PATRICK HENRY BRUCE AND ARTHUR BURDETT FROST, JR.: FROM THE HENRI CLASS TO THE AVANT-GARDE

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Patrick Henry Bruce, born in Virginia, and Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr., born in Pennsylvania, met in Paris in 1906, two Americans from the Robert Henri class in the crucible of European and American modernism.

During the decade preceding the First World War, many young American artists journeyed to Paris to learn firsthand the lessons of the City of Light. Among the most fortunate ones were those who had first prepared in the classes of Robert Henri at the New York School of Art (1902–1903) or at the later Henri School of Art (1909–1912). Henri opened the minds of his students and taught them the importance of individualism. The world will see many fashions of art and most of the world will follow the fashions and make none... somewhere in their centres are the ones who bear the idea—are the ones who have questioned “But what do I think” and how shall I say it best...”.

Henri’s students who went to Paris in these years include Patrick Henry Bruce, Andrew Dasburg, Guy Pène du Bois, Arnold Friedman, Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr., Edward Hopper, Walter Pach, and Morgan Russell.

The intricate network of friendships that then existed among both American and European artists of this generation is only just beginning to be understood. Surviving unpublished documents including letters and diaries indicate many more acquaintances in an art world much smaller than that imaginable today.

Patrick Henry Bruce and Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. first met in Paris in 1906. Bruce, born in Virginia in 1881, had moved to New York City in order to study at the New York School of Art, initially with William Merritt Chase in 1902, and then with Robert Henri in 1903 (Fig. 1). Prior to his arrival in New York, Bruce had studied with the academic sculptor Edward Valentine at the Richmond School of Art. Frost, who was born in Philadelphia and six years younger, arrived in New York in 1905 from Convent Station, New Jersey where he had worked previously under the instruction of his father, A. B. Frost, the famous illustrator (Fig. 2).

By late 1903, Bruce left for Paris. He began to correspond with Henri in February 1904. At Henri’s suggestion, he looked up James W. Morrice, a Canadian painter and friend of his teacher, then living in Paris. Bruce lost no time in exhibiting, reporting in his first letter to Henri that he was then showing two portraits with the members of the American Art Association located at 74, Rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. During his first years abroad, he managed to exhibit his work regularly in the Paris salons and back home in large group exhibitions including the Annual at the National Academy of Design in January 1904, the Universal Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, the Society of American Artists in New York in 1905, and at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1905, 1906, and 1907.

Bruce’s paintings in these years were mostly portraits. Guy Pène du Bois, who had been the monitor of Henri’s class during Bruce’s tenure there in 1902–1903 and went to Paris in 1905, later recalled that at that time Bruce was painting “enormous full-length figures which narrowly but always escaped looking like Whistler’s.” In the spring of 1904, Bruce himself wrote to Henri expressing his despair that the French Salon was filled with academicians and exemplifying only the portraits by Whistler and Sargent from his condemnation. Bruce had mentioned in his initial letter to Henri of 1904 that...
from Henri's letter to him. He also reminisced about how much he had enjoyed his stay in New York and claimed that he missed "the fellows," Hopper apparently being one of them. By the summer, he responded to Henri's letter describing the School's final concours and expressed the wish that he could have been present to have seen the work, "especially Hopper's." He inquired: "What kind of special scholarship did he get, and will he continue at the School another year?"

Hopper did stay in the Henri class until he left to live in Paris in October 1906.

Soon after settling in Paris, Hopper wrote to his mother: "Have been to see Bruce several times and was there to dinner one evening."

Several weeks later he wrote: "The Brucers have been very cordial whenever I called and Bruce is very much more agreeable than formerly."

Hopper later credited Bruce with introducing him to the work of the Impressionists in Paris, "especially Sisley, Renoir, and Pissarro." Bruce's "Portrait of a Child of about 1910 (Fig. 3) demonstrates his own growing interest in the art of the Impressionists and the subsequently lightened palette. Its soft colors are reminiscent of Renoir.

An earlier testament to their friendship is a Self-Portrait by Hopper (Fig. 4) with the name "Bruce" painted boldly across the entire back of the canvas. Evidently Bruce discarded the canvas or passed it on to his classmate when he departed for Europe. Bruce was away and missed the last visit Hopper paid him before he returned to New York in August 1907. This letter lamented to Henri as he had looked forward to a report on Hopper's recent reunion with Henri in Holland where the latter had been conducting summer school in Haarlem for his American students. By the time Hopper returned to Paris in March 1909, Bruce had joined Matisse's painting class and the cause of modernism (Fig. 5). This radical change on Bruce's part probably prevented the continuation of the camaraderie the two had known as Henri students, for there are no further indications of their friendship. Hopper did not share Bruce's taste for the avant-garde, and, although he admitted that he had heard of Gertrude Stein, he denied ever having met her.

In the fall of 1908, about the same time Hopper arrived in Paris, Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. also settled there. Frost had spent the previous year studying at the New York School of Art with both William Merritt Chase and Robert Henri. En route to Paris with his entire family and visiting London to tour the museums and the city, Frost wrote to Henri who was teaching that summer in Spain. He expressed his gratitude to his inspiring teacher:

I am very much obliged to you for the start you gave me last winter and I wish I could get the benefit of your advice again. You were the first person who suggested to my mind the possibility of doing exactly what I wanted to do right now instead of waiting until I had reached a certain age and had gained a certain recognized proficiency in a life class. The simplest way to say it would be that I did not know that I had any ideas until you told me I had."

In London, Frost had run into Walter Pach, another Henri student and a friend of both Bruce and Hopper. Through Pach, Frost learned that Henri would not be coming to Paris that year and got Bruce's address, exclaiming: "... I am going to see him as soon as I get to Paris. I remember the portrait he painted of Warren Hedges very well. I saw it in your studio." Thus began a very close friendship between Frost and Bruce which continued after Frost's return to America in late December 1914, until his early death just before his thirtieth birthday in 1917.

Under his father's guidance, Frost enrolled in the Académie Julian soon after his arrival in Paris. Through Bruce, however, he met Gertrude and Leo Stein and the avant-garde. To his father's consternation, he dropped out of the Académie Julian, and, after a month in Italy in January 1908, joined Bruce at the Académie Matisse. Writing in March, 1908, to his best friend, the artist Augustus Deyg, the elder Frost complained:

Arthur is now working in a school just started by Henri Matisse. He has reached the bottom, he can't degrade his talent any further. His studies are silly and affected and utterly worthless. He will come to his senses too late, I'm
Three months later Frost again protested Matisse’s influence on his son’s work and insisted: “No one can see nature as he paints it... Why do they all see nature as Matisse sees it? People who follow their own bent don’t all see alike.”19 Yet, the young Frost so admired Matisse that he bought a small panel from him “about 10 inches long... for $30.00,” provoking his father to exclaim: “I think a man who would sell one of his pupils, and buy at that, such a thing for such a price, is a dirty mean rogue.”20 Even Gertrude Stein, in The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, reported this annoyance with Matisse. A. B. Frost complained to Pat Bruce who had led Frost to Matisse that it was a pity that Arthur could not see his way to becoming a conventional artist and so earning fame and money. You can lead a horse to water but you cannot make him drink, said Pat Bruce. Most horses drink, Mr. Bruce, said A. B. Frost.21 Gertrude Stein referred to Bruce as “one of the early and most ardent Matisse pupils” who soon “made little Matisse,” indicating that he fully shared Frost’s enthusiasm. Bruce’s surviving works from his years of study with Matisse, however, demonstrate an intense interest in the art of Cézanne. This is consistent with Matisse’s own admiration of Cézanne whose work he collected and treasured. Hans Purrmann, who came to Paris from Munich and became one of the student organizers of the Académie Matisse, described Matisse’s collection in his memoirs: “Besides the Renoir and Cézanne paintings, the dining room was hung all around with watercolors by Cézanne.”22 Matisse extolled the virtues of Cézanne to his students (as Sarah Stein recorded in 1906) during the early days at the Académie: “Cézanne used blue to make his yellow tell, but he used it with the discrimination, as he did in all other cases, that no one else has shown.” Frost also shared Bruce’s enthusiasm for Cézanne and as late as 1913 wrote: “There has been one colossal painter in our epoch, Cézanne. Renoir is also all right. I will do like Cézanne the rest of my life, study nature long and intently and see more and more clearly.”23

Bruce’s paintings of about 1910-1911 are especially close to Cézanne. He concentrated on still lifes and landscapes, foregoing his earlier preoccupation with portraits. As in certain of Cézanne’s paintings, Bruce began to produce still lifes where the picture seems unfinished due to a marvelously loose application of paint set against empty areas (Fig. 8). In such instances Bruce began to allow the physical objects to merge with color patches as Cézanne had in his work after 1900. The result in Bruce’s paintings as in Cézanne’s is the disintegration of the object which points logically toward total abstraction. This is indeed the path that Bruce was to take, but not without the impetus of still other important influences. Bruce’s bouquet of flowers in a green jar of about 1911 is clearly related to works by Cézanne of the 1890s (Fig. 7).24 One finds the free brushwork and fluidity of paint characteristic of Cézanne as well as the merger of object and ground. Bruce grasped from Cézanne that he could create form through the modulation of color.

Bruce also learned useful lessons directly from Matisse. He produced the more complex Still Life with Tapestry around 1911-1912, where he tried to merge more fully the objects and tapestry ground, achieving a flattened, more abstract composition (Fig. 8). The use of such a decorative patterned background for a still life recalls Matisse’s own work of 1911 and earlier.25 Bruce, however, has ventured beyond his teacher toward total abstraction in his desire to blend the objects and ground which remain separate in Matisse. The resulting shallow spatial depth was undoubtedly intentional on Bruce’s part, for he worked “from nature” as Matisse instructed. In fact, the objects he painted were those in his own environment as a photograph of his apartment in Paris demonstrates (Fig. 9). By employing many small areas of vivid color on both objects and ground, Bruce has achieved a common denominator which energizes the entire composition. His paint surface here is uniformly thick, indicating the direction that his next paintings would take.

By early spring of 1912, both Bruce and Frost had become ac-
the topic of the moment had become Picasso and Cubism. In a letter to his mother in November 1912, Frost commented:

"Last night I went to Mr. and Miss Stein's. Talked some with Leo Stein and Pat [Bruce] about Cubism ... You wanted to know if the cubists intend that the subject be obscure in their pictures. I tell you frankly, I do not know! The cubists are called so in bulk, but they don't all paint in cubes, nor is there any one thing by which one can class them as a crowd unless it be obscurity of the subject, however one can paint a collection of lines without suggesting some object or objects to the mind of the person who sees the picture."

Having comprehended the possibility of painting abstractly, Frost went on to recognize the work of Robert Delaunay. He informed his mother that Delaunay was the focus of Leo Stein's current interest and indicated his own enthusiasm for the French painter in December 1912: "We are all interested in Delaunay. He seems to be the strong man who has given the most out of cubisms as Matisse was the strong man who came out of the Fauves." Frost also defended Cubism as deserving further study on his part, insisting "more is to be learned about it than I know... I do not see why it should not lead to great things and has more chance of doing that than any school of painting I can see at present."

Frost began to spend increasing amounts of time with the Delaunays including weekends in the country at Louveciennes and evenings at the Bal Bullier, a Paris dance hall in Montparnasse. By June 1913, in a letter to his mother, Frost exclaimed: "...Delaunay ... has discovered painting.

At this time, under the influence of the Delaunays, both Frost and Bruce experimented with their first pure abstractions. Unfortunately, photographs are all that remain of these works today. Identified by 1913 as adherents of Delaunay's 'école orphique', Bruce and Frost disliked their rival, Morgan Russell and Stanton Macdonald-Wright, fellow expatriates who launched Synchromism that year. In March 1913, Bruce demonstrated his loyalty to Delaunay by insisting that his own works be returned from the Armory Show in New York, following Delaunay's attempted withdrawal to protest the organizers' refusal to hang his monumental canvas City of Paris.

Bruce was one of only four Americans included with the Delaunays in the First German Autumn Salon in Berlin in the fall of 1913. He exhibited Landscape (Fig. 10) which, from the surviving photograph, appears to have been closely related to Delaunay's Windows of 1912. Bruce's Landscape refers to a city view seen through a window, but his Composition (Fig. 11) exhibited in Paris in the Salon d'Automne in 1913 appears to have been totally abstract. The two Compositions he exhibited were singled out for praise by French critic Guillaume Apollinaire, a singular honor for a young American painter in Paris." At the Salon des Indépendants of 1914, Bruce exhibited a large canvas Movement, Color, Space: Simultaneous (Fig. 12) which obviously owed to the influence of Delaunay. Beyond the circular Delaunay-like forms, Apollinaire referred to "...the colorful domain of realistic abstraction" of this painting.

Frost's abstract paintings of this period also appear to have been quite close to Delaunay. His Sun (Fig. 13), reproduced in Montparnasse in March 1914, contained floating round discs reminiscent of the Delaunays' work. One would guess that the colors would have been at least as prismatic as in his less abstract painting which soon followed. Just previous to painting pure abstractions, Frost had produced work in the impressionist manner. Two surviving works include an airy Landscape with a House in a fluid style inspired by Renoir (Fig. 14) and a Portrait of A. B. Frost at work at an easel (Fig. 15). On October 22, 1914, Frost sent his parents a drawing which he identified as a study for his oil painting Harlequin of 1914 (Fig. 16). This small canvas represents one of Frost's early attempts at using Delaunay's simultaneous colors with his own kind of figurative composition rather than the more abstract designs favored by Delaunay. He had written to his father that summer from Bollive in Brittany where he was then living with the Bruce's: "I have at last got something in painting ... Pure Renoir as to convention. It is not composed in relation to the carre of the canvas as my simultaneo things were. It looks like "la vie moderne," autors grands boulevards, light, etc."
father again protested the direction Arthur was taking in his painting and noted: "I learned lately what an 'Orphist' was, or is, for I believe Bruce is the only 'Orphist,' a friend told us what he does. It is like this [sketch resembling Bruce's Compositions drawn here (Fig. 17)] patches of crude color getting smaller toward the center, no 'form' whatsoever and generally straight lines, no curves.

Calling Bruce a "darned, selfish, silly ass" who "goes on playing with this sort of truck while his wife works to support him," A.B. Frost exclaimed to Doggy that he had an old palette in his studio "that was a more perfect 'harmony' than those fools could paint in a thousand years."
The Frost family returned to America in the spring of 1914. Only Arthur chose to remain in France, but he too returned in December 1914. In early 1915, he settled down in a New York studio on East Fourteenth Street. He met James Daugherty, an artist and neighbor, and taught him what he described as the color principles of both Matisse and Delaunay.

In November 1918, Bruce, still in France, showed a group of still lifes and other paintings at the Montrose Gallery on Fifth Avenue in New York. A critic, Charles Caffin, who reviewed the show, wrote:

For my own part I feel the expression to be quite extraordinarily big and just as surprisingly abstract. The objects are there; I can identify them; but in the total impression they dissolve into the magnitude of the expression... My spontaneous reaction to an expression, ampler and more significantly abstract, than I can remember to have hitherto experienced in a still life.

Not long after the Montrose exhibition, Bruce shipped six Compositions to Frost in New York (e.g., Fig. 18). Daugherty recalled that these paintings made a tremendous impression on both Frost and himself. Evidently, Frost had finished a third of his "ball room picture" when the paintings arrived. He completely repainted his own canvas in order to utilize Bruce's technique of black-and-white elements to enforce color planes.

Bruce's Compositions were first exhibited in New York at the Modern Gallery in March 1917. One was shown again in April at the first annual exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists when Frost exhibited his own Colored Forms of 1917, his "ball room picture" (Fig. 19). Bruce was also inspired in his Compositions, according to Katherine Dreier (who purchased five of them and Frost's painting), by a "fancy-dress ball." (Both Bruce and Frost had been influenced by Sonia Delaunay's earlier abstract paintings of 1913 of the Bal Bullier in Paris.) From October 17-November 9, 1917, Bruce and Frost had worked included in a group show at the Penguin Club at 8 East 15th Street in New York. Bruce exhibited an earlier Still Life and Frost a painting called Mannequins.

By 1917, both Bruce in Paris and Frost in New York had secured a place among the avant-garde. No longer satellites in the Delaunays' orbit, they were stars in their own right. In New York, Frost, often in the company of the avant-garde poet and critic Arthur Cravan, led a life of dissipation which on December 7, 1917, proved to be fatal.

Frost was eulogized by Walter Pach in Scribner's magazine in May 1918:

The results were evident by 1913 when we find young Frost as one of a group of painters—Delaunay was probably the most prominent of them—who had their own word to say. They were all men who had been at the scientific aesthetic research of recent years in hand, they had passed the groping stage in getting a balance between realistic and abstract form, and their pictures of aeroplanes, clouds, the sun and other heavenly bodies were part of the movement of creative art for which our time will be remembered.

Bruce too was moved to write down his thoughts at Frost's death. He wrote to Arthur's parents:

Months and months we lived together in the greatest, closest intimacy and sympathy—painting, reading, walking, swimming, talking, eating together, my wife cooking son as he and I had... He and I had looked forward to a long life together. I have lost my life's companion and friend.

Bruce went on to paint a major series of abstracted, often sparse still lifes with a very strong architectonic sense of space. Yet, as he became increasingly isolated and discouraged in Paris, he suffered from poor health and depression. He exhibited occasionally in the Paris salons, but was all but forgotten in America. He finally returned in 1936 and committed suicide the same year. Bruce remained an outsider, never finding for himself acceptance and a comfortable niche as had his classmate Edward Hopper. His work was, however, destined to be rediscovered. The upcoming retrospective should last for Bruce a deserved place in American art history.

I wish to thank Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed who have graciously made their collection available to me for study. Henry Reed has also generously shared with me his insights and enthusiasm for this material.

3. Guy Pène du Bois, Artists Say the Stillest Things, Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, New York, 1940, pp. 110-111. At this time, Guy Pène du Bois was a friend of both Bruce and Edward Hopper.
5. Bruce, February 4, 1914.
6. Ibid.
10. Bruce returned briefly to the United States for his wedding in August 1916. He had this last visit until 1938 shortly before his suicide.
12. In a ray of this painting reveals another portrait underneath Hopper's self-portrait. This canvas was evidently left unfinished by Bruce when he left for Paris. Hopper then turned Bruce's portrait upside down to paint his self-portrait. I am very grateful to Professor Lawrence A. Mallett of the Institute of Fine Arts for his x-ray and analysis of this painting.
17. Ibid. Henri had arranged for this painting to be exhibited in 1914 at the National Academy of Design in New York and then in St. Louis in the Universal Exhibition.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
22. Ibid., pp. 167, 168.
24. Ibid., p. 552, Appendix A.
25. Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. to his mother, unpublished letter of July 28, 1913, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
26. See, for example, Cézanne's Bouquet of Peonies in a Green Jar, c. 1896 (Venice 748).
27. See, for example, Matisse's Still Life with Aubergines, summer 1911, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
28. Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. to his mother, unpublished letter of November 24, 1912, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
29. Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. to his mother, unpublished letter of December 1912, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
30. Ibid.
31. Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. to his mother, June 20, 1913, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
32. With Frost's work survives. It is possible that after his son's sudden death in 1917, the anguished A.B. Frost destroyed most of what remained. He undoubtedly felt that modernism was his son's undoing. Bruce vividly destroyed most of his own work during periods of depression.
33. James Daugherty, unpublished memoir of Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr., n.d., Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
35. Ibid., p. 366.
36. Arthur Burdett Frost, Jr. to his father, August 1, 1914, unpublished letter, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
37. A.B. Frost to Augustus Doggy, unpublished letter of September 6, 1914, Collection Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reed.
39. Daugherty, memoir.
40. Katherine S. Dreier, Western Art and the New Era, Brentano's, New York, 1923, p. 139.