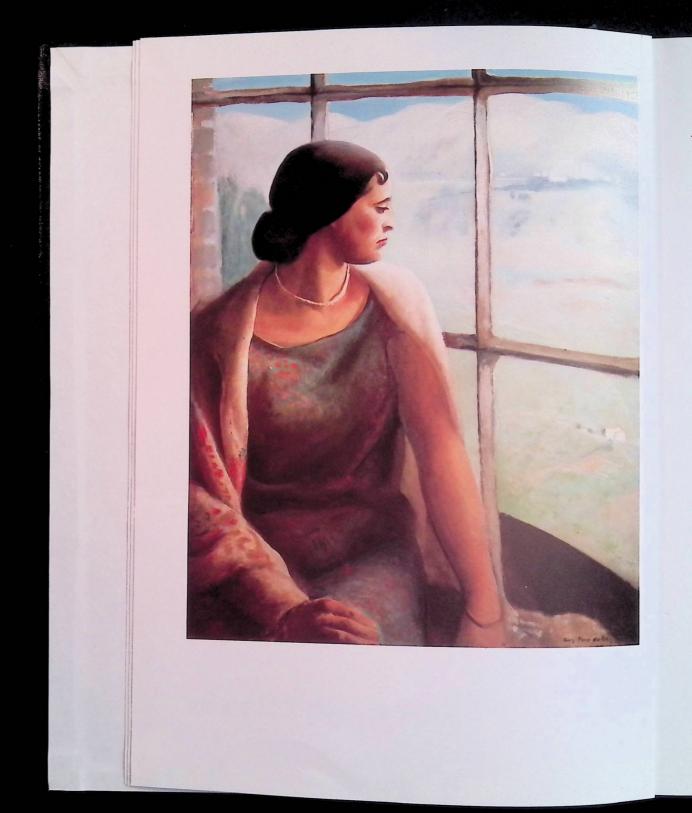


### SORD GA**le Twenties at Home and Abroad** N40.1 D81567 1995



## GUY PÈNE DU BOIS





WILKES UNIVERSIT



# **GUY PÈNE DU BOIS**

### The Twenties at Home and Abroad

Exhibition Curated by Stanley I Grand

Essays by Betsy Fahlman Stanley I Grand

Sordoni Art Gallery Wilkes University Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania May 21–August 13, 1995

WILKES UNIVERSITY

Westmoreland Museum of Art Greensburg, Pennsylvania September 3–October 29, 1995

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25. Woman on Sofa (Gretchen), 1927 oil on panel, 20 ¼ x 25 in. The Brooklyn Museum Gift of the Chester Dale Estate Photograph courtesy The Brooklyn Museum

### Imag The V

Betsy Fahlman Arizona State University

#### GUY DÈNE DU BOIS AND THE TWENTIES

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## **Imaging the Twenties**

The Work of Guy Pène du Bois

Betsy Fahlman Arizona State University

#### GUY PÈNE DU BOIS AND THE TWENTIES

One of the most trenchant imagers of the 1920s was the American painter Guy Pène du Bois (1884-1958), whose distinctive work exemplifies some of the decade's most significant cultural symbols. The artist pictured subjects emblematic of the era: the sophisticated urbanite, the flapper, and the American abroad in fashionable settings-cafes, theatres, and art galleries. His representations are enriched by an international perspective. American-born, he was deeply rooted in his French family background. Yet he remained thoroughly grounded in his native country. Throughout the nearly six years he resided in France as an expatriate, he steadfastly maintained his faith in the American art world, where his paintings were sold by his New York dealer to American patrons. His dual frame of reference permitted him an unusual vantage on his fellow Americans at home and abroad.

Spurred by postwar prosperity and the new freedom afforded by the automobile, the era between the end of World War I in 1918 and the beginning of the Depression in 1929 produced, as Frederick Lewis Allen noted in 1931, a "revolution in manners and morals."<sup>1</sup> The twenties were characterized by intriguing social and political changes that resulted in fascinating contrasts. Women received the right to vote in 1920, the same year that Prohibition became national law. While politicians promoted isolationism, interna-

tionalism predominated in intellectual circles, and Americans flocked to France. In the visual arts, Americans explored a range of stylistic options as wide as the political and social ones. Many members of the earlier generation of The Eight continued to be active, as were those participants in the first wave of the avant-garde, several of whom evolved into Precisionists. A widespread renewal in more representational modes found its fullest expression in Regionalism. Although Guy Pene du Bois was intellectually supportive of new art movements, as a critic and a painter, his personal sympathies steadfastly remained aligned with the "art for life's sake"<sup>2</sup> realism of his early teacher Robert Henri. Pène du Bois' most eloquent and insightful criticism was written in support of those artists whose work grew out of the romantic urban realism of the turn of the century, rather than the avant-garde. If no single American style existed, certain icons, such as the American girl abroad, were widely recognized. Despite their divergent styles and images, many of these artists shared a deep belief in the viability of American art, and a sense that a personal identity derived from being grounded within a national one. Even when abroad, whether as temporary visitors or long-term expatriates, the sensibility that they were American artists remained strong.

The painting of Guy Pène du Bois came to maturity during the twenties. As an independent, he never associated himself with a specific school or movement; but scholars today, broadly speaking, consider him a social realist. His characteristic themes were inspired by the human figure set in situations the artist had seen in life and recreated from memory. He was fascinated by social interactions and class roles, but issues of social protest or attempts to effect political change did not interest him. Drawing on the tradition of caricature and commentary found in the work of his French predecessors Honoré Daumier (1808– 1879) and Jean Louis Forain (1852–1931), his social commentary took a sharp view of contemporary society. His titles, such as *The Social Register*, 1919 (private collection), tend to be ironically humorous rather than bitingly sarcastic.

With New York as its center, twenties America emerged an urban nation. During these years, The Smart Set and Vanity Fair, among other journals, catered to a sophisticated Manhattan readership. But the contents of The New Yorker, which first appeared on 21 February 1925, most closely parallel the painted themes of Guy Pène du Bois. Its sophisticated and witty columns-"The Talk of the Town" or "Tables for Two"-reflected the major interests of its affluent readers by concentrating on night life, restaurants, sports, theatre, and opera. A "Letter from Paris," an important feature made famous by Janet Flanner, signaled the international, Francophile perspective of its readership.

During the 1920s, however, all café society interactions were colored by the widely available, but legally proscribed, liquor.<sup>3</sup> The Eighteenth Amendment, which created Prohibition, became law with the passage of the Volstead Act in 1920 and remained in effect until its repeal in 1933. Enforcement, however, concentrated on production and distribution rather than on consumption. Consequently, in larger cities like New York, the law was openly flouted as nightclubs, speakeasies, and bootleggers flourished. Catering to the well-off uptown crowd, many of these establishments were luxurious and provided the atmosphere of an exclusive club for their clandestine drinkers, whose defiantly heavy drinking became known as "the respectable crime."\* Recalling the twenties, Janet Flanner characterized the time as "that extraordinary alcoholic era."5

Like *The New Yorker*, the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald—whose first novel, *This Side of Para*-

dise, was published in 1920-were another analogue to the art of Guy Pène du Bois. For a short time, he was the painter's neighbor in Westport, Connecticut, as was Van Wyck Brooks, who characterized the author as "the typical writer of the twenties." Throughout the next decade, Fitzgerald and Pène du Bois analyzed the behavior and attitudes of Americans at home and in France. Their precise satire both amuses and discomfits, as they carefully delineated American society to create a sharply accurate picture of the era. Since Pène du Bois never had the money of Fitzgerald and his friends, his images are more those of an observer than those of a full participant. But his many years as a music reviewer and an art critic gave him ample opportunity to study his subjects in their characteristic habitats. One of his paintings, Gretchen or Woman on Sofa, 1927 (Cat. No. 25), though painted in France, may have been inspired by a Fitzgerald short story, in which one of the main characters, Gretchen Halsey, was described as "a bright-colored, Titian-haired girl, vivid as a French rag doll."7 Much of the tale's significant action takes place on a sofa, and Pene du Bois' image evokes the author's prose.

The two decades prior to the twenties were full ones for the artist, conducted at a pace that meant erratic time in his studio. He had begun art classes in 1899, studying first under William Merritt Chase, then with Robert Henri. After further training in Paris, he returned to America. where economic necessity led him to embark on a career as a reporter in 1906. Following in his father's professional footsteps, he published his first pieces of art criticism in 1908. His marriage in 1911 to Florence Sherman Duncan, who had three children from a previous marriage, added new financial responsibilities, which increased with the births of their daughter Yvonne in 1913 and son William in 1916. Not until 1918, at the age of thirty-four, did he have a one-man exhibition-at the Whitney Studio Club (his first group showing had occurred in 1905 at the Paris Salon). For Pene du Bois, the twenties are chronologically divided into two sections-the four years he spent in Westport, with frequent commutes to New York City, and the nearly six years he spent in France.

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12. The Beach, 1924 oil on panel, triptych, each panel 20 x 15 in. Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska-Lincoln F. M. Hall Collection Photograph courtesy Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery

#### WESTPORT: COMMUTING TO A NEW YORK STUDIO

Between 1920 and 1924, Guy Pène du Bois resided in Westport, a pretty village about fifty miles from New York in southwestern Connecticut. Connected by commuter train, the town had become, according to Van Wyck Brooks who also moved there in 1920, "an outpost of New York,"s the setting for "exurbanites,"9 those displaced city dwellers "who lived beyond the suburbs but who remained urbanites at heart."10 The town attracted a group of New York writers and artists "who cared more for the state of their minds than the state of their fortunes."11 The small intellectual community that gathered there had a distinctive character: neither a "serious Barbizon," nor an "arty Provincetown," Westport had an appealing and comfortable "grace, friendliness, gaiety and tolerance."12 Residents and regular visitors during this period included writers F. Scott Fitzgerald (newly married to Zelda Sayre), Van Wyck Brooks, Paul Rosenfeld, Sherwood Anderson, and Hendrik Willem Van Loon, and artists Everett Shinn and Charles and Maurice Prendergast.

The cost of living may have been economical, but the town did not turn out to be the quiet haven for work the artist had anticipated:

In this prohibition period the summers at Westport, Connecticut, exceeded the riotousness of New York. There gin and orange juice ruled the days and nights. Talk was an extravaganza. Work was an effort made between parties.<sup>13</sup>

So identified was the town with flouting prohibition, that when his 1924 portrait of Marion Levy, who ran the local Compo Inn, was exhibited in New York, it was nicknamed "The Bootlegger's Wife."<sup>14</sup> Pène du Bois found life in Westport "bacchanalian,"<sup>15</sup> and he characterized its intellectually and professionally eminent residents as "unbridled children"<sup>16</sup> when they assembled for parties.

Although his house had a good studio, the many convivial temptations proved irresistible to the gregarious artist. He found it necessary to retreat to the relative solitude of his New York studio in the Colonnade Building, where he executed *Studio on Lafayette Street*, 1923 (Cat. No. 11). Indeed, Guy Pène du Bois painted very little in Connecticut. A notable exception, and one of his major works, is the triptych titled *The Beach*, 1924 (Cat. No. 12) which records a gathering of his friends on Compo Beach, Westport. Perhaps signifying his position as an economic outsider within this community, the artist is shown clothed in a suit, rather than a bathing costume.

In 1924, he decided to leave the United States with his family; in December they sold their house in Westport and "escaped to France."<sup>18</sup> With the money realized from the sale of their home and anticipated fees from occasional articles, Guy Pène du Bois hoped he could afford a year abroad. With uninterrupted time in his studio, his aim was clear: "I could become a painter."<sup>18</sup>

#### FRANCE: LIFE AS AN EXDATRIATE

Since the late nineteenth century, many American artists had felt that a sojourn in Paris was essential for their artistic development. During the twenties, however, a particularly ambitious and vital colony of expatriate writers and painters resided there. Although Americans had long lived abroad, "expatriate," as Van Wyck Brooks observed, assumed new meaning in the 1920s: "No European could understand this constant American talk of roots, or why it was that expatriates discussed expatriation—a word that scarcely existed in any other country."19 Despite the pleasures of foreign life, long residence abroad often intensified a personal sensibility of national roots. Although many Americans might agree with Lorelei Lee, the protagonist in Anita Loos' 1925 novel Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, that "Paris is devine. . . . Because the French are devine,"20 regular encounters with fellow countrymen were actually more common: "I always think that the most delightful thing about traveling is to always be running into Americans and to always feel at home."21

Remembering the distractions of Westport and finding Paris too expensive, the Pène du Bois family settled in Garnes, a village in the Chevreuse Valley near Dampierre, about thirty miles from the capital. Reasonable rent (eighty dollars a year), steady sales through Kraushaar, and careful economizing, enabled them to remain iny Pene du Bois painted very little t. A notable exception, and one of s, is the triptych titled *The Beach*, p. 1.2) which records a gathering of his npo Beach, Westport. Perhaps signifyt as an economic outsider within this e artist is shown clothed in a suit, athing costume.

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11. Studio on Lafayette Street, 1923 oil on panel, 19¼ x 24½ in. Bayly Art Museum of the University of Virginia Photograph by Edwin S. Roseberry in France for nearly six years. This period proved to be the most productive of his career, he later recalled: "It was in Garnes that I learned to paint."<sup>22</sup> Working steadily, he created paintings "centered mainly on compositional themes compiled from memory and experience."<sup>23</sup> Only occasionally did he paint a landscape, a still life, or from a model.

Although he favored pictures of international twenties types, identifiably French themes become increasingly frequent during his expatriate years. Scenes inspired by the area near their house appear in his work, including *Pont du Jour*, 1926 (Cat. No. 19), which shows a man and a woman standing near a local viaduct. The urban milieu of Paris, however, interested him primarily, and he made frequent visits to the French capital where he occasionally went to gatherings attended by French artists; *Bal des Quatres Arts*, 1929 (Cat. No. 34) records a famous annual Parisian art event. Like the majority of other Americans abroad, however, he had contact mostly with other Americans.

Parisian cafes, including La Coupole, Le Select, La Rotonde, Les Deux Magots, and the Closerie des Lilas, were the social and intellectual centers of expatriate life.24 Although some of them had been founded earlier, their popularity, as evidenced in Paris Cafe, 1926 (Cat. No. 18), led several to expand during the twenties. One, the Cafe du Dôme on the Boulevard du Montparnasse at the corner of the Boulevard Raspail, was widely recognized as "the Anglo-American café."25 Opened in 1898, it was popular throughout the 1920s with the many artists and writers who lived and worked in this part of the city.26 Ernest Hemingway, a frequent patron at the Dôme, described the cafe in A Moveable Feast, the autobiographical memoir of his years in Paris between 1921 and 1926:

It was a pleasant café, warm and clean and friendly, and I hung up my old waterproof on the coat rack to dry and put my worn and weathered felt hat on the rack above the bench and ordered a *café au lait*. The waiter brought it and I took out a notebook from the pocket of the coat and a pencil and started to write.<sup>27</sup>

The young woman he describes could easily be a subject in a Pène du Bois canvas: A girl came in the cafe and sat by herself at a table near the window. She was very pretty with a face tresh as a newly minted coin if they minted coins in smooth flesh with rain-freshened skin, and her hair was black as a crow's wing and cut sharply and diagonally across her cheek.<sup>38</sup>

The artist was particularly fascinated by the subject of his countrymen and women abroad. especially the many young American women he saw all over Paris. Easily identified, he painted several canvasses picturing them in public social contexts, including, Girls, Montparnasse, 1927 (Cat. No. 24) and Girl at Montparnasse, 1927 (Cat. No. 23).<sup>39</sup> Once again, the artist echoes literary works. Describing similar young women in Tender Is the Night, F. Scott Fitzgerald noted their "immaculacy and their money" as they "pour[ed] through the station onto the platforms with frank new faces, intelligent, considerate, thoughtless, thought-for."30 Americans in Paris, 1927 (Cat. No. 22), one of his most emblematic canvasses, serves as an icon of the period. Four nearly identical young women "swoop down on their prey,"31 striding briskly on their way to shop or sightsee:

They are crossing a bridge, their handbags clasped as only Americans clasp their wealth, since only Americans thus carry it about, their heads encased in the tightest of head gear and their skin tight frocks of the shortest, showing an expanse of handsome leg.<sup>33</sup>

While living at Garnes, the artist made periodic visits to America, traveled throughout France, and on occasion, visited other European countries. In June 1926, he participated in the unveiling of Gertrude Vanderhilt Whitney's monument at Saint-Nazaire. That summer, the family vacationed at the coast, where he was inspired to paint nearby beach and racetrack scenes, including Beach, Deauville, 1926 (collection unknown) and Racetrack, Deauville, 1927 (Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute). Occasional commissions permitted travel outside France. A trip to Italy resulted in a major painting, Studio Window, Anticoli, 1928 (Cat. No. 32). In April 1929, he traveled to Huelva, on the Spanish coast, for the dedication of Whitney's monument to Christopher Columbus.

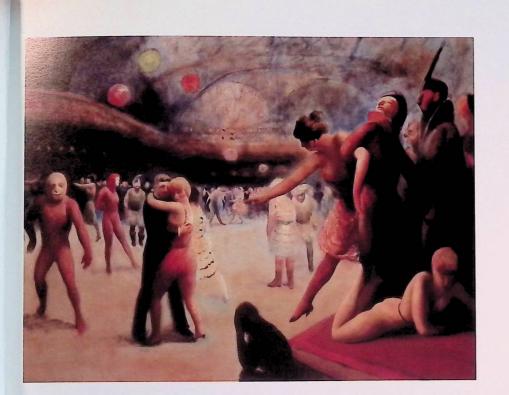
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34. Bal des Quatres Arts, 1929 oil on canvas, 28<sup>3</sup>/4 x 36<sup>1</sup>/2 in. The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, The University of Chicago Gift of William Benton Photograph courtesy The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art moved to Nice in the south of France. Several works, including a watercolor *Avenue de la Victoire, Nice*, 1929 (Cat. No. 33), resulted from his stay here.<sup>33</sup>

#### MAJOR THEMES

Throughout the twenties, both in America and in France, several characteristic themes absorbed Guy Pène du Bois—the art world, catés and restaurants, theatres and other amusements, flappers, and relationships between men and women. This last theme had long preoccupied Pène du Bois; he recalled that he had "started the series of little pictures of men and women in full dress which first drew attention to my paintings"<sup>34</sup> during his days as a music and opera critic. Fascinated by the nature of social discourse as conveyed through body language, he found such environments ideal. In public places he could unobtrusively study his subjects playing their social roles on privileged stage sets. The roles and interchanges he observed were as contrived and carefully constructed as in any scripted production.

#### THE ART WORLD; GALLERIES, DEALERS, AND PATRONS

As a critic and artist, Guy Pène du Bois had ample opportunities to study galleries, dealers, and patrons. Set in the interior of a gallery, *The Art Lovers*, 1922 (private collection) records two men conversing. One of these hard-boiled gentlemen, the balding "old rounder"<sup>35</sup> in a "bulging dress shirt, "<sup>36</sup> was the artist's most characteristic male type. Pène du Bois took an equally sharp view of the painting's owner, the efficiency expert Charles E. Bedaux, by observing that he

is generally as accurate and as ruthless as the figures in which he deals. He shares with all mathematicians the love of clarity, the proof which, rid of all human foibles, is positive. Life can be very simple when sheared to the bone by people of this unrelenting order. They are of the family of dictators,<sup>37</sup>

With a top hat concealing his bald head, another rounder, in the appropriately titled *Chanticleer*, 1922 (Cat. No. 6), strides into a similar red-walled gallery, where the gallery owner waits to intercept him. Such luxurious environments, which reflected the general health of the art market in the postwar economy, were designed expressly for "the captivation of tycoons,"<sup>39</sup> who sought to be as successful as collectors as they were in business.

Despite his generally cynical view of dealers and galleries-Little Redon/The Art Dealer, 1925 (collection unknown), for example, presents the avaricious pretentiousness he ascribed to many in the business-Guy Pene du Bois owed his personal economic success during this period to John Francis Kraushaar. The dealer had given the artist his first one-man exhibition in 1922, and he continued to show his works regularly throughout the next twenty-five years. The artist's warm relationship with this well-respected dealer is documented in Portrait of John Kraushaar, 1927 (Cat. No. 29).<sup>39</sup> The painter's feelings are apparent in an affectionately inscribed work, The Opera Singer, 1927 (Cat. No. 26), which he gave to Kraushaar's daughter Antoinette.

#### RESTAURANTS AND OTHER AMUSEMENTS

The rituals and conventions of dining out had long fascinated the artist. Many of his earliest works, including *Cascade Restaurant, Bois du Boulogne*, 1905 (collection unknown) and *Waiter!*, 1910 (collection unknown), picture restaurant patrons. Unlike John Sloan, who depicted the separatist masculine atmosphere found in *McSorley's Bar*, 1912 (Detroit Institute of Arts), Pène du Bois was interested in couples. In particular, he was intrigued by the lack of interpersonal discourse between the couples he saw, many of whom comprised an older man and a younger woman.

Restaurant scenes, of course, had been favorite themes of Edgar Degas, Édouard Manet, and Pierre Auguste Renoir, all of whom Pène du Bois admired. Members of The Eight had also enjoyed painting such scenes; one recalls the relaxed elegance of William Glackens' *Chez Mouquín*, 1905 (Art Institute of Chicago) or John Sloan's lively *Renganeschi's Saturday Night*, 1912 (Art Institute of Chicago).<sup>40</sup> Closer to Pène du Bois in mood is the lonely tension evident in his friend buy Dine du Bais Hen get 1413

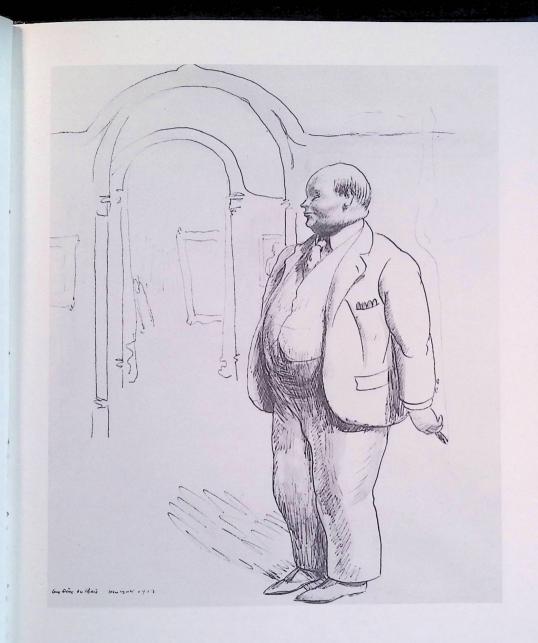
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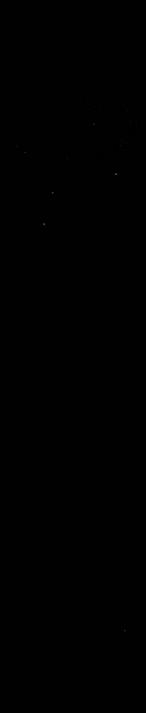
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29. Portrait of John Kraushaar, 1927 watercolor and ink on paper, 14 x 11¾ in. Private Collection Photograph by Geoffrey Clements, courtesy Kraushaar Galleries



Edward Hopper's Automat, 1927 (Des Moines Art Center), in which a woman, wearing cheaply bought clothes imitative of more expensive fashions, dines alone. Absent is the male waiter who appears in many of Pène du Bois' restaurant scenes including *Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale Dining Out*, 1924 (Metropolitan Museum of Art) at the Hotel Brevoort in New York.

Two years later in Café Madrid, 1926 (Cat. No. 15), Pène du Bois again depicted Chester Dale and his first wife Maud, two of his major patrons, seated at a restaurant table.41 The presence of two bottles of champagne implies that other guests are expected to join them. Dale's wife was a painter, and together they formed a substantial collection of nineteenth- and twentiethcentury French and American art, much of which was bequeathed to the National Gallery of Art. Dale, who began buying the artist's work in the late teens, eventually owned twenty-five of his works. 42 Reflecting their mutual great enthusiasm for French art, the artist accompanied the collector on one buying trip. Describing the frenzied pace of this trip, however, the artist concluded that Dale was "the slave of his nerves."43

At heart a painter of people, especially recognizable types, Pène du Bois frequently depicted the leisure time activities of his privileged subjects. In *Billboard*, 1920 (Cat. No. 1), a woman with her feet inelegantly and firmly set on the ground peruses an opera performance schedule. The race track was a constant source of inspiration for Pène du Bois as well. In *Sports Women*, *France*, 1926 (private collection), he depicted two women, wearing coats and cloche hats to protect them from the cool fall air at the track, possibly Longchamps. Sport for them is a spectator enterprise; they are observers of horses, rather than riders.

#### THE FLADDER: THE TWENTIES WOMAN AS SOCIETY VAMPIRE

With the publication of Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise*, the flapper entered the popular parlance.<sup>44</sup> A distinctively twenties woman, her physique, age, and attitude towards life remain that era's "most effervescent symbol."<sup>45</sup> The flapper clad her slender boyish figure in thin, straight short-skirted dresses with long waists. Her pale face was carefully decorated with newly popular cosmetics, and her legs were covered in silk stockings. For evening, her dress was sleeveless, held on her shoulders by thin straps and accented by a few pieces of elegantly simple jewelry. During the day, she wore a small soft-brimmed cloche hat as in *Subway Steps*, 1926 (Cat. No. 20), to cover her short bobbed hair.

"Flappery" represented a bold social rebellion by women—there was no equivalent male type with nerve, who were identified as "shameless, selfish and honest."<sup>40</sup> Many of her characteristics implied, if not outright indecency, at least impropriety, as she defied social strictures placed on young women but not on young men. She smoked in public, as well as drank; one historian observed: "Cigarette in mouth and cocktail in hand, she appeared to be both shocking and unshockable."<sup>47</sup>

Her forum of social equality was somewhat ephemeral for it was not matched by comparable economic and political independence. Interested in neither the intellectual pursuits of the educated woman nor in a career or job, this fashionably nonchalant creature appeared self-centered, pleasure-seeking, high spirited, and charmingly amusing, with a spontaneous exuberance that could also be interpreted as "fast." In his popular cartoons, John Held, Jr., helped to popularize this familiar image of the carefree and coltish flapper.<sup>45</sup>

Emphasizing the less giddy side of this twenties woman, the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald and the paintings of Guy Pène du Bois provide a more ominous image of the flapper.49 As Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald observed in a 1922 article on "flapperdom," the flapper put on "a great deal of audacity and rouge and went into battle."50 Makeup was the war paint for serious conflict between the sexes. Another commentator of the time ominously described the "pallor mortis, poisonously scarlet lips, richly ringed eyes."51 Flappers were, as Zelda's husband warned, "dangerous girls";52 indeed one of his characters declared "I want to be a society vampire."<sup>53</sup> Underneath her pert exterior, the flapper was a threatening and predatory creature.

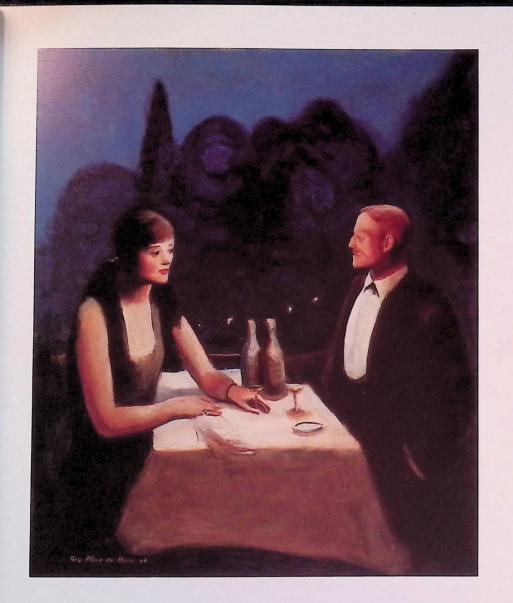


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15. Café Madrid (Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale), 1926 oil on panel, 21¾ x 18 in. Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, Florida Bequest of John Hinkle Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN: SOCIAL LIONS AND LIONESSES

Few American artists have pictured the difficulties of negotiating relationships between men and women more sharply than Guy Pène du Bois. His frequent depictions of couples enabled him to explore the mental separation and emotional estrangement that served as an invisible barrier to discourse despite their physical proximity. In On the Bridge, 1926 (Cat. No. 17) a couple, warmly dressed in hat and coats, stands overlooking the river. Yet they remain self-absorbed and consciously distanced from each other: the cold winter weather, further emphasized by the leafless tree, is a metaphor of their personal chill.

Although he shared a common sensibility with Edward Hopper, who emphasized loneliness and isolation, Guy Pène du Bois was more interested in the sharp nature of social discourse than with emotional barrenness. In George Moore with Seated Woman, 1920 (Cat. No. 2), the wellknown Irish author sits uncomfortably on one end of a couch while a woman relaxes. The Life Soldier, 1922 (Cat. No. 9) makes a visual pun at the woodenness of the military male. Although attired in an elegant evening dress, his companion's stiffness suggests the mechanical quality of their social interactions. Another painting of a military couple, Pets, 1927 (Cat. No. 28) makes a similar pun by means of the placement of the soldier's sword. Finally, the bizarrely humorous Country Wedding, 1929 (Cat. No. 35) satirizes the institution of marriage, while In the Wings, 1921 (Cat. No. 5) recreates a backstage scene in which two young dancers in tutus are approached by a cane-carrying older man whose intentions are unclear.

His protagonists, whose elegant evening clothes serve as social armor and as defining "signs or symbols of sophistication,"<sup>54</sup> display the same tensions already seen in his café women and flappers. Their clothes, which both provide camouflage and serve as social signifiers, are key to their roles, as he observed, "clothes define social position, wealth, even the age of the wearer's wealth."<sup>55</sup> In formal evening dress, such figures were interchangeable: "his clothes are patterned like sheep in flocks or like fish in schools."<sup>50</sup> One of his canvasses, *Shovel Hats*, 1923 (Cat. No. 10), takes its title simply from an article of clothing worn by several of the women who are nictured.

If the flapper had changed sexual mores, the conventions of class structure remained more rigidly prescribed, and relations between men and women were mediated under extremely difficult conditions. By way of emphasizing their risid social roles. Guy Pène du Bois occasionally de picted his figures as mannequins, deliberately emphasizing the inflexibility of the possible courses of action open to them. Typical is his drawing The Social Lion, 1921-1923 (Whitney Museum of American Art), described in the caption as one who changes "from one suit of clothes to another."57 For all their political and economic dominance, his males are as powerless to escape the strictures imposed by society as his female counterparts. In Father and Son, 1929 (Cat. No. 36), the artist makes it clear that the yound man will become like his father. The canvas is a pendant to Mother and Daughter, 1928 (Cat. No. 31), which posits a comparable situation."

#### RETURN TO AMERICA

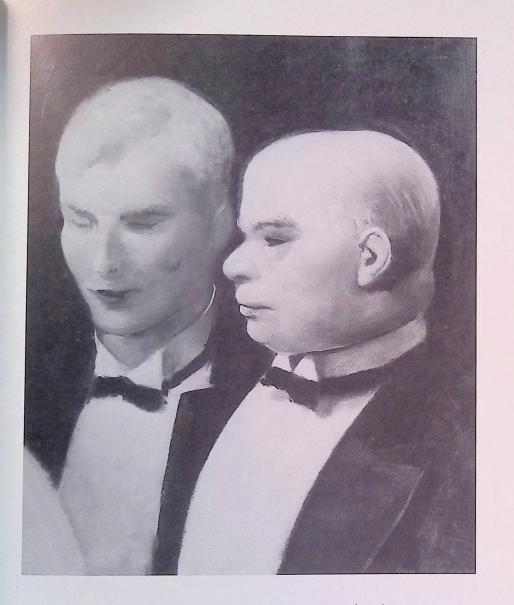
In October 1929, Guy Pene du Bois was in Nice when he learned of the disastrous stock market crash, which signaled the beginning of an international depression. As he recalled, the art market fueled by "the fantastic gush of money in senseless circulation had ceased."59 For many expatriates, the drastic economic change automatically meant repatriation. While Pène du Bois recognized that his time abroad would soon end, he was able to remain in France another six months. In April 1930, he arrived back in New York: "I had returned to my native city almost forgotten except among those who set me down as an expatriate and with a deep regret which had somehow combined with a temperamental inability to slide back into its rhythms."60 New York bore little resemblance to the city he had left: "It took me a long time to get under the skin of my own people. They had become strangers to me."61 Drooping American Flag, 1930 (collection unknown), sums up his mood of economic dispiritedness and personal dislocation.



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36. Father and Son, 1929 oil on canvas, 21½ x 18 in. Whitney Museum of American Art Purchase Photograph by Geoffrey Clements, courtesy Whitney Museum of American Art

In the years following his return to America, the artist exhibited widely and increasingly won professional recognition. To supplement the erratic sales of his paintings, he resumed writing and teaching, both of which took time away from his studio. Although he continued to explore his characteristic themes, as in Nightclub, 1933 (Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden), his painting achieved new breadth. The figure received greater emphasis in compositions like Carnival Interlude, 1935 (private collection) and The Battery, 1936 (private collection) as did the studio nude. Like many artists during this period of economic stringency, he undertook WPA commissions. The publication of his autobiography, Artists Sau the Silliest Things, in 1940, marked the beginning of his final productive decade, but health problems increasingly sapped his artistic energies. By the time of his death in 1958, new art movements had made his striking work of the twenties all but forgotten.

#### NOTES

1. See Chapter 5, in Allen, Only Yesterday, PP. 88-122.

2. Guy Pène du Bois (GPDB), Artists Say the Sillicst Things (ASTST), p. 84.

3. One painting, titled appropriately Prohibition (collection unknown), was shown at the Whitney Studio Club in 1927.

4. Sinclair, Prohibition: The Era of Excess, p. 220. 5. Flanner, Paris Was Yesterday, 1925-1939, p. xix.

6. Van Wyck Brooks, Days of the Phoenix, p. 108.

7. Fitzgerald, "Gretchen's Forty Winks," in Six

Tales of the Jazz Age, p. 176.

8. Ibid., p. 7.

9. Ibid., p. 110.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 1.

12. ASTST, p. 215.

13. ASTST, pp. 213-214.

14. ASTST, p. 214.

15. ASTST, p. 214.

16. ASTST, p. 215. 17. ASTST, p. 216

18. ASTST, p. 216.

19. Van Wyck Brooks, Days of the Phoenix, pp. 2-3.

20. Loos, Gentlemen Prefer Blandes, p. 93. Throughout the book Lorelei Lee misspells words by way of demonstrating her high intellectual accomplishments.

21. Ibid., p. 63.

22. ASTST, p. 249.

23. ASTST, p. 251.

24. Such subjects had inspired the work of other American artists, including paintings like Soir Blau, 1914 (Whitney Museum of American Art) by Edward Hopper and Café, Paris, 1929 (private collection) by Archibald J. Motley, Jr. (1891-1981). Motley, who portrayed black urban Americans, admired Pène du Bois' Americans in Paris. See Jontyle Theresa Robinson and Wendy Greenhouse, The Art of Archibald J, Motley, Jr. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1992).

The Parisian establishments frequented by Guy Pène du Bois inspired several important paintings, including Café Monnot, c. 1928-1929 (Whitney Mussum of American Art), The Cafe, 1925 (New York, Russian Tea Room), and Pierrot Tired, c. 1927 (Corcoran Gallery of Art), which pictures a common scene in his work-a silent couple sharing a table and a drink.

25. ASTST. p. 113.

26. One of Pene du Bois' most striking curvasses, Cufe du Dome, 1925-1926 (National Gallery of Art), depicts this establishment. Another painting, Morning, Pans Cake, 1926 (Whitney Museum of American Art), was inspired by a young woman he had seen one evening at the Dome.

27. Hemingway, "A Good Cafe on the Place St-Michel," in A Moreable Feast, p. 5.

28. Ibid.

29. Other examples include American Girls at Rail. road Station, Paris, 1926 (collection unknown), Two Gods, Montmartre, 1927 (Phillips Collection), and Girls, Champs Elystes, c. 1925 (private collection).

30. Fitzgerald, Tender Is the Night, p. 83.

31. "American Painters' Work," New York Times, 11 December 1927.

32. Helen Henderson, "Viewing Work by GPDB." Philadelphia Inquirer, 6 November 1927.

33. Other works executed in Nice include Grande Bleue, Nice, 1930 (collection unknown) and Place Massena, Nice, 1930 (collection unknown).

34. ASTST, p. 128.

35. ASTST, p. 191.

36. ASTST, p. 191.

37. ASTST, p. 253. In 1927, Pene du Bois painted a portrait of Bedaux's wife in Italy. Their economic and social status is attested by the fact that Duke of Window was married in the Bedaux's French chateau.

38. GPDB, quoted in Van Wyck Brooks, John Sloon A Painter's Life (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955: 72.

39. Kraushaar's distinctive round form also inspired a 1926 print by John Sloan.

40. Many of the New York esteries were favorite haunts of the artists who depicted them. Patrons of the Hall Hola, 1917, and Romany Marie's. 1922, the subjects of prints by Sloan, enjoyed the inexpensive bousterousness of

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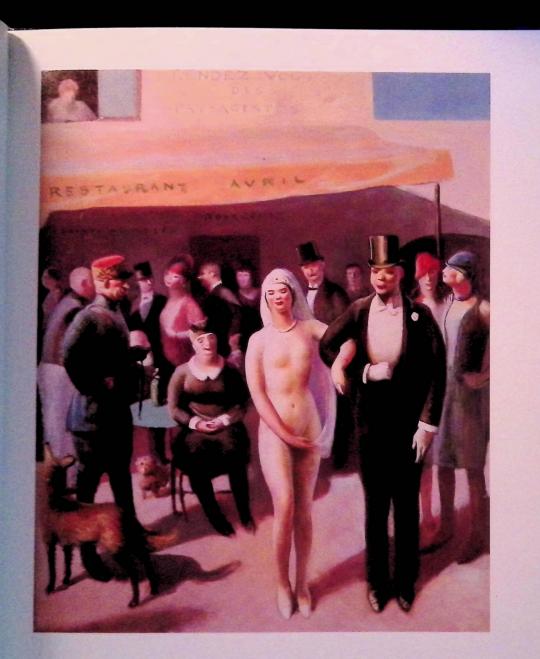
27. len Henderson, "Viewing Work by GPDB," quirer, 6 November 1927. her works executed in Nice include Grande 930 (collection unknown) and Place Manne

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by John Sloan. In of the New York eateries were faverile artists who depicted them. Patrons of the fild I.P. 1022 the subjects of nd Romany Marie's, 1922, the subject of n, enjoyed the inexpensive bouterournee a



35. Country Wedding, 1929 oil on canvas, 36 x 29 in. The Manoogian Collection Photograph courtesy The Manoogian Collection these establishments. Those venturing to Harlem's increasingly popular jazz clubs could discover scenes similar to those recorded by Charles Demuth in At Marshall's, 1917 (Barnes Foundation).

(Itames Foundation). 41. Although it was published in the New York Heruld Tiibune, 21 November 1920, as Café Madrid, Spain, I am not convinced that Spain is correctly part of the title. There was a New York restaurant named Café Madrid which opened in 1911-1912. In Gentlemen Prefer Blonds, Anita Loos also alludes to one in Paris: "so when we went to a place called the Madrid to tea and it really was devine" (p. 99). Pane du Bois was more likely to have had contact with the Dales in New York and Paris.

While the settings of several of his restaurant scenes are specifically identified, more characteristically Guy Pëne du Bois preferred to create generic types, as he did with people. Typical is *Restaurant No. 1* and *Restaurant No. 2*, 1924 (Art Institute of Chicago), a diptych painted before he left for France. The first depicts a single man in evening dress, while the second shows two slinky women at a table, one with her face turned away from the viewer. This is the sort of scene treated with impassive humor in a 1925 cartoon by Peter Arno published in *The New Yorker*,

"Nightlife," (The New Yorker 1 [24 October 1925]: 17) in which a series of tables of repetitively similar dour couples is pictured. Clad in elegant evening dress, they rigidly do not converse with each other and are attended by equally indifferent waiters.

42. The Chester Dale collection included The Confidence Man, 1919 (Brooklyn Museum), Pouter Pigeon, 1922 (collection unknown), Hallway, Italian Restaurant, 1922 (National Gallery of Art), Restaurant 1 and Restaurant 2, 1924 (Art Institute of Chicago), Café du Dôme, 1925–1926 (National Gallery of Art), and La Ruc de la Santé, 1928 (National Gallery of Art).

43. ASTST, p. 251.

46. Although the word flapper received its fullest definition in Fitzgerald's novels of the 1920s, she had been identified by H. L. Mencken as existing by 1910. See H. L. Mencken, "American Slang," in *The American Language* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931): 373; and *The American Language, Supplement I* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945): 514–515. See also May, *The End of American Innocence*, pp. 339–340. In a Fitzgerald story, "The Offshore Pirate," a male protagonist has another character swear "on your honor as a flapper," in *Flappers and Philosophers*, p. 23

Stevenson, Babbitts and Bohemians, p. 139.
 "Flapping Not Repented Of," New York Times,
 July 1922, reprinted in Mowry, The Twenties, p. 174.
 William Henry Chafe, The American Woman, p.
 See also "Women Smokers," New York Times, 19 Feb-

ruary 1920, reprinted in Mowry, The Twenties, pp. 178-179.

48. This image is echoed by the sprightly women is the prints of Martin Lewis, as for example. Shades Dance 1930. The brisk urban chic of his figures is cheerful and on the move. Another view is given in Kenneth Have Miller's Shopper, 1928 (Whitney Museum of American Art). Although she wears the skinny low-waisted dress favored by her younger contemporaries, her matronly figure reveals that her is too old for their kinds of activities.

49. The women depicted by Pene du Bois may wear the skinny form-fitting dress of the period, as in Open Ban 1926 (Whitney Museum of American Art), but his amazone esque female scarcely suggests flappery. His Woman with Cigarette, 1929 (Whitney Museum of American Art) also pictures two strong, looming female figures. Their male companions are not visible, and the bulging forehead of the woman firmly holding her cigarette makes the ensemble highly disturbing. Ironically, while women wearing the latest fashions (albeit in larger sizes than the ideal) appear regularly in his paintings, only one of his canvasses specifically names the type who was the model in a title-Fapper, 1922. (Greensboro, University of North Carolina, Weatherspoon) Gallery). His single figure is decidedly inelegant, more a school girl on her way to the library than someone about to go to a cafe.

50. Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald, "Eulogy on the Flapper" published in *Metropolitan Magazina*, June 1922, quoted in Nancy Milford, *Zelda, A Biagraphy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970): 91.

51. Bruce Bliven, "Flapper Jane," in The New Regullie (9 September 1925), quoted in Stevenson, Babbitta and Bohemians, p. 141.

52. Fitzgerald, "Bernice Bobs Her Hair," in Flappers and Philosophers, p. 110.

53. Ibid., p. 129.

54. ASTST. p. 132.

55. GPDB. "Reflections of Men and Art." Arts and Decoration 13 (25 June 1920): \$2.

56. Ibid.

57. The figures are similar to his "Marionettes at the Metropolitan Opera," published in *Vanity Fair* in December 1922.

58. These works echo earlier compositions, Dol and Monster, 1914 (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Bonde and Brunette, 1915 (Whitney Museum of American Art). In a later work, Mr. and Mrs. Mudaleolass, 1935 (collection unknown), he continues his interest in types.

> 59. ASIST p. 254. 60. ASTST p. 255. 61. ASIST p. 250.

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2. George Moore with Seated Woman (Former title: George Moore and Sarah Bernhardt), 1920 oil on canvas, 19 x 25¼ in. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts Photograph by Peter A. Juley & Son

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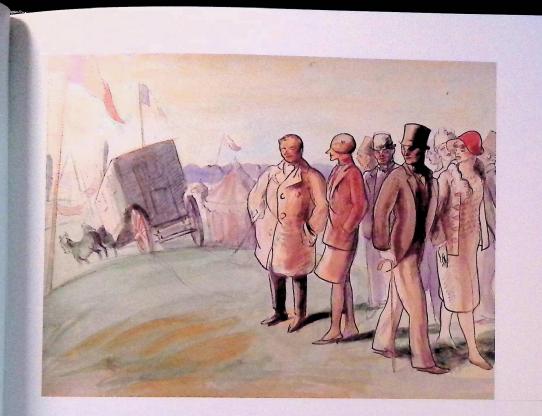
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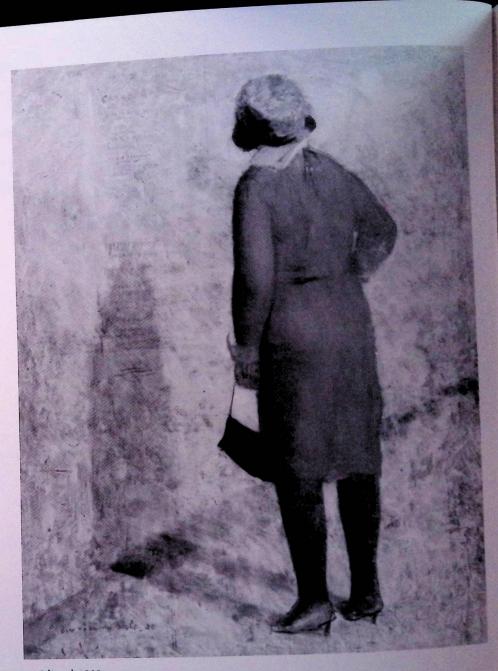
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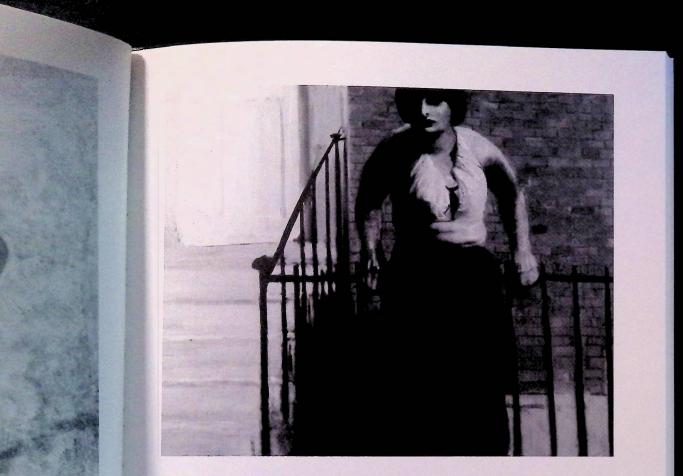
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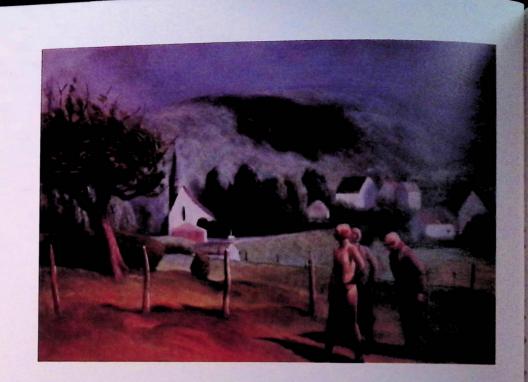
30. After the Circus, 1928 watercolor and ink on paper, 13¼ x 17¾ in. Helena Gunnarsson Collection Photograph by Dean Beasom



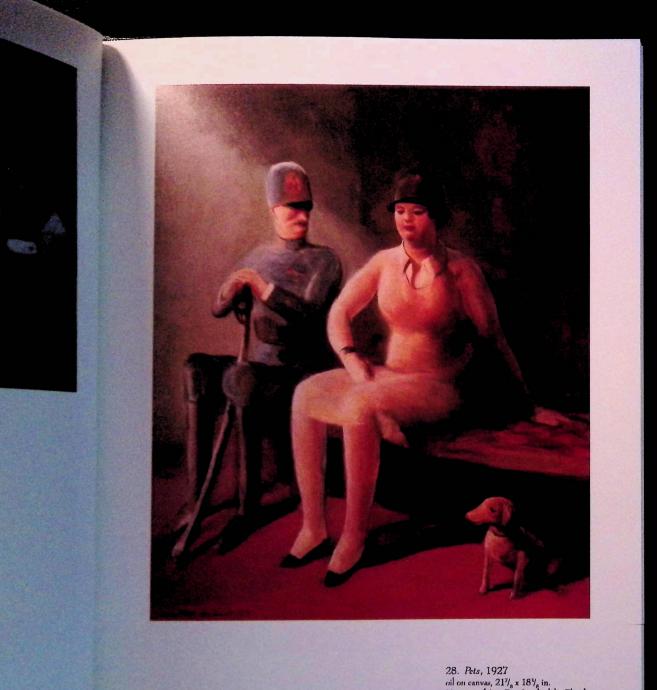
1. *Billboard*, 1920 oil on panel, 25 x 20 in. Norfolk Southern Corporation, Norfolk, Virginia Photograph courtesy of Norfolk Southern Corporation



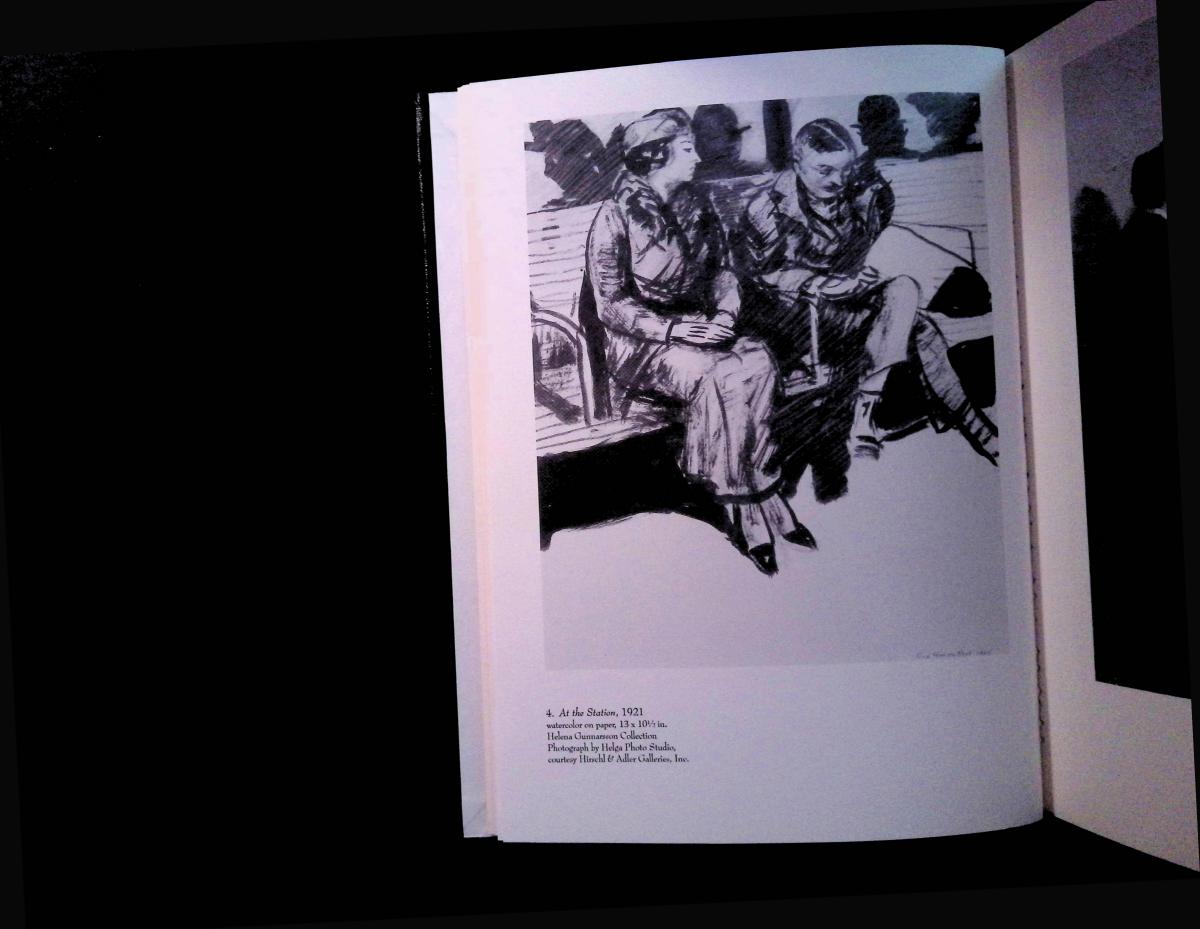
3. An American Oriental, 1921 oil on canvas, 20<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 25<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection Photograph © 1995, Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

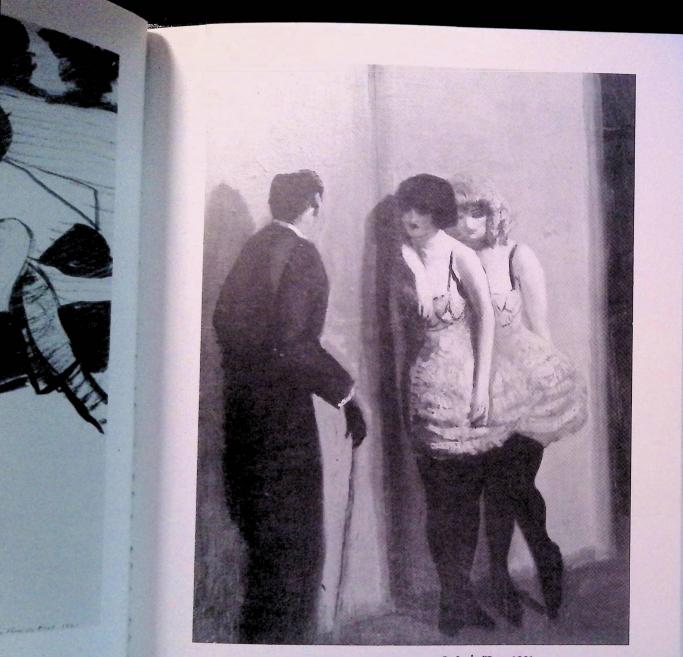


27. Peasants Returning, 1927 oil on canvas, 25½ x 36 in. Ali Moghtader, M.D., Collection

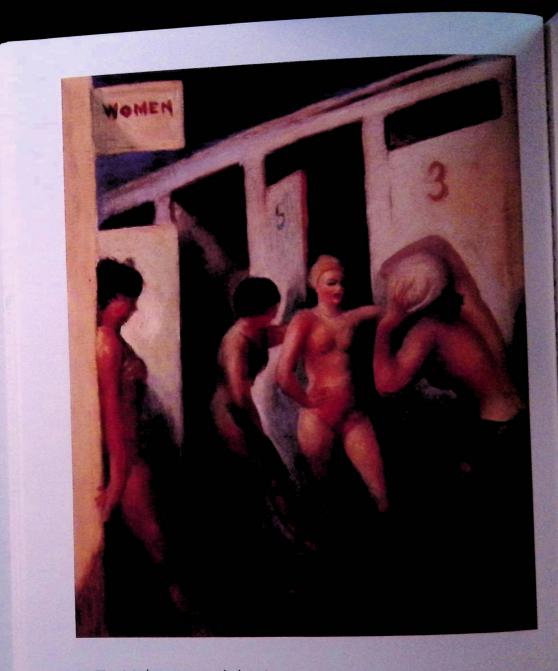


28. Pets, 1927 oil on canvae, 21% x 18% in. Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale, Florida Ira Glackens Bequest Photograph courtesy Museum of Art

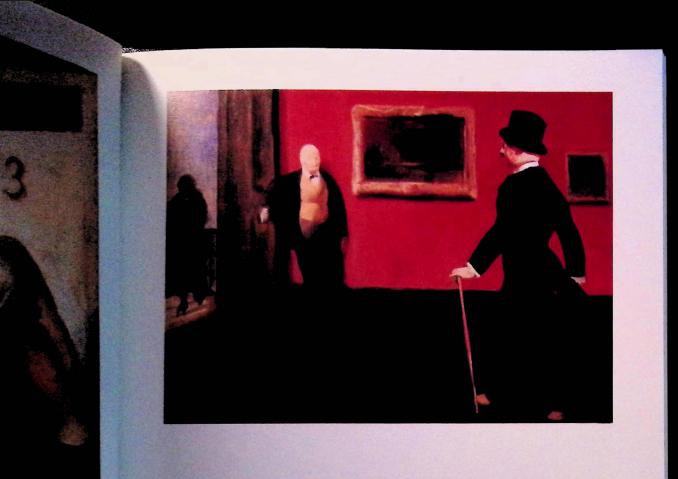




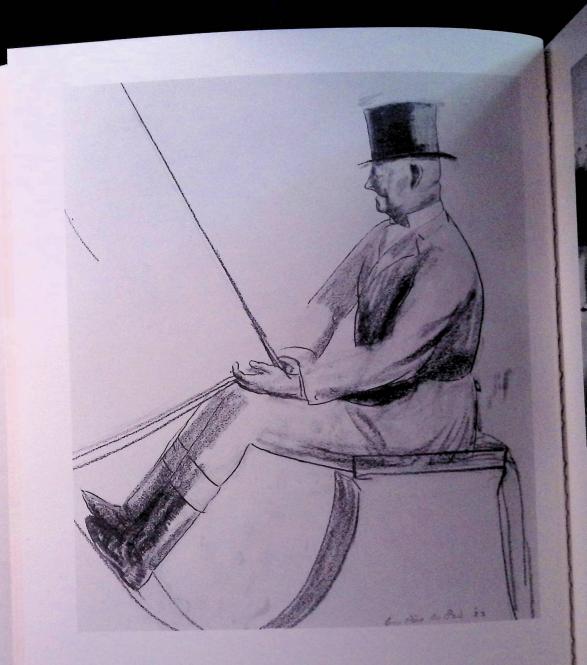
5. In the Wings, 1921 oil on panel, 19½ x 14¼ in. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio Gift of Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, 1948 Photograph © Allen Memorial Art Museum



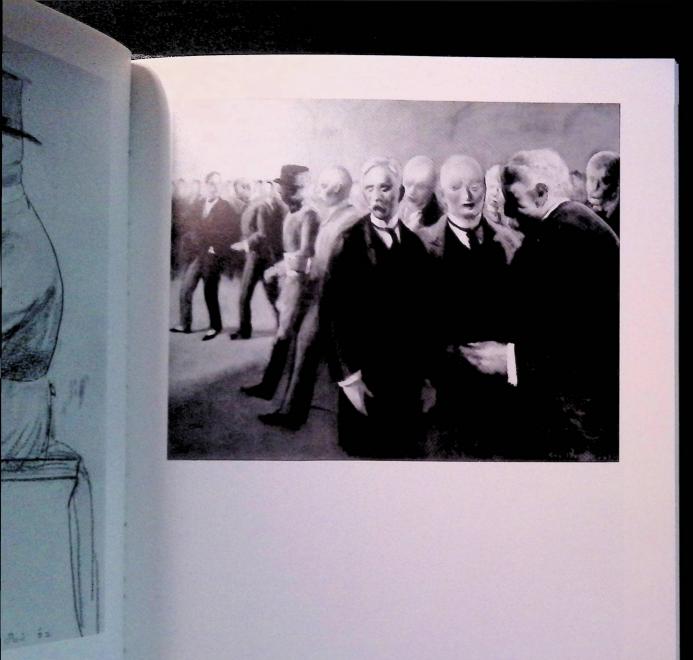
21. Women's Locker Room, Coney Island, 1926 oil on canvas, 20 x 16 in. John P. Axelrod Collection Photograph courtesy Midtown Payson Galleries



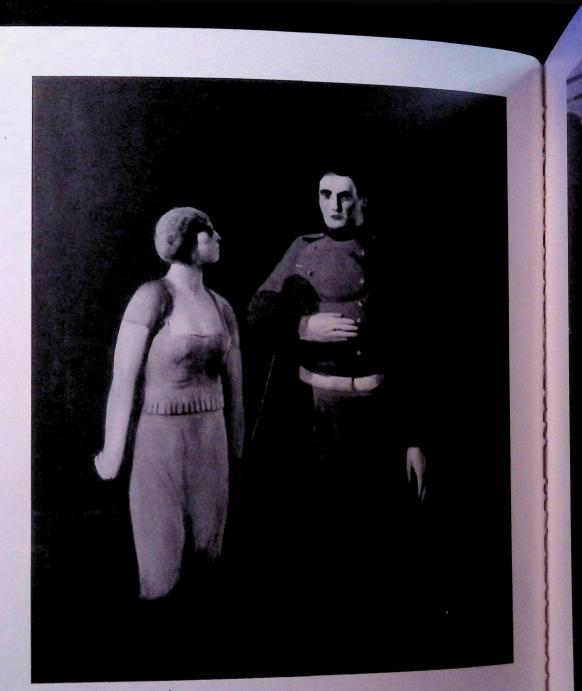
6. Chanticleer, 1922 oil on canvas, 24½ x 32 in. San Diego Museum of Art Purchased with funds from Helen M. Towle Bequest Photograph courtery San Diego Museum of Art



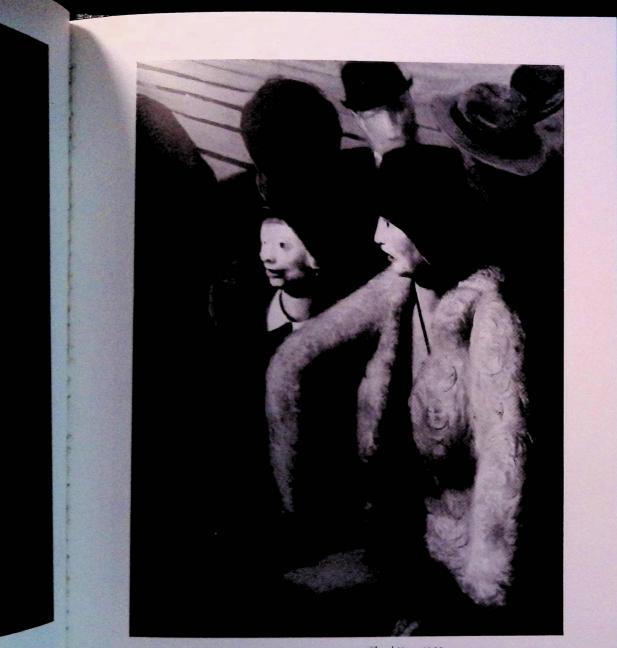
7. The Coachman, 1922 charceal, ink, watercolor on paper, 15¼ x 13¼ in. Helena Gunnarsson Collection Photograph by Holga Photo Studio, courtesy Hirsehl & Adler Galleries, Inc.



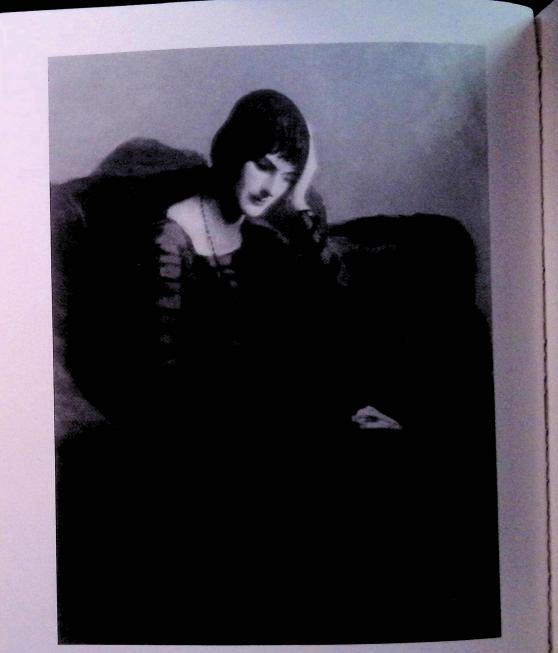
8. Disarmament Conference/Peace Conference, 1922 oil on canvas, 20 x 25 in. Marjorie and Charles Benton Collection Photograph by Michael Tropca, courtesy Carolyn Klein Art Consultants



9. The Life Soldier (Former title: The Wooden Soldier), 1922 oil ou panel, 25 x 20 in. Bowdoin College Museum of Art Gift of Walter K. Gutman, '24 Photograph by Arthur Evans, courtesy Bowdoin College Museum of Art

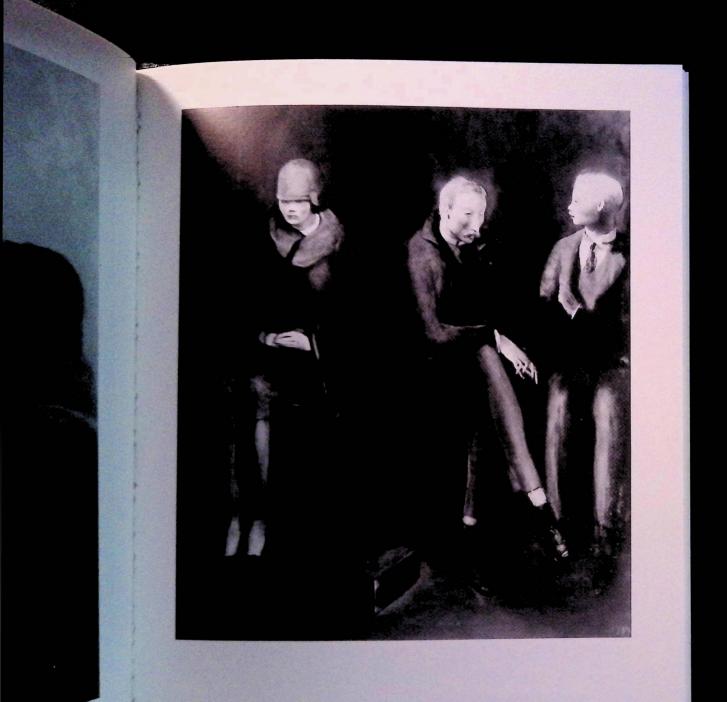


10. Shored Hats, 1923 sil on causen, 20 x 14% in. Natured Museum of American Art, Smitheonian Institution Cafe of Sara Roby Foundation Photograph courtesy National Museum of American Art

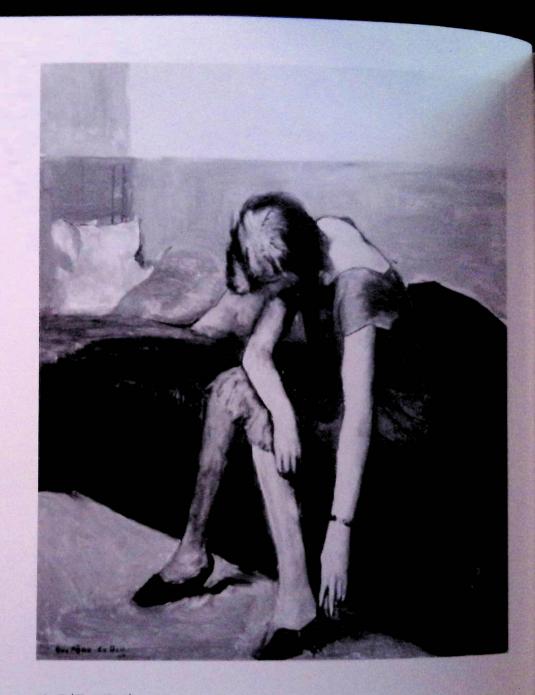


12

13. Isabel Bishop, 1924 oil on canvas, 48 x 36 in. Arthur J. and Edith S. Levin Promised Gift to the National Museum of American Art. Smitheonian Institution

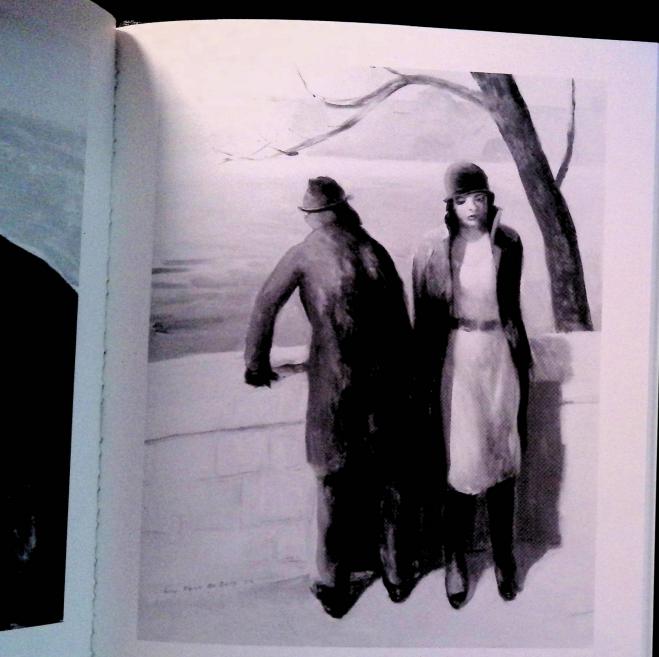


14. *Railroad Compartment*, 1925 eil on panel, 21½ x 18 in. Linda Lichtenberg Kaplan Photograph courtesy Linda Lichtenberg Kaplan

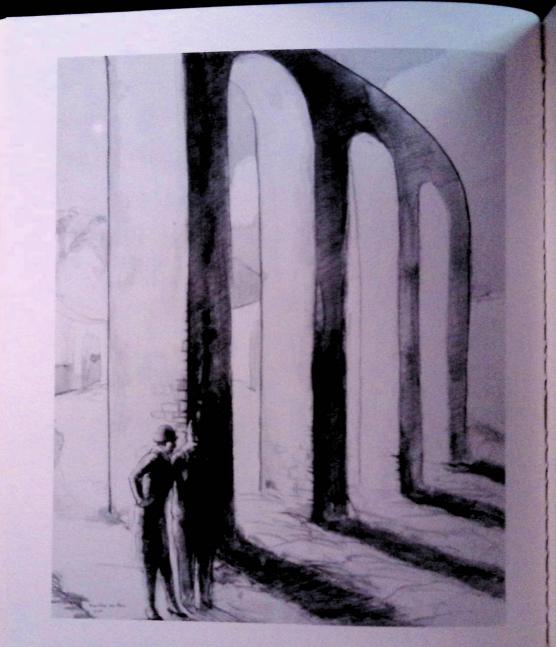


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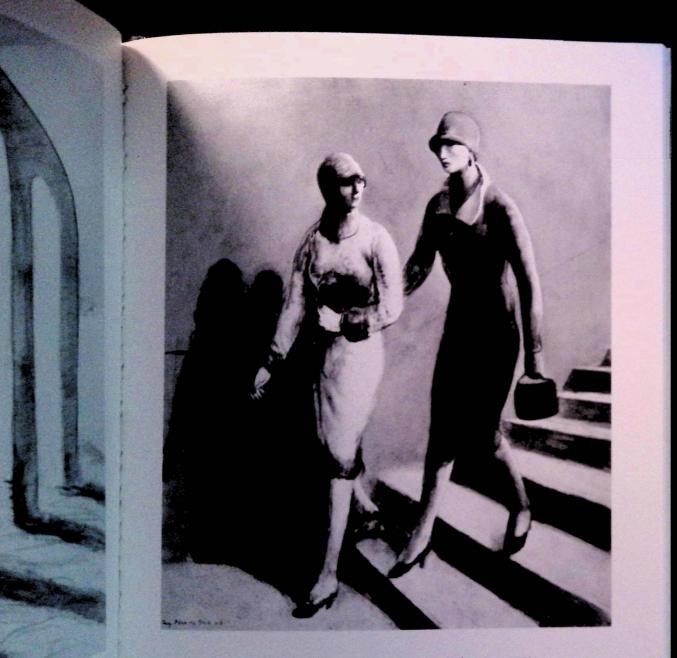
 Gal Turing Her Shoe, 1926
 od on passel, 21<sup>10</sup>/16 x 18<sup>17</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.
 Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy Oift of Classica Dale
 Photograph © Addison Gallery of American Art



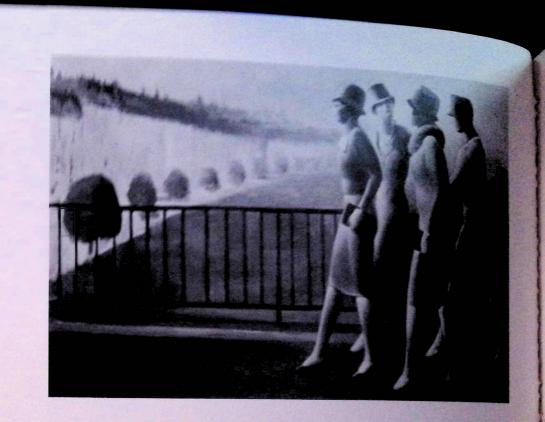
17. On the Bridge, 1926 oil on panel, 22 x 18 in. New Britain Museum of American Art Harriet Russell Stanley Fund Photograph courtesy New Britain Museum of American Art



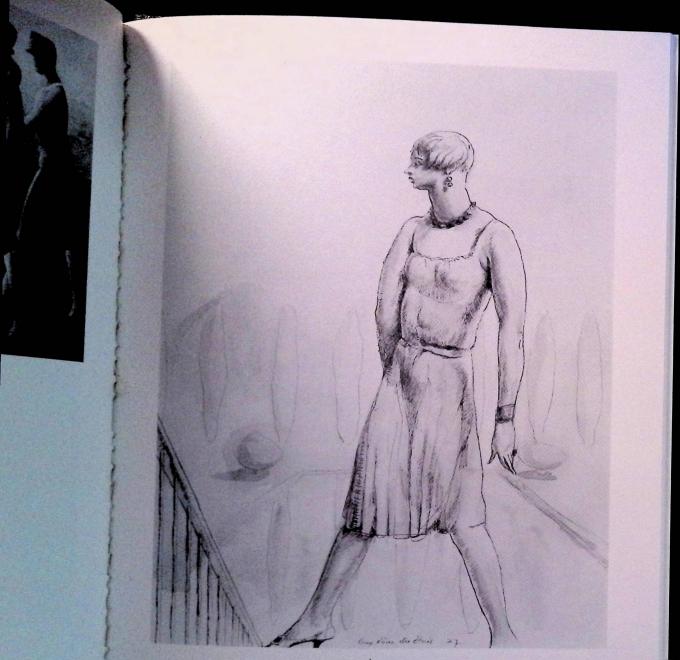
19. Pont du Jour, 1926 watercolor, charecol, and graphite on paper, 19% x 16% in Baker/Pisano Collection Photograph by WHT Photography



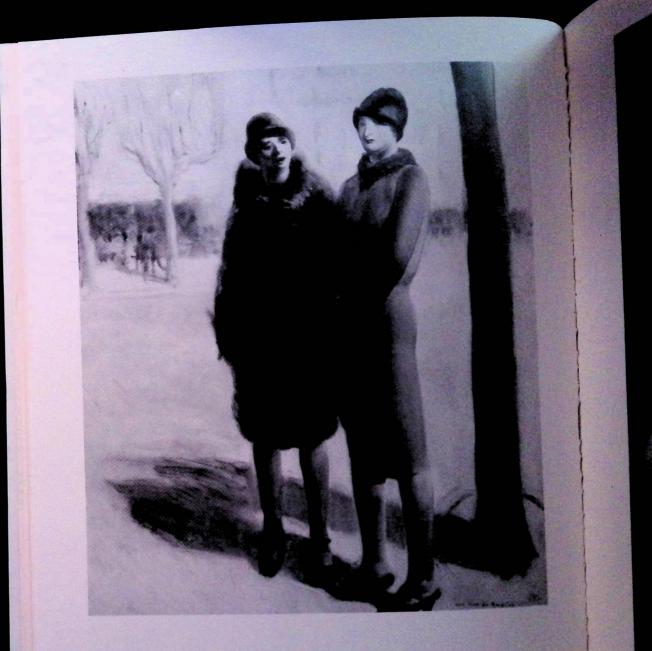
20. Subucay Steps, 1926 cil on panol, 21% x 17% in: Addison Callery of American Art, Phillips Andreny Cilt of Peter Adams, '52 Photograph & Addison Gallery of American Art



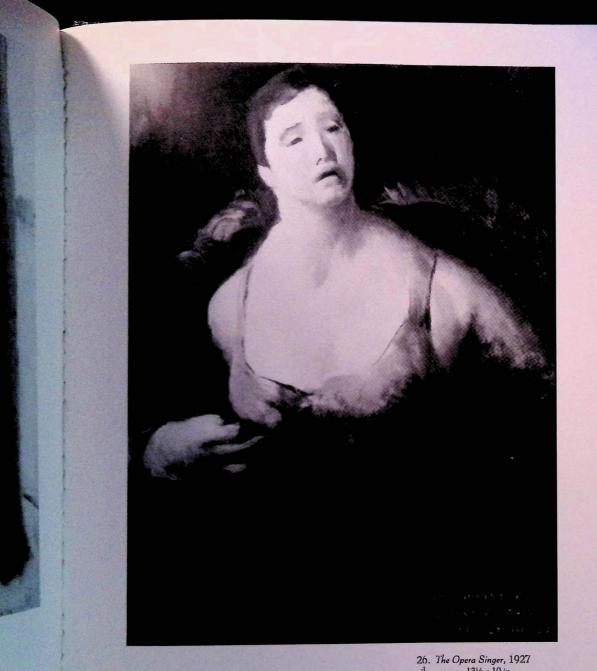
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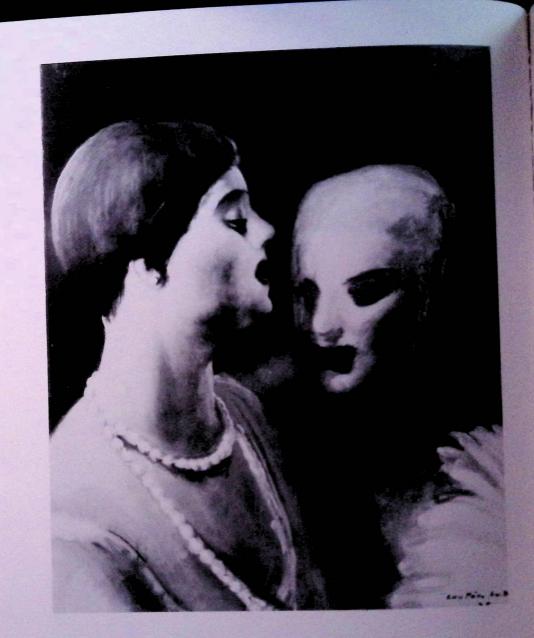
23. *Girl at Montparnaese*, 1927 watercolor and ink on paper, 15 x 11½ in. Richard and Carol Levin Photograph by Helga Photo Studio, courtesy Hirschl & Adler Galleries, Inc.



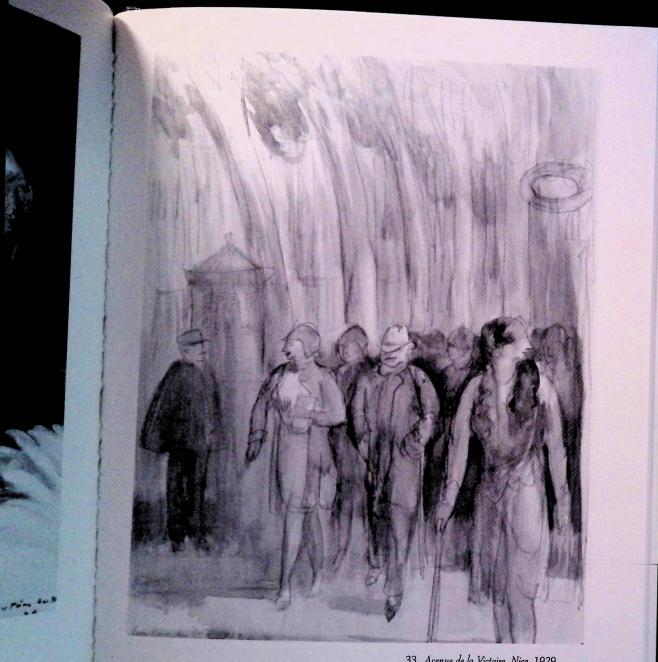
24. Girls, Montparnasse (Two Women, Montparnasse), 1927 oil on canvas, 21¼ x 18½ in. Staten Island Institute of Arts & Sciences Gift of William F. Laporte, Sr. Photograph courtesy Staten Island Institute of Arts & Sciences



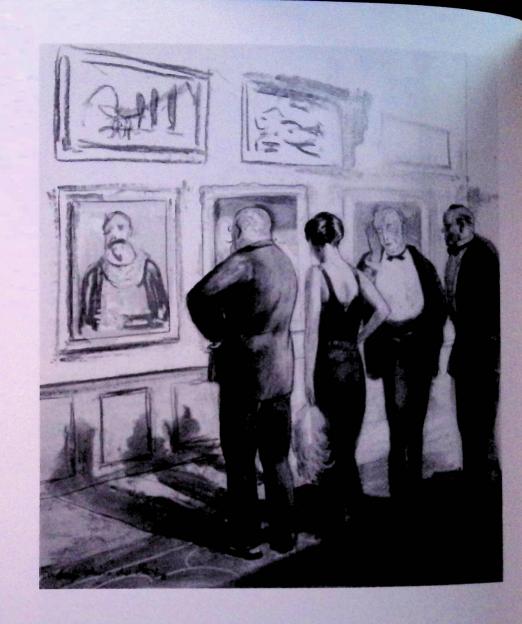
26. The Opera Singer, 1927 oil on canvas, 13½ x 10 in. Kraushaar Galleries Photograph courtesy Kraushaar Galleries



31. Mother and Daughter, 1928 oil on canvas. 21% x 18 in. Whitney Museum of American Art Purchase Photograph courtesy Whitney Museum of American Art



33. Arenue de la Victoire, Nice, 1929 watercolor and graphite on paper, 13½ x 10¼ in. Austin P. Kelley Collection Photograph by Professional Photographic Services



37. The Art Opening, n.d. charcoal and watercolor on paper, 15 x 13 in. Helena Gunnarsson Collection Photograph by Dean Beasom

# Stanley I Grand

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## Guy Dène du Bois The Artist as Critic

## Stanley I Grand

When Henry Pene du Bois died on shipboard enroute home from France in May 1906, his twenty-two-year-old son Guy, with whom he had been traveling, suddenly found himself in need of a job. After his arrival in New York, the young artist obtained a position-largely through family connections-as a reporter with the daily New York American, where his father had worked as a critic. Over the next half-century, in addition to painting and teaching, Guy Pène du Bois wrote hundreds of articles and reviews, several monographs on American artists, and a charming autobiography entitled Artists Say the Silliest Things.1 Yet despite his prolific output, most subsequent critics and art historians, with the notable exception of Betsy Fahlman, have minimized or ignored Pène du Bois' critical writings.

This oversight is unfortunate and undeserved, especially since his essays are delightfully readable. He brought to his subjects both a mordant wit and a sophisticated, at times jaded, sensibility. Frequently-assuming the guise of the amoral flaneur watching the passing parade from a point somewhat above street level-he commented dryly on the foibles of his contemporaries. His panoramic view of the aesthetic landscape included observations on clothing, billboards, cosmetics, and health, in addition to the fine arts.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, despite his ironic perch, he maintained a great fondness for people as they are. Indeed, he was an articulate advocate for the individual in an era that was becoming increasingly depersonalized and dehumanized. As a critic he expressed a clear set of values; he distrusted and dismissed equivocation: "Chameleons are not

critics. [They give] none of the many doubtful students a ground to stand on. They stand on none themselves. They say they are broadminded quite as though this all inclusive breadth of view were of value to the world."<sup>3</sup>

This essay considers a number of themes that inform Guy Pène du Bois' criticism written between 1912 and 1924.4 Not only do these essays most closely relate to the paintings included in "Guy Pène du Bois: The Twenties at Home and Abroad" and thereby provide a further key to understanding the exhibition, but they also were written during the time when he enjoyed his greatest success, influence, and importance as a critic. As the recently appointed editor of Arts and Decoration, he had helped prepare the public to understand the famous Armory Show, which opened at the 69th National Guard Regiment Armory on Lexington Avenue in February 1913, by dedicating the March issue to the exhibition. His own contribution in that issue, entitled "The Spirit and the Chronology of the Modern Movement," explained that the seemingly radical Cézanne, "the great man of the great modern movement . . . is essentially a classicist; that is, like Ingres, he demands last of all, order, measure, the harmonious scheme that is essential."5

In "The Spirit and the Chronology of the Modern Movement," Pène du Bois articulated two philosophical tenets that would characterize his writings for the next dozen years. The first, that art must be based on life, reflects the influence of Robert Henri, with whom he had studied at the New York School of Art. Prior to Henri's appointment in 1902, the students had been taught an "art-for-art's-sake" philosophy as interpreted by the school's principal instructor William Merritt Chase. Henri, on the other hand, taught "art for life's sake." Almost forty years later, Pène du Bois described Henri's revolutionary impact on the students: He "completely overturned the apple cart: displaced art by life, discarded technic, broke the prevailing gods as easily as brittle porcelain. The talk was uncompromising, the approach unsubtle, the result pandemonium."" On his first day as the instructor in the life class, Henri approached one hapless student and, after considering his work, asked in a voice audible to all: "Was [he] a man or not, and by inference were we, that we could draw or paint this woman in all her glorious nudity as though she were a plaster cast, a thing less alive than a cabbage? Life certainly did that day stride into a life class."7

In 1913 Pène du Bois clarified the distinction between art and life when he wrote: "Art when there is no life in it is just as dead and just as worthless as a body when there is no life in it. Painting when there is nothing but life in it, when it is without regulation, is not art."8 In his view "Art is not exactly life-it is greater than life. Life is barbaric, impulsive, unrestrained. . . . Art is the restraint constructing order out of chaos."9 For Pène du Bois, art transcended style or the means of expression. Consequently he could praise the Classicist Ingres, the Romantic Delacroix, and the Realist Courbet because all three were "incontrovertably [sic] connected with life. Their art epitomized life's particular phrases [sic]."10 Each started with nature; each was a gardener: "Life is the root, the plant; art the gardener."11 Their differences were merely in how they chose to train their plants: Ingres chose order, Delacroix exulted in the sensuous. Metaphorically speaking, Courbet combined Ingres' formal garden with Delacroix's English garden to produce a synthesis of the two. Since Pene du Bois believed that art required "regulation," he had no use for unbridled expression: "Art requires the services of the mind almost as much as it requires the services of the heart."12 Nor did he have any sympathy for dishonesty: "There is but one kind of bad art and that is insincere art."13 To this point he had earlier praised Jerome Myers: "He is Diogenes with the lantern, but more successful than the classic

figure for he seeks not moral honesty but the honesty of the sincere man blurting out his evil along with his good."14 True art must be infused with life: "The terrible thing in art, as in life, is the tepid thing\_that is the mediocre thing."15 In sum, art must be alive, regulated by the intellect,

Pène du Bois distinguished between the artists who initiated art movements and their imitators or followers. He put the matter nicely in 1922 when he opined "Movements in art resemble whiskey bottles. They are important when full, when empty they are merely the shell of a fine thing which died."<sup>16</sup> The true artists, whether conservative like Ingres, "the first potent modern despot," or radical like "Manet or Renoir, the realists, followed the laws of nature in preference to those of art."17 Ingres' accomplishment, for example, consisted of his ability "to regulate his subject absolutely without denuding it of all artistic or rather aesthetic virtue. He made the classic formula his own, made it do his bidding, turned and twisted and moulded it."18 Cézanne, on the other hand, "who was a genius, evolved a new theory of painting by keeping away from the company of painters."19

The insistence that art follow "the laws of nature" reflects an ongoing discourse in Western art. The art of the Medieval era was conceptual, an art of signs, signifiers and formulas. As a humanistic world view supplanted the theocentric, a perceptual art based on the study of nature gradually came to replace the earlier art. In Italy, beginning with Giotto, artists slowly abandoned the Byzantine conventions in preference for a more naturalistic mode. During the quattrocento, Italian artists, influenced by their growing understanding of-and fascination with-the antique, sought the ideal in nature, that which transcended the accidents of specific manifestations. Northern European artists, on the other hand, tended toward unadorned verism. By the early sixteenth century, the classical ideal reached its acme in the High Renaissance art of Raphael, which sought not merely to "ape" nature but to improve on it. One consequence of the pursuit of an ideal was that art became increasingly self-referential. In the courtly, aristocratic, witty, and virtuosic style known as Mannerism, the artist manipulated and

contravened the laws of nature with spatial dislocations, acid colors, distorted anatomical proportions, and an ironic, frequently erotic, sensibility. Mannerism, in sum, was an art based on art. The extreme aestheticism of Mannerism eventually provoked a backlash. In the late sixteenth century, Academies dedicated to restoring the ideal art of Raphael were established. Simultaneously, around 1600, in a parallel reaction to the excesses of Late Mannerism, Caravaggio created a new realistic style that substituted truth to nature for decorum: since peasants had dirty feet and fingernails. let them appear thus in paintings. During the following centuries the cycles of art oscillated. In the nineteenth century, for example, the Realism of Courbet was followed by the aestheticism of Whistler.

The second philosophical tenet, then, was a cyclic view of art, which Pène du Bois shared with Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945), the German art historian and theoretician, who had described the progression of artistic stages from archaic to classic to baroque.<sup>20</sup> In a similar vein, Pene du Bois wrote: "The cycles of art are like the cycles of life. They are born, reach maturity and then . . . hegin the downward slide to death . . . at the base of which there is inevitably a new life hegun, a renaissance."21 In "Despotism and Anarchy in Art" (1915) he described the succession of art movements as a cyclic process in which "Anarchy succeeds despotism and despotism succeeds anarchy."22 According to Pene du Bois, both the "Anarchistic and despotic parties of art realize equally that it is impossible to obviate a tendency that man holds in common with sheep."23 Consequently both parties offer formulas; the former (classicism) lays down rules, while the latter (expressionism/subjectivism) offers individual freedom: "Artists of the despotic state claim that art is beauty and beauty a fact, tangible and positive. The anarchists see in art the search for self, for the particular vision of the individual and deny positivism."24

Not unexpectedly, as a consequence of his underlying themes, Pène du Bois had a great distrust for "formulas" whether old or new. Writing on the Armory Show he expressed the hope that "This international exhibition should . . . stimulate our creative power, show the way to freedom, to independence, throw off the veil of

art's traditions that is hung between us and noture and destroy the worn-out formulas which was complacently we have made to serve our purpose."

The year before, and not for the first time, Pène du Bois had identified aestheticista as onu of the most pernicious formulas. Comparing "the officially recognized American" painters to a number of German graphic artists, he found the academic work of his countrymen noteworthy for its "timidity, eraven fear, land absolute unwillingness to 'take a chance." an art. in sum. dominated by a total "fear of error." The origin of "the spirit predominating them all [the Americans] may be traced back to the time when William M. Chase, perhaps inspired by epigrams made in a light 'left-handed' way by Whistler, began the promulgation of the theory of 'Art for Art's Sake."" In another article, also written in 1914. Pene du Bois observed that "The art that surrounded him Herome Myers | when he began to produce pictures some twenty years ago owed its thesis to an idealism that, with no basic foundation in fact or in nature, had become superficial and puerile. . . . Beauty then was a matter to be secured and stamped on canvas not by the study of nature but by strict adherence to the rule book of proportions and of values." Eleven years later. his position remained unchanged: "the art attitude . . . became a pair of artificially colored plasses between himself [Whistler] and the thing seen, a device defeating fresh vision or any empirical deduction."29

Pène du Bois' disdain of formulas and his cyclic view of art colored his subsequent attitudes toward modernism. Shortly after the Armory Show closed, he and eight other artists resigned from the Society of American Painters and Sculptors. Inc., which had organized the exhibition, because "confirmed extremists . . . have turned the society into a Cubist, a Futurist, a Post-Impressionist organization as radical and narrow in its aims as the National Academy of Design is radical and narrow in its aims."" As one who saw art movements swinging like a pendulum between birth and death, rise and fall, youth and age; he consistently advised artists to avoid extremes, to shun the poles of the cycle. Like Horace, he sought the Golden Mean, the middle way, that is the mid-point of the arc.

initially, as we have seen, Pène du Bois applauded the new art. He appreciated the courage of its practitioners who threw off the constraints of tired formulas. Unlike in America, "In the rest of the world, in Germany, France, Scandinavia, peo-and post-impressionists, expressionists, cubists, futurists, a host of extremists, are running the whole samut of freedom and, as is the case in art, not seldom to their own destruction. They fail often, but from excess of trying."31 The problem was, as he lamented in 1918, that "the strong men make the formulas which the weak men follow after them. There is no good to come of conscious art, this constant repetition of the rules of arrangement which, growing older, become more and more abstract and more and more unfittable to the chances of life."32 In Pène du Bois' view, modernism had become simply another formulary.

Critics have tended to see Pène du Bois' turn adainst modernism as reactionary, as representing a return to his realist roots, rather than as the mature criticism of an anti-authoritarian who saw modernism as a manifestation of the growing consolidation of power in the West and its diminution of the individual. Observing how Goya had subverted the authority of absolute monarchs by means of satire and, in formal terms, by displacing the king as the central figure, Pene du Bois argued that: "It was after Goya that Courbet began the humanist propaganda; that realism came to do away with reverence, and that reverence, in the old sense, was to become obsolete."33 Courbet "retained, nevertheless, the idea of the importance of the individual. If he felt that all figures were worthy of an equal respect, he still could not consider them en masse-he was a humanist. It remained for a later political age to consider man by the million, man in the aggregate."" Although he frequently praised the Master of Aix-en-Provence, he believed that he epitomized the modern, anti-humanist trend: "Cézanne . . . has always seemed to me to be a voice giving expression to the modern desire for organization. Indeed, I have never been able to separate his work from socialism, communism, trade unions and trusts."" Modernism's emphasis on systems over people became its prime error: "cubists, postimpressionists and so forth . . . have made anatomical contruction Isic (that landmark of the

Academies) in their canvases subservient to the organization of the whole, broken bones in order to perfect systems, got rid entirely of the potency of the individual, of Goya's satire, of Courbet's humanism. A step further than Matisse is Picasso, whom we found, for a time, using abstract symbols, carrying no suggestion of humanity, in order to portray the actions and reactions of forms, the pull and push, give and take of forces, in which individual will is as of little consequence as a cork bobbing unconsciously on the surface of any literal sea."<sup>30</sup>

By adopting recipes and focusing on systems instead of life, the modernist fails as "he rants against institutions, against old gods and ghosts. He is not an artist exactly—he is an iconoclast. The freedom he vaunts about? That is his prison,"31 The distinction between the artist and the iconoclast is one that Pène du Bois reframed and returned to throughout this period, gradually coming to the conclusion that "the man of action is rarely a man of vision. Artist really means a man of vision. It must be unquestionable that he will cloud his vision in the dust of combat."38 In another article, also written in the 1920s, he counseled: "The artist must not forget that he is an observer. a man watching the parade from a safe though convenient distance and armed, in any case, with enough strength of character to be kept physically out of it."39 In sum: "The artist as a seer should be beyond such stupid adherence to dogma. He must be beyond or beside the contemporary philosophy. He must be a spectator."41

Since art is derived from, and based upon, life, it follows that the artist must change to reflect his life experience. Pène du Bois ridiculed the painter who clings to his youthful, "virginal" vision: He "does not move in his tracks, no blots mar his original purity, no new huskiness is added to his original soprano, no scars on the rosy pink of the first flesh. Art is here and life is there."41 He was especially harsh on the members of The Eight: ""With two or three exceptions [they] were republicans, singing the song of the plain man and his family...We were a real republic: every man as good as his neighbor."43 Or at least so went the myth. In reality, Pène du Bois believed that "Courbet may already have emptied the bottle when our republicans began their admiration society"<sup>44</sup> and he questioned whether "the republican realism which reflected that time was not already ... a kind of reminiscence of something which was good while we had it but which now, alas, was gone."<sup>45</sup> He reserved his harshest criticism, however, for his former instructor Robert Henri, "the high priest of these republican Americans, "<sup>40</sup> who "having lost the revolutionary radicalism of his youth, the early discontent ... has settled comfortably upon the optimism of Pollyanna."<sup>47</sup>

Pene du Bois' ultimate rejection of The Eight had nothing to do with their "Ash Can" subject matter or political views. In 1920, for example, he minimized the importance of subject matter altogether: "Art is, after all, a matter of expression. The subject matter in art is incidental."18 Two years later he would add, in a statement that anticipates the formalism of Clement Greenberg, "The literary or the descriptive end of a picture is padding in so far as the art or the aesthetic quality is concerned."\* Given his belief that art was more than aesthetics, Pene du Bois could never become a pure formalist. Consequently, he rejected the arguments of those who proscribed politics from art: "But there is no logic at all in the theory or dogma that artists must not prostitute' their art at the feet of political interest." Continuing he noted "Art has always occupied itself with life in one way or another. It has always, as Taine has thoroughly well shown, summed up the prevailing tide, given the synthesis of the thought of a particular generation of mankind, even expressed the unconscious thought of a generation."51 The problem with The Eight was that their paintings no longer, if they ever did, represent their times.

This conclusion represents his ultimate rejection of Robert Henri's philosophy: "One of my old professors once said, and is probably still saying to male disciples, that the way to being an artist is through manhood, or in order to become an artist you must first be a man... But it is only by inference that one arrives at his definition of 'man.'... In America he became something of a swashbuckler, a loud talking hearty sort of faker ordinarily designated, and with an effort of praise, as a rough diamond."<sup>52</sup> But America had now come of age: "Perhaps America, like New York, is beginning to tire of the simple statements of the

blunt middle-class. We may be ready to delight in intellectual gymnastics [i.e. cubism]. We are a long way from the decadent end of the cycle, but we are also through with the virginal end.<sup>433</sup>

Discussing his own evolution, Pène du Bois noted in his autobiography: "It is with the New York Realists that I began as a painter and then, later on, as a writer." In an article from the 1920s that he wrote about himself, he stated that "The artist begins by gathering facts. He ends by building a philosophy out of them." In other words, the artist starts with nature. He faulted those who approach the problem from the opposite direction: "The critic in doubt or wanting the faculty, probably imaginative, required in any focund research, can always go to his subject armed with a theory, like a tailor with his type measure. Freud's system probably will do for this poor chap as well as any other. However, the man who can arrive at free deductions from encountered facts will go further. Any a priori theory is misleading. We find that which we seek."50

Pene du Bois's "free deductions" assumed an increasingly aristocratic cast as time progressed. Contrasting his dual personas, he observed "The writer is an aristocrat . . . the painter is a plain man."" He came to detest the herds, the followers, the sheep. No friend of democracy, he observed that "A republican state ruled by the will of the majority is ruled by the mediocrity." Nor was he sympathetic toward the precious, effete or contrived: "Exotics are febrile sensitives who, with the taut nerves of invalids and eyes jaded by the commonplace, seek relief and amusement outside the familiar world. Perhaps they are men suffering spiritual and physical nostalyic. Intense, they are of no physical health, of no physical stature, fidgety people, bored, sophisticated and extravagant.""

Neither decadent nor virginal, republican nor intellectual, Guy Pene du Bois was a constant voice for honesty in art: "bad pictures are reflections of men every hit as much as are the good pictures. Hypocritical or sanctimonious pictures are records of the men who created them."<sup>®</sup> Because he accepted the heroic quality of modern life, he faulted those who turned away from life. His description of Toulouse-Lautrec could also be a portrait of Guy Pene du Bois, the artist as critic: "He would be impossible in the America of the old fools' darlings who are as innocent or more innocent than Thackeray's Amelia, or Fielding's for that matter. The artist and the man in this instance, as with Daumier and Forain, keep pace and are inseparable. The artist is not busy denying himself and life. His esthetics far from willful are unavoidable. His morals? He has none. He is neither preacher nor modifier. He does not draw for children. He may he a critic. But behind his cruelty and malice there lurks a

### NOTES

1. For a comprehensive bibliography of Guy Pène du Bois's writings see Betsy Lee Fahlman, "Guy Pène du Bois: Painter, Critic, Teacher," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, 1981, pp. 228-251. This essay owes a great debt to Betsy Fahlman's pioneering work on Guy Pène du Bois.

2. See, for example, Guy Pène du Bois, "Reflections of Men and Art," Arts and Decoration (June 25, 1920): 81-82, 118, and "The Barbaric Rouge Pot and Civilization," Arts and Decoration (August 1920):149. 3. Guy Pène du Bois, "Art in America: A Rambling

and Informal View," Arts and Decoration (January 1918):108 4. Guy Pène du Bois' essays fall into four periode:

(1) his tenure as a music and art critic for the New York American, between 1906 and 1912; (2) his contributions to Arts and Decoration from 1912 to 1921; (3) his monthly columns for International Studio, written between 1922 and 1924; and (4) his freelance writings from 1930 on. The hiatus between 1924 and 1930 coincides with his stay in France, which was terminated abruptly by the stock market crash in October 1929. Although he had intended to supplement his income while in France with periodic articles, he did very little writing for publication while abroad.

5. Guy Pène du Bois, "The Spirit and the Chronology of the Modern Movement," Arts and Decoration (March 1913): 154.

6. Guy Pène du Bois, Artists Say the Sillicst Things (New York: American Artists Group, 1940): 86.

7. Ibid.

8. Pène du Bois, "The Spirit and the Chronology," p. 151.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 153.

11. Ibid., p. 151.

- 12. Pene du Bois, "Art in America," p. 107
- 13. Guy Pène du Bois, "An Expression of Individu-

ality: The A. E. Gallatin Collection of Graphic Art," Arts and Decoration (February 1916): 168.

14. Guy Pene du Bois, "Jerome Myers," Art and Progress (January 1914): 92.

15. Pène du Bois, "Art in America," p. 108. 16. Guy Pène du Bois, "Art By the Way: The Passing of Republican Painting," International Studio (September 1922): 534.

17. Guy Pène du Bois, "Despotism and Anarchy in

great fondness for life as it is, never a blinding sun to him, never a thing which one faces from hehind glasses darkened by religion or morals in order that its vitality will be dulled, along with its profundity and beauty."61

Looking back from an era when much writing about art appears arcane, convoluted and programmatic, Guy Pene du Bois' criticism seems clear, well written and honest. He still has much to teach us and deserves a reevaluation.

Art: The Symbolism Dedicated to the Future and the Realism of the Present," Arts and Decoration (January 1915): 98. 18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 95.

20. Wolfflin's major works are Kenaissance und Barock [Renaissance and Baroque] (1888), Die klassische Kunst [Classic Art] (1899), and Kunstgeschichtliche Grund-

begriffe [Principles of Art History] (1915). 21. Pene du Bois. "The Spirit and the Chronology."

p. 152. 22. Pène du Bois, "Despotism and Anarchy," p. 97.

23. Ibid., p. 98.

24. Ibid., p. 97. Pene du Bois continued: "Rembrand Hals, Goya, Manet . . . Renoir and George B. Luke re sent anarchy in art. In the other party are Durer, Rap Le Brun, Ingres . . . Matisse, Arthur B. Davies, and Keynon Cox."

25. Pène du Bois, "The Spirit and the Chronol ...." p. 178.

26. Guy Pène du Bois, "The Bold Freedom of Cerman Graphic Art: The Striking Difference between the Present Tendencies of German and American Art," Art- and Decoration (February 1913): 124.

27. Ibid., p. 123.

- 28. Pène du Bois, "Jerome Myers," p. 90.
- 29. Guy Pène du Bois, "Art By the Way," Interna-
- tional Studio (July 1923): 350.

30. Guy Pene du Bois, "Exhibitions at the Galleries: Painters and Sculptors Squabble," Arts and Decoration (July 1914): 355. Financial irregularities in the handling of the exhibition's proceeds, jealousy, and personality clashes also played a part in his decision to resign from the Society.

31. Pène du Bois, "Bold Freedom," p. 1.25. 32. Guy Pène du Boie, "Official American Paint-

- ing," Arts and Decoration (March 1918): 203.
- 33. Pène du Bois, "Reflections of Men and Art," p. 81. 34. Ibid. 35. Guy Pène du Bois, "Art by the Way," Interna-
- tional Studio (December 1922): 240.
- 36. Pine du Bois, "Reflections of Men and Art," pp. 81-82.

37. Guy Pène du Bois, "William Glackens, Normal Man: The Best Eyes in American Art," Arts and Decoration (September 1914): 404.

38. Guy Pene du Bois, "Art By the Way." International Studio (July 1977) - 340

39. Guy Pène du Bois, "Guy Pène du Bois" Interne tional Studio (June 1922): 245.

40. Pene du Bois, "Art by the Way - International Studio (July 1922): 340.

41. Guy Pene du Bois, "Art by the Way," International Studia (October, 1922): 88.

42. The Eight, consisting of Robert Henri, John Slean, William Glackens, Everett Shinn, George Luke, Arthur B. Davies, Ernest Lawson, and Maurice Brazil Prondergast, eshibited together in 1908 at the Macbeth Gallerice.

43. Pene du Bois, "Art by the Way: The Passing of Republican Painting," p. 535. 44. Ibid

- 45 Ibid. p. 536.
- 46. Hud. p. 535.

47. Ibid., p. 537. Pollyanna, an incurably optimistic eleven year old, was the heroine of Eleanor Porter's hugely successful novel of 1913. Allounna, a play based on the nevel and its equel, was a Brandway hit in 1916. The movie version, starring Mary Pickford or Pollyanna, set a record for earnings in 1920. (Ann Douglas, Terrible Honcaty Monard Manhattan in the 1020s [New York: Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 1995]: 331. In the context of the times. calling Henri a Pollyamia identified him so a representative of popular, lowbrow culture

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- "Art by the Way." International Studio (March 1923): 547-549
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  - "Despotism and Anarchy in Art: The Symbolism

- 48. Guy Pane du Bois, "Foreign and American Painting: The International Show at the Camegie Institute.
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- tional Studio (November 1922): 177 50. Fone du Bois, "Reflections of Men and Art,"
- z. 81 51. Ibid. Enoughts Adolphe Teine (1828-1873) va
- a French histories and literary critic.
- 52 Pene du Bois, "Art by the Way, International Sinde (14): 1422 345

53. Our Pane do Bois. "Ast by the Way," International Studio (March 1923): 549

- 54. Pone du Bois, Artists Say the S. Peast Things, p. 81
- 55. Pene du Bois, "Guy Pene du Bois," pp. 245-46 56. Guy Pane du Boie, "Art by the Way," International Studio (May 1923): 179.
- 57. Pine du Beis, "Gay Pine du Bois," p. 246.
- 58. Pine du Beis, "Art by the Way. The Passing of Republican Funting," p. 536.

59. Guy Pene du Heis, "Robert Winthrop Chapler.

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60. Pene du Bois, "Art in America," p. 108. 61. Pene du Boie, "Art by the Way," International Studio (October 1923) 84

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- Movement," Arts and Decoration (March 1913): 151-154. 178. "William Glackens, Normal Man: The Best Eves
- in America." Arts and Decoration (September 1914) 401 406.

## **Checklist of the Exhibition**

12. The Beach, 1924

Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery.

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

oil on panel, triptych, each panel 20 x 15 in.

1. Billboard, 1920 oil on panel, 25 x 20 in. Norfolk Southern Corporation, Norfolk, Virginia

2. George Moore with Seated Woman (Former title: George Moore and Sarah Bernhardt), 1920 oil on canvas, 19 x 25¼ in. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts

3. An American Oriental, 1921 oil on canvas, 20<sup>1</sup>/17, x 25<sup>1</sup>/8<sup>1</sup>10. Los Angeles County Museum of Art Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection

4. At the Station, 1921 watercolor on paper, 13 x 10½ in Helena Gunnarmon Collection

5. In the Wings, 1921 oil on panel, 19½ x 14¼ in. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio Gift of Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, 1948

6. Chanticleer, 1922 oil on canvas, 24% x 32 in. San Diego Museum of Art Purchased with funds from Helen M. Towle Bequest

7. The Coachman, 1922 charcoal, ink, watercolor on paper, 15% x 13¼ in. Helena Gunnarison Collection

8. Disarmament Conference/Peace Conference, 1922 oil on canvas, 20 x 25 in. Mariorie and Charles Benton Collection

9. The Life Soldier (Former title: The Wooden Soldier), 1922 oil on pauel, 25 x 20 in. Bowdoin College Museum of Art Gift of Walter K. Gutman, '24 10. Shovel Hats, 1923 oil on cauvas, 20 x 14% in. National Museum of American Art,

Smithsonian Institution Gift of Sara Roby Foundation 11. Studio on Lafayette Street, 1923 oil ou panel, 19¼ x 24½ in.

Bayly Art Museum of the University of Virginia

F. M. Hall Collection 13. Isabel Bishop, 1924 oil on canvas, 48 x 36 in. Arthur J. and Edith S. Levin Promised Gift to the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution 14. Railroad Compartment, 1925 oil on panel, 211/2 x 18 in. Linda Lichtenberg Kaplan 15. Cofe Madrid (Portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Chester Dale), 1926 oil on panel, 21 1/4 x 18 in. Museum of Fine Arts. St. Petersburg, Florida Bequest of John Hinkle 16. Girl Tying Her Shoe, 1926 oil on panel, 214/10 x 184/10 m Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy Gilt of Chester Dale 17. On the Bridge, 1926 oil on panel, 22 x 18 in. New Britain Museum of American Art Harriet Russell Stanley Fund 18. Paris Cafe, 1926 watercolor and unk on paper, 16 % = 16 m. Helena Gunnamon Collection 19. Pont du leur, 1926 wateriolog charcoal, and graphite on paper, 191/4 x 161/4 in. Baker/Piuno Collection 20. Subway Steps. 1926 oil on panel, 21 % x 170/10 in. Addison Gallery of American Art. Phillips Academy Cift of Peter Adams, '52 21 Women's Locker Room, Concy Island, 1926 oil on canvas, 20 x 16 in. John P. Axelrod Collection 22. Americans in Paris, 1927

John P. Axelrod Collection 22. Americans in Paris, 1927 oil on canvas, 28% x 36% in. (73 x 92.4 cm) The Museum of Modern Art, New York Given anonymously, 1935 23. Girl at Montparnasse, 1927 watercolor and ink on paper, 15 x 11% in. Richard and Carol Levin

24. Girls. Montparnasse (Two Women Montparnasse) 1927 oil on canvas, 21% = 18 .... Staten Island Institute of Aria & Sciences Gift of William F. Laporte, Se 25. Woman on Sola (Gretchen), 1927 oil on panel. 201/ x 25 in. The Brookhn Muscum Gift of the Chester Dale Estate 26. The Opera Singer, 1927 oil on canvas. 13 av 10 m. Kraushaar Calleries 27. Peasants Returning, 1927 oil on canvas, 25' x 30 m Als Moghtader, M.D., Collection 28. Pets, 1927 oil on annue, 21 / x 18% in Museum of Art, Fort Lauderdale, Florida Ira Glackman Bequest 29. Portrait of John Kraushaar, 1927 watercolor and ick on paper, 14 x 11 % in. Private Collisation 30. After the Circus, 1928 sestencolor and ink on paper, 13% x 17% in. Helena Gunnamon Collection 31. Mother and Danahter, 1928 oil on campas, 21% x 18 in. Whitney Museum of American Art Burchase 32. Studie Window, Anticeli, 1928 oil on varivas, 37 x 29 in. Westmoniand Mission of Art William A. Coulter Fund 33. Avenue de la Victoire, Nice, 1929 watercolor and staphite on paper, 13% = 10% in. Austin P. Kelley Collection 34. Bal des Quatres Arts, 1929 cil on canena, 28% x 36% in. The David and Alfred Smart Museum of " Art. The University of Chicago Gift of William Benton 35. Country Wedding, 1929 oil on canvas, 36 z 29 in. The Manoogian Collection 36 Father and Son, 1929 oil on canvas, 21 1/2 x 18 in. Whitney Museum of American Art Purchase 31. The Art Opening, n.d. charcoal and watercolor on paper, 15 x 13 in. Helena Gunnanson Collection

