THOMAS P. ANSHUTZ: A REAPPRAISAL OF EAKINS’ PUPIL AS AN ARTIST AND TEACHER

by

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THOMAS P. ANSHUTZ: A REAPPRAISAL OF EAKINS' PUPIL AS AN ARTIST AND TEACHER
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Though seldom mentioned in surveys of American art, Thomas Anshutz, through his connection with the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts—for over thirty-six years—first as student, then as teacher and director; came in contact with many painters who became leaders in art in this country. Further investigation of Anshutz and his relationship to Eakins, to the Eight and other contemporaries, seems necessary. Obviously Anshutz has been severely underestimated as an artist and teacher.

The predominating influence in Anshutz's career was Thomas Eakins. The Eakins years from 1876 to 1891, include time spent with Eakins while a student as well as Anshutz's early teaching years. This time span was the most productive in terms of his painting output and produced the well known Steel Workers, Noontime. After his first trip to Europe in 1892, Anshutz evolved away from Eakins stylistically to a brighter more painterly oeuvre. However, Anshutz continued the tradition of Eakins and his significance as a teacher seems to lie in what he was able to convey to his students of Eakins' methods rather than any original contribution on his own part.
As an artist his works are uneven in quality. Other than some promising landscapes of the 1890s he never again achieved the pinnacle of Steel Workers, Noontime. He remains an obscure artist known solely for his one masterpiece and for his influence on his famous pupils, who revered him.
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For primary source material on the life and philosophy of Thomas Anshutz I am indebted to his son and daughter-in-law Mr. and Mrs. Edward Russell Anshutz, who aided me with interviews, letters, and memorabilia. For access to letters of Anshutz and Eakins, I am indebted to Miss Louise Wallman of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Mr. Guy Luster of Graham Gallery in New York City had helpful information on paintings in private collections. Mr. Lawrence Fleischman of Kennedy Galleries had valuable source material on Steel Workers, Noontime.

Due to five changes of address within the last six years I have had the advice of four different advisors for this thesis. I am indebted to Mr. Jim M. Jordan for this final revision.
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INTRODUCTION

The Graham Gallery in New York with a 1963 retrospective brought the name of Thomas Anshutz back to the attention of students of nineteenth century American painting. The unexpected quality of this exhibition inspired one critic to proclaim Anshutz, the "link between Eakins and the Eight."¹ This hypothesis is not without a basis in fact. For Anshutz, through his connection with the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts for over thirty-six years as teacher and director, came in contact with many who became leaders in American art.

The first retrospective for Anshutz had been arranged in 1942, fully thirty years after his death in 1912. It was held at the Art Alliance in Philadelphia and was organized by the artist's son Edward together with Helen Henderson, a former pupil and model, and Julius Block. There was a flurry of favorable reviews that year. Afterwards, other than being included in an occasional exhibition, his work was seldom viewed until 1963 and the Graham Gallery exhibition.

There has been remarkably little information published about Anshutz. If he is mentioned at all in prominent anthologies of American art, he is usually described as a pupil and an inadequate imitator of Eakins. Less frequently in biographies of the Eight, he is listed only as one of their teachers. However, Richardson observed, "...how many of the best of the

early twentieth century Americans came out of Anshutz's classes...."² In support of this view, a newspaper item in 1910 reviewed a recent important Academy exhibition in which over 100 pictures were by former students of Anshutz.³

Fortunately for Anshutz's students, he exposed them to Eakins' methods in art. Contrary to contemporary pedagogy they learned, "...to draw with the brush in light and tone."⁴ Richardson further notes that it was through the efforts of Anshutz that Eakins' philosophy pervaded the Academy even after his dismissal.⁵ Perlman in his book on the Eight acknowledged the debt to Anshutz. "It was through the profound statements of Thomas Anshutz that Henri and the generation to follow heard much the same words that had previously come from the lips and heart of Thomas Eakins."⁶

Further investigation of Anshutz and his relationship to Eakins, to the Eight and other contemporaries, seems necessary. Obviously, he has been severely underated as an artist and teacher. Though admittedly his was not the genius of Eakins, his talents lie somewhat closer to Katz's "link" concept than to anonymity. As evidenced through recorded impressions by students, Anshutz had an influence on painters with impressive reputations in art. Eakins, his teacher; and Sloan, a pupil; among many others praised him.

⁴Richardson, Painting, p. 319.
⁵Ibid., p. 319.
The predominating influence in Anshutz's painting and teaching was Thomas Eakins. This influence began when Anshutz studied with Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy. The Eakins years, from 1876 to 1891, include time spent as a student as well as Anshutz's early teaching years. This time span is therefore an important one; the basis upon which Anshutz would evolve as an artist and teacher. This was also one of his most productive periods. For when he began to teach, he lost an invaluable element for an artist: free time in which to paint. (In this way his dismissal had been perhaps a blessing in disguise for Eakins. By losing his position at the Academy he was free to paint.) Anshutz painted what most critics consider his masterpiece during his years with Eakins; Steel Workers, Noontime. (fig. 8) This painting like all those in this decade is most like Eakins' work and is characterized by somber tonalities of color and a concern with accurate anatomy.

The Eakins influence continued in Anshutz's teaching throughout his career. Unlike Eakins, however, Anshutz was able to evoke a kind of camaraderie with his pupils. He spent much time with his pupils, including night classes, which Sloan entered, and in later years a summer school. Like Eakins, he was interested in both anatomy and photography. However, Anshutz used them as aids in art rather than delving into the scientific processes involved. Anshutz's pupils seem to agree with his approach.

Anshutz's first trip to Europe in 1892 marked a change
in his style. As a painter he grew away from the influence of Eakins. Many critics feel this was a decidedly detrimental trip and that the studies with Doucet and Bouguereau removed what talent he had. It seems clear that those who say he deteriorated are overlooking the dozens of landscapes and figure studies he did out-of-doors in the decade of the 90s.

Most of the paintings which have inspired the deprecatory comments published about Anshutz were painted after 1900. In these last years he began to receive portrait commissions from wealthy families, with beautiful daughters. Like Sargent, he recorded only the exterior of his subject in a manner then fashionable, but which now seems grotesquely outdated.

Most of the factual information contained in this paper is from yet unpublished material; predominately the letters of Thomas Anshutz and an interview with his son Edward. My most valuable source of material was Mr. Edward R. Anshutz. Though very ill at the time, he graciously answered my inquiries and granted me a personal interview at his home in Chestnut Hill. Many observations on the personality and life style of Thomas Anshutz are from his son and are quite possibly one-sided. He was the only person I could locate who had known Anshutz. The other written comments from the students confirm a picture of a likable, kindly gentleman. I have not listed all of the extant letters of Anshutz, only those which seem pertinent to my thesis. Edward had other letters which I did not use, but which have at last recently been microfilmed in the Archives of American Art. At the
time when I did most of my research there was no public collection of Anshutz memorabilia other than at the Pennsylvania Academy.

Most of the observations on paintings by Anshutz are mine and are based on those I have seen. Several galleries were very helpful. Graham Gallery, which handled the Thomas Anshutz estate, has the largest collection of his paintings, many of which are from the 1890s. Guy Luster of this gallery helped by locating collectors and letters. The Pennsylvania Academy also has many paintings which Miss Louise Wallman, Registrar, helped me to see. And finally, Mr. Lawrence Fleischman of Kennedy Galleries was the source for the Clarke letter on Steel Workers, Noontime.
I. ANSHUTZ AS EAKINS' PUPIL

Anshutz studied with Eakins from 1876 to 1886 at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. During this time he absorbed many of his teacher's methods if not all of his ideas. His time with Eakins ended abruptly when Eakins was fired from the Academy for allowing a male nude model in a coeducational class. It was Anshutz who was chosen to take Eakins' place as teacher; thus, the more compliant student continued his mentor's methods.

Both men as students had been subjected to Academy regulations with an emphasis on the antique. As stated in the catalogue, the purpose of the Academy was to promote the cultivation of the fine arts by, "introducing correct and elegant copies from works of the first masters in sculpture and painting...."¹ This approach was of course modeled on what was believed to be taught in the schools in Europe. Consequently, they were each, though at different times, forced into the customary introductory year of copying plaster casts of antique sculpture. This was a disappointing experience for Eakins. He was to say of this later, "I don't like a long study of casts...at best, they are only imitations, and an imitation of imitations cannot have so much life as an imitation of

Eakins had his students draw from life. The modeling classes met for three hours a day, three days a week. The model was required to repeat the same pose from four to six weeks, but they were simple poses, usually standing. This was done so that the students could learn to draw directly with the brush. "The student should learn to block up his figure rapidly and then give to any part of it the highest finish without injuring its unity." Eakins felt the brush was best for this.

Eakins stressed the study of anatomy to an unusual degree. The anatomy classes met twice a week. A skeleton, a cadaver, and a live model were used for comparative purposes. To show the action of the muscles, Eakins used electricity. There were times, Joseph Pennell remembered when "a skeleton, a stiff, a model, and the negro janitor Henry all jerked and jumped at once." Then in the evenings a physician, Dr. Keen, came for a more technical lecture using manikins and the cadaver the students were dissecting.

Most of Eakins' students dissected, though they were not required to. Horrified by a visit there, the critic W. C. Brownell asked Eakins if he too found the room repulsive.

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Eakins replied, "I don't know of anyone who doesn't dislike it. Every fall, ...I feel a great reluctance to begin it. It is dirty enough work at the best, as you can see."\(^8\) However it is necessary that one "dissects simply to increase his knowledge of how beautiful objects are put together to the end that he may be able to imitate them."\(^9\) In this same class he had his students make plaster casts from the cadaver\(^10\) and color them; the muscles red, the tendons blue, and the bones white.\(^11\)

Anshutz did a painting of the class called **Dissecting Room** (fig.1) in 1879, as an illustration for the Brownell article on the Academy. The painting shows Eakins' anatomy class dissecting a cadaver in the basement of the Academy.

Brownell described his visit to this room.

> It's arsenal of dread-looking instruments; it's tables and benches, disclosing only too plainly their purpose, and finally the dead and dismembered semblance of what once was a human being.\(^12\)

In his painting Anshutz divided the students into groups; some with plaster casts, some with the cadaver, and some with the skeleton. The student in the foreground may well be a self-portrait as Anshutz wore a moustache. This was done four years after Eakins' famous anatomical painting, **The Gross Clinic** (fig.2) of 1875, which Anshutz must have seen.

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9Ibid., p. 745.  
10Charles Bregler, "Thomas Eakins as a Teacher," The Arts, XVIII (October, 1931), p. 35.  
12Ibid., p. 747.
In the 1880-1881 session Eakins used a horse as a model. It was painted, modeled in wax, and a dead one dissected.\(^{13}\) In the winter session he took his pupils, including Anshutz, to a "bone boiling place" where they dissected in a slaughter house.\(^{14}\) Then in summer they went to Mr. Fairman Rogers' farm to continue work with living animals.\(^{15}\) Eakins apparently continued the horse work for several years because in 1884 Anshutz wrote that, "We are about winding up the horse dissections for the season."\(^{16}\)

Eakins' method of teaching his students to draw with the brush was to have the most recognizable influence on Anshutz, and through him, on the Eight.

I think he (the student) should learn to draw with color....The brush is a more powerful and rapid tool than the point or stump...the main thing that the brush secures is the instant grasp of the grand construction of a figure. There are no lines in nature...Moreover, the outline is not the man, the grand construction is....\(^{17}\)

Contrary to prevailing academic belief he felt there was no advantage to be gained by using only black and white paint for the beginning student. For, "as a painted study is more like the model than a translation into black and white can be, the comparison with nature is more direct....error in drawing is more manifest."\(^{18}\) Eakins' black and white study Masked Nude, Seated (fig.4) demonstrates his ability to show

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\(^{13}\)Rogers, "Schools," p. 453.
\(^{14}\)Brownell, "Art Schools," p. 742.
\(^{15}\)Ibid., p. 743.
\(^{16}\)Thomas Anshutz, letter, August 7, 1884, to J. L. W., The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter to be identified as PAFA).
\(^{17}\)Brownell, "Art Schools," p. 740.
\(^{18}\)Rogers, "Schools," p. 455.
the weight and solidity of the human body. A charcoal drawing of a contraposto seated figure—it reveals the body as a living mass occupying space, and demonstrates his lack of interest in outline as such. Anshutz used an oddly similar clothed figure for his 1905 *Becky Sharp* (fig. 5).

Eakins must have been pleased with Anshutz's progress as a student, for he only allowed the advanced pupils to dissect and Anshutz was one of these. In a letter, Eakins mentioned Anshutz's diligence in the anatomy classes. "There was a great deal of careful work done in the dissecting room this year, Tommy Anshutz, Harmer Godley, Maclean, and McCormick working every night." In 1880 he made Anshutz his "assistant demonstrator" in the dissecting room. His reason for doing this may have been summarized in something Anshutz was to say later.

...it seems to me as if a beginner ought to be taught by someone who has advanced just far enough to fully feel the beginner's difficulty. Such a one feels full of the knowledge he just gained and is an enthusiastic teacher.

A year later Eakins made Anshutz "chief demonstrator" and an assistant to him in drawing and painting. From this time on until Eakins left, Anshutz kept these positions, although some critics believe Eakins did most of the teaching.

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22 Thomas Anshutz, letter, December 31, 1883, to J. L. W., PAFA.
It is possible that Eakins taught most of the classes, but Anshutz was working hard at his positions. In 1885 he wrote, "I have an extra model one morning in the week that I have in some movement. It is a new thing as yet and I hardly know how to run the class to the best advantage." The moving model may have been Eakins' idea remembered from his student days in Paris and further resulting from the Muybridge experiments of 1884. In light of this it seems likely that Anshutz may have been underestimated as a teacher during those years.

In 1885, the year before Eakins left the Academy, Anshutz worked with him on some experiments in permanence of paint pigments.

We have not succeeded in solving the darkening paint question yet. Eakins has used varnish over the first painting on his portrait and it bore out the second work very well. I don't know whether it will crack....

A month after the experiments, they were preparing patches of paint to test for any color change within a year. They saved the original tube to test the color, Anshutz wrote, as the most desirable way to detect the change. Anshutz does not identify the portrait Eakins was using for the experiment. However, it is possible to compare some portraits done during this time span which could show results of the testing technique described by Anshutz. Before the testing,

26 Thomas Anshutz, letter, November 4, 1885, to J. L. W., PAFA.
27 T. Anshutz, letter, October 2, 1885, to J. L. W., PAFA.
28 T. Anshutz, letter, November 4, 1885, to J. L. W., PAFA.
in 1876, Eakins painted The Gross Clinic (Detail fig.3) and Dr. John H. Brinton (fig.6). The two portrait heads seem to be painted in the direct manner Eakins taught his students. There do seem to be some cracks in the paint. In contrast to this technique note the portrait of Miss Van Buren (fig.7) of ca. 1891. In this painting the modeling appears to have been done in a series of stages with wet glazes over dry paint—i.e. in an indirect method—to achieve the effect of solidity. There is little discernible cracking here. In addition, the later one has a transparency of color the earlier two lack, again probably due to glazing. It is difficult to trace what effect, if any, the paint experiments had on Anshutz's work. His only major painting done prior to the tests was Steel Workers, Noontime (fig.8). Though more luministic, the modeling has been done in a direct manner as in Dr. Brinton. Anshutz's major portraits that show the results of an indirect approach were not done until after 1905. (Perhaps the lapse in time can be accounted for by his interest in pastels during the 90s.) Rebecca Whalen, the Woman in Rose (fig.16) was painted in 1905. This portrait appears to have been painted in the indirect manner described for Miss Van Buren.

During his student days, Anshutz had helped Eakins with the famous Muybridge project; a stop-action camera experiment conducted at the University of Pennsylvania. Eakins, Anshutz, and J. Laurie Wallace helped Muybridge as a project at the Academy in the summer of 1884. Figure 10 is an Eakins photograph of the experiment.
Anshutz wrote:

...Muybridge as you know is carrying out his scheme over at the University...Muybridge has also a machine for taking views on one plate, of moving objects, by opening and closing the camera rapidly at the rate of about 100 exposures per second. This shows the moving object not as a continuous smear but shows one clear view at every two or three inches of advance. The exposures are made by two large discs with openings cut around their circumferences. They run in opposite directions and are geared to run very fast, the exposure is while two openings meet...

Eakins, Godley and I were out there yesterday trying a machine Eakins had made, the above design except he had only one wheel. We sewed some bright balls on Godley and ran him down the track...the result was not very good...But afterwards Muybridge took him with his machine and got a very good result even showing his black clothes...

Eakins is on the committee which superintends Muybridge. He is, of course, much interested in the experiments....

In August of that year, Anshutz expressed his doubts as to the necessity for these methods. "The study of movement is a good thing even by the aid of photography, but I have no desire to become an electrician in order to make my own photographs...." Edward Anshutz said later that his father "took photographs, like Eakins--he had a good camera." The recent Hendriks book on Eakins shows that Eakins frequently worked from photographs in his painting. Hendriks points out that The Swimming Hole (fig.9) is one of the Eakins paintings based on photographs.
Eakins was a powerful teacher and had a great deal of influence on his pupils. One of them Robert Henri, wrote of Eakins: "...it was an excitement to hear his pupils tell of him. They believed in him as a great master...." They idealized him. Though Anshutz admired Eakins he did not completely accept all his ideas.

In the famous dispute about Eakins' use of the nude, Anshutz sided with Academy officials. Eakins resigned on February 13, 1886, because he refused to compromise his beliefs on the necessity of the completely nude model in coeducational classes. Anshutz's position in the controversy seems uncertain as he signed a protest statement that was "inspired by a rumor that Eakins' dismissal was a conspiracy." Subsequently, Anshutz succeeded Eakins as instructor of the life classes, but it was not until 1909 that he was made head of the Academy, (succeeding William Merritt Chase).

As an artist, Eakins' paintings were not always acceptable to genteel Philadelphia society. He had commissions before his dismissal. But, his "...trouble with the public and his patrons came not because he painted in a way that people in general did not understand...but because he painted in a way they understood perfectly." That is, his

34Goodrich, Eakins, 1933, p. 74.
36Archives, PAFA.
uncompromising naturalism was not acceptable to his contemporaries. After his defeat in the Academy controversy, Eakins remained sought after by loyal former students. There is no record as to whether Anshutz was one of these. Canaday has said of Eakins:

The loss of his position as a teacher was more than a financial blow; it largely negated his position as an influential painter. The social and moral bases of the disagreement made him a suspect and rebellious member of a conservative community. 38

Eakins supported himself after his dismissal with the few portrait commissions that came his way. No one disputed his ability, but few cared to expose themselves to his candid eye in a portrait study.

Eakins taught, and demonstrated in his painting that first hand knowledge of the body, both its inner and outer surfaces, was necessary in order to imitate its substance on canvas. Working in both two and three dimensions his students dissected, drew, and built the body in clay—muscle by muscle. To get away from painting as a tinted drawing, Eakins painted directly from life and had his students do the same. And finally, realist that he was, Eakins posed his subjects in order to reveal the inner person. It was a shocking thing in Philadelphia to paint an unpressed suit or a less than perfect complexion. Not until the Eight became famous did the public become accustomed to this sort of reality in art. Eakins' students admired his ability, but in the year 1886 lacked his courage.

Canaday concluded that, "as a supreme realist, Eakins appeared heavy and vulgar to a public that thought of art, and culture in general, largely in terms of graceful sentimentality."39 In his school days, an exceptional mathematics and science student, Eakins had approached art with a respect for things as they are, not as viewers would like to see them. "No artist since the renaissance,...has been more interested in pure perspective than Eakins was."40 For example, to paint the Pair-Oared Shell, he meticulously plotted the perspective for scientific accuracy in rendering it. The years he spent in anatomy and dissection classes at Jefferson Medical College whetted his appetite for complete knowledge of the body, and the years abroad afforded stimuli for lifelong experience in drawing the nude body. Ultimately, he was a realist because he felt it was necessary for the painter to "recreate"41 what he saw.

40 Ibid., p. 93.
41 Ibid., p. 95.
II. ANSHUTZ AS A TEACHER

As a teacher, Anshutz continued Eakins' methods for the most part. Moreover, he was able to transmit these methods to his students in a way which did not arouse the ire of Academy officials. Richardson has aptly called him "a maker of painters."¹ Like Eakins, Anshutz did not encourage rule and plumb-line drawing and the formula of six or seven heads to a figure."² The student was to use the eye primarily and use the rule and plumb just to correct the drawing.³ He adhered to the following system which Eakins had used to analyze the figure.

The body is made up of three major solids; head, top of torso, and the pelvis, which are rigid masses attached to the spine. The action is directed by the spine to the arms and legs. The spine can twist and bend, but the three big forms attached to it are stable.⁴

Eakins' The Swimming Hole (fig. 9) and Anshutz's Steel Workers, Noontime (fig. 8) show the application of this theory. Both paintings are composed of large groups of figures paused between movements; bending, twisting, walking, etc. However for Anshutz it seems to be an exercise in combining studio studies of the model.

Like Eakins, he taught students to build the muscles and let "the outline take care of itself."⁵ Anshutz agreed

¹Richardson, Painting, p. 374.
²Cournos, "Art Instructor."
³Ibid.
⁴Eakins quoted in Perlman, Eight, p. 39.
⁵Ibid., p. 46.
that the student must concern himself with the physical construction of the figure and the physical emotion or action of the figure. In addition, the mental attitude of the subject must be revealed in the face. "It is of utmost importance that in painting a portrait the artist should have a conception of the temperament of his subject...[and] render that temperament in its most pleasant form." The latter part of this statement shows how Anshutz differed from Eakins in the years after 1900, for Eakins painted people as they were, not as they would like to be.

Again in the same Cournos interview, Anshutz spoke of his students. He was fifty-nine at the time and no doubt his opinions had mellowed some since his youth. He said, a student should "aim for a simple, direct expression of his interest in things." His method was to study the individual student to discover his particular talent. Then to "direct him along lines of least resistance, towards a full development of his powers." This is something it would be hard to imagine Eakins allowing.

It is possible to take a student and by purely mechanical means teach him to make a fairly accurate map of his model, but it will be a form of deception. That student should be warned that the study lacks life, force of expression, and is absolutely void of the artist's own interest in the subject. He looks at it no deeper than his eye. I recommend to students to pay no attention to the analysis of color, but rather get the sensation of it.

6Anshutz quoted in Cournos, "Art Instructor."
7Ibid.
8Ibid.
This idea of the "sensation of color" was to be his most obvious contribution to his students and shows clearly in the work of the Eight, notably Sloan, Glackens, and Luks.

Anshutz had continued the Academy tradition of teaching drawing from the antique. No mention is made of whether this was true while Eakins was there. One of the more famous of Anshutz's pupils, John Sloan, entered Anshutz's "night antique class" in 1892.

I studied antique with Thomas Anshutz, who carried on Eakins' tradition of realism. Our crown didn't have much interest in studying with Eakins himself. He was so concerned with anatomy that he thought a student was not serious if unwilling to carry home an arm or leg to dissect in the evening. We felt that Eakins, while a thoroughly fine man, lacked a sense of humour and made too much fuss about posing nude models.

In any event Anshutz was a good teacher for the creative student who wanted a solid foundation in drawing.9

Anshutz's students were required to draw from casts without models or instruction in painting, as this was a night class. There was no reason given as to why this was different from the regular curriculum. Anshutz's method here is of course a return to the academic tradition and seems to be a rejection of Eakins' method. Sloan recalled, "the way we were started in to polish up details....such a contrast to the free boldness that Henri encourages in pupils."10 This insistence on copying antiques pushed Sloan into organizing the Charcoal Club in 1893. Anshutz was in Paris by then.

Laub, Gruger, Glackens, Davis, and Henri joined Sloan. 11

After the club failed, the students returned to Anshutz's
class even though he still insisted on antique drawing for
one year. 12

[Sloan] One evening, bored with the cast,...drew
not only it but the students around it. When
Anshutz took exception to this, he flared up and
walked out of the class and never came back. 13

Anshutz had said to him, "You have no business drawing any­
thing but this project from the antique, you shouldn't be
wasting your time doing illustrations and cartoons." 14

Later they became good friends. Sloan said,"We made up later,
and after years of teaching experience I came to see his
point." 15

Sloan later did an etching, Anshutz on Anatomy (fig.11),
showing a lecture Anshutz gave at the New York School of
Art in 1905. Sloan said, "The occasion pictured in my plate
was...one of a series; [of lectures] at the invitation of
Robert Henri, to students and friends...." 16 Anshutz "laid
the muscles, which he formed in clay, upon the skeleton,
demonstrating their use by means of a living model." 17 In
the etching Anshutz seems to be holding clay in his right
hand and the skeleton has the right leg already built up in
clay. Among those present in the picture are Robert and

11 Perlman, Eight, p. 57.
12 Ibid., p. 58.
13 Goodrich, Sloan, p. 7.
14 Perlman, Eight, p. 59.
15 H. Sloan, Poster Period, p. 17.
16 Peter Morse, John Sloan's Prints (New Haven: Yale
17 Ibid.
Linda Henri, Dolly and John Sloan, Rockwell Kent, Walter Pach, William Glackens, Maurice Prendergast, George Bellows, and of course Anshutz. (fig.13)

Another student remembered that Anshutz's devotees were called "the smudgers"—they used ground charcoal dust and the thumb, generously moistened with saliva. Here again is another departure from Eakins who urged moderation in this medium. Robert Henri had been in this group of students, studying with Anshutz for the two years after Eakins left. "Absorbing as much as he could from Anshutz, Henri became impatient with the provincialism of the Academy." He left for Paris in 1888 to study with Bouguereau. Henri was impressed with Bouguereau and perhaps urged Anshutz to study with him. Redfield, another student, remembered "Tommy" fondly. He and Henri were among the class that entered under Anshutz and Kelly the year after Eakins left. Anshutz did not set himself up as a pedagogue, but rather often worked with his classes. Of course, he had shown himself to be quite dictatorial at times as in the incident in the night antique class. "For years he was one of the crowd and was of a gentle and kindly disposition. He always attended the class celebrations—and was very much one of them." Harrison Morris wrote of the affection that Anshutz evoked.

19Perlman, Eight, p. 59.
21Ibid.
Morris described him as, "the well-loved of everybody..."  

...he attracted a regiment of henchmen, in whose honest, profound admiration, however, there was nothing servile. His nature repelled adulation as it inspired respect... He was intolerant only of affectation, superficiality, dishonesty in art.  

After mention of this admiration, Anshutz replied, "...they have been merely in my classes; I have learned more from them than they have from me.  

Cecilia Beaux and John Marin studied with Anshutz. Miss Beaux described him as being "adored by his students" and "...as a teacher at the Academy he carried on Eakins' firm plastic tradition of form and tone and left his mark upon the twentieth century." Sheldon Reich says Marin considered Anshutz to be "a sympathetic teacher... and the only one he ever really acknowledged."  

Apparently Anshutz was not always at ease when criticizing students' work. Cecilia Beaux described the visit he made to her studio at her request. Anshutz "...was by nature inarticulate and acted quite embarrassed." His remarks on  

23Ibid.
24Cournos, "Art Instructor."
examining her paintings were "...extremely impressive in his somehow confused force of feeling." He did not like her paintings. Nor was he above mild sarcasm. E. S. Jones remembered the only compliment he ever gave her. Looking at a charcoal of a Greek athlete he said, "Well I can see that you are not copying, you have given the man six toes." Anshutz was highly respected by his students for his knowledge of anatomy. Reportedly, he was so expert that he was able on one occasion to identify the bones of a particular skeleton as belonging to several different skeletons. He used the skeleton in his drawing classes to build up clay muscles as Sloan described and illustrated in his etching. This of course, is something that Eakins had shown Anshutz how to do.

Anshutz agreed with Eakins that prizes should not be awarded to students. Eakins had felt that students should work only to be accepted into the Academy exhibitions. Acceptance is reward enough. Anshutz had wanted the awarding of prizes abolished, because he believed that the prizes encouraged the student to try to win them rather than to develop his own talent.

Also it creates a great distinction between the man who has and the man who has not the prize, while there may be little or no distinction in

27 Beaux, Background, p. 95.
28 E. Jones, letter.
29 Cournos, "Art Instructor."
31 Cournos, "Art Instructor."
their work; aside from the fact that human judgment is as fallible in awarding prizes as in other things.32

This attitude of Anshutz may have been prompted by something more than virtuous idealism—perhaps he felt that he had been discriminated against. Like Eakins, it was not until late in his life that Anshutz was awarded prizes. (See Appendix B) Consequently, art juries inspired no confidence in him. On hearing of a recent award (in 1910) at the Academy, Anshutz had said, "...Glackens is all right. It is not often that a jury of award makes the mistake of giving a gold medal where it is deserved...."33

To Anshutz, painting was, "a survival of the fittest." Thus, though he did not object to having women in his classes he did not feel that they should receive any special considerations due to their sex.34 He did not always insist on a distinction between fine and applied art. He felt that the prevailing distaste for forms of commercial art was "owing to the instinctive feeling of inability to do them."35 This was written before his contact with Sloan who was a commercial artist as well as a painter. One wonders then, why Anshutz should have objected so vehemently to Sloan's drawing in the night antique class incident described above on page 20.

In his letters, Anshutz often mentioned his philosophy of painting. For example, the mature artist he felt, should

32Cournos, "Art Instructor."
33T. Anshutz, letter, August 14, 1901, Graham Gallery.
34Cournos, "Art Instructor."
35Anshutz, letter, August 7, 1884, to J. L. W., PAFA.
not copy nature as exactly as did Harnett.

(Anshutz) I saw a few days ago a still life, by Harnett, of a gun, hunting horn, game powder bag, powder horn and other apparatus of a hunter. Hanging against a picturesque old door with old rusted antique hinges.

This picture had nothing much to recommend it but its exquisitely careful finish. Yet the eye sees something like nature, wherever it looks and no place stops it and says, "I am paint". I understand the artist receives $3,500 for it. 36

Instead of this approach, he believed an artist should interpret light and dark as it most fits his idea:

The artist "feels light...as light and shade. The light and shadow of his...picture may be weak compared to nature but if they be real to him each slight step becomes correspondingly great, and things which the mechanical copyist would paint cautiously after the most careful comparison would be placed by him almost without thought. And truthfully....

The man who follows his eye is unavoidably trying to do nothing higher than paint the contrast of one thing as it appears by another. And to give one thing...its due, he robs something else and when this ill used thing complains he satisfies it in the same way....

One man paints the shades on flesh as he sees them lighter or darker than their neighbors. The other feels the surface turning and when it has reached its place he stops.

One man makes an outline as he sees it bend or slope or make angles. The other is trying only to locate the boundary of the solid form he sees in his minds eye. 37

These last phrases are of course very like Eakins in disregard for the outline of an object. Anshutz too stressed knowledge but never style, for as he said, "there are just as many good tendencies in American art as there are good artists." 38

36Anshutz, letter, August 7, 1884, to J. L. W., PAFA.
37Ibid.
38Cournos, "Art Instructor."
In 1898, Anshutz and Hugh Breckenridge started a summer school at Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, just outside Philadelphia. In a "picturesque...exterior" with a long slanting roofed building just off Bethlehem Pike, Anshutz painted alongside his students. To correct conflicting crosslights in the renovated barn, some enterprising painter hung draperies on the windows. The walls between displayed a profusion of student work. In this "large, stucco covered building, half surrounded by great apple trees," Anshutz spent the summers painting small (approximately 7x10 inches) scenes in oil. In these spontaneous gems Anshutz simplified his usual treatment of light and shade. No doubt, the earlier watercolors he did at Holly Beach, New Jersey (near Cape May) developed this new feel for a more painterly approach.

His decision to teach during his summer vacations may well have been prompted by his financial situation. He and his wife boarded students there, and his son Edward in later years of the school waited on tables, in the house Anshutz bought near the barn.

Over the years there at Fort Washington, there were other teachers too. Charles M. Young had the money to back the enterprise, but it is not known whether he ever actually taught there. Hugh Breckenridge had been a former pupil

40 E. W. Redfield, letter.
41 Edward Anshutz, interview.
of Anshutz, and had attended the night classes along with Henri. Though Breckenridge and Anshutz taught together, Edward Anshutz maintained that his father disapproved of Breckenridge's ideas. Breckenridge rather than being an "art for art saker," he said, "was in pursuit of the dollar." 42

There are few finished paintings which we can be certain were done in Fort Washington. Helen Henderson, a professional writer who was one of his students there served occasionally as a model. (She was reportedly an ardent admirer of Anshutz.) The water color of her at the Pennsylvania Academy, dated 1895 (not illustrated) may have been done there. He is known to have done a portrait of Agnes Musser there. He also did a portrait of Clymer, one of the students Edward had said was, "interested in free tuition." Helen Henderson wrote of Anshutz:

Towards the end of his career his work received a new impetus from his taking up with Breckenridge and Clymer, the making of their own pastels. With these pure chalks he achieved a new reality of colour and a freedom of handling absent from his oils. 43

Thus, we see that as a teacher Anshutz adhered mainly to the precepts learned from Eakins. The ideas Anshutz stressed in his teaching such as; the importance of knowledge of the body, the local sensation of color, and the necessity of

42E. Anshutz, interview.
showing the mass of an object rather than an outline, all came from Eakins. The difference in application of the ideas was due to the inherent difference in personality of the two men.
III. ANSHUTZ THE ARTIST

After his youth spent on a grandfather's farm at Moundsville, Kentucky, Anshutz at age seventeen moved with his family to Philadelphia in 1870. His ancestors were river men and iron workers—subjects which were to remain frequent stimuli for his art. He first studied at the National Academy in New York. In a letter from there the young man explained his developing theories of art.

...what I mean by truth in a painting is as follows; Get up an outfit for outdoor work, go out into some woe begotten, turkey chawed, bottle nosed, henpecked country and set myself down, get out my materials and make as accurate a painting of what I see in front of me as I can. If I draw it well and color it as I see it well (which is the hardest part) my picture is true... so my style now is painting and drawing what I see and I am an infant in it....

The Philadelphia Museum of Art has a small Sketch-Man Drawing (not illustrated) which aptly illustrates his attire for painting. It is typical of the small, dark paintings he did in these early years of his career.

Around 1876, he entered the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts to study with Thomas Eakins. Under Eakins' influence he progressed from an amateur painter to a well-trained artist. He retained a connection with the Academy from then until the end of his life, in 1912. He taught there until his last years when he became ill with uremia; a slow, degenerative disease in his case. When this illness kept him

1Anshutz, Letter, 1871, Graham Gallery.
from his teaching, he traveled, seeking new approaches and fresh ideas for his work. "The last months of his life were given to grappling with the tenets of the so-called modern movement..." ² In pursuit of these new ideas, he traveled again to Paris to study the work of Matisse. ³ He died June 16, 1912 ⁴ at Fort Washington, Pa. and is buried there.

During his life he was an inveterate traveler. His interest in traveling abroad was stimulated by opinions of his friends, but also by exhibitions of European paintings he had seen in New York and Philadelphia. He wrote, in 1884, that he was much impressed by the French painters, but was disappointed with an exhibition of English watercolors. The latter seemed to him plagued with a "'thinness'' which comes from lack of that big modeling which places one thing back of another." ⁵ In an exhibition of Dutch paintings later that same year, he mentioned that he had very much liked a picture by Rembrandt. ⁶ Anshutz and a friend, Jim Kelly, first saw the Impressionists at an exhibition at Earl's Galleries in Philadelphia after 1886. "They were electrified by what they saw and felt that

²Henderson quoted in Anshutz Retrospective, p. 6.
⁵Anshutz, letter, February 2, 1884, PAFA.
⁶Anshutz, letter, August 7, 1884, to J. L. W., PAFA.
their eyes had opened upon a new world."  

Anshutz had to wait until 1892 to accumulate the money to support a year of study in Paris. He was forty-one at the time--relatively old to be going abroad to study for the first time. In June of that year, he wrote to Mr. Coates, then Academy president, to secure leave from what must have been an already impossible position of inadequacy.

I will follow the plan I spoke to you about and as soon as I am able will go abroad, where I hope to gain the experience necessary to anyone who properly fills the positions I am leaving.

The future teaching in this school may not be different from what has been, but it must have something back of it that I only know well enough to desire.  

As this was also a honeymoon trip, he took his bride with him to move into a studio on the Left Bank. Anshutz entered the studios of Doucet and Bouguereau. Why these particular ateliers? Eakins had attended a different atelier, but Henri had studied with Bouguereau a decade earlier and probably recommended him. From Paris, Anshutz wrote of his progress in his studies.

At the school (Julian Academy) things are as usual. It is a big place. About 400 men and new ones coming all the time. I am working with plenty of interest, but am not paralyzing Paris with the results. However, we all seem to be in the same boat. And it will take a very big fish indeed, to make much stir...

7Henderson in Anshutz Retrospective, p. 6. Note, no date is given for this but it was obviously after 1886, for the first Impressionist exhibition in America was April 9, 1886 at the American Art Galleries in New York. (Maria Naylor, Theodore Robinson, American Impressionist (New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1966), p. 3.

8Anshutz, letter, June 3, 1892, PAFA.
The one thing settled to my satisfaction is that there is no one correct style of painting or sculpture. But that any style is correct if the man is master of it.

There are conflicting evaluations of his year abroad. Goodrich feels it removed what talent he had. Leslie Katz however, points out that the travel expanded his horizons and removed the "taint of provincialism." The difference in viewpoints lies between those who believe Anshutz never equalled the Steel Workers, Noontime (fig. 8) and those who regard the landscape studies and the pastel portraits of the 1890s as similarly vital work. It will have to be admitted that the polished finish acquired in the Paris studios tended to obscure the forceful style learned from Eakins. However, this is only true of the oil portraits done after 1892, not of the pastels of the 1890s. The oil landscapes, watercolors, and pastels (fig. 14) show the same strong composition of the factory scenes of the 1880s, but with a looser, brighter color. In these studies the color is juxtaposed in broad planes—the tedious modeling of the early years abandoned. It is unfortunate that he was unable to combine the two approaches. The European studies seem to have encouraged him to belabor a commissioned work, but in the paintings he did for himself, he remained a sensitive, astute recorder of his surroundings.

9 Anshutz, letter, 1893, Graham Gallery.
10 Goodrich, Eakins, 1933, p. 74.
He returned from his trip excited by what he had seen, but unconvinced that it was necessary for an artist to study abroad.

Painting is a language that is universal...in its purity; practically, it is involved with soil and race. The Japanese in their art differ from one another; but racially they differ from us. They eliminate entirely the factor of light and shade, but our artists eliminate nothing. We do eliminate details, for no painter will paint the individual threads in a coat....China...painters...possess a power of realism in rendering the full local color of things, whereas we must make our color subservient to light and shade.12

This last mention in 1910, of the idea of absolute local color suggests that he may have come in contact with the Nabis, who were also at the Julian Academy in the early 1890s. However, except for Girl in Pink Dress (fig.22) Anshutz does not seem to have ever conceived of the entire surface of the canvas as a decorative entity.

As for study abroad, Eakins would not have recommended he go at all. After his own experience with Paris studios, he had had this to say of the students there.

They paint day after day from the model. They never try to paint anything else. They are waiting until they know something. They are now old men. They cannot paint as well as they could twenty years ago.13

Instead of studying abroad, Eakins felt American painters' "...desire should be to remain in America, to peer deeper into the hearts of American life...to study their own country

12Cournos, "Art Instructor."
and portray its life and types... They must remain free from foreign superficialities." After having fulfilled what he felt to be his obligation in acquiring a foreign academic background, Anshutz seems to have agreed with this.

In addition to his two trips abroad, Anshutz traveled frequently in his own country. Though he earned his livelihood in the city, he escaped at every opportunity to the open fields and water. His works abound with scenes of rivers, seascapes, and landscapes. Moreover, the industrial revolution also infused his work, (though not so obviously as with the Eight), for his landscapes are not pantheistic, virginal scenes. The evidence of man's work with machinery is clearly shown in such works as Steel Workers, Noontime (fig. 8) and in many of the river scenes. A present day dealer and expert on Anshutz's works, Guy Luster, has stated:

...[Anshutz] loved boats and was in the habit of taking sketching and painting excursions of two to three weeks duration in ships plying the rivers and canals of New England and the Eastern seaboard. There are many letters from him to his family full of the details of shipboard concerned with such commercial traffic at that time because he traveled in plain working ships never in passenger steamers.  

Edward Anshutz said that his father was "crazy about steamboats" and that much of his art stemmed from this. On his travels alone he sometimes went to Baltimore and Chincoteague Island, Maryland and fished. On his trip to Bermuda in 1910,

14 Goodrich, Eakins, 1933, p. 139.
15 Guy Luster, Letter to P. Chatelain, Graham Gallery.
he took Edward and Effie with him—he was already sick then with uremia. His River Steamer Passing Wheeling, c. 1890, (seen only in photographs and not illustrated), was done on one of his earlier trips alone and recalls his youth in the Ohio River valley. Harold Dickson has described this painting:

In the warm season males of all ages bathed in the river without encumbrance of swim suit, pausing to watch the majestic passage of each big paddle-wheel, swimming into the rollers churned in its wake. The reds and varicolored smoke of the steel mills on the far bank contrast with the white steamer and cool-shadowed foreground.

There are several similarities to Eakins in this painting. The subject is very like The Swimming Hole (fig. 9). The posed figures of the "river rats" and the "measured spacing of objects in depth"18 are shown in both pictures. It is interesting, moreover, to note the difference in emphasis of the two paintings. Eakins' picture emphasizes, in the size and placement, the figures of the boys. Anshutz's picture emphasizes the boat with mills—the figures occupy a small portion of the foreground.

After around 1890, he spent his summer vacations whenever possible at Holly Beach, New Jersey. Most of the landscape sketches of the 1890s were done there. Apparently the expense of a permanent house there was beyond his earnings

16 E. Anshutz, interview.  
18 Ibid.
at the Academy, for he wrote his wife in 1893 that, "...we cannot be positive of being able to continue keeping the house at the sea shore. I would like to make a more permanent household there, but that will depend on getting a capital ahead."  

Perhaps the summer school was started in 1898 to augment his income.

Of the paintings he did at the summer school, his son Edward recalled one quite vividly. Anshutz used "an honest-to-God Indian" for his painting of Indians.

I can remember his coming to our house at Fort Washington as a child. My mother and I were mildly nervous when he appeared at the door. He was pale ivory, both very reserved and very dignified. As we were enemies, this was entirely fitting.

The contrasts in his painting styles are equalled by the puzzling contrasts in descriptions of him as a man. Edward remembered his father as being tall and well groomed for his mother influenced his father's appearance. "Mother was a snob, and insisted he look like an English lord." However, this veneer of gentility did not change the personality beneath, as he was seen "frequently with toothpick in the mouth." It does seem odd that a man with a background of the working class, who preferred to travel on tramp steamers when alone, and one who could paint a picture such as Steel

19 Anshutz, letter, Graham Gallery.
21 E. Anshutz, interview.
22 Ibid.
Workers, Noontime; should choose to attend art classes dressed in suit and tie, (fig.15). Helen Henderson, one of his students, described him as he looked around 1891:

...he was tall, slender, elegantly made--with long limbs, small feet, shapely hands, a fine head, long nose, eyes of penetrating blue. He carried one shoulder higher than the other. He dressed usually in gray, wearing a derby hat.  

Apparently, when with his wife he complied with her wishes and dressed to please her. Perhaps she was also responsible for their hobby of collecting fine furniture. (Anshutz included some of the furniture pieces in his female portraits.) “Mother suffered delusions of grandeur,” Edward has said. Thomas's suave appearance may have aided his reputation as a "ladies man". Reportedly, after the turn of the century, he was a favorite with several of Philadelphia's beautiful and rich young ladies. Rebecca Whalen (Woman in Rose, fig.16) and Agnes Musser were two of these. His fees of up to $6,000 for a portrait would have eliminated all but the upper class of society. This monetary advantage in society portraits no doubt prompted his retrogression to a style which seems so incongruous in light of his capabilities as an artist.

In short, I think we can safely assume that it was not the European trip alone which put Anshutz on the wrong track as an artist, but rather a combination of events. Until his

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23Henderson in Anshutz Retrospective, p. 7.
24E. Anshutz, interview.
25Ibid.
26Ibid.
marriage, for example, he had not bothered with money and the things it could buy. After this event in 1892, on the other hand, he frequently mentions in his letters his need to acquire financial independence.

His one painting which could be said to be innovative for his time was Steel Workers, Noontime (fig.8). His efforts in trying to sell this painting proved that there was little money to be made in painting that sort of picture. Thomas B. Clarke mentioned this picture in a letter to S. R. Koehler in 1883.

The picture of the "Iron-moulders--noontime" by young Anshutz exhibited I think three years ago to my surprise I found still unsold! It seems more interesting than ever and I have about made up my mind to add it to my collection.27

Mr. Clarke did buy the painting; it was exhibited with the Clarke Collection28 from December 28, 1883 to January 12, 1884 at a benefit exhibition, National Academy of Design--American Art Galleries, New York.29 I have not yet found any evidence that it was exhibited earlier. Perhaps it was shown in a school show. Mr. Clarke did not mention the price he paid for Steel Workers, Noontime. In 1951 it

29Clarke, letter. It was not mentioned in these books: S. G. W. Benjamin, Art in America: A Critical and Historical Sketch, 1880.
Charles H. Caffin, American Masters of Painting, 1902.
Clarence Cook, Art and Artists of Our Time, 3 vols, 1888.
only sold for $2,700. Fifteen years later it sold for $37,000. Then on October 18, 1972, Sotheby Parke Bernet Inc. auctioned it for $250,000. It's "...price established an auction record for any picture by an American artist, living or dead." Anshutz with all his money difficulties would have been pleased to know that.

As an artist Anshutz evolved through several clearly definable styles. The few extant paintings from the years before and during the time he studied in New York are characterized by dark color and genre subject matter. Ohio River at Wheeling and Riverboat (E. Anshutz col.) illustrate this period. There are also two family portraits from this time; Thomas Harry Pollock in oil and Paul Sidney Anshutz (Kennedy Galleries) in watercolor.

The years from 1876 to 1891 were among his most productive and show the most of the Eakins influence. The Cabbage Patch (fig. 17), 1879, was done soon after Anshutz started to study with Eakins. Though there is an earlier very red-faced pastel, Ernest Lee Parker, The Cabbage Patch seems to be his first painting with full length figure studies—something he was to continue with Eakins. The Cabbage Patch is quite finished in the areas immediately surrounding the figures. However, Anshutz reduced the monumentality of these figures by his emphasis on background detail. If one imagines removing the shrubbery behind the cabin, the picture that would remain would be very much like an early Homer. It was

characteristic of Anshutz to faithfully record the exterior of his subject but to overlook the psychological. The Edward Anshutz Collection has two other studies of blacks; both full length studies of a family worker. *Dissecting Room* (fig. 1) was done in the same year, as an illustration for a magazine article by Brownell. In this he was limited to black and white paint. Here he eliminated the background detail and the result is compositionally much stronger than *Cabbage Patch*. In the next few years he did many portraits and landscapes in watercolor and oil, then in 1883 completed what most critics consider his best work, *Steel Workers, Noontime*. (fig. 8) Apparently this was conceived as an attempt to organize an assortment of figure studies. Though he seems to show us working class people, he again shows nothing of what they are as individuals as Sloan was to do. This is a portrayal of things as they are, but Anshutz has cleaned up his subjects. His workers seem less to be resting from their sweaty work than pausing to watch the artist. They are not dirty or fatigued as one might imagine them to be. Praised as this picture has been for its social implications, it is Anshutz's only known major work of an industrial scene. He often put mills in backgrounds, but never again tried to paint the men who labored in them. From what is known of tastes in art in 1883 America, Eakins would have been one of the few others who would have liked the picture. Very likely one of two things could have happened. Either Eakins had persuaded Anshutz to try the subject, or Anshutz was discouraged by the poor reception it received and switched to
subjects he could sell.

For the rest of that decade he did landscapes and single figure studies, then in 1890 began painting at his favorite retreat, Holly Beach. Two Boys and a Boat (fig.14) is illustrative of the caliber of the many paintings he did there. Unlike this one, most of them are studies rather than finished paintings, but in general they reveal an empathy for the subjects previously lacking in his work. In the placing of the two boys and by the directions of their heads he established a connection between the two—different from his usual grouping of figures. For example, in Steel Workers, Noontime the men are oblivious to the presence of each other (except for the two who are roughhousing). The strong diagonal composition and the cropped mast of Two Boys and a Boat suggest an influence from the Impressionists such as Degas perhaps, though the color is not applied according to Impressionist ideas.

Checker Players(fig.18) is one of his more powerful paintings compositionally, and from the photograph reminds one of the work of Henri. It was during this decade that he began to paint outdoors in the direct method Eakins advocated. Harbor Scene (fig.19) and Landscape with Buildings (fig.21) are two done in this manner. Both, though interesting texturally, lack the over all design impact of Factory (fig.20) for example. Again his problem seems to be that of elimination. He has given us too many things to look at without really emphasizing any one enough. Nor has he successfully conveyed a mood in the paintings—rather they are as backdrops for
paintings of something else.

In 1900, soon after starting the summer school he began to use pastels, making his own chalks. Girl in Pink Dress (fig. 22) is one in this medium. Here by sacrificing the solidity of the figure he gained a new vitality with the texture of the chalks. This one is one of his more successful examples. His later pastels were to be so opaque and blended as to be hard to distinguish visually and texturally from oil paintings. From 1900 on, most of his pastels and paintings are of women. He did do landscapes, but only studies, and these in a style very similar to those of the 1890s. However, the color is more vivid (like the Nabis and Post-Impressionists) and is applied in broader strokes with a diminishing regard for detail. One of these, John Bartram's Garden (Graham Gallery, not illustrated here) is a facetiously titled pastel sketch of a junk barge.

Becky Sharp, (fig. 5) pastel on canvas, is one of the large female portraits of his later years. Katherine Rice is said to have sat for this.31 This is obviously a literary subject from Thackeray's novel of the same name. This painting fits Redfield's description of one in which the model posed as a courtesan,32 as Becky Sharp was thought to have been. Maybe Anshutz's friendship with Sloan encouraged him to paint this type of woman though there is certainly no

31 Redfield, letter, Graham Gallery.  
32 Ibid.
similarity in styles. At any rate, though this picture was reportedly popular with his students, it does nothing to add to Anshutz's stature as an artist.

The pastel portrait of Helen Henderson (fig. 25), though equally coy in pose, is at least more satisfying texturally. Here it is possible to enjoy the contrasts in the surface of the canvas—from the roughness of the skin to the smooth polish of the furniture. As did Rembrandt centuries before, Anshutz liked to add antique objects to these portraits. So Anshutz has perhaps done here in headband and drape. There is an earlier version of Helen Henderson in watercolor, very similar to this pastel. However, the bright color—red drape, green dress, and the impasto technique make this an improvement over the earlier one.

As for oil portraits, the Woman in Rose (fig. 16) and Girl in a White Dress (fig. 26), though both female portraits are less vapid than others he was to do. Woman in Rose fits the description E. S. Jones gave of a painting of Rebecca Whalen in a dress with many ruffles. She said Anshutz made Rebecca sit until he had every ruffle.33 Again, there is the heavy furniture and dark background, with no real feeling of depth behind the figure. These are two of his best portraits of women.

The Incense Burner and The Tanagra (PAFA, not illustrated) are both full length portraits of Rebecca Whalen and are

33Jones, letter, Graham Gallery.
among his last pictures. Both of them are plagued with theatrical expressions on the models and are exemplary of the sort of work which has prompted all the derision written of Anshutz. Larkin has written of him:

He was too fastidious a southern gentleman not to recoil from his teacher's brusque methods in the life class....[and] As an Academy instructor he transmitted Eakins' honesty to Henri, Sloan, and Glackens, who would have been luckier had they received it at first hand.34

Woman in Spangled Gown (Whalen again, Graham Gallery, not illustrated) was on his easel when he died.35 It is in the same vein as the last two described above. None of these paintings supports the description of his interest in the modern movement.

IV. ANSHUTZ'S WORK COMPARED TO SOME CONTEMPORARIES

Though Anshutz has been called the "link between Eakins and the Eight,"¹ it is clear that this connection is primarily due to similarities in teaching methods rather than in style of painting. The works by Anshutz which are most similar to Eakins were done before 1890. After that date his work bears only a surface similarity to Eakins. Eakins was the supreme realist, but Anshutz's work appealed more to his contemporaries in Philadelphia. Eakins painted man as he saw him, showing no concern for exterior improvements. In contrast, Anshutz's approach was a more obviously sympathetic one--hiding the too-large nose in a convenient shadow and revealing a youthful glow in a complexion which no longer possessed it. (See Helen Henderson portrait for example.) Although both men were anatomists, Eakins was the more expert of the two. Anatomy to him was very nearly the reason for painting, whereas Anshutz used it only as a means of correcting errors. That is, Anshutz used anatomy as a means to an end—in this case his art. Both painters seem anachronistic in view of their contemporaries in Europe, but their indifference to the onset of Impressionism is due less to lack of exposure, than to a rejection of the tenets of the new movement as inappropriate to the development of an indigenous American art. Chauvinistic though this attitude may seem now, it was nonetheless necessary for the emergence of

between light and dark and because of the monumentality of his figures. The figures fill proportionately more of the surface area of the canvas in Homer's picture than in Anshutz's.

Anshutz's first important painting after coming to study with Eakins was Dissecting Room (fig. 1). Horrible though the scene must have been, Anshutz makes it bearable to even the most squeamish of viewers. Far from being a literal or realistic portrayal of a dead body, Anshutz's corpse shows neither nakedness nor blood. "Even the skeleton appears dressed in its own bones."² By using the device of cross-lighting, the most distasteful scenes are shadowed. Contrast this to Eakins' approach to a similar subject, The Gross Clinic (fig. 2), done four years prior to Dissecting Room. Again a partially nude figure--though alive in this case--is surrounded by a group of figures. Both pictures are organized compositionally by triangular shapes. In Anshutz's the implied movement is from right foreground back to top of the skeleton which forms the apex of the triangle and then down to the shadowed figures on the floor at left rear. Eakins concentrated the movement in and around the central figure of Dr. Gross. This figure is the largest single form in the picture. Dr. Gross's head is further emphasized by its position as the apex of the pyramidal composition. Further, the central figure thrusts into the obscure negative space above, giving the painting a feeling of movement and energy. In Anshutz's there are several groups of figures rather than one focal point. The foreground figures at the right share a

²Katz, "Breakthrough," p. 28.
unity of placement and activity in being clearly involved in the dissecting. However, the background area near the skeleton is so shadowed as to make it unclear exactly what each student is doing, and the composition loses coherency in this area. The repetition of curved forms in the rounded backs of the figures is carried further by the arched doorway at the rear. In this picture Anshutz has created a mood of quietude and introspection, broken only by the accents of white in the highlights on the bone of the skeleton and in the collars and shirtsleeves of the students.

Anshutz's figures seem again quite detached and devoid of emotion—Eakins' figures, by arrangement of bodies and expressions on the faces, are clearly involved in operating. Interestingly enough, though Anshutz was limited to black and white for his study, there is less contrast between light and dark in his picture than in Eakins' picture. This is one reason why Dissecting Room lacks the dramatic impact of The Gross Clinic. For another, the Caravaggesque spotlight effect on the central figures intensifies the emotional impact in Eakins' picture. Anshutz's crosslighting produces a gloom, but not a very dramatic effect. Anshutz's students are amazingly clean for such messy work, but Eakins' picture shows the incision with blood there and on Dr. Gross's hands. Moreover, not only does Eakins show the operation in all its gore, but he has shown the surgeon as a man and a doctor, attempting to heal a man with a knife. That little was known of asepsis makes the scene surreal to us, accustomed as we are
to swathed, disinfected surgeons and patients. It is doubtful whether any other painter of Eakins' time in American could have painted this portrait with such a degree of radical artistic realism. Unfortunately for Eakins, despite the powerful portrait, the picture was considered to be "too indelicate" for a mixed public and sold for only two hundred dollars. 3

As Anshutz showed Eakins' class, so Sloan was to draw Anshutz's anatomy class. Sloan's Anshutz on Anatomy (fig.11) is an etching done from memory and finished seven years after the event. He drew Anshutz dressed for class as one of his students described him, with suit and tie. There is no cadaver in this picture and no sense of revulsion. The picture is perhaps as interesting for what it tells us about Anshutz as it is for its intrinsic worth as an etching. Though it is difficult to determine any similarities in their work, it seems apparent from Sloan's writings that each held a respect for the work of the other.

As for Anshutz and Eakins, the differences in two paintings they did in 1882 demonstrate other stylistic differences in the two during this decade. In the Writing Master (not illustrated) as in Miss Van Buren of a decade later, Eakins portrayed the inner person, here by showing his father at his work of calligraphy. Anshutz on the other hand in his Portrait of the Artist's Mother (fig.27) produced an accurate physical depiction of his mother, but without much indication

of what she was like as a person. This latter picture seems strangely stilted and emotionally cold for a portrait of a family member, especially so in contrast to Eakins' affectionate rendering of his father. Here, as is usual in his portraits, Eakins carefully chose the setting and the surrounding objects with an eye to revealing the interests of the subject. Anshutz only painted the drape and chair in the foreground.

In the following year Anshutz completed Steel Workers, Noontime (fig. 8). This painting is significant for the direction of later American painting for several reasons. It is one of the first paintings of industrial scenes—subjects that Scheeler, who studied with Anshutz, would paint later. It is also a portrayal of a low class of society in an unromanticized way, though admittedly the subjects are more like actors portraying the low class. In a sense it is as close to actual reality as Anshutz was to come in his work. His students, Sloan and Luks were to paint the lower class people too, but with much less objectivity. Anshutz like the true classicist has taken a specific incident and presented it in a way to evoke a universal response. That is, if one were to remove the mills from the background and change the garments to classical ones, we would have a painting much closer to Jacques-Louis David than to Eakins or the Eight. Of course, the most "Eight-like" figures, the two boys on the ground behind the foreground figures, are the one which seem out of place in this scheme.
Like David earlier in the century, Anshutz has organized the picture into horizontal planes—even flattening the diagonal perspective of the buildings. Again he has used a triangular compositional device; here a horizontal wedge shape, hinging on the foremost figure and angling back into the picture on either side. This wedge is repeated by the sharp angle in the perspective of the factory. This strong movement to the left is halted by the broad rectangular chimney at left rear. The vertical lines of the windows and smoke stacks are rigidly restrained on a somewhat flattened farthest background plane. The repetition of wedge shapes in the brick construction at right serves to focus on the figure carrying a lunch pail which thereby assumes an importance not matched by its size or position in the picture. This is one of two figures which is gazing at the artist; the other is putting on a coat. This device serves to involve the viewer of the picture in the scene. It also gives a feeling of life and immediacy to a scene composed mostly of posed figures who could almost be sleepwalking. Again there is a feeling of restraint and moderation as every component of the picture is balanced and held in check by the others. As in most of his pictures Anshutz chose to observe life but refrained from commenting on it.

He is near Eakins in the treatment of the figures. For the "careful anatomy" and the "conscious figure posing"

he is indebted to his teacher. Anshutz's reduction of the background to flat planes of color looks forward to Demuth and Hopper. The only comparison, however, between this picture and his own later work is in this handling of broad planes of color, which shows in the landscape studies of the next decade. Though it is an over simplification to say so, Anshutz painted best when he painted men, as here.

In the years after 1892, his paintings show an interest in a lighter color key and a flattening of form. There were even a few pointilistic attempts shown by oil sketches now at the Graham Gallery. Unfortunately he never used this more spontaneous style for large paintings; reserving it for scenes of favorite spots and for some portraits of his family. The paintings of this decade are closer in style to some of his students. Checker Players (fig.18), as we have seen, is much like works by Robert Henri. Mary Cassatt did a painting similar to this one in arrangement of subjects. Her Two Girls Playing Cards is dated 1923 which would make it rather late for any direct influence, but as she was almost blind after 1914, perhaps it could be dated earlier as it is close in style to her 1900, Toilet. Anshutz's Studio Study (fig.24) reveals in the background technique of subtle color blending, an approach not too different from one Glackens began to use, and similar also to that which William Merritt Chase had already used in In the Studio for example. Mother and Child (fig.23) is done in a very loose style similar to both Luks and Lawson. Girl in a Pink Dress (fig.22) is one
of his best pastels. It is a sensitive portrait—perhaps of his wife.

After the turn of the century Anshutz abandoned the landscapes and family scenes, and did mostly portraits for commissions. Some of these seem close to magazine illustration in their detailed attention to women's fashion as in Woman in Rose (fig. 16). In this picture the figure is sharply contrasted against a darker neutral background. Again Anshutz has used a pyramidal device this time in a vertical direction. The detail in the carpet design and in the sweep of the dress create movement in the foreground plane of the picture. The diagonal slant of the figure to the right is opposed by the device of the crossed leg. The model's lower torso and hips twist away from us; the shoulders and upper torso turn back toward us while at the same time the head rests on the bended arm. This was no doubt an uncomfortable pose for the model. This complex twisting of the torso with the use of repetition of diagonal lines in the dress creates a sense of energy and restrained motion. This twisting pose was an unusual one for Anshutz to use, and recalls some works by Sargent. Anshutz is known to have admired Sargent so he could have used similar ideas in posing of a figure.

In speaking of Sargent Anshutz had said of his painting, "He doesn't show you how he does it; he only shows you that it can be done. He leaves you in a lurch...." 5 Sargent's

5 Cournos, "Art Instructor."
Mrs. Swinton, 1896 (fig.29), shares similar characteristics with Anshutz's *Woman in Rose* and his other society portraits. Sargent's brushwork is more facile. But the paintings share an artificial positioning of the body with great detail given to the fashionable clothing. There is no attempt in either at the sort of character study Eakins does in *Miss Van Buren*. Anshutz's figure does have a solidity which Sargent's lacks. Anshutz's *Girl in a White Dress* (fig.26) done a few years later, was probably a portrait commission but differs from his others in that he has posed the subject in a revealing way. A feeling for the awkwardness of adolescence is in this study, making it closer to Eakins in revelation of personality. In another way it can be contrasted to a painting by Whistler. The latter's *The White Girl* done forty years before Anshutz's picture, in 1862, oddly enough seems less dated than does *Girl in a White Dress*. In style of painting--Anshutz's picture is very linear, whereas Whistler's is painterly and thus closer to the more modern trends of the turn of the century. *Helen Henderson* (fig.25) is one of several large pastels Anshutz did in his last years. It too seems outdated. Henri's *Young Woman in White* (fig.30) is a full length figure study as are several of Anshutz's society portraits. Anshutz's *The Tanagra* and *The Incense Burner* (PAFA, not illustrated) are in the full length figure tradition of his portraiture. Rebecca Whalen posed for both of these, as well as for *Woman in Rose*. The latter, though done at about the same time as Henri's picture mentioned above,
seems to be from an earlier style and era. In mood, Anshutz's painting looks back to the nineteenth century while Henri's looks forward to the twentieth. Thus, though Woman in Rose is competently done, in comparison to Young Woman in White it seems an anachronism, though Anshutz seems to be a precursor of painterliness.

Anshutz was reportedly interested enough in Matisse during these last years to travel to Paris to see his work. However, I can see no similarities in any of their works.

In summation, Anshutz was a painter of varied styles with varying amounts of success with each. During the years he painted, his pictures differed so greatly that it is impossible to generalize and put him with any specific movement. It is doubtful that he had any major stylistic impact on the Eight. Rather, it seems likely that for the years they were all in Philadelphia; Anshutz, Henri, Sloan, and a few others learned from each other.
V. CONCLUSION

Overshadowed as he has been by the reputations of both Eakins and the students that each of them taught, Anshutz has never been accorded a secure niche in the evolution of indigenous American painting. The reason for this seems to lie in the fact that critical evaluations of his work have been based solely on his large portraits, though exception has usually been given to the talent shown in *Steel Workers, Noontime*. Few seem to have noted any causal relationship of Anshutz to any of his students.

Men who were contemporaries of Anshutz held a different opinion. There are examples to support this thesis. Eakins, as we have seen, did not hesitate to assign Anshutz to positions of responsibility. Surely it can be safely assumed that a man who could not tolerate mediocrity in a student would not allow it in an assistant. Further, John Sloan one of the many talented students who chose to study with him, praised Anshutz's competence.

Anshutz was a great teacher. Henri, Glackens and other notable painters studied with him. His talks on anatomy were repeated several times each term at the P.A.F.A. and were about the best means I ever heard of for giving an artist an idea of essential bone and muscle structure.¹

He was the only teacher John Marin ever acknowledged. George Luks and Robert Henri also, "...acknowledged Mr. Anshutz's

supremacy as an instructor. A recent monograph on Henri by Dr. William Homer relates Henri's debt to Anshutz. My Appendix C is a partial list of the very wide variety of noted artists who benefitted in one way or another from Anshutz's teaching. Finally, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, one of the best schools in this country at the time, employed Anshutz as one of its main instructors for over thirty years, eventually promoting him to director. As John Cournos said of him: "To have figured for more than a generation as an instructor in an institution like the Pennsylvania Academy is to have helped to formulate in no small degree the artistic tendencies of the nation."

The significance of Anshutz's work as a teacher then seems to lie in what he was able to transmit to his students of Eakins methods; and his work as an artist, in what he was striving for, rather than what he reached. The diversity of his approaches to painting is obvious. As we have seen, the commissioned portraits are perhaps deserving of the critical remarks written of them. On the other hand, when Anshutz worked for himself he explored some interesting directions. It seems likely that in his search for financial independence he accommodated himself to his patrons rather than retaining

2Cournos, "Art Instructor."
his artistic integrity—in contrast to Eakins. As Edward Anshutz said, Anshutz "liked rich people" and their possessions. In acquiring their habits and trappings he relinquished his potential as an artist.

E. Anshutz, Interview.
APPENDIX A

NOTES ON ANSHUTZ'S FAMILY HISTORY

(From an interview with Edward Anshutz, August 6, 1966)

In 1790, the Anshutz family was banished from Austria. (It seems that an actor in the family had become a bit too familiar with a local noblewoman.) The owner of the iron mine, Von Dietrich, in which Thomas Anshutz's ancestor worked sent the whole family to the United States. (Jacob Anshutz, Thomas' father was born in Strasbourg, Alsace before the departure.\(^1\)) The crossing on a ship called "The William" took an interminable forty-nine days. One of the remembrances the sons had was of being bitten by monkeys on board (pets of the sailors). When the family reached this country the spelling of the name was changed from Anschutz to Anshutz. Anshutz continued to work for Von Dietrich in another iron mine in Kentucky. Thomas' father, Jacob, broke the tradition however, and became a flour miller.

Thomas' mother, Jane Abigail Pollick, was "50/50 Scotch Irish and Connecticut Yankee" of parents driven west by the hard times following the American Revolution. She was born in 1824 in Western Virginia where the refugees stopped. Her father, Thomas Pollock had been born in Downingtown, Pa;

\(^1\)This would mean that he was at least 61 years old when Thomas was born. Perhaps Edward Anshutz was confused on dates due to his illness.
her mother, Emily Fairchild, in Newton Corners, Conn. Thomas was born in Newport, Kentucky, "a gambling and redlight town" on October 5, 1851. He grew up on his grandfather's farm at Moundsville, near the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

He did a few paintings while living in Moundsville. The watercolor, Ohio River at Wheeling and Riverboat were done just prior to the family's moving to Philadelphia in 1870. There are also two family portraits from this period. A rich uncle who admired his work sent him to the Art Student's League in 1871. This same family, of George Anshutz in Pittsburgh, had boats which Thomas was allowed to use.

Thomas met Effie Shriver Russell on a trip to visit his relatives in Wheeling, West Virginia (her home). She was the daughter of William Hoge Russell and Ethelinger Shriver. Thomas and Effie had two children, only one of whom survived. Edward Russell was born at their cottage at Holly Beach on April 28, 1894.

Thomas died of uremia "probably a result of lifelong hypertension." He is buried in Hillside Cemetery in Montgomery County, Pa., near Willow Grove, at Ardsley Station on Reading Road. His brother Edward, sister Edith, daughter Edith, and his mother, Abigail Jane Pollock, are also buried there.

2 June 16, 1912.
APPENDIX B

ANSHUTZ: AWARDS AND ART CLUBS

Silver medal, St. Louis Exposition, 1904.

ART CLUBS

Philadelphia Watercolor Club.
New York Watercolor Club.
Union Internationale des Beaux-Arts et Belles Lettres.

*Fielding, Dictionary, p. 10.*
### APPENDIX C
NOTED STUDENTS OF ANSHUTZ

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2. Eakins, The Gross Clinic, 1875, 96x78
Philadelphia Museum of Art.
4. Eakins, Masked Nude, Seated, Charcoal, 1866, 24x18, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
6. Eakins, Dr. John H. Brinton, Detail, 1876, National Gallery of Art.
7. Eakins, Miss Van Buren, 1891, 45x32, Phillips Collection.

10. Eakins, Photograph.
15. Thomas Anshutz in His Studio, ca. 1895, Photograph.
18. Anshutz, Checker Players, ca. 1895, 16x20, Orrin W. June Collection.

19. Anshutz, Harbor Scene, ca. 1898, 17x24, Kennedy Galleries.
20. Anshutz, Factory--Study for Steel Workers,
Noontime, ca. 1883, 8 1/2 x 13, Graham Gallery.

21. Anshutz, Landscape with
Buildings, ca. 1895,
Graham Gallery.
22. Anshutz, **Girl in Pink Dress**, ca. 1900, 23 1/2 x 18 1/2, Pastel, Graham Gallery.

26. Anshutz, Girl in a White Dress, ca. 1908, 63x40, Hirshhorn Collection.
27. Anshutz, Portrait of the Artist's Mother, 1882, 23x17, Edward Anshutz Collection.

29. Sargent, Mrs. Swinton, 1896-97, 90x49, Walker Collection.
LETTERS, THOMAS P. ANSHUTZ

All T. Anshutz letters unless otherwise noted are in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, in Philadelphia.

1871, to his parents, Graham Gallery.
December 31, 1883, to J. Laurie Wallace.
February 2, 1884.
June 18, 1884, to J. Laurie Wallace.
August 6, 1884, to J. Laurie Wallace.
August 7, 1884, to J. Laurie Wallace.
August 25, 1884, to J. Laurie Wallace.
October 2, 1885, to J. Laurie Wallace.
November 4, 1885, to J. Laurie Wallace.
March 15, 1893, to Mr. Coates, from Paris.
October 18, 1893, to Mrs. T. P. Anshutz.
1893, to Edward Anshutz (his brother), Graham Gallery.
April 17, 1897.
June 3, 1892.
August 3, 1900, to Frank Cresson Schell, Graham Gallery.

LETTERS, EDWARD R. ANSHUTZ

May 13, 1954, to Graham Gallery.
May, 1966, to Catherine Maynard.
LETTERS, OTHER


Clarke, Thomas B. Kennedy Galleries, August 15, 1883.


Luster, Guy. Letter to P. Chatelain, Graham Gallery.


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PERIODICALS


