UC Riverside

UC Riverside Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

George Bellows Paints California: A Summer Escape Out West

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/78b865k4

Author

Wallace, Margaret Ann

Publication Date

2014

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

George Bellows Paints California:
A Summer Escape Out West

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Margaret Ann Wallace

June 2014

Thesis Committee:
Dr. Jason Weems, Chairperson
Dr. Susan Laxton
Dr. Jessica Todd Smith

Copyright by
Margaret Ann Wallace
2014

The Thesis of Margaret Ann Wallace is approved:

_____

_____

_____

Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To begin, I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Jason Weems, for his continuous support, patience and guidance over the past two years. With his direction, I was introduced to this fruitful project and he played a major role in its development. For that I am eternally grateful. I would also like to express my gratitude for the other members of my defense committee, Professor Susan Laxton and Dr. Jessica Todd Smith. I am thankful for their constructive criticisms and invaluable advice and assistance.

I would also like to thank the Amherst College Library Archives and Special Collections and the Yale Collection of American Literature and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library for access to their collections materials. The information gathered from these institutions was invaluable.

Lastly, I would like to thank the History of Art Department at the University of California, Riverside for the opportunity they granted me two years ago. The graduate program has provided me with unparalleled experiences and countless opportunities within and outside the university that have transformed me as a student, researcher, writer, professional and overall person. I am forever grateful for everything they have given me.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to both my parents for their unconditional love, support and encouragement. I would not be half the person I am today without both of you and none of my achievements would have been possible. I would also like to dedicate this to my Grandpa Milt, the rest of my family and close friends. Your love and support make all of the hard work worth it. Although most of you will never read this, it is for all of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements……..……..……iv

Dedication……..……..……v

List of Figures……...……viii

Introduction……..1

A Trip Westward……..2

New Considerations……..……...9

Chapter 1:
A Trip Westward……16

Context and Causation…….……..17

The California Environment……..30

Escapism and the Tourist.……..37

The Art World……44

Chapter 2:
Interiority: Bellows, Portraiture and California……...……..49

The Notion of Age: The Portraits of His Family…….....…….....51

California Types: *The Widow, Paul Clark and Padre*…….……..61

California and the Portrait Genre…..……...……..72

Chapter 3:
Perceptions of a New Landscape: The Visual Impact of California……..78

Land and Leisure……..……..80

Rural Authenticity……..……..……..91

Escape to Emptiness……...…….…….....……96

Bellows' California Color…….....……...…102

Conclusion……...118

Timeline of Events……...120

Bibliography……124

Figures……..132

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: George Bellows, *The Widow*, 1917……..…132

Figure 2: George Bellows, *Christ in Chains*, 1917……..……...132

Figure 3: *Residence of Charles W. Clark*, 1904……...133

Figure 4: *California: America's Vacation Land*, c. 1930……133

Figure 5: *California for the Settler*, 1911……134

Figure 6: George Bellows, *Jean*, 1917…….134

Figure 7: George Bellows, *Jean with Blue Book and Apple*, 1916……..……135

Figure 8: George Bellows, *Jean,* undated……..……..135

Figure 9: George Bellows, *Lady Jean*, 1924……..…….136

Figure 10: George Bellows, *Emma and Her Children*, 1923…….…....136

Figure 11: George Bellows, *Anne in Black Velvet*, 1917……..137

Figure 12: George Bellows, *Anne with a Japanese Parasol*, 1917……..…...137

Figure 13: George Bellows, *Anne with her Parasol,* 1916……..……138

Figure 14: George Bellows, *Anne in White*, 1920……..…….138

Figure 15: George Bellows, *Aunt Fanny*, 1920……..…….139

Figure 16: George Bellows, *Elinor, Jean and Anna*, 1920……..……139

Figure 17: George Bellows, *Paul Clark, no. 2*, 1917……..……140

Figure 18: George Bellows, *Padre*, 1917……..……..140

Figure 19: George Bellows, *The Rope (Builder of Ships)*, 1916……..……...141

Figure 20: Robert Henri, *Tom Po Qui (Water of Antelope Lake)*, 1914……..141

Figure 21: Robert Henri, *Tam Gan*, 1914……..……..……142

Figure 22: Robert Henri, *Chinese Girl with Fan*, 1914……..…….142

Figure 23: Robert Henri, *Grace, Chinese Girl*, 1914……..……143

Figure 24: Robert Henri, *Nelson*, 1914……..……..……143

Figure 25: Robert Henri, *Chow Choy*, 1914……..……..……144

Figure 26: Guy Rose, *The Green Parasol*, 1909……..……..….144

Figure 27: Guy Rose, *The Model*, 1919……..……..……...145

Figure 28: George Bellows, *Golf Course (Pebble Beach)*, 1917…….....145

Figure 29: George Bellows, *Polo Crowd*, 1910……..…….146

Figure 30: George Bellows, *Tennis at Newport*, 1920…….….146

Figure 31: George Bellows, *Warships (on the Hudson)*, 1909……..…..147

Figure 32: George Bellows, *A Day in June*, 1913……..…….147

Figure 33: George Bellows, *Love of Winter*, 1914……..……148

Figure 34: George Bellows, *Stag at Sharkey's*, 1909……..……148

Figure 35: George Bellows, *Tennis at Newport*, 1919…….……149

Figure 36: George Bellows, *Jewel Coast, California,* 1917……..……..149

Figure 37: George Bellows, *The Fisherman, no. 1*, 1917……..……..150

Figure 38: George Bellows, *The Fisherman, no. 2*, 1917……..……..150

Figure 39: Guy Rose, *La Jolla Cove*, date unknown……..…….151

Figure 40: Franz Bischoff, *Emerald Cove, Carmel*, date unknown…….151

Figure 41: George Bellows, *Horses, Carmel*, 1917……..……...152

Figure 42: George Bellows, *The Sand Cart*, 1917……..…….152

Figure 43: George Bellows, *Cleaning Fish*, 1913……..…….153

Figure 44: George Bellows, *The Big Dory*, 1913……..……..153

Figure 45: George Bellows, *Village on the Hill*, 1916……..……..154

Figure 46: George Bellows, *Criehaven, Large*, 1917……..……154

Figure 47: Selden Gile, *Belvedere Cove*, date unknown……..……...155

Figure 48: Selden Gile, *Destination Marin*, 1938-39……..…….……...155

Figure 49: George Bellows, *California Headlands*, 1917……..…….156

Figure 50: George Bellows, *An Island in the Sea*, 1911……...…156

Figure 51: Guy Rose, *Point Lobos*, c. 1918……..……..……..……...157

Figure 52: Guy Rose, *Incoming Tide*, 1917……..……..……..……...157

Figure 53: William Ritschel, *Mammoth Cove*, date unknown……..……...158

Figure 54: Childe Hassam, *Point Lobos, Carmel*, 1914……..……..…..158

Figure 55: George Bellows, *Tumble of Waters,* 1913……..……159

Figure 56: George Bellows, *Last Day,* 1913……..……..……159

Figure 57: George Bellows, *Summer Surf,* 1914……..……...160

Figure 58: George Bellows, *Romance of Autumn,* 1916……..……160

Figure 59: George Bellows, *Criehaven Wharf,* 1916……..……161

Figure 60: George Bellows, *Jersey Woods,* 1909……161

Figure 61: George Bellows, *The Palisades,* 1909……162

Figure 62: George Bellows, *Pueblo Tesuque, no. 1,* 1917……...…162

Figure 63: George Bellows, *Pueblo Tesuque, no. 2,* 1917……..…163

Figure 64: George Bellows, *Well at Quevado,* 1917……...…163

Figure 65: George Bellows, *Santa Fe Canyon,* 1917……..…164

Figure 66: Robert Henri, *Pepita,* 1917…….164

Figure 67: Robert Henri, *The Beach Hat,* 1914……...……165

Figure 68: Robert Henri, *The Masquerade Dress,* 1911…….……..165

Figure 69: Robert Henri, *Viv in Blue Stripe*, 1914……...166

Introduction

As the catalog of his memorial retrospective exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art begins, "George Bellows, during his nineteen years of work, painted exactly as he pleased."[1] Held only nine months after his death, this show embodied the highest honors available to an American artist. At the time of his passing in 1925, the MET had only held retrospectives for nine "native masters" including James McNeill Whistler, Winslow Homer, William Merritt Chase, Thomas Eakins and Frederic Edwin Church.[2] In his short career before his untimely death at age forty-two, Bellows, an American-born realist painter most known for his association with the Ashcan School, established a unique artistic style and made a remarkable impact on the field of American art.

George Wesley Bellows was born in Columbus, Ohio in 1882 and was raised in a strict Methodist household. By 1904, against his parent's wishes, he fled his conservative midwestern surroundings and headed towards New York City to pursue his love for art. In only a few years Bellows established a name for himself among New York's competitive art world and constructed a foundation for a very successful career. Today, Bellows is remembered for many things. He was an artist, athlete, entertainer, father and husband. Throughout his artistic career, he has been considered not only a painter but a printmaker, illustrator, architect and contractor. The subject matter of his art also

[1]Frank Crowninshield, *Memorial Exhibition of the Work of George Bellows* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1925), 11.

[2] Ibid.

fluctuates between many avenues, particularly his most famous urban genre scenes, as well as his portraits, landscapes, seascapes and a small group of politically or socially driven images corresponding to his early twentieth century condition. Often compared to Thomas Eakins, Winslow Homer and Walt Whitman in his impact on the history of American art and culture, Bellows has proven to be one of the most important figures of his time.

A Trip Westward

In the winter and spring of 1917 both the political condition of American society and Bellows' career were in very pivotal positions, however, in an almost opposite fashion. As the world was being threatened by an imperialist power, the United States became increasingly prepared to declare war on Germany, which would officially occur on April 6. At the same time American culture was experiencing the tense anticipation of their entrance into the First World War, Bellows' status was on the rise and his reputation was rapidly expanding. That spring he was participating in three large exhibitions, one of which opened on March 13 as a one-man show at the Milch Gallery in New York entitled, *Paintings, Lithographs, Drawings, and Etchings by George Bellows* that subsequently traveled around the country. He was also involved in the *First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Painter-Gravers*, acted as the director for the *First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists* and served on a jury for the *4th Annual Exhibition* of the St. Louis Artist's Guild. He received two awards that season, one from

the National Academy for his *Doris in the Parlor* and one from the Pennsylvania Academy for his *Day in June*.

As the spring season was nearing a close and summer was emerging in New York, Bellows accepted a commission that took him out west to California, a trip that greatly impacted the remainder of his career. The job was arranged by Joseph Thomas of Lakewood, a former patron of the artist, for his close friend Charles C. Clark, a wealthy miner from San Mateo on the San Francisco Peninsula. Bellows was to travel to the Bay Area and paint the portrait of Mr. Clark's son, Paul. Seeing this excursion as a great opportunity, the artist decided to make it a summer affair for he and his family and in May of that year, he embarked alone on his cross-country journey.

Although many American artists from the East Coast have traveled out west, such as fellow modernists John Sloan and Georgia O'Keeffe, Bellows' journey to the West Coast was something different. In an interview in the months leading up to his departure Bellows stated, "I am a patriot for beauty. I would enlist in any army to make the world more beautiful. I would go to war for an ideal – far more easily than I could for a country. Democracy is an idea to me, is the Big Idea." Further, "I am going out to California this summer to paint my head off – and then I'll do my stunt for democracy – if it comes out that way."[3] For Bellows this trip was emotionally loaded. In this interview, the artist expressed his – although cautious and non-absolute– support of the war and intention to join the draft upon his return from California. This provides evidence for the significance of his trip to California beyond the fulfillment of a single commission. He traveled there

[3] Mary Fanton Roberts, "The Big Idea: George Bellows Talks about Patriotism for Beauty," *Touchstone* 1, no. 3 (July 1917): 269.

that summer to not only advance his painterly aesthetic, expand his experience of America and take advantage of a funded summer away but as a last chance to enjoy time with his family before enlisting. As many Americans focused their attention across the Atlantic, Bellows traveled in the opposite direction.

As Charles H. Morgan states when describing this trip, "At the end of May he was there, and promptly fell in love with the place."[4] Aboard a westbound train, the artist arrived in Salinas, California where he purchased a Buick and drove the twenty-two miles to Carmel, a small historic town situated on the coast.[5] By the middle of June, George had arranged a home for the summer that was well suited for his family, the cottage of Mrs. Alice McGowan Cooke in an area referred to as Bohemian Grove.[6] In describing his surroundings to Henri, he exclaimed that Carmel was "an 'artist's colony,' and wonderfully ugly. Looks like a Methodist camp meeting ground (in spots). We have the 'Queen's Castle,' the most pretentious dwelling here with lots of rooms and a fine garden of flowers and trees looking in the sea. Almost to the beach."[7] By this time, his wife

---

[4] Charles H. Morgan, *George Bellows: Painter of America*, introduction by Daniel Catton Rich (New York: Reynal & Company, 1965), 209.

[5] Bellows named his car Georgette. A photograph of it can be found in Mary Sayre Haverstock, *George Bellows: An Artist in Action* (London: Merrell, 2007), 121. That same summer, his close friend and mentor Robert Henri purchased a Ford and named it Henrietta.

[6] The name of the owner of the residence can be found in Laura Bride Powers, "Art: Author had just visited Carmel-by-the-Sea," *Oakland Tribune*, July 29, 1917, p. 20. The timing and name of residence can be found in "Pine Needles," *Carmel Pine Cone* 111, no. 18 (May 31, 1917), p. 4.

[7] Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100 Box 1 Folders: 21, 22, & 23. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Emma, two daughters Anne and Jean, mother Anna and a maid named Daisy arrived in Salinas also by train to join Bellows on the Pacific. While in Carmel, the artist and his family explored the rugged coast of Pebble Beach and Point Lobos, visited the Spanish mission and the famous Hotel del Monte of Monterey and enjoyed the quaint artist community that surrounded them.

In late July, Bellows departed from Carmel and drove to the city of San Mateo to complete the portrait of Paul Clark. While in the area he stayed in the home of Richard Montgomery Tobin, a San Francisco banker, President and Co-Director of the San Mateo Polo Club, Director of the Bohemian Club and good friend of Charles W. Clark.[8] Here, Bellows spent his days painting two portraits of the young boy, playing tennis, watching polo matches and enjoying dinners with the Clark and Tobin families and other San Mateo elite. He also managed to visit San Francisco on multiple occasions to pick up art supplies and visit prominent galleries where his work was later exhibited through the month of September.[9] Through his stay at the Tobin estate, Bellows established a close

[8] This information on Tobin was found in Marguerite M. Pinchard, *The New Society Blue Book*, San Francisco, 1921-1922.

[9] His work was exhibited at the Oakland Art Gallery beginning September 15th in a show titled, *George Bellows' Exhibition of Lithographs and Paintings*. The lithographs were subsequently shown at the Hill Tolerton Gallery in San Francisco. The shows received mixed reviews. According to Laura Bride Powers, while artists found Bellows' California work captivating, "the laymen sees a quality in some of the works that repels him" (Laura Bride Powers, "Art: George Bellows' Lithographs," *Oakland Tribune* (September 23, 1917), p. 20). It is also possible that he visited the Redwood Grove of the Bohemian Club that summer which lies 75 miles north of San Francisco. Whether or not he actually visited the area in unknown (George W. Bellows letters to Anna Bellows, 1917-1923. George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5. Amherst College Library Archives and Special Collections.).

friendship with the man and he describes him in letters to his wife as "a finer and finer man" and a "cracker jack."[10] Separated from his close circle of friends that summer, his friendship with Tobin became important to the artist. In addition to this relationship, Bellows connected to another individual also staying at the Tobin household by the name of George Moore, whom Bellows describes as "the chum of General French… He is a fine interesting man about 38 or so and I seem to have made a great hit with him."[11] This unexpected friendship turned into an additional commission for the artist and caused a delay in his return to Carmel. He completed the third portrait quickly, however, and by the second week in August he had returned to his family and was greeted by the arrival of his Aunt Fanny. She was his most beloved relative who helped raise the artist during his childhood in Columbus but who moved to San Diego decades earlier and who Bellows had not seen for years. It was a memorable reunion.

For the remainder of August the artist continued to paint and explore Carmel and the surrounding Monterey Bay region with his family. However, he was forced to make a short trip north again to San Francisco at the end of the month to receive surgery to remove his tonsils, which as Bellows exclaimed, "the doctors say should be sent to a museum."[12] En route northward, he drove his Aunt Fanny and mother Anna to the train station in Salinas where the two sisters proceeded to travel to San Diego. Bellows underwent a successful surgery at Mount Zion Hospital and returned to Carmel a week

[10] George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100 Box 1 Folders: 21, 22, & 23.

later. However, while in the hospital, he wrote to the Art Students League for permission to extend his trip out west and to delay his teaching commitments back in New York. After convincing fellow artist John Sloan to cover his courses for one month, the Bellows family made plans to embark on a spontaneous visit to Santa Fe, New Mexico to visit Robert Henri, Bellows' closest friend and mentor, who was living there that summer.

After closing up the Cooke house in Carmel, on September 15th, the Bellows family departed from their coastal abode and drove to Los Angeles, stopping for a night in Santa Barbara at the residence of George Washington Smith. In Los Angeles, they picked up Anna who met them there by train from San Diego, placed the Buick on a flatcar and took an eastbound train to New Mexico. Here, Bellows reunited with Henri, his wife Marjorie and Leon Kroll, another close friend of his who was spending his summer in Colorado Springs. In Santa Fe, Bellows was provided a studio setup by Henri facing the patio of the Palace of Governors, a historic building serving as the Museum of New Mexico.[13] During his one-month stay there, he explored the plazas, architecture and people of Santa Fe and traveled to the cities of Tesuque, Chimayo and Taos to visit Mabel Dodge "where the motor heiress had created a colony of artists and writers."[14] At the end of October, the Bellows family placed their car upon a flatbed once more and boarded the train that took them back to their New York home on East Nineteenth Street.

---

[13] "Personal Mention: Death of George Bellows," *El Palacio* 18, no. 2 (January 15, 1925): 37-38.

[14] Donald Braider, *George Bellows and the Ashcan School of Painting* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971), 110.

While in California, Bellows completed a total of twenty-four works, however, only thirteen survive today.[15] According to the catalog raisonné by Glenn C. Peck via H.V. Allison & Co., seven canvases remain unlocated and four are deemed destroyed as indicated in the artist's record books. Due to the lack of information on these eleven works, only the thirteen surviving and documented paintings can be discussed in detail.[16]

Compared to other summers on vacation, the work completed while in California represents the artist's divergent objectives. Bellows spent many of his summer seasons in Maine experimenting with different theories, ideas and techniques from which to apply back to his larger canvases in New York. The throngs of panels he completed on these vacations served more as plein-air studies than carefully composed and meaningful compositions, utilizing Maine's powerful coast to master new color combinations, expressive and textural brushwork and compositional strategies.[17] This idea does not

---

[15] Of the twenty-four canvases, fourteen are landscapes or genre scenes and ten are formal portraits. While in New Mexico he completed nine canvases, only six of which survive today. For a complete list of these titles, refer to the "Appendix: Timelines" on page 120).

[16] There is some discrepancy between the online catalog raisonné by Peck and the catalog of Bellows' paintings organized by Emma Bellows in 1929 concerning the summer of 1917. The latter catalog omits over half of the works from the California and New Mexico series whereas the raisonné by Peck omits only the portrait of George Moore. Therefore, due to the lack of a complete record of his output while out west, there may be further paintings from this trip still unknown to the public.

[17] According to Peck, "Bellows' 'vacation paintings' have their own very unique charm. They are very different in feeling to the grand New York City compositions in that they are for the most part direct transcriptions of what he saw rather than what he could imagine. Apparently, he used these periods to sharpen his painting technique, and clearly, as the summer trips unfolded, he became more adept with brush and color. By 1916, his last summer in Maine, Bellows' palette had become chromatic, and he could use effectively every hue in the rainbow…" (Glenn C. Peck, "The Paintings of George

apply to the artist's summer on the West Coast and the twenty-four paintings he created on the Pacific are representative of the artist's firsthand observations of California. In this way, the work in California functions differently than these figural studies of land and sea as he expanded his experience of America towards the 'Far West' beyond his prior East Coast and Midwestern limits.[18]

New Considerations

The literature on Bellows is vast and the artist has continued to remain a fruitful subject for curators and art historians alike. Scholarship on Bellows can be divided into multiple themes relating to the diverse nature of his subject matter and the most recent exhibitions and publications on the artist have focused on significant gaps in scholarship, most notably the artist's large collection of drawings and the quality of his later work in

---

Bellows," *American Art Review* 19, no. 6 (2007): 119). According to Virginia Mecklenburg, Bellows completed twelve paintings and thirty small panels in three weeks on Monhegan in 1911 and over one hundred small panels and twelve large canvases in four months there in 1913, forty-two of which were completed in the last thirty days (Virginia Mecklenburg, "Bellows Before Woodstock," in *Leaving for the Country: George Bellows at Woodstock* (Rochester, NY: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 2003), 21).

[18] During this time period, 'the West' was the East Coast definition of the Midwest whereas the 'Far West' was representative of the West Coast. Bellows claimed he was from the West and was often considered a Westerner due to his upbringing in Columbus (Refer to: Rollo Walter Brown, "An adventurer out of the West [George Bellows]," in *Lonely Americans* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1929) and Mary Sayre Haverstock, "Westward Ho!," in *George Bellows: An Artist in Action*, 2007). His trip to California changed these perceptions drastically.

relation to his much more highly regarded early paintings.[19] However, his trip out west to California and New Mexico in 1917 continues to be excluded from the conversation. This trip has often been limited to a couple of lines of text, a mere footnote or restricted to the general timeline of the artist's career in art historical scholarship.

Multiple scholars have laid the groundwork for the study of this summer. Most importantly for this thesis, the artist's biography written by Charles H. Morgan has been an invaluable resource and foundational text on the overall understanding of the artist through each phase of his career. It not only encapsulates the entirety of Bellows the artist and Bellows the individual but also established a point of departure for this project through insight into his summer in California from the Bellows archive. Other notable texts or essays particularly important to the creation of this thesis are those written by Michael Quick, John Wilmerding, Mark Andrew White, Charlene Engel and Mary Sayre Haverstock.

Most importantly from this group of scholars is the groundbreaking and decisive essay by Quick on Bellows and the evolution of his style that was published in the 1992 retrospective on the artist. Here, the author closely analyzes works from the artist's entire oeuvre and carefully documents the most important technical and theoretical developments from each stage of his career. In his discussion on the artist's work from

---

[19] *The Powerful Hand of George Bellows: Drawings from the Boston Public Library* (Washington D.C.: The Boston Public Library, 2007) was the first show ever dedicated entirely to his drawings. Additionally, the two most recent retrospectives on the artist in 1992 and 2012 have been centered on the quality of his later work and its exclusion from the canon (Refer to: *The Paintings of George Bellows* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1992) and *George Bellows* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012)).

1916 to 1917, Quick states that, "The visual and emotional force of their gorgeous color, which achieves a dazzling opulence exceeded in the work of few American painters of the period, makes the paintings of 1916 and 1917 among the most handsome and enjoyable that Bellows ever produced."[20] This is a striking statement about the work from this period but like most other scholars, Quick's discussion is limited. Nonetheless, it stands out in consideration of the weight he places on the paintings from 1917. This thesis strives to expand upon this statement and to locate the importance of this trip and the work he completed there into the most recent discussions on the development of the artist's career and the larger context of early twentieth century California painting.

The first chapter addresses the reasons Bellows traveled to California that summer. Beyond the portrait commission in San Mateo, there were many other personal and historical events that encouraged his trip and as this chapter argues, the larger political context the First World War played the most significant role in his traversal of the nation. As he planned to join the draft upon his return, a trip to the Pacific allowed the artist to enjoy a summer season in the leisurely paradise that is California. While such summer excursions were annual occurrences for the artist, the significance of this trip lies in its geographic location. Although California was not at all detached from the reminders of war, he experienced a summer removed from his life on the East Coast. Here, he reveled in the close proximity of his family, the high paying commission by the Clark

[20] Michael Quick, "Technique and Theory: The Evolution of George Bellows' Painting Style," in *The Paintings of George Bellows* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1992), 63.

family, the culture of California and its people and the unfamiliar group of artists residing over the landscape of the West Coast.

This chapter also examines the culture and art world of early twentieth century California in order to better understand the place Bellows experienced. The state was developing at an extremely rapid rate and was becoming one of the most commercialized and populated regions of the nation. It quickly became a destination and hub for artists and tourists seeking the sunshine, coastal breezes and warmth of the California environment. Bellows became increasingly attracted to the countryside as his career progressed and often sought out less accessible locations for his summer excursions. Although the bourgeoning cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles would not fit these interests, he found it in the unspoiled and glamorous region surrounding Carmel.

Beyond the reasons for *why* Bellows traveled to California and the temporal condition of *where* he visited, chapter two and three discuss *how* the trip affected him and how he responded to the place through the portrait and landscape genres. Through an analysis of the art he created there, this thesis reconstructs his experience of the West Coast.

Chapter two focuses upon the internal affects of his trip through the analysis of the series of portraits he completed out west. As a genre that the artist utilized to express his personal relationships with his family and close friends, these works best exemplify the emotional and internal context of his journey. The discussion of these portraits revolves around the notions of family, age and most importantly, California types, ultimately arguing that Bellows' usage of portraiture in California transcended its prior

ends and served as a grounding tool for the artist as he sought refuge in the support of his family, mainly in the youth of his children, Anne and Jean, and wisdom of his Aunt Fanny, as well as in his attempt to understand the people and cultural categorizations of his new western surroundings. To better contextualize these portraits, this chapter also analyzes the work by fellow New York Realist Robert Henri in California as well as California native Guy Rose. In doing so, Bellows' portraits fit somewhere in between the exoticized types of Henri and the Impressionistic upper class scenes of Rose's more exclusive vision of California society.

The third chapter explores the external manifestations of his California experience through his response to the West Coast landscape. In exploring this body of work, Bellows explored the notions of leisure, rurality and emptiness that he discovered in Carmel. In preparing to enter the war upon his return to New York City, the themes that his landscapes convey achieve in accomplishing what the artist desired from his trip to the West Coast. Liberated by his eastern environment and obligations to advance his usage of different aesthetic theories, Bellows' landscapes from California exemplify his perceptions of this entirely new and detached culture and terrain. This discussion also juxtaposes Bellows' work to other California landscapists of the same time period. Through the complex system of similarities and differences, the comparison of his work to that of Rose, Bay Area Colorist Selden Gile and Carmel seascapist William Ritschel, reveal the origins of multiple characteristics of Bellows' California series in regards to composition, subject matter and palette. This chapter will also explore Bellows' advancements in color that summer. As a perpetual interest of the artist throughout his

career, the intensity of light and color on the West Coast played a significant and unique role in the evolution of his painterly style.

As all three chapters will claim, Bellows' work in California represents a significant moment in his larger oeuvre and serves as an important stepping stone in his continuously developing aesthetic. He not only expressed a sustained interest in prior artistic pursuits in the region but also experienced significant changes that mark an important transition into his later work in both the portrait and landscape genre. As Bellows returned to New York City that fall, he soon learned of Jay Hambidge's restrictive theory of Dynamic Symmetry which altered the artist's aesthetic for the rest of his career. Also upon his return, he continued his interests in the medium of lithography as he liberated it from its commercial limitations and completed his most politically and socially driven series of work revolving around the atrocities of war. Bellows' trip to California occurred at one of the most critical points in world history and similarly, at one of the most significant junctures of his career.

The guiding question behind this project is: Why did Bellows travel to California in 1917 and what were the personal and aesthetic implications of his time there? In exploring this series and revealing its significance within Bellows' larger oeuvre and the context of early twentieth century California art, this thesis not only achieves in illuminating the significance of these paintings and their lack of attention as a group but also the crucial temporal importance of the trip in relation to the political and social condition of American and California culture. His trip to California stands at a critical moment in these two histories, which in fact simultaneously prompted and shaped his

time there. Deeply rooted in the tensions of the First World War and the context of California art, a thorough examination of these paintings is critical to understand his career from this point forward.

Chapter 1:
A Trip Westward

"I am a patriot for beauty. I would enlist in any army to make the world more beautiful. I would go to war for an ideal – far more easily than I could for a country. Democracy is an idea to me, is the Big Idea."
-George Bellows in "The Big Idea," 269.

This chapter explores the multiple reasons for the artist's departure in May of 1917 beyond the most obvious, the portrait commission of Paul Clark. Although the commission was the catalyst of his trip to California and provided a financial advantage to the artist, there were many more personal and historical reasons for his interests in traveling to the West Coast.[21] Most significantly swayed by the war occurring overseas and plans to enlist upon his return, he embarked on a journey that allowed him to move in a divergent direction from national attention and to enjoy a relaxing summer before his call to duty.

While some of his motivation to travel that summer was shaped by events back East, Bellows' experience on the West Coast was shaped by the unique conditions of the California environment, tourist culture and art world in the year 1917. The industry and population of the state were growing at a rapid rate and its was transforming into a world force in commerce and culture. However, the secluded city of Carmel provided the artist with a structure of life that catered to the objectives of his trip. That summer he desired something beyond the requirements of his other seasonal vacations, that is, the artist community, leisurely lifestyle and secluded environment found on Monhegan and in

[21] In a letter to his wife, Bellows claims that the commission paid approximately $2,500 (George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5).

Camden. Due to temporal context, he needed a more distinct change and moreover, a greater distance from his eastern surroundings. He discovered this in the community of California's coastal countryside. As the artist traveled to the unique culture that was California at the beginning of the twentieth century, his overall experience on the West Coast - the people, landscape and artist community that surrounded him - influenced his aesthetic as expressed through the portrait and landscape genre.

Context and Causation

In addition to the portrait commission in San Mateo and the artist's perpetual and annual involvement in summer travel, there were many more reasons for Bellows to board the westbound train that would take him to California. To begin, his Aunt Elinor Daggett, more commonly referred to as Aunt Fanny, an instrumental figure throughout his childhood, had moved to San Diego to marry Sam Daggett in 1890. She assisted in raising Bellows during the first eight years of his life and against his father's wishes, encouraged his interests in art. As Charles H. Morgan claims in his biography on the artist, her support of his artistic aspirations and skills "unconsciously opened the way to his career."[22] In a letter to her in 1906 Bellows stated; "I've grown up into a big six foot rowdy and I'd like to come out [to San Diego] and start a riot around your house and show you what a real appetite is."[23] Bellows enjoyed his aunt and invited her to join his

[22] Morgan, 1965, 20.

[23] Quote found in Margaret C. S. Christman's *Portraits by George Bellows*, introduction by Marvin Sadik (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 14.

family on multiple summer vacations on the East Coast. While in California, he arranged for her to stay with the family in Carmel where he painted her initial portrait, *The Widow* (figure 1).[24] Her presence in California and the recent death of her husband certainly generated an innate desire for Bellows to visit the region and was a strong pull in his decision to go west that summer.

The presence of two other important figures in Bellows' life - William Merritt Chase and Robert Henri - in California during the years prior to 1917 also influenced his decision to travel west.[25] Although Chase left the New York School in 1907 and utilized a distinctly different artistic method and belief system than that of Bellows, he continued to occupy an important role in his life as his first instructor and a prominent figure of the New York City art world. Chase was invited to Carmel to run the annual Carmel Summer School of Art in 1914. Due to his importance as a painter in both New York and Europe, his arrival in Carmel established the small colony as a legitimate and laudable place for artists and attracted national attention to the Central California coast.[26]

---

[24] He created additional portraits of his aunt during subsequent summers while in Woodstock. These are titled *Aunt Fanny* (figure 15) and *Elinor, Jean, and Anna* (figure 16). Both were completed in 1920.

[25] Fellow New York painters Childe Hassam, Everett Shinn and Walt Kuhn also traveled to California in this same time period. Shinn lived in Hollywood from 1917 to 1923 where he pursued his interests in the theater and motion picture industry as a set designer and art director. Walt Kuhn's travels resulted in his series of paintings entitled the *Imaginary History of the West*, completed between 1918 and 1920.

[26] Robert Edwards, *Jennie V. Cannon: The Untold History of the Carmel and Berkeley Art Colonies* (Oakland, CA: East Bay Heritage Project, 2012), 124 & 133. Chase's presence in Carmel even catapulted the development, expansion and prices of Carmel's real estate industry (Edwards, 177). Chase's affect on the reputation and status of the Carmel art colony was similar to the positive influence Henri had on the Santa Fe colony

Chase's program in Carmel that summer was crucial for the reputation and overall expansion of the art colony. Due to widespread advertising of the New York master's presence in the region, Bellows was most likely aware of his participation with the school. Chase's trip there not only indirectly brought the coastal town of Carmel and its position within California's art community to Bellows' attention and but also generated a desire to visit the bourgeoning venue, ultimately prompting the Bellows family to make a residence there for over three months that summer.[27]

More significantly, however, and one of the most prominent pulls that contributed to his desire to travel west, was his mentor Henri's presence in the area from 1914 to 1915. Henri traveled to San Diego in preparation for the Panama-California Exposition (PCE) in 1915 where he spent his days enjoying his residence in La Jolla in addition to organizing the exposition's Modern American Art exhibit with one of his former students, Alice Klauber.[28] His later travels to New Mexico in 1916 and 1917, in addition

---

through his travels there in 1916, 1917 and 1922. This is discussed further by Arrell Morgan Gibson in *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900-1942* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 34.

[27] Robert Edwards believes Chase agreed to accept this position in Carmel due to his denial for a private gallery at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE). In traveling to Carmel, Chase was able to "lobby in private the Exhibition Committee" of which he succeeded and was subsequently provided his own room (Edwards, 133). Although Chase ran the school for only the summer of 1914, living in the area from early July to mid September, his manager and assistant, C.P. Townsley, continued to run the school for multiple subsequent summer seasons. Chase returned to California in 1915 to attend the PPIE but he did not revisit Carmel. Eunice T. Gray, "The Chase School of Art at Carmel-by-the-Sea, California," *Art and Progress* 6, no. 4 (Feb 1915): 118-120 has also been important for this discussion.

[28] The Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco and the Panama-California Exposition (PCE) in San Diego, both in 1915, were organized in celebration of

to a final trip in 1922, caused Bellows to have additional interest and fascination with the West and even prompted the Bellows family to extend their trip that summer and visit him there for a month following their time in Carmel. Henri and Bellows connected on many levels; they were close friends, colleagues and midwestern natives. They encouraged independence in art and expressed a strong interest in life and love for the student. As Henri writes, "That is why the student interests me so. He is in the process of growth. He is experimenting; he is testing all his powers; he has no thought of any finished product in his expression."[29] Bellows, like Henri, was in many ways a permanent student. He was always seeking fresh theories, approaches and subjects. He tried not to allow his style to settle into a predictable set of characteristics. In this way, Bellows epitomized what Henri favored most in the artists around him. In traveling to California,

---

the completion of the Panama Canal that drastically altered America's geography. As George Wharton James states, prior to the canals completion it would have taken one hundred and fifty days to sail from the East Coast of the United States to the West. After its completion, this same route took fifteen days or less (George Wharton James, *California, Romantic and Beautiful* (Boston: Page, 1914), 360-361, 144.). These expositions were to attract attention to the California coast as a global center and future hub of art, commerce and trade. The art shows of these expositions were opportunities for artists to begin to exhibit their art on the West Coast, and in San Diego, part of the show was dedicated to the display of contemporary American art. This assisted in fulfilling a particularly important objective to re-establish the American art field following the European-dominated Armory Show of 1913, which had threatened the very foundation of an independent and national American art. Although, according to Jean Stern, "the Henri exhibit received almost no attention and produced no significant impact on American art." She further explains that this was most likely due to the competition or confusion caused by both expositions (Jean Stern, "Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition," *American Art Review* 2, no. 5 (1975): 3).

[29] Robert Henri, "The New York Independent Artists," *The Craftsman* 18 (May 1910): 167.

Bellows the student was seeking an entirely new environment and his mentor encouraged the trip forthrightly.

Like Henri, Bellows participated in the 1915 California expositions. He served on the committee for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) and his art was shown in both shows.[30] Bellows' participation and inclusion in these expositions, designed to promote the completion of the Panama Canal and California's potential as a new world center for art and commerce, in all likelihood contributed to a desire to travel out west and experience the state of the art field there, one that was just beginning to grow its own legs. In doing so, the promotion of artistic exchange between the East and West that the expositions solicited was achieved through his journey. In traversing America's coasts, bringing New York realism to the West, and returning with attributes of California's unique landscape, he was carrying out exactly what the Panama Canal sought to do for the economy. Bellows' *Riverfront, No. 1* won a gold prize in San Francisco and brought significant attention and status to the artist on the West Coast. His reputation there continued to grow when his work traveled that same year to San Francisco at the San Francisco Art Association and Los Angeles in a show titled, *Paintings by George Bellows* that appeared at the Los Angeles Museum of History,

[30] *Riverfront, No. 1*, *Polo Crowd*, *Portrait of a Young Lady* and *Excavation at Night* are shown in San Francisco (*Official Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: The Wahlgreen Company, 1915), 119). In San Diego Bellows submitted *Approach to the Bridge at Night*, *New York*, *Men of the Docks* and *Little Girl in White* (*Official Guidebook of the Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, 1915*).

Science and Art.[31] His work was also exhibited at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco in 1916 that further promoted his artistic presence in the West in both its northern and southern regions.[32]

In addition to these personal and professional pulls to California, there were many other important historical and political factors that led to his trip to California in 1917, that being the Armory Show of 1913, but most importantly, the onset of the First World War that shook the Western world to the very core.

In 1913, the American art world experienced a groundbreaking while also invasive event, the International Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors. This exhibition, also referred to as the Armory Show, was organized by Arthur B. Davis, Walt Kuhn and Walter Pach. It created a venue for the most contemporary art of America, but was also responsible for escorting European modernism into New York City.[33] Bellows played a notable role in the show. He included five paintings and four drawings in the exhibition and also served on the Reception and Publicity Committee.[34] Whether the show affected his overall aesthetic in

---

[31] "Current Notes," *Art and Decoration* (May 1915), 288; Haverstock, 101.

[32] This show included *Excavation at Night* and *New York.* The nature of these exhibitions, and more generally the state of the West Coast art world and instances of artistic exchange between East and West is further discussed in the following sub-chapters.

[33] This statement does not intend to undermine that presence of Alfred Stieglitz and his circle in the display of modernism prior to this event.

[34] Frederick A. Sweet, "George Wesley Bellows," in *George Bellows: Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1946), 19; Young, 17. Bellows submitted *Circus, Polo Crowd, Portrait of Mr. Albert Miller, Docks in Winter* and

a positive or negative way, the occurrence of this show four years prior to his trip out west instilled a sense of wonder about the world and curiosity about the art created in different regions, making his cross-country journey a momentous experience.[35] Although he never traveled to Europe to see this avant-garde art on its own national terms, he received the opportunity to travel to distant corners of his own country and he took it.[36]

The Panama-Pacific International and Panama-California Expositions and the Armory Show had a large impact on the art historical and economic context of the period. While the Armory Show destabilized an American style of art through the promotion of the eccentric artistic trends occurring in Europe, the Panama expositions attracted

---

Dancers as well as *Luncheon in the Park/Park Parties* (drawing), *Lightweight Champion of the World* (drawing), *Between Rounds* (drawing) and *Polo Field* (drawing).

[35] There is much scholarship discussing the impact that this show had on Bellows. Rather than repeat the different ways the Armory Show may or may not have affected his art practice, it is safe to conclude that the overall presence of this show, which exposed the artist to abstraction, Fauvism, Cubism and Futurism, certainly made an impression on him. For example, Lee Malone believes that the Armory Show "must have done what words could not – it awakened him to a new color experimentation beyond the traditional palette with which he was comfortable. Needless to reiterate, his experimented immediately following upon this exposure were exhilaratingly successful" (Lee Malone, "Recollections on the George Bellows Paintings in Columbus," in *George Wesley Bellows: Paintings, Drawings, and Prints* (Columbus, OH: Columbus Museum of Art, 1979), 3). Neutrally, art historian David Park Curry argues that "the show did not greatly affect him but there is ample evidence that he admired Auguste Renoir in particular" (David Park Curry, "Life of Leisure: Polo, Parks, and Tennis, 1910-1920," in *George Bellows* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012), 135). Other art historians and critics believe that the Armory Show had a significantly negative affect on the artist's style, which will be discussed on pages 23-24.

[36] As artist Marsden Hartley states, the war caused many American artists studying overseas in Europe to return home and explore the landscape of their own native land, a similar consequence of war that is evident in the decision Bellows made in 1917. Hartley encourages this "al 'at-homeness'" among American artists as opposed to the recurring "European echo" (Marsden Hartley, "America as Landscape," *El Palacio* 5, no. 20 (December 9, 1918): 341-342).

attention to the California coast as a hub of art, commerce and trade and exhibited the most contemporary art of America's national artists.

Some scholars and critics such as Daniel Catton Rich, Robert Hughes and Henry Adams discuss a dramatic shift that occurs between Bellows' early and later work, of which they date to 1913 following the Armory Show and the negative influence it had on Bellows' overall aesthetic for the rest of his career.[37] They introduce arguments that blame the Armory Show and the influx of modernism into the New York art world for a loss of intuition in his art caused by a dependence on theory that overpowered his earlier urban scenes.[38] As Adams states, "He was both disturbed and challenged by the radical modernist works in the Armory show. After it he adopted a more strident colouring, and became increasingly infatuated with obscure geometric systems, which gave his paintings a stiffness at odds with the seeming naturalness of the early work."[39] Rich even ascribes the affects of the Armory Show to an entirely new artist, what he refers to as a "second

---

[37] Daniel Catton Rich, "Bellows Revalued," *Magazine of Art* 39 (April, 1946): 141; Daniel Catton Rich, "Introduction," G*eorge Bellows: Painter of America* (New York: Reynal & Company, 1965); Robert Hughes, *American Visions: The Epic History of Art in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997): 335; Henry Adams, "George Bellows: New York, Los Angeles and Columbus," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1075 (1992): 685.

[38] Adams and Franklin Kelly also blame Bellows' turn towards the "more conventional" and less socially inspired genres of landscape and portraiture to his marriage to Emma Story in 1910 (Adams, 1992, 685 & Franklin Kelly, "'So Clean and Cold': Bellows and the Sea," in *The Paintings of George Bellows* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1992), 142).

[39] Adams, 1992, 685.

George Bellows," dividing his career into two parts and intentionally placing favoritism on the earlier period.[40]

Although the Armory Show had a significant effect on Bellows concerning the state of the art world, and was responsible for one of the most fruitful periods of his career that summer on Mohegan following the show, it was not the only catalyst for such an important juncture in the artist's career and change in his aesthetic. The writings of Michael Quick have been instrumental in this discussion by providing evidence that "the events of 1913 did not affect his affinity for theories."[41] Bellows did not adopt Jay Hambidge's contradictory theory of Dynamic Symmetry until his return from the West in the fall of 1917 and the theories he experimented with following the Armory Show were the same ones he had been utilizing for years prior to that event - primarily Hardesty Maratta's color and compositional theories, the restrictive palettes of Denman Ross and golden-section analysis.[42] Considering these conclusions, although the Armory Show

---

[40] Rich, 1946, 141. Mark Andrew White argues that scholarship, such as the publications by Rich, that favors Bellows' earlier work and discounts everything post-1913, has caused for an unwarranted disregard of his later work in current scholarship of postwar American modernism and a general distaste for it overall (Mark Andrew White, *From Dynamism to Objectivity: The Late Career of George Bellows* (Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1999)). As White sought through his dissertation, the large retrospectives on the artist in 1992 and 2012 also strove to expel this theory primarily through the essays of Michael Quick and Mark Cole.

[41] Quick, 31.

[42] The aesthetic affect of the Armory Show and his continued usage of prior theories is discussed in the following essays: Sarah Cash, "Life at Sea, 1911-1917," in *George Bellows* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012), 161-162; John Canaday, "George Bellows and the End of a World Picasso Never Knew," *New York Times* (March 13, 1966); Malone, 1979, 3.

significantly affected Bellows as an artist and altered his understanding of the state of the art field - and possibly a visual change in his art though not discussed here - the more distinct shift in his style leading to his later work is better attributed to the onset of World War I, United States' participation in the war by 1917 and his search for political and personal stability that he sought through his departure for California and later found in Dynamic Symmetry and the restorative qualities that its mathematically grounding principles provided him.[43]

When the United States declared war on Germany and joined the struggle of World War I in April of 1917, the entire nation was affected. Although a devoted pacifist, Bellows expressed interest in joining the war effort at that time, stating in an interview that spring in *Touchstone* magazine; "But where the Patriot gets it over the Pacifist in my mind is that he does not have a chance to be a coward...I hate the thought of fighting – but I am all for democracy. You see it tangles a fellow up pretty badly…If you think, you know democracy has got to win – not in this nation or in that, but freedom for the whole world."[44] His decision to join the draft and support American involvement overseas went

[43] This argument was inspired by a quote in Ronald Netsky's chapter, "George Bellows' Woodstock Landscapes and the Questions of Modernism," in *Leaving for the Country: George Bellows at Woodstock* (Rochester, NY: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 2003). The quote reads: "In the early 1920s, after the world had witnessed the horrors of World War I, Bellows appears to have been searching for some order in his life, just as he had sought order in his paintings through compositional and color systems" (Netsky, 29). While the order he sought was fully developed in his paintings in the 1920s as Netsky states, through the restorative principles of Dynamic Symmetry, his interests in order began much earlier around the time of his trip to California in 1917.

[44] Roberts, "The Big Idea," 269. Although this interview was published in July, it was conducted prior to his departure for California but the exact date is unknown (Morgan believes it occurred in April (Morgan, 1965, 208)). Therefore, it is unclear when Bellows

against his prior beliefs and was not an easy decision. Through this interview as well as the drawings, lithographs and canvases he later created on the subject of war, it is evident that his decision to fulfill his patriotic duty was an emotional one.[45]

During the time of this interview, the draft was limited to younger men and Bellows was not called to service.[46] However, his interest in participating persisted and in

---

made the difficult decision to support the war effort, although it was at least by March that he had put his pacifist beliefs behind him when he refused to support the *Masses* decision to oppose American involvement in the war (Charlene Engel, "The Man in the Middle: George Bellows, War, and 'Sergeant' Delaney," *American Art* 18, no. 1 (2004): 83). Like most Americans supporting President Wilson's "Too proud to fight" slogan, Bellows highly disliked violence but by the spring of 1917 the American attitude toward intervention overseas had shifted and became extremely strong and supportive.

[45] In early 1917 Bellows created a drawing entitled *Christ in Chains* (figure 2), which appeared unsigned in *Blast* in March and the *Masses* in July of 1917. This drawing depicts a prisoner in the form of Christ. Bound by his ankles and wrists and slumped over in a state of heavy gloom, a halo and crown of thorns still remains. Text accompanying this image reads; "THIS man subjected himself to imprisonment and probably to being shot or hanged. THE prisoner used language tending to discourage men from enlisting in the United States Army. IT is proven and indeed admitted that among his incendiary statements were – THOU shalt not kill and BLESSED are the peacemakers." This illustration provides insight into the artist's personal condition at this time. Although he supported the war by March, through this image it is evident that he remained supportive of the war's pacifist protestors and that his espousal of American entry was not entirely absolute. His internal debate about the war is evident in his interview with *Touchstone* as he discusses the patriot and the pacifist and his ultimate decision to represent the former for the well being of humanity, although his war series in 1918 and later illustrations for *The Wind Bloweth* and *Men Like Gods* hint at a return to his previous beliefs of nonviolence, pacifism, and utopia (Engel, 83 & Charles H. Morgan, "Introduction," *George Bellows: Paintings, Drawings, Lithographs* (New York: Gallery of Modern Art and the Huntington Hartford Collection, 1966), 8).

[46] On National Draft Registration Day (June 14, 1917), only men ages twenty-one to thirty-one were affected. Bellows was in Carmel for this event and would have experienced the significance of the draft in such a small town ("Carmel Fighting Men Respond to the Call," *Carmel Pine Cone* III, no. 19 (June 7, 1917), p. 4). A second recruitment was announced by the president on June 23rd for "unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 years, who have no dependents…" ("President's Call," *Carmel*

early 1918 he applied for the Army Tank Corps along with close friend and colleague Eugene Speicher but by this time the war was coming to an end and their service was not needed.[47] This major historic and political period in world history affected Bellows deeply and it is significant that in the months following America's formal declaration of war and Bellows' public announcement of his plans to enlist, he chose to accept a portrait commission that justified a trip west. Like for many other artists of his time, where Bellows and his family were to spend the summer season was an important decision. However, this year it gained further importance and symbolism. As Philip R. Adams states in an exhibition catalog entry from 1979, "His searching went on; in *Golf Course, California*, the players are relaxed, the California hills and sky not over-dramatized. In fact his 1917 summer in Carmel where he was considerably lionized as a national figure was a general restorative."[48] A trip to California not only served as a last hurrah that revived the artist's emotional state as he prepared to go to war but also represented a symbolically charged - and possibly rebellious - movement in a divergent fashion as the

---

Pine Cone 111, no. 22 (June 28, 1917), p. 1). Although Bellows remained unaffected, the pressure of the draft was growing and his eventual inclusion was eminent.

[47] Bellows expressed his plans to enlist months before his departure for California in the aforementioned interview in *Touchstone*. Braider claims that Bellows and Speicher decided to spend that summer in Middletown, Rhode Island because of its proximity to New York City. Once they were called to service they would have been able return to the city easily (Braider, 113).

[48] Philip R. Adams, "George Bellows," *George Wesley Bellows: Paintings, Drawings, and Prints* (Columbus, OH: Columbus Museum of Art, 1979), 6.

rest of his country.[49] This trip, situated at a crucial juncture in the artist's aesthetic, not only signified the affects of his larger political condition but also a transition into his later style. Due to the tensions of war and reconsideration of his political beliefs, his escape to California, his adoption of a new theory and increasing "aesthetic objectivity" in his work yielded the change of environment and reconsideration of his aesthetic necessary to overcome such tribulation.[50]

Bellows' trip west served as a way for him to retreat from his home in New York City and allowed him to pursue a fresh landscape that already held much interest to him and that was very much connected to his family, his mentors and the exhibition of his own art.[51] As he prepared to join the war upon his return, the portrait commission provided him with an opportunity to make his annual summer vacation out west and the distance of that journey offered him the detachment of the west when all eyes were facing east. Bellows was an artist who constantly desired to learn new things, experiment with new ideas, travel to new places and meet new people, but who was also deeply affected

---

[49] There is no strong visual evidence of war in his California series, however, and it was not until the next summer in Middleton, Rhode Island that he began his war series.

[50] The discussion of his transition towards an "aesthetic objectivity" as influenced by postwar American culture is further discussed in Mark Andrew White's *From Dynamism to Objectivity: The Late Career of George Bellows* (Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1999). This response is quite contradictory to what occurred among European (and some American) painters following the war who moved towards a greater influx of abstraction caused by the traumas experienced and the repercussions of the postwar period due to its "greater emotional expression" (Wallace Spencer Baldinger, "Formal Change in Recent American Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (Dec 1937): 591).

[51] The freshness of California was further promoted by the fact that he had spent that last five out of six summers in Maine (the summers of 1911, 1913 and 1914 on Monhegan, 1915 in Ogunquit and 1916 in Camden and on the islands of Criehaven and Matinicus).

by political events, all of which promoted his trip to California and the expansion of his American experience.

The California Environment

Once Bellows accepted the portrait commission that funded his trip to California, he traveled to a place of a much different modernity than New York City. It was a burgeoning place at the turn of the century and possibly one of the most desired, mythical and romantically represented regions of the United States. California was drastically different, culturally, geographically and artistically, than anything Bellows had ever experienced. As such, the state provided him with the physical displacement, leisure and liberation of landscape he required that summer and which he found beneath the warm California sun.

The culture of early twentieth century California stemmed from a complex foundation of Native American, Spanish Franciscan, European, Mexican and American histories. By the nineteenth century, California was a center of economic, cultural and technological potential. Following the Civil War, the United States was determined for progress and the West served as a "symbol of national identity and a resource to be used in transforming the nation from a wilderness republic into an industrial power."[52] California's popularity during this time period was also promoted by the California Gold Rush from 1848-1855, the Mexican-American War and Compromise of 1850, which

[52] Nancy K. Anderson, "'The Kiss of Enterprise': The Western Landscape as Symbol and Resource," in *Reading American Art*, edited by Marianna Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 210.

resulted in California's entry as an official state of the nation, and the completion of the transcontinental railroad from 1863-1869, all of which united the territories of the United States and attracted thousands of individuals to the West Coast.[53] The promise of wealth and ease of accessibility to the region made California the American dream.

The advancements of science, geology and engineering also illuminated the West as a symbol of promise as advertised by the many publications documenting scientific expeditions that studied the diverse and unique geography of the western regions of the United States. Figures such as Frederick Lander, Clarence King, Ferdinand Hayden, John Wesley Powell, George Montague Wheeler and other members of the United States Geological Survey led these expeditions. In addition to geologists, botanists, engineers, other scientists and adventure-seekers included in the survey teams, a number of artists and photographers were also asked to join and document the journey. Artists Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran and Sanford Gifford and photographers William Henry Jackson and Timothy O'Sullivan were some of these figures. These artists not only depicted grand and uninhabited panoramic views of the landscape but also promoted the industrialization of the region, the advancement of the railroad and the prospering of man and nature together. Accompanying scientific expeditions, funded by railroad tycoons or by their own innate interest in exploration and desire for new subject matter, the art of California in the nineteenth century strove to depict a land of promise, beauty and economic

[53] After these events the non-Indian population of California rose from 14,000 people to 200,000 people by 1852 (Michael Dear, "Peopling California," in *Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; University of California Press, 2000), 51). However, it was not until 1876 that the railroad reached Southern California (Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: As Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946), 114).

potential. At the same time writers of fiction and non-fiction alike were publishing books, magazine articles and personal accounts of the golden coast. Works by John Muir, Jack London, Helen Hunt Jackson and Mark Twain are still viewed today as American classics.

Yet, at the turn of the twentieth century California was becoming a place much different than a few decades earlier. During the nineteenth century, California grew into a hub for migrants and immigrants seeking the wealth and promise that the California landscape offered. As the gold rush subsided, California's most prominent cities, namely San Francisco, Los Angles and San Diego, continued to grow, although at a much slower rate than of the mid-nineteenth century with the exception of Los Angeles that saw a great increase in population.[54] If San Francisco was the hub of California due to gold and a thirst for adventure during the nineteenth century, Los Angeles would become the hub of California in the twentieth due to oil, tourism and the motion-picture industry. Whether by train, car or steamboat, people continued to move west.[55]

---

[54] From 1900 to 1940 the population of Los Angeles increased by 1535.7% while San Francisco increased only 172% in comparison (McWilliams, 113).

[55] McWilliams discusses this process in great detail. He emphasizes the role of the railroads as the main promoters of the West. They did not only encourage migration through the advertisement of their train routes but even sold land, opened employment agencies and offered lodging for those making the trek out west (McWilliams, 125-126). He also mentions organized traveling exhibits that documented the opportunities in Los Angeles; "by 1900 Los Angeles was known as the best advertised city in America" (McWilliams, 129). Writers and journals such as Charles F. Lummis's *Land of Sunshine* or, *Out West*, and the Southern Pacific Railroad's *Sunset* further promoted the development of Southern California and Los Angeles and were major contributors to the thousands of people from all over the nation that migrated to the region. In addition to travel by rail, the promotion of the automobile and the creation of the highway system in

As California continued to expand into the twentieth century, modernity also intensified in the United States as it traversed the Atlantic and began to overwhelm the culture of New York City. In addition to the existing tradition of summer travel inherent in the culture of New York, the anxieties caused by the invading modernist ideology further inspired the exploration and activation of other spaces of the American landscape causing many individuals, including artists and writers, to escape the industrial Northeast for a more authentic experience of America.[56] Many saw the intrusion of the factory, steam power and the commodity as a sterilizer of American culture and the less urbanized and developed regions of the nation upheld a more traditional way of life.

Refuge from modernity was often found in the countryside surrounding New York or out west in cities like Santa Fe and Taos, promoting summer sojourns at an entirely new degree. This explains why Bellows traveled to Camden, Maine and the islands of Matinicus and Criehaven in the summer of 1916 as even the isolated island of Monhegan was becoming too crowded for the artist. As Quick describes, these two islands were "unspoiled corners of rustic America…free of the summer visitors who

---

California completely altered the landscape and culture of the state and expanded accessibility exponentially.

[56] The belief that an authentic experience of America was to be found in the country was also present among Europeans. In a review of American painting in Germany from 1910, German audiences were disappointed in the lack of novelty of American art; "Perhaps their chief disappointment was that so few of the pictures were characteristic of America. I believe in their hearts they wanted buffaloes and Indians and Mormon households… racial painting, something characteristic of the soil, something typically transatlantic" (C. Lewis Hind, "American Paintings in Germany," *International Studio* 41 (September 1910): 182.).

flocked to Monhegan."[57] Quick believes that, although many viewers consider his urban paintings of New York City as his most authentically American work, his rural scenes, such as those on the islands, exemplified the traditional American spirit, values uncontaminated by outside influences and alien forms of modernity. It was the quiet corners of America that typified the more uniquely American setting for Bellows.

Due to this general increase in interest in the countryside, Bellows chose to live in Carmel to experience an authentic California experience.[58] However, from the analysis of the many different ties he had with California and the different pulls that brought him out west, it would seem upon first consideration that San Diego was the most appropriate destination. Here, he would have been able to visit his Aunt Fanny and the location where his mentor and his art had been two years prior.[59] Upon further examination, however, Carmel would have been the most inviting region. It was within reach of San Mateo where the Clark family resided and due to its notable artists colony, charm and rugged California coast, it represented an equivalent departure from the everyday as the secluded islands in Maine, although, on an entirely new scale.

---

[57] Quick, 58.

[58] Although the reason to reside in Carmel is unknown and only speculative, this analysis provides evidence for why he did not chose to make his residence in or paint scenes from the highly populated and urban cities of San Francisco or Los Angeles, both of which he visited on multiple occasions while in California. Perhaps the weekly Christian Science services at the Arts and Crafts Hall appealed to Emma who was a stronger believer in the Christian Science faith (Advertisement under "Church Notices," *Carmel Pine Cone* 111, no. 18 (May 31, 1917), p. 2).

[59] His mother Anna visited her sister Fanny in San Diego while the Bellows family visited the area that summer but George, Emma, Anne and Jean did not join her.

Carmel-by-the-Sea, most commonly referred to as Carmel, a city of the Monterey Peninsula, was established as a city in 1771 when the land it now encompasses was chosen to be a stop along Junípero Serra's El Camino Real and where he built Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo.[60] By 1776, Monterey and the surrounding area served as the capital of Alta and Baja California as established by the Spanish king, and remained so until 1849.[61] Like most cities in California, prior to it's founding by the California missionaries, Carmel was ruled by Native American groups. Originating out of this native and Spanish foundation, Carmel continued to serve as an important city for centuries.

Although one of the most well known areas of California due to its leisurely provisions and beautiful coastline, Carmel never expanded to the capacity of San Francisco or Los Angeles and remained a quaint, but important, city of California. Throughout the twentieth century it became dominated by a prosperous art colony founded in 1902 by Frank Devendorf and Frank Powers, later housing the Carmel Arts and Crafts Club founded in 1906 by Elsie Allen and Jane Gallatin Powers which attracted artists from all over the state as well as the nation.[62] The colony not only revolved around painting but literature, poetry and theatre as well. The club held annual exhibitions that

---

[60] The mission was originally built in Monterey in 1770 but relocated to Carmel one year later.

[61] Alissandra Dramov, *Carmel-By-The-Sea, The Early Years (1903-1913)* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2012), 24.

[62] Barbara J. Klein, "The Carmel Monterey Peninsula Art Colony: A History," *American Art Review* 8, no. 4 (September-October 1996): 1-2; Edwards, 51.

established the careers of many of its artists such as Armin Hansen, William Ritschel and E. Charlton Fortune. The club also offered summer art classes in addition to the independently run Carmel Summer School of Art that attracted individuals such as William Merritt Chase and C.P. Townsley to the region. It was also a place of leisure and provided the bourgeois class of San Francisco with the pleasures that they required. Carmel and nearby Monterey, easily accessible by railroad to the rest of the state, offered its residents and visitors with the romantic ruins of Spanish history, the leisure of a small town, the glamour of a resort and the beauty of the coast to make it the perfect getaway for tourists and artists alike and was the ideal place for Bellows and his creative mind.[63]

San Mateo, another city where Bellows spent much of his time, was founded upon a similar history as Carmel. By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, large mansions scattered the terrain of the San Francisco Peninsula of which San Mateo and its neighboring cities resided. These small towns served as the summer or suburban homes of San Francisco's elite, also referred to as "gateways" to the city.[64] The San Francisco Peninsula was highly interconnected to the rest of the Bay Area and Northern California through a complex railroad system that allowed an ease of accessibility from San

[63] James's summarizes the tourist's itinerary while in the region; "On the Monterey peninsula and in the Santa Cruz mountains there are equal delights for the sightseer, sportsman and scientist. Magnificently equipped hotels provide stopping-places from which one may radiate at will. To-day the objective point may be a pebbly beach by the Pacific; to-morrow, a golf or polo tournament; the next day some delightful lounging place on a mountain height near a spring of cold mountain water…" (James, 370). This is interestingly reminiscent of Bellows' itinerary during his time there.

[64] Samuel C. Chandler, *Gateway to the Peninsula: A History of the City of Daly City, San Mateo County, California* (Daly City, CA, 1973), 1.

Francisco to the rest of the peninsula down to Santa Cruz and Monterey counties. Bellows used this system as well as the newly constructed network of roads when traveling to and from Carmel, San Mateo and San Francisco.

While in the area Bellows spent most of his time playing tennis, watching polo and completing three portraits in the extravagant homes of Charles W. Clark and Richard M. Tobin (figure 3). Similar to other summers in Lakewood, New Jersey or Newport, Rhode Island, Bellows enjoyed the activities and life of leisure of the upper class. Although interested in all life around him, choosing to capture the gritty scenes of his New York neighborhood, like other Ashcan artists, he was not ashamed to embrace the life of the elite.[65] In short, the Carmel and San Mateo that Bellows experienced was nothing short of glamorous.

Escapism and the Tourist

Bellows was exposed to multiple cultural settings that summer. Residing in Carmel, working in San Mateo, visiting and receiving surgery in San Francisco and traveling through Los Angeles, he experienced three major cultural shifts. There were much more distinct than the changes he experienced among the different islands and

[65] Leisure was a recurring theme for many Ashcan artists. Although most scholarship on the Ashcan school limits discussions to the gritty and urban scenes of the artists' oeuvres, leisure also makes up a large percentage of their artistic output. This is thoroughly discussed in James W. Tottis, et al. *Life's Pleasures: The Ashcan Artists' Brush with Leisure, 1895-1925* (New York: Merrell, in association with Detroit Institute of Arts, 2007).

cities in Maine, New Jersey and New York he visited the summers prior. In comparison, his trip to California was an adventure.

In addition to national questions of East and West, the dichotomy of North and South within the state of California is also paramount and has been an important subject since the days of Mexican rule.[66] In an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature* from 1943, "the northern boundary of the region was placed as far north as the Monterey County line."[67] This placed Carmel on the border between Southern and Northern California and although Carey McWilliams, prominent writer of the early twentieth century California culture, believes this is an "egregious error," and locates the unique transition between the two distinct regions of California at the Tehachapi line, a mountain range just north of Santa Barbara, Carmel's position in the central region of the state nonetheless exposed Bellows to aspects of both the North and South and provided him with a unique view of California culture.

This notion of provincialism is discussed by Josiah Royce in his *Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems* from 1908. He uses this term to discuss "social tendencies" or characteristics particular to a province and which "applies both to the social habits of a given region, and to the mental interest which inspires and maintains

---

[66] In 1851 a convention was organized to discuss an official split of the state, which would have been carried out if not for the commencement of the Civil War (McWilliams, 15-16.). The separate expositions held in California in 1915, the PPIE and PCE, are further indications of the cultural divide between North and South. Although only passing through the southern regions of California to pick up his mother on the way to Santa Fe, did he notice this distinct shift in culture, topography and overall structure that McWilliams so strongly suggests?

[67] McWilliams, 3-4.

these habits."[68] Ultimately, what Royce argues is the importance of provincialism to twentieth century America and the increasing necessity to emphasize the benefits of it to the public. The reasons for discussing these ideas here is to provide further context to the state of California at the turn of the century and its position not only as part of the western region of the United States but as a territory of provinces that Bellows ventured to and that transformed his experience of the national American landscape.

As Royce further states, it is necessary to escape to the province and to "flee from the stress…a search for renewed strength, for a social inspiration, for the salvation of the individual from the overwhelming forces of consolidation."[69] In the summer of 1917, Bellows retreated from the anxiety and tension of New York City to Central and Northern California. Although he would not remain a resident there, it served as a source of escape, strength and adventure for the artist preparing for war. As California developed into a major tourist destination and the cultural division of its regions became ever more complicated, further encouraging Bellows to depart on his sojourn, the issue of provincialism, regional experience and escapism becomes ever more significant.

Bellows chose to make Carmel the focus of his California experience. It is the setting of the majority of art he created that summer and due to the divided nature of California culture, the restriction of his art to that of Central California is worthy of attention. On account of the rapidly growing rate of Los Angeles and Southern

---

[68] Josiah Royce, *Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), 57-58.

[69] Ibid., 98.

California, it would not be of great interest to Bellows who traveled to the state during this very period of expansion. As a figure that was seeking the freedom, leisure and escape that the countryside yielded, Carmel successfully fulfilled these objectives.[70]

Yet, it is important to consider the particularity of the West from the Western perspective, that of California natives and long-term residents, as well as the Eastern perspective, that of the new settler, the tourist and Bellows. As the population and tourist culture of California expanded, mythologies of the region were distributed throughout the United States. As Bellows entered California in the tourist mindset, his art would reflect a number of these stereotypes.

In describing his perception of California, long-term resident and prominent writer of the early twentieth century, Carey McWilliams places the majority of his interest on the regionality of California and mythologies that developed around its growing tourist culture. McWilliams states that many people from "mid-America," or the East Coast, like Bellows, were too timid or postponed a journey to Europe to seek out the exotic vacation and they sought out a Mediterranean paradise closer to home.[71] Due to this desire, a stereotype or "folklore of climatology" emerged as these individuals defined California as the Mediterranean of the United States, "The New Greece…The Land of the Sundown Sea" or as advertisements sponsored by the railroad boasted, "America's

[70] The discussion of the freedom and leisure that Bellows was seeking in California is discussed further in chapter 3.

[71] McWilliams, 96.

Vacation Land" (figure 4).[72] In continuing with the Eastern, or Midwestern, tourist perspective of California, writers such as Charles Lummis wrote convincing articles in prominent magazines beckoning artists to travel to the region.[73] Railroads further encouraged, through advertisements, people of the Midwest and the East to not only travel west, but to settle west (figure 5). As a Midwestern and Eastern ideology of California continued to develop, stereotypes began to revolve around the warmth of the sun, the color of the landscape, the richness of the soil and the peacefulness of the weather.

The stereotype of California as a bright, sunny, prospering playground is one that remained in the perceptions of even California's long-term residents. One of these figures, George Wharton James, another prominent chronicler of early twentieth century California, discusses its climate; "A new spirit takes possession of the whole nature. There is an expansion of soul, a freedom of spirit, an exuberance of fancy, a springing forth of spontaneous naturalness that carries one away from the crystallized formalism of the older and staider sections of the country."[74] California's weather, beyond the unique and diverse topography of its landscape, its size, promise of wealth in industry and natural resources and its leisurely culture, is its most important asset. Additionally he writes:

---

[72] McWilliams, 97.

[73] Charles F. Lummis, "The Artists' Paradise," *Out West* XXVIII, no. 6 (June 1908): 447.

[74] James, 165.

> The old feel young, and the careworn joyous, burdens drop away from the spirit as the clouds flee before the California sun. The pure blue sky is symbolic of the clear and speckles arch spreading over the soul; the clarity of the atmosphere of the new insight into life. The wild and delirious singing of the birds is but indicative of the new and unrestrained songs that spring up in the heart; and the sweet odours of the ten thousand time ten thousand flowers but fill the soul with unquenchable desires to make fragrant the barren and flowerless lives of the unhappy and unfortunate.[75]

Although exaggerated, this passage provides some of the reasons that might have encouraged Bellows to travel to California in May of 1917. The clarity, freedom, insight into life and love of which James speaks were all things that Bellows desired at that time. He would find them in the actual act of escaping his New York surroundings but also in his arrival in California, in his choice of Carmel as his residence, the comfort of his family, his exploration of Carmel's people and in capturing the California coast on canvas, basked in the golden sun or the timeless expanse of its countryside.

The California West was seen as a paradise and tourism slowly increased throughout the twentieth century. [76] Increasing accessibility due to the steam train and the efficient system of routes allowed for residents of the Middle West and East Coast to escape the brutal winter months and reach California in only five days as early as 1914.[77]

---

[75] James, 166.

[76] Gibson makes an interesting connection between this increase in tourism and a decline of quality and creativity of most artist colonies, signaling out Carmel as a place that experienced the "progressive despoiling of the California seacoast around Carmel to serve tourism…" (Gibson, 269).

[77] James, 6. James also adds that there are six routes to California from the East (James, 406). He also exclaims that the sights along the way on the train were important and many people chose particular routes due to these attractions. Bellows most certainly enjoyed his journey from New York to California and it is curious as to why there is no

A sojourn to California for many served as a sort of Grand Tour or Medieval pilgrimage – a journey meant to expand their experience of the world and to cure their bodies of illness. However, similar to our contemporary world, the mindset on vacation was wholly different than the mindset of the everyday. By traversing the United States and entering California on vacation, tourists to the region did not only experience a real place but also a paradise that transcended the realities of their environment resulting in the exaggerated accounts describing the apparent mecca to be found on the West Coast.[78] Bellows was one of these tourists. However, he differs greatly from the tourist described by James in most ways and it is doubtful that he was as bewildered by the landscape as the author describes. The subject matter of his work there and examination of the correspondence between him and his wife and that with Henri do not indicate an overly exaggerated perception of California's diverse and grand terrain nor its rapidly developing and expanding landscape. Yet, Bellows the tourist desired a total escape in search of a healthy change from the everyday, what Sheri Bernstein refers to as the "escapist premodern vision of California that eschewed regional realities as well as monumental international events."[79] In this way, although not overcome by the veil of tourist experience, he relates to the stereotypical vacationer to the California coast. Additionally, through his

---

evidence of the route on his work there. Although one unlocated work from his time there titled *Across Country* may depict just that.

[78] Although the long-term residents expressed a sense of permanence in the landscape and ventured beyond the beach resorts and artist colonies, the writings of McWilliams and James retain many stereotypical and exaggerated viewpoints of California.

[79] Sheri Bernstein, "Selling California, 1900-1920," in *Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; University of California Press, 2000), 68).

advancements and interests in color and light while in the state, Bellows connected to the most alluring, mythological and captivating aspect of the West to the sun-seeking artist.

In addition to the influx of tourism and flow of Eastern and Midwestern artists traveling westward, a successful art community of natives and settlers was developing on California soil, one that Bellows participated in in 1915 and directly joined in 1917 upon his voyage to the state.

The Art World

The environment is inextricably linked to art production and is significant to consider in relation to the condition of the California art world and West Coast attitude towards art upon Bellows' arrival. According to Everett C. Maxwell, curator of the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art, and McWilliams, in addition to California culture, the state's art world was also divided between its northern and southern regions. Maxwell writes, "It seems almost an absurdity to divide the northern section of California from that of the south…Yet, in order to do full justice to the equally important achievements of both sections, it is necessary to approach the subject from almost opposite viewpoints."[80] With northern artistic hubs in San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland

[80] Everett C. Maxwell, "The Structure of Western Art," *Art in California: A Survey of American Art with Special Reference to Californian Painting, Sculpture and Architecture Past and Present Particularly As Those Arts Were Represented at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1916), 33. The divide between Northern and Southern California in relation to art is also discussed by Paul J. Karlstrom in *California Painting: The Essential Modernist Framework* (Los Angeles: California State University, Los Angeles Fine Arts Gallery, 1992). Karlstrom attributes the pluralistic tendencies of California artists to the cultural detachment of the region from the influences and trends of New York City and Europe (Karlstrom, 17-18).

and Carmel, the southern region attracted artists in cities such as Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Laguna Beach, Pasadena and La Jolla.[81] Through Maxwell's discussion, it is clear that artists and curators alike had a strong preference for one region of California over the other, and in-turn, an inclination towards a specific regionality in California art. As the state developed into a national and world power, divided by its topographic and cultural history, the art world also experienced a similar divide in subject matter, audience and sense of taste. Due to these factors, the areas that Bellows visited, the culture he painted, the galleries in which his work was shown, and the artist groups he was surrounded by are vital to the understanding of his overall experience and his exposure to California's divided art world.[82]

By the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, California's art world was progressing and quite organized. Institutions such as University of California, Berkeley, Stanford University, University of Southern California, Berkeley's California School of Arts and Crafts, the San Francisco Art Association (San Francisco Institute of Art and California School of Design), San Francisco Society of Artists, the Palace of Fine Arts, Bohemian Club, Oakland Public Museum, Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, Southwestern Museum of Art and the California Art Club were

---

[81] McWilliams, 19.

[82] Maxwell goes into great detail to compare the two: "The chief different between the landscape of Southern California and that of the northern part of the state lies well within that realm of the inner mind known in art as 'feeling.' The whole mental and temperamental outlook undergoes a radical change, as one journeys northward from San Diego to San Francisco. The northern color is cooler, purer, and, hence, thinner. There exists a certain classic charm that is lacking in the more mellow and romantic contour of the south." (Maxwell, 34).

established, thriving and successfully supporting the education and funding of the arts. Prominent artist groups were also forming such as the Society of Six of Oakland, the Tonalist school of the North as well as the Eucalyptus School and Impressionists of the South. Major exhibitions and instances of artistic exchange between East and West were also occurring, the most prominent being the Panama-Pacific International and Panama-California Expositions in 1915 celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal.

Subsequent exhibitions and publications following these two events continued to attract art to the West but also promoted the West as an active contributor in the arts as well. The catalog *Art in California* published in 1916 served this purpose as "the first comprehensive record of the phenomena of Californian art" including a "historical and critical examination of these phenomena."[83] Due to the collective nature of this volume and the critical standpoint of each contributor, whether artist, art historian, curator or critic, the book avoids sentimentality of California art but a discussion of its true value and character.

An entry by artist Bruce Porter discusses the emergence of California and its art from the "echo of the national state of things…the blight of provincialism."[84] From the arts of the indigenous Native Americans of California, remains of early European explorers and the Catholic material culture of the Spanish missionaries to the influx of migrants from the East Coast, Mexico and China, as well as California's own Arts and

[83] "Introduction," *Art in California* (Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1916), 9.

[84] Bruce Porter, "The Beginning of Art in California," in *Art in California* (Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1916), 23.

Crafts movement, California represents an amalgamation of many different "voices" – "too many voices – too many echoes."[85] However, by the turn of the century, California was no longer only a repository of foreign cultural and aesthetic elements but became a contributor in the continuous export and import of cultural ideas and economic products throughout the nation and the world. In 1917 it was not just Bellows' art that traveled to the West Coast as it had done in 1915 and 1916, introducing West Coast audiences to the work of the Eastern artist. In this year, the artist himself visited the region, allowing the culture, people and landscape of California to influence him as equally as his work had affected them two years prior.

Published just one year before Bellows traversed the coast, it seems as though the California art world was in the midst of growing its own national and international legs. As Maxwell concluded his essay in the volume, "the development of Western art has been slow, and today we are forced to admit that no definite conclusion has been reached by the men who lead in the movement to establish a distinct school of landscape painters on the Coast."[86] However he adds, "I declare that out of this land of silent places will come a native art as strong, as vital, and as colorful as the land that inspired and fostered it." As Anthony Anderson states in his "Some Aspects of Art in the Great Southwest" from 1915, this school, "with such perfect conditions of content for the painter…has

[85] Porter, 23. As settlers of California detached themselves from the tourist mentality they began to respond and connect to California authentically. In becoming permanent residents of the state, artists were able to detach themselves from preconditioned conceptions of light and color and other elements and create a relationship to California beyond its temporary benefits and services.

[86] Maxwell, 36.

literally 'grown in the sun' in Southern California."[87] Bellows arrived here just as its artists had begun to establish their own identity and as he experienced himself, this was beginning to materialize in San Francisco as well as on the coast of Carmel.[88]

In his book, James often parallels art in California with the freedom and loss of inhibition that travel and vacation inhibits; "The world of to-day is sad enough, solemn enough, formal enough, fashionable enough. It needs a little of the opposite; not of cigarette smoking, wine and whisky-drinking stimulation…but of true, simple, youthful naturalness, the same spirit that makes the frolicsomeness of the colt, the calf, the puppy, or the horse turned loose from its stall."[89] This resembles the contextual condition of Bellows upon his arrival in California and the region provided the artist with the freedom and liberation, physically, psychologically and artistically, from the everyday. For the very reasons Bellows escaped New York that summer, California provided the artist with the elements he so desperately desired. He responded to the place artistically in a way that spoke of his personal experience and as the next two chapters discuss, through portraiture, landscape painting and color, he significantly advanced many facets of his aesthetic that was only possible along the coast of the golden state.

---

[87] Anthony Anderson, "Some Aspects of Art in the Great Southwest," *Fine Arts Journal* 32, no. 5 (1915): 224.

[88] Porter Garnett refers to this identity as "a native strain in their work." Artists were learning how to not only "*represent* California" but to "*express* California (Porter Garnett, "California's Place in Art," in *Art in California* (Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1916), 39). Generally, at this time California art was shifting from the grand panoramic views of the nineteenth century to smaller and more focused images, reflecting the increasing consumer and tourist culture of California.

[89] James, 397.

Chapter 2:
Interiority: Bellows, Portraiture and California

"He told me at Carmel, during the one interview I had with him, that he never knew what he was going to paint – he just went ahead and did it. Strong contrasting color, vigor, bigness of conception, originality, volume – these qualities characterize the group. In his portraits, the New York man is at his best. Here is his noblest achievement."
-Laura Bride Powers, "Art: Bellows' Paintings Controversial," *Oakland Tribune* (September 23, 1917), p. 20.

Bellows' cross-country trip to California during the summer of 1917 had a large impact on his internal condition and understanding of the modern American landscape, particularly the landscape of the West Coast. Portraiture served as an important genre for the artist throughout his entire career. Although he was interested in many other subjects, it fulfilled important and personal ends for the artist and these works provide insight into the most important or captivating figures in his life and his relationships to them. At the end of his career, Bellows' portraits also began to serve a dual purpose as they explored larger ideas and internal considerations of his postwar surroundings. Therefore, the portraits he completed while on vacation will be the focus of this discussion as they express the interiority of the artist most authentically.

His interest in the genre was established during his time at the New York School of Art where he studied under two of the most well known portraitists of the early twentieth century, William Merritt Chase and Robert Henri. Whether of his family, close friends or patrons, Bellows strove to obtain complete lifelikeness of his sitter and a sincere connection to them. According to Glenn C. Peck, creator of the artist's catalog raisonné, portraits made up one fourth of his total artistic output, one third of which are of

his family.[90] Peck claims that for the rest of his career, Bellows' landscapes gave him "satisfaction in the purity of painting" and "for the most part his landscapes remained true to what was observed, not what could be rearranged. He saved much of his interpretive skills for portraiture, a subject matter that always piqued his curiosity."[91] In California, this statement holds true and as this chapter argues, the portraits completed in California represent an important transition in his oeuvre as he strengthened his painterly connection to his family and began to consider the larger condition of California culture.

In contrast to his landscapes and genre scenes created on the trip, this chapter will argue that his portraits completed in Carmel construct unique combinations of family, age and, most importantly, California types. Through the portraits of his children, he expressed the stability and comfort he found in the relationships to his family while out west. These portraits also explore the notion of age and the process of maturity and along with *The Widow*, the wisdom and power found in both youth and old age. In addition to these inclinations, his portraits also begin to consider larger archetypal constructions of modern American culture and specific California types. In *The Widow,* Bellows not only depicts his aunt but also personified the Midwestern settler that had begun to flock to California paradisiacal regions. However, Bellows' portraits of non-familial people from California dictate further his connection to and consideration of the culture. One of these portraits, that of Paul Clark, was the catalyst for the artist's sojourn to the West Coast and

[90] Peck, 2007, 115; Jane Myers, "'The Most Searching Place in the World': Bellows and Portraiture," in *The Paintings of George Bellows* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1992), 172; M. Melissa Wolfe, "Family Life: Portraiture, 1914-1923," in *George Bellows* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012), 187.

[91] Peck, 2007, 119.

although completed for a monetary gain, it also resides within this larger theme of his California portrait series in his association to one of California's most typological professions, that of mining industry of which his father and the wealth of his family represented. Through his portrait entitled *Padre*, the notion of California types climaxes in the compelling representation of the Spanish-American. In California Bellows' portraits transcend beyond lifelike, sincere and emotionally invested works of art and function additionally as critically grounding tools necessary to cope with a complete change of environment as he ventured into the most distant region he ever experienced. This chapter explores these portraits in relation to other portraitists out west such as fellow visitor Robert Henri and resident Guy Rose to better locate Bellows' work. Through contextualization, this chapter argues that his portrait series lies somewhere in between these two figures. Captivated by the culture and people of California as Henri's exoticized types, Bellows also reveled in the leisurely scenes of Carmel as Rose's upper class garden scenes. As he traversed the terrain of the United States and expanded his own definition of the West and experience of America, Bellows created a series of portraits shaped by his own experiences.

The Notion of Age: The Portraits of His Family

Bellows focused many of his portraits on the people close to him, mainly his wife, his two daughters, other family members and close friends. He did accept and complete many portrait commissions but these works rose above a mere detached image of a sitter and resemble distinctively the intimate portraits he created of his family and friends. His

portraits reveal much about the sitter as well as their relationship to Bellows and the work in California is no exception.

Bellows was a family man. He was devoted to his wife Emma and was close to his two daughters. The portraits of his family along with his mother, father and Aunt Fanny make up some of the artist's most compelling and emotionally packed works. In California, his family, like most summers, accompanied Bellows out west. They spent the entire summer together apart from the period Bellows spent in San Mateo completing the portrait of Paul Clark. Being separated from his family in such a foreign place left the artist in some respects distraught. In many letters to his wife while in San Mateo he appeared dependent on her for support, stability, comfort and honesty. He requested her to visit him countless times while in the Bay Area for her company but also for her approval of the paintings he completed there – she was the only critic he trusted and he depended on her.[92] However, he soon remembered the situation in Carmel. Constantly surrounded by five women, he appreciated his time away no matter how much he missed them.

Unlike many artists of his time, in addition to commissions, Bellows created portraits for his own personal means and pleasure, inclinations spurred by his love for his family rather than any experimental or aesthetic end. In doing so, he completed an innumerable number of portraits of his family throughout his career, providing a priceless

[92] In a letter to his wife on July 29: "I think it would be and is essential in this business to have your criticism of the work with reference not only to art but also in regard to likeness as I can't tell whether my friends here are too generous or not and besides you can help in ways that no one else can. So you must come not as a matter of pleasure but necessity" (George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5).

timeline of his daughters' lives, from infancy to adolescence to the emergence of womanhood.[93] Bellows was not only interested in capturing the scenes of the everyday that appealed to the twentieth century art buyer, but also the most intimate scenes of his personal life that only he truly understood. Because of this, scholars have considered this portion of his oeuvre as "autobiographical."[94] In California, this reached a new heightening when the connections to his family and dependence on their support became ever more prevalent.[95]

His daughters make up over a dozen of the artist's portraits and sat as models for him countless times during their childhood. He paid them both a dollar per sitting and often times they could make up to five dollars per portrait.[96] Jean recalls later on in life that she and her sister even had fun while posing for their father; "he paid us regular hourly model's rates, too, so naturally we never objected when asked to pose."[97]

---

[93] Bellows even corrected a catalog that listed a portrait as "painted as a commission" to "painted for fun" (Brown, 1929, 141).

[94] Myers, 200.

[95] Although there are no symbolic clues to link these portraits to California – they could have been created anywhere – the context of their creation and the condition of their author is key to understanding their connection to the West Coast. Through the proceeding visual analyses, the unique elements of the portraits created there will link to the increased importance of his family while displaced on the West Coast during the time period around the First World War.

[96] Christman, 38.

[97] Quoted in Bruce Weber, *Ashcan Kids: Children in the Art of Henri, Luks, Glackens, Bellows & Sloan* (New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1998), 23. Originally from Jean Bellows Booth, "A Daughter Remembers George Bellows," *George Bellows: The Artist and His Lithographs, 1916-1924* (1988), 4.

Arranged with different props and always nicely dressed in a traditional portrait composition, Bellows' love for his family radiates out of these works more than any others.

A good example of this is the portrait entitled *Jean* (figure 6), created while in California. In the summer of 1917 Jean was two years old. The vibrant youngest daughter of the artist was more like her father than Anne. She was mischievous, silly, and energetic and had a temper, all characteristics of which Bellows most certainly contained himself. In this image, Bellows has utilized a surprisingly textural brushstroke to render his youngest daughter. This is most evident on the wall behind her as well as along the top of her bonnet. In doing so he has caused the toddler to seemingly vibrate upon her chair, as if she can barely keep still as she sits for her father. She mischievously clutches a doll to her chest while holding back a snicker. She blushes a vibrant rose color upon her plump young cheeks, which brings out the intensity of her blue eyes as she gazes admiringly – and gleefully - upon her father. She has been seated in front of a wall painted a soft blue with specks of yellow that reflect the color of her soft hair and the buttons of her coat. The orange hue of the wooden chair also compliments the softness of the blue wall and is reminiscent of the infamous orange and blue palette Bellows used continuously throughout his career.[98] Utilizing color, brush and the sincerity of a parent, Bellows has skillfully and sincerely painted a balanced and complimentary image of his most rambunctious, nerve racking but more relatable daughter, Jean.

[98] The blue and orange palette that Bellows utilized here is mentioned throughout this chapter but will be discussed in further detail in chapter three.

This work is most easily comparable to the portrait completed a year earlier by the artist, entitled *Jean with Blue Book and Apple* (figure 7), as well as an undated sketch of his daughter entitled, *Jean* (figure 8). Upon first glance it seems that they accurately document the child chronologically during the first two years of her life. They all depict the young toddler with plump cheeks, short and soft blonde hair with blunt bangs that frame her small round face, and a childish smile. They are full of personality and lack the strict poised nature of most formal portraiture. As Phagan claims about his work in this genre, these three images lack sentimentality. She writes that, "Although he adored his daughters and cherished his role as a father, Bellows painted his young models as they were – bored, tired, crying. He captured childhood not through the eyes of an adult but through his daughters."[99] This honesty allowed his portraits to be more attuned to his own understanding of his sitters rather than the approval of a patron or critic. He did not care if the portrait of his daughter caught her "glaring off into the distance, bored from one too many sittings" because it was an authentic portrayal of her at that moment and in that experience.[100]

The portrait completed in 1917, however, reaches a new level of emotion from the latter two works. Bellows has now painted Jean in a way that most authentically reflects her blossoming personality that revealed to be so much like her father. In spending the summer isolated on the West Coast, Bellows recognized these qualities in Jean although

[99] Patricia Phagan, *George Bellows: The Personal Side* (Macon, GA: Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1984), 7.

[100] Ibid.

they are rarely so evident in the portraits of her. This transcends the innocence of the portraits he created of her prior to this trip as well as the poise and maturity of a young woman rendered in her later portraits such as *Lady Jean* (figure 9) painted seven years later.[101] Although all of these works are lifelike images of his youngest daughter, the others lack the mischievousness and profound understanding of his daughter so prominent in the portrait from California.

Unlike the strong personality of *Jean*, the two portraits of Anne from that summer illustrate a much different individual. In *Anne in Black Velvet* (figure 11) and *Anne with a Japanese Parasol* (figure 12) Bellows has documented his oldest daughter, one who was much more shy, calm and responsible and who most definitely reflected the attributes found in his wife Emma rather than in himself. At the time of the trip to California, Anne was almost six years old. Similar to her younger sister, she was also named after an important figure in Bellows' life, his mother, Anna.[102] Both portraits depict the young girl in a stiff format, as if sitting or standing before her father was the last thing she wanted to do, although she would never dare say so. Tightly gripping two flowers in one hand or awkwardly holding the end of a Japanese parasol and dragging it beside her, Anne seems as though she had been interrupted from playtime to model for her beckoning father.

While both are quite different in color intensity and hue, they are strikingly similar to other portraits of his oldest daughter such as *Anne with Her Parasol* from 1916

[101] In *Emma and Her Children* from 1923 (figure 10) and the lithographs *Jean in a Black* Hat and *Anne in a Black Hat,* both from 1924, both girls have become beautiful young women of a seemingly similar temperament although this was in actuality far from accurate.

[102] Bellows named Jean after his close friend, Eugene Speicher.

(figure 13) or the future portrait, *Anne in White* from 1920 (figure 14). Although *Anne with a Japanese Parasol* is the only full size portrait of this group, they all depict the young girl seated in a formal position, in formal attire composed of neatly styled hair affixed with a bow or hat and with an apprehensive look on her face. In three of these portraits the girl also carries a parasol and the inclusion of her prop as well as her costume emphasizes Anne as a young maturing woman.[103] A *New York Times* article described the latter portrait from California and linked the image to "twentieth-century childhood in America, a strange compound of wisdom and ignorance, essential sophistication and essential innocence of mind."[104] The stiff and apprehensive facials of these works directly links to this statement and as Bellows watched his eldest daughter grow, he began to realize the blossoming maturity and surprising intelligence already present in her at such a young age.

Through these works the artist has distinguished the personalities of his two daughters from each other and provided them both with individual identities. Ethel Clark, a close friend of the Bellows family, recalled Anne "as shy, agreeable, thoughtful, and infinitely companionable" while Jean was "unpredictable and amazing – as well as very naughty and funny."[105] Similarly, Morgan remembered Anne as "quiet and

---

[103] Although included in his portraiture prior to California, the presence of a parasol links to other California Impressionist painters such as Guy Rose and Donna Schuster.

[104] Quoted in Haverstock, 133.

[105] Quoted in Weber, 23. Originally from 'Ethel A. Clark, George Bellows as seen by E.A.C., Charles Morgan Papers on Bellows (Box 4, Folder 4), Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College Library, p. 59, 61, 62.

accommodating" while Jean "modeled herself on her father from the start" although Bellows often asked himself, "Where in hell does that child get her vitality? And her temper?"[106] Bellows captured the two girls in their lifelikeness in these three paintings from California. Using a structured palette and expressive brushstrokes in which to express the liveliness or apprehensiveness of the two girls, their spirit is contained with paint on canvas. As Bellows increasingly preferred his family life and the countryside as opposed to his earlier interests in his urban surroundings of New York City, he continued to be captivated by the personality, vitality and individuality of his children.

In addition to the portraits of his daughters, the portrait of his aunt entitled, *The Widow* (figure 1), also successfully replicates the theme of family and age. The summer in California was the first time Emma and the children met Fanny and Emma exclaimed, "She was the most particular person I have ever met…She was extremely proud and very sprightly – tremendous will power."[107] Apart from the wrinkles on her face and hands emphasizing her elderly age, the pride discernible from Emma's observations is easily identifiable in his portrait of his aunt. The inclusion of these aging details angered his aunt and "She chided her nephew for revealing all her wrinkles and making her hands looks so 'rheumaticky.'"[108] However, in comparison to the later portraits of her from

[106] Morgan, 1965, 205-206.

[107] Quoted in Christman, 23.

[108] Ibid.

1920, *Aunt Fanny* (figure 15) and *Elinor, Jean, and Anna* (figure 16) she seems decades away from old age.[109]

In this initial portrait of his favorite aunt, Bellows depicted an aging woman of a vibrant personality. Wearing a conservative heavy black coat secured with one shiny copper button, high-collared black shirt and black headpiece, Bellows has depicted his aunt in her recently widowed state.[110] Fanny sits upright on her chair and gazes directly at the artist with piercing blue eyes, pink lips and soft brown hair that peaks out of the headdress representative of her obscure marital status. She still wears her wedding ring, mourning the death of her deceased husband. The luster of the ring links upwards to the button of her coat and the soft tufts of hair that frame her aging face. In her right hand she clutches on to a white handkerchief that contains a contemporary double black border. She sits next to a small side table upon which is placed a colorful bouquet of flowers within a shiny vase upon a small porcelain plate. These flowers link to the woman's perseverance following her husband's death and the sustained vivaciousness of her personality that Bellows admired so much as a child.

In many ways, this component reflects the admiration he felt for his aunt. The colors of the flowers become ever more prevalent next to the chromatic black of his

---

[109] Upon inviting her to spend another summer with the family in Woodstock in 1920 Bellows expresses his desire to "paint another picture with you as a model, as good as the one I have done [in California]…" (Christman, 25).

[110] Bellows had many of his sitters dress in costume and even included symbolic props or interior décor to allude to larger themes or periods. This is most evident in the attire of his aunt in *The Widow* as well as the dress of his elderly sitter in *Mrs. T in Cream Silk, no. 1* who wears her old wedding dress alluding to similar issues surrounding age and marriage.

aunt's attire as does the whicker chair upon which she sits. The background of the image has been completely muted in a veil of gray, which dilutes the brilliancy of the items on the bookcase to her left. The lantern and decorative ceramics loose their importance and become mere decorum of the painting rather than symbolic attributes similar to the bouquet.[111] Utilizing an underlying palette of blue and orange, with an added vibrancy of color in the bouquet on the right, Bellows has rendered his windowed aunt as a woman of strength, maturity and resilience.

This notion of age beyond the adolescence of his young daughters is important among the portraits Bellows completed while in California. According to Marvin Sadik in his introduction to the exhibition catalog, *Portraits by George Bellows* by the National Portrait Gallery, the portraits of his daughters contained bright colored clothing, attentive expressions and lively spirits in comparison to the brooding nature, darker palette and powerful nature of the portraits of his mother and aunt.[112] Age was a constant interest to the artist in not only the maturity of his two daughters but in the wisdom and aging process of his aunt, mother and other figures such as *Padre*.[113] However, the vague titles of both *The Widow* and *Padre* allude beyond mere metaphors of age. They hint at larger

---

[111] The presence of a detailed background is significant, however, and many of his portraits lack a distinct setting such as this. His later portraits, although not all, make use of the expressive details interior décor allows.

[112] Marvin Sadik, "Introduction," in *Portraits by George Bellows* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 9.

[113] The dichotomy of the young and the old is triumphantly apparent in his *Elinor, Jean and Anna* (figure 16), which juxtaposes the three figures to each other and expresses the idea of family and the progression of generations.

typological themes of American culture that began to interest the artist progressively throughout his career.[114]

California Types: *The Widow, Paul Clark and Padre*

Bellows' long held interest in larger cultural types is reflected in three portraits from his California journey. As Morgan states, "Just as he loved to capture the personality of a city or a river, so he was fascinated by the problem of keeping that delicate balance between the subject's individuality and its representative type."[115] Portraiture had the ability to express more than a sentimental image of a subject but also "a concept or 'type' of traditional, American virtue."[116] This is visible in *The Widow*, *Paul Clark, no. 2* and *Padre*, all of which begin to explore themes surrounding the general cultural categorizations Bellows experienced in California.[117]

The archetypal quality of Bellows' portraiture is evident in many instances throughout his career, including his urban typologies of New York City and his work the summer prior, which focused on the life of the American shipbuilder and his admiration

---

[114] This discussion has been initiated by Myers; "Now he began to give his portrait figures even broader connotations; more than individual characters, they now became allegorical representations of larger qualities of the human spirit, such as fortitude, permanence, or continuity…the Californian portraits explored questions of age. Their titles, *Padre* and *The Widow*, suggest broader implications by identifying the sitters as types rather than as named individuals" (Myers, 204).

[115] Morgan, 1965, 90.

[116] Quick, 82.

[117] Myers, 204.

for rural laborers in Camden, Maine. In California, these portraits begin to explore other cultural themes such as the Midwestern settler, the California miner and the Spanish-American. From these typological categorizations his interests would continue to expand into his postwar work.[118]

The Widow, although representing the concepts of family and age, also symbolizes a larger California type. According to early twentieth century chroniclers of California such as McWilliams and James as discussed in the previous chapter, as the popularity of California continued to expand, focus shifted beyond the nineteenth century focus on wealth and exploration towards a desire for the paradisiacal properties the California weather and landscape provided. During this time, the state's most common tourist or permanent settler were those from the midwestern regions of the nation, individuals who were forced to suffer through horrifying winters and who, often elderly individuals, found solitude in the healing properties the California sun yielded its residents every month out of the year.

Although relocating to California for marriage and not out of the same pursuit as most Midwestern settlers in the region, Fanny, a long time resident of Columbus, Ohio resembled this common figure in California's rapidly expanding population. In this way, she does not only represent the artist's dear aunt, a recent widow and a woman of strength and tenacity but a personification of the new population group proliferating

[118] This is evident in works such as *Mr. and Mrs. Philip Wase* and *Two Women.* The former represents a nostalgic representation of an early, prewar, Victorian double portrait whereas the latter is believed to have been inspired by Titian's iconic *Sacred and Profane Love*.

within California society. As Bellows explored his California surroundings in Carmel, San Mateo, San Francisco and Los Angeles, he would have noticed the influx of these figures of whom he related. As a Midwestern native himself, he symbolized a similar typological categorization as his aunt. In observing her assimilation to the California way of life, he was captivated by the new settler of California beyond that of the tourist class he resided.

However, is it possible for a portrait to represent both an individual as well as a type as the depiction of *The Widow* has been argued thus far? As Morgan's previous comment dictates and as Jane Myers exclaims, the larger typological associations of Bellows' portraiture does not affect the individual character or distinct personality of the sitter.[119] This is most distinct in *The Widow* where the portrait serves a dual purpose in this way. Seiberling agrees with this statement when he claims that his work around 1917 "became emotionally more detached, but in a few of his portraits, particularly of old women, he succeeded in combining dignity of formal organization with an appreciation of the dignity of the individual."[120]

Bellows was close with his aunt and she remained an influential figure in his life from birth to adulthood. Although titling the work *The Widow* allows for the portrait to movement away from the sitter's individuality towards a more typological categorization, it would be almost impossible to eliminate all sentimental value and personality of the sitter, one that had such an intimate relationship with the artist. The portrait of Fanny is

[119] Myers, 172.

[120] Seiberling, 111.

therefore balanced between its typological significance in relation to the cultural make-up of California and personal context as the artist spent time with his newly widowed aunt.

According to Richard Brilliant's *Portraiture*, the categorization of a portrait as an individual or as a social representative as wholly separate from one another is inherently impossible. He states that "Portraits exist at the interface between art and social life and the pressure to conform to social norms enters into their composition because both the artist and the subject are enmeshed in the value system of their society."[121] These social conventions of portraiture often manifest in the formal nature of even private commissions, forcing artists to represent their subjects as dignified individuals. This in-turn dilutes the personality of the sitter and further, affixes larger social connotations. Further, "Portraits make value judgments not just about the specific individuals portrayed but about the general worth of individuals as a category."[122] While these statements do not support the ability of portraits to function as both the sitter and a type, they do indicate that larger social cues are inherently inlaid within these works as a contextual and conventional role of the portrait genre.

The construction of a portrait as a type, although a desired objective, is often times an instinctive affect of travel and of novel social experiences. This is evident in Bellows' work from California as his portrait of his aunt and of *Paul Clark, no. 2*, although highly immersed in personal and temporal context or as a private portrait commission determined for lifelikeness, automatically incorporate larger typological

[121] Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 11.

[122] Ibid., 14.

associations where the sitter sustains their individual identity but also represents categorizations of a specific culture. This is further complicated when the evaluation of a portrait is wholly dependent on the audience as well. To the Bellows family, *The Widow* functions entirely as a portrait of Fanny. However, to California or Midwestern residents, those who could easily identify a person of their temporal condition, would easily generalize the anonymous woman as the new settler of California of Midwestern origins, a generalization Bellows incorporated into her portrait as he experienced this social class firsthand.

According to Brilliant, to succeed in being a type, anonymity of the sitter is important.[123] While this is not absolute for either *The Widow* or *Paul Clark, no. 2*, whether due to knowledge of the artist and his family or the title of the work as an indicator of the sitter's name, both portraits at least partially succeed in representing a larger type while also functioning as individual portraits with symbolic personal or temporal meaning.

Similar to the portrait of the artist's aunt, the portrait of *Paul Clark, no. 2* (figure 17), succeeds in representing both a significant typological categorization while also sustaining the personality and spirit of the subject. In addition to the importance of his family and depiction of them in his portraiture, Bellows was a man of many friends. His inner circle consisted of a number of fellow artists and their wives, most notably Robert Henri, Eugene Speicher and Leon Kroll. Although all living in New York City, Bellows also spent many summers with these men in Maine and later in Woodstock. In this way

[123] Brilliant, 106.

his friends were also a form of family. While away from New York City "Bellows' social world was simply transplanted to a different physical setting."[124] However, in California Bellows was far away from this group of people. Unlike other summers, his social circle did not follow him to the West Coast. Until he left for Santa Fe in September, Bellows was forced to connect to the people surrounding him. While there, the artist made some sincere connections to multiple figures of whom he met in San Mateo of whom Bellows painted portraits, two for the Clark family and another for George Moore, which remains unlocated today.

Though the portrait of Paul is the one most often associated with Bellows' California trip, it was actually the second work he completed for the Clark family. It is unknown where the first version of the portrait resides but Bellows described it in a letter to his wife; "The first two days I painted a life size full length of master Paul which everybody here is crazy about. And which is acclaimed a great masterpiece." He also states; "Of course as I told you Mr. Clark is not here and hasn't seen the first canvas yet. But Mrs. Clark hadn't any criticism to make except a detail of the chair! (very remarkable)."[125] After completing this work the family requested a standing full-length portrait to be made and Bellows quickly embarked on the second version; "I am going up now [to San Francisco] to get larger canvas and try another portrait of master Paul. If I

---

[124] Frank Seiberling, *George Bellows, 1882-1925: His Life and Development As An Artist* (Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948), 44.

[125] George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5. Morgan describes it; "The first, seated portrait has the simplicity and directness of his treatment of street urchins" (Morgan, 1965, 212).

can get as good a work in a standing portrait they should prefer it and I can keep the one now done...” Once completed, the second work won the most approval:

> “Everybody is delighted with the last portrait and have shifted allegiance from the first which I don’t like myself now that I have become detached although I may make something of it later...You must see the new one. It’s quite unique in my work and I don’t know yet just how to estimate it but I think it’s a very rare work in some ways. Although it may contain more knowledge than romance. It is very fine in color, a fine laughing head, very very successful hands, a setting of curtains and rear light like *Geraldine*, hydrangeas and elephant ears, a toy rabbit and a toy duck. While the boy holds a pencil and big book looking over his shoulder at something which tickles him. Color a green and gold. Nothing I have done except “Padre” is any better. At least for a long time.”[126]

As Bellows describes, the portrait of Paul is a full-length portrait that contains many elements. Similar to *The Widow* the background is composed of a detailed settling unlike the solid backdrops reminiscent the majority of his portraits. As Paul stands, his body facing the audience, his head turns slightly looking off beyond the right edge of the frame. He has been depicted with soft hair of a strawberry hue that rests lightly on his shoulders. Similar to Jean, Paul also has bluntly cut bangs that frame his delicate face. The boy has hazel green eyes, rosy cheeks and wears a joyous smile on his face, pleased by something in the direction he stares. He is clothed in a formal outfit containing a matching shirt and shorts of a midnight blue color affixed with sheer white collar and cuffs allowing the darkness of the shirt to show through. He wears tall white socks and shiny patent black shoes with straps that wrap around the joint of his leg and ankle.

[126] George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5.

As Bellows recalled, Paul holds a pencil in his right hand and a book in his left symbolizing the wealth of his family and the education he is afforded unlike the majority of young children making up the migrant and immigrant population of the San Francisco area. Situated around him are further elements that make up the complex background he stands in front of. On the left side of the canvas sits a small toy rabbit beneath a large hydrangea plant, a flower originating from Asia and the regions of the East Coast of the Americas representing the worldly nature of the Clark family or their origins on the East Coast that they left behind decades earlier to pursue the wealth California promised. Situated on the right is another potted plant of a tropical nature, further representing the wealth and accessibility of the Clarks. Beneath lies a toy duck and along with the rabbit, they emphasize the young age of the boy. The wall behind him is painted with a light yellow that is partially covered by the large brown drape that reaches from the floor to the ceiling. The curtain contains a shiny essence linking to the sheerness of the boy's collar and cuffs, the sheen of his shoes and the glossy finish of the navy blue surface on which he stands.

Similar to *The Widow*, the portrait of Paul Clark operates as both an individual portrait and a depiction of a California type. In addition to the hoards of Midwesterners retiring out west, as the first chapter indicates, the nineteenth century was represented by a desire for wealth in the mining industry that impelled thousands of individuals to relocate to Northern California to join the gold, and subsequent silver, rush. In this way, Paul Clark represents the second generation of these individuals and the success many discovered in their venture westward. Although his father, Charles W. Clark, would have

represented this typology most successfully, the portrait of Paul achieves in the personification of this type and as Bellows described the boy to Henri, he represented "the heir to the millions of Senator Clark," in-turn symbolizing not only the typology of the California miner but the familial representative of the successful entrepreneur of California's nineteenth century migrant class.[127] In completing the portrait of Paul, Bellows not only achieved a great lifelikeness by spending quality time with the boy as expressed through the personality radiating through his portrait but also as a California type, an association the Clark family surely approved. As Bellows experienced the diverse variety of people residing in the state, whether Midwestern settler, nineteenth century mining migrant, or descendant of California's Spanish past, he began to only naturally categorize his subjects in the distinct groups he experienced firsthand on the West Coast.

Unlike the two former portraits, *Padre* (figure 18), also completed in California that summer, can only be successfully argued as a distinct typology of Bellows' surroundings in Carmel due to the anonymous nature of the elderly sitter.[128] Nonetheless, the portrait of *Padre* is significant as it represents a figure of California that Bellows found a connection with and who was not a portrait commission or a member of his family, therefore further evidence in Bellows' interests in California culture and the archetypes that surrounded him.

---

[127] Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100 Box 1 Folders: 21, 22, & 23.

[128] The only color reproduction of this work can be found in Peyton Boswell's 1942 publication on the artist (Peyton Boswell, *George Bellows* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1942), 73).

The portrait *Padre* depicts a stern and rigid man but also a person who seems weathered and tired, worn down from years of manual labor that now causes him to walk with a cane that stands beneath the weight of his left hand. The man seems aged in the grayness of his hair that turns to a stark white on his face. The length and unkemptness of his beard, mustache and goatee and his large hands, leathered from a long life exposed to the warm sunshine of California also promote the age of *Padre*. The man's eyes reflect a stoic somberness that gazes upon the artist with wisdom and compassion unlike the controversial sternness of his earlier *Judge Peter Butler Olney.* Dressed in a brown coat, midnight blue pinstriped collared shirt, matching pants and clutching a brown hat, the painting sustains the blue and orange palette so often associated with Bellows, although of a significant earthy hue amidst a diluted green background emphasizing the laborious and weathered life of the man.

It is unknown who this man was. He could be a resident of Carmel or Monterey that Bellows created a friendship with in the four months his family spent there but could as easily be a spontaneous encounter Bellows made as he explored the region. As Laura Bride Powers described in her weekly column "Art" from the *Oakland Tribune*, he was simply "an old Spanish Fisherman" and although this is most likely the case, as suggested by the title of the work, this man represents much more than an elderly angler of the Monterey Bay.[129] In Carmel, Bellows visited the well-known and remarkably beautiful

[129] Laura Bride Powers, "Art: George Bellows, What of Him?," *Oakland Tribune*, September 16, 1917, p. 20. Powers also describes his portrait *Amado Herrera* - deemed destroyed – as an additional reference to the Spanish American, a "frequenter of Monterey harbor – one of the few survivors of the days of Spanish domination in the old

Spanish Mission so characteristic of California's eighteenth century. In titling the work *Padre,* Bellows purposefully anonymizes the fisherman and re-identifies him as a chaplain working in the mission, an authentic representative of California's historic Spanish past. In addition to the retired Midwestern settler or tourist of Southern California's sunny San Diego and the wealthy miner of Northern California's affluent suburb of San Mateo, the Spanish-American padre was a figure Bellows believed was representative of the city of Carmel region.

Of course there was more to Carmel beyond its Spanish past. By the twentieth century it was the location known for one of California's most elegant and famed hotels, a superb golf course, a bourgeoning artist colony and beautifully rugged coastline that served the wealthy vacationer or inspired artist. The mission at this time, slowly decaying, was a symbol of history that many preferred as a romantic ruin. Restoration of the mission did not begin until the 1930s and was not completed for decades. Although still a symbol of Carmel in many ways, it lay forgotten among Carmel's more luxurious and contemporary amenities and activities. However for Bellows, the Spanish-American was the ideal representative of a typological figure of Carmel and depicting a man with a countryside essence – a concept that Bellows so highly regarded as evident in his *The Rope (Builder of Ships)* from 1916 (figure 19) – *Padre* undoubtedly represented Bellows' interests in his exploration of California culture.

---

capital" (Laura Bride Powers, "Art: Bellows' Paintings Controversial," *Oakland Tribune* (September 23, 1917), p. 20.).

As he migrated across the nation, Bellows continued to explore his cultural surroundings and he found a significant group of themes that he found representative of his California summer. In speaking about Bellows' desire for travel, Morgan states that, "Each change of scene gave him a new aspect of light, texture and color, while everywhere his lively personality opened up friendships, and with them ideas."[130] This is most successfully expressed in the artist's portraits that dictate the strengthening of his former familial ties and creation of new relationships in California and the cultural constructions he experienced in his exposure to these individuals. In the next section, the portraiture of additional artists, whether visiting or native, in California will be explored in order to better understand Bellows' response to California as he explored America to the ends of its western boundaries.

California and the Portrait Genre

Traveling to California three years prior to Bellows' own journey, Henri's work in California provides precedent for the Ashcan response to California culture Bellows would express in 1917. Although differing in many ways in approach, Bellows and Henri both utilized portraiture as a means to understand and represent their urban and rural surroundings at home in New York City or on sojourn during the summer. Henri, a portraitist, chose to capture the people around him and in New York this manifested in the interesting and diverse people he came across in his Lower East Side neighborhood. While in California during 1914, his interests were no different and in the series of

[130] Morgan, 1966, 7-8.

canvases that make up his work from his time in La Jolla, Henri was captivated by the heterogeneous community that inhabited this rapidly developing region. As described in *Arts and Decoration*, Henri's work from California depicts the characterization of California's immigrant community, that being a range of "Mexican, Indian, and Chinese types [painted] in his usual big way."[131]

Although the influx of immigrant and migrant labor to California were wholly responsible for the successful development of California's cities and farms, the latter of which was so characteristic of the state's early tourist advertisements, this class of people were often excluded from early twentieth century art in California. Whether in the portrait or landscape genre, these figures were often ignored for the more picturesque scenes of California's coast or portrait commissions of California's wealthy tourists and residents. While Bellows hinted at a shift away from these general trends in his interests in larger California culture, Henri's portraits from California depict a community that was in many respects, disregarded. His depiction of these individuals was not for demographic or social reformative ends, however, but for his innate interest in the spirit, vibrancy and personalities of America's diverse population as he had done on the East Coast.

Amidst the stereotypes of California's immigrants, the negative reputations of the state's Chinatowns and the rise of anti-Chinese and other anti-Asian sentiments in California, these portraits provide insight into the many excluded communities that made

[131] "Advertisement for Macbeth Gallery." *Arts and Decoration* vol. 5, no. 1 (November, 1914): 1.

up the state's immigrant population. Other Caucasian artists contemporary to Henri did indeed document the exotic dress, markets and restaurants of the Chinese community, most often in a positive, "generally sympathetic" light.[132] However, these works othered their subjects by depicting them in traditional dress and avoiding any evidence of Americanization. A portion of Henri's portraits fit this trend in typifying the different groups making up the California community he experienced in San Diego, evident in his *Tom Po Qui (Water of Antelope Lake)* (figure 20), *Tam Gan* (figure 21) and *Chinese Girl with Fan* (figure 22). Although similar to Bellows' *Padre* as types of California's historic past or growing population, these portraits go beyond in his emphasis on the color, texture and detail of his subjects. The former, *Tom Po Qui*, is a portrait of a young Native American woman. She is dressed in a brightly colored dress of a brilliant blue, salmon pink, emerald green and primary shade of red. She is adorned with ornate jewelry that decorates her body. This ranges from the turquoise inlayed rings on her fingers, the silver bracelets that stack up her wrists and the layers of necklaces made out of local shells that terrace down her chest. Similar to most imagery of Native Americans of the time period, the expressionless, stern face of the woman represents the powerful ideology and culture that has survived centuries of persecution and assimilation and the strength this woman carries for her ancestors and her community.

Similar to this work, Henri's *Tam Gan* and *Chinese Girl with Fan,* depict the influx of Chinese immigrants that flooded California during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Constructed in stereotypical Chinese dress, hairstyles and accouterments such as

[132] Bernstein, 97.

the fan, these two girls are exotisized representatives of San Diego's Chinese community Henri witnessed firsthand.

However, in addition to these three portraits from his series, other works from California provide individuality and personality to his sitters through their facial expressions and the increasing Americanization of the names and dress of his sitters. In this way, Henri is creating a more accurate depiction of his assimilating subjects, moving away from the exotification and categorization of the former three works and the majority of art illustrating these social groups. This is most evident in his *Grace, Chinese Girl* (figure 23), *Nelson* (figure 24) and *Chow Choy* (figure 25). The former portrait, although remaining typical in the dress of his prior Chinese subjects has indicated the Americanized name of the girl, Grace. The portrait of *Nelson*, the depiction of a dark-haired Mexican boy, achieves a similar end through the Americanized nature of his name, the first step towards assimilation into California culture. The significance of *Nelson* extends beyond that of the former in his powerful positioning, with crossed arms, a stern facial expression faced towards the left edge of the canvas, Henri has identified strength and spirit in these Americanized subjects.

This trend in Henri's works climaxes in his *Chow Choy*. Although sustaining an authentically Chinese name, this portrait no longer depicts a Chinese immigrant but the twentieth century's American-born Chinese figure. *Chow Choy* is dressed in a hybrid costume of Chinese influence but of an American style. Her dress, a sky blue with pink border appears wrapped as many Chinese dresses. However, the lack of silk material and the white collared blouse beneath allows for her garb to appear as a combination of

influences. The girl continues to hold a fan so characteristic of the Chinese culture but in addition, wears a floral headband of unknown origin. Ultimately, what Henri desires from these portraits is a portrayal of the diverse culture surrounding him, whether an exotisized Native American type or the increasingly Americanized and individualized nature of Chinese-American residents of San Diego, these works provide insight into the complexities of California's expanding population.

As the portraiture of Bellows and Henri indicates, the traveling artist to California was attracted to the diverse histories, cultures and personalities that made up the West Coast. Travels to the region provided them with visual realities to the many rumors and myths surrounding California culture in New York and these portraits represent their attempt at categorizing this complex population, not from an ethnographic standpoint but one stemming from a curiosity with life and the spirit of the individual. This response would be altogether different from the portraiture produced by long-term California residents or natives such as Guy Rose who, from an Impressionist perspective, depict the upper class resident or tourist to California, one who explored the lush gardens, sunlit forests and warm beaches of the elite's most sacred resorts. This is most successfully embodied in his *The Green Parasol* (figure 26) or *The Model* (figure 27), both of which contain similar Asian elements as Henri's portraits but of an entirely different nature. The parasols, patterned textiles and delicate beauty of Rose's subjects are representative of the picturesque Chinese influence present in California but altogether ignore the actual presence of these people within the exclusive world provided by Rose. While his subjects accept certain cultural attributes of California's bourgeoning community, they remain

completely detached from the people themselves, secluded in their own world enclosed by the gates of the garden or the walls of the vacation home.

As Bellows' trip to California surely revealed, there was much more to his country than he had ever seen and the trip made his experience of America more diverse and well rounded. Considering that his portraits there do not consist of an objective copying of real life but an ingested scene, altered and conformed into a captivating composition, they represented his sincere connection to the place, its spirit, essence, culture and people. Therefore, his trip to California not only allowed him the ability to move in the opposite direction as national attention as the former chapter has argued but also aided in his ability to understand America more successfully by expanding his understandings of the cultural construction of this foreign territory.

As he attempted to express his western surroundings through images that epitomized life around him, his portraits most successfully depicted his continued dependence on his family for comfort and support as well as his interaction with the people surrounding him, representing his own vision of California culture. In this way, he fits somewhere in between the exotisized, diverse and typified nature of Henri's subjects and the upper class portraits of Rose's garden scenes. As the next chapter will communicate, defining his personal understanding and perceptions of the landscape provide further conclusions about how this trip ultimately impacted his art as well as his overall opinion and ideas of the 'Far West.'

Chapter 3:
Perceptions of a New Landscape: The Visual Impact of California

"He [Bellows] was at all times attuned to his environment – more, his perception carried him ahead of it."
-Charles H. Morgan, "Introduction," in
George Bellows: Paintings, Drawings, Lithographs, 7.

George Bellows' trip to California significantly affected his understanding of the United States. It broadened his experience of the nation and allowed for him to connect to a wholly new and unfamiliar region of his home country. As Bellows explored the rugged California coast he did only explore his internal condition in the comfort of his family and his California experience in the cultural constructs of the people of Carmel and San Mateo through portraiture but also responded to the landscape itself. In doing so he further expressed his own constructed relationship with the culture and terrain of California and this temporary, new landscape.

But how did Bellows perceive the California landscape at this time and what was his own definition of it? In addition to this internal experience of his cross-country journey, in responding to the external condition of his trip Bellows created fourteen landscapes that explore the notions of leisure, rurality, the countryside and the emptiness of landscape. As this chapter argues, these were all concepts Bellows greatly desired from his summer away from New York City and he was determined to experience these things in Carmel as he retreated from the East and sought refuge and sanctuary on the West Coast. These works expressed his growing interests in rural America and the pleasures he received in escaping from the everyday. In exploring his own surroundings

of the California coast Bellows constructed his own experience of California. In other words, *his* California.

His interests that summer have many similarities to contemporary landscape painters in California during the same time period, primarily in the subject matter, composition and spirit of the work of Guy Rose, Selden Gile and William Ritschel, all of whom painted around Carmel and San Francisco in the same time frame as Bellows.[133] This comparison isolates particular attributes of Bellows' California series that find origin in the overall style of these early California modernists.

In addition to the notions of leisure, the countryside and emptiness that the California landscape inspired, color was another component that Bellows vehemently explored and advanced while on the West Coast. This chapter examines the usage of pigments in these landscapes and relates them to the artist's larger oeuvre. In comparing to the usage of color among other artists out west, primarily Henri, but also Rose, Gile and Ritschel, the Western landscape inspired a similar and quite realistic palette among most of these Western and Eastern artists. While the natural hues of California did not inspire such vivid and expressive uses of color as Bellows and Henri reveal in their work from Santa Fe, the hues of California's coastline inspired a significant change in color intensity, richness and light in Bellows' work, all of which continued to affect his compositions up until the end of his career.

---

[133] Not only were these three artists present in Central California in 1917, Ritschel and Rose were also recipients of gold and silver medals at the PPIE, as was Bellows. Because of this, and Bellows' active participation in the organization of the show, he would have been aware of their esteem and presence in California.

Land and Leisure

Bellows spent the majority of his trip in Carmel and explored the powerful coast of Point Lobos, the golf course at Pebble Beach, the Carmel mission and the Monterey wharf. Although the artist traveled as far north as San Francisco and south to Los Angeles, all of his landscapes stem from his time on the Carmel coast therefore epitomizing the artist's experience of California that summer.[134]

In accordance with Bellows' tendency to vacation every summer, many canvases throughout his career belong to the theme of leisure and recreation.[135] It was a theme that Bellows depicted in his early years as an artist in New York City parks, on the riverfront of the Hudson and in Lakewood, New Jersey and into his later years in Newport, Rhode Island and Woodstock, New York. These scenes mediated between upper and lower class subjects, among urban and rural environments and varied with energetic movement or relaxed inertness. In his paintings of the beaches of Coney Island, the sports of boxing, polo, tennis and ice skating and other forms of recreation in the gardens, parks and the

[134] Although his landscapes focus on the geography of Carmel, in a letter to his wife there is evidence that he actually appreciated the terrain of the Bay Area much more than Carmel: "There is some grand country up back of here [San Mateo] a mile or two and if you could stay a few days I would stay and paint a few things besides portraits. Its very much finer here than at Carmel temperature, landscape, people. Everything." Further, "Have you found any interest in Carmel yet or any models for me or anything except Crabs"(George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5). From this correspondence it seems he was growing tired of the subjects there. However, he even expresses his dislike for the Bay Area concerning the climate of San Francisco in a sarcastic statement while in the hospital there: "I have a fine sunny room when the sun is sunning which I am told has happened here."

[135] For more on Bellows and the Ashcan School and leisure refer to: James W. Tottis, et al. *Life's Pleasures: The Ashcan Artists' Brush with Leisure, 1895-1925* (New York: Merrell, in association with Detroit Institute of Arts, 2007).

circus of New York City, this theme was quite attractive to Bellows and he returned to the subject many times throughout his career.

In California, leisure appeared in the representation of the upper class, rural sport of golf. In his *Golf Course (Pebble Beach)* (figure 28), Bellows has located his definition of the West Coast sport. Although also commonly played on the East Coast in country clubs and athletic associations outside of large cities, it seems that it was more appealing while on the coast of Carmel where the sport was played amidst the rocky shoreline of Pebble Beach and the famous Hotel del Monte with expansive views of the Pacific.[136]

In *Golf Course*, the players slowly stroll about, although painted with an unusual static tension. In this way, they function not only as sports players but as spectators as well. Unlike the energetic and active sporting scenes created while on the East Coast in Lakewood or in Newport, in works such as *Polo Crowd* (figure 29) and *Tennis at Newport* (figure 30), where sportsmen move about rapidly as the crowd stands, attentively observing in admiration the spectacle before them, the figures in *Golf Course* contain an entirely different nature. In this work, Bellows utilized a textural brushwork to construct the multi-layered landscape of Monterey Bay. In separating the piece into four equal parts, Bellows has emphasized the incline of the coast as the landscape rises from the shores of the Pacific to the cliffs above where the golf course sprawls and beyond to the cultivated rolling hills to the higher peaks amidst the cloudy sky. In this work,

[136] His selectivity of sports from which to choose as subjects of his work appears even more interesting when it is considered that baseball never inspired him artistically. The all-American sport played a large role in his life and he had the potential to reach the professional level. Refer to: Steven A. Riess, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1989) for more on East Coast sports.

Bellows has inserted five main figures, one of whom walks so close to the frame that only his upper body is visible. In doing so, he has rendered a scene that spontaneously captures the participants as they move, although statically, informally and independently within the landscape.

The terrain of the Pebble Beach golf course in Bellows' image seems quite crowded. As the green extends into the landscape, two large boulders and a tall, bushy tree serve as obstacles that control the movement of the figures as they stroll about freely as if in a park. However, a sandpit lying directly behind the proximate figure on the left side of the canvas is reminiscent of a traditional golfing green. As the landscape extends outward, there is a severe drop in elevation as the land in the foreground declines into a deep ravine of which another hill rises immediately behind, evident in the heavy shadow placed on the proximate hill. This terrain is quite accurately representative of the rolling hills of the Central California coastline. Similarly to the portraits discussed in the previous chapter, hues of orange and blue make up most of the composition - with the inclusion of yellow-green to represent the grassy field. This is most evident in the second register of the canvas as the hills behind the golf course transforms into a rich terracotta orange of the cultivated field. From this, the terrain rises even further as the distant mountain extends behind the white farmhouse attached to the pasture and nearby city built into the hillside on the right edge of the painting and tucked neatly into the base of the mountain.

The mountainous landscape overwhelms the composition as it comprises the top two registers of the work. In doing so, Bellows has allowed for the sport of golf to

become almost less important than the actual act of being in and moving about the landscape. The figures stroll about the neatly manicured grass, each facing different directions alluding at five different pathways of movement through the landscape. They lack strong gestural movement through their inert body language and seem unaware of the expanse of terrain and extreme incline of the landscape behind them as it reaches up towards the mountainous peaks amidst the clouds. It is only the middle figure that indicates movement as his arms spread in balance as he walks up the steep hillside towards his comrades.

A compositional comparative of this painting is *Warships (on the Hudson)* from 1909 (figure 31) where a similar static group of figures wander about in the foregrounded space amidst the more noteworthy and pivotal landscape of the Hudson River, containing enormous steamboats, and the towering mountainside in the distance. Although quite different in geography and in palette, it seems as though Bellows utilized a similar compositional format and overall approach to depict these two scenes of leisure. The act of wandering can also be found in his *A Day in June* from 1913 (figure 32) as well as in *Love of Winter* from 1914 (figure 33). Although these two latter works contain instances of movement and lack the total motionless affect or complete focus on landscape of the former two paintings as the figures frolic in the summer sun and glide upon the ice-covered lake, they are distinct images of leisure, a time for pointless wandering about in a natural landscape. Further, the depiction of this type of recreation was nothing new to the artist. However, its utilization for a sporting scene was drastically different from his other athletic images.

As a result of the meandering nature of the figures in Bellows' *Golf Course*, it is unmistakable that, although indicated in the title, the actual sport does not serve as the central focus for the work. With a primary emphasis on the landscape and further focus on the figures below, this painting serves as a serene response to his surroundings. While he makes clear in many of his other sporting scenes, such as in *Stag at Sharkey's* (figure 34), that the expressions and actions of the spectators are as important and captivating as the sportsmen, in this instance, he introduces that spectators can be sportsmen. The lack of emphasis on the actual sport being played is also important when considering the presence of the central female. The sport of golf bridges the gap between spectator an sportsman as its leisurely qualities and lack of competitive nature allowed for women to participate in the sport, one that lacked physical exertion and was more focused on wandering about the landscape than actually participating in any sort of strenuous activity.[137]

Contrasting from the dramatic, tense, violent and central representations of prizefights, the sport of golf represents something completely different. Although Bellows spoke of "all sports" as "cruel…for one side's victory presupposes the other side's defeat," he depicts the leisurely sport of golf as an activity not for competitive ends but as one allowing one to explore the unique landscape of the California coast,

[137] It was uncommon for women to be included beyond the position of spectator or casual wanderer in Bellows' leisure work. However, in some instances females were also included as active participants as evident in the tennis match in *Tennis at Newport* from 1919 (figure 35).

something the artist did himself as he sought to connect to the terrain that was his home for four months during the summer of 1917.[138]

In addition to the leisure portrayed in *Golf Course*, Bellows' *Jewel Coast* (figure 36) and the two versions of *The Fisherman* (figure 37 and figure 38) also demonstrate the leisurely pursuits that Carmel provided the summer tourist and local inhabitant.[139] The setting of the two latter works is in Point Lobos, a region just south of Carmel. Here, he was exposed to the unique rock formations and patterns of the coast created by thousands of years of brutal contact of ocean water and rock as well as the intimate coves of the jagged shoreline and the strength of the Pacific Ocean that resembled the power of the coast Bellows experienced on Monhegan. As Wilmerding describes some of Bellows' late paintings, the *Fisherman* canvases depict "foregrounded figures or animals turned away from us [that] stand as mute and mysterious observers of a landscape's unfolding

---

[138] "George Bellows, N.A., Paints 'The Call of the City'," *New York Sun*, December 26, 1915, sec. 5, p. 7.

[139] The subject matter and action depicted in both representations of *The Fisherman* is argued here as a leisurely activity rather than one of labor. Although fishing can be situated not only as a form of relaxation but as one of vital importance for the coastal communities as a source of food and sustenance, the two canvases by Bellows represent more accurately a non-commercial pursuit of the activity by a solo figure along the powerful shores of Point Lobos.

While *The Sand Cart* seems to have been the most exhibited work of Bellows' California series, to be discussed below, *The Fisherman* has become the more valued and widely exhibited work in the most recent major exhibitions on the artist. Most notably in: *George Bellows: A Retrospective Exhibition* at the National Gallery of Art in 1957, *The Paintings of George Bellows* at the Amon Carter Museum and LACMA in 1992 as well as the most recent retrospective, *George Bellows* that originated at the National Gallery of Art in 2012.

evocative power."[140] In this way, these two works reflect largely on the landscape in relation to the lone fisherman alluding to Bellows and his experience of the California coast as an entire new world unfolded before his eyes.

Similar to the lone fisherman in the previous works, *Jewel Coast* includes two figures that explore the rocky terrain of the Carmel region. Situated on a bay or inlet, they are overpowered by the large boulder that serves as the central focus of the image.[141] Across the bay, the hillside is covered in the iconic Monterey cypress, a tree found naturally only in this region. On the left side of the image, the powerful surge of water, similar to the ocean spray that envelops both renditions of *The Fisherman*, is evident as wave and rock collide among the series of outcroppings that appear throughout the surrounding waters of the coast. Contrasting to how Morgan describes these works, that "he treated landscape that summer more as an adjunct to figures," as evident in *Jewel Coast*, *Golf Course* and *Horses, Carmel*, it appears that figures are actually secondary or

---

[140] John Wilmerding, "The Art of George Bellows and the Energies of Modern America," in *The Paintings of George Bellows* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1992), 3.

[141] Laura Bride Powers mentioned this work in her weekly column in the *Oakland Tribune*. The statement includes a review of the public's reaction to his exhibition at the Oakland Art Gallery: "At the outset let me say that if you will not like them, at least you will enjoy an experience. You will greatly enjoy, or greatly condemn, for Bellows is no prisoner-painter. He goes to nature for suggestions, for themes, and then turns his imagination loose, sails madly into his colors and gives us 'Jewel Coast.' To elucidate, he told me at Carmel, during the one interview I had with him, that he never knew what he was going to paint – he just went ahead and did it… Incidentally the coming of the paintings to Oakland at this time is an achievement both for Oakland and for Mr. Bellows…. Again, you may not agree with Mr. Bellows, but you will certainly have a rare opportunity for discussion." (Laura Bride Powers, "Art: Bellows' Paintings Controversial," *Oakland Tribune* (September 23, 1917), p. 20.).

equal to the expansive landscapes that Bellows allows to overwhelm the compositions.[142] Morgan's statement is relevant to *The Fisherman* and *The Sand Cart*, two works that configure more as a combination of genre and landscape. However, the unique topography of California and landscape of the Carmel coast play an important role, overpowering his interests in all landscapes he created that summer.

While these figures seem less important than the landscape in which they reside, they still play a valuable role. Rather than representing important individualized figures, they function within the setting for "the setting, for him, was equally or more interesting than the people. The people are part only, of a total visual phenomenon."[143] In California, Bellows focused on the landscape and its relation to the figures within it. John Wilmerding signals this out as genre of its own when he claims that in addition to Bellows' famous landscapes, genre scenes and portraits, "a fourth category combining the figure with the landscape also demanded Bellows' special attention; as an artist he equally relished nature's physical presence and the proximate company of his immediate family" where "landscapes [are] rhythmically punctuated with figures or forms like musical notations."[144] Wilmerding continues; "This blend of landscape and genre directly

---

[142] Morgan, 1965, 210. The quote expands to read; "Bellows proceeded to explore the countryside. But he treated landscape that summer more as an adjunct to figures. *The Fisherman*, casting from the rocks on Point Lobos, was far more important to him than the setting. It was not so much the bright sweep of beach that lured him as *The Sand Cart* with its heavy frame, patient horses, and laboring men. Only in *Golf Course* does the sun-drenched mass of fields and hills dwarf the players moving across the foreground."

[143] Seiberling, 122.

[144] Wilmerding, 1, 3.

reflects Bellows' love of nature and of people, as well as his perception of the modern scene as one of energetic interaction between people at work or leisure and their surroundings."[145] The usage of figures in these landscapes as discussed by Wilmerding is distinct from that of his portraits. They do not function as individualized sitters representative of Bellows' internal connection to California or his exploration of California types but as distanced depictions of people interacting with California's landscape in the same way he was. In this way, they represented an extension of his own experience and vision the Carmel environment, the *Fisherman* canvases playing a dual role between these two poles.

Bellows found the people of California interesting as they frolicked within the landscape. All of his images, except for *California Headlands*, include at least one figure that interacts with the landscape and moves about rather than simply placed for scale or detail. As Frank Crowninshield noted in the artist's memorial exhibition catalog, "The universe, to him, was distinctly a peopled vision. Man was always the primary datum or unit" and the presence of these figures alludes to this fact.[146] Additionally as art critic Ralph Flint notes, "The universe to Bellows was a distinctly peopled affair, and if the composition on hand did not call for any attendant mortal, he usually spied out some satisfactory note of dappled steed or mahogany cow, of strutting cock or wheeling pigeon for accent and entertainment."[147] The expressivity of the figural landscape as in

---

[145] Wilmerding, 3.

[146] Crowninshield, *Memorial Exhibition* (1925), 17.

[147] Ralph Flint, "Bellows and His Art," *International Studio* 81 (May 1925), 81.

California would later inspire many of his later paintings in Woodstock, where he chose to make his ultimate summer countryside escape.

In addition to the widely regarded flower paintings of Granville Redmond and John Gamble, the mountain landscapes of Edgar Payne, the impressionistic interior scenes of Colin Campbell Cooper and Donna Schuster, California seascape artists working in the Monterey region or along the California coast made a substantial impact on the context of early twentieth century California art. Many of these artists utilized a similar composition and setting as Bellows in *Golf Course, Jewel Coast* and *The Fisherman*. In 1917, Bellows retreated back to his interests from 1910 in Montauk and in 1911 on his first trip to Monhegan from the direct and confrontational seascapes from 1913. In these works, he has taken a distanced physical positioning and vantage point and focused upon detached vistas of America's expansive, powerful and unique coastline. Similar to Bellows, many California landscapists chose to focus similarly on the natural topography and the unique terrain of the coast or the rolling hills left undeveloped by the rapidly development of California's urban centers.

However, it was rare for these landscapists to include the presence of figures as he has done and many often insinuate a completely uninhabited environment absent from any structure, figure or animal. The interest of figures in Bellows' work is only visible in the work of Southern California Impressionist Guy Rose, who's *La Jolla Cove* (figure 39) along with Franz Bischoff's *Emerald Cove, Carmel* (figure 40), depict the California coast in a similar manner. Here, the three artists suggest that these landscapes are not

simply a constructed paradise but one that can be enjoyed and explored as they experienced themselves. In *La Jolla Cove*, the inclusion of the narrow wooden stairs hugging the rocky cliffs along the beach leading down to the sandy shore below, as well as the small canoe that sits upon the water alongside the curve of the small inlet moving peacefully along with the tide of the small ocean waves, depict an idyllic representation of stretches of California's isolated, but accessible, coastline. Similarly, Bischoff has rendered a small beach, surrounded on both sides by steep rocky cliffs rising up to the cypress-covered bluffs above. In this work, five figures relax, play and wade in the peaceful and quiet beaches that made up California's central coast.

While these three artists, those who were captivated by the idyllic California landscape in relation to its figures, are the exception among California landscape painting as this chapter later explores, there were many other California artists working in the theme of leisure. These figures make up the large group of California Impressionists who, similar to their New York and European counterparts, depicted the interior, garden or beach scenes of the upper class. Unlike the leisurely work by Bellows, the act of wandering around the landscape as visible in *Golf Course* and *Jewel Coast* is replaced by more tightly cropped genre scenes of California's elite class. The resonance of Impressionism in California long after it had gone out of style elsewhere is no coincidence. Due to the warm environment and mythologies of California culture constructed around leisure, vacation and beauty, tropes of California visual experience

were established by these artists who participated "consciously or unconsciously in this discourse of California boosterism."[148]

Rural Authenticity

In addition to the theme of leisure, Bellows' California work also concentrates on ideas of rurality, the countryside, or the pastoral nature of the California landscape. This is embodied in Bellows' *Horses, Carmel* (figure 41) and *The Sand Cart* (figure 42).[149] The latter is possibly the most well known of his California work and as Sweet exclaims, "One of his best sea pictures."[150] Like *Golf Course*, *The Sand Cart* depicts a complex combination of landscape and figures. However, unlike the former, its focus is carefully split and balanced between the foregrounded figures and the uniquely shaped mountains in the background. Mahonri Sharp Young states; "Out in California, Bellows refused to be overcome by the immense scale of the Western landscape and this scene could perfectly well have been painted along the Hudson. It was the subject that interested

---

[148] Bernstein, 66.

[149] *The Sand Cart* is also commonly referred to as *The Sand Team.* The former title is used throughout this thesis in conformity to its classification by the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

[150] Sweet, "George Wesley Bellows," 21. The work has also been included in most exhibitions on the artist: *Memorial Exhibition of the Work of George Bellows*, introduction by Frank Crowninshield (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1925); *George Bellows: Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1946); *George Bellows: A Retrospective Exhibition* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1957); *The Coast and the Sea: A Survey of American Marine Painting* (Brooklyn, New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1948).

him."[151] While the action taking place among the figures is important to this piece as both Young and Morgan have argued, the landscape played an even more crucial role that summer and in accordance with *Golf Course*, it had the potential to overwhelm the artist's compositions. Although distancing the vantage points of his landscapes in California, Bellows remained attune to the details of the unique terrain and sincerely attempted to document the contrasting topography, palette and luminosity of the West Coast. The seemingly sandy and barren series of rolling mountains surrounding the laborers in *The Sand Cart* look nothing like any other landscape Bellows has depicted before. They stand as monuments to the figures below but are seemingly weightless as they float in the water alongside the solo canoeist. The labors on and the horses become restless in this rural, dry and seemingly uninhabited environment.

Similar to *Golf Course*, this work has multiple compositional and thematic comparatives, mainly, *Cleaning the Fish, Monhegan Island* (figure 43) and *The Big Dory* (figure 44). These works are not only similar in subject matter - scenes of everyday life, work and rural simplicity - but also composition, placing the figures in the bottom register, foregrounded in front of a distanced and grand landscape separated by a body of water. *The Rope (Builder of Ships)* (figure 19) is also worth mentioning here in its similarity in technique with *The Sand Cart.* These two works carry a more diligent tactility and preciseness in brush stroke allowing for a seemingly more realistic and less expressionistic depiction of a genre scene – that is, less devoted to the essence of the

[151] Young, 110.

environment and more focused on action taking place and the landscape in which that action occurs.

Horses, Carmel, although lacking human figures at work, radiates a similar theme of rurality while also signaling the emptiness of the landscape. As the five horses graze peacefully in the golden field, a small series of homes or buildings can be seen in the background, directly behind the group across a small bay or inlet. An additional structure resides on the far left side of the work. Although containing permanent structures and the evidence of human inhabitation, this work instills a sense of openness and vacancy, as if this compound is the only residence for miles.

Bellows was becoming increasingly interested in animals and they often replaced the presence of human figures in his work. This trend began to appear the summer prior in Criehaven and Matinicus and continued in work he completed in Middletown and Woodstock towards the end of his life. Works such as *Village on the Hill* (figure 45) and *Criehaven, Large* (figure 46) most notably reflect this trend in composition and subject matter. In doing so, Bellows reflected his growing interest in rustic American values, that being the American farmer or the small coastal or mountain town – people who although cultivating their surrounding landscape with crops, farmhouses and domesticated animals, have sustained a seemingly natural environment completely opposite of the modernity invading the culture of America's major cities. In addition to the importance of the animals as the focal point of this work as they replace the wandering human figures such as in *Jewel Coast*, the background of the work remains relevant, if not equally to the foregrounded figures. As the golden field of grass extends beyond the bay towards the

farmhouse beyond, the distanced rolling hills are reminiscent of *The Sand Cart*. These monumental mounds, although enlarged, mirror the shape of the smaller protruding peninsula before it and reflect the series of inlets that line the entirety of Carmel's coast. In documenting his California experience, everything seemed new, warm and fresh.

As Young claims, "Bellows had all the town boy's love for the countryside. He never had to milk cows or chase horses through the fields. The farmyard was a place of wonder and imagination; to the summer visitor who doesn't have to butcher them, even the hogs are jovial…The country means long summers with the family, a chance to get away from New York and the art world."[152] In the countryside, Bellows found the American tradition embodied in the soil of ones surroundings. In responding to his environment in California beyond the people around him, in the landscape, Bellows provides his audience with an authentic window into his national experience with the West Coast.

Similar to Bellows' interest in rurality that summer, Bay Area colorist Selden Gile also worked actively around similar subjects. Although images of California's urban centers and development of industry were essentially non-existent at this time as most California artists found inspiration in the constructed uninhabited vistas of the California territory, a group of artists were interested in the rendering of small villages or marinas. In Gile's *Tiburon Waterfront (Olga's Dock)* (figure 47), the artist has utilized thick textural brushwork to display California's small seaside town. He has used a palette of blues and yellows in very short horizontal brushstrokes to create a rippling affect as the

[152] Young, 14.

scene recedes into the expanse of anchored boats, piers and boathouses making up the marina. Additionally, as rendered in his *Destination Marin* (figure 48), Gile has constructed a rural vision of a Northern California farmstead. Here, a central figure walks away from the viewer down a long winding road. Surrounded on either side by small farmhouses and sheds, lined with a make-shift fence and tall trees that lean and sway in the powerful winds blowing through Marin's golden rolling hills, the lone farmer continues his journey in the golden expanse of Northern California's rural landscape.

In the summer of 1913, Bellows' seascapes of Monhegan were mainly tightly cropped and direct representations of the island's shorelines, purposefully avoiding any inclusion of a marina or seaside port. However, his work from 1916, expanding up the panels from 1913, do include the evidence of daily life visible in Camden and on Matinicus and Criehaven and represent his growing interests in rural America. However, they remain idyllic in their rurality in their lack of chaos that would have crowded these seaside ports with fisherman, tourists and markets. In this way, his work from 1916 directly relates to that of Gile as both chose to focus their compositions on the peaceful and serene scenes of America's small coastal and rural towns.[153] Nonetheless, Bellows' work from California, shares many similarities between these two body of works, that of his own oeuvre from 1916 and that of Gile as all attempt to express the beauty and importance of lesser appreciated scenes of everyday life found in America's most simple, peaceful and ordinary environments.

[153] Compare Gile's *Tiburon Waterfront (Olga's Dock)* (figure 47) to Bellows' *Criehaven Wharf* (figure 59). This is also quite attune to the interests of California painter E. Charlton Fortune.

Escape to Emptiness

Another theme that shapes the artist's California landscapes was emptiness and timelessness – a theme that alluded to larger notions of liberation and freedom.[154] The idea of emptiness has already been touched upon in the discussion on *Horses, Carmel* but reaches a new degree in the artist's *California Headlands* (figure 49). While Bellows' landscapes discussed thus far have all included figures and even permanent structures insinuating human settlement, their vast landscapes and distanced backgrounds allude to an uninhabited and expansive territory. This is more largely relevant in his *California Headlands*, the only pure landscape of this entire series.[155] As mentioned in an article by Hedy Backlin-Landman, this work is described as a successful combination and balance of "expressive brushwork, strongly 'ordered' composition, and luminous color" that would later influence the "rural serenity" visible in his later Woodstock work, "elements that had come together perhaps for the first time in Bellows' painting on the California coast."[156] Many of Bellows' artistic pursuits were continued and significantly advanced while in California.

---

[154] The notion of emptiness is quite distinct from that of loneliness and uncertainty as experienced in his *Shore House* from 1910 and *An Island in the Sea* from 1911 (figure 50). These are works that Kelly couples with Bellows' marriage to Emma and his contemplations about the uncertainties of life and the power of the landscape (Kelly, 142, 145-147).

[155] Bellows may have eliminated all evidence of human occupation on purpose. He was known for adding, omitting or altering small elements from his works to fit his objectives. This is evident in his *Shore House* (1911) and *My House, Woodstock* (1924).

[156] Hedy Backlin-Landman, "A West Coast Landscape by Bellows," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 27, no. 2 (1968): 90.

In *California Headlands* Bellows has utilized a palette of a rich marine blue with hues of green, yellow, red and white, reflecting a similar combination of colors as the rest of the series. This work, however, differs in its sensuous qualities. The rich blue of the deep cool water encircles the island placed directly in the center of the small cove. Bellows altered the thickness of the paint here to allude to the current that carries the water from the white-capped waves on the left, rolling in from the broader expanse of the Pacific Ocean towards the narrow passage in between the island and the cliff protruding out of the right side of the canvas. This rendering of paint has curiously allowed for a slight abstraction of the image. Although the artist remained a realist throughout his entire career and largely ignored the abstract modernist trends in Europe and New York City, this work embodies a fish-eye-affect that transcends the realism present in the other work from this series. The cliffs and summit of the central island are scattered with cypress trees whose roots latch desperately to the sides of the rocky cliffs. Behind the central outcropping is another mass of land that juts out in the back right. This alludes to a larger bay behind, linked by a series of similar coves that dot the coastline as in *Horses, Carmel*. As the blue of the water encircles the white of the island placed in the central register of the work, the green of the shrubbery ties the composition together as it borders the canvas on its left, right and top edges allowing for a completely balanced image. In nature, specifically while in California, Bellows found an unchallenged sense of opportunity in the power of the sea and the limitless and vast opportunities it provided his art.

If Bellows was indeed attempting to create his own perception of California through these paintings, as well as reflect on his own understanding of the region, *California Headlands* was the ideal way to express these ideas. Here, the freeing qualities found in *Horses, Carmel* are present to a greater degree. In addition to the intensity of the boxing images, the force of his seascapes and the sincerity of his portraits, many of his landscapes represented something more than a rendering of a scene on canvas. As Henry McBride states, "For him, something had to be doing. Stupendous clouds threatening the very mountain tops, a fierce crack of lightning, perhaps one of our famous hurricanes – and the artist's attention was enchanted."[157] However this is completely lacking in the California series. In avoiding these aspects the artist achieved the very objective of his trip out west that summer.

The notions of timelessness and freedom are important when considering the context of this trip.[158] In expanding upon the distanced positioning found in his other California landscapes, *California Headlands* contains a sense of calm that has overcome the panorama; "The summer in the region of Carmel was probably the most exciting of his life. Everything was new. The scenery of the Big Sur and Pebble Beach was

---

[157] Henry McBride, "Introduction," in *George Bellows: A Retrospective Exhibition* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1957), 10. John Wilmerding also mentions this "intensity," "gusto" and "physicality" of his landscapes (Wilmerding, 3).

[158] This becomes especially interesting considering the significance of temporality in his work and the larger Ashcan School as representatives of a unique perspective of early twentieth century America and the bourgeoning urbanism taking over New York City. This is most evident in Bellows' works documenting iconic events in American history; *Pennsylvania Excavation* (1907)*, Edith Cavell* (1918) and *Dempsey and Firpo* (1924).

magnificent – and empty, unlike the crowded beaches of the East."[159] Unlike the powerful and spontaneously gestural seascapes of his earlier summers on Monhegan in 1911 and 1913, positioned with closely cropped vantage points and focused on the movement of water, this landscape from California represents a composed, balanced and calm depiction of the coastline. It is more reminiscent of his earliest seascapes in Montauk from 1910 that share a similarly removed vantage point, where the violent crash of the sea has been muted and the focus has been shifted to a grand view of the surrounding landscape such as in *An Island in the Sea* (figure 50).

Bellows' return to this positioning and composition becomes more significant when it is considered that he had spent the last four summers in Maine. Due to this repetition, California provided Bellows with a vast unexplored space, a sense freedom from the East Coast and a location of unrestricted artistic opportunities and he would only naturally attempt to document the coastline in a different way than the previous four summers.[160] The significance of the sea is something that encompasses all of these periods, however, and was a powerful component of his artistic interests. His hundreds of seascapes are often compared to Herman Melville's *The Whale* and the "long American tradition of equating self-discovery and self-understanding with the observation of bodies

---

[159] Braider, 110.

[160] Although *The Fisherman* (no. 1 and no. 2) depict a similar compositional format and positioning as the work from Monhegan, the majority of his seascapes in California share this distanced positioning reminiscent of *The Shore House* or *An Island in the Sea* (figure 50). Although, Bellows began to explore new subject matter and fresh ideas the summer prior in Camden and on Criehaven and Matinicus and the four summers spent in Maine were in no way homogenous.

of water: rivers, lakes, the sea…American painting has seen the sea as the mirror of the self."[161] Due to the context of the summer in California, it would seem this tradition held true.

However, per the work of other California artists, the distanced vantage point of Bellows and the general exclusion of figures in this work was characteristic of California landscape painting at this time. In addition to his desire for a new approach in the seascape genre than the prior four summers, the standard format of other landscape painters surrounding him in the Carmel art colony would have also greatly influenced the construction of his work. Guy Rose's *Point Lobos* (figure 51) and *Incoming Tide* (figure 52), William Ritschel's *Mammoth Cove* (figure 53) and Childe Hassam's *Point Lobos, Carmel* (figure 54) resemble quite distinctly Bellows' *California Headlands* in palette, composition and physical location. The seascape by Ritschel in particular captures, as Bellows does, the movement of water surrounding the many inlets surrounding Carmel's coast where large rocks, forced into odd shapes from years of wind, salt and sea, protrude upwards in the center of these outcroppings allowing for unique pathways of water as the tide pulls waves inwards and outwards back into the large expanse of the Pacific. Rose and Ritschel carry a much more realistic style through their crisp lines and diligent use of brush than the expressionistic renditions of Bellows and Hassam. However, all seem to be working in a similar format and from similar interests. As the *Carmel Pine Cone*

[161] David Peters Corbett, *An American Experiment: George Bellows and the Ashcan Painters* (London: National Gallery, 2011), 44.

states, Ritschel and Bellows were close friends and the transfer of influence between the two who both resided along the Monterey Peninsula that summer was eminent.[162]

Bellows constantly returned to previous genres, themes and compositions throughout his career, as if he was reconsidering them after long periods of time. This is important when discussing his California work due to the larger themes and formats he touched upon through his work there. Whether inspired by the artists surrounding him or by the novelty of his surrounding landscape, the work from California serves as an important moment in the artist's developing aesthetic and it depicts the landscape as a region whose beauty and opportunity is only beginning to be discovered.[163]

While the landscapes Bellows created in California may not be nearly as emotionally packed or linked to such powerful personal sensations as embodied in *Shore House* or *The White Horse*, they transcend as mere plein-air panels created during other summers on sojourn. They lie somewhere in between these two poles. They are ingested and carefully designed scenes of his trip out west and are representative of his summer there. Bellows sought the leisure, rurality, emptiness and freedom that the California coast provided and his landscapes depict these ideas. He chose to distinguish this landscape from his other experiences of the East. California to him, apart from *The Sand Cart*, was a place for vacation, a coastal escape that was not distracted or invaded by the

---

[162] "Pine Needles." *Carmel Pine Cone* 111, no. 18 (May 31, 1917), p. 4.

[163] As James describes, in California "there are a thousand and one places of fascination, romance and beauty that, as yet, are unknown except to a limited few" (James, 15). This is strikingly similar to the emptiness and timelessness that Bellows emanates through his landscape paintings. At the beginning of the twentieth century many individuals viewed the state as a place of limitless possibilities and freedom awaiting recognition.

industrial or the hustle of everyday life. It only contained the beauty and serenity of holiday, the peacefulness of vacation and a break from the everyday. These images in a sense seem timeless. They function as material evidence of his mental and physical liberation from New York modernity, his growing interest in the nation's countryside and the leisurely and unobligated nature of his time in California.

Bellows' California Color

One of Bellows' most important interests in California, and one only briefly mentioned thus far, color, was a characteristic of his art that he experimented with his entire career and that was greatly affected through his adventure in California. Color played a significant role in Bellows' style and was a major component in the makeup of his work around 1917. The West Coast and its unfamiliar topography was the perfect place for his continued exploration of color. As this discussion will argue, he not only continued to utilize a similar palette of blues and oranges evident in his earlier work but intensified and transformed his usage of paint to reflect the brilliant landscape and warm sunlight of California. This palette was realistic and quite analogous to the usage of color by other California landscape painters surrounding the Carmel region. The colorful pueblos of New Mexico, however, inspired an entirely new usage of color. These pigments are more reminiscent of the paintings created during the summer of 1916 in Camden and ironically identify more accurately with the California colorist Selden Gile, an artist experimenting with color in California as Bellows did elsewhere. This division is also apparent among other Ashcan artists out west such as Henri who also experienced

advancements in color through his travels to both California and New Mexico, both of whom experienced an intensified interest in the countryside and a greater focus on color in a chronologically parallel fashion throughout their careers. Although Bellows' and Henri's usage of color varied in specific moments, similar to the artists around them, both embodied a general richness of pigment and radiance evident of the affects of California light and abundance of life this warmth provided the West Coast.

According to Quick, the years of 1913, 1916-1917 and 1923-1924 can be considered "charmed periods" of Bellows' interests and usage of color.[164] Coincidentally, these three periods can be linked to important summer excursions the artist embarked on throughout his career. Travel had a large affect on Bellows' style as it provided him with new locations and new subjects to paint and new theories or ideas to experiment with. Therefore, his most fruitful periods of stylistic change are evident during his most influential summer trips on the island of Monhegan, Maine, to Camden, Maine and the nearby secluded islands of Matinicus and Criehaven, Carmel, California, Santa Fe, New Mexico and Woodstock, New York.

The progressive advancements in color Bellows achieved during these summers is something Quick links to the overall positive progression of his work throughout his career – expelling the favoritism of Bellows' early work and placing his later work on a higher pedestal; "the clearest demonstration of this pattern is the way color theories

[164] Quick, 63.

enabled him to realize his exceptional gifts for steadily more harmonious and brilliant color."[165]

The first of these trips was to Monhegan during the summer of 1913. It was the artist's second time to the island but his work that summer was on an entirely new level in comparison to the work he had done the first time he was there. Bellows shifted his vantage point from a distanced positioning focused on the expansiveness of the landscape to one directly in confrontation with the power of the ocean. He also greatly expanded his use of color beyond the subdued color scheme of works such as *An Island in the Sea* (figure 50) from 1911. The latter was primarily due to the historical context of the period immediately following the Armory Show that exposed the artist to the modernist art of Europe and that inspired a greater focus on color experimentation and intensification in his interests in color theory.[166] The artist began to branch out from the ideas of Hardesty Maratta and his mentor Henri and the limited palettes that they encouraged. As Quick explains, that summer Bellows began to utilize color in his own way and "found a new vision of the island."[167] The independence in color Bellows achieved that summer on Monhegan are precursors to the developments that occurred in 1916 and 1917.

Works such as *Tumble of Waters* (figure 55), *Last Day* (figure 56) and *Summer Surf* (figure 57) dictate the artist's expanding and daring experimentation of color as he

---

[165]Quick, 89.

[166] Sarah Cash also argues the advancements in color may have been influenced by Leon Kroll (Cash, 161-162).

[167] Quick, 38 & 43. Bellows became involved with the color theory of Maratta in 1911.

began to utilize more expressive and luminous palettes for his seascapes. In *Summer Surf* the rocky terrain extending out towards the crashing waves of the sea are created with a bright combination of blues, purples and orange-reds. Shifting away from the more traditional processes of painting, he created many small plein-air panels during this period and utilized them as final products. This allowed for a greater expressivity in his work as evident in this panel and the spontaneity in his usage of such an imaginary color scheme.[168] His interests in color are also evident in his panel titles from that summer and their consistent dependence on hue and light, for example, *Green Islands, Gray and Blue, Hills of Summer Blue, Gray Sea, Sun Glow, Sunlit Surf* and *Blue and Gold*. In 1913, Bellows completed hundreds of small panels, and as their titles suggest, they served more as directly transcribed figural studies of color and light than as carefully composed, comprehensive or personally significant compositions.

Bellows' subsequent trips to Camden Maine, California and New Mexico during the summers of 1916 and 1917 inspired further periods of experimentation and expressivity in color and light. As Peck argues, "By 1916, his last summer in Maine, Bellows' palette had become chromatic, and he could use effectively every hue in the rainbow…"[169] This is most clearly evident in his *Romance of Autumn* (figure 58) and *Criehaven Wharf* (figure 59) where his landscapes appear as fantastical representations of his summer surroundings. The intense colors used in these two works transcend the experimental quality of his plein-air panels on Monhegan to carefully constructed works

[168] Quick, 34.

[169] Peck, 2007, 119.

that utilize intensity and brilliance of color as expressive tools. The dreamlike representations of that summer in Maine and the extreme saturation of color directly link to his interest in complex palettes of a fictional quality. Similar to the illusionary rocks of *Summer Surf*, the landscape of *Romance of Autumn* contains a poetic amalgamation of rich purples and blues, bright oranges and greens and luminous earth tones that do not serve to reflect the artist's interests in capturing the realism of his surroundings. Instead, they function as a combination of his experimentations in color and as expressions of the affects of the isolated islands of Matinicus and Criehaven as they provided the artist a glimpse into the paradisiacal quality of rural America.

As the culmination of this discussion of Bellows' exploration of color, his trip out west exposed the artist to an entirely new sense of topography. The beaches of the Pacific, the rolling hills of California and the pueblos of New Mexico inspired a unique combination of hues. As evident in all of his landscapes from this summer, the usage of a varying blue and orange palette is quite representative of the terrain of California. From the rich waters off the coast of Carmel and the warm sunlit rolling hills and golden grassy fields, Bellows' California is consistent with the twentieth century mythologies of California as the sun-kissed "nation's playground."[170] However, contrasting from the dreamlike color combinations visible in 1916, in California Bellows was much more interested in the rich, natural colorations of the West.

Quick notes that Bellows' usage of this blue and orange palette so consistent in his California work began on a trip to Zion, New Jersey in 1909 in works such as *Jersey*

[170] McWilliams quoting Hildegarde Flanner, 368.

Woods (figure 60) and in *The Palisades* (figure 61) created upon his return to New York City.[171] It is a pairing of colors the artist utilized throughout his career and is expressed in many different forms in his California work varying in hue, intensity and balance as he incorporated bright whites, greens, yellows and earth tones of different combinations to render each unique scene. For example, the diversity of this color pair is evident in his *California Headlands,* a landscape that utilizes true, rich blues and burnt oranges, among an array of forest greens, bright yellows and sunlit whites to express the ideal California landscape. Another work that uses the hues of the blue and orange palette is *Horses, Carmel*. This canvas alters the rich blue of the deep waters of Point Lobos to a bright, sunlit and almost icy blue reminiscent of the water of the Hudson River in his New York scenes. He has also altered the burnt orange of the former to a golden radiant yellow that encompasses the entire panorama but remains balanced as both colors have been intensified in a similar direction of intensification and brightness.

The Sand Cart embodies an entirely different usage of this color scheme with the deep teal of the waterway that quickly transforms into a bright white representative of the frothy shore so significant to the rocky coast of the Monterey Bay, mediated by a rich emerald green that connects the two extremes. The orange hue in this work used for the monumental hills directly behind the laborers is of a dry and sandy essence, combining white and pink pigments to create an authentic coloration of the rolling California hills and the deadened grasses that covers them during the summer season.

[171] Quick, 17-18.

As Morgan and Backlin-Landman exclaim, and as early twentieth century California writers such as McWilliams and James witnessed, the California landscape would appear as "Fra Angelico's vision of paradise," and embody "the colors of Maillol's Mediterranean paintings."[172] A trip to California to many tourists was comparable to an exotic vacation in Europe and a cultural history developed around the sunlight and warmth of the state. This was intensified during the upheaval of the First World War as many Americas refrained from a trip to the Old World and ventured into unknown territories of their own nation. However for Bellows, while a trip to California that summer may have allowed the artist to physically feel thousands of miles away from home, he was advancing his usage of color with a palette he had been experimenting with for years. He experienced an entire new topography and essence of atmosphere and light along the shores of Carmel but did not reach such a unique vein of color experimentation as the summer prior. On the West Coast he merely advanced, intensified and conformed a simple palette to fit his new surroundings.

While this was essentially similar to many California landscapists during this time, such as the crisp, realistic and detailed seascapes of Ritschel, (figure 53), the natural array of pigments utilized was altogether varied from that used by California colorist, Gile as expressed in his *Destination Marin* (figure 48).[173] In this work, Gile has utilized a similar palette as Bellows' orange and blue and is quite reminiscent of his *Horses,*

[172] Morgan, 1965, 210; Backlin-Landman, 90.

[173] According to the *Oakland Tribune*, work by Gile was exhibited at the Oakland Gallery in the same month Bellows' work was featured. Although it is unknown whether Bellows witnessed Gile's work while in the Bay Area, it is likely that he would have been aware of the artist's prominence in Northern California's art world.

Carmel. However, the veil of yellow that encompasses the composition resides at an entirely new scale. This rendering of pigment allows the colors to function on their own as objects, utilizing quick strokes of white and green to indicate the outlying shapes of the canvas's figures. In California, Bellows focused on the enhancement of his palette in intensity mainly evident in the richness of his blues and the warmth his yellows. Considering the pigments of white used to render light and mist in his earlier work such as *An Island in the Sea*, the yellow hues of California were the most inspiring and attractive elements of the Carmel landscape. Ultimately, what this change in color exudes is Bellows' accommodation to locality as he remained attune to the natural colors and atmosphere of his surroundings. Although quite different from the usage of color in Gile's work, they share a similarity in overall influence.

In addition to the naturalistic usage of color used in California as the artists surrounding him in Carmel, Bellows' usage of paint in New Mexico differs completely and relates more in its visual abstraction to artists such as Gile. In viewing the work created during the month of October that the Bellows family spent with the Henris in Santa Fe, it is clear that the artist's perceptions of these two regions were drastically different. As alluded in his *Pueblo Tesuque, No. 1* (figure 62) Bellows was much more interested in the culture and architecture of the Pueblo Indians of Santa Fe than he was in Carmel.

The paintings from Santa Fe are most reminiscent to the abstracted and imaginative hues used in Bellows' work from his summer in Camden, Maine and on the islands of Matinicus and Criehaven. In both series, all pigments are intensified to an

ethereal quality. In his *Pueblo Tesuque, No. 2* (figure 63) Bellows has transformed the light tones of orange, yellow, green and blue used to construct the adobe pueblos and mountainous environment of Santa Fe in *Pueblo Tesuque, No. 1* to a richness on an entirely new scale. *Pueblo Tesuque, No. 2* is made up of a deep blue that bounces around the canvas from the massive rolling hill in the background to the coat of the woman walking through the plaza below as well as numerous windows of the building immediately below the rising hills. Additionally, the romantic purple of the mountains of the highest peak, the brilliant red of the clothing of two other figures in the open plaza space and the bright orange and soft beige of the town's architectural layout combine to create a tranquil and almost velvety representation of the nature of Santa Fe.

Bellows' *Well at Quevado* (figure 64) and *Santa Fe Canyon* (figure 65) take the intensity of color of the previous to an entirely new degree but of a similar duality of the California series. In *Well at Quevado*, "Seen while motoring from California to New Mexico," Bellows has transplanted the rich blue of California's waters to the entire expanse of New Mexico's landscape and sky.[174] In this work, a single figure stands prominently next to a large central well looking out beyond the left edge of the composition. Both the figure and the structure are saturated with a luminous yellow of a golden quality that links to the colorful rainbow shooting downwards from the tangled mess of clouds and the golden light that peers out beyond the horizon line. The man is accompanied by a dog and grazing cow, both constructed with a midnight blue that almost disguises their forms amidst the dark expanse of Santa Fe's terrain beyond. The

[174] Emma S. Bellows, *George W. Bellows: His Lithographs* (New York and London: A.A. Knopf, 1927), 253.

figures are situated on a hill that overlooks a deep valley that rises again to steep mesas beyond, all of which are blanketed by a shadow of dark greens, blues and purples originating from the stormy sky above. This is quite similar to the palette of the California work but of an entirely new intensity representing novel interests in color that Bellows found as his family embarked on their next adventure.

This uniqueness of pigment and abstraction of color representation is also expressed in Bellows' *Santa Fe Canyon*. In this work, the artist has utilized a palette dominated by a bright purple, accompanied by small amounts of yellows, greens, blues and a strong red-orange to create further details. The usage of a bright purple with hints of red and orange to create rock reminds one of his *Summer Surf* from 1914. In New Mexico, the diversification of color representation is expanded as the artist uses these hues for not only the rocks centered in the foreground but the mountain range that lines the horizon of the composition, extending infinitely into the distance. The new reaches in color Bellows experienced in these two works hint at the climax of his color use in Woodstock and the intensity and richness present in works such as *The Picnic, Jean, Anne and Joseph* and *The Picket Fence*, all of which embody the brightness of Criehaven, the vividness and boldness of Santa Fe and as Morgan relates, the radiance and luminosity of California light.[175]

California's golden sun and the affects of this light on an artist's aesthetic is something discussed by both McWilliams and Maxwell, important early twentieth century writers on California culture and art. As McWilliams discusses, a mythology of

[175] Morgan, 1965, 273, 281 & 283.

California was constructed based around the warmth of the sun, the liveliness of the topography and the leisure of the beach resorts.[176] As the tourist culture of the state rapidly developed, the construction of these stereotypes expanded as well. As artists traveled to the region, attracted by slogans referring to California as the "Land of the Sundown Sea" or a literal paradise, they were met with an entirely new environment to capture.[177] From the misty fog so representative of the San Francisco Bay Area, the rich blues of Carmel's waters and the bright sun of the southern regions, it was a challenge for artists traveling to California to detach themselves from their former ideas of light, color and atmosphere learned from their experiences on the East Coast or in Europe and to accept the unique aura of California:

> "Many painters go to nature with a pre-conceived idea of light and shadow and their effects upon the landscape. This is one sure way to artistic failure…when a painter who was not familiar with the West attempted to portray some phase of it upon his canvas. Many believe that brilliant light effects are essential in depicting this Western country. As a rule, this is sadly erroneous. The rich warmth of the southern sun casts a soft mantle over hill and vale, and, while the whole canvas must be extremely high in key, it is not possible to employ pure elementary color and obtain a truthful result."[178]

According to Maxwell, the stereotypes of California culture had infiltrated the artist's vision. However, Bellows did not fully conform to these ideas and he made

---

[176] McWilliams, 98.

[177] Ibid., 97.

[178] Maxwell, 33-34.

counterbalancing efforts to sustain a realistic palette throughout his time on the West Coast. Thus, his approach to color alternately embraced and disagreed with the visual iconography of California as paradise. His California works do not contain an overly brilliant array of pigments nor render it as a Mediterranean paradise as it was believed to appear. Bellows was after all residing in a region known for its misty afternoons where waves of fog billow in around the coastline. In a letter to Henri that summer, Bellows expressed the lack of inspiration of the California terrain. He states:

> "Your last cynical remark that when I arrived in California I would be back East has been stuck in my brain. This place is exactly like Maine. Fog and all only the headlands, trees, even the sea looks as if they had just came out of the shop… I bought a small car and have been all over the country without finding anything very startling. But lots which in the right mood would do the trick. I am about to begin in earnest I feel so don't feel at all like mourning yet…We are all exceedingly well and happy and this country would be wonderful to live in for anybody but a landscape painter…There are fine hills and country but too darn placid."[179]

In addition to the realistic palette of Rose and Ritschel that influenced Bellows' usage of natural tones, this statement by Bellows provides further evidence for why the artist's usage of color did not extend beyond a general intensity of hue and veil of yellow. In the end, although enjoying a fun-filled summer on the coast and producing a number of canvases he considered "dandies" or "the toppest of notchers," Bellows did not discover California to be the ethereal paradise many made it out to be.[180]

---

[179] Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100 Box 1 Folders: 21, 22, & 23.

[180] Ibid.

The "land of light and color" experienced by Bellows exposed the artist to a natural coloring different from his prior summer vacations.[181] Although he utilized quite a realistic combination of colors similar to Ritschel, the atmosphere of California still elicited a distinct change in his work. However, this change in color was progressive and as the discussion of his color interests from 1913, 1916, 1917 and finally in Woodstock up until the end of his life, it is clear that he slowly increased his focus on color and experimentation with different palettes throughout his career. This tendency of color advancement is parallel not only to the artist's increasing interest in the countryside and authentic corners of America outside of New York City where modernity reigned but also to the maturation of his aesthetic. While this may seem as a solitary occurrence only attributable to Bellows, or coincidental synchronicity, when examining other Ashcan artists of the same time period, the relationship of color, countryside and maturity go hand in hand.

One of his closest colleagues, Henri, traveled to California and Santa Fe in the same time frame as Bellows and although traversing the nation for different reasons, they express similarities in their advancements in color, interest in rural simplicity and American culture. Henri traveled to California in 1914 in preparation for the Panama-California Exposition (PCE) that was to appear in San Diego in 1915. For over a year he lived in La Jolla and reveled in one of the state's most luminous locations. A year later in 1916, he returned to the West and spent the summer in Santa Fe. After developing a relationship with Dr. E. L. Hewett, Director of the School of American Archaeology,

[181] James, 394.

while working on the PCE, he was invited to New Mexico help organize the Fine Arts Museum in Santa Fe and returned there for two additional summers in 1917 and 1922.

Throughout these trips he completed over 240 major works and similar to his earlier style, his paintings in California and New Mexico focus on the portraiture of the figures of his neighborhood. As chapter two discussed, in California, this manifested in the Hispanic, African American, Asian and Native American social groups surrounding him. The advancements Henri experienced during these four summers are considered "to be among the most prolific and exceptional periods in his career."[182] Well known works such as *Pepita* (figure 66) reflect the aesthetic changes in Henri's work on these trips, mostly evident in the increasing brightness evident in Pepita's pink shirt, the intensified warm light glowing upon her face and the expressive background she sits in front of. In California and New Mexico Henri was attracted to the diverse ethnicities and cultures around him and he rendered them using the bright colors of southwestern textiles and complex backdrops of color combinations not present in the rest of his oeuvre.[183]

Although he captured the exotic people and colorful patterns in both California and New Mexico, his palette in California differed from that in New Mexico in intensity and richness in a similar fashion as evident in Bellows' work from both locations. This is discernible in *The Beach Hat* (figure 67). In this portrait of the artist's wife, Henri has utilized a palette representative of his California experience. In this work Henri has employed a colorful combination of a bright red, muted blue and a sandy beige much

[182] Valarie Leeds, "Robert Henri in Santa Fe," *Southwest Art* 28, no. 5 (1998): 88.

[183] Ibid., 91.

more informal than the golden and cream hues that make up his most well known portrait of Marjorie, *The Masquerade Dress* (figure 68). The sandy background that reflects the softness of her skin, the white of her shirt and the material of her hat allow the red and blue of her clothing to pop and the combination of both hues in the bow around her hair links to the broach of her shirt. The usage of color in the background of this image is drastically different from the dark backgrounds of his New York portraits and altogether unrelated to the colorful backdrops of his New Mexico subjects as evident in *Pepita*. A similar background is evident in additional works from that year as seen in a portrait of Marjorie's sister, *Viv in Blue Stripe* (figure 69) and additionally in the portraits of his ethnic subjects, *Chinese Girl with Fan* (figure 22) and *Chow Choy* (figure 25). While the warmth, richness and diversity of color visible in his New Mexico portraits is not as pronounced in California, apart from the detail present in the aforementioned *Tom Po Qui* (figure 20), Henri has utilized a unique combination of pigments to depict his version of the atmospheric environment of one of Southern California's most reputable locales.

In examining the usage of color among the work of Bellows and Henri out west, it seems that one of the most inspiring aspects of the region to the Easterners were the unique pigments found in the natural terrain and in the unfamiliar textiles of their subjects. The theme of leisure and casual portraits rendered in everyday garb, also serve as an encompassing theme of the West between these two painters. The West was a region of constant construction and development but it is clear that, similar to their California contemporaries, they associated the region with daily activities or expansive landscapes surrounding the Carmel or La Jolla coast or the native American pueblos due

east. Their interests in color and the countryside continued to progress, however, and both remained ever influenced by their sun-lit and coastal summers in California.

Conclusion

When Bellows traversed the nation that May, he embarked on a journey that brought him closer to his family and allowed him to explore an unknown culture and landscape. His trip to California allowed him to detach himself from the condition of the early twentieth-century America and revel in the coastal countryside of Carmel. In expanding his own experience of America, in altering his own pacifist beliefs, however not absolute, and joining the art world of the West Coast, Bellows' trip to California allowed the artist to begin to understand himself on his own terms.

As author and editor of the early twentieth century magazine *Out West* Charles Lummis stated, "But I cherish the comfortable hope to live long enough to see the Southwest discovered by artists big enough to try it – at least big enough to dare to try to try. When they discover it, they will begin to discover themselves."[184] Out west, Bellows began to better understand himself and his detachment from New York aided in this period of growth. Through his strengthened relationships to his family and the admiration of his maturing daughters, in his consideration of larger cultural types, mainly those he found so interesting in California, and his exploration of the California landscape, Bellows gained a better appreciation for his own nation and even desired to continue his experience of the region by extending his trip for an extra month and in making, although unpursued, plans to visit the region the following summer.[185]

---

[184] Charles F. Lummis, "The Artists' Paradise II," *Out West* XXIX, no. 3 (September 1908): 188.

[185] In a letter to his wife discussing their plans to extend their trip out west to visit Henri

Due to the personal, historical, and political context of 1917, this trip was at a pivotal point in his career. In the subsequent years after his return, the artist adopted the theory of Dynamic Symmetry, produced a series of work on the atrocities of war, developed his interests in lithography and made a second home in Woodstock. The critical nature of his personal condition and the objectives he had for that summer allow his California art and experiences to thicken our understanding of his work after this point. Although he never returned to California, his time there is critical to his maturity as an artist, a thinker and a man.

There is much more that can be explored in these paintings, but this thesis has revealed the significance of the work in the art canon within both Bellow's oeuvre and the larger context of California painting. What this project has initiated is the activation of Bellows' California work as a coherent and interconnected series to be considered in its entirety. However, further engagement should be made in regards to additional artists present in California during the first quarter of the twentieth century. In doing so, more can be extracted from this series and it will be allowed the fruitful examination it deserves. In examining the environment of California more closely, scholars can disclose the materialization of when one of America's most well known New York Realists ventured westward.

---

in Santa Fe he also insinuates interest in returning to the region: "Great place [San Mateo] lively people. We must come out into this country again when we next be in called or to come right back." Further, "I want to go to Santa Fe and take the car and see how it would be to spend next summer there maybe leaving the car here for winter" (George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5).

Appendix: Timelines

Timeline of Bellows in California:

March 1917:

-Bellows' illustration *Christ in Chains* appears in the monthly edition of *Blast*

April:

-April 6: the U.S. declares war on Germany and joins the allied forces overseas

May:

-Bellows leaves New York by train and arrives in Salinas, California. When he arrives he purchases a Buick and names it Georgette. He drives to Carmel and arranges the cottage of Mrs. Alice McGowan Cooke for the summer in an area called Bohemian Grove. In letters Bellows refers to it as the 'Queen's Castle.'

-Later that month Emma, Anne, Jean, Anna and a maid named Daisy arrive in Salinas by train. Emma, Anne and Jean stop in Columbus along the way and pick up Anna.

June:

-The artist paints *California Headlands (109), The Cow, Carmel (110 - unlocated), Trees and Meadows (111 - unlocated), Among the Rocks, California (112 - unlocated), Across Country (113 - unlocated), Horses, Carmel (114), The Fisherman no. 1 (115), The Fisherman, no. 2 (116), Point Lobos (117 - unlocated), The Sand Cart (118), Anne in Black Velvet (119),* and *Jean (120)*

July:

-Prior to departing for San Mateo, Bellows paints *Golf Course (121), Jewel Coast (122)*, *Padre (123), Amado Herrera (124 – marked destroyed),* and *The Bathers (125 – marked destroyed)*

-His interview titled "The Big Idea: George Bellows Talks about Patriotism for Beauty" is debuted in *Touchstone* magazine

-His illustration *Christ in Chains* appears in the monthly edition of the *Masses*

-While in Carmel Bellows may have taught classes at the Carmel Summer School of Art

Late July-Early August:

-Bellows leaves Carmel and drives to San Mateo to complete the portrait commission of Paul Clark. When he arrives, he stays at the home of Richard Montgomery Tobin, San Francisco banker, President and Co-Director of the San Mateo Polo Club, Director of the Bohemian Club and close friend of Charles W. Clark.

-While in San Mateo Bellows completes *Paul Clark, no. 1 (126 - unlocated), Paul Clark, no. 2 (127),* and *Portrait of George Moore (undocumented)*

-While in the region he visits San Francisco on numerous occasions to visit galleries and buy materials

-There is a possibility that Emma visits him in the Bay Area around August 9th to meet his sitters and critique the lifelikeness of the three portraits

August:

August 1: His Aunt Fanny travels from San Diego to visit the Bellows family in Carmel

-Bellows returns to Carmel from San Mateo

-In this month he paints *The Widow (128)* and *Canyon of the Arkansas (129 – marked destroyed)*

-August 31: The annual exhibition of the Carmel Summer School of Art begins at the Arts and Crafts Hall and lasts until September 8

Late August:

-August 18-20: Bellows drives to San Francisco for tonsil removal surgery. On the way north, he drops Anna and Fanny off in Salinas at the train station where they proceed to travel to San Diego

-August 23: Bellows undergoes tonsil surgery at Mount Zion Hospital, Corner Post and Scott Streets, San Francisco. While in the hospital, he writes to the Art Students League for permission to extend his trip and to delay his teaching commitments so that the family can visit Henri in Santa Fe. John Sloan takes his place in New York. He is visited in the hospital by fellow artist and architect George Washington Smith and his wife Mary who lived in Santa Barbara.

-August 25-26: There is a possibility that Emma travels to San Francisco on these dates to pick up Bellows from the hospital and to escort him back to Carmel (letters to his wife insinuate this but Charles Morgan and Donald Braider are convinced she never went)

-August 26: Bellows returns to Carmel

September:

-In this month Bellows paints *Anne with a Japanese Parasol (130)* and *Emma (on the balcony) (131 – marked destroyed)*

-He exhibits work at the Oakland Art Gallery and the Hill Tolerton Gallery in San Francisco which receive controversial reviews

-September 15: The Bellows family leaves California for New Mexico. On the 17th, they make a stop in Santa Barbara and stay the night with George Washington Smith. They arrive in Los Angeles on September 18th and pick up Anna and proceed to take the Southern Pacific Santa Fe Railroad the rest of the way to Santa Fe

-En route to Santa Fe he paints *Well at Quevado (number unknown)*

-September 23: The Bellows family arrives in Santa Fe where Bellows reunites with Henri and Leon Kroll, who had been spending the summer in Colorado Springs. Bellows sets up a studio facing the patio of the Palace of Governors.

October:

-The artist paints *Sanctuario (132), Santa Fe Canyon (133), The Cow, Santa Fe (134 - unlocated), Santa Fe Landscape, Adobe Huts (135 – marked destroyed), The Cow (136 – marked destroyed), Pueblo Tesuque no. 1 (136), Chimayo (137)* and *Pueblo Tesuque, no. 2 (138)*

-The artist travels to Tesuque and Chimayo for subjects as well as to the nearby artist colony in Taos with Henri and Kroll to visit artist Mabel Dodge and the San Geronimo Fiesta

-The Bellows family leaves Santa Fe by train and returns to New York City

November 1917:

-Bellows returns to New York and meets Jay Hambidge where he learns of Dynamic Symmetry

-The Museum of Fine Arts in Santa Fe opens and work by Bellows is shown at the opening exhibition

Timeline of Related Events:

1913:

-The International Exhibition of Modern Art organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors (the Armory Show) is organized and presented by Arthur B. Davis, Walt Kuhn and Walter Pach in New York City

1914:

-July-September: William Merritt Chase teaches summer art classes at Carmel Summer School of Art along with his assistant C.P. Townsley. He stays in the Hotel del Monte in Monterey.

-Robert Henri travels to California to plan the Fine Arts Exhibit for the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego with former student Alice Klauber. He lives there for over a year in a residence in La Jolla. Here he meets Dr. E. L. Hewett, which prompts the artist to travel to Santa Fe for the next two summers to assist Hewett in organizing the Fine Arts Museum there. While in California Henri also has a one-man show at the Museum of History, Science and Art in Los Angeles in the Autumn of 1914

-Also in this year Childe Hassam travels to California

1915:

-Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) and Panama-California Exposition (PCE) are held in San Francisco and San Diego. Bellows submits four canvases to each show. In San Francisco his *Riverfront, No. 1* (1915) wins gold prize

-William Merritt Chase returns to California to attend the PPIE

-Bellows has a one-man show that travels from Chicago to Los Angeles, titled, *Paintings by George Bellows*

-May 13: The Bryce Report is published in a reduced form in the *New York Times*

1916:

-Bellows travels to Camden, Maine and nearby islands of Criehaven and Matinicus
-His work is shown at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco
-Robert Henri spends the summer in Santa Fe

1917:

-April 6: U.S. declares war on Germany
-Robert Henri returns to Santa Fe for the summer
-May-September: Bellows travels to California for a portrait commission. He spends most of his time in Carmel but also travels to San Mateo to complete the commission and briefly visits San Francisco, Salinas and Los Angeles
September-October: The Bellows family travels to Santa Fe and spends one month with the Henris and Leon Kroll
November: Bellows returns to New York and meets Jay Hambidge where he learns of Dynamic Symmetry. Also in this month the Fine Arts Museum in Santa Fe opens where work by Henri, Bellows and Kroll are exhibited
-Also in this year Everett Shinn travels to California

1918:

-Bellows volunteers for the Army Tank Corps along with Eugene Speicher
-The family summers in Middletown, R.I. with the Speichers to have close access to New York City in case the two men are called to service
-Bellows begins his most politically and socially powerful series of lithographs and paintings called his war series
- January-February: Bellows' *Anne in Black Velvet, The Widow, The Sand Cart, Anne with a Japanese Parasol* and *Pueblo Tesuque, No. 2* are included in the *Exhibition of Paintings of George Bellows* that appeared in Columbus
-July-September: Bellows' *Pueblo* and *The Widow* are published in a catalog by the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester, New York titled, *A Collection of Paintings Selected From the Leading American Exhibitions of the Season of 1917-1918*
-November 11: The First World War ends

1919:

-John Sloan travels to Santa Fe for the first time with Randall Davey
-Bellows returns to Middletown and begins to resume focus on earlier subjects of the countryside
-July-September: Bellows' *Anne in Black* (assumed to be *Anne in Black Velvet*), *Padre, Anne with Japanese Parasol, Pueblo* and *Sanctuario* are published in a catalog by the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester, New York titled, *Catalog of the Summer Exhibition of Selected Works From the Leading Exhibitions of 1918-1919 and a Group of Modern Spanish and French Paintings*

Bibliography

Articles/Books/Exhibition Catalogs:

A Painter's Paradise: Artists and the California Landscape. Essays by Gloria Rexford Martin and William H. Gerdts. Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1996.

Adams, Henry. "George Bellows: New York, Los Angeles and Columbus." *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1075 (1992): 684-687.

Anderson, Anthony. "Some Aspects of Art in the Great Southwest." *Fine Arts Journal* 32, no. 5 (1915): 222-226.

Anderson, Nancy K. "'The Kiss of Enterprise': The Western Landscape as Symbol and Resource." In *Reading American Art*, 208-231. Edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Art in California: A Survey of American Art with Special Reference to Californian Painting, Sculpture and Architecture Past and Present Particularly As Those Arts Were Represented at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Essays by Bruce Porter, Everett C. Maxwell, Porter Garnett, et al. Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1916.

Backlin-Landman, Hedy. "A West Coast Landscape by Bellows." *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 27, no. 2 (1968): 90-91.

Baigell, Matthew. *Artist and Identity in Twentieth-Century America.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Baldinger, Wallace Spencer. "Formal Change in Recent American Painting." *The Art Bulletin* 19, no. 4 (Dec 1937): 580-591.

Bellows, Emma S. *George W. Bellows: His Lithographs*. New York and London: A.A. Knopf, 1927.

Bellows, Emma S. *The Paintings of George Bellows*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1929.

Boas, Nancy. *The Society of Six: California Colorists.* San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1988.

Boswell, Peyton. *George Bellows*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1942.

Braider, Donald. *George Bellows and the Ashcan School of Painting*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971.

Brilliant, Richard. *Portraiture*. London: Reaktion Books, 1991.

Brown, Rollo Walter. "An adventurer out of the West [George Bellows]." In *Lonely Americans*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1929.

California Painting: The Essential Modernist Framework, an Exhibition. Essay by Paul J. Karlstrom. Los Angeles: California State University, Los Angeles Fine Arts Gallery, 1992.

Chandler, Samuel C. *Gateway to the Peninsula: A History of the City of Daly City, San Mateo County, California*. Daly City, CA, 1973.

Christman, Margaret C. S. *Portraits by George Bellows*. Introduction by Marvin Sadik. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981.

Conway, Robert. *The Powerful Hand of George Bellows: Drawings from the Boston Public Library*. Washington D.C.: The Boston Public Library, 2007.

Corbett, David Peters. *An American Experiment: George Bellows and the Ashcan Painters.* London: National Gallery, 2011.

Crowninshield, Frank. "An Appreciation of the Life and Work of George Bellows." *The Art News* (January 17, 1925): 6.

Dramov, Alissandra. *Carmel-By-The-Sea, The Early Years (1903-1913)*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2012.

Edwards, Robert. *Jennie V. Cannon: The Untold History of the Carmel and Berkeley Art Colonies.* Oakland, CA: East Bay Heritage Project, 2012.

Eggers, George W. *George Bellows*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1931.

Engel, Charlene. "The Man in the Middle: George Bellows, War, and 'Sergeant' Delaney." *American Art* 18, no. 1 (2004): 78-87.

Flint, Ralph. "Bellows and His Art." *International Studio* 81 (May 1925), 79-88.

George Bellows. Essays by Charles Brock, Sean Wilentz, Marianne Doezema, David Peters Corbett, Sarah Newman, Carol Troyen, David Park Curry, Sarah Cash, Melissa Wolfe, Robert Conway, Mark Cole and Glenn C. Peck. Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012.

George Bellows: A Retrospective Exhibition. Introduction by Henry McBride. Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1957.

George Bellows: Paintings, Drawings, Lithographs. Introduction by Charles H. Morgan. New York: Gallery of Modern Art and the Huntington Hartford Collection, 1966.

George Bellows: Paintings, Drawings and Prints. With essays by Frederick A. Sweet and Carl O. Schniewind. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1946.

George Bellows and the War Series of 1918. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1983.

George Wesley Bellows: Paintings, Drawings, and Prints. Essays by Lee Malone, Philip R. Adams, Mahonri Sharp Young and Budd Harris Bishop. Columbus, OH: Columbus Museum of Art, 1979.

Gerdts, William H. and Will South. *California Impressionism*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1998.

Gibson, Arrell Morgan. *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900-1942*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.

Gray, Eunice T. "Chase Summer Art School." *American Art News* 13, no. 2 (October 17, 1914): 2.

Gray, Eunice T. "The Chase School of Art at Carmel-by-the-Sea, California." *Art and Progress* 6, no. 4 (February 1915): 118-120.

Haverstock, Mary Sayre. *George Bellows: An Artist in Action*. London: Merrell, 2007.

Henri, Robert. "The New York Independent Artists." *The Craftsman* 18 (May 1910): 160-172.

Hind, C. Lewis. "American Paintings in Germany." *International Studio* 41 (September 1910): 178-190.

Hughes, Robert. *American Visions: The Epic History of Art in America.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.

James, George Wharton. *California, Romantic and Beautiful.* Boston, MA: The Page Company, 1914.

Karlstrom, Paul J. and Susan Ehrlich. *Turning the Tide: Early Los Angeles Modernists 1920-1956*. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1990.

Klein, Barbara J. "The Carmel Monterey Peninsula Art Colony: A History." *American Art Review* 8, no. 4 (September-October 1996): 110-117.

Landauer, Susan. *California Impressionists*. With additional essays by Donald D. Keyes and Jean Stern. Athens, GA: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 1996.

Leeds, Valarie. "Robert Henri in Santa Fe." *Southwest Art* 28, no. 5 (1998): 87-91.

Lummis, Charles F. "The Artists' Paradise. *Out West* XXVIII, no. 6 (June 1908): 437-451.

Lummis, Charles F. "The Artists' Paradise II." *Out West* XXIX no. 3 (September 1908): 173-192.

Made in California: Art, Image, and Identity, 1900-2000. Essays by Stephanie Barron, Sheri Bernstein, Michael Dear, Howard N. Fox and Richard Rodriguez. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; University of California Press, 2000.

McWilliams. *Southern California Country: As Island on the Land*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946.

Memorial Exhibition of the Work of George Bellows. Introduction by Frank Crowninshield. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1925.

Morgan, Charles H. *George Bellows: Painter of America*. Introduction by Daniel Catton Rich. New York: Reynal & Company, 1965.

Myers, Jane and Linda Ayres. *George Bellows: The Artist and His Lithographs 1916 1924*. Forth Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1988.

Official Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition. San Francisco: The Wahlgreen Company, 1915.

Official Guidebook of the Panama-California Exposition. San Diego, 1915.

Peck, Glenn C. “The Paintings of George Bellows.” *American Art Review* 19, no. 6 (2007): 110-119.

Phagan, Patricia. *George Bellows: The Personal Side*. Macon, GA: Museum of Arts and Sciences, 1984.

Pinchard, Marguerite M. *The New Society Blue Book*. San Francisco, 1921-1922.

Rich, Daniel Catton. “Bellows Revalued.” *Magazine of Art* 39 (April, 1946): 139-142.

Riess, Steven A. *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 1989.

Roberts, Mary Fanton. “The Big Idea: George Bellows Talks about Patriotism for Beauty.” *Touchstone* 1, no. 3 (July 1917): 269-275.

Royce, Josiah. *Race Questions, Provincialism and Other American Problems*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.

Searl, Marjorie B. and Ronald Netsky. *Leaving for the Country: George Bellows at Woodstock*. With additional essays by Alf Evers, Virginia M. Mecklenburg and Mark Andrew White. Rochester, NY: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 2003.

Seiberling, Frank. *George Bellows, 1882-1925: His Life and Development As An Artist*. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948.

Stern, Jean, Molly Siple and Eric Merrell. *California Light: A Century of Landscapes: Paintings of the California Art Club.* New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2011.

Stern, Jean. “Robert Henri and the 1915 San Diego Exposition.” *American Art Review* 2, no. 5 (1975): 1-5/108-117.

Sweet, Frederick A. “George Bellows: His Paintings.” *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago* 40, no. 2., Part I (1946): 9-13.

The Coast and the Sea: A Survey of American Marine Painting. Brooklyn, New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1948.

The Paintings of George Bellows. Introduction by John Wilmerding. Essays by Michael Quick, Jane Myers, Marianne Doezema and Franklin Kelly. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1992.

Tottis, James W., et al. *Life's Pleasures: The Ashcan Artists' Brush with Leisure, 1895 1925*. New York: Merrell, in association with Detroit Institute of Arts, 2007.

Trenton, Patricia and William H. Gerdts, et al. *California Light: 1900-1930*. Laguna Beach, CA: Laguna Art Museum, 1990.

Weber, Bruce. *Ashcan Kids: Children in the Art of Henri, Luks, Glackens, Bellows & Sloan*. New York: Berry-Hill Galleries, 1998.

Westphal, Ruth, et al. *Plein Air Painters of California: The North*. Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1986.

Westphal, Ruth, et al. *Plein Air Painters of California: The Southland*. Irvine, CA: Westphal Publishing, 1982.

White, Mark Andrew. *From Dynamism to Objectivity: The Late Career of George Bellows.* Dissertation, University of Kansas, 1999.

Young, Mahonri Sharp. *The Paintings of George Bellows*. New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1973.

Archives:

Amherst College Library Archives and Special Collections:

George W. Bellows letters to Anna Bellows, 1917-1923. George Wesley Bellows Papers, box 1, folder 5.

Charles Morgan Papers on Bellows, box 4, folder 4.

Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University:

Robert Henri Papers, YCAL MSS 100 Box 1 Folders: 21, 22, & 23.

Newspapers/Magazines:

Arts and Decoration:

"Advertisement for Macbeth Gallery." *Arts and Decoration* vol. 5, no. 1 (November, 1914): 1.

Henri, Robert. "An Ideal Exhibition Scheme: The Official One A Failure." *Arts and Decoration* vol. 5, no. 2 (December, 1914): front cover, 49-52.

"Exhibitions in the Galleries." *Arts and Decoration* vol. 5, no. 3 (January, 1915): 100.

"Current Notes." *Art and Decoration* (May 1915), 288.

Carmel Pine Cone:

"Carmel Fighting Men Respond to the Call." *Carmel Pine Cone* III, no. 19 (June 7, 1917), p. 4.

"Church Notices." *Carmel Pine Cone* III, no. 18 (May 31, 1917), p. 2.

"Pine Needles." *Carmel Pine Cone* III, no. 18 (May 31, 1917), p. 4.

"President's Call." *Carmel Pine Cone* III, no. 22 (June 28, 1917), p. 1.

El Palacio:

Hartley, Marsden. "America as Landscape." *El Palacio* 5, no. 20 (December 9, 1918), p. 340-342.

"Personal Mention: Death of George Bellows." *El Palacio* 18, no. 2 (January 15, 1925), p. 37-38.

New York Sun:

"George Bellows, N.A., Paints 'The Call of the City'." *New York Sun* (New York City, NY), December 26, 1915, sec. 5, p. 7.

New York Times:

Canaday, John. "George Bellows and the End of a World Picasso Never Knew." *New York Times* (New York City, NY), March 13, 1966.

Oakland Tribune:

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune*, July 29, 1917, p. 20.

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune,* August 19, 1917, p. 20.

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune*, September 2, 1917, p. 21.

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune*, September 9, 1917, p. 20.

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune*, September 16, 1917, p. 20.

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune*, September 23, 1917, p. 20.

Powers, Laura Bride. “Art.” *Oakland Tribune*, September 30, 1917, p. 20.

Figures



Fig. 1. George Bellows, *The Widow*, 1917. Oil on wood panel, 40 x 32 in. The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland.

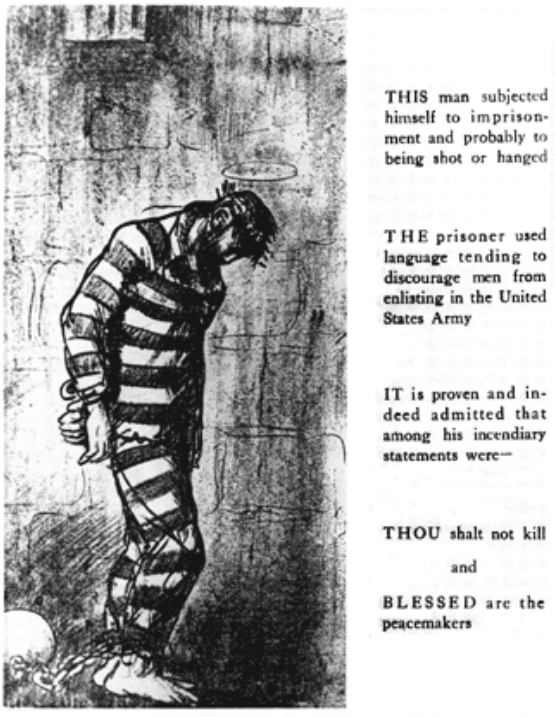


Fig. 2. George Bellows, *Christ in Chains (Blessed are the Peacemakers)*, 1917. Drawing reproduced in the *Masses*, July 1917. University of Chicago Library, Special Collections Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.



Fig. 3. *Residence of Charles W. Clark, San Mateo,* from *San Mateo, Burlingame, Belmont, Menlo Park and Palo Alto: Showing Some of the Beautiful Homes, Drives, and Views, in San Mateo County* (1904).



Fig. 4. *California: America's Vacation Land*, c. 1930. Poster produced by New York Central Lines, illustration by Jon O. Brubaker. Steve Turner Gallery, Beverly Hills, California.

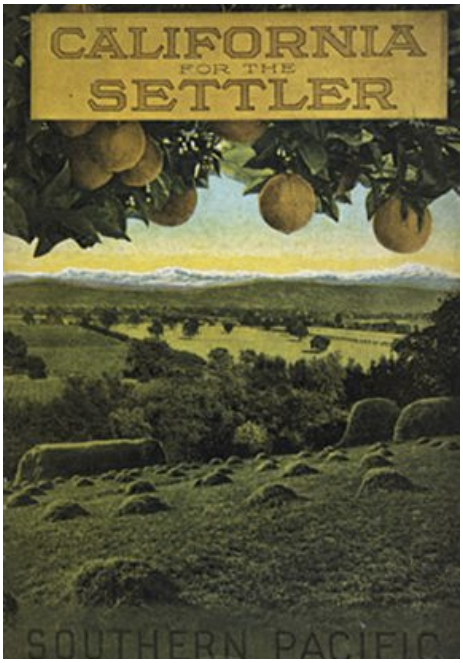


Fig. 5. *California for the Settler*, 1911. Brochure produced by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles, California.



Fig. 6. George Bellows, *Jean*, 1917. Oil on panel, 24 x 20 in. Private collection.



Fig. 7. George Bellows, *Jean with Blue Book and Apple*, 1916. Oil on panel, 21 ½ x 17 ½ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.



Fig. 8. George Bellows, *Jean,* undated. Drawing. Marie Sterner Gallery, New York, New York.



Fig. 9. George Bellows, *Lady Jean*, 1924. Oil on panel, 72 x 36 in. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.



Fig. 10. George Bellows, *Emma and Her Children*, 1923. Oil on canvas, 59 ¼ x 65 ¼ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts.



Fig. 11. George Bellows, *Anne in Black Velvet*, 1917. Oil on panel, 38 x 29 ¼ in. Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.



Fig. 12. George Bellows, *Anne with a Japanese Parasol*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 59 x 36 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Fig. 13. George Bellows, *Anne with her Parasol,* 1916. Oil on canvas, 44 x 34 in. Private collection.



Fig. 14. George Bellows, *Anne in White*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 58 x 43 in. The Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.



Fig. 15. George Bellows, *Aunt Fanny*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 44 x 34 ¼ in. Des Moines Art Center Permanent Collections, Des Moines, Iowa.



Fig. 16. George Bellows, *Elinor, Jean and Anna*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 59 x 66 in. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.



Fig. 17. George Bellows, *Paul Clark, no. 2*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 58 x 36 in. Private collection.

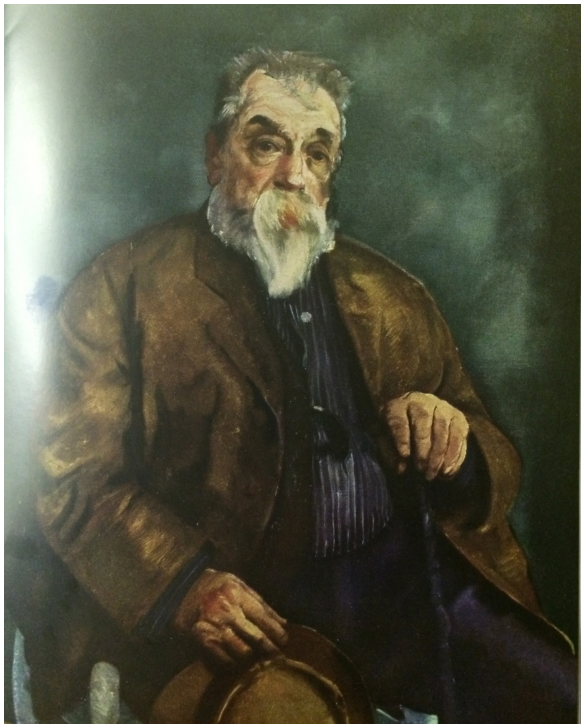


Fig. 18. George Bellows, *Padre*, 1917. Oil on panel, 40 x 32 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.



Fig. 19. George Bellows, *The Rope (Builder of Ships)*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 30 x 44 in. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.



Fig. 20. Robert Henri, *Tom Po Qui (Water of Antelope Lake)*, 1914. Oil on canvas. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado.



Fig. 21. Robert Henri, *Tam Gan*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 32 ¼ x 28 in. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York.



Fig. 22. Robert Henri, *Chinese Girl with Fan*, 1914. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

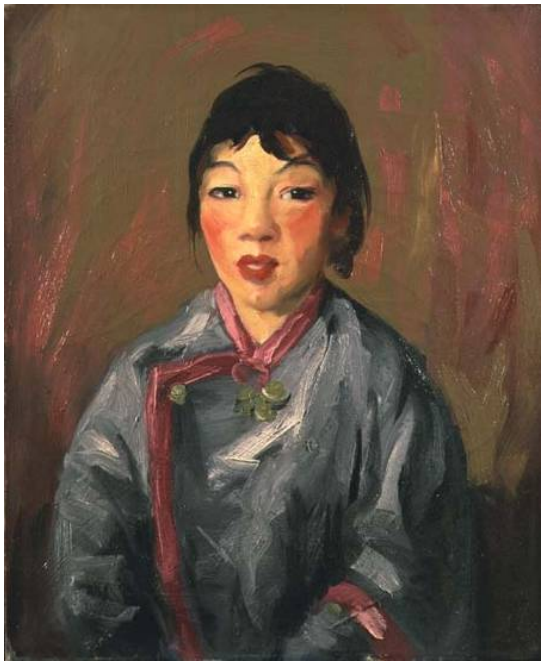


Fig. 23. Robert Henri, *Grace, Chinese Girl*, 1914. Oil on canvas. Private collection.



Fig. 24. Robert Henri, *Nelson*, 1914. Oil on canvas. Private collection.



Fig. 25. Robert Henri, *Chow Choy*, 1914. Oil on canvas. Private collection.



Fig. 26. Guy Rose, *The Green Parasol*, 1909. Oil on canvas. Private collection.



Fig. 27. Guy Rose, *The Model*, 1919. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

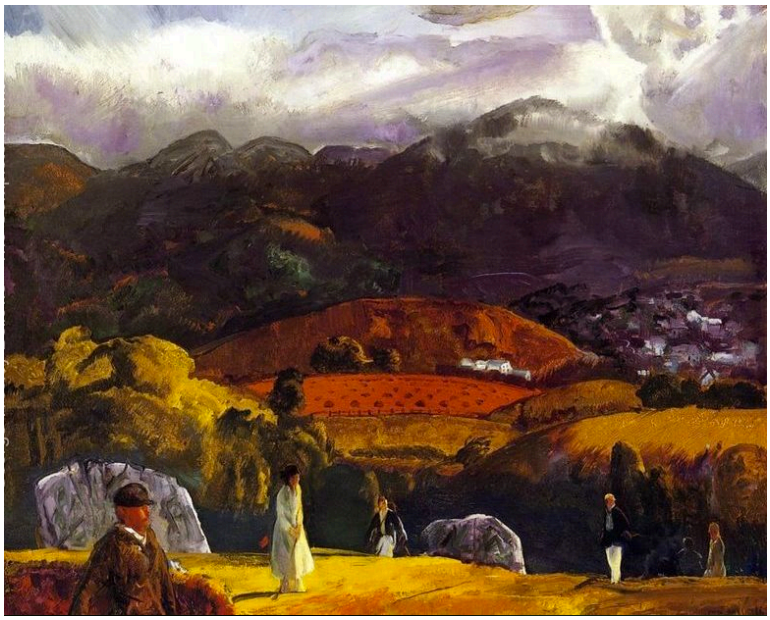


Fig. 28. George Bellows, *Golf Course (Pebble Beach)*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 30 x 38 in. The Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio.



Fig. 29. George Bellows, *Polo Crowd*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 45 x 63 in. Private collection.



Fig. 30. George Bellows, *Tennis at Newport*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 43 x 53 in. Private collection.



Fig. 31. George Bellows, *Warships (on the Hudson)*, 1909. Oil on canvas, 30 x 38 in. The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.



Fig. 32. George Bellows, *A Day in June*, 1913. Oil on canvas, 42 x 48 in. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.



Fig. 33. George Bellows, *Love of Winter*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 32 ½ x 40 ½ in. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.



Fig. 34. George Bellows, *Stag at Sharkey's*, 1909. Oil on canvas, 36 ¼ x 48 ¼ in. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.



Fig. 35. George Bellows, *Tennis at Newport*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 40 x 43 ¼ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.



Fig. 36. George Bellows, *Jewel Coast, California,* 1917. Oil on panel, 20 x 24 in. Joslyn Museum of Art, Omaha, Nebraska.



Fig. 37. George Bellows, *The Fisherman, no. 1*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 30 x 44 in. Linda and Harvey Saligman Charitable Trust.



Fig. 38. George Bellows, *The Fisherman, no. 2*, 1917. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. Private collection.



Fig. 39. Guy Rose, *La Jolla Cove*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, 18 x 15 in. Private collection.



Fig. 40. Franz Bischoff. *Emerald Cove, Carmel*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, 25 x 30 in. Private collection.

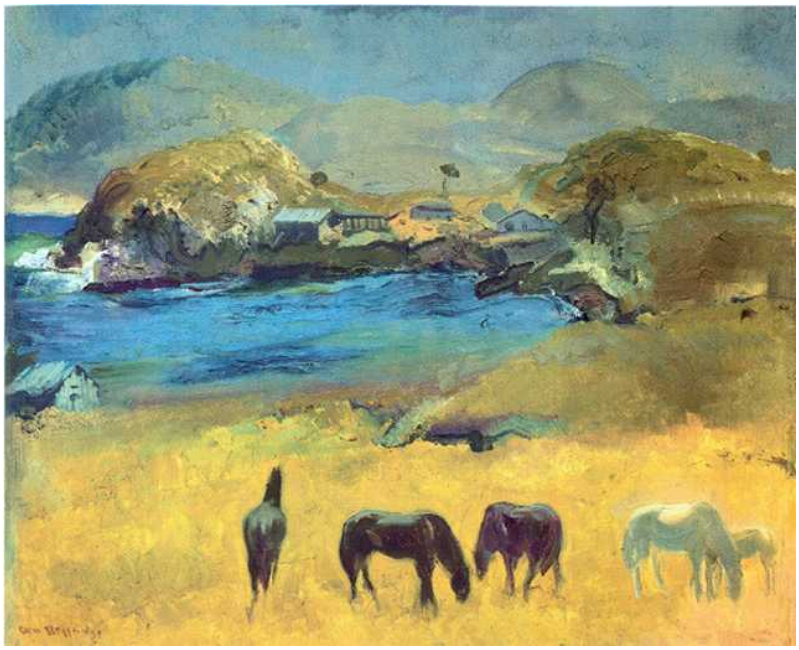


Fig. 41. George Bellows, *Horses, Carmel*, 1917. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. Private collection.



Fig. 42. George Bellows, *The Sand Cart*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 30 ¼ x 44 in. Brooklyn Museum of Art, Brooklyn, New York.



Fig. 43. George Bellows, *Cleaning Fish*, 1913. Oil on panel, 13 ¼ x 19 ½ in. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.



Fig. 44. George Bellows, *The Big Dory*, 1913. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, Connecticut.

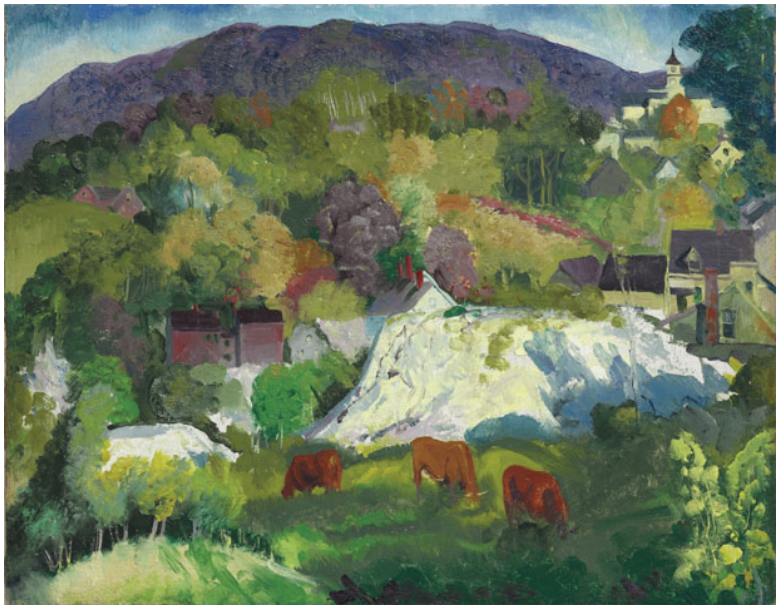


Fig. 45. George Bellows, *Village on the Hill*, 1916. Oil on canvas, 22 x 28 in. Private collection.



Fig. 46. George Bellows, *Criehaven, Large*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 30 x 44 in. The William Benton Museum of Art, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut.



Fig. 47. Selden Gile, *Tiburon Waterfront (Olga's Dock)*, date unknown. Oil on board, 24 x 30 in. Fleischer Museum, Scottsdale, Arizona.



Fig. 48. Selden Gile, *Destination Marin*, 1938-39. Oil on canvas. Private collection.



Fig. 49. George Bellows, *California Headlands*, 1917. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.



Fig. 50. George Bellows, *An Island in the Sea*, 1911. Oil on canvas, 34 ¼ x 22 ¼ in. Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio.



Fig. 51. Guy Rose, *Point Lobos*, c. 1918. Oil on canvas, 24 x 29 in. Irvine Museum, Irvine, California.



Fig. 52. Guy Rose, *Incoming Tide*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 24 x 29 in. Private collection.



Fig. 53. William Ritschel, *Mammoth Cove*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, 50 ¼ x 60 ½ in. Monterey Peninsula Museum of Art, Monterey, California.



Fig. 54. Childe Hassam, *Point Lobos, Carmel*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 28 5/16 x 36 3/16 in. Los Angles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California.



Fig. 55. George Bellows, *Tumble of Waters,* 1913. Oil on panel, 15 x 19 ½ in. Private collection.



Fig. 56. George Bellows, *Last Day,* 1913. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. Private collection.



Fig. 57. George Bellows, *Summer Surf,* 1914. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.

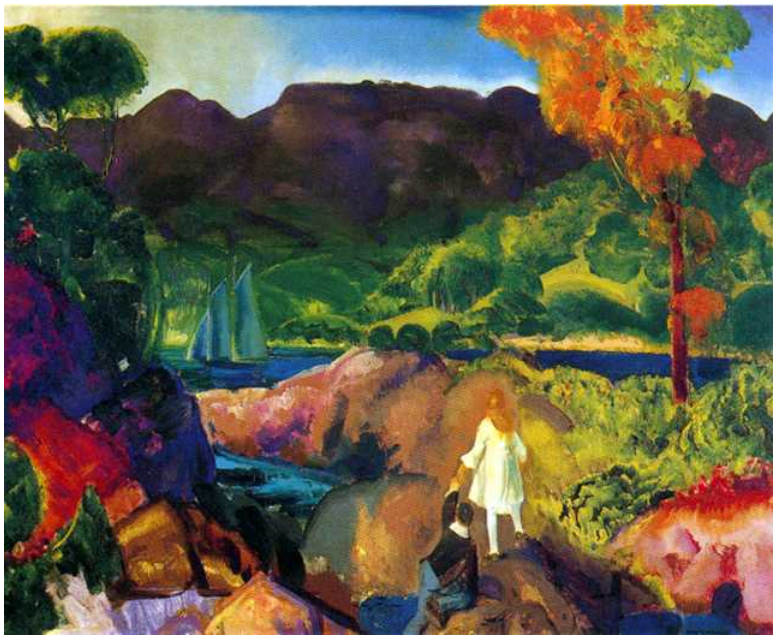


Fig. 58. George Bellows, *Romance of Autumn,* 1916. Oil on canvas, 32 ½ x 40 in. William A. Farnsworth Library and Art Museum, Rockland, Maine.

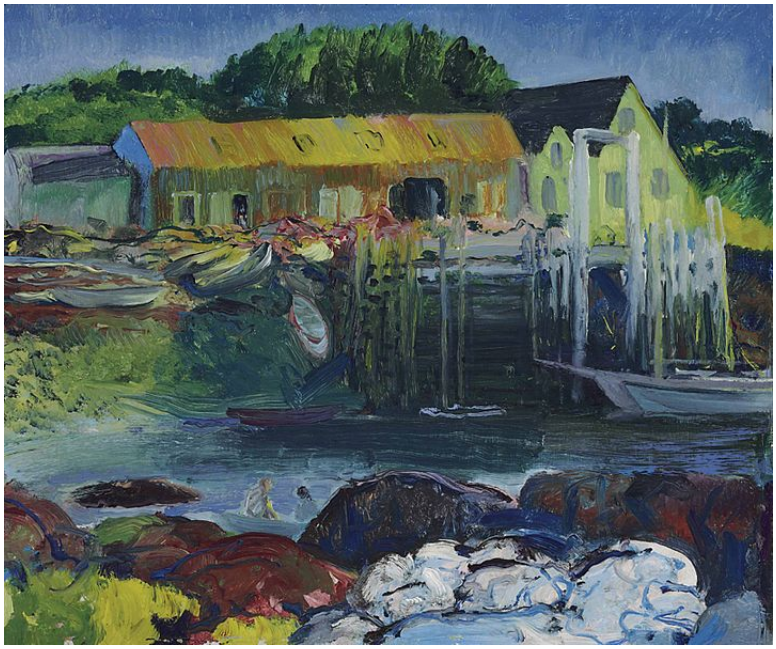


Fig. 59. George Bellows, *Criehaven Wharf,* 1916. Oil on panel, 18 x 22 in. Private collection.



Fig. 60. George Bellows, *Jersey Woods,* 1909. Oil on canvas, 25 ½ x 29 ½ in. Private collection.



Fig. 61. George Bellows, *The Palisades,* 1909. Oil on canvas, 30 x 38 in. Terra Foundation for the Arts Collection, Chicago, Illinois.



Fig. 62. George Bellows, *Pueblo Tesuque, no. 1,* 1917. Oil on canvas, 34 x 44 in. The Anschutz Collection, Denver, Colorado.



Fig. 63. George Bellows, *Pueblo Tesuque, no. 2,* 1917. Oil on canvas, 35 x 44 ½ in. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri.



Fig. 64. George Bellows, *Well at Quevado,* 1917. Oil on canvas, 38 ½ x 52 ½ in. Minnesota Museum of Art, St. Paul, Minnesota.



Fig. 65. George Bellows, *Santa Fe Canyon,* 1917. Oil on canvas, 18 x 22 in. Private collection.



Fig. 66. Robert Henri, *Pepita,* 1917. Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California.

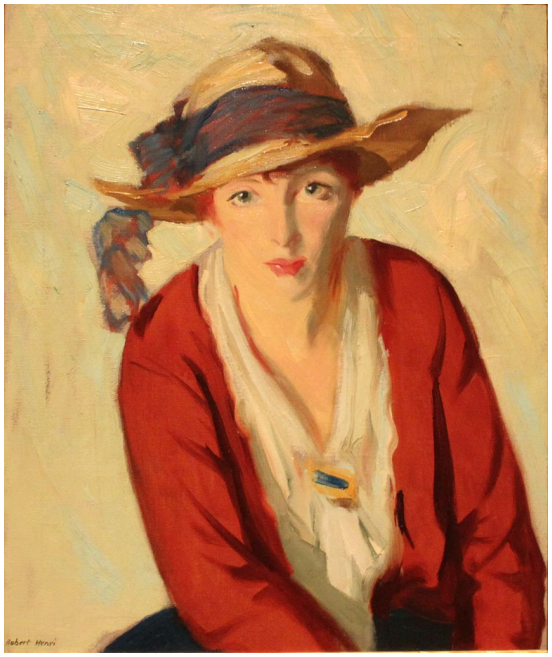


Fig. 67. Robert Henri, *The Beach Hat,* 1914. Oil on canvas, 24 x 20 in. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.



Fig. 68. Robert Henri, *The Masquerade Dress,* 1911. Oil on canvas, 76 ½ x 36 ¼ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York.



Fig. 69. Robert Henri, *Viv in Blue Stripe*, 1914. Oil on canvas. Private collection.