revenue of $75,000**: See Lonesome Cowboys, Inc., “U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return 1969,” AWMA. Other 1969 returns and financial documents exist (AWMA) for Factory Films (gross income $27,000, loss of $2,000), Score Movies (gross income $60,000, taxable income $0), and Andy Warhol Films (gross income $80,000, loss of $100; its 1970 net income was declared as $642).

199. **$600 in profit on revenue of $75,000**: See Lonesome Cowboys, Inc., “U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return 1969,” AWMA. Other 1969 returns and financial documents exist (AWMA) for Factory Films (gross income $27,000, loss of $2,000), Score Movies (gross income $60,000, taxable income $0), and Andy Warhol Films (gross income $80,000, loss of $100; its 1970 net income was declared as $642).

200. **$600 in profit on revenue of $75,000**: See Lonesome Cowboys, Inc., “U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return 1969,” AWMA. Other 1969 returns and financial documents exist (AWMA) for Factory Films (gross income $27,000, loss of $2,000), Score Movies (gross income $60,000, taxable income $0), and Andy Warhol Films (gross income $80,000, loss of $100; its 1970 net income was declared as $642).

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202. **$600 in profit on revenue of $75,000**: See Lonesome Cowboys, Inc., “U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return 1969,” AWMA. Other 1969 returns and financial documents exist (AWMA) for Factory Films (gross income $27,000, loss of $2,000), Score Movies (gross income $60,000, taxable income $0), and Andy Warhol Films (gross income $80,000, loss of $100; its 1970 net income was declared as $642).

203. **$600 in profit on revenue of $75,000**: See Lonesome Cowboys, Inc., “U.S. Corporation Income Tax Return 1969,” AWMA. Other 1969 returns and financial documents exist (AWMA) for Factory Films (gross income $27,000, loss of $2,000), Score Movies (gross income $60,000, taxable income $0), and Andy Warhol Films (gross income $80,000, loss of $100; its 1970 net income was declared as $642).

204. **get all the bread**: Warhol, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006). In 1971, the probable year of that interview, Warhol reported a taxable income of $120,000.

205. **random receipts**: Brigid Berlin, in a transcript provided


204. “propping”: Warhol, in unpublished diary entries for September 20 and 28 and November 2, 1972, AWMA.


207. “Because We’re Friends”: Four checks to Julia Warhola, dated February 6, 1969, TC540, AWMA.


209. one hundred Brillo Boxes: Andy Warhol to John Coplans, November 15, 1969, box B17, AWMA.

210. $200,000 donation: Leo Castelli to Andy Warhol, November 15, 1969, AWMA.

211. a hundred Corn Flakes boxes: Kenneth Donahue, of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, to Andy Warhol, December 15, 1969, box B17, AWMA.

212. caustic fund-raising poster: On the poster see this author’s May 7, 2015, post at www.warholiana.com/post/118384935325.

213. tax man was on the case: See for example Warhol, “I’m constantly attacked by the Internal Revenue Service,” in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006). The interviews for the documentary, first published in 1972, were conducted some time before that year’s election. The IRS audit of Warhol’s taxes for 1972 took place late in the fall of 1975, well after Nixon was out of office—see Kenneth Gottfried, Chartered Public Accountant, to Andy Warhol, December 5, 1975, TC95, AWMA.

The most extended account of Warhol’s post-poster tax troubles is in Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 3783, Kindle edition. Almost every one of the details in this account is, however, contradicted by documents in the Warhol archives or by period sources. Among other things, Warhol never did appear on Richard Nixon’s so-called “enemies lists.”

214. Volkswagen station wagon: See the Ambassador Insurance


216. **732 extra rear speaker**: Mercedes-Benz Manhattan, invoice, June 8, 1970, box B17, AWMA.


218. **732 paid $65,000 for a little studio complex**: See Cook Realty, “Statement of Closing Title” for 342 Bowery and 57 Great Jones Street, April 15, 1970, box B17, AWMA. Cook Realty provided Warhol with a cash mortgage for $47,000 on the properties, which were adjoining.

The Bowery property had four floors whereas the one on Great Jones had only two, the upper story being a perfect studio space lit by wonderful north-facing arched windows. In the later 1970s, Warhol installed equipment for editing video on that second floor—see Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.


222. **732 lent studio space**: Walter Steding, interview by author, January 13, 2015. Steding, an artist and musician, lived rent-free on Great Jones for about three years in the early 1980s. He worked for a while as Warhol’s assistant.


225. **732 “you can stay in my house if you like”**: John Lennon, in John Lennon and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 13, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

226. **732 went on to buy property together**: The reference to the
real estate project, given without any details, is in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (July 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


231. 733 $1,650 go down the drain: James Trees, lease for Warhol’s August and September rental of a house on Amapogue Road in East Hampton, July 17, 1971, box B66, AWMA.


233. 733 co-owner Paul Morrissey: Although the vast majority of sources describe joint ownership between the two men—and the settlement of Warhol’s estate assumed that—several early articles have Morrissey claiming sole ownership. There is at least one case where he makes that claim in Warhol’s presence—see Joyce Haber, “What Andy Warhol Is All About,” Los Angeles Times, October 29, 1972. But Morrissey makes clear that he only has a half-stake in the property, and that even that is a stretch for him financially, in Samuel Adams Green and Paul Morrissey, recorded telephone conversation, c.1972, Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

234. 733 neighbors had stopped him from buying: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 23, 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Also, Warhol had hoped to trade art for the Johnson house—see David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 316.


238. 734 “there’s a lot of rocks there, too”: Warhol, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, Bailey on Andy Warhol, DVD (London: Network, 2006).


240. 734 the Big House: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for July 1, 1972, AWMA.


244. 734 stay inside whenever Jackie visited: Richard Turley, interview by author, November 9, 2018.


246. 735 movies he might cast her in: Warhol, unpublished diary entries for the summer of 1972, AWMA.


249. 735 “We’re their new toys”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (April 27, 1972), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


258. *736 listened to the band with quiet attention:* Warhol, unpublished diary entry for July 7, 1972, AWMA.


CHAPTER 42


5. *740 visits from a nurse:* Visiting Nurse Service of New York, invoice to Julia Warhola, June 11, 1970, TC10, AWMA.
6. **740 constant doctor’s appointments:** Dr. Denton Cox, invoices to Warhol for treatment of Julia Warhola in 1970, document box 185, AWMA.


9. **740 exhausted from cooking for her:** Warhol, in Samuel Adams Green and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, c.1971, box M88, AWMA.


11. **740 her mynah bird:** See the April 29, 1970, recording (cassette tape no. 25, AWMA) on which Warhol tells Brigid Berlin that his mother’s bird has died. (Its contents are recorded in an AWMA inventory document.) This contradicts the story that the bird died because Warhol neglected it after his mother’s death—see Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Cambridge, MA: Vintage Books, 2003), loc. 5700, Kindle edition.

12. **740 skip New Year’s Eve:** Samuel Adams Green to Cecil Beaton, January 8, 1971, Papers of Sir Cecil Beaton, St John’s College Library, Cambridge.

13. **740 “so she won’t have to feel lonely”:** Eva Warhola to Andy Warhol, May 14, 1971, TC17, AWMA.

14. **741 stealing her shoes:** James Warhola, interview by author, April 25, 2014.


16. **741 in the hospital for more than a month:** Mercy Hospital, August 3, 1971, invoice (box B66, AWMA) to Warhol for Julia Warhola’s care and private room, covering June 16 to July 27, 1971. See also Tri-Rivers Ambulance, invoice for transfer of Julia Warhola to Wightman
Manor nursing home, July 27, 1971, box B66, AWMA.


20. 741 “The Warhola”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 22, 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The notes don’t specify the location of the theater but we know he was considering one for Great Jones Street.

21. 741 “your mother’s last wish on earth”: Sally Mary Zymboly (nee Zavacky) to Andy Warhol, September 15, 1972, TC67, AWMA.


24. 741 John called him: Tape of a November 28, 1972, telephone call with John Warhola (AWMA). Warhol recorded the conversation on a tape labeled “Mama Died Dec 2/72,” with that date referring to the last of several calls recorded on that reel.


The recording of Warhol’s November 28, 1972, conversation with John Warhola (AWMA) implies that Warhol had had recent news of his mother’s increasing weakness.


27. 742 “the cheapest funeral”: Warhol, quoted from a phone conversation overheard by Robert Schwartz, interview by author, July 9, 2014.


30. **742 “If it went to bird heaven”**: Andy Warhol, “Warhol: On My Mind,” *Vogue* (February 1973): 165. Given magazine lead times, the actual text of Warhol’s article would have been contributed not long before or very soon after his mother’s death.

31. **742 “they don’t believe in people being creative”**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (September 5, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

32. **742 “Chinese is in fashion”**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 21, 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

33. **742 “You’ve got to get Andy to work”**: Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.


   Correspondence from Frederick Hughes dated March 1972 indicates that the print project was already conceived by then, with some work beginning in April and then the final printing of the portfolio probably done in the fall—see Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 03—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 171.

   Bruno Bischofberger said that he initiated the Maos after Warhol said he preferred to paint Mao over Bischofberger’s own suggestion of Einstein as the subject of “a series of portraits of a well-known person in a larger size”—see Bruno Bischofberger, *Andy Warhol’s Visual Memory* (Zurich: Galerie Bruno Bischofberger, 2001), 6. But the dealer’s recollection of other Warholian moments is sometimes incorrect, so that could also be the case here.


42. “they can hang it on their walls”: Peter Schjeldahl, “Warhol And Class Content,” Art In America (May 1980): 116. The article is reprinted in José Lebrero Stals et al., eds., Andy Warhol: The Mechanical Art (Málaga: Museo Picasso Málaga, 2018).

43. “Those were the only colors I had”: “Eye,” Women’s Wear Daily, September 1, 1972, 8.

44. “not drinking and painting up a storm”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (May 2, 1972), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Warhol’s boast may have been empty: He spoke to Bourdon of “twelve eight-foot paintings,” but there are only four of his biggest Maos, and they are all almost 15 foot by 12.

45. “just drip all over the place”: Warhol, in Lana Jokel, Andy Warhol, documentary, 1972.


The printer, born in Vienna but trained in Switzerland, was Alexander Heinrici, interview by author, October 26, 2017. He had taken over Aetna, the maker of the screens Warhol had been using since 1962, but
had added actual screenprinting to the company’s offerings. The company’s name was soon changed to Heinrici Studio.

48. **calling them “prints”:** Alexander Heinrici, in an undated video recording he provided to the author.

49. **the exhaustion of all art:** Joyce Haber, “What Andy Warhol Is All About,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1972.


51. **hand jobs**: Benjamin Liu, a late assistant of Warhol’s, in Corinna Thierolf, “All the Catholic Things,” in *Andy Warhol: The Last Supper* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1998), 52n114.


53. **latest art-world fashion:** Warhol and Leo Castelli, in Bockris-Wiley [Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie], “Painting: The New Surge” (typescript, n.d.), Victor Bockris and Andrew Wylie Collection, The Harry Ransom Center at The University of Texas at Austin.

54. **preferred the Polaroids of his sitters:** Peter Lewis, “Chasing Warhol through His Wonderland,” *Daily Mail*, November 11, 1975.


58. **They chose the brushwork:** Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 03—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 57. The portrait in question was of Dennis Hopper.

59. **mopping paint onto a huge expanse of canvas:** Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.

61. **748 versions of his signature:** Undated notebook, c.1972, AWMA.


   Peter Brant, interviewed December 11, 2017, said that he had a financial stake in the project, although that is not mentioned in the contract documents in the Warhol archives.

63. **748 major early Warhol:** Leo Castelli, in a transcript provided with David Bailey, *Bailey on Andy Warhol*, DVD (London: Network, 2006).

64. **748 $2 million:** Prices for the Maos, at various sizes, are listed in Castelli Gallery financial documents in the Archives of American Art.

65. **748 selling on to collectors:** Peter Brant, interview by author, December 11, 2017.


69. **748 atelier of silkscreener Alexander Heinrici:** Warhol’s first use of an outside printer for his canvases is dated to late 1972 in Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 03—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 55, 69. But Heinrici’s narrative, coupled with the April 1971 screen for the Rothschild portrait, indicates an earlier date. The Rothschild episode may have taken place while Heinrici was still working for Aetna Silkscreen, and getting it to do actual screen printing, before he put his own name on the company.

70. **749 “The idea is so good”:** Warhol, in “Andy and Sam Green Discuss a Commissioned Portrait,” a track on *Andy Warhol From Tapes: Sounds of His Life and Work*, CD (Pittsburgh: The Andy Warhol Museum, 1994).

71. **749 “He’s got a nice Jewish dick”:** Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale Univer-


Warhol mentioned the jewels in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (December 7, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

74. **749 “Audrey Hepburn behind me”**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (December 7, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


78. **749 notes from his Lafite visit**: The papers were inventoried as having come from that bedroom desk.

79. **750 banish silkscreening solvents**: Jay Shriver, oral history, audiotape, March 19, 1992, AWMA.

80. **750 minions carrying photos and canvases**: Warhol never once visited the silkscreening studio after that first time, according to Alexander Heinrici, interview by author, October 26, 2017. But Warhol’s unpublished diaries (including the entry for September 14, 1972) do show him making the trip occasionally.

81. **750 no one else should be involved**: Walter Steding, interview by author, January 13, 2015.

82. **750 a pretense that they’d been freshly produced**: Horst Weber von Beeren, a later printer of Warhol’s, in a November 28, 2018, email to the author.

83. **750 “or people won’t think it’s a Warhol”**: Warhol, quoted by Alexander Heinrici, interview by author, October 26, 2017.

84. **750 Polaroid premiered a weird new camera**: “See the New

85. **750 vast majority of his portraits:** Once Polaroid introduced the motorized SX-70 camera, just months after the Big Shot, Warhol used both cameras during the same portrait shoots. See Georg Frei and Neil Printz, *Paintings and Sculpture 1964–1969: Warhol 03—The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 371.


87. **750 “This is the cheapest model”:** Warhol, in Joyce Haber, “What Andy Warhol Is All About,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1972.

88. **750 “Pictures are almost all face”:** “It Takes Beautiful Close-up Color Portraits Because That’s All It Takes,” *Ladies Home Journal* (November 1971): advertisement.

89. **751 headshot from far enough away:** Shooting full-face portraits with the Polaroid SX-70, or with the portrait adapters available for Warhol’s older Polaroid cameras, required you to come so close to your sitters that their faces ended up looking distorted.


91. **751 “I had to take out the wattles”:** Alexander Heinrici, interview by author, October 26, 2017.

92. **751 “Bruno is one of the best persons”:** Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (December 7, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

93. **751 went up to $15,000:** George Rush, “Andy Warhol, Inc.,” *Manhattan Inc.* (October 1984): 56.


95. **752 eminent art worlders:** In the fall of 1972, another show, in Corpus Christi, Texas, had also shown Warhol portraits, again mostly of acceptable art-world figures. And even then the actual human subjects of his canvases got downplayed. The paintings were presented instead as examples of the way certain 1960s art-stars liked to work in series, as though Warhol’s people-pictures were closer to abstraction than portraiture. (Although he can only have been overjoyed at being paired with


97. **752 only two portraits a year:** Joyce Haber, “What Andy Warhol Is All About,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 29, 1972.


106. **753 reluctant to operate:** Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy War-

108. liver with kiwis: Warhol, in William Burroughs and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, January 28, 1980, TC578, AWMA.

109. figs, hold the prosciutto: Andy Warhol and Anna Karina, notes from an interview, October 1973, box M88, AWMA.


116. their share of the profits: The ongoing conflicts with Ponti are a regular subject in Warhol’s published diaries.

See also George Rush, “Andy Warhol, Inc.,” Manhattan Inc. (October 1984): 59.


118. “the worst in the world”: Bob Collacello, in Andy Warhol and Anna Karina, notes from an interview, October 1973, box M88, AWMA.

119. Warhol would sometimes garden: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for May 7, 1973, AWMA.


122. **reconciliation between Dallesandro and Morrissey**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for April 30, 1973, AWMA.

123. **“Then it doesn’t mean anything”**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for May 4, 1973, AWMA.


125. **Vittorio De Sica**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for May 4, 1973, AWMA.

126. **“Back to Villa. Worked”**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for May 3, 1973, AWMA.


128. **would not have any lines to say**: Andy Warhol and Anna Karina, notes from an interview, October 1973, box M88, AWMA.


**CHAPTER 43**


Redé (Estate of the late Baron de Redé, 2005), 118.
5. **761 Madame de Rothschild**: Alexis Baron de Redé, *Alexis: The Memoirs of the Baron de Redé* (Estate of the late Baron de Redé, 2005), 120.
13. **763 “the offspring of wealthy families”**: Benjamin Stein,


17. **763 “having his nose up in the air”**: Andy Warhol, notes from an interview conducted in Rome, 1973, TC88, AWMA.


20. **764 “The bathroom was huge”**: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for May 12, 1973, AWMA.


23. **764 friends and staffers asked the same question**: See for example Warhol in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 13, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York. See also the actress Sylvia Miles in “Seeing Warhol: 14 Friends Remember Andy Warhol,” *Interview* (November 2008), https://www.interviewmagazine.com/art/seeing-warhol. “I realized from Andy that all the parties and all the going out was strictly for business,” said Miles.


25. **764 “It was very successful”**: Unpublished diary entry for May12, 1973, AWMA.

26. **765 “I made the mistake of saying”**: Unpublished diary entries for July 24 through 26, 1972, AWMA.

27. **765 a friendly denial of his disability**: Earl Wilson, “Would


31. **people won’t let that go on**: Unpublished diary entries for May 12 and 13, 1973, AWMA.

32. **I hate them**: Warhol, quoted by Walter Steding, interview by author, January 13, 2015.


34. **People climbed him**: Henry Geldzahler, in Julia Markus, “Two Years after His Death, the Curtain Rises on Andy Warhol,” Smithsonian Magazine (February 1989): 70.


36. **When you see these people with money**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (December 7, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


38. **with a lot of white powder involved**: Alexander Heinrici, interview by author, October 26, 2017.

39. **a nice image for his painting**: Yoko Ono and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 20, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

40. **we don’t need anybody’s favors**: Yoko Ono and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (August 20, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

41. **a million dollars a day**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (June 5, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

42. **a measly $50,000**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (July 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

43. **At least you still have John**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (July 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.
Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

43. **"they're really up there with you"**: David Bourdon, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (July 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.2, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

44. **"this boy, Halston"**: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (November 23, 1971), David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


48. **"It's trying to say what's what"**: Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


50. **managed not to be there**: Warhol was attending the West Coast premiere of Paul Morrissey’s *Heat*—see Ruby Graham, “The Coty Award,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 22, 1972.


53. **"the new art now is the fashion shows"**: Warhol, in Lana Jokel, *Andy Warhol*, documentary, 1972.


55. **"fashion editor"**: *Interview* (September 1973): masthead.


57. **$1,000**: Peter Brant to Andy Warhol, September 5, 1975, miscellaneous box 60, AWMA.

58. **"The Beautiful People"**: Benjamin Stein, “What Bianca


61. 770 “I introduced him to so many uptown people”: Halston, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 392.

62. 770 “sleep in any bed”: Warhol, quoted in Richard Turley, interview by author, November 9, 2018.

63. 770 “I talked Liza into having her portrait done”: Halston, in Fred Lawrence Guiles, Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol (New York: Bantam, 1989), 393.

In fact, Warhol’s unpublished diaries (AWMA) show him attending a party for Liza Minnelli in February 1972 and then dining with her again later that month, well before he and Halston had become close.


71. 771 run by the mob: Selwyn Raab and Nathaniel Sheppard Jr., “Crime Group Leader Said to Rule Many Bar Businesses in Mid Town,”


77. **773 almost a million dollars**: Luciano Anselmino for Galeria il Fauno, agreement with Warhol, October 23, 1974, AWMA.


78. **773 to find transvestites to model**: Some transgendered people were recruited for Warhol in a single-room occupancy hotel where many lived, according to Corey Tippin, interview by author, August 19, 2018. Others were recruited on the far western streets of Greenwich Village—see Ronnie Cutrone in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 68.


83. **774 Ted Carey trying on a dress**: Emile De Antonio, notes from an interview, September 27, 1976, box M88, AWMA.


86. **775 portraits as Abstract Expressionist paintings**: “Andy Warhol’s Interview,” *Unmuzzled Ox* 4, no. 2 (1976): 44.

87. **775 since leaving Pittsburgh**: Gerald Stern, an acquaintance, said that Warhol, on his way to boarding the train for New York in 1949, gave him a portrait he was carrying of an older woman who seemed to be Julia Warhola. It has since been lost. See Gerald Stern, *What I Can’t Bear Losing* (New York: Norton, 2004), 159.


89. **776 “He reads books that closely?”**: Steven M. L. Aronson, June 20, 2018, e-mail to the author.


91. **776 “the beauty of the dollar”**: “THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol” (typescript, n.d.), box B186, AWMA. This was another document inventoried as having been in Warhol’s bedroom desk when he died.

92. **776 contract with Bob Colacello**: “The Philosophies of Andy Warhol,” agreement between Andy Warhol and Bob Colacello, May 20, 1974, TC77, AWMA.


   In a March 1, 2019, lecture for the “Andy Warhol after Pop” panel for the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, the scholar Melissa Ragona presented results from her study of Warhol’s audiotapes that show examples of notable passages in *THE Philosophy* that originated in statements made by Hackett, not Warhol.

loc. 4793, Kindle edition.

95. 777 as many easy laughs as a Neil Simon play: “Andy Warhol’s Interview,” Unmuzzled Ox 4, no. 2 (1976): 43.


97. 777 “Pat would take it and embroider it”: Steven M. L. Aronson, in Lucy Mulroney, Andy Warhol, Publisher (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 125.

98. 777 called simply The: The title is given as THE in Steven M. L. Aronson to Andy Warhol, November 10, 1974, AWMA. The book is still being referred to by the definite article alone in William Jovanovich to Andy Warhol, February 26, 1975, TC113, AWMA.

99. 777 “But, commercially, I can’t seem to make it”: Warhol, in “Andy Warhol’s Interview,” Unmuzzled Ox 4, no. 2 (1976): 43.

100. 778 “publicity-promotion-selling campaign”: William Jovanovich to Andy Warhol, February 26, 1975, TC113, AWMA.


102. 778 “a world-famous figure, but you couldn’t use him”: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.

103. 778 visit to the Anvil: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.

104. 778 “He just wasn’t commercial”: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.

105. 778 “books were very, very important to him”: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.

106. 779 “I never had an author who was that obsessive”: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.


108. 779 “I had the distressing distinction”: Steven M. L. Aronson, June 20, 2018, e-mail to the author.

109. 779 Warhol was always a fine fresser: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.

110. 779 “write some wild biography”: Warhol, quoted in Steven M. L. Aronson, June 20, 2018, e-mail to the author.

111. 779 “I never wrote it, never read it”: Ultra Violet, Famous for 15 Minutes: My Years with Andy Warhol (Open Road Media, 2015), 242, Kindle
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112. **779 major edits by Aronson**: Steven M. L. Aronson to Bob Colacello, October 12, 1977, TC407, AWMA. See also Steven M. L. Aronson to Andy Warhol, August 28, 1978, TC246, AWMA.

113. **780 “my words in your mouth”:** Emile De Antonio to Andy Warhol, July 20, 1979, TC236, AWMA.

114. **780 passages depended, sometimes verbatim, on the boxes of clippings**: Pat Hackett, July 31, 2016, e-mail to the author.

Several narratives and facts in the book closely echo published sources from the era.

115. **780 no payoff, in terms of either sales or elite appeal**: Steven M. L. Aronson, interview by author, February 6, 2018.

**CHAPTER 44**


2. **783 twenty feet wide**: Andy Warhol to Richard J. Purcell, January 25, 1974, box B13, AWMA.


   The house is sometimes described as having six stories, but that’s counting basement and dormer levels.


   The Murrays were already living in the house in 1902, the year it was built—see “Died,” *New York Times*, October 19, 1902.


his house on Sixty-Sixth Street but before he’d moved in.

8. 784 a bigger canvas to work on:  Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.

9. 784 touring dozens of properties: Jed Johnson, folder of annotated real-estate listings from October 1973, box B564, AWMA.

10. 784 plumbing was leaking: Charles J. Hassel and Son, Inc., Plumbing and Heating, invoice to Warhol, January 21, 1975, document box 184, AWMA.

11. 784 $310,000 to close the deal: Andy Warhol to Richard J. Purcell, January 25, 1974, box B13, AWMA.

12. 784 a bargain price: Frederick Hughes, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, July 14, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Hughes incorrectly gives the price as $280,000, which is contradicted by several other sources and records.

13. 784 $70,000 worth of renovations: Extensive documentation survives in the Warhol archives for the renovation of the Sixty-Sixth Street house and Warhol and Johnson’s move into it.


28. 787 an ancient porcelain sink: Peter P. Marino, architect, to Louis E. Lee Co., construction, letter with plans, April 25, 1974, AWMA.


30. 787 would cook marmalade: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.


34. 787 buy the entire Union Building: Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018. See also Warhol, unpublished diary entry for May 17, 1973, AWMA.

35. 787 12,500 square feet of space on offer: Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018.

    An area of 12,000 square feet is given by Ronnie Cutrone in Patrick
36. **not thrilled at the thought of Warhol:** Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018.

Fremont said the property was controlled by a rising real-estate broker named Edward S. Gordon, who as it happened was the brother-in-law of Warhol’s painter-friend Larry Rivers. When Hughes and Fremont went to his office to try to overcome his resistance, they noticed a Rivers on Gordon’s wall and that broke the ice and led to an agreement.


S&H had not owned the building since 1944, and for many years before that had been renting it to the clothing firm of Butler Brothers, who might have been responsible for the boardroom paneling—see “Real Estate Notes,” *New York Times*, December 23, 1944.

40. **$25,000 cost of a substantial renovation:** An August 20, 1974, estimate for the renovation (Frederick Hughes papers, AWMA) came to more than $25,000.

41. **new surveillance camera:** Sperry-Vision Corp., invoice to Warhol, December 10, 1974, TC162, AWMA.

42. **the way it was installed:** Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.


Colacello remembered the Sonnier as having been installed in the


48. **789 “grumpy, penny-pinching and suspicious”:** Fernanda Ebnerstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.

49. **789 “no hot water, just cold water”:** Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.

50. **789 new workplace:** The account that follows of the studio at 860 Broadway is based on Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018. Also consulted were surviving plans and videos of the space (AWMA), as well as Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), Kindle edition.

51. **789 mostly worked at home:** Pat Hackett, interview by author, December 28, 2018.


53. **789 drywall’s spackled joints:** Joseph Freeman, interview by author, June 7, 2018.


55. **789 two big books:** Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.

56. **789 in one of the room’s big windows:** Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 5271,


59. a gesture of generosity to fans: Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.


62. “the whole ‘Factory Films’ thing just stopped”: Pat Hackett, December 19, 2018, e-mail to the author.

63. "There were two Andys": Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.

64. stretched the storage: Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018.

65. “the same thing”: Andy Warhol and Michael Kurcfeld, interview for publication in New West magazine, audiocassette, 1978, Michael Kurcfeld collection, planned gift to the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

66. “they’d most like to meet”: Brigid Berlin, in Pat Hackett, December 19, 2018, e-mail to the author.


68. “If a tank had rolled by”: Vincent Fremont, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., Unseen Warhol (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 77.


70. “She acted like his wife”: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.


75. These could be time capsules: Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018.

See also Jed Johnson, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, November 30, 1988, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


The shelving diagram, prepared circa 1978, is listed in some archives inventories but as of 2017 had not recently been seen.


79. “robberies on pay day”: Warhol, unpublished diary entry for August 13, 1973, AWMA.


81. “the late Andy Warhol”: Chuck Klein, of the Design Institute of America, to Frederick Hughes, n.d., TC84, AWMA.

82. “this goes here, this goes there”: Benjamin Liu, in Simon

794 signed Shirley Temple photo: The Shirley Temple photo is in Time Capsule 61. The photographic prints of the images that had appeared in The Daily Mail the day after Warhol was shot are in Time Capsule 21.


796 “detachment that appealed to him”: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.

796 “Old families, old money”: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.

796 fund-raiser for a Democratic politician: The photographs, from a fundraiser for gubernatorial candidate Hugh Carey, were advertised for sale at ebay.com on March 9, 2018.


797 “semi-romance”: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.

797 “having this hold over him”: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.

797 moved into the old town house: Hughes was still a tenant
in October 1984—see George Rush, “Andy Warhol, Inc.,” Manhattan Inc. (October 1984): 59. He later acquired the building from Warhol’s estate.

97. $60,000 mortgage: First Federal Savings Bank to Andy Warhol Enterprises, August 1974, TC77, AWMA.

98. extensive alterations: Peter Marino, plans for alterations to 1342 Lexington Avenue, October 7, 1974, AWMA.

99. “daily guest log”: Fred Hurwitz, Chartered Public Accountant, to Andy Warhol, March 1, 1976, AWMA.


101. “that’s no way to treat anybody”: Diana Vreeland and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, September 1976, TC78, AWMA.


104. almost $30,000: Peter M. Ginsburg & Levy, Inc., to Andy Warhol, December 15, 1975, TC112, AWMA.


108. shopping had and has a different meaning: See Jonathan Flatley, “Like: Collecting and Collectivity,” October, no. 132 (Spring 2010): 71–98.


112. “creepy”: Henry Geldzahler, in Michel Auder, Chelsea Girls
with Andy Warhol, experimental film, 1976.


115. **799 “First I’ll take a picture—a still life”**: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


118. **800 three or four in one week**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

119. **800 “Eurotrash prancelings”**: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.

120. **800 hungry creatives**: Tom Cashin and Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018. Cashin and Johnson said they would swing by to cadge lunch when they could.


122. **800 Paloma Picasso and Georgia O’Keeffe**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

123. **800 might hide for most of a lunch**: Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.


CHAPTER 45


6. 804 followed the Watergate scandal: Records of any number of Warhol’s interviews and conversations from the early 1970s show him discussing Watergate.


15. 805 “afraid his hotel room was bugged”: Bob Colacello, interview by Marco Werman, radio broadcast on Public Radio International, November 4, 2013.


18. **face of Chairman Mao**: The Andy Warhol Museum does own a test image in which Warhol printed the face of the Shah’s wife onto an image of the Shah’s own face. Thanks to Eric Shiner for this information.


29. **named James Mayor**: James Mayor’s gallery, founded by his

30. 808 “It was cash and carry”: James Mayor, interview by author, October 20, 2014.

31. 808 “to pick up some cash”: James Mayor, interview by author, October 20, 2014.


33. 808 didn’t manage to sell a single one: Fredericka Hunter, interview by author, July 8, 2018. See also “Warhol Snaps $25,000 Portraits of 10 Superjocks, but so Far like Hotcakes, They Ain’t,” People (January 9, 1978): 14.

34. 808 $190,000 for fully eighteen paintings: Sid R. Bass to Andy Warhol, August 5, 1981, TC552, AWMA.


38. 809 “her favorite colors are pink-red”: Hete [Hünermann?], of Galerie Denise René Hans Meyer, to Andy Warhol, February 23, 1982, TC566, AWMA.

39. 809 “more than one primary color”: John C. Kobal to Andy Warhol, April 27, 1986, TC531, AWMA. Kobal, a dealer in vintage photographs, had received his portrait in exchange for some of his vintage photos.

40. 809 “all that spiritual junk”: Andy Warhol and Samuel Adams Green, recorded telephone conversation, n.d., Samuel Adams Green papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.


42. 809 “People with their damn’d Faces”: Thomas Gainsborough,


46. **810 back painting room was off limits:** Fernanda Eberstadt, June 16, 2016, e-mail to the author.


55. **811 slashed the portrait:** See Anton Perich, *Victor Hugo Rojas*, a video posted July 11, 2013, at www.youtube.com/watch?v=JbV0vUSUjcE.

56. **811 “the greatest artist in the world”:** Stuart Pivar, interview by author, June 16, 2015.

57. **811 “euphemized the series”:** Ronnie Cutrone, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli,
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1996), 68.
60. **“then we had to ‘entertain’ these guys”**: Ronnie Cutrone, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New York: Rizzoli, 1996), 68.
69. **Mapplethorpe had opened a show**: See Frances Terpak and Michelle Brunnick, *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Archive* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016), 16.
70. **said that they got their start**: Brigid Berlin, in an audio track included in *Fifteen Minutes: Homage to Andy Warhol*, CD (Wu-Shan Inc./Sony Music Entertainment, 2011).


75. **813 plans to do a Pollock biopic:** Stuart Pivar, interview by author, June 16, 2015. Pivar said that Warhol had asked him to direct a movie based on Ruth Kligman’s 1974 memoir of her relationship with Pollock.


78. **814 “see what Walter did to your painting”:** Ronnie Cutrone, in Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.


80. **814 talking about with a critic:** “Andy Warhol’s Interview,” *Unmuzzled Ox* 4, no. 2 (1976): 44.


82. **814 “I’m gonna sell my come”:** Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (September 26, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


84. **Cutrone’s wife**: Gigi Williams, oral history, audiocassette, n.d., AWMA. Williams said that Cutrone got her to “execute” an Oxidation.


95. **lousy $3,000 a month**: Leo Castelli, “Statement of Account,”
February 5, 1981, box B172, AWMA.


CHAPTER 46


4. 819 Half a million dollars: Ian Schrager, Studio 54 (New York:
Rizzoli, 2017), 33.


6. **penciled in as an afterthought:** The list is reproduced in Ian Schrager, *Studio 54* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017), 135.


9. **“wouldn’t add anything to the party”:** Ian Schrager, *Studio 54* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017), 35.


18. **drug of choice was alcohol:** Robert Dupont, interview by author, January 7, 2015; Richard Dupont, interview by author, July 18, 2017; Warhol’s consumption of alcohol was confirmed in Christopher Makos and Peter Wise, interview by author, September 20, 2016.
19. “bedroom drinker”: Diana Vreeland and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, February 1975, TC78, AWMA.


25. to photograph: Warhol’s contact sheets from Studio 54 can be consulted at cantorcollection.stanford.edu.


28. “loved you, and wanted you”: Richard Dupont to Andy Warhol, June 25, 1979, TC238, AWMA.


34. “the drinks were $8.50 apiece”: September 30, 1978, entry in Andy Warhol, The Andy Warhol Diaries, ed. Pat Hackett (New York:


39. **824 cast by the penises:** The source of the rumor may have been Warhol’s reference to “shadow paintings of cocks and assholes” in the August 30, 1977, entry in Andy Warhol, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 2054, Kindle edition. But that could possibly have been a reference to the very prominent shadows thrown by the penises in some of the *Torsos*, rather than to the later *Shadows* themselves.

The forms in the paintings were “rumored to be shadows of hard ons,” according to Bob Colacello, *Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 9940, Kindle edition. But he may have got that idea from the reference in Warhol’s *Diaries*, published before Colacello’s own memoir was finished. Elsewhere, Colacello refers to the rumor as having come from some unnamed Warhol assistant—see Andy Warhol—*Camouflage* (New York: Gagosian Gallery, 1998), 8.


43. **824 the real source was that cardboard:** See the Warhol contact sheets in the Stanford University collection at cantorcollections.stanford.edu/Obj68480?sid=650&x=150513 and cantorcollection.stanford.edu/Obj71516?sid=133&x=126431, both accessed January 5, 2019.

44. **824 borrowed the prestige of pure abstraction:** See Ronnie Cutrone, in John T. O’Connor and Benjamin Liu, eds., *Unseen Warhol* (New


48. 825 roots in Roman stories: See Glenn Ligon, “Warhol’s Shadows,” in *Artists on Andy Warhol* (Dia Art Foundation, 2018), 52.


50. 825 Bauhauser Josef Albers: Josef Albers was featured heavily at Outlines gallery in Pittsburgh in the 1940s—see “Elizabeth Rockwell Raphael Interview on Contemporary Craft,” Contemporary Craft, accessed April 18, 2019, https://contemporarycraft.org/about/history/elizabeth-rockwell-raphael-interview/.


54. 826 site-specific installation art: Warhol himself had already been exploring the concept of “installation” in his exhibitions at least since the Elvis show at Ferus in 1963, and then again in his Castelli *Silver Clouds* and in all of his exhibitions that included wallpaper, not to mention in the “Raid the Icebox” project—see Mark Francis, “Horror Vacui: Andy Warhol’s Installations,” in *Andy Warhol: Paintings 1960–1986*, ed. Martin Schwander, trans. David Britt (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 1995).


59. 827 “You’ve seen one, you’ve seen them all”: Gregory Battcock, “Art/Notes,” Domus (August 1979): 56.
65. 828 $1.6 million: The figure comes from Bob Colacello, Holy Terror: Andy Warhol Close Up (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), loc. 9441, Kindle edition. Contradicting other sources—and the number of paintings actually in the Dia collection—Colacello claims that for that sum the foundation only got 80 out of the 102 painting, at $20,000 each. It’s not clear if he really did know the total purchase amount but got the number of paintings wrong, or if he knew the per-painting price and then incorrectly multiplied it by 80 to come to his total—in which case Warhol might actually have earned as much as $2,040,000 from the foundation.


73. thrilled by perfume: Vivian Johnson to Andy Warhol, October 27, 1972, TC76, AWMA.

74. “he had a very structured life at home”: Alan Wanzenberg, Jed Johnson’s later business partner and spouse, interview by author, January 5, 2019. Wanzenberg had been a casual friend of both men before Johnson left Warhol to live with him.


76. new feature film to be called *Bad*: Robert H. Montgomery, a lawyer, to Andy Warhol, October 27, 1972, AWMA.

77. “Anything bad is right”: Warhol, in Andy Warhol and David Bourdon, typed notes from a telephone call (December 11, 1971), David Bourdon Papers, II.3, Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.


81. Abagnalo came up with a plot and synopsis: George Abagnalo, interview by author, December 14, 2016.

82. “producer and artistic director”: Someone had realized that the title of “art director” that Warhol had used on other films meant he should have been in a union—see Jeffery M. Tornberg, contractual documents, March 26, 1975, TC113, AWMA.

83. Bette Davis and Angela Lansbury were approached: Jeffery M. Tornberg, identical letters to Bette Davis and Angela Lansbury, April 2, 1975, TC123, AWMA.

84. “That’s a lot of $$$$”: Anonymous “Notes to Bad,” October 31, 1975, TC560, AWMA.
85. 831 ballooned to $1,300,000: Financing correspondence for *Bad*, February 9, 1976, AWMA.
88. 832 “100% incompetent”: George Abagnalo, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
91. 832 poor distribution arrangements: Pat Hackett, December 12, 2018, e-mail to the author.
   The film's first release was in mainstream theaters rather than in the art houses that might have helped give it an initial boost.
92. 832 $500,000 loss on *Bad*: Fred Hurwitz, Chartered Public Accountant, to Andy Warhol, June 12, 1978, AWMA.
94. 832 plunge deeper into his decorating: Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.
98. 833 Johnson having actually “left”: George Abagnalo, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, n.d., David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
99. 833 heavy petting at Studio 54: According to one young man on the scene, Jed Johnson would kiss and also grope him, as would Warhol on other occasions—R. Couri Hay, interview by author, July 22, 2017.
100. **“a tramp and a slut”:** Warhol, quoted in Alan Wanzenberg, Jed Johnson’s later business partner and spouse, interview by author, January 5, 2019.


103. **Johnson still traveled with Warhol:** See Travelworks, Inc., invoice for flights to London and Kuwait for Andy Warhol, Jed Johnson and Frederick Hughes, December 1977, document box 114, AWMA.


106. **“had strong feelings for Andy”:** Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.


111. **“Well, it’s a broken heart”:** Warhol, quoted by Horst Weber von Beeren, interview by author, June 12, 2018.


113. **took an overdose of quaaludes:** Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.

114. **he was gone from the house:** Jay Johnson, interview by author, July 23, 2018.

115. **five-night stay in the hospital:** Blue Cross Blue Shield of Greater New York, invoice to Jed Johnson for a five day hospital stay,
March 15, 1978, TC376, AWMA.


120. 835 “weren’t so impossible for us”: Pat Hackett to Jed Johnson, July 30, 1974, TC88, AWMA.

121. 835 “Dear Mr. Warhol”: Jed Johnson to Andy Warhol, November 26, 1980, AWMA.


124. 835 co-owned a house in Vail: Jed Johnson to Andy Warhol, November 26, 1980, AWMA.


129. 835 “You did have all my love and respect”: Jed [Johnson], Christmas card to Andy [Warhol], n.d., AWMA.
CHAPTER 47


11. 838 "I'm ready to kill myself": Warhol, in Robert Rauschenberg and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation (Spring 1981), AWMA.


14. 838 started to work out: August 27, 1981, entry in Andy Warhol,
15. **under the eye of the personal trainer**: Lidija Cengic was the trainer, and he was working out with her already in 1981—see the photograph of Warhol doing a push-up inscribed “N.Y. 1981 To Andy! Love Lidija,” TC580, AWMA. Cengic was already training Warhol in 1971 according to Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam, 1989), 368. But this is almost certainly incorrect.


17. **favorite pastime**: Olof Tranvik, interview by author, November 14, 2017. Tranvik had worked with Warhol on a marketing campaign for Absolut vodka.

18. **forty-two push-ups**: “Andy and Lidija Exercise,” an outtake from *Andy Warhol’s TV*, season 1, episode 18, 1982, AWMA.


25. **It made my year**: Warhol, undated circa 1981 typescript in an envelope marked “Cosmopolitan,” TC304, AWMA. The typescript labels its two speakers as “AW” and “KH,” and edited portions of the conversation were eventually published in Karen Hardy Bystedt, *Not Just Another Pretty Face: An Intimate Look at America’s Top Male Models* (New American Library, 1983), 101. Bystedt said that the interview was conducted by a ghostwriter that she’d hired, and that it happened in September 1982, but internal evidence in the typescript suggests that that date
is at least a year too late—Karen Hardy Bystedt, interview by author, August 14, 2014. The portion excerpted here has been edited.

26. “his hands were shaking”: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.

27. **got his chest waxed**: Warhol, in Robert Rauschenberg and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation (Spring 1981), AWMA.

28. **plastic surgery**: See Dr. Thomas D. Rees, plastic surgeon, undated instructions and prescriptions for operative prep, box B172, AWMA. It’s impossible to tell when or if Warhol might have actually had the surgery, but he recorded an initial visit to Rees in an October 1, 1981, entry in Andy Warhol, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 10865, Kindle edition.


32. “I think I could be a comedian”: Warhol, in undated circa 1981 typescript in an envelope marked “Cosmopolitan,” TC304, AWMA.


40. **gossipy phone calls**: The tapes are in the Samuel Adams Green Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

41. **“Hidden in an apartment in New York”**: Steve Rubell, in Steve Rubell, Andy Warhol, and Bianca Jagger, notes from a conversation, January 1980, AWMA.


44. **Warhol had wanted to do only Disney characters**: Barry Blinderman, “Modern ‘Myths’: An Interview with Andy Warhol,” *Arts Magazine* (October 1981): 144.


47. **might help their subjects survive**: Ronald Feldman, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


49. **“When I showed Chris Burden”**: Ronald Feldman to Andy Warhol, September 24, 1976, AWMA.

50. **“Andy did Electric Chairs; Chris Burden had himself shot”**: Ronald Feldman, interview by author, July 24, 2014.

51. **“I talked about money to Fred”**: Anthony d’Offay, interview by author, October 20, 2014.

52. **“shocking conceptual idea”**: Anthony d’Offay, interview by author, October 20, 2014.

53. **offered Warhol checklists**: Long lists of possible Jews and myths survive in the Warhol archive.

54. **found most of the images**: Ronald Feldman, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


61. took that one to heart: Ronald Feldman, interview by author, July 24, 2014.


64. “the kids are my project”: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


69. “worked for ages on them himself”: Horst Weber von Beeren, a later printer of Warhol’s, in a November 28, 2018, e-mail to the author.

70. names of old works—“Campbell’s Soup Red”: George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.

71. destroy the stock of unused proofs: Jay Shriver, oral history, audiocassette, March 19, 1992, AWMA.
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74. 850 “They gave me my first job”: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


76. 851 “drunk as could be”: George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.

77. 851 still be unconscious in bed: Horst Weber von Beeren, interview by author, June 12, 2018.

78. 851 never venturing up to Smith’s Duane Street studio: Horst Weber von Beeren, interview by author, June 12, 2018.

79. Richard Dupont, in a January 21, 2020, message to the author, recalled seeing Warhol at least once on a visit to Duane Street, perhaps when van Beeren was not working there. Warhol’s visit was “because of a problem with a screen,” Dupont said.

80. 851 a can of gasoline sitting nearby: George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.

81. 851 “would never have exposed himself”: George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.

CHAPTER 48


3. 853 “He was very much aware of the scene”: Peter Wise, interview by author, September 20, 2016. Wise said that he gave Warhol his first contact with Keith Haring.


5. 854 “I figured I’d better get cracking”: November 16, 1980, en-


11. 855 paintings by George Condo: George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.

12. 855 “just change my name for George’s?”: Warhol, quoted in George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.

13. 855 “I could never do that”: Warhol, quoted in George Condo, interview by author, May 26, 2016.


19. 856 keep Basquiat out: Walter Steding, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 27, 2000, AWMA.

20. 857 “conceptual art project”: Al Diaz, in Tamra Davis, *Jean-


22. 857 “They want an idiot savant”: Jean-Michel Basquiat, quoted by his girlfriend Anna Taylor Delory in a July 16, 2019, affidavit provided to the author by art dealer Stuart Denenberg.

23. 857 tied him to the outsider status: Fred Brathwaite, a.k.a. Fab 5 Freddy, interview by author, September 9, 2019.


30. 859 Beuys and Warhol saw their works: Warhol and Joseph Beuys first crossed paths in the show “Realität Realismus Realität,” at the Museum Wuppertal in Germany, whose catalog is in Warhol’s Time Capsule 90, AWMA.


32. 859 “ever lasting love”: Joseph Beuys to Andy Warhol, March 1, 1984, AWMA.

33. 859 “I thought it was more”: October 5, 1982, entry in Andy Warhol, The Andy Warhol Diaries, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette,
34. **portrayed on top of that piss**: Fred Brathwaite (a.k.a. Fab 5 Freddy) in a September 6, 2019, talk in New York City.


37. **through his budget**: Jean-Michel Basquiat spent $1,000 a week on cocaine according to David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 392.


39. **“I was like an alien”**: Paige Powell, interview by author, February 25, 2016.


41. **“going between the two of them”**: Paige Powell, interview by author, February 25, 2016.

42. **“Only if she keeps working”**: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


50. 861 $4,000 a month: Andy Warhol Enterprises, Inc., lease with Jean-Michel Basquiat, August 30, 1983, TC342, AWMA.
56. 862 “was a little depressing”: Anna Wintour to Jean-Michel Basquiat, November 19, 1984, AWMA.
60. 863 led Basquiat to put distance: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.
62. 863 “so I guess it’s really over”: November 24, 1985, entry in


65. **863 He could be spotted**: Philip Monaghan, interview by author, August 22, 2017.


70. **864 Warhol and his team**: Jay Shriver, in Joseph D. Ketner II, “Warhol’s Last Decade: Reinventing Painting,” in *Andy Warhol, the Last Decade*, ed. Joseph D. Ketner II (New York: DelMonico Books, 2009), 45n49. Shriver’s detailed account of how the Rorschachs were made makes it clear that there was much fudging involved in getting the blots on canvas to look like the paper-and-ink originals.


72. **864 “Well, that’s just part of the art”**: Jay Shriver, oral history, audiocassette, March 19, 1992, AWMA.


74. **864 experimented with Rorschach-style blots**: Gluck used blots for the backgrounds in windows displays for Bonwit-Teller—see the October 25, 1955, photograph of one such window in the Dan Arje papers, Anna-Maria and Stephen Kellen Design Archives, Parsons The
New School for Design, New York. Another was included in the November 3, 1955, edition of Retail Reporting Bureau, *Views & Reviews*.

75. **gifting a whole book of them**: Nathan Gluck, *A Book of Blots*, TC56, AWMA. Although the handmade book is undated, Gluck’s inscription to Warhol indicates that it was executed—or at least gifted—sometime after the release of *Andy Warhol, Andy Warhol’s Index (Book)* (New York: Random House, 1967).

76. **folded-image abstractions**: See for instance the background to Warhol’s *Two Heads*, a circa 1957 work on paper at The Andy Warhol Museum.

77. **Cornell had tried out the idea**: See the large series of Joseph Cornell Rorschachs in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Thanks to Thomas Kiedrowski for the reference to these works.

78. **an automatic painting machine**: Nelson B. Young, of Crystalizations Ltd., to Andy Warhol, January 22, 1981, TC563, AWMA.


80. **“Somebody else could see a lot more”**: Warhol, in Robert Nickas, “Andy Warhol’s Rorschach Test,” in *Andy Warhol: The Late Work* (Munich: Prestel, 2004), 98.


82. **art bringing him $1.7 million**: Jonathan H. Edelstein, of HQZ Enterprises, to Jules J. Herbert, of Chemical Bank, March 26, 1982, TC497, AWMA. The letter seeks financing for a new building Warhol was buying and includes extensive information on Warhol’s finances.

83. **big play to a photo of Warhol**: Eamonn Fingleton, “Portrait of the Artist as Money Man,” *Forbes* (February 1, 1982): 62. Warhol is shown in a photo with his print dealer Ronald Feldman.


86. **$100,000 landscape by Courbet**: Barbara Guggenheim Associates Inc., appraisal of Warhol’s art and furnishings, February 22,
1982, AWMA.


92. **868 “clinically depressed for years”:** Stuart Pivar, “Andy and Me” (draft memoir, February 18, 2014), provided to the author by Pivar.


**CHAPTER 49**

1. **871 “Every Move You Make”:** Jon Gould, inscription in Paramount desk agenda for 1985, box B107, AWMA.


3. **871 they needed a bigger headquarters**: Christopher Makos, interview by author, September 20, 2016.

4. **871 another floor in the Broadway building**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

5. **871 jumped by 50 percent**: Jonathan H. Edelstein, of HQZ En-
terprises, to Jules J. Herbert, of Chemical Bank, March 26, 1982, TC497, AWMA.

6. **a sweet little office building**: Steven H. Renfroe, of Renfroe Realty, to Andy Warhol, November 14, 1980, TC566, AWMA.


8. **laid out $2 million**: Jonathan H. Edelstein, of HQZ Enterprises, to Jules J. Herbert, of Chemical Bank, March 26, 1982, TC497, AWMA.


10. **three arms and three entrances**: Vincent Fremont, in a January 17, 2019, e-mail to the author.


14. **buying extra socks**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

15. **princely income of $235,000**: Internal Revenue Service to Frederick Hughes, Notice of Adjusted Refund for tax year 1984, Frederick Hughes Papers, AWMA.

16. **a laundry bill of $1,200**: Madison Red Star Laundry, invoice to Frederick Hughes, March 1, 1984, Frederick Hughes Papers, AWMA.

17. **a first dab of profit**: Jonathan H. Edelstein, of HQZ Enterprises, to Jules J. Herbert, of Chemical Bank, March 26, 1982, TC497, AWMA.


20. **his doubts about the virtues of such magazine clichés**: Diana Vreeland and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, February
1975, TC78, AWMA.


22. **873 “he was about 8 cents off”:** Gael Love, in George Rush, “Andy Warhol, Inc.,” *Manhattan Inc.* (October 1984): 54.

23. **873 distribute Interview far and wide:** Stuart Pivar, interview by author, May 25, 2017.


27. **873 overjoyed that a big shot like Newhouse:** Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


31. **874 TV version of Chelsea Girls:** Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.


33. **874 “he was absolutely right”:** Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

34. **874 camera equipment worth $40,000:** Benjamin Secher, “Andy Warhol TV: Maddening but Intoxicating,” *Telegraph*, September
NOTES


35. **“Television was the last taboo”:** Anton Perich, interview by author, December 3, 2014.


37. **“later he would take it apart”:** Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.


42. **got over his terminal shyness:** Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.


45. **“attention span on cable”:** Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

46. **“all of a sudden my time was up”:** Warhol, in undated circa 1981 typescript, in envelope marked “Cosmopolitan,” TC304, AWMA.

47. **a fee of $3,000 per appearance:** September 9, 1981, entry


51. **876 “they’re the ones who understood it”**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.

52. **876 $12,500 per episode**: Vincent Fremont, interview by author, December 18, 2018.


54. **876 to anticipate and then dissect**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories, AWMA.


57. **877 “My back was just killing me”**: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


59. **877 “It became an artist’s studio”**: Vincent Fremont, oral history, interview by Margery King and Geralyn Huxley, audiocassette, April 12, 2000, Andy Warhol Museum Institutional Oral Histories,

A moving company estimated: Lane Wrigley, of Morgan and Brother Manhattan Storage Co., to Andy Warhol, May 9, 1984, TC409, AWMA.

“he'll just brighten up”: Warhol, in Samuel Adams Green and Andy Warhol, notes from a conversation, c.1971, document box 205, AWMA.


a still-healthy $110,000: Jonathan H. Edelstein, of HQZ Enterprises, to Jules J. Herbert, of Chemical Bank, March 26, 1982, TC497, AWMA.

“People didn’t believe in the prices”: Antonio Homem, interview by author, October 16, 2017.

“where the couple can’t get a divorce”: Christopher Makos, interview by author, September 20, 2016.


“Who is this horrible Fred Hughes?”: Sonya Moscowitz, in a September 9, 1981, diary entry by Bob Colacello in “Joint Diary AW BC Paris,” typescript, misc. box 54, AWMA.


advertising contract with Levi’s jeans: Jennifer E. Morla,
of Levi Strauss & Co., to Andy Warhol, October 24, 1983, TC409, AWMA.

See also Emily Gosling, “Jennifer Morla on the Andy Warhol Levi’s Commission That Never Made It,” Eye on Design (blog), August 27, 2018, https://eyeondesign.aiga.org/jennifer-morla-on-the-andy-warhol-levi-commission-that-never-made-it/. According to Morla, the image Warhol delivered was never used in an ad campaign, proper, although it seems to have gone into circulation as a poster, of which several signed copies have been on the market.


76. **879 Vidal Sassoon hair campaign**: Gerry Casanova, of Vidal Sassoon, to Andy Warhol, June 13, 1985, TC430, AWMA.


78. **880 new dried soups for Campbell**: Leslie Graham, of Golin-Harris Communications, to Andy Warhol, October 4, 1985, AWMA. Graham discusses the success of the new Campbell’s soup campaign.


84. **882 he was the only guest mentioned twice**: Deborah Caulfield, “Irving (Swifty) Lazar’s Annual Bash: Stars Meet at Spago’s to See Oscars,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1985.


86. **882 drag queen role was cut**: April 1, 1985, entry in Andy War-


91. **stuff that he actually knew was him at his most daring**: See Trevor Fairbrother, “Warhol Meets Sargent at the Whitney,” *Arts* (February 1987): 67.

92. **films he had shot then never taken out of their canisters**: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


97. **he’d actually visit his silkscreener**: Jay Shriver, in Brenda Richardson, “Hiding in Plain Sight: Warhol’s Camouflage,” in *Andy Warhol—Camouflage*, ed. Gagosian Gallery. (New York: Gagosian Gallery,


99. 885 makes his camouflage creep: Warhol’s camouflage pattern always sits under any image Warhol combines it with, silkscreened as a background before the image gets silkscreened overtop. But visually the camouflage gives the impression of being on top.


106. 886 camouflage he saw on National Guard trucks: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


108. 886 to America from the halls of haute couture: “Camouflage Clothes Pick up Parisian Accent,” *Baltimore Sun/Knight News Service*,
March 10, 1981.


114. **twenty-seven years old**: Peter Wise, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 23, 1989, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


116. **common knowledge in most of the circles**: Christopher Makos, interview by author, September 20, 2016.

117. **as Warhol’s “girlfriend”**: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


120. **wore them to the beach**: Peter Wise, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 23, 1989, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


122. **a portrait that he painted of him**: “An Interview with the Curator,” in Andy Warhol: The Jon Gould Collection—Guidebook (Brattleboro, VT: Brattleboro Museum and Art Center, 2004), 37.

124. **a helicopter ride over Manhattan**: Peter Wise, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 23, 1989, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

125. **almost breaking his wrist**: Emergency Room Treatment form, Aspen Valley Hospital, illegible date, box B172, AWMA. The form indicates that an X-ray was ordered of Warhol’s wrist and that no further treatment was recommended. See also January 1, 1982, entry in Andy Warhol, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 11215, Kindle edition.


128. **“I can’t live without you”**: Andy Warhol to Jon [Gould], undated, unsigned typed letter, TC311, AWMA. ©The Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, Inc.

129. **“the most serious love affair”**: Frederick Hughes, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, July 14, 1987, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

130. **“Every Move You Make”**: Jon Gould, inscription in Paramount desk agenda for 1985, box B107, AWMA.

131. **“love one another”**: Jon [Gould] to Andy Warhol, Christmas card, December 8, 1983, AWMA.

132. **“Jon was fascinated by Andy”**: Christopher Makos, interview by author, September 20, 2016.

133. **“completely a couple”**: Cornelia Guest, interview by author, July 18, 2016.


138. **Archie and Amos held a grudge against the new arrival:** Peter Wise, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, March 23, 1989, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

139. **the needlepoint inscription “A.W. + J.G.”:** The pillow survives in Warhol’s archives, box B107.

140. **sewn by Warhol himself:** On Warhol’s knowledge of needlepoint see Andy Warhol, *THE Philosophy of Andy Warhol: From A to B and Back Again* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 12, Kindle edition. Brigid Berlin, who was a skilled needlepointer, talked about giving lessons in the craft to Warhol in the studio at 860 Broadway—see Berlin in an audio track included in *Fifteen Minutes: Homage to Andy Warhol*, CD (Wu-Shan Inc./Sony Music Entertainment, 2011). The pillow’s workmanship and design look too crude to be Berlin’s own work.

141. **got the artist’s help in buying an apartment:** Peter Wise, interview by author, September 20, 2016. Wise recalled Warhol actually buying the apartment for Gould. Warhol mentions it as Gould’s “new loft” in a February 3, 1982, entry in Andy Warhol, *The Andy Warhol Diaries*, ed. Pat Hackett (New York: Hachette, 1989), loc. 11296, Kindle edition. An August 1984 invoice from the Hotel des Artistes to Gould (TC497, AWMA) bills him for a $487.28 monthly “base charge,” which was either a maintenance fee (it would have been a high one for that era) or, if it was for rent, the apartment’s purchase is in fact a myth.


890 “he became very disenchanted”: Christopher Makos, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 26, 1989, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.


891 a crude test for AIDS: Paramedical Laboratories, invoice to Warhol for tests including a mitogen stimulation panel, August 23, 1983, misc. box 103, AWMA.


891 the toll that the disease was taking: Michael Shnayerson, “One by One,” Vanity Fair (March 1987), www.vanityfair.com/culture/1987/03/devastation-of-aids-1980s.

891 tragedy of AIDS: On Warhol’s late work and its links to

158. 891 “I always had thoughts of death”: Anthony d’Offay, interview by author, October 20, 2014.


162. 892 Warhol was starting to display a gentler side: Paige Powell, interview by author, February 25, 2016.

163. 892 bought a home for one of the Bugarin sisters: The same claim is made in Paul Warhola, interview provided to the author by Jesse Best, digital audio, n.d.

164. 892 feeding the neighborhood pigeons: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


166. 892 somehow she and he might marry: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


168. 892 seated with the head of an adoption agency: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


170. 893 imagining Powell as his coparent: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.

171. 893 Warhol as “a sweetheart”: Cornelia Guest, interview by author, July 18, 2016.

172. 893 “Andy Warhol cared about what I did”: Victoria Leacock to Frederick Hughes, February 24, 1987, shared with the author by Leacock.
173. “All the people around were made happy by him”: Olof Tranvik, interview by author, November 14, 2017.
179. “And he was kind of reluctant, but he said, ‘OK’”: Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.
180. on several holidays the following year: David Bourdon, Warhol (New York: Abrams, 1989), 406. See also Warhol’s diary entries for Easter, Thanksgiving, and Christmas 1986.
181. he was joined at Heavenly Rest: Stuart Pivar, “Andy and Me” (draft memoir, February 18, 2014), provided to the author by Pivar.
184. signed-on as “co-chairperson”: “Entertainers Unite in Several Benefits to Raise Funds to Combat AIDS,” Newsday, August 2, 1985. Warhol contributed the cover image on the brochure for the Aids Project Los Angeles Commitment to Life charity gala held on September 19, 1985—see Paul Maréchal, Les Imprimés éphémères de Andy Warhol (Lyon: Musée de l’imprimerie et de la communication graphique, 2018), 154.

CHAPTER 50
1. “The best way to go is fast”: Truman Capote and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, late 1970s, TC578, AWMA.
3. restore the health of his pancreas: January 1, 1984, entry


8. **898 “They all knew it was bullshit”:** Stuart Pivar, interview by author, May 25, 2017.


10. **898 Warhol paid $10,000 for a “special” one:** Stuart Pivar, “Andy and Me” (draft memoir, February 18, 2014), provided to the author by Pivar.


16. **898 grabbing the wig off his head:** October 30, 1985, entry in

17. **898 a certain Dr. Linda Li**: See Dr. Linda Li’s September 22, 1986, prescription to Warhol, box B172, AWMA.


21. **899 dunk a crystal in the water**: Christopher Makos, interview by David Bourdon, typed notes, January 26, 1989, David Bourdon papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

22. **899 “the most sickly looking individual”**: Philip Hoare, in Brian Dillon, *The Hypochondriacs: Nine Tormented Lives* (Faber and Faber, 2009), 263.


26. **899 the young “sweetheart”**: Sam Bolton, interview by author, April 12, 2017. See also Warhol being addressed as “sweetheart” in Sam Bolton to Andy Warhol, November 5, 1985, TC84, AWMA.


29. **899 a gift of the stones**: See the black hinged box with gold detail (TC548, AWMA) with a handwritten note from Berlin: “Dear Andy, Now you have three of my most precious stones removed from my gallbladder Friday, February 19, 1982—Much love, Brigid.”
30. **899 Maxime de la Falaise looking “great”:** Warhol, unpublished diary entry for October 29, 1972, AWMA.

31. **899 “he was in such pain”:** Daniela Morera, interview by author, December 21, 2017.

32. **900 a million-dollar commission:** The commission was said to have involved $500,000 in funds and $500,000 in ancient statuary—see Natalia Aspesi, “Warhol a cena con Leonardo,” *La Repubblica,* January 23, 1987, quoted in Corinna Thierolf, “All the Catholic Things,” in *Andy Warhol: The Last Supper* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1998), 49n49.

   On the other hand, a journalist’s report on a 1988 lawsuit filed by the Warhol estate says that Iolas first agreed to pay $150,000 for one large Last Supper painting and six smaller works, and then in a later deal with Warhol agreed to trade a half-dozen Roman statues for another 15 Last Suppers—see “Warhol Art Dispute,” *International Herald Tribune,* January 1988. Another reporter said that the later deal involved three Last Supper paintings and 12 paper collages—see Andrew Decker, “Warhol Wrangle,” *Artnews* (May 1988): 23.

   Warhol’s diaries hint at a solution to the puzzle: It seems that Iolas might have staged two shows in Milan, one in December in his own gallery there, where he might have shown the 15 works in dispute in the lawsuit, and then another, in January, in the bank’s gallery space.


35. **900 project based on the Last Supper:** Kathleen Louise Mendrey to Andy Warhol, letter with enclosures, March 17, 1984, TC396, AWMA.


English words.


40. **900 one hundred or so that Warhol painted**: Corinna Thierolf, “All the Catholic Things,” in *Andy Warhol: The Last Supper* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1998), 24.


52. 901 Warhol had given him no hint of any religious interest: Jay Shriver, in Corinna Thierolf, “All the Catholic Things,” in Andy Warhol: The Last Supper (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1998), 45.


55. 902 Warhol obscured Leonardo’s image: See the reproductions in Alexander Iolas, Il Cenacolo (Milan: Mondadori, 1987).


57. 902 to judge how Andy measured up against Leonardo: Corinna Thierolf, “All the Catholic Things,” in Andy Warhol: The Last Supper (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 1998), 32.


60. 903 “His face was like a skeleton”: Daniela Morera, interview by author, December 21, 2017.

61. 903 nineteen rolls of snapshots of his trip: The contact sheets can be consulted at cantorcollection.stanford.edu.
62. **903 an entire opera at La Scala:** Ricky Clifton, interview by author, May 21, 2016.


65. **904 carried a clipping around:** Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


68. **904 had never seen Warhol looking so skinny:** David Bourdon, *Warhol* (New York: Abrams, 1989), 7. Despite Warhol’s emaciation, Bourdon also found him looking “terrifically healthy.”

69. **904 plans to get back into filmmaking:** Paige Powell, oral history, interview by Matt Wrbican, audiocassette, June 3, 2005, AWMA.


72. **904 silkscreened views of Paris:** James Mayor, interview by author, October 20, 2014.


76. **905 two stones lodged inside:** Dr. Clement Barone, in Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 63. Alexander provides the most detailed account of Warhol’s final illness.
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83. **905 Warhol’s teeth were chattering from the cold:** Stuart Pivar, “Andy and Me” (draft memoir, February 18, 2014), provided to the author by Pivar.


86. **906 a diet of clear liquids:** Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 64.

87. **906 an immediate second opinion:** Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 64.

88. **906 prestigious American Surgical Association:** Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014. My interview with Dr. Thorbjarnarson was conducted in collaboration with Dr. John Ryan, Emeritus Chief of Surgery at Virginia Mason Medical Center in Seattle,
whose expertise informs the following discussion of Warhol’s death.


90. **“if you don’t operate on me”**: Warhol, quoted by Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014.


93. **“they were very easy to digest”**: Stephen Bruce, quoted in Christian Holzfüss and Nikolaus Sonne, eds., *Andy Warhol: Play Book of You S. Bruce* (Frankfurt: Edition Achenbach, 1989), 29.

94. **Warhol phoned Dr. Giuseppe Rossi**: Dr. Giuseppe Rossi, interview by author, May 28, 2014.


96. **take him off to his “appointment”**: Stuart Pivar, interview by author, June 16, 2015. In other accounts he has given Pivar has said he was present at the house with Warhol that morning.

97. **a Sunday date at the ballet**: Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 79.

98. **Warholian collection of stuff**: Warhol’s clothing and effects, as well as hospital records about them, survive in his archives.


102. **would be his patient in the O.R.**: Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014.


105. **IV antibiotics**: Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, in patient records accessed by Dr. John Ryan.


107. **Wig still in place**: Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014. The wig was still there on autopsy—see Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 93.

108. **“monumental”**: Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014. The hernia repair would have been a difficult but necessary operation, to prevent Warhol’s colon from protruding through his skin “at first cough,” according to the surgeon Dr. John Ryan, interview by author, February 14, 2017.

   Ryan, in a May 9, 2019, e-mail to the author, described the operation as “a cholecystectomy with intra-operative cholangiogram for gallstones with gangrene of the gallbladder, lysis of adhesions from 1968 gun shot injury and repair of giant right perimedial incisional hernia with rectus fascia relaxing incision without mesh.”

109. **Pleased to be alive**: Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, interview by author, May 27, 2014.

110. **“one of the healthier patients”**: Dr. Bjorn Thorbjarnarson, in Paul Alexander, *Death and Disaster* (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 82.

111. **A struggle with colitis in ’83**: Dr Lawrence J. Downs, insurance report on medical visit by Warhol, January 26, 1983, TC531, AWMA. Interestingly, the diagnosis of colitis was accompanied by a rectal culture and a test for syphilis.

112. **Anemia in ’84**: Dr. Denton Cox, claim to Blue Cross Blue Shield of New York, June 20, 1984, TC430, AWMA.


116. **In a car crash**: In 2009, the U.S. government calculated that the chance of an adult American driver having a crash in any given year...
were 4.4%—see Amram Shapiro, Louise Firth Campbell, and Rosalind Wright, Book of Odds: From Lightning Strikes to Love at First Sight, the Odds of Everyday Life (New York: William Morrow Paperbacks, 2014), loc. 9770, Kindle edition.


118. 909 would be home “tomorrow”: Gigi Williams, oral history, audiocassette, n.d., AWMA.

119. 909 settle down fine to sleep: Paul Alexander, Death and Disaster (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 86.

120. 909 “pale” at four thirty and “paler” at four forty-five: Paul Alexander, Death and Disaster (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 88, 188. The nurse’s records were deemed unreliable in an investigation of the death and no one has been able to determine the exact course of events.

121. 909 “It’s like going to sleep”: Warhol, in Truman Capote and Andy Warhol, notes from an interview, late 1970s, TC578, AWMA.

POSTLUDE: AFTERLIFE

1. 911 handpicked by Fred Hughes: Paul Alexander, Death and Disaster (London: Little, Brown, 1995), 117. Alexander gives the most thorough account of events in the years immediately following Warhol’s death.


7. 912 $500,000: Joe Helman, interview by author, December 9, 2014.