



*The paintings of Roger Fry.*

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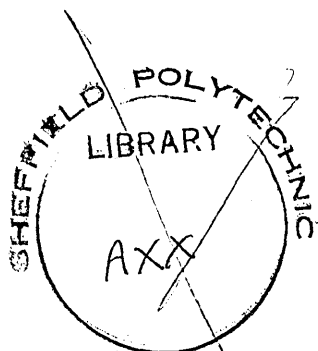
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THE PAINTINGS OF ROGER FRY

by C. Frances H. Spalding

Thesis submitted to the Council for National  
Academic Awards for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy, October 1977.



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## ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the development of Roger Fry's career as a painter beginning with his scientific training at Cambridge when he came into contact with ideas that later affected his attitude to art and aesthetics. On leaving Cambridge he trains as a painter under Francis Bate and in 1891 begins to exhibit at the New English Art Club. His earliest paintings are seen to reflect the influence of Whistler and the London Impressionists, but dissatisfaction with the naturalism of the N.E.A.C. painters and the decorative nature of Whistler's art leads him to search for an underlying sense of structural design. Following visits to Italy Fry begins to lecture on the Old Masters, establishes a reputation as a scholar of Italian art, and becomes art critic for the Athenaeum. From then on his writings and activities as an exhibition organizer are referred to when they throw light on his development as a painter.

The explosion of Post-Impressionism in London, due to the two exhibitions organized by Roger Fry in 1910 and 1912, is seen to mark a turning point in his career. His paintings become daringly experimental and during 1911 he can be regarded as one of the most avant-garde artists working in Britain. His pictorial experiments do not however, lead to a coherent, personal style until during the war, when, relatively cut off from France and encouraged by activities at the Omega Workshops, a mature style emerges.

In the early 1920's Fry's career as a painter is seen to partake in a general retrogression back to a more purely representational style. The influence of France is renewed and annual visits enable Fry to develop his love of the French landscape, particularly that of Provence. This subject matter dominates his painting during the last part of his career and reveals an evocative response to the sense of place. With the appearance of Helen Anrep in his life during the mid 'twenties, a new relaxation and lyricism enters his art and is combined with the development of an almost impressionist technique. His career as a whole is seen to confirm his attempt to rediscover the classical spirit in modern art.

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## Main Sources of Unpublished Material.

In 1970 Mrs. Lucia Beier submitted an M. Phil thesis to the University of Leeds on Roger Fry's paintings. Mrs. Beier drew mainly upon paintings still belonging to the Fry family and limited her discussion to some fifty examples.

In 1975 Miss Louise Campbell submitted an M. A. thesis, Roger Fry 1866-1906, to the Courtauld Institute, University of London. The thesis looked at Fry's work both as critic and painter during this period and I am indebted to both theses for some hitherto unrecorded points.

Despite the two-volume publication of Roger Fry's letters, edited by Denys Sutton, in 1972, a huge amount of his correspondence still remains unpublished. The main body of Roger Fry's letters and lecture notes have now been deposited at King's College, Cambridge where the Charleston Papers, another important collection of letters to and from various Bloomsbury artists and writer, are also deposited. The letters that Fry wrote to Helen Anrep between 1925-34 belong to Dr. and Mrs. Igor Anrep. Other sources of unpublished material are referred to in footnotes in the text.

## Abbreviations.

Sutton I & II - Denys Sutton, (ed). Letters of Roger Fry,  
(London: Chatto and Windus), 1972, 2 vols.

Fry Papers - Roger Fry Papers, King's College, Cambridge.

Charleston Papers - Charleston Papers, King's College, Cambridge.

Anrep Papers - Helen Anrep Papers, Dr. and Mrs. Igor Anrep.

R. A. - Royal Academy.

N.E.A.C. - New English Art Club.

When a book is mentioned in a footnote, its full title, author, etc., is given on first reference, and on second reference an abbreviated form is used.



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## Introduction.

First and foremost Roger Fry wanted to be regarded as a painter but his interests and abilities led him to earn a considerable reputation as a critic. His writings are still quoted and have been discussed at length, but his paintings, apart from an appreciative essay by Philip Troutman,<sup>1</sup> have received little attention other than *casual* derogatory comments. This thesis sets out to redress the balance, to give his painted oeuvre the critical assessment it deserves. Until his achievement as a painter is fully documented and assessed no full appreciation can be arrived at of his role in the history of twentieth century art.

It is in the nature of art history to discuss what aspects of an artist's work can be regarded as historically relevant, aesthetically pleasing, formally perfect, conceptually avant-garde, etc., but at the conclusion one is forced to hold in one's mind the total oeuvre and its development. Must we in Fry's case agree with his friend, R. R. Tatlock, who said: "As an art historian he has left no great book; as an artist no great picture."?<sup>2</sup> And if, as most would agree, there is no monumental work of art left with which his name is associated, does his oeuvre as a whole amount to one of any importance, and if, as I argue, it does, then what is the over-riding quality that distinguishes it? Whether one looks at his early emulations of Whistler, his imitations of Old Masters, his plunge into post-impressionism, his more personal portraits and still-lives produced during the First World War or the lyricism and sweetness occasionally found in the late paintings of Provence, it becomes evident that he always rendered his sensations with an honest directness, with as complete awareness and understanding of the activity of painting as was then at his command. His continual attempt to explain in

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1. In the catalogue Vision and Design: The Life, Work and Influence of Roger Fry, 1886-1934, Arts Council, 1966.
2. Obituary notice, Daily Telegraph, September 11, 1934.

writing his aesthetic experience is paralleled in his paintings; no colour or form is used without his understanding its aesthetic relationship to the rest of the picture. As Desmond MacCarthy has noted: "His intellectual integrity matched the genuineness of his sensibility."<sup>1</sup> This explains why Fry's paintings are so immediately recognizable, why even his late commissioned portraits of academic dignitaries stand out from other work of this kind. It is a rare combination of the mind and eye, where the mind leads and investigates in order that the eye can see more clearly. His intellectual understanding and intuitive response to the subject in hand are welded together by his integrity. The sensuous is wrought through the intellect, piece by piece, until the artist has constructed the complex formal whole he desired. For this reason Roger Fry's paintings will endure and gain in appreciation as more people recognize that they bear being looked at for a considerable period of time and that the often subtle use of form and colour has to be absorbed piece by piece, in a manner akin to that with which the work was painted.

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1. Obituary notice, New Statesman, September 15, 1934.

In October 1885 Roger Fry went up to King's College, Cambridge, to read natural sciences. The next three years were a period of self-discovery: the hot-house intellectual atmosphere of Cambridge, the idealism and intense speculation as to the future awoke Fry to his own interests and abilities and freed him from the preconceptions inherited from his background. Many of the ideas that he came into contact with during this time provided the basis for his subsequent attitude to art and life. As an undergraduate he began to feel more and more that art was the subject which would offer the richest field of enquiry. By October 1886 he was already deeply concerned with aesthetic problems and informed C. R. Ashbee that he felt it his "duty to work intensely hard at all that can bear on the understanding of it,"<sup>1</sup> a sense of purpose that he was to maintain throughout his life.

Fry brought with him to Cambridge the strict beliefs of his Quaker background and the limited education and experience offered by an English public school education. He had been sent first to Sunninghill School at Ascot run by Mr. Sneyd-Kinnersley and then to Clifton, a school still fresh with the idealism with which it had been founded. The intention of the school was to produce high-minded, Christian men, devoted to the service of their country. Neither institution was sympathetic to Fry and, although he was a model schoolboy, he inwardly rebelled against what he later described as "the whole Public school system ... and all those Imperialistic and patriotic emotions which it enshrined."<sup>2</sup> Dislike of all forms of authoritarianism and distrust of rigid systems of values later prevented him from adopting an inflexible theory of aesthetics.

Throughout his childhood and schooldays the emphasis had always been on

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1. Letter to C. R. Ashbee, October 12, 1886; Ashbee Journals, King's College, Cambridge.
2. Virginia Woolf, Roger Fry (London: Hogarth Press, 1940) p. 38.

science and not art. His father, Sir Edward Fry, would have liked to have pursued a scientific career at either Oxford or Cambridge but as a Quaker he was prevented from doing so by the religious tests then imposed on all entrants. He turned instead to law, but published two papers on zoology. His interest in this field and in that of botany and geology were shared with his son and directed Roger's earliest interests. It is probable that his first paintings and drawings were of flowers and plants undertaken not as an artistic but as a botanic exercise. Fry's awareness of art was limited to the annual visit to the Royal Academy, to a visit to the National Gallery with Charles Tomlinson, a friend of his father's, and to school lectures on Greek art, some of them given by Miss Jane Harrison, the classical scholar.

On arriving at King's College, Fry discovered that the recent reforms had left a feeling of emancipation. Although half the scholarships granted by King's College were confined still to Etonians, in 1882 the college had been opened to all schools. This and other voluntary reforms instigated by King's College in the 1870's led to an Oxford and Cambridge Universities Act being drawn up in 1877 which was eventually approved and became the new Statutes of 1882. Religious tests were abolished, fellows could now marry and a student could no longer obtain a degree without sitting any examinations. King's was still a small college and the number of freshmen in 1885 was twenty-five. Entrance was limited largely to the sons of aristocratic, monied or professional families and it was believed that at Oxford or Cambridge a young man would meet the most outstanding minds of his generation.

One of the most celebrated figures in King's College at this time was the history don and wit, Oscar Browning, whose Sunday evening salon Fry attended. Having been sacked from Eton without explanation, Browning had been installed at King's and his life style did not considerably alter from that he had led at Eton where the bill left at his wine merchants amounted to eight hundred pounds. He continued to exercise his interests in Italian literature and music and founded the Dante society and the Mozart society at which Neapolitan boating songs and German student songs were performed. To keep his head above

financial difficulties he occasionally indulged in minor commercial activities, keeping a field of chickens outside Cambridge and running a Turkish bath. Capricious by nature, when Fry invited him to dinner and got in a wine at a guinea a bottle, Browning failed to turn up. Later in 1899 Fry tried to capture his likeness in paint. The present whereabouts of the portrait is unknown, but reference to it is found in a letter Fry wrote to R. C. Trevelyan: "The O.B. got very like but never very pleasant. I have made him a little sanctimonious now and that don't do quite but I believe I shall pull it through sometime." <sup>1</sup>

The greater part of Fry's education must, however, have been gained not from his contact with the dons and their specialist interests, but from his conversations with other undergraduates. His close friends were John McTaggart, C. R. Ashbee, Nathaniel Wedd and Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson. He had already befriended McTaggart at Clifton where his odd appearance made him an object of scorn to most boys. McTaggart had first introduced Fry to the paintings of Rossetti, although his interest in the visual arts was limited and philosophy was his main concern. At Cambridge, he used Hegelian idealism to argue that a spiritual evolution was occurring as the result of conflict between two existing goods leading to a higher good. This optimistic belief that civilization was progressing to a more and more enlightened state was prevalent at Cambridge up to and around the turn of the century. Bertrand Russell later recalled: "The World seemed hopeful and solid - we all felt convinced that nineteenth-century progress would continue, and that we ourselves should be able to contribute something of value." <sup>2</sup>

It was probably the influence of McTaggart that led Fry away from the strict moral and religious code of behaviour of his upbringing. McTaggart

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1. Letter to R. C. Trevelyan, June 11, 1899; RCT 4:26, Trinity College Library, Cambridge.
2. Bertrand Russell, "My Mental Development," in The Library of Living Philosophies, edited by P. A. Schilpp, (La Salle: Open Court Publishers, Vol. 5, 1945), p. 9



had been an alarmingly precocious child and had by the age of fourteen decided that he was a materialist and atheist. As a schoolboy, his visit to the Fry family during one vacation, had left Sir Edward and Lady Fry unimpressed. When Lady Fry heard that her son was sharing rooms with McTaggart at Cambridge, she wrote to Roger expressing her concern about the effect this might have on his religious beliefs. Both Fry's parents came from Quaker stock descended from the seventeenth century and the differences of opinion that set Quakers apart from the rest of society had been reinforced by persistent intermarriage. Although Fry's father was to forge a number of customs, such as peculiarities of dress, which he felt had become outdated, he nevertheless demanded that his family followed a rigid and clear-cut system of moral values, which Fry later felt showed "a want of simple humanity."<sup>1</sup> But at this time aware of the importance of his religious beliefs to his mother, Fry wrote consolingly: "I confess I do not feel that there is any danger to my own Christianity from his companionship, as I hope my Christianity is not as weak a structure as not to stand the proximity of doubt."<sup>2</sup> He was wrong; the experience of Cambridge pierced the structure of his religious beliefs and questioned its foundations. Three years later he dared to write to his mother in the following way: "Life does not any longer seem a simple problem to me with plain duties and plain sins to be avoided ... I no longer feel that I must hedge myself in from the evil of the world; that there are whole tracts of thought and action into which I dare not go ..."<sup>3</sup>

As his mind was opened to moral and religious questions, so his understanding of art gradually expanded. The friend with whom he could share this interest was C. R. Ashbee, who was later to play an important part in the Arts and Crafts movement. The two friends went sketching together during the Easter vacation of 1886, noting every Somersetshire tower they came across and

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1. Woolf, Roger Fry, p. 22.
2. Sutton, I: 109.
3. Ibid. I: 122.

visiting Wells Cathedral where, as Ashbee recorded, "from morning early 'till eventide" they were "with the masons and builders of the Middle Ages." <sup>1</sup>

Probably inspired by his reading of Ruskin, Fry had earlier developed a fine style of draughtsmanship for capturing detailed architectural scenes in the tradition of Samuel Prout. A sketchbook exists dated April 9-13, 1885 which reveals a sensitive eye and competent hand and records a visit he made to Tentedon, Sandwich and Canterbury. <sup>2</sup> Another of these architectural sketchbooks dated 1887 records a visit he made to northern France and captures views of the cathedrals at Laon, Rheims and Amiens. <sup>3</sup> Much of this sketching in 1886 must have been done in the company of Ashbee as the latter wrote in his journals in June of that year: "I missed Fry whom I begin to regard now as a portion of my sketching apparatus." <sup>4</sup> With Ashbee, Fry also attended meetings of the Fine Art Society in the rooms of Sidney Colvin then Slade Professor, and on February 5, 1886 he listened to Ashbee's paper on Daniel Chodowiecki, which was, according to the Cambridge Review, "copiously illustrated by a large and most interesting collection of the works of that engraver." <sup>5</sup> Although Ashbee was older than Fry and was completing his final year at Cambridge during 1885-86, the friendship between them was motivated on Ashbee's part by an intense love and respect of Fry's character. He wrote of Fry in his journals: "His nature is a most beautiful one. So sacred to me at present that I suppose I cannot write about him with unbiased judgement ... Fry has been to me a great solace in this last year and I have learnt a great deal of him. Of his character principally, and of his artistic side for he has the aesthetic quality much further developed than I ... He with the grand quaker intellectual foundation has been gifted with the artist's soul and imagination." <sup>6</sup>

Friendship was considered sacred by Fry's circle and this belief was

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1. Ashbee Journals, April 8, 1886; King's College, Cambridge.
  2. The sketchbook is in the collection of Mrs. Pamela Diamand.
  3. Also in the collection of Mrs. P. Diamand.
  4. June 20, 1886; *Ashbee Journals*.
  5. Cambridge Review, March 17, 1886.
  6. Op. cit. June 26, 1886.

greatly reinforced by the visit to Cambridge made by Edward Carpenter. In 1885 Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson had met Carpenter at a lecture on socialism at the hall attached to William Morris's house at Hammersmith, and it was probably he who invited Carpenter to Cambridge in July 1886. His presence caused great excitement among this small group of friends, and Ashbee wrote in his journals: "To have Edward up here is wonderful. It is as if we had a hero among us. We are knit together by a presence ... Modesty, dignity, infinite reserve, a power of seeing through and a good intolerance of shams." <sup>1</sup> Even the less effusive Fry wrote to his mother: "I had rather expected that he might be a somewhat rampant and sensational Bohemian. I am agreeably disappointed for he seems a most delightful man and absolutely free from all affectation." <sup>2</sup> To Fry, Carpenter would have represented a radically alternative system of values to those of his upbringing; when in 1890 Fry wrote to thank him for a pair of his hand-made sandals, he mentioned that his father was thinking of asking for a pair: "A Lord Justice in sandals will be a landmark in the progress of civil - I mean decivilization." <sup>3</sup> A friend of Walt Whitman, Carpenter ~~was~~ argued for the acceptance of homosexuality, aimed at simplicity in the organization of his life and supported socialism. His stress on honesty in one's intellectual and personal life and on the quality of life as being independent of one's material possessions, makes him a forerunner of attitudes which became common in the twentieth century. ~~and in that way~~ Samuel Hynes has noted that "through Forster (and perhaps in other ways) Carpenter stands among the ancestors of Bloomsbury, the forerunners of that religion of art, intelligence and human relationships ..." <sup>4</sup>

Ashbee went down from Cambridge in the summer of 1886 and went to live and work at Toynbee Hall from where his friendship with Fry continued by letter.

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1. Ibid. July 22, 1886.

2. Letter to Lady Fry, July 25, 1886; Fry Papers.

3. Letter to Edward Carpenter, August 22, 1890; MSS 386, Sheffield City Libraries.

4. Samuel Hynes, The Edwardian Turn of Mind (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968) p. 154.

His place in Fry's Cambridge life was taken by Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson and during this academic year Fry would have spent much time listening to Dickinson's metaphysical discussions with McTaggart which occasionally verged on the mystical. Dickinson believed that truth and immortality were reached by the following of truth for its own sake. He believed that science would illuminate and confirm a positive view of the world and would culminate ultimately in mystic revelation. Many years later Fry said of these discussions: "I remember how when I was young I was surrounded by friends who only discussed metaphysical questions and I was so ashamed among them because all that made no sense to me." <sup>1</sup> He could not, however, have avoided being familiar with their basic tenets. In his biography of John McTaggart, Dickinson recalled how he read aloud McTaggart's Further Determination of the Absolute to Fry in his studio, which he later occupied at Beaufort Street. The stress on the importance of friendship among this group was partly due to Carpenter and partly due to McTaggart's belief that love was the essence of reality. Fry would also have become familiar, through these discussions, with their method of philosophizing and, added to his experience of the Apostles society which he was invited to join in May 1887, he became experienced in the scientific method of analysis and argument for which Cambridge is so famous.

The Society of Apostles was a secret society which a small, select number of undergraduates were invited to join. It met on Saturday evenings to hear papers read which were generally philosophical in content, and a number of graduate members would travel from London in order to attend. Its aim was to create an intimate society in which all displays of knowledge, egoisms and brilliancy of argument could be suppressed in order to arrive at the truth. This did not however, prevent the papers from being witty or from occasionally verging on the flippant. Nevertheless it was a self-conscious society, aware of its uniqueness and never forgetful of the aims with which it had been

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1. Letter to Marie and Charles Mauron, September 20, 1926, Sutton, II: 596.



founded. Charles Merivale, who had been elected a member in 1830, wrote of the society: "We began to think that we had a mission to enlighten the world upon things intellectual and spiritual ... It was with a vague idea that it should be our function to interpret the oracles of transcendental wisdom to the World of Philistines ... and from time to time call forth from this world the great souls who might be found capable of sympathising with them." <sup>1</sup>

Once elected, Fry became inspired by this sense of mission which may have contributed, more than twenty years later, to his decision to defend the Post-Impressionists.

Fry's friendship with Dickinson deepened as he entered upon his third year at Cambridge. In his autobiography Dickinson recalled that "in the academic year 1887-8 which was his (Fry's) last at Cambridge, we lunched and breakfasted every day together, and every night I used to see him to bed and then kiss him passionately ... He was fond of me, though in no sense in love." <sup>2</sup>

Fry it seems, in this then not uncommon friendship, was not unduly distressed by Dickinson's attentions and the friendship must have been cemented on a very real grounds as it lasted until Dickinson's death. A summary of their friendship is found in Dickinson's Autobiography:

"This first love of mine lasted, in this form a year or two. That phase was ended by Roger falling in love with a woman. That led to explanations which had not before been desired nor sought on either side; and I learned what I had known yet also had not known that his feeling for me was different from mine to him. I still recall the conversation we had, late one night, in the house where he was then living, in Beaufort Street, Chelsea. I was unhappy, yet not very, nor lastingly. For Roger did not cut me off from anything I had had. Later, he became engaged, then married, and I saw less of him, yet still a great deal. All our life we have been friends, and I have indeed a kind of married feeling towards him. Now, when age is coming on, we seem to have less in common in our interests, but our affection will last as long as we do; it rests on an intercourse so long, so continuous, so varied .... That love at last transformed itself into a perfect friendship." <sup>3</sup>

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1. Autobiography of Charles Merivale, edited by J. A. Merivale (privately printed Oxford, 1898). Published (London: Arnold, 1899), pp. 80-81.
  2. The Autobiography of Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, edited by D. Proctor, (London: Duckworth, 1973) p. 90.
  3. *Ibid.* p. 92.

Dickinson could not share with Fry his growing enthusiasm for art, and as Fry's three years at Cambridge approached completion and a career had to be decided upon, his mind continually returned to the idea of becoming an artist. He had already considered this idea in November 1886 and had approached the new Slade Professor, J. H. Middleton for his opinion. Probably after seeing examples of Fry's architectural studies, he advised apprenticeship for two years either to Fry's uncle, the architect Alfred Waterhouse or to Bodley. In October that year Fry had become involved in a long discussion with Robert Bridges, the poet, as to whether or not there was a standard of beauty. This seems to have begun in Fry's mind the first serious consideration of aesthetics and the results as revealed in a letter to Ashbee, are illuminating with regard to how his aesthetic theories were later to develop:

I do not think we have been wont to lay enough stress on the value (as a means, no doubt, but a very important one) of pure aesthetics as apart from the emotional end. I am also still very much mixed about its relation to morality. I think that the best way I can put it to myself is that art should be moral but should regard morality from the point of view of its intrinsic beauty and not its goodness. But I am fully persuaded that the aim of all art and all life is ultimately the worship of God in its broadest sense.

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The arrival of Middleton was encouraging for Fry as his rooms were full of Flemish and Italian primitives, Rembrandt etchings, Persian tiles, pottery and fabrics brought back from his extensive travels in America, Africa and the near East. Moreover he supplemented his teaching with examples from his large collection of photographs of art and architecture and in this way Fry had his first instruction in the development of Italian painting.<sup>2</sup> The Fitzwilliam would also have been drawn upon for relevant examples. Middleton's character and background attracted Fry to him. He had been a friend of Rossetti in his early years and as a socialist had for many years done philanthropic work as a barrister in London.

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1. Sutton, I: 110.

2. Reference to this is found in a letter from Fry to his mother, December 5, 1886; Fry Papers.

Not only through his contact with Carpenter and Middleton did Fry during his time at Cambridge become acquainted with the ideas and aims of socialism. He also attended a lecture given by Bernard Shaw to the Cambridge Fabian Society on "Socialism: Its Growth and Necessity", and the following day he was among the undergraduates who lunched with Shaw. Fry agreed with socialism in so far as it attempted to change the avid commercialism and dogmatism of the Victorian age which had so encrusted the social system and the arts. In a letter to Ashbee of 1887, Fry declared: "Last night I brought a vote of censure on Modern Civilization at the King's debating society wherein you would have been surprised at my Socialism, but then you can never see what a socialist I am because you always have the effect of bringing out all my Toryism, all my love of aristocracy and culture." <sup>1</sup> Fry's socialism was not, however, philanthropic. In an existing draft of a letter to Bernard Shaw written many years later, he recalled his response to the lecture Shaw delivered in 1888: "All my friends were already convinced that social service of some kind was the only end worth pursuing in life. I alone cherished as a guilty secret a profound scepticism about all political activity and even about progress itself and had begun to think of art as somehow my only possible job." <sup>2</sup>

As his mind became more independent, Fry experienced a sense of great exhilaration. "I am quite drunk with mere existence," he wrote in October 1887; "life does not seem to flow with the same dull round of increasing commonplace within a quarter of a mile of King's bridge, from which one can now watch the golden chestnut and lime leaves flutter down through the rising purple haze on to the river." <sup>3</sup> A casual letter to his parents informed them at the end of the year that he had received a first which meant that he had a good chance of later obtaining a fellowship and a scientific career. But his desire was to become an artist. Middleton was called upon for support and he

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1. Sutton, I: 115.
2. Sutton, II: 633.
3. Sutton, I: 115.

suggested that Fry should compromise and stay on at Cambridge another term, should study drawing from antique casts but should also continue his work in the laboratories and sit for a fellowship. Fry followed his advice, but failed to achieve a fellowship. He tried again and attempted to combine science and art in a thesis entitled "On the Laws of Phenomenology and their Application to Greek Painting", but this too was a failure. Fry now decided to devote himself wholeheartedly to an artistic training and his father was bitterly disappointed. From this time Fry's letters to his father ~~became~~ ~~became~~ become increasingly more uninformative and distant.

Whilst at Cambridge, Fry had designed the cover for the magazine, the Cambridge Fortnightly. The first issue appeared on January 20, 1888 and it announced that the next would be "adorned with a lithographed title page of high allegorical beauty." The idea represented was described by Fry as a "tremendous Sun of Culture rising behind King's College," <sup>1</sup> a visual idea similar to that later produced by Feininger on the cover of the first Bauhaus publication. The image can be seen as prophetic of Fry's later role in the introduction of modern art in England, as it was at King's that he adopted attitudes and ideas later to affect his approach to art. He had learnt to adopt a flexible approach to theoretical problems, had developed a sense of mission and had been imbued with an awareness of socialist ideals. What was exceptional in Roger Fry was that a scientific, analytical mind was combined with an artistic imagination and receptivity. The most important single thing that Fry learnt at Cambridge was that he could develop his personality and capabilities by pursuing a career in art, not in science.

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1. Woolf, Roger Fry, p. 56.



Training under Francis Bate.

Fry began painting when the High Victorian art of Sir<sup>Lawrence</sup> Alma-Tadema and Lord Leighton was at its height: in 1890 Leighton's Bath of Psyche was the Royal Academy picture of the year. Yet the artist under whom Fry began his training, Francis Bate, taught an art very far removed from the opulent, aristocratic art of Leighton or the sentimental, anecdotal products of Alma-Tadema. Bate declared art should "no longer suffer itself to be petted by the half-neglectful patronage of the cultivated few. It is to become of the nation, of the people, of the world." <sup>1</sup> As a leading figure of the New English Art Club, which had been founded in 1886 as a rival force to the Royal Academy, Bate's teaching differed even more crucially in its attitude towards technique, as will be mentioned. The paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy despite their often brilliant formal achievements, were more ingratiating than demanding and the accepted technique of anecdotal realism with its perfection of finish carefully concealed any suggestion of the artist's struggle to express himself. Whilst at Cambridge Fry had unashamedly delighted in Leighton's Daphnephoria, <sup>2</sup> but his choice of Bate as tutor indicates that by 1889 his taste had turned away from the standards of the Royal Academy to those of the N.E.A.C. of which Bate was its Honorary Secretary. This year, 1889, the Club was honoured by the presence of Whistler who also served on its selection jury, and it is his influence that is most evident in Fry's earliest paintings.

Apart from Whistler's appearance at the N.E.A.C., two other exhibitions held this year would have brought his work and influence to Fry's notice.

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1. Francis Bate, The Naturalistic School of Painting. London, 1887, (pamphlet)
  2. Fry saw this painting at the Manchester Golden Jubilee Exhibition of 1887 and recorded his response to it in a letter to his mother. (Sutton, I:117.)

The first was the retrospective exhibition of his work held at the College for Working Men and Women in Queen's Square to which Bate would probably have directed Fry's attention, and the second was the London Impressionists' exhibition, an off-shoot of the N.E.A.C., where the work of Whistler's followers, including the Sickert brothers, Paul Maitland, Roussell, Walter Greaves, Bate and others, reflected the influence of the master. That Whistler was to the forefront of Fry's mind at this time is proved by the title of a lecture he gave to the Apostles Society, Mr. Westcott & Mr. Whistler. The lecture however contains little actual reference to the painter but makes clear Fry's whole-hearted approval of this artist at this date. <sup>1</sup>

Whistler's influence is evident in Fry's earliest extant portrait, that of his sister Margery, (cat. no. 1; Plate 1 ). Whistlerian creams and buffs set the background against which are contrasted the turquoise blue of her tie and the pink pattern of the wallpaper. In the background a Japanese fan, a Whistlerian leit-motif, is placed to balance the movement of the sitter as she leans against the wall, her face lit by the light from the window that is just beyond the confines of the canvas. The portrait can be dated to around 1890 as Margery was born in 1874 and is seen here with her hair down, loosely tied back. This and her general appearance indicate that she must be about sixteen or seventeen years and not yet of an age to be considered a young lady when the hair very definitely went up on the head. The steady gaze of the sitter, the casualness of the pose and the fluid, assured brushwork give this work a haunting quality. Wilson Steer's Rose Pettigrew, which had been exhibited in the London Impressionists' exhibition, may have inspired Fry's choice of a casual pose which, comparatively advanced for this date, descends from the French Impressionists' attempt to capture figures unposed amid their daily lives. Two other early portraits by Fry, one of his sister Ruth and another of a young woman in

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1. Unpublished MS; Fry Papers.

a striped blouse with folded arms, are known only from photographs. <sup>1</sup>

The only still-life that remains from this early period, Zinias (cat. no. 4) is Whistlerian not only in its search for the balance of tone but also in mood. Charles Ricketts observed that in Whistler's paintings "some strong notes would convey in undertone-symbol, pre-existence, and chime about the picture faintly, like evening music echoed by the river." <sup>2</sup> This romantic appreciation is similar in the mood it evokes to Fry's attempt to express the transient by fugitive statement of form and fluid brushwork. The flowers in the silver pot are reflected in the mirror behind, whilst others lying on the table are reflected in the polished surface of the wood. This play between actuality and reflection enables Fry to vary his technique between loose brushwork in the depiction of the mirror and the more precise definition of the flowers.

Whistler and his followers influenced Fry's early style and technique but not his subject matter. In the catalogue introduction to the London Impressionists' exhibition Sickert had urged artists to paint the life of the London streets, "to render the magic and poetry which they daily see around them." This modern attitude to subject matter was far removed from that of J. H. Middleton, the Slade Professor at Cambridge, under whose supervision Fry had remained during the term immediately following the completion of his tripos. Middleton would not accept the idea of a pure landscape without figures as he demanded that the figures should provide the essential note on which the rest of the drawing and colour was to be based. His teaching was academic and he encouraged Fry to make detailed architectural drawings and copies from casts of antique sculpture. Despite

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1. In the Witt Library.

2. Charles Ricketts, "Unwritten Book", The Dial, 1892.

this Fry had arrived at a clear understanding of the nature of pure landscape painting during his period as an undergraduate at Cambridge, and this he expressed in his first published article, written on the Turner watercolours at the Fitzwilliam Museum:

As understood by Turner landscape painting is a creative rather than imitative Art. A scene is chosen as being the type of many individual scenes, and then all details are harmonized so as to convey a single impression far more intense and unified than did the actual landscape. This, it would seem, is more or less the function of landscape painting and Turner's works show it to perfection. 1

Fry's opportunity to put this theory into practice came when he entered the studio of Francis Bate in January 1889. Bate who had studied at the Académie d'Anvers, had experienced the modern French attitude to landscape and during the summer months he encouraged his pupils to paint "en plein air". The concentration of his training was not upon imitative copying but upon life-drawing and making working drawings for paintings. Fry's response to his first day's work under Bate is recorded in a letter to G. L. Dickinson: "I've just finished my first day's work with Bate - it was quite as dull as I expected but not more so, and I think he teaches well - he has ideas - he teaches you more how to analyse your impressions than how to move your pencil and this seems to me the right end to begin." 2 Understanding was always more important to Fry than expression.

As a member of the New English Art Club, Bate was involved in the attempt to introduce some French influence into the world of British art and break down its insularity. The title originally suggested for the group had been the Society of Anglo-French Painters as several of its members had studied and exhibited in France. Bate had been invited to join after the publication of his pamphlet, The Naturalistic School of Painting which expressed an

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1. "The Turners at the Fitzwilliam", Cambridge University Magazine, December 7, 1886, p. 166.
  2. Sutton, I: 222.

attitude towards technical ideas that was similar to that shared by other N.E.A.C. exhibitors. In his choice of Bate as a teacher it was natural that Fry should also aspire to exhibit with this group which he did from 1891 onwards, and in an unpublished article written about 1894 entitled The Philosophy of Impressionism,<sup>1</sup> Fry admitted his debt to Bate's pamphlet, at this time influential in directing Fry's approach to landscape painting.

In his pamphlet Bate argues cogently for a naturalistic style of painting, that does not depend on literary or historical association or <sup>the</sup> suggestion of eroticism, but takes ready-made subject matter and attempts to catch its character and feeling of life. This attempt to catch the character or mood of a scene would not have conflicted with Fry's early reading of Ruskin and Ruskin's belief in "Truth & Nature", a maxim that has often been taken to refer to mere copying. Later in 1893 when Fry began to study the Old Masters, he wrote to his mother: "The great question is whether they can be combined with the truth to nature which modern people have become accustomed to ..." <sup>2</sup>

Bate's interpretation of naturalism is no longer concerned with the object itself but with the appearance of the object, <sup>and</sup> as a result the determining factor is the effect of light. He argued for the use of brighter colours than were generally accepted at that time, by pointing out that when one looks out of a window the scene one sees is lighter than the room and that likewise a landscape painting should be lighter than the wall on which it hangs. He makes reference to the use of broken colour and the influence of reflections on surrounding colours, but in his work he was capable of both plein-air impressionist work and of more conventional, minutely observed detail, and would alter the technique he used according to the subject matter represented.

Bate exerted his influence through his private art-school in his

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1. MS. in King's College Library.

2. RF. to Lady Fry, May 22, 1893; Fry Papers.

Applegarth Studio at Brook Green and through his role of Honorary Secretary to the N.E.A.C. during the years 1888 to 1919. In this latter position he was "notable for energy and capacity in the transaction of business, along with firmness and impartial consideration in dealing with members and exhibitors." <sup>1</sup> In his teaching he was said to have advocated "only those forms of technical expression which do not commit the artist to careless and mechanical repetition", <sup>2</sup> and to have despised anything that smacked of the conventional. A pupil should learn to make an intelligent observation automatically, even when merely sketching in chalk or charcoal, and should study the tonal values and their relation. These should be treated broadly and simply without any attempt to impose on the scene a pre-conceived notion of style. In contrast to the detail found in a Pre-Raphaelite landscape, he declared on the front page of a catalogue to one of his exhibitions, "These pictures represent an endeavour to realize the appearance of Nature, under different aspects of Light and Atmosphere." <sup>3</sup>

Four years later in a letter to his father asking for a testimonial for Bate, Fry summed up Bate's qualities as teacher and as artist: ".. he has a great power of expressing himself and very clear and simple methods of instruction without any cranks or extravagant theories. I think he is almost too precise and scientific to be a very first rate artist but all that is in his favour as a teacher." <sup>4</sup> It is not known how long Fry studied under Bate.

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1. Alfred Thornton, "Fifty Years of the New English Art Club", (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1935.)
  2. A. Lys Baldry, "Private Art Schools, No. II; The Studio of Mr. Francis Bate", The Studio, 1896, Vol. VII, pp. 226 - 235. An undated letter (1896) from Fry to his mother records that he was asked to send a sketch to the Studio, showing Bate's influence, for the article. If he did so, it was not printed, but one was included by his cousin, Lewis Fry.
  3. "Pictures and Sketches by Francis Bate" The Bolton's Studios, Redcliffe Road, December 17 - 20, 1884.
  4. Letter to Sir Edward Fry, May 29, 1893; in the collection of Mr. & Mrs. Robinson.

At most it could have been for two years, up to the beginning of 1891 when Fry made his first trip to Italy. From this trip which lasted from February to June remain his first datable paintings.

### First Visit to Italy.

The Landscape Near the Villa Madama, Rome, Tate Gallery (cat. no. 2; Plate 2) is mentioned as in the process of being painted in a letter to G. L. Dickinson dated March 11, 1891. <sup>1</sup> Fry's response to landscape was vividly evoked by the Campagna and his letters written during his stay in Rome contain more descriptions of landscape than of the art and architecture that he must have seen. In the Tate Gallery landscape he has captured the contrast of the row of red trees seen against the afternoon sky and the deeper blue-purple Appennines. It is impressionist in that it was painted on the spot and captures the atmosphere of a certain time of day but the concern with tonal relationships that dominates his observation of colour reveals the over-riding influence of Whistler. This can also be felt in the careful placing of the sheep and shepherd and the sensitive relationships that are set up between the parts and the whole. The mood is arcadian and a month later Fry wrote to Robert Bridges: "It seems to me that it is quite possible to get something of Dixon's 'A Spirit Wooded' ... to get, I say, <sup>that</sup> feeling ever more intensely expressed by landscape painting than in poetry." <sup>2</sup> Dixon's poetry frequently makes use of analogies between the passing seasons and the stages of men's life and it is to this relationship of mood that Fry is probably referring.

This visit to Italy during which he travelled from Rome to Naples and

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1. Sutton I: 130 - 131.
2. Sutton I: 143. Dixon, a Victorian romantic poet, was a friend of Robert Bridges who was himself married to a cousin of Fry's. Dixon was at one time associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement, but later disciplined his romantic tendencies into a restrained classical style.



Pompeii, to Orvieto, Florence and finally Venice, stopping at various places en route, gave him first hand experience of Italian art. His enthusiasm was aroused for Greek sculpture and Etruscan art; he familiarized himself with the work of Raphael; he surprisingly deplored the fifth century mosaics at Ravenna, finding them "degraded and conventional to a degree. What relieves it from contempt is that it shows the hesitation between the old played-out ideals and traditions and the first childish attempts to start an art expressive of the new ideas ..." <sup>1</sup> From the point of view of his own painting he learnt most from the study of the work of Tintoretto and late Titian. In a letter written towards the end of his stay in Rome he informed Dickinson that he has completed six largish oil-sketches, and in Venice he wrote to his mother: "I am doing several Venetian sketches but my work is rather upset at the present by Powles' criticism which makes me bother about things I never thought of before ..." <sup>2</sup> Of these paintings, only the Tate Gallery landscape and one other are known to exist. The latter, St. Mark's - Twilight (cat. no. 3) was one of the first two paintings Fry exhibited at the N.E.A.C. in the winter exhibition of 1891, and the influence of Whistler's Venetian nocturnes is evident. Fry creates dusk out of sombre colours and shadowy depiction of forms, in which the phosphorescent gas-lights cause odylic gleams of gold in the cupolas of St. Mark's façade. "Atmosphere" wrote Frank Rutter when he set out to describe the aim of landscape painters in the 1890's, "was the magical word of the time, an infallible talisman. Either a work of art had atmosphere - and it was all right, or it did not have it - and was all wrong. We applied this test everywhere." <sup>3</sup> Fry wrote to Powles about this picture: "I am exhibiting for the first time at the New English Art Club - I fear you will think I am one of the lost. One of my pictures

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1. Letter to Lady Fry, May 14, 1891; Sutton I: 144.
  2. Sutton I: 148. Lewes Charles Powles, a landscape and portrait painter best known for his delicate watercolours, remained a friend of Fry's for several years. The friendship ended when Fry espoused the Post-Impressionists but was later started up again when Fry discovered the Maroger medium in 1929 in which he attempted to interest Powles.
  3. Art in My Time, (London: Rick and Cowan ) 1933, p. 57.



of St. Mark's by gas-light which you saw the other day." <sup>1</sup> Whether or not this is one of the paintings that benefitted from Powles' criticism is not made clear.

### The Académie Julian.

Early in the following year Fry travelled to Paris to attend the Académie Julian for two months. <sup>2</sup> The Académie Julian was the largest private art school in Paris at that time and it consisted of a congerie of studios each supervised or visited by certain artists; a student would choose a studio and thus which artists under whom he wished to study. Fry's choice of Benjamin Constant and Jean-Paul Laurens seems odd after his emulation of Whistler and his concern with the N.E.A.C.. Constant had devoted himself to exotic subjects before turning to portraiture in the 1880's, and it may have been his reputation in this latter field which made Fry choose his tuition. Will Rothenstein, who attended the Académie at the same time as Fry described Constant as "a powerful but brutal painter with a florid taste, one of the props of the old Salon." <sup>3</sup> Jean-Paul Laurens, another Salon painter descended from the Romantic school, painted with detailed realism and harsh colour religious and historical scenes often dependent for their effect upon some dramatic contrast. He was described as "somewhat grim and forbidding at first, with a strong, bearded face, marked by smallpox and a broken-looking nose, the whole face reminding one of the bust of Michelangelo." <sup>4</sup> The Académie Julian was avant-garde compared to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, but the work produced was still directed towards the annual Salon exhibition.

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1. Letter to L. C. Powles, December 8, 1891; Fry Papers.
  2. The extent of Fry's stay in Paris is confirmed by a letter to his mother which reads: "I didn't ask father whether I might stop a few days to see sights and Rouen over above my two months at the studio - but I feel sure he won't mind." (March 20, 1892; Fry Papers).
  3. William Rothenstein Men and Memories. Vol. I. (London: Rose and Crown Library edition 1934) p. 39.
  4. G. P. Jacomb-Hood, M.V.O., With Brush and Pencil, (London: John Murray, 1925) p. 19.

Fry was disappointed by the teaching at the Académie Julian and by the standard of the students' work. He found the training merely taught a fashionable method of representation and not the essentials of pictorial design. Before his arrival in Paris Fry was already mature in his theoretical understanding of art,<sup>1</sup> but he nevertheless appeared uneasy and out of place in the noisy and cramped atmosphere of Julian's, where the easels were edged close together, the walls were covered with caricatures and practical jokes were the order of the day. At frequent intervals the students would all burst into song. In the eyes of another student, Will Rothenstein, he appeared uncertain of himself: "This year Roger Fry also came from Cambridge ... He had done very little drawing ... but he had a quiet attractiveness and was clearly very intelligent. He did not stay long in Paris; he was not much of a figure draughtsman and was somewhat shy and uneasy in the free atmosphere at Julian's."<sup>2</sup> If a liberal education at Cambridge had enabled Fry to emerge with confidence from his strict and narrow Quaker upbringing, in the rough-and-tumble world of a Parisian studio he appeared green and highly sensitive.

These two months in Paris enabled Fry to obtain first hand experience of French Impressionism.<sup>3</sup> As the Caillebotte Bequest had not yet been

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1. A letter from his friend from Cambridge, John McTaggart written from Calcutta in January 1892 expresses an attitude which may have originated from Fry, but which was shared by the two friends, and which reflects, a considerable degree of confidence in their artistic beliefs: "... the Taj Mahal ... is the Lewis Morris of Architecture. It possesses the four points requisite to please the British public in art. It cost heaps of money, it has a sentimental story connected with it, it is loaded with masses of superfluous and vulgar detail and there isn't a bit of real good design in it ... In fact its just what the Queen would have put up to the Prince Consort if she could have made someone pay for it." (Letter to R. Fry, January 19, 1892; Fry Papers).
  2. Men and Memories. I: 76.
  3. Before leaving for Paris, Leonard Johnson had written to Fry: "Maclachlen tells me you are going to Paris, and want advice about studios and so on: and he suggested that a French artist, Pissarro, a friend of mine, might be of some use ..." (Letter to R. Fry, November 1891; Fry Papers). The Pissarro referred was most likely Lucien who had come to England in 1890. He was a close friend of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon and Fry probably met him at their house, but there is no evidence that Lucien Pissarro played any important part in introducing Fry to French Impressionism.

bequeathed to the Luxembourg, a good first hand knowledge of the true Impressionists would have been difficult to obtain without close contacts with the dealers and their galleries such as Vollard, Durand-Ruel and Bernheim-Jeune. Fry's experience of French Impressionism would have been blurred and diluted by the mass of second rate followers, who imitated the impressionist technique without clear understanding of its intentions. Bastien-Lepage was the chief exponent of the style that compromised <sup>the</sup> impressionist's *of light effects on colour with detailed realism, a style* observation. <sup>He</sup> emulated by the Newlyn School who made up a considerable part of the N.E.A.C.. Bastien-Lepage's early death had heightened his influence and his position has been neatly described by Degas: "C'est le Rougeu du mouvement moderne." <sup>1</sup> In 1927 Fry recalled his experience of Impressionism in Paris at this time:

When I was a student, a very ignorant and helpless student but a fairly observant one, there in the early nineties of last century the outlook was as follows. The Impressionist movement which had begun well before 1870 and had dominated the vital art of the next two decades had spent its force, its impetus was nearly exhausted ... In fact Impressionism had just become Academic ... and the exhibitions of the day showed a distressing monotony and a universal competent mediocrity. A few attempts were being made to give to the Impressionist formula a new decorative application, but without much success except in the very particular case of Seurat whose work was too little known and too recondite to arouse at that time any echo ... Had I known of the forces already working underground in secluded almost inaccessible centres it would have been perhaps very different. I was familiar enough with the names of some of the works of all of the artists who had brought about the Impressionist movement in 1870, twenty years before, of all that is to say except one - the name of Cézanne was absolutely unknown to the art students of that day ... throughout my student days in Paris I never once heard of the existence of such a man. Nor did I hear either of two immediate followers of his, of Van Gogh, or ... Gauguin.

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Among the students of the Academie Julian the artists that were admired

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1. Quoted by George Moore in his article "Degas: The Painter of Modern Life." The Magazine of Art, 1890, p. 425.
2. Unpublished lecture notes of a lecture given at Bangor on January 18, 1927; Fry Papers.

were Cazin, Besnard, Dagnan-Bouveret, Aman-Jean as well as Bastien-Lepage. According to Rothenstein, Monet and Puvis de Chavannes were the artists who were most revered, an ironic combination as Puvis was to contribute greatly to the inspiration behind the symbolist movement, which has been referred to as the alternative tradition to that of impressionism. <sup>1</sup> *Rothenstein recalled:* "Puvis' work had the flavour of naivety, both of form and design, which we were beginning to relish." <sup>2</sup> Fry himself claimed in September 1892 to have familiarized himself with the latest theories of the Indépendants, the Symbolists, the members of the Society of the Rose-Croix and of Sar Peladan, the Wagnerian. <sup>3</sup>

By the following year Fry evidently felt confident enough of his knowledge of modern French art to review George Moore's Modern Art and his review was published by the Cambridge Review on June 22, 1893. Fry admired Moore's attack on the standards of the Royal Academy and his fearless putting down of all that he thought was bogus in art. Moore's appreciation of Monet is qualified by his dislike of the artist's work and Fry in his review points out that whilst Monet's search for a "whole aspect of nature" is never quite reduced to "complete artistic expression" he nevertheless remains one of "the great names of modern art." He continues: "while Mr. Moore laughs, and we think, fairly at the absurdities of the scientific doctrinaires who practise 'the division of tones' he fails to mention that the method of optical mixtures of colours is undoubtedly capable of giving more brilliant effects of light and colour than the mixture on the palette ever does and that therefore it becomes a right and legitimate technique for the expression of certain effects of sunlight." The article proves that Fry had gained some

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1. Alan Bowness; "An Alternative Tradition?", in the catalogue to the exhibition, French Symbolist Painters, Hayward Gallery, (London, 1972) pp. 14 - 20.
2. Men and Memories I: 44.
3. This claim is made in a letter to Edvard Alkman, September 25, 1892, in the possession of Mrs. Eva von Zweiburgh and published in the Virginia Woolf Quarterly Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 2 - 7. Fall 1972.

familiarity with Impressionism whilst in Paris, but nevertheless no immediate adoption of the impressionist technique of broken colour appears in Fry's work until 1896 when in his The Grand Canal, Venice (cat. no. 18) the water in the foreground is broken up into individual strokes of colour.

Fry received a letter of thanks from George Moore, but there is no evidence that he entered into further correspondence with the author.<sup>1</sup>

#### From Whistler to the Old Masters.

Whilst in Paris Fry made friends with Stephen Mallet, a N.E.A.C. artist, of whom he wrote to his mother: "He paints very well indeed."<sup>2</sup> It was Mallet's intention on his return to England to settle at Blythborough in Suffolk, and Fry was to stay with him and continue to paint. Mallet settled not at Blythborough but at Rye and Fry turned to Bernhard Sickert as a companion for his Suffolk holiday in August 1892. There Fry painted Walberswick (cat. no. <sup>Plate 5</sup> 7) in which the luminosity and creation of atmosphere can be compared to Wilson Steer's The Bridge in the Tate Gallery.<sup>3</sup> Fir Trees at Blythborough (cat. no. 8; Plate 3) was also begun on this trip and taken up again the following summer on a return visit. It may also have been one of the paintings Fry retouched in November 1893 when he wrote to his father: "I am repainting most of my Suffolk pictures as I found they were too detailed and literal and that for the final effect I must get away from nature."<sup>4</sup> The evident degree of stylization in the silhouettes of the fir trees seen against the salt marsh with the church at Blythborough in the far distance makes it probable that this is partly a studio product. The dramatic and highly conscious design combined with the dusky tones and streaks of

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1. The letter from George Moore to R. Fry, dated June 27, 1893, is amongst the Fry Papers.
  2. Letter to Lady Fry, February 18, 1892; Fry Papers.
  3. Formerly called The Bridge at Etaples but now thought by Bruce Laughton to be of Walberswick. Fry may have been familiar with this painting as at this time it belonged to Walter Sickert, and on his own visit to Steer countryside he may have been inspired to emulate the painter.
  4. Sutton, I: 155.

orange in the marsh and in the sky indicates the influence of the symbolist theories Fry had been absorbing in Paris. His affinities with early Nabi painting and the art nouveau tendency towards pattern make it a curious work within his total oeuvre<sup>1</sup>. Despite this, the method of painting in broad areas of close tones as opposed to the broken touches of brilliant colour of the French Impressionists, still indicates the ascendancy of Whistler.

The failure of French art to achieve greater influence over English landscape painting in the nineties was not only due to Whistler but also to the persistent association in the mind of the British public, of French art with a way of life that was frivolous and decadent. This view had arisen chiefly from the literature of Zola, the Goncourt brothers, Flaubert, and Baudelaire as well as from the descriptions of Parisian life brought back by English writers and artists who had visited the city.<sup>2</sup> Frederick George Lee, the Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth, was not alone in his suspicions when he attributed the poor moral standard of the art shown at the Royal Academy to "the introduction of some of the worst features of Parisian licentiousness."<sup>3</sup>

French art did however penetrate into exhibitions in England. Monet and Degas exhibited at the N.E.A.C. from the early years of the 1890's. Monet had been exhibited in London during the late 1880's and in 1889 twenty of his paintings were exhibited at the Goupil Gallery. The opportunity to study French Impressionism was there but its impact was not great and its appearance was inopportune. The reason was chiefly because it opposed the English tradition of art-teaching. In 1895 R. A. M. Stevenson wrote:

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1. The dominant concern with design and the expressive mood indicates that it was probably to this painting Fry was referring when he wrote to D. S. MacColl on February 3, 1912: "One of my earliest oil-paintings was essentially Post-Impressionist, but was so derided at the time - I never showed it publicly - that I gave in to what I thought were inner counsels and my next rebellion against the dreary naturalism of our youth lay in the direction of archaism." (Sutton, I: 353). 54
  2. The most notable example in the 1890's was George du Maurier's Trilby first published in 1894.
  3. Frederick George Lee, Immodesty in Art, London, 1887 (Pamphlet)

English teaching has been contrary to Impressionism .... Many painters and writers of influence have condemned impressionism in a manner which showed that they neither knew or cared anything about it ....The English schools never taught one to 'place' a figure or cast on the canvas. They would not permit of blocking in either squarely or roundly. They expected you to begin a thing by finishing. They accustomed the student from the outset of his career to overlook subtle differences of large planes, to miss the broader sweep of a line for the sake of tight detailed modelling ..."

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The type of impressionism Fry would have seen among the English painters at the N.E.A.C. owed more to 'les tons justes' of Corot, to Bastien-Lepage and to early French Impressionism than to Monet's style of the 1870's and 1880's with its brilliant colour. The mildness of certain English impressionists enabled artists such as Edward Stott to exhibit both at the N.E.A.C. and at the Royal Academy. Nevertheless the greater attention to overall tone and observation of light effects than to detailed realism led the critics to deplore N.E.A.C. artists' lack of knowledge of both drawing and nature.

Fry had first exhibited at the N.E.A.C. in the winter of 1891 and from then on he had works exhibited in either the spring or winter exhibitions, and was generally represented in both until he resigned from the Club in 1908. In 1893 he was invited to become a member and from 1900 until his resignation frequently sat on the selecting jury. In 1903 he was invited on to the Executive Committee. In the 1890's Fry hoped that he would be able to make his reputation as an artist chiefly through exhibiting with this Club. The year in which he became a member he exhibited a portrait of his friend Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson executed in pastel. A revival of interest in this medium had occurred in the late 1880's and two important pastel exhibitions including work by Whistler, Clausen, Steer and Fantin-Latour had been held at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888 and 1890. Fry's conventional rendering is

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1. R. A. M. Stevenson, Velasquez, (first published 1895), (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1962) p. 163.

is unremarkable except as a sensitive likeness. <sup>1</sup>

The concern to establish his reputation as a painter led Fry during the middle of the 1890's to produce a number of portraits, many of which are now lost. In 1892 he painted two portraits of one of Logan Pearsall Smith's sisters. In 1893 Ferdinand Schiller, his friend since Cambridge, requested Fry to make a short trip to Gersau in Switzerland in order to paint a portrait of Schiller's mother. The portrait was exhibited at the N.E.A.C. winter exhibition of 1893. The same year Fry painted portraits of Elizabeth and Monica Bridges, the daughter and wife of the poet Robert Bridges as well as making a sketch of the poet himself. <sup>2</sup> Fry noted in connection with the portrait of Elizabeth Bridges: "I find my power of getting likenesses has increased a great deal." <sup>3</sup> Yet in the same year a letter to his father reveals that he was already dissatisfied with likeness in itself; his portrait of Mrs. Ginsberg's daughter, he declared, was satisfactory from the point of view of likeness but not as a painting. <sup>4</sup> At the home of the Bridges, Fry met the portrait painter and Slade professor H. Ellis Wooldridge, whose portrait he exhibited at the 1895 spring exhibition of the N.E.A.C. In 1893 Fry stayed with the Widdrington family at Newton-on-the-Moor in Northumberland

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1. A letter to Dickinson (Sutton I: 163), tells how Sickert saw Fry's portrait and thought it the best that Fry had done. Unless Fry executed an oil portrait of Dickinson at this time, it must be to this pastel, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London, that Sickert is referring. Sutton's footnote to the above letter refers the reader to the portrait of Dickinson by Fry at King's College, Cambridge, a work that was painted in 1925 and therefore not the one referred to in this letter.
2. The paintings of Elizabeth Bridges pleased her father at the time it was painted but he later took a dislike to it, saying it was not a true likeness and eventually had it destroyed. [Information given by Mrs. Elizabeth Daryrush (née Bridges).] The present whereabouts of the other two portraits of members of the Bridges family made in 1893, are unknown. In 1922 Fry painted three portraits of Robert Bridges, only one of which was destroyed.
3. Letter to Sir Edward Fry, May 29, 1893; in the possession of Mr & Mrs Robinson.
4. Letter to Sir Edward Fry, March 12, 1893; Fry Papers. Mrs. Ginsberg has not been identified.



and produced a small bust portrait of the son in his soldier's uniform, the conventional style possibly reflecting the demands of the family.<sup>1</sup> In the same year his letters refer to a portrait he is executing of C. R. Ashbee.<sup>2</sup>

The portrait Fry felt did his reputation considerable good, was that of Edward Carpenter (cat. no. <sup>Plat 4</sup>10) shown at the N.E.A.C. Spring Exhibition of 1894 and, at the special invitation of Liverpool Art Gallery, at their Autumn Exhibition of the same year. Standing in what Fry described as his "anarchist overcoat",<sup>3</sup> Fry chose the tall, thin format popularized by Whistler for full-length figures. In the background a mirror extends the pictorial space at the same time as it reasserts the flatness of the picture plane, a pictorial device also found in Sickert's paintings of the Old Bedford of the 1890's. By use of the mirror Fry is able to extend the constructional relationships of the picture, picking up the pink of the foreground chair and producing emphatic horizontals in its reflections to contrast with the vertical pose of the figure.

The portrait of Edward Carpenter contains the first noticeable elements of Sickertian influence in Fry's work. It is found not only in the use of the mirror but also in the slight upward tilt of the floor, a technique that comes from Degas through Sickert, and negates too great a sense of space by pushing up against the figure and reasserting the two-dimensional nature of the

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1. The portrait is still in the collection of the Widdrington family, (cat. no. 19).
2. Unless otherwise stated the present whereabouts of the portraits mentioned in this paragraph remain unknown. Fry's daughter, Mrs. P. Diamand, is of the opinion that many of the portraits that remained in Fry's possession were destroyed in 1919 when he sold his home in Guildford. A fragment of a full-length female portrait remains in the possession of Mrs. Diamand. It presents the sitter in a three-quarter back view position, a pose much favoured by Whistler.
3. Letter to Lady Fry, January 14, 1894; Sutton, I: 156.

format.<sup>1</sup> During 1893 Fry had attended evening classes run by Sickert in the Vale. Alfred Thornton recalled these evenings:

The men's night class was a success, being intended for painters already some way on in their careers who wished to study the nude. If asked, Sickert did criticize, often working with us, and, as Rothenstein and Fry were of the number, discussion proved interesting.

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Sickert, whose sophistication and intellect Fry would have appreciated, would have reinforced Bate's method of making studies not as ends in themselves but as notations later to be worked up into paintings, a technique used in the studios of the old masters and especially important in the work of Degas, whose influence on Sickert was paramount. This attitude to drawing emphasizes the importance of composition, sharpens the visual memory, and demands a certain amount of imagination in the later transcription of the sketch into the painting. Sickert's teaching, however, came at a time when Fry's attention was beginning to turn towards the Old Masters. If he shared Sickert's discontent with N.E.A.C. naturalism and was likewise moving away from the decorative charm of Whistlerian-style compositions, Fry never could understand Sickert's delight in the interiors and songs of the music halls. Fry's subject matter therefore remained within the more traditional approach to landscape and portraiture.

Despite their different interests Fry greatly admired Sickert. "Walter Sickert was here the other day," Fry proudly told his sister, "and was or professed to me and others to be quite surprised at my work; he said he'd no idea it was so good and that he'd never done me justice ....It's given me a great spurt; praise from one who knows such a lot."<sup>3</sup> On his

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1. There is no evidence that Fry visited Degas' studio whilst in Paris in 1892 but a visit was made probably during the 1890's, as after Degas' death Fry wrote an article on his collection in which he wrote: "my personal recollection of Degas' pictures depends on a single visit paid a good many years ago, a visit occupied mainly in the study of Degas' own works." (Burl. Mag., Vol. XXXII, 1918, p. 118).
  2. Thornton, The Diary of an Art Student of the Nineties. p. 46.
  3. Sutton, 1:158.

return from La Roche Guyon in 1894 Fry intended to stay with the Sickerts in Dieppe and his friendship with the family would have given him ample opportunity to familiarize himself with the paintings of both Bernhard and Walter. Yet by 1895 his opinion of their work was critical: "The Sickert brothers have a private show on ....To me, I confess, it seems less than it would have done some years ago. Of course they are very clever but I feel that if I ever realize my ideas of a picture as well as they have theirs, it will be a better picture." <sup>1</sup>

Sickert's influence would have been greater if L. C. Powles had not been directing Fry's attention to the Old Masters and their techniques. In May 1893 Fry wrote to his mother:

... my mind has been much occupied by the remarks of Powles who has been round to see my pictures - he has very peculiar views on techniques which he has been explaining to me and I have been rather worrying over whether there is much in them or not. He is much more a student of the Old Masters than of nature and has spent a lot of time on elaborating their methods. The great question is whether they can be combined with the truth to nature which modern people have become accustomed to ... <sup>2</sup>

During 1894 Fry continued to extend his knowledge of past techniques: "I have been studying Eastlake's book on the technique of the Old Masters and making experiments in the various possible qualities of paint." <sup>3</sup> In September, whilst preparing a set of lectures for the Cambridge Extension Movement, Fry wrote to his father: "The more I study the Old Masters the more terrible does the chaos of modern art seem to me." <sup>4</sup> Earlier that year he had wryly commented: "I'm getting so imbued with the older traditions of painting that I shouldn't be surprised if I were to copy an old master some

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2. Letter to Lady Fry, May 22, 1893; Fry Papers.

1. Letter to Lady Fry, January 20, 1895; Fry Papers. The exhibition referred to was of paintings, drawings and etchings by Walter and Bernhard Sickert held at Van Wisselingh's Dutch Gallery in London, 1895.

3. Letter to Edvard Alkman, February 4, 1894, reprinted in the Virginia Woolf Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 2 - 7.

4. Letter to Sir Edward Fry, September 27, 1894; Fry Papers.

day." <sup>1</sup> He was not <sup>un</sup>aware of the dangers inherent in too much study of past art; when his friend Alfred Thornton suggested that his paintings would appear less laboured if he let his sub-conscious mind take over at times, Fry replied: "the damned thing would only produce a pastiche." <sup>2</sup>

If not a pastiche, the portrait of Sybil Palgrave, (cat. no. 14) painted in 1895, is heavily indebted to eighteenth century traditions of portraiture and in particular to Reynolds and Romney. The sitter is seen half-length, against a wooded landscape and a brilliant blue Titianesque sky. The paint is heavily impastoed on the bare shoulder of the sitter nearest to the spectator but is fairly thinly used in the treatment of the face. The highlights in the hair are created with a fluid brush dragged across the rough surface of the canvas. This marked variation from the use of thin glazes to heavy impasto demonstrates the various techniques with which Fry had been experimenting. The portrait of his father, Sir Edward Fry (cat. no. 17) is <sup>Plate 9</sup> similarly varied in technique, but less obviously indebted to past styles. The fluidity of the brushwork found in the earlier portrait of Margery has had its freedom curtailed partly due to the more formal nature of the portrait, but it has not yet been completely repressed in favour of the denser, more finished style that was to mark his few oil-paintings of the late 1890's and early 1900's. The portrait is probably datable to 1896, <sup>3</sup> the same year that Fry executed the pastel of Patrick Roberts as a baby (King's College, Cambridge). Fry's pastels were admired by Sickert who thought that his success at the N.E.A.C. in 1894 would be assured if he exhibited pastels. <sup>4</sup> As in his pastel

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1. Letter to Lady Fry, March 4, 1894; Fry Papers.
2. Thornton, The Diary of an Art Student in the Nineties, p. 72.
3. An undated letter written around Easter 1896 to his father declares Fry's intention of beginning his father's portrait.
4. Reference to Sickert's admiration of Fry's pastels can be found in Sutton, I: 158.

of Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, which was more probably executed as a record for friends rather than a work in its own right, Fry signed this work with a monogram.

Fry's interest in past traditions of art was further encouraged by Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon whose informal evening gatherings were held in Beaufort Street in the house next door to Fry. He regularly attended these evenings from 1892 onwards and, according to Rothenstein, "sat at the feet of these two men,"<sup>1</sup> quietly absorbing their influence and advice. Their interests complemented those of Fry at this time; "Shannon and Ricketts directed my attention to the traditional technique of oil painting and to design," wrote C. J. Holmes, "as exemplified in the old masters which were visible in London."<sup>2</sup> As collectors, illustrators, designers and painters, Ricketts and Shannon had a catholicity of taste and breadth of knowledge to which Fry must have responded. Through them his interest in oriental art was probably developed. Ricketts' love of delicate detail as expounded in his "theory of documents" may have called to Fry's attention Corot's use of notes of detail within the broadly painted masses in his late work, a technique found in Fry's painting The Banks of the Seine (cat. no. 9).<sup>3</sup>

#### La Roche Guyon and the Second Visit to Italy.

This tentative work painted during his visit to La Roche Guyon in 1894 demonstrates a deliberate move away from the impressionist treatment of his Near the Villa Madama (cat. no. 2). It depends less on direct observations. The colours are within a range of greens and the forms are ill-defined except

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1. Rothenstein, Men and Memories I:176.
  2. C. J. Holmes, Self and Partners (Mostly Self) (London: Constable, 1936) p. 212.
  3. The title is that given to the painting by the Sanger family. Charles and Dora Sanger were close friends of Roger Fry.

for three thin tree trunks to the left of the centre which create a visual tension amongst the more generalized foliage of the trees. The scene was described in a letter from Fry to his mother: "The river is very broad here and not very beautiful but a little way up, it is split up into islands some of them quite large - all covered with poplars and aspens and then a little way back from it is a long line of flat topped downs with chalk cliffs." <sup>1</sup>

In contrast to his earlier Italian scene, Fry was ultimately less concerned with capturing the effect created by the scene and the time of day, than with discovering a style. D. S. MacColl described Fry during this visit as "a modest youth worried because his painting would never look artistic." <sup>2</sup>

In choosing La Roche Guyon for a painting holiday, Fry had followed Alfred Thornton who, after the close of Sickert's life school, had crossed to France to find some lodgings. Fry had joined him there in June 1894, arriving just after the assassination of President Sadi Carnot in Lyon by Italian anarchists. <sup>3</sup> La Roche Guyon, with its dominant motif, the Château de la Rochefoucauld, offered many possibilities for the painter as did the nearby Vetheuil, where Conder and D. S. MacColl were staying. MacColl, due to his propagation of the work of Conder and Steer, has been called "the Ruskin of the Impressionists", <sup>4</sup> and his criticism at this time was welcomed by Fry. The above mentioned Banks of the Seine is not unaffected by MacColl's theory of "loose" painting and Conder's love of eighteenth century frisson. But the four miles between Vetheuil and La Roche Guyon and heavy boats as the only form of transport prevented much exchange between the two parties.

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1. Letter to Lady Fry, June 29, 1894; Fry Papers.
  2. D. S. MacColl, unpublished memoir notes; Special Collection, Glasgow University Library.
  3. Confusion has previously arisen as to the dates of Fry's visit to La Roche Guyon, Sutton's chronology giving one visit in 1895, but Fry's letter to his mother dated 25 June, makes clear that the visit with Thornton was 1894: "No one talks of anything but the assassination of Carnot just now .." (Fry Papers).
  4. Rothenstein, Men and Memories, I: 71.

In August, Fry's sister Isabel joined him and together they visited Les Andeleys and the Chateau Gaillard, the latter which he was later to reproduce in a painting exhibited at the N.E.A.C. in 1896.

Thornton, in his Diary of an Art Student in the Nineties, makes an interesting reference to his and Fry's attitude to painting at this time:

Both Fry and I were steeped in the Romantics, not being satisfied by the naturalism of the Impressionists; we dimly felt that more was required than an expression of surface appearances, but, as Fry said years later, we were groping for what Cézanne, of whom we had not then heard, had already rediscovered as the essential that lay behind the passing show of light and colour. We had forgotten that human emotions with associated ideas, such as those on which the romantics depended, were as fleeting as effects, and that what is fundamental should be expressed in the graphic arts through the medium of design. <sup>1</sup>

This passage was written with the hindsight of forty years. A letter written by Thornton to Fry soon after Fry had left La Roche gives a closer insight into the nature of the ideas they exchanged: "Then your work is to me most interesting and when you see landscape rather more 'bigly' you ought to do something fine. I know you laugh at what you call my formula of 'simplicity' But I am quite aware of the unsatisfactoriness of what is 'empty'." <sup>2</sup> The letter goes on to say that he looks forward to hearing what Fry thinks of the works by Puvis at Amiens.

In November 1894 Fry made a second trip to Italy in the company of A. M. Daniel, whom he had met at Cambridge and who was later to become the Director of the National Gallery. With him Fry visited galleries and churches in Milan, Bologna, Florence and Bergamo and found that Daniel's learning and attention to the correct attribution of minor works, encouraged him to look more closely at Italian art than he had done before. As a result, Fry wrote

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1. Thornton, The Diary of an Art Student of the Nineties, p. 47.

2. Letter from Alfred Thornton to Roger Fry, no date (1894); Fry Papers.

to his sister: "I've never got such a grip of early art before, never learned to distinguish so much between the individualities of similar painters. But I confess that after nearly a week of the early men, though I've learned to think much more highly of some than I ever did before, especially Paolo Uccello and Masaccio, I feel a yearning for some big sloppy modern like Velasquez or Gainsborough with a little poetry in his touch and a little mystery in his atmosphere."<sup>1</sup> This last statement places Fry firmly within the artistic context of the 'nineties' although his study of Italian art was eventually to lead him in a direction opposed to the general tendencies of the day. His debt to A. M. Daniel for unlocking the secrets of Italian art cannot be over-emphasized, but by the end of the holiday Fry was aware that his approach to art history differed to that of his scholarly companion: " ... he has helped me enormously to look at pictures in the right way, to understand them critically, though I consider his end only the beginning of true criticism, which is the appreciation of the painters intention and of the emotional equivalent of the picture ..." <sup>2</sup> Although Daniel's scholarship was ~~valuable~~ for Fry ~~now~~ ~~added~~ ~~to~~ his reading of Morelli, whose works had been brought to his attention by Charles Loeser at Vetheuil earlier that year, it was not enough for Fry to attribute and establish the historical significance of each artist, he wanted also to assess the ~~the~~ aesthetic importance of the work in hand, and moreover, he wanted to discover what qualities in Italian art were of importance to his own painting.

In June 1895 Fry visited Paris for a few days to see the Salons including that held on the Champ de Mars, to which he intended sending some work the

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1. Sutton I: 159 - 160.
2. Sutton I: 162.



following year.<sup>1</sup> His conclusions were that it was a disappointing year for pictures and that although French art suffered from cleverness, it was less commercial than English. Later in the summer he returned to La Roche Guyon where he was alone for three weeks and devoted himself entirely to his work, rising at six o'clock in the morning and painting until dusk, with brief respites for cooling bathes in the Seine. He returned to his previous year's subjects of poplar and aspen trees, was favoured by good weather and hoped that Bernhard Sickert would join him.<sup>2</sup> From there he moved to S. Pierre-en-Port in order to receive the criticism of MacColl who was staying there with his sister and the classical scholar, Miss Jane Harrison. Fry found he disliked the place but delighted in the company.

On his return Fry noticed that his study of Italian art had affected his painting: "I have already begun again on my French landscapes and I think my study of Italian drawings has influenced my work somewhat in the direction of demanding more complete design in a picture ....much modern work now seems to me empty."<sup>3</sup> Two landscapes almost certainly executed in 1895 are Harvest Time - Gathering Storm (cat. no. 13) and Harvesting (cat. no. 12)<sup>Plate 6</sup> in both of which the Chateau de la Rochefoucauld at La Roche Guyon, is seen against the sky-line. Both paintings are marked by an increased awareness of the relationship of the parts to the whole. In both, the cornfields are enlivened by the use of a flickering brushstroke dragged over the rough surface of the canvas to give vibration to the work. Fry's adaptation of this technique may have been the result of his admiration of Venetian painters,

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1. The Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts exhibited on the Champ de Mars between 1890 and 1910. It had originally been founded by Puvis de Chavannes with Rodin, Carriere, Meissonier and others. During the 1890's, Conder, Whistler and Sargent exhibited there, as did a few symbolists and the Swiss painter Ferdinand Hodler. This salon had been brought to Fry's attention as early as 1893: "An Associé of the Salon du Champ de Mars (the New Salon) who was here the other day tells me that I should get in easily there and that I ought to send. I shall do so next year." (Letter to Sir Edward Fry, June 20, 1893; Fry Papers).
2. As stated in a letter to Lady Fry, June 26, 1895; Fry Papers.
3. Sutton I: 165 - 166.

in particular Tintoretto and the late Titian, but the technique was fairly common at the time and could be found in the work of other N.E.A.C. artists, such as Alfred East. Both paintings are based on an actual scene, but the scene has been transformed into an ideal and perfectly balanced composition. As his career during the 1890's progressed, Fry depended less on the realism of the scene and more on the ideal classical landscape style he wanted to emulate.

The dramatic cloud effects that set the mood of the above two paintings are also found in one other known French landscape that resulted from the 1895 trip, The Valley of the Seine (cat. no. 15; Plate 7 ) Here the sky is hung with a flat layer of murky earth-green clouds, parted to reveal a torn segment of sky that is reflected in the broad sweep of the river below. Both colour and design are artificial which indicates that the painting is a studio product, drawn from memory and notes of the scene. It was not exhibited until the Winter Exhibition of the N.E.A.C. in 1896 and was probably painted earlier that year. The view presented is that of the bend in the river at the Chateau Gaillard, and from the darkness of the colours chosen and the low light falling from the left, it would appear to be an evening scene. Its size and <sup>the</sup> view chosen make it a highly ambitious work and despite a certain clumsiness of technique, Fry himself was not unsatisfied with it, as when Robert Trevelyan decided to buy it, Fry wrote: "As to the picture I'm simply delighted at the idea of selling it to you ... you are agreed £30 was what I put on it at the N.E.A.C. ... I quite think it is the best thing I've done so far." <sup>1</sup> To his mother, Fry also pointed out its importance in his career: "the largest and most important landscape I have yet done, a great view of the Seine valley which has been a good deal praised in the press ... but still better it has

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1. This price agrees with that written on the label in Fry's handwriting on the back of the original frame when the painting was at Attingham Park. Letter to R. C. Trevelyan (undated) c. 1897; Trinity College Library, Cambridge. RCT 4:5.

brought me a good deal of appreciation from artists." <sup>1</sup>

Decorative Work and the Cambridge Exhibition.

Throughout his career Fry was frequently involved in the field of design. In the summer of 1891 he designed a dinner service for King's College, Cambridge. <sup>2</sup> In 1892 C. R. Ashbee's From Whitechapel to Camelot was published with small, spidery illustrations by Fry, the front<sup>is</sup>piece reminiscent of the famous cover of the Hobby Horse. For his parents' home at Failand, near Bristol, he advised on the stucco frieze for the drawing room, designed three sets of wrought iron gates for the garden, one with his parents' initials woven into the design, and planned out the elegant wooden panelling in the hall and the position and height of the wooden arch. He was prepared to turn his mind to any problem whether it was furniture for his friend John McTaggart, curtains for Alys Russell, or a Band of Hope banner. Concerning the banner Fry wrote to R. C. Trevelyan: "I wish I could get more work just on this level of decoration. I love working within the slight limits which such a thing imposes. Why won't the architects use me." <sup>3</sup>

Although Fry never at this time designed a complete interior in co-operation with an architect,<sup>he</sup> nevertheless contributed a wall painting for the chimney breast in the drawing room of C. R. Ashbee's house "Magpie and Stump," at 37 Cheyne Walk. The house, which is now demolished and the chimney breast destroyed, took its name from the well-known inn that formerly occupied the same site. Ashbee was then one of the leading members of the Arts and Crafts movement and the magazine Studio published an article on the house and its

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1. Letter to Lady Fry, no date, (1896); Fry Papers.
2. No record of any commission or of an example of his design exists.
3. Letter to R. C. Trevelyan, December 19, 1901; Trinity College Library. RCT 4:41

decoration. In it a description of the drawing room can be found:

The room is papered with a peacock blue paper of a formal pattern in two shades, and the painting by Mr. Fry is cleverly planned in the same key of colour, so that it grows out of the walls as part of them, and does not at first sight detach itself as a painting is apt to do; indeed, it is only after a few minutes that you observe it at all. Its symmetrically-treated formal garden, with a central fountain; is very happily imagined. No mantel-shelf obtrudes itself here ... the opening of the fireplace proper is surrounded by tiles of rich peacock-blue lustre, framed in a plaster border ..."

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The decor was clearly inspired by Whistler in the tasteful relationship between the actual painting and the rest of the design and the use of patterned paper in two tones. Fry's scene presents a park scene with small figures on either side of the fountain and a curved row of trees crossing the back of the scene and echoing in its shape the curves of the furniture and the light-fittings.

One other scheme <sup>with which</sup> Fry was considerably involved .. was the decoration of Hubert Crackanthorpe's house at 96, Cheyne Walk. According to Fry the furnishing threw out his decoration: "Alas, he has proceeded to furnish it and therewith to destroy all my colour schemes of colour or at all events to mar them; fancy hanging photographs in a room where I had given him white walls and black wood dados. Oh, the pity of it." <sup>2</sup> Later, in 1900, Fry stencilled a frieze of young people and trees in the drawing room of the Trevelyan's house, The Shiffolds, near Dorking. The frieze was painted out when the room was redecorated in about 1931.

The most ambitious of all Fry's decorative schemes was the wall painting executed for the end wall of the verandah at his parent's home, <sup>Place</sup> Failand. The work in its conception was inspired by the frescoes he had seen in Italy, but in execution Fry avoided the use of fresco and covered the wall with three

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1. "The New 'Magpie and Stump' - A Successful Experiment in Domestic Architecture." Studio, Vol. V. 1895, p. 67ff. The wall-painting by Fry is reproduced on p. 68.
  2. Letter to R. C. Trevelyan; Sutton I: 165.

strips of canvas. This material was a less durable support in open air conditions than plaster and as a result most of the paint has flaked off leaving only the ghost of the original picture. A small oil-sketch of the scene (cat. no. 16) shows two figures seated beneath a tree with a view of a city in the distance. A photograph of the painting taken soon after its completion,<sup>1</sup> reveals that the town was transformed into three Greek temples placed at intervals in the landscape. An inscription has been added which reads: "There is one who says Dear City of Cecrops! Wilt then not say O dear City of Zeus," (i.e. The City of the Universe is greater than the city of Athens).<sup>2</sup> The subject of the picture appears to be an advocacy of the contemplative life, and the idealized landscape contributes to the mood of restful contemplation. Its lack of modernity compared to the wall-painting executed for Ashbee's drawing room, may indicate that Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson's The Greek View of Life which was published in 1896, the same year that the Failand painting was executed, was the chief source of inspiration. Dickinson may also have supplied the inscription. His criticism of the separation of aesthetics and ethics, of artistic expression from the life around it, may well have helped direct Fry to a more idealized, classical style. In The Greek View of Life he declared: "The interpretation of nature for its own sake ... is a modern and romantic development that would have been unintelligible to a Greek ... their aim was not merely to reproduce but to transcend nature ..."

Dickinson was not the only one of Fry's Cambridge friends who was unsympathetic to modern art. Whilst in Cambridge in the autumn of 1896 to organize an exhibition of modern painting, he wrote to Helen Coombe, his future wife: "I see that everyone here thinks its a queer sort of a joke, this

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1. In the possession of Mrs. P. Diamand.

2. The quotation is taken from Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, 4:23 tr. Loeb (London: Penguin, 1971) p. 81. I am indebted to Louise Campbell's M.A. Thesis, Roger Fry, 1886-1906, Courtauld Institute, University of London, 1975 for this information.

art business and that a sensible chap must excuse himself for caring about it at all." <sup>1</sup> The exhibition was an attempt to represent younger British artists, irrespective of any single artistic dogma. Despite this the Cambridge Review noted that "the work belongs for the most part to those artists who paint to please the profession rather than the public." <sup>2</sup> Among the artists represented were Steer, Tonks, Rothenstein and Conder. The relevant factor between all the artists was seen to be their connection, however remote, with impressionism, with the attempt at "unity of effect" in preference to "precision of detail and charm of invention." <sup>3</sup> One critic related Fry's work to that of MacColl and noted that they both achieved a convincing sense of atmosphere. <sup>4</sup> Another spoke with such warm praise of Fry's work, admiring the "deliberate and consciously planned agreement of masses and tones" that one suspects the review was written by a friend. <sup>5</sup> The reviews must have gratified Fry as the organization and hanging of the exhibition had been carried out mainly by himself. The paintings had been loaded onto handcarts and wheeled by Fry through the slums of Cambridge. The astonishment he caused was small compared with the effect his First Post-Impressionist exhibition was later to evoke.

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1. Sutton I: 168.
  2. The Cambridge Review, October 22, 1896, p. 29.
  3. ibid.
  4. The Cambridge Review, November 5, 1896, p. 52.
  5. The Cambridge Review, November 12, 1896, p. 75.

The Importance of Italy.

On December 3, 1896 Roger Fry married Helen Coombe. His friend R. C. Trevelyan had intended her for Eddie Marsh, but Marsh had been out when Trevelyan called to introduce her: "I had for you a rose of Shiraz, the direct descendant of the one which intoxicated Hafiz when he looked on it, and led his spirit forth like wine on the turnpikes of imagination into a land of luminous horizons. As it was I took it round to Fry who fell violently in love with it and fell to painting it." <sup>1</sup> Helen, having been trained at the Slade as a painter and stained glass designer, shared Fry's interests. In the year of their marriage she decorated the Dolmetsch 'Green' harpsichord with roundels and inscriptions in a style similar to late Pre-Raphaelite furniture decoration. <sup>2</sup> For their honeymoon the couple crossed to France, stopping first at Paris and then at Avignon for a few days before crossing from Marseilles to Tunis. Among Fry's sketchbooks can be found drawings recording their visit to an Arab settlement. Helen also drew and sketched, but the few works that remain make it difficult to assess her style.

In April the following year Helen's health was causing concern and she was thought to have trouble with her lungs. To cure this the couple travelled abroad again in November 1897 for a prolonged stay in Italy. They settled first at Ravello where they found a studio and spent every morning painting from the model. They visited Arezzo where Fry was overwhelmed by

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1. Quoted in Christopher Hassall's Edward Marsh: A Biography, (London: Longmans, 1959) p. 75.
2. Louise Campbell in her M. A. thesis on Roger Fry (Courtauld Institute) suggest that Fry assisted in the decoration of this harpsichord and suggested the inscription for the sound-board. A letter from Fry to Helen would seem to confirm this: "I will ... tell you of the Harpsichord - 'our child' as Francis Dodge now calls it." Quoted in Margaret Campbell's Dolmetsch: The Man and his Work. (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1975) p. 103.

Piero della Francesca's Legend of the Holy Cross frescoes. His study of Italian art at this time was partly to enhance his understanding as a painter and partly to increase his knowledge as a scholar. In the course of study both he and Helen frequently made copies of Italian paintings; a letter to Trevelyan makes reference to Fry copying a landscape by Gaspard Dughet in the Colonna in Rome, whilst Helen copied a boy's head by Giovanni Santi.<sup>1</sup> It was probably during this visit to Italy that Helen executed the two panels representing an Annunciation which were later incorporated into a gentleman's wardrobe.<sup>2</sup> Whilst in Rome Fry studied the Caracci lunettes in the Doria Gallery to gain closer familiarity with the classical landscape tradition.<sup>3</sup>

An interest in the classical landscape tradition had become evident in the Failand fresco of 1896. In the spring of 1897 Fry exhibited a work called Taormina (cat. no. 19) which is almost certainly that reproduced in The Art of 1897 as The Antiquaries.<sup>4</sup> In this small figures dressed in eighteenth century costume walk to and fro in front of classical ruins overlooking the sea. In theme it is not dissimilar to Claude Lorrain's Campo Vaccino, but in both design and mood it lacks vigour and remains faintly effete. The figures add little to the landscape setting as in other work of this date. Of his St. Anthony and the Satyr (cat. no. 21) executed whilst in Italy and exhibited at the spring exhibition of the N.E.A.C. in 1898, he wrote: "... it is really a landscape though the figures are more elaborate than usual and is a view of one of the rocky valleys near here with a cave grown over with ivy and cliff covered with illexes and myrtles."<sup>5</sup> As in the case of Taormina and of another

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1. Sutton, I: 171.

2. In the possession of Mr. Bancroft Clark, Somerset. The wardrobe was used by Julian Fry in his rooms at King's College, Cambridge and passed from him to Bancroft Clark. An undated letter from Helen Fry to Lady Fry may refer to these panels: "We paint every morning, that is to say we work, I am not painting yet, but still designing only, my panels." (Fry Papers).

3. See Sutton, I: 20, for quotations taken from Fry's Italian notebooks on the classical landscape tradition.

4. Reproduced in the Studio special edition The Art of 1897 under the section devoted to the Art of the New English Art Club, plate 52, The ruins and the setting are almost certainly of Taormina.

5. Letter to Lady Fry, no date; Fry Papers.



important work of 1898, The Golden Barge (cat. no. 20) in which Fry informed his mother he had used close tones in order to evoke an air of mystery, the present whereabouts of St. Anthony and the Satyr is unknown.

This extended visit to Italy also provided Fry with fresh material for his lectures and articles on art. He had begun lecturing on Italian painting for the Cambridge University Extension Movement in 1894 and in January 1895 gave a series of lectures at Eastbourne followed in September of that year by a series in Brighton. His time was therefore now divided between lecturing and painting. He was disconcerted to discover the ease with which he approached the former activity: "My success in that seems out of all proportion to the amount of work put into it while I think it is rather the other way with my painting." <sup>1</sup>

By April 1898 Fry and his wife had moved to Florence where he was working hard towards his lectures and receiving help from Bernard Berenson who enabled him to obtain slides of inaccessible and important things. The first mention of his book on Bellini occurs in a letter to his mother, which also refers to the need to travel to Rimini in connection with it. During 1897-8 he laid the foundations for his reputation as a scholar of Italian art and as an outcome of his study of the Bellini family, he was commissioned to write a book on Giovanni Bellini limited to some ten thousand words in length, for the Sign of the Unicorn publishers. It was published in 1899 and Fry followed it with an article on Jacopo Bellini for the Dome magazine and a set of four articles on early Italian art for the Monthly Review in the following year. <sup>2</sup>

His entry into the field of Italian scholarship led to friendships with leading scholars of the day such as Gustav Ludwig who assisted Fry with his research into Jacopo Bellini, Georg Gronau, the specialist on Titian and

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1. Letter to Lady Fry, June 20, 1895; Fry Papers.
2. Fry proposed following this book on Giovanni Bellini with one on Jacopo and Gentile Bellini. He seems also to have offered to write one on Cima da Conegliano. His publisher agreed to one on the Bellini family and requested another either on Paolo Veronese or Leonardo. None of these were ever produced by Fry.

Leonardo, Herbert Horne, the specialist on Botticelli, as well as <sup>with</sup> Bernard Berenson. Fry's correspondence with Berenson begins in 1898 and in 1902 with Mariechen, the sister of Logan Pearsall Smith whom Berenson married in 1901. On the occasion of their marriage Fry painted a marriage tray, (cat. no. 23), depicting the joys of the Garden of Paradise in a Quattrocento style as a tribute to their shared interests. As in other work of this date it combines the use of semi-transparent glazes with touches of opaque paint. The clarity of design combined with an almost Pre-Raphaelite attention to detail in the nervous swirls of the drapery pay tribute to the craftsmanship Fry admired in Italian painting. <sup>1</sup>

Two sets of unpublished lectures on Florentine art remain from this period of intensive study in Florence in 1898. <sup>2</sup> Fry's achievement in defining the qualities of early Italian artists at a time when these qualities were not widely appreciated, is now recognized. <sup>3</sup> He managed to pin-point the essential quality in each artist's work, noting, for instance, "that peculiarly Florentine love of abstract and generalized truth." in the work of Uccello, <sup>4</sup> and how "the plastic forms become a symbol of a poetical idea," in the work of Piero della Francesca. <sup>5</sup> His discovery that the central aim behind Italian Renaissance painting was "the discovery of the real and not the imitation of the actual," <sup>6</sup> confirmed him, in his role as painter, in his move away from

1. The tray is still at the Villa I Tatti. The inscription around the edge reads: "Questo Fantasia inventatae dipintae da Ruggero inglese da lui didicata ai sposi Berenson chi a guisa degli artichi villeggianti della riva Mensolana sempre si dilettono cogli amici loro scherzando e favollando delle sciocchezze dell 'umana genere." *Repr. Sutton, I, fig. 18.*
2. The MSS are found amongst the Fry Papers.
3. Professor <sup>Alistair</sup> Smart was the first to draw attention to Fry's part in the appreciation of Italian art in his article "Roger Fry and Early Italian Art," *Apollo*, April 1966, pp. 262-271. Sutton also gives a full account of Fry's position as a <sup>scholar of</sup> Italian art in his introduction to the edited letters, pp. 16-20.
4. "Paolo Uccello," *Florentines II* (unpublished lecture notes) Lecture I, p. 4; Fry Papers.
5. "Piero de' Franceschi," *Florentines II*, Lecture IV, typescript, pp. 2-3; Fry Papers.
6. "Naturalism in Italian Paintings," (unpublished lecture notes) Part 1, p. 33; Fry Papers.

N.E.A.C. naturalism in search of a more considered method of composition. He regarded his position, whilst writing on Italian art for the Monthly Review, as that of an artist writing as a "middleman between the art historian and the amateur" and declared his ideas to be not the result of original thought but modification of previous theories as a result of the attempt "to become familiar with the aesthetic principles of early Italian painting." <sup>1</sup> The same intention governed his approach to his Italian lectures; "I am sorry you didn't come to the Fra Angelico because I had prefaced a defence of my methods at the finish which was partly for yr. benefit," wrote Fry to Sturge Moore. <sup>2</sup> The lecture on Fra Angelico states: "my ambition has been to examine pictures purely with a view to extracting the utmost aesthetic pleasure from them and to arrive at the most intimate perception of the peculiar and unique qualities of each artist in turn ..." <sup>3</sup> The importance of these Italian studies to his career both as critic and as painter should not be undervalued; "You see whatever success I have had has been the result of my Italian studies," Fry wrote to his father in July 1900, "not only in lecturing and writing but in painting. It is there I find the real source of all my ideas and there I must go often to get them." <sup>4</sup>

#### Dissatisfaction with the Naturalists and Decorators.

One result of Giovanni Bellini was that Fry was asked to become art

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1. "Art before Giotto," Monthly Review, October 1900, Vol. I. p. 126.
  2. Letter to T. Sturge Moore, April 11, 1900; University Library, University of London. Box 29.
  3. Lecture on Fra Angelico, Florentines II, Lecture X ; Fry Papers. It should be mentioned that Fry by no means decried scholarship; when reviewing Charles Ricketts book on the Prado in 1904 he described it thus: "It is in effect an attempt at using the results of their [Kunstforschers] painful and laborious excavations for the only purpose which in the end justifies them, namely, the most profound understanding of great imaginative creations. This has to be done over again for each generation." quoted Sutton, I: 12.
  4. Sutton I: 179.

critic for the magazine Pilot in 1899 and in the following year he began writing for the Athenaeum, the leading literary paper of the day. In the role of critic he became clearer as to the aesthetic qualities he demanded in art; chief of these was the quality of design. In 1923 he looked back on his early art criticism and said of it: "I maintained that impressionism had made artists so insensitive to constructive design that perhaps the world would have to wait a century or two before it could once more apply the great principles of painting as they were exemplified in the great works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." <sup>1</sup>

His concern for design was related to his concern with technique, and in connection with the latter Fry would almost certainly have been influenced by R. A. M. Stevenson's Velasquez published in 1895, one of the most important art publications of the late nineteenth century. In 1896 Fry prepared a series of lectures on this artist and would probably have read this book, which D. S. MacColl described as "the most substantial contribution to the theory and defence of painting since John Ruskin's Modern Painters." <sup>2</sup> The major part of Stevenson's book is devoted not to an historical evaluation of Velasquez but to an aesthetic appreciation and analysis of his technique. For Stevenson technique was "the method of using any medium of expression so as to bring out the character of the decorative pattern, or to convey the sentiment with which you regard some appearances of the external world. The two aims become one when the decorative pattern to be enforced is suggested by the mood in which you happen to look at your motif." <sup>3</sup> This idea that the design should fit the content or mood and should enforce it was shared by Fry and is reflected in a letter Helen Fry wrote to her mother-in-law from Ravenna in 1897 which states

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1. Unpublished lecture notes entitled "The Present Situation." Fry Papers. The lecture is thought to have been given in Oxford in February 1923.
2. Quoted in D. Sutton's introduction to the revised edition of R. A. M. Stevenson's Velasquez, (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1962) p. 2.
3. Ibid. p. 81.

she was "trying to get ideas and design to flow easily together again." <sup>1</sup>

From his writings as critic it is evident that for Fry aesthetic appreciation arose chiefly from a painting's formal content, its use of line, colour, mass and the disposition of space. Writing of the famous Villeneuve-les-Avignon Pietà (Louvre) he declared: "And as with the greatest Italians, so here the effect on our emotions is, like that of great architecture, aroused directly by the building up of lines and masses." <sup>2</sup> His feeling for design led him to be dissatisfied with the leading styles of his day, which he divided into two camps, - the N.E.A.C. impressionist-naturalists and the artists who followed Whistler's "purely decorative idea of art." His dissatisfaction was expressed thus: "The Naturalists made no attempt to explain why the exact and literal imitation of nature should satisfy the human spirit, and the 'Decorators' failed to distinguish between agreeable sensations and imaginative significance." He continued: " ... I came to feel more and more the absence in their work of structural design. It was an innate desire for this aspect of art which drove me to the study of the Old Masters and, in particular, those of the Italian Renaissance." <sup>3</sup>

This discontent is expressed in reviews written during the early years of the new century. In a review of Simon Bussy's pastels, Fry noted that he stood apart from impressionist painters because "he is not content with a mere statement of the atmospheric effect as such; he seeks to convey the mood which inspires it." <sup>4</sup> An essential ingredient in art was, for Fry, the inner significance or mood, not that created by literary allusion but the emotional

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1. Helen Fry to Lady Fry, no date (1897); Fry Papers.
2. "The Exhibition of French Primitives." Burlington Magazine, Vol. V, June 1904 pp. 379-380.
3. Vision and Design (London: Chatto & Windus, 1920) p.190
4. "Mr. Bussy's pastels," Athenaem, June 27, 1903, p. 824. Fry's recognition of the salient quality of mood in a painting was expressed earlier in a letter to Robert Bridges (see p.26 ). For a recent argument that mood is the central quality in all art see Carroll C. Pratt's "Abstract vs Realistic Art," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Summer 1975, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, p. 403 ff.

response evoked by the forms used, and when, as Stevenson demanded, the decorative pattern was married with the mood of the painting, the effect was enhanced. Such achievement Fry noted in the work of Turner, the "imaginative realist" as he termed him, and pointed to his ability to fit "the decorative rhythm which was personal to himself, more closely to the rhythm of nature than any landscape artist who had gone before him." <sup>1</sup>

In his discussion of Whistler's paintings, Fry found a lack of inner significance. He found Whistler's art too concerned with "exquisiteness and preciousness," <sup>2</sup> and noted "a preoccupation with the surfaces of things rather than with their inner meaning ... too much a matter of nerves too little sustained by spiritual energies from without." <sup>3</sup> Dissatisfaction with the leading styles of the day led Fry to admit later that at this time "all I was writing was tinged with melancholy." <sup>4</sup> His aim then was to discover "the secret of that architectonic idea which I missed so badly in the work of my contemporaries," <sup>5</sup> and in order to do this he naturally turned to the Old Masters.

#### Pastichist of the Ancients.

Not only was Fry studying Old Masters at this time, he was also painting them: in 1901 he was restoring two large altar pieces. <sup>6</sup> Two years later a letter from Herbert Cook to Fry indicates that he had undertaken further

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1. "Turner at the Fine Art Society," Pilot, June 16, 1900. Fry was later to return to this idea of "decorative rhythm" in his explanation of the Post-Impressionists in 1911.
2. "The International Society's Exhibition," Athenaeum, November 2, 1901, p. 601.
3. "Mr. Whistler," Athenaeum, July 25, 1903, pp. 133-134.
4. "The Present Situation," MS. lecture notes; Fry Papers.
5. Vision and Design, p. 190.
6. Reference to this activity is found in a letter to D. S. MacColl, from Fry, December 10, 1901 in the Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library.

restorative work; " ... the Ercole has been well fried and the Cook is pleased."<sup>1</sup>  
In his own paintings Fry begins to imitate past traditions and this led D. S. MacColl to describe Fry at this date as "a pastichist of the ancients and opponent of modern French painting,"<sup>2</sup> a criticism that sums up Fry's position as a painter but nevertheless undervalues the personal achievement within his use of past styles.

The Pool (cat. no. 23; Plate 13 ), a work based on the garden of the Villa d'Este illustrated in Virginia Woolf's biography and possibly the same as that exhibited at the N.E.A.C. in 1899, demonstrates Fry's emulation of past masters.<sup>3</sup> To balance the strong horizontals of the parapet and the edge of the pool, two cypresses rise behind the deciduous trees to the top of the picture, creating vertical emphasis. The use of planes parallel to the picture surface indicates Fry's debt to his study of Quattrocento painting, and the atmospheric streaks of pink and blue in the sky may have been influenced by Bellini's use of sky effects to heighten the emotion of a scene. The same pink and blue are picked up in the clothing of the three figure groups and the picture is further unified by the bold use of chiaroscuro that casts deep shadow on the right and left hand side of the picture and contrasts with the brightness of the sky boldly echoed in the reflection in the pool. Within this control of tone and design, Fry has minutely depicted individual leaves in the trees with an attention to surface quality that is indebted to and inspired by the work of Claude Lorrain, as is also the classical design and the ideal, nostalgic mood. Although derivative, the painting remains a masterpiece of Fry's early work.

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1. H. Cook to R. Fry, April 14, 1903; Fry Papers. Cook owned two paintings by Ercole de' Roberti - The Wife of Hasdrubal and her children and Brutus and Portia.
  2. D. S. MacColl, "The New English Art Club," Studio, March 1945, Vol. 129 p. 72.
  3. In Virginia Woolf's biography the painting is given no title. The painting belonged to the Sanger family before it passed to the present owner and was exhibited by Mrs. C. P. Sanger as Villa d'Este at the Wolverhampton exhibition of modern art in 1902.

Similar in style and technique and therefore datable to this period is the Italian Villa (cat. no. 22; Plate 10 ), a capriccio based on Fry's familiarity with Florentine and Roman villas, especially the Villa d'Este and its setting, and he produced several works at this date based on the villa theme. <sup>1</sup> This highly imaginative composition uses the strong verticals of the towering cypresses to set off the view of the villa, whilst in the lower foreground figures walk to and fro in a Conder-like enchantment. The picture is slowly and meticulously painted demonstrating Fry's concern with surface quality, a quality he found lacking in most of the work of his contemporaries. "Since all knowledge of technique is lost, or nearly all," wrote Fry who had been educated into the subtleties of old master techniques by Shannon, Ricketts, L. C. Powles and his reading of Eastlake, " ... we must ... try not to notice the surface quality of the picture" in modern art which, he concluded, "was no longer concerned with beautiful modes of expression." <sup>2</sup> Rothenstein recalled that "Fry wished the quality of my paint to be other than it was; for he was then anxious to revive the precious surface achieved by the earlier painters, 'If I could only have your pictures to work on after you have done with them!' he said." <sup>3</sup> This concern was also noted by the painter Neville Lytton; "I don't make an effort to resuscitate traditional methods out of intellectuality as Fry does," he wrote to Rothenstein. <sup>4</sup>

The small number of oil-paintings that remain from this period may be partly due to the length of time that Fry spent on each. The Timber Wagon cat. no. 24; Plate 11 ) must have undergone persistent reworking as it is

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1. At the N.E.A.C. Winter exhibition of 1898 he exhibited A Villa Garden (no. 2) and at the Winter N.E.A.C. exhibition of 1900, two works entitled A Florentine Villa, (no's 8 and 35). At the Wolverhampton Exhibition of Modern British Art in 1902 he exhibited Villa d'Este (no. 186). Three others entitled Tivoli were included in the Spring N.E.A.C. Exhibition of 1904, and two others entitled Tivoli at his Carfax exhibition in 1907. A watercolour by Fry in the British Museum print room dated 1898 represents part of the garden at the Villa d'Este but makes certain adjustments to satisfy formal requirements.
  2. Letter to T. Sturge Moore, January 8, 1901; University Library, London University. In the same letter referring to Gustave Moreau Fry declared: "nothing can be worse taste than his surface quality...."
  3. Men and Memories, II: 131.
  4. Quoted in Men and Memories, II: 136.



dated by Fry, 1900-03. During this time an important exhibition of the work of Claude Lorrain was held at Burlington House which must have extended Fry's knowledge and appreciation of the classical landscape tradition to which the Timber Wagon is so heavily indebted. In accordance with this tradition the individualization of the tree on the left hand side balances the mass of foliage on the right which fills the whole height of the canvas, creating a strong diagonal in its silhouette to lead the eye down to the timber wagon which in itself leads the eye back into the distance beyond. This classical control and balance of the parts is applied to a traditional picturesque subject and the result is unreal. "Personally," wrote Fry in 1902, "I am convinced that art only attains its full development when it sets before itself the aim of presenting an ideal world, not merely repeating the actual." <sup>1</sup>

The lack of stimulation Fry found in the work of his contemporaries, confirmed him in his study of the Old Masters. In 1902 the Athenaeum critic pointed to "the poverty of their emotional and intellectual condition" in the work of N.E.A.C. artists, and declared there had arrived a "dead point in the revolutions of culture." <sup>2</sup> So Fry's study of past art continued unabated. On a visit to the Widdrington family at Newton-on-the-Moor in Northumberland in the summer of 1901, he took the opportunity to visit galleries in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Barnard Castle, Liverpool and Leeds. In the autumn of 1902 he travelled again to Italy to gather more information for his proposed book on Jacopo Bellini and whilst there visited a number of small places he had not seen before. Despite his fascination in tracing the history of early Venetian painting ("I'm getting to know the Venetians as never before." <sup>3</sup>), Fry's response to art was still primarily that of a painter. After admiring

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1. "Art and Religion" Monthly Review, May 1902, Vol. VII, no. 20, p. 2.
2. Athenaeum, November 15, 1902, pp. 656-57. All Athenaeum reviews were unsigned and although this one reflects Fry's own ideas, it is unlikely to be by him as he was in charge of the reviews of Old Master exhibitions.
3. Letter to Helen Fry, no date (1902); Fry Papers.

the variety of blues and greens in Giorgione's Tempesta, he concluded: "The sentiment of storm without any of the rhetoric of it. And all so quiet, so sweet and seductive. It's quite marvellous and yet not very accomplished." <sup>1</sup>

The retrospective nature of Fry's own painting did not prevent his first one-man exhibition, held at the Carfax Gallery in April-May 1903, from being a great success. The gallery had originally been opened by John Fothergill to exhibit the works of such renegades as Sickert, John, Conder, Rothenstein, Orpen and Max Beerbohm. Will Rothenstein had originally been made responsible for the choice of artists and although he soon resigned this position due to a dispute over some work of Conder's, it was probably his influence that obtained for Fry the show, in which he exhibited thirty-four watercolours and seven oils. The watercolours were of English and continental scenes and included one imaginative design entitled St. George and the Dragon. As in a later oil-painting of this subject the saint and the dragon were "of insignificant size," <sup>2</sup> and Fry seems to have used the subject more as an excuse for an imaginative landscape than of interest in its own right.

From the number of watercolours exhibited it can be deduced that Fry was more occupied with this medium than with oils at this date. Betchworth Lime Works (Plate 18 ) was one of the watercolours included in the exhibition and when compared to the Villa d'Este (Plate 16 ) of 1898, a considerable loosening of technique has taken place. In the earlier work the use of coloured wash merely fills in the drawn design, but in Betchworth Lime Works the broad translucent washes of colour have in themselves begun to create form. This development was taken a step further, as seen in Landscape with Cowherd (Plate 17 ), where colour is still more independent of the drawing and touches of opaque colour have been used, the latter violating the

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1. Sutton, I:197.

2. "Carfax Gallery," The Morning Post, April 24, 1903, p. 9.

tradition of watercolour painting that most of Fry's watercolours follow. His handling is always competent and sensitive to the medium and the composition is often dependent on the contrasts of light and shade. Fry believed that watercolour had an important part to play in modern painting, "as wealth and the taste for art become more disseminated among the middle classes, since the heaviness and material quality of an oil painting fit with difficulty into the lighter and more decorative schemes of decoration possible to the semi-detached householder, who will never own large oak-panelled halls." <sup>1</sup> This gentle suggestion aroused no comment. When later he realized that lightness and brilliance of colour could also be achieved through the medium of oil-painting his propagation for the Post-Impressionists struck more radically at the existing structure of society.

The exhibition at the Carfax was so successful that more works were sold than at any previous show held at the gallery with the exception of the work of Max Beerbohm. "Steer, Max and yourself have been our three triumphs," wrote Robert Ross to Fry. <sup>2</sup> One work was bought by Edward Marsh, who wrote to Fry that he thought the exhibition "by far the best modern show they have had." <sup>3</sup> Marsh at this time had not yet begun to form his notable collection of modern English art, and was still largely a collector of Old Masters. One of Fry's watercolours would not have looked out of place amongst his early English watercolours.

A year earlier Fry had written to Ross at the Carfax thanking him for selling one of his pictures. From the contents of the letter it is clear that up to that date Fry had sold very few of his paintings and that he was fully aware of his emulation of Claude Lorrain: "I am fearfully pleased and excited at the idea of selling a picture. Do tell me about it. I hope so much it is

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1. "A Note on Water-Colour Technique," Burlington Magazine, 1907, Vol. XI, pp.

2. Letter to R. Fry, April 30, 1903; Fry Papers.

3. Letter to R. Fry, April 17, 1903; Fry Papers.

to some outsider, I mean not a near relation or an intimate friend who have been almost my sole patrons hitherto - their motives are always suspect. But I think you must be a brilliant salesman - did you pass it as a Claude d'Alsace or under my name." <sup>1</sup>

America: A widening experience and a clarification of ideas.

By 1904 Fry had established considerable recognition for himself as a critic. He had become a leading figure in the art world in London and sat on the board of the National Art Collections Fund. In 1904 he was involved in the investigations into the management of the Chantrey Bequest and the same year was approached to do a revised edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History of Painting in North Italy, a task he contemplated but never executed. Despite his standing as a scholar he nevertheless failed to obtain the Slade Professorship at Cambridge that was offered that year and in December he suffered an attack on his integrity when Eugénie Strong, librarian at Chatsworth, alleged that he was in league with the dealers Wertheimer and Dowdeswell. The charge was soon dropped as the librarian was unable to supply any evidence to justify the allegations. In the midst of his activities as critic, Fry would seize whatever opportunity arose to paint, and found that his watercolours were again accumulating to such an extent that he contemplated another exhibition.

In July 1904 Fry met William Laffan, publisher of the New York Sun newspaper, trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and close associate of J. Pierpont Morgan who had been made President of the Museum that year. As a result of this meeting Fry's life took on a new direction. In Dec<sup>e</sup>ember 1904 a telegram from Robert Grier Cooke,<sup>2</sup> requested Fry's presence in New York

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1. Letter to R. Ross, March 29, 1902, repr. Robert Ross: Friend of Friends edited by Margery Ross, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952) p. 76.
  2. The Burlington Magazine's agent in New York.

to help raise financial support for the Burlington Magazine in America. On his arrival Fry found that the telegram had been little more than an excuse and the real reason why his presence was required was that Pierpont Morgan wanted his services for the Metropolitan Museum and, as an aside, was willing to offer financial support to the Burlington. He offered Fry the post of Assistant Director to the Metropolitan at a salary of £1,600 a year and Fry's initial response was to accept.

Fry argued his reasons for accepting in a letter to his wife: "But it is the bigness of the job, the élan and real confidence in the future that fascinates me and this climate is exhilarating no doubt." <sup>1</sup> After another week, his experience of the expanding American economy changed his ideas about his salary. Explaining that he could on no account accept the commissions offered by dealers to advisers when important acquisitions were made for museums and private individuals, Fry returned to Morgan and declared that if he was to fill the position offered with propriety he must reject commissions and free his mind entirely from the problem of how to supplement his income. He demanded therefore a salary of £2,400.

The confrontation that resulted revealed Morgan's true character: "He's a sort of financial steam-engine and I should have been in the position of watching the cranks work and dancing attendance," wrote Fry to his wife. <sup>2</sup> His appointment in America hinged on his relationship with Morgan and his assessment of his character was harsh: "I don't think he wants to have anything but flattery. He is quite indifferent as to the real value of the things; all he wants experts for is to give him a sense of his own wonderful sagacity. I shall never be able to dance to that tune ....The man is so swollen with pride and a sense of his own power that it never occurs to him that other people have any rights." <sup>3</sup>

On his return to England in February 1905, Fry's position was left

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1. Sutton, I: 231.
2. Sutton, I: 233.
3. Sutton, I: 241-42.

unclear.<sup>1</sup> With his learning, taste and contacts he had at his fingertips all that the Metropolitan required to prevent the more unscrupulous dealers taking advantage of America's wealth and desire for culture. During the summer of 1905 he visited Frankfurt, Prague and Vienna investigating various old master paintings, but in a capacity not connected with the Metropolitan. In July however negotiations between Fry and Morgan began again and by November Fry wrote to Sir Casper Purdon Clarke, Director of the Metropolitan, asking if his position could be clarified as his position on the board of the National Art Collections Fund was troubled by his association with America. In December 1905 the Metropolitan Museum's Annual Report announced: "Roger E. Fry, who has just accepted the Curatorship of Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum, is a young English painter who in recent years has achieved a prominent position as a critic and historian of art."<sup>2</sup>

The announcement was somewhat premature as Fry did not finally accept this post until the end of January 1906. Whilst the terms of agreement were being settled he was offered the Directorship of the National Gallery, London, a post he felt obliged to refuse but did not later regret. He took up his appointment as Curator in February 1906 and on his arrival in New York drew up an accession policy in order to determine what gaps in the Museum's

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1. Calvin Tomkins wrongly states in his Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1970) that immediately after Fry had refused the post of Assistant Director he was made "official buying agent." He also inaccurately ascribes to Fry a monograph on Veronese.
  2. The exact terms of his employment may be assumed to be those outlined by Fry in a letter to William Laffan of January 29, 1906, which confirmed a verbal agreement: "The arrangement is that I am to act as Curator of the paintings in the Museum, visiting New York as often and for such periods as I may think needful, but residing in Europe where I am to act in the interests of the Museum; that I am not to be at liberty to accept commissions on the purchase or sale of pictures but that I may receive remuneration for professional opinions on pictures and that, whilst making the service of the Museum my primary business I am allowed to employ my leisure in painting, writing, etc. For my service I am to receive a salary of £1,000 a year clear of working expenses and to be allowed expenses and sustenance whilst travelling for the Museum." (A typescript copy of this letter is in the Metropolitan Museum Archives.)

collection should be filled. <sup>1</sup> His chief concern over the next few years was to solidify and make comprehensive the Museum's collection of Western European art. This commitment was of importance to his career both as artist and as critic: it clarified his aesthetic demands of art and it opened for him the doors of many private collections and storerooms of private dealers; it extended his knowledge and deepened his appreciation. He bought brilliantly and during the years that Fry was associated with the Museum, it acquired works by a number of major European artists including Giovanni Bellini, Crivelli, Lorenzo di Credi, Gerard David, Andrea del Sarto, and Renoir to name a few. It is admitted by historians of the Museum that by 1913 the major gaps in the history of Western painting that Fry had outlined in his accession policy had been filled.

In April 1906 Fry's interest in decoration found outlet in the redecoration of Gallery 24. He chose the colour scheme and the walls were accordingly painted a gold colour on top of an ultramarine to give a grey-gold. The woodwork was painted raw umber and white over a burnt sienna stain and the result, Fry informed his wife, was "a wonderful smalto effect." <sup>2</sup> The colours chosen were later to be those most often associated with Fry's Omega workshops. He also often painted his frames with these colours as he found they set off certain paintings to good effect.

Another side to his activity as Curator was his restoration and cleaning of paintings. In May 1906, Dr. Kurtz of the Buffalo Art Academy accused Fry of having overcleaned Rubens' Holy Family and Vermeer's Young Woman standing by a Window and of having overvarnished Manet's The Boy with a Sword. In the case of the Vermeer and the Manet, Fry had merely removed the glass, but the criticism and the phrase "underdone beef" that was used

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1. His conclusions were published in the Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, 1906, Vol. I, p. 59.
2. Sutton, I: 2 and 3. The list of paintings then hung in this gallery is given in Sutton, I: 255.

of the cleaned flesh tones in the Rubens resulted in a report being submitted by the Director and his Assistant on Fry's cleaning activities. It revealed that Fry had cleaned or restored thirteen works and concluded: "We did not find that in any of the pictures treated by him (Fry) the original paint was in any way affected." <sup>1</sup> Cleaning and restoration for paintings in the collection of John G. Johnson was also done by Fry at this time.

Fry's attention was also turned to the drawings in the Museum's collection. He recatalogued the Vanderbilt collection, reattributing several drawings in a more scholarly manner. He acquired for the Museum a number of highly desirable works by Italian Primitives as well as an early Titian, a Head of an Old Man which for many years was attributed to Leonardo, and a Rembrandt. A number of drawings by British artists were also acquired, among them one by Ruskin which Fry admired for its vitality of line and "nervous variety of rhythm." <sup>2</sup> He himself donated a portrait drawing of Rodin by William Rothenstein.

Another aspect to his life in America was his social life which was never totally divorced from his work at the Museum. He found himself giving informal lectures accompanied by slides to indulge Mrs. Douglas, Pierpoint Morgan's mistress and the real power behind the throne. He was persistently badgered about acquisition of American art: "At a dinner t'other night at a club, they began to say how iniquitous it was that we didn't buy examples of the great American school: 'Perr-haps the great-est school of po-etical lands-cape that this planet has ev-er pro-duced., etc.' I slid out of it on the grounds of inexperience, but the damned thing will have to be faced .." <sup>3</sup> The problem was partly faced by Fry by his acquiring two important works by

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1. Submitted April 30, 1906; Metropolitan Museum Archives. The report outlines the four kinds of solvent used and details the cleaning or restoration done on each work.
  2. "Recent Acquisitions of Drawings," Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 7-9.
  3. Sutton, I: 252.



Whistler. Further proof that he was not insensitive to American art is found in his article on Albert P. Ryder, one of the first articles published in England praising the American Romanticist.<sup>1</sup> Apart from his appreciation of various individuals his attitude to America was antagonistic. He found New York and its inhabitants callous: "Life to them is simply and blankly sentimental. As all the sentiments are cut to a particular pattern and they always believe they come to that exactly there's no room for psychology."<sup>2</sup> This unfavourable view of America he held all his life and as late as 1928 wrote: "France is really the chief hope of any resistance to America; we have already given in."<sup>3</sup>

Fry's first extended visit to America lasted only until the end of April 1906 and the major part of the summer was spent travelling in Europe. A visit to Spain in September was probably connected with Fry's desire to cultivate the Spanish primitive School while it was still unfashionable. Whenever an opportunity arose whilst travelling in Europe he would execute a watercolour or quick sketch. In October he returned to New York and submitted a report which listed among other things, a list of desirable pictures to be considered for acquisition.<sup>4</sup> His list of desirables is fairly conventional in taste and no mention of either French Impressionists or Post-Impressionists is made. Instead works by Velasquez, Rembrandt, Simon de Vleiger, Andrea del Sarto, Salomon Ruysdael, Sebastiano Ricci, Jan Both, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Gericault were mentioned, a list that to a great extent must have been determined by what was then being offered.

Despite the energy Fry had expended in work for the Museum during the previous months, there was dissatisfaction among the trustees with the small

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1. The article first appeared in the Burlington Magazine, 1908, XIII, pp. 63 ff and was later reprinted in the Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, 1913, Vol. XIII pp. 72 ff.
  2. Letter to Helen Fry, March 16, 1906; Fry Papers.
  3. Sutton, II: 631.
  4. The Report is dated October 12, 1906; Metropolitan Museum Archives. It gives some idea of the extent of the activity Fry had undertaken from the Museum in the preceeding eight months. During this year 54 paintings were added to the Museum's collection.

amount of time Fry had actually spent in America. His inability to spend more time of each year in America was given as the reason for Fry's resignation from the post of Curator in 1907. Fry left America in November 1907, never to return, but he continued to work for the Museum as European Adviser until 1910. In this position his purchases for the Museum continued to be impartial and all-inclusive. His greatest coup was the acquisition of Renoir's Madame Charpentier and her Family, in the spring of 1907, which remains one of the central masterpieces in the Museum's collection. In 1908 an important Cranach was added to the Museum's collection through Fry's instigation. In 1909, after failing to obtain a Charles Conder, the British school was represented by a Steer and the same year Fry's friend Mrs. Chadbourne of Chicago donated a Will Rothenstein self-portrait which Fry recommended as "one of the finest things he has ever done." <sup>1</sup>

Fry's absence from America continued to cause distrust. In November 1908 August Jaccaci, an American contributor to the Burlington wrote to Fry: "Mr. Johnson tells me that he has spoken very frankly to you when he was in London this summer as to the mistakes you might be making in your relations to the Museum ... the crux of the whole question is this - that you are becoming a remote person, that the things you recommend ... are not bought, in other words, that you are losing your influence and that it is of vital importance that you should come here to regain it and place yourself properly before the Museum people so that they will feel anew your value, your influence and therefore follow your suggestions and lead." <sup>2</sup> Fry's refusal to act upon this suggestion must indicate that his interests lay elsewhere and that he was tiring of his commitment to the Museum.

Fry's American commitment was not severed until 1910 but the cause of his appointment's termination occurred in June 1909. Fry saw a so-called Fra

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1. Letter to Edward Robinson, April 23, 1909; P1665, Metropolitan Museum Archives.
2. Letter to Roger Fry, November 23, 1908; Archives of American Art.

Angelico at Kleinberger's Gallery in London and reserved it for the Museum. Before he received official confirmation to buy it, Morgan had seen it and bought it. <sup>1</sup> The gallery thinking that Morgan was buying for the Museum and not himself, sold it to him. On discovering this Fry wrote to Morgan making no attempt to hide his <sup>oc</sup>prov~~o~~vation at Morgan's high-handedness. Morgan, who conducted most of his business by telegram and telephone did not reply but wrote across the top of Fry's letter: "The most remarkable letter I ever received." <sup>2</sup> Fry's letter implies that Morgan had undercut the Museum. In August 1909 it was suggested that Fry should retire from the Museum, but with the heavy expenses caused by his wife's illness, he was not willing to give up his position. In September 1909 he was made joint editor of the Burlington Magazine with Lionel Cust but this only brought in £150 a year and was, as he pointed out, in fact helpful to the Museum as it only occupied him for two days a week and entailed regular visits to dealers to see their stock. The eventual termination of his employment was unexplained.

Throughout the period in which he was connected to the Metropolitan, Fry never lost sight of his central aim; the search for the enduring qualities in art. This search required "discrimination between the bad and the good, and a faith in the existence of something more universal in art than a merely casual and arbitrary predeliction." <sup>3</sup> As a result his first major statement on aesthetic theory was published in 1909. <sup>4</sup> Yet for as much as America gave him in these years, and the toughness and vitality of its life-style must certainly have prevented any lapse into aesthetic effeteness, it also gave him as much in its final rejection of him. It gave him the opportunity to

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1. The painting was to remain in Pierpo<sub>nt</sub> Morgan's collection until his death in 1913. Soon after it was acquired by Baron Heinrich von Thyssen-Bornamisza and is now in the Thyssen Foundation, Lugano.
2. The letter is reproduced in Sutton, I: 32. A photostat copy is in the Metropolitan Museum Archives. In full, Morgan's note also reads: "I do not propose to answer it until I see you. Bring it Back."
3. "Ideals of a Picture Gallery," Metropolitan Museum Bulletin, March 1907.
4. "An Essay in Aesthetics," New Quarterly, 1909. Later reprinted in Vision and Design.

redirect his career, and it is on the reversal of his career that occurred from 1910 onwards, that his fame today largely rests.

A Period of Transition: From Claude Lorrain to Matisse.

Throughout the period that Fry was attached to the Metropolitan Museum he never ceased to paint and to exhibit. In 1906 his Chateau de Brecy was included in the exhibition "Some Examples of Independent Art of To-day" held at Agnew's. This exhibition marked a breakthrough in recognition for the N.E.A.C. as most of the artists represented, Conder, Sickert and John amongst others, belong to this club and the gallery was normally associated with Royal Academy artists. The painting Fry exhibited was probably A Gate at the Château de Brécy (cat. no. 27), which remained in the possession of Agnew's until 1910. Despite the overall sharpness of focus the ruined gate is dappled with sunlight which allows for looser touches of colour. As a whole the work justifies Frank Rutter's remark that Fry's work at this period was noticeable for "its scholarly qualities of classical composition and a rich soberness of colour." <sup>1</sup>

The Parkland Scene with Cows (cat. no. 25) is even more obviously indebted to classical landscape painting in its balancing of parts across the format to lead the eye gradually into the distance, but the brushwork is loose and there is a notable absence of detail or of the attempt to arrive at highly finished surface quality. By 1907, Fry's Italian Scene with Bridge (cat. no. 28; Plate 12 ) indicates that he was now attempting to create form out of larger, simpler areas of colour. The painting was conceived whilst in Italy in September 1907. Having extracted himself from his commitment to Pierpoint Morgan after a trip round various Italian towns in order to acquire works of art, Fry joined his friend, G. L. Dickinson at Florence and together they

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1. Rutter, Art in my Time, p. 82.

hired bicycles and set out for a holiday. The scene of the above painting was described in a letter to Helen Fry: "We started at 6.00 and rode in the early sunshine down the valley for 30 miles to Lucca. It was very beautiful most of the way, hills a wonderful rosy brown with grey-green shrubs and then intense green chestnuts and lower down one of those wide river beds all grey pebbles and green streams and white grey aspens along the shore and one of those gothic bridges like we saw in Spain ..."<sup>1</sup> The colours mentioned describe those in the painting and the drawing of the bridge found in the letter is the same as that in the painting except that the two minor arches either side of the central arch, were later painted over as can be seen by the pentimenti. The subtle colours are often achieved by the means of glazing as in the sky where a thin glaze of pale blue is placed over a grey-brown background. In its use of broad areas of colour, contrasted with the row of slender tree trunks which balance in their tenuousness the solid mass of the mountain behind and give rhythm and tautness to the design, the work can be compared to On the Banks of the Seine (cat. no. 9) of 1894. His control of composition is now much more assured.<sup>2</sup> The contrived design probably indicates that the painting is a studio product, painted from memory, drawings and most likely a watercolour sketch.<sup>2</sup>

In 1907 Fry also began to experiment with watercolour and gouache on silk, a technique taught him by a Japanese friend,<sup>3</sup> but which was popular with other artists of the day, notably Charles Conder and Albert Rutherston. Two works executed on silk in the possession of Mrs. P. Diamand are San Domenico, Perugia and Mountain Landscape. Both paintings make use of cool, silvery tones and demonstrates an almost crystalline clarity of form. In Mountain Landscape

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1. Letter to Helen Fry, September 9, 1907; Fry Papers.
2. In April 1909 Fry exhibited the watercolour New Bagni di Lucca at the Carfax Gallery. This or another may have been the starting point for the above mentioned composition.
3. The Japanese friend remains unidentified but his influence was recalled by Fry's daughter. Reference to this is made in Lucia Beier's M. Phil. thesis, The Paintings of Roger Fry, Leeds University, 1970.

the result is an almost unearthly quality not dissimilar to Chinese landscapes. Eastern influence can also be found in another watercolour of around this date, View near Guildford - From the Terrace, (Mrs. P. Diamand) in which he adopts the Japanese use of asym<sup>m</sup>etry and captures a completeness of effect with the most economical means, a quality also found in Chinese calligraphic art.

Each year he continued to exhibit regularly at the Spring and Autumn exhibitions of the N.E.A.C. and his name was frequently mentioned in reviews. In 1906 his work was compared and preferred to that of Henry Tonks and his Farm in Calvados (present whereabouts unknown) was said to show more natural charm than his work usually did, "with no lapse from his standard of technical elegance." <sup>1</sup> The following year his Nogent-le-Roi (present whereabouts unknown) was picked out as "one of his happiest and most trustworthy colour-schemes if not his most original view." <sup>2</sup> But in 1907 he wrote to Will Rothenstein: "I see the N.E.A.C. has chucked two of my three things ....I feel that it is rather a sign that my aims are not in sympathy with those of the younger men and that perhaps I'd better not go on ....it's no good forcing oneself when one isn't wanted." <sup>3</sup>

Fry was fortunate in having another outlet for his work that year, as the Alpine Club Gallery gave him a two-men exhibition with Neville Lytton. Fry exhibited fifty-seven watercolours and seven oils. Lytton shared Fry's interest in past techniques, and had experimented with under painting and glazing. In watercolour painting he, like Fry, followed in the early English tradition, of filling in the drawn areas with simple washes of colour, a technique that was popular among N.E.A.C. artists of whom Francis James was its chief exponent. As has been noted, Fry would on occasion depart from this style as in the University of Hull watercolour, although the majority of his watercolours prior to 1910 remain within the rigid limitations

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1. Athenaeum, June 30, 1906, pp. 805-6.
2. Athenaeum, June 1, 1907, p. 673.
3. Sutton, I: 285.



of the true watercolour technique.

The exhibition received considerable praise from the press and a large number of pictures were sold. Yet the continual concern over his wife's ever-recurring illness and his involvement in the intricate politics of the Metropolitan Museum had wearied Fry and the success of the exhibition aroused in him small response: "It was really admired by people - indeed I've never had so much recognition of my work, tho' it comes at a time when I have lost my ambitions in that direction, and indeed, in all directions just now." <sup>1</sup> Like Dante, Fry midway on his career lost his sense of direction.

The way out lay through Post-Impressionism. Fry's appreciation of this art was, however, only gradually awakened. In 1906 in a review of the International Society Exhibition, he made his first definite, although guarded, statement in favour of Cézanne: "We confess to having been hitherto sceptical about Cézanne's genius, but these two pictures reveal a power which is entirely distinct and personal, and though the artist's appeal is limited, and touches none of the finer issues of the imaginative life, it is none the less complete." <sup>2</sup> Fry had been slow to arrive at this appreciation. He remained silent on the ten Cézannes included in Durand-Ruel's exhibition of French art at the Grafton Galleries in 1905, which may indicate that he failed to see the exhibition. The Cézannes exhibited were however all from the period 1873-77 and would not have appeared so markedly different from the work of the other Impressionists. Opportunity to familiarize himself with the work of Cézanne would have arisen in Florence, where he was well-represented in private collections, notably in those of Signor Egisto Fabbri, who by 1899 owned sixteen Cézannes, and in that of Charles Loeser. <sup>3</sup> Although Cézanne was largely unheard of even in Paris until 1895 when Vollard gave him his first one-man exhibition, Rothenstein

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1. Sutton, I: 285.

2. Athenaeum, January 13, 1906, pp. 56-57.

3. Fry first met Loeser through D. S. MacColl at La Roche Guyon in 1894. With Helen Fry he saw his collection in 1897 and visited it again in November 1908. Other visits may well have been made between these years.

recalled that he had first seen Cézanne's paintings in the early 1890's through his friendship with Anquetin and it is just possible that through Roth<sup>u</sup>stein, Fry could also have seen examples of Cézanne's work on his visit to Paris in 1892, but, as Rothenstein admitted: "it never occurred to me, nor to anyone else at the time, that Cézanne would become an idol to be worshipped." <sup>1</sup> Once aware of Cézanne's importance, Fry would have been influenced by Maurice Denis' notes on the painter, first published in L'Occident in September 1907 and later translated by Fry for the Burlington Magazine. <sup>2</sup>

The first indication of a redirection of interests in Fry's own painting is found in the portrait of John McTaggart (cat. no. 31). Compared with his previous work the first noticeable difference is the complete lack of concern with surface quality. The paint is brushed on vigorously with no attempt to conceal the brushmarks. The second difference is that there is no immediately obvious debt to past traditions; it is a straightforward rendering of a likeness of a friend. The collar of McTaggart's jacket and the line of his left shoulder have been outlined in a dark colour, an abbreviated method of defining form that Fry would not have tolerated in his earlier work. If the technique used suggests a date post-1910 the physiognomy of McTaggart disproves this, as is seen when the work is compared with that of McTaggart rendered by Fry in 1911. <sup>3</sup> The uncertainty and lack of conviction of the earlier portrait compared to that of 1911, also confirms this pre-1910 dating.

This and other work indicates that far from being satisfied with the commercially successful watercolour technique he had arrived at by 1907, Fry was beginning to rethink his approach. The scarcity of dated works of the

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1. Rothenstein, Men and Memories, II: 123.

2. Burlington Magazine, 1910, Vol. 16, pp. 270 ff and p. 275 ff.

3. The 1911 portrait is lost and known only by photograph in the Witt Library. In the later portrait the hairline has receded and his jowl enlarged.

Professor Richard Braithwaite who knew McTaggart declared that the earlier portrait must have been painted around 1905 if not before, but stylistically the work dates to around 1908. The earlier portrait remained in Fry's possession and was later given by Margery Fry to J.T. Shepherd, then Provost of King's College, Cambridge, who in turn donated it to the Faculty of Moral Science, now the Department of Philosophy.



period 1908-10 nevertheless makes it a difficult period to assess. In 1909 Fry had another one-man show at the Carfax Gallery which was again successful. "I think people are rather put off by my new methods and ideas, but they seem to be selling rather well." <sup>1</sup> Traditional picturesque scenery jostled for attention beside "a highly idealized vision of New York skyscrapers, with circular patches of blue sky showing through a red-brown mist." <sup>2</sup> New York architecture also appeared in his drawing of Dante's last night in Purgatory according to the Morning Post critic. The appearance of skyscrapers did little however to destroy the twilight world that most of the pictures represented and The Times critic noted: "Soft greys and browns and blues are the prevailing tints, laid on in faint washes, and the general effect is inpalpable and dreamlike." <sup>3</sup> The Morning Post critic agreed: "this picture suggest the work of an old-world dreamer who has wandered into haunted places ... It would be difficult to characterize Mr. Fry's technique. It is as far apart from the techniques of the schools of London or Paris as his inspiration is aloof from the emotions of today." <sup>4</sup>

One artist who may have acted as a link between Fry and his appreciation of French art at this date was Simon Bussy, who was married to Dorothy Strachey, sister of Lytton and therefore connected with the group of individuals that was later to be referred to as Bloomsbury. Bussy had studied at the studios of Gustave Moreau where he had met Matisse, whose friendship he retained throughout his life. Bussy himself was a landscape and portrait painter at this date, renowned for his delicate but concise use of pastel. After seeing his work in the International Society Exhibition held at the ~~International Exhibition~~ at the New Gallery in January 1909, Fry wrote to Bussy: "J'admire beaucoup le Maurice Denis mais quand j'ai vu votre Crépuscule

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1. Sutton, ~~Paintings~~ I: 320.
2. The Times, April 23, 1909.
3. Ibid.
4. Morning Post, April 23, 1909.

d'Eté, j'avais une émotion extraordinaire ... j'ai toujours accueilli votre talent avec enthousiasme mais maintenant je vois que j'aurais du annoncer votre grandeur avec plus de confiance ..." <sup>1</sup> The influence of Bussy's art executed before he turned to animal portraiture, has never been sufficiently investigated. They were admired at this time by Duncan Grant and Will Rothenstein and the sense of solitude expressed in his landscapes may have answered some melancholy chord in Fry at this time. Bussy's perfection of technique in his pastels would also have met with Fry's approval.

Owing to the scarcity of works of this period it is not possible to be exact as to the extent of Bussy's influence on Fry, but Bussy's friendship with Matisse would almost certainly have directed Fry's attention to this master. Alfred Barr states that Fry met Matisse at the Steins' in 1908, <sup>2</sup> and a visit to his studio was made by Fry in May 1909. Of this visit he wrote: "Then we went to Matisse's studio. He's one of the neo, neo Impressionists, quite interesting and lots of talent but very queer. He does things very much like Pamela's ..." <sup>3</sup>

Bussy's friendship with Matisse led the former artist to adopt a brighter palette than that normally used by artists in England at this time. But if Fry was perplexed by Matisse's use of large areas of unmodulated colour neither could he accept the paler reflection of this in the work of Bussy. Bussy exhibited a portrait in the Exhibition of Fair Women held in 1909 of which Fry wrote: "I do not quite understand it. Take the colour alone; the man who can co-ordinate perfectly in a single scheme such strange and unexpected notes of colour, magenta and emerald-green, fierce orange-scarlet, citron yellow and apple green, without for a moment breaking either the

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1. Letter to Simon Bussy, January 13, 1909; Fry Papers. A translated version is in Sutton, Letters, I: 309.
2. Alfred Barr, Henri Matisse; His Art and His Public (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), p. 110. I have not been able to find any evidence to verify or disprove Barr's statement.
3. Letter to Helen Fry, May 17, 1909; Fry Papers. Pamela refers to his daughter then aged seven.

the decorative harmony or the complete suggestion of a very subtle atmospheric effect of twilight - the man who can do this ... must be possessed of quite astonishing artistic intelligence ... And yet for the present, I do not quite see it. I can suppose myself capable of seeing it; I can argue that I ought to; but I still fail." <sup>1</sup> Such a self-doubting and questioning review in the Burlington Magazine must have puzzled and surprised a number of readers, but in itself it gives evidence of the gradual transition that was taking place in Fry's mind as he moved from the assured and recognized qualities of the Old Masters into the garish and unacceptable world of Matisse.

The effect of all this questioning was to have its affect on Fry's own work. In October 1909 Fry wrote to Bussy: " ... as you can see, I have somewhat changed my style, and besides I have not been to Italy recently and it is only there that I feel really at home." <sup>2</sup> Paris and its art had not yet the magnetic attraction it was to have from 1910 onwards, and his only major work that remains of this period, St. George and the Dragon (cat. no. 29; Plate 14 ), is a hybrid work that combines his memory of classical landscape design with the expressive colours he had noted in the work of Matisse and Bussy. Fry must have felt a certain amount of satisfaction with this work as he chose to send it to the Japan-British exhibition at Shepherd's Bush in 1910. <sup>3</sup> As in his previous landscapes indebted to Claude Lorrain the forms are positioned to lead the eye in and across the picture, but unexpected is the new expressive use of colour and the brusque almost careless depiction of form, the paint being scumbled and dragged across the rough surface of the canvas. This harsh treatment is equalled by the brashness of the colours; the

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1. Burlington Magazine, 1909, Vol. 15, p. 14-18. Fry had asked to buy this picture off Bussy in February, but was informed that the picture had been sold. Instead Fry asked if Bussy would exchange a pastel for one of Fry's watercolours. (Letter to Simon Bussy, February 21, 1909; Fry Papers).
2. Sutton, Painters, I: 325.
3. This exhibition included examples of Japanese art from the ninth and the fifteenth century, bringing to the public's notice a culture that had previously been known of chiefly through prints. On the side of the British, the artists chosen to exhibit were representative of every aspect of contemporary painting in Britain, and to this end, individual artists rather than societies had been approached.



sky is tinged with chrome yellow and orange, and immediately below in the far distance a minute St. George tilts his lance at a brilliant blue dragon on an emerald green sword. These touches of brilliant colour glower out, the overall composition being dark, dusky colours approaching to black. In the distance on the right smoke rises from a burning city, whilst on the left the princess runs into the safety of the wood, followed by two mysteriously shrouded figures. The composition is unsatisfactory; the design is weak and the fitful use of brilliant colour unconvincing. Yet the painting is important in that it represents a moment of transition away from the tasteful browns and greens and "standard of technical elegance,"<sup>1</sup> that was observed in his work of the preceeding years, towards a search for more expressive colour and form. This Janus-like work replete with psychological interest, looks back to classical landscape design and forward to the sudden burst of colour that was to hit the London art world in November 1910.

One other work that can be seen to represent this moment of transition is Dante & Virgil in Purgatory (cat. no. 30; *Plat* 15) which belonged to Lady Ottoline Morrell and therefore was probably bought sometime before her argument with him in May 1911.<sup>2</sup> At his 1909 one-man show Fry had exhibited five works based on Dante's Divine Comedy, none of which correspond to this painting, but his interest in Dante at this time would indicate that the painting probably dates to the latter half of 1909. Due to the prominence given to the three dancing figures and the more consistent use of pure unmodulated areas of colour, it seems probable that Fry had by this date seen Matisse's first version of The Dance either on his visit to his studio in May 1909 or during a visit to Paris he made in October 1909 to write an article on the sculptor Maillol and

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1. Review of the N.E.A.C., Athenaeum, July 30, 1906, pp. 805-6.
  2. This argument is referred to in chapter 4. The scene here represented would appear to be the flowery meadows which surround the Earthly Paradise at which Dante and Virgil arrive at the end of Canto XXVII in Purgatorio, and of which a further description is given in Canto XXVIII, notably the three dancing ladies and the "aged men" representing St. Luke and St. Paul and the more isolated figure of St. John.

*whilst the figures represented appear to be taken from Canto XXIX,*

to attend to certain business in the Metropolitan Museum. Knowledge of Matisse's painting is here combined with Fry's admiration of the work of Maurice Denis and the emphatic decorative quality may indicate that Fry considered the picture as an illustration rather than as a painting, and therefore felt free to experiment with new styles.

Analysis of these years that precede 1910 reveal that Fry arrived at an understanding and appreciation of Post-Impressionism first as a critic and later as a painter. In 1907 he had arrive at a theoretical acceptance of the rejection of perspective found in Matisse's Dance of 1909: "We might even learn once more, what Europe has forgotten for five centuries, that a method of composition which is freed from the tyranny of perspective, which obeys only the desire for complete expressiveness of the idea, is at once more free and more logical than that which we so inevitably practise." <sup>1</sup> In 1908 he predicted the style he was to adopt in 1911: "The first thing the neo-Impressionist must do is recover the long obliterated contour and to fill it with simple indifferntiated masses." <sup>2</sup> The theory preceeded the practice, and to an extent determined it. The heightened development of his critical powers led to the curtailing and constricting of his intuitive response, and to the dominance of his intellect whilst in the act of painting, but the struggle between these two responses was productive, enhancing and never more vital than during the following decade.

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1. "A Note on Water-colour Technique," Burlington Magazine, Vol. XI, 1907, pp. 161-2.
  2. Burlington Magazine, March 1908, Vol. XII, p. 274.

The Turning Point.

In 1910 Roger Fry was forty-four years of age. Given his background, ability and experience he might have been expected to be entering upon the summation of his career. As it was, the year began as one of outward misfortune: his position as European Adviser to the Metropolitan Museum was terminated; his application for the Slade Professorship at Oxford was rejected;<sup>1</sup> and his wife, after suffering from many years from bouts of mental illness, was finally committed to an asylum.<sup>2</sup> The experience of the latter had hardened Fry and, as he wrote to G. L. Dickinson, he admitted: "I've given up even regretting the callus that had to form to let me go through with things. Now and again, it gives and I could cry for the utter pity and wastefulness of things, but life is too urgent . . ."<sup>3</sup> This sense of urgency was naturally directed towards the visual arts, and now that he had resigned from the N.E.A.C. he was in a relatively free-lance position, able to follow passionately his own inclinations. Whatever his personal grief, his commitment to art was stronger than ever before. In January 1910 he wrote to Will Rothenstein: "I feel a new hope altogether about art, and all those who care and who are not fossilized must get together and produce something."<sup>4</sup> Yet at the time that Fry wrote this letter he was out of touch with both the younger generation of artists emerging from the Slade and with the group of artists that gathered at

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1. The Professorship was at Oxford and not at Cambridge as stated in Sutton, Letters, I: 98. It was given to the architect, Selwyn Image.
2. Fry had persistently fought against this decision but as Henry Head (Helen Fry's doctor) concluded in a letter to Fry: "You have certainly fought hard to help your wife and shown a devotion I have never seen equalled. Unfortunately the illness has beaten us ..." (November 14, 1910; Fry Papers).
3. Sutton, I: 336.
4. Ibid, I: 327.

Sickert's studio at 19, Fitzroy Street, the avant-garde centre of art at this date.

As if in answer to a need, Clive Bell suddenly materialized in Fry's life; quite by chance the two men found themselves sitting in the same compartment of a train travelling between Cambridge and London. The consequence of this meeting has been described by Virginia Woolf:

It must have been in 1910 I suppose that Clive one evening rushed upstairs in a state of the highest excitement. He had just had one of the most interesting conversations of his life. It was with Roger Fry. They had been discussing the theory of art for hours. He thought Roger Fry the most interesting person he had met since Cambridge days. So Roger appeared. He appeared, I seem to think, in a large ulster coat, every pocket of which was stuffed with a book, a paint box or something intriguing; special tips which he had bought from a little man in a back street; he had canvases under his arms; his hair flew; his eyes glowed. He had more knowledge and experience than the rest of us put together.

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The result of this meeting was also to benefit Fry. Through Clive Bell, Fry may have learnt a fairer appreciation of modern French art, as Bell's knowledge in this field had been developed during a stay in Paris where his friendships with the painters, Gerald Kelly, J. W. Morrice and Roderick O'Connor introduced him to the work of Cézanne, Gauguin and Matisse. Through his wife, Vanessa, Fry was brought into the circle of painters who made up the Friday Club. By 1910 this included a strong representation of Slade painters, including Derwent Lees, Maxwell Lightfoot and John Currie, although it also contained "a lagging contingent of gentleman dilettantes and ladies from the Slade."<sup>2</sup> To hold this mixture together Vanessa Bell needed to exercise a considerable degree of diplomacy. "One half of the committee shriek Whistler and French Impressionists, and the other are

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1. Virginia Woolf, Moments of Being, (Sussex: The University Press, 1976) p. 175. Fry was known to the Bloomsbury Group before this date and work by him had been included in the Friday Club exhibition of 1907, but no friendship had been established.
  2. Richard Shone, "The Friday Club," Burlington Magazine, May 1975, Vol. CXVII. p. 280.

stalwart British," wrote Virginia Stephen when the Club first began.<sup>1</sup> As part of its policy the Club attempted to exhibit one or two European artists in their exhibitions; in 1908 paintings by Renoir and Pissarro were included and in 1910 Puvis de Chavannes was represented. Vanessa Bell herself had exhibited infrequently outside the Friday Club and in 1909 her Iceland Poppies received praise from Sickert when it was included in the N.E.A.C. exhibition. Soon after Fry's meeting with Vanessa at Desmond MacCarthy's house she invited him to give a paper to the Friday Club, which Fry did on February 25th, 1910.

His ideas on art were further stimulated by two trips abroad, made in the spring and early summer of 1910. The first was made as the result of a commission from H. C. Frick to go to Poland and acquire for him Rembrandt's Polish Rider, and the second was a visit to Munich to see the famous Mohammeden exhibition which was to have an important influence on Fry and Matisse alike. Of the first trip and his experience of Cracow and Vienna, Fry wrote to his wife: "I've seen a lot of pictures and got some new ideas.." <sup>2</sup> It is impossible to be exact as to the ideas and influences that Fry may have experienced on this trip; with his interest in portraiture, the impact of Polish portraiture with its curious absence of conventional devices may have been one, and the impact of the Viennese Secessionist movement was probably another. Fry may also have seen some of the work of Ferdinand Hodler, whose importance in the history of twentieth century art was at one time equated with that of Cézanne.<sup>3</sup> In Hodler's work Fry would have found confirmation of the post-impressionist style towards which his work was

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1. Letter to Violet Dickinson, (July 1905), The Flight of the Mind: The Letters of Virginia Woolf, 1888-1912, edited by Nigel Nicolson, (London: Hogarth Press 1975) p. 201.
  2. Sutton I: 331-32.
  3. See Fritz Burger's Einführung in die Moderne Kunst (Berlin, 1917) and Cézanne and Hodler (Munich, 1970). Also in Ludwig Coellin's Die Neue Malerei (Munich, 1912) Hodler is compared to Gauguin: "where Hodler is monumental, Gauguin is idyllic," (p. 61).



tending, namely the use of a definite outline, limited yet rich colour harmonies and the stylized method of depicting shadow. Of greater impact however was the Mohammadan Art exhibition in Munich on which Fry wrote two articles for the Burlington Magazine.<sup>1</sup> In certain works loaned by the Hermitage he noted an "extreme realization of massive splendour, that fierce assertion of form and positive statement of relief." The exhibition was a demonstration that correct and detailed representation was unnecessary to the expressive quality in a work of art. Thus in his appreciation of the famous Bobrinsky horse, which has little to do with the horse as we know it to be, Fry admired its "minuteness of detail and finish together with a large co-ordination of parts, a rhythmic feeling for contour and the sequence of planes ...." The avidness with which he surveyed the exhibition is conveyed in his two articles and confirmed in a letter to Rothenstein: "... the Mohammedan things were immense and I learned a lot."<sup>2</sup>

Some of the ideas gathered in Poland, Vienna and Munich must have found expression in the ceiling decoration Fry executed for Ardkinglas, the home of Sir Anthony Noble at Cairndow in Scotland. It was commissioned in May 1910 and was painted during the summer of that year. Fry visited the Nobles' home and submitted a design that pleased the owner. On his return to London, Fry wrote that he had changed his mind and that the work would now represent Apollo driving his chariot across the sky, an idea possibly inspired by Delacroix's ceiling for the Galerie d'Appollon in the Louvre. A barn had to be rented near his home in Guildford in order to paint the final work in which two extremely wooden, stylized horses thunder their way across the sky pulling an uncertain Apollo and an unconvincing chariot. They are framed below by jagged rocks, ~~ascending~~ <sup>Plate 19</sup> upwards; whilst behind and above them roll back soft cumulus clouds. As in the Delacroix, a halo effect is

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1. Vol. XVII. August 1910, pp. 283 - 90, and Vol. XVII, September 1910, pp. 327 - 33. They were both reprinted as one article in Vision and Design.
  2. Undated letter to Will Rothenstein, (June 1910); Houghton Library, Harvard University.

created behind Apollo's head, here by breaking up the colours to give a shimmering effect that radiates out into the sky. This is the only place where impressionist technique can be observed, and for the rest the work appears to be a mixture of the influence of Hodler and of Puvis de Chavannes, whose work had recently been exhibited at the Friday Club and which would explain the flattening of tone and the classical choice of subject matter. Fry however, when the critic D.S. MacColl declared that the painting was influenced by Guido Reni, declared: "those ... who saw more of Matisse than Guido Reni in my ceiling were right ..." <sup>1</sup> Despite this comment, Fry must in 1912 when he referred to Matisse, have been aware of the old fashioned element in this decoration as he went on to say "that work had been commissioned and designed more than a year before I began to paint it, and obviously I couldn't in fairness change the whole thing to something quite other than I had contracted to do," <sup>2</sup> - a statement that was quite untrue.

The stylistic reduction of forms in the Apollo ceiling is still too literal and stiff to be compared with the work of Matisse and Fry's admiration for this master did not crystallize until the following year, nor had he had much opportunity since his visit to Matisse's studio in 1909 to revise his opinion of him. In March 1910 Fry had visited Paris and almost certainly visited the Salon des Indépendants, <sup>3</sup> where avant-garde trends in art were first exhibited and where some of the paintings later included in his Post-Impressionist Exhibition were on view. Matisse only exhibited one work at this show, Young Woman with Vase of Tulips, and it is unlikely that this single work would have made much impact on Fry. His use of stylization in his ceiling decoration is more ponderous and closer to an artist nearer his

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1. Sutton, I: 354. MacColl probably had in mind Reni's Aurora in the Casino Rospigliosi, Rome.
2. Sutton, I: 354.
3. This Paris visit is confirmed by a letter to Helen Fry, (March 20, 1910; Fry Papers), written from Paris in which Fry states: "I've been a lot in the Louvre." As the Salon des Indépendants had opened on March 19 that year, it is possible he visited the exhibition.

own interests at this date, Will Rothenstein. In a review of his one man show held at the Goupil Gallery in May 1910, Fry wrote: "With chiaroscuro cut off, with shade translated more or less completely into colour contrasts, ... he works mainly by simplifications of the contour, so that the main directions and inclinations give the utmost idea of mass and resistance." <sup>1</sup> The same ideas governed his Ardkinglas ceiling decoration.

Fry spent the greater part of the summer of 1910, apart from a ten day holiday at Littlehampton, at his recently completed home Durbins, at Guildford. <sup>2</sup> It was named after Durbins Batch, the wooded slope that falls away from the family home <sup>at</sup> Failand, and Fry built it for his wife Helen and his two children, Pamela and Julian, but Helen was too ill by the time it was completed to live there permanently. She stayed for a month during the summer of 1910, but was clearly in need of professional care. The children were looked after by Fry's sister, Joan. One painting, dated 1910, that appears to have been executed in mid-summer, and therefore before the advent of the Post-Impressionist Exhibition is The Wey at Guildford (cat. no. 32: Plate 20 ). It gives evidence of an increase in confidence when compared to the St. George and the Dragon of the previous year. The classical landscape structure has been abandoned and instead daring use is made of the canal plunging into the distance to unite foreground and background at the same time as it evokes luminosity and space. The verticals and horizontals of the lock gates are echoed in those of the viaduct in the distance, as the

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1. The Nation, June 11, 1910. Fry followed up this article with a letter to Alice Rothenstein: "Will's pictures are never liked till they are old. With each appearance people find they like them better ....It means that there is much more in them than can be appreciated at once." (quoted Robert Speight, William Rothenstein, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1962) p. 179.
2. There is no evidence for the painting trip to the French provinces which Sutton includes in his chronology for 1910 (Letters I: 98 ). In a letter to C. J. Holmes of October 3, 1910, Fry wrote: "I've only deserted the Burlington for five days holiday all this summer." This refers to a five day visit to Paris, Rheims and the Oise in September when Fry looked at the cathedrals and due to the cold grey weather had little chance to paint. A painting trip in the French provinces however was made in October 1911 which the chronology omits to mention.

clouds are reflected in the canal. Most notable is the abbreviation of the clouds into clearly defined shapes, partly outlined in black, a device used repeatedly by Fry in the following years to define the rhythmic placement of form and to re-assert the two-dimensional nature of the format. There is a clear grasp of the overall design, both in its two-dimensional aspect and in its emphatic creation of space. Compared with the clouds, the rest of the landscape is more naturalistic than stylized and it was not until the following year that the entire landscape was reduced to roughly hewn, rhythmic blocks.

It is possible that Fry painted The Wey at Guildford after a visit to Brighton in June 1910 to see the exhibition, "Modern French Artists," where he would have experienced a renewed injection of Post-Impressionism. In his review published in the Burlington,<sup>1</sup> he praised a Fauve work by Derain for its "distinct sense of pure colour and form." The two paintings by Matisse he noted, were unfortunately hung too high for critical observations. The impact of such artists as Matisse, Derain, Gauguin, Signac and Cézanne, would however have been suitably muffled by the impressionists, symbolists and academicians whose works also made up the show, Louis Legrand and Alphonse Legros having the largest number of works on display.

This confused exhibition may have been a deciding factor in the decision to hold an undiluted post-impressionist exhibition. One morning early in October, Fry woke Desmond MacCarthy, who was supposedly suffering from a cold, with a bottle of champagne to start them on their journey to Paris where they were met by Clive Bell, and selected pictures for their exhibition. They approached all the main Parisian dealers and collectors, including Vollard

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1. Burlington Magazine, 1910, Vol. XVII, pp. 230 - 31. The review is signed D. P. and due to one or two critical comments in the review, Fry may have used this monogram to disguise his identity and thus avoid offending the organizer of the exhibition, Robert Dell, who was a previous editor of the Burlington.

Druet, Kahnweiler, Bernheim-Jeune, Clovis Sagot and the Steins. Whilst there Fry visited the Salon d'Automne and saw Matisse's large decorations Music and Dance, executed for the Russian collector Shshukin, which were scandalizing the public. They presented planar simplification on a more severe level than anything Fry was to include in his exhibition, and whilst recognizing their linear qualities Fry was critical of their colour harmonies. If he had doubts about Matisse's two large paintings, he had none about the paintings he had chosen for the exhibition and he wrote simply and confidently to Lady Ottoline Morrell: "I am certain at least that our show will wake people up more than anything that has happened for ages and that at least is something." <sup>1</sup>

### The First Post-Impressionist Exhibition. <sup>2</sup>

On November 8, 1910 Helen Fry was returned to care at the Retreat in York and in London "Manet and the Post-Impressionist" opened at the Grafton Galleries. As one strain was lifted from the routine of Fry's daily life, another sort was to enter - the furore of the public and the critics aroused by the post-impressionist paintings on public view in London. Prior to 1910 there were only three paintings by Van Gogh in England; one was in the collection of Sutro, the playwright, another belonged to C. F. Stoop, <sup>3</sup> and a third had been bought by Fisher Unwin in Paris on the advice of J. Pennell, and which hung outside the door of Unwin's flat at the Albany where it was the subject of many derogatory remarks. But now thirty-five oils by Gauguin, twenty-two by Van Gogh and twenty-one by Cézanne were amongst the paintings

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1. Letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell, October 14, 1910; University of Texas.
2. As a great deal has been written on this exhibition, I do not intend to describe it in detail, only to investigate the influences behind Fry's choice, its impact on him, and its effect in redirecting his career.
3. View at Auvers, now in the Tate Gallery. It was bought by <sup>C.F.</sup> Stoop from Paul Cassirer on January 5, 1910.



on view at the Grafton Galleries, one hundred and fifty-four of which were listed in catalogue although more were exhibited. Fry's choice was partly determined by what was available. Not only had he not seen many of the paintings before his visit to Paris in October, but certain of the works he could not have seen before the exhibition opened, as Desmond MacCarthy has recorded that Fry did not go to Munich or Holland for the remaining pictures but sent MacCarthy himself. <sup>1</sup>

The decision to include works by Manet and thus relate him to the Post-Impressionists followed Meier-Graefe's grouping of artists in his book Modern Art which had been translated into English in 1908. Fry may have included paintings by Manet, who was now an accepted master, as a sop to the public, but he probably also shared Meier-Graefe's view that the Post-Impressionists were closer to Manet than to the Impressionists in their technique. Meier-Graefe wrote: "Cézanne was the boldest spirit in the circle of the Ecole de Bâ<sup>â</sup>tignolles that gathered around Manet. The essential principle among all of them was not colour - this varied in every case - but flat painting as opposed to modelling in paint." <sup>2</sup> Fry himself had noted in 1906 that Cézanne was indebted to Manet for his use of local colour and the decorative value of oppositions of local colour. <sup>3</sup> The critic R. A. M. Stevenson had referred to Manet's position by pointing to a quality that was later to be of great importance to Bloomsbury artists; "Manet is the great modern originator of that mosaic of just open-air tones which finally supplanted this and object painting." <sup>4</sup>

In the attempt to represent the variety of response to the post-impressionist aesthetic, the exhibition included work by a number of artists, whose paintings are very little known today. Jules Flandrin, Henri Manguin, Pierre Laprade and Herbin were some of the minor figures whose work was dotted

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1. D. MacCarthy "The Art-Quake of 1910." The Listener, February 1, 1945. p.124.
  2. J. Meier-Graefe, Modern Art (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1908) p. 266.
  3. "The New Gallery." Athenaeum, January 13, 1906. pp.56-57.
  4. Quoted by Denys Sutton in his introduction to R.A.M. Stevenson's Velasquez (1895), new revised edition. (London: G. Bell & Sons 1962) p.24.

amongst that of the great masters, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Cézanne. Of these three artists, the austere Cézanne probably made less impact than the more accessible work of Van Gogh and Gauguin. Two dominant strains of influence arose from this exhibition; Van Gogh, Gauguin, Maurice Denis and Serusier created one, and Matisse and the Fauves, another. Both were styles that demanded recognition of the essential flatness of the picture surface by use of unmodulated patches of colour. Herbin's Maison sur quai vert was much reproduced in the press, its Nabi - like flatness and absence of detail typified post-impressionist ideas in the mind of the general public.<sup>1</sup> When an element of sweetness or sentimentality was added to dorer la pilule, as in Maurice Denis' Madonne au jardin fleuri, the work was more acceptable. Denis' work therefore, found a degree of favour, whilst Van Gogh's La Berceuse appalled. Charles Ricketts found himself tempted to describe Denis as the new Puvis de Chavannes, and wrote: "Monsieur M. Denis alone has brought a decorative and symbolic element to this 'agony of Impressionism' and with him we are on familiar ground."<sup>2</sup> The esteem with which Maurice Denis was held by Fry and his friends should not be undervalued, as his influence is clearly evident in the paintings of Grant and Bell in 1911, and Clive Bell later recalled: "In very early days Maurice Denis was by some reckoned a chief, the equal almost of Matisse ..."<sup>3</sup>

The strong representation of Van Gogh, the Pont-Aven School and the Fauves inevitably brought out the expressionist aspect of post-impressionism. The catalogue introduction had emphasised that the artists were attempting to capture "the emotional significance which lies in things, and is the most important matter of art," and in his search for a title for the exhibition, Fry had originally suggested the term "expressionist" as it represented much

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1. Reproduced in A. J. Eddy's Cubist and Post-Impressionists, (London: Grant Richards, 1915) opp. p. 96.
2. "Post-Impressionism," reprinted in Charles Ricketts, Pages on Art (London: Constable, 1913) p. 158.
3. Clive Bell, Since Cézanne (London: Chatto & Windus, 1922).

of the work exhibited and implied a degree of subjectivity in their visual imagery. In this too, Fry was following Meier-Graefe who also refers to the expressive aspect of Post-Impressionism: "The old finish is no longer to be accomplished; it does not harmonize with our modern nerves, our desires, our passionate delight in colour, our pleasure in the throb and quiver of life." <sup>1</sup>

Not only were the pictures exhibited seen as an attack on the Royal Academy standards of finish, but to the public they seemed also to threaten the whole structure of society. The Morning Post critic declared the exhibition revealed "the existence of a widespread plot to destroy the whole fabric of European painting." <sup>2</sup> The public, who were "asked to take seriously canvases in which Christ is depicted a physical deformity with orange-red hair, in which a pig has six legs, and a peasant woman the complexion of an apricot," <sup>3</sup> suspected the paintings of possible moral and social subversion. Post-Impressionism became confused in the minds of many with political and social problems of the day, the trouble caused by the demand for Home Rule in Ireland, the coal-miner's strike, fear of German invasion, anarchy and the increasing violence of the Suffragettes. Such fear existed even in the cultivated mind of Charles Ricketts: " ... one detects a sense of fear which is, I believe, fairly widespread among thinking men, who dread some sort of decivilizing change, latent about us which expresses itself especially in uncouth sabotage, Suffragette and post-Impressionism, Cubist and Futurist tendencies." <sup>4</sup> The social implications behind this exhibition was to alter Fry's public and thus contributed towards the redirecting of his career. Looking back on the impact of the show he recalled:

I found among the cultured who had hitherto been my most eager listeners the most inveterate and exasperated enemies

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1. Meier-Graefe, Modern Art. p.277.
  2. November 7, 1910.
  3. J. J. Woods "The Post-Impressionists," The Art Chronicle, November 19, 1910, Vol. V, No. 55. The orange-haired Christ referred to Gauguin's The Yellow Christ and the peasant woman to Cézanne's La Femme au Chapelet.
  4. Charles Ricketts, Self Portrait: Letters and Journals of Charles Ricketts (London: Peter Davies, 1939), pp.189-90.



of the new movement. The accusation of anarchism was constantly made. From an aesthetic point of view this was, of course, the exact opposite of truth, and I was for long puzzled to find the explanation of so paradoxical an opinion and so violent an enmity. I now see that my course had been to strike at the vested emotional interests. These people felt instinctively that their special culture was one of their social assets. That to be able to speak glibly of Tang and Ming, of Amico di Sandro and Baldovinetti, gave them a social standing and a distinctive cachet. This showed me that we had all along been labouring under a mutual misunderstanding, i.e. that we had admired the Italian primitives for quite different reasons - It was felt that one could only appreciate Amico di Sandro when one had acquired a certain considerable mass of erudition and given a great deal of time and attention, but to admire a Matisse required only a certain sensibility. One could feel fairly sure that one's maid could not rival one in the former case, but might by a more haphazard gift of Providence surpass one in the second. So that the accusations of revolutionary anarchism was due to a social rather than an aesthetic prejudice.

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The public and informed critics alike were deeply offended. Desmond MacCarthy had prevented Fry from choosing any too violent representation of the nude, but the poet W. S. Blunt still recorded in his diary that it was a "pornographic" show. Philip Burne-Jones felt the artists followed the "cult of ugliness" and concluded that such visual horrors could only be the result of a "huge practical joke organized in Paris at the expense of our countrymen." <sup>2</sup> For Fry and other young artists one important political result of the show was that it directed artists away from the N.E.A.C., as any painting showing post-impressionist influence was now as a matter of course rejected. <sup>3</sup> Not only was Post-Impressionism seen as an attack on establishment art of the day but also an attack on the standards of the Slade School of Art, which had previously been looked upon as the stronghold of genius and <sup>the</sup> avant-garde. Post-Impressionism, especially as Fry introduced and explained it, was seen as an attack upon the belief in the importance of drawing; hence the rather tremulous cry of Henry Tonks, mainstay of the Slade, "I shall resign if this talk about cubism doesn't cease; it is killing

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1. Roger Fry, Vision and Design, (London: Chatto & Windus 1920) p.
  2. The Morning Post, November 17, 1910.
  3. Wendy Baron was the first to make this point in her Camden Town Recalled catalogue to the exhibition held at the Fine Art Society, October, 1976.

me." <sup>1</sup> Even some of Fry's friends were taken aback by the exhibition; E. M. Forster viewed it in the company of Edward Marsh and declared, "Gauguin and Van Gogh were too much for me." But Lady Ottoline Morrell was more intrepid and wrote to Fry: "I ran into the Grafton Gallery on Friday and Van Gogh simply gripped me ... with his Vision of Soul in everything." <sup>2</sup>

One result of the exhibition was that it confirmed Fry's belief in the importance of modern art and caused him to turn his back on the possibility of official titles. When he was offered the Directorship of the Tate Gallery in February 1911 he refused it. Throughout the course of the exhibition, apart from a brief holiday in the Jura mountains with Logan Pearsall Smith in early January 1911, he had spent a good deal of his time lecturing, writing and verbally explaining to visitors of the show, the importance of the paintings on view. "There has been nothing like this outbreak of militant Philistinism," Fry declared, "since Whistler's day." <sup>3</sup> It confirmed him in his belief that aesthetic theories should be persistently re-examined: "I shall be very much interested to read your criticism," wrote Fry to C. J. Holmes, "but do let me warn you not to have a consistent theory about art - it is very dangerous. It should be made up from time to time to suit the circumstances." <sup>4</sup>

#### A Change of Muse.

"It is really the beginning of the return to Byzantine and Early Christian art," wrote Fry to his father during the course of the First Post-Impressionist Exhibition. <sup>5</sup> In his comparison of the post-impressionist

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1. Quoted in Joseph Hone, Life of Henry Tonks, (London: William Heinemann, Ltd, 1939) p. 103.
  2. Letter to Roger Fry, January 2, 1911; Fry Papers.
  3. Letter to Lady Fry, November 24, 1910; Fry Papers.
  4. Letter to C. J. Holmes, December 12, 1910; Fry Papers.
  5. Sutton, I: 338.

revolution to the advent of Byzantine formalism after the Greco-Roman pursuit of naturalism, Fry was following the ideas of Meier-Graefe. After the exhibition ended, he had attended the Post-Impressionist Ball which celebrated its closure, dressed as a Gauguinesque South Sea savage, and following this agreed to accompany the Bells and H. V. Norton to Constantinople in order to obtain first hand experience of Byzantine art.

Immediately before Fry set out on this journey his relationship with one of his most encouraging and sympathetic supporters, came to a head. This was Lady Ottoline Morrell and had the trip to Turkey not been already pre-arranged, Fry's life might have veered, perhaps only momentarily, in another direction. His friendship with Philip and Ottoline Morrell had existed since 1907 and during the last two years Ottoline had offered continued sympathy and support to Fry during his last desperate attempts to nurse his wife through one bout of illness after another. Fry also looked to Lady Ottoline for artistic advice and during his work on Sir Andrew Noble's ceiling decoration, had written: " ... it's now in a state where I would give a nything to have your criticism. I think it's gone well but I fear it may be too rhetorical and baroque." <sup>1</sup>

Lady Ottoline may have been instrumental in the decision to hold the first Post-Impressionist Exhibition as in reference to it, Fry wrote to her: "But I know you will be grateful that it is being accomplished." <sup>2</sup> She allowed her name to appear in the list of honorary supporters and herself wrote round enlisting support. Fry hoped that she would be present at the choosing of the pictures: "I must have one really delightful thing this horrid year and have decided that it is to be meeting you in Paris and going to the Autumn Salon and looking at some of the Cézanne's, Van Gogh's, etc. etc. wh. are to come to England." <sup>3</sup> And when the meeting took place in

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1. Letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell, August 15, 1910; University of Texas.
2. Ibid, September 22, 1910; University of Texas.
3. Ibid.

Paris, Fry informed his friend Lowes Dickinson, "she is quite splendid." <sup>1</sup>

The exhibition which Fry had predicted to Ottoline would wake up the British public "more than anything else that has happened for ages," <sup>2</sup> also woke himself out of his state of despair: "It is very strange that just as my inner life which was all bound up in Helen seems definitely crumbling to pieces the general life seems to have suddenly become so immensely more worthwhile, and in all that you know how much you have counted ...." <sup>3</sup> Early in 1911 Fry had enjoyed Lady Ottoline's hospitality at Peppard and in return entertained her at Durbins. During this latter visit he executed a sketch of her in what she informed Henry Lamb were "indifferent colours." <sup>4</sup> Suddenly, almost the day before he was due to leave for Turkey, the friendship developed into an affair, throwing Fry into a state of extreme mental agitation. At the same time Vanessa Bell was suffering from fainting fits and seemed unfit for the journey and Fry wondered whether he and H. V. Norton could change their tickets and wait for Vanessa's recovery, thus giving him the opportunity to see Lady Ottoline again.

The tickets however, were not exchanged for ones of a later date, and Fry and Norton crossed the channel, waiting for the Bells at Bruges. Fry wrote to Lady Ottoline giving her the exact days on which he would be at Bruges and Ghent so that letters would be sent to him Poste Restante. The outcome of their affair was in the fore-front of his mind and he wrote from Ghent: "I know you will decide right for us and that together we shall have strength to do whatever you decide." <sup>5</sup> Unknown to Fry, Lady Ottoline was also at this time having an affair with Henry Lamb and Bertrand Russell.

The Bells, Fry and Norton eventually completed their journey to

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1. Sutton, I: 337.

2. Letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell, October 14, 1910; University of Texas.

3. Ibid, November 23, 1910; University of Texas.

4. Sandra Jobson Darroch, Ottoline: The Life of Lady Ottoline Morrell. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1976) p. 85. The present whereabouts of this sketch is unknown, and it was possibly destroyed. Lamb, on a visit to Fry's house to learn the technique of tempera painting, made during the latter part of January, corroborated Lady Ottoline's opinion about the portrait. (see Sutton, I: 339.)

5. Letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell, April 4, 1911; University of Texas.

Constantinople, from where they paid a visit to Stamboul, before moving to Brusa, or Bursa as it is sometimes called. The intention was originally only to stay two days but the attractiveness of the city, with its almond blossom, the cypresses and minarets rising amongst the houses against a background of hills, all of which Fry was later to reproduce in several large pictures on his return home, decided the party to remain there for the rest of their visit.

Whilst there Vanessa suffered a miscarriage and due to the lack of medical assistance Fry, with his knowledge of medicine and nursing, took charge. He wrote to Ottoline: "What really alarms me is the state of mental terror which <sup>she</sup> goes into afterwards as tho' everything were slipping away from her. I suppose from my immense experience of such things I was able to help her." <sup>1</sup> His constant vigilance at Vanessa's bedside and her utter dependence on him at this time were not <sup>to</sup> leave either of them unaffected. Throughout his life, Fry persistently needed critical advice and encouragement of a feminine understanding and during 1910 and the first part of 1911. Lady Ottoline can be seen to have fulfilled this role. But now Fry's affair with Vanessa began. It lasted untroubled for two years and during this time he persistently looked to her for criticism and advice on his work. Some understanding of their relationship is crucial in an assessment of their work during the next two years, as the sense of support was by no means one-sided. After Fry's death, Vanessa recalled the impact of the relationship on her life.

It was then, seeing him everyday - most of the day sitting near him, reading, talking, looking, that I first realized fully what an absolutely enthralling companion had come into one's life. Our feelings jumped together at each new sight but for the first time here was someone who could convey his feelings and show he understood mine. Such sympathy was so delightful, so complete, so quick that in itself it gave one as it were new senses and apprehensions. Not only that however, but also such fascinating speculations and trains of thought, such imaginings seemed to spring continually from some inexhaustible source that one felt here was a prospect of endless delight ahead.

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1. Ibid, April 22, 1911; University of Texas.

2. Memoir on Roger Fry. MS. in the possession of Professor Quentin Bell.

## Ingredients of a New Style.

Exchange of artistic ideas between Fry and Bell began whilst at Brusa, before Vanessa fell ill. Both artists produced oil-sketches of the famous garden of the Muradiye, a burial place, in which there is a marked simplification of form. Added to the impact of the Post-Impressionists, came the experience of Byzantine art and mosaics. Although many of the mosaics in that area were still white-washed or plastered over at that date, Sutton wrongly states that the only mosaics Fry could have seen at this time were those in the Kariye Djami at Istanbul; <sup>1</sup> also visible were those at the Koimesis church at Nicaea, close to Brusa. These mosaics, destroyed in 1922, made use of black outlines to give the figures relief against the gold background and displayed a fondness for the use of greenish tints, which may have influenced the green shading in Fry's portrait of E. M. Forster painted later this year. Brusa itself is and was full of Turkish Islamic monuments and these may also have impressed themselves on Fry although the mosaics were of chief importance in illustrating abbreviated description of form and the division of it into sharply-defined areas of colour, both factors necessitated by the technique of mosaic.

The concept of mosaic is important to the art of this period. In 1910 Sickert had described the N.E.A.C. technique of painting as being "with a clear and solid mosaic of thick paint in a light key." <sup>2</sup> This statement referred mainly to the work of those artists who gathered around Sickert at his studio in 19, Fitzroy Street. The technique used by this circle of painters however descended more from impressionism than from Byzantine mosaics; their touch was small and related to the fall of light in the scene presented. The Bloomsbury artists applied the concept of mosaic with a difference. In June 1911 Vanessa shared her excitement over mosaics with Duncan Grant and wrote to Fry: "My

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1. Sutton, I: 347.
2. New Age, June 2, 1910.

paintings were all stuck but I think not seriously. Duncan was very nice about them and sees that mosaic is the one thing to be done." <sup>1</sup> The mosaic style developed by Grant during the second half of 1911, is close to the pointillism of Cross and Signac, and is taken to its most extreme form in his Queen of Sheba (Tate Gallery). Vanessa however did not interpret mosaic technique to imply the loose dots with which Grant began to construct his pictures. In another letter, she wrote: "I am trying to paint as if I were mosaicing, not by painting in spots but by considering the picture as patches." <sup>2</sup> Her interpretation was therefore closer to the effect of stained-glass windows than that of mosaics, in that once the outlines were determined in black, she would fill in the shapes with flat areas of colour.

Fry was also greatly interested in mosaic during this period and with the assistance of others executed a mosaic of badminton players in the summer house at his home in Guildford, only a part of which still exists (Plate 21 ). When the Omega Workshops opened, reproductions of Byzantine mosaics hung on the walls. The bold simplification found in Byzantine mosaics and in Post-Impressionist paintings was seen by Fry to arise in both cases from a concern with directness of expression. His own post-impressionist style that developed during 1911 is indebted to both his experience of Turkish mosaics and to his new awareness of French Post-Impressionism. His large Turkish Scene (cat. no. 37; Plate 22 ), the most complete painting to arise from this visit, is as indebted to mosaics as it is to Derain's Trees by a Lake (Plate 24 ) which had been included in the 1910-1911 exhibition and <sup>was</sup> bought by Fry. A concern with rhythmic reductionism governs both Derain's and Fry's paintings. In the latter the use of outline to define form, first seen in The Wey at Guildford (Plate 20 ) has now been developed into a somewhat laboured but powerful and distinct language of his own. The colours have also been limited to the warm-cool contrast of Venetian red with bottle green in the earth and trees, and

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1. Letter to Roger Fry, June, 1911; Charleston Papers.
2. Letter to Roger Fry, June 5, 1911; Charleston Papers.

to the pale blue and orange in the clouds and sky.

Behind the post-impressionist styles of Fry and Bell, is also the influence of Matisse. On his return to England from Turkey, Fry had written to Simon Bussy: "As to Matisse, we will discuss him thoroughly one of these days since I am now become completely Matissiste. I was very suspicious at the beginning of our exhibition, but after studying all his paintings, I am quite convinced of his genius." <sup>1</sup> Of all the artists' work included in the exhibition, Matisse's paintings were probably those that departed furthest from pure representation. For Fry, they exemplified the importance of rhythm in art, a quality he was much concerned with at this date. Writing to Horace Brodsky around 1911, he advised: "... if I were to criticize I should say that in the heads and to some extent in the landscapes a good deal that has merely representative and not expressional value is left. The design should permeate all the form with a more consistent and purer rhythm." <sup>2</sup> For Fry the expressive value of a work of art was inseparably tied up with its rhythmic value, partly because for him this was the quality that most evoked his aesthetic response: "Rhythm is the fundamental and vital quality of painting, as of all the arts - representation is secondary to that, and must never encroach on the more ultimate and fundamental demands of rhythm." <sup>3</sup> This statement is found in an article on Post-Impressionism which contains most of his ideas that had crystallized during the course of the exhibition, <sup>and</sup> points to Matisse's Girl with Green Eyes as an example of rhythm arising out of linear design and pure colour with which Matisse creates " a new world of

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1. Sutton, I: 348. Of the six paintings by Matisse included in the exhibition, two were landscapes, one from the collection of Bernard Berenson and now in the Prince Paul Museum, Budapest. Another was Girl with Green Eyes, now in the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and the other three were figure paintings of and around the Fauvist period.
2. Undated letter to Horace Brodsky (c.1911); University of Texas.
3. "Post-Impressionism," Fortnightly Review, May 1, 1911.



significant and expressive form." <sup>1</sup>

A watercolour portrait of Mrs. Widdrington <sup>(sitter:)</sup> (Lady Chance) painted by Fry around 1911, was executed with the Matisse portrait in mind. Fry not only adopts Matisse's layout - a half-length seen against a flat background with objects on a shelf behind brought into direct relationship with the head - but also attempts, with rather unconvincing results, to imitate the expressive colours of Matisse. The portrait was for many years considered a joke by the Widdrington family as Fry chose to paint the sitter's hair green with touches of pink and orange, to balance her orange and red cardigan. Despite the failure of this portrait and the sarcastic comments that must have been made, Fry continued unabashed to develop a post-impressionist style of his own.

#### Post-Impressionism in Practice.

During the months that followed their return from <sup>Fry and Bell</sup> Turkey, <sup>^</sup> developed a post-impressionist style of painting. As Vanessa was compelled to spend most of the early summer convalescing from her illness, it is doubtful if she was able to attack her painting with the same energy that Fry threw into his. She rarely dated her pictures at this time and it is difficult to be exact as to their chronology. Fry's art therefore must act as a sounding board during 1911, against which to test the development of her ideas, as their correspondence reveals that during this year they constantly exchanged artistic advice and that Fry, to begin with, took the lead in the development of a new style.

On his return to England in May 1911, he had begun painting a large number of Turkish scenes, most of which are either lost or destroyed and known

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1. Ibid. This is the first printed use of the term "significant form," a phrase later used by Clive Bell to determine the essential quality in art that evokes aesthetic emotion, and found in his book Art, written in 1913 and published in 1914. Another example in Fry's writing where he approaches Bell's concept of "significant form" occurred in June 1911, when he wrote: "There are those who like Herbin, are following Picasso in his search for an artistic philosophy's stone, endeavouring to get at the intellectual abstract of form, where they can create a world of pure significance." (Nation, June 24, 1911).

only from photographs in the Witt Library. In them representational concerns are subordinated to the rhythmic grouping of form. As in mosaics, outline dominates and a limited range of colour is used. By August 1911 this style was clearly established as Vanessa wrote to Fry from the home of her parents-in-law: "I am beginning to see how even here one could paint, turning all these hideous fir trees into geometric blocks of purple, green and yellow." <sup>1</sup>

During late August-September of 1911 the Bell family holidayed at Studland Bay and Fry visited and stayed as often as he could whilst they were there. There remain a number of paintings of Studland by both Bell and Fry that throw light on the development of their styles. If Fry's largest and most important Studland Bay (cat. no. 48; Plate 25 ) is compared to his Black Sea (cat. no. 35; Plate 26 ) it becomes clear how far he had progressed during this summer. The element of stylization in the Black Sea, notably in the wriggling silhouettes of the fir trees, has been completely discarded in the Studland Bay where the forms are more abstracted. The colour chords in the Black Sea are more aggressive than those used in the Studland Bay. The Black Sea, together with Julian Fry (cat. no. 47) are the only two paintings in which Fry adopted the hot colours of Van Gogh and Gauguin, and both underwent considerable repainting. As cracking has appeared in the central cliff in the Black Sea it would appear that the overpainting was done before the first layer of paint had dried. The grassy cliff, originally painted olive green, became viridian, the sea, originally a light green, was painted a blue complementary to the orange beach. The original chrome yellow in the sky was later softened by a lighter yellow and touches of pink, but a line of the stronger yellow was left showing through immediately above the horizon in order to heighten the juxtaposition with the brilliant blue sea. This painting also differs from Studland Bay in its technique, in that touches of blue have been stroked into the orange-red of the sand in a manner similar to the divisionist technique

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1. Letter to Roger Fry, August 17, 1911; Charleston Papers.

of Signac or Cross. Despite its brash and experimental nature, the Black Sea has a coherency and strength and when seen alongside other British art of the day,<sup>1</sup> it blatantly contradicts all that was established and accepted at this time.

Compared with the Black Sea, Studland Bay is however a more satisfying work, the colours are more restrained and harmonious and the landscape is more rigorously subjected to the rhythmic and structural demands of the overall design. Here each element is drawn into a tightly interlocking design of clearly defined shapes outlined in black. An oil-sketch for this scene indicates that the finished work was probably produced in the studio where the rhythmic demands of the picture could take precedence over the actual scene. The severe flattening and simplification of form is best seen in the clouds which are reduced to roughly hewn wedge-shapes as in several other of his paintings produced this year, many of which were exhibited in Fry's one-man show at the Alpine Club Gallery in January 1912. This exhibition may well have influenced a number of artists as in 1912 wedge-shaped clouds begin to appear in a number of artist's paintings; they appear in Vanessa Bell's Asham House,<sup>2</sup> in Spencer Gore's The Beanfield and The Cinder Path<sup>3</sup> and in Jessica Dismorr's Landscape with Cottages<sup>4</sup> to name just three examples from different artistic groups.

The above mentioned Studland Bay is stylistically the most consistent work Fry produced of this subject. His small Near Studland Bay (cat. no. 50) is outwardly less post-impressionistic, presenting as it does a rain-filled sky over fields and hills.<sup>5</sup> Another oil sketch of Vanessa Bell and Lytton Strachey on the beach, (cat. no. 49) approaches the intimiste style of Bonnard and

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1. As it was in the "Edwardian Reflections" exhibition held at the Cartwright Hall, Bradford, July 13 - October 12, 1975.
2. Reproduced, Richard Shone Bloomsbury Portraits (London: Phaidon Press, 1976). fig. 41.
3. Both in the Tate Gallery.
4. Reproduced Richard Cork, Vorticism and Abstract Art in the First Machine Age, (London: Gordon Fraser Gallery, 1975) p. 151.
5. Fry's daughter vividly recalled the date and place of this painting as she remembered admiring it and being promptly given it by her father, although she was then only nine years of age.

Vuillard, although post-impressionist blocking out of form can be observed in the cliff's behind.

Vanessa Bell also produced a number of paintings of Studland Bay but if the example recently acquired by the Tate Gallery was produced during 1911 as has been stated,<sup>1</sup> then her art was far in advance of Fry's at this date. This would seem surprising as her letters written to Fry from Studland in 1911 prove otherwise: "I tried to sketch this morning," she told Fry "but without your influence only did a really bad sketch."<sup>2</sup> If the Tate Gallery Studland Bay is compared to that by Vanessa in the collection of Alan Bennett, which I shall call On the Beach, Studland (Plate 27), it will be seen that the stylistic differences between the two prevent them from being produced in the same year. On the Beach with its hot colours, and dominant use of outline is almost certainly a work of 1911. Its previous owner had been informed that the figure lying down on the left hand side was Virginia Woolf, who was staying at Studland Bay from 19-27 September 1911. Moreover it was probably to this painting that Vanessa was referring when she wrote to Fry on September 27, 1911: "I've been trying this morning on the beach to paint your subject - the one with my colossal figure in the foreground, but it's a failure."<sup>3</sup> Finally the strong influence of Maurice Denis' Baigneuses paintings must confirm this date as he was greatly admired at the time and Vanessa had probably seen the work he had exhibited at the International Society's exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in June 1911, and would have read Fry's praise of this artist's work exhibited at the Salon des Indépendants earlier that year, in his review in the Nation.<sup>4</sup>

The main reason why Vanessa Bell's Studland Bay has previously been dated

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1. It is given this date in Richard Shone's Bloomsbury Portraits, fig. 40, and in the catalogue to the Vanessa Bell exhibition held at the D'Offay gallery in 1973 (cat. no. 4). repr.
2. Letter to Roger Fry, September 6, 1911; Charleston Papers.
3. Letter to Roger Fry, September 27, 1911; Charleston Papers.
4. Denis included nude figures in his Baigneuses paintings to demonstrate his lack of concern with reality. In Bell's case the nude figures demonstrates that the picture must be in part the product of the studio for then as now it was rare for young women to stand wholly naked on the south coast. Fry's review appeared June 24, 1911.

1911 is that no further visit was thought to have been made after that date. Professor Bell has however remembered that on one of their visits they had as a neighbour a Mr. Gibbons who had survived the sinking of the Titanic and thus had a degree of celebrity attached to him.<sup>1</sup> The Titanic sank in April 1912 therefore a further visit must have been made either in the summer of 1912 or the following year. If the Tate painting is compared to the oil-sketch for it (Plate 28b.) apart from the reduction of contours to straight lines and the tighter rhythmic placement of forms, the most notable difference is found in the standing figure silhouetted against the white tent. In the Tate painting the figure has been given a block-like shape obviously indebted to Matisse's series of sculptures entitled Les Dos, one of which was included in the Second Post-Impressionist exhibition, when the large <sup>number of</sup> Matisse paintings and sculptures exhibited ensured a renewed injection of his influence. For this reason Vanessa Bell's Studland Bay is almost certainly dated 1913, although the oil-sketch for it was probably produced in 1912. But in 1911 her On the Beach is still to a considerable degree descriptive and is less advanced than Fry's Studland Bay (Plate 25), but as the Tate painting proves her severe reductionism was later to surpass that found in Fry's art. Even in 1911 her teasing approval of his painting indicates a latent confidence in her own work: "I've been looking at your sketches - and you certainly are improving, in colour at any rate."<sup>2</sup>

Fry's influence in 1911 was felt through his presence as much as through his work. His energy and enthusiasm abounded as Vanessa herself found: "I believe you do have an extraordinary effect on other people's work. I always feel it when I'm with you. I wonder what will happen if we get together this group of people in the autumn. You'll stir them up to something quite new ...

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1. Information given in a letter from Professor Bell to the author, June 9, 1975. Mr. Gibbons had survived the ocean by having the forethought to tie to his person empty whisky bottles which he had previously been emptying for decanting.
2. Letter to Roger Fry, September 21, 1911; Charleston Papers.



I don't know how you do it, but you make everything bigger and more alive." <sup>1</sup>

The same letter refers to the effect of Fry's ideas on Bernard Adeney during his work for the Borough Polytechnic decorations, which Fry was at that moment supervising.

In these decorations can be found the first large scale expression of post-impressionism in England. They were painted under the direction of Fry whose name had been suggested to the Polytechnic by Basil Williams, then Chairman of the House Committee. Apart from deciding on the theme, "London on Holiday," Fry left each artist free to choose and design his own subject, suggesting limitations only in the choice of colours used, although it can be presumed that he also made certain suggestions as to the method of representation such as the flattening and unifying effect of a dark outline, patterns and stripes, the simplification of forms and the abandonment of chiaroscuro. The original artists involved were Fry, Grant, Frederick Etchells and Bernard Adeney but Macdonald Gill and Albert Rutherston were later brought in to assist. Stylistically the work of these last two artists remains separate from the work of the other four, and of these four Etchells and Grant are the closest in style and most advanced in their conceptualized approach to the human figure. Fry chose to represent London Zoo and his amusing composition balances the downward swoop of the central elephant's trunk with the rising movement of the back and neck of the giraffe. By extending the elephant's foot into the diaper design of the border, the spectator is reminded of the essential flatness of the picture plane. <sup>3</sup>

In October 1911 Fry accompanied by Clive Bell and Duncan Grant holidayed in France, visiting Poitiers, Le Dorat, St. Savin, Chauvigny and Paris. The painting Chauvigny (cat. no. 56) <sup>Plat 23</sup> due to its size must have been painted from a sketch on Fry's return to England as both he and Grant travelled by bicycle,

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1. Letter to Roger Fry, August 16, 1911; Charleston Papers.

2. ~~These decorations are now in the Tate Gallery.~~

3. The decorations are now in the Tate Gallery.

(Bell preferring a more leisurely means, took trains). Line is still a dominating element, defining the contours of the forms, acting as a unifying factor and sharpening the formal accents. The flat pale green sky is the same as that found in Van Gogh's Harvest of the Crau which had been included in the First Post-Impressionist exhibition. The remaining colours are muted and the warm-cool contrast of orange and blue-grey is played off against neutral pale browns and greys. Fry's post-impressionist style of 1911 can be summarized as the reduction of forms to their essential shapes, bounded by dark outlines and rendered with a limited range of colours in flat areas. The Still-Life with Eggs (cat. no. 53; Plate 29) of 1911 might almost have been produced as a demonstration of post-impressionist use of colour; the eggs are represented by patches of four colours - white, grey, brown and green, the latter colour being reflected by the tablecloth; none of these colours are toned into one another and therefore assert Fry's belief that a painting is an equivalent to the external reality and should not attempt to create the illusion of it.

During 1911 Fry produced at least four portraits in a post-impressionist style.<sup>1</sup> One of the sitters was E. M. Forster who lived at Weybridge and used to visit Fry's house in Guildford every Sunday for lunch. The portrait was probably executed during a number of successive Sundays and Forster commented to a friend on its development:

Roger Fry is painting me. It is too like me at present, but he is confident he will be able to alter that. Post-Impressionism is at present confined to my lower lip which is reduced thus ..., and to my chin on which soup has apparently dribbled. For the rest you have a bright, healthy, young man, without one hand it is true, and very queer legs, perhaps the result of an aeroplane accident, as he seems to have fallen from an immense height onto a sofa ..."

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1. Three of these were exhibited at Fry's one-man exhibition at the Alpine Gallery in January 1912 under the titles, A Novelist (1), A Metaphysician (51), and The Turkish Shawl (49) and they represented E. M. Forster, John McTaggart and Vanessa Bell. The latter two are now lost and known only by photographs. The fourth portrait dated 1911 is that of his son Julian.
  2. Letter to Mrs. E. Barger, December 24, 1911; Forster Papers. See cat. no. 44.

The angularity of this portrait is emphasized not only by the pose, but also by the folds of Forster's jacket and by the angles created by the cushions behind him. This angularity is continued in the modelling of the face, which with its green shading may have resulted from Fry's memory of the mosaics in the Koimesis church at Nicaea. This stiff use of stylized modelling best seen in the sharp outlines around the eyes can also be seen in the eyes of the Virginia Woolf portrait painted at around this time (cat. no. 55). Another influence on the Forster portrait must almost certainly have been Picasso's portrait of Clovis Sagot (Kunsthalle, Hamburg) which had been included in the First Post-Impressionist Exhibition and caused comment in the press. It was painted in 1909 and although relatively un-Cubist for this date, Picasso's crude stylization of the facial features and the sitter's sleeves in order to create a strong rhythmic organization, is here echoed in Fry's portrait of Forster.

The portrait of John McTaggart (cat. no. 43; Plate 30 ) appears more assured than that of Forster. Although the use of outline is still emphatic, the definition of form is less dependent on it, as can be seen by a comparison of the treatment of the eyes in the two portraits, and the overall effect of the McTaggart portrait is more painterly than linear. His powerfully-shaped head is more assertive of form in space than the more flattened image of Forster.

In Fry's paintings of 1911 we find a radical departure from previous methods of representation of space and form. At his most ebullient, Sickert at first glance appears to have arrived at this more modern technique some years previously, as in his The Belgian Cocttes of 1906 (Portsmouth City Museum). Here the paint seems to float across the surface indicating the fall of light on certain areas and in this way creating the impression of figures in a room. A post-impressionist painting, however, makes a more

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emphatic statement about the flatness of the picture plane; in Fry's portrait of Forster the line created by the curtain to the left of the sitter must be seen as two-dimensional and at the same time, in direct relation to the figure. Post-Impressionism discovered the diagonal that does not recede. Nor do the colours float but are firmly related to the surface of the picture. A similar contrast between the old and new treatment of space can be observed in Duncan Grant's work. In his portrait of Virginia Woolf,<sup>1</sup> he is still working in a Sickertian style, evoking the face of the sitter with fluid brushstrokes that record patches of colour seen under the fall of light, but in his On the Roof at 34 Brunswick Square,<sup>2</sup> the concern with pattern-making is of primary importance, dominates the method of representation and indicates a drift towards the greater autonomy that modern artists have invested in the internal qualities of a painting.

#### The Dissemination of Post-Impressionism.

Throughout 1911 and the first half of 1912 post-impressionist paintings could be seen in a number of exhibitions. The first exhibition to contain symptoms of the new style was probably the Friday Club exhibition held in February 1911 of which the critic Frank Rutter wrote: "Mr. Fry leads the extreme left and contributes to a wall chiefly composed of pictures almost certain to be labelled as 'Post-Impressionist.'"<sup>3</sup> In March Fry was responsible for inflicting Post-Impressionism on the provinces, as forty-five of the works that had been included in the Grafton Galleries exhibition were sent up to the Sandon Studios' Society in Liverpool. Such was the impact caused by these

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1. Reproduced Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits, p. 33.

2. Ibid. colour plate I.

3. Sunday Times, February 26, 1911. This was the third time Fry exhibited with this group, the other two exhibitions being those of 1907 and 1911. Richard Shone in his article, "The Friday Club," (Burlington Magazine, May 1975, Vol. CXVII, p. 279 ff.) wrongly states that Fry only exhibited twice. In the 1911 exhibition Fry exhibited two works, The White Frost, (present whereabouts unknown) and The Flooded Valley (cat. no. 34).

paintings that the room in the Blue Coat School where the Sandon Studio's Society was then based, was for many years after referred to as the Post-Impressionist Room by staff and students.

In June 1911 the recently formed Camden Town Group held their first exhibition at the Carfax Gallery. It could be argued that the painting style of its central members cannot in 1911, be described as post-impressionist; Gilman's Snow Scene was almost Whistlerian in its concern with tone; Sickert's two Camden Town Murder subjects used suitably dark and depressing colours, whilst Ginner, who was regarded by the critics as the most daring of the group, did reveal some influence of Van Gogh in his Sheaves of Corn although the painting could also be regarded as a more eccentric example of New English Art Club impressionism. The work exhibited was on the whole closer to impressionism than to post-impressionism and this partly explains why the critics reviewed it so favourably. Naturalistic presentation still overrode the concern with surface pattern.

For the brief period of a year, Fry can be regarded as one of the most radical artists working in England. When in January 1912 D. S. MacColl summed up the previous year in an article entitled, "A Year of Post-Impressionism,"<sup>1</sup> the three most important events mentioned in relation to his topic, are the Post-Impressionist exhibition, the Borough Polytechnic decorations and Fry's one-man exhibition at the Alpine Club Gallery in January 1912. Yet, as mentioned earlier, his development of a post-impressionist style was not always consistent. At the Autumn Salon at the Goupil Gallery in 1911 Fry exhibited four watercolours of which one critic wrote: "Mr. Roger Fry's playing with cubisme (sic) in the rotund foliage of his trees yet manages to exhibit some more restful drawings of charming colour."<sup>2</sup>

In their attempt to come to terms with the new style, the labels cubism, post-impressionism, neo - or proto-Byzantinism were often interchangeable in

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1. Nineteenth Century, February 1912, Vol. 71. pp.285-302.
  2. Morning Post, November 3, 1911.

the writings of the critics at this time. All the terms were used to indicate styles opposed to nature; one Morning Post review of Gerard Chowne's one-man exhibition declared: "he has not jilted nature in favour of Proto-Byzantinism."<sup>1</sup> Neo- or Proto Byzantinism was seen by the critics to be specifically the innovation of Roger Fry and to have been derived from the work of Gauguin and Van Gogh. Its success was generally attributed to Fry's position and prestige.

In December 1911 the Contemporary Art Society organized an exhibition of modern art in Manchester. Four works by Fry were included. In his catalogue introduction, D. S. MacColl referred to "the re-emergence of the clear, expressive contour that tells at once of structure and choice and emphasis," a quality that would aptly have described Fry's Studland Bay included in the exhibition, which had been bought by the C.A.S.

The emphatic use of outline was an aspect of Fry's work also commented on by Robert Ross in his review of Fry's one-man show in January 1912: "Post-Impressionism requires a thick green, blue or red line round every contour in order to mark the departure from old fashioned Impressionism, where no outline was recognized at all."<sup>2</sup> The year 1911 had seen a prolific output of paintings and Fry had written to his mother that his paintings "threaten to choke my room entirely."<sup>3</sup> Fifty-two paintings were included in the exhibition most of which could have represented the new decorative and conceptual aspect of post-impressionism. The element of simplification created emphasis and orderly design, "not by any arbitrary violence of arrangement," as one critic noted, "but because he has found them in reality ... if we give them time we shall find they produce an illusion of reality, the more intense because it is

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1. Ibid. November 14, 1911. Confusion in the use of these terms was partly due to the great variety of artistic ideas that were being discussed. A letter from Mark Gertler to Dora Carrington (September 24, 1912) points to this: "So I went out and saw more unfortunate artists. I looked at them talking art, Ancient art, Modern art, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Neo-Impressionism, Cubists, Spottists, Futurists, Cave-dwelling, Wyndham Lewis, Duncan Grant, Etchells, Roger Fry." (Letters of Mark Gertler edited by Noel Carrington, (London: Rupert Hart Davies, 1965) p. 47).
2. Morning Post, January 4, 1912.
3. Sutton, I: 353.

not obvious and immediate." <sup>1</sup> The degree of simplification varied from one work to the next. But in a number of works exhibited the emphasis on simplified rhythmic forms bounded by dark outlines presents a style more confident and concentrated than anything in Fry's oeuvre prior to 1910 would have led us to expect.

The critics were more ready to accept Post-Impressionism once it had been translated by an English artist. In its French form it was still unacceptable to many. In November 1911 an exhibition of paintings by Gauguin and Cézanne had been held at the Stafford Gallery and it had been received with greater tolerance than the year previously. Yet when reviewing Fry's one-man show in 1912, Robert Ross was still expressing the English suspicion of immorality in French art: "Mr. Fry makes quite English what proceeds from France. There is none of the unpleasant atmosphere emanating from the canvases of Van Gogh or Matisse, or the appalling sense of evil which no aesthetic formula can obviate when contemplating the undoubtedly interesting work of Gauguin, or the atrophied and perverted talent of Picasso." <sup>2</sup>

In May 1912 Fry attempted to introduce the group of English artists that had gathered round him to France, by organizing an exhibition of their work at the Galerie Barbazanges in Paris. Forty works were included in an exhibition that only lasted two weeks. <sup>3</sup> The artists included were Vanessa Bell, Frederick and Jessica Etchells, Fry, Ginner, Grant, C. J. Holmes, Wyndham Lewis and Helen Saunders. Of this group Fry wrote that Grant "has genius, perhaps Etchells also; the others like myself have but little talent and at least goodwill." <sup>4</sup>

#### The Cubist Influence.

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1. D. S. MacColl, "A Year of Post-Impressionism," Nineteenth Century, February 1912, Vol. 71. p. 299.
2. Morning Post, January 4, 1912.
3. I have been unable to find any review of this exhibition in the French press and am unable to assess how the exhibition was received.
4. Sutton, I: 356.

In January 1912, whilst Fry and Vanessa Bell were staying on the Isle of Wight, she tried to persuade him to adopt the method of painting in dots or broken touches which Duncan Grant had begun to adopt during 1911. Vanessa wrote to Clive Bell: "I did a sketch of Roger yesterday in Duncan's leopard manner with bold results but very like, and to-day R. is doing one of me. I've persuaded him to try the leopard technique too, and he isn't at all happy in it, but is spotting away industriously in the hopes of getting at something in the end." <sup>1</sup> No sketch by Fry of Vanessa in this stipple technique <sup>artists</sup> nor does any other work in which he makes consistent use of this style.

Instead his attention was, by this time, turning in the direction of cubism. He had visited the 1911 Autumn Salon in Paris and observed the work included in the room devoted to cubism. As neither Picasso nor Braque exhibited in this show, Fry's appreciation of cubism would to a large extent have rested on the work of lesser cubist painters who combined photographic realism with a superficial cubist facetting of form. Fry's own work of 1912 shows an increased attempt to reduce visual phenomena to a series of sharply defined planes with the result that there is less dependance on outline.

The painting Sandhills (cat. no. 58; Plate 31 ) is a view seen from his house looking across to St. Catherine's Priory. The scene has been considerably compressed in order to arrive at the rhythmic placement of forms, (particularly in the placement of the three buildings) that he required. Similarly the colours are more synthetic than naturalistic and the result is a reality wholly dependent on the internal values of the work, in no way concerned with capturing an atmospheric effect, or with relating the spectator back to the external reality from which it was drawn.

The influence behind this work is a mixture of Cézanne and early cubism. In April 1912 in a review of the International Society exhibition Fry had referred to the aspect of Cézanne's work that so fascinated him, his "facture"

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1. Letter to Clive Bell, January 15, 1912; Charleston Papers.

or the "peculiar crystalline interpretation of form" which, he declared, "implies the plastic unity of the forms more than the accidents of light and colour."<sup>1</sup> In February 1912 Fry had written to D. S. MacColl explaining that in his own work, he was searching for a "deliberate and close unity of texture,"<sup>2</sup> and in order to achieve this Fry adopts an overall rhythmic facetting of planes indebted to the Cézanne influence on early cubism. It can be observed in his The White Road (cat. no. 59) in which this rhythmic structuring of form is applied to the rocks at the edge of the road, the hills behind and even to the foliage of the tree. The colour harmony is based on a rich interplay of subdued cool greens, greys and the warmer touches of pale yellow and violet, a restrained palette that is closer to cubism than to Matisse.

The River with Poplars (cat. no. 61; Plate 32 ) in the Tate Gallery also reflects an element of cubist facetting. It was possibly executed in the district of the Vienne in May 1912 as one of Fry's letters states: "Tell Doucet that I hope to come and paint in his region towards the end of May if he would like it."<sup>3</sup> In the River with Poplars form is created through the use of sharp colour contrasts rather than line, and as in the Sandhills, colour has again been heightened deliberately to create the colour harmony Fry required.

#### The Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition.

In July 1912 Fry travelled to Paris to choose another selection of French pictures to be included in the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition. Before leaving for Paris he wrote to his mother: "The British public has dozed off again since the last show and needs another electric shock - I hope I shall be

1. Nation, April 20, 1912. pp. 87-88.

2. Sutton, I: 354.

3. Ibid, I: 356. Henri Doucet was a French artist whom Fry had met through the poet and gallery owner Charles Vildrac. Fry had invited Doucet to his home at Guildford and had on several occasions painted with him. He was killed in battle in 1915.

able to provide it." <sup>1</sup> Cézanne apart, all the paintings chosen by Fry for the exhibition were by living artists. Benedict Nicolson has noted: "Whereas the first (exhibition) had popularized the notion that artists were romantic geniuses, the second gave birth to the much more rigid doctrine of significant form." <sup>2</sup>

The exhibition was not what Fry had originally intended it to be. In 1911 after the success of the first exhibition, the Directors of the Grafton Gallery offered to let him organize a show each autumn, an offer that was dropped after the Second Post-Impressionist exhibition. Fry's first intention was to continue the aim of the Friday Club but on a larger scale, - to exhibit the different schools of English painting alongside the work of French artists. In a letter to Clive Bell, Fry stated that he wanted to "bring together all the best non-Academic forces. To make it strong I would have to devote one or two rooms to the conservatives, Steer, Tonks & Co., and then allow les jeunes a free opportunity in the others ..." <sup>3</sup> Aware that they were being included as a sop to the public, Steer, Tonks and Rothenstein refused to exhibit, and Augustus John who at first agreed, later refused out of loyalty to Rothenstein.

Fry informed Rothenstein that without the support of the N.E.A.C. artists, he had to include work by Russian artists, as the English and French section was not large enough to fill the Grafton Galleries. But the reason for including Russian paintings may have been partly due to the success of Diaghilev's Ballet and Chekhov's plays in London which had created a certain fashionable <sup>ness</sup> for Russian art and literature. Boris Anrep was responsible for the choice of the Russian section and may also have been responsible for the hanging of nineteenth century Russian prints on the staircase of the Grafton Galleries. When the Russian pictures arrived, Fry appeared to be disappointed

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1. Sutton, I: 359.
2. "Post-Impressionism and Roger Fry," Burlington Magazine, January 1951, Vol. 93, pp. 11 ff. Mr. Nicolson argues that the germ of the idea of significant form can first be found in Bell's introduction to the English artists in the catalogue, but the term was first used in February 1911 by Fry as has been previously mentioned.
3. Sutton, I: 344.

in them: "A few of the Russian pictures have arrived, they're rather pretty and romantic - well I daresay it's as well that the British public should have something it'll like." The work of the two leading avant-garde Russian artists, Gontcharova and Larionoff did not arrive until November and Fry's initial disappointment therefore refers to the remaining artists, many of whom belonged to the World of Art exhibiting group. The strong symbolist element in their work, best seen in the work of Ciurlionis,<sup>2</sup> would not have been in harmony with Fry's interests at this date.

Clive Bell chose the paintings for the section devoted to English artists and included work by Bernard Adeney, Vanessa Bell, Frederick and Jessica Etchells, Fry, Spencer, Gore, Eric Gill, Grant, Henry Lamb, Wyndham Lewis and Stanley Spencer. Of the five paintings exhibited by Fry the whereabouts of only two are known Siena (cat. no. 66) and The Terrace (cat. no. 60) painted at Ethel Sands home, Newington House.<sup>3</sup> Unusually symmetrical, the picture demonstrates Fry's fondness for receding planes parallel to the picture plane which create a tension between their two-dimensional design and the illusion of three-dimensional space they represent. The brushwork is uneven and occasionally describes the form it represents. The colour is sombre, suggestive of an oncoming storm.

In his choice of French paintings, Fry gave the most emphasis to the work of Matisse who was represented by eighteen oil paintings, fifteen drawings and watercolours, one engraving, seven sculptures and some lithographs. A high proportion of these works were still from his Fauve period, but the largest and most influential of his works was undoubtedly the first version of The Dance. It was to have an influence over the decorative figurative work

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2. The three works exhibited by Ciurlionis are now in the Ciurlionis Museum at Kaunas in Lithuania. Ciurlionis was the one other non-living artist apart from Cézanne. He had died in 1911.
3. Fry frequently visited Newington House but late August 1912 he stayed a weekend there with Miss Sands, Miss Hudson and Anne Douglas Sedgewick who was also staying. It is possible that the three women in his painting The Terrace represent these three ladies. I am grateful to Dr. Wendy Baron for telling me of this visit.



executed by Fry, Grant and Bell during the early years of the Omega. After Matisse, Picasso was the artist next well represented; several of his paintings and drawings<sup>exhibited</sup> were cubist . . . was bought by H. T. Norton.<sup>1</sup> Fry himself bought a still-life by Jean Marchand (Mrs. P. Diamand) which is faintly indebted to Picasso's early cubist work, but which in the severity and rigorous simplification of form must have appealed to Fry.

In his catalogue notes to the French section Fry repeats his belief that a painting should not attempt to imitate external reality: "these artists do not seek to give what can, after all, be but a pale reflex of actual appearance, but arouse the conviction of a new and definite reality." He believed it was achieved in the works he had chosen by the "clearness of their logical structure and by their closely-knit unity of texture." In looking at Picasso's analytical cubist work of 1911, he admitted that the desire to establish an equivalent to the natural world, could lead the artist towards abstract art: "The logical extreme of such a method would undoubtedly be the attempt to give up all resemblance to natural form, and to create a purely abstract language of form."<sup>2</sup>

In order to convince his public of the importance of these paintings Fry again spent a great deal of time talking to visitors to the exhibition, and the public came in droves, eight hundred shillings being taken at the door a day. With unabated enthusiasm Fry would answer questions and receive abuse from the most respectable old ladies. C. R. Ashbee called to find his friend H. A. Roberts there and Fry took the two men round emphasizing the difference between pictorial illusion and pictorial reality. Pressing on them one of the posters for the exhibition, Roberts carefully folded his into eight and put it into his card case. As if to reassure the two visitors, Fry led them to lunch in a pub in Albermarle Street where, Ashbee recalled, "there were oleographs

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1. Information given by Lucy Norton. The painting Water-bottle with Books, (C. Zervos, Picasso I, No. 241, Plate 119) is now with the Perls Gallery New York.
2. Preface to the catalogue of the *Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition, 1912*, Reprinted in *Vision and Design* p.157.

of horses and the Royal Family on the walls, and we ate great succulent dumplings, and drank Burton with huge red and succulent slabs of boiled beef floating in gravy. There was no mistaking the reality."<sup>1</sup>

#### Retreat and advance.

The exhibition the Grafton Galleries had ~~been~~ planned for January 1913 suddenly failed and Fry was asked if the Post-Impressionist exhibition could be extended into the new year. The rearrangement that took place ~~was~~ caused by a new catalogue ~~to be~~ produced as the Cézannes ~~lent~~ by Vollard were withdrawn, as were several works by Russian artists, and a large number of Cézanne water-colours from Bernheim-Jeune were added as well as a number of works by lesser known French artists such as Picart le Doux and Gaston Thiesson. Two new English artists, whose work was ~~now~~ included, were Edward Wadsworth and Cuthbert Hamilton. The extension lasted until the end of January.

One work included in the re-hanging, which had already been acquired by Fry before being exhibited, was Thiesson's Les Pins (Plate 34). It hung in the hall at Durbins, and in its debt to Cézanne, has similarities to Fry's work of this period. It achieves an overall unity of texture through the use of short oblong brush-strokes. This technique is found in two works by Fry possibly produced during the summer of 1912 or early in 1913; the first is Woman seated in a Garden (cat. no. 62) and the second is Landscape with Woman in Yellow (cat. no. 65); *Plak 35*).

This technique enabled Fry to free himself from too imitative a likeness and emphasized the rhythmic element. After the closure of the exhibition at the Grafton Galleries at the end of January 1913, Post-Impressionism again

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1. C. R. Ashbee's Journals, October 11, 1912; MS in King's College Library, Cambridge.

spread to the provinces, and work was sent to Liverpool, Leeds and Leicester. The exhibition at Leicester organized by Fry was limited to the work of English artists and, in order to help bridge the gap between the shocked misapprehension on the part of the public and the rich expressive content he believed was to be found in the works exhibited, he travelled up to Leicester to lecture to the Palette Club. In a letter to the Honorary Secretary written after the event, he repeated his theory that a work of art was an equivalent to, and not an imitation of nature: "The reality of a picture is greatly enhanced if the spectator is not referred back by illusion to a possible exterior reality (which is stronger and more real) but is held within the reality of the artistic creation by its sheer necessity and intensity of unity." <sup>1</sup> In order to attain this unity for a brief moment Fry adopted Theisson's chopped brushstrokes.

Yet despite his expressed intentions and willingness to experiment with styles and various media during these two years, 1913-14, his painting occasionally regresses into a simpler, more naturalistic form of representation. This is most notable in the paintings he executed in Italy in May 1913, whilst on holiday with the Bells and Duncan Grant. The four known works painted during this trip make a sudden and inexplicable return to the close observation of tones created by the fall of light and shade. It was as if after the renewed impact of Post-Impressionism, Fry needed to draw back for a moment, to discover for himself whilst painting in front of an actual scene, the qualities that interested and were personal to him. His love of the Italian light is the subject of two of these paintings, the San Stefano (cat. no. 70) and The Cloister, San Stefano (cat. no. 71<sup>1</sup>). Both works have an awareness of structure that admits a debt to Cézanne and early cubism, but the salmon pinks, beige and soft pale blues are precisely balanced with a Corot-like attention to tone. One unfinished work, Street Scene-Bologna (cat. no. 69), indicates that they

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1. Sutton, Letters, p. 364. This letter was read at the meeting of the Sketch Club (Palette Club) held March 5, 1913 at which forty-one members were present. The minutes record: "Letter read from Roger Fry; excited discussion. Most successful meeting yet."

may all have been begun in a more post-impressionist manner as here black outlines and thinly painted flat areas of colour define the forms.

On his return from Italy Fry was plunged straight into the organization of the Omega Workshops which had been registered on May 13, 1913 and which formally opened their doors to the public on July 8 of that year. The idea for the venture had been in Fry's mind since 1912 and the name had been decided upon since the previous December.<sup>1</sup> This decorative venture was of crucial importance in Fry's career for it not only gave physical form to a number of his ideas concerning aesthetics and communal activity, but it also enabled him to experiment and to develop his painterly vocabulary with the result that his own painting eventually took on a new assurance. Two things made this decorative venture possible: one was the death of his uncle, Joseph Fry, owner of the chocolate business in Bristol, who left half a million pounds sterling, half of which went to charity and half of which was divided among his numerous nephews and nieces. This provided Fry with the necessary capital to undertake the venture and gave him the freedom granted by an unearned income. The second was the arrival of the Russian ballet in London, as in 1911 Diaghilev brought the Imperial Russian Ballet to Covent Garden and in 1912 the company returned again. Its impact upon the visual arts was to popularize the use of pure, brilliant colour as well as the art of dressing-up, both elements to be found connected with the Omega.

One intention behind the Omega was to create the opportunity for young artists, whose work was too modern to be profitable, to be able to earn a living by working for two or three days a week at the workshops, designing and decorating. Another intention was to allow the artist's sensibility freedom of expression. For Fry beauty did not arise out of the mere fulfilment of function, but out of the artist's delight and enjoyment in the designing or

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1. The title, being the last letter in the alphabet, was intended to imply the 'last word in fashion.' It was criticized by Logan Pearsall Smith who wrote to Fry to inform him that he passionately disliked the title, "with its suggestion of Eureka and other horrors." (Letter to R. Fry, December 21, 1912; Fry Papers).

decorating of an object. He was against machine deadness and imitation of rich surfaces and finish, and declared that Omega artists sought "not to flatter by the pretentious elegance of the machine-made article." <sup>1</sup> The products were a visible demonstration of the vivid sensibility of each artist, which kept, as Fry hoped, "the spontaneous freshness of primitive and peasant work." <sup>2</sup> It was this aesthetic, which determined the Omega, that also lay behind his hatred of Alma-Tadema's paintings, expressed in his review written earlier this year of the artists' memorial exhibition:

[LAWRENCE]

The culture of which the late Sir Alma-Tadema was so fine a flower may perhaps be defined as the culture of the Sixpenny Magazine. It caters with the amazing industry and ingenuity which <sup>we</sup> note in all Sir Alma-Tadema's work for an extreme of mental and imaginative laziness .. He gave his pictures the expensive quality of shop finish ... an extreme instance of the commercial materialism of our civilization.

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Fry was impressed by the strong decorative sense that soon emerged at Omega. Among the artists he employed were Wyndham Lewis, Jock Turnbull, Bell, Grant, Gaudier Brzeska, Nina Hamnett and William Roberts. He encouraged these artists to experiment with new techniques and designs. Once when Grant was at work decorating a table top with a design based on a lily-pond, Fry suggested that he poured on the paint from the cans, so that the lilies, the goldfish and the dark water became merged into soft abstract shapes, a design that was then several times repeated. Despite the variety of approach adopted a figurative style emerged which, in its semi-cubist angularity has been seen to prefigure the Vorticist movement. It can be observed in the Design representing a Couple dancing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which is the oil sketch for one of the panels which hung in the niches either side of the central window on the first floor of 33, Fitzroy Square, where the Omega was

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1. Introduction to the Omega illustrated catalogue (undated), a copy of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library.
2. Ibid.
3. The Nation, January 18, 1913.

housed. <sup>1</sup>

Compared with the sharp, stylized figurative style developed at the Omega the murals in the hallway of Fry's house, Durbins, are stylistically closer to Matisse's The Dance and Le Luxe I, both works included in the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition, and would seem therefore to have been executed shortly after the exhibition and before the opening of the Workshops. Painted in size directly onto plaster and still visible in perfect condition despite several successive owners of the house, they demonstrate the characteristic qualities of each artist. Fry chose the left hand side of the wall and was then presented with the problem of how to use the space over the door that cuts into the wall. He solved it by representing the figure stretching up to a basket resting on the lintel. Diagonals created by the contours of the limbs are echoed by those in the background and a satisfying balance of shape and line is created. The central pale yellow nude by Bell departs furthest from naturalistic representation following Matisse in the search for an expressive use of line. Grant's nude on the right hand side is more decorative, and the outline that describes the figure is more playful. Behind the figures by Grant and Bell the background is painted in flat areas of broken brushstrokes, suggestive of a road tilted upwards towards the picture plane to reduce the suggestion of spatial depth.

In the summer of 1913 all three artists painted a portrait of Lytton Strachey seated in the garden, in front of a flint wall, at Asheham, the home of Virginia and Leonard Woolf. Comparison of the three portraits again brings

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1. The design has formerly been ascribed to Duncan Grant but a drawing related to this design can be found in a letter from Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry, (September 18, 1913; Charleston Papers), which proves that Bell and not Grant was the designer. There had previously been designed three panels slightly different in format as on August 18, 1913 Vanessa had written to Clive Bell: "As it is I have been working quite hard at my panel at the O.. There are three panels, 6ft x 4ft each of 2 dancing figures in reddish pink and green, yellow ochre round them and red pilasters. Duncan and I and Roger are each doing a panel." (Charleston Papers).



out the different qualities in each artists' work.<sup>1</sup> Vanessa Bell's is the most outrageous in the choice of colour, transforming as it does, Lytton's beard and spectacles into chrome yellow. It has a boldness and a dash that occasionally verge on the loose and insubstantial, but it nevertheless demonstrates her confidence in her own ability. Whereas her work is more concerned with juxtaposition of brilliant colours than with the capturing of a likeness, Duncan Grant's reveals an amused and affectionate interest in the sitter. The handwriting of his brushwork emphasizes the more decorative aspect of his work and gives it **vitality**. By contrast Fry's portrait is more passive, sober and deliberate. It is based on a different type of rhythm and vitality *which* indicate different aesthetic values. It has its own poetry that arises out of the careful interlocking of parts in a jig-saw-like design where every line and shape created is exactly placed. If it does not compete with the colouristic experimentation of Vanessa Bell's, or the painterly lyricism of Grant's, the portrait confirms Fry's instinctive sense for the rhythmic relationship of form and line.

In October 1913 the Omega was split apart by dissent over a commission from the Daily Mail to decorate a room at the Ideal Home Show at Olympia. It appears that the original commission was to be given to Spencer Gore, Wyndham Lewis and the Omega Workshops. Gore and Lewis had recently received publicity for their decoration of Mme. Strindberg's nightclub, the Cave of the Golden Calf. That Gore, Lewis and Fry should have been thought of as working in similar directions at this time is confirmed by a review of the Golden Calf decorations: "The Cabaret Theatre Club's scheme of decoration is based on the new international art form of which Mr. Roger Fry is the acknowledged pioneer in England."<sup>2</sup> Both Gore and Lewis would have realized from the beginning that if the Omega

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1. The portrait by Vanessa Bell belongs to Richard Carline; that by Duncan Grant belongs to Mrs. Barbara Bagenal and the version by Fry (cat. no. 66) belongs to the University of Texas. Lytton Strachey was staying with the Woolf's between July 16-21, 1913, at which time he probably sat for these portraits.
  2. The Looking Glass, May 18, 1912.

was involved all the work would have to be exhibited anonymously in keeping with the Workshops rule.

The commission was first given to Gore, who went round to the Omega to inform Fry and on finding he was out, left a note with Duncan Grant. He left the message in July but he did not reappear at the Omega until September, nor did he attempt to discuss the commission with Fry. Meanwhile Fry had had a letter from the Daily Mail office commissioning the Omega Workshops to undertake the decoration, but making no mention of Lewis or Gore.

Lewis was informed that the commission had been given to the Omega and when he asked what work he should contribute towards it, Fry suggested that he should undertake the carving of the mantelpiece, although carving was not Lewis's *métier*. Lewis asked Fry whether the walls were to be decorated and was informed they were only to have "a few irregular spaces of colour."<sup>1</sup> Returning from his summer holiday in France, Lewis found large decorative murals for the walls of the Exhibition room. Lewis inferred from this that Fry had deliberately lied to him about his intentions, although it is quite possible that Fry had changed his mind during the summer.

Lewis's suspicious attitude to Fry was not wholly unwarranted. Following the close of the Second Post-Impressionist exhibition Fry had sent fifty-two of the works to an exhibition in Liverpool and all the English artists were asked whether their work would be available, but in the case of Lewis, Fry claimed he forgot to ask. When Frank Rutter began to organize a Post-Impressionist Exhibition in October 1913 he wrote to Fry asking if Frederick Etchells had any work to exhibit. According to Lewis, Fry told Rutter that Etchells had no paintings ready and would have none until 1914. A letter written from Rutter to Lewis sent to the Omega concerning the same subject never reached Lewis.

These last two points were raised by Lewis in the Round Robin letter which

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1. Draft letter to Clive Bell, October 1913. Reproduced W. K. Rose, The Letters of Wyndham Lewis, (London: *Methuen*, 1963) p. 51.



he wrote in October 1913 as a result of his fury over the Ideal Home commission. It was sent to all patrons and devotees of the Omega and was signed by Lewis, Etchells, Hamilton and Wadsworth. Lewis did not confine himself to accusations of wrong-doing, but he also let forth a stream of vindictive statements about the Omega style of decoration: "The Idol is still Prettiness, with its mid-Victorian languish of the neck, and its skin of 'greenery-yallery,' despite the Post What-Not fashionableness of its draperies." <sup>1</sup> But it was really a change of power and not style that Lewis wanted. William Roberts has commented: "This was not a dispute of two erudites over a subtle point of aesthetics, but a clash between rivals for the profits of the English interior-decorating market."<sup>2</sup>

Although Vanessa Bell had obtained from the Daily Mail a copy of the letter containing the original commission given to Fry, with which Fry could have successfully taken Lewis to court, he preferred to maintain an infuriating silence, and apart from trying to clear his name with both Etchells and Gore, he largely ignored the attack. Lewis and his cohorts withdrew and set up the Rebel Art Centre with the financial support of Kate Lechmere which failed to compete and within months had collapsed.

One reason for Fry's silence was that for most of the time he was on holiday in France, painting alongside his friend Henri Doucet at Villeneuve-les-Avignon. Looking across to Avignon Fry tried to avoid the obvious views, but the distant towers of the Pope's Palace could not be ignored and appear in his View of Avignon (cat. no. <sup>Plak 37.</sup> 76) <sup>3</sup> Soft greys and greens provide the basic tones

1. Lewis's view of the Omega is still held by certain art historians today: " ... it would not be unfair to find the Ω's roots as firmly in the Aesthetic Movement, i.e. in late Pre-Raphaelite culture (as opposed to specific style) as much as in France. Not a few Burne-Jones maidens are awakened to violent life via mouth to mouth resuscitation with Cézanne, their faint 1870's two-dimensionality infinitely reinforced by this so much more articulate and sensual example ..." (Letter from Simon Watney to the author, January 26, 1976).
2. William Roberts, Some Early Abstract and Cubist Work 1913-20. (London: Canal Press, no date (1956)) p. 7.
3. Fry gave this painting to his wife for her room at The Retreat in York. It may have been to remind her of their honeymoon when they had spent a few days at Avignon and Fry had first discovered the beauty of this view and wrote of it to his mother " ... one of the most splendid sights I've ever seen especially at sunset when the towers of the Pope's cottage are suspended in the blue misty air." (December 12, 1896; Fry Papers).

against which notes of bright orange echo their way across the painting in the roof tops of the houses. The row of trees that lead the eye into the distance are hewn into rhythmic blocks, but no such abrupt treatment can be observed in Fort St. Andre (cat. no. 75) the other known painting executed during this holiday. Here Fry uses pale Fauve colours in thin washes, similar to those found in Vanessa Bell's portrait of Lytton Strachey. The choice of colour and loose style indicate that Fry may have been experimenting in Vanessa's style.

This style has been completely banished from Towards the Downs (cat. no. 78; Plate 39) executed the following year in which Fry achieves one of his most compressed and dramatic compositions combined with subtle, rich colour harmonies. <sup>That which enabled</sup> him to push his work through to a greater unity and daring, may have been Vanessa's rejection of him for Duncan Grant. He suffered greatly and, as before, when under emotional stress he threw himself into his painting with a greater degree of concentration. In the foliage of the trees can be found black parallel hatching, a decorative leit-motif of Omega Workshop products, which is first found in Fry's paintings in the Landscape in France (cat. no. 72; Plate 38), a work possibly produced near Avignon in 1913. Despite their modernity, both works contain an echo of his former concern with the classical landscape tradition: in the French landscape the inclusion of the shepherd and his sheep <sup>evokes</sup> the pastoral ideal ~~as evoked~~ at the same time as they act as key motifs in the overall design; in Towards the Downs there still remains the conscious division of the landscape into fore, middle and far distance and the heavy foreground foliage is carefully balanced across the canvas. The sense of breadth achieved through the absence of detail, ~~assists in the~~ <sup>with</sup> a closely interlocking design which prevents the work from becoming merely decorative. Fry here achieves a powerful, dynamic image out of what he would have described as "absolutely necessitated form." <sup>1</sup>

In the same year that Fry produced Towards the Downs he also reverted to a

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1. Sutton, I: 363.

gentler more restrained style in the portrait of Madeleine Savary (cat. no. 79), who was a governess to his two children and whose quiet, controlled temperament is expressed in the pose, the Cézannesque harmony of pinks, blues and greens and in the gentle folding movement of the cushions behind her. The face is more modelled than that of Lytton Strachey painted the year previously. One other portrait painted this year, that of Molly MacCarthy, has been lost.

The year 1914 also saw the appearance of Sir Michael Sadler's translation of Kandinsky's "Über das Geistige in der Kunst", under the title The Art of Spiritual Harmony.<sup>1</sup> In his foreword Sadler argued that non-representational art, art that was solely dependent on line, form and colour, was the "legitimate almost inevitable outcome of the Post-Impressionists." Fry had arrived at this conclusion in 1911 in his articles on Post-Impressionism, but when he saw abstract paintings by Kandinsky exhibited at the Allied Artists Salon of 1913, he was impressed by how effective abstract art could be: "One finds that ... the improvisations become more definite, more logical and more closely knit in structure, more surprisingly beautiful in their colour oppositions, more exact in their equilibrium."<sup>2</sup> Fry had included some of the Kandinsky paintings owned by Sir Michael Sadler in the Grafton Group exhibition of 1913, where his work aroused great interest. But it was not until August, in his review of the Allied Artists Salon, that Fry became completely convinced of their effectiveness. Of the three Kandinsky's exhibited, he concluded: "They are pure visual music; but I cannot any longer doubt the possibility of emotional expression by such abstract visual signs."<sup>3</sup>

If Kandinsky led Fry towards a theoretical acceptance of abstract art, papier-collé probably led to it in practice. By 1914 Fry owned two collage works, one by Picasso and one by Juan Gris.<sup>4</sup> Papier-collé reasserted the

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1. Parts of Kandinsky's book had earlier appeared in Blast, No. 1, translated by Edward Wadsworth.
2. Roger Fry, "The Allied Artists Salon." Nation, August 2, 1913. pp. 676-77.
3. Ibid.
4. Picasso's Head of a Man is repr. Zervos, Picasso, II: 431. The Juan Gris Still-Life with a Gun, 1913, is reproduced in Apollo, June 1966, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 52, p. 468.

flatness and autonomy of the picture plane. Duncan Grant had observed Picasso's use of this medium after his meeting with the artist at the house of Gertrude Stein in 1912-13. In conversation with Quentin Bell, Grant recorded how Picasso had asked him for odd strips of wallpaper and Grant had obliged by peeling pieces of paper from the wall of his hotel bathroom.<sup>1</sup> The exact date that Grant himself began to use this technique is not clear,<sup>2</sup> and the technique does not appear with any consistency in the work of Grant, Bell or Fry until 1914. The Bloomsbury artists used the technique of papier-collé with often complete disregard for the integrity of the medium. The pieces of cut or torn paper are frequently completely obliterated with paint, and the technique in Grant's work, may have been used to assist in the design of the composition when still in an early stage.

;Plate 40

Fry's Bus-Tickets (cat. no. 89) is an abstract collage, similar in layout to the Picasso Head of a Man that he owned. The composition is based around a diagonal axis on which are positioned two tickets for the No. 88 bus which takes one to the Tate Gallery, where the painting has itself eventually arrived. The tickets used were issued between December 18, 1913 when the route was inaugurated by the London General Omnibus Co. Ltd. and the middle of November 1914 when it was extended from Oxford Circus to Acton Green.<sup>3</sup> Neither Picasso nor Braque used bus tickets in their collages, and Fry here precedes Schwitters' use of them by several years.

Other abstract paintings by Fry are known only by photographs and his essays into this field remain the exception rather than the outcome of any

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1. Recorded in Christopher Mason's film, Duncan Grant at Charleston, B.B.C. Film Library.
  2. When the Tate Gallery compiled notes on Grant's The Mantelpiece of 1914, Grant wrote that he thought this was perhaps one of the first pictures in which he used collage, but at the Tate Gallery retrospective of his work in 1959 a still-life was exhibited (no. 23) using collage, dated 1912. The possibility that the date was added later and is incorrect cannot be excluded.
  3. I am grateful to David Brown's notes on this picture in the Tate Gallery May 1976 handout for information on this picture. It is suggested that the fivepenny ticket for a journey from Oxford Circus to Mitcham may have been used by Fry himself, who at that time used to visit a pottery in Mitcham to throw pots for the Omega Workshop.

consistent development of style. Abstract design was frequently applied to objects at the Omega but in their own paintings the three main Bloomsbury painters never discarded representation even during the period when they experimented with abstraction. The Abstract by Vanessa Bell in the Tate Gallery is one of the most extreme paintings produced at this time. On a single colour field a number of vertical rectangles of bright, flat colour are placed in a format similar to that used by Kupka in his Vertical Planes I and III, the latter of which was exhibited at the Salon des Independents of 1913 and which may have been seen by Vanessa Bell on her way to or from Italy in the spring of that year. Of the three artists, the most important abstract work produced was Grant's Abstract Kinetic Collage (Tate Gallery), in which a fourteen foot long scroll decorated with abstract shapes was intended to be operated by hidden rollers and viewed through a rectangular aperture to the sound of music by J. S. Bach; a gentle, civilized equivalent to the interest in kinetics and synaesthesia found among those more aggressive lampoonists, the Italian futurists.

One other exception in Fry's oeuvre is the wood carving representing a mother and two children which he exhibited at the Second Grafton Group exhibition in January 1914.<sup>1</sup> It is thought to be the only carving he ever made, and it reflects his interest in African sculpture in its elliptic description of form. In its sense of the monumental, some influence of Picasso's early cubist work may also be felt. The exhibition as a whole confirmed Fry in his opinion that their experiments were resulting in a definite style. "We are now beginning to construct real pictures," he informed Charles Vildrac.<sup>2</sup> But the critic T. E. Hulme was of a different opinion. He criticized the exhibition for failing to find a truly modern language of art and when referring to Fry's own paintings he declared the artist had "accomplished the extraordinary feat of adapting the austere Cézanne into something quite fitted for chocolate boxes."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Coll: Mrs. P. Diamand.

2. Sutton, II: 377.

3. New Age, January 26, 1914.

The numerous experiments made during the previous four years did indeed make a consistent group style difficult to observe, but a comparison of Fry's work to chocolate boxes is unjust. Not at this date, nor at any other in his career could the terms 'commercial' and 'slick' be ever applied to his tenacious search for significant form.

A visit to France.

Although Fry's paintings of 1911-12 were among some of the most advanced that were then being produced, the centre of the avant-garde had shifted by 1914. The paintings and drawings produced by Lewis, Bomberg, Etchells, Roberts and other artists, <sup>connected with Vorticism,</sup> represented a more coherent, self-sufficient, truly modern style than that which the more erratic development of the Bloomsbury artists had produced. If Fry had been dislodged from a position of central importance with regard to the development of the avant-garde, he had also lost influence elsewhere. His affair with Vanessa Bell had been disrupted in 1914 when she transferred her affections to Duncan Grant. Fry suffered greatly not only on a personal level but also as an artist. He described his position in a letter to Clive Bell: "In painting Nessa and Duncan have taken to working so entirely together and not to want me, and altogether I find it difficult to take a place on the outside of the circle instead of being, as I once was, rather central." <sup>1</sup>

In April 1915 an opportunity arose to get away and he crossed to France to visit his sister Margery who was working for the Quaker War Victim's Relief in the districts of the Marne and the Meuse. Although exempted from military service due to his age, Fry nevertheless now experienced the effects of war at first hand. Borrowing a bicycle he travelled all over the region. At Sermaize he noted that although the town had been razed to the ground, the cellars used for the storing of champagne of the district were still intact, and wherever a piece of tubing stuck out emitting smoke, it indicated that the community had gone underground. The notes Fry made of what he saw reveal his pictorial observation: he described how on Sunday afternoons the inveterate

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1. Sutton, Letters, II: 385.



bourgeoisie turned out to promenade the streets as smartly dressed as ever;  
"And how black and startling the crowd look in their broad white streets where  
no shadows fall, where all lies flat beneath the white spring sky." <sup>1</sup>

After this Fry spent some weeks in Paris, where he enjoyed the company  
of the painters J. W. Morrice, George Barne and Roderic O'Connor, before he  
moved to the South. His intention was to spend some time at Roquebrune painting,  
but on his way there he stopped at N<sup>1</sup>imes, Aigues-Mortes and Ca<sup>s</sup>sis. He  
sketched and painted as he went. At Ca<sup>s</sup>sis two small oil sketches were made of  
the harbour which were later worked up into finished paintings, The Harbour,  
; Plate 43  
Ca<sup>s</sup>sis (cat. no. 80) and Boats in a Provencal Harbour (cat. no. 81; Plate 45 ).  
In the former, Fry's debt to the planar facetting of cubism is found in the  
angular, broken reflections in the water and in the sky where the effect is  
like that of crumpled paper. Boats in Harbour is almost certainly based on  
Ca<sup>s</sup>sis although the background hills have now become too generalized to suggest  
any precise location. An outwardly naive design is here combined with an  
intense and brilliant colour scheme. The colours are not the pure tones of  
the Fauves, but undergo a subtle modulation of hue within a single tonal-field;  
the distant sky is rose pink compounded of touches of pink, blue-pink and  
purple; the hills appear a grey-green, but are built up of touches of purple,  
orange and brown. The effect is not unlike that of looking at moss or lichen.  
Fry may have been conscious of this as his father, a keen botanist, could  
become absorbed in a small area of moss-covered wall for a long period of  
time and this interest was shar<sup>e</sup>d by his son. This dense, rich use of colour  
here holds together the slack curves on which the composition is built.

For Fry, the painter, the Midi was his spiritual home: "I know quite well  
whenever I get to this mediterranean country that I never ought to leave it.  
It all seems just right, the right kind of colours and shapes everywhere." <sup>2</sup>  
Once settled at Roquebrune, at the Villa La Souco, where Simon and Dorothy  
Bussy lived, he was able to paint consistently. The view from the balcony of

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1. Unpublished MSS, The Friends work for War Victims in France; Fry Papers.

2. Letters to Winifred Gill, May 17, 1915; Victoria and Albert Museum Library.



the house, which looked out over Palm Beach to Roquebrune with Monte Carlo beyond, provided an excellent motif. It is the subject of Roquebrune and Monte Carlo (cat. no. 82) a thinly painted work in fairly subdued colours, which depends on the foreground and silhouetted tree rising the whole height of the canvas, to tie to the surface of the format the receding background hills. By comparison, the Côte d'Azur (cat. no. 83) in the Courtauld Institute Galleries pays less attention to the decorative unity of the whole, although the foreground tree still plays an important part in the design, but concentrates more on the use of hot, brilliant colours. Staying nearby at Roquebrune was the Belgian painter Jan Vanden Eeckhoudt, a friend of Bussy's and of Matisse, who as a painter had been greatly influenced by the luminisme of his father-in-law, Isidore Verheyden. Eeckhoudt encouraged Fry to brighten his palette as the Courtauld painting demonstrates. This may indicate that the Boats in Harbour (Plate 45) was also executed after Fry had arrived at Roquebrune and had met this painter. One other work, the Mermonnier Restaurant (cat. no. 84) also uses a heightened palette and can therefore be dated to this visit.

During his stay with the Bussys, Fry painted two portraits of Vanden Eeckhoudt's daughter, Zoum, one indoors and one outside (cat. no's. 84 & 85). The second may well have been painted because of dissatisfaction with the first. Zoum later recorded its execution in her memoirs:

"Au Printemps de 1915, Pippa Strachey et Roger Fry s'attardèrent longtemps à la Souco. Roger vint beaucoup à Ste-Lucie et fit de moi un petit portrait: figurine assise, en robe rose, lisante. Peinture de plein air, il y avait quelques plantes et un fond etc, verdure, la forme était très médiocre, si mes souvenirs sont justes, gauche et mesquine, la couleur terreuse. J'avais l'air d'un petit singe souffreteux. A certaines objections de mon père, il répondait; "Oublions, oublions, que c'est une jeune fille." Cher Roger, ce critique fameux n'était pas bon peintre - a ce moment - là il ne parlait que de Cézanne. Il voulait que ma mère chantât tandis qu'il peignait, pour être entraîné au delà de lui-même, disait-il (la radio n'existant pas encore) ... et ma mère chantait."

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1. Unpublished memoirs of Zoum Walter (née Eeckhoudt). I am grateful to M. Francois Walter for allowing me to quote this passage.

The second portrait gives a more convincing likeness and is more solidly painted. The dynamic but unsettling use of diagonals in the earlier version has given way to a composition based on slow-moving curves that envelop the sitter and are echoed in various small, subsidiary motifs. A portrait of Pippa Strachey who was staying with the Bussy's was also painted at this time, using mainly hot oranges and reds as the result of Eeckhoudt's influence, but its present whereabouts is unknown.

From Roquebrune Fry moved to Ste. Maxime where he stayed with a Mrs. Crompton. <sup>1</sup> An unusually large work, Ste. Maxime; Dawn, (cat. no. 94) in which the low light creates extended pools of reflection to form beneath the arches of the bridge, may have been inspired during an early morning walk Fry made from Ste. Maxime to Menton, recorded in a letter to Philippa Strachey: "I had to go to Menton yesterday to get money, so I got up early and went by the red sand and found the way which we missed and did a little drawing of the grey ravines ... All that valley from the Williamsons to Menton seem to me to belong to you." <sup>2</sup> The pale, close tones ~~of the painting~~ suggested by the dawn light and the angular treatment of the clouds are the exact antithesis to the bright colour and the more naturalistic style of the Courtauld Côte d'Azur. The painting, due to its size, was probably executed after Fry had returned home, and the influence of Vanden Eeckhoudt had lost its **impact**.

#### The Last Experiments.

If Fry was aware, as his reviews confirm, <sup>that</sup> certain young artists working in England had arrived at a more coherent modern style than his own,

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1. Unidentified.
2. Sutton, II: 387. The painting belongs to Miss Marjorie Rackstraw, who told me that she had bought it at an exhibition at Birmingham during the First World War. At the "New Movement in Art" exhibition held at Birmingham in July 1917 Fry exhibited only two landscapes, Ste. Maxime, Dawn, and House by the Mediterranean. Due to the low light and long shadows in this painting it is almost certainly the first, although the exact location has not yet been established.

the year 1915 found him still being daringly experimental. He created with papier-collé, attempted pure abstraction, and even repainted a Mantegna in a modern style. As an aside he produced a portrait of Iris Tree, that is arguably his finest (cat. no. 93; Plate 46 ).<sup>1</sup> When painting a portrait Fry would take great care over the pose and background setting, and would often make suggestions as to the colours of the clothes worn. Here a deep blue-purple skirt has been chosen to set off the yellow blouse, and the dark scarf relates the dark skirt to the black hat. The main thrust of the right arm balances the tilt of the head and the line of the scarf. The sitter originally held a flower in her left hand but it was later painted out. The face is modelled with boldly-juxtaposed patches of colour that are not fused into one another. As a whole the lilting design has a panache and assertiveness that leaves Duncan Grant's Iris Tree looking sulky, overweight and thoroughly bored.

A portrait of Iris Tree was included in Fry's one-man exhibition held at the Alpine Club Gallery in November 1915. Of the fifty-four paintings exhibited (a testimony to his concentrated artistic activity during this year), the majority were painted during his stay in France. Still-lives and flower pieces played a relatively unimportant part. Among the landscapes and portraits that dominated the show, could also be found three works entitled Essay in Abstract Design. Among these was the Bus Tickets mentioned previously, which was criticized by Walter Sickert. After praising Fry's "undoubted gifts as a painter," Sickert went on to regret "that the painter who has the double advantage of power and erudition should continue to treat seriously fumisteries à la Picasso (framed poesis of tram tickets, etc.)"<sup>2</sup> Apart from Bus Tickets the few abstract works Fry executed at this date are known only from photographs. The most complete example (cat. no. 90; Plate 41 ) like the Bus Tickets makes

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1. Fry also painted Iris Tree in the company of Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant, but the whereabouts of this portrait is unknown. That by Bell belongs to Richard Morphet, and the one by Grant is in Reading Museum and Art Gallery. They differ in both pose and dress to the existing portrait by Fry.
2. Burlington Magazine, 1916, Vol. XXVIII, p. 117 ff. See previous chapter for reference to the Picasso Head of a Man which Fry owned and which influenced his Bus Tickets.

use of overlapping shapes and conflicting lines of direction to build up the composition. The result is experimental and has neither the coherency nor the severe reductionism of Vanessa Bell's Abstract in the Tate Gallery.<sup>1</sup>

Sickert also criticized Fry's use of papier-collé as mere filling-in; "He (Fry) finds he can simplify spaces by leaving out. He leaves windows out of houses, so that the houses look like cubic blocks. He leaves folds out of draperies, etc. Then apparently his conscience smites him and he feels that there is emptiness somewhere, so he tries to counteract this emptiness by pasting on patches of paper that have a mechanical pattern of marbling and such like readily painted on them."<sup>2</sup> Two of the representational paintings exhibited that made use of papier-collé were Queen Victoria (cat. no. 87) and the German General Staff (cat. no. 88; Plate 47). The latter which is unfortunately lost,<sup>3</sup> received praise from both the Times and the Daily Telegraph, and it represents three Germans standing on top of a hill, staring out to the left of the picture, expressive of heroic brutality and insensibility. To underline his intentions, Fry included a quotation from Nietzsche in the catalogue which also explains why they are represented with no feet. "I cannot tolerate the neighbourhood of this race ... which has no sense in its feet and doesn't even know how to walk ... All things considered, the Germans have not got any feet at all, they have only legs." (Nietzsche, Ecce Homo).

The quotation demonstrates that Fry's approach to the work was partly humorous. The same is true of Queen Victoria. Both works were at least conceived in the Isle of Wight during a holiday Fry took with his daughter during 1915. The German General Staff was based on a newspaper photograph and the Queen Victoria on an oleograph of the Queen that hung in the boarding house where Fry was staying. Marbled paper fills the background to the right

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1. Reproduced in Richard Shone's Bloomsbury Portraits, fig. 85.

2. Burlington Magazine, 1916, Vol. XXVIII, p. 117 ff.

3. The picture was formerly in the collection of Adrian Stephen. At one time Dominic Spring Rice was interested in buying it, but is not known whether he did so.

of the Queen's head, the rest is painted and the result is more like a still-life than a portrait. Fry would undoubtedly have shared Vanessa Bell's opinion expressed in a letter written the following year: "I am imitating you and copying a photograph of Queen Victoria. It's too amazing - she's just the sort of middle class woman I am always wanting to paint, entirely dressed in furniture ornaments." <sup>1</sup>

Marbled paper also appears in the Still-Life with Coffee-Pot (cat. no. 91) in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, which was probably the still-life included in the 1915 exhibition. This work demonstrates the impure use Bloomsbury artists often made of collage as oil-paint and gouache are used at times to obliterate the papier-collé. The banana that has been placed in the cup at the centre of the picture is given the same importance as those in the Marchand Still-Life which Fry had bought from the Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition and the influence of Marchand is evident in both subject matter and design.

Omega pottery was also on display at Fry's one-man show as a reminder that the Workshops were still struggling on despite the reduction in the number of artists involved caused by the war. Despite his commitments to the Omega, Fry regarded his role as primarily that of a painter: "I go to the Omega in the morning, see to business with Winnie and then come back and paint all day till evening ...," he wrote to Vanessa. <sup>2</sup> But one Omega commission that he was personally involved in was the decoration, during 1916, of Arthur Ruck's house at 4, Berkely Street, now destroyed and known only from colour reproductions. <sup>3</sup> The other artists involved were Nina Hamnett, her husband Raould Kristian, and Mme. Courtney. The wall paintings, representing scenes from London life, were more rigidly stylized and closer to poster art than

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1. Letter to Roger Fry, no date (1916); Charleston Papers. No known painting by Vanessa Bell of Queen Victoria now exists.

2. Sutton, II: 398. Winnie refers to Winifred Gill, at one time governess to Fry's children and then sales-assistant and decorator at the Omega.

3. Reproduced in Colour, July 1916, p. 187.

any previous Omega figurative decoration. Light and shade<sup>art</sup> completely suppressed and plasticity is suggested only by contour. The perspective used is abrupt; a woman is seen suddenly emerging from the steps that lead down to the underground. Nearby a bookstall displays its wares and a poster that announces that the rooms were decorated by the Omega Workshops. The stress on rectilinearity and the prominent use of the characteristic Underground sign indicates that Fry may have found inspiration in Sickert's Queen's Road, Bayswater Station, a painting he had bought at Sickert's exhibition at the Carfax Gallery earlier this year. <sup>1</sup>

Photographs of the Berkely Street decorations and of his German General Staff were shown by Fry to Matisse on his visit to Paris in June 1916, a journey he was able to make by accompanying Madame Vandervelde, the wife of the Belgian War Minister. Matisse was still the most instructive living painter for Fry, and during his visit he admired Matisse's work as being "more solid and more concentrated than ever," <sup>2</sup> exactly the qualities that Fry was attempting to achieve in his own painting. According to Fry, Matisse and others admired the photographs of his own works: "They were very much liked and they all thought they showed that we were going for just the same things." <sup>3</sup> This, Fry felt, was partly the result of the shared interest in the recent discovery of Seurat, "the great man we'd overlooked." <sup>4</sup> Two works by Seurat had been included in the First Post-Impressionist exhibition, La Plage and Le Phare à Honfleur, but little attention had been given to them by the critics, including Fry. His enthusiasm for this artist in 1916 was shared with Raould Kristian, and together they collected reproductions and studied his work. Following his study of Seurat's La Parade, Fry adopted a similar compositional layout in his Cattle Market (cat. no. 103), in which the central figure standing above the rest of the crowd divides the painting into two equal halves.

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1. Reproduced in Wendy Baron's Sickert, (London: Phaidon Press, 1973) pl. 260
2. Sutton, II: 399.
3. Ibid, p. 400.
4. Ibid.



Nina Hamnett had taken Fry along to Smithfields Cattle Market, pointing out its potentiality as subject matter for a painting, but the crowded scene was outside that of Fry's more normal oeuvre. The result is consequently unsuccessful, the relationships between the foreground figures are cramped and unconvincing and the picture as a whole lacks breadth.

The English landscape, unlike that of Provence, never inspired Fry with a strong compulsion to paint. In August 1916, he holidayed with his children at Bosham on the south coast where he had obtained a sketching permit before he could begin any landscape painting: "I've at last got my sketching permit so I suppose I shall begin some landscape tho' I feel a bit lazy about it and rather doubtful what I can make of this dumpy and absurd English business. It's heresy I know to say that but what I mean is that the forms don't excite me straight away nor the colours neither. So far I've only begun two still-lives." <sup>1</sup>

A few small oil sketches have tentatively been attributed to this holiday at Bosham, due to their incompleteness and the English nature of the landscape and buildings represented. The most finished is that in the possession of Mrs. A. J. Clark (cat. no. 96) in which certain areas of repainting can be detected and an overriding concern with the relationships of the parts to the whole leads to a rather unconvincing flatness of design.

Apart from the organization of the Omega, the arranging of exhibitions held there, and the writing of his articles for the Burlington Magazine, Fry was also in his spare moments restoring one of Mantegna's Triumph of Julius Caesar cycle at Hampton Court. After examining the mural paintings on canvas Fry decided to attempt restoration on The Picture Bearers. After he had removed a certain amount of repainting from one corner, Lionel Cust gave his opinion that this was sufficiently successful to justify the taking away of all repainting. When this was done parts of the painting were revealed that appeared to have suffered seriously before Laguerre's restoration in William

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1. Letter To Vanessa Bell, August 15, 1916; Charleston Papers.

III's reign, and in places only the outline was left. These showed that Laguerre had often wilfully modified the original design. When Fry attempted retouching difficulties arose as where the gesso priming had lost its 'temper', the paint sank and changed tone. From his experiments on this picture Fry concluded that it would be unwise to attempt to remove the repaints from the other canvases and instead he recommended that they should be covered with a celluloid solution to check further peeling and decay. <sup>1</sup>

Fry's restoration of The Picture Bearers continued at intervals for eleven years, beginning in 1910, with the assistance at times from other artists such as Dora Carrington and Paul Nash. A comparison of two photographs, one of the painting after Fry had finished repainting it, and one as it is now, restored as near as possible to its original state by the expert, John Brealey, reveals the extent to which Fry and his assistants wilfully overpainted, adding details of their own in the folds of the drapery and facial features and changing the Negro bearer into a white man. One can only conclude that Fry felt the painting to be in such poor condition that such considerable repainting was justified, a view that modern restorers would not maintain. John Brealey's opinion on Fry's repainting was, "How such a great and sensitive critic would do something so ... uncritical, I will never understand." <sup>2</sup>

Fry's work on The Picture Bearers, like an albatross around his neck, was a drain on his time and energy, and gave him little enjoyment. The less rigorous demands of the Omega were far more to his taste and during the autumn of 1916 he was occupied with designs for decorations and furniture for Madame Vandervelde's flat. A water-colour design for the living-room is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, as is the wall cupboard depicted in the design and other pieces of decorated furniture commissioned by Madame Vandervelde. Several of these pieces of furniture make use of frosted yellow paint on a black background, a technique that could easily have been executed by any of

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1. Fry's official report on the Mantegna cycle is in the files of the Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, St. James' Palace, London.
2. The Daily Telegraph Colour Supplement, 18 April, 1975, p. 21.



the assistants then employed by the Omega. The effect is not dissimilar to that used to camouflage army uniforms and tanks and was extremely popular at this time. Duncan Grant produced a "marbled" effect on all the material used for the costumes he designed for Copeau's "Pelléas and Mélisande" and Barbara Bagenal recalled that Grant and others "marbled doors, window sills, chairs etc. in dry colour all over a house in Suffolk." <sup>1</sup>

One piece of Vandervelde furniture almost certainly designed by Fry if not totally executed by himself, is the bed with a headboard decorated on either side with a reclining nude, one more stylized and angular than the other, and with a footboard decorated with a still-life, identical in design but not in handling on both sides. <sup>2</sup> The still-life, painted in flat colours and sharp outlines, is more purely decorative than his still-life ~~paintings~~ paintings of the period, where the requirements were greater than in a piece of design.

During the last couple of years of the Omega, the style of design tended towards greater emphasis on solidity of form. One reason for this may have been the exhibition of copies and translations of Old Master paintings organized by Fry and held at the Omega in May 1917. He himself produced seven copies for the exhibition, one of them a St. Francis, copied from a reproduction of a fresco at Assisi. <sup>3</sup> Studying this work Fry arrived at a clearer understanding of the need for distortion in painting:

"I had never really studied that before, at least not with enlightened eyes, and find that what I thought were weaknesses of early incapacity are really the results of a sensitivity one had never understood ... when one begins to study the forms in detail one finds just the kind of purposeful distortion and pulling up planes that you get in Greco and Cézanne and the same kind of sequence in the contours ..." 4

This use of distortion is found in Fry's portrait of Edith Sitwell of 1918 (cat. no. 136; Plate 49). <sup>the finished portrait is</sup> When compared with the oil-sketch for this portrait

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1. Quoted in Denys Sutton's, "Jacques Copeau and Duncan Grant," Apollo, August, 1967, p. 139.
2. Speyer loan to Victoria and Albert Museum.
3. Cat. no. 133. Another version was painted for a church in Cornwall, but the present whereabouts remains unknown.
4. Letter to Vanessa Bell, April 6, 1917; Sutton, II: 408.

(cat. no. 137), it can be seen that Fry softened her features and emphatic bone structure to create a more poetic, dream-like image in keeping with her profession. For the same reason her fingers have been elongated. The oval shape in the curtain is picked up in the back of the chair, in the position of her near arm, in the loops of her dress and even in the shape left by the meeting of her head and shoulders with the curtain behind. The delicate colours balance the coarse texture of the canvas in the same way that Fry establishes a knife-edge balance between the opposing characteristics of his sitter; she appears bird-like yet regal, fragile yet authoritative. Not only does Fry's use of distortion enable him to avoid too naturalistic a style he also avoids the exaggeration to which her face lent itself.

### Influence.

Although no longer a central figure *amongst the*  
*avant-garde*, Fry was to maintain his position of influence in the art world throughout the war. Regular exhibitions of modern art were held at the Omega and the French paintings exhibited kept alive an interest that had been fanned into life by the two Post-Impressionist exhibitions but had been cut off from its source by war. However the leading avant-garde exhibiting group in England, the London Group, which had been founded in November 1913 under the Presidency of Harold Gilman, did not include Fry's paintings in its exhibitions until 1917. In the autumn of 1917 he was elected a member of the Group and was put on the hanging committee. From then on he exhibited with this group up to the time of his death and was soon to exert considerable influence upon it. At the following Spring exhibition, for which he was again on the hanging committee, non-members who were allowed to exhibit included Vanessa Bell, Edward Wolfe, Keith Baynes, Frederick Porter and Sidney Carline, all artists who were given encouragement and support by Fry. Richard Carline, the brother of Sidney, recalled how Fry could, when the paintings were presented before the jury, by displaying interest in a certain work, cause the committee to reconsider its hasty verdict and, by his powers of persuasion, gradually argue

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the case for a work that they had previously decided to reject.<sup>1</sup> The Group had originally declared its tolerance of diversity and had in its early exhibitions managed to combine work by Vorticists, Camden Town painters and a number of artists unattached to any movement or group. Fry was seen to lead the Group away from the rich colouring of the Camden Town painters and the artistry of Sickert towards the sense of construction found in the work of Cézanne. He was seen to assert his admiration of French art as the influence to follow, and he was much criticized for doing so as will be mentioned in the next chapter.

Fry's impartial preference for the work of French artists was found to be discouraging and developed a sense of inferiority among English artists. But Fry felt that during this period it was necessary to repeatedly emphasize the formal aspects of art, to ensure the death of any hankering after Victorian sentiment or anecdote. When he organized the exhibition "The New Movement in Art" which was shown in Birmingham and London, he argued in the catalogue that the artists whose work was included were following the change brought about by Cézanne: "Seeking expression, not so much through the direct imitation of natural objects, as through the fundamental principles of design and harmony."<sup>2</sup> How much Fry's personal taste underlay this exhibition is proved by the fact that twenty-two of the sixty-seven works exhibited were owned by himself, and seven others were painted by himself. Even Clive Bell in his review criticized Fry's narrowness of approach which had led to the exclusion of such artists as Spencer, Lewis, Bomberg and Roberts, as well as the French artists, Matisse, Picasso and Bonnard.<sup>3</sup> But in the long run it was Bell who made the most derogatory comments about English art, and as his name was so often coupled

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1. Interview, February 1975.

2. The following artists were included: Boris Anrep, George Barne, Vanessa Bell, Brancusi, Brezska, Dolores Courtney, Derain, Doucet, Othon Friesz, Fry, Gertler, Gris, Maria Guthierrez, Nina Hamnett, McKnight Kauffer, Raould Kristian, Marchand, Thiesson, Villette and Vlaminck.

3. Bell's review of this exhibition first appeared in the Nation, November 1917, and was reprinted in Pot-Boilers, 1918, pp. 199-208.

with Fry's, Fry was forced to share the blame for Bell's attitude. "There is no live tradition, nothing but fashions as stale as last week's newspapers," wrote Bell in 1917. "All that<sup>is</sup> vital in modern art is being influenced by French masters ...," and to Lewis' fury he went on to say that Vorticism "already gives signs of becoming as insipid as any other puddle of provincialism." <sup>1</sup>

If Fry's continuous praise of French art can be seen to have both a positive and negative effect upon the development of modern art in England, the influence he exerted in the field of art education can only be seen as wholly beneficial. In 1917 Marion Richardson visited the exhibition of child art Fry had organized at the Omega. She brought with her a portfolio of children's drawings executed at Dudley High School where she taught. She had come to London with the hope that the London Education Authorities would give her an inspectorate but they had shown no interest in her ideas. Fry however was delighted with the contents of her portfolio and immediately recognized the value of her teaching methods. He did all in his power to support her. He contacted H. A. L. Fisher, Secretary to the Board of Education, in an attempt to enable her to set up an art school for children in London. Nothing came of this immediately but in 1923 she gave up her full-time work at Dudley, continuing to teach there only part time and advertized herself as a teacher of drawing in London. Fry contributed a reference which is quoted in her prospectus, some of which give her address as 7, Dalmeny Avenue, where Roger and Margery Fry were then living, and where Marion Richardson frequently stayed.

The radical difference in Marion Richardson's teaching from that used elsewhere at this date, was that it laid little or no emphasis on closeness of representation and instead stressed individual expression. She would ask the children to close their eyes and would describe a scene, sometimes suggesting the colours in it, and then asked the children to go away and

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1. "Contemporary Art in England," Burlington Magazine, 1917, Vol,XXXI, p.30.

reproduce it. She also invented the idea of producing "mind"pictures. These were paintings of what the children saw when their eyes were closed, sometimes assisted by giving slight pressure to the eyeballs.<sup>1</sup> The results had surprising affinities to the mandalas produced by C.G. Jung's patients.

The paintings Miss Richardson had with her on her visit to the Omega in 1917 were left there and were added to the exhibition and referred to by Fry in his article in the Burlington Magazine on children's art. In 1919 he held an exhibition of work solely produced by her pupils in Dudley. Fry's awareness of the significance of child art dates from at least 1910 when he wrote a review on "The Art of the Bushmen" in which he drew attention to the conceptual element in child art.<sup>2</sup> His appreciation of child and primitive art was an important stepping stone on the way towards his understanding of Post-Impressionism. Like child art a Post-Impressionist painting is often more conceptual than perceptual. But in his examination of child art he was forced to define the quality that separated a child's painting of an interior from one by Matisse, and his conclusion was that child art lacked "richness of expression and the logical control of great design."<sup>3</sup>

#### A Mature Style emerges.

Logical control of design is the characteristic of the work produced by Fry during the last two years of the war. The "New Movement in Art" exhibition had included Duncan Grant's Lemon Gatherers (Tate Gallery) and whilst the painting was in Fry's care, either waiting to be exhibited or returned to its owner, he must have painted the copy or translation that exists (cat. no. 104);

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1. Examples of these and other paintings produced by Miss Richardson's pupils are in the Marion Richardson Archives, Birmingham Polytechnic.
  2. The book Fry reviewed was M. Helen Tongue's Bushman Drawings (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1909. His review first appeared in the Burlington Magazine, March 1911, Vol. XVI, pp. 334-38 and was later reprinted in Vision and Design.
  3. Introduction to the 1919 Omega exhibition of the paintings and drawings produced by pupils of Dudley High School.

Plate 51 ). Fry's version differs considerably from Grant's, (Plate 50 ) both in technique and in its subtle alteration of the design to suit Fry's more pronounced feeling for form. The intervals created between the heads and the trees in the background become more emphatic and significant. The paintwork is more solid and less calligraphic than Grant's. In itself Fry's copy not only demonstrates Fry's admiration for Grant's work but also the way in which his personal style differed from the artist whose work he was imitating.

The same search for fullness of form and clarity of design can be seen by comparing the two versions of the Watermill, (cat. no's. 106 & 105; Plates 52 & 53<sup>of 1917</sup>). The earlier sketch reveals that Fry still began painting in a post-impressionist idiom, using dark outlines and flat areas of unmodulated colour to block out the forms. The more finished work reduces the height of the format and concentrates the buildings in the top half, to contrast with the empty expanse of water in the lower part. One wall at the water's edge now slopes upwards towards the edge of the picture to create a diagonal which prevents the design from becoming too rigid. The colours are richer and more subtle, the various soft blues in the shadowed wall of the nearest building suggest reflected light from the water below. But the more finished version is not ~~more~~ completely resolved. The freely painted background behind the buildings is out of key with their more detailed description. The second version of the Watermill was thought by its previous owner to be called Angles sur L'Anglin. If this is correct a visit to France must have been made during 1917<sup>for</sup> which no other evidence has yet been found. <sup>1</sup>

Due to the continuation of the war, Fry was forced from time to time to turn to the English landscape for inspiration. In August 1917 he visited the Hutchinsons in West Wittering and his old friend Logan Pearsall Smith at Chilling. Of these visits Fry wrote to Vanessa Bell: "I've painted very hard at Eleanor and at Chilling, Logan's place, I think some good things, very

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1. There is however the painting simply called French Town (cat. no. 124) in the University of Leeds which used to belong to Sir Michael Sadler. This too is dated 1917.



literal and realistic, and very solid and worked out." <sup>1</sup> One melancholy, untypical painting that remains from these visits is Mary Hutchinson in a barn near West Wittering (cat. no. 124) in which Mary sits by a large square open window that fills the centre of the picture and presents a landscape painted in turquoise, blue-greens and pale yellow, which contrasts in its brightness with the dull pinks and browns of the barn interior. The effect is that of a picture within a picture but the solitary figure dressed in a long yellow dress adds little to the composition which is weak and unconvincing.

More typical of his solid and vigorous 1917 style is the Durbins Garden from the Studio Window (cat. no. 108). Fry's studio was on the first floor and the view represented looks down on the garden below. Fry must have found considerable pleasure in his garden as he took the trouble to invite the landscape gardener, Getrude Jekyll, who was well known in the area around Guildford, to visit his house and give advice. The view seen in the above painting is framed on either side by curtains, which act as compositional means to tie the outside scene firmly to the surface of the canvas. The vegetation outside is created with swift, short brushstrokes that emphasize the rhythmic grouping of forms. The same concern with rich texture and rhythmic grouping governs another view of his garden, (cat. no. 109), Plate ) which looks straight down the garden towards Sandhills. The similarity in style to the scene painted from the studio window almost certainly dates this work to the summer of 1917.

The desire to frame the central motif, to create a picture within a picture, is a recurring element in Fry's work as in that of Bell and Grant. Fry **used** it in Mary Hutchinson in a Barn, Angela Lavelli on the Terrace (cat. no. 171 ), Spring in Provence (cat. no. 294 ), in the above mentioned view of Durbins garden and in a work of 1918 simply entitled The Window (cat. no. 132; Plate 54 ). The use of a dominant square or rectangle in a picture enabled Fry to emphasize his search for almost geometric structure underlying all

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, August 16, 1917; Charleston Papers.



form on which his compositions were built. The climax in The Barn (cat. no. 107)<sup>1</sup> is reached when the eye, after following the orange-yellow path and dull pink wall as it winds into the picture, reaches the black square representing the open door of the barn. The eye can go no further and all the delicate colours and simple lines of this distilled work lead inwards to this square, in the same way that the main lines of a Vorticist design lead one always to the still point at the centre.

Despite his persistent complaints about the lack of clarity in the light effects and the sweetness of the English landscape, in June 1918 Fry holidayed at Bo Peep farm in Sussex, partly to be near Charleston and Vanessa, and partly to concentrate on landscape painting. Farm Buildings and Pond (cat. no. 134; Plate 55) produced during this stay again reveals his emphasis on the underlying geometry of the scene, and the resulting composition, although well balanced, suffers from a heavy deliberation. Aware of this problem, Fry wrote to his sister Margery: "I'm painting hard at landscape, done a few, I think some good, but I can't take the next step which would be my inevitable synthesis and not a willed and deliberate one."<sup>2</sup>

When Farm Buildings and Pond is compared with Willow-trees and Chalk Pit (cat. no. 144; Plate 56) painted towards the end of his stay at Bo Peep, it can be seen that Fry has arrived at a more fluent synthesis. He was clearly excited by the scene and described it to his daughter as "a new and splendid subject of willow trees in front of a chalk pit; all pale blue greens and violets and yellows."<sup>3</sup> Fry uses vibrant hues in such a way that the painting has an iridescence of colour that spreads across the entire canvas. It is combined with a richness of texture that is broken only <sup>by</sup> the small area of stippled brushwork between the lower parts of the two trees. No other painting

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1. Reproduced Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits, colour plate, VI.

2. Sutton, II: 429.

3. Sutton, II: 430. His daughter who did not see the painting for many years observed, when shown a colour slide of it, that her father had changed the willow trees into the olive trees of France he so much loved.

demonstrates so well one of the central concerns in Fry's oeuvre, referred to in a letter to D. S. MacColl: "What I wanted ... was a much more deliberate and close unity of texture than any of my contemporaries tried for." <sup>1</sup> The painting represents the high level of achievement Fry could attain when he was not beset by an inferiority complex caused by French art. From Bo Peep he wrote to the artist E. McKnight Kauffer that he was "only now at last being allowed to paint at all regularly. I'm working hard at landscape here, quite remote from all theories and fixed ideas. I think I see that one can only go on the line of a gentle and continual pressure towards synthesis ..." <sup>2</sup>

This arrival at a mature style of his own was undoubtedly assisted by the presence of Nina Hamnett, who had a studio in the same house as Fry, 21, Fitzroy Street, and who made a significant contribution to the Omega Workshops. Before joining the Omega, Nina had acquired considerable artistic experience, partly from attending various art schools including one of Sickert's, but also from having lived for several months among avant-garde artists in Paris where she established friendships with Modigliani and the sculptor Ossip Zadkine, among others. Whilst in Paris in 1912-13, she appears to have come into contact with aspects of German Expressionism, possibly meeting Herwath Walden on his visit to Paris to search for artists for his Autumn Salon of 1913. In one of her still-life paintings done before 1914, she includes in the lower half of the picture a painted copy of Der Sturm, the German Expressionist newspaper published by Walden. <sup>3</sup> A reference to this art movement can also be found in the work of her husband, Raoult Kristian, otherwise known as Edgar de Bergen, whom she married in 1914; his woodcut included in the book of Omega woodcuts printed in 1918, pays direct homage to the horses of Franz Marc.

Lack of adequate information on Nina Hamnett's life and work makes any

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1. Sutton, I: 354.
2. Letter to E. McKnight Kauffer, May 30, 1918; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
3. The painting is in the collection of Mr. E. Booth-Clibborn, London.

definite assessment of her influence on Fry's paintings or vice versa, impossible. On her suggestion Fry adopted for a while the use of a coarse-grained canvas to give added texture. Nina probably influenced Fry towards greater deliberation in the construction of a composition;<sup>in</sup> her Der Sturm still-life the limited number of objects used are composed with the utmost care and painted with subtle modulations of colour in a similar method to that adopted by Fry during 1917-18. When Fry bought Nina's Portrait of a Landlady of 1913,<sup>1</sup> it must have been the bold emphasis of the horizontals and verticals to build up the rigid design that he admired, and, in the way that even the handle of the cup is positioned parallel to the picture plane, it may have reminded him of Cézanne's Portrait of a Maid.

In his drawings Fry was also influenced by Nina. On return from one of her two pre-war visits to Paris, she brought back a folder of Modigliani drawings to sell in England. These, combined possibly with the influence of Kokoschka's pen and ink portrait sketches, found in Der Sturm, laid emphasis on the quick free-flowing line, free of shading, which became characteristic of much of the drawing executed by artists connected with the Omega, such as Gaudier, Brzeska, Edward Wolfe, Nina and Fry himself, who executed during the war a number of quick sketches in pen and ink.<sup>2</sup>

Nina's influence is best felt in the still-life paintings produced by Fry during the last two years of the war. The still-life was the most suitable genre for prolonged artistic contemplation. It was an integral part of his studio, guarded over by the placard, "Do not touch." With these "symbols of detachment, those tokens of spiritual reality immune from destruction, the immortal apples, the eternal eggs," as Virginia Woolf has referred to them,<sup>3</sup> Fry attempted to discover and establish the classic

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1. The portrait is still in the possession of the Fry family.
2. A few sketches also remain in what appears to be silverpoint, the most notable being that in the Courtauld Institute Galleries of Sir Edward Fry on his deathbed, of 1918. On close examination the drawing was found to be executed by lead pencil on a prepared sheet of paper.
3. Virginia Woolf: Roger Fry, p. 215.

balance and sense of wholeness found in the work of Cézanne and Seurat.

Having recently reviewed Vollard's book on Cézanne, Fry had noted that Cézanne's later work arrives at "the purest terms of structural design" in which "the plasticity has become all important."<sup>1</sup> Developing this idea in a letter to Charles Vildrac, Fry wrote:

I am particularly working on still-life, trying to discover a more absolute construction and the ultimate simplification of all relationships. I find the idea of plasticity suggested by flat, or scarcely-modelled volumes is much more powerful than that evoked by means of chiaroscuro. But it needs a very special drawing to succeed; it needs deformation to give the real idea.

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The still-lives of 1917-18 show Fry searching for this perfection and conviction of statement, which is eventually achieved the following year, 1919, in The Blue Bottle (cat. no. 115; Plate 57). ~~This work~~ represents a high point in Fry's career as a painter. The aspect Fry admired in Seurat's work was not the scientific use of pointillism but the sense of absolute rightness of every contour and object, and the creation of a self-contained reality, qualities that also describe Fry's The Blue Bottle. Here the number of objects has been limited to three so that the eye can concentrate on the essence of these forms, their relationship one to each other and to the bare essentials of the background; the texture of the curtain on the left hand side is picked up in the reflections in the glass of water, and the motif in the wallpaper, not dissimilar to the decorative, tripartite motif often found in Seurat's work is picked up in the reflection in the blue bottle.

The still-lives of 1917-18 that develop towards the compelling unity of those produced in 1919, are less rigorously reduced in number of objects. The three most important of these years are Still Life on Mantlepiece (cat. no. 116), The Blue Bowl (cat. no. 147), Plate ) and Still Life with Biscuit Tin (cat. no. 127; 158). The latter plays on the contrast between the fullness of form of the objects and the emptiness of the space in which they exist. Like

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1. "Paul Cézanne by Ambroise Vollard; A Review," Burlington Magazine, Vol. 31, 1917, August, pp. 52-61.
  2. Sutton, II: 410.

the Watermill of 1917, the weight of the forms is concentrated in the top half of the format, leaving the foreground to slide towards the spectator without any foreground motif to lead the eye back into the picture. A sketch of this still-life in an earlier condition is found in a letter written by Fry to his daughter in June 1918. In it, a "bright blue enamel tea-pot," as he described it, is seen resting on the bottom edge of the painting, but was later excluded from the composition, leaving the floral patterned Victorian tablecloth, similar to that found in Fry's portrait of Arthur Waley, to float ambiguously towards the spectator. If the composition of this work remains somewhat unsatisfying, the unity of the whole is reasserted by the richness of the colour. A sensitive balancing of colour can be seen in the way the orange stripe down the side of the biscuit tin turns to red in the lower half to balance the green of the shadow surrounding it.

The mood of each still-life depends primarily upon the spatial relationships, both two and three dimensional, inherent in each. In the Still Life on Mantlepiece, it arises out of the casual juxtaposition of variously-shaped objects, leaning in various directions and setting off each other in a complexity of relationships. In the Blue Bowl, the emotion arises as much out of observation of the space around the objects as from the forms they create. Fry wrote of this painting: "Its a very curious colour and the composition is an idea of emptiness in the middle and rather a series of lines and small forms all round." <sup>1</sup>

With his flower paintings of this period, Fry was equally successful. They pleased not only himself but also the public; in November 1917 he held an exhibition of flower paintings at the Carfax Gallery at which nearly all the works were sold. <sup>2</sup> Even Sickert praised them in the Burlington Magazine:

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1. Sutton, II: 440.

2. The present whereabouts of four flower paintings of this date is known: Iris and Poppy (Julian Fry Coll.), Lily (Bristol City Art Gallery), Clematis (P. D. Coll.), Poppies (Bankfield Museum, Halifax).

" ... his (Fry's) position as an Editor of this magazine prevents criticism in detail. But it is not exceeding a reasonable limit to characterize these twenty paintings as serious and thoughtful work, full of feeling for the possible dignity of this branch of still-life, and showing appreciation of colour, growth and pictorial structure, expressed without the tedium of over-literal representation." 1

Fry's arrangement and choice of flowers may have been influenced by his reading of Okakura's "Book of Tea" in which a chapter is devoted to the appreciation of flowers. Fry follows the Japanese taste for showing the whole of the plant, and not cutting away extraneous foliage as in western flower displays. He also follows Okakura's advice that nothing should be placed nearby to detract from the effect of the flowers unless there is an aesthetic reason for the combination. Earlier in 1910 Fry had written: "Modern European art has always maltreated flowers, dealing with them at best as aids to sentimentality until Van Gogh saw, with a vision that reminds one of Blake's, the arrogant spirit that inhabits the sunflower, or the proud and delicate soul of the iris." <sup>2</sup> Fry's own sensibility to flowers can be seen in The Madonna Lily (cat. no. 110; Plate 59 ). The painting creates an extraordinary balance between aggression and sensitivity, the strong almost vorticist black line down the left hand side contrasting with the sensitive treatment of the flower and the delicate colouring of the shadows on the wall. Vanessa Bell painted the same subject which is less intensely thought out than Fry's and omits the oriental figure that Fry includes to echo in its gentle curves the folding movement of the lily petals. <sup>3</sup> The success of his flower paintings in the 1917 exhibition caused him to give up painting flowers for a short while, as he disliked the idea of becoming known to the public as a flower painter, but his love of flowers was life-long and he could not prevent himself from continuously returning to paint them.

The third area on which Fry concentrated during these years was that of

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1. Burlington Magazine, Vol. XXXII, 1918, p. 38.
2. "The Post-Impressionists," Nation, December 3, 1910. pp. 402-03.
3. Exhibited at the D'Offay Gallery, London, 1973, Cat. no. 12 (repr.)

portraiture. Best known of this period is probably that of Nina Hamnett in the Courtauld Institute Galleries (cat. no. 101; Plate 60 ). The portrait has a naturalness of pose, which plays on the twisting movement of the body, the head tilted to one side, the arms placed on the other side and the legs crossed. In the background the saucepans on the table meet abruptly with the outline of the head in a manner similar to that used by Matisse in Woman with Green Eyes. The feeling for form is here essentially linear and Fry has been fascinated by the modulation of the outlines of the arms and hands created by the muscles and the bones, but there is no interest in the internal features in themselves. The same is true of the treatment of the hands in the Portrait of Viola Tree (cat. no. 118; Plate 61 ). Here he makes use of a frontal pose in which the V-shaped opening of her dress serves as an emphatic lead up to the face and acts as a connecting passage between the ~~hands and face~~ hands and face, also joined ~~led~~ by the slower circular rhythms of her coat. The warm browns and greys contrast to the small note of cool blue in the cross that she wears as a medallion. The Portrait of Mme. Vandervelde (cat. no. 126; Plate 62 ) done at the same time as the one of Viola Tree, is more complex in its design, lacking the direct simplicity of the Viola Tree portrait, but the strong, dominating personality and intellectual integrity of Mme. Vandervelde ~~is~~ well caught in the slight tilt of the head and steady gaze of the sitter. If compared with Augustus John's portraits of these years, Fry's ~~achievement in dealing with~~ relationships of form and the construction of these into a unified whole must be recognized. ~~as the last personal gallery work~~

He approached each painting with an integrity that prevented him from adopting any facile techniques for effect, nor would his honesty have allowed any flattery or allusive treatment of a portrait. For this reason he so rarely painted commissioned portraits, preferring to capture likenesses of his friends and relations. In January 1918, he spent some<sup>most</sup> time painting a servant girl which remains one of his simplest yet ~~satisfying~~ satisfying statements in this genre (cat. no. 139). During these last years of the war Fry also painted a most lyrical portrait of Vanessa Bell (cat. no. 142), capturing her calm, reticent



character and unadorned beauty in an abrupt composition that has the informal quality of a snapshot. In contrast to the dreaming quality of Vanessa's portrait, Fry was also at <sup>this</sup> ~~this~~ to capture the stern, penetrating character of his mother, Lady Fry (cat. no. 145).

Two male portraits, one of Lytton Strachey (cat. no. 114) and the other of André Gide, (cat. no. 133) are respectively dated 1917 and 1918. Similar in style and therefore also datable to this Omega period is the unfinished portrait of Arthur Waley. <sup>1</sup> The portrait of Lytton Strachey represents him seated, in the act of reading, and is painted in soft purples and greys, with particular attention given to the sitter's hands resting on the book. <sup>2</sup> In painting portraits of other members of the Bloomsbury Group, as the friends were now labelled, Fry was not unaware of the importance the group had by now assumed. The element of self-consciousness that had crept into the group led Clive Bell to suggest "a great historical portrait group of Bloomsbury" as Fry informed Vanessa. He added: "I think I shall have a shot at it." <sup>3</sup> This portrait was never executed by Fry but Vanessa Bell some years later executed the Memoir Club, (Quentin Bell Coll.) which remains the most representative group portrait. She did not <sup>however</sup> take up Fry's ironical suggestion that the painting should include " ... Walter Sickert coming in at the door and looking at us all with a kind of benevolent cynicism." <sup>4</sup>

The portrait of Gide, painted with great speed, has a dash and bravura rare in Fry's work and surprisingly successful. It captures Gide in a relaxed, meditative pose, head resting on hand, wearing a brilliant blue tie. Fry's friendship with Gide began the same year as this portrait, 1918. He was

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1. Cat. no. 97. The portrait departed significantly from Waley's actual appearance; the hair is dark, not fair, the eyes brown not blue and the hands are long and tapering, not short and thick-set. As in the Edith Sitwell portrait of 1915, Fry was concerned with suggesting a sense of the poetical and for this reason may have felt justified in making the above-mentioned alterations.
2. Lady Strachey stayed at Fry's house, Durbins, during much of 1916-17 and was paid frequent visits by members of her family. Possibly during one of Lytton's visits, this portrait was painted.
3. Sutton, II: 423.
4. Ibid.

delighted to find in Gide a taste and intelligence similar to his own and their friendship was cemented by their shared interest in contemporary French literature. Fry discovered, whilst showing Gide the translations of Mallarmé's poems he had made, that he had gone further in unravelling their meaning than the great French writer himself. The portrait of Gide was not commissioned but painted by Fry for himself as a quick record of his friend, ~~1888~~ on the back of an unfinished landscape dating from his early post-impressionist period. This landscape was later the cause of some confusion. Arnold Bennett saw the portrait and offered to buy it. Fry agreed and the painting was duly delivered to Bennett. On its arrival the delivery man presented the painting to Bennett, showing him the side painted with an <sup>early</sup> landscape. It was immediately sent back with protests from the author. A soothing letter to Bennett explained that the portrait was on the other side; he was not "the victim of a deliberate plot ... to palm off one of my eccentric landscapes," wrote Fry, adding that he hoped "the knowledge that the landscape is at the back won't spoil your enjoyment of the front." <sup>1</sup>

Such was the degree of consistency and maturity that Fry's style had reached by 1918, that <sup>at</sup> the exhibition Englische Moderne Malerei held at Zurich that year, Fry and Sickert were the two artists who caught the attention of the critics. <sup>2</sup> The similarity in their work lay in the attempt to discover a systematic method of execution. Sickert, at this time, achieved this by building up layers of thin washes, Fry, <sup>through</sup> subtle, continuous modulations and colour and through the use of the rhythmic patterning of texture. In their attitude to modern art the two artists however, were at this time opposed. In a letter to Fry written during the war, Nina Hammett, who unlike other women in Sickert's classes was not devotedly attached to his techniques,

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1. Two letters to Arnold Bennett, February 16, 1919; University College Library, University of London. MS *Ogden* 96-13.
2. The exhibition contained 107 items by N.E.A.C. artists as well as those influenced by Post-Impressionism. It was organized by the Contemporary Art Society and held at the Kunsthaus, Zurich from August 8 - 28. Fry exhibited four oils and three watercolours.

declared: "My picture is nearly finished it is très loin de Sickert. He by the way spends at least two hours daily at tea-time holding forth. I always say 'yes' and go home and do the opposite. He admits he can understand nothing of modern art." <sup>1</sup>

Sickert's attitude to modern art did not however, prevent him from exhibiting work in the exhibition of modern paintings and drawings held at the Omega at the end of 1918. His numerous drawings exhibited were hung alongside drawings by Fry. The paintings Fry exhibited and listed in the catalogue were A Window, Still-Life and Charleston. These, the Burlington Magazine critic felt, showed "the many-sided artist at a high level of creation." <sup>2</sup>

During the war Fry's energy never abated. His commitment to the Omega demanded involvement at all levels, from arranging commissions, executing the designs, selling, dashing to Poole to work for twelve hours at a stretch producing pottery, to the organizing of exhibitions and of evening parties held at the Workshops to give opportunities to emigré artists and musicians. His commitment to the Burlington Magazine still continued in his role as joint editor, but his activity as a critic finds very little mention in his letters of this period. It was not foremost in his mind. It was with his role as a painter that he was chiefly concerned and his style during this period matures, crystallizes and becomes more personal. Still aware of recent developments in the work of modern artists, the early excitement of his conversion to the post-impressionists had passed. Their discoveries had to be synthesized into a language of his own. In 1918 he decorated a virginals made for him by Dolmetsch. The interior of the lid is artfully filled with a seated nude of which he wrote to Vanessa Bell: " ... p'raps you'll think it too reminiscent and vieux-jeu - somehow the instrument seemed to suggest that sort of thing, but it is quite modern in handling." <sup>3</sup> On the outside of the lid he used an

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1. Letter to Roger Fry, no date, (probably written from Bath); Fry Papers.
2. Burlington Magazine, 1918, Vol. XXXIII, p. 233.
3. Letter to Vanessa Bell, February 21, 1918; Charleston Papers. *The virginals is now in the Fry Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries.*

abstract design of contrasting shapes and textures, influenced by Picasso's more elaborate use of synthetic cubism. As a whole, the decoration demonstrates his stylistic adaptability within a single object of design. Whether his mental agility is seen as a strength or a weakness, it certainly added to the charm of his personality. In October 1918 Aldous Huxley recorded his impression of Fry: "I went last week to stay with old Roger Fry, who for a man over fifty is far the youngest person I have ever seen. I am not sure that he isn't really younger than oneself. So susceptible to new ideas, so much interested in things, so disliking the old - it is wonderful." <sup>1</sup>

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1. Letter to Julian Huxley, October 30, 1918, reprinted in Letters of Aldous Huxley, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969) p. 169.

Contact with French artists renewed.

On the night of November 11, 1918, Roger Fry celebrated the armistice with other artists, writers and intellectuals in Monty Sharman's rooms in the Adelphi, where the walls were hung with some of the few paintings by Matisse at that time to be found in England. Whilst Lytton Strachey jiggled around the room in his own inimitable fashion the crowd outside danced in the street and on top of motor cars. Such frenzied demand for gaiety and entertainment was to become a superficial aspect of the 'twenties' but underneath it lay the desire for stability and a return to past conventions. In the art world some attempt was made to return to pre-war experiments. Cubist art continued to appear at the Salon d'Automne in Paris and in England Wyndham Lewis and his followers organized the Group X exhibition in March, 1920. The catalogue declared that "the experiments undertaken all over Europe during the last ten years should be utilized and developed and not lightly abandoned." <sup>1</sup> Significantly the group disbanded after its first and last exhibition. Lewis later said of himself at this period: "The geometrics which had interested me so exclusively before, I now felt were bleak and empty. They wanted filling." <sup>2</sup> So despite good intentions the first part of this decade was a period of retrogression and its effect can be noticed in the work of leading French and British artists alike. Fry's own regression at this time must therefore be seen as part of a general trend.

In both London and Paris post-war art was marked by a return to representation. In Paris this movement was headed by Derain and Picasso both of whom visited London in 1919, in connection with Diaghilev's two ballets, La Boutique Fantastique and The Three-Cornered Hat. The former had sets,

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1. Foreward to the Group X Exhibition catalogue, Mansard Gallery, March 20.
2. Wyndham Lewis, Rude Assignment: A Narrative of My Career Up-to-Date, (London: Hutchinson 1950) p. 129.

curtain and costumes designed by Derain and the latter had a drop-scene painted by Picasso. Both artists were on terms of friendship with various members of the Bloomsbury Group and Derain in fact stayed at Vanessa Bell's flat in Regent Square. Fry dined with him twice, first in the company of Lalla Vandervelde and G. L. Dickinson and secondly in the company of Picasso, as well as lunching with him on another day.<sup>1</sup> Derain visited the London Group exhibition, where according to Mark Gertler, without knowing the name of the artist, he picked out Fry's paintings as the best.<sup>2</sup> Picasso on the other hand thought that all English art was merely pretty or sentimental. His enthusiasm was only aroused by the Omega pottery he saw on a visit to the Workshops.

The two artists must have caused renewed interest in England in contemporary French art. An opportunity to catch up on recent Parisian development was offered in the summer of 1919 when Osbert and Sacheverell Sitwell and the Parisian-Polish dealer Zborowski organized an exhibition of modern French art at the Mansard Gallery at Heal's Tottenham Court Road. The hanging of the exhibition took place during the long hot July evenings and Fry strolled round from his studio in Fitzroy Street to watch. This "heirophant," as Osbert Sitwell referred to Fry, was present one evening as<sup>a</sup> Derain was being unpacked and attention was drawn to the fact that a currant had become wedged between the paint and the glass. As someone went to remove it, Osbert Sitwell recorded that Fry advised: "Better leave it alone. He probably placed it there intentionally. It makes rather a swagger contour."<sup>3</sup>

Writing in the Athenaeum about the exhibition, Fry felt that despite the "casual and unsystematic gleaning from the contemporary Parisian output" the result was "astonishing in its interest and variety."<sup>4</sup> He estimated that it

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1. The dates for these occasions are in order as mentioned, May 13, May 18 and May 12. Information taken from Fry's appointments diary for 1919 (King's College, Cambridge).
2. Letter from Gertler to S. S. Koteliensky, June 1919, repr. Noel Carrington (editor) Letters of Mark Gertler, (London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1965) p.172.
3. Osbert Sitwell, Laughter in the Next Room, (London: Macmillan and Co., 1949) p. 149.
4. August 8, 1919, p. 723.

was ten times more interesting than a good London Group exhibition. It included work by Friesz, Vlaminck, Derain, Matisse, Picasso, Modigliani, Utrillo, Kisling, Léger, Lhôte, Dufy and Archipenko. This renewed injection of French influence and the immediate acclaim it was given by others like Fry, was found to be oppressive by some. Mark Gertler wrote to Koteliansky in August 1919: "At present I am not working, because a change is going on in my mind again, perhaps caused by the French pictures. They are all very nice and fine and clever, but 'exquisite' and 'oh c'est formidable!' They all make me feel as if I were on the stage." <sup>1</sup>

The exhibition was to influence Fry's own painting. The artist to whom he seems to have given the greatest attention was Derain, who, Fry admitted, "once seemed derivative ... but now takes his place as one of the definite centres of radiation." <sup>2</sup> He noted his more restricted palette, the lack of any rigid or systematic definition of planes and his greater concern with the fusion of tones and the suggestion of atmosphere. The revolt against cubism and the return to a classical style in Derain's work had been noted by Apollinaire at the exhibition of his held at Paul Guillaume's gallery in October 1916. Both in his landscapes and his portraits of these immediate post-war years, Derain introduced an element of softness akin to the work of Renoir, which <sup>in turn have</sup> may influenced the gradual softening of Fry's own style during the early 1920's.

Another artist Fry greatly admired at this date was Jean Marchand. By September 1919, Fry had become aware that a conservative element was setting in and writing to Marchand, he regretted the "strong reactionary tendency taking hold of the young, to see them tired of freedom and demanding discipline." <sup>3</sup> But it was the disciplined nature of Marchand's work that had

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1. Carrington, Letters of Mark Gertler, p. 176.

2. Athenæum, August 8, 1919, p. 723.

3. Letter to J. Marchand, September 8, 1919 (Sutton, II: 456) in which he also refers more specifically to L'hôte's article that had appeared in the Athenæum, August 22, 1919 and which directed abuse against the modern movement.



led Fry to acquire five of his paintings by this date. He admired<sup>in</sup> Marchand's work "that austerity and solidity of construction which ... are the great qualities of the French tradition from Poussin to Cézanne." <sup>1</sup> Marchand had experimented with cubism around 1910-11, imitating the early analytical cubism of Picasso and Braque. His work had been shown in London at the Second Post-Impressionist exhibition of 1912, at the Second Grafton Group exhibition of 1914 and at the Carfax Gallery in 1915 when it received the admiration of Clive Bell. In 1919 he held his first one-man show at the Carfax. During the early 1920's his work became more naturalistic but it retained the sense of an underlying structure based on his understanding of Cubism and Cézanne. In this respect his work has similarities to that of Fry. The two artists met for the first time in November, 1919, in Cagnes.

Another French artist with whom Fry became more familiar during 1919 was Georges Rouault. On his return to England from Provence in December 1919 Fry stopped in Paris in an attempt to familiarize himself further with recent French painting. During this visit he was asked to read the poems of an artist called Rouault. Although six landscapes by this artist had been included in the First Post-Impressionist Exhibition, Fry claimed that Rouault was "hitherto almost unknown to me." <sup>2</sup> On reading the poems Fry found little in them to admire and was consequently still less expectant when he was asked to look through his folio of drawings. This Fry did with misgivings until gradually as he turned over each drawing, the recognition grew upon him that these were the works of a highly gifted visionary artist, the content of whose work lay beyond the immediate appreciation of their formal means: "all his images appear to have been transmitted by some inner process and to be externalized to the artist almost as hallucinations." <sup>3</sup> The discovery of this artist left Fry

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1. Letter to Marie Maureon, December 12, 1919; Sutton, II: 474.
2. Letter to Marie Maureon, December 31, 1919; Sutton, II: 476.
3. Unpublished lecture notes on "Principles of Design," Lecture V Modern Art; Fry Papers. I am grateful to John Hubbard for giving me Duncan Grant's version of Fry's discovery of Rouault.

with no doubt that Rouault was "one of the geniuses of all times." <sup>1</sup> Four of his works, bought by Fry during this visit, are now in the Fry Collection at the Courtauld Institute Galleries as proof of his admiration, although no influence of Rouault appeared in Fry's own work.

Clive Bell had arrived in Paris earlier in November and, due to his enjoyment of the company of artists, established contact with a number of painters among them Picasso, Derain, Marchand, Segonzac, Dufresne, Friesz, Vlaminck, Gontcharova and Braque. To his surprise he found that among certain painters, Fry was a little "demodé." <sup>2</sup> This view he repeated in a letter which also captures his excitement at finding himself caught up in the Parisian art world:

"To-morrow I lunch with Picasso, to meet Cocteau and Satie ... I seem to see most of Derain ... The activity and excitement of the painters here is unheard of: there seems to be no end of pictures and picture dealers ... I imagine Florence in the fifteenth century must have been something like it ... I perceive they all like or rather admire Roger; but laugh at him. They consider him doctrinaire in his views: very few of them seem to realize that he makes pictures himself." <sup>3</sup>

During the early 'twenties' Fry made frequent visits to Paris either ~~to see~~ to see exhibitions or ~~to pause~~ for a brief sojourn on his way to or from the Midi. In the autumn of 1920 he stopped in Paris to see the latest work of Matisse on exhibit at Bernheim-Jeune. The artist-friends whose company he sought was more limited than Bell's or at least less mention is made of whom he saw in his letters, and in the autumn of 1920 he seems to have confined his company to Marchand, Roderick O'Connor and Sonia Lewitska. In March the following year he made another visit to Paris and ~~he~~ must have had contact with a number of artists as he noticed that the Paris school had fallen into two camps, those that followed Derain and those that followed Picasso. Fry admired the parodies of neo-classicism Picasso was producing at this time, particularly his elephantine pink nudes: "They're most impressive almost overwhelming things." <sup>4</sup> Derain too still found favour, although he noted a

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1. Sutton, II: 476.

2. Letter from Clive to Vanessa Bell (no date) 1919; Charleston Papers.

3. Letter from <sup>Clive to</sup> Vanessa Bell, November 20, 1919; Charleston Papers.

4. Letter to Vanessa Bell, March 15, 1921; Sutton, II: 504.

baroque element creeping in amongst the paintings exhibit<sup>ed</sup> at Bernheim-Jeune's.

The renewed French influence on Fry's painting in the early 1920's came, however, not only from contemporary artists but also from past masters. As in the middle 1890's, this period is marked by a return to the Old Masters and the values contained in their work. In particular Fry turned to Poussin, studying the complexity of his compositions in the Louvre in an attempt to discover "what principle there is that governs the relation of convex volume to the space it occupies or fills pictorially" as well as trying to explain "different kinds of fullness and emptiness of picture space." <sup>1</sup> These concerns relate to his own paintings and point to his continual awareness of the tension found in a representational painting between the three-dimensional forms suggested within the actual two-dimensional format. In Poussin's paintings this tension is worked out to a fine balance, or as Fry referred to it, "that perfect but never monotonous equilibrium, that absence of all emphasis, with a much greater intensity than vehement painters possess." <sup>2</sup>

His opinion on modern French art was summed up in his article "La Peinture Moderne en France," published in L'Amour de L'Art in 1921, which was coloured by his renewed interest in Poussin and classical art. This article together with Clive Bell's Since Cézanne can be taken as the official opinion of Bloomsbury towards French art in the early 1920's. Fry began by stressing the paramount influence of Cézanne, which Bell's title was also to imply. Fry argued that Cézanne had rejected "tout ce qui est étranger à l'essence de la technique picturale." Like Bell, Fry made no attempt to conceal his greater regard for French painting than for English, and compared the dishonest sentimentality that often infects the latter, with the greater honesty and "perception plus claire" found in French art. Having emphasized the recurring classical element in French art, he proceeded to give his own definition of the terms 'classic' and 'romantic': "J'appelle 'romantique' toute oeuvre d'art

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, March 15, 1921; Sutton, II: 505.
2. Letter to Marie Maurel, April 1, 1921; Sutton, II: 506.

qui compte pour produire son effet sur l'association des idées qu'elle suscite dans l'esprit du spectateur. J'appelle 'classique' l'oeuvre qui depend de son organisation formelle pour éveiller l'émotion." <sup>1</sup> Among the artists he mentions, he singles out Derain for particular admiration for precisely those qualities he values in the work of Poussin and Cézanne: "une de ses principales préoccupation est justement le besoin d'arriver à une synthèse de forme qui soit plus étroitement tissée, plus inévitable, plus dense que tout ce qu'on a fait jusqu'a ce jour."

Bell too, singles out Derain and argues that he is the chief influence on contemporary French painting. Matisse, on the other hand, "who may still be the best painter alive, has hardly any influence at all." <sup>2</sup> Like Fry, Bell felt doubtful that cubism would have any future but he admitted the new coherence of design it had given to certain artists' work, such as that of Marchand. One other painter Bell praises is Segonzac, whose work he had noticed at the Salon d'Automne of 1921, and who was to become a close friend of the Bloomsbury circle. Fry met Segonzac in Paris the following year, in April 1922, when he also had contact with Brancusi for the first time.

During the early 1920's Fry bought several paintings by contemporary French artists. Apart from the four works by Rouault he also bought a Derain oil of Picasso's house at Avignon in September 1919. <sup>3</sup> Later in 1924 he bought a

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1. L'Amour de L'Art, 1921, 2: 141-60. The ideas expressed here are similar to his explanation of the term 'classic' in his lecture "Quelques Peintres Français Modernes" given to the Club Français de L'Université de Londres on March 1, 1916: "Pour classique bien entendu, je ne veux pas dire un art qui imite l'art des Grecs et des Romains puisque rien n'est si anti-classique que la représentation des formes-mais un art qui s'exprime par la forme pure et non par les idées associées que peuvent suggérer les formes. Pour l'artiste classique alors le contenu des formes est relativement sans importance. Pour lui il est peu important qu'il peigne la crucifixion comme Giotto ou une bouteille de vin comme Chardin. C'est par les formes et par les formes seules qu'il cherche à évoquer les émotions qu'il trouve les plus élevées, les moins personnelles, les plus absolues dont l'homme est peut-être capable." (Typescript amongst the Fry Papers, King's College, Cambridge).

2. Since Cézanne, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1922) p. 19.

3. The painting passed from Fry to his sister Margery, and from her to Mrs. B. Taber. Reproduced Sutton, II: plate 98.

Matisse, a nude by Bonnard and a still-life by Roderick O'Connor.<sup>1</sup> These were the paintings recorded but it is probable that several more were acquired at this date.

The Omega and its struggle for survival.

Having survived the war the fortunes of the Omega Workshops fluctuated during the first half of 1919. In the early part of the year it briefly participated in the post-war boom, but the influenza epidemic which had reached a peak in November 1918, broke out again at the turn of the year and decimated the numbers of employees at the Workshops. Fry himself had to bear the brunt of the furniture decorating. He was, so he declared, painting on average one piece per day. Much of this furniture he painted was old farm-house chairs and tables, as it was still impossible in the early months of 1919 to order furniture to be made. Another restriction on his decorative activities came in February 1919, when he informed Vanessa Bell, there was "no more Crimson Lake to be had in England."<sup>2</sup> An example of Fry's decorative work of this period is the table in the Victoria and Albert Museum Circulation Department, where the circular top is painted with both geometric shapes and stylized leaf-forms on a freely-mottled background.

In March 1919 Fry wrote to Arnold Bennett: "I should like to talk to you about the Omega one day. It is at a critical point. There is a chance of getting it placed on better commercial footing or else of its failing ignominiously. In either case I shall retire from the chief position ..."<sup>3</sup> Ten days later Fry wrote again to Bennett: "I wonder whether you will be surprised, glad, shocked or what - to hear that the Omega is disappearing ... I can't stand the expense any longer and I've given up hope of knocking what I

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1. The Matisse is probably the four-masted sailing boat bequeathed by Fry to Vanessa Bell and which now belongs to Mrs. Angelica Garnett. Two Bonnards Fry owned are in the Fry Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries (but neither is a nude), as is the O'Connor still-life.
  2. Letter to Vanessa Bell, February 5, 1919; Charleston Papers.
  3. Letter to Arnold Bennett, March 3, 1919; University College Library, University of London. MS Ogden 96-13.

call sense into the British Public." <sup>1</sup> Yet by the beginning of June Fry was still hopeful that help would be forthcoming, and possibly from Bennett: "Have you seriously got any suggestion to make about the Omega because I must close down soon ... I think it's a pity because the commercialists will have it all their own way and there will be no attempt at really creative design. However people have the world the average man likes. I don't understand the animal and can't hope to manage him." <sup>2</sup> In June the Omega held a sale of its goods, but the workshops must have lingered on until after September, as Margery Fry, assisted by Francis Birrell and Robert Tatlock, had to see to the packing up and clearing out of the final remains while Fry was in France.

While it still lasted it continued to attract young artists, among them Edward Wolfe who joined the Omega straight from the Slade in 1918, having met Nina Hamnett at a party given by Augustus John. Nina brought Wolfe to the Omega in order that he could copy Fry's designs for lampshades for a certain lady's chandeliers. Wolfe soon tired of this imitative work and began to extemporize in a fashion that won Fry's immediate approval. This marked the beginning of a friendship to which Wolfe felt he owed much of his consequent career. <sup>3</sup>

In company with Edward Wolfe, Fry painted a portrait of one of the Omega dressmakers, Gabrielle Soëne. <sup>4</sup> His portrait, (cat. no. 146) is marked by a certain deliberateness of design, noticeable in the emphatic folds of the sitter's skirt, and in the severe outline of the shoulders and elongated neck, a feature also in Wolfe's portrait. <sup>5</sup> The passivity of the pose may have been suggested by the character of the sitter. The overall effect is of an exactness

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1. Ibid, May 13, 1919; U.C.L. MS Ogden 96-13
2. Ibid, June 2, 1919; U.C.L. MS Ogden 96-13
3. Conversation with Edward Wolfe, June 22, 1976.
4. The sitter was brought over from Paris by Nina Hamnett to work at the Omega. The painting is dated 1919 and was most likely painted in January of that year as in February Wolfe fell dangerously ill from pneumonia.
5. The portrait by Wolfe is still in the artist's possession. The treatment of the face is similar in technique to that by Fry, but already reveals a more fluid and painterly style. Wolfe later repainted the background, so that the dull brown door in Fry's portrait has been transformed in Wolfe's into a mass of bright pastel colours.

in the statement of form and the obstinate refusal to adopt any facile technique or to give any suggestion of flattery. Its rejection of elegance for the sake of honest expressiveness is similar to the aims that governed Omega decoration.

Omega's insistent use of Venetian red and burnt umber is noticeable in the above portrait, and in other paintings around this date. Omega objects frequently appear in the background of Fry's pictures and a number of still-lives by Grant, Bell and Fry include paper flowers made at the Omega. *The still-life* by Fry, dated 1919, in the Anrep Collection (cat. no. 151), makes use of the tripartite division of the background into different bands of colour, found also in his Still-Life with Tang Horse in the Tate Gallery (cat. no. 148)<sup>1</sup> In the latter painting the strip of lighter mottled colour down the far left side is a piece of hand-painted Omega wall-paper. The subtlety of form achieved within this severely reduced, simple design combined with the colour harmonies that are peculiar to Fry, harsher than Sickert's and less decorative than Grant's or Bell's, makes this one of his finest paintings. Yet it is very far from being the product of a master at the height of his skill; his touch, design and colour have not been chosen with assurance but are the result of long deliberation.

Early in February 1919 Edward Wolfe fell ill with influenza and on his recovery the doctors advised him to return home to South Africa to convalesce. In order to help Wolfe raise money to pay for this trip Fry approached Arnold Bennett, who was the first person to have bought an example of Wolfe's work, which he saw in an exhibition at the Omega. Fry suggested to Bennett that a satisfactory form of giving financial support to Wolfe would be to commission him to paint his portrait, a suggestion that Bennett had previously himself

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1. The Tate Gallery catalogue entry for this work states that Fry's daughter believe he bought the Han figure in the picture about 1919 and that the colours in the background suggest it was painted at Dalmeny Avenue where Fry moved in 1919. This and stylistic evidence date the painting to this year.



made to Wolfe and then forgotten. <sup>1</sup> The portrait in its emphatic design and broad areas of colour is recognizable as the product of Fry's circle, and Wolfe openly admits his debt to Fry at this date: "Of course I was influenced by Roger's paintings - as he opened my eyes to the French painters." <sup>2</sup>

The influence of Omega did not end when it was disbanded in 1919 but continued through the objects and furniture that were in use in the houses of people who had patronised the workshops. In this way Omega came to have an influence on <sup>the pop artist</sup> Howard Hodgkin who saw a brightly coloured table in the house of Margery Fry. The decorative work by Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant executed at Charleston continued the Omega tradition, and influenced various artists who visited the house or stayed to paint. One piece of Omega furniture that survived the years and continually impinged itself upon the owner's consciousness was the table that Osbert Sitwell had at 2, Carlyle Square and then used as his writing desk at Renishaw. It was painted in every colour by Fry and when used as a writing desk, was covered over with sheets of blotting paper on which stood all the litter, tools and accoutrements of a writer's desk. Yet as Osbert Sitwell has recorded, the table's personality could not be forgotten "as, between the sheets of blotting paper I catch sight for a moment of a chink of the marbled surface beneath, it saddens me with other thoughts ... conjuring up many ghosts, not least among them the painter of the table himself." <sup>3</sup>

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1. Wolfe had first approached Bennett and asked to paint his wife. At a dinner party at Osbert Sitwell's, Bennett had turned to Wolfe and announced "M.m.m...my b..b.. boy, Marguerite won't sit." He then asked if Wolfe would like to paint himself and Wolfe replied that he would much prefer to paint Bennett than his wife ... This established their friendship and the portrait which was painted is now in a Private Collection in France. (Conversation <sup>seen the author</sup> and Edward Wolfe, June 22, 1976).

2. Letter to the author, January 5, 1976.

3. Sitwell, Laughter in the Next Room, p. 162.

## The Importance of France.

After the sale at the Omega, Fry was able to leave London for a much longed for holiday in France. Since his discovery of Post-Impressionism, France had replaced Italy in his affections and from the point of view of his career as a painter, must be regarded as a major source of inspiration. Not only did he look to France for a cultural lead, but he also admired the French way of life and was deeply excited by the French landscape in particular that of Provence. Thus in September 1919, after a short stay in Paris he settled first at Avignon, then at Mar<sup>t</sup>igues before moving to a hotel at Aix.

During the war when he had been cut off from France, his love of the French landscape had led him to resurrect some sketches made near N<sup>î</sup>mes and, combined with his memory of the colours of the scene, he reconstructed it in paint (cat. no. 149). <sup>1</sup> The result is brightly coloured but a little forced, the repeated diagonal created by the sloping orange roofs becomes a too obvious method of visually relating one side of the picture to the other. By comparison the view of the bay at Martigues (cat. no. 153; Plate 66 ) executed on the spot in 1919 is more natural in its composition and the colours are restrained and dark in tone. Its greater degree of sensitivity results from the modifying effect of the external world on Fry's sensibility<sup>and</sup> on his intellectual demands. Close observation of the sun-drenched landscape led Fry to note: "The colour is amazing and the secret of it is that there are no bright colours ... It is just the purity and the beauty of the greys that makes it seem more coloured than England." <sup>2</sup> He gave the same explanation to Vanessa:

I find that I paint pictures which have a general effect of blue and yet never use anything bluer than terre-verte, black and white. In fact I've almost given up everything but earth colours only I have all those including burnt-

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1. Information on the origin of this picture was given by Mrs. P. Diamand.
  2. Sutton, II: 463.

umber which I used to hate but find invaluable - I consume more terre-verte than anything ... hardly ever a touch of cadmium or rose madder. One landscape I've painted entirely in black, burnt sienna and terre-verte and a very little Indian red and yellow ochre and yet I don't think it wanting in colour.

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From Martigues Fry moved to Aix where he stayed at the Hotel des Thermes and painted a dining-room interior.<sup>2</sup> In conversation with the inhabitants of Aix, Fry frequently found that the conversation turned to Cézanne from which he concluded that their view of the great master was generally unfavourable. He visited Cézanne's house, the Jas de Bouffan, and found that the gardener whom he engaged in conversation did not even recognize Cézanne's name. Being so close to the actual presence of the artist he so much admired, Fry began to find his own painting in part influenced by Cézanne and remarked that this was the first time he was conscious of it:

Now the odd thing is that when one paints these particular firs without any "parti-pris" it simply becomes like the modelling of Cézanne. I almost think he must have got his idea of enchevêtrement of planes from his studies of them ... I don't think till this one my things have been the least bit Cézanneian, but this last has the general look of his pictures though quite different in colour.

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From Aix Fry moved to Longesse, twenty minutes from Aix by bicycle, where he could study the view of Mont Ste. Victoire from a variety of angles, observing the richness and subtlety of the autumn colours contrasted against the pale green-grey of the mountain. One pochade (cat. no. 154; Plate 65) based on this contrast is described in a letter to Vanessa: "You must imagine Mont Ste. Victoire pink green-grey ... the middle distance intense violet, the roof earth-red very pale, the rocks almost blue and spotted with nearly black green tufts of dwarf oak and then the river bed filled with all kinds of pale brown, red, orange and grey bushes."<sup>4</sup> The richness and complexity of the colour has here been clearly organised into warm<sup>x</sup> cool zones that enhance each

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, October 27, 1919; Charleston Papers.
  2. Possibly that of a family seated at the dinner table in the Anren Collection (cat. no. 151).
  3. Sutton, II: 469. The present whereabouts of the picture to which Fry refers is unknown.
  4. Sutton, II: 470. A drawing of the scene is reproduced with the letter.

other, and the strong horizontal of the roof of the house to the left of centre is balanced by the horizontal created by the cloud in the right far distance. Despite this degree of adjustment Fry was worried at this time that he allowed the external view to dictate the shape of the picture and that unmitigated naturalism tended to dominate design. On the other hand he argued that a period of subordination to nature had its benefits, as it "filled one with a lot of new possibilities of forms and colours one may use later more freely." <sup>1</sup> His close observation of tone demanded that he changed his subject four times throughout the day, the reason being "the light seems to change very quickly ... the illumination is so tremendously definite here that a small change of angle alters the tones a great deal." <sup>2</sup>

One of the most important events for Fry during his visit to Provence in 1919 was his meeting with Marie Mauron and her husband Charles. Through Marie he came to appreciate the essence of Provençal life and thus gained a closer understanding of an area of France he was so often to paint. He had visited Les Baux from Aix intending to only stay a day but he remained for five having been caught up in a party which included the village schoolmistress whom Fry thought a more educated version of Nina Hamnett. The schoolmistress, Marie Mauron became furiously annoyed by the Breton patriotic songs that were being sung and in response organised the old peasants to sing Provençal songs. After his meeting with her, when a sense of shared interests must immediately have been established, Fry, who had earlier responded to the ideas of Edward Carpenter, explained in a letter to Marie the importance of their meeting:

You speak of my visit to Les Baux as an event, but you cannot imagine what an event it was for me. The glimpse you gave me of the life of your friends, the poets and bards of Provence has remained with me a very special experience. There I saw life as it should be, a life where poverty and wealth are accidents of little importance, where one can enjoy the things of the spirit without ceasing to be a peasant.

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1. Ibid.
  2. Letter to Vanessa Bell, November 12, 1919; Charleston Papers.
  3. Sutton, II: 467.

At the end of November Fry moved to Cagnes where he joined the painter, Jean Marchand. The meeting was arranged with the intention that the two artists should paint together and benefit from each other's company. The visit was obviously successful as the following year Fry travelled to Venice in order to paint again alongside Marchand. From this latter trip at least two paintings executed by Fry have their counterpart in paintings of the same scene by Marchand, but it is difficult to assess the extent of the influence Marchand had on Fry. In his review of Marchand's one man exhibition at the Carfax Gallery in 1919, Fry had enumerated the qualities he admired: "An extreme simplicity and directness of outlook and a touching sincerity in all that he does are the most prominent characteristics of his work." At this exhibition Fry bought a Marchand still-life of a loaf of bread, a glass tumbler and an earthenware water bottle on a white tablecloth. At a superficial glance, the extreme simplicity and straightforwardness of this painting appears dull and laboured but Fry pointed out in his review: "his construction is so solid and unfaltering he builds up his designs with such massive and direct handling, that without the slightest suggestion of emphasis, without any underlining, the effect comes through." <sup>1</sup>

The two paintings executed by Fry in Marchand's company in 1920, Landscape with House (cat. no. 177) and Moulin de la Lubiana (cat. no. 176; Plate 68) are so different in style and effect, one can only conclude that Fry was still uncertain at this date as to exactly what style he wished to develop. The subdued harmonies of the former, the pale yellow sky and purple-grey modulations in the wall of the central house, may however suggest that it was an evening scene and that this dictated the close tones and Sickertian mood. The Moulin de la Lubiana is harsher in colouring and sharper in tone which suggest a different time of day and different atmospheric conditions. This last picture comes closer to the type of Marchand landscape Fry admired: "He uses dull neutral colours, the dirty white of a cloudy sky, harsh dull greens

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1. Athenaeum, April 11, 1919, pp. 178-79. Reprinted in Vision and Design.

and blacks, the obvious and unattractive colours that so frequently occurs in nature." <sup>1</sup>

When in the autumn of 1920 Fry returned to France to paint alone at Auray in the north-west of France, his work took on a new solidity of form and modelling. Fry admired the rough, primitive granite architecture of the town and the estuaries that ran close by, flanked by pinewoods and these inspired The Bridge, Auray (cat. no. 167; Plate 69 ). The trees in the painting are massed into sculptural blocks with subtly varied colours. He noted that they took on "all sorts of different colours in this damp light, blue-greens and pinky greys." <sup>2</sup> He found he needed to use the more expensive oil-colours, such as cadmium orange, viridian and burnt lake, colours he never touched in the Midi. Despite this, he noticed that "the whole result is rather monochrome and grey, but then it's a saturated grey ..." <sup>3</sup> Apart from its dense colour, this painting is also impressive in its calm monumental design in which the four arches of the bridge create the dominant rhythmic intervals as they stretch across the smooth expanse of water, filling almost the entire breadth of the picture.

The size and dense finish of this work indicate that it was intended for public exhibition, either at a London Group or the Salon d'Automne. To the Salon d'Automne of 1920 Fry sent La Riviere de Sainte-Avoye (Morbihan) which is probably the large painting entitled In the Morbihan (cat. no. 175; Plate 70 ). As with The Bridge, Auray, In the Morbihan is an extremely large painting, carefully designed and brought to a high degree of finish. It is painted on hessian with the result that its present condition is not good, and the roughness of the material adds to the texture of the work as a whole. The colour is sombre, based on cold dark and light greens, earth browns and the single note of red in the sail of the boat. As a whole it has a complete-

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1. Ibid.

2. Sutton, II: 488.

3. Sutton, II: 490.



ness and independence of style. Even Clive Bell admired it: "I like Roger's picture extremely - it is far the best thing he has done in my judgement. It hangs beside two or three pictures by Girieud and very much more than holds its own." <sup>1</sup> The setting of In the Morbihan is similar to another work of this period, Landscape with Nude (cat. no. 185). The river is flanked by the same tall, thin fir trees and winding sandy paths. The brighter colour in the latter picture and the note of unreality struck by the nude may indicate that the painting was produced in the studio. <sup>2</sup> The paintings produced in Brittany in the autumn of this year are marked by a tautness of design and dense colour harmonies, a combination that produced two of his most monumental works in The Bridge, Aurary, and In the Morbihan.

When Fry painted a small pochade primarily to capture his own response to a scene, he occasionally produced works of charm and originality. In Paris in October 1920, he climbed up to Montmartre one day in order to rest from the company of his friends and acquaintances, and there found "a terrain vague with the hideous white tower of the Sacré Coeur dominating a jumble of modern houses, but all made exquisite by this astonishing October sunshine." <sup>3</sup> In the small painting of this scene (cat. no. 172), the white dome of the Sacré Coeur is balanced by a small area of black placed below, slightly to the right, while the rest of the scene depends on the alternation of creams, red browns created by the light and shade. The large area of

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1. Letter from Clive to Vanessa Bell, no date; Charleston Papers. (The letter is dated on internal evidence to the autumn of 1920). Bell a few days later modified this opinion, swayed by the attitude of his Parisian painter friends: "I begin to suspect I may have been too well pleased with Roger's picture ... Everyone likes Roger very much - and everyone, Friesz, Marchand etc. etc., - says 'c'est très distingué: on n'aime pas dire les choses comme ça d'une personne qu'on aime mais que voulez vous? Il n'y a que ça à dire.' I fancy he must really be deceived by French manners." (Clive to Vanessa Bell, no date (1920); Charleston Papers).
  2. The inclusion of the nude in this landscape and the appearance of others in Fry's landscapes of the '20's reveals that to a certain extent he was following the conventions of the day, as during the '20's a flood of nudes besieged the walls of the academies and salons.
  3. Sutton, II: 493.



shadow cast on the road in the foreground contributes to the structural design of the whole, as did the shadows created by the buildings in Fry's Chauvigny of 1911, and which underlines Fry's continuous concern with structure.

During the 1920's the major pictures were all executed during Fry's visits to France. In August 1921 he stayed at Vaison with the Maurons and Elspeth Champcommunal and her daughter, all of whom Fry represented in two versions of The Terrace (cat. no's. 195 and 196). The existence of the two versions makes it probable that one was executed on the spot, whilst the other was executed later in the studio. The two versions differ slightly in various details, and the more finished version introduces another figure leading a child indoors in the background. None of the characters suggest a development of Fry's original idea, but achieve a more fluid rhythmic design at the same time as the finish becomes tighter and more arid.

As always on these stays, Fry painted throughout the day. From Vaison he wrote to Vanessa recording his working day: "I'm working hard at 2 or 3 toiles. One at 6 a.m. - One at 8.30, one at 4.0 at Vaison,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles off - I rather dread my 6.0 a.m. toile - it's at St. Marcellin, the neighbouring village ... at that hour all the dogs are all loose .. I get the full benefit of their attractions." <sup>1</sup> The large painting Vaison (cat. no. 191) at King's College, Cambridge, with the light falling from low on the right, could have been painted during the third session of the day, and was probably the Vaison he exhibited at the Salon d'Automne of this year. Another painting recorded in his letters was of an old peasant and his wife seated at a table (cat. no. 187). They were so delighted with his pochade, they invited him to dine with them. <sup>2</sup>

In September Fry moved from Vaison to St. Tropez, where he painted scenes of the old port and the garden of his hotel. On a trip to the nearby small

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, August 28, 1921; Charleston Papers.
2. A letter to Vanessa Bell, (Sutton, II: 513), refers to him painting this couple. The painting is known only by photograph, and is seen to be squared up, which may indicate that a larger version was painted.

town, Ramatuelle, he became interested in the interior of the small church, and he decided to find a room there for three to four days in order to paint it. Its Sickertian-Omega colouring appealed to him: "It's all frescoed in dullish red with a great gilt altarpiece and very low tone." <sup>1</sup> The church has since been restored, altered and white-washed in part, but the elaborate altar and the frescoed vault over it, still remain. Comparison of the painting (cat. no. 192; Plate 72 ) with a photograph of the church (Plate 73 ) reveals how Fry made subtle adjustments to the proportions in order to suit his design requirements, giving the altar and building itself greater height than it in fact has. Yet his overall approach is a literal one and his depiction of the shapes is often disconcertingly clumsy. The concern with chiaroscuro and the contrast of sharply lit areas with others in deep shadow manages to pull the work together into an aesthetic whole that otherwise might have remained on the level of reportage.

In October Vanessa and Duncan joined Fry at St. Tropez. It became noticeable during this visit that Fry's paintings were becoming markedly different from those of the other two painters. They revealed a greater seriousness and deliberation of design. His concern with literal representation was dominant and he wrote of his work: "I get up at seven o'clock having refused to accept winter time and work all the morning at a still-life ... I had to push it further than I've ever done anything before. It's a melon, some green and brown and red peppers, a garlic and an odd piece of dull red drapery. It's become, I fear, absolutely realistic, a kind of trompe l'oeil." <sup>2</sup> This return to literal representation reveals that Fry was no longer interested in experimenting with expressive effects but rather wanted to go deeper in his understanding of the formal structure of a picture and the relation of the structure to the space and three dimensional forms

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, September 10, 1921; Charleston Papers.
2. Sutton, II: 516. The present whereabouts of this painting is unknown, but a photograph of a still-life containing all the above mentioned objects and painted in a literal style, is in the possession of Mrs. P. Diamand (cat. no. 194).

suggested. His involvement with traditional concerns is revealed most clearly in his critical essays on art, during these years.

### Aesthetic Concerns.

In the essay "The Artist's Vision" written in 1919, Fry makes clear his aesthetic preferences and the type of looking that governed his own painting. He argued that as the artist "contemplates the particular field of vision, the (aesthetically) chaotic and accidental conjunction of forms and colours begins to crystallize into a harmony .... Certain relations of directions of line become for him full of meaning; he apprehends them no longer casually or merely curiously, but passionately, and these lines begin to be so stressed and stand out so clearly from the rest that he sees them far more distinctly than he did at first." <sup>1</sup> The painting that gives clear expression of this vision is Harbour at St. Tropez (cat. no. 156) executed in 1919, probably in the company of Marchand. From the confused jumble of forms and colours which the scene must have presented, Fry has extracted a rhythmic manipulation of form in the emphasis given to the masts, sails and prows of the boats. The severe analysis necessary to arrive at these coherent rhythms would not have been possible without the experience of cubism.

The following year <sup>he</sup> gave an equally clear exposition of his approach to painting in a letter to Marie Maurel, which proves to what extent the essay "The Artist's Vision" had been based on his experience as a painter:

I try to express the emotions that the contemplation of forms produces in me and to extract fundamental relationships from the multiple, more or less chaotic and discordant shapes of Nature, relationships that are fundamental for my spirit and consequently for my fellows. These fundamental relationships are recognized by a kind of sensual logic. It's exactly like music where one looks for the specially significant interval among all possible notes - relationships whose contemplation is the affair of the human spirit ...

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1. Athenaeum, 11 July 1919, pp. 594-95. Reprinted in Vision and Design, pp. 33-34  
2. Sutton, II: 497.

This intention he relates specifically to In the Morbihan (Plate 70 ):

"I've looked for a certain logic in the architecture of the groups of the trees. In the spacing of the shapes and the tone and colour intervals, I have sought those that express my sensations about this bit of Nature - not, of course, my everyday sensations but those of the moment when I saw it as a whole, a unity where all the parts were bound to each other inevitably." <sup>1</sup>

He was also aware that the variety in Nature frequently distracted his attention and prevented him from arriving at this essential unity: "As one works one is always being sidetracked by the cold observation of unnecessary facts that bother one and that have nothing to do with the essential unity. Therefore the whole effort should be bent towards this question of unity and necessity." <sup>2</sup>

A major concern of Fry's in the early 1920's was the relationship of the suggestion of space to the two-dimensional format. In his assessment of other artists' work their treatment of space is often of major importance. In two articles on Renoir published in 1920, Fry noticed the comparatively simple approach to space that Renoir employed: "By a natural inclination he adopted the simplest possible relations of plastic masses, namely that of bas-relief. Each mass is so modelled that the highest light tends to fall on the most prominent part, and the receding planes return not to infinity, but only, as it were, to the common plane from which all the masses emerge." <sup>3</sup> Fry also noted Renoir's use of insensible gradations towards the contour and that "whatever lies immediately behind the contour tends to be drawn into its sphere of influence, to form an undefined recession enveloping and receiving the receding planes." <sup>4</sup>

Fry was aware that Renoir's treatment of space was directly opposed to that of Cézanne: "This is clearly in marked contrast to Cézanne's method of

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. "The Last Works of Renoir" Athenaeum, June 11, 1920, pp. 771-72.

4. "Renoir" Athenaeum, February 20, 1920, p. 241.

suggesting endless recessions of planes with the most complicated interwoven texture." <sup>1</sup> His ability to admire both artists work was due to his belief that the realization of the third dimension was one of the chief aims of painting, and it is this quality that he continually stresses in the work of Cézanne as well as in that of Renoir. In his own painting at this period it is Renoir's treatment of space that was to influence him and his The Bridge, Auray can be seen as an exposition on the treatment of mass in the form of a bas-relief. In another painting, Still-Life with Candle and Earthenware Pots (cat. no. 190; Plate 74 ) Fry adopted Renoir's method of modelling with the highlights falling on parts nearest to the spectator. The traditional style and outwardly dull design, belies the richness of this work and the significances of its formal relationships. The strong chiaroscuro focuses our attention on the central ginger-jar, solidly realized in three dimensions, but the patch of white highlight at its centre relates back to the candle and to the highlights in the curtain behind: at the point of our most intense experience of the third dimension we are drawn back to the two dimensional relationships within the pictorial design. The representation of space is also enriched by the various qualities of the objects themselves, by the solidity of the pots, the transparency of the glass and the reflections in the surface of the table. The mood of equilibrium achieved is heightened by the choice of colours, a severely modified use of the three primaries, red, blue and yellow in the candlestick, jar and jug. At the end of 1921 Fry expressed the intention behind his work of this date, in a letter to Vanessa: " ... I'm getting an idea of what I think is the great thing in design, namely to have the greatest possible amount of interplay between the volumes and the spaces both at their three dimensionalist ... it means that both volumes and space function to their utmost against one another." <sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibid.

2. Sutton, II: 577. It is interesting to note that Fry wrote this letter after he had given a lecture on Raphael in Leeds.

This concern with spatial relationships reveals the classical demand for balance and harmony that underpins Fry's aesthetic theories. It is not surprising that Ingres is the subject of one of Fry's articles written for the New Statesman in 1921 and that the general interest in this artist inspired him to paint a large nude in the conservatory of his house at Dalmeny Avenue,<sup>1</sup> which in pose and conception is indebted to Ingres' painting of the same name, La Source (cat. no. 193; Plate 75 ). It is not, however, one of Fry's best paintings, the lumpy silhouette being far removed from the calm, monumental outlines of Ingres' nude. One senses the presence of too many art historical precedents in Fry's mind when he painted the work, with the result that the nude smacks of very little actual flesh and blood. Yet it must have satisfied Fry at the time, as he sent it to the Salon d'Automne of that year under the title La Grotte and the following year it was being considered for acquisition by the Tate Gallery, but was never bought.

#### Exhibitions and the Public.

During the early 1920's Fry suffered a number of disappointments when his work at various exhibitions received little appreciation. On the advice of Sonia Lewitska, Marchand's girlfriend, he began to exhibit at the Salon d'Automne from 1920 onwards. The painting he originally intended sending to the Salon d'Automne of 1920 is referred to in a letter to his daughter: "You see it's rather in my old manner but I hope it'll be very interesting colour. It's all olive trees, which are reddish grey, on a pale luminous sky. I hope you won't think it too vieux-jeu but I think the intervals are good." <sup>2</sup> The painting however never reached the Salon d'Automne as it was the one large oil painting, apart from a few oil-sketches, that sold at his one-man

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1. Further description of the setting in which the model was posed is given by Mrs. P. Diamand in Sutton, II: 512.
  2. Sutton, II: 480. The actual letter, amongst the Fry Papers at King's College, contains a sketch of the painting which is now lost.

exhibition held at the Independent Gallery in June-July 1920, in which he showed eighty-one oil paintings not all of which would have been of a consistently high standard. This and the low prices asked would have contributed to the public's estimation of them and the exhibition as a whole was a dismal failure. Fry was naturally deeply disappointed. It determined once and for all his relationship with the English public "who in the end," wrote Fry "will never really like my classicism."<sup>1</sup> It lead him to make an assessment of his position and achievement as a painter.

My painting is not sufficiently accentuated; there's nothing fashionable in it. There's no formula one can recognize at once ....Now I am not a great artist; I am only a serious artist with some sensitivity, enough taste and more intelligence than average painters. Thus the scorn of the public becomes hard to understand ... Its partly because of my writings. I have defended artists like Picasso and Matisse who are more extraordinary. I am taken for a sort of Bolshevik and then they find that I paint more like Claude Lorrain or Poussin and they are completely baffled. They cannot understand that the exterior of the work of art has no great importance, that art is always the same thing under any style.

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The content, Fry argues, is the same whatever style the painter assumes. This ignores the fact that at certain historic moments certain styles have more relevance than others, and his relegation of style to a secondary position neglected to a certain extent, the cultural and social context in which it was produced. His art was now in danger of becoming anachronistic and of loosing its relevance. This year marked a turning point in Fry's career as a painter; from now on he seeks confirmation of his aesthetic beliefs not in contemporary artists but from the achievements of the Old Masters, to whose ranks such artists as Cézanne and Renoir now belonged. In this way the early 1920's parallels the late 1890's in that both reveal Fry deliberately turning away from the avant-garde to a closer study of past art. Yet his lifelong search for the abiding values in art justifies this return and is

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1. Sutton, II: 480.

2. Sutton, II: 481-82.



indicative of a central line of interest throughout his career. However, he was deeply disappointed by the failure of his 1920 exhibition and went so far as to declare: "I shall not exhibit anymore. I shall go on painting and when my canvases are dry I shall roll them up." <sup>1</sup> This intention he never carried out but continued to exhibit until the end of his life.

The second great disappointment Fry suffered in the early 1920's was at the London Group exhibition of October-November 1921. Fry was painting at St. Tropez at the time and felt convinced that in his own work he had arrived at a point "where no- one else in England has," and this enabled him not to suffer too much "from Vanessa's tacit assumption that nothing I do is any good." <sup>2</sup> But at the London Group, where he apparently exhibited although no works by him are listed in the catalogue, he failed to sell and wrote disconsolately to his sister, Margery:

And now you see everyone in the London Group has sold except me - and you marked me down low enough in all conscience. It's really getting rather ridiculous, the more so as I now feel pretty sure of where I am compared with other English painters. I no longer have the feeling that I wish I'd done Duncan's pictures which I always used to have. I'd have done my own - so that my total failure is becoming quite interesting.

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Yet during the most part of the 1920's Fry was the leading spirit behind the London Group, directing its tastes and standards. During the war the group had been weakened by the deaths of Gaudier-Brzeska, Gore and Gilman, and by the defection of Epstein, Lewis and Wadsworth. Due to this weakening of the central core Fry was able to become a dominating influence soon after his election in 1917. He turned the attention of the group towards French painting which contrasted with the tolerance and diversity of styles that the original exhibitions had shown. Frank Rutter, whose record of the period includes a fair appreciation of Fry, felt obliged to admit: "I feel that his

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1. Ibid.
2. Sutton, II: 516. Vanessa's view was shared by others. Clive Bell wrote to her on November 29, 1921: "I'm sure I don't know why Roger should suppose that it is chiefly you and I that denigrate his painting - everyone does it." (Charleston Papers).
3. Sutton, II: 517.

satellites, the rag, tag and bobtail of his followers, lowered the old standards of the London Group." <sup>1</sup> He also refers to "the French-desired conventions of the governing clique." <sup>2</sup> Fry's intention was to lead the group towards more vigorously planned construction, unity and coherence in pictorial design. But the critic D. S. MacColl thought that the imitations of Parisian art merely produced "sedulous and dowdy imitations," and that Fry's influence, his "quaker austerity," had "banished drawing, tone, colour and quality." <sup>3</sup>

Fry's Quaker austerity not only influenced the style of painting but led to an altercation with C. R. W. Nevinson over the invitations for the private view. When Nevinson resumed his secretaryship after the war, he combed through a copy of Who's Who to find people to send invitations to with the result that the private view was well attended and several sales were made. Fry, however, accused Nevinson of attempting to turn the London Group into a fashionable gathering and argued that this was not the sort of public the Group was hoping to interest. Nevinson naturally bristled at what appeared to him intellectual snobbishness, and he replied that he wanted as large a public as possible to see the pictures as they were a body of professional artists and not all had cocoa behind them. His chief attack on Fry centres on his unprofessional approach and he refers elsewhere to the "amateurish dilettan<sup>t</sup>ism of Roger Fry." <sup>4</sup> This was the cause, in Nevinson's opinion, of the downfall of the Friday Club. The reason he gave for his resignation from the London Group was the dominating influence of Fry and his friends, Vanessa Bell and Duncan Grant being the stars of the Group during the 1920's. <sup>5</sup>

Another area of contention that Fry was involved in concerned the hanging of the pictures in the Group's exhibition. *Because of* his experience, the

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1. Rutter, Since I was Twenty Five, p. 193.

2. Ibid. p. 193.

3. The Saturday Review, October 29, 1921.

4. C. R. W. Nevinson, Paint and Prejudice (London, *Methuen* 1937), p.29.

5. Other leading artists were Meninsky, Gertler, Matthew Smith and Frank Dobson.

hanging had largely been left to Fry. The task was a difficult one as inevitably someone would be offended and after certain complaints Fry resigned from both the Jury and the Hanging Committees. He described what followed to Marie Maureon:

I proposed the Jury should be drawn by lot. Everyone was delighted and I did nothing about the exhibitions. The result was that very incompetent people did the hanging and in two years the Group had no more funds. Then they asked me back. I reconstructed the constitutions of the Society, forming rules that would give a certain responsibility to a few elected artists; in fact, I re-installed government and de-democratized the Society. Its the only way to do something. When everyone shares the responsibility, nothing gets done.

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Yet wary of further complaints, Fry refused any official position, and instead the Presidency went to Bernard Adeney, an artist little known today, whose success in his own day owed much to Fry. Rutter has referred to him as "a blameless echoer in biscuit and pale green tints of Cézanne's less successful nudes and landscapes." He also points out that his devotion to Cézanne made him worthy of the chair of President, "but Mr. Fry remained the power behind his throne." 2

The importance of French art to Fry governed not only his dealings with the London Group but also infected his reviews of other artists' work. In February Fry's review of Mark Gertler's first one-man exhibition appeared in the New Statesman. Gertler was critical of what Fry had written: "... he is altogether too hopelessly French just now for my work to be really understood by him." 3 But Fry was not so exclusively concerned with French art that he failed to act for his fellow painters. In May 1921 he helped to organize the Nameless Exhibition and was in charge of selecting the artists who were to exhibit anonymously under the heading the Modernist Group. During this year he was also requested by the Salon d'Automne to arrange a room at the next

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1. Sutton, II: 498.

2. Rutter, Art in My Time, p. 187.

3. Letter to Dora Carrington, February 18, 1921, Carrington (editor) Letters of Mark Gertler, p. 198.

exhibition to exhibit English paintings. Fry intended his selection to be representative of the best art produced during the previous thirty years and for the financial support needed for this venture he wrote to Arnold Bennett. The reply was disheartening: "Have you no conception of the financial situation? Are you not aware that I have just bought a large yacht, with the result that I have not a cent in the world? I will give you £10 if the scheme matures and that is all I can do." <sup>1</sup> In April Fry travelled to Paris in order to carry out arrangements for this exhibition, but as no catalogue or press references to this exhibition exists, it can only be presumed that between April and Autumn, to what must have been Arnold Bennett's relief, the idea collapsed.

#### Success with Portraiture.

The long periods spent in France each year following the war meant that for a while portraiture decreased in importance in Fry's oeuvre, but in 1922 he returned to it with renewed interest. Before leaving for France in September 1919 he was still in the habit of painting portraits, and in May of that year three were in progress, one of which was of Angela Lavelli. The other two are referred to in a letter to Vanessa: "I'm painting a lot just now. An *Armenian* who came as a commission though I've refused to do it except as a picture which they can buy or not as they like. She has eyes like your Persian tile exactly. Also I've begun Moralt who is splendid and who is good enough to sit now until she gets her practice." <sup>2</sup> Unfortunately the whereabouts of these three portraits is unknown.


When in France in the autumn of 1919 the onset of the mistral prevented

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1. Letter to Roger Fry, February 24, 1921; University College Library, University of London. *MS Ogden 96-13*
2. Letter to Vanessa Bell, May 23, 1919; Charleston Papers. Dr. Marie Moralt had been staying at Roquebrune when Fry visited the Bussy's in 1915. She evidently admired his work as at that time she bought two of his paintings. The *Armenian* is unidentified.



Fry from painting out of doors and instead he set up his easel in the kitchen of the inn at Aramon and painted the portrait of an old peasant woman (cat. no. 162; Plate 64 ). He described in a letter to Margery Fry how the portrait came about. "To-day the Mistral was too terrific to paint out of doors so I got an old woman of 80 (or 82 she's not sure) whom I found gathering sticks to come and sit. She's immensely pleased and proud and the news has gone all over the village. No painters have ever been here and so its an immense interest." <sup>1</sup> The portrait is similar to that of Gabrielle Soëne in that the austere background and limited space sharpens the focus on the sitter. The finish is less sophisticated in French Peasant Woman, reflecting the conditions under which it must have been painted, and the limited range of colours, based on the warm-cool contrast of earth green and pink-brown, are reminiscent of Cézanne.

The following year in Vence Fry painted a group portrait (cat. no. 180) of the painter friends with whom he was staying, M. and Mme. Gimond and Sonia Lewitska.  Marchand who was also staying painted a conversation scene from the same position, <sup>2</sup> a work that is much less robust and less positively stated than Fry's solidly constructed scene in which Sonia Lewitska looks alluringly out at the spectator. Fry's unfinished full-length portrait of Angela Lavelli standing on the terrace, seen through open doors, was also painted during this stay at Vence (cat. no. 171; Plate 76)

By comparison with those portraits of 1919-20, those produced during 1922-24 show a much greater concern with literal representation. In April 1922 on a visit to Paris, when Fry was not visiting Picasso, Derain and Segonzac, he painted the portrait of Nela Muter (cat. no. 205) a Polish-Jewish painter

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1. Letter to Margery Fry, October 11, 1919; Fry Papers. In a sketchbook of this period a drawing for this portrait has the words "Maria Baraclize, pres l'instituteur Araman" pencilled beside it.
  2. The Marchand painting was exhibited at the Mercury Gallery, London in February 1977.

who lived in Paris, and with whom he had an affair.<sup>1</sup> He was also at this time suffering from internal pains and had been put on a special diet. This and the unsatisfactory nature of the affair might explain the laboured quality of Fry's portrait. The colour harmony is restrained, based on olive greens, dull yellow-browns against which are set her warm flesh and grey-white dress. In his emphasis upon her monumental sensuality Fry has transformed her into a cross between a Greek goddess and Picasso's neo-classical nudes of the early 1920's. Her arms and shoulders have become those of an athlete and her dark sultry gaze gives no indication of any inner life. Fry himself admitted it was not a good likeness. At the same time Mela Muter painted a portrait of Fry, seated at a table, cigarette in hand and a newspaper resting on his knee, whilst his head is turned slightly to the left showing him pensively brooding. He wears a grey jacket, pale blue shirt and dull rose-pink tie. The linear style owes a debt to Kokoschka and sensitively explores the outlines of his face and hands and the wrinkles in the sleeve of his jacket. The portrait reveals an understanding<sup>of</sup> and deep sympathy with the sitter's character, a quality that is absent in Fry's portrait of Mela Muter. Her style was too Germanic for his taste and in a letter to Vanessa, Fry referred to his relationship with her: "She now thinks I'm a very good and generous critic so that my not altogether liking her work is a great blow to her."<sup>2</sup>

Two other portraits Fry painted in 1922 were one of Lydia Lopokova (cat. no. 206) and one of Logan Pearsall Smith (cat. no. 204). Lydia Lopokova was painted by Fry at the same time as Duncan Grant executed her portrait (Coll. Lady Keynes). When questioned as to who suggested the pose and setting, Lady Keynes (Lydia Lopokova) recalled that Duncan Grant had suggested the draping of the brightly coloured orange shawl around her arms to contrast with the

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1. "For the rest Roger spends his days painting a German jewess and groaning over his ills," (Letter from Clive to Vanessa Bell, (no date) Paris, 1922; Charleston Papers). Despite the wrong nationality Bell ascribes to Mela Muter it is almost certainly<sup>to</sup> her portrait that he is referring. The portrait is in the collection of Professor Rieff, Philadelphia, as is the portrait Mela Muter painted of Fry.
2. Letter to Vanessa Bell, April 20, 1922; Charleston Papers.

purple of her dress. <sup>1</sup> In Grant's portrait the background is empty, but in Fry's <sup>there</sup> can be seen a screen and a reproduction on the wall behind of Raphael's St. Catherine of Alexandria, in which the contrapposto pose of the saint turns in the opposite direction to that of Lydia Lopokova, and which may also be Fry's way of indicating his admiration of this master.

The portrait of Logan Pearsall Smith was painted at the sitter's request: "Then also I do want you to paint my portrait - I like your portraits so much, and am always hoping that you will have a show of them. I should like to put this on more or less a business footing - at any rate I have just had (like Hope-Johnstone) a little windfall of fifty pounds which might be happily devoted to this purpose." <sup>2</sup> Fry went down to stay at <sup>Pearsall</sup> Smith's house at Big Chilling, Warsach, in order to paint his portrait and produced two. The first Fry felt was "very like but somehow wrong in character," and he began on a second which was almost completed in one sitting and which, according to Fry, was "very luminous and fresh." <sup>3</sup>

Fry must have found pleasure and a certain amount of success in his painting of <sup>Pearsall</sup> Smith as in August 1922 he wrote to his friend Frank Hindley Smith, the cotton merchant and collector, to ask if he could paint his portrait. The reply was in the affirmative: "To continue my existence in your paint is immensely attractive and if artists can make beautiful things of old pots and pans and paper flowers, you may be able to make something tolerable of me." <sup>4</sup> The portrait which was painted in February of the following year, represented Hindley-Smith seated in front of a grey Japanese wall covering (cat. no. 222), and from photographs appears similar in style to that of Logan Pearsall Smith. It was later retouched in 1925.

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1. Interview, July 1975.
  2. Letter from Logan Pearsall Smith to Roger Fry, June 29, 1922; Fry Papers.
  3. Letter to Vanessa Bell, July 27, 1922; Charleston Papers. The present whereabouts of both portraits is unknown, but there is a photograph of presumably the first version, as it shows close detail and high finish, in the Witt Library.
  4. Letter from F. Hindley-Smith to Roger Fry, August 7, 1922; Fry Papers.



Both portraits of Logan Pearsall Smith and Frank Hindley-Smith suggest that Fry was in the habit of over-working his paintings at this date. This is confirmed by the third of the three portraits of Robert Bridges, painted during February-March 1923. The history of the three versions is described by Robert Bridges in a note in his handwriting under a photograph of one of these portraits in a family album:

The history of this portrait is that Roger Fry came to stay at Chilwell in February 1923, and made two portraits, the first one of which dissatisfied everyone and he promised to destroy it. The second he subsequently presented to the family. He took both home with him and made No. 3 at his studio, working presumably from No. 1 and No. 2. No. 3 of which this is the photograph was exhibited in an exhibition of his work in the Independent Gallery, Grafton St. (?) (sic) in April 1923.

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Both the second and third versions are still in the possession of the Bridges family, and the first is presumably destroyed. The second version (cat. no. 216; Plate 77 ) is fairly loose in its technique, the brushstrokes used to paint the beard are clearly in evidence and the work as a whole has a directness and vitality. The third version, that produced in the studio (cat. no. 215; Plate 78 ), reduces the expression of the poet to a grimace, hardens the technique and loses the sense of atmosphere found in the former. The dead, dry quality outweighs the improvement obtained from the easier relationship between the position of the head and the shape of the canvas, yet this more controlled sense of design must have decided Fry to exhibit this work and not the earlier version, and the portrait gives an insight into the artistic values that Fry was searching for at this period. The discomfort sensed in this last version was experienced by Fry during the painting of the two earlier versions: "I'm not happy about my Bridges, I can't really work at my ease with him. So much depends on one's sitter." <sup>2</sup>

The sitter<sup>with</sup> whom Fry clearly felt much more at his ease was Pe<sup>r</sup>trand Russell. Fry admired and respected Russell and described him in a letter to Marie

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1. Album in the collection of Lady Bridges.

2. Letter from Fry to Vanessa Bell, February 8, 1913; Charleston Papers.

Mauron as "one of the men of genius of our time." <sup>1</sup> As in the case of Robert Bridges, two portraits exist. The version in Professor Rieff's collection, (cat. no. 200) gives a lively representation of Russell's quizzical nature, but that in the National Portrait Gallery, London (cat. no. 199), presents a more stifled, possibly studio version of the same pose, in a drier, less inspired style. His ability to capture likeness here predominates over aesthetic concerns, a fact Fry noticed when he wrote of the portrait of his son, Julian, painted a year later, "very like but p'raps too much just a portrait." <sup>2</sup>

Portraits of Hindley-Smith, Russell, Bridges, Mela Kuter and Lydia Lopokova were included in Fry's one-man exhibition held at the Independent Gallery in April 1923. The exhibition ran concurrently with a show of Augustus John's portraits at the Alpine Club Gallery and comparison was inevitable. Charles Marriott writing in the Athenaeum noticed that in Fry's paintings the drawing and painting were applied to a preconceived design. He concluded: " ... the difference between Mr. John and Mr. Fry is that old one between Gothic and Classic; between the design proceeding and the design substantiated ... Mr. John is a Gothic artist, while the spiritual home of Mr. Fry is the Renaissance." <sup>3</sup> Rupert Lee in the New Age noted: "Mr. Fry concerns himself with causes and Mr. John with effects," and went on to refer to qualities in the portrait of Mela Kuter: "the sculpturesque dignity of the design, the contemplative sweetness of the characterization and the magnificent

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1. Sutton, II: 485. Sandra Jobson Darroch in Ottoline: The Life of Lady Ottoline Morrell, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1976) refers to Fry's disapproval of Russell's affair with Lady Ottoline (p. 112). This disapproval seems to have quickly disappeared as a letter from Clive Bell to Molly MacCarthy, referring to the Ottoline-Russell affair, states: "Besides Roger and others of B's friends, tell me that whatever the facts may be there's no doubt they have done him a world of good." (No date (1913) Charleston Papers).
2. Letter to Vanessa Bell, December 28, 1924; Charleston Papers. The present whereabouts of this portrait is unknown. During his testimony in court in May 1923 against Mrs. Hahn's version of Leonardo's "La Belle Ferronière" Fry was asked by the Counsel for the Plaintiff: "It is the highest art of the portrait painter to make a likeness, isn't it?" to which he replied "Oh dear, no, nothing of the kind." (Typescript deposition in the possession of Professor Quentin Bell).
3. April 7, 1923.

painting of the white draperies suggest certain echoes, the origins of which must be sought in the motives rather than the result of the great masters." <sup>1</sup>

Fry's refusal in his portraits to flatter his sitter, or to adopt any facile technique or heightened effect must have contrasted sharply with the portraits of John. The most favourable appraisal of his work came in a letter from Hindley Smith: "I went after the John experience to your show. I told Turner [Percy Moore Turner] that I found more in the three portraits in the front gallery than in all the John lot." <sup>2</sup>

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1. April 12, 1923.

2. Letter to Roger Fry, April 12, 1923; Fry Papers. P. M. Turner was the owner of the Independent Gallery.

"A New Sense of Power and Ease"

In January 1919 Fry had found the house, 7, Dalmeny Avenue,<sup>1</sup> which was to become his home until 1926, Durbins having become too expensive and too unpractical to run. The house and garden which became the subject of several paintings, were in full view of Holloway Jail, and the large rooms were decorated by Fry himself in washes of size in Omega colours, chosen to set off his collection of paintings.<sup>2</sup> In summer the garden, with its curved lawns, flower beds, fountain, shrubs and trees was found to be a suitable subject to paint and three paintings of it exist. Two of these give a fairly literal record of the garden's appearance, (cat. no's. 211 & 213) the thick, fluid brushstrokes following the direction of the branches and the rhythms of the foliage and the third, dated 1924, (cat. no. 212) reveals the more laboured style Fry adopted towards the middle '20's; the elaborate composition has a note of artificiality created by the two women in long dresses seated in the foreground, and the brushwork is taken to a high degree of finish. One other painting probably painted at Dalmeny Avenue is that known as A Hampstead View (cat. no. 214) which would seem to be the view presented looking across the garden wall at the backs of the other houses in the row. It is marked by a dry deliberation of design. This same lack of imagination characterizes the Still Life with Chinese Figure, dated 1922, in Bolton Museum and Art Gallery (cat. no. 207). Inspiration seemed to come only from France and French art. As he wrote to Marie Mauron in 1921, "I see more and more that I must live in Paris."<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 1922 he again travelled to France. He stayed at St. Tropez where Mela Muter joined him only to find that all his attention was absorbed in his painting: "Muter has made one or two scenes," Fry informed

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1. Now destroyed.

2. For a detailed description of the house and contents see his daughter's description in Sutton, I: 59-60.

3. Sutton, II: 506.

Vanessa, "but I'm inexorable and give all the little energy I have to work." <sup>1</sup>  
The same letter describes a vintage scene on which he was beginning to work.  
The whereabouts of the finished painting is not known, but the oil sketch for  
it, (cat. no. 208) makes it clear that Fry's intention was to create a  
monumental design with the complexity, breadth and distance ~~that~~ is found  
in the work of Claude Lorrain.

Whilst at St. Tropez Fry fell ill with abdominal pains that prevented him  
from painting as consistently as he would have liked. A letter written to  
Robert Bridges in the latter half of October tells how he was confining himself  
to small pochades or drawings. One large painting which must have been produced  
before his illness is The Sails: St. Tropez, (cat. no. 203; Plate 79 ) It  
represents some boats in harbour their sails hung out to dry in the golden  
yellow light of late afternoon. The subject was one he repeated as his one-man  
exhibition at the Independent Gallery in 1923 included three works entitled  
Sails drying, Sails and Brown Sails. Another large, completed work executed  
during this visit whose whereabouts is known, is The Palm Tree (cat. no. 201),  
which is unusual in the use of a central motif and limited, almost claustrophobic  
space. Its out-of-the-way setting has been chosen because of Fry's distrust  
of the naturally picturesque. As in The Sails: St. Tropez the light has a rich  
golden quality and as it falls on the fronds of the palm tree it creates a  
complexity of light and shade which demanded a wide range of tone.

Fry was at this time ~~pleased~~ with the direction his work was taking:

I think I get more power every year ... I don't suppose  
you'll ever like my things very much but I think you'll  
respect them more and more because there's a lot of queer  
stuff hidden away in them as a result of all my long  
wanderings and peerings and gropings in the world of art  
and I think they're things that will only come out gradually.  
I shall never make anything that will give you or anyone  
else the grasp of delighted surprise at a revelation, but  
I think I shall tempt people to enjoy a quiet contemplative  
kind of pleasure - the pleasure of recognizing that one  
has spotted just this or that quality which has a meaning

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, September 14, 1922; Charleston Papers.

Before he returned to England, Fry travelled to Nancy to visit a Dr. Coué in the hope of finding a cure for his internal illness. Coué cured people by a process of auto-suggestion; part of his treatment involved the repetition of the words - "Tous les jours, à tous points de vue je vais de mieux en mieux" - and another phrase persistently repeated was "ça passe, ça passe." Coué had a considerable following in the 1920's both in France and in England. He visited London in 1921 and 1922 and his book Self-Mastery Through Conscious Auto-Suggestion sold widely. But Fry's faith in Coué is often seen as proof of his credulous nature and his willingness to try ideas and systems that had no scientific basis.<sup>2</sup> This credulity also touched on his career as an artist and critic when he began to investigate whether one could ascertain the attribution of a painting by holding a pendulum over it and asking aloud whether the painting was by a certain artist. According to whether the pendulum began to swing in a clockwise or anti-clockwise movement the answer was in the affirmative or negative. His daughter remembered that Fry used the pendulum with his photographs of Old Master paintings to ascertain attributions.<sup>3</sup> However there is no evidence that Fry ever made an attribution in the press or in any public form based on this method and it would seem likely that his scientific training prevented him from taking it too seriously.<sup>4</sup>

In 1923 the Contemporary Art Society bought Fry's Winter Scene, Sussex (cat. no. 227) which was probably executed during the winter of 1922-23.

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1. Letter to Vanessa Bell, October 7, 1922; Sutton, II: 526-27.
  2. Virginia Woolf in her biography of Fry lists several examples including Fry's instruction as to the correct way of wearing saffron-coloured vests to cure tuberculosis.
  3. Interview, April 1975.
  4. Fry's willingness to accept the possibility of activity and knowledge outside the sphere of science led to other members of the Bloomsbury Group nicknaming him 'Old Credulous'. His interest in the spiritual dates from the first world war when he attended a seance at Mme. Vandervelde's house. Soon after he wrote to his sister Agnes recommending a book entitled The Reality of Physic Phenomena because of its explanation that during the course of levitation the weight of the table is transferred to the medium. (Fry Papers, no date, c.1918).



Apart from the note of pale blue that acts as the window in the building on the left, the composition is based on the restrained harmony of grey-green, grey, dull yellow and grey-brown, which gives the withdrawn mood of a cold winter's day. Unlike any other paintings by Fry, it appears to have been painted entirely with a palette knife. The forms are reduced to their essentials and all idiosyncratic detail has been smoothed away.

The rich effect Fry here achieves within a restrained, limited palette of colours is similar to the colours he noted in the town Calatayud on his visit to Spain in the summer of 1923. He described them to Margery Fry as brown, white and burnt grey, "all my colours or absence of colours."<sup>1</sup> Fry had left England in April and had stopped in Paris to see an exhibition of Matisse's work at Bernheim-Jeune. From there he had travelled to Nancy to continue his cure with Dr. Coué. He met up with Duncan Grant and Vanessa Bell in the South of France intending to travel with them to Spain, but abdominal pains forced him back to Nancy. It was not until the end of May that he crossed to Spain.

At first Fry found there was too much to look at and absorb to begin painting. As a result the holiday was less productive from the point of view of painting, than from the articles he wrote on Spain and the book that he wrote and illustrated, A Sampler of Castile, published by the Hogarth Press in a limited edition of five hundred copies. Fry described it as a book of impressions written in the halls of hotels, waiting-rooms, trains and trams, written primarily for himself. He admitted that it was largely concerned with "first impressions" and gives descriptions of the landscape, towns and their inhabitants that he saw as well as some observations on Spanish art, in which he noticed an over-riding religious content: "Their art is religious in that it is evidently intended to bring about in the spectator a certain state of wonder, awe and mystery, a state which is peculiarly suitable for the inculcation of religious doctrine ....The architecture, the sculpture and painting in a

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1. Sutton, II: 535.



Spanish church are all accessory to the purely dramatic art - the religious dance, if you like - of the Mass." He found that only one Spanish artist approached the more detached attitude of Italian art and that was Velasquez. The chapter on Catalonia and Aragon reveals his intense dislike of art nouveau which he found in Barcelona, "for in no city did that horrible epidemic rage more fiercely than there." At Salamanca, a town he returned to in order to paint it, he felt the rows of towers and domes created "a more grandiose Oxford ... only all of dark, umber-coloured stone rising against the glare of the horizon, over the dark umber ridge of the land." The painting (cat. no. 217) represents the mass of umber coloured buildings seen against a deep blue sky filled with the dark grey clouds of an approaching storm.

One reason why Fry may have been content on this visit to record his impressions in literary as opposed to visual form may have been his despondency at the failure of his one-man exhibition in April 1923. Apart from one or two critics who remained politely aloof, the response was denigratory. "Lacking in spontaneity," declared the Birmingham Post critic,<sup>1</sup> whilst P. G. Konody found them "lacking in sensuous charm." "Mr. Fry," he declared, "the enemy of 'representation' and champion of self-expression is very often purely representational - because he has nothing to express."<sup>2</sup> Frank Rutter also noticed that the result of Fry's empiricism was to bring him back to "a well-ordered realism."<sup>3</sup> It was inevitable that his role as critic should be brought into the discussion of his work as artist: "... when Mr. Roger Fry changes the pen for the brush, he does not for a moment allow the inexorable logic of his intellect to slacken at the urging of his artistic emotions. He remains cool, calculating and learned .... It seems incredible that the man who burns incense to Rouault in print should use his brush to produce things of such cloying prettiness as the portrait of 'Mlle Lydia Lopokova ...'"<sup>4</sup> The owner

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1. April 3, 1923.

2. Art and Artists, April 8, 1923.

3. Sunday Times, April 15, 1923.

4. Observer, April 8, 1923.

of the Independent Gallery, P. M. Turner, who had previously given Fry warm encouragement, now advised him to give up painting.

Fry need not have been ~~at~~ dismayed ~~by~~ by the reviews as a number penetrated beyond ~~his~~ outward appearance to the qualities that can still be admired in his art today. The critic for Vogue noted the "restraint, good taste, and an ingrained distrust of bravura. The colours are either gentle or austere, the designs deeply considered but never emphatic." <sup>1</sup> The Times referred to his work as "firmly built, self-contained, self-existent." <sup>2</sup> But praise such as this did not wipe out the reverberations echoing from such phrases as "laborious and dry, often clumsy in drawing and muddy in colour, and usually rather too obvious in design." <sup>3</sup> Fry recognized that his work lacked charm or any other quality that might please the British public: "It wants lyricism and I ain't a lyric" was his final comment. <sup>4</sup>

Fry did not give up his career as an artist as P. M. Turner suggested <sup>he should,</sup> but continued to paint for the rest of his life and continued to regard this activity as central to his life. He had an extraordinary resilience and a disregard for official recognition as became evident during the four hours he was cross-examined in court in Paris in September of this year in connection with a case of alleged libel brought by Mrs. Hahn against Duveen over her version of Leonardo's La Belle Ferronière. The Counsel for the Plaintiff asked Fry if he had ever won a prize for his work exhibited at the Salon d'Automne. Fry replied: "No, I have never had that insult. I should give the whole thing up if I got a prize, unless, I think, it was given as a joke. If it were sincerely given, I should know there was no chance for me." <sup>5</sup>

In October 1923 Fry travelled to La Ciotat for another period of concentrated painting activity. He painted the busy port with its cranes

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1. Late April, 1923.

2. April 10, 1923.

3. Birmingham Post, April 3, 1923.

4. Letter to Desmond MacCarthy, April 29, 1923; Sutton, II: 533.

5. Typescript Record of Fry's deposition in the possession of Professor Quentin Bell.

rising up against the background hills.<sup>1</sup> He also painted the calanques between La Ciotat and Cassis, their rich brown earth and dark pine trees creating richer colour harmonies than in his other Provençal scenes. In one version (cat. no. 218) figures have been added, which is usually an indication that the work was not painted on the spot but was constructed from pochades and drawings in his studio or room. ~~A church interior~~ was also ~~represented~~ painted during this visit, as ~~it is~~ dated 1923, but no location for ~~it~~ has been found and it is possible ~~it was~~ executed in Spain earlier that year.<sup>2</sup> ~~It~~ represents <sup>an</sup> elaborate baroque altar <sup>which</sup> dwarfs the small figures in the act of worship. His fascination with church interiors was partly explained in a passage in A Sampler from Castile: "Every work of art which one enjoys with complete aesthetic apprehension becomes for the time being the spirit's universe. No conscious reference to anything outside the work of art is relevant ... in the interior of a great building this spiritual isolation is happily symbolized and as it were incarcerated by our being physically cut off from all other life. It is as though when one looked at a picture one could enter into its space corporally as well as ideally."

In 1924 Fry's emotional life was deeply shaken by the death of Josette Coatmellec. He had met her at Dr. Coué's at Nancy in 1922 and the friendship he established with her developed into an affair, although the relationship was uneasy ~~because of~~ her lack of mental stability. During a visit to Paris in March 1924 Fry showed Josette an African mask he had recently acquired,<sup>3</sup> and the sight of it caused terror in her mind, making her suspect that Fry was tormenting her. Fry was nonplussed and he wrote to her attempting to explain away the misunderstanding. This letter she never received as she died by suicide before it was sent. Afterwards Fry set down in words the history of their relationship which reveals the depth of his emotional involvement with

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1. Cat. no's. 219 & 221.

2. Cat. no. 223

3. Possibly the mask now in the Fry Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries, cat. no. 45

her.<sup>1</sup> For the first time in his life he appears to have forgotten his belief in the spiritual value of art, as he wrote: "Pas l'amour et seulement par l'amour nous touchons ou croyons t<sup>u</sup>cher à une réalité solide, à un monde peuplé de vraies substances, des âmes, des substances indestructibles, éternelles, définitives. Dans tout le reste de notre vie regne une relativité complète."<sup>2</sup>

For Fry, the natural place to look for solace was in the activity of painting, and during the summer of 1924 he spent several months abroad, renting out his studio at 18, Fitzroy Street to the writer Gerald Brenan. Brenan has left a description of this studio as it was at this date:

It was on the top or attic floor and consisted of a fair-sized room with a tiny bedroom opening off it. There was a gas ring but no kitchen or bathroom and the only lavatory was on the stairs and had to be shared with the people on the floor below. The furniture was not unattractive, but showed signs of Nina Hammett's previous tenancy in the wine and grease stains that covered the carpet and upholstery. Across the beams overhead had been laid a thick pile of Roger Fry's canvases and when I looked up I saw ugly women painted in depressing colours, gazing stonily down at me.

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Whilst Brenan endured the limitations of Fry's studio, Fry travelled south to St. Rémy-de-Provence to join his friends Charles and Marie Mauron. There he painted a portrait of Charles (cat. no. 228) in muted but glowing colours.

"I paint his portrait in the morning," he wrote to Vanessa, "in a rather dark room so as not to hurt my eyes but the light filters through the great vine tunnel, a beautiful yellowish green, and I think the colour will be interesting."<sup>4</sup>

He admitted to his sister Margery that he threw himself into the activity of painting to forget "the feeling of how empty it is without Josette in the background."<sup>5</sup> One work that stylistically can be dated to 1923-24 and may have been painted at Les Baux, near St. Rémy, is Landscape with Ruins (cat. no. 237). Its mood is austere but strangely evocative because of its rich use of a variety of greys, heightened by the touches of pink and orange-yellow in the

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1. MS in King's College, Cambridge. A more detailed account of Fry's relationship with Josette Coatsmellec is given in Sutton, I: 63-64.

2. Ibid, MS.

3. Personal Record 1920-72 (London: Jonathan Cape 1974) p. 77.

4. Letter to Vanessa Bell, June 18, 1924; Charleston Papers.

5. Letter to Margery Fry, June 20, 1924; Fry Papers.

walls, earth and the river in the middle distance, and in the way the fast-moving clouds contrast with the enduring ruins. The colours are peculiar to that part of Provence as Fry noted: "It's precisely for the grey and delicate tone that I come to the south. The fact is my sensuality for colour is surfeited by the excesses of the north and I seek subtler stimulations, for the essence of Provence, even under its brilliant sun, is grey and pearly-colouring."<sup>1</sup>

From St. Remy Fry moved to Montpellier and Toulouse, visiting the famous museum at the former and admiring the Delacroixs and Courbets he saw there. At Toulouse he painted the outside of the church of St. Etienne covered in scaffolding, with rubble in the foreground, in subtle colour harmonies with touches of a few bright accents (cat. no. 236; Plate 80 ). In size the painting is little more than a pochade but is clearly a completed work. The brushwork is looser and more fluid than in his larger paintings of this time which<sup>he</sup> tended to overwork in his studio. From Toulouse he moved to Souillac, stopping at Montauban on the way to see the Ingres Museum. His attitude towards this painter was<sup>now</sup> ambivalent: "I'm afraid that, in spite of all his immense gifts, there was something he left out, something that should have made him get richer and fuller instead of becoming tighter and more precise and finally having to stuff his ideas out with a certain literary vulgarity ..."<sup>2</sup>

Once settled at Souillac Fry entered into his old routine of rising at six in the morning and, apart from short breaks, he painted until seven in the evening, working at four different motifs throughout the day. One of these was Route Nationale, Dordogne (cat. no. 235). Whilst he was painting it, a man and a woman walked along the road, stooping to pick up odds and ends. Fry quickly sketched them whilst they passed but after a while they returned and this time he fell into conversation with them and asked the old woman to pose for him. In his landscape figures are often used to establish spatial relationships, the picture being designed not only for its coherence within its two-dimensional

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1. Sutton, II: 523.

2. Sutton, II: 558.

limitations but also set up suggestions of three-dimensional relationships. In this picture the two walking figures serve a variety of formal purposes: their forward movement propels attention across the picture at the same time as their vertical emphasis relates them to the central tree in the middle distance and to the small tree by the side of the river, a relationship that acts diagonally across the picture and into space.

In September Fry moved from Souillac to St. Tropez where he painted two motifs at the nearby La Foux.<sup>1</sup> As in the Landscape with Ruin both these paintings leave the foreground empty, pushing the interest of the picture into the middle distance. As in the St. Etienne, Toulouse, a new fluency of brushstroke can be noted and the paintings are evenly worked without being brought to a **claustrophobic** level of finish. Fry also attempted at this time to return to watercolour painting but was **dissatisfied** with the results: "It isn't suited I fear to my positive way of feeling."<sup>2</sup> A change was occurring in his work during this summer which he himself noted: it involved "far more colour and a more downright direct method."<sup>3</sup> His confidence was returning and he wrote happily of "a new sense of power and ease."<sup>4</sup>

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1. Cat nos. 233 & 234. (Plats 81 & 82).
  2. Sutton, II: 560.
  3. Ibid, II: 559.
  4. Ibid.



The Presence and Influence of Helen Anrep.

If any one factor could be said to have had a dominating influence on the last nine years of Roger Fry's life, it was the appearance of Helen Anrep. Her relationship with Fry dates from late 1924 when at a party given by Vanessa Bell at her studio in Fitzroy Street, Helen and Roger spent most of the evening together, engrossed in conversation.<sup>1</sup> Helen's marriage to Boris Anrep was not happy and Fry acted as a catalyst upon it, enabling Helen to make the break she had long desired.<sup>2</sup> But their affair was inevitably complicated by the presence of Helen's two children who found Fry's presence difficult to accept, and by the fact that Fry was not free to re-marry. There followed a year of unhappiness and anxiety for all concerned. In March 1925 Fry wrote to Helen urging her to break with Boris and to establish "the right to see each other freely as much as possible" without causing harm either to his or Boris' career, without hurting his sister Margery with whom he lived, and without causing his mother shame. This Fry felt was perfectly possible as "people are civilized enough now to rearrange their lives without coming to open scandals."<sup>3</sup> However it was not until the spring of 1926 that Helen's break with Boris was finally made and she was able to divide her life between her house, Rodwell in Essex, and the house Fry took in Guildford Street, and later the home he established at 48, Bernard Street.

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1. Barbara Bagenal tells the story that on Helen's return home, her husband Boris remonstrated with her for her behaviour at the party. To avoid his anger, Helen left the house and sought out Fry in his studio at Fitzroy Street. Rather perplexed by her re-appearance, Fry, as often happened, rushed across the street to Vanessa for her advice. Interview 5. 8. 75.
  2. Michael Holroyd states that Boris was keeping another woman in the same house as Helen and himself and that he sent this woman out to the public library to select books for Helen on the infallible principle that she would choose books Helen would not have chosen herself. According to Romilly John, Boris disappointed Helen "by his literary philistinism and preference for legshows to those concerned more with the head." Quoted Michael Holroyd, Augustus John: The Years of Innocence, (London: Heinemann, 1974) p. 336.
  3. Letter to Helen Anrep, March 30, 1925; Anrep Papers.



Fry was without any doubt as to the importance Helen had for him: "You touch almost every part of me. You'd be surprised how much of me Vanessa temporarily suppressed because of her rather peculiar narrowness and intensity." <sup>1</sup> Helen was not only to provide the domestic life and stable relationship that Fry had lacked since the onset of his wife's illness, but she also had a direct influence on his work, both his paintings and his writings on art. It became the custom for Fry to show everything he painted to Helen in order to hear her critical opinion. That for him became the moment of truth. Whilst at Cassis in September 1925 he wrote to Helen: "I think it's [his painting] more intense and more me than ever and I always think of the moment when I shall look at you looking at them and read the verdict in your eyes, knowing you won't relax a millimetre of yr. standard because it's me." <sup>2</sup>

Helen's experience of art was considerable. Born Helen Maitland, she had, before her marriage to the artist Boris Anrep, been a close friend of Dorelia John and had been deeply in love with the painter, Henry Lamb. Her early life had therefore been spent mostly in the company of artists and their various ménages. A small woman, with clear grey-blue eyes, she was eminently capable, determined but warm-hearted. As Michael Holroyd has commented, "she saw her life as a vocation to be fulfilled among painters." <sup>3</sup> And when Fry attempted to describe her qualities, he had to resort to a pictorial metaphor: "... one would have to say Cézannian to give what I mean of exhilarating richness and gravity and austerity." <sup>4</sup> The other side to her character was an exuberance and responsiveness that matched Fry's own. "How satisfactory it is," he wrote to Helen, "that you enjoy things so intensely - I believe that that's the supreme moral quality provided that they're the right kind of things to enjoy." <sup>5</sup>

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, April 15 (1925); Anrep Papers.
  2. Letter to Helen Anrep, September 19, 1925; Anrep Papers.
  3. Holroyd, Augustus John: The Years of Innocence, p. 336.
  4. Letter to Helen Anrep, July 8, 1925; Anrep Papers.
  5. Letter to Helen Anrep, May 14, 1929; Anrep Papers.

In her response to art, Helen was less inclined to a pure formalist interpretation than Fry and, under her influence, Fry modified his earlier aesthetic theories. We have no idea as to precisely what her views were for she never committed her thoughts to paper but in conversation <sup>with</sup> Simon Bussy, Fry informed him that Helen thought art was "ultimately a question of moral values." <sup>1</sup> Certainly she forced Fry to take more account of the content in a work of art and this was the cause of his modification of the purely formalist approach of his previous writing. In December 1931 he wrote to Helen:

I am at last getting under way with my lecture. I propounded a few of its heresies at Vanessa's last night. She poor dear, is deeply shocked but I believe I'm on a track that will make things a little clearer and relieve the strain which I have felt of late on the other orthodoxy. One runs a theory as long as one can and then suddenly too many difficulties in its application - too many strained explanations accumulate and you have to break the mould and start afresh. I'm going to divide pictures into Opera pictures and Symphony pictures and then we can begin to analyze them according to these two ideas instead of trying to pretend that all pictures produce similar effects by similar means.

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It is not known what lecture this was that Fry gave in 1928, but the idea behind it found clear expression in, "The Double Nature of Painting," a lecture delivered at Brussels during the Autumn of 1933. <sup>3</sup> In this Fry divides paintings into two categories: "One can be called pure painting, appealing to our emotions through plastic harmonies, as in music. The other category would contain pictures which make their appeal by the associated idea and emotions called up by the representation of objects in a manner corresponding to literature." But Fry goes on to argue that a painting can "appeal to us by a plastic harmony on one side and move us by the associated ideas of the objects represented on the other," and that the painting therefore can partake of a double nature. This shift of aesthetic viewpoint separates Fry from Bell, in that Fry was no longer content to describe aesthetic emotion as solely resulting from the plastic, spatial and chromatic harmonies of the work in hand.

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1. Sutton, II: 622.

2. Letter to Helen Anrep, December 31, 1928; Anrep Papers.

3. Published in Apollo, May 1969, Vol. 89, pp. 362-71.

It can be questioned whether Fry would have modified his aesthetic theories without the persuasive charm and influence of Helen Anrep. On a visit to the Brera, Milan a few months before he died in 1934, Fry noted in a painting by Correggio how much of the content he had previously missed and wrote to Helen: "I see I'm in danger of getting shockingly 'literary' under your influence. But I see that the pictures that 'count' most generally have some quite new and personal conception of the situation." <sup>1</sup> In this case it was the reluctance and tenderness expressed by the Virgin in Correggio's Adoration of the Magi that had caught his attention.

Thus after a year of crisis whilst Helen disentangled herself from Boris, the last eight years of Roger Fry's life see a period of unabated energy and enthusiasm combined with a new relaxed mood. This mood enabled Fry to rethink his aesthetic standpoint and, combined with renewed assurance, gave his painting a joyousness not found in the works produced during the first half of the 1920's. Under her gentle influence, the experience Fry had accumulated, flowered and found expression in his art.

Fry's position as critic and painter in the mid 'twenties.

Reviewing an exhibition of Sickert's paintings in January 1925 Fry expressed the wish that Sickert "had picked up a little of French seriousness to correct the frivolity of the English tradition as Whistler professed it." <sup>2</sup> Still overtly partisan in his attitude to French art, Fry during the mid 'twenties found himself unable to accept recent developments, in particular Dada and Surrealism. Their often detailed description of form and dependence on associated ideas seemed to Fry to be a return to Pre-Raphaelitism. He wrote to Gerald Brenan from Paris in 1925, noting a tendency among young artists towards "mysticism, obscurantism, symbolism, expressionism, etc." and went on to declare: "The positive classic spirit is dead for the moment. And with

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1. Sutton, II: 688.

2. New Statesman, January 17, 1925.

everything is mixed an element of violence and fascism." <sup>1</sup>

If this statement suggests that Fry's mind was closed to the Parisian avant-garde, other letters reveal with what open-mindedness he was prepared to examine all his theories and ideas about art that he had formed up to that date. During the same visit to Paris he visited the Louvre and sent the following report of his experiences there to Helen Anrep: "I'm going over everything, forgetting all my theories and all I've ever written and thought and trying to be absolutely passive to my impression." <sup>2</sup> He looked with the intention of discovering absolute sincerity of emotion: "Under that test Crot came out so far above all the greater names of the nineteenth century, including Ingres, that I was almost frightened to have to count some infinitely modest record of a moments sensation above all the constructive methods of great and ardent minds." <sup>3</sup>

This attempt to free his vision from layers of preconceived looking inevitably led to a re-examination of his aesthetic theories and his conclusions formed the essay "Some Questions in Esthetics" which became the first chapter of his book Transformations published in 1926. In this he slightly modified the position he had first established in his "An Essay in Aesthetics" of 1909, but did not go as far in his re-assessment of the form-content relationship as he did in his later lecture "The Double Nature of Painting." "Some Questions in Esthetics" was written primarily in reply to I. A. Richards' criticism of Fry's separation of the aesthetic experience from that of everyday life. Fry in reply continued to argue that aesthetic experience results from "a special orientation of consciousness" and "in special focussing of the attention, since the act of esthetic apprehension implies an attentive passivity to the effects of sensations apprehended in their relations." <sup>4</sup> But he admitted that certain

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1. Letter to Gerald Brenan, April 30, 1925; University of Texas.

2. Sutton, II: 566.

3. Ibid p. 565.

4. Transformations, p. 5.

works of art arouse in us emotions and associations related to our experience of ordinary everyday life and that this is most obvious in front of representational art. But unable at this time to arrive at the theory that certain paintings may partake of a double nature, Fry argues that paintings that arouse associated ideas and emotions are impure, implying that they contain a considerable dose of the un-aesthetic resulting from their religious or political statements and moral overtones. Fry upholds this statement with the argument that these pictures mix two distinct and separate arts they "imply the mixture of the art of illustration and the art of plastic volumes ..." <sup>1</sup>

This dismissal of representational content was, as has been stated, later repudiated. One reason why he maintained this position at this date was that he himself found that content arose primarily from the formal components of a painting. When he talks of the 'illustrative' and the 'plastic' he describes them as "the one psychological, the other spatial." <sup>2</sup> Fry's criticism must partly be seen as a reaction to nineteenth century responses to art which sought moral value in the psychological implications of the work and not through its spatial and plastic values. By comparison Fry could discover profound content in the mere representation of texture. In an enlightening passage he compares Rembrandt's painting of wood in the desk in the foreground of Boy at Lessons with Alma-Tadema's depiction of marble. The former Fry declares "becomes the vehicle of a strangely exalted spiritual state, the medium through which we share Rembrandt's deep contemplative mood," the latter merely gives a "weak illusion" of marble and is "totally inexpressive of anything else." <sup>3</sup>

Fry's writings, especially passages such as the above, give an indication of the set of decisions that lay behind his own paintings and underline his emphasis on formal qualities - the spatial, textural, colour, light, shadow, weight, rhythm, density and mass - the visual qualities on which he believed the aesthetic response primarily rests, psychological, moral and ideological

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1. Ibid p. 27.

2. Ibid p. 27.

3. Ibid pp. 40-41.



aspects remaining secondary. His aesthetic ideas partly explain the limited range of subject matter in his paintings and the considerations that might have led to its choice. Never dramatic or picturesque, the views he chose to represent are sometimes prosaic, but whatever the limitations of the scene he always subjected it to rigorous formal analysis in order to discover those qualities and relationships necessary to an aesthetic whole. The essence of his aesthetic requirements was expressed thus: "there is a pleasure in the recognition of order and inevitability in relations, and the more complex the relations of which we are able to recognize the inevitable interdependence and correspondence the greater the pleasure; this of course will come very near to the pleasure derived from the contemplation of intellectual constructions united by logical inevitability." <sup>1</sup>

The classical bias in Fry's attitude to art, evident in his writings, was further aroused and confirmed by the exhibition of French landscape painting held at the Petit Palais in 1925. In his review of this show Fry admitted that he was first carried away by the breadth and charm of Claude's paintings and by "the ease of his transitions" but that with each succeeding visit he became "more and more subdued by the relentless force of Poussin's impassioned architecture." <sup>2</sup> This exhibition must have reaffirmed for Fry the importance of the classical landscape tradition. ~~in 1925~~ Writing of the exhibition to Helen Anrep, he declared: "Those two men, Poussin and Corot are so minutely sympathetic to me that I have the feeling that it is only by accident that I didn't do their pictures - do you know what I mean? I see why each touch was done ....I know before a Cézanne that I couldn't have begun to conceive that, but in those two I feel that given differences of period, gifts, etc. I should have felt exactly so ..." <sup>3</sup>

A small pochade of Cassis harbour (cat. no. 238; Plate 83 ) could be compared, in its honest rendering of his sensations, with a small oil by Corot.

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1. The Artist and Psycho-Analysis, Hogarth Press, 1924.
2. Burlington Magazine, July 1925, Vol. 47, pp. 10 ff.
3. Sutton, II: 571.

The main difference is the lack of delicacy in Fry's technique. His energetic manipulation of paint and variety of brushstrokes reveals his delight in the juxtaposition of different textures, the water, the walls of the houses and the hills behind. No attempt is made ~~to~~ to disguise his means or the quality of paint and the result has a transparent freshness. His honest but sometimes clumsy touch was best suited to the small scale of this pochade where he was not troubled by the necessary filling-in of his larger canvases and the occasional weariness this produces. Here the immediacy of his response was captured with ~~the~~ thoughtful but lively effect.

Both his paintings and writings reveal that his initial impulse to paint was aroused by the observation of some order in the shapes and colours of a scene. He was attracted by the unexpected, never by the conventional and picturesque. But in the same way that he could respond to the idyllic pastoral landscapes of Claude, he discovered that whilst visiting the calanques that cut into the coastline between Cassis and La Ciotat, it was the genius loci ~~of the place~~ that aroused his desire to paint. He wrote to Helen Anrep: " ... I wanted you very badly to be with me in this place ... It was a sort of place like those of which Homer says 'And they knew that a God was in this place'. I shall try to make some sort of picture of it. It's too far off to work there but I shall make drawings, and the colour is very simple. It's also very much the romantic part of me." <sup>1</sup>

If certain of his late landscapes reveal a lyrical side to Fry's work his suppressed romanticism never became so dominant that he was satisfied with capturing ~~transient~~ effects. In May 1925 he paid a brief visit to the Maurons at Le Mas Blanc near Tarascon in Provence and whilst there executed a few landscapes in watercolour. "I wrestle with watercolour - what a horrid medium it is for anyone who wants to say anything exactly and not to make a very pretty splash somewhat round about the thing! ... if I hadn't such a Quaker conscience I suppose I should be tempted to make something quite pretty and effective like Friesz for example who always brings it off and so well that one almost forgets

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, September 26, 1925; Anrep Papers.



that there's nothing really there. Do you think that perhaps I'm really devoured of envy of him." <sup>1</sup> Towards the end of the 1920's, Fry's paintings reveal that he began to combine lyrical effects with his ever-prevailing desire for careful construction. The formal relationships become fused with his personal response to landscape with the result that his later work marks a new stage in his development as a painter.

### Fry and Cézanne.

During 1924-27 a considerable amount of Roger Fry's time was spent studying the work of Cézanne. The result was a spate of articles and lectures on the artist and his book Cézanne: A Study of his Development was published by the Hogarth Press on November 7, 1927 to coincide with the last of a series of three lectures Fry gave on this artist. <sup>2</sup> This book is a landmark in the appreciation of Cézanne in this country and further established Fry's reputation as a critic. Yet the book did his reputation as a painter little good. Up to this day his name is still cojoined with that of Cézanne and his paintings dismissed as pale imitations of the great master, but as will be seen, Fry never imitated either Cézanne's technique or motives and the comparison is an unfair one.

Fry's admiration of Cézanne dated from 1906. At the two Post-Impressionist exhibitions he had ample opportunity to study his work at length, and Keith Roynes has recalled that around 1912 Fry gave an important lecture on Cézanne at the Slade School of Art. <sup>3</sup> But in 1925 he was commissioned by the magazine L'Amour de L'Art to write an article on the Cézannes in the Pellerin collection. The article was published in 1926 and formed the basis of the book published the following year. A larger part of the article was written during

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, May 15, 1925; Anrep Papers.
2. It is not known where these lectures were given.
3. Letter to the author.

the summer of 1926 at Charleston from where Fry wrote to Helen Anrep: "I get more and more worshipful of Cézanne as I come to analyze his works one after another, because I've brought him down now to near the end when he's much the greatest and all the absurdities of his youth have evaporated. I think I've managed to bring out the dramatic movement of his career." <sup>1</sup>

Certain of the ideas that Fry *discovered* in Cézanne's oeuvre had importance for his own paintings. In December 1924 Fry reviewed the Cézanne's currently on view at the Goupil Gallery, and pointed out that though Cézanne emphasized the structure of a scene or object, "on the other hand he desired intensely that continuity of texture which the Impressionists had gained by abandoning the idea of the object." <sup>2</sup> Developing this idea, Fry concludes that Cézanne "conceived that the plasticity of the whole vision must be equally realized throughout, that at no point must there be any gap in the sequence of plastic relations ..." <sup>3</sup> Both the concern with texture and that with continuity in the plastic relations can be found in Fry's own painting, although their expression never took the form of Cézanne's chopped brushstrokes.

When the following year Fry wrote a review on the Cézanne exhibition held at the Leicester Galleries, he noted that despite Cézanne's increase in stature and importance during the last fifteen years his art still appears markedly different from the paintings he had influenced. No one Fry felt, approached "his immense discretion, his reserve, his large repose ..." nor his "infinite variety of plastic movement" nor his ability to follow this "microscopical analysis without losing the power of co-ordination." <sup>4</sup>

Some influence of Cézanne can be discovered in Fry's Pontigny (cat. no. 242; Plate 84 ) executed whilst attending the décades of Pontigny, a series of annual discussions held at the old Cistercian Abbey which attracted a number of leading intellectuals. Not only does the chunky brushwork reveal his

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, August 15, 1926; Anrep Papers.
2. Burlington Magazine, December 1924, Vol. 45, pp. 311-12.
3. Ibid.
4. The New Republic, August 5, 1925, p. 289-90.

Cézannesque concern with texture, and the careful working of every part of the picture his concern with spatial and formal relationships, but his choice of scene follows the great master's preference for the simplest aspect and for forms placed parallel to the picture plane. Here the wall which runs across the middle of the picture appears an unpromising subject for a painting, but its colour and the contrast it created with its sunlit building behind attracted Fry, who described this scene in the following way: "I managed to do one picture in the mornings ... It's a great horse chestnut with all its leaves covered with dust (being close to the road), so that on the dark green its made an effect almost of zinc, and behind a quite uninteresting mill but a curious blue and yellow light on the wall. The wall in front is greenish golden brown shade and a very dark stream." <sup>1</sup>

Also during 1925 Fry executed a copy of the Cézanne Self-Portrait now in the National Gallery, which was then on exhibit at the Independent Gallery. Of all Fry's copies or translations as he sometimes called them, this comes closest to the original and indicates his willingness to totally submerge his personality in front of the work of the great master (cat. no. 243). But when in the same year Fry executed a portrait of Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson (cat. no. 244), the result is very far from being a mere pastiche of a Cézanne, and is a solidly realized independent achievement.

The bald dome of the sitter is set off by the rich brocade behind in the same way that in the Cézanne self portrait. The position of the head is reinforced by the pattern in the background wallpaper. But apart from this similarity, Fry's portrait is too dogged by representational concerns to bear comparison. Nevertheless, despite its limitations when compared to the Cézanne, Fry has caught a sensitive likeness in full rich harmonious colours and the whole is painted with consistency and integrity.

Three years later at a small exhibition of Fry's work organized by the London Artists' Association, his old friend L. C. Powles wrote offering

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1. Sutton, II: 581.

criticism. From Fry's reply it is evident that Powles had compared Fry's paintings to those of Cézanne and Fry was forced to admit: "Of course there is much in them that wouldn't have been there without Cézanne, but then too there is much also due to Poussin, to Corot, to Seurat." <sup>1</sup> Whatever influences may be noted, the success of Fry's paintings depends on how far these qualities have been absorbed and transmuted. As he himself wrote: "The question is whether I have fused these idioms into a personal one and that of course others must answer." <sup>2</sup>

### The Return to Traditionalism.

The paintings produced by Fry during the last years of his life are not the result of an attempt to forge a new visual language, but rather the attempt to synthesize post-impressionist concerns with the classical balance and harmony found in the tradition of classical landscape painting. In his withdrawal of commitment from the fashioning of the avant-garde, Fry was not alone<sup>as</sup> he pointed out in a lecture on modern art given at University College, Bangor on January 18, 1927. In this lecture Fry noted that the "elemental purity" of Matisse's pre-war work had been abandoned in favour of "a new type of genre picture," that was attractive and elegant and "in key with the fashionable tastes of the moment." Turning to Derain, another artist whose work revealed a radical change of direction Fry argued: "Derain, too, is typical of what I have already noted in that since the war we see in him, too, that relaxation of effort, that loss of confidence in ambitious and austere creations, that tendency to compromise and anyhow a reversion to the ordinary traditions of painting." <sup>3</sup> This move away from the uncompromising austerity of pre-war art was referred to by Fry in an article on Vanessa Bell's work

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1. Letter to L. C. Powles, February 18, 1928; Fry Papers.

2. Ibid.

3. "The Development of Modern Art," MS and typescript of lecture at King's College, Cambridge.

published in 1926; she too had "learned to clothe the bare scaffolding by a richer texture and by more fully realized plastic feeling." <sup>1</sup> And the conclusion Fry arrived at in his Bangor lecture was: "We see that after all those efforts to give to art new and unfamiliar aspects, to recover the secret of monumental design or to construct with the freedom of the musician, after all those foreign influences from Japan, from Polynesia, from negro culture, the old European tradition has reasserted itself." <sup>2</sup>

As Fry's work of the mid 'twenties is also marked by the return to traditionalism one can only conclude that he approved of Vanessa Bell's search for "a richer texture" and "more fully realized plastic feeling." These two concerns dominate his rather dull Place du Marche, Cany (cat. no. 246) in which a courtyard is cut diagonally in half by shadow. Every part of the picture is very thoroughly painted and this <sup>finish</sup> combined with the hard lines of the architecture results in a certain rigidity that makes it not surprising that the painting failed to sell when it was exhibited at the Salon d'Automne of 1926. In his Norman Manor House (cat. no. 248) painted the same year, naturalism is tinged with Cézannian concerns and rigidity is avoided by the broken brushwork which gives an intimation of the impressionist style adopted in the late 'twenties.

A more traditional vision is also evident in the lithographs that Fry began to produce in 1927. A number of farmyard scenes and church interiors were executed in this medium, one executed in August 1927 of a church at Toulon was limited to an edition of twenty-five. That same month he learnt of a waxed paper on which one could draw and then have the drawing transferred to the stone. This meant that the lithograph could be drawn on the spot and not reconstructed in the studio from other drawings. The primary fascination this medium had for Fry lay in the varying richness obtained through shading and he found this technique well suited for rendering church interiors with their

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1. Vogue, early February, 1926, p. 35.  
2. Op. cit.

broken light and dark shadows.

A renewed interest in draughtmanship had begun in April 1927 whilst at Cassis where Fry had executed a large number of drawings before beginning to paint in order to get his hand and eye co-ordinated again after the long winter months during which he had had little opportunity to paint. Once he began to paint, his brushwork revealed a new freedom of handling. Ilex and Olives (cat. no. 254; Plate 85) was one of the paintings produced during this stay and is described by Fry in a letter to Helen Anrep: "An ilex a bright green fig and an olive almond tree to left. Those damned cliffs up above ....A cement wall and artichokes in foreground." <sup>1</sup> The variety of foliage encouraged experiment with his brushwork which here flickers and dances over the entire surface of the canvas and at times threatens to submerge the sense of underlying form. A similar delight in surface texture is also found in Olives in the Spring (cat. no. 253; Plate 86) where the brushwork is equally vibrant. Both scenes are traditional in the importance given to the light which acts as an enriching and unifying element. It gives a surface unity to both works at the same time as it suggests the momentary effect. This rediscovery of the importance of light freed Fry's paintings from the dryness and dullness that had occasionally appeared in the work of the preceding years.

This concern with light can also be seen in his S. Cannat, Marseilles (cat. no. 255) a church interior executed during the autumn of 1927. He wrote of this work: "S. Cannat goes on slowly but steadily. I think that it will dégager its mood in the end. It's still of course lots of bits. It's only when all the tones sing together that the whole thing will be expressive and I can only arrive at that little by little, by incessant readjustments. But it's already got much more space than the study, and the green light falls more placidly everywhere. That's the thing I want to get." <sup>2</sup> Thus what at first

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, May 11, 1927; Anrep Papers.

2. Letter to Helen Anrep, September 14, 1927; Anrep Papers.

sight appears to be a surprising subject for Roger Fry, - the celebration of the mass, - becomes a setting for the analysis of formal relationships and the rendering of a restrained, subterranean light. As the painting drew near completion he recognized that he had taken the realization of the scene to a point that went beyond what Cézanne would have felt necessary. "I'm afraid," he admitted to Helen Anrep, "Cézanne would have said it was 'trou bien fait' and 'horriblement ressemblant'" <sup>1</sup> Yet he must have been pleased with the result as when in February 1928 the London Artists' Association put on a small exhibition of his recent works, he priced S. Cannat at £100 which, as far as is known, was the highest price he had yet asked for a painting. <sup>2</sup>

A similar concern to capture an all-pervading mellow green light can be found in his interior of the Louvre, La Salle des Caryatides (cat. no. 269; Plate 89 ) painted during the spring of 1929 and presented by Fry to the Ashmolean Museum in 1933. The light not only suffuses the entire picture but determines the restrained colour harmonies on which the composition is based. When <sup>the painting is</sup> compared with a photograph of the actual room (Plate 90 ) it can be seen that Fry made only minor alterations to the actual proportions. This apparent passivity in the recording of the scene disguises the careful balancing of the parts and the achievement is not unrelated to the art of Canaletto. When in December 1929 his mother sent him a book of Canaletto drawings, Fry replied: "I think I have learnt a good deal from him in my own painting, so I am glad to have these to study at leisure." <sup>3</sup> La Salle des Caryatides also had similarities with the rendering of space and light in seventeenth century Dutch painting and the large Dutch exhibition held at Burlington House during the winter of 1928-29, on which Fry wrote several articles, probably had an influence on his own painting, as this rich but sober, restrained achievement would seem to demonstrate.

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, September 19, 1927; Anrep Papers.
  3. Sutton, II: 645.
  2. It failed to sell.



During a visit to Brantôme in September 1928 Fry was able to enjoy a period of concentrated painting. His Brantôme (cat. no. 256; Plate 88 ) represents a corner of the town where the river becomes a weir. Compared to a photograph of the scene, Fry considerably altered the position of the main forms to suit his aesthetic requirements, bringing in the left hand wall to act as a repoussoir element and to prevent the eye from sliding out of the picture. The final painting exhibits all the classic qualities Fry was seeking for, - balance, repose, density and subtle, harmonious colours.

When <sup>able to</sup> completely absorb <sup>himself</sup> in <sup>his</sup> painting, his activity as critic was temporarily forgotten. "I haven't done a line of writing," Fry wrote to Helen Anrep from Brantôme, "I can't when I'm so absorbed in painting." <sup>1</sup> On a walk in the nearby countryside Fry discovered the type of un-picturesque scene that occasionally caught his attention. "Its so starkly constructed so without any charm." <sup>2</sup> And he included in his letter a drawing of scene that became the subject of La Fontaine Noire (cat. no. 265; Plate 87 ). This he felt was one of the three or four good paintings that resulted from this visit. "This place suited me very well," he informed his mother, <sup>3</sup> and to William Rothenstein he wrote, "I have managed to paint steadily for the past six weeks." <sup>4</sup>

Two of his Brantôme paintings, a market scene (cat. no. 260) and La Fontaine Noire (Plate 87 ) were exhibited in the London Group Exhibition held in January 1929. There had been a slight increase in demand for his paintings which suggests that the public was beginning to respond to his classical mood. Pleased with his recent paintings Fry would still give a fairly detached critical assessment of their place within the London Group as a whole: "My things looked to me very timid and effaced amid the general noise of an exhibition but I found that some of the artists had been looking at them a good deal. They have more unity and light than most but whatever qualities

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, September 15, 1928; Anrep Papers.
2. Letter to Helen Anrep, September 23, 1928; Anrep Papers.
3. Letter to Lady Fry, October 11, 1928; Fry Papers.
4. Letter to William Rothenstein, October 11, 1928; Houghton Library, Harvard University.

they have need more looking for than they are likely to get from the public still less from the critics." <sup>1</sup>

### Friends and Associates.

The letters Fry wrote during the last ten years of his life reveal that his energy and enthusiasm never abated. The pace at which he lived astonished Clive Bell who reported back to Vanessa in 1928: "I saw Roger Fry in Paris, along with Livy Waldemar George, Delacroix and Courbet. Since then he and Sir Frank Dickinson have been dining with the Duke of York and the civil servants and returning thanks. He has a show of pictures in London, lectures in Manchester, Argyll House and elsewhere - what next I know not." <sup>2</sup> He was as much at the centre of things as he had been during the post-impressionist years, as Clive recognized: "Roger's life reminds me of 1911 - he is the heart of Mayfair, and Stoop fawns on him. He gives lectures and writes articles without end ... His show (round which he escorted me) was not a great success; but he sold three or four pictures which seems to me nothing short of a miracle." <sup>3</sup>

When in 1925 Maynard Keynes formed the London Artists' Association which held its first exhibition the following year, Fry was naturally one of the artists included in the scheme. <sup>4</sup> The intention behind this association was to guarantee its painter-members a fixed salary at the same time as it gave the patrons, which included, beside Keynes, Samuel Courtauld, L. H. Myers and F. Hindley-Smith, the first option on the work produced. At the first exhibition Fry exhibited ten paintings, seven of which sold. The Observer critic noted that far from being the modernist he once was, his work now revealed him as being "a classicist to the finger-tips." <sup>5</sup> Occasional difficulties over

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, December 28, 1928; Anrep Papers.
2. Letter from Clive to Vanessa Bell, February 11, 1928; Charleston Papers.
3. Letter from Clive to Vanessa Bell, March 2, 1928; Charleston Papers.
4. For a more detailed description of the Association and the artists who belonged to it, see Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits, pp. 227-31.
5. May 23, 1926.

membership now and then arose. Fry at first opposed Maynard's decision to include Paul Nash in 1927 and at one point in 1930 Fry threatened to resign for reasons that are not known.

Fry continued to prefer the company of artists and writers to that of society. Charles and Marie Maurel were two whose company always gave him great delight and he paid frequent visits to Charleston to visit Vanessa and Duncan. He still occasionally painted in their company and ~~and~~ in July 1928 ~~when~~ all three artists set out to paint the Foundling Hospital in Bloomsbury before it was pulled down. On another occasion that summer he accompanied them on a painting expedition to Laughton Place, a tudor castle on the north downs. Even when in the company of non-artists he could not suppress his current artistic interests from becoming part of his dinner-table conversation. Thus after his visit to Paris in February 1928 to review a Delacroix exhibition, he dined with the St. John Hutchinsons and Arnold Bennett recorded in his journal: "Fry was in great form. His latest notion is that Delacroix, though a great man, was not a great artist." <sup>1</sup>

As a critic his output was greater than ever before and during the last nine years of his life published seven books, <sup>2</sup> contributed regularly to the Burlington Magazine, the New Statesman and the Nation and Athenaeum. From 1929 onwards he contributed talks on art to the radio, many of which were afterwards <sup>he</sup> published in The Listener. As his letters prove there was never a slack period in Fry's life and the long periods abroad allowed necessary respite from frenetic activity. "I am longing to get away from this terrible climate and the incessant ringing of the telephone," he wrote to Mary Berenson in February 1932, "I'm getting too old for London for I am beset by everyone who wants anything in the art world - they always imagine I can be of use to them and the worst of it is I often can. But I wish they would let me retire."

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1. The Journals of Arnold Bennett, edited by Frank Swinniston (London: Penguin 1954) p. 445.
  2. These include Transformations (1926), Flemish Art: A Critical Survey (1927), Cézanne: A Study of his Development (1927), Henri Matisse (1930), The Arts of Painting and Sculpture (1932), Characteristics of French Art (1932) and Reflections on British Painting (1934)

It's very difficult to retire from an unpaid, unofficial position." <sup>1</sup>

On one of his visits abroad Fry travelled in Spain with the writer Gerald Brennan who had acted as a go-between for Fry and Helen during the period when she had been trying to extricate herself from Boris. Brennan has left a record of Fry's visit that throws light on his character and interests as an artist. On a journey from Yegen to Almira the two men stopped at Cuevas de Almanzora of which Brennan wrote:

I have sad recollections of this place because once, not so long before his death, I spent an afternoon and night here with Roger Fry. Greatly taken by the Moorish castle and the cave quarter, he sat painting them till the sun sank and the light faded, and then suddenly, as always happened to him at this hour, his interest in the visible world went out. Although he was strongly susceptible to landscape and had an almost Greek sense for the 'genius loci' he was too much of a painter to think of Nature except as a subject for pictures. <sup>2</sup>

The rest of the evening Fry spent playing chess in the local casino where he aroused the friendship of the local peasants to such an extent that they begged him to settle down there and even offered him a house. Brennan continues: "On our way back to the inn we were taken to see it: it proved to be a villa lavishly decorated with horseshoe arches and pseudo-Moorish tiles, and Roger Fry's struggles to combine truth with politeness - for he was a man who, in spite of his great urbanity, could not bring himself to say anything he did not feel - were amusing to listen to." <sup>3</sup>

When in 1933 Fry was offered a position of official recognition, the Slade Professorship at Cambridge for which he had made many previous applications, it was with some amusement that he accepted. "It must be put down mostly I think to the English worship of antiquity," Fry informed Brennan. "If one lives long enough one becomes a British Institution and they all love you whatever you do." <sup>4</sup> The appointment carried with it a lecturing commitment

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1. Letter to Mary Berenson, February 6, 1932; I Tatti Archives, Florence.
2. Gerald Brennan, South from Granada (London: Readers Union/Hamish Hamilton, 1958, first published 1957) pp. 224-25.
3. Ibid.
4. Letter to Gerald Brennan, March 19, 1933; University of Texas.

and Fry decided not to rework earlier lectures but to attempt to apply a set of aesthetic ideas to the visual art of the whole world, from Egypt to the present day. Unfortunately he died before the course was completed and the book Last Lectures published after his death from his lecture notes takes the reader up to the later period of Greek art. That Fry should undertake such a wide-ranging programme is indicative of the flexibility of mind he still had at his command.

### The Portrait Painter.

A considerable number of portraits date from the last nine years of Fry's life. He began to accept commissions and produced thorough, competent likenesses, but more successful were the sketches of his family and friends.

He spent the Christmas of 1927 at his family home, Failand, and whilst there took the opportunity to paint a small pochade of his mother, Lady Mariabella Fry, who was then ninety four years old. The sittings exposed the coquetry in the old lady and she required a great deal of flattery and entreaty before she agreed to sit for one hour. The next day, knowing that the sittings were to continue, she appeared in a different dress. The result (cat. no. 250) is vividly expressive of her stern but amused humanity. As always in Fry's pochades the paint is more fluid than that found in his more finished works. If the portrait of his mother is compared with that of Margaret Fry (cat. no. 261) executed in January 1928 for Dr. Aubrey Fry, the son of Roger Fry's cousin, Lewis Fry, it can be seen that the evident need to please resulted in a much more overworked and dull paint surface. This portrait is also fairly small showing a three quarter view of the bust and shoulders of the young woman. The warm colours are based on the gold-coloured dress and the rust-red cardigan draped around her arms. When questioned the sitter recalled that Fry had suggested the draping of the cardigan around her shoulders, as it was precisely the colour he wanted. <sup>1</sup> For his portrait of Simon Bussy, Fry also advised on

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1. Interview 21. 4. 75.

the clothes worn. He described this portrait as "staggeringly like ... I don't know how good it is in other ways but it's rather fresh and clear in colour. He wore a tie with bars of bright, hard yellow, like the old London buses, and brown ... it shouted everything else down. So he had to wear one of mine." <sup>1</sup>

Fry's ability to capture likeness however did not always assist the portrait as a painting, and they occasionally suffer from too close attention to visual facts.

More successful as a painting than either the Margaret Fry or Simon Bussy is the self-portrait (cat. no. 259) also executed in 1928. <sup>2</sup> Built up out of a subtle rich range of greys, the portrait shows Fry wearing a grey soft felt hat, a dark suit, blue shirt and dark pink tie, through the knot of which is pressed his pearl tie-pin. The composition as a whole hinges on the line of the brim of the hat which catches the light as it runs across the front of the head creating an important but unemphatic horizontal which balances the vertical mass of the head and shoulders. Moreover this line has a wavering delicacy and its importance to the rest of the painting has been felt and discovered in the painting of it. It justifies the slight incongruity of his wearing a hat indoors.

In 1930 Fry was commissioned by King's College, Cambridge to execute a portrait of the don W. H. Macaulay (cat. no. 280). Macaulay's lack of teeth meant that his mouth was unnaturally stiff and Fry told Kenneth Clark, "I wish I could get him a good plate but it's rather too ticklish a question to urge." <sup>3</sup> This problem clearly affected the two preparatory oil-sketches for this portrait in which can also be seen the original background setting of Macaulay's rather dull and uninteresting bookcase. Dislike of the bookcase led Fry to search the shops in Cambridge for an alternative and in a second

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1. Sutton, II: 623.

2. Repr. Sutton, II: frontispiece.

3. Sutton, II: 647.

hand furniture shop he discovered a heavy, sage-green Victorian curtain, which he bought and hung over the main part of the bookcase. It created exactly the colour note needed to set off the warm flesh tones, the white hair and grey jacket of the sitter. This<sup>informativ</sup> indicates that Fry was by now unable to invent with paint on canvas but was dependent on what he saw, and that the invention is now to be found in the arrangement. The final portrait, which presides over the fireplace in the senior common room at King's College, is relaxed and convincing in pose, restrained though rich in colour, but its dry paint quality is rather overworked and polite, perhaps suitably muffled to tone<sup>in</sup> with its academic surroundings.

Another academic dignitary whose portrait Fry was commissioned to paint was Mary Paley Marshall, the wife of the economist Alfred Marshall. This is the only portrait where it is known that Fry made use of a mirror. "I put the canvas close beside Mrs. M. and looked, then put one touch, came back and looked again in the mirror and did another. It was infinitely slow and laborious but it seemed the only way to get hold of her elusive features, which were always, somewhere quite different from what they seemed to be." <sup>1</sup> To his sister Margery, Fry explained further the difficulties that beset him: "She's a terror to do - one of those old ladies who is all fire and spirit and goodness and happiness, but whose face has fallen into lines of soured gloom (gravitation acts without consulting psychology alas!)" <sup>2</sup> When the portrait was finished, Fry recognized that it was not a good likeness, but Maynard Keynes saw it, liked it and carried it off to the committee who, after deliberation, returned it to Fry for alteration.

The portrait (cat. no. 290; Plate 91 ) was eventually finished to everyone's satisfaction. In the same way that Fry delighted in the elasticity and fertility of invention found in Roman baroque architecture, so he manipulated what purports to be simple naturalism into an imposing architectonic structure. The diagonal created by the position of the two hands opposes

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1. Sutton, II: 653.
2. Sutton, II: 661.



the diagonal movement created by the sitter's body. The slow curve of the curtain behind is echoed in the fall of the lace shawl, whilst the elaborate carving of the chair on which she is seated balances the detail of the books to her left. As a whole the portrait is similar in approach to that of W. H. Macaulay, but Mary Paley Marshall is more successful in its more varied manipulation of forms and in its greater freshness of paint quality.

Two other commissioned academic portraits were that of his sister Margery (cat. no. 295) executed in 1931-32 for Somerville College and that of Miss Haigh Brown (cat. no. 298) painted in 1932 for Oxford High School of which the sitter had been headmistress. The latter is the duller of all Fry's commissioned portraits and was damaged by flooding during the war. The portrait of Margery Fry still hangs in the dining-room of Somerville College and is painted mainly in blacks and greys. As the painting is glazed it is extremely difficult to see and as far as can be discerned it presents a sensitive likeness in sober colours.

Compared with these commissioned portraits, the smaller sketches executed of friends have a greater freshness. This can be seen in the portraits of Augustine Birrell (cat. no. 258), of the young man thought to be Duncan Grant (cat. no. 278) and in the portrait of Charles Maunon (cat. no. 289; Plate 99). The latter was executed in 1931 and presents the sitter in a relaxed pose, his arm resting on a table, supporting his head on his hand. From the paintwork it is evident that the picture was painted at considerable speed. It is an assured work, full of vitality and expressive of Maunon's intellectual nature. It makes one regret that the portrait of Aldous Huxley painted by Fry in the company of Vanessa Bell in November 1931 is now lost.<sup>1</sup> However the portrait might not have been completely successful as Aldous talked throughout the sittings with great brilliancy which Fry found most distracting. As Fry continually noted, the success of his portraits depended to a certain degree on the character of the sitter, and this was an ingredient outside of the artist's control.

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1. See note on p.227.

One of the refreshing aspects of Fry's career as critic and painter was his willingness to reassess<sup>1</sup> persistently his former conclusions, to re-investigate the nature of aesthetic experience in order to discover afresh the components on which it is based. At the end of his life his enthusiasm was, if anything, greater than ever before. In Venice during the late summer of 1931 he ~~re-~~familiarized<sup>afresh</sup> himself with some of the masterpieces of Venetian art and noted of the Giovanni Bellinis in the Correr Museum that the light effects dictated the drama of the scenes. In front of Giorgione's famous Castelfranco Madonna, he concluded: "It is far more splendid than the photos suggest - the colour incredibly radiant and the landscape really vibrating with light - the kind of perfection of relation that one thinks only the Impressionists got to. That's what's peculiar to Venice and is due to Bellini more than anyone, for this really takes up all Bellini's work and gives it a new more human value. Like the Venus it seems to me to stand for all that Europe has meant and done." <sup>1</sup> Not only do these letters reveal Fry's extraordinary sensitivity and capacity to find continually a fresh response towards art, but they also provide proof of his sheer delight<sup>in</sup> and enjoyment of life. And from his visual sensations he often construed intellectual or moral theories. Writing of the Champ de Mars in Spring he noted: "it was black with people, for all Paris was out to-day and I never had before such a sense of the exuberance and intensity of human life. There they were more numerous than ants and yet one knew what a terrifically complicated egoism was locked up in each one." <sup>2</sup>

The same exuberance and sensitivity of response~~are~~ reflected in Fry's

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1. Sutton, II: 641.

2. Sutton, II: 638.

late paintings. In the spring of 1931 he holidayed in the area of Vaucluse, staying at Beaumes-les-Venises and at Carpentras. In his Large Quarry: Beaumes-les Venises (cat. no. 27) and in his Provencal Landscape (cat. no. 27E) which is related to the former painting both in subject matter and technique, there appears a new complexity of form and an increased subtlety in the range of colours. The touch is smaller and gives an increased sense of surface movement. The type of scene that attracted his attention is described in a letter to Helen Anrep written during this visit: "It's the view from the castle down onto the town with its grey yellow roofs and houses of all sorts of ochres and browns with pale blue shutters and doors and then the grey green of olives and indigo of cypresses. It makes a sort of divine brocade of incredible subtlety and complexity." <sup>1</sup>

Subtlety of form and rich textured effects were however confined to his large, finished paintings. When executing a pochade Fry aimed at simpler effects as can be seen in his Carpentras (cat. no. 28, Plate 92) which captures the pattern created by a row of bare plane trees and their shadows caused by bright sunlight. Fry was aware that this simplicity should also underly his more complex compositions. To Helen Anrep, he wrote: "I want you terribly to tell me how I'm going on and whether I'm keeping it simple." <sup>2</sup> He also discovered that his response was not wholly governed by formal concerns and wrote of one scene: "It has just enough romantic quality to give me the kind of stimulus I need. That's no doubt a confession of failure." <sup>3</sup> His sensuous response it seems, was the greater because of his Puritan restraint and this explains his love of Renoir, an artist whose temperament was directly opposed to his own. It also explains the lyricism that creeps into his work at this date as a result of his response to the variety of nature and his penetrating observation of subtle effects of colour. Yet Fry was aware that these qualities were combined with a certain academicism and he wrote somewhat

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, March 30, 1930; Anrep Papers.
2. Sutton, II: 647.
3. Letter to Helen Anrep, March 31, 1930; Anrep Papers.

apologetically to Helen Anrep of his Mountain Stream (cat. no. 276):

"I'm afraid you'll think it almost too picturesque and like a Scotch'burn' landscape at the R. A. But it's rather lovely colours blue greys and rose greys and yellows and yellow green, very fresh and not so black as the others."<sup>1</sup>

His return to the more traditional concerns of painting noted earlier continued and when in September 1930 he stayed at Montresor in the company of G. L. Dickinson and his sister, Margery, he executed a large painting of one of the village streets in which the dominant concern is the representation of pools of sunlight and the shadows created (cat. no. 287). It was probably to this picture that Fry referred when he wrote to Helen: "I'm half afraid you'll think my last picture too like Vermeer."<sup>2</sup> The idiom Fry uses in this picture was fairly outmoded even in his day, but nevertheless the picture as a whole is solidly realized and satisfying in its design. Moreover it captures those concerns he outlined in another letter to Helen: "... I think my colour gets gayer and more forcible. I think I get one atmosphere throughout more than I used and that seems to me very important. Very few of our contemporaries try to get a solid texture of atmosphere, so to speak, as the Dutch and the best of the Impressionists did. They are too much interested in écriture ..." <sup>3</sup> This traditional concern with suffused light separated Fry's work from that of other London Group artists at this date.

In February 1931 Fry had an opportunity to assess his painting career as a whole when the Cooing Galleries held a retrospective exhibition of his work. Fry selected the paintings to be included much to Vanessa Bell's horror: "When I last went to his house I was horror struck to find an enormous portrait of myself looking like a handsome but shapeless cook in a red evening dress painted about 15 years ago ....The show will be very trying I expect. All sorts of things one hoped never to see again are being fished out."<sup>4</sup> Fry

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, April 5, 1930; Anrep Papers.

2. Sutton, II: 650-51.

3. Sutton, II: 651.

4. Letter from Vanessa to Clive Bell, January 23, 1931; Charleston Papers.

however felt more optimistic about the show: "But the real interest of it was to see how far the various experiments which I seemed forced to make hung together. I felt reassured that there is some consistent principle underlying all my vagaries." <sup>1</sup>

In the same year Fry acquired the Mas d'Angirany at St. Rémy-de-Provence in which he installed his two friends, Charles and Marie Mauron. Down one side of the house ran a pergola which looked south to the Alpilles, the mountainous ridge that runs across the Durance valley. The view exactly suited his tastes as a painter and in one letter he describes "sitting in the pergola with that lovely silver and blue tapestry of the hills and olives opposite." <sup>2</sup> Several of the paintings produced in Provence during the last three years of his life are of the Alpilles and in particular of the Lion d'Arles, the triple-peaked ridge that overlooks St. Remy. This could be seen from his bedroom which also faced south and had a french window. One painting executed from within this room is in the Vancouver Art Gallery (cat. no. 294); the use of the doorway to frame the view outside was a fairly common motif in the work of Grant and Bell as it creates a picture within a picture, the doorway or window frame re-emphasizing the flatness of the picture plane.

One important Provençal painting is Le Castellet, Fontveille (cat. no. 291; Plate 93 ) painted in 1931, in which Fry reveals more clearly than in any other work his admiration for Poussin. The scene is to be found close to the main road that runs from St. Remy to Arles and provided the setting for Bizet's opera, L'Arlesienne. Fry chose a view with all the main forms parallel to the picture plane. This and the careful organization of the parts, the positioning of the poplars and the spacing of the buildings, are all inspired by a Poussinesque desire for classical harmony and balance. Emphatic horizontals become almost a leit-motif in his late work and they frequently appear in the

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1. Sutton, II: 654.

2. Letter to Helen Anrep, (no date); Anrep Papers.

foreground of a composition to give it weight.

It was also in 1931 that the Maroger medium was brought to Fry's notice by Jacques Maroger from whom it took its name. He claimed that the oleo-resinous medium was the same as that used by Rubens,<sup>1</sup> and that it would enable artists to achieve effects found in Old Master paintings not obtainable through modern methods. Fry first experimented with it by painting a copy of a Chardin still-life in the National Gallery and was delighted to discover that after eight hours he had arrived at a result that would have taken more than a week by normal methods of oil-painting. He became very enthusiastic about the medium, urging it on his artist friends and lecturing on it at the Courtauld Institute.<sup>2</sup> The medium however was not reliable; in May 1933 Fry wrote to Maroger noting that while it had enabled him to achieve luminous atmospheric effects in some landscapes, he had noticed that the medium was not drying as quickly as it ought. Moreover it slightly darkened the colours used and further limitations may have appeared for though Fry wrote an article on the medium which he intended for the Burlington Magazine, it was never published.

The appearance of the Maroger medium coincided with Fry's reinvestigation of more traditional concerns of painting and was therefore perfectly suited to his needs at that moment. Fry himself observed: "I find myself more and more in the mood of some quite unfashionable Schools such as the Dutch landscapists of the seventeenth century. I have entirely ceased to belong to my age and I feel myself more and more disappointed by the academic results of the Cubists

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1. A. E. Werner has proved that Maroger's claim was misfounded and was based on an unjustified statement in Max Duermer's The Materials of the Artist. Werner points out that the medium derives from a passage in Eastlake which itself was based on an anonymous manuscript acquired by Eastlake in 1845, and that the medium here described was not that used by Rubens. See A. E. Werner, "The Vicissitudes of the Maroger medium," Studies in Conservation, Vol. 3, 1957, pp. 80-82.
2. Mrs. Richard Carline recalled attending this lecture with Allan Gwynne-Jones and others from the Slade. They were all enthused to try the medium but discovered that after a period of time the paintings blackened. (Interview 16. 2. 75). If this occurred with Fry's paintings it would explain why his portrait of Aldous Huxley no longer exists, as it was painted with the Maroger medium.

and others - ultimately the avant-gardisme seems to me more and more nugatory." <sup>1</sup>  
His dominant concern was still for "atmospheric unity. It is that perhaps and space that have become my greatest preoccupations." <sup>2</sup> When in February 1932 two of Fry's paintings had been included in the exhibition, "Modern British Paintings" at the Independent Gallery, one critic had headed his review "Lost Leader" and wrote: "When they look at Roger Fry's farmyard scene ... many young painters whom his writings have incited to feverish experiments upon canvas may be inclined to regard him as a lost leader. Here is a Fry landscape, sweet in colour and true in drawing ... that would be popular at the Royal Academy." <sup>3</sup>  
The painting referred to was probably French Farm (cat. no. 281; Plate 94 ) which is suffused with a golden light is straightforward in its approach to subject matter and has sufficient charm to justify the reference to the Royal Academy.

The abrupt handling found in Chiswick House (cat. no. 305; Plate 96 ) painted in August 1933 is really more typical of Fry. There is no attempt to disguise the brushwork and the size of brush chosen is exactly suited to the painting of the branches and foliage of the trees. The paint quality is emphasized with the result that the picture appears to be built up out of juxtaposed bands of colour. Each mark has been made with a specific reference to the forms represented and this transparent honesty of intent has led Richard Morphet to refer to "the appealing openness" in Fry's paintings, "with which they make manifest the thought processes that produced them." <sup>4</sup> Chiswick House also demonstrates Fry's delight in clear, strong colour harmonies in its use of greens, salmon pinks and purple set off by the orange chimneys which act as a key-note to the whole. Although produced after forty years' experience, it is not painted with fluency but with the same searching enquiry that characterizes so much of his art. The same transparency of means can be observed in the small

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1. Sutton, II: 675.

2. Ibid.

3. The Scotsman, February 29, 1932.

4. Richard Morphet, review of "Bloomsbury Portraits," Studio International, Jan/Feb. 1977, Vol. 193, No. 985, p. 69.



painting of Rabat (cat. no. 304; Plate 97 ) executed in February 1933 during a journey to Spain to visit Gerald Brenan. Again the fresh and satisfying effect is not the result of self-confidence but is wrought out with care and consideration from the painter's response to the scene and the most daring part is the simplicity of the design.

In July 1933 Agnew's held a one-man show of Fry's work which consisted mostly of pochades, among them a number executed during a visit to Greece in April 1932 in the company of his sister Margery and Leonard and Virginia Woolf, one of which was Delphi (cat. no. 297). The paintings exhibited had a freshness and luminosity and several sold.<sup>1</sup> Fry himself felt no great concern as to what the critics thought of it and declared: "I shall go on whatever is thought having arrived at an idea that I have some very small but still quite personal note to strike."<sup>2</sup>

In 1934 Fry did not go abroad until July and then the week spent at St. Remy was occupied with completing the reconstruction of his translations of Mallarmé's poems with the help of Charles Mauron, after his original translations were lost with a stolen suitcase. From St. Remy Fry moved to Royat a place he had visited before in order to take regular baths in the waters which he hoped would cure a troublesome leg. Some pochades were executed during this stay and are referred to in his letters, and one of these may have been the small French Landscape (cat. no. 319; Plate 95 ) which represents many of the qualities of his late style. Its subject is simply the contrast of the rolling clouds and the line of dark trees which culminate in a focal point at the house. The range of greys is explored with small delicate touches of colour and the result is a rich but restrained achievement. Fry wrote from Royat: "I think as far as I'm after any one conscious quality just now it's the same as Piero di Cosimo felt more than almost anyone else. P'raps Paul Potter too. It's what I call

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1. Agnew's sales-records lists eleven sales.
2. Sutton, II: 680.

the weight of light and colour on surfaces."<sup>1</sup>

One of the last major paintings Fry executed before his death in September 1934 was a self-portrait (cat. no. 321; Plate 100 ), in which he is seen seated with his brushes and palette beside him to the left. It reflects the same honesty, detachment and integrity that characterizes his entire oeuvre and is an apt last statement on himself. It presents a complete contrast with the self-portrait, painted whilst convalescing at Charleston after an operation in 1932, which is now in the National Portrait Gallery (cat. no. 296.) The very careful observation of light in the 1932 portrait, the stiff pose and the complete suppression of the brushwork in favour of solid representation is far removed from the softer, more fluid treatment found in the 1934 portrait.

#### Conclusion.

Roger Fry's paintings reflect the development of his sensibility as well as his aesthetic interests and theories. Underlying the various influences and experiments, Fry felt he could discern a consistent principle. This was undoubtedly formal in its concern and had to do with the discovery of the aesthetic by emphasis in certain forms, colours, relationships that Fry felt were fundamental to the whole. The painting was the result of concentrated contemplation and the extraction of meaning from the chaos of the natural world. Post-Impressionism brought fresh awareness of the formal qualities in a work of art and in painting it re-emphasized the surface pattern created. Increased formal awareness can be felt in Fry's art from 1910 onwards and was combined, in the 'twenties, with a return to the great traditions of painting, in particular to the tradition of classical landscape painting as epitomized in the art of Claude and Poussin, and recreated in the work of Cézanne. Fry would, I think, have liked his art to be seen in this context, not merely as a reminiscence, but as an extension of its principles into the twentieth century.

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1. Letter to Helen Anrep, no date (written from Royat, probably in 1934); Anrep Papers.

His profound understanding and feeling for this tradition was filtered through his modern sensibility and given his own personal note.

"Why so many paintings?" asked E. M. Forster and the implied verdict has been echoed by many others who think Fry's career as a painter of little importance. Undoubtedly, his work has been over shadowed by the great artists he wrote about and with whom his name has been popularly associated. The purpose of this thesis was to discover whether Fry's considerable output as a painter contributed anything of value to twentieth century British art. Virginia Woolf has argued that beauty "is only got by the failure to get it; by grinding all the flints together; by facing what must be humiliation - the things one can't do ..." <sup>1</sup> And more recently Agnes Martin has stated: "An artist is one who can fail and fail and still go on." <sup>2</sup> From this angle, Fry's continuing reassessment of his position both as critic and painter, his recognition of failure and his willingness to experiment become positive factors in a career that can be thought of as one long aesthetic adventure. When seen as a whole the words Virginia Woolf gave to Bernard in The Waves - a character thought to have been based on Fry, - these words seem an apt comment on his career: "Now to sum up ... Now to explain to you the meaning of my life ... The illusion is upon me that something adheres for a moment, has roundness, weight, depth, is completed." <sup>3</sup> 'Roundness, weight, and depth' are among the chief qualities of his painting and a search for the 'completed moment' was perhaps the guiding principle behind his attempt to rediscover the classical spirit in modern art.

His whole oeuvre bears witness to the intellectual rigour with which he pursued his aim. Fry's best paintings which can be found in his early or late, as well as his post-impressionist styles are classical in their quality of

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1. The Question of Things Happening: The Letters of Virginia Woolf 1912-1922, edited by Nigel Nicolson, (London: Hogarth Press, 1976) p. 599.
2. "We are in the midst of reality responding with joy," lecture given at Yale University, reproduced in Agnes Martin: Paintings and Drawings 1957-1975, catalogue to Hayward Gallery exhibition, 1977.
3. Virginia Woolf, The Waves (London: Hogarth Press, 1931) p. 260.

distilled experience. It is their classicism that distinguishes them from the work of his contemporaries and which will earn them a place in the history of British painting as the dust from those explosive years finally settles.

## CATALOGUE OF ROGER FRY OIL-PAINTINGS.

This catalogue lists the more important oil-paintings produced by Roger Fry. It does not list every pochade he painted. These were normally 14" x 11" and were often produced as quick sketches that were later made up into finished paintings. A number of them are to be found both in the Anrep collection and that of Mrs. Pamela Diamand. If a pochade has been taken to a high level of completion or has been exhibited then it is listed. To aid conciseness the word 'lost' is used whenever the present whereabouts of a painting is unknown. Measurements are in centimetres, height before width. Size is given to the nearest half centimetre.

### Abbreviations.

Exh: - exhibited. Repr: - reproduced. Prov: - provenance. s & d: - signed and dated.

Sutton, Letters - Denys Sutton (editor), Letters of Roger Fry, (London: Chatto & Windus), 1972 (2 vols).

Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits - Richard Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits, (Oxford: Phaidon Press), 1976.

Arts Council I - exhibition of Roger Fry paintings and drawings held at the Minories, Colchester, 1952.

Arts Council II - Vision and Design: The Life, Works and Influence of Roger Fry, held at Nottingham University and elsewhere, 1966.

Colchester 1959 - exhibition of Roger Fry paintings and drawings held at the Minories, Colchester, March, 1959.

C. I. G. 1976 - Portraits by Roger Fry, held at the Courtauld Institute Galleries, September, 1976.

1. Margery Fry. c. 1890.  
 canvas, 51 x 40.5  
 Exh: Arts Council II, (3);  
 C. I. G., 1976 (1).  
 Repr: E. Huws Jones,  
Margery Fry, 1966  
 plate 2  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 1
2. Landscape near the Villa  
Madama. 1891.  
 canvas, 37 x 46.5  
 Exh: Arts Council II, (67).  
 Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand  
 to the Tate Gallery in 1972.  
 Plate 2.
3. St. Mark's, Venice. 1891.  
 canvas, 38.5 x 48.5  
 s & d, R. E. Fry ... 18 ..  
 (the rest indistinct)  
 Exh: N.E.A.C., Winter 1891 (66).  
Miss Daphne Sanger.
4. Zinias. c. 1891.  
 canvas, 49 x 60  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
5. Unknown Woman.  
 canvas, 57 x 47  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
6. Ruth Fry.  
 board, 30.5 x 25.5  
 verso: river landscape  
 Prov: Mrs. B. Taber  
Lost.
7. Walberswick, Suffolk. 1893.  
 canvas, 47 x 66  
 Exh: Arts Council II (66) as  
 "Near Blythborough."  
Lady Younger. Plate 5
8. Fir Trees at Blythborough. 1893-4.  
 canvas, 63 x 71.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 3
9. On the Banks of the Seine. 1894.  
 canvas, 47 x 58.5  
Miss Daphne Sanger.
10. Edward Carpenter.  
 canvas, 73 x 43  
 Exh: N.E.A.C. Spring 1894 (75);  
 Liverpool Art Gallery,  
 Autumn 1894 (20);  
 C. I. G., 1976 (2)  
 Repr: Edward Carpenter in  
Appreciation, ed. Gilbert  
 Beith, 1931, frontispiece;  
 Sutton, Letters, I: plate 5.  
National Portrait Gallery. Plate 4.
11. 2nd Lt. B. F. Widdrington, 3rd Batt.  
60th Rifles.  
 canvas, 25.5 x 23  
Captain Francis Widdrington.
12. Harvesting. 1895.  
 canvas, 54 x 71.5  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959, (1).  
Mrs. B. Taber. Plate 6.

13. Harvest Time - Gathering Storm. 1895.  
canvas, (size unrecorded).  
Exh: West Ham Annual Picture Exhibition, 1898, (194)  
- as "La Roche Guyon, Seine, France."  
Prov: Mrs. Constance Masfield (née Crommelin).  
Private Collection.
14. Sybil Palgrave. 1895.  
canvas, 57 x 46  
Exh: Colchester, 1959, (6);  
C. I. G., 1976, (3).  
Mrs. A. Pryor.
15. The Valley of the Seine.  
canvas, 79.5 x 112  
indistinctly signed lower left.  
Exh: N.E.A.C. Winter 1896 (49)  
Prov: Robert Trevelyan; Sir George Trevelyan, Attingham Park.  
Private Collection. Plate 7
16. Sketch for Failand wall decoration.  
canvas, 38 x 32  
Prov: Fry family  
Mr. & Mrs. E. Robinson.
17. Sir Edward Fry. 1896.  
canvas, 91.5 x 81.5  
Exh: C. I. G., 1976 (4).  
Presented to Lincoln's Inn by members of the Fry family.  
The Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn. Plate 9.
18. The Grand Canal, Venice. c. 1897.  
canvas, 77.5 x 101.5  
Prov: Isobel Fry  
Buckinghamshire Museum and Art Gallery.
19. Taormina (The Antiquaries).  
Exh: N.E.A.C., Spring 1897, (106)  
Repr: The Art of 1897, studio special edition, plate 52.  
Lost.
20. The Golden Barge.  
Exh: N.E.A.C., Spring 1896, (90)  
Lost.
21. St. Anthony and the Satyr.  
Exh: N.E.A.C., Spring 1898, (74)  
Lost.
22. Italian Villa. c. 1900.  
canvas, 42 x 68.5  
Prov: Lady Ottoline Morrell  
Mr. Christopher Eastwood. Plate 10.
23. The Pool.  
canvas, 53.5 x 71.7  
Exh: N.E.A.C., Winter 1899, (86)  
Repr: Virginia Woolf, Roger Fry, 1940, opp. p. 82.  
Prov: Charles and Dora Sanger.  
Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Clark. Plate 13.
24. Timber Wagon.  
canvas, 61.5 x 77  
s & d, R. E. Fry 1900-1903  
(lower right)  
Exh: Colchester, 1959, (2)  
Mrs. B. Taber. Plate 11.



25. Parkland Scene with Cows.  
 canvas, 48 x 60  
Mrs. A. Cole.
26. Desco da Sposalizio  
 (Marriage tray) 1903.  
 panel, diameter 44.5  
 Repr: Sutton, Letters, I:  
     plate 18  
 Made by Fry on the occasion  
 of the marriage of Bernard  
 and Mary Berenson.  
Villa I Tatti, Florence.
27. A Gate at the Château de  
Brécy.  
 canvas, 91.5 x 70  
 s & d lower right, R. E. Fry,  
     1906.  
 Exh: Agnews, 1906, (21);  
     Alpine Club Gallery, July  
     1907 (?)  
 Sold, Christie's, March 11, 1960  
 (167)  
 Bought by de Lisle.
28. Italian Scene with Bridge. 1907  
 canvas, 44-5 x 58  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959, (82)  
Mrs. B. Taber. Plate 12.
29. St. George and the Dragon.  
 c. 1909.  
 canvas, 79 x 112  
 indistinctly signed lower left.  
 Exh: Japan-British Exhibition,  
     1910 (959)  
 Prov: Margery Fry.  
University House, Birmingham.  
Plate 14.
30. Dante and Virgil in Purgatory.  
 c. 1909.  
 board, 70.5 x 60  
 Prov: Lady Ottoline Morrell.  
Mrs. Julian Vinogradoff. Plate 15.
31. John McTaggart. c. 1905-09.  
 canvas, 49 x 39  
 Prov: Given by Margery Fry to J. T.  
     Shepherd.  
     Presented by J. T. Shepherd  
     to the Faculty of Moral  
     Science, University of  
     Cambridge.  
Department of Philosophy, University  
of Cambridge.
32. The Wey at Guildford.  
 canvas, 46 x 76  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry, 1910.  
Alan Bennett. Plate 20.
33. The Road to the House. c. 1910.  
 Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.  
 The simplification of form and  
 occasional use of broken brushwork  
 stylistically dates this work close  
 to cat. no. 32.
34. The Flooded Valley. 1910-11.  
 canvas, 51 x 76  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Jan. 1912  
     (41)  
 Prov: Clive Bell.  
Mrs. Angelica Garnett  
 Painted during the very cold winter  
 of 1910-11, the view represented is  
 that of the River Wey as it runs  
 past St. Catherine's Priory on  
 Sandhills.

35. The Black Sea. 1911.  
 canvas, 71 x 92  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959, (62)  
 - as "Studland Bay";  
 Cartwright Hall, Bradford,  
 July 1975, (62)  
Swindon Art Gallery. Plate 26.
36. Minaret and Cypresses.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt  
 Library.
37. Turkish Landscape. *Plate 22.*  
 canvas, 101.5 x 152.5  
 Prov: Margery Fry.  
University House, Birmingham.
38. Turkish scene.  
 board, 23.5 x 34.5  
 Sold, Sotheby's, June 16,  
 1976 (37).  
Belgrave Gallery, 1976.
39. Samothrace.  
 canvas, 20.5 x 30.5  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Jan.  
 1912, (37);  
 Cartwright Hall, Bradford,  
 July, 1975, (51).  
 Presented by Sydney A. Gimpson to  
Leicester Museum and Art Gallery  
 in 1934.
40. Mountain Scene in Turkey.  
 canvas, 61 x 91.5  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry,  
1911.  
 Prov: Mrs. Boris Anrep.  
Stuart Grimshaw.
41. Near Brusa.  
 board, 49.5 x 39.5  
 Exh: London Artists' Association,  
 1931, (48);  
 Arts Council II (70)  
Mrs. P. Diamand.  
 An oil sketch of the same scene by  
 Vanessa Bell is in the collection of  
 Mrs. A. Garnett.
42. Brusen (Brusa).  
 board, 15.5 x 34.5  
 s & d Roger Fry, 1911.  
 Prov: Sir Michael Sadler.  
Leeds City Art Gallery.
43. John McTaggart. *Plate 30*  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Jan. 1912  
 (51) - as "A Metaphysician."  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.
44. E. M. Forster.  
 canvas, 72.5 x 59  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, 1912, (2);  
 Arts Council II, (10);  
 National Book League, 1976, (68);  
 C. I. G., 1976, (6).  
 Repr: Quentin Bell, Bloomsbury,  
 Omega, 1974;  
 S. P. Rosenbaum, The Bloomsbury  
Group, 1975, plate 4 - in  
 reverse.  
Private Collection.
45. Vanessa Bell wearing a Turkish Shawl.  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, 1912, (49)  
 - as "The Turkish Shawl."  
Lost. Photograph in the possession  
 of Mrs. P. Diamand.

46. Vanessa Bell (profile).  
board, 27 x 28  
Exh: Fine Art Society,  
May 1975, (63).  
Fine Art Society, 1975.  
In the summer of 1911 Vanessa Bell convalesced at Mill Mead Cottage in Guildford, near Fry's home. It is thought that this portrait was executed during this stay.
47. Julian Fry.  
canvas, 53.5 x 46  
Exh: Venice Biennale, 1912;  
Colchester, 1959, (15);  
Norwich Castle Museum,  
1976 (46).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.  
According to Fry's daughter this portrait underwent considerable repainting and may have been begun in 1910.
48. Studland Bay.  
canvas, 90 x 58.5  
s & d lower right Roger Fry, 1911.  
Exh: Manchester City Art Gallery, Dec. 1911, (10)?;  
Alpine Club Gallery, Jan. 1912?  
Presented by the Contemporary Art Society to Rochdale City Art Gallery. Plate 25
49. On the Beach, Studland Bay.  
board, 26.5 x 45.5  
Mrs. A. Fry.
50. Near Studland.  
board, 31.5 x 26.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
51. Still life with Chocolate Cake.  
board, 50 x 55  
s: Roger Fry  
Exh: Galerie Barbazanges, May 1912, (1)  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
52. Virginia Woolf. c. 1910-12.  
board, 40.5 x 31.5  
Exh: C. I. G., 1976, (5).  
Repr: Sutton, Letters, I: plate 56;  
Quentin Bell, Virginia Woolf: A Biography, Vol. I, 1976,  
cover illustration.  
Prov: Clive Bell.  
Alan Bennett.
53. Still-life with Eggs.  
board, 29 x 34 in a hand painted frame.  
s & d lower left, Roger Fry, 1911.  
Exh: Venice Biennale, 1912;  
Norwich Castle Museum 1976.  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 29.
54. Corner of a Hotel Room.  
panel (size unrecorded).  
s & d top left, Roger Fry, 1912.  
Exh: Galerie Barbazanges, May 1912  
(6) - as "L'Hotel garni."  
Professor Philip Rieff.
55. The Tramp.  
canvas, 51 x 61  
Exh: Galerie Barbazanges, May 1912,  
(5) - as "Un Vagabond";  
Colchester, 1959, (20).  
Professor Philip Rieff.

56. Chauvigny.  
 canvas, 61 x 91.5  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry,  
1911.  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Jan.  
 1912, (48).  
 Presented by Sir Michael Sadler  
 to Weetwood Hall, University of  
Leeds. Plak 23
57. The Cascade. 1912.  
 Exh: Second Post Impressionist  
 Exhibition, 1912 (82).  
Lost. Photograph in Witt  
 Library.
58. St. Catherine's Priory, Sandhills.  
 canvas, 46.5 x 76  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plak 31.
59. White Road with Farm.  
 canvas, 63.5 x 80  
 Exh: Arts Council II  
 Prov: Fry family.  
National Museum of Modern Art,  
Edinburgh.
60. The Terrace.  
 canvas, 64 x 81  
 Exh: Second Post Impressionist  
 Exhibition, 1912, (122)  
Mrs. King. Plak 33
61. River with Poplars.  
 board, 56.5 x 70.5  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959, (55);  
 Arts Council II, (68).  
 Presented to the Tate Gallery by  
 Mrs. P. Diamand in 1973. Plak 32.
62. A Woman seated in a Garden. c.1912-14.  
 canvas, 35.5 x 30.5  
 s: lower left, Roger Fry.  
 Exh: Cartwright Hall, Bradford, 1976.  
Courtauld Institute Galleries.  
 The sitter is thought to be Miss  
 Ka Cox.
63. The Terrace. c. 1912.  
 board, 51 x 37  
 Exh: Arts Council II (73).  
Mrs. Philip Rieff.
64. Still-life with Artichoke Leaves.  
 c. 1912.  
 Exh: Carfax Gallery, Nov. 1917,  
 (10)? - as "Artichokes";  
 Bath, March 1938 (12);  
 Leicester Galleries, Oct. 1939,  
 (55).  
 Bought by the Contemporary Art  
 Society in 1918.  
Tate Gallery.  
 A picture of the same subject by  
 Henri Doucet was presented by Mrs.  
 P. Diamand to the Musee Doucet in  
 Poitiers. Since then it has not been  
 traced. As Doucet was killed in  
 battle in 1915 this painting was  
 probably executed whilst he was  
 visiting Durbins either in 1911 or  
 1912.
65. Landscape with Barn and a Lady in  
Yellow.  
 canvas (size unrecovered)  
 s: lower right, Roger Fry.  
 Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Mrs. Helena Aldiss. Plak 35

66. Siena.  
board, 51 x 35.5  
Exh: Second Post Impressionist  
Exhibition, 1912, (154)?  
Fine Art Society, Nov.  
1976.  
Prov: Helen Anrep.  
Gallery Edward Harvane, 1976.
67. Lytton Strachey. 1913.  
board, 47 x 37.5  
Exh: C. I. G., 1976, (8).  
Repr: Quentin Bell, Bloomsbury,  
1974.  
Prov: Given by the artist to  
Philippa Strachey; Mrs.  
Alice Strachey.  
Iconography Collection,  
Humanities Research Centre,  
University of Texas.  
Painted at the same time as  
portraits by Grant and Bell,  
at Asheham in Sussex.
68. Lytton Strachey in an Armchair.  
board, 40 x 32  
Exh: National Book League, 1976,  
(36);  
Beaverbrook Art Gallery,  
Frederickton, Nov. 1976, (4).  
Mrs P. Diamand.
69. Street Scene, Bologna.  
board, 37.5 x 26.5  
Exh: Arts Council II, (74).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
70. St. Stefano, Bologna (exterior).  
panel, 26.5 x 36  
Exh: Arts Council I, (6);  
Colchester, 1959 (44);  
Arts Council II, (75);  
Beaverbrook Gallery,  
Frederickton, Nov. 1976 (7).  
Repr: Apollo, Oct. 1964, p. 264;  
Sutton, Letters, I: plate 46.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
71. St. Stefano, Bologna: The Cloister.  
panel, 37 x 26.5  
Exh: Arts Council I, (6);  
Arts Council II, (76);  
Beaverbrook Art Gallery,  
Frederickton, Nov. 1976, (8).  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 36.
72. Siena.  
board, 37.5 x 47  
Exh: Arts Council I, (7);  
Colchester, 1959;  
Beaverbrook Art Gallery,  
Frederickton, Nov. 1976, (6).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
73. Siena (?)  
board, 55.9 x 37  
s & d lower left, Roger Fry, 1913.  
Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Mrs. Helena Aldiss.
74. Vanessa asleep on a bed in Pisa.  
board, 26.5 x 36.5  
Quentin Bell.

75. Fort St. André, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.  
 canvas, 61.5 x 80  
 Exh: Second Grafton Group  
 Exhibition, Jan. 1914 (?)  
 Repr: Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits,  
 fig. 54.  
The Mayor Gallery, 1976.
76. The Towers of Avignon.  
 canvas, 59.5 x 94  
 Exh: Second Grafton Exhibition, Jan. 1914. (?)  
 Prov: Helen Fry.  
The Retreat, York. Plate 37
77. Landscape in the South of France. Plate 38  
 board, 34 x 53  
 Exh: Arts Council I, (72).  
Courtauld Institute Galleries.
78. Towards the Downs. 1914.  
 panel, 43 x 59  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry, 1914.  
 Exh: Whitechapel Art Gallery,  
 Summer 1914, (306)? - as  
 "The Road."  
Peter Garner. Plate 39.
79. Madeleine Savary.  
 canvas, 73 x 59.7  
 s & d lower left, R. F. 1914  
 Exh: Arts Council I, (9);  
 Colchester, 1959, (13);  
 C. I. G., 1976, (12).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
80. The Harbour, Cassis. 1915.  
 canvas, 70.5 x 90  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry, 1915.  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov. 1915  
 (?).  
 Prov: Dr. Marie Moralt.  
 Purchased by Glasgow City Art Gallery  
 in 1959. An oil sketch on paper  
 for this painting is in the collection  
 of Mrs. P. Diamand. *Plate 43*
81. Boats in Harbour. Plate 45  
 canvas, 71 x 91.5  
 s & d lower right, R. F. 1915.  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov. 1915  
 (?)  
 Presented by A. A. Haley through the  
 Wakefield Permanent Art Fund to  
Wakefield City Art Gallery.  
 An oil sketch for this picture was  
 exhibited at the Fine Art Society,  
 Nov. 1976. (Private collection)
82. View of a Mediterranean Town.  
 (Roquebrune with Monte Carlo beyond)  
 canvas, 91.5 x 71  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov. 1915,  
 (?)  
 Prov: Dr. Marie Moralt.  
 Purchased by Glasgow City Art Gallery  
 in 1969. *Plate 44.*
83. Côte d'Azur.  
 canvas, 58.5 x 76  
 s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1915.  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov. 1915  
 (?)  
Courtauld Institute Galleries.

84. Mermonnier Restaurant.  
board 51 x 76  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
85. Zoum Walter (nee Vanden  
Eeckhoudt).  
canvas, 72.5 x 91.5  
s & d lower left, R. F. 1915.  
Exh: Alpine Club Gallery,  
Nov. 1915 (18)?  
Prov: Fine Art Society, sold  
Christie's 9.3.73.  
Bt. R. Lambeth.  
Private Collection.
86. Zoum Walter (nee Vanden  
Eeckhoudt)  
s & d lower right, R. F. 1915  
Lost. Photograph in Witt  
Library.
87. Queen Victoria.  
oil and collage on canvas,  
72.5 x 61.  
Exh: Alpine Club Gallery,  
Nov. 1915 (2);  
A. I. A. Gallery, 1955  
(26);  
C. I. G., 1976 (11).  
Prov: Given by the artist to  
the present owner.  
Raymond Mortimer.
88. German General Staff.  
oil and collage.  
Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov.  
1915, (15) - as "Three Men  
in long Military Cloaks";  
The London Group, 1928,  
(55).  
Lost. Photograph in Witt  
Library. *Plate 47*
89. Bus Tickets. c. 1915.  
oil and collage on plywood,  
36 x 26.5  
Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov. 1915,  
(45)  
Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand to the  
Tate Gallery in 1975. *Plate 40*
90. Essay in Abstract Design.  
Repr: Shone, Bloomsbury Portraits,  
fig. 86. *Plate 41.*  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.  
Two other abstract works are known  
from photographs, but as both are  
extremely sketch-like and cannot be  
compared with the above, they have  
not been listed in this catalogue.
91. Still-life with Coffee-Pot.  
collage, oil and gouache on board,  
50 x 37.  
s & d lower left, Roger Fry, 1915.  
Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov. 1915,  
(12)?  
Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand to the  
Courtauld Institute Galleries in  
1958.
92. Three Seated Women.  
panel, 26.5 x 35.5  
Exh: Arts Council II, (78).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.



93. Iris Tree.  
 canvas, 98.5 x 71  
 s & d lower left, R. F. 1915.  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery, Nov.  
 1915, (4)?;  
 Colchester, 1959, (10);  
 C. I. G., 1976, (15).  
 Repr: Shone, Bloomsbury  
Portraits, fig. 93.  
Mrs. A. Cole. Plate 46.
94. Ste. Maxime: Dawn.  
 canvas, 90 x 136  
 Exh: Alpine Club Gallery,  
 1915 (24);  
 Birmingham, July 1917,  
 (23).  
Miss Marjorie Rackstraw.
95. Merton House, Cambridge.  
 board, 34 x 35.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
96. Village Landscape. c. 1916.  
 board, 37 x 26.5  
 Exh: Arts Council II: (77).  
 Prov: Mrs. P. Diamand.  
Mrs. A. J. Clark.
97. Arthur Waley.  
 canvas, 76 x 63.5  
 Exh: Rye Art Gallery, June  
 1967, (34);  
 C. I. G., 1976, (16).  
 Prov: Given by Ivy Compton-  
 Burnett to the present  
 owner.  
Mrs. Alison Waley. Plate 63.  
 Mrs. Waley's own opinion on  
 this portrait of her husband  
 can be found in Portraits by  
Roger Fry, 1976, p. 23.
98. Vanessa Bell.  
 canvas 127 x 76.5  
 Exh: London Artists' Association,  
 Feb. 1931 (30).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.  
 Painted at the same time as the  
 portrait by Duncan Grant in the  
 collection of Professor and Mrs.  
 Quentin Bell.
99. The Dining-Room.  
 Prov: Helen Anrep.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.
100. Nina Hamnett  
 canvas, 138.5 x 89  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry, 1917.  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959, (8).  
 Repr: Sutton, Letters, II: plate 73.  
University of Leeds.
101. Nina Hamnett (seated). Plate 60.  
 canvas, 81 x 61  
 s & d lower right, R. F. 1917.  
 Exh: Royal Birmingham Society of  
 Artists, July 1917 and Marsard  
 Gallery, Oct. 1917, (27)?;  
 London Artists' Association,  
 Feb. 1931 (36)?;  
 Arts Council I, (11);  
 A. I. A. Gallery, 1955 (29);  
 C. I. G., 1976, (17).  
Courtauld Institute Galleries.
102. Nina Hamnett Playing a Guitar.  
 canvas, 54 x 64.  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 ( );  
 National Book League, 1976 (64);  
 Beaverbrook Art Gallery,  
 Frederickton, Nov. 1976 (13).  
Stephen Taber.

103. The Cattle Market.  
 canvas (size unrecorded).  
Mrs. A. Cole.
104. Copy after Duncan Grant's  
'Lemon Gatherers'  
 canvas, 35 x 45.5.  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 51.
105. Watermill (Angles sur  
 L'Anglin?)  
 board, 33 x 27.5  
 Prov: Given to Wendela  
 Boreel by the  
 artist.  
Private Collection. Plate 53.
106. Watermill.  
 board, 53.5 x 35  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry  
1917.  
 Sold Christie's, Nov. 14, 1975  
 (45).  
Mr. Hewitt. Plate 52.  
 A similar scene to the above.
107. The Barn.  
 canvas, 26 x 35  
 Exh: Fine Art Society,  
 Nov. 1976.  
 Repr: Shone, Bloomsbury  
Portraits, plate 6.  
Richard Morphet.
108. The Garden at Durbins from  
the Studio Window.  
 board, 37.5 x 55  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry  
1917.  
 verso: a painting of a  
 watermill.  
 Sold, Sotheby's May 23, 1975 (3).  
 Bought - Sewell.
109. The Garden at Durbins.  
 board, (size unrecorded).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
110. Madonna Lily. Plate 59.  
 canvas, 90.9 x 47  
 s & d lower right, Roger Fry '17.  
 Exh: Bristol City Art Gallery;  
 Carfax Gallery, Nov. 1917 (3);  
 Weston-Super-Mare, 1948.  
 Given by the Contemporary Art Society  
 in 1924 to Bristol City Art Gallery.
111. Clematis.  
 board, 39.5 x 58.5  
 s & d lower right, Roger Fry '17  
 Exh: Carfax Gallery, Nov. 1917 (13);  
 Arts Council II (86).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
112. Oriental Poppies.  
 canvas, 48 x 59.5  
 Exh: Carfax Gallery, Nov. 1917 (17).  
Bankfield Museum, Halifax.
113. <sup>h</sup>  
~~P~~lox.  
 board, 51 x 37  
 Exh: Arts Council II (87).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
114. Irisès (size unrecorded).  
Julian Fry, Canada.
115. The Blue Bottle.  
 canvas, 62 x 47  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1917  
 Exh: Leicester Museum and Art Gallery,  
 Oct. 1919 (15).  
 Prov: Sir Edward Marsh (?)  
Private Collection. On loan to the  
 Scottish National Gallery of Modern  
 Art. Plate 57.

116. Still-Life on Mantelpiece.

canvas, 43 x 84

Exh: London Group, May 1918

(2);

Colchester 1959 (33);

Arts Council II (83) -

as "Still-Life with

Italian Painting."

Mrs. P. Diamand.

The Crucifixion seen on the mantelpiece is a fourteenth century Venetian work, possibly by Paolo Veneziano, which was acquired by Fry during the First World War, and is still in possession of the Fry family.

117. Maynard Keynes.

canvas, 52 x 61

Exh: Leicester Museum and

Art Gallery, Oct. 1919

(7);

London Artists' Association

Feb. 1931 (28);

London Group, Nov. 1934

(14);

Arts Council I (16);

Fitzwilliam Museum,

Cambridge, June 1976;

C. I. G., 1976 (18).

Lady Keynes.

The portrait was painted in the garden at Charleston. According to Fry's daughter, Keynes was writing a long telegram to the American Treasury on the theory of currency.

118. Viola Tree.

canvas, (size unrecorded).

Exh: Gallery Edward Harvane, Feb. 1975.

Prov: David Parsons.

Private Collection, America. Plate 61.

119. Lytton Strachey.

canvas, 45 x 39.5

s & d lower left, Roger Fry 1917.

Exh: I. C. A., 1959.

Prov: Michael Travers; E. C. Gregory.

Iconography Collection, Humanities

Research Centre, University of Texas.

120. Marjorie Strachey.

canvas, 60.5 x 53.5

Professor Philip Rieff.

121. The Coloured Gentleman.

canvas, 78.5 x 60

Exh: Colchester, 1959 (7).

Prov: Fry family.

Professor Philip Rieff.

A pastel portrait of the sitter by Duncan Grant belongs to Birmingham City Art Gallery.

122. French Town.

board, 32 x 24

s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1917.

Exh: Leeds City Art Gallery, Dec. 1967 (34).

Prov: Sir Michael Sadler.

Leeds University, Fine Art Department.

123. Minature Still-Life.

canvas, 23 x 17

Exh: Colchester, 1959 (29);

Arts Council II (79).

Mrs. P. Diamand.

124. Mary Hutchinson in a barn near West Wittering.  
canvas, 61 x 51  
Mrs. Arthur Ponsonby.
125. Still-Life with Bottle, Jug and Mug.  
board, 41 x 35.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
126. Lalla Vandervelde. Plate 62.  
canvas, 89 x 68.5  
Exh: Gallery Edward Harvane, Feb. 1975;  
C. I. G., 1976 (19).  
Repr: D. Sutton, Letters II plate 74.  
Gallery Edward Harvane, 1976.
127. Still-Life with Biscuit Tin and Pots.  
canvas, 63.5 x 77.5  
s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1918.  
Exh: Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, 1935 ( );  
A. I. A., 1948;  
British Institute of Adult Education,  
Tavistock Street, (n.d.);  
Arts Council  
Prov: Margery Fry.  
Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand in 1958 to the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Plate 58
128. Bowl on a Chair.  
board (size unrecorded)  
The Provost and Fellows, King's College, Cambridge.  
A watercolour of the same subject is in the possession of Mrs. P. Diamand.
129. Pamela & Julian Fry having breakfast at Charleston.  
canvas, 71 x 100  
Prov: Mrs. P. Diamand.  
Aberdeen Art Gallery.  
An oil-sketch for this painting is in the collection of Professor P. Rieff. The painting on the wall behind the table is by Vlaminck, at that time owned by Clive Bell.
130. The Finding of Moses (after Raphael)  
board, 27.5 x 32  
verso: figures with a tent in a landscape.  
Mrs. A. Cole.
131. Farm Buildings and Pond.  
canvas, 56 x 76  
s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1918.  
Inscribed on back of stretcher,  
Barns at Alfriston Wakefield City Art Gallery. Plate 55.
132. The Window. Plate 54.  
canvas, 45 x 61  
s & d lower left, Roger Fry 1918.  
Exh: Omega Workshops, Oct. 1918 (12).  
University House, Birmingham.

133. André Gide.  
board, 48 x 63.5  
s & d lower right, Roger Fry  
1918.  
Exh: Arts Council II (11).  
verso: a landscape with  
buildings.  
Prov: Arnold Bennett; Arthur  
Crossland.  
Mme. Rene Varin.
134. St. Francis (after Cimabue)  
board, 63.5 x 26.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand.  
The same subject was  
executed by Fry for a church  
in Cornwall, but neither  
painting nor church has been  
traced.
135. Margery Fry.  
Lost.  
Photograph in Witt Library.
136. Edith Sitwell.  
canvas, 61 x 45.5  
s & d lower left Roger Fry  
1918.  
Exh: London Group, April 1919  
(6)?;  
London Artists' Association Feb 1931 (32);  
Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield,  
Nov. 1975 (45);  
C. I. G., 1976 (14).  
Sheffield City Art Galleries.  
Plate 49.
137. Edith Sitwell.  
paper, 42 x 28  
Exh: Colchester 1959 (11);  
Rye Art Gallery, June 1967 (40);  
C. I. G., 1976 (13).  
Mrs. B. Taber.  
An oil-sketch for cat. no. 135.
138. Edith Sitwell.  
canvas, (size unrecorded)  
Exh: Quaritch's, 1972.  
F. D. Coughlin, Connecticut.
139. Servant Girl, (The Zany)  
canvas, 41.5 x 33.5  
Exh: Arts Council I, (14);  
Colchester, 1959 (17);  
C. I. G., 1976 (20).  
Prov: The Artist's family.  
Mrs. A. Cole.
140. Self-Portrait.  
canvas, 79 x 58.5  
s & d lower right Roger Fry 1918.  
Exh: London Group, May 1918 (15);  
Arts Council II (18);  
Colchester, 1959 (3).  
The Provost and Fellows, King's  
College, Cambridge.
141. Willow Trees in front of Chalk Pits.  
canvas, 56 x 76  
s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1918.  
Exh: London Group, Nov. 1918 (46);  
London Artists' Association,  
1913 (12);  
Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield,  
Nov. 1976 (46).  
Sheffield City Art Galleries. Plate 56  
Painted near Bo Peep Farm in Sussex.

142. Vanessa Bell.  
 canvas, 46 x 53.5  
 Exh: London Artists'  
 Association, 1931 (30);  
 Colchester, 1959 (19);  
 Arts Council II (13).  
 Prov: The Artist's family.  
Professor Philip Rieff.
143. The Gypsy.  
 canvas, 53.5 x 46  
 s & d Roger Fry 1918.  
 Exh: Arts Council II (80).  
Mrs. Denis Smith.
144. Interior, Bo Peep Farm.  
 canvas, 61 x 76  
 s & d Roger Fry 1918.  
 Exh: Arts Council I (13);  
 Arts Council II (82).  
 Prov: Mr. & Mrs. I. Anrep.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt  
 Library.
145. Lady Mariabella Fry.  
 canvas, 42 x 39  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
146. Gabrielle Soëne. 1919  
 canvas, 127 x 76  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (14).  
 Prov: Fry family.  
Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York.
147. The Blue Bowl.  
 board, 43.5 x 57  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry 1919  
 Exh: Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts,  
 Ohio, Feb. 1971;  
 Beaverbrook Art Gallery,  
 Frederickton, Nov. 1976 (17).  
 Repr: Worcester Art Museum Bulletin,  
 Vol. XIV, No. 4 (Jan. 1924)  
 p. 99;  
 Sutton Letters, II, plate 76;  
 D. Sutton, British Art 1890-  
1928, 1971, fig. 108.  
 Prov: Percy Moore Turner.  
Worcester Art Museum.
148. Still-Life with Tang Horse.  
 canvas, 35.5 x 46  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (30).  
 Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand to the  
Tate Gallery in 1973.
149. Near Nîmes.  
 canvas, 72.5 x 99  
 Exh: Tate Gallery, July-August 1964,  
 (45).  
 Given by Mrs. P. Diamand to Somerville  
College on the opening of the Margery  
 Fry house in 1964.
150. Kitchen Interior.  
 s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1919.  
 Prov: Helen Anrep.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.
151. Artificial Flowers.  
 canvas, 59.5 x 45.5  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry 1919.  
Dr. & Mrs. I. Anrep.

152. Le Dejeuner.  
canvases, 60.5 x 81  
s: lower left, Roger Fry.  
Exh: Colchester, 1959 (21).  
Dr. & Mrs. I. Anrep.
153. The Bay at Martigues.  
canvases, 58 x 54.5  
s: lower right, Roger Fry.  
Lady Bridges. Plac 66  
154. Mont. Ste. Victoire.  
board, 29 x 56.5  
Private collection.  
A drawing of this painting  
is reproduced in Sutton,  
Letters, II: 470. Plac 65
155. Mountains in Provence.  
canvases, 58.5 x 75  
s & d lower left, Roger Fry  
1919.  
Exh: Grafton Gallery, Oct-  
Nov. 1974.  
Sold Sotheby's March 16, 1977,  
(lot. 27).
156. Harbour at St. Tropez.  
canvases, 63.5 x 80  
s & d lower left, Roger Fry  
1919.  
Presented by Margery Fry to  
Somerville College in 1931/2.
157. Interior of a French Restaurant.  
canvases (size unrecorded).  
Mrs. Allison Waley.  
A drawing of this picture is  
found in a letter to Margery  
Fry, dated November 5, 1919 and  
was executed whilst Fry was  
at the Hotel de Ville.
158. Near Martigues.  
canvases, 43 x 61  
Mrs. A. Cole.
159. Landscape with wall & hills b  
canvases, 46 x 59  
s & d lower right, Roger Fry  
Mrs. A. Cole.
160. Woman in a Black Hat.  
canvases, 52 x 43  
Exh: Colchester, March 1959 (  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
161. Kitchen Still-Life.  
canvases, 61 x 51  
Dr. & Mrs. I. Anrep.
162. French Peasant Woman.  
canvases, 59.5 x 46  
s & d lower right, Roger Fry  
Exh: Colchester, 1959 (16);  
Arts Council II (84);  
Rye Art Gallery, June 19  
C.I. G., 1976 (21).  
Roger Diamand. Plac 64.
163. Farm Buildings, France.  
canvases, 66 x 81  
Exh: Luton Museum and Art Gal  
June-July 1960 (49).  
Prov: Isobel Fry.  
University of Hull.
164. The Farmyard, Charleston.  
canvases, 46.5 x 45  
s & d Roger Fry 1919.  
The Duke of Devonshire.
165. Interior of a French Restaurant.  
canvases (size unrecorded).  
Mrs. Allison Waley.  
A drawing of this picture is  
found in a letter to Margery  
Fry, dated November 5, 1919 and  
was executed whilst Fry was  
at the Hotel de Ville.



1920.

165. Vence.  
s & d lower right Roger Fry '20.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.
166. Trees in front of a Mas.  
canvas (*size unrecorded*).  
s & d lower right Roger Fry 1920.  
Lady David Cecil. Plate 67
167. The Bridge, Auray. Plate 69  
oil on canvas, 51 x 99  
King's College, Cambridge.
168. Near Auray.  
oil on board, 28 x 35.5  
s & d lower left Roger Fry 1920.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
169. Auray.  
s & d lower right Roger Fry 1920.  
Repr: The Arts, Aug/Sept 1921.  
Lost.
170. French landscape.  
canvas (*size unrecorded*)  
s & d lower right Roger Fry 1920.  
Mrs. Joy Hedger.  
A small oil-sketch for this painting is in the Bradford City Art Gallery.
171. Angela Lavelli on the Terrace.  
canvas, 81 x 60.5  
s & d lower left Roger Fry 1920.  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 76
172. Street in Montmartre.  
board, 26.5 x 35.5  
s lower right Roger Fry.  
Richard Carline.
173. Landscape with Aquaduct. c.1920.  
canvas, 52 x 73  
s lower right Roger Fry.  
University House, Birmingham.
174. Near Auray.  
canvas, 54 x 80  
s & d lower left Roger Fry 1920.  
Repr: The Arts, Aug/Sept 1920.  
Mrs. A. Cole.
175. In the Morbihan.  
hessian, 112.5 x 157.5  
Exh: Salon d'Automne, 1920 (843).  
Somerville College, Oxford. Plate 70
176. Moulin de la Lubiana.  
canvas, (*size unrecorded*).  
s & d lower left Roger Fry 1920.  
Mrs. M. MacCarthy. Plate 68.
177. Landscape with House.  
canvas (*size unrecorded*)  
s lower left Roger Fry.  
University House, Birmingham.  
A drawing for this painting is in the collection of the Fine Art Department University of Leeds. The same scene was painted by Jean Marchand.

178. Small Harbour and Bridge.  
 canvas, 40.5 x 51  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1920.  
 Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Mrs. H. Aldiss.
179. Still Life with Fruit on a Plate.  
 canvas, 46.5 x 62  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1920.  
 Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Mrs. H. Aldiss.
180. Group Portrait with Marcel Gimond and his wife and Sonia Lewitska.  
 canvas, 75.5 x 44  
 s & d Roger Fry 1920.  
 Exh: C. I. G., 1976 (22)  
 Repr: Contemporary British Artists, 1922, published by Birrell and Garnett; Shone, Floomsbury Portraits, 1976, fig. 118.  
The Mayor Gallery, London.
181. M. and Mme. Marchand and M. and Mme. Gimond.  
 board, 34 x 26.5  
 Inser: on verso: To Cyril Adams from Roger Fry, 1923.  
 Exh: Arts Council II (16)  
Cyril W. Adams.
182. Woman in a Black Hat. c.1920.  
 canvas, 43 x 45.5  
 Exh: Colchester, March 1959, (18).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
183. Nude on a Sofa.  
 canvas, 91.5 x 59  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (22).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
184. St. Marcellin (a corner of Elspeth Champcommunal's house)  
 canvas, 51 x 49.5  
Mme. Marie Mauron.
185. Landscape with Nude.  
 canvas, 53.5 x 79  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry 1920.  
Mrs. A. Cole. Plate 71.
186. Street Scene with Square Tower, Vence.  
 canvas, 74 x 61  
Private Collection.  
 1921.
187. Two Peasants seated at a Table.  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1921.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.
188. Le Vieux Port, St. Tropez.  
 board, 33 x 40.5  
 s lower left Roger Fry.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
189. French Landscape with Two Peasants.  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1921.  
 Prov: Agnes Fry.  
Lost. Photograph in the Witt Library.
190. Still Life with Candle and Earthenware Pots.  
 canvas, 44.5 x 53.5  
 s & d bottom right, Roger Fry 1921.  
 Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand in 1958 to the Courtauld Institute Galleries. Plate 74.

191. Vaison, Vaucluse.  
 canvas, 92.5 x 128  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1921.  
 Exh: Salon d'Automne, 1921,  
 (857)?  
King's College, Cambridge.
192. Interior of the Church at Ramatuelle. Plate 72  
 canvas, 97 x 129  
Manchester City Art Galleries.
193. La Source. Plate 75  
 Exh: Salon d'Automne, 1921,  
 (856).  
 Photograph in Witt Library.
194. Still Life with Melon, Peppers and Aubergines.  
 Executed October 1921 at St. Tropez.  
Lost. Photograph in the collection of Mrs. P. Diamand.
195. On the Terrace, Vaison.  
 canvas, 52.5 x 64  
 Prov: Mrs. Helen Anrep;  
 The Adams Gallery.  
Sold Sotheby's, March 16, 1977 (lot 28).
196. On the Terrace, Vaison.  
 canvas, 54 x 64  
Mrs. A. Cole.
197. Charles Sanger. c.1922.  
 canvas, 106.5 x 91.5  
 s lower right, Roger Fry.  
 Exh: C. I. G., 1976 (23).  
 Prov: Given by Fry to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1932.  
The Masters and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.
198. "Still Life - Fruit with Jug." 1922.  
 canvas, 63.5 x 48.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922.  
 Exh: Bath Spring Festival, 1936 (186).  
 Given by Miss Margery Fry in 1935 to Bristol City Art Gallery.
199. B<sup>r</sup>trand Russell.  
 canvas, 54 x 45  
 Exh: Independent Gallery, 1923;  
 Colchester 1959 (12);  
 C. I. G., 1976 (24)  
National Portrait Gallery.
200. B<sup>r</sup>trand Russell.  
 canvas, 53.5 x 45.5  
Professor Rieff.  
 A fresher version of the above.
201. The Palm Tree, St. Tropez.  
 canvas; 67.5 x 84  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1922.  
 Exh: London Artists' Association, Feb. 1926 (9).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
202. Margery Fry and Marjorie Rackstraw on the Balcony, St. Tronez.  
 board, 25 x 32  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922.  
Marjorie Rackstraw.

203. The Sails, St. Tropez. Plak 79.  
 canvas, 54.5 x 99  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1922.  
King's College, Cambridge.
204. Logan Pearsall Smith.  
Lost. Photograph in  
 Witt Library.
205. Mela Muter.  
 canvas, 98 x 85.5  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1922.  
 Exh: Salon d'Automne, 1922,  
 (916)  
Professor Rieff.
206. Lydia Lopokova.  
 canvas (size unrecorded)  
 s & d Roger Fry 1922.  
Julian Fry, British Columbia.  
 Painted at the same time as  
 the portrait by Duncan Grant  
 in the collection of Lady  
 Keynes.
207. Still-Life with Chinese Figure.  
 canvas, 56 x 66  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922.  
Bolton Museum and Art Gallery.
208. Vintage Scene.  
 board, 33 x 40.5  
Dr. and Mrs. I. Anren.  
 This oil-sketch was for a  
 larger painting, now lost.
209. St. Tropez.  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1922.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library.
210. Port Vendres  
 board, 26.5 x 35.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922.  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (39).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
211. Dalmeny Avenue.  
 canvas, 35.5 x 45  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922.  
 Prov: Margery Fry.  
Mrs. A. Cole.
212. Dalmeny Avenue.  
 canvas, 37 x 45.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
213. Dalmeny Avenue, The Garden.  
Julian Fry, British Columbia.
214. A Hampstead View.  
 canvas, 45.5 x 60.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922.  
 Prov: Sir Michael Sadler.  
R. Vint. On loan to Bradford City  
 Art Galleries.  
 1923.
215. Robert Bridges.  
 canvas, 53.5 x 47.5  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1923.  
 Exh: Independent Gallery, 1923 (6);  
 Salon d'Automne, 1923 (697).  
Lady Bridges. Plak 78
216. Robert Bridges.  
 canvas, 54 x 39.5  
 Exh: Arts Council II (5)  
 Prov: Robert Bridges.  
The Lord Bridges. Plak 77

217. Salamanca.  
 canvas, 54.5 x 80  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
218. A Calanque near Cassis.  
 canvas, 66 x 54  
 Prov: Helen Anrep.  
 Gallery Edward Harvane,  
 1975.
219. La Ciotat.  
 board, 32.5 x 40  
 s & d lower left, Roger Fry 1923.  
Professor Rieff.
220. St. Père.  
 board, 33 x 40.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1923.  
Professor Rieff.
221. La Ciotat.  
 board, 40.5 x 34.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1923.  
 Exh: Arts Council (23)  
Dr. and Mrs. I. Anrep.
222. Frank Hindley-Smith.  
Lost. Photograph in  
 Witt Library.  
 Repr: Sutton, Letters II  
 plate 101.
223. Church Interior.  
 canvas, 96.5 x 66  
 s & d lower right, Roger Fry 1923.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
224. Evening Bathe, La Ciotat.  
 canvas, 89 x 95  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry '23.  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (42)  
Mrs. A. Cole.
225. La Ciotat.  
 canvas, 49.5 x 64  
Mme. Marie Mauron.
226. La Calanque a Cassis.  
 canvas, 47 x 65.5  
 s lower left Roger Fry.  
Mme. Alice Mauron.  
 A small oil-sketch for this painting  
 was given by Fry to Marion Richardson  
 and is now in the collection of Mrs.  
 H. Aldiss.
227. Winter Scene, Sussex.  
 canvas 45.5 x 62  
 Bought by the C. A. S. in 1923.  
Derby Museum and Art Gallery.
- 1924.
228. Charles Mauron.  
 board, 40.5 x 32.5  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Exh: London Group, June 1925 (80);  
 Arts Council I (19);  
 C. I. G., 1976 (26)  
 Repr: Sutton, Letters II, plate 81.  
 Given by Margery Fry to King's College, Cambridge.
229. The Cloister.  
 board, 40 x 32  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry '24.  
 Bequeathed by F. Hindley-Smith in  
 1939 to the Fitzwilliam Museum,  
Cambridge.

230. Roof-Tops, St. Tropez.  
 canvas, 44.5 x 63.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry '24.  
Miss Daphne Sanger.
231. Still-Life with African Figure.  
 canvas, 54 x 67  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry '24.  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (31);  
 Belgrave Gallery, 1975.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
232. French Landscape.  
 canvas, 66 x 81  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1922-25.  
Bolton Museum and Art Gallery.
233. La Foux, near St. Tropez.  
 canvas, 52 x 64  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1924.  
Miss Marjorie Rackstraw. Plate 81.
234. La Foux.  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1924.  
Lost. Photograph in Witt Library. Plate 82.
235. Route Nationale, Dordogne.  
 canvas, 65 x 81  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1924.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
236. St. Etienne, Toulouse.  
 board, 32.5 x 39.5  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1924.  
 Exh: London Group, June 1925 (84).  
 Bequeathed by Mrs. M. E. L. Brown to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in 1972. Plate 80
237. Landscape with Ruins.  
 canvas, 71 x 90  
King's College, Cambridge.  
 1925.
238. "Port at Cassis."  
 panel, 31 x 39.5  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Bequeathed by Mrs. M. E. L. Brown in 1972 to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Plate 83.
239. Clive Bell. c.1925.  
 canvas, 73.5 x 59.5  
 Exh: Cheltenham Art Gallery, 1962;  
 Arts Council II (12);  
 Rye Art Gallery, 1967 (30);  
 Arts Council, Decade 1910-20, 1970;  
 C. I. G., 1976 (25).  
 Prov: Mrs. Barbara Bagenal, 1966-73.  
National Portrait Gallery.
240. Cluny Abbey.  
 board, 41.5 x 33  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (27);  
 Arts Council II (88).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
241. Nude with Pink Rose.  
 canvas, 51 x 40.5  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (23).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.

242. Pontigny. Platz 84  
 canvas, 52 x 63.5  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Exh: London Artists' Association, May 1926 (69).  
 Repr: V. Woolf, Roger Fry, opp. p. 266.  
Edward Harvane Gallery, 1975.
243. Copy after Cézanne's Self-Portrait.  
 board, 34 x 27  
 Exh: Arts Council I (30); Arts Council II (50 repr.); National Book League, 1976 (83); Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Frederickton, 1976 (22).  
 Repr: Sutton, Letters II, plate 87.  
Courtauld Institute Galleries.  
 The copy was made when the Cézanne was exhibited at the Independent Gallery in 1925. The original is now in the National Gallery, London.
244. Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson.  
 canvas, 64 x 48.5  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry '25.  
 Exh: Arts Council I (28); C. I. G., 1976 (27).  
 Repr: Sutton, Letters I, plate 7.  
King's College, Cambridge.
245. Cassis.  
 canvas, 63.5 x 91.5  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1926.  
Mme. Marie Mauron.
246. Place du Marche, Cany.  
 board, 64 x 52  
 Exh: Salon d'Automne, 1926 (1052); London Artists' Association, 1928.  
 Prov: Desmond MacCarthy.  
Mrs. M. MacCarthy.
247. Duncan Grant painting.  
 canvas, 68 x 38  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Exh: London Artists' Association, March 1928 (30).  
 Prov: Maynard Keynes.  
Lady Keynes.
248. Norman Manor House.  
 canvas, 72.5 x 59.5  
 s & d Roger Fry '26.  
 Exh: Lefevre Galleries, Feb. 1927 (16).  
Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Hadsell.  
 Virginia, U.S.A.
249. John Hope-Johnstone (?)  
 canvas 46 x 35.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand.

1927.

## 250. Lady Mariabella Fry.

board, 40.5 x 32

Exh: London Artists'

Association, Feb.

1928 (12);

Colchester, 1959 (4);

Arts Council II (1);

Rye Art Gallery, 1967

(33);

C. I. G., 1976 (28).

Repr: Sutton, Letters I,

plate 3.

Mrs. P. Diamond.

Drawings and two lithographs

of Lady Fry were made at the

same time as this portrait.

## 251. Le Mas de Berne pres di

St. Remy, Provence.

canvas, 54.5 x 65.5

s &amp; d lower left Roger

Fry '27.

Exh: Beaverbrook Art

Gallery, Fredrickton,

New Brunswick, Nov.

1976 (25).

Prov: The Artists Family.

Presented by Mrs. P. Diamond

to the Art Gallery of

Toronto in 1959.

## 252. St. Jacques, Dieme.

s &amp; d lower right Roger

Fry '27.

Exh: Arts Council I (32).

Prov: Anrep Coll.

Lost.

Mrs. Barbara Bagenal.

Prov: Dorothy Bussy; Roger Se

Repr: Sutton, Letters II, pla

(85).

National Book League, 19

C. I. G., 1976 (29);

Sept. 1970;

Exh: Musee des Beaux-Arts, Be

panel, 40.5 x 33

## 257. Simon Bussy.

Roger Diamond. Plate 88

Prov: Margery Fry.

Exh: Colchester, 1959 (38).

s &amp; d lower left Roger Fry '2

canvas, 81 x 65

## 256. Brantôme

King's College, Cambridge.

Feb. 1928 (4).

Exh: London Artists' Associati

s lower left Roger Fry.

canvas, 98 x 67

## 255. S. Carnat, Marseilles (Interi

City Art Galleries.

Feb. 1928 (6).

R. Wint Coll. On loan to Bra

Exh: London Artists' Associat

s &amp; d lower right Roger Fry 1

canvas, 52 x 63

## 254. Ilex and Olives. Plate 85

Dudley Museum and Art Gallery.

Feb. 1928 (2).

Exh: London Artists' Associat

s &amp; d lower left, Roger Fry 1

canvas, 52 x 64

## 253. Olives in the Spring. Plate 86



258. Augustine Birrell.  
board, 40.5 x 33  
Exh: C. I. G., 1976 (30).  
Repr: Augustine Birrell,  
Things Past Redress.  
Sir Charles Tennyson.
259. Self-Portrait.  
canvas, 45.5 x 37  
Exh: London Artists'  
Association, Feb. 1928  
(23);  
C. I. G., 1976 (ex.  
catalogue).  
Repr: Sutton, Letters II  
frontispiece.  
Sir Geoffrey Agnew.
260. Market in a Disused Church  
in France.  
canvas, 53.5 x 64  
s & d lower right Roger  
Fry '28.  
Exh: London Group, Jan. 1929  
(33);  
Stoke-on-Trent, 1930;  
R. W. A., 1953 (55);  
Reading Art Gallery, 1963.  
Prov: Given by Captain S.  
Hibbard through the  
N. A. C. F., 1930.  
Bristol City Art Gallery.
261. Margaret Fry.  
board, 40.5 x 25.5  
Exh: Colchester, 1959 (5).  
Dr. Aubrey Fry.
262. The Foundling Hospital.  
panel, 31 x 39  
s & d lower left Roger Fry '28.  
Prov: Isobel Fry.  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
263. Bloaters, whiting and a kipper.  
canvas, 45.5 x 54.5  
s & d lower right Roger Fry '28.  
Exh: London Artists' Association,  
Feb. 1928 (15).  
Given at the wish of the artist to  
the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in  
1935.
264. The Baptism of Christ (after Ribera).  
board, 40.5 x 32  
Exh: London Artists' Association,  
Feb. 1928 (21).  
King's College, Cambridge.
265. La Fontaine Noire.  
canvas, 81.5 x 96.5  
s & d lower right Roger Fry '28.  
Exh: London Group, Jan. 1929 (23);  
Arts Council I (35);  
Arts Council II (89) - (wrongly  
dated 1923).  
Prov: Fry Family.  
University of Nottingham. Plate 87
266. A Surrey Home.  
board, 31 x 39  
s lower right Roger Fry.  
Alfred Leadbeater Bequest Fund 1928.  
Birmingham City Art Gallery.

267. French Landscape.  
 canvas, 65 x 79  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1928.  
 verso: landscape with hill town.  
Mrs. M. MacCarthy.
268. An Olive Grove in Provence. 1929.  
 canvas (*size unrecorded*).  
 s lower left Roger Fry  
 and dated l. right 1929.  
 Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Coll. Mrs. H. Aldiss.
269. Salle des Caryatides, Louvre.  
 canvas, 65 x 81  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Exh: London Group, Oct. 1929 (42);  
 Tokyo, 1932.  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.  
 Presented by the artist in 1933.
270. The Luxembourg Gardens.  
 panel, 33 x 42.  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry '29.  
 Exh: Arts Council I (38).  
Mr. and Mrs. I. Anrep.
271. St. Mark's, Venice.  
 canvas, 65 x 45.5  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
272. Still-Life of Flowers and Lemons.  
 canvas, 33 x 43  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 verso: unfinished still-life.  
Professor Rieff.
273. Still-Life with Onions and Celery.  
 board, 31.5 x 40  
Professor Rieff.
274. Provençal Landscape.  
 canvas, 50.5 x 65.5  
 Prov: Marjorie Fry.  
 Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand to  
Wakefield City Art Gallery, 1958.
275. Large Quarry: Beaumes-des-Venises.  
 canvas, 65.5 x 80.5  
 Exh: London Group, Oct. 1930 (11)?  
Roger Diamand.
276. Mountain Stream.  
 canvas, 48 x 63.5  
Roger Diamand.
277. Still-Life with Hat.  
 canvas, 33.5 x 40.5  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Prov: Fry family.  
University of Hull.
278. Young Man in bow-tie.  
 board, 41 x 33.5  
 Exh: Fine Art Society, 1975 (67);  
 C. I. G., 1976 (31).  
Anthony D'Offay.  
 The sitter is thought to be Duncan Grant, but when Grant was questioned about the picture he could not recall sitting for it.

279. Chrysanthemums.  
 canvas (*size unrecorded*)  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry '3 (the rest hidden by frame).  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
280. William Henry Macaulay.  
 canvas, 84 x 99  
King's College, Cambridge.  
 Two small oil sketches for this portrait are in the collection of Mrs. P. Diamand.
281. French Farm. Plak 94  
 canvas, 58.5 x 80  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1930.  
 Exh: Independent Gallery, Feb. 1932 (5)?  
University House, Birmingham.
282. Montresor.  
 canvas (*size unrecorded*)  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
283. Carpentras. Plak 92  
 board, 33 x 41  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry 1930.  
Courtauld Institute Galleries.
284. Carpentras.  
 board, 33 x 40.5  
 Exh: Arts Council I (47).  
Dr. and Mrs. I. Anrep.
285. Rue a Langres.  
 canvas, 65.5 x 54.5  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry '30.  
Mme. Alice Maureon.
286. Self-Portrait.  
 Repr: cover illustration, Sutton, Letters Vol. II.  
Fern Rusk Shanley.
287. The Gate.  
 canvas, 54 x 65  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
288. Madonna and Child altarpiece.  
 canvas, 79 x 58  
Mrs. P. Diamand.
289. Charles Maureon.  
 panel, 42 x 34.5  
 s lower left Roger Fry and d lower right 1931.  
Mme. Alice Maureon. Plak 99.
290. Mary Paley Marshall.  
 canvas, 109 x 89  
 s lower right Roger Fry  
 Exh: C. I. G., 1976 (32).  
 Repr: Mary Paley Marshall, What I Remember, 1947.  
Marshall Library of Economics, University of Cambridge. Plak 91
291. Le Castellet, Fontveille.  
 canvas, 45.5 x 63.5  
 s & d lower right Roger Fry '31.  
 Given by Sir George Hill in 1938 to Huddersfield City Art Gallery.  
 An oil sketch for this painting is in the collection of Mrs. P. Diamand.  
Plak 93

292. St. Rémy, Olives in Flower.  
 canvas, 59 x 79  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (34);  
 Arts Council II (90).  
Roger Diamand.
293. The River below Grantchester.  
 board, 32 x 39.5  
 Prov: Sir Edward Playfair.  
 Given by him to King's  
College, Cambridge in 1958.
294. Spring in Provence.  
 canvas, 79.5 x 72.5  
 s lower left Roger Fry  
 Exh: Agnew's, July 1933 (20);  
 Beaverbrook Art Gallery,  
 Frederickton, Nov. 1976,  
 (18).  
Vancouver Art Gallery.
295. Margery Fry.  
 canvas, 96.5 x 81.5  
 s & d lower right Roger  
Fry 1931/2.  
 Given by Margery Fry to  
Somerville College, Oxford.
296. Self-Portrait.  
 canvas, 59.5 x 49.5  
 Presented by Margery Fry to  
 the National Portrait Gallery  
 in 1952.
297. Delphi.  
 board, 25.5 x 34  
 s lower left Roger Fry.  
 Exh: Agnew's, July 1933 (22);  
 Arts Council I (48).  
Mrs. B. Bagenal.
298. Miss Haigh Brown.  
 canvas, 86 x 75  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry 1932.  
Oxford High School.  
 The sitter was headmistress of Oxford  
 High School from 1901-32. The  
 portrait was damaged by flooding  
 during the war.
299. On the Acropolis.  
 board, 24.5 x 33.5  
Mrs. A. Cole.
300. "Willy Lott's Cottage at Flatford  
Mill."  
 canvas, 54.5 x 43  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (61).  
 Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand in 1959  
 to the Minories, Colchester.
301. Deben Estuary.  
 board, 56 x 81.5  
University House, Birmingham.  
 An oil-sketch for this painting is in  
 the collection of Mrs. P. Diamand.
302. View of Les Alpilles from the first  
floor of the Mas d'Angirany.  
 panel, 40.5 x 32  
Mme. Marie Mauron.
303. The Well at the Mas d'Angirany. 1933.  
 canvas, 53.5 x 63.5  
 s Roger Fry.  
 Exh: Agnew's 1933 (7);  
 Arts Council II (91).  
 Prov: Mrs. P. Diamand.  
King's College, Cambridge.

304. Rabat. Plate 97  
 canvas, 31.5 x 39  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Exh: Agnew's, July 1933 (2).  
 Prov: Lord Lee of Farcham.  
Sheffield City Art Galleries.
305. Chiswick House.  
 canvas, 46 x 62.5  
 s. lower right, Roger Fry  
 Presented by Mrs. P. Diamand  
 to Manchester City Art Gallery  
 in 1950. Plate 96
306. Les Apilles.  
 canvas, (size unrecorded).  
 s lower right, Roger Fry.  
 Exh: Art Exhibition Bureau (?)  
 Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Mrs. H. Aldiss.
307. Still-Life with Candle Holder,  
shell and apples.  
 board, 32 x 39.5  
 s lower right Roger Fry.  
 Prov: Marion Richardson.  
Mrs. H. Aldiss.
308. Near Murcia, Spain.  
 board, 33 x 40.5  
 Exh: Agnew's, July 1933 (26);  
 Arts Council I (49).  
Mr. and Mrs. I. Anrep.
309. Carnations.  
 canvas, 65.5 x 51  
 signed Roger Fry on the lid of the  
 wooden box.  
Mme. Alice Maunon.
310. Summer Afternoon.  
 canvas, 39.5 x 64.5  
 Exh: Colchester, 1959 (57).  
Lucy Taber.
311. Les Apilles.  
 canvas, 61 x 80  
 s lower right Roger Fry. Exh: Bristol, 1935(189)  
Mrs. P. Diamand. Plate 98.
312. The Lion d'Arles.  
 panel, 41 x 32.5  
 Exh: Arts Council I (44)  
Roger Diamand.
313. Mountain Stream.  
 canvas, 48 x 63.5  
Roger Diamand.
314. The Dordogne.  
 canvas, 66 x 82  
 s & d lower left Roger Fry '34.  
Mrs. P. Diamand. 1934.
315. Bridge over the Allier.  
 board, 33 x 41  
 Exh: Agnew's July 1933 (ex. catalogue  
 Presented to the Tate Gallery in  
 1973 by Mrs. P. Diamand.  
 The scene represented is a stretch  
 of the Allier in the Department of  
 Logere, crossed by a bridge between  
 Langogne and Luc, that covers the  
 Paris-Nimes railway line.

316. Les Foulles de Glanum.

canvas, 60.5 x 81.5

Exh: London Arts Association

March 1934 (7).

Presented by Margery Fry

to Manchester City Art

Gallery.

Joseph Maunon (1870-1940)

the father of Charles,

painted the same scene

alongside Fry. His painting,

very similar to Fry's in

style, is in the collection

of Mme. Alice Maunon.

317. The River Orwell, near

Ipswich.

canvas, 40.5 x 56

Art Gallery of Ontario,

Toronto.

318. Baroness Budden.

canvas, 77 x 64

s &amp; d lower left Roger

Fry - the rest indistinct.

Mrs. Tanya Alexander.

319. French Landscape.

board, 20 x 33

s lower left Roger Fry.

Prov: Kenneth Clark.

Private collection. Plak 95.

320. Palermo.

board, 33 x 41

Courtland Institute Galleries.

321. Self-Portrait. Plak 100.

canvas, 60.5 x 49.5

Exh: s &amp; d lower left Roger Fry, 1

set 67.

Exh: Fitzwilliam Museum, Camb

1976;

C. I. G., 1976 (33).

Prov: Margery Fry; Kenneth Cl

King's College, Cambridge.

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Part 1. Primary Sources.

A. Unpublished Material.

Part 2. Secondary Sources.

B. Articles principally or in part  
concerned with Roger Fry.

C. Selected related articles.

Part 3. Writings by Roger Fry.

D. Books and Pamphlets.

E. Contributions to Books, Pamphlets  
and Catalogues.

F. Translations.

Part 4. General.

G. Select Bibliography.

Part I. Primary Sources.

A. Unpublished Manuscript Material.

Note: Unless stated manuscripts listed have no catalogue reference number.

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Horace Brodsky - one letter from Roger Fry to Horace Brodsky in the Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas.

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VB-RF - letters from Vanessa Bell to Roger Fry.

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Fig. I Margery Fry, c.1890, (cat.no.I) 51 x 40.5 cm.



Fig. 2. Landscape near the Villa Madama, 1891, (cat.no.2) 37 x 46.5 cm.





Fig. 3. Fir Trees near Blythborough, 1893-4, (cat.no.8) 65 x 71.5 cm.



Fig. 4. Edward Carpenter, 1894, (cat.no.10). 73 × 43 cm.



Fig. 5. Walberswick, Suffolk, 1893, (cat.no.7). 47 x 66 cm.

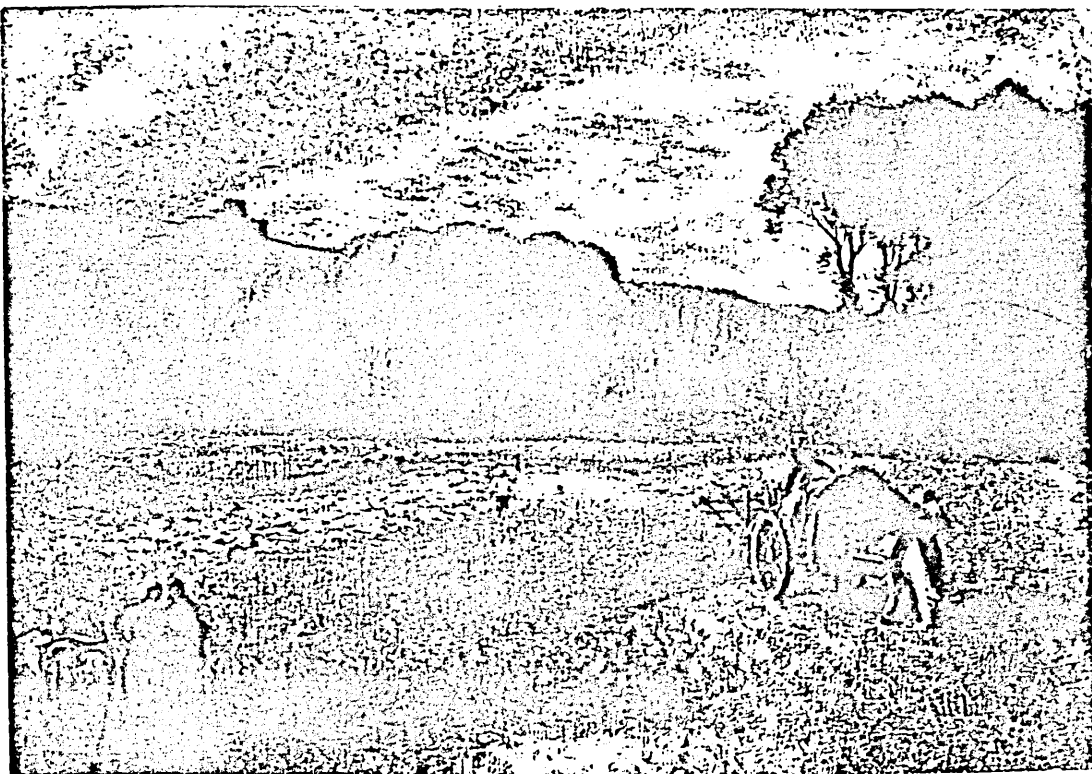


Fig. 6. Harvesting, 1895, (cat.no.12). 54 x 71.5 cm.



Fig. 7. The Valley of the Seine, 1895-6, (cat.no.15). 79.5 x 112 cm.

Fig.8. Contemporary photograph  
of the Failand wall decorat-  
ion, 1896.



Fig.9. Sir Edward Fry, 1896  
(cat.no.17). 91.5 x 81.5 cm.





Fig.I0. Italian Villa, c.1900, (cat.no.22). 42 x 68.5 cm.



Fig.I3. The Pool, c.I899, (cat.no.23). 53.5 x 71.7 cm.

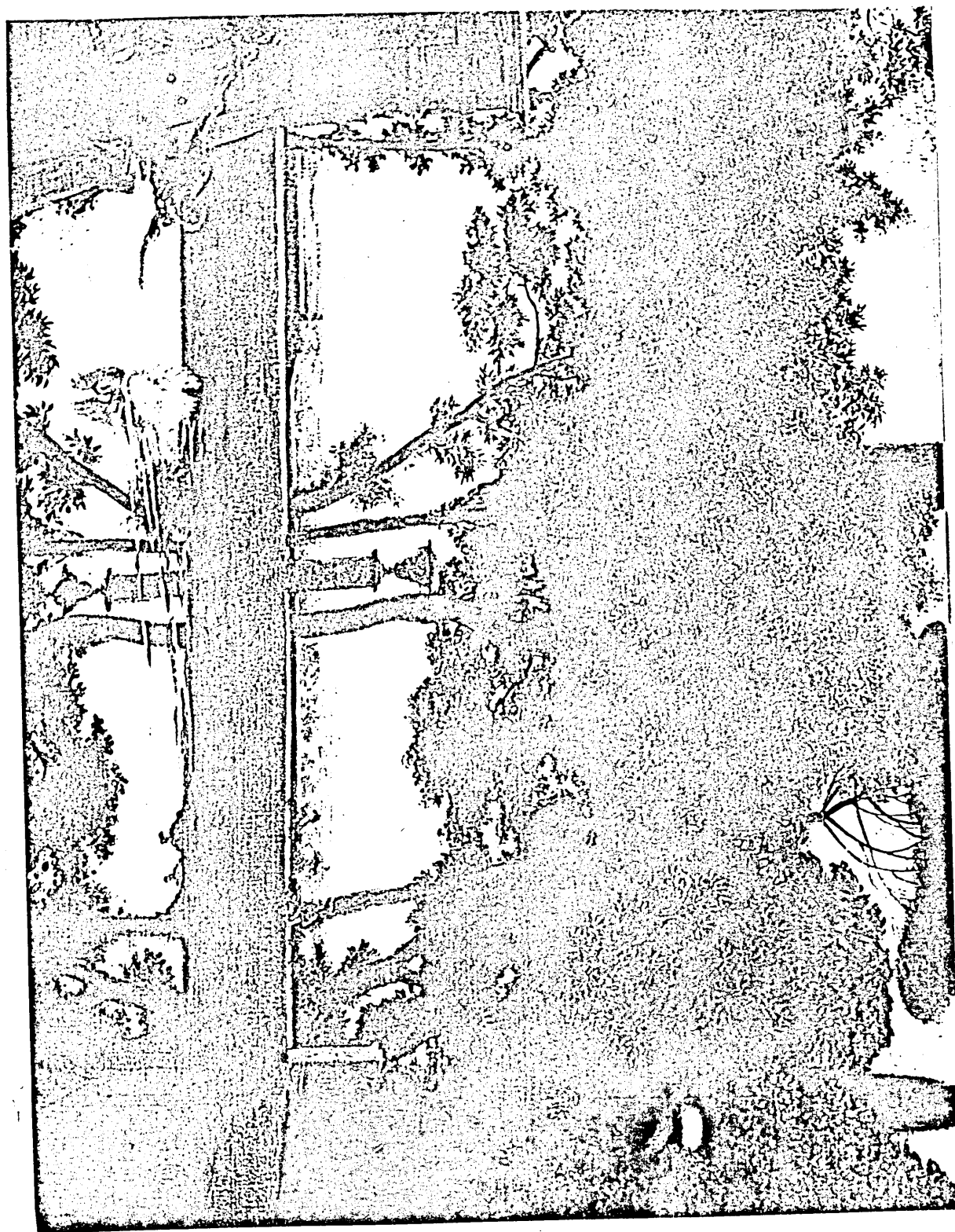




Fig.II. Timber Wagon, 1900-03, (cat.no.24). 61.5 x 77 cm.

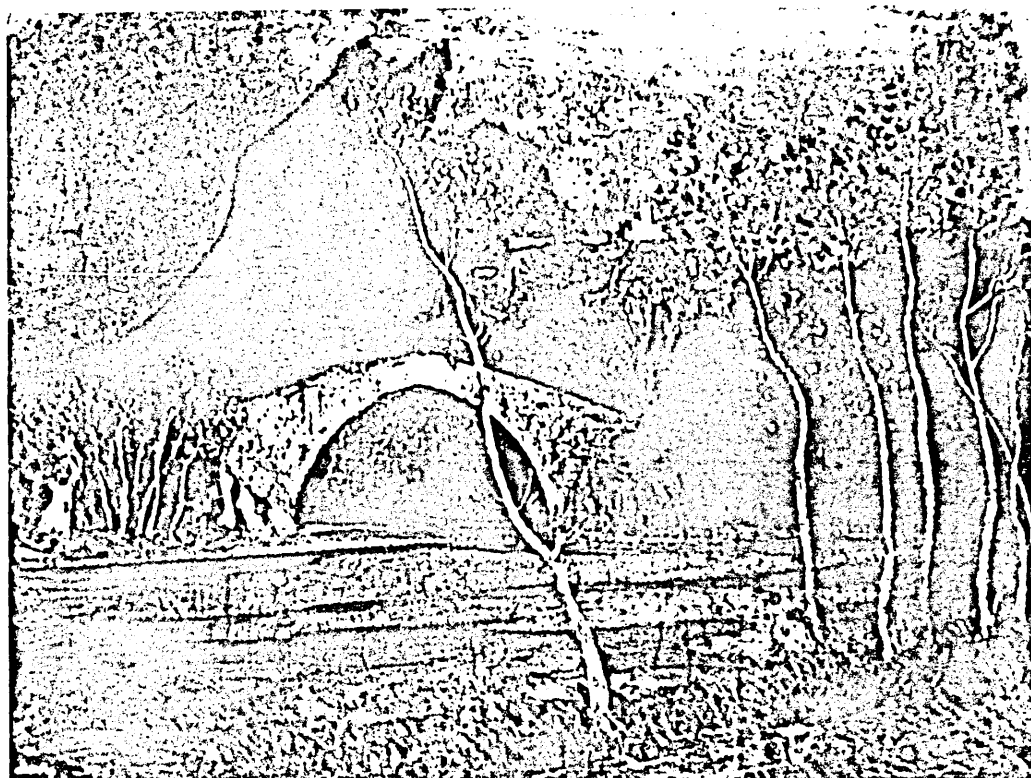


Fig.12. Italian Scene with Bridge, 1907, (cat.no.28). 44.5 x 58 cm.



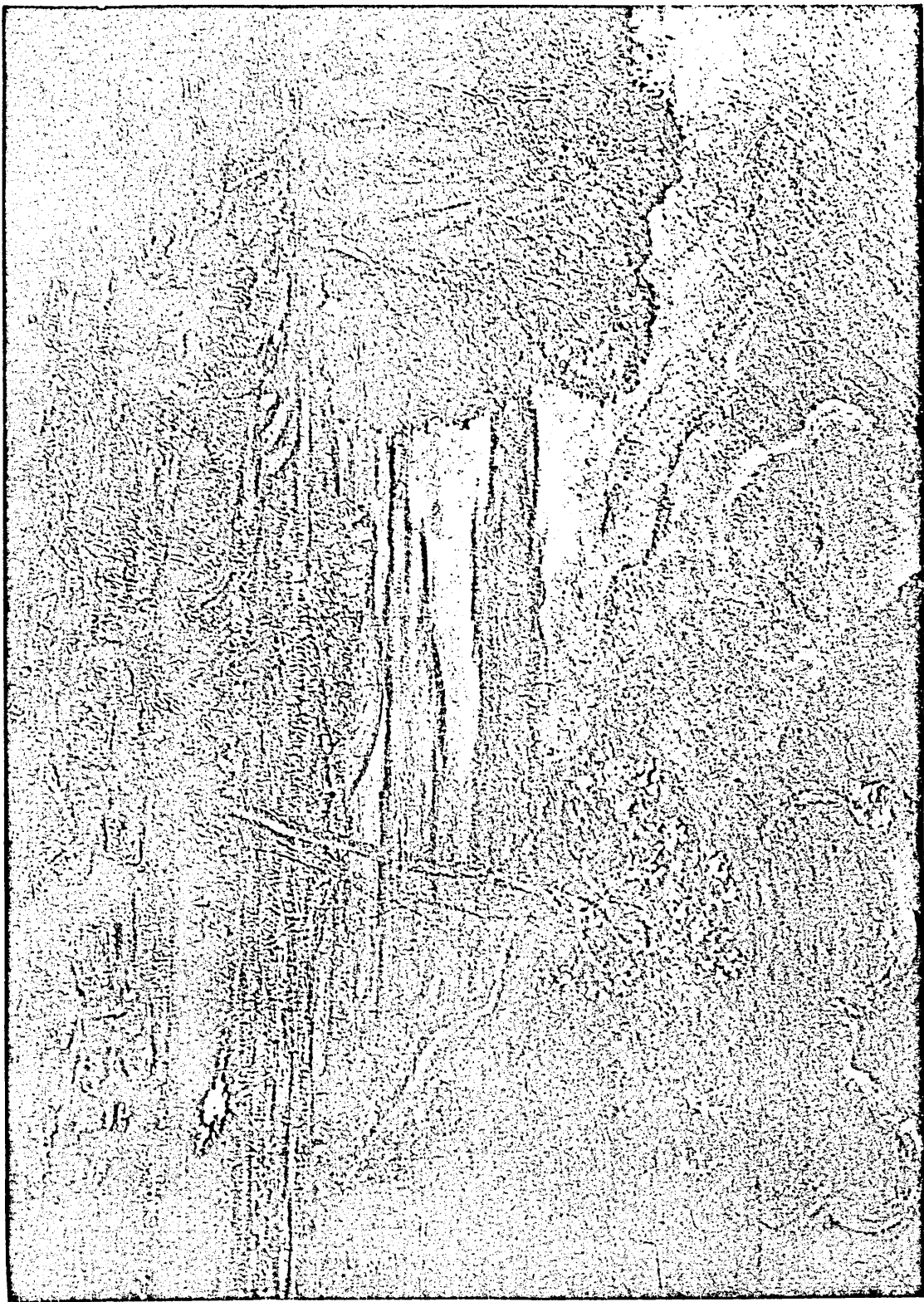


Fig.I4. St. George and the Dragon, 1909, (cat.no.29). 79 x 112 cm.



Fig.I5. Dante and Vergil in Purgatory, c.1909, (cat.no.30) 70.5 x 60 cm.

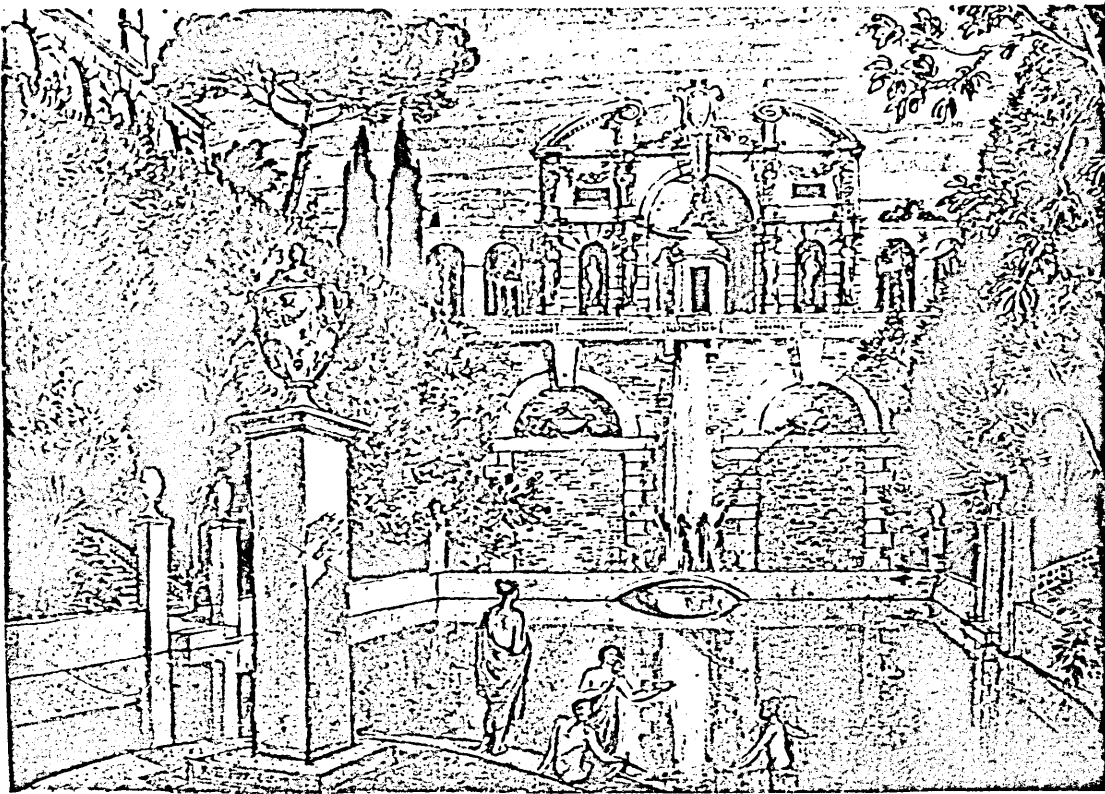


Fig.I6. Italian Garden Scene (Villa d'Este), 1898, watercolour,  
British Museum.

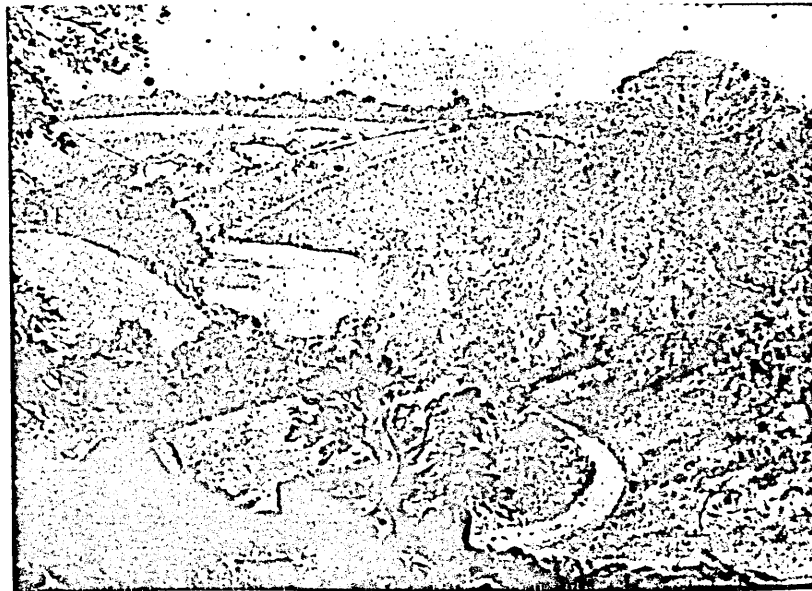


Fig.I7. Landscape with Cowherd, c. 1900-08, University of Hull,  
watercolour.

Fig.18. Betchworth Lime Works, c.1903, watercolour, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.





Fig.19. Apollo and his Chariot, ceiling decoration, Ardkinglas, Cairndow, 1910.

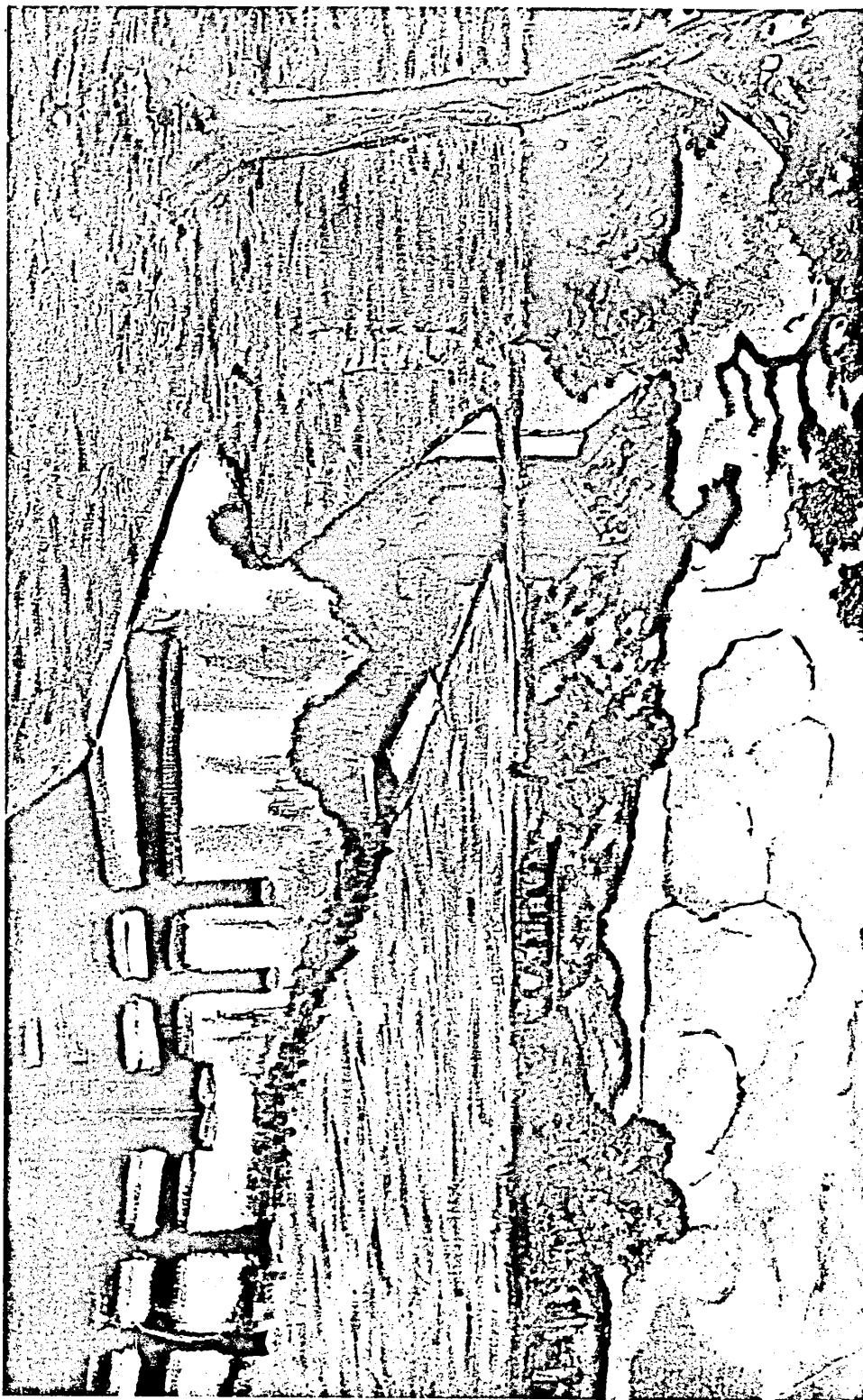


Fig.20. The Wey at Guildford, 1910, (cat.no.32). 46 x 76 cm.



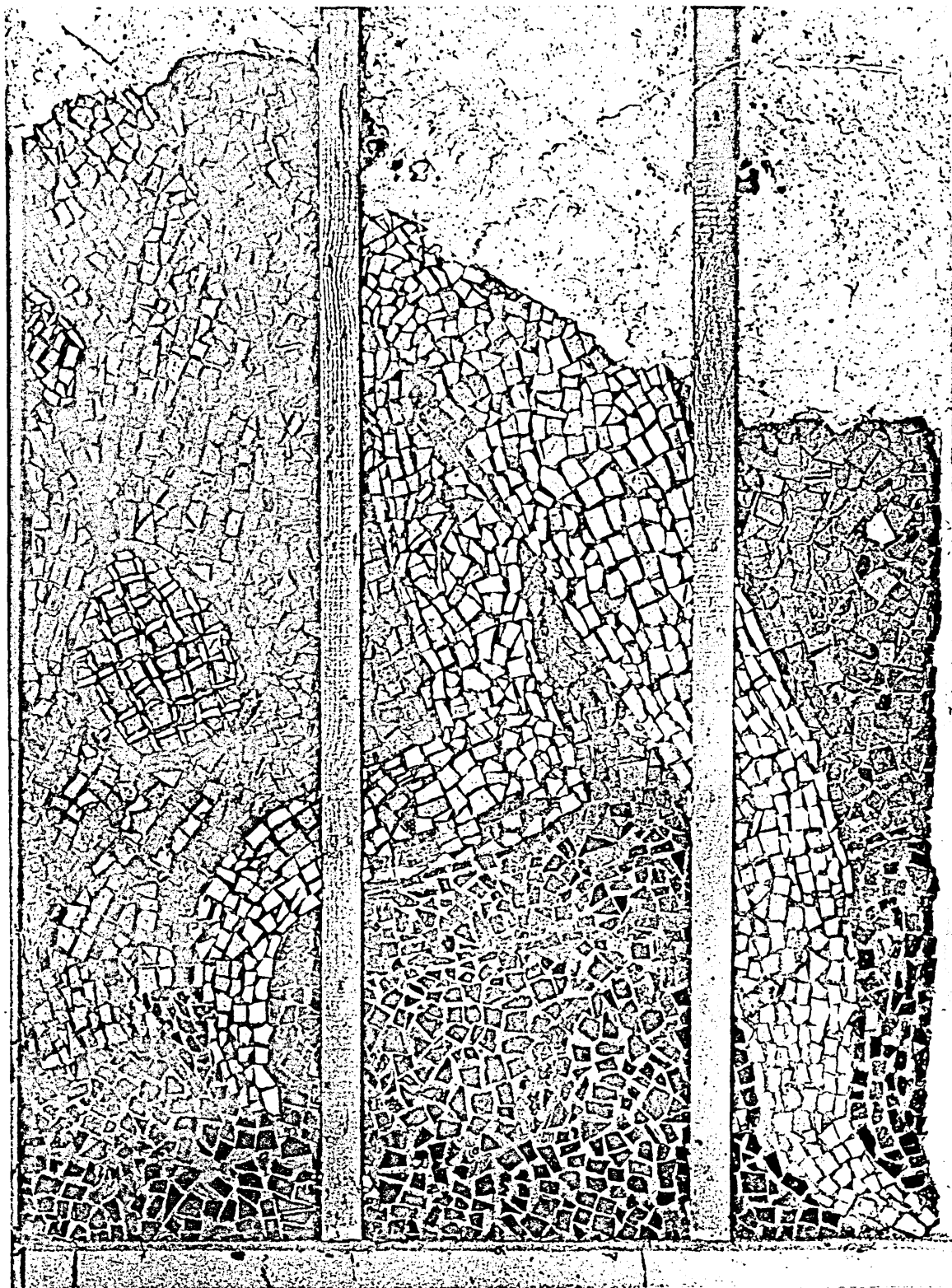


Fig.2I. Fragment of the mosaic of badminton players executed by Roger Fry and others at his house Durbins, Guildford, c.1912.



Fig.22. Turkish Scene, I9II, (cat.no.37). 101.5 x 152.5 cm.

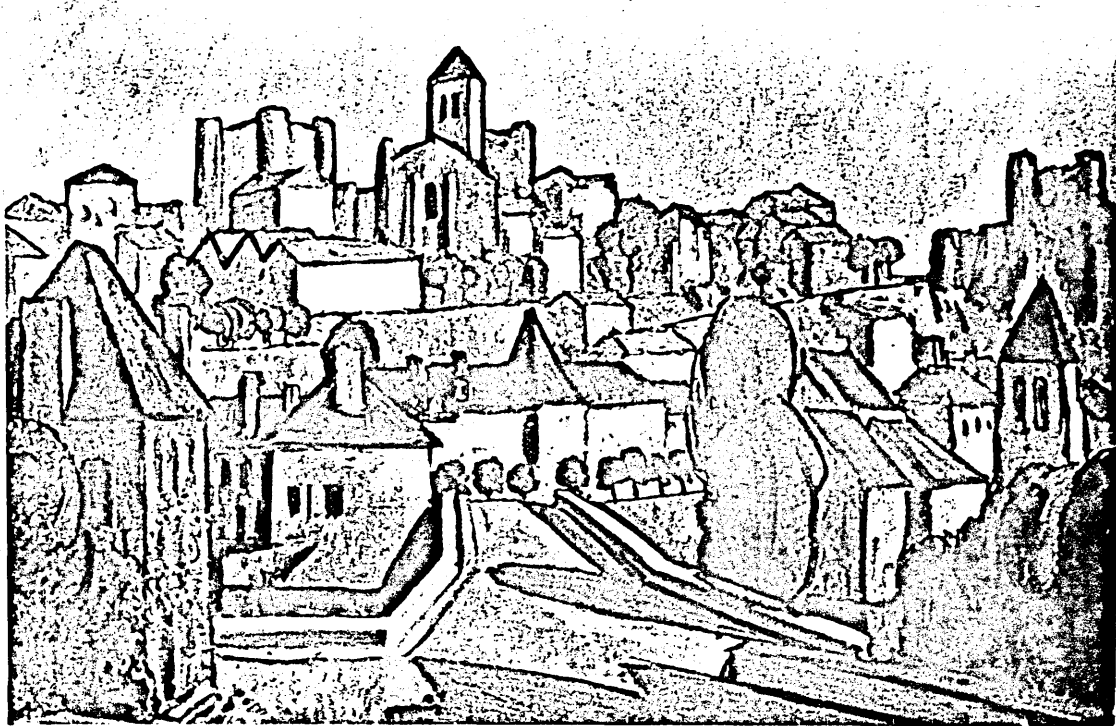


Fig.23. Chauvigny, I9II, (cat.no.56). 61 x 91.5 cm.



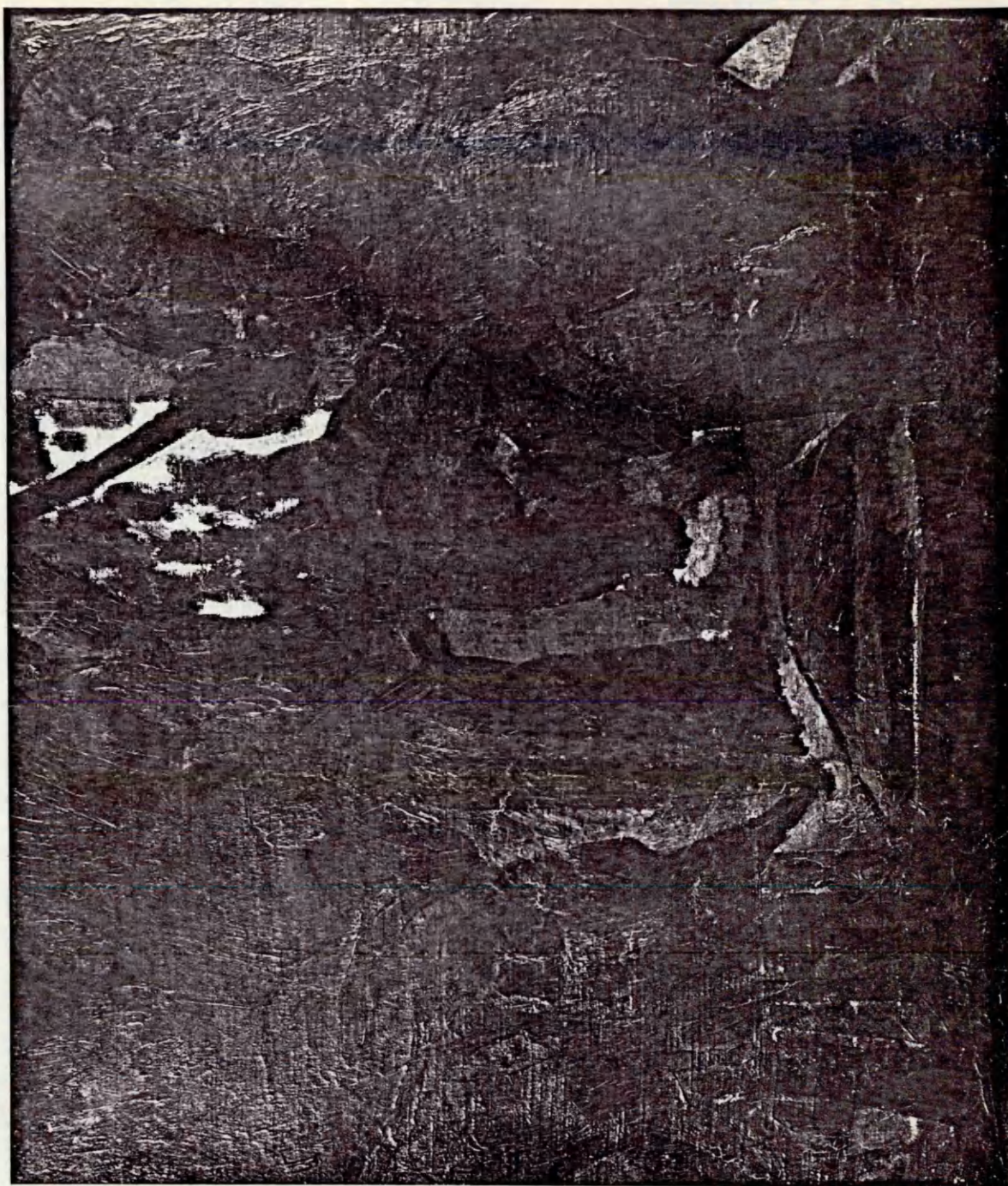


Fig.24. Andre Derain, Trees by a Lake, 1909, Fry Collection, Courtauld Institute Galleries.



Fig.25. Studland Bay, I9II, (cat.no.48). 90 x 58.5 cm.





Fig.26. The Black Sea, 1911, (cat.no.35). 71 × 92 cm.



Fig.27. Vanessa Bell, On the Beach, 1911, Alan Bennett Coll.

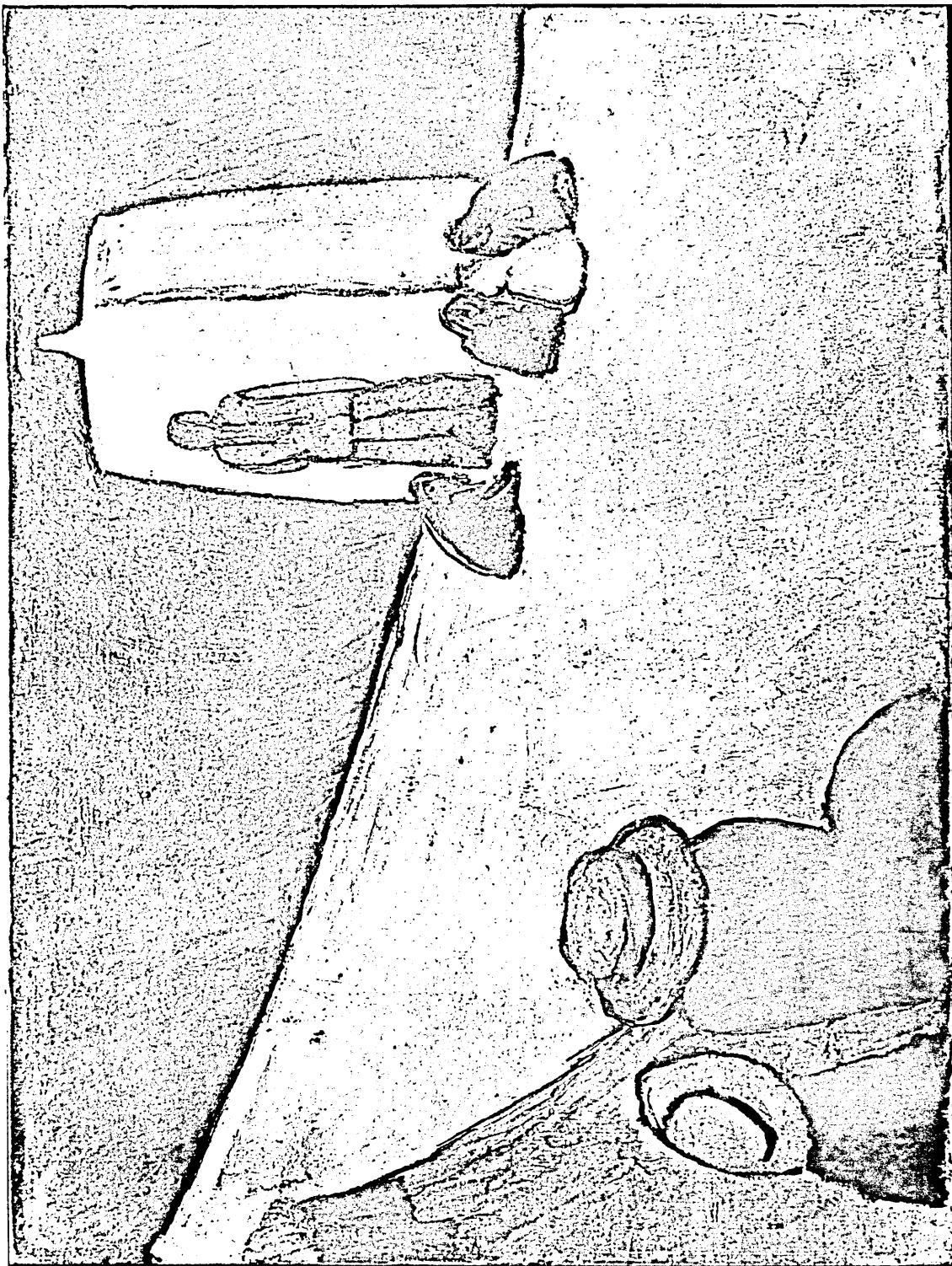


Fig.28. Vanessa Bell, Studland Bay, 1913?, Tate Gallery.

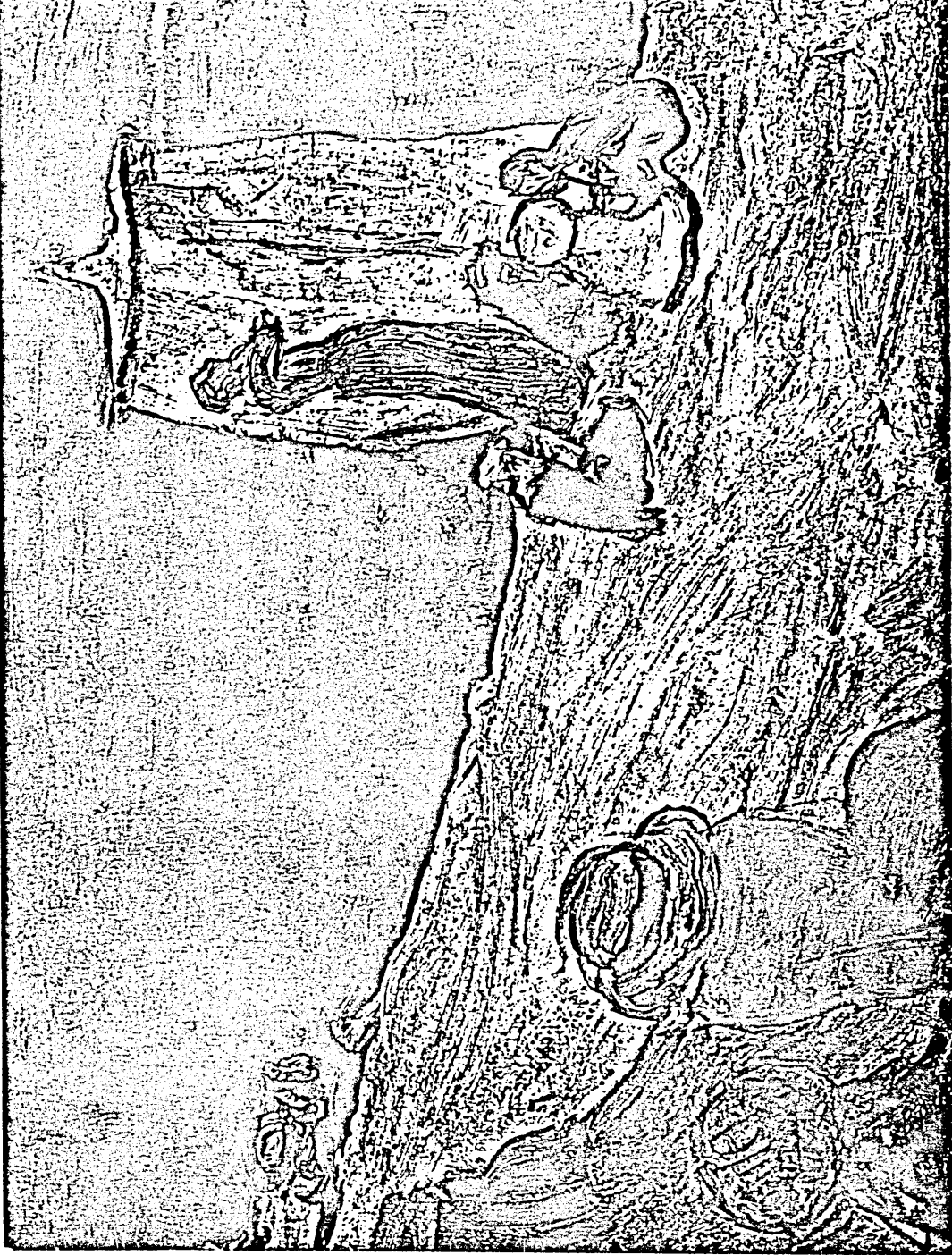


Fig.28B, Vanessa Bell, Studland Bay (sketch) c.1912, Anthony D'Offay Coll.

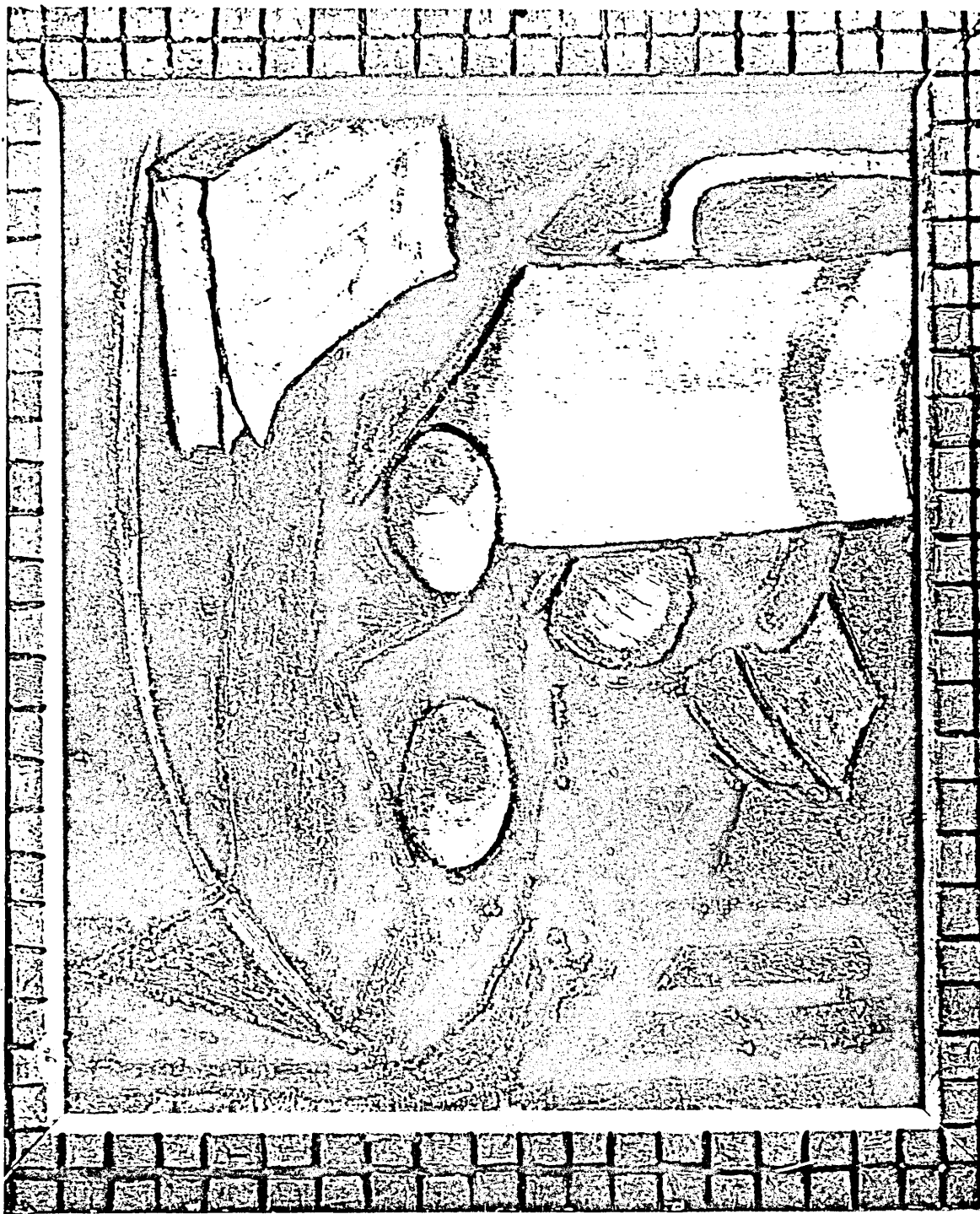


Fig.29. Still-Life with Eggs, I9II, (cat.no.53).29 x 34 cm.



Fig.30. John McTaggart, 1911, (cat.no.43).



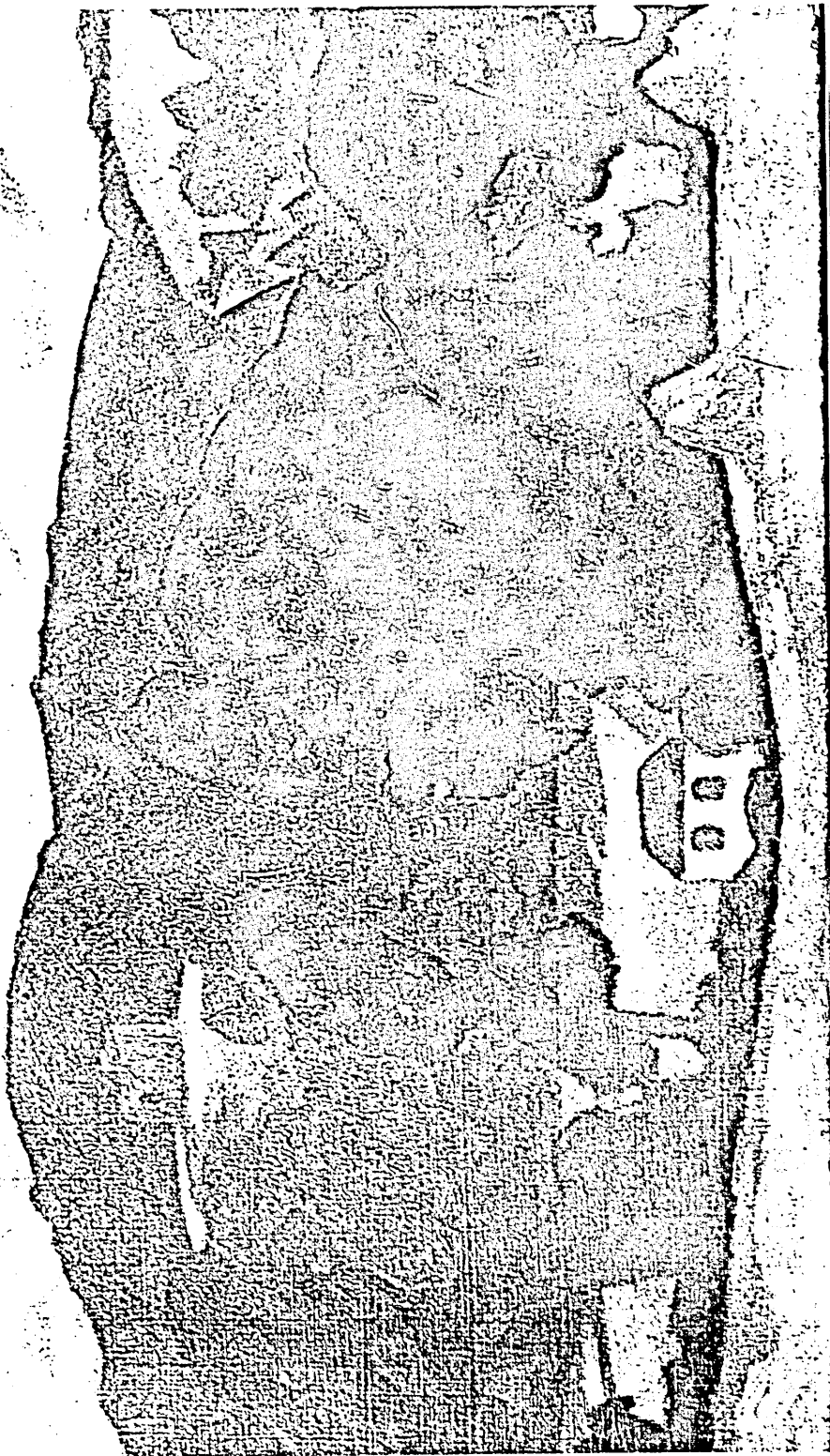


Fig.3I. St. Catherine's Priory, Sandhills, c.1912, (cat.no.58).46.5 x 76 cm.

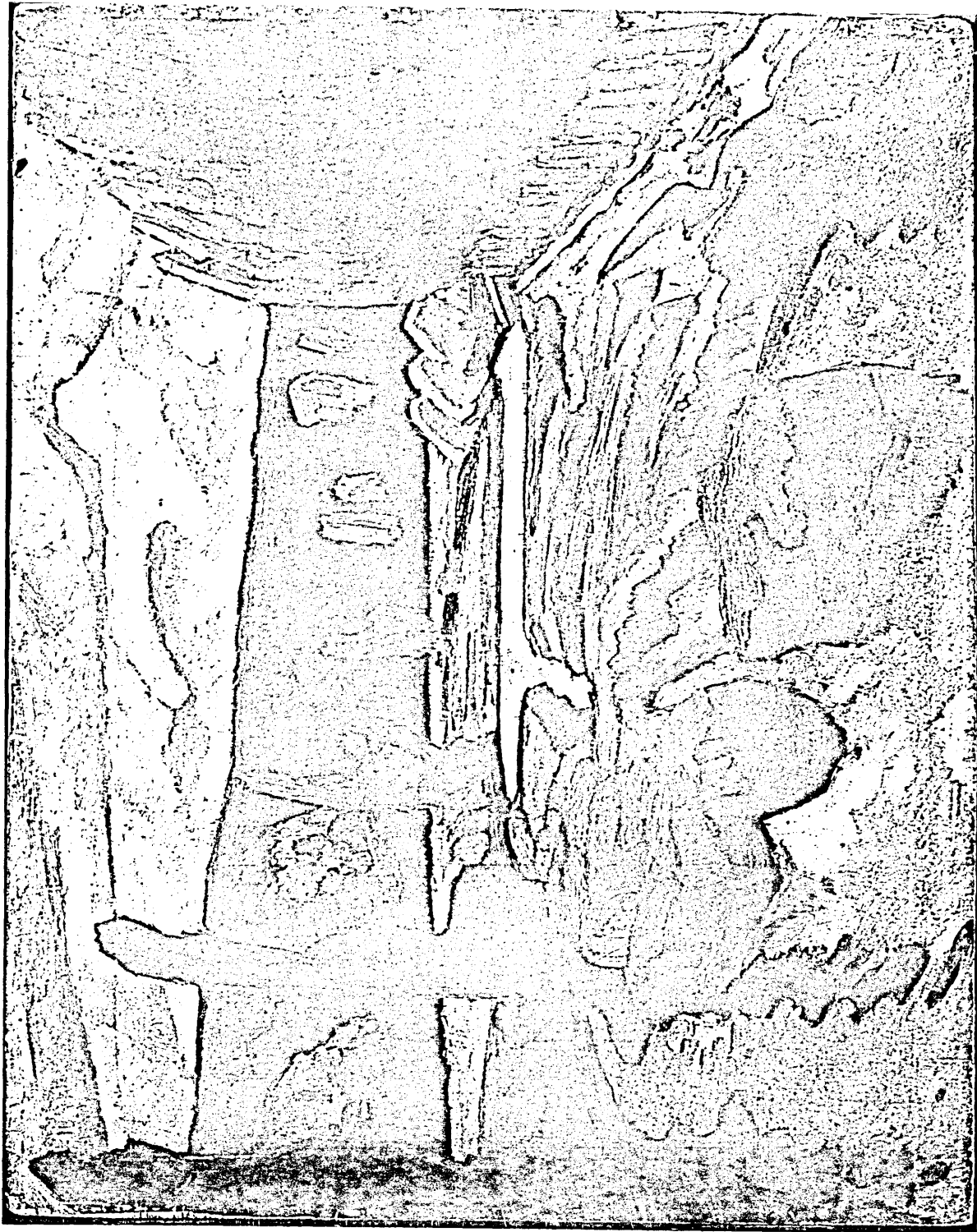


Fig.32. River with Poplars, c.1912, (cat.no.61). 56.5 x 70.5 cm.



Fig.33. The Terrace, I9I2, (cat.no.60). 64 x 81 cm.





Fig.34.Gaston Thiesson, Les Pins, Mrs P.Diamand Coll.





Fig.35. Landscape with Barn and a Lady in Yellow, c.1912, (cat.no.65).

Fig.36. St. Stefano, Bologna: The Cloister, 1913, (cat.no.71). 37 x 26.5 cm.

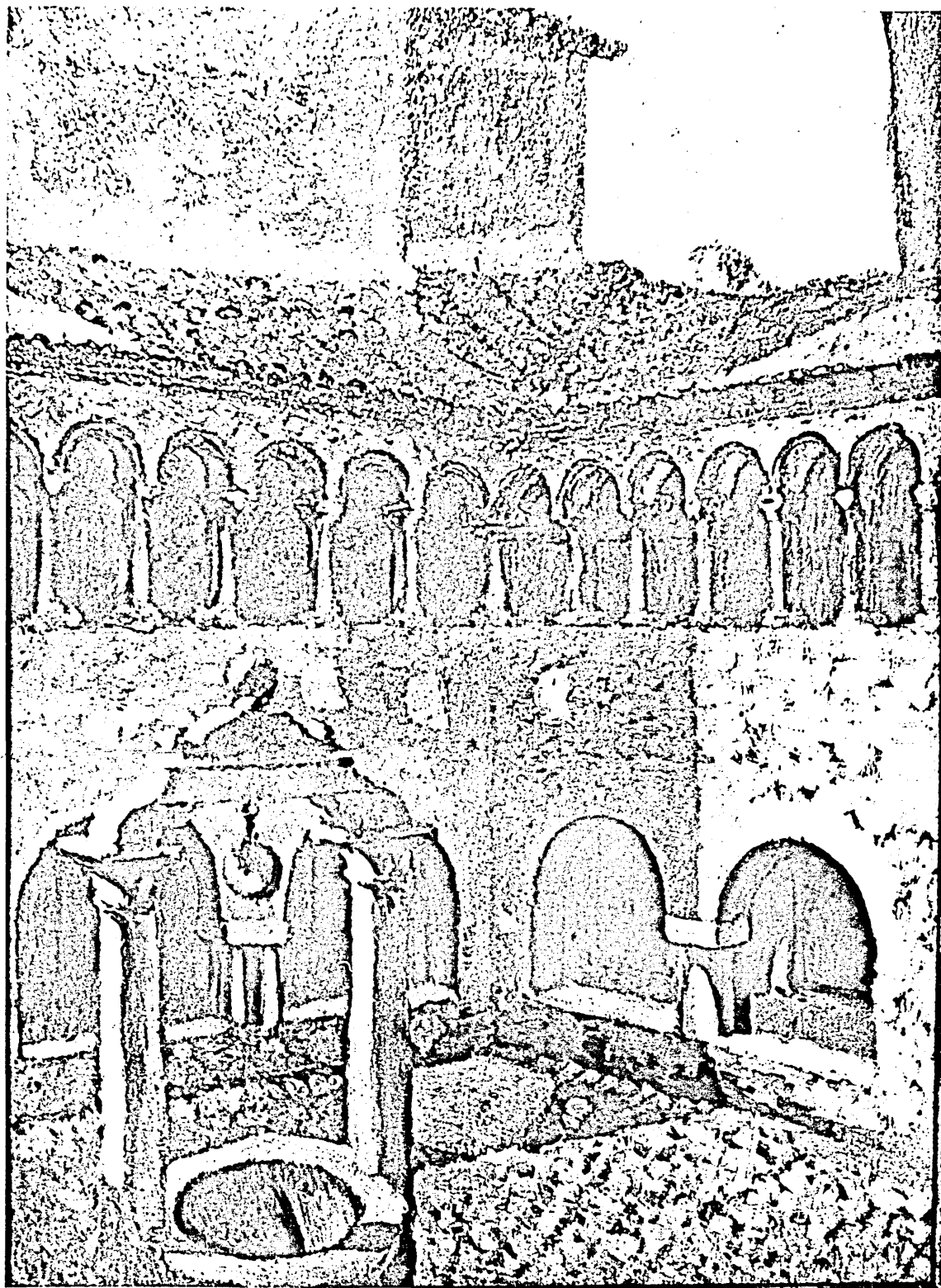


Fig.37. The Towers of Avignon, 1913, (cat.no.76). 59.5 x 94 cm.



Fig.38. Landscape in the South of France, 1913, (cat.no.77). 34 x 53 cm.

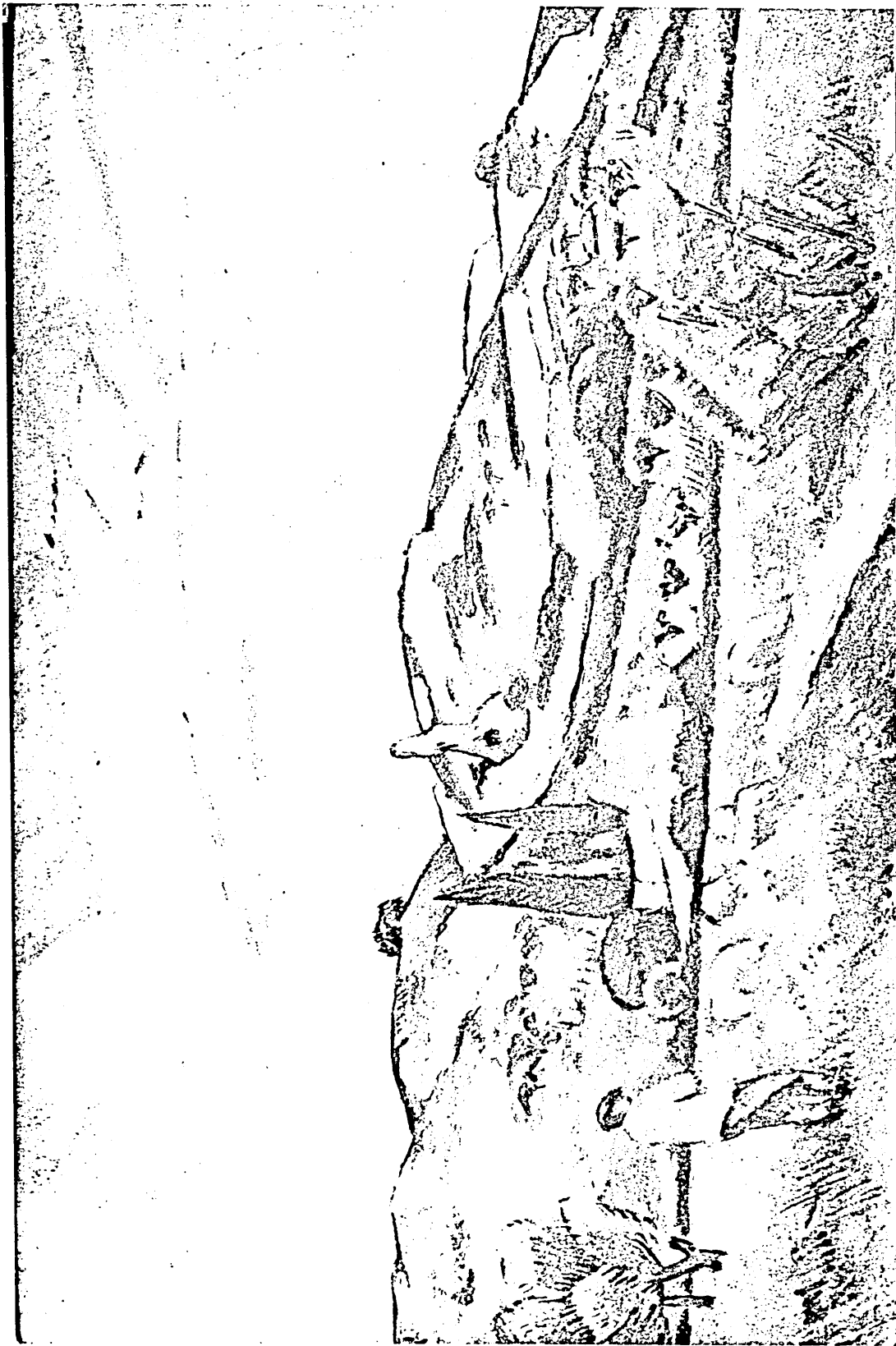




Fig.39. Towards the Downs, 1914, (cat.no.78). 43 x 59 cm.

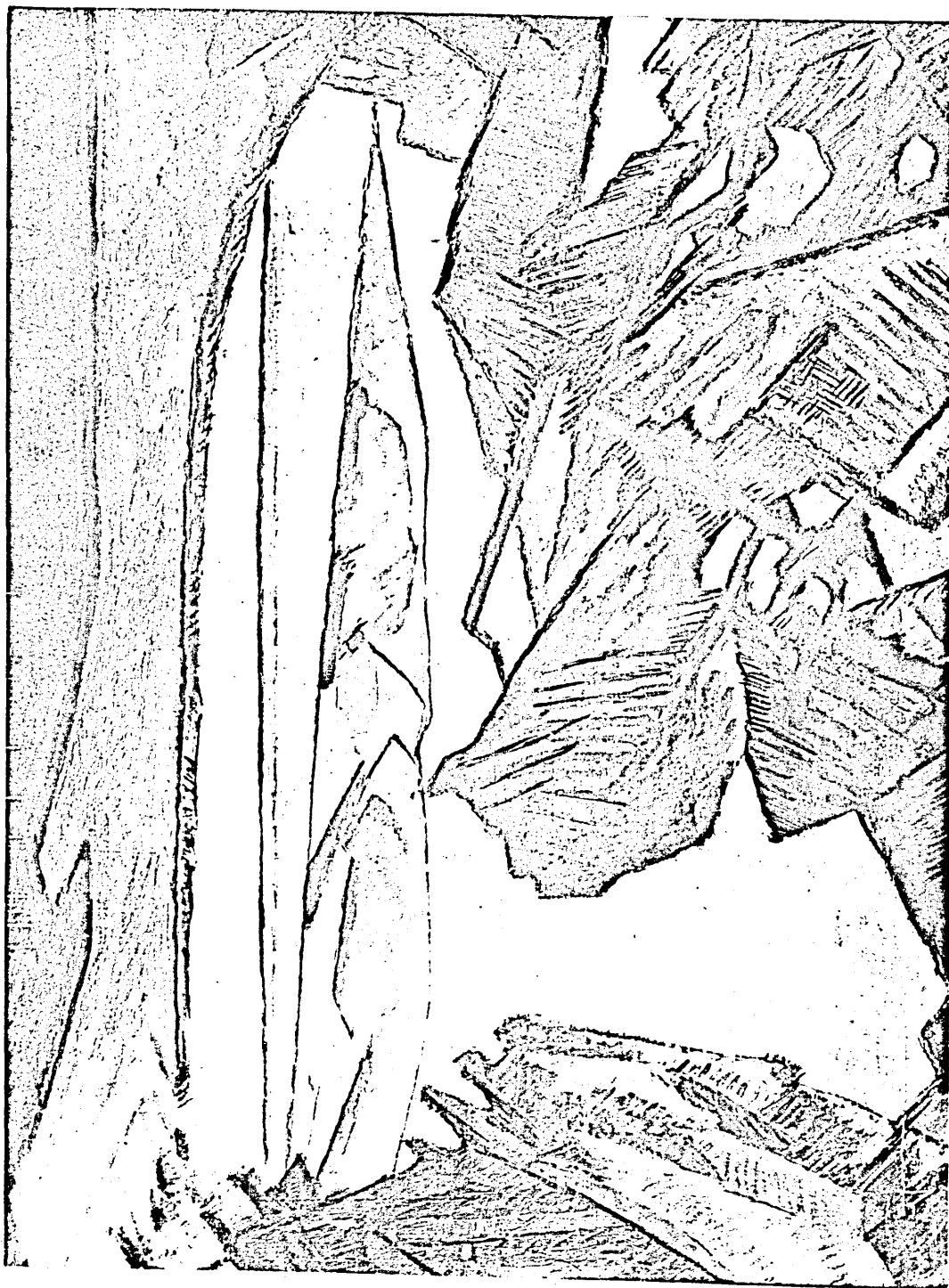


Fig.40. Bus Tickets, c.1914-15, (cat.no.89). 36 x 26.5 cm.



Fig.41. Essay in Abstract Design, c.1915, (cat.no.90).

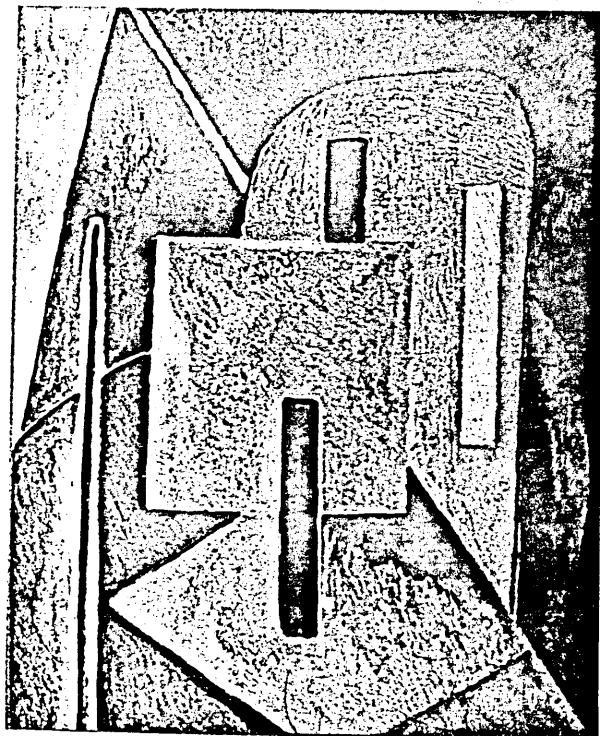




Fig.42. Mother and Two Children, c.1914, painted wood, Mrs P.Diamand Coll.

Fig.43. The Harbour, Cassis, 1915, (cat.no.80). 70.5 x 90 cm.

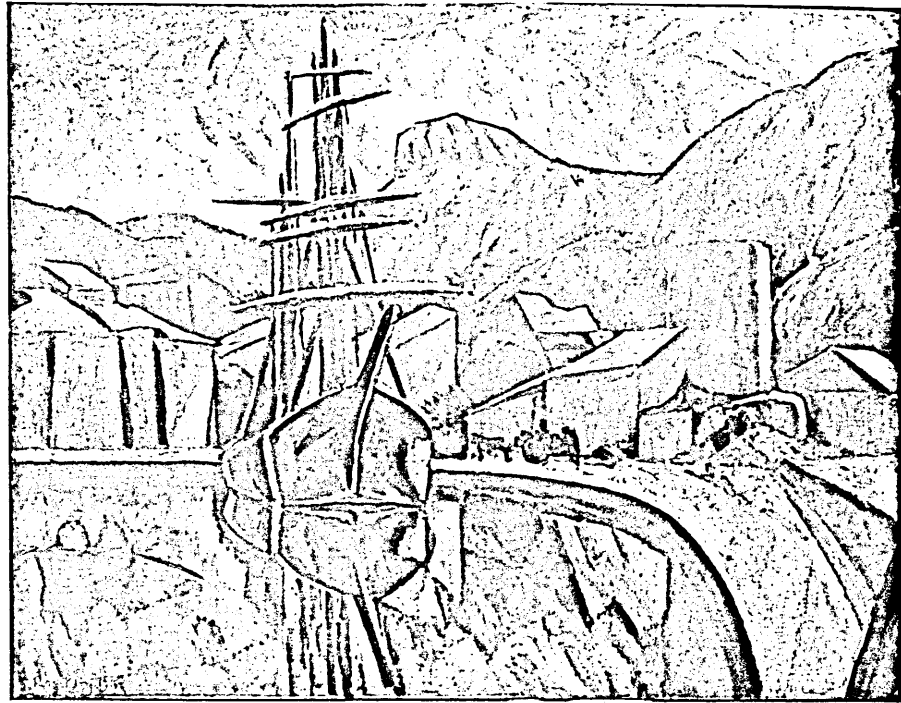


Fig.44. View of a Mediterranean Town, 1915, (cat.no.82). 91.5 x 71 cm.



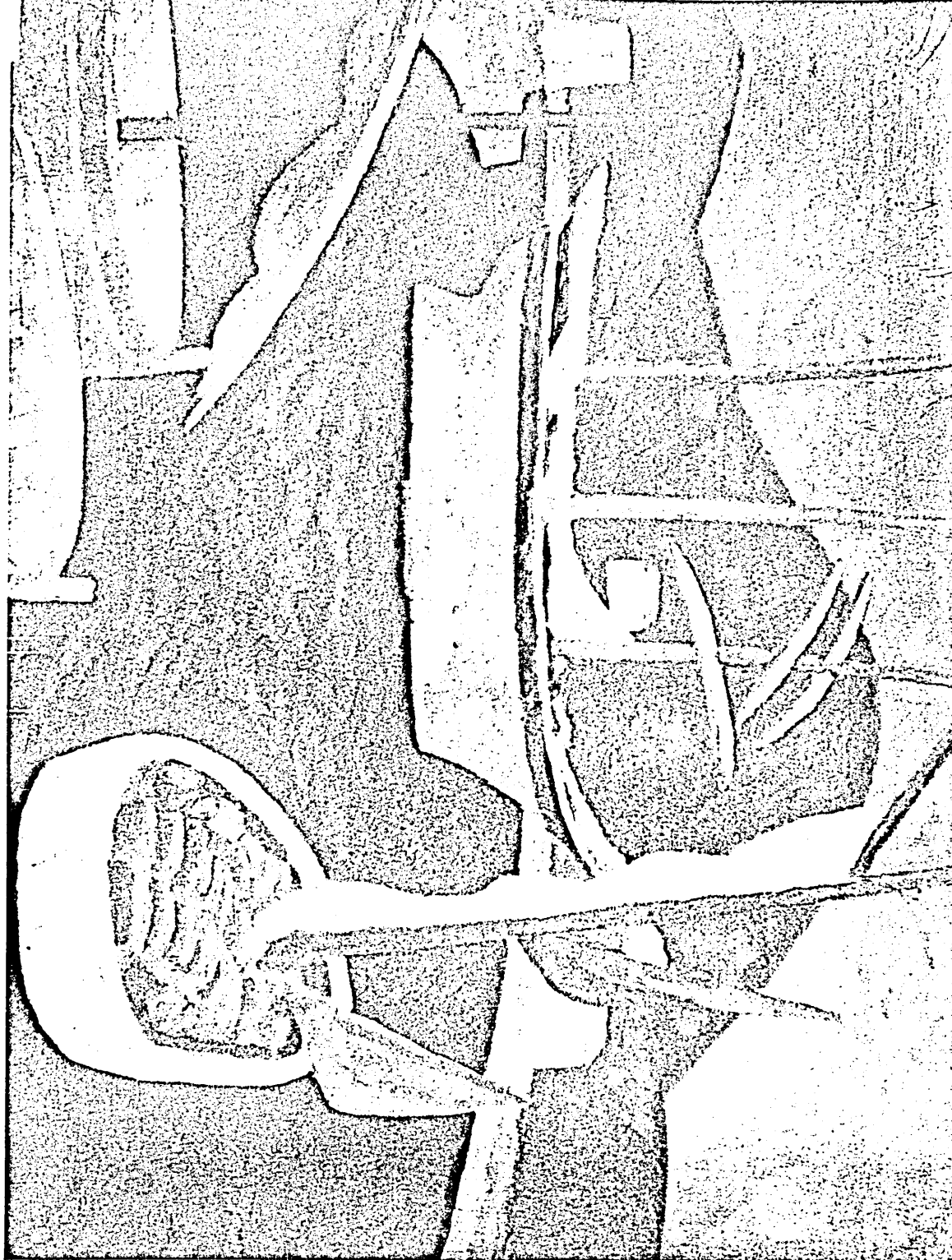


Fig.45. Boats in Harbour, 1915, (cat.no.81). 71 x 91.5

Fig.46. Iris Tree, 1915, (cat.no.93). 98.5 × 71 cm.



Fig.47. German General Staff, 1915, (cat.no.88).





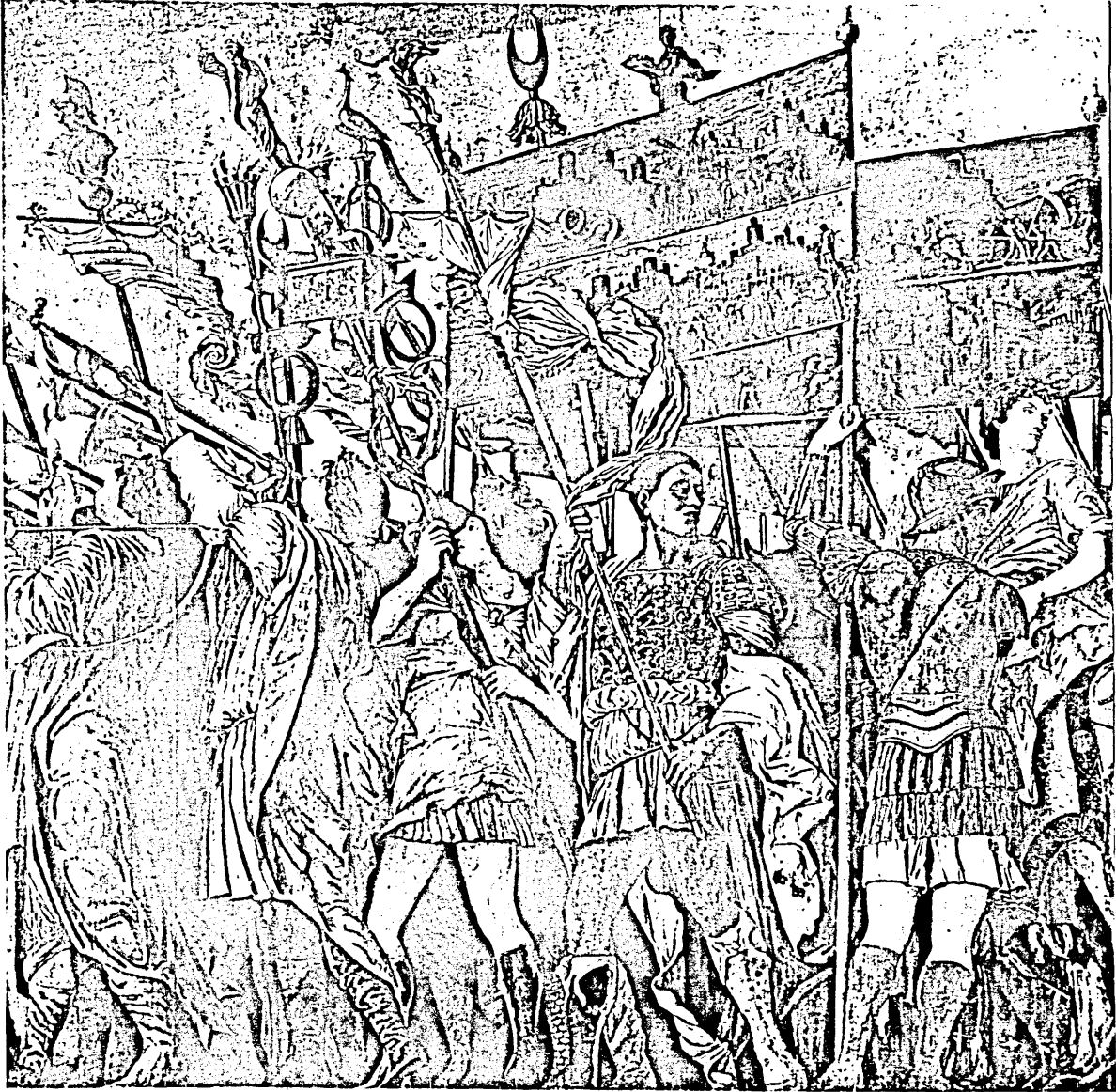


Fig.48. Mantegna's The Picture Bearers after Röger Fry's restoration.





Fig.49. Edith Sitwell, 1918, (cat.no.I36). 61 x 45.5 cm.

Fig.50. Duncan Grant, Lemon Gatherers, c.1910, Tate Gallery.



Fig. 51. Copy after Duncan Grant's *Demon Gatherers*; c. 1917, (cat. no. 104).

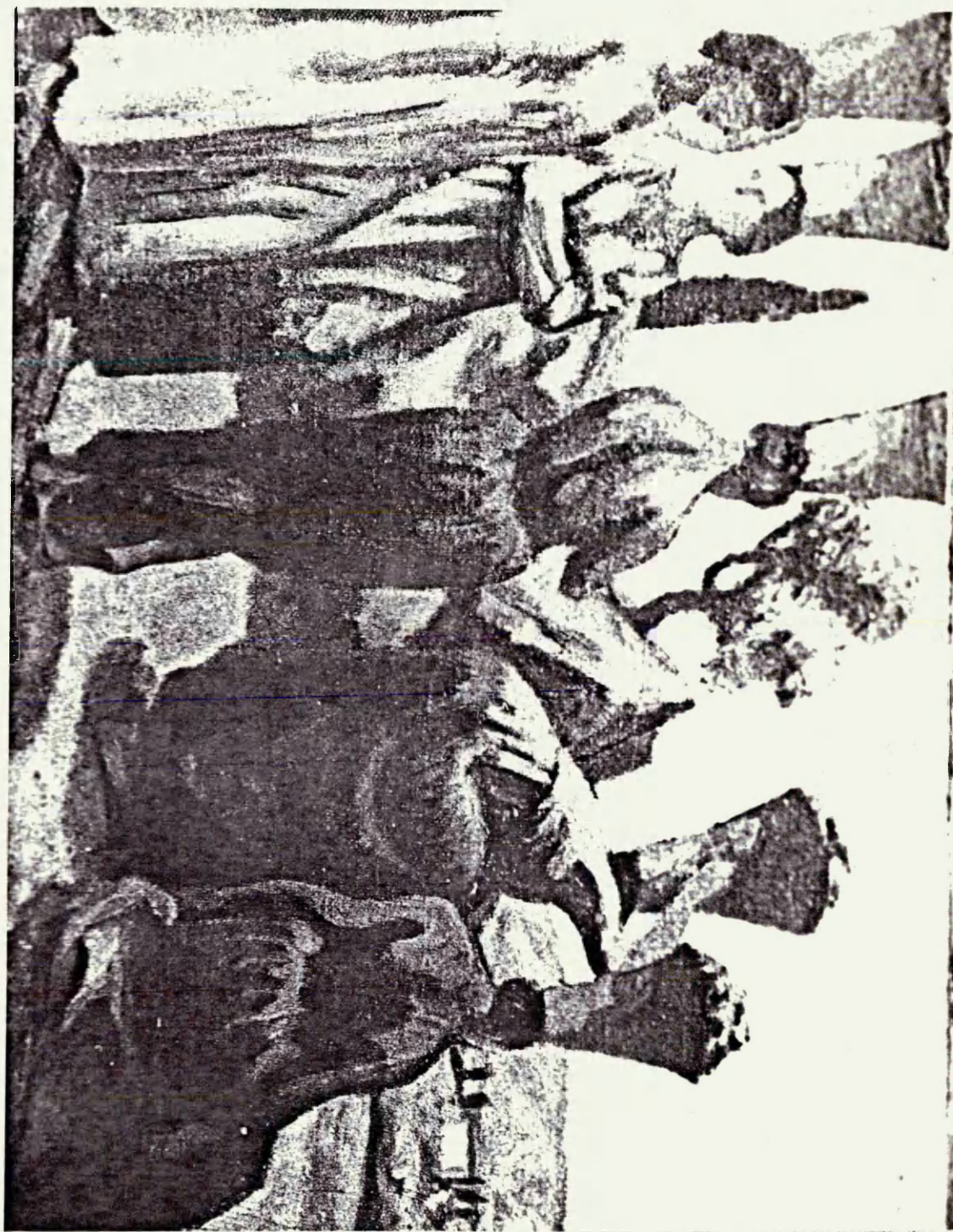






Fig.52. Watermill, 1917, (cat.no.106). 53.5 x 35 cm.

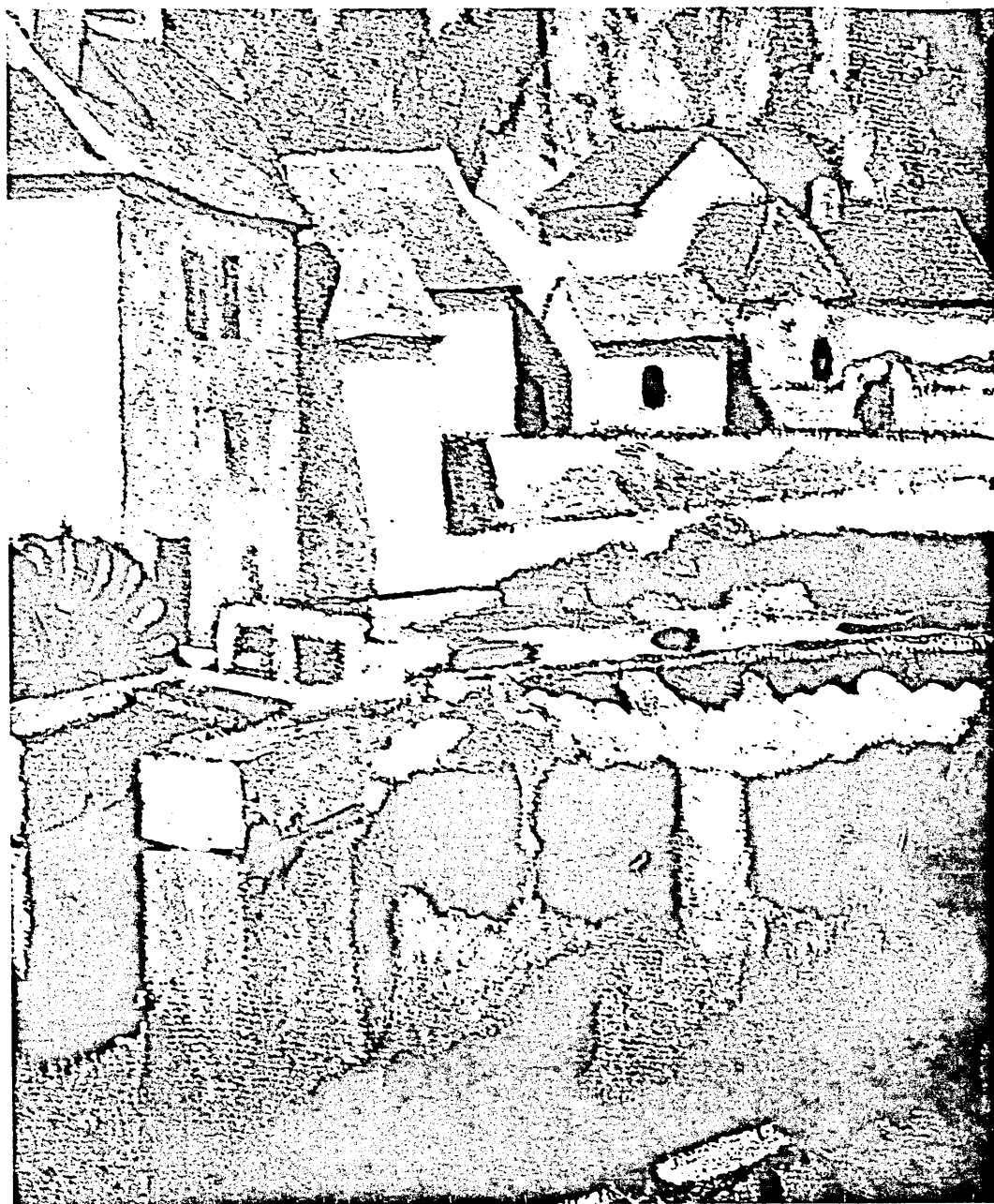


Fig.53. Watermill, 1917, (cat.no.105). 33 x 27.5 cm.

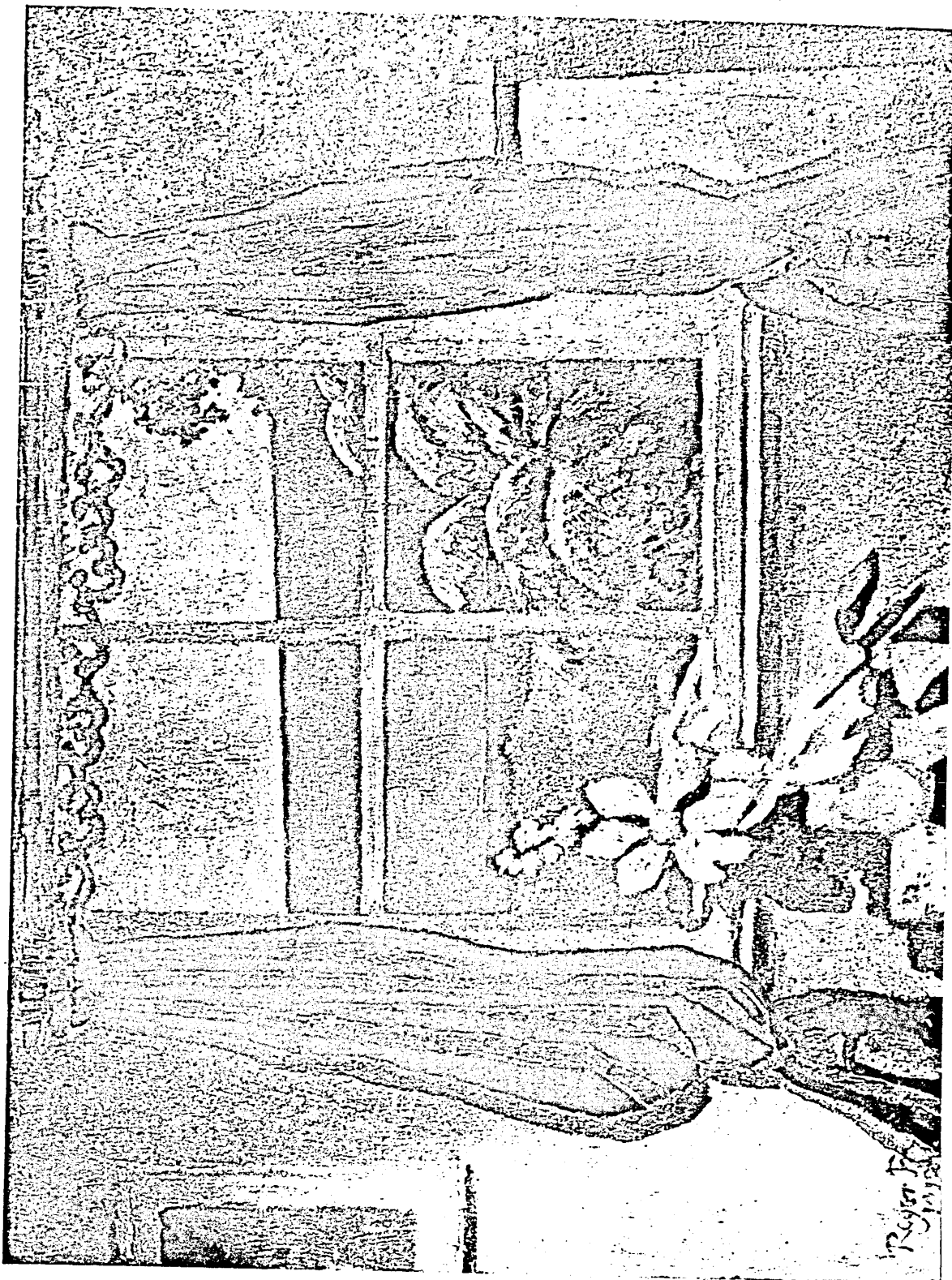


Fig.54. The Window, 1918, (cat.no.I32). 45 × 61 cm.



Fig.55. Farm Buildings and Pond, 1918, (cat.no.131), 56 x 76 cm.



Fig.56. Willow Trees in front of Chalk Pits, 1918, (cat.no.141). 56×76 cm.



Fig.57. The Blue Bottle, 1917, (cat.no.II5). 62 x 47 cm.





Fig.58. Still-Life with Biscuit Tin and Pots, 1918, (cat.no.I27). 63.5×77.5 cm.

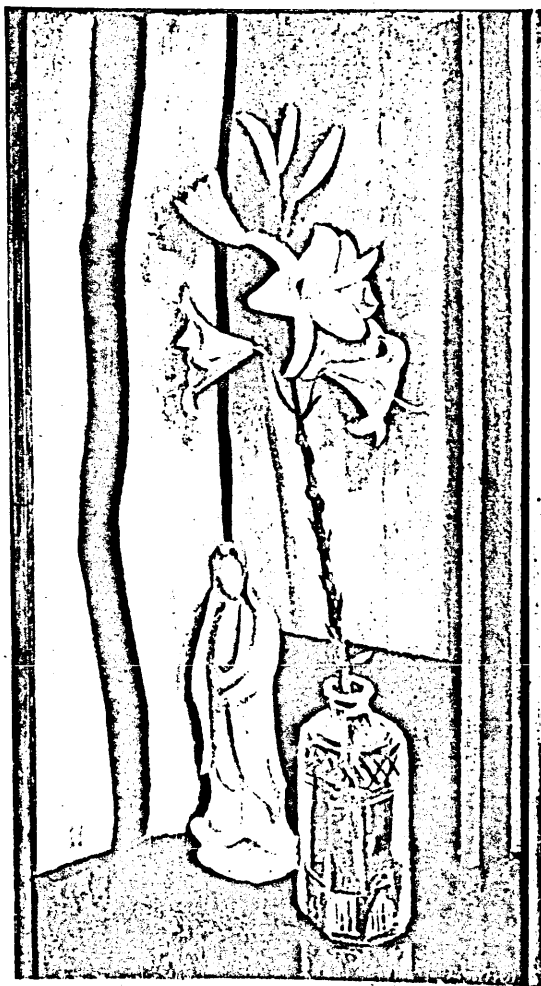


Fig.59. Madonna Lily, 1917, (cat.no.110). 90.9 x 47 cm.

Fig.60. Nina Hamnett, 1917, (cat.no.101).



Fig.6I. Viola Tree, I9I7-I8, (cat.no.II8).





Fig.62. Lalla Vandervelde, 1918, (cat.no.126). 89 x 68.5 cm.





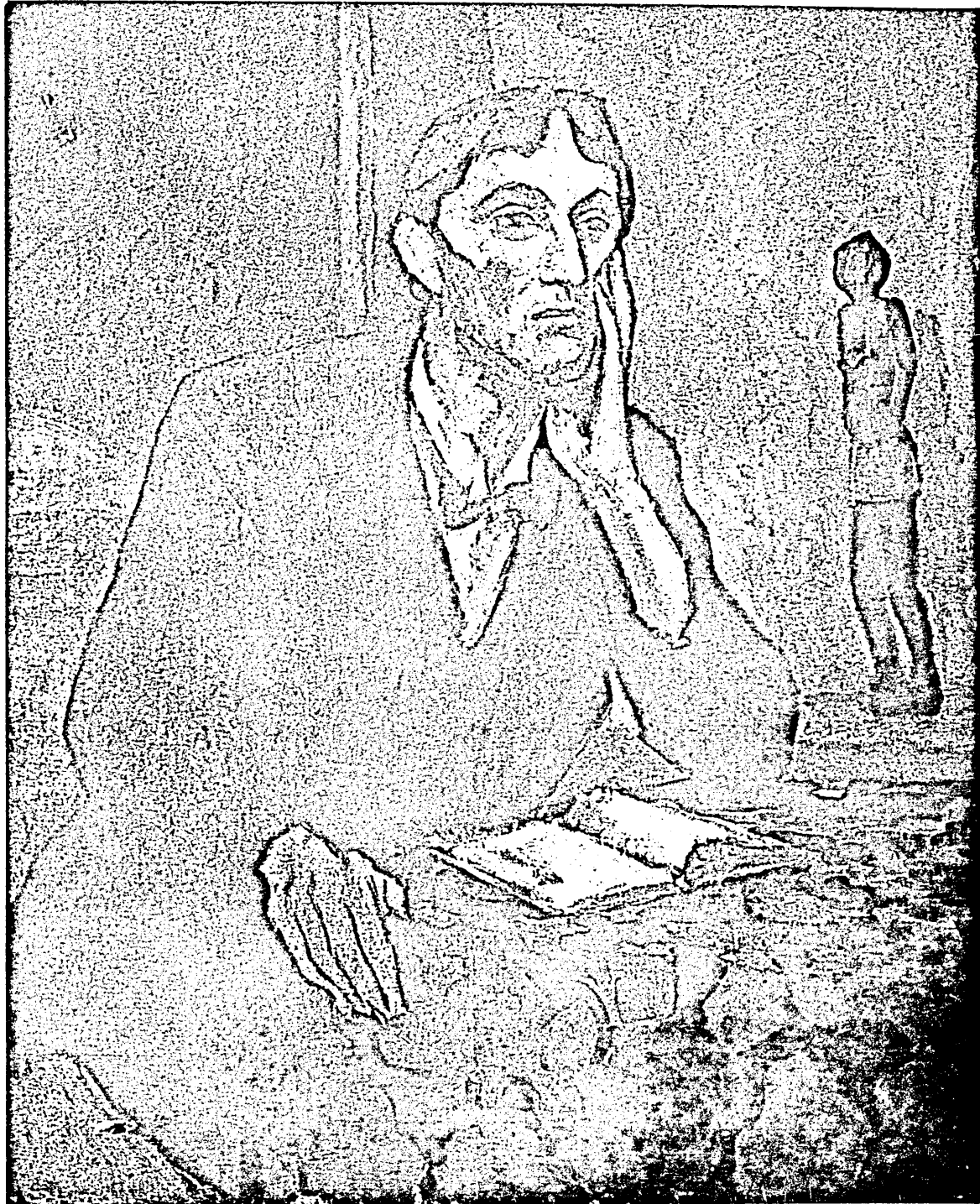
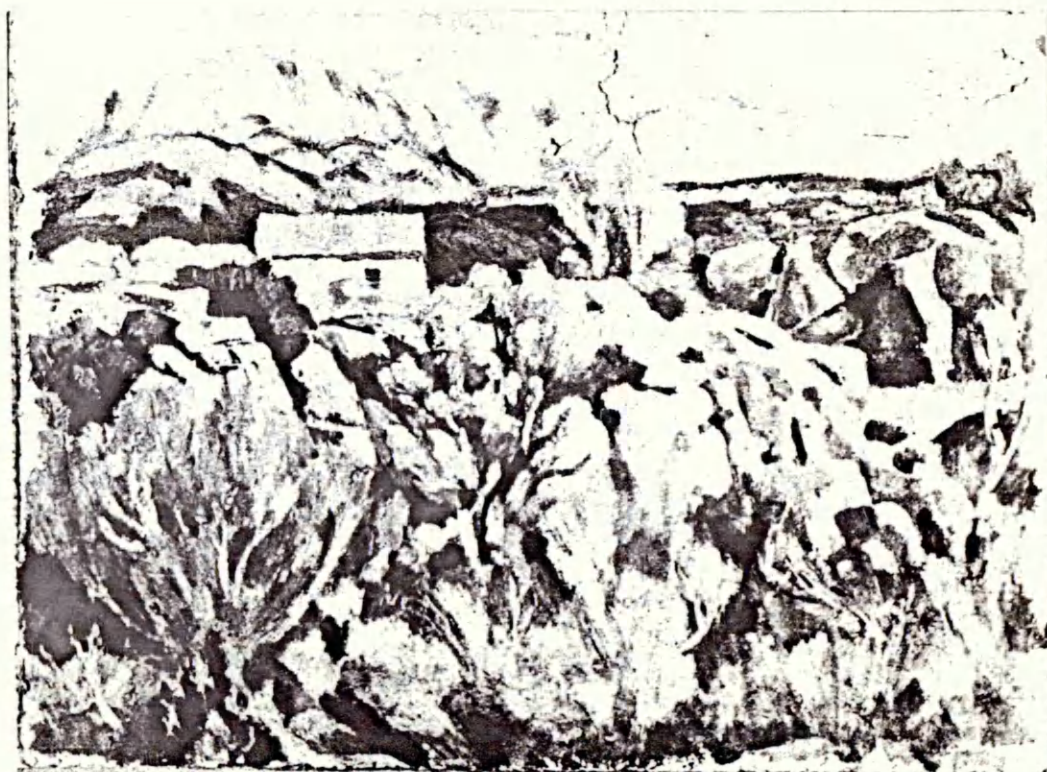


Fig.64. French Peasant  
Woman, 1919, (cat.no.  
I62). 59.5 x 46 cm.



Fig.65. Mont Ste.Victoire, 1919, (cat.no.I54). 29 x 36.5 cm.





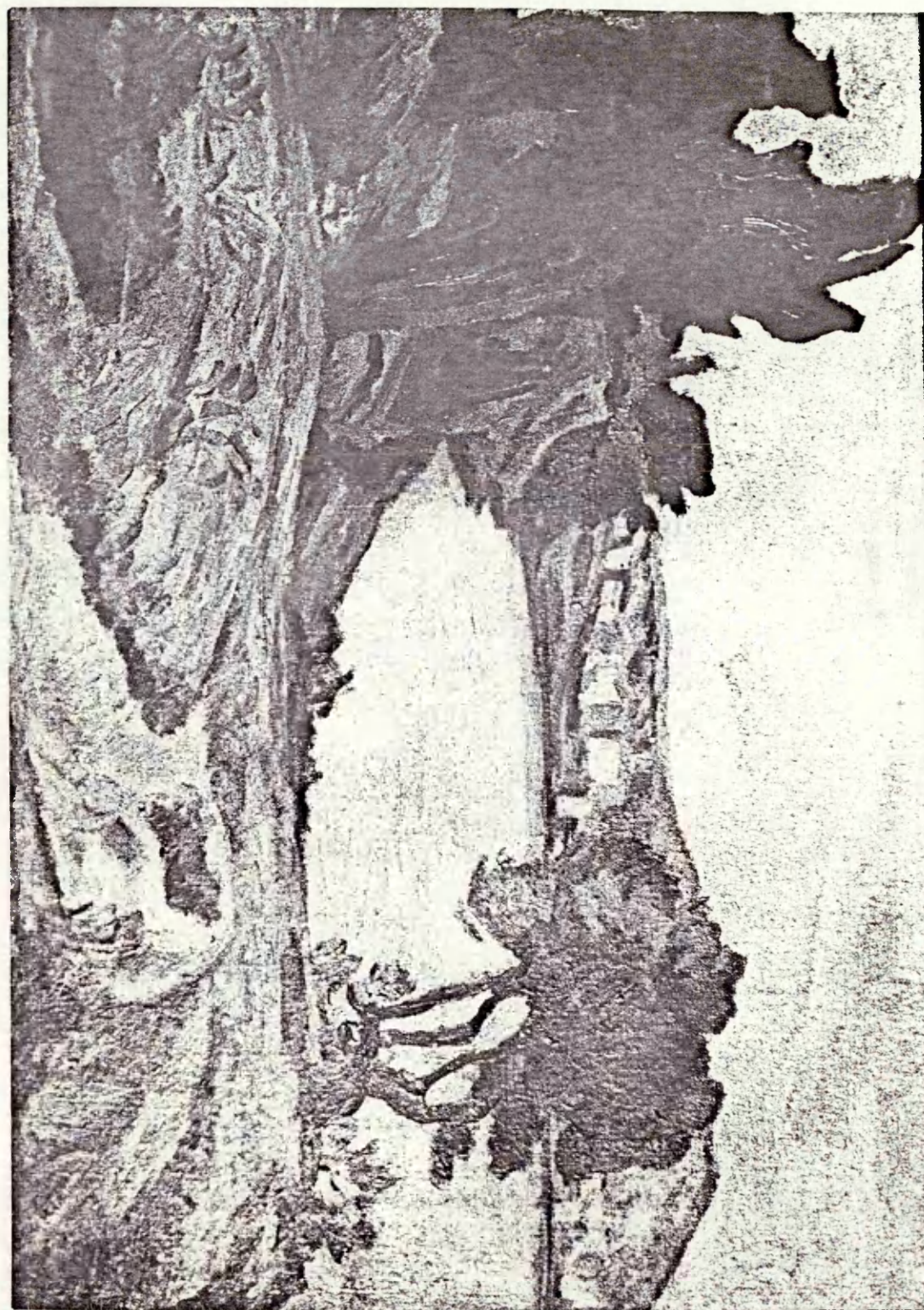


Fig.67. Trees in front of a Mas, 1920, (cat.no.I66).



Fig.68. Moulin de la Lubiana, 1920, (cat.no.I76).





Fig.69. The Bridge, Auray, 1920, (cat.no.I67). 51 x 99 cm.

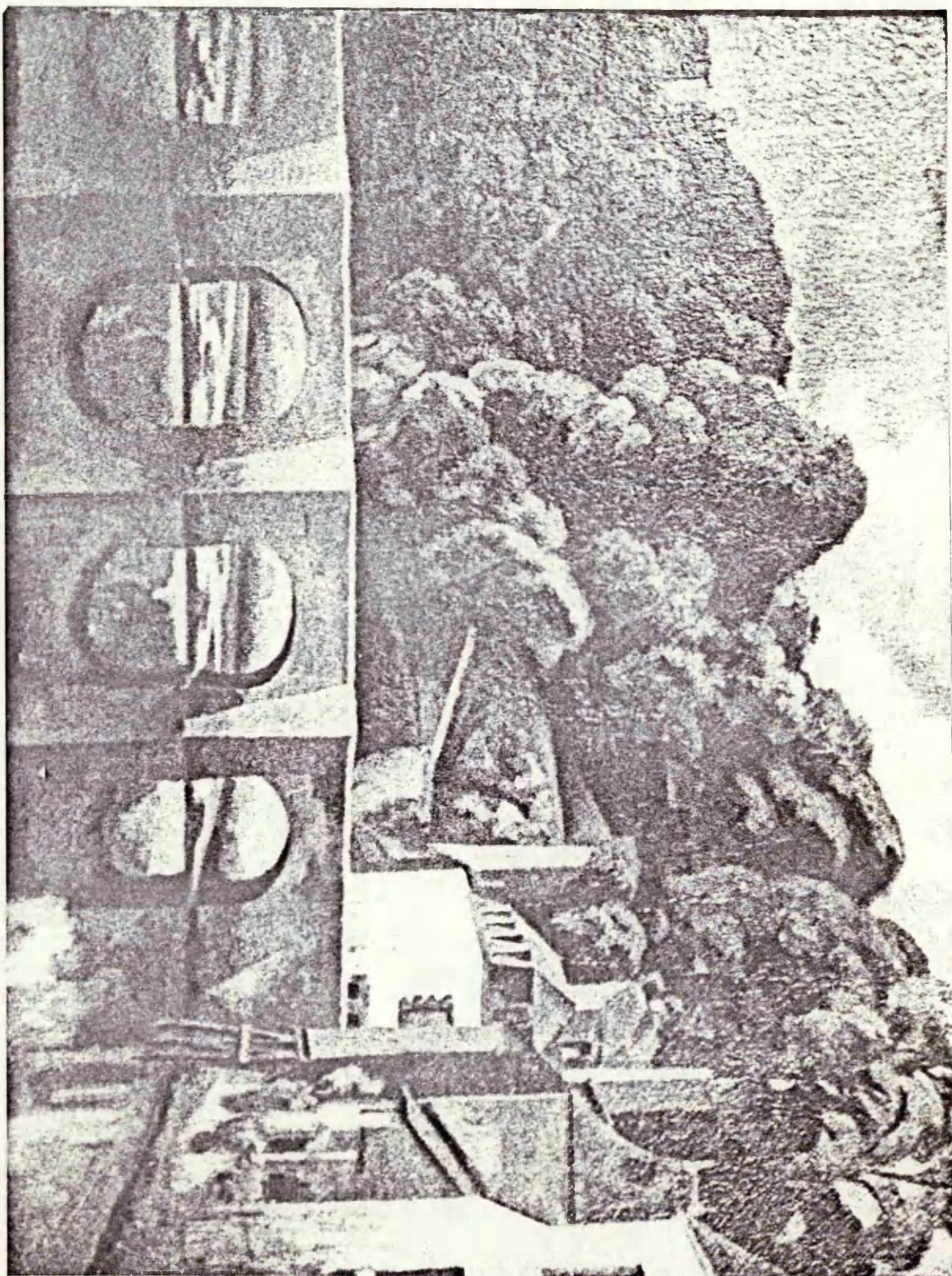




Fig.70. In the Morbihan, 1920, (cat.no. 175). 112.5 × 157.5 cm.



Fig.71. Landscape with Nude, 1920, (cat.no.185). 53.5 × 79 cm.



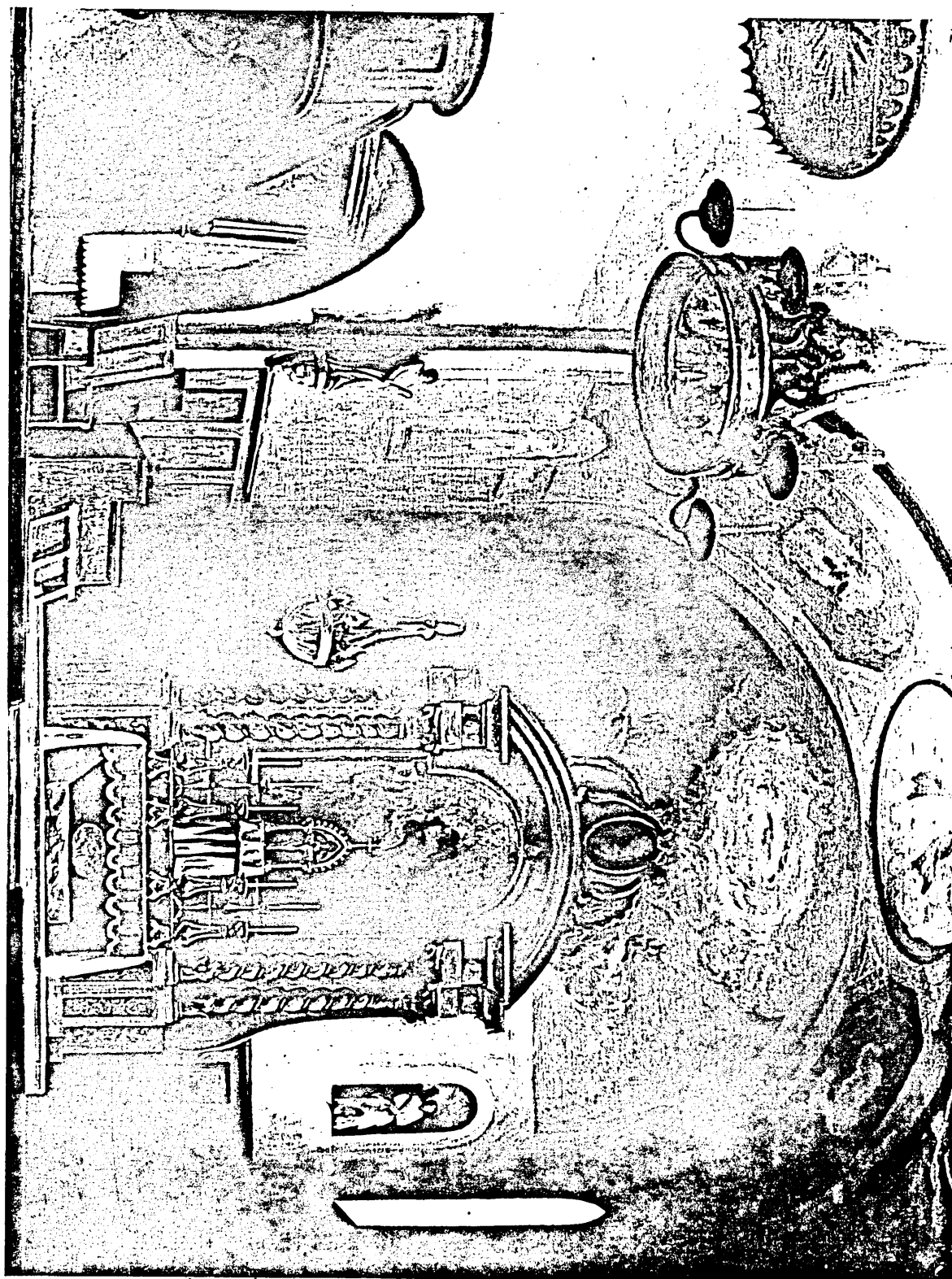


Fig.72. Interior of the Church at Ramatuelle, 1921, (cat.no.192). 97x129 cm.



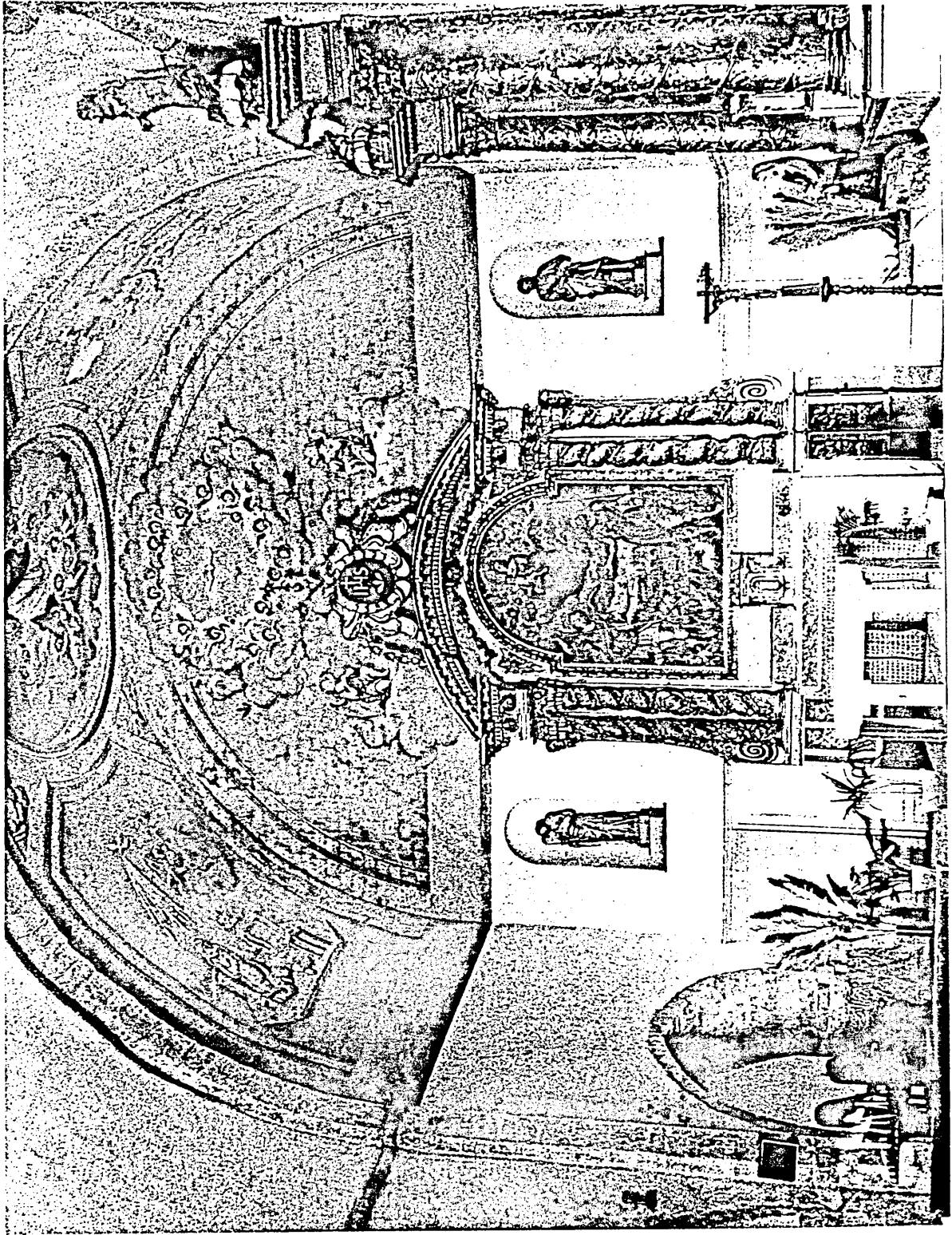


Fig.73. The interior of the church at Ramatuelle as it is today.



Fig.74. Still-Life with Candle and Earthenware Pots, 1921, (cat.no.190).  
44,5 x 53.5 cm.

Fig.75. La Source, 1921, (cat.no.193).

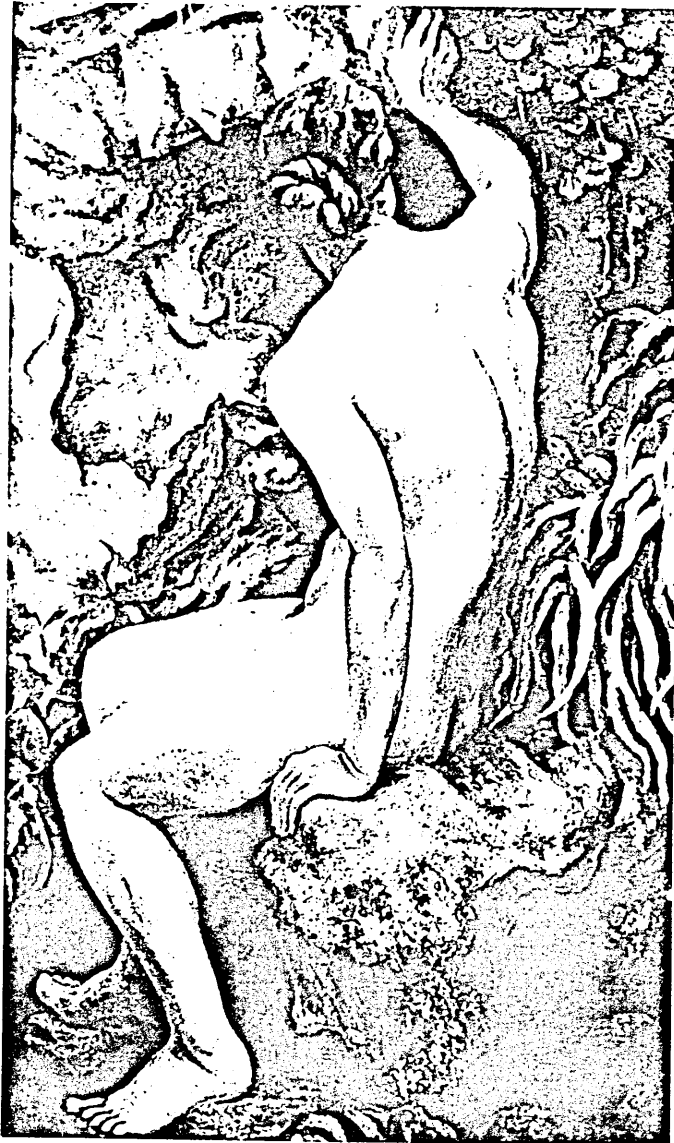


Fig.76. Angela Lavelli on the Terrace, 1920, (cat.no.171). 81 x 60.5

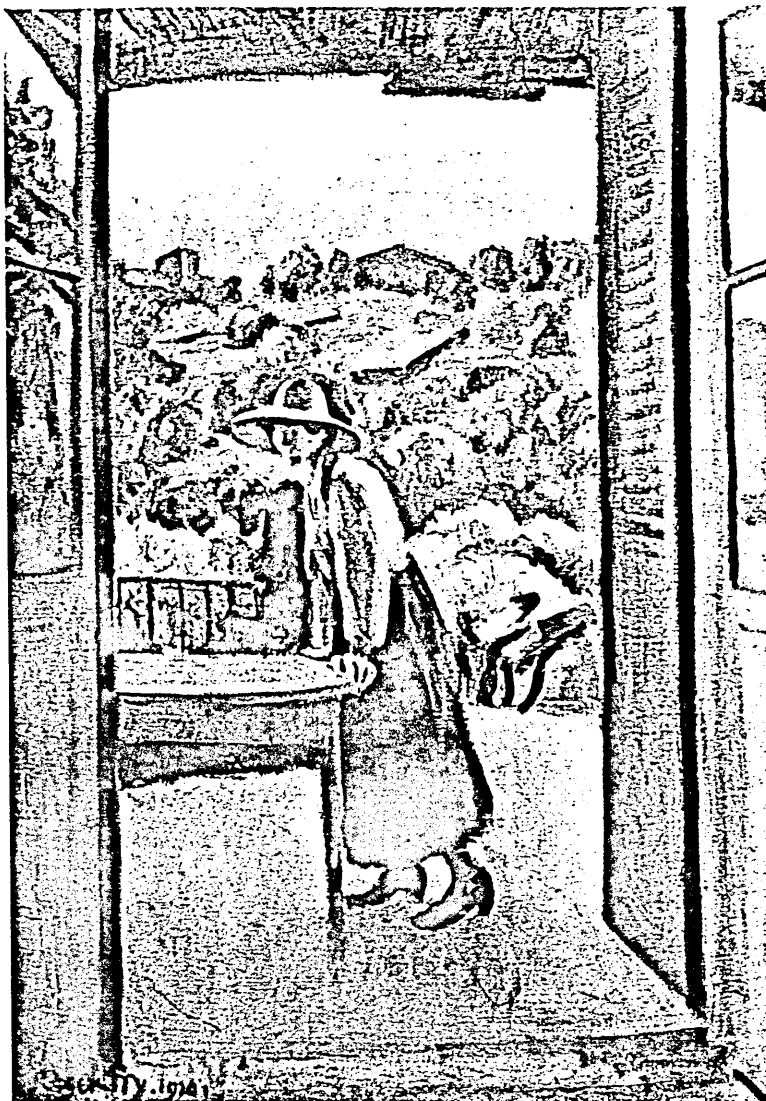




Fig.77. Robert Bridges, 1923, (cat.no.216). 54 × 39.5 cm.



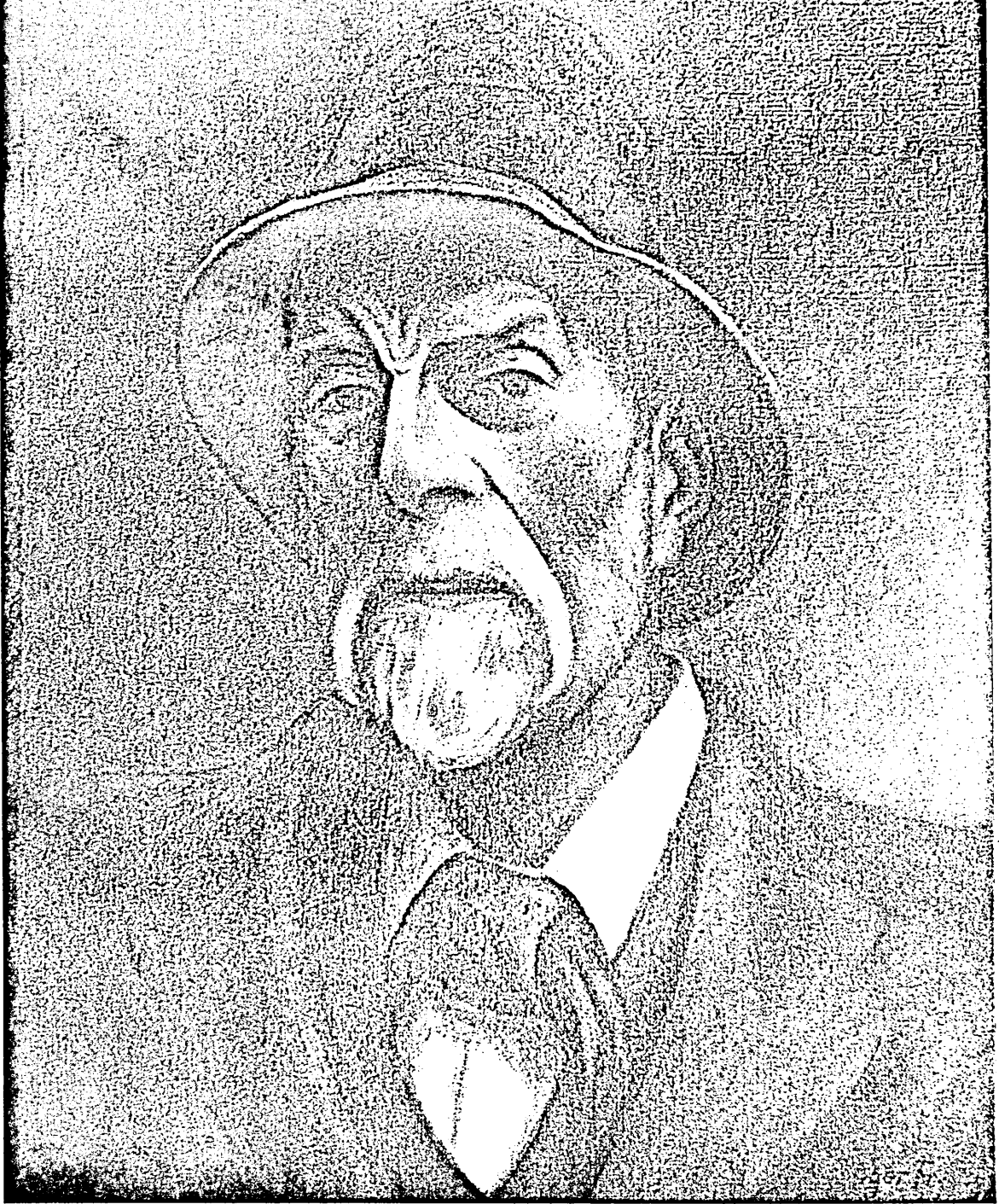


Fig.78. Robert Bridges, 1923, (cat.no.215). 53.5 x 47.5 cm. .

Fig.79. The Sails:St.Tropez,1922, (cat.no.203). 54.5 x 99 cm.





Fig.80. St. Etienne, Toulouse, 1924, (cat.no.236). 32.5 x 39.5.

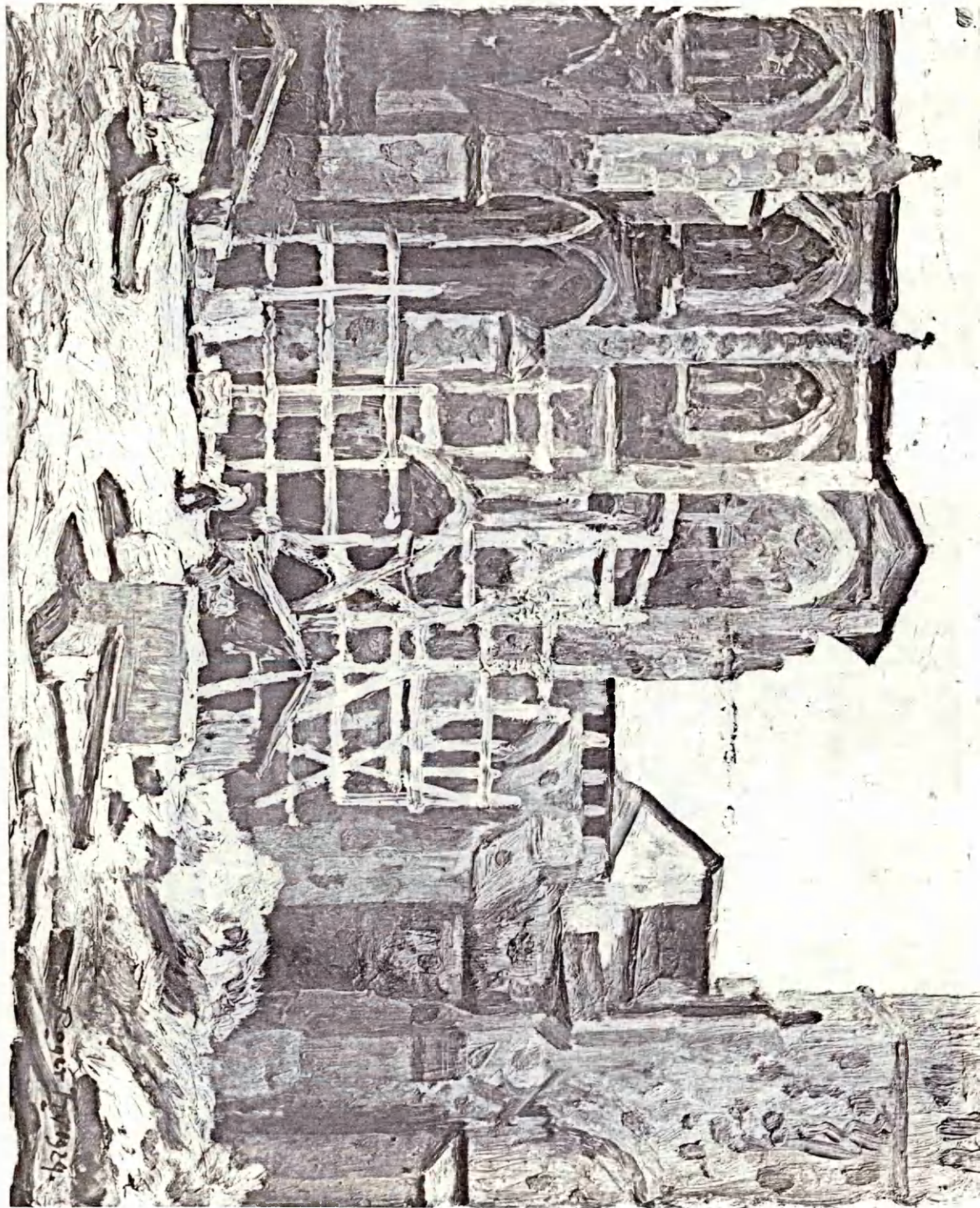


Fig.80. St. Etienne, Toulouse, 1924, (cat.no.236). 32.5 x 39.5.

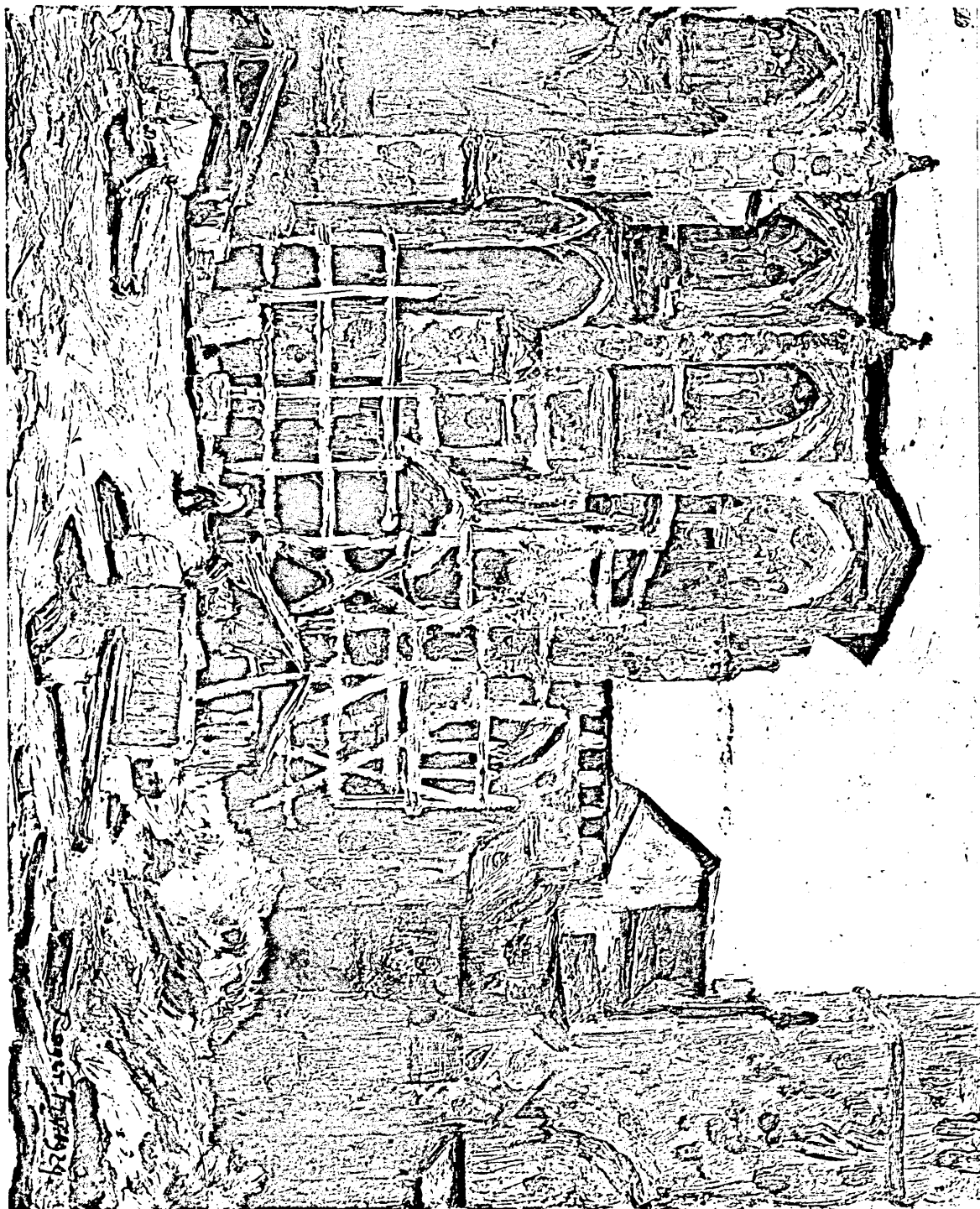






Fig.81. La Foux, 1924, (cat.no.233). 52 x 64 cm.



Fig.82. La Foux, near St.Tropez, 1924, (cat.no. 234).

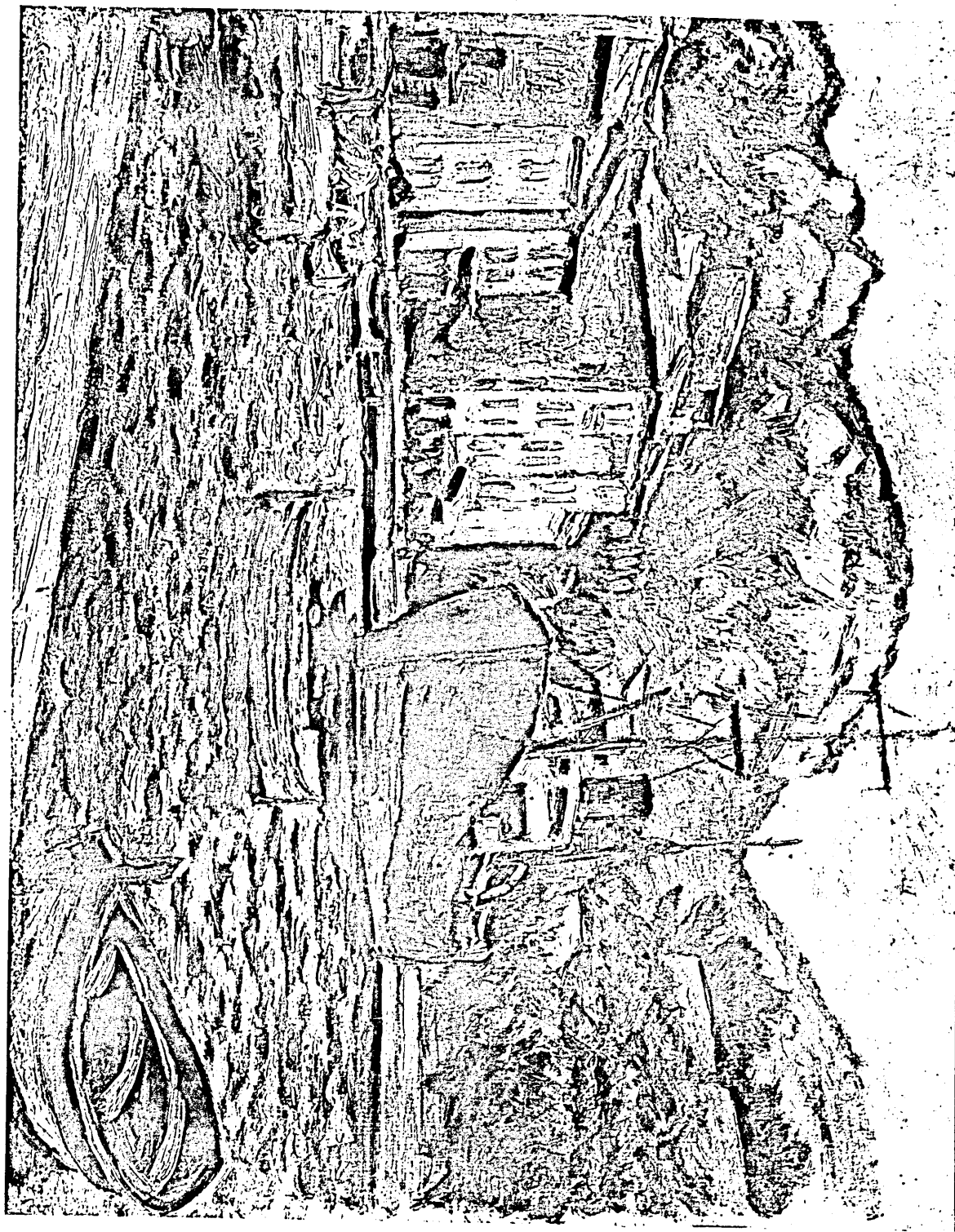


Fig.83. Port at Cassis, 1925, (cat.no.238). 31 x 39.5 cm.



Fig.84. Pontigny, 1925, (cat.no.242). 52 x 63.5 cm.



Fig.85. Ilex and Olives, 1927, (cat.no.254). 52 x 63



Fig.86. Olives in the Spring, 1927, (cat.no.253). 52 x 64 cm.



Fig.87. La Fontaine Noire, 1928, (cat.no.265). 81.5 x 96.5 cm.

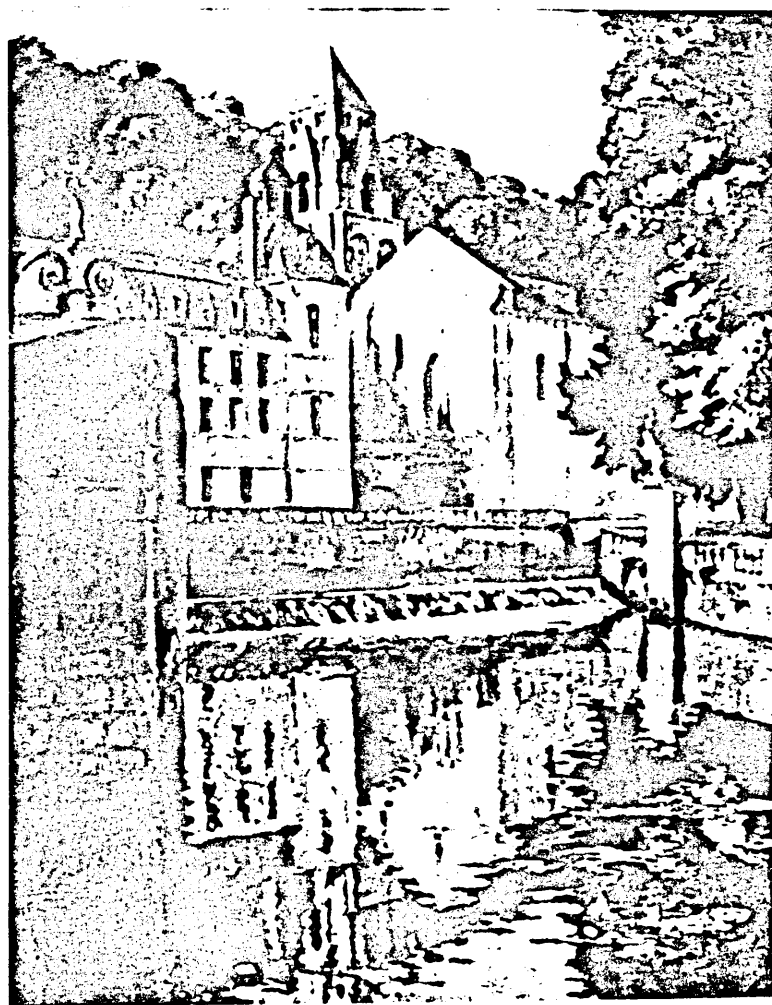


Fig.88. Brantome, 1928, (cat.no.256). 81 x 65 cm.



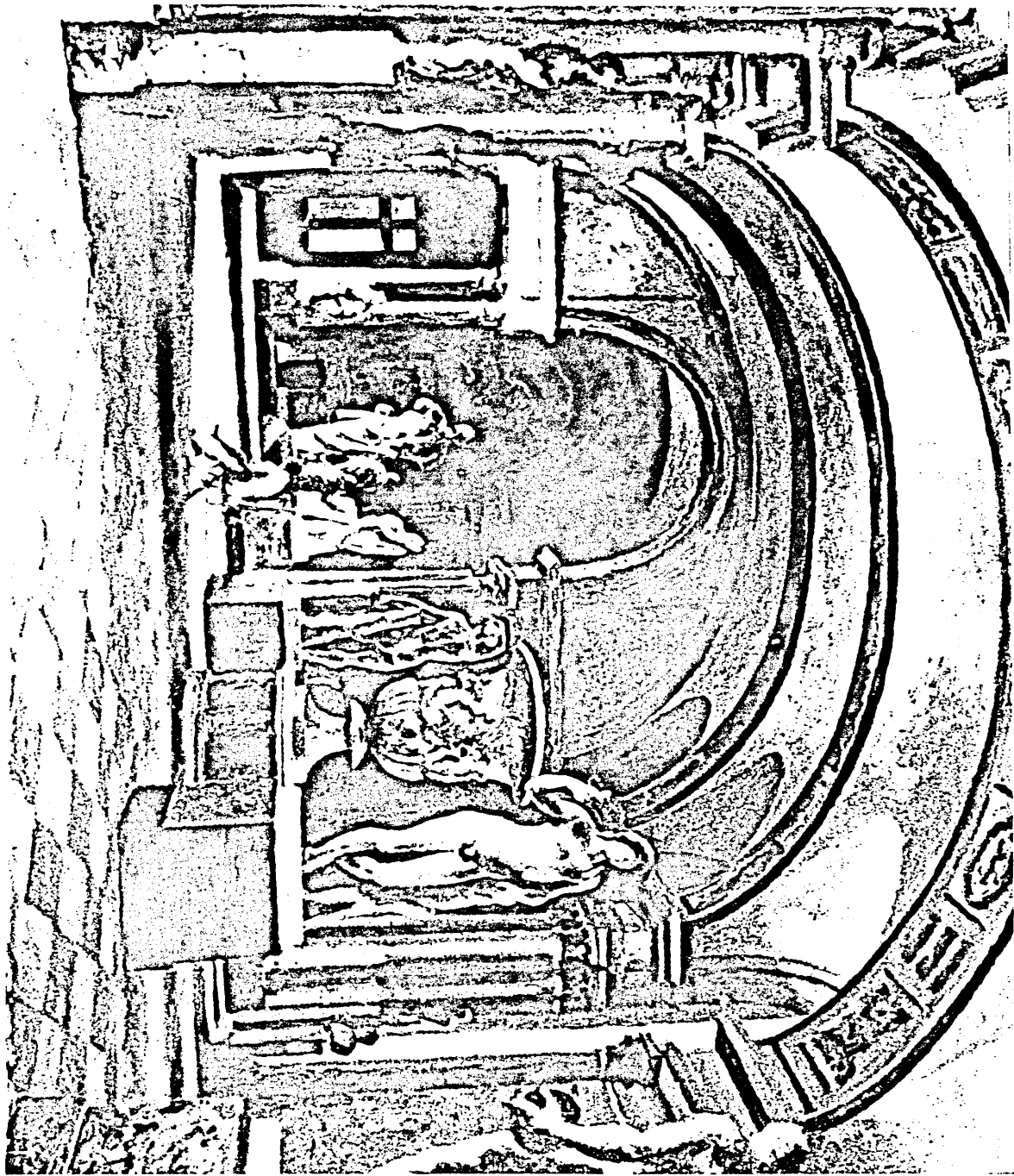


Fig.89. La Salle des Caryatides, 1929, (cat.no.269). 65 x 81.

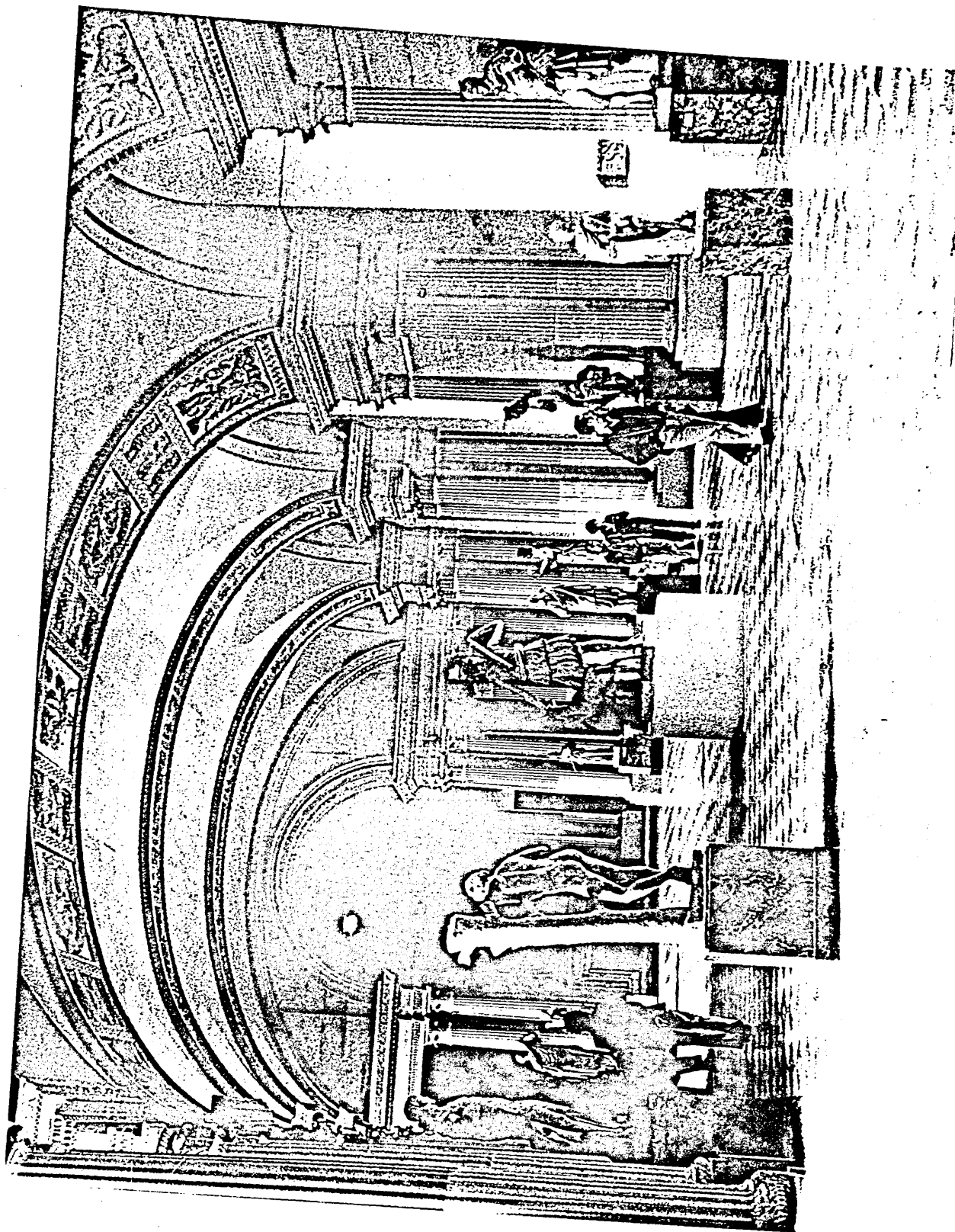


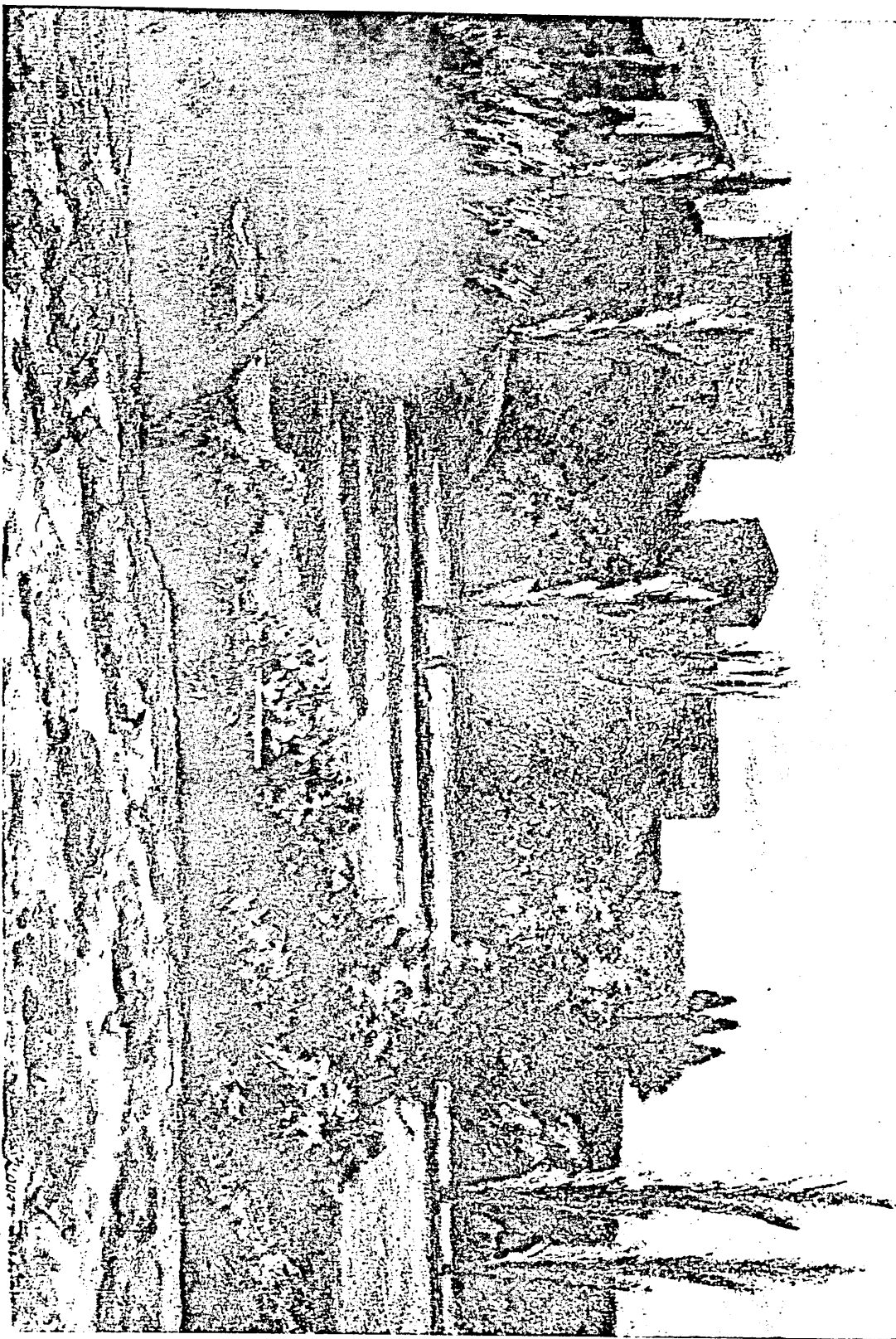
Fig.90. La Salle des Caryatides, the Louvre.



Fig.91. Mary Paley Marshall, 1931, (cat.no.290). 109 x 89 cm. .

Fig.92. Carpentras, 1930, (cat.no.283). 33 x 41 cm.







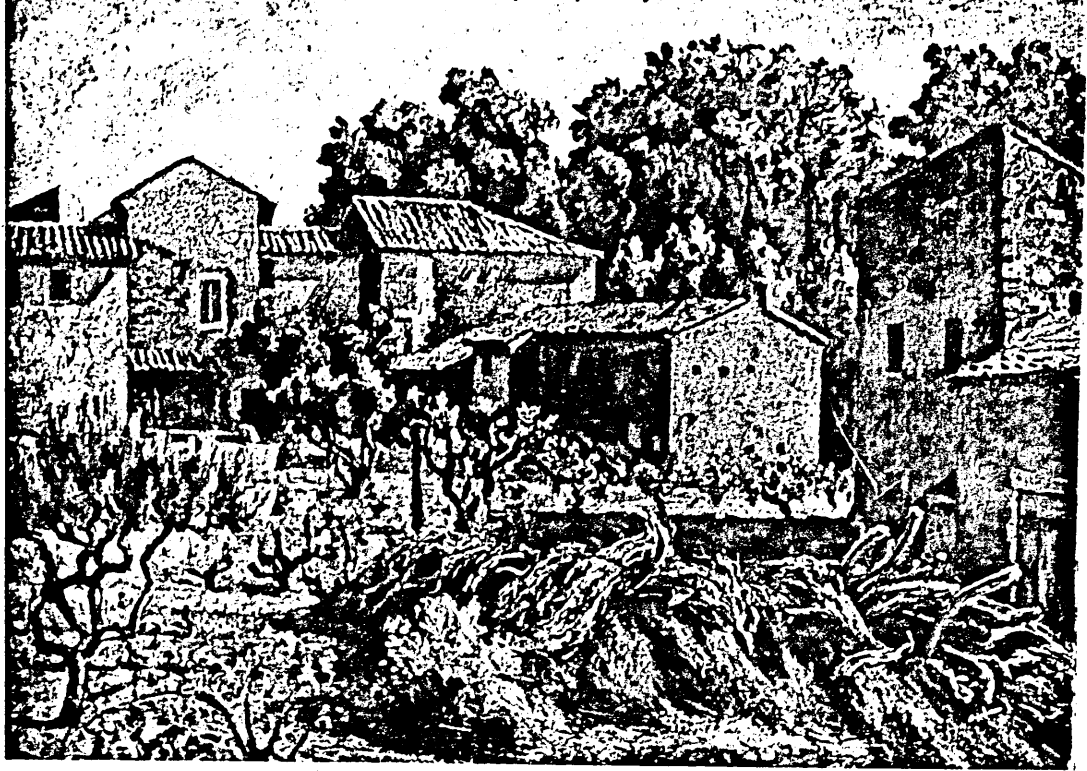


Fig.94. French Farm, 1930, (cat.no.281). 58.5 x 80 cm.



Fig.95. French Landscape, c.1933-4, (cat.no.319). 20 x 33 cm. .

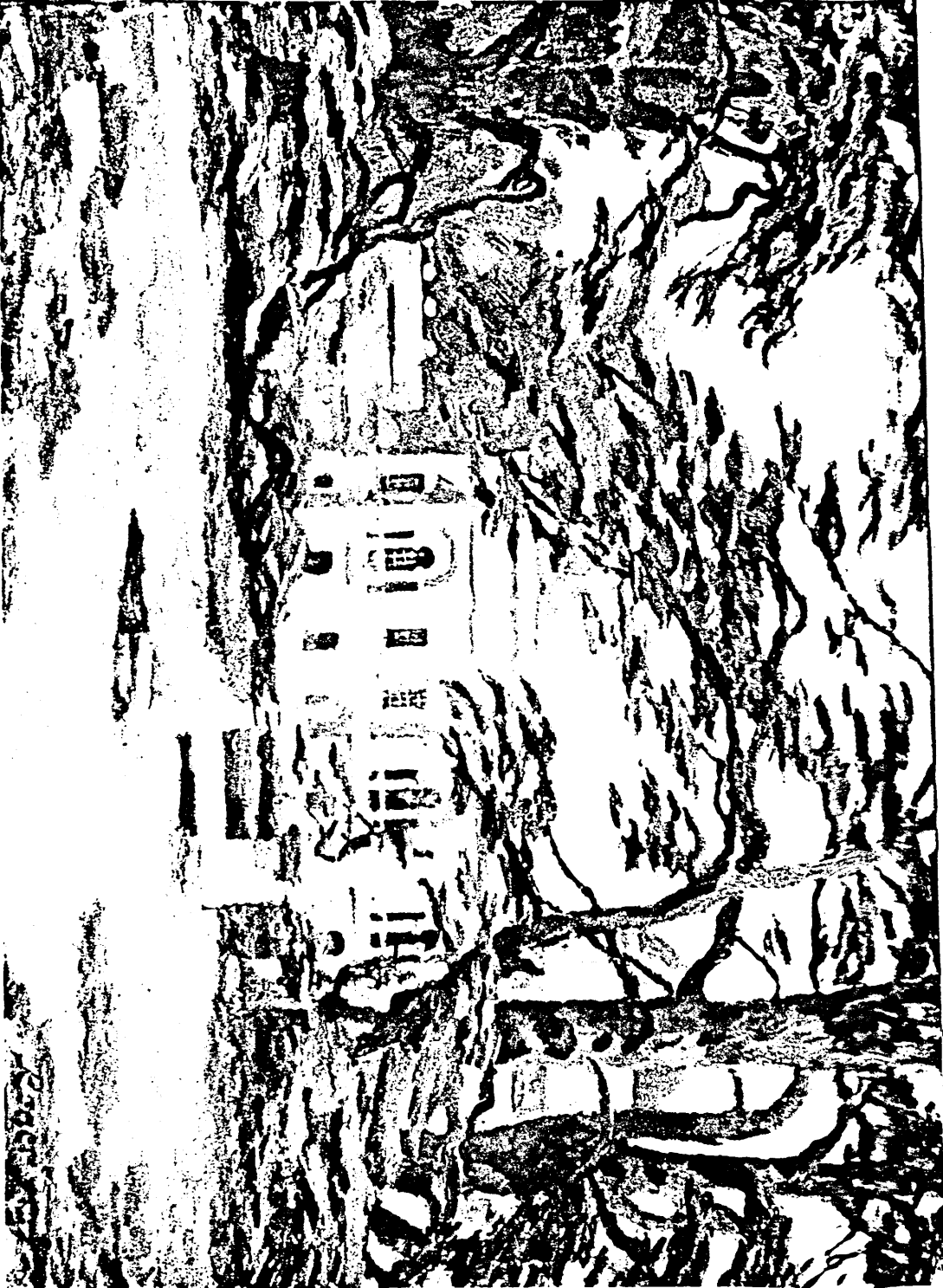


Fig.96. Chiswick House, 1933, (cat.no.305). 46 x 62.5 cm.



Fig.97. Rabat, 1933, (cat.no.304). 31.5 x 39 cm.



Fig.98. Les Alpilles, c.1933 (cat.no.311). 61 x 80 cm.





Fig.99. Charles Maurón, 1931, (cat.no.287). 42 × 34.5 cm.

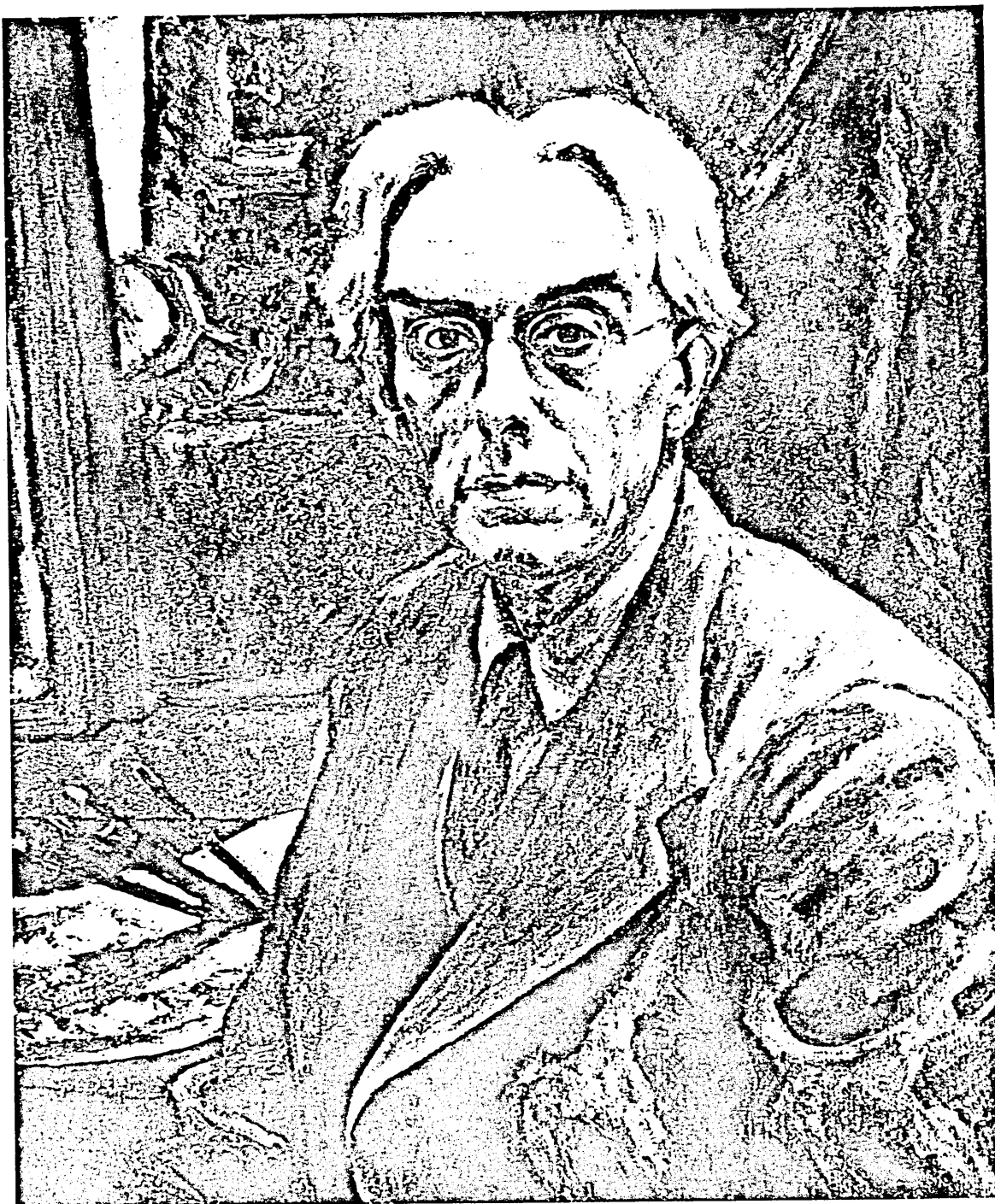


Fig.100. Self-Portrait, 1934, (cat.no.321). 60.5 x 49.5 cm.